

The Jerusalem Shield Program

A political-urban action plan
to create a Greater Jerusalem
and prevent its division



To:

Re: The "Jerusalem Shield" Program, a political-urban action plan
to create a Greater Jerusalem and prevent its division

We are honored to present to you the Jerusalem Shield Program - a political-urban action plan to strengthen united Jerusalem and prevent its division. It was formulated on the backdrop of our great concern over the dangerous plan for dividing the city supported in the past by important people in the national and international arenas, such as Ehud Barak and Ehud Olmert, as well as Bill Clinton and John Kerry. In addition, former Minister Chaim Ramon and several former IDF generals have proposed a division plan under the misleading name, "The Movement to Save Jewish Jerusalem."

If a plan such as the above was ever to be implemented, it would expose the city to very grave security and demographic threats, undermine and destabilize Jerusalem's status as Israel's capital city, damage its delicate urban fabric, and greatly weaken the city in general. This would have ripple effects throughout Israel.

The "Jerusalem Shield" Program was written over the course of the past year by a team of experts who, by the nature of their work, have long accompanied the national and religious struggle for Jerusalem, as well as the challenges faced by the city as an urban center and a capital with uniquely complex and difficult problems.

The objectives of our program are as follows:

- **To preserve united Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty**, for the benefit of all its citizens, both Jews and Arabs, predicated upon the rights of the Jewish nation to the city.
- **To prevent its division.**
- **Boosting its municipal strength and its status as Israel's capital.** To create a Greater Jerusalem as Israel's leading metropolis.
- **Presenting an alternative to the divisions plans:** one that will overcome the demographic challenges characterized by a constantly shrinking Jewish majority.

The three primary practical steps that we recommend in this program are the following:

1. **The establishment of an umbrella municipality for Jerusalem and the surrounding areas, in which Israeli law will apply.**
2. **Urgent attention and proactive steps aimed at reversing the negative migration balance, which has cost Jerusalem more than 420,000 Jews over the past quarter century. This requires the development of 5,000 new housing units annually within the city borders, as well as increased construction in Greater Jerusalem and its strengthening as a metropolis.**
3. **The detraction from the city boundaries of those Arab neighborhoods in northern Jerusalem that are "behind" the security barrier, and establishing two new town councils for them under Israeli sovereignty. The residency rights of the population therein will be preserved. Let it be emphasized: In no stage of this plan are these areas to be transferred to Palestinian Authority control.**

This package of measures will once again bring the Jewish majority in Jerusalem to 80% or above.

The State of Israel stands at a historic junction in terms of the future of Jerusalem. The UN Security Council resolution of Dec. 23, 2016, according to which eastern Jerusalem is Palestinian territory, requires a resolute and historic Israeli response – just as Ben-Gurion, Levi Eshkol and Golda Meir provided when faced with events such as the threat to internationalize Jerusalem, the Jordanian attack in 1967, and the Rogers Plan of 1969. Ben-Gurion declared Jerusalem as Israel's capital, Eshkol annexed eastern Jerusalem and expanded the city's borders, and Golda built Gilo, Ramot, N'vei Yaakov, French Hill, and Talpiyot Mizrach, comprising most of the Jewish construction in the capital since 1967.

Now that we have a friendly Administration in Washington, we are obligated to take action. A unique window of opportunity has opened for us to take historic action, that will leave its imprint for generations to come and will guarantee the future of Jerusalem as the united and undivided capital of the Jewish Nation.

Respectfully,

The staff members:

Chaim Silberstein (coordinator)

Ambassador Alan Baker

Muni Ben-Ari

Architect Yoram Ginsberg

Gen. (res.) Gershon HaCohen

Ambassador Yoram Ettinger

Nadav Shragai (editor)

Yisrael Kimchi (Content advisor for Construction Forecast 2040)

* The "Jerusalem Shield" program is based on proposals included in the book "Jerusalem: Delusions of Division" by Nadav Shragai, Jerusalem Center for Policy Affairs, 2015. The program was expanded and enriched by two members of the Center, Shragai and Amb. Alan Baker.

