

One State for One Nation

The Zehut Party
Peace Plan



The Diplomatic Plan



Background for the Diplomatic Plan

Purpose of the Diplomatic Plan

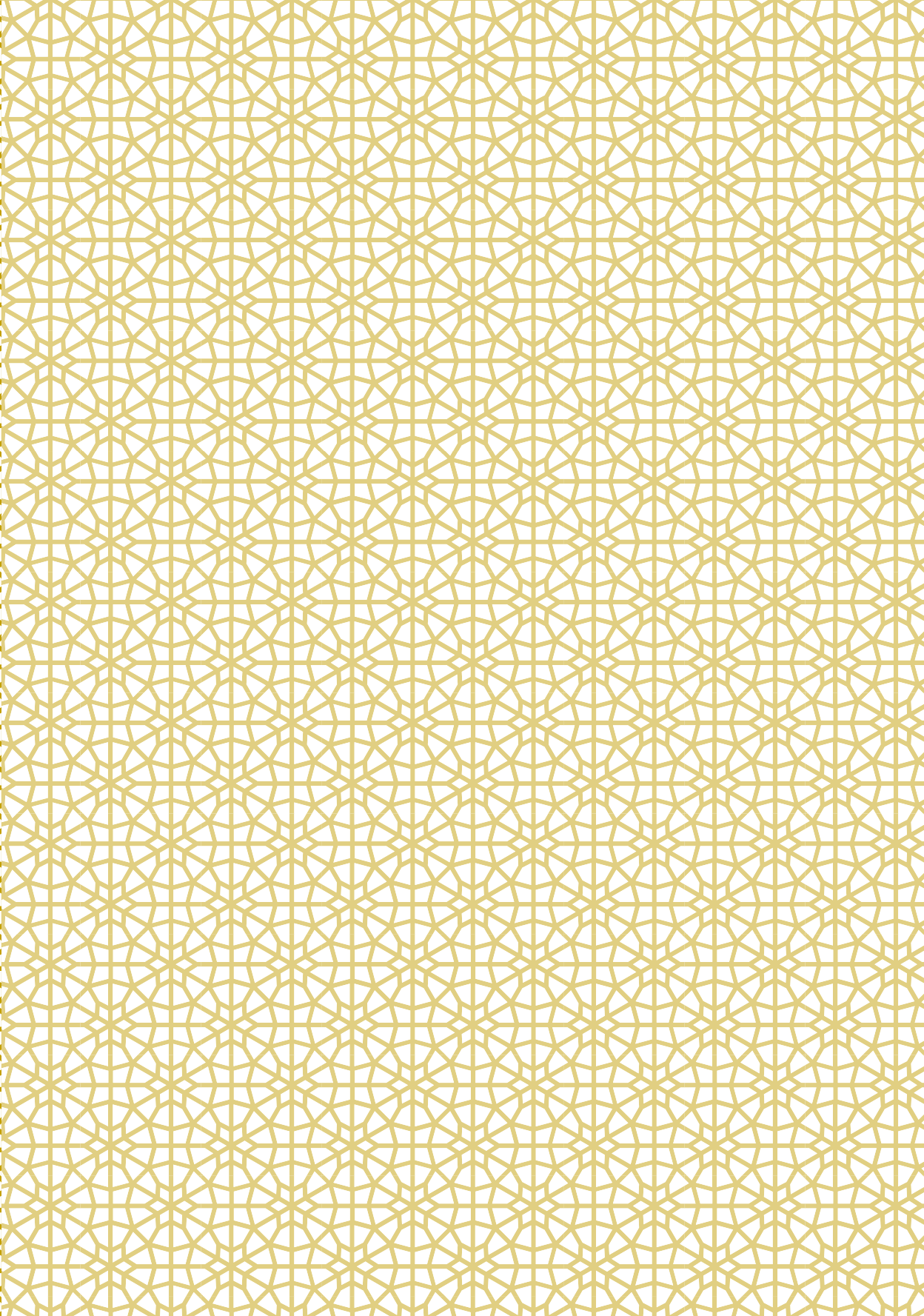
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Background for the Diplomatic Plan

Preface

As a preface to presenting the diplomatic plan, we must define the strategic goal of the plan. If this goal is not properly defined, it is impossible to reach tactical conclusions. It is common to think that the diplomatic goal of the State of Israel is to achieve peace. This 'peace', according to the theory, would mitigate some of the threats facing our state: security, demographics, Palestinian nationalism, international pressure and economic destabilization.

But "peace" cannot be the defined goal of a state. Peace is the result of the proper definition and achievement of the goal. If peace were the goal, it would be easier to achieve it in another place, by surrendering our sovereignty, or by assimilation.

"Security" is not a threat mitigated by the "peace" process". The more that we progress in the "peace process," the more the security situation deteriorates. Buses and restaurants blown up by Islamic suicide bombers and missiles slamming into Tel Aviv and Jerusalem were unheard of before the "peace process." Years of experience have shown us that any quest for security should distance us from all diplomatic processes. So if we continue to sacrifice our families and friends "for the sake of peace," then obviously, this peace does not mitigate the security threat at all.

"Demography" is no longer a threat to Israel. The average Tel Aviv woman has as many children as her Arab neighbor in Ramallah. According to the American/Israeli Demographic Institute, the Jewish majority between the Jordan and the Mediterranean – including the Arabs of Judea and Samaria – will reach 80% in the next twenty years.

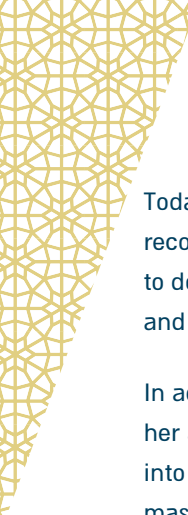
Vicissitudes of policy and economic crises may well accelerate the process. The IDF also reported to the Knesset that it has no idea how many Arabs actually live in Judea and Samaria, and the IDF just believes the numbers provided by the "PA", even though they were obviously very inflated. The only figure provided by the army pertains to the extent of the continuing wave of departure from the West Bank; about 12,000 to 16,000 people leave annually through the Allenby bridge crossing alone. Most of those leaving are young.

"Palestinian nationalism" was an artificially created reaction to Zionism. There is no "Palestinian" problem in any of the lands in which there is Arab sovereignty: Jordan, Egypt, Syria or Lebanon. At the moment that Israel would G-d forbid disappear from the map, Palestinian nationalism would disappear, as well.

"The goal of the Jews in the Land of Israel is to establish a Jewish state there. The goal of the Arabs in the Land of Israel is to prevent the Jews from doing so" (British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin, pinpointing the foundation of the conflict in a speech before the UN, 1947).

Not much has changed since Bevin's succinct explanation. There really is no "Palestinian nationalism." There is the Arab nation, which does not accept Jewish sovereignty over Israel. This is also the reason why a "Palestinian state" has not yet been established and never will be established – despite the fact that no other group has ever received more international aid to create its potential state. The "Palestinians" simply do not want a state. All they want is to prevent Israel from having a sovereign state.

"International pressure" is not a threat mitigated by the "peace process", as it always increases when Israel enters a diplomatic process. The economic boycott of Israel was largely an Arab boycott before Israel recognized the existence of the "Palestinian nation" and its rights to Israel's heartland. But since the Oslo process, it has become a largely European boycott of Israeli products. Until the Oslo Accords, a large question mark hovered over the legitimacy of the PLO and its leaders. No such question mark hovered over the right of the Jews to their own state.



Today, after twenty years of "diplomatic process," the situation has reversed. We recognize them, but they do not recognize us, and the world does not require them to do so. In other words, international pressure is exacerbated by the "peace" process and cannot be used as an excuse to engage in it.

