

DOCTRINE · PALAESTINA QUARTA

Jerusalem, Crown Jewel of Empires

A TREATISE IN THE IMPERIAL SEQUENCE

PALAESTINA QUARTA

The Doctrine of the Unclaimed Jewel

*Jerusalem is the crown jewel of empires.
The greatest empire in the world continues to pay for it,
and has never been permitted to own it.*

— the premise of this doctrine

by William Pounds, M.S.

Prima · Secunda · Salutaris · Salutaris II · Quarta

From the river to the sea, one civic order

William Pounds, M.S.

Show doctrine · Civic mandate · Not an operations order

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How to read this file

This is a political doctrine about title, not an operations order. It numbers the Holy Land in the Roman sequence, names the British Mandate Palaestina Salutaris II, and treats Jerusalem as the jewel every empire has tried to wear. The American condition is stated without decoration: the greatest empire in the world pays for the jewel and is not permitted to own it. Palaestina Quarta is the proposal that the jewel go into the crown, as the fifty-first state, with equal law for Jewish Palestinians and Arab Palestinians — or that the paying stop. Read it as a treatise. Do not read it as a raid.

I

The Jewel That Is Paid For and Never Worn

Every serious empire has tried to wear Jerusalem. Egypt came up the coastal road. Assyria and Babylon broke the walls. Persia sent the exiles home under a satrap's seal. Alexander passed through. The Ptolemies and the Seleucids fought over the Temple precinct as if it were a vault. Rome numbered the land and called the numbering holy: Palaestina Prima on the coast, Palaestina Secunda in the north, Palaestina Salutaris in the south. Byzantium kept the relic. The Caliphate kept the sanctuary. The Crusader kingdoms kept a thin Latin crown for a century and bled for it. Mamluk and Ottoman kept the keys. Britain took the file from the dying Sultan and called it a Mandate. Then the twentieth century invented a new trick: the greatest empire in the world would pay for the jewel, arm the jewel, veto for the jewel, bury sailors for the jewel — and never be allowed to put it in the crown.

A jewel you finance but do not hold is not a possession. It is a tribute.

That is the whole American condition in the Holy Land. Washington writes the checks that keep a foreign national project standing. Washington supplies the aircraft, the munitions, the diplomatic shield, the talking points. Washington moves an embassy and calls it courage. What Washington does not do is govern Jerusalem. The city remains the prize of someone else's national myth, while the republic that pays for the myth is told that asking for the keys would be an outrage.

Empires that owned Jerusalem were often brutal. Empires that only subsidized Jerusalem have been something worse for the subsidizer: they have been tenants of their own treasure. Palaestina Quarta is written against that tenancy. It is the doctrine that the jewel belongs in the crown of the power that already underwrites it, or the underwriting should stop. There is no third honesty.

Call the theme by its old name. Jerusalem is not a suburb of Tel Aviv and not a slogan on a flag. It is the city every empire has needed in order to tell itself that history still has a center. Rome knew this when it renamed the province. The Caliphs knew it when they built the Dome. The British knew it when they published the Mandate and then discovered they could not hold what they had typed. America is the first world power to treat the city as a campaign prop and a sacred debt at the same time — holy enough to fund, too holy to administer. That is not reverence. That is the behavior of a court that has forgotten it is supposed to be a sovereign.

II

The Sequence of Crowns — Prima to Salutaris II

Doctrine needs a file number. The land already has one. After the Jewish wars, Rome and then Byzantium administered the country as Palaestina. The later division is the one this treatise inherits: Palaestina Prima, with its civic weight on the coast and on Jerusalem; Palaestina Secunda, inland and northern; Palaestina Salutaris, also called Tertia, the southern and trans-Jordanian addition, named as if the empire had taken the province for the health of the whole. The name Salutaris is not an accident we should waste. It meant a

jurisdiction added so the order could breathe.

