Policy Recommendations for the U.S.

- **Seek a U.S.-Israel Agreement on a Partial Settlement Freeze**
  The U.S. should identify the settlements most threatening to a future two-state outcome and pursue a strict freeze on construction within these areas.

  Outside of any agreement, the U.S. should:

- **Clarify Enduring U.S. Support for a Two-State Outcome**
  Continue to voice support for two states and oppose all actions that make reaching an eventual two-state outcome more difficult.

- **Acknowledge Both Peoples’ Attachment to the Land**
  Demonstrate sensitivity to religious and nationalistic attitudes to the land by acknowledging the historic attachment of both the Jewish and Palestinian peoples.

- **Codify Updated Parameters on the 1967 Lines and Mutually Agreed and Equal Land Swaps**
  Introduce equal land swaps as a tenet of U.S. policy and commit to compensating the Palestinians fairly for any settlements annexed under a future agreement.

- **Reassert U.S. Opposition to Settlements**
  Reverse pro-settlement Trump-era policies and restore pre-Trump positions on settlement-related resolutions at the U.N.

- **Calibrate Response to Settlement Building While Continuing to Oppose All Settlement Construction**
  In the absence of a bilateral U.S.-Israel agreement, continue to oppose all settlement building, but calibrate a response that is proportional to the potential damage to a two-state outcome.
U.S. Policy on West Bank Settlements

Settlement Policy Under a U.S.-Israel Agreement
- Sensitive settlement plans west of barrier
- 1.9% area: exempt from freeze
- Settlements in the 1.9% area: authorized construction
- Settlements west of barrier: exempt from freeze (within narrowly defined built-up areas)
- Settlements west of barrier: freeze
- Settlements east of barrier: freeze and voluntary evacuation

Settlement Policy Outside of a U.S.-Israel Agreement
- Sensitive settlement plans west of barrier: most vehement U.S. objection to construction
- 1.9% area: less vehement objection to construction
- Settlements in the 1.9% area: little U.S. objection to construction
- Settlements west of barrier: less vehement objection to construction
- Settlements west of barrier: vehement objection to construction
- Settlements east of barrier: most vehement objection to construction