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Platform Summary

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The document in your hands is much more than a party platform. It is a Jewish vision and a message of national liberty of historic proportions.

To perfect the world in the Kingdom of the Almighty,

Moshe Feiglin
Moshe Feiglin



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Introduction

The State of Israel is the fulfillment of the dream of generations of the Jewish people, and the instrument for realizing its all-inclusive message. It was established in order to be a Jewish state, so that the Jews could build and be built there and realize themselves and their destiny as individuals and as a nation. It has no other purpose.

After two thousand years of exile, and against all historical logic, our people survived, returned to its land and made it blossom anew. From a destroyed, almost empty land, the Land of Israel became a land flowing with milk and honey and the center of science and world progress. The people of Israel received a third opportunity to fulfill its destiny. Whether we like it or not, we are not a nation like any other nation or state. In addition to mere existence, we also have a destiny that humanity expects us to realize – a destiny that is our vision. It is this vision that will give us and the world abundance, security, good life and peace.

Our State, the Third State of Israel, preceded by the Kingdoms of David and Solomon and their heirs and the Hasmonean state, has been the national dream for tens of generations – since the loss of national independence and the destruction of the Temple. The mission of the State of Israel is not

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only to preserve our physical existence in a democratic state, but also to renew our lives and unique culture here in our country. The state was established so that we could maintain a flourishing exemplary society – one that would benefit not only us, but would serve as an example to humanity as a whole, to learn from it and be blessed by it.

In the ancient Hebrew of the Bible, it says, “I will make you light to the nations,” “to perfect the world in the kingdom of Heaven” and “and you shall eat your bread to satisfaction” “and you shall dwell in your land safely.” In modern Hebrew, this means a sovereign, Jewish, moral, rectified, prosperous, advanced and safe state. A state that exports not only science and technology, but is also an example of a good and prosperous individual and national life, a life of freedom and morality, a life with meaning, a life in which no one is enslaved to anyone else – a life in which we are all free under the Creator alone.

There is no Jewish identity without liberty, and liberty does not go together with coercion. The all-inclusive Jewish message is found neither on the Right nor on the Left; neither with the religious nor with the secular – it is found in every facet of the people who returned to their Homeland, and thus to history. Therefore, we strive to enhance freedom and allow it to develop in a way that is natural to us. Any attempt at identity-coercion will delay the process of returning to ourselves.

We cling to our Land, and strive for as little government involvement as possible in the life of the individual. We strive for a state of freedom, which is conducted in accordance with Jewish culture and morality, and aspires to fulfill the vision embodied in them. We believe that we have a clear path to that goal, which we lay out before you in this platform in a succinct manner. We believe that there is a broad spectrum of people from all parts of the nation and citizens of the country who share these principles and who can be natural partners on their basis. If you are one of them, join us! Together we will make them a reality.



Zehut's Objectives

Zehut is an Israeli-Jewish party that advocates liberty and aspires to reform society and the world out of loyalty to the God of Israel. The party will act to lead the State of Israel as a Jewish state and strive to achieve the following goals:

- A Jewish State – A state that matures from a Zionism of existence to a Zionism of destiny; from a survival mentality to the mentality and challenge of perfecting the world.
- A State of Liberty – A state that restores responsibility to the citizen and reduces its involvement in private lives to a minimum.
- A State of Family and Community – A state that fortifies family values and encourages community.
- A State of Abundance – A state that maintains an open economy within the restraining framework of the Jewish culture of kindness and mutual responsibility.
- A Sovereign State – A state that actualizes and fortifies its sovereignty in all parts of the Land of Israel under its control: first and foremost, Jerusalem and the Temple Mount. A state that develops Jerusalem as a diplomatic and spiritual center for the Nation of Israel and for all humanity.
- A State of Peace – A state that strives to end warfare and bloodshed by defeating its enemies. A state that works for the good of humanity and the world.

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The Structure of the Government and its Reduction

A variety of modifications and reforms must be made in the structure of government in order to expand civil liberties on the one hand and to strengthen governance on the other.

The Reduction of Government Ministries

The structure of the current administration is characterized by a cumbersome and wasteful mechanism that makes it difficult to implement policy. Zehut proposes a limited and efficient government structure in which only 11 ministers will serve, instead of the 29 serving today. In addition, this limited structure will significantly reduce the government's financial expenses.

The structure of government that Zehut proposes includes the following ministries: The Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry Foreign Affairs and Diaspora Jewry, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Resources and Infrastructure and the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and Housing.

Opposition to Excessive Legislation

As part of the concept of civil liberty, Zehut views over-legislation as a negative phenomenon. Zehut intends to oppose laws that have no real need and to act to eliminate unnecessary laws.

The Community Model

Decisions on the nature of the public space must be in the hands of the communities, not the government. Zehut will promote a community model in which local authorities will be divided into small and homogeneous communities and will receive some of the powers currently reserved for the state or local authority.

Among the many powers that will be passed on to the community are laws relating to the nature of Shabbat, noise laws, laws relating to art, landscape, stalls, fairs and street performances.

The Legal System

Since the constitutional revolution led by Aharon Barak, the principle of separation of powers has been violated, with the Supreme Court appropriating too many powers for itself. Zehut will act to generate the following changes in order to reduce the court's powers and restore the balance between the systems:

- The court will not be able to interfere in substantive questions and in matters of a political nature.
- If the High Court of Justice finds a flaw in a law enacted by the Knesset and deems it unacceptable, the Knesset will have to reauthorize the law, after which the court will not be able to reject it.

