

Annex

Comparison of the Models

The parameters that were analyzed for all the models are summarized in a table below, facilitating comparison between the models.

The table also includes a column for a two-state model. This model was not discussed in this study. Although the exact framework of a two-state model depends on what the sides agree upon, for the sake of convenience and as a benchmark, the following parameters are given:

- An agreed-upon border based on the 1967 demarcation line, with settlement blocs within Israel and the exchange of territory;
- A demilitarized Palestinian state with detailed security arrangements;
- Mutual recognition of the two states as the national homes of their respective peoples;
- The Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem will be within Israel and Palestinian neighborhoods will be located within Palestine. Arrangements will be made to ensure a solution to the complicated reality in the Old City and full access to the holy sites;
- A solution of the refugee problem based on limited resettlement in Palestine and on compensation.

Territorial division	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
One state with no internal division.	A defined Palestinian autonomous area within the state. A physical boundary might be possible if the territory is contiguous.
Federal state	Confederation
Division of the state into two or more Jewish and Palestinian districts. No physical boundaries.	Two separate states with a border between them, based on the 1967 demarcation lines. No physical boundaries.
Two states	
Two separate states with a border between them, based on the 1967 demarcation lines with modifications leaving settlement blocs on the Israeli side.	

Settlements	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
Settlements will remain in place and the building of new settlements can continue in any location.	Settlements remain in place. Nonetheless, to achieve contiguity of the autonomous territory it may be necessary to evacuate certain settlements.
Federal state	Confederation
Settlements will remain in place. Although most will be in the Jewish districts, some will become enclaves in the Palestinian districts.	Settlements will remain in place as enclaves in the Palestinian state.
Two states	
Some settlements will be annexed to Israel according to the location of the border. The rest will be evacuated.	

Jerusalem	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
Under full Israeli control.	Under full Israeli control. Some status can be given to representatives of the autonomy.
Federal state	Confederation
Capital of the federation. Special arrangements for joint administration and Palestinian representation.	A joint capital. Arrangements will be needed for joint administration.
Two states	
Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem will be part of the Palestinian state. Special arrangements will apply to the Holy Basin.	

Citizenship and residency	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
The Palestinians will be permanent residents and citizens of the state.	Under full Israeli control. Some status can be given to representatives of the autonomy.
Federal state	Confederation
The Palestinians will be permanent residents and citizens of the state.	The Palestinians will be citizens of Palestine and the Jews will be citizens of Israel, even if they are residents of the other state.
Two states	
Each country determines who will be its citizen.	

Governmental authority	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
Similar to the current governmental structure, while providing a solution for a large Palestinian population, including appropriate government institutions, use of the Arabic language, and so forth.	A Palestinian autonomous authority with powers within the autonomous territory and a central government with powers on the level of the state.
Federal state	Confederation
Composed of district governments that are elected by residents, addressing issues that relate to the district, and a federal government elected by the citizens of the state, which deals with federal issues and domains that require national harmonization. The residual powers will go to the central government.	Each state will have its own government institutions. In addition, there will be a confederative government with representatives of the states that will address predetermined domains requiring coordination. Residual powers will go to the states.
Two states	
Each state has its own government and full powers within its territory. Coordination will be as needed.	

Involvement of the Palestinians in the government

Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
<p>The Palestinians can vote and be elected to the state's institutions just like any other citizen. Potential recognition of the collective rights of the Palestinian minority.</p>	<p>The Palestinians will participate in elections for the government in the autonomous area. As for the central government, instead of granting direct voting rights to Palestinians, participation may be by means of representatives of the autonomous area, while ensuring that they are involved in decisions that affect the area, including on strategic issues.</p>
Federal state	Confederation
<p>The permanent residents of a district will have the right to vote for the district government. All citizens, including the Palestinians, will be able to participate in elections for the federal government.</p>	<p>Palestinians will not be involved in the decisions of the State of Israel. In the confederative government, there will be equal status for representatives of both states. Israel may be given preference on certain issues, at least for a limited period, with a gradual transition to full equality.</p>
Two states	
<p>Each side governs its own state and is not involved in the decisions of the other state.</p>	

Freedom of movement in the state	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
Full freedom of movement in the state for all its residents, including the right to work anywhere and to choose one’s place of residence.	Freedom of movement, including the right to work in the entire state. If there is a physical boundary, border control may occur upon entry into Israel, to prevent the entry of dangerous elements. Moving one’s residence from the autonomous Palestinian territory to Israel may perhaps be restricted.
Federal state	Confederation
Full freedom of movement throughout the federation. To preserve the character of the districts, moving one’s residence between districts may be subject to certain restrictions.	Full freedom of movement throughout the confederation. Limitations on moving one’s residence between the states may exist.
Two states	
No freedom of movement between the states. Passage will be subject to each state’s entry and exit policy.	