Islam did not abolish the name. It translated the file. Jund Filastin was the military district of the same coast, with its capitals moving as armies moved — Ludd, then Ramla — while Jerusalem remained the jewel that made the district matter to anyone who did not live in it. Crusader kings put a cross on the same hill and called it a kingdom. They lasted less long than the sermons written about them. The Ottomans kept sanjaks and a special status for the holy places because even a decaying empire understood that Jerusalem is not just another town in a yearbook.

Then came Britain. In this doctrine the British Mandate is named **Palaestina Salutaris II**. Not because London was a hospital, but because the Mandate was the second great attempt, after Rome's Salutaris, to add the Holy Land to an imperial order as a ward rather than as a full possession of a local nation. The League of Nations paper said Britain would administer Palestine, prepare it, keep the holy places, and honor a national home for the Jewish people without prejudicing the rights of the existing non-Jewish communities. That sentence contained two futures and no mechanism for either. Salutaris II was a file written by a tired empire that still knew how to write files.

Title	Sovereign	What it did with the jewel
Palaestina Prima / Secunda / Salutaris	Rome and Byzantium	Numbered the land. Held Jerusalem as provincial prize and Christian relic.
Jund Filastin	Caliphate and successors	Kept the sanctuary. Administered the coast as a military district.
Latin Kingdom	Crusader crowns	Wore the jewel openly. Could not keep it.
Ottoman Jerusalem	The Porte	Guarded the keys. Treated the city as a special file inside a wider empire.
Palaestina Salutaris II	Britain under League Mandate	Held sovereignty on paper. Bled to Irgun and revolt. Abandoned the file.
Dawlat Filastin / Imarat al-Muqawama	Fatah letterhead / Hamas counter-title	Claim the name. Do not hold the jewel. Split the people.
The American condition	United States as paymaster	Pays, arms, vetoes. Does not own. The jewel sits outside the crown.
Palaestina Quarta	American civic mandate / 51st state	Put the jewel in the crown, or stop paying for another man's diadem.

The imperial sequence as this doctrine numbers it.

Fatah's modern letterhead is Dawlat Filastin — State of Palestine — the Oslo costume promoted after 2012–2013 as if a UN observer plaque were a crown. Hamas does not wear that costume. Hamas wears the movement: Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya. In the show-register of this file the counter-title is Imarat al-Muqawama, the emirate of resistance, Gaza as a wilaya that refuses to be the State Department's Palestine. Two letterheads. One land. Neither holds Jerusalem as a sovereign holds a capital. Israel holds it as an ethnic capital and calls the holding destiny. America pays for the holding and calls the payment

friendship.

III

The American Paradox

The United States is the late heir of Britain's Salutaris II and has refused the inheritance. That is the paradox. We took the imperial role — reserve currency, fleet, veto, arms industry, the habit of arranging other people's maps — and we declined the one piece of the map that makes the rest of the arrangement intelligible. Jerusalem is how an empire tells the world it is not merely rich. A rich country writes checks. A sovereign writes law on the hill that every sermon already knows.

Instead we accepted a colonial relationship in reverse. A small national project in the eastern Mediterranean acquired a claim on American treasure, American cover, and American silence. I have said in plain speech that this looks like occupation of the American state by a foreign priority. Most officials who can be elected have learned to call themselves friends of that priority before they have learned the names of the counties they represent. Palaestina Quarta does not begin in Gaza. It begins in the recovery of an American government that can say no.

The greatest empire pays for the jewel. The jewel is worn by a national identity we are forbidden to retire.

This is not mysterious. It is the logic of a satellite that has captured its patron. The patron is told that questioning the arrangement is hatred. The satellite is told that the patron's money is love. The people who live on the ground — Jewish and Arab — inherit a war that is funded from a continent away by a republic that will not take responsibility for the city that makes the war sacred. If you want the shortest definition of the American paradox, use that sentence.