Zehut will act to eliminate unnecessary laws.

- The Judicial Appointment Committee, along with the Minister of Justice, shall be composed only of members of Knesset who have been elected by the Knesset in a secret ballot.
- The "right of standing"¹ principle will be reinstated, and the use of the tools of "reasonableness" and active interpretation of the law will be restricted.

In addition, Zehut will make a series of amendments regarding the role of the Attorney General:

- ▶ The role of the Attorney General and the position of Chief Prosecutor (In the State Attorney's Office) will be split and will no longer be held by one person.
- ▶ The government may appoint an attorney to represent it in court, and may appoint and dismiss its legal advisor.
- ▶ The tenure of the Attorney General will end upon the end of the government's term of office.
- ▶ Elected officials will not be obliged to comply with the advice of their legal advisor.

¹ The **right of standing** is a threshold condition required of a person to file a legal action, according to which the plaintiff is required to be the one who was harmed by the wrongdoing for which the claim was filed.



The Social Program

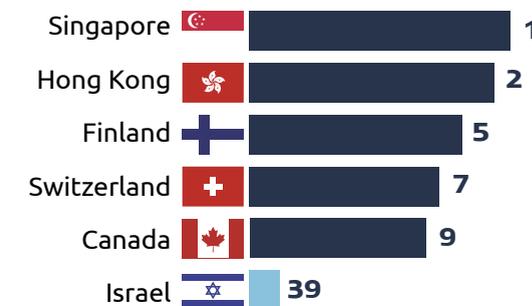
Education

The law in the State of Israel explicitly states that the Ministry of Education is responsible for educating our children. Zehut strongly opposes this concept and posits that those responsible for a child's education are first and foremost the parents, who must determine the framework of the curriculum and the contents that their child will learn.

Unfortunately, although national expenditure on education is currently the highest in Israel, the results are bleak, as evidenced by comparative international tests.

Accordingly, Zehut proposes a voucher method, practiced in several

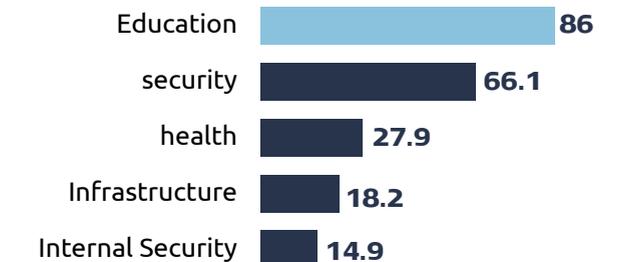
World Schooling Achievements (2015)



Source: OECD

Budget of Government Ministries (2014)

* In billions of shekels



Source: Budget Department - Treasury Ministry

places around the world: a system that combines public funding and free competition, and most importantly, restores the responsibility for education to parents. As part of this method, parents who so wish will be able to directly receive from the Ministry of Education a voucher of monetary value that they can use in any school they wish to fund their children's studies. In terms of the current budget, the voucher would be NIS 2,000 a month for the child.

The adoption of this system (parallel to the current system) will create a

Zehut's proposed voucher method will restore responsibility for education to parents.

variety of independent schools that will compete for the parents' vouchers, thus offering a curriculum adapted to the wishes of the parents and not to the will of the bureaucratic system. In addition, these schools will be able to offer very high salaries to teachers in order to attract the best, as is the case in high-tech, for example.

Rehabilitation of Family Status

The independence and strength of the family unit are the cornerstone of society as a whole. Zehut opposes the state's interference in the character of the family. The only area in which the state will have to interfere in family decisions is when the family unit comes apart. However, the state should act as a bridge between the sides and not make the situation worse.

Zehut will formulate procedures according to which a well-founded suspicion of a false complaint will constitute grounds for opening a criminal investigation.

Some of the steps that Zehut offers in this regard are:

- Cancellation of the Tender Years Clause, in accordance with the recommendations of the Schnitt Committee.
- Under the current law, most of the burden of child support rests upon the father. This law does not take sufficient account of the amount of visitation allowed to the father or the mother's economic situation. Zehut believes that this law is inequitable and irrelevant to today's reality, and will act to correct it.
- Examination of the laws and procedures of the Family Courts.

In addition, Zehut intends to act in the area of complaints of domestic violence. Currently, the State Prosecutor's Office and the police refrain from criminal investigation and prosecution in cases of false complaints. Zehut will formulate procedures according to which a well-founded suspicion of a false complaint will constitute grounds for opening a criminal investigation.

In addition, as part of its economic plan (see below), Zehut will cancel the tax brackets and adopt the flat tax method. In the family context, this will ensure that families in which only one spouse works will not pay more taxes than a family in which both spouses work.

National Insurance Institute and Welfare System

The National Insurance Institute is a cumbersome and inefficient mechanism. The private market can provide many of its services. The many deficits accumulated by the National Insurance Institute ensure its ultimate collapse. This is not only a forecast by economists, but an explicit warning by the Institute itself that cautions of this collapse.

Zehut offers a series of steps to improve the welfare system:

- Gradual reduction of the state's insurance services (loss of work-fitness insurance, long-term care insurance and disability insurance) and their transfer to the free market.
- Following the first step, a significant reduction in insurance premiums is expected.
- Every Israeli resident will be required to provide himself with minimal insurance coverage. Employers will be required to purchase insurance against work accidents for their employees.
- Those people entitled to pensions will continue to receive them.