In addition, every time in the past that Israel firmly stood its ground on essentials for her and her safety, it was the US that ultimately retreated, and did not coerce Israel into acting against its better judgement. The world does not lift a finger against the massacre and displacement of entire Middle East populations. Europe, flooded with Muslims, is busy with its own troubles. Today Israel exports not only oranges, but also the best technology necessary for continued world prosperity. If there will be "pressure", Israel will be able to stand up to it even more easily than before.

Diplomatic processes do not improve Israel's economy, either. On the contrary: The Oslo Accords siphon off 10.5% of the national budget every year. They have cost Israel over one trillion (1,000,000,000,000)¹ shekels since they were signed, not including items that cannot be calculated, such as the influence of the process on the cost of housing.

Over the last number of years, Israel is marching toward the role of a regional economic powerhouse. This is not in the merit of an existing diplomatic process, but rather, despite it. The State budget for 2016 was 347 billion NIS. Without the diplomatic process, we could theoretically have had three years of budget saved away(!). This sum is two and a half times more than the cost of the Apollo space project to explore the moon.

The Goal of the Oslo Accords and its Offshoots

So if it is not peace, not security, not demographics, not Palestinian nationalism, not diplomatic pressure and not the economy – why is Israel constantly pursuing a diplomatic process? The true and deep answer is that we seek legitimacy for our Israeli identity. This is explained by none other than the architect of the Oslo process,

1. The Oslo Report: see Appendix to this platform

Dr. Ron Pundak:² *"Peace is not a goal in and of itself. It is the means to bring Israel from one era to the next; to the era that I consider the era of the normal state. 'Israelization' of society instead of its 'Judaization' will foster the synthesis of Jewish nationalism, flourishing of Israeli culture, separation of religion and state and complete equality for the Arab minority in Israel."* (Ron Pundak, Jan. '14)

Simply put, we strive for Israeli-ness instead of Jewishness. As long as our neighbors fight us and do not accept this new Israeli-ness as legitimate, we are thrown time and again to the Jewish-ness from which we started (and fled). That is why we desperately need a peace accord with the Arabs. Not because of security or demographics. We need an agreement with the Arabs at all costs in order to fulfill the dream of Israeli normalcy. **The Israeli needs the Arab in order to forget that he is a Jew.**

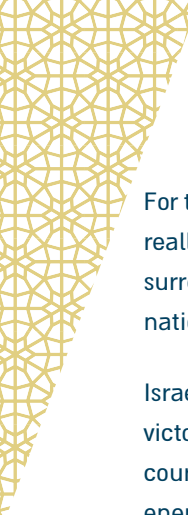
Thousands of victims of terror, surrender of vast tracts of our Homeland, the uprooting of settlements and their residents, missiles in Tel Aviv, loss of our existential legitimacy, loss of more than 10% of our national budget annually and much more damage – Dr. Pundak admits, are not the price of "peace" nor the solution for the "demographic problem." They are the price that we must pay for the internal conflict over the **identity** of the State of Israel.

When the War Doesn't Finish, Peace Cannot Begin

Israel suffers from a basic inferiority complex. Leaving its Jewish identity behind, it has invented an "Israeli" identity, which is contingent upon recognition by our Arab neighbors. This foundational flaw channels us into a zero sum game, precisely expressed by the "Land for Peace" slogan.

Throughout history, the side that wins the war proposes peace in exchange for the opponent's assets. But Israel has deposited its most important asset – the keys to Israeli identity – in the hands of an enemy weaker than it both militarily and economically. This asset is not at all dependent upon the results of the war. On the contrary, if in theory the enemy would be totally destroyed, we would once again find ourselves alone in the world. Alone with our Jewish identity.

2. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/he/file/1239/download?token=33KVS3AB>, p.35, note 225



For this reason, Israel never strives to truly triumph in war. And in truth, we have never really triumphed. Not one of Israel's wars ever ended with the written, unconditional surrender of the enemy, as is accepted practice when an existential war between nations ends with the total defeat of one of the sides in battle.

Israel's internal identity crisis has brought us to the place where the concept of victory is no longer in our lexicon. Even when the IDF destroys the enemy armies with courage and great skill, we do not ever think of taking the final step and forcing the enemy into explicit diplomatic surrender – because then we would have nobody with whom to make peace and receive recognition.

This is why Israel's wars never finish. Our enemies can always produce new weapons and fresh soldiers and when the concept of "triumph" is nowhere to be found, the war never really ends and peace cannot ever really begin.

Israel is not truly involved in a peace process. The "peace process" is nothing more than a continuation of the war, simply fought with different methods. The result is success for the enemy. We experience loss of land and legitimacy, economic damage and internal demoralization.

Israel's Oslo-process recognition of "Palestinian" justice and right to the Land of Israel and the territorial surrender that came on its heels did not generate more acceptance of Israel's existence. Just the opposite: Israel's surrender generated its serious loss of legitimacy in the West. We have manifold more fatalities than before the "peace process," the economic price tag is huge – but worst of all is the lack of national legitimacy in the mentality of Israel's young generation.

A young Israeli who came of age after the start of the diplomatic process (30-40 year olds today) no longer sees himself as indigenous to this Land. Instead, he feels like a guest here. In his eyes, the salt of the earth and bedrock of the Land's existence is the Arab. It has become legitimate to expel Jews from their homes, but nobody would ever dream of doing so to Arabs.

We can say that the enemy defeats us with "peace," slowly achieving what he wanted and what he failed to gain during war. The Israeli, who understands that he will not be getting peace, hopes that at least by offering "bribes" of territory that he "stole"

from the Arab in 1967, the Arab will be so kind as to ignore the "robbery" of 1948.

The loss of legitimacy, however, crossed the 1948 line a long time ago. The "original sin" in reputable Western universities is no longer the Occupation of 1967, and not even the partition of 1948. The original sin is the Balfour Declaration of 1917. That declaration was the very beginning of the renewal of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel.

"We established a state for you... we dreamed of a place in which the new Book of Books would be written, to redeem the world. For you, after all, are a treasured nation," a group of British intellectuals explained their anger at Israel to Professor Ze'ev Tzachor. "The world had expectations of you, and look what you have done." (Quoted from an interview of Tzachor by Meir Uziel, Makor Rishon).

All the diplomatic plans proposed to the Israeli public by the entire gamut of politicians stem from the Israeli – not Jewish – mentality. Their horizon is not to actualize their Jewish identity in the national dimension, but rather, the opposite. All their plans assume that the conflict is territorial and that surrendering territory will bring the peace that will allow us to be accepted as a normal nation among its neighbors.

But it is actually the attempted escape from our identity that blocks any hope for peace. If we need peace in order to receive recognition for the new "Israeli-ness" that we invented for ourselves, and if, as a result, the enemy receives an insurance policy and we are incapable of extracting a price from him that he cannot sustain – why should he give us peace? Why not just remain perpetually in a "peace process"?

An alternative plan can succeed only if it serves the absolute opposite strategic goal: Not making the state more Israeli. Instead, we must make it more Jewish. ³

3. The Arabs are truly prepared for peace with us, but only for a peace that respects the identities and cultures of the region. The Arab is ready for peace with the Jew – but not with a European colonialist who forces his identity on him. When the Jew comes with an Israeli mask, the Arab wears a Palestinian mask and peace becomes impossible.



Purpose of the Diplomatic Plan



Principles

One Land, for One Nation, with One G-d

By will of the Creator, the G-d of Israel⁴, the Land of Israel is the Land of the Nation of Israel, exclusively, as is expressed in the Bible.⁵

Safeguarding Human Rights

We must safeguard the human rights of all residents of the Land who accept the first principle above and who wish to live with us in peace.

Human Rights and Civil Rights

Human rights and civil rights are not the same. Human rights are bestowed upon us by the Creator and thus cannot be negated by man. Citizenship is granted or withdrawn by man, through the State – as per human considerations.