There is a libertarian twin to this doctrine, and I have named it without shame: cut the money, cut the weapons, stop underwriting the machinery, and let the political consequences unfold without American sponsorship. That path is isolation, and it is cleaner than the present lie. Palaestina Quarta is the other honesty. If we are already in the war as paymasters, we are already responsible. Responsibility without sovereignty is the definition of a fool's empire. Sovereignty without equal law would only be a new occupation. The doctrine therefore joins the two things Washington has kept apart: ownership of the file, and civic equality under the file.

IV

Marshall's Warning and the Trusteeship That Was Refused

In May 1948 the American Secretary of State was George C. Marshall. He opposed President Truman's rush to recognize the new State of Israel. He wanted a United Nations trusteeship over Palestine, not a recognition timed to domestic politics. In the Oval Office on 12 May he objected to Clark Clifford's presence as a political counselor in a foreign-policy decision. He said that if the President followed that

advice, and if Marshall were to vote, he would vote against the President. That is not a clerk's memo. That is the chief diplomat of the United States telling the President that the jewel was being given away as a campaign instrument.

Marshall's reasons were not mystical. Recognition undercut the trusteeship the United States had itself proposed. A Jewish state would be immediately at war with its neighbors. The American military, drawn down after 1945 and already pointed at the Soviet problem, could not underwrite that war as if it were a small police action. Defense Secretary Forrestal put the demography in the brutal arithmetic of the time: tens of millions of Arabs on one side, a few hundred thousand Jews on the other, and American oil and position in between. Marshall saw that Truman's choice would polarize the Arab world against the United States for a generation. He was not guessing. He was reading the wreck of Salutaris II and refusing to stamp it solved.

Truman recognized Israel anyway, de facto, on 14 May 1948, eleven minutes after the British file lapsed. The polarization Marshall named became the weather of American life in the Middle East: the coups and the oil shocks, the embassies and the intifadas, the aid packages and the mass graves, the liberal sermon and the annual standing ovation. Every decade since has been an expensive commentary on a decision taken against the Secretary of State.

Full American sovereignty over Jerusalem is the trusteeship Marshall reached for and never received.

Not a consulate game. Not an embassy moved as a rally banner. The city as the capital of a civic order in which no confession owns the keys and no nationality outranks the law. That is how you drain the charge Marshall said would split the Arabs against us. You stop appearing as the armourer of one tribe. You appear as the government of the ground. You cannot heal that polarization while the flag over the file is an ethnic state we fund and cannot command. You heal it when the file is ours and the law is the same for the man in Hebron and the woman in Haifa.

Marshall was not offering a poem. He was offering a jurisdiction. Palaestina Quarta takes the jurisdiction and updates the century. The trusteeship of 1948 would have been international and temporary. Quarta is American and constitutional, because the power that has already paid for the jewel for three generations is the only power that can either own it or honestly walk away. A UN flag over Jerusalem in this decade would be another Salutaris II: paper sovereignty, no spine. An American state is a spine.

V

What We Suffered Without the File

Britain suffered the underground with sovereignty. We have suffered the sequel without it. That difference is the moral core of the American grievance in this doctrine. Salutaris II was a failing mandate, but it was a mandate. When the Irgun and Lehi bombed British targets, they were bombing the sovereign on the ground. When Americans bleed in this file, they bleed as a patron who is not allowed to write the law of the city he finances.

The Liberty

On 8 June 1967 the USS *Liberty*, a United States Navy signals ship, was in international waters off the Sinai coast during the Six-Day War. Israeli aircraft and then torpedo boats attacked her. Thirty-four Americans were killed. More than one hundred seventy were wounded. The ship took a torpedo in her intelligence spaces. Israel called the attack a case of mistaken identity and paid compensation. Official American inquiries leaned, with varying degrees of unease, toward accident. Crewmen who watched the strafing, and officers who have spoken since, have never accepted the lullaby. This doctrine does not pretend to reconvene a court of inquiry on the page. It records the political fact: a republic that will not hold the land will not hold the inquiry either. The jewel was being reset that week. American sailors died in the water beside it. The crown did not move one inch toward Washington.