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The "Jerusalem Shield" Program

to strengthen united Jerusalem and prevent its division (in brief)

Fundamental Assumptions

The division of Jerusalem is dangerous and harmful, not only on the Jewish moral-historical plane, but also on the practical level, in five key areas: Security, demography, holy sites, economics and urban fabric.



**From a security standpoint,
dividing Jerusalem is simply untenable.**

Division will create an exponentially more difficult security situation. Hundreds of thousands of citizens along the new border could find themselves facing light-weapons fire and vulnerable to large-scale attacks as well. Division of the city would impact defensive or security actions and intelligence gathering. Attacking Jewish targets would become easier, and thwarting them would become harder. The Arabs would also have greater access to weapons, ammunition and the like.



Reliance on the separation barrier for security negatively impacts our ability to use force with flexibility. It also reduces the effectiveness of Shabak actions, and will essentially create a protected zone in which terrorists can safely organize and prepare – similar to the protected zone that was formed in Gaza after the Disengagement. This time it will be in the heart of Israel in its capital city. Dividing the city will also strengthen the jihadist forces and radical Islam here and abroad, and will provide a tailwind to their objectives: destroying Western culture in general and Israel in particular.



Demographics

Dividing Jerusalem is liable to bring upon its Jewish residents great demographic harm - precisely in the area that we have a dire need to improve. Two precedents and clear-minded analysis show clearly that if the city is divided, tens of thousands of Arabs will migrate to the Jewish side, while tens of thousands of Jews can be expected to leave Jerusalem to safer places.

In 1949, for instance, when the city was divided, 25% of the Jewish residents left the city. When the security barrier was established in 2004, some 50,000 Arabs crossed over to live on the Israeli side of the fence.



Holy Sites

Painful precedents in the near and distant past, such as in Joseph's Tomb in Nablus and elsewhere, teach that dividing Jerusalem will concretely threaten the freedom of access to the city's Jewish and Christian holy sites that currently exists for members of all religions.



Economics

The division of the city and its concomitant security threats will have a major impact on economics: a significant reduction in tourism (Jerusalem's chief money-maker) both domestic and international, a reluctance of Israelis to live and work in Jerusalem and to do business there, a significant drop in hi-tech and other investments which will be considered very risky.



Urban Fabric

Because the economic ramifications of dividing the city can be expected to be harsh, the many fibers of the urban fabric of cooperation and normalized relations between Jews and Arabs will be strained to the breaking point. These ties exist alongside the national and religious conflict, far from the public eye. The economic advantages of these ties are critical not only in and of themselves, but also because they help maintain a strong Arab interest to oppose terrorism, to oppose division, and to continue living in a united city under Israeli sovereignty.

Recommendations in Brief

A. **Umbrella Municipality:** A decision was made, but not implemented, by the Government of Israel in June 1998 calling for the establishment of an umbrella municipality over Jerusalem and the surrounding areas. This "Greater Jerusalem" decision must, finally, be implemented, with the expansion of the city boundaries in two possible circles (see map on page 5 and at the end of this booklet).

B. **Construction Wave:** The negative migration from Jerusalem – the number one reason for the constant shrinking of the city's Jewish majority – must be halted and reversed, so that more Jews move to the city annually than those who leave. The following measures must be taken:

1. Ensuring that at least 5,000 new housing units are built annually, for the next decade, within the current city borders, in addition to increased housing construction in the outlying areas of Greater Jerusalem.
2. Increasing the benefits and incentives for Jewish housing construction and job creation, alongside the vigorous measures the government is already taking to increase employment in Jerusalem.

C. **Reassigning Neighborhoods:** The Arab neighborhoods outside the wall surrounding northern Jerusalem must be detracted from the Jerusalem municipality. Specifically, the areas of Kafr Akeb and Ras Hamis (Shuafat Refugee Camp) must become two new separate municipal areas within the State of Israel – not in the Palestinian Authority – and their residents will retain their Permanent Resident status.