The War against Traffic Accidents

Zehut will promote a road safety reform aimed at maintaining the full insurance coverage appropriate to the victims, while restoring full responsibility to the drivers and creating a different driving culture in Israel. If a third party is injured, the insurance company will reimburse the victim as is currently done, but after that the insurance company will be able to sue the offending driver for the full amount paid to the victim.

Health Care

In the field of health care, Zehut's goal is to provide a transparent, efficient and open option to purchase private health services at a variety of levels and prices. At the same time, Zehut will promote the streamlining of existing hospitals through competition in the free market, with a commitment not to harm the current level of prices and services.

Suggested steps are:

- Hospitals will be privatized in the process of open tenders. Neither the health funds nor the government will be allowed to own hospitals.
- Developers who purchase the hospitals will commit themselves to a long-term contract to maintain the current price level and not to reduce the medical services of the hospitals they purchased.
- Health funds will purchase services for their clients from private hospitals in the same manner and at the same cost as they paid when purchasing them from state-owned hospitals.
- Private hospitals will be allowed to engage in medical tourism and conduct private surgeries. To this end they will be allowed to set aside a certain percentage of the working hours of physicians and other medical personnel, as well as beds.
- The anticipated rise in salary for talented physicians will encourage them to stay and work in Israel and will even encourage the Aliyah of physicians and medical staff from abroad. Similarly, the opening of the market to competition will attract new investors and entrepreneurs to Israel.

- Health entrepreneur will be granted the right to set up a hotel and a commercial center next to the hospital under a single license, which will constitute a source of income in addition to the direct income from the health funds and private surgery.
- The process of setting up new private hospitals will be facilitated.

In addition, Zehut will act to abolish restrictions on the use of medical cannabis and allow growers to export cannabis for medical purposes (see below).

Zehut will act to abolish restrictions on the use of medical cannabis and to allow growers to export cannabis for medical purposes.

Communications

The state must allow every person to express anything that he is permitted to legally express by law, by whatever means he chooses. Media free of restrictions and state involvement is a necessary condition for the existence of freedom of expression.

Therefore, Zehut will act to release private media entities from the severe restrictions imposed on them, promote free communication and protect freedom of expression.

According to the Zehut model, the system of franchises will be canceled, and broadcasting will be performed with a license and not a franchise. The right to use broadcasting frequencies will be leased for a period of four years to the highest bidder, through a tender. The only condition for holding the license, other than meeting the financial obligation, will be to refrain from broadcasting content prohibited by law. In light of this, most of the functions of the Second Broadcast Authority will be canceled. The Second Broadcast Authority will deal solely with the distribution of frequencies and broadcasting licenses to those entrepreneurs who win the tender and with the collection of money from the winning entrepreneurs.



Judaism, Culture and State

The State of Israel is a Jewish state. Zehut believes that the state must give broad expression to Jewish culture and heritage. At the same time, Zehut firmly opposes the government's involvement in the citizen's lifestyle, especially in the realm of religion.

Moreover, the main factor preventing the development of an authentic and free Jewish identity is coercion in all areas, both religious and secular. Therefore Zehut will move the state away from dealing with matters of culture and religion. This will be accomplished through the transfer of many powers to the community (see above, "The Community Model") and through the steps detailed in this part of the platform

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The State of Israel and its Institutions

Unlike the individual and community space in which the connection to Jewish identity is voluntary, Zehut believes that state institutions must be committed to Jewish law and tradition as an expression of the Jewish identity of the state.

State Conversion and the Law of Return

Zehut believes that the conversion that grants eligibility to immigrate to Israel and to obtain Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return must be carried out properly, accepted by the people of Israel, by courts authorized by the Rabbinate and by the Chief Rabbinate of Israel.

In addition, the criteria of the Law of Return should be adapted to present reality:

- A. A Jew according to Jewish law who is immigrating to Israel will be entitled to Israeli citizenship. His family (spouse, children) who come with him will also be entitled to citizenship.
- B. A son of a Jew will be entitled to immigrate to Israel even without his Jewish father, along with his wife and minor children, and to receive permanent resident status only.
- C. A grandchild of a Jew will not be entitled to immigrate to Israel unless one of his parents is the child of a Jew, and only when he is a minor, and will receive permanent resident status only.

The Hebrew Judicial System

Zehut will act for the practical revival of Hebrew law in its entirety, as a civil judgment alternative, parallel to existing civil law. This system will enjoy full recognition of the State **for those who choose to use it.**

Zehut is opposed to government intervention in culture.

Identity and Independence in Culture

Zehut is opposed to government intervention in culture. An artist must finance his cultural activity with his own money or with donations. In addition, Zehut will allow local authorities to impose a voluntary tax for financing cultural activities. For example, the local authority will be able to sell subsidized tickets only to those who pay the voluntary tax. According to this model, no citizen will be forced to pay for a cultural event with which he does not identify.

Zehut will gradually close the Ministry of Culture (see above, "Reducing Government Ministries").