The five of September

On 11 September 2001 five men tied to Urban Moving Systems were detained after being seen filming the towers and conducting themselves, in the reports of that day, as if the crime were a spectacle. They were held, questioned, and put on an airplane. The public file is thin, the commentary is thick, and the republic was told to move along. Whether one takes the maximal reading or the minimal one, the doctrinal point does not change. When you finance a foreign national project and refuse sovereignty over the theater it occupies, you inherit incidents you are not permitted to govern and silences you are not permitted to break. Call the men what the street called them, or call them a counterintelligence mess. Either way, they are what a paymaster empire collects instead of a crown.

Set the two files next to Salutaris II. Britain was bombed by the same political tradition that later sat in Israeli cabinets — the Irgun line that ran toward Menachem Begin — while Britain still held the Mandate. America has been struck, embarrassed, and billed while holding nothing but a special relationship. The Queen's generation remembered who had been shooting at British officers in Palestine. Our generation is instructed to forget who has been shooting near American hulls. Palaestina Quarta is, among other things, a refusal to keep paying for amnesia.

VI

The Queen, the Irgun, and Salutaris II

In December 2024, former Israeli president Reuven Rivlin told a London gala that the relationship with Queen Elizabeth II had been difficult “because she believed that every one of us was either a terrorist or a son of a terrorist.” He added that she would not receive Israeli officials at Buckingham Palace except on international occasions. She never made a state visit to Israel in seventy years on the throne. Rivlin said these were his words. They are therefore his allegation, not a signed minute from the Queen. This doctrine confronts the sentence instead of tiptoeing around it.

Why would a British sovereign carry that suspicion? Because Salutaris II was not an abstraction to her generation. The Mandate was shot at by Jewish underground organizations that the later Israeli state folded into its founding story. The King David Hotel was bombed in 1946. British soldiers and clerks died in a war

against the very authority that had issued the Balfour paper. Menachem Begin led the Irgun and later led Israel. If Elizabeth looked at a cabinet and saw the sons of the men who had blown up her father's officers, she was reading a genealogy, not inventing a slur. A crown that had held the jewel remembered the cost of holding it. A republic that never held the jewel is told that remembering the same genealogy is forbidden.

Britain owned the file and still called some of its heirs by the name those heirs had earned under the Mandate. America owns the checks and is not allowed the memory.

Confronting Rivlin's sentence does not mean endorsing a curse on a people. It means refusing the laundering of a revolutionary underground into an untouchable allied government. The Irgun called itself a national liberation force. The British called it terror. Later Israeli presidents called the British cold. Palaestina Quarta sides with the memory of the sovereign who had to bury her people in a province she actually administered. If that memory is too rude for the special relationship, the special relationship is too expensive for a republic.

VII

Two Letterheads, One Land

Fatah, through the PLO and the Palestinian Authority, wears Dawlat Filastin. That is the diplomatic costume: ministries, observer-state stationery, the claim to be the government of a country that is not permitted to function as one. Hamas wears the movement. After 2006 it was briefly the elected government of the Authority. After 2007 it became the government of Gaza in fact, still using some of the Authority's ministerial titles and even, at times, the State of Palestine seal, because those were the forms on the desks they seized. The seal did not make them Fatah. It made them inheritors of a letterhead war.

This doctrine does not romanticize either costume. Dawlat Filastin without sovereignty is a plaque. Imarat al-Muqawama without a civic law for the whole land is a garrison. Israel as an ethnic state is a third costume: a national identity empowered to decide who may return, who may build, who may vote in the place that matters, and who must remain a subject of a process that never arrives. Three letterheads. One jewel. The people under all three have children. Palaestina Quarta is not written to rescue a faction. It is written to retire the factions as sovereigns.