4. And not on the basis of the UN decision, as it appears in the sorry text of Israel's Declaration of Independence

5. As per the classic formulation of Rashi in his Torah commentary.



The Citizenship Question: Clarification

At this point we will emphasize that from a demographic and political standpoint, we could apply full sovereignty over all parts of the Land of Israel in our hands and grant Israeli citizenship to all the residents.

According to present demographic trends, the number of Arab Knesset Members in Israel's Knesset in 15 years will be the same as it is today – even if the Arabs of Judea and Samaria will be allowed to vote.

In principle, we are opposed to the automatic granting of voting rights to non-Jews immediately upon the application of sovereignty. The State of Israel was established to be a Jewish state – the state of the Jewish Nation. The State must express this principle and protect it in its chosen mode of governance.

It is not true that application of sovereignty necessitates the granting of citizenship. As opposed to citizenship, which any state can grant as per its considerations⁶, human rights are bestowed by the Master of the Universe and no flesh and blood sovereign can negate them. There are examples of application of sovereignty without the granting of citizenship. A case in point is the U.S. application of sovereignty at

6. A right that will be carefully granted to the Arabs of Judea, Samaria and Gaza who will fulfill the criteria to be detailed below.

various points in history over Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands and American Samoa. Per its own considerations, the U.S. granted their residents the status of subjects who did not enjoy full voting rights.⁷

Israel was established for one purpose: to build a state in the Land of Israel for the Jewish Nation. It is completely appropriate for that State to create a separate civil status, while safeguarding the human rights of those who are not Jewish. This, in order to express the basic purpose for which the State was established and to protect it.

7. For more examples of additional states, see below.



The Stages of the Diplomatic Plan

A. Nullification of the Oslo Accords

The State of Israel will officially decide and will then officially notify the Palestinian Authority and the Quartet (the US, the EU, the UN and Russia)⁸ of the full cancellation of the Oslo Accords and all its derivatives and the restoration of the legal situation in Judea, Samaria and Gaza as it was before the agreements. Israel shall attach to the declaration concrete and detailed evidence that the agreements were substantively violated by the other party since the beginning, and that the other side from the outset did not intend to end the conflict and live in peace with Israel. Therefore, Israel has the right, indeed the duty for its safety, to cancel them.

This will restore all members of the PLO and the PA and their various "security" organizations to the status of terrorists, similar to the status of Hamas today.

B. Offer Honorable Withdrawal to all Terrorists

To prevent bloodshed, Israel will make an offer to anyone in Judea and Samaria who intends to continue to fight against it, or wishes to continue to bear "Palestinian" arms, or is not willing to live under Israeli control, a dignified retreat, with his

8. The Quartet is the supervisory body over the "Oslo Process". It was established with Israel's agreement in 2002 on the heels of the failure of the process until that point. The process continues to fail. However, Israel will have to make the official announcement of the end and nullification of the "Oslo Process" to the Quartet.

weapon⁹, and his family, similar to the withdrawal of thousands of PLO terrorists from Beirut at the end of the first Lebanon War. Those terrorists withdrew from Beirut¹⁰ in an orderly manner, and under Israeli and international guarantees for their safe departure.

The Shin Bet security service will review the lists of those leaving and transfer to the terrorist organizations a list of wanted persons who are not on the lists of those leaving, if there are any, and whom Israel intends to arrest or eliminate after the agreed withdrawal due to the danger that they present to Israel. Those persons will be advised to safely leave while they can.

Israel will use this opportunity of an agreed withdrawal of the enemy to places outside Israel in order to release and expel the security prisoners in our jails. The release of the prisoners and their expulsion from Israel is proposed here only as part of a decision process in which Israel will finally end its 50 years of non-decision. The release will be subject to lists compiled by the GSS. There may be prisoners who will be deported even if they wish to remain in prison, and there may be prisoners whose request to leave is denied, in both cases due to the danger that they present to Israel.

After this agreed withdrawal, any person in Judea, Samaria and Gaza who fights against Israel, with weapons or incitement or other prohibited activity, or who carries weapons that are not authorized by Israel, will be considered a terrorist.

In the meantime, the IDF, the Shin Bet security service, and the rest of our security and government agencies will complete their preparations for a complete Israeli return to all the territories of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, which are no longer under full Israeli control.

It should be noted that as a military operation, it is not necessary that the plan be implemented immediately after the establishment of a government in Israel, or that it be carried out all at once. Operational and practical considerations, and, of course, the safety and security of our citizens and soldiers may postpone the beginning of each phase of the program to a suitable time, and split implementation in different regions in favor of the principle of concentration of effort, etc.

9. As per the precedent of the retreat from Beirut, this refers only to a hand-carried personal weapon.

10. The chief terrorists were exiled then from Lebanon to distant Tunisia.



C. Restoration of Israeli Military and Security Control Over the Entire Territory

The IDF, with the assistance of the other security forces, will retake control of all of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. In addition to the substantive step described above, of an honorable withdrawal proposal aimed at preventing bloodshed, Israel will do everything in its power to reduce unnecessary bloodshed of the Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza during and after the takeover, and to prevent humanitarian problems (water supply, etc.). However, this is within the framework of a state of war, and the security of our citizens and soldiers precedes every other consideration.

In the takeover and its aftermath, all the terrorist elements that remain in the area will be liquidated, expelled or imprisoned. All the terrorist installations will be destroyed and thorough searches for weapons, tunnels, incitement materials, etc. will be carried out. At the end of the operation, no sovereign or armed entity will remain between the Jordan River and the sea except for the State of Israel.

D. Application of Israeli Sovereignty

Full Israeli sovereignty will be applied in all the redeemed territories in Israeli hands. The application of sovereignty will be effected in accordance with the "Jurisdiction and Powers Law" enacted by the First Knesset shortly after the establishment of the State. This law already explicitly established both the moral justification and the procedure for the application of Israel's sovereignty over the parts of the Land of Israel restored by the IDF to the control of the Jewish people:

*"Any law that applies to the State of Israel as a whole will appear to apply to all territory that includes both the territory of the State of Israel **and any part of the Land of Israel** that the Minister of Defense has defined in the manifest as being held by the Israel Defense Forces."*

Together with the application of Israel's sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria, Israeli law in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights as per the "Golan Heights Law" will be exchanged for Israeli sovereignty according to the "Jurisdiction and Powers" Law, which regulates the application of Israeli sovereignty over parts of the Land of Israel, our own Land. The prior laws were two decisions that were essentially arbitrary and without explicit moral justification.

Immediately after the security takeover, police stations and other symbols of Israeli sovereignty will be established in every city and village in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Every Israeli citizen will be allowed to move freely in any public space. The Arab residents will receive a temporary Israeli resident card and will be able to choose their municipal leadership and pay their municipal taxes. Israel will not collect taxes from them and will not provide them with services other than security, as in any other place in Israel, and Israeli health services, which will be provided in exchange for full payment to all who require it. The existing Arab health institutions, such as the Red Crescent, will be allowed to continue operating.

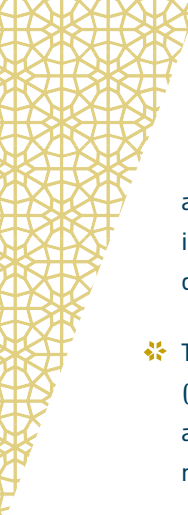
E. Suggested Options for Individual Choice

So far, the Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza have never been offered the opportunity to choose for themselves how they prefer to relate to Israel's presence and rule. The decision was always given to a party that decided for all of them: first it was the Arab states and then the terrorist organizations.

After the application of Israel's sovereignty and the restoration of personal security to residents in the entire area - including the personal security of Arab residents who were the first to suffer from the terror regime, every adult or family will be able to choose between three options: "Immigration Basket", Residency or Citizenship. No one will be forced to decide immediately, and the possibility to choose will remain open to him.