Chief Rabbinate of Israel and Changing the Structure of Local Rabbinate

Today, the Chief Rabbinate is a body that forces its views on religious and secular alike. Zehut believes that the rabbinate must greatly reduce its

realms of activity to public matters only. When it comes to the personal domain, such as kashrut and weddings, the rabbinate should cease to be a monopoly. Instead, it should provide a standard. For example, anyone who wishes to advertise his or her product as kosher will be obligated to indicate whether it meets the kashrut standard of the rabbinate, regardless of the question of kashrut supervision. Fraud regarding kosher certification will be grounds for action against the advertised business, and will result in severe penalties like any other customer fraud.

Zehut believes that, like the issue of culture, the municipal rabbinate must also be financed by local authority taxes only, depending on the public's willingness to finance this institution and the services it offers. In addition, the public paying the voluntary tax will choose the city's rabbis and neighborhood rabbis. The removal of the monopoly of the Chief Rabbinate and the public's choice of local rabbis are vital goals on the way to restoring the public's trust in the rabbinate and raising its prestige.

Termination of Marriage Registration

Zehut believes that the state should not determine what marriage is, who is married and who is not. These decisions belong to the society and community to which the person belongs.

Zehut will cancel the marriage registration presently employed. Each couple will be able to marry as they wish, in the type of ceremony they choose and in a manner that suits them. The legal implications of a wedding will depend on the legal agreement that the couple will choose, and this agreement will be the legal basis of their marriage with the state, if and when it needs to get involved. Furthermore, Zehut intends to enact a general reform in legislation so that there will be no legislative implications on the individual's personal status.

In this reality of cancellation of marriage registration, the local rabbinate, in the form of rabbinical courts, could continue to offer the public a marriage ceremony service, but without the monopoly it now possesses. Anyone who wishes will be legally entitled to officiate at marriages and "compete" with the rabbinical services. However, the marketing of marriage services will be regulated according to the standard set by the Chief Rabbinate in order to prevent fraud.

There are several advantages to this move:

- After the removal of the rabbinate's monopoly, many will choose to marry specifically according to the religion of Moses and Israel.
- The public debate over government recognition of same-sex marriages will cease.
- The citizen's freedom to choose how to marry will be preserved.
- The prestige of the Chief Rabbinate will rise in the eyes of the public.
- Political pressure will not be exerted on the rabbinate for the purpose of distorting halakhic rulings.



The Economic Plan

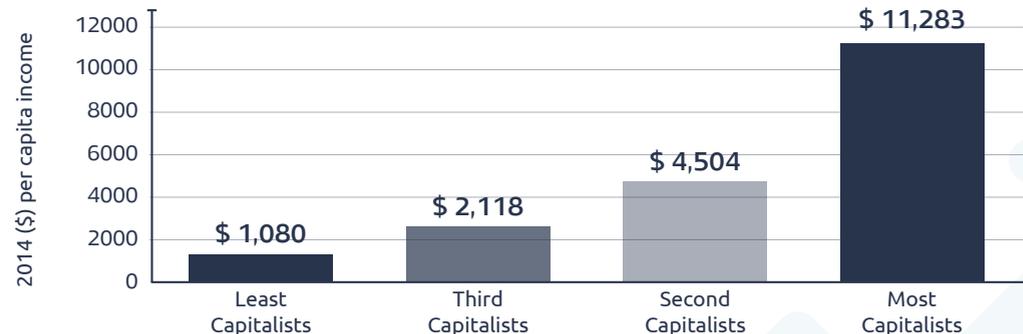
Zehut advocates a free economy. It is enough to look at the state of the economies of the world to see clearly that the adoption of a liberal economic policy² that encourages free enterprise brings growth and prosperity to all sectors of the population, while centralized economic policy and government intervention hinder growth and harm all strata.

The State of Israel is indeed a rich country, but its economic freedom index lags behind that of many countries. This situation means that the wealth does not reach the citizen's pocket, but is swallowed up by government mechanisms or remains in the hands of insiders. Only in areas where the state is not involved, such as high-tech, is there growth. In order for the money to reach the average citizen, the State of Israel must increase economic freedom in all areas.

Beyond the efficiency of the liberal economic model, Zehut believes that this is the most moral economic method. It guarantees maximum freedom

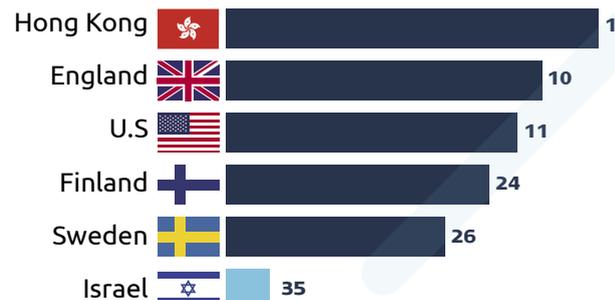
² Liberal, as used in this platform, refers to classic liberalism, or what is commonly known today as libertarianism

Income earned by the poorest 10%



Source: fraser institute, Economic Freedom of the World: 2017 Annual Report

Economic Freedom Index



Source: © By The Heritage Foundation

Zehut proposes the flat tax system: a uniform tax rate that applies to all types of income – without tax brackets, without credit points and without perks for insiders.

for the citizen to carry out transactions of his own free will and to work to improve his economic situation.

The economic plan that Zehut advocates will put an end to the high cost of living, a situation in which Israeli citizens are forced to work more than the citizens of most countries in the West, earn the least and pay the most.

Changing the Tax System

The current taxation system has a complex and cumbersome structure that harms Israel's economy. The first casualty is the entrepreneur, who has difficulty understanding the way the system works and wonders how his tax payments rise sharply when he starts to succeed. On the other hand, large and wealthy companies can afford to employ top-notch accountants who manage their tax payments to make them as low as possible.