To emphasize: This is solely a municipal change, not a transfer of sovereignty. The legal status of the areas and of the residents will not change. Moreover, this will enable deeper Israeli sovereignty and control of these neighborhoods, both on the security and civilian levels. By having their own budget from the Interior Ministry, as well as self-administration, the residents will benefit from municipal rights.

D. **Reducing Disparities:** The disparities between the Arab and Jewish neighborhoods must be significantly reduced, together with strict enforcement of laws against illegal construction and other crimes.

E. **Lands:** A new "lands arrangement" must be established in eastern Jerusalem.

F. **Boroughs** must be established within the Greater Jerusalem municipality.

G. **Holy Sites:** There must be a renewed application of the Holy Sites Preservation law providing for and requiring freedom of access to religious places - with an emphasis on the Temple Mount. Most specifically, Jewish rights to access and frequent the site, which have been sorely eroded over the years, must be re-applied. Continued Israeli control over holy sites means no abuse or destruction of any holy sites for all religions.

Recommendations in Detail

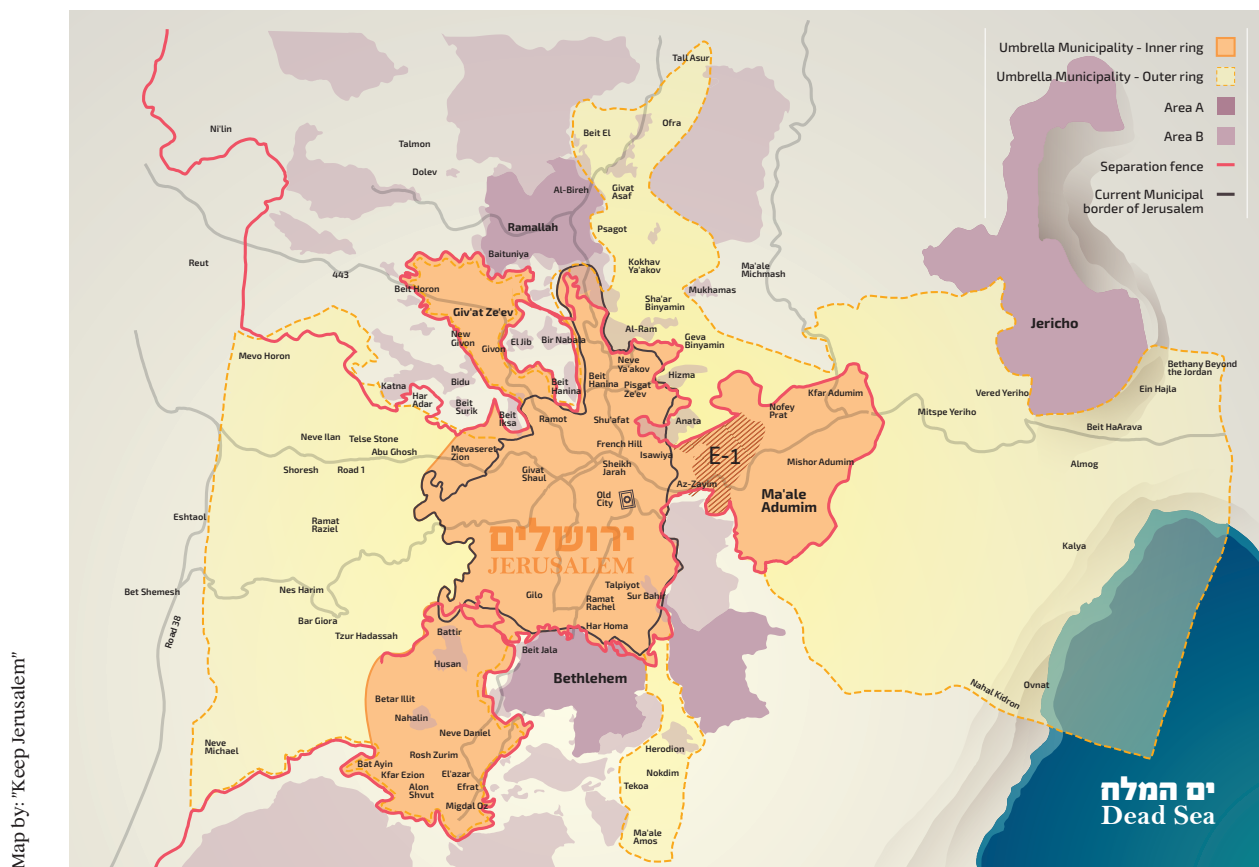
A. Umbrella Municipality

Implementation of the Cabinet decision from April 1998 regarding the establishment of a Greater Jerusalem umbrella municipality.

Implementing this decision will de-facto (administratively) bring some 240,000 additional Jews into the borders of Jerusalem: some 150,000 from the areas of Judea and Samaria surrounding Jerusalem, and another 90,000 from the areas adjacent to western Jerusalem. The formation of this metropolitan area as Israel's capital will make it competitive with the Gush Dan region; Jerusalem will no longer be an outlying, border city, but will rather be in the center of the country; and a solid Jewish majority and mayor will be guaranteed for many years to come.

The Prime Minister, Interior Minister and Justice Minister together will outline the legal manner in which the umbrella municipality will be formed. The government will enact the legal measures required to ensure that the State of Israel's laws and administration applies in the areas of Judea/Samaria that come under the new umbrella municipality.

The Borders of the Umbrella Municipality (Please see larger foldout map at the end of the booklet):



Within the State of Israel, it will run westerly from Jerusalem nearly up to the north-south Highway 38.