The PLO remains, on paper, the international representative. The Authority remains, on paper, the interim government of parts of the West Bank. Hamas remains the force that will not accept the Oslo file as the last word. Reconciliation agreements have been signed and have died. That is not a mystery of personality. It is what happens when two movements are asked to share a state that does not exist, over a capital neither is allowed to govern, beside an Israeli state that is allowed to govern and is funded to keep doing so. Change the sovereign. The letterheads become municipal parties, or they become nothing. Leave the sovereign as it is, and they will go on playing government in the ruins.

VIII

Palaestina Quarta as Intervention

Palaestina Quarta is the interventionist solution that actually makes sense and is responsible. Isolation is honest. Two states is a stall dressed as a sacrament. Another Arab flag or another Israeli flag over the same wall is more of the same war. Quarta is the third honesty: one legal order, from the river to the sea, under the Constitution of the United States, with Jerusalem as an American capital of that order — the jewel set in the crown of the empire that has already bought it a hundred times over.

If I were president I would annex the Zionist state and establish an American mandate over Palestine — one jurisdiction in which Jewish and Arab inhabitants stood equal before the law. Annexing the Holy Land would mean abolishing the idea that one ethnic or religious national identity should determine the political rights of everyone living under the same government. Competing national sovereignties would be replaced by a single constitutional order. That is not poetry. That is a change of title on the file.

The plan is, in the technical sense I have already used, to wipe Israel off the map as a state identity. It aims at that end without a blood pageant and without a program of relocation. The people remain. The ethnostate does not. When black South Africans obtained equality, white South Africans did not keep a racial republic. The ethnostate was abolished. The correct pairing on this ground is not “Israeli and Palestinian.” It is Palestinian and Palestinian — Jewish and Arab — under one citizenship. No more Israel as a political verb. Yes to Jewish Palestinians as neighbors and citizens.

Intervention is responsible when it ends the subsidy of a supremacist file and begins the administration of an equal one.

People who dislike intervention should take the isolation path and mean it. People who like intervention and still refuse ownership are asking American soldiers and American taxpayers to die and pay as mercenaries for a nationality that is not theirs. Palaestina Quarta refuses that mercenary status. If the republic is in, the republic governs. If the republic is out, the republic stops paying. The present arrangement — in, paying, forbidden to govern — is the arrangement of a court eunuch standing next to a throne.

IX

The Fifty-First State

The political form of Quarta is not a forever-occupation and not a UN waiting room. It is statehood. Palestine, from the river to the sea, as the fifty-first American state. Equal rights for all inhabitants. Jerusalem the crown of that state, which is to say the crown of a republic that has finally put the jewel where the money already is.

Why a state, not a territory without end? Because territories without end are Salutaris II all over again: a ward, a high commissioner, a promise that tomorrow there will be a constitution. States vote. States send senators. States make the inhabitants into a constituency the mainland cannot ignore. If Jewish Palestinians and Arab Palestinians are Americans, their dead are American dead, their schools are American schools, and their claims cannot be processed as a foreign-aid footnote. That is the only mechanism by which a distant republic has ever learned to treat a far province as something other than a stage.

The borders of the state are the historic file, river to sea, because every partition of that file has been an engine of the next war. Prima, Secunda, and Salutaris were administrative districts inside one imperial sovereignty. They were not three countries pretending the hill could be sliced into peace. Quarta recovers that wisdom. Districts may be numbered again. Nations may not be stacked on the same well and told to share it in alternating years.

Equal rights means what it meant when the Fourteenth Amendment was serious. No nationality test for the franchise. No right of return for one people only. No planning law that is a weapon. Holy places protected as civic trusts, not as forts of a preferred confession. Hebrew and Arabic both official in the new state, English the federal language of the file. The Temple Mount and the Haram, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Wall — administered as the common treasure of a republic, which is the only way a jewel stops being a fuse.

Critics will call this imperialism. They are late. The imperialism is already here. It is the imperialism of the checkbook and the veto, the imperialism that does not even get the city. Quarta is the first American proposal in a century that would make the imperialism answer to a constitution instead of to a donor network. If that is too much empire for a Green, take the isolation twin and cut the line. Do not lecture from the middle.