Therefore, Zehut proposes the flat tax system: a uniform tax rate that applies to all types of income – without tax brackets, without credit points and without perks for insiders. This method should encourage all Israeli citizens to take initiative, move forward and succeed as much as they can. It will also eliminate one of the main tools of the government for planning the economy centrally. In addition, Zehut is committed to lowering the tax rate as much as possible for the average citizen.

Israeli Industry and Trade

Corporate tax is one of the main obstacles to economic growth. This tax affects thousands of businesses and constitutes a negative incentive for foreign companies considering investing in Israel. Therefore, Zehut will reduce corporate tax in an across-the-board, equal and transparent manner for all types of companies in Israel.

In addition, Zehut believes that it is not the role of the state to steer the market. Any attempt to artificially influence industry from the top is at best destined for failure and at worst, invites corruption. Therefore, according to its economic model, Zehut will prohibit the granting of benefits, concessions and grants by the state to certain companies over others, will close the governmental bodies whose role is to assist entrepreneurship or encourage industry, and allow the private market to do its part.

It is not the role of the state to steer the market. Any attempt to artificially influence industry from the top is at best destined for failure and at worst, invites corruption.

In the field of regulation and bureaucratic barriers, Zehut's goal is to significantly facilitate the opening of businesses and doing business in Israel. Its stated ambition is to bring Israel from its unflattering place in the world index of ease of opening a business (54th place) to the top ten.

In this framework, the necessity of any regulatory requirement will be carefully examined and will be canceled or mitigated accordingly.

Relief for Imports

Government interference in order to make it difficult to import products for the benefit of local industry is a severe blow to the Israeli public, which

could benefit from cheaper products. This intervention is actually the subsidizing of inefficient industries by the general public.

Zehut will work to gradually eliminate customs and import quotas. In addition, all restrictions on non-commercial imports will be reviewed and unreasonable restrictions will be removed.

In the same spirit, Zehut will limit the power of the Israel Standards Institute, which it believes constitutes an obstacle to the import of products, even those that meet the strict standards accepted worldwide.

Reduction of the National Debt

Zehut sees the reduction of the national debt as a primary economic task.

The government must take responsibility for its citizens and reduce the national debt that slows the Israeli economy and is a burden on future generations. Zehut will require measures that reduce the national debt, such as the use of surplus collection.

Transportation

Zehut sees the policy of the Ministry of Transport in Israel as misguided. First, income from taxation on vehicles (NIS 40 billion in 2016) is much larger than the expenditure on road construction (NIS 6.1 billion in 2016). In other words, the public does not see its money translated into infrastructure. Second, many funds are invested in public transportation in order to "educate" the public to switch from private cars to public transportation and reduce air pollution. Beyond the moral aspect of the principle that it is not the role of the state to influence the lifestyle and choices of citizens, this policy achieves the opposite of its intention. The

inefficiency of the central planning of public transportation that results in semi-empty buses traveling on the roads, the high tax on vehicles that raises vehicle prices and leaves old cars on the road, and the government's opposition to private car-sharing services (such as Uber) – all cause more private vehicles to remain on the roads, increasing air pollution as well.

Therefore, with regard to transportation, Zehut proposes a decentralization of powers. Regarding local infrastructure, the authority will be transferred to “municipal transportation authorities” that will be part of each regional council. With regard to mass transportation itself, the Ministry of Transportation will cease funding and supervising the companies. Considerations for operating lines and purchasing vehicles will be in the hands of the companies only.

Zehut will reduce tax and bureaucracy on private car owners and enable car sharing companies to operate in Israel, while at the same time reducing the tax on taxis to allow for fair competition.

In addition, Zehut believes that it is possible to learn from what is happening in the world in different places and to significantly upgrade the infrastructure, thereby ending the problem of traffic jams.

Zehut will reduce tax and bureaucracy on private car owners, enable car-sharing companies to operate in Israel, while at the same time reducing the tax on taxis to allow for fair competition.

Housing

Zehut's vision is a reality in which the purchase of an apartment in Israel will be within the reach of every adult Israeli with an average salary without being enslaved to a mortgage for most of his life. In order for this to become a reality, we must first recognize that the main cause of the housing crisis is the low supply of residential land, which is fueling the rise in housing prices. This reality is the result of the state's monopoly over the land (93% of the state's land is registered in the name of the Israel Land Authority). The ILA releases land with high taxes and draconian bureaucracy, and the construction process takes years (many more than is customary in other countries) and is subject to many restrictions that interfere with market dynamics. In addition, the building freeze in Judea and Samaria, and even Jerusalem, prevents new construction and exacerbates the housing crisis.

Zehut offers a comprehensive policy that will eliminate these three barriers and enable a broad national building boom that will quickly solve the existing crisis. The program is based on the following principles:

- **The land belongs to the citizens, not to the state.** Zehut will dismantle the ILA and transfer the vacant lands it holds to the control of the citizens. Beyond the economic and moral significance of returning the land to the citizens of Israel, this step will enable the land to be traded on the open market and significantly increase the supply of land for construction, thereby lowering the price of land in Israel.
- **Land zoning and restrictions on construction will be determined by the local community.** The state and local authorities will not be able to determine the use of private land or restrictions on construction. The landowners' community in a particular area will decide whether to restrict zoning to industry, commerce, housing, agriculture, etc. The

community will decide whether to impose restrictions on construction, such as limiting the maximum building height. This will enable the flexibility required to develop construction in communities in accordance with the needs of the community. The phenomenon of land being exploited badly or even left empty in anticipation of re-zoning will cease. Many communities are expected to respond to market demands and to increase the number of residential areas, thereby lowering land prices.

