



Dear colleagues and friends,

On July 27th, I launched at the Knesset my diplomatic outline for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The outline was launched with Opposition Leader MK Isaac Herzog and members of Knesset in attendance, along with over 450 participants from across the nation. Among the members in attendance were Tzipi Livni (Zionist Union), Zehava Galon (Chair, Meretz), Oren Hazan (Likud), Issawi Frej (Meretz), Merav Michaeli, Omer Bar-Lev, Ksenia Svetlova, Ayelet Nehmias Verbin, Manuel Trajtenberg, Yoel Hasson, Eyal Ben Reuven, Yossi Yonah, Erel Margalit, Michal Biran, Stav Shaffir, Danny Atar, Revital Swid, and Nachman Shai (Zionist Union) and many more.

The proposed outline is a product of the two years I served as Chair of the Knesset Caucus to Resolve the Arab-Israeli Conflict (the “Two States Caucus”). Two years in which I met with dozens of Israeli, Palestinian, and foreign officials, experts, and numerous elements in the Arab world.

To read my [diplomatic outline \(in English\)](#) click on the picture below:



The Knesset

**MK Yehiel (Hilik) Bar
Deputy Speaker of the Knesset**

**Chair of the Knesset Caucus
for the Resolution of the Israeli-Arab Conflict**

**MK Hilik Bar's Diplomatic Outline
for Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**

**and
Steps for creating a diplomatic horizon and
generating positive momentum toward an agreement**

My outline is a solid foundation for a final status agreement and 'end of all claims' between us and the Palestinians. It protects Israel's vital security interests, keeps Jerusalem united, solves the Palestinian refugee problem outside of Israel's borders, leaves the majority of settlers in their homes, strengthens Israel's position in the world, and gives Israel a boost in its unflinching war on terrorism.

Just as importantly, this plan resolves the conflict within the framework of a two state solution – two states for two peoples. It ensures Israel will retain a wide Jewish majority, and definitively prevents the possibility of a binational state, the prospect of which would cause Israel to lose its Jewish majority and would effectively constitute the end of the Zionist project. 'Isra-stine?' Not on our watch.

Here is from Opposition Leader MK Isaac Herzog's remarks at the launch of my diplomatic outline:

"The outline presented today by my friend, the Secretary-General of our party, MK Hilik Bar, is just the kind of initiative that has disappeared from the Israeli discourse. Hilik, you are presenting a paper that will challenge us and compel us to enter into a process that will awaken the Israeli public and stimulate the discourse. I think that your analysis is correct. Our leadership should have the backbone to fearlessly put new ideas on the table and explore them. We must be on the right side of history, just as my friend Hilik Bar is doing this morning, and just as I will do when I head the next Israeli government."

Here is from former Foreign Minister MK Tzipi Livni's remarks at the launch of my diplomatic outline:

"Hilik, we have all come today to commend your very thorough, professional work; your determination to put new ideas on the table; your deep understanding that two states for two peoples is clearly in the Israeli national interest. Maintaining a Jewish and democratic Israel is the Zionist dream, and it requires us to separate from the Palestinians. This is a shared interest between Israel and the more pragmatic countries in the region. What is needed now is for the free world, together with us, and together with them, to engender this connection, this political alignment, that understands that a resolution to this conflict is not a threat to the state of Israel, but instead is the assurance, the way to preserve Israel as a Zionist, Jewish, and democratic state. Thank you very much Hilik, for your initiative, for your courage, and for your determination."

Click [here](#) if you want to read my outline in the Labor Party Website.

**Last Friday, The New York Times published [my OP-ED on](#) the subject.
To read it just click on the picture below:**



The Opinion Pages | OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

Israel's Other Existential Threat Comes From Within

By HILIK BAR AUG. 20, 2015

Following the event, the Jerusalem Post published two articles about my proposal. You can read them below:

Two-states-for-two-peoples caucus head Hilik Bar to present diplomatic plan

• By GIL HOFFMAN

The head of the Knesset's caucus for two states for two peoples, Zionist Union MK **Hilik Bar**, will reveal his new diplomatic framework at the Knesset Monday at an event together with the head of his party, opposition leader Isaac Herzog.

Bar worked on the plan over the past two years as head of the caucus, meeting with dozens of Israeli, Palestinian, Arab and international figures and learning from them how they see the end of the conflict. The result is a framework that is 25 pages in Hebrew and is currently being translated into English.

"I worked on the framework because I'm worried the country is going toward diplomatic isolation and the end of the two-state solution," Bar said. "I always ask



HILIK BAR

(Marc Israel Sellem/The Jerusalem Post)

the Right what they're in favor of. My framework solves the conflict, gives the Palestinians a state, and guarantees security for Israel."

The plan calls for an end of all claims between Israel and Palestinians, as well as a significant part of the moderate Arab world. It would keep Jerusalem united without walls but enable both sides to call

it their capital. It would keep the refugee problem outside Israel's borders, and leave most settlers in their homes.

"It solves the conflict with a two-state solution while keeping a firm Jewish majority, and it takes the one-state solution off the table immediately," Bar said. "It explains how to learn lessons from past failures, and presents steps that can already be taken on the ground now, before and during negotiations to promote a two-state solution."

Bar said he would warn at the event about how the Right was leading Israel in the wrong direction. Herzog, who has read Bar's plan, will back him up.

There will also be criticism of Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas and the international community. Like Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu,

Herzog, and Yesh Atid leader Yair Lapid, Bar will call for moderate Arab states to take part in the peace process.