Within Judea/Samaria, there will be two rings:

Inner ring: The Maaleh Adumim expanse, Givat Ze'ev, Mevaseret Zion and Gush Etzion. These areas are within the Security Fence, and their future as part of the State of Israel is considered to be a matter of broad national consensus.

Outer ring: Additional areas with a sparse Arab population, if any. The eastern section of these areas contains most of the potential for future housing needs, tourism (including an airport), and employment:

In the east: Between Nachal Kidron and Nachal Prat towards the Dead Sea (Ovnat) and the Jordan River (the Baptismal Site and Ein Hoglah).

In the north: From Geva Binyamin (Adam) to Mt. Baal Hatzor – including Shaar Binyamin, Migron, Kokhav Yaakov, Tel Tzion, Psagot, Beit El and Ofrah.

In the west: Jabel Mukatem, Mevo Horon, Route 443 and the planned Route 45 (from Atarot to Givat Ze'ev).

In the south: From Har Homa to the Tekoa Bloc and Herodion, including Shdemah; Gush Etzion.

The umbrella municipality will be granted authorities over these areas in terms of zoning, supra-infrastructure, and those utilities in which it is cost-efficient to have larger bodies deal with large expanses. Social spheres such as education, culture, welfare and the like will continue to remain in the hands of the existing municipal frameworks, which will not be dismantled.

B. Construction Wave

Stopping the negative migration from Jerusalem - the number one reason for the constant shrinking of the city's Jewish majority - and reversing the trend until more Jews arrive than leave.

Even though during this past year, for the first time in many years, the Jewish rates of fertility and natural growth in Jerusalem were higher than in the Arab sector, the Jewish majority in the city continues to shrink! The reason for this is the years-long pattern of more Jews moving out of the city than moving in.

In the past 25 years, up to 2015 and excluding only one year, more Jews have moved out than moved in. All in all, more than 420,000 Jews have left Jerusalem, while only 255,000 arrived. Repeated surveys of those who leave have consistently shown that the two main reasons are:

A. **Dwindling amounts of available housing**, leading to climbing housing prices, in accordance with supply and demand.

B. **Relatively few sources of employment.**

Therefore: Still more benefits and incentives for constructing Jewish housing and creating job opportunities must be offered.