Refugees	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
No absorption of refugees from outside the state. Dealing with the refugee camps in the territory will be necessary as part of a general concern for the welfare of the state's residents.	A condition for Palestinian agreement to the model could be the absorption of a limited number of refugees from outside in the autonomous area.
Federal state	Confederation
A condition for Palestinian agreement to the model could be the absorption of a limited number of refugees from outside in the Palestinian districts. Dealing with the refugee camps in the state's territory will be necessary.	The Palestinian state could demand the option of absorbing refugees from outside its territory. If immigration policy is under the jurisdiction of the confederation, then this issue will acquire agreement of both states.
Two states	
This issue will be negotiated between the sides. The solution will probably not include a physical return of refugees to the State of Israel (apart from possibly a symbolic number) but could include the return of some refugees to the Palestinian state.	

Security aspects	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
The government of Israel will have exclusive responsibility for security. Should Palestinians be able to join the IDF and the security forces is a dilemma.	The government of the autonomous area will have the authority in criminal matters and its own policing forces. The central government will be responsible for external security and for events that have consequences for the entire state.
Federal state	Confederation
The districts are responsible for criminal matters, while the federal government is responsible for internal and external security. Should Palestinians be able to join the federal security forces is a dilemma.	Each state will be responsible for its own security. The Palestinian state could be demilitarized. The confederative government is responsible for external security. Israel could be granted preference in external security and protection of the borders, as well as authority to carry out security activity in the Palestinian state in the case of exceptional events, at least for a limited period.
Two states	
Each state is responsible for its own security. The Palestinian state will be demilitarized. Israel could have some authority over security in specific situations, regarding external security or severe internal security threats, at least for a limited period.	

Social aspects	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
Reconciliation processes between the peoples are essential.	Reconciliation processes are highly important for the stability of the arrangement.
Federal state	Confederation
Reconciliation processes between the peoples are essential.	Reconciliation processes are important for the stability of the confederation, due to the open borders and contiguous interface between the two states.
Two states	
Reconciliation processes are desirable but not essential to the success of the model.	

Economic and civil aspects	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
The state is responsible for the welfare of all its residents and will need to invest in narrowing economic and infrastructure disparities. Standardization of laws will be necessary, including land registration.	Overall economic policy will be determined by the central government. Coordination will be needed in many domains. The state has overall responsibility for the welfare of all residents and investments will be necessary to reduce disparities.
Federal state	Confederation
The state has overall responsibility for the welfare of all residents. Economic policy will be determined at the federal level. Each district will be responsible for economic development in its jurisdiction; nonetheless, economic gaps between the districts will need to be bridged. Laws applying to all the districts will need to be standardized at the federal level.	Economic coordination is necessary, given the freedom of movement in this model. Economic disparities between the states must be reduced.
Two states	
Each state is responsible for its own economic situation. Israel has an interest that the Palestinian state will be stable, but the burden will not fall on Israel.	

Preservation of the Jewish character of the state	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
The Palestinians will have significant political power and may try to weaken the Jewish character of the state, even if it is anchored in the constitution.	The Palestinians will express their national identity in the autonomous area. Therefore, the Jewish character of the state could be anchored in a way that it cannot be rescinded. Nevertheless, the Palestinians could have the power to impact the state's identity through their involvement in strategic decisions.
Federal state	Confederation
The Palestinians will have significant political power and may try to weaken the Jewish character of the state, even if it is anchored in the constitution.	Each state will be able to shape its own national character. The Jewish character of the state will be preserved. The Arab citizens of Israel will have the opportunity to express their national identity in the Palestinian state.
Two states	
The Jewish character of the state is preserved.	

Preservation of the democratic and liberal character of the state	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
To preserve the democratic character of the state, the Palestinians must be granted full and equal citizenship. The addition of a large population that is primarily religious and traditional is likely to adversely affect the liberal character of the state.	To preserve the democratic character of the state, the Palestinians must be granted full and equal citizenship. If the government of the autonomous area does not respect human rights and democratic and liberal values, this will conflict with the state’s democratic and liberal nature.
Federal state	Confederation
To preserve the democratic character of the state, the Palestinians must be granted full and equal citizenship. If human rights and democratic values are not upheld in the districts, this will conflict with the democratic and liberal identity of the state.	Ending the control over the Palestinians will strengthen Israel’s democracy. If the Palestinian state is not democratic, the confederation will be composed of a democratic state alongside a non-democratic one; this could threaten the stability of the model.
Two states	
The State of Israel will be able to preserve its democratic character even if the Palestinian state is not democratic. Ending control over the Palestinian people will improve Israel’s democratic character.	