Option A: A generous emigration package for Arabs interested in emigration

- ✳ Over 60% of the Arabs living in Judea and Samaria have expressed their desire to emigrate. Approximately 20,000 of them actually do so annually. One of the main obstacles that stand in their way is their inability to sell their property under the reign of terror created by the Oslo Accords. An Arab who sells real estate to a Jew today is sentenced to death, according to the laws of the Palestinian Authority



and the laws of the Kingdom of Jordan.¹¹ The complete restoration of sovereignty is vital to removing fear and allowing those interested in it to sell their property quickly, simply and profitably.¹²

- ✧ The total cost of the Oslo Accords to the Israeli public to date is more than a trillion (one thousand billion!) shekels. This is the sum that we have already paid. For each additional year of Oslo, we continue to pay about 10.5% of the State budget. This is money thrown out every year, with no end in sight.
- ✧ According to the American-Israel Institute for Demography (AIDRG), about 1.75 million Arabs live in Judea and Samaria today.¹³ Another 1.5 million live in Gaza, of which 1.2 million have UN refugee status, and 300,000 are in the unified Jerusalem area, who are irrelevant because Jerusalem is already under Israeli sovereignty. The 1.75 million Arabs of Judea and Samaria make up about 280,000 households. Since only 60% are interested in emigrating, there are about 170,000 relevant households.

With the amount of money that Israel invested in the Oslo "New Middle East" project, it would theoretically be possible to invest NIS 5 million to help every Arab family in Judea and Samaria who wants to emigrate to find its future elsewhere. We are discussing much smaller amounts of money.

- ✧ It is important to emphasize that this expenditure continues. Israel continues to spend about 10% of its budget on the failed gamble, simply because it has no horizon other than the goal of Ron Pundak as defined in this diplomatic plan. Once we redefine our goal, we can direct the budget that will be available toward the real solution.

11. Real estate transactions that are nevertheless executed in Judea and Samaria always include the speedy and anonymous evacuation of the sellers abroad for fear for their lives, once the sale is discovered by the Palestinian Authority.

12. Israel will also allow them to emigrate directly without crossing through Jordan or Egypt, a crossing that would endanger their lives and property.

13. These numbers are significantly different from the numbers generally publicized, that are almost 50% higher. The most common figures are based on the estimates of the Palestinian Authority itself, whose gross falsification in double counts has long been proven, and whose desire to exaggerate the number of Palestinians living in the Land of Israel is clear. Recently, there has been a trend of disavowal of the Palestinian numbers among the Israeli demographers who had considered them reliable, following the Begin Center's investigations, which revealed the extent of the forgery for the first time.

- ✿ In addition to the purchase of real estate and the financial assistance package, Israel will help locate absorbing countries and find jobs. The Western world suffers from "negative population growth"¹⁴ and needs quality immigration in order to maintain itself at its current level. Who will build the skyscrapers in Berlin, London and Toronto? Homeless immigrants who have so far built no more than mud huts in Sudan, or a population from Judea and Samaria that grew up alongside a developed country, comes with equity and built the Azrieli Towers in Tel Aviv?
- ✿ "Fake emigration" of breadwinners without their families will not be credited with a migration basket.

Option B - Permanent Resident Status

After a period of time to be determined according to security needs, the Arab residents will gradually be able to submit a request for status as permanent residents. Receipt of this status will be conditional on a declaration of open loyalty to the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people. The application will be examined, and those not involved in hostilities or intentional harm to the State will be entitled to permanent residency status. Permanent residents will be able to move freely and work throughout the country. All tax laws will apply to permanent residents. The only difference between them and ordinary citizens will be the duty of soldiering and the right to vote.

Option C - Receiving Israeli citizenship

For those wishing to tie their fate to the Jewish people, prove their loyalty and finally receive full Israeli citizenship, a long-term track for Israeli citizenship will be established, a track in which their suitability and loyalty¹⁵ will be examined over time. In addition to the declaration of loyalty, language tests, recommendations, etc., applicants to this track will be required to enlist in the army or national service. Of course, those who collaborated with Israel in the past will receive a faster and shorter process.

14. In many of those countries the birth rate is less than 2 children per woman.

15. As is customary in many countries around the world, including European democracies, it will be explicitly determined that granting citizenship is a subjective, non-justiciable decision.



In addition to these three possibilities, there are two other possibilities:

- ✿ Anyone who wishes to emigrate without the assistance of Israel can.
- ✿ Whoever decides to fight Israel will be deported or imprisoned, and his property will be nationalized.

Encouraging Aliyah and Solving the Housing Problems for Young Couples

- ✿ The resolution of the conflict over the Land of Israel and clear Israeli sovereignty over our Land will pave the way for the settlement of Judea and Samaria. The possibility of receiving land and building a home in the heart of our ancient homeland at an affordable price near central workplaces will greatly increase immigration and further accelerate Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria. This is in accordance with the plan to solve the housing problem proposed in this platform.
- ✿ There will be no more "settlements" and the legal anomaly in which hundreds of thousands of Israelis have lived outside Israel for decades, in military territory, when they are actually in the heart of the Land of Israel - will be nullified.
- ✿ The "guest in their own Land" mentality of Israeli youth and Israel's apologetic public relations negatively impacts the feeling of solidarity of Jewish youth with the State. This negativity and despair will be replaced by feelings of mutual belonging, challenge, justice and destiny. The economic and identification forces that will create a positive diplomatic change of direction in Israel, along with the opposite forces (world-wide financial crisis and rising anti-Semitism) will generate a rapid and complete change in the makeup of the public living in Judea and Samaria.



Misgivings About the Diplomatic Plan


U.S. Pressure

Throughout the entire history of Israel-American relations, the U.S. has always known how to fall into line with Israeli policy – when that policy was clear and principled and the prime minister was able and willing to withstand pressure. The United States government exerted virtually unbearable pressure on Ben Gurion upon the establishment of the State – pressure that included a weapons embargo when Israel needed arms the most. In later times, the U.S. pressured Israel to prevent it from bombing the Iraqi nuclear plant. Many other instances have demonstrated that when Israel's leaders put Israeli interests first and were willing to absorb the pressure, the American administration ultimately accepted the new reality. It is unacceptable that on fundamental questions such as Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, Israel opens its gates to U.S. or other foreign pressure.

U.S. Aid

Many people in Israel live with the assumption that the State lives on U.S. aid. This is a completely erroneous assumption.

U.S aid, which currently is entirely military, amounts to 3.5 billion dollars annually. This is approximately 3% of Israel's budget. Currently, the terms of the aid dictate that Israel must spend 75% of this sum on U.S. military hardware. Soon, that requirement will increase to 100%.



Part of the expense could be reduced by purchasing Israeli weapons systems, which are generally better and less expensive. Another part of the sum could be saved by removing the political obstacles that prevent the production of certain Israeli weapons systems. The F-35 jet deal, which pushed Israel into purchasing a very problematic and expensive weapons system (2.75 billion dollars), is an excellent example of the way that U.S. aid harms Israel's security and economy.¹⁶

American aid is essentially an American interest. America's military industry is the main growth engine upon which it can rely. Even at the U.S. economy's current low point, the military industry has grown seven times faster than any other industry in the U.S., creating hundreds of thousands of American jobs.

American "aid" is actually a method by which the U.S. pumps money into its own arms industry, at the expense of Israel's security and economic interests. In addition, tremendous sums of money are spent with almost no supervision, inviting large-scale corruption.

Israel is not the only country for which the U.S. provides weapons. The U.S. has been flooding the Middle East with arms, and provides Arab states with more arms than it does Israel. The only Arab army that has remained a threat on Israel's border is the Egyptian army – by virtue of the support and armaments that Egypt received from the U.S. in exchange for its agreement to sign a peace treaty with Israel.