Housing: The expensive housing conditions caused by the reduced supply and high demand are not uncommon throughout Israel. However, in Jerusalem these conditions are of critical significance: They cause the capital city's Jewish majority to consistently shrink, with 18,000 Jews leaving each year. An essential component in changing this situation is the prioritization of Jerusalem as a residential area. There must be substantial government subsidies for the purchase of land for building, which must be expressed in the final housing prices as well. Similarly, economic incentives must be offered, according to specific criteria, so that job-seekers and job-holders desire to live and work in the city.

A forecast of land reserves and construction up to the year 2040 in Jerusalem¹ indicates a potential for the construction of 107,233 units (as Kimchi estimates). Assuming a partial implementation of 70%,

1. "Construction Forecast in the Jewish and Arab Neighborhoods of Jerusalem and its Metropolitan Expanse Through 2040", by Yisrael Kimchi.

75,000 units would be built. It is estimated that this means an increase of 240,000 Jews. This means that up to the year 2040, some 3,260 units will be built each year - while the demand for apartments stands at approximately 5,000 a year.

Total number of planned housing units	Partial implementation by the year 2040	Population increase (all units built)	Population increase (70% of units built)
107,233	75,000	339,835	240,000

Given this situation, we recommend trying to reach a greater actualization rate of the potential. Within Jerusalem, we recommend investing immediate efforts in building the planned residential neighborhood in Givat HaMatos, and to plan residential areas in the area of the Atarot airport. We also believe that non-dense construction in Jewish neighborhoods in eastern Jerusalem such as Ramat Shlomo, Gilo, Givat Yael, Mar Elias, and Ramot Alon should be incentivized over dense construction in the older neighborhoods.

In addition, to our understanding, only an increase in construction in the outlying areas of Jerusalem - which in time will be added to the city - will enable a correspondence between the supply of housing units to the yearly demand. This could even lead to a surplus of units, thus leading to a drop in housing prices and the strengthening of the Jerusalem metropolis with a greater Jewish population.

According to the above-cited paper prepared by Yisrael Kimchi for this program, it is possible to build another 30,000 units in the following areas: Beitar, Mevo Beitar, Maaleh Adumim, Efratah, Givat Ze'ev, E-1 north of Maaleh Adumim, and the Binyamin and Gush Etzion Regional Councils. In addition, construction can be added in the Greater Metropolitan areas of Mateh Yehuda, Mevaseret Zion, and Tzur Hadassah².

Employment: The second factor that can impede or even reverse the negative migration from Jerusalem is an increase in employment opportunities in Jerusalem and adjacent areas. A thorough analysis of this issue has been carried out by experts from the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies. They concentrated on three main areas of interest which, in our view, are the key to increasing employment in Jerusalem:

- a. Establishing Jerusalem as the leading academic city in Israel (City of Wisdom);
- b. Further development and deepening of high-tech sectors;
- c. The actualization of the unique but unharnessed potential in the field of tourism, hotels and vacations (including the encouragement of B&Bs and boutique hotels). Jerusalem is a tourism pearl, in terms of both history and religion, but the State tends to suffice with the existing supply of tourism services instead of increasing them.

2. The cities of Beit Shemesh, Modiin, and Modiin Illit have a total potential of 96,000 new housing units by the year 2040, according to the Kimchi report. We have not included them in our proposal for Greater Jerusalem because, in our opinion, they deserve total municipal independence on their own.

C. Reassigning Neighborhoods

The Arab neighborhoods remaining outside the security wall surrounding northern Jerusalem must be detached from the Jerusalem municipality, though they will remain a part of the State of Israel. That is, the sovereignty in these areas will not change, and two separate Israeli municipal authorities will be established for them.



The establishment of these new municipal authorities will formally remove from the Jerusalem population some 140,000 Arabs, giving the Jewish populace a 80% majority, instead of close to 60% as it is now. As opposed to plans proposed by those who seek to divide Jerusalem, the Permanent Resident status of the Arabs of these areas will not be changed, and the Israeli sovereignty there will remain the same. Furthermore: As opposed to the situation that is liable to come about under division plans, which call for the transfer of these areas to the Palestinian Authority, under this proposal Israel will not lose its intelligence capabilities in these areas and will continue to be able to thwart terrorist attacks emanating from there; preventative security may even be improved.