- **Reduction of bureaucratic barriers.** Approval processes for construction will be significantly reduced and simplified, and many regulatory restrictions will be canceled or moved to a more local level (local authority level or community level). Regulatory bodies will be eliminated or reduced accordingly. This will make the construction process easier, faster and more profitable, for construction developers and for the benefit of the public.
- **The application of full sovereignty in Judea and Samaria.** With the application of sovereignty (see below, “The Diplomatic Plan”), the construction freeze will be ended and all the restrictions and special authorizations for Judea and Samaria will be canceled. This will enable free construction in the heart of the country.

The construction freeze in Judea and Samaria will be ended and all restrictions and special authorizations will be canceled.



Liberty and Internal and External Security

Eliminating Police Violence

The police are necessary for the safety of citizens. At the same time, Zehut condemns police violence and views it as an unacceptable phenomenon. Some of the negative behaviors that Zehut has identified among police officers: lack of basic courtesy, harassment of passersby in searches without reasonable suspicion, and unnecessary and violent confrontations with civilians, which end too often in the filing of a complaint against the civilian for assaulting a police officer.

In light of this, Zehut believes that the relationship between the police and civilians should be rehabilitated, and as a first step it will transfer the authority to appoint the police chief to each community. In such a reality, the police chief will feel that he serves the community in which he operates and the citizens will accordingly give him the trust he deserves.

Canceling the Biometric Database

The Israeli biometric database is a computerized database of biometric data such as fingerprints and facial features. The State of Israel has adopted the database on the grounds that it can eradicate the phenomenon of forging identity cards. However, beyond the existence of alternative technological solutions to combat this phenomenon, the existence of the biometric database presents a much more serious danger to the citizens of Israel than the phenomenon of forgery.

If the State of Israel wants to be a state of liberty, it must respect the privacy of its citizens.

This database seriously threatens the privacy and liberty of Israeli citizens. First, it is likely that at some point the database will be breached and the most private information of the citizens will be available to everyone who wants it (as happened recently with the biometric database in India). But even assuming that the database is not breached, Zehut views the state's control of the biometric data of its citizens very seriously. In fact, this is another way for the state to increase its power and reduce the citizen's freedom. If the State of Israel wants to be a state of liberty, it must respect the privacy of its citizens.

Therefore, Zehut will immediately revoke the biometric law, and in particular the biometric database, and restore the citizen's privacy and freedom.

Cease the Persecution of Cannabis Users

Zehut believes that there is no justification for treating hundreds of thousands of cannabis users as criminals. Cannabis is no more addictive than other legal substances that harm no one. In addition to the many resources that the police invest in order to enforce the policy of treating cannabis users as criminals, which costs the citizens of Israel hundreds of millions of shekels annually, Zehut deplores the reality in which the Israel Police has the ability to threaten to open a criminal case against such a large number of civilians who have done no harm to others.

Zehut seeks to create a legal infrastructure for cannabis use and trade (similar to restrictions on alcohol trade), which will be updated from time to time according to lessons learned from experience. The main points are:

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- The use of cannabis and its components, non-commercial cultivation, maintenance or purchase shall be permitted by law.
- The minimum age for cannabis will be 21 years.
- The sale of cannabis and its components in places of entertainment will be prohibited.
- A business that wishes to sell cannabis or its components will need a suitable business license.

Termination of Administrative Detentions

Zehut opposes police use of administrative detention, which is a corrupting force that enables the state to circumvent legal mechanisms and deny the citizen's freedom, and to hold him in prison for long periods of time without evidence or trial. This is a serious violation of the detainees' rights.

Zehut opposes police use of administrative detention.

The state must recognize the state of war to which it is subjected and separate the cases accordingly. Criminals will be tried in the criminal justice system and will be brought to justice, while maintaining their right to a fair trial. On the other hand, the enemies of the state fighting it will be settled or otherwise restricted according to the circumstances. They will not be charged, judged or acquitted as criminals unless they violate the laws of war.

Non-Violent Civil Disobedience

In the rest of the world's democratic states, non-violent civil disobedience is seen as a legitimate and important tool for preserving democracy. Israel, however, has developed a policy of aggressive resistance by the regime to any form of protest without distinguishing between violent protest and nonviolent protest. Zehut demands a policy that distinguishes between the two kinds of protests and instructs the police not to resort to violence when it comes to non-violent resistance.

Bearing Arms

Although the political framework requires citizens to give up their right to exercise force, there is no justification for depriving them of their right to self-defense. Zehut sees denial of the right of civilians to bear arms as an infringement of their right to self-defense, if only because from the moment of entry into danger until the arrival of the security forces, the

citizen is required to defend himself and his surroundings by himself. With regard to the claim that the ease of carrying weapons will cause greater crime, criminals already have access to illegal weapons. These restrictions only hamper the law-abiding citizen. Moreover, it is absurd that a civilian who is discharged from the IDF cannot carry a gun after the state has entrusted him with an assault rifle during his service.