Israel must forgo U.S. aid. That is a necessity.¹⁷ Israel's economy is relatively stronger and more stable than the American economy. The trade balance between the two countries is one third in Israel's favor. From an economic standpoint and even more so from a security standpoint, it is entirely possible for Israel to forgo American "aid." Israel can continue to purchase American weapons systems that it needs with Israeli currency. Parallel to that, it will diversify its defenses with Israeli and other systems.

Insisting on preserving Israel's interests and waiving "aid" from the U.S. will not create a confrontation with the Americans. The United States is a very religious country.

16. This has created a situation in which hardware that was entirely developed in Israel is manufactured in the US so that the IDF can equip itself with it from the US aid funds.

17. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is credited with giving up the civilian aid component in 1996, shortly following his election.

The American public's support of Israel is founded on common values such as faith and liberty based on the Bible and the Biblical prophets. The support or lack thereof of successive U.S. administrations over many years, does not reflect the depth of the public identification with Israel. Connecting Israel to its Jewish identity as expressed in the goals of this plan, will evoke and intensify the identification of the American public and after a short time, the official American position will follow suit.

All of this is even clearer with the election of Donald Trump, who declares his support for Israel while declaring his intention to reconsider US aid to Israel.

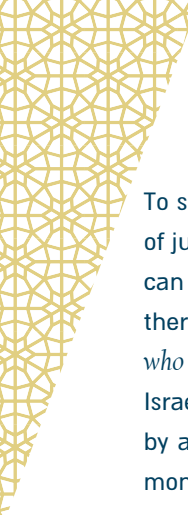
The European Boycott

The European boycott is by and large the result of Israel's retreat from its sense of justice. Israel has always been boycotted by Arab nations and coped with it with no particular difficulty. The broadening of the scope of the boycott to European entities is not due to the lack of a diplomatic process. On the contrary: **It is the result of the diplomatic process.**

Israel always expects that in the wake of its concessions it will merit more understanding from the Western world. That expectation has always been contradicted by reality. After an initial period of waning support and lip service, Israel's concessions on the justice of its cause have always engendered intensified moral demands from the West. These demands translate into diplomatic pressure, accompanied by economic pressure.

We can expect the opposite process to evoke the opposite response. Return to Israel's sense of justice will be received with relatively weak protest. The enlightened nations will once again give their basic support to the truly just side.

It is important to remember that the "European boycott" is by and large a boycott by private entities. The Europeans have a clear interest in preserving correct trade relations with Israel. According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel imports approximately 25 billion dollars of merchandise from Europe annually. It exports vital and unique products to Europe – particularly hi-tech. A boycott of Israel by European governments (not including products produced in Israeli towns in Judea and Samaria) is not on the agenda at all.



To sum up this topic, it is important to remember that an Israel with an intact sense of justice, living in peace with its Jewish identity and turning to faith-based humanity can easily create a counter-boycott of all those who boycott Israel. In the U.S. alone, there are 80 million Evangelists whose slogan is the Torah verse: *"And I will bless those who bless you, and those who curse you I will curse."* (Genesis 12:3) Just a hint from the Israeli government will be enough to turn every boycotter into a target of boycott by a huge public that wishes to be blessed with G-d's blessing to the harbinger of monotheism – and that will make boycotts counterproductive.

International Court

This is nothing more than a question of willingness to stand behind the truth. The status of Judea and Samaria is much simpler than we can imagine, as clearly elucidated by the Levi Commission:

In November 1947 the UN General Assembly adopted the recommendation of the committee it had established to divide the Land of Israel west of the Jordan river into two states: one Arab and one Jewish. But the plan was never implemented, and therefore was not binding under international law, since the Arab states rejected it and started a war to prevent its implementation and the establishment of a Jewish state. The outcome of the war set the political reality from now on: the Jewish state was established within the lines drawn after the war. However, an Arab state was not established, and the territories which had been conquered by Egypt and Jordan (the Gaza Strip, Judea and Samaria) were ruled by those countries. Later, the Arab states, which did not recognize the consequences of the war, demanded the armistice agreement include a statement saying that the ceasefire line should not be construed in any way as a political or territorial border. Despite that, in April 1950, Jordan annexed the area of Judea & Samaria, unlike Egypt, which has never claimed sovereignty over the Gaza Strip. However, Jordan's annexation was not accepted on any legal basis, and most Arab countries opposed it, until 1988 when Jordan renounced its claim to the territory (on this issue see chief justice M. Landau's comments in HCJ ruling 61/80 Haetzni against the State of Israel; and HCJ ruling 69/81, 493 Abu Aita against Commander of Judea & Samaria and others).

Thus the original legal status of the territory was restored, namely, a territory designated as a national home for the Jewish people, who had a "right of possession" to it during Jordanian rule while they were absent from the territory for several years due to a war

imposed on them, and have now returned to it.

According to the Levi Commission, Israel has the right to settle Judea and Samaria, at least in the territories under its control as per its accords with the Palestinian Authority, and thus, the establishment of settlements is not illegal.


Emigration Destinations

There are many countries, in South America for example, that have been legally absorbing Arab immigrants from the Land of Israel for many years. Many Arabs, especially young single men, emigrate all the time, without the help of the State of Israel. Polls that the "Palestinians" themselves publish occasionally show that most of them wish to emigrate, but they do not have the financial ability to do so.

The Arabic daily paper, "Al Quds" published a long article on the scope of the emigration of young Arabs from Judea and Samaria. The paper noted that at least 400,000 young people have emigrated from Judea and Samaria abroad in recent decades. According to the article, there are Arab villages, particularly near Ramallah, such as Dir Dabuan, which are full of palatial homes that stand empty or are occupied only by a single elderly person. A resident of the village Ramon, east of Ramallah, said that of the 44 boys in his class from the village, 40 live today in the U.S. and the others are constantly receiving proposals to emigrate, because life in the U.S. is much more comfortable than the lives of the Palestinians in Judea and Samaria. See <http://www.alquds.com/pdf/1470434849214309600/1470434877000> 77 69. He related that an office in Ramallah coordinates visa interviews for Palestinians in the American consulate in East Jerusalem, and that many Arabs make use of its services.

We are in an era of global migration, **particularly of Arabs** emigrating from miserable Arab countries. **Ten million Arabs live in Brazil today.** Former Brazilian president, Dilma Rousseff, in reference to the wave of immigrants to Europe, said that Brazil had advanced a policy of absorption of immigrants, that ethnic mixing is part of Brazil's identity and that "many ethnic groups from many cultures" built Brazil.

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world in terms of territory, and additional countries in South America are open to massive Arab immigration. Millions of Arabs



live in France, three and a half million Arabs live in the U.S. and two million in Argentina. One million Arabs live in Chile today, half of them "Palestinians," and the immigration continues. The largest growing immigration to Sweden is coming from Syria, Somalia, Afghanistan and Eritrea.

In other words, the nations of the world will accept immigrants from Judea, Samaria and Gaza in large numbers. They will prefer to accept them, especially with the "immigration basket" that will ease their absorption, as opposed to accepting penniless immigrants with no prior acquaintance with the western world.

"Apartheid State"

The only time in history that a "white" nation sent its forces to Africa to bring back "black" residents so that they could be citizens with equal rights – and not slaves – was when Israel sent its forces to bring the Ethiopian Jewish communities back to the Jewish State. Slavery, in its original form, is alive and well today only in some Moslem states. It is ridiculous and outrageous to hear accusations of apartheid from the representatives of the Moslem culture of enslavement against the state that represents the Jewish message of liberty.

