

## Summary

**The Israeli Initiative proposes a moral, practical, and simple formula for the long term solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict.**

**Moral** – A moral solution that addresses people, instead of a political solution that perpetuates the struggle, violence and poverty.

The Israeli Initiative offers Palestinians the option of turning from refugees into citizens, in countries having an economic and political future, instead of a puppet state lacking the capability of independent existence, as outlined in the Oslo Agreement. It proposes to end the human tragedy that has continued since the War of Independence, and to open up a future of personal and community hope for Israel and her neighbors.

A moral solution is one based on Israel's right to exist within defensible borders, while preserving its character as the state of the Jewish people.

**Practical** –Islamic threats against stability in the Middle East create a historic window of opportunity for the solution of the Palestinian problem and for cooperation based on mutual interests with Arab countries and the Western world.

The collapse of the Palestinian State permits new thinking and leads directly to the contents of The Israeli Initiative.

Despite the comprehensiveness of the initiative, it is modular: Implementation of even parts of the program will bring great benefit to Israel and its neighbors.

**Simple** – Without interim agreements, without entities possessing undefined sovereignty, without "expectations" or "strengthening".

The Israeli Initiative proposes a new-old map of the Middle East, in which Israel enjoys vital strategic depth and natural, defensible borders, remote from the centers of population, and maintains fruitful economic cooperation with its neighbors, for the benefit of the entire region.

The Israeli Initiative proposes a new path for peace that provides for an end to the human tragedy of all parties and offers hope after the painful collapse of the old peace concepts.

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### **The Right Road for Israel**

- A dramatic decrease in terrorism and removal of the demographic threat.
  - A moral solution to the refugee problem created in 1948.
  - Halting the strengthening of the Iran-Hamas axis.
  - Defensible borders and preservation of Eretz Israel.
  - A regional peace economy with accelerated growth.
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### **The Right Road for the Palestinians**

- Millions of people will turn from refugees into citizens.
  - A tremendous economic opportunity for tens of thousands of families.
  - Turning Judea and Samaria into a center of economic growth.
  - Freedom of movement and employment.
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### **The Right Road for the West**

- Preventing the Iranian axis from gaining control over the Middle East.
  - Preventing the growth of international terrorist bases in Judea and Samaria.
  - Protection of the Christians and their holy places.
  - Stabilization of oil prices.
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### **The Right Road for the Arab countries**

- Halting the Shiite threat against moderate countries.
  - Solution of the Palestinian problem.
  - Opening a gate for dramatic economic growth in the region.
  - Economic and environmental upgrading of the Western Middle East.
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## **There can be no stability without Israeli sovereignty**

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The considerable vagueness displayed by Israel over the years regarding the future of Judea and Samaria has prevented development of the region and has turned it into a "backyard" and an "abandoned region" in which Jews cannot travel without fear; widespread serious criminal activities are overtly perpetrated and there is total lawlessness regarding the environment. Only the extension of Israeli sovereignty and laws and the actual annexation of the heart of the country to Israel will bring an end to the existence of this "backyard".

Israeli control, of course, also represents the anchor of security stability. IDF presence in the towns of Judea and Samaria, and its consistent and intensive activities in routing terrorist nests has succeeded in almost completely eliminating the terrible acts of suicide bombers that only a few years ago were regarded as a problem for which "there was no military solution." The strength of the IDF – and not Abu Mazen's weak forces – is what is currently preventing Judea and Samaria being turned into an additional "Hamasland" that would threaten Israel as well as the stability of Arab regimes.

## **The demographic devil**

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For many years Israel has been deterred from annexing Judea, Samaria and Gaza because of the fear of reducing the Jewish majority within the borders of the State of Israel. The great wave of immigration from the countries of the former Soviet Union, stability in the birth rate of the Jewish sector, and a decreasing birth rate in the Arab sector, have considerably shrunk the "demographic devil" and have turned it from an existential threat to a problem that can be solved.

A comprehensive program for the rehabilitation of refugees, as proposed in the first section of this initiative, will totally remove the demographic threat from the State of Israel as a Jewish State. The extension of Israeli sovereignty to these territories will also bring in its wake a significant change to the composition of the population: The real elimination of the "Green Line" would lead to a more normal distribution of the Jewish population, that would move naturally to the "new" region adjoining the center of the country – only minutes from the Dan Bloc and Jerusalem.

## **The status of Arab residents of Judea and Samaria**

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The dismantling of the refugee camps as part of a process of rehabilitation will reduce the Arab population in Judea and Samaria and minimize poverty and over-crowding in Palestinian towns.