Therefore, as a first step, Zehut will authorize the carrying of arms by all military veterans who have no violent past or physical or mental limitations, and will then formulate a policy of extending permits to all citizens.

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Israel's Security Concept

Since the Oslo Accords, there has been a change in the value system of the IDF and of all the security forces in Israel. From the concept of “decisive victory” aimed at creating a formidable deterrence against the enemy that would prevent future attacks on Israel, the IDF adopted the concept of ‘containment’. This concept leads to “rounds of fighting” every few years, a constant threat of missiles and tunnels and a nuclear threat – a reality that is accepted as given. Victory no longer exists in the IDF’s conceptual world, because the society that sent it to fight no longer believes in the justice of its existence and in its right to defeat its enemies.

Zehut intends to bring about a change in values that will bring the IDF back to its original pre-Oslo mentality. The following are mostly practical expressions of this conceptual change:

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Transition to Professional Volunteer Army

The technological changes and fluctuations that have taken place in the security situation in Israel in recent decades require a change in the IDF recruitment model. Today the IDF needs a smaller, more quality force that has undergone prolonged training. In the current situation, many IDF recruits are not really needed.

Today the IDF needs a smaller, more quality force, which has undergone prolonged training.

Zehut's vision is to shorten universal compulsory service to basic training only. After the basic training period, anyone interested in continuing to serve in the professional army will be able to apply, and from among the candidates, the army will choose those who it really needs. Recruits will be paid an honorable salary based on the average wage in the economy. They will receive the most advanced training and equipment, an academic education, gain high social status by virtue of their contribution to the security of the state, and will enjoy good conditions.

Zehut will advance this process gradually and in coordination with security officials.

The Iranian Threat

Israel's policy regarding Iran's nuclear weapons is disastrous. Indeed, the main problem lies not in the potential for the weapons to harm Israel but in the process of delegitimization and the loss of the justice of Israel's

Zehut does not see American aid to the State of Israel as a cardinal guarantee of its security. The price of this "gift" is too high.

existence in the eyes of the world – in the wake of Israel's lack of response to those calling for its destruction.

The State of Israel must use technological means to eliminate the enemy's leaders and thereby create real deterrence. This is according to the Jewish principle: *"He who comes to kill you, kill him first."*

Ending American Aid

Zehut does not see American aid to the State of Israel as a cardinal guarantee of its security, never to be relinquished. The price of this "gift" is too high. In terms of security, receiving aid creates Israeli dependence on America, which then receives legitimacy to interfere in Israeli security matters. A foreign element that regularly interferes in Israel's decisions and prevents the freedom of military action is a serious blow to Israel's security.

From an economic point of view, too, American aid is a losing proposition for Israel. Behind the restrictions on the export of Israeli arms, the United States recognizes the great potential of the Israeli defense industry. Israel's dependence on American weapons prevents it from investing in its own development, which is capable of competing with the American military industry.

Therefore, **Zehut will cancel the receipt of American aid.**

Diplomatic Plan

As a background to the plan, we must examine the process that the State of Israel has undergone since the signing of the Oslo Accords. Ostensibly, the purpose of these agreements was to end the conflict by establishing a Palestinian state, thereby achieving peace. But this goal has not been achieved. Rather, the opposite is true: the number of people killed in terror attacks increased fivefold (1552 between 1994 and 2015, compared with 357 between 1977 and 1994). More and more cities in Israel began to be bombarded with missiles and Israeli citizens were expelled from their homes (during the disengagement in 2005). In addition, the Oslo Accords were supposed to bring economic well-being as a result of the anticipated cut in defense spending, but in fact the state paid more than NIS 1 **billion** for implementing the agreements.

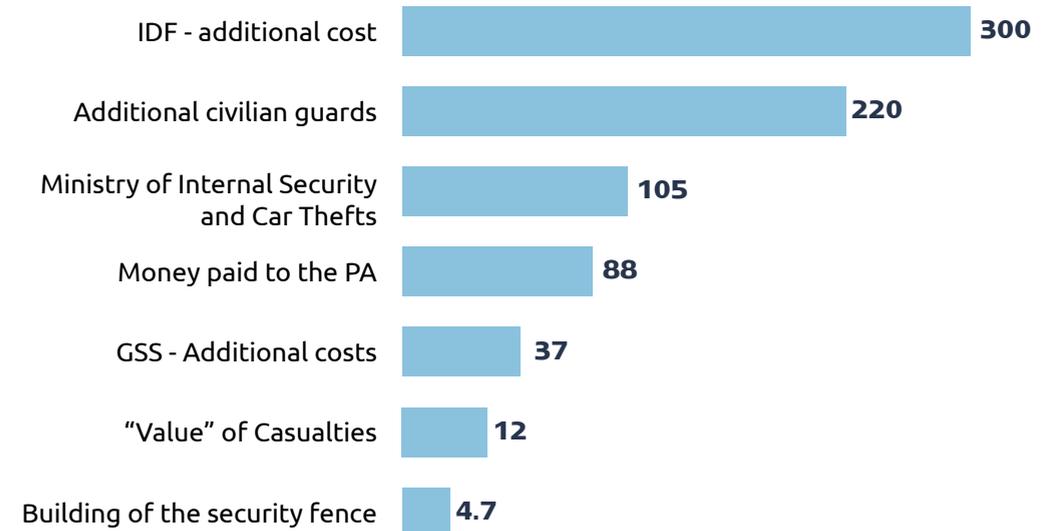
In light of all this, the question arises: Was the purpose of the Oslo Accords really to achieve peace?