"Netanyahu talks about how in the Middle East, it takes three to tango – with Israel, the Palestinians and the US," Bar said. "I envision more of a hora [dance] than a tango, with moderate Arabs and Europe involved. We need to think of a wider circle in order to succeed."

Bar will continue to head the two-state lobby in the Knesset. In the previous Knesset, the rival Land of Israel Caucus was headed by MKs Yariv Levin (Likud) and Orit Struck (Bayit Yehudi). But Levin was promoted to the cabinet and Struck was not reelected.

One of the heads of the caucus in the current Knesset is expected to be Bayit Yehudi MK Bezalel Smotrich.

MK Bar's peace plan: Israel needs to accept a Palestinian state in United Nations, then negotiate

• By LAHAV HARKOV

Israel should recognize a Palestinian state first and then negotiate borders, which should be based on the 1949 armistice lines with land swaps to account for settlement blocs, according to a new diplomatic outline MK Hilik Bar (Zionist Union) presented Monday.

Bar presented what he called "a solid foundation for a final status agreement and end of all claims between us and the Palestinians" to some 450 participants in a conference of the Knesset Caucus to Resolve the Arab-Israeli Conflict, which Bar leads. The gathering included MKs mostly from the Zionist Union, a smattering from Meretz and MK Oren Hazan (Likud).

In the outline Bar distributed to attendees, Bar wrote that the plan "protects Israel's vital security interests, keeps Jerusalem united, solves the Palestinian refugee problem outside of Israel's borders, leaves the majority of settlers in their homes, strengthens Israel's position in the world, and gives Israel a boost in its unflinching war on terrorism."

Bar's plan first calls for Israel to recognize a Palestinian state in the UN, but says that borders, the refugee issue, Jerusalem, security arrangements, etc. must be negotiated between the two sides. The recognition and approval of

"Palestine" joining UN institutions will be conditioned on it not undermining the need to negotiate. In addition, the Palestinians would recognize two nation states.

The plan also provides that, when there is a Palestinian state, Jews may securely live in it as residents or citizens, thus creating an option for Israelis not to be expelled from their homes.

"If there can be a Jewish community in London and Berlin, then there can be a Jewish community in Palestine," Bar wrote.

In addition, Palestinian citizens would have "privileged access" to places of worship, tourism, academia and trade in Israel, and vice-versa.

The MK also called for Israel to officially respond to the Arab Peace Initiative - not necessarily to agree to it, but to stop ignoring it. This would go hand-in-hand with conducting a regional dialogue in conjunction with bilateral relations between Israel and Arab states.

The outline also calls to improve quality of life in Gaza, which Bar posits would return the Palestinian Authority to the Strip to replace Hamas, form a municipal body to represent residents of east Jerusalem, and maintain the status quo on the Temple Mount.

Bar called for better integration of Israeli-Arabs into Israeli society, including teaching young Israelis peace and



HILIK BAR

(Marc Israel Sellem/The Jerusalem Post)

coexistence, opening a bilingual university, and requiring Israeli Arabs to do civilian or IDF service after a permanent peace treaty is signed.

The outline also deals with Israel's relations with Diaspora Jewry. It says the government should give world Jewry an "advisory status on issues of national importance and matters of foreign policy" and educate them in Hebrew, Jewish history, and Zionism. The goal would be to strengthen their Jewish identity, while still promoting the Zionist idea of "the negation of the Diaspora" and encouraging them to move to Israel.

During the conference, Bar slammed those on the Right who reject a two-state solution, saying they will lead

Israel to lose its Jewish majority and bring about the end of the Zionist project.

Of a binational state, Bar said "we will not let that happen; not on our watch; not if we have any say in the matter."

"Today's Right abandoned Zionism and nationalism when it attacked itself, perversely, to the very extreme Left, such that they both favor and even actively advance the emergence of a binational state. An extreme, right-wing, messianic agenda has changed the face of today's Right. It has turned the Zionist Right into a post-Zionist Right," Bar stated.

Opposition leader Isaac Herzog (Zionist Union) and MK Tzipi Livni (Zionist Union) commended Bar for presenting the plan, saying that it is important that the two-state solution be part of the public discourse. However, they did not endorse it.

"[Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu prefers to bury these initiatives," Herzog said, "turn them off, eliminate them, in order to continue to use fear-mongering slogans like there is no partner or no way to bring peace, and that we are only surviving here, while fearing death and destruction by our enemies. We must be on the side of those who take historic action, just as my friend Hilik Bar is doing this morning."

The presentation of this outline as an Israeli proposal, with an Israeli commitment to the principles presented therein, would help Israel fight the delegitimization campaign being waged against it. Meanwhile, Israel must try to bring the US government and other international players on board with the principles of this outline, and prevent a situation in which Israel would be dictated guidelines for ending the conflict, guidelines which would make it difficult for any Israeli government to reach agreement with the Palestinians.

I urge you to study this initiative, to discuss it and share it with the people you know. It is our responsibility to gain the people's support for a brave leadership and policies that are proactive, measured, and resolute; a leadership that will bring Israel out of the current political stalemate and lead it toward a brighter future and toward the only outcome to which Israel must strive: **Two states for two peoples, through an 'end of all mutual claims' final status agreement.**

This effort must be made for our sake, for the Palestinians' sake, for the sake of Israel's future, and for the sake of future generations.

It is possible, and it is in our hands!

Hilik

MK Hilik Bar

**Deputy Speaker of the Knesset
Chair of the Knesset Caucus for a Resolution to the Arab-Israeli Conflict
Secretary General of the Israeli Labor Party**