And now to the claim: South African apartheid was a basket of separation laws and discrimination on a racial foundation. Israel does not have racial laws. Nobody claims that the U.S. is an apartheid state because its residents from Samoa or Puerto Rico (under American sovereignty) do not have the right to vote for Congress. Differences in civil status exist in a number of western countries and they are not considered apartheid states. Besides the U.S., in Czechoslovakia, Hong Kong, Latvia and more – all of them progressive states, not all citizens enjoy the right to vote. Fifteen percent of the residents of Latvia, which is a member of the European Union, do not have the right to vote. The distinction between citizenship on a national basis and citizenship on a territorial basis is common to Israel and other enlightened nations and has nothing to do with apartheid.

Once again, there is a difference between human rights – rights bestowed upon man

by the Creator, which cannot be abrogated by humans – and civil rights, which are granted by states as per their interests and values.

The Nation of Israel has returned to its ancestral Homeland in order to establish a Jewish State. The principles upon which we wish our state to function are the means and not the end. Israeli citizenship granted to other nationalities may threaten the Jewish identity of the State – and it is Israel's full right not to grant it.



Israel's Foreign Policy

In the international arena, the State of Israel will strive to implement the promise *"and all the families of the world will be blessed through you."* There is a special expectation of Israel, the state of the People of the Bible, that alongside its integration in the forefront of the technologically advanced countries, it will also be a moral example, a "light unto the nations" – for a confused world and rapidly sinking cultures.

Zehut's foreign policy will build Israel's image in a way opposite to the image that has been projected up until now. Instead of a country that seeks legitimacy from the nations, and unsuccessfully explains a policy that is very difficult to explain,¹⁸ Israel should be a country that heralds a moral path to humanity, a state of the People of the Bible that legitimizes moral conduct and denies legitimacy from countries that do not.

Israel's foreign policy will be conducted as per the following principles:

1. Cooperation and Development: The State of Israel will develop trade relations, technological, economic and cultural cooperation with all nations of the world – without compromising its principles. The State of Israel will act to help third world countries develop their human resources without creating dependence. It will work to increase Israel's share of world trade and will diligently seek to develop infrastructure to restore it to its place as the Europe–Africa interchange. We believe that the success of one country does not infringe upon the success of another and that the condition for our continued prosperity is contingent on the ability of other nations to join the world marketplace.

^{18.} 50 years in which Israel has abstained from applying sovereignty in its heartland in Judea and Samaria have destroyed any chance of successful Israeli public relations.

2. Respect for national sovereignty: The State of Israel will respect the right of a state and nation to choose the regime it sees fit, without attempting to coerce it from without. It will avoid interference in the internal politics of other states or in their internal conflicts as long as it has not been asked to intervene by the local government. This principle will remain in effect as long as the other country does not interfere with Israel.

3. Mutuality: Just as the State of Israel respects the sovereignty of other nations, so it will demand respect for its own sovereignty.¹⁹ Israel will take the appropriate steps against foreign countries that employ Israeli political organizations or terror organizations to interfere in internal Israeli conflicts or to achieve their own goals..

4. Moral compass: The State of Israel will act against all abuse of human rights in the world.²⁰ The State of Israel will prohibit the transfer of weapons and military capabilities to countries participating in abuse of human rights.²¹ Israel will strive to greatly reduce cooperation with regimes that abuse human rights.²²

5. The State of the Nation of Israel: The State of Israel is the state of the entire Nation of Israel – in Zion and in the Diaspora. The State of Israel will act to strengthen its ties with Diaspora Jewry and will actively encourage Aliyah of individuals and communities with the goal of completing the Return to Zion.

19. Among other things, Israel will expect the nations of the world to move their embassies to Jerusalem.

20. For example, Israel will call upon the Chinese government to stop the murder of its prisoners for organ harvesting, a phenomenon which, according to the US House of Representatives official announcement from June 13, '16, is still ongoing.

21. Today this is mainly Israeli defense exports to Africa. This is only a small percentage of our security exports, which are used not for state protection but rather for internal control and oppression.

22. Exporting arms to countries with tyrannical regimes is in part the result of Israel's "alliance" with the American arms industry, which forces us to trade with countries whose trade with us does not threaten American hegemony in the global arms market. Once liberated from the grip of American industry, we will be able to trade arms with other countries. An example of this is the US ban on the export of interceptor missiles from Israel to Poland, a US ally. This ban caused Poland to purchase such missiles from the United States.



Jerusalem - Goals and Policy

But as I come to sing to you today, And to adorn crowns to you I am the smallest of the youngest of your children and of the last of the poets.

(Jerusalem of Gold, Naomi Shemer)

Jerusalem is not just another capital city. Jerusalem is the essence of Jewish national existence. It is a tapestry of the history of three thousand years, of the yearning of two thousand years, of hopes, of sanctity, of the oaths of bridegrooms, of blood, sweat and tears. There can be no Jewish state without Jerusalem.

Jerusalem was Never Divided Among the Tribes

"Of all your tribes - this is Jerusalem, in which all the tribes share". (Avot D'Rabbi Natan)

"Jerusalem was never divided among the tribes of Israel". (Tractate Yoma)

Unlike other cities, Jerusalem is a symbol - the focal point of identity and the horizon of purpose for the State of Israel. Jerusalem belongs to the entire Nation - not to its residents alone. As such, the Nation, by means of its representatives, has the authority and the duty to be involved in its planning and design. Jerusalem's residents understand that living in a city that does not belong exclusively to them exacts a price.

Within the parameters of the national planning of the city, all the rules of freedom of enterprise and design will be preserved,²³ as will be the case throughout Israel. But unlike other cities, **Jerusalem will have a central planning framework and basic**

23. See the housing chapter.

laws²⁴ that will ensure its character as a holy city on the one hand, and a focal point of Israeli sovereignty, on the other.

Strategic Planning

Jerusalem, Israel's capital, still lacks a strategic vision that will restore its role, both as Israel's heartland and as an international focal point for spiritual ascent, as it was in the past.

The flight from and ignoring of Jerusalem, which began with the surrender of the Old City to the Jordanians in the War of Independence²⁵ and continued after the Six-Day War in 1967 with the transfer of the Temple Mount to the Jordanian *wakf*, continues until this very day – turning Israel's capital once again into a divided border city.

In fact, after the historic unification of Jerusalem in the Six-Day War, the expansion of Jerusalem's municipal line to the east and north and the establishment of the new neighborhoods, for many years almost every visionary strategic development has been shelved and forgotten. The city has effectively been abandoned to natural growth fluctuations and the immediate needs of its residents.²⁶

This approach cannot apply to Jerusalem, which is divided between Jews and Arabs, neglected in terms of its infrastructure and at the crossroads of the interests of the entire world. It is time to claim Israel's ownership of Jerusalem and to conduct our policies accordingly. Any other method is irrelevant. Jerusalem beckons.


Greater Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Metropolis

Zehut proposes a realistic alternative to the artificial attempt to separate Jerusalem

24. A minor example of this is the famous stone cladding law in Jerusalem dating back to the days of the British Mandate.

25. The bitter result of the fall of the Old City to the Jordanians during the War of Independence was not a matter of lack of choice but of explicit prioritization. Even if it is possible to discuss the difficulties at the beginning of the war and to explain here and there, there is no doubt that there was a practical military option to capture the city at the war's decisive stage.

26. For example, the Begin Road, the paving of the expansion of Highway 1 and the light rail are examples of coping with immediate life needs, rather than long-term strategic planning. The express train to Jerusalem and Highway 1 to the east, on the other hand, are exceptional, worthy of mention.



from the surrounding Arab population. This has resulted in a massive Arab immigration into the city for fear of separation, and on the other hand has strangled natural development of the city. When Zehut's Diplomatic Plan is implemented, the war will end and the Arabs remaining in Judea and Samaria will be those who accept the sovereignty of the State of Israel. Under those circumstances, it will no longer be necessary to strangle the city between walls and fences.