These areas that today suffer from physical neglect, poverty, crime, drugs, terrorism, building violations, etc. will receive a genuine opportunity to be rehabilitated. On the other hand, Jerusalem's economic burden will be lightened, while the residents of these areas will benefit economically and will receive a town council and mayor of their own.

As opposed to the Ramon Plan, which seeks to part from the Arab population by transferring the area to Palestinian Authority control, our program leaves the area within Israel, while separating it only from Jerusalem. Our plan also allows the residents of these areas to retain their Permanent Resident status, allowing them to continue to enjoy the benefits they grant; does not detract from their rights; and even creates a genuine chance for improvement of their current situation.

D. Reducing Disparities

Significant reduction in the disparities between the eastern and western parts of the city.

Despite notable efforts in recent years to reduce the large disparities in services and infrastructures between the Jewish and Arab neighborhoods, these disparities still remain lower in eastern than in western Jerusalem. The disparity is hundreds and sometimes thousands of percent in basic infrastructures such as roads, sidewalks, sewer systems, schools, public parks, lighting and more. In the absence of a reliable and updated data bank on the situation in eastern Jerusalem, the preparation of a database of this nature is urgently required, based on which a multi-year budgeted action plan can be formulated.

Based on such a plan, Israel must strive to equalize the level of services and infrastructures between eastern and western Jerusalem and the Jewish and Arab populations. The current situation, in which large disparities have existed for years, is not ethical, and permits an unnecessary challenge to Israel's sovereign status throughout the entire city.

E. Lands

A new "lands arrangement" must be established in eastern Jerusalem.

The absence of such an arrangement creates chaos in the areas of zoning and construction, encourages widespread illegal construction activity (dealing with which requires a new approach), makes orderly planning difficult, and is an invitation for land thievery and fraud. The current situation encroaches upon the property rights of the residents, both Jews and Arabs. The time has come to change the policy in this area.

F. Boroughs

Establishment of Boroughs within Jerusalem and the Umbrella Municipality.

The new city of Jerusalem will be divided into boroughs with specific but limited rights to self-government in particular municipal matters. One of the main parameters by which to decide the borders of the boroughs will be the character of its population: Jewish, Arab, religious, haredi, secular). The division into boroughs will serve several purposes:

- Granting a separate "public home" and sense of belonging to the various populations and communities
- Civil autonomy (not political).
- The upgrading of the already-existing authorities held by the community administrations to more concrete, though limited, powers in the areas of culture, education, etc.
- Granting the Arab population a greater voice in setting priorities in their neighborhoods.

G. The Holy Sites

Renewed application of the Law of Holy Sites, providing and requiring freedom of access to religious places, with an emphasis on the Temple Mount.

Given the changes that the "status quo" regarding non-Muslim prayer on the Temple Mount has undergone over the years, we recommend that Jewish rights to freely visit the Mount be restored, to the same extent that applied in past years. The intention is not to "change the status quo," but rather to "restore a central element of the status quo" that has been eroded over the years. In practice, this means adding days and hours of visiting rights to Jews; enabling them to visit the entire area; and a significant reduction of the restrictions that prevent large numbers of Jews from simultaneously visiting the Mount. This will enable the practical application of the law enabling free access for members of all religions to the holy sites.

We are well aware that Israel had certain interests in coming to various agreements and understandings with Jordan, and that this was one of the main factors leading to the many limitations on Jewish visiting rights to the Temple Mount. At the same time, it is our impression that not enough has been done over the years – in terms of diplomacy, hasbarah (PR), and practical actions – to exact tangible benefits for Israel's unprecedented concession in not actualizing Jewish prayer rights on the Temple Mount.