The answer to this question is clear: the ultimate goal of Oslo was not peace but rather the "Israelization" of society, or as Dr. Ron Pundak, one of the Oslo architects, admitted in an interview: *"Peace is not an end in itself, it is a means ... to Israelization of society rather than its Judaization ..."*

The Oslo Accords were supposed to bring economic well-being, but in fact Israel paid more than NIS 1 billion for implementing the agreements.

Security costs following the Oslo Accords (1994-2014)

* In billions of shekels



Source: "The Oslo Report" - © 2014 "Manhigut Yehudit"

In other words, the Oslo planners saw the two-state solution as a means to resolve the struggle for Israel's identity.

Zehut challenges this "Oslo concept" and proposes an alternative political plan called "one state for one people". The program is based on loyalty to the Jewish identity of the state and the justice of its path, and at the end of the process will lead the State of Israel to a reality of peace.

The program's basic assumptions are:

- The Land of Israel belongs to the people of Israel alone by Divine choice.
- International law recognizes that the territory of Judea and Samaria is designated for a Jewish state, as Justice Levy's report showed.
- The demographic trend is in favor of the Jews, and by 2035 a majority of 80% of Jews are expected to live in Israel, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River.
- Most Arab residents of Judea and Samaria want to emigrate and many already do so.

The Stages of the Program

Stage One: The Oslo Accords will be canceled and the legal situation restored to its pre-Oslo status.

Stage two: The terrorists will be offered an honorable withdrawal, similar to the PLO withdrawal from Lebanon in 1982.

Stage Three: The IDF will take over the territory as it was able to do in Operation Defensive Shield, and **the State of Israel will apply its full sovereignty over all parts of the country. No element except for the IDF, the Israel Police and authorized civilians (see above) will bear arms.**

Stage Four: Non-Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria will be offered three options:

- Assistance in immigration: The state will enable interested residents to sell their property, and will help them emigrate to the destination of their choice.

- Residency: Those who wish to remain and declare their allegiance openly will receive the status of permanent residents in the Jewish state. All their human and property rights shall be preserved in the same manner as those of other Western countries (as the United States does with the inhabitants of Samoa, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, and as Britain does with the Cypriots remaining under its control).
- Citizenship: Those who wish to be loyal citizens and serve in the army (such as the Druze, for example) will be able to receive full citizenship after a long and thorough examination.

When the people of Israel adopt their true identity and stop seeing themselves as an occupying force in their own country, the rest of the world will leave the conflict behind and accept our legal sovereignty. In addition, the full implementation of the plan will enable the center of the country to be opened for settlement, construction and development. Future generations will not inherit the problem of the territories and terrorism, but will receive a sovereign, secure and prosperous state.

The State of Israel will apply its full sovereignty over all parts of the country.

Israel's Foreign Policy

The State of Israel must be a moral role model for the rest of the nations. According to this view, Israel will continue to develop many ties with foreign countries but will not compromise on moral principles. For example, the State of Israel will stop selling arms and military knowledge to regimes that commit crimes against humanity and violate human rights.

Jerusalem and the Temple Mount

Jerusalem in general and the Temple Mount in particular are at the core of Jewish national existence throughout the generations.

Zehut will work to develop Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. With the realization of its political program (see above, “The Diplomatic Plan”), the conflict will disappear, and the non-Jews who will remain in Jerusalem will be those who accept the sovereignty of Israel. In light of this, it will be possible to expand the boundaries of the city in the east and north, in order to create “greater metropolitan Jerusalem”. The Jerusalem Metropolis will extend to Bethlehem and Gush Etzion in the south, Beit Shemesh and Modi’in in the west, Ramallah in the north, and Ma’aleh Adumim and Jericho in the east. In addition, Zehut will improve access to Jerusalem through a variety of strategic infrastructures such as beltways, construction of an international airport and improvement of the mountain road and roads in East Jerusalem, especially around the Old City.

Zehut will strive to transfer the government complex, the Knesset building and the Supreme Court from the west of the city to the Old City in the areas adjacent to the Temple Mount.

The Temple Mount is not the epicenter of a religious conflict, but the beating heart of the entire nation. There is a direct connection between the loss of Israel’s hold on the Mount (since it was actually handed over to the Moslem waqf) and the loss of the international legitimacy of the State of Israel. Over the years, Israel’s leaders, both Left and Right, have done everything possible to “escape” from dealing with the Temple Mount. Zehut strongly opposes this policy, and sees the return of full Israeli control over the Mount as a national goal of the highest order.

Accordingly, Zehut intends to remove the waqf – and any other foreign entity that is not subject to Israeli sovereignty – from the Temple Mount. The Israeli police will be permanently stationed on the Mount – not at its edge, as is currently the case. Visits to the Temple Mount will be possible at all hours of the day without restriction, and the security of the citizens of Israel on the Mount will be absolutely assured, with the recruitment of all the necessary police forces. Access to the Temple Mount for Jews will be permitted without any limitation.

By virtue of the Law for the Preservation of the Holy Places, Zehut intends to hand over the Temple Mount to the Chief Rabbinate, which will also be able to regulate the ascent and prayer of the Jews on the Mount within the framework of Jewish law. A Jewish synagogue will be built on the Mount. In addition, the Temple Mount will be opened for archeological research without the current restrictions.

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