Jerusalem is suffocated within its municipal line, and the time has come to expand it, and to allow the creation of Greater Jerusalem, which is already forming. Instead of cutting down the Jerusalem Forest, as proposed by the Safdie plan to address the housing shortage, it is possible to expand and even multiply Jerusalem's urban area to the east and north, and to provide the city with extensive land reserves for new neighborhoods with modern access infrastructure.

The Jerusalem metropolis will include Bethlehem and Gush Etzion to the south, Beit Shemesh and Modi'in to the West, Ramallah to the north and Ma'aleh Adumim and Jericho to the east.

Strategic Infrastructure

"As a rule, the holier the place, the more it lies in destruction. Jerusalem is more destroyed than any place else. Judea more than the Galilee. And even with all its destruction, it is very good". (The Ramban, in his Letter from the Land of Israel, circa 1260)

Metropolitan Beltway

The fast-moving Jerusalem train currently under construction will significantly improve Jerusalem's accessibility to greater Tel Aviv, making it much easier to live in Jerusalem and work in greater Tel Aviv or vice versa. In addition, a large Jerusalem beltway should be built, as is the case in large capitals around the world. The beltway will create and enclose the outer perimeter of the city, and will connect it to the urban centers around it, and them - to each other. The road will surround Jerusalem from Ma'aleh Adumim in the east, through Bethlehem and Gush Etzion in the south, to Mevasseret Zion in the west and on to Givat Ze'ev and Neve Ya'akov via Kfar Adumim in the north.

Internal Landing Strip and International Airport

The internal landing strip in Atarot will be reopened and expanded, and an international airport will be built in the Horkania Valley east of the city. The airport will serve Jerusalem on an ongoing basis, and in particular will enable it to cope with the peak periods of tourism and pilgrimage, which require a high passenger capacity relative to its routine function.

The need for such an airport is clear. Currently about two million people live in the Jerusalem metropolitan area, similar to the population of greater Tel Aviv. The rule of thumb in city planning is that a population of two million justifies an international airport near the city, especially if it is a city that attracts waves of tourism.

Upgrading the Mountain Road and the Jerusalem-Gush Dan Road

As detailed in the strategic planning chapter in Judea and Samaria, two highways must be upgraded to ease the traffic flow in and out of Jerusalem. Highway 60, north and south of Jerusalem, must be widened and transformed into an interurban road - at least in its section between Ariel and Hebron. Road 45, the paving of which has been delayed for thirty years as a replacement for Road 443 and an alternative to Route 1, must be completed. This will ease the natural growth of the Jerusalem metropolitan area, currently stalled due to outdated access infrastructure.

Roads in East Jerusalem and Access to the Old City

Access infrastructure in the eastern part of the city is extremely deficient and does not allow for development. This is even truer of the Old City, to which vehicular access is nearly impossible. This is not because there is no place to pave roads in the Old City, but because it is currently not a government priority.

This reality stymies the tourism and pilgrimage potential of the Old City and the transformation of its environs into the city's government district. Both of these problems must be resolved.



The Government District

"The Temple of the King, the royal city, stand up out of the chaos".

- "Lecha Dodi", a poem by Rabbi Shlomo Elkabetz.

"There shall sit the throne of judgment as the throne of the house of David".

- Psalms, 122b.

Jerusalem is not only a "Temple of the King," the holy city and holiness. Jerusalem is also a royal city, the city of Israeli rule and the city of Israeli law. The current location of the government complex, the Knesset building and the Supreme Court in the western part of the city is the result of the fact that the city is divided.

The total separation between the new and modern city and the so-called "Holy Basin" in Israel is not a healthy separation for the State of Israel. Zehut will strive to end this division.

A long-term process of evacuation-compensation of areas adjacent to the Temple Mount will enable the gradual relocation of the government district and symbols of sovereignty to the vicinity of the Old City and the Temple Mount. The Government District was in the Old City/Temple Mount area from the time of King David until King Agrippas the Second. Since this is a quintessential process of Jewish "recovery and restoration", we can expect that the sums required for this project will be contributed to a large extent by the general public - just as the general public contributed huge sums to buy most of the City of David, homes and entire areas in the Old City so far.

Tourism

Approximately a million and a half tourists visit Jerusalem annually. They lodge in approximately ten thousand hotel rooms in the capital. At the present rate of growth, tourism in the next two decades will at least double.

The development and construction of Jerusalem as a spiritual focal point will double and triple current forecasts and will draw tens of millions of tourists and pilgrims from throughout the world. Jerusalem must prepare to host them. This of course is a

major growth engine, which will rapidly return (private) investment in the new and renewed hotel infrastructure.

The Heart of the City: The Temple Mount

"He who rules the Mount rules the Land."²⁷ (Poet Uri Tzvi Greenberg)

The Temple Mount is the holiest place on earth. It is the place chosen by the G-d of Israel from which to imbue the world with His Divine Presence. This is the place that connects the physical with the metaphysical; the place where Adam was created and Isaac was bound. It is the place where life and the Nation were molded, the place where our First and Second Temples stood. Just as most of the prophecies regarding the Return to Zion have already miraculously been fulfilled, so the rest of them will be realized. When the time comes, our Third Temple will dwell on the Temple Mount for eternity.

The Temple Mount is the beating heart of the Land of Israel. Famous Israeli poet Uri Tzvi Greenberg accurately described the Temple Mount as the yardstick of Israeli sovereignty in the entire Land. When we lose our hold on the Mount, the heart becomes ill; circulation weakens and the organs suffer. When Israel transfers control of the Mount to the Jordanian *wakf*, Jerusalem becomes divided once again and Israel's cities become the target of missiles – a scenario that nobody would have imagined just a few years ago. There is a direct correlation between the abandonment of the Temple Mount and the deterioration of the legitimacy for the very existence of a Jewish State anywhere in the Land of Israel. De-legitimization has reared its ugly head even in the most respected and enlightened states.

When our actions declare that we have no connection to the Temple Mount, the world says the same at UNESCO. And when the world says it, the legitimacy of our hold on the Land is lost. When we lose the legitimacy of our hold on the Land, it becomes legitimate to attack us and illegitimate for Israel to defend herself. Surrender of the Temple Mount does not prevent war; it provokes it.

27. This was quoted in Uri Tzvi Greenberg's name immediately after the Six-Day War, and appears almost in this version in "The Complete Works of Uri Tzvi Greenberg", published by the Bialik Institute.) Thanks to Yehuda Etzion, who has in-depth knowledgeable of Greenberg's writings, for this quote.



The "strategy" of Israeli administrations since the Six Day War has been to evade the actualization of Israeli sovereignty on the Mount and to pass on the "problem" to future generations. This "strategy" has brought about a continued depreciation in the status of Jerusalem, to its essential re-division and to the transfer of most of the sovereignty at the heart of Israel's capital – on the Temple Mount – to the Jordanian *wakf*.

Today, places in East Jerusalem where Jewish children used to play safely are now void of Jews; it is impossible to build a home in Jerusalem without the personal authorization of the Prime Minister and UNESCO is turning Israel's practical policy into a principled international decision, determining that there is no connection between Israel and the Temple Mount.

The decision to give the keys to the Mount to the Moslems immediately upon its liberation was lauded as diplomatic insight and the "realpolitik" acumen of Six-Day War Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. But the truth is that Dayan's actions were not born of necessity; it was his policy. Prior to that, in the War of Independence, a planned strategy brought about the fall of the Jewish Quarter and the loss of an opportunity to liberate the Temple Mount and Judea and Samaria. Before the Six-Day War, Dayan (and the ministers of the National Religious Party) were opposed to liberating the Old City. Even Paratrooper Division Commander Motta Gur, who conquered the Temple Mount, was sure that it would shortly return to Jordan.