The Arab population that will continue to reside inside the new borders of the State of Israel will enjoy full human rights awarded by the State of Israel, but they will possess Jordanian-Palestinian citizenship, and their political rights will be realized in Amman.

There will be limited autonomy in the Arab settlements while day-to-day administration will be under Israel's authority in a form to be determined in negotiations between Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan.



Shomron panorama

## 3. Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria

### From "occupation" to sovereignty

The territories of Judea and Samaria were included in the area of the British Mandate that was intended for the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people. Since the end of the Mandate, and following the failure of the Partition Plan, these territories did not receive recognized legal status. They were occupied by Jordan in 1948, but this occupation was not recognized under international law. During the Six Day War (1967), Israel occupied these territories and returned them to the Jewish people.

Judea and Samaria represent the heart of Eretz Israel. The central mountain range, with Jerusalem as its heart, reminds us who we are. Here Abraham walked with his son Isaac; here Jacob pitched his tents; here our forefathers drove out the Canaanite nations under the leadership of Joshua Bin Nun. In the hills of Judea and Samaria there are tens of sanctified sites of historical significance, many of which have not yet been researched.

These territories were under Jordanian sovereignty/ occupation for only 19 years. For more than 40 years, these territories have been under *de facto* Israeli sovereignty, and there is no impediment to officially and actually annexing them to the State of Israel.

### The danger in Palestinian sovereignty

The alternative to Israeli sovereignty is handing over Judea and Samaria to Palestinian or other Arab sovereignty. This would be a strategic catastrophe of the first magnitude. After the Northern region of Israel was paralyzed following the presence of Hezbollah on our Northern border, and after the Western Negev is absorbing a rain of Kassam rockets, it is not difficult to imagine what the Central region – the Sharon, the Dan Bloc, and Jerusalem – will look like when dominated by enemy forces. In such a situation, Israel would become a hostage living in the shadow of a constant threat.

The handing over of Shiloh, Beit El, Bethlehem, and Hebron to foreign hands expresses the Jewish people's rejection of its roots, and leads to a loss of awareness of our rights to the country – a loss transmitting a message of weakness to our enemies, and making us appear to view our presence here as of a temporary nature only.

Handing over Judea and Samaria to foreign hands also means acceptance of Israel's capital, Jerusalem, becoming a border town, surrounded on three sides by territories under Arab sovereignty; and constitutes a fatal blow to the extensive Jewish settlement of Judea and Samaria. These communities exemplify Israel's national strength and a high level of social and human values, and harm to them – like the destruction of Gush Katif – threatens to cause a grave blow to the morale of Israeli society, the possibility of a national fissure, and radiation of weakness to the Arab world.

Palestinian sovereignty would also threaten Jordan and moderate Arab countries, since such a Palestinian state may be expected to become another outpost of Hamas and Islamic fundamentalism that aspires to undermine the stability of moderate Arab regimes.





King Hussein and Yitzhak Rabin. Photographer: Sa'ar Ya'akov, Government Press Office

## What will Jordan gain from participation in the regional settlement?

The current regime in Jordan is friendly to Israel and basically pro-Western, but its stability is endangered, and it is threatened by the chaos existing in Iraq to the East, and by Palestinian nationalism from the West. If a Palestinian State were to be established in the territories of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, it would threaten Jordan. Such a state is liable to form a starting point for "Greater Palestine" that would swallow up Jordan, overthrow the royal house, and turn the whole of Eretz Israel into a single Palestinian-Islamic state, free of Jews and heretics.

The dismantling of the Palestinian Authority will bring sighs of relief in Amman and will pave the way for a balance between emphasis of its Palestinian character and backing of the Hashemite regime, by means of American and Israeli guarantees.

A big push for the economy is an additional benefit for Jordan. Jordan's major problems are economic. The Israeli Initiative places emphasis on deepening economic cooperation and development of the valley of peace, and on setting Jordan on the path towards a promising economic future.

## The danger of the Eastern Islamic Front

Teheran's threats and its approaching nuclear capability present a grave potential menace to Israel, and combine with the emerging chaos in Iraq and the strengthening of the pro-Iranian forces in Syria and Lebanon.

In the event of accumulation of strength by the extremist axis of Iran-Iraq-Syria, the first victim will be the Jordanian regime, and the next stage will be the conversion of Israel's eastern border that is currently quiet, into the most dangerous front.