Implications for Israel's Arab citizens	
Unitary state <p>Israel's Arab citizens can serve as a unifying link but might find themselves conflicted, which might interfere with their integration in Israeli society.</p>	Palestinian Autonomy <p>Arab localities may be able to choose whether to become part of the autonomous Palestinian area.</p>
Federal state <p>The Arab localities in Israel could be included in the Palestinian district. Palestinian nationalism could be realized at the district level.</p>	Confederation <p>Israel's Arab citizens will be able to choose whether to remain citizens of Israel or to become citizens of the Palestinian state. They will be able to remain residents of Israel regardless of citizenship.</p>
Two states <p>Israel's Arab citizens will remain citizens of Israel. The resolution of the conflict with the Palestinians will ease their integration within the state. They will be able to choose to express their national identity in the Palestinian state.</p>	

Implications for the PA	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
The PA will be dismantled, and its powers will be rescinded. The Palestinian security forces will be disbanded.	The PA can serve as a basis for the government of the autonomous area. The powers of its security forces will be curtailed, leaving only a policing force.
Federal state	Confederation
The PA will not continue to operate in its present format. It can serve as a basis for the government of the Palestinian district. The Palestinian security forces will be reduced to a policing force.	The PA can serve as a basis for the government of the Palestinian state.
Two states	
The PA can serve as a basis for the government of the Palestinian state.	

Status of the Gaza Strip	
Unitary state <p>If Gaza is part of the state, it will have a significant impact on the demographic situation and add an area to the state that is rife with problems.</p>	Palestinian Autonomy <p>Gaza can become part of the Palestinian autonomous area or an autonomous territory in itself. Special arrangements for this territory may be adopted. Its inclusion will make the model less stable.</p>
Federal state <p>Gaza can be part of the Palestinian district or an independent district. Its inclusion in the federation will reduce the feasibility of the model given the complexity of the situation in Gaza.</p>	Confederation <p>Gaza can be part of the confederation, although its inclusion will undermine the stability of the confederation. If it is included, perhaps free passage between Gaza and Israel may be limited in the initial stages, with arrangements for connecting Gaza to the West Bank.</p>
Two states <p>Gaza can become part of the Palestinian state. This will depend on a solution in the Palestinian internal arena and on the ability of the Palestinian leadership to ensure compliance with the agreement in Gaza.</p>	

Implementation of the model	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
Israel will unilaterally annex the entire territory and reestablish control over territory now controlled by the Palestinians. Additional constitutional and legal adjustments will be required.	Palestinian consent is requisite as the model cannot be implemented unilaterally. The structural changes must be anchored constitutionally.
Federal state	Confederation
Palestinian agreement is essential. The fundamental structural changes must be anchored in a detailed constitution.	A Palestinian state must be created, and an agreement signed between the states that specifies all the arrangements that apply to the confederation. Additional legislative steps will be needed.
Two states	
An agreement must be concluded between the two sides. If the agreement involves the transfer of parts of East Jerusalem to the Palestinian state, then a referendum or a vote of a majority of 80 members of the Knesset is required.	

Feasibility	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
Palestinian opposition is expected, as is internal disagreement within the Israeli public.	It is doubtful whether the Palestinians will settle for autonomy within a state that maintains a Jewish character.
Federal state	Confederation
It is doubtful whether the Palestinians will agree to be part of a federation that maintains a Jewish character. It will be difficult to create a constitution on sensitive issues.	The Palestinians may consent to the model in principle. The model requires agreement on all the core issues and also on numerous aspects of the confederation. It will be difficult to achieve agreement.
Two states	
This model has already been discussed in the past and has won international support. It will be necessary to overcome the opposition on both sides. Large-scale evacuation of the settlements will meet internal Israeli opposition.	

Likelihood of success as a permanent solution	
Unitary state	Palestinian Autonomy
The model entails friction in everyday life, given the disparities between the two populations.	The model will be unstable if the Palestinians feel they are imprisoned and lack equal rights.
Federal state	Confederation
The model entails friction in everyday life, given the disparities between the two populations. Furthermore, the model is cumbersome and wasteful.	The model leaves in place a high potential for friction between the populations and many issues that require agreement, and therefore, the model is not stable.
Two states	
The model will leave both sides unsatisfied. Nonetheless, it leads to separation between them, thus lowering the potential for friction and increasing the model's stability.	