Israeli-ness did not want the "whole Vatican" – in the words of Moshe Dayan. Religious-ness also didn't want the Mount, which restores the Torah from the personal-religion dimension of the Exile to its national-culture dimension. This is the deep reason for today's ultra-Orthodox opposition to the return of Jews to the Temple Mount. There is nothing more anti-"religious" and anti-exile than the Temple and the Temple Mount.

Jerusalem is the essence of the conflict raging in Israel between Israeli identity and Jewish identity. The Mount was abandoned by Israel – and Jerusalem is being divided because the Israeli/Religious identity is fleeing the return to Jewish/cultural identity. The return to the Mount is the connection between those cultures.

The Arabs are not the cause; they are simply the means in this internal conflict.

Jerusalem does not appear even once in the Koran. When the Moslems are on the Mount, they bow southward to Mecca and turn their backsides to the Dome of the Rock, the site of the Holy of Holies.

Israel sanctifies the Mount to the Moslems so that it can run away from itself. The result is the loss of the bedrock foundation for the justification of our existence in the entire Land of Israel – and the turning of humanity against us. By sanctifying the Mount for the Moslems, Israel brings war upon itself.

There is no Jerusalem without the Temple Mount. The only sovereign on the Temple Mount will be the State of Israel, by means of the Israel Police Department and a special Honor Guard, similar to the guards of the Western Wall Heritage Foundation. The police and Honor Guard will preserve the security, order and sanctity of the site. Any foreign entity – in uniform or without – will be distanced from the Mount.

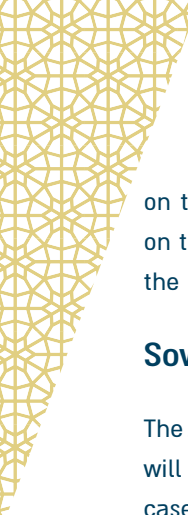
Policies on the Temple Mount

The Temple Mount is "Also" a Holy Site

The Temple Mount will be opened for Jewish prayer and will be placed at the top of the list of Jewish holy sites – a list from which it is currently absent. By virtue of the Law for the Safeguarding of the Holy Places, it will be transferred to the administration of the Chief Rabbinate, which will regulate the visits of Jews to the Mount within the framework of Jewish law. The Rabbinate will demarcate the places on the Mount permissible to walk according to Jewish law. A Jewish synagogue will be built on the Mount, in keeping with the various plans for a synagogue that have been proposed over the years.

Archeology

The Temple Mount will also be opened for archeological research. Inestimable archeological damage has been wrought by the abandonment of the Temple Mount to the Jordanian *wakf*. Six thousand tons of archeological dirt from the Temple Mount have been intentionally destroyed by the *wakf* in the process of illegal construction of underground mosques on the Mount. The ridiculous assertion of lack of remnants



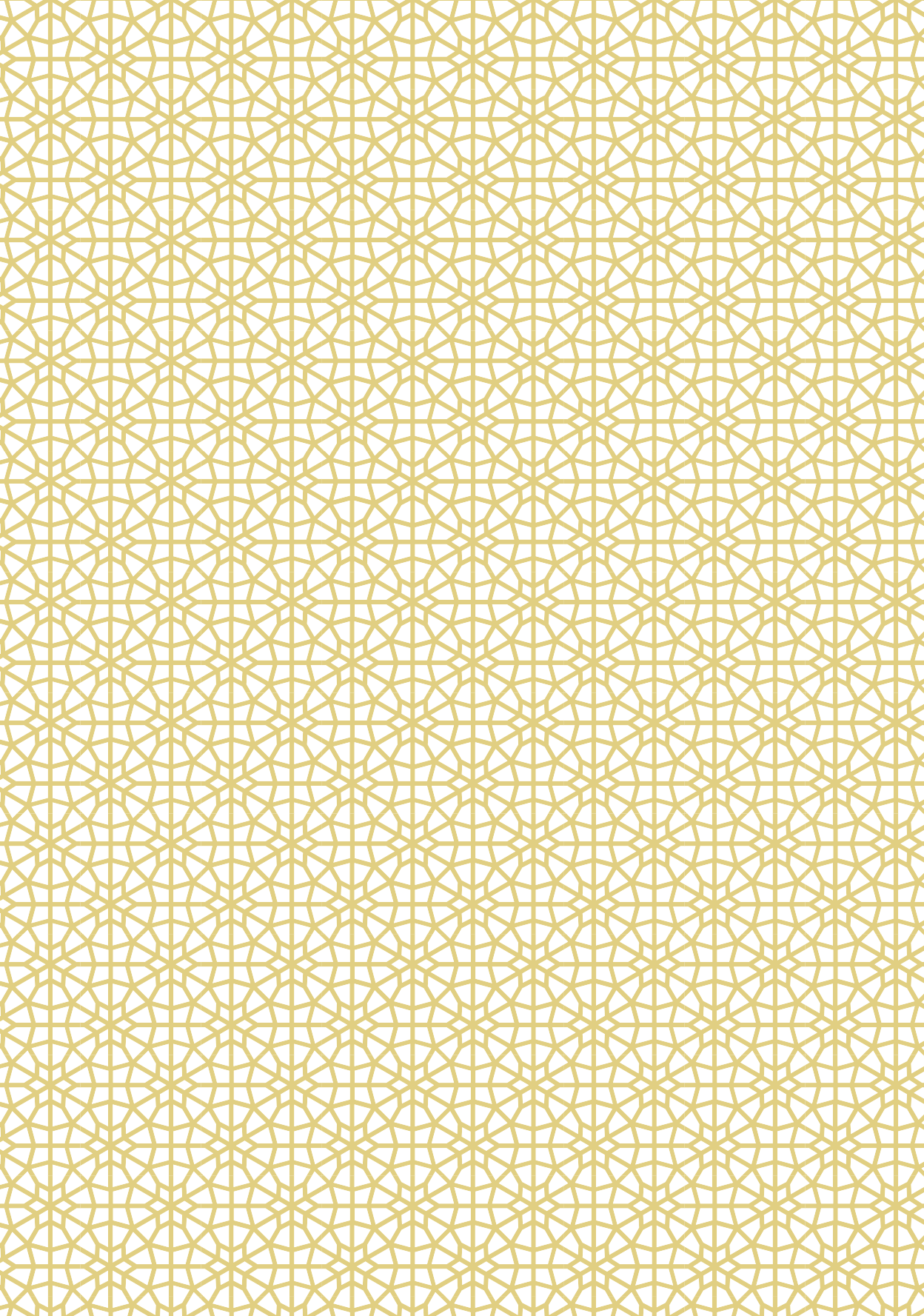
on the Temple Mount is a result of the policy that prohibits archeological research on the Temple Mount, forcing the archeologists to dig only in the areas surrounding the Mount.²⁸

Sovereignty

The Jordanian *wakf* will lose its official status on the Mount. Israel's Police Department will be permanently stationed on the Mount, and not at the Mount's edge – as is the case today. Visits to the Temple Mount will be allowed at all hours without limit. Security for Israeli citizens on the Temple Mount will be absolute and provided by the police with all necessary forces. Jews will be able to enter the Temple Mount from all its gates. Moslems will be allowed to continue their prayers at the Al Aqsa Mosque (which is actually outside of the sanctified original parameters of the Temple Mount) Any attempt to turn the prayer into a nationalist event will be dealt with strictly.

The paths leading to the Temple Mount will be repaired and reconstructed, as befits a place that is the "heart of the world." The Israeli flag will once again be flown permanently over the Temple Mount as an expression of absolute Israeli sovereignty at the site – and as an expression of the Jewish identity that originates at the Temple Mount, returns to it and is vitalized by it.

28. The same is true, albeit on a lesser scale, of all the archeological sites in Judea and Samaria.



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