The inclusion of Jordan in the solution of the Palestinian problem, and the economic support it would receive as part of this process, will enable it to survive and become a strong link in a strategic alliance designed to block Tehran.

## **2. Strategic cooperation with the Kingdom of Jordan**

### **The Palestinian Authority – an obstacle to peace and a danger to the entire region**

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The precedent of events following the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza teaches us that the Palestinian Authority provides an opening for Hamas to gain control and for the strengthening of Islamic fundamentalism. The violence emanating from Gaza is also likely to occur in Judea and Samaria and threaten the security of all the towns in the Sharon region, the Dan Bloc and Jerusalem.

However, the Palestinian Authority formed an obstacle to peace even in the absence of Hamas, and even when it announced the recognition of Israel. It:

Financed and sent suicide bombers to perpetrate horrible and cruel terrorist attacks against Israel.

Put enormous sums of money, contributed by various countries, into the pockets of its senior officials.

Educated a young generation towards hate, violence, and the negation of Israel's right to exist.

Represented a major link in the global terrorist networks.

### **A disappointment for Palestinians and Israelis**

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For Palestinian interests, the "state" they are talking about is of little value. It is at most an encircled puppet state that supplies cheap labor to the State of Israel. Such a dummy state will not reward its citizens with national pride, civil liberties or economic hope, and will offer no solution to the refugee problem.

Although politicians continue to talk about the "two states" solution, many people in the field and in academia already understand that there is no future for the Palestinian Authority and no point in the establishment of a Palestinian State in addition to the one already existing to the east of the Jordan River.

### **Jordan – A Palestinian state**

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"Two banks to the Jordan" is not just a political slogan; it is a historical and geographical fact. "The national home" that His Majesty's Government undertook to set up for the Jewish People as part of the Mandate included the entire territory of Eretz Israel (Palestine).

This Palestine was already partitioned into an Arab state and a Jewish State. The Arab-Palestinian state is Jordan that was established in 1922, when Britain awarded most of the area of the country to the Emir Abdullah. Most of Jordan's population is Palestinian, and originates on the west bank of the Jordan River.

### **From refugees to citizens**

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In July 1988, in the wake of the first Intifada, King Hussein announced disengagement from "the West Bank". Following this disengagement, the Kingdom of Jordan revoked the citizenship of the residents of Judea and Samaria, and has left them with transit certificates of temporary validity only.

Today, however, in the light of the failure of the diplomatic process between Israel and the Palestinians, and the understanding that a Palestinian State will not contribute to stability in the region, King Abdullah has also returned to the principles of Jordanian-Palestinian unification, and the "Jordanian option" has returned to the center of the map. Surveys held amongst the Arab population in Judea and Samaria indicate strong support for the return of Jordan to the picture.

According to the Israeli Initiative, and as part of the receipt of an international support package, the Hashemite Kingdom will again award citizenship to all Arabs living in Judea and Samaria. These citizens, even if they choose to continue to live in Israel, will enjoy national and political rights in Jordan.

## A humanitarian solution to the refugee problem

**A solution to the refugee problem must be a major component of any settlement.** Israel must make every effort to finally solve the problem of the refugees of 1948, and demand that the international community play an active role. The solution of the refugee problem must begin with the dismantling of UNRWA and continue with the implementation of a generous compensation program for all Palestinian refugees who will be given the option of making a new life for themselves and being accepted as citizens in a range of countries that welcome immigration. It is important to emphasize that **this is what the majority of Palestinian refugees desire**, as evidenced by recent reliable surveys. The new reality in the Middle East has made many Arab countries view the resolution of the refugee problem as a necessity in their self-interest.

As part of the process of refugee rehabilitation and compensation, the refugee camps will be gradually dismantled and their latent threat and the shame of their existence eliminated. It is not difficult, for example, to imagine how a generous rehabilitation program applied in Gaza would be the noblest gift to Palestinian society and to the world at large by allowing one million Gazan refugees wallowing in misery to escape their plight.

## Who will pay?

Billions of dollars are expended every year on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This includes US dollars poured into the regional arms race; immense sums of European money transferred to the accounts of the Palestinian Authority; and large amounts of Israeli money invested in the separation fence, the disengagement, and the "strengthening" of Abu Mazen.

The US, Europe, and Israel, together with the Arab oil producing countries, can directly finance a program that would provide full and generous rehabilitation for the refugees of 1948 – rehabilitation that would enable them to be absorbed in a series of countries that welcome immigrants coming with means of making a living and with a basis for a new, hopeful start.