Israel should stipulate that it demands unlimited visiting rights "in exchange" for agreeing to the continued ban on Jewish prayer there that Israel took upon itself. This could produce welcome fruits, significantly increasing the numbers of Jewish visitors to the Temple Mount and improving the conditions under which they visit. The issue of Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount can be dealt with at a later stage.

Jerusalem Shield Team:



Chaim Silberstein

Coordinator of the "Jerusalem Shield" Program staff. Founder and President of Keep Jerusalem/Im Eshkachech, a non-profit organization dedicated to arousing public awareness to the importance of retaining Jerusalem as a united city under Israeli sovereignty. He is the founder and Chairman of the Jerusalem Capital Development Fund, which deals with redeeming properties in Jerusalem. He served in the past as a senior advisor to the Minister of Tourism and Chairman of the World Organization of Religious Students (Yavneh Olami).



Ambassador Alan Baker

Jurist and diplomat, an Israeli expert in international law, former Israel Ambassador to Canada, and former military prosecutor and legal advisor to the Foreign Ministry. He participated in the drafting of agreements and peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan, as well in the negotiations for the Oslo II Accords. He is the director of the Institute for Contemporary Affairs at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, and heads the International Department of the Legal Forum for the Land of Israel. He was appointed by Prime Minister Netanyahu to the three-member committee chaired by the late Justice Edmund Levy to examine the legal aspects of land ownership in Judea and Samaria. The committee's report, referred to as Levy Report, was published by the Israeli government in July 2012.



Muni Ben-Ari

Served as Advisor for East Jerusalem Affairs and Jerusalem Development to two Jerusalem mayors and to former Minister for Jerusalem Affairs Rafi Eitan. He headed the Amanah Settlement Movement, played (and plays) a central role in building the Maaleh Adumim expanse, and was instrumental in strengthening Israel's hold in Jerusalem. He fought in the battles to liberate Jerusalem in 1967.



Architect Yoram Ginsberg

Holds a Bachelor's and Master's Degrees in Architecture from Italy and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He is a leading urban planner and a lecturer and researcher in Ariel University.



Gershon HaCohen

IDF General, served as the commander of the General Staff Corps and commander of the military colleges, and continues to serve in active reserve duty overseeing military exercises. He served in the IDF since 1973, filling command and headquarters positions, including head of the General Staff Training Division. In the summer of 2005, he was appointed commander of Division 36 for the evacuation of Gush Katif. He holds a Master's Degree in philosophy and comparative literature from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He is a researcher in the Begin-Sadat Center and authored the book What is National About National Security (Hebrew).



Ambassador Yoram Ettinger

An expert on U.S.-Israel relations, he was the Israeli Consul in Texas, as well as the Minister for Congressional Affairs, with the rank of Ambassador, at Israel's Embassy in Washington, D.C. He headed Israel's Government Press Office in 1988-9, and is a co-founder and member of the America-Israel Demographic Research Group.



Nadav Shragai

Researcher and chief editor for the "Jerusalem Shield" program. An expert on Jerusalem and the Temple Mount, and a fellow and senior researcher at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. A member of an apolitical group operating under the auspices of the Jerusalem Institute for Policy Studies, with the goal of improving infrastructures and services in eastern Jerusalem. He is a former *Haaretz* journalist, and now writes for the *Yisrael Hayom* newspaper. He has published two books on the Temple Mount issue: "The Mount of Dispute: The struggle for the Temple Mount - Jews and Muslims, religion and politics" (Keter, 1995) and "The 'Al-Aksa Is in Danger' Libel: The History of a Lie", published by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs and Ma'ariv Library, 2012. He also published a book documenting and proving the rights of the Jewish people to Rachel's Tomb: "Al Em HaDerekh, The Story of Rachel's Tomb", published by Gates to Jerusalem Research, 2005; a book of unknown stories of the Western Wall: "The Unknown Kotel" published by Sifriyat Beit El, 2016); and more recently the scholarly book, "Jerusalem: Delusions of Division", published by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, **on which many parts of this program are based.**