## Independent polls indicate that half of all Palestinians are considering moving to a different country

Independent polls, commissioned over the years by both Palestinian and Israeli polling agencies, clearly indicate that Palestinians are becoming increasingly convinced that living under Palestinian Authority control will not solve their problems. There are growing signs that the Palestinian population would be open to a true humanitarian solution that would enable them to rebuild their lives in other countries. A survey that was conducted in 2004 showed that half (50%) of Palestinian society does not rule out the option of permanently moving to another country if they had the ability and means to relocate. In this survey, 71% of those polled named the major factors that would lead them to make a permanent move to another country: Assurance of a job abroad (16%), a substantial financial incentive (19%), promise of a place to live and a high level of education (14%). Only 15% replied that nothing would convince them to relocate. This poll was conducted by Ma'agar Mochot - a leading Israeli polling agency - in cooperation with The Palestinian Center for Public Opinion under the management of Dr. Nabil Kokli. A survey that was conducted in 2006 by the Palestinian An-Najah University in Nablus showed that 31.4% of Palestinians are considering rebuilding their lives in another country, assuming they could achieve a good standard of living in that country. A survey conducted in September 2007 by the Center for Palestinian Policy and Research headed by Dr. Khalil Shkaki, showed that 32% of Palestinians want to emigrate to another country.

ضمن ظروفك الحالية، هل تفكر بالهجرة إلى خارج الوطن؟			
القطاع	الفئة العربية	المجموع	
41.0	25.8	31.4	نعم
57.4	73.5	67.6	لا
1.6	0.7	1.0	لا رأي لا أرف
100.0	100.0	100.0	المجموع



## **1. The rehabilitation of the refugees and the dismantling of the camps**

### **The unique nature of the Palestinian refugee problem**

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The 1948 Israeli War of Independence created hundreds of thousands of refugees throughout the Middle East. Sixty years have gone by, and now their number has been increased by the second and third generations to millions. Since 1948 tens of other "refugee problems" have been created, and millions have become refugees in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Although their problem began later than that of the Palestinians, these people are no longer considered refugees. They have been aided by the UN in host countries or through their own personal initiative and have become regular citizens. Over the same period, not a single Palestinian refugee has been removed from the tally of refugees and become a citizen of one of the countries of the world. On the contrary, the number of refugees has only increased from year to year, while introducing fresh generations into the circle of poverty, despair, and hate.

### **UNRWA and the perpetuation of refugee status**

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The major reason for the failure to rehabilitate the refugees over this entire period is that their wretched status serves the purposes of Palestinian terrorist organizations. The PLO and the Palestinian Authority feed on this problem and as a result, the entire Arab world has regarded the preservation of the status of the Palestinians as refugees as a means of attacking the legitimacy of the State of Israel. Fearing that mention of the problem would raise once again the question of "the right of return," Israel has also preferred to ignore the problem rather than attempt to solve it.

### **The story of UNRWA is typical of the perpetuation of refugee status**

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The treatment of refugees in the world is divided between two UN agencies: a general agency, UNHCR, whose mandate is to deal with all the refugees in the world, and UNRWA, a special agency designated to assist Palestinian refugees from 1948. The difference between these two agencies is very simple: the first, "regular" agency strives towards the rehabilitation of the refugees it is handling, and to facilitate their integration as citizens in the countries in which they are staying or that are prepared to accept them. In contrast, UNRWA is forbidden to rehabilitate the refugees in its care and turn them into citizens having equal rights in any country. Its role is confined to "maintenance" of the refugees from 1948, while preserving their status.

UNRWA is also mainly responsible for the maintenance of the refugee camps. The very existence of these camps, sixty years after the war that generated them, is both a source of shame to humanity and a grave threat to security and peace in the Middle East. These camps constitute a breeding ground for terrorism, where the motivation for terrorism originates, units are formed, and terrorists find refuge.

# Principles of the Israeli Initiative

## 1. Rehabilitation of the refugees and dismantling of the camps

Israel, the US, and the international community will formulate a multi-year program for full and rapid rehabilitation of the Palestinian refugees, while absorbing them as citizens in various countries.

During the rehabilitation process, UNRWA, an organization that perpetuates the status of the refugees, will be dismantled, and all residents of refugee camps will be offered permanent places of residence, citizenship, and a generous rehabilitation grant. The refugee camps will also be dismantled following this process.

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## 2. Strategic cooperation with the Kingdom of Jordan

Israel, the US, and the international community will recognize the Kingdom of Jordan as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, and Jordan will again grant citizenship status to the residents of Judea and Samaria. The Palestinian Authority in Judea, Samaria and Gaza will no longer be recognized as a representative body, and all weapons will be collected from armed organizations.

Israel, the US, and the international community will invest in the long-term development of the Kingdom of Jordan to restore and strengthen its economy.

Israel and Jordan, together with Egypt, Turkey, and the US, will create a strategic organization to halt the Islamic axis based in Teheran, and to promote overall peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

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## 3. Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria

In coordination with Jordan, Israel will extend its sovereignty over Judea and Samaria. Arab residents of these areas will become citizens of Jordan (Palestine). Their status, their relationship to the two countries, and the nature of the administration in the populated areas will be formulated and set forth in an agreement between the governments of Israel and Jordan.

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## Now is the time - This is the opportunity

The Middle East has undergone dramatic changes in recent years that create an opening for the fulfillment of new hopes based on the principles outlined above.

The Iranian threat, the rise of Al Qaeda, the strengthening of Hezbollah and the victory of Hamas in Gaza are causes of anxiety today in both the Western and Arab worlds. Dangerous Islamic extremism has become a major force in the world.

Most Arab countries, which regard themselves as secular but have a significant Sunni population, are liable to collapse like dominos in the face of the Islamic offensive that will create an empire starting in the Teheran of Ahmadinejad, in Baghdad that is slipping away from the Americans and in pro-Iranian Damascus. The next step may well be total control over Amman, Beirut, Ankara, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv. The appearance of this threat is a dramatic development that changes all the rules of the game in the region.

In order to guarantee the stability of the region in the presence of this threat, an alliance of countries that will halt Islamic hegemony must be set up with American and European backing. This menace dwarfs the Arab-Israeli conflict and raises the possibility of a strategic alliance between Arab countries and the Jewish State based on mutual interests that include preventing Hamas from gaining control of Judea and Samaria.

Thus we see the emergence of renewed hope for peace.

### Abandonment of old fixed ideas

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We must abandon the old fixed ideas: **No to a "Palestinian State," no to "territories in return for peace," no to "the strengthening" of Abu Mazen and/or the Palestinian Authority.** The time has come for the State of Israel to present its own diplomatic initiative based on the integration of its interests and those of its neighbors—an initiative that realistically leads to peace and prosperity for the entire region. Such a proposal must be fully integrated with the need of all nations in the region to halt the advance of Shiite Islam, a force that threatens the stability of all the Arab countries.

The Israeli Initiative proposes an **implementable, regional, humane and just solution that responds to the real needs of all parties.**

Overall and full rehabilitation of all the refugees and a new and simple map in which Israeli sovereignty extends to the Jordan River, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is recognized as the national home of the Palestinians.

Although it proposes an overall, comprehensive solution, the Israeli initiative is modular in nature. Each part of the initiative that is implemented will contribute to both Israeli and regional interests.

In the following pages the basic principles of the initiative are presented, accompanied by maps and explanations.

## The Alternative – The Israeli Initiative

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The **Israeli Initiative** is based on a totally different concept.

It proposes:

- Striving for a **humanitarian** solution to the Palestinian problem, instead of a **political** one.
- Basing peace on strategic cooperation with **Jordan**, instead of with the **Palestinian Authority**.
- Extending **Israeli** sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, instead of handing over these parts of the country for a **Palestinian** State.

### A humanitarian instead of a political solution

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The attempt to solve "the Palestinian problem" by means of a political solution, or in other words, by the establishment of a Palestinian national entity, has led to a dead end. Such a solution is not feasible, since realization of Palestinian nationalism plainly means the elimination of the State of Israel.

The problem of the Palestinian refugees is not a political, but a humanitarian one. The establishment of the State of Israel did not take away their state from the Palestinians, since such a state had never existed. However, in many cases it did take away their homes and their dignity. **There is a way to give the refugees back their dignity, provide them with a home and a starting point for a new life.** It is possible to replace their status as poverty-stricken refugees with a reality of welfare, prosperity and hope. Such a solution is what Palestinians themselves desire.

### Peace is made with stable entities

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The choice of the leaders of Palestinian terrorism as "partners" for peace was a mistake. Peace must be made with entities that desire stability and peace, not with the leaders of terrorist organizations. The Israeli Initiative proposes strategic cooperation with Jordan and additional Arab countries seeking a solution of the Palestinian problem and an end to Islamic extremism.

### Israeli sovereignty – regional stability

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The Israeli Initiative assumes that the most effective and correct way to preserve the stability of the region is to guarantee Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, and bring to an end the long-existing vagueness regarding the status of these areas. Only Israeli sovereignty from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean can prevent Shiite penetration into the heart of the western region of the Middle East and guarantee the continuation of Israel's existence as a Jewish State.

Judea and Samaria form the geographical and historical heart of western Eretz Israel and there is no reason – moral, legal, demographic or geographic – to abandon those parts of the country that provide vital strategic depth and land reserves.

# Introduction

## The "Palestinian State" solution has failed

For many years, Israel has repeatedly attempted to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and reach a state of peace and stability with the Palestinians, based primarily on the formula of "land for peace".

Israel recognized the PLO and pressed for the establishment of a Palestinian entity in Judea, Samaria and Gaza – but peace became even more remote. Even the territorial withdrawals carried out by Israel did not improve the situation. On the contrary, the threat of terrorism against Israel intensified dramatically. Thousands of Israelis have been murdered, tens of thousands injured, and life in Israel returned to normal only with the adoption of strict security measures, the construction of fences, and the return of the IDF to intensive activities in Shechem, Jenin, and Tul Karem.

Palestinians have likewise received no benefits from the peace process. No refugee has been rehabilitated, the standard of living has dropped, and tens of thousands have fled from the territories under Palestine Authority control. Instead of allocating the tremendous sums of money contributed by the international community for the construction of an advanced economy for the welfare of Palestinian residents, the Palestine Authority has allocated massive sums for the personal benefit of its leadership, as well as for terrorist activities against Israeli citizens.

Even the Gaza "disengagement" of 2005 brought not peace but only a further deterioration in the situation. The pro-Iranian Hamas gained control of Gaza and is overtly striving for the destruction of Israel. These forces fire Kassam rockets into the Negev and perpetrate day-to-day terrorism against the Arab residents of Gaza, many of whom have been cruelly tortured or murdered.

It is now quite clear that the concept of "the Palestinian State" has collapsed. If we desire peace, we must soberly examine the reality and understand where we went wrong. Now is the time to display creativity and advance towards peace along a different path.





Dear fellow Israeli citizens,

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, we have longed for peace with our Arab neighbors. We dream of a time when we will be able to devote our efforts and resources not to war and survival but to growth and prosperity for the benefit of all residents of the region.

### **The Oslo dream has become a nightmare**

Despite our strong desire for peace and in spite of repeated attempts to find solutions, many of which have included painful concessions on our part, the Israeli-Arab conflict continues and exacts a high price from us.

The actions of Israeli governments to establish a Palestinian State in the spirit of the Oslo Agreement have not brought about peace but rather a whirlpool of blood: Hamas controls Gaza; Kassam rockets are fired at the residents of Sderot; Hezbollah has missiles trained on Haifa, and only the persistent activities of the IDF are preventing terrorist attacks originating in Judea and Samaria.

Neither have the Palestinians reaped any benefits from the Oslo Agreement. Poverty and suffering and a regime that employs terrorism against its own citizens are the net results of the Oslo approach.

### **New thinking, new hope**

We were not mistaken in striving for peace, but only in the way we set out to achieve it. We must re-examine all the assumptions that guided us, understand where we were mistaken, and move forward in the right direction.

I call on you to join me in this new thinking, in learning from our mistakes, and in re-reading the regional map toward a revitalized and genuine quest to achieve peace: **The Israeli Initiative**.

**The Israeli initiative** is the product of in-depth assessments that address all the players in the region: Palestinians, Americans, the international community and first and foremost, Israelis and Arabs.

**The Israeli initiative** is the first initiative that takes into consideration the new global and regional reality -- the rise in power of Iran, Al Qaeda, Hezbollah and Hamas.

**The Israeli initiative** is based on the belief that conditions can become much better here, that a new Israel can emerge. We believe that a new language can be created between us and our Arab neighbors, a language based on preservation of what is important to us, while at the same time respecting their needs and rights.

I should like to offer you this hope.

Sincerely,  
**Benny Elon, M.K.**

**Binyamin Elon** is the Chairman of the Ichud Leumi (National Union) and Chairman of the Moledet Party. He has served twice as Israel's Minister of Tourism. He currently serves as Chairman of the Knesset Science and Technology Committee, Chairman of the Knesset Christian Allies Caucus, and is a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee.





# **The Israeli Initiative**

## **The Right Road to Peace**

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**An Israeli proposal for peace, including  
rehabilitation of Palestinian refugees**

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**Proposed by Member of Knesset Benny Elon**

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