X

What Is Ended and What Is Kept

Quarta ends genocidal Zionist ideology: the doctrine that a Jewish state may be preserved by denying Palestinians land, franchise, return, or even a name. I have called that the cancer I mean to cut out. Not a people. Not a religion. The principle that ethnicity may decide whose life, liberty, land, or political rights matter more. Zionism is dangerous in this telling because the preservation of a Jewish state is treated as justification for denying another people equal political existence. Retire the justification. Keep the human beings.

Quarta treats Jewish Palestinians with respect. They keep their houses, their graves, their books, their Sabbath, their fear and their humor. They do not keep a veto over another people's political life. A man in Tel Aviv is not a crime for being a Jew. He is a citizen-elect of a state that no longer exists to privilege him. That is a loss of supremacy. It is not a pogrom. Anyone who cannot tell those two things apart is not available for civic government.

Quarta answers Palestinian grievances without anointing a faction. Dispossession is answered by equal title under one law, not by a mirrored ethnic state with a new flag. Refugees are answered by a right to live in the country of their parents under American citizenship, not by a forever-camp administered as a talking point. Gaza is answered by being brought inside the same jurisdiction as Nablus and Haifa, not by being left as a sealed reservation whose walls we also fund. The Authority's plaque and Hamas's emirate both become historical costumes.

The Church, in the theology I will not hide, is Israel in the sense that matters to a Christian: Christ's body on earth. The Jewish state is not the Church. That sentence is not a policy tool. It is a refusal to let a modern cabinet baptize itself as prophecy in order to keep a file the United States pays for. Policy is equality. Theology is not a zoning ordinance. Mix them and you get the crusade or the dispensational lobby. Quarta mixes them only far enough to say: no cabinet is holy.

XI

Preconditions and the Twin Path

This doctrine does not run through a Congress that treats Israel as a second constituency. Quarta is implemented after Americans reclaim their own government. That is not a metaphor to make a pamphlet sound tough. It is the precondition without which annexation language is fan fiction. A captured legislature will not vote a fifty-first state that retires the identity it has been trained to call sacred. First the capture is broken. Then the file is opened.

If Washington cannot do it, other crowns have older Christian claims on the same hill. Greece and Italy have both worn pieces of this land in historical fact. Either would be a more natural Christian trustee than a republic that pretends it has no theology and then funds someone else's. Russia or China have the raw weight to impose a mandate if the American century finishes collapsing. I still judge that America retains the capacity it inherited from Britain's *Salutaris II*. Capacity without will is how jewels sit in other men's crowns.

The twin path remains open and should remain open in every telling of this doctrine. Complete isolation: end the aid, end the weapons, end the diplomatic automatic, and refuse to underwrite the next campaign. Israel could not have conducted the war in Gaza on the same scale without American inventory, American money, and American cover. Former taxpayers are not spectators. We are already in the system. Isolation is the way of getting out without taking the hill. Quarta is the way of getting in far enough to make the hill answer to a constitution. Choose. The forbidden option is the present one.

No operations order hides in these pages. There is no targeting annex, no order of battle, no instruction for a raid. This is a political doctrine about title. Title is how empires stop being confused about what they are paying for. The men who want a manual should join an army and wait for a lawful order from a government that has first told the truth about the jewel.

XII

Closing Charge

Name the land as the file names it. *Prima* numbered the coast. *Secunda* numbered the north. *Salutaris* numbered the south. *Salutaris II* was the British Mandate, the last time a Western empire put its own officers on the ground and paid the price in its own dead. Then the jewel passed into a national project the United States was asked to finance and forbidden to wear. That is the story. Everything else is commentary.

Palaestina Quarta puts the jewel in the American crown or it puts the treasury back in American pockets. Jerusalem ceases to be a relic we rent for another man's identity. It becomes the capital of a civic state whose citizens are Jewish Palestinians and Arab Palestinians with the same law over their heads. The greatest empire in the world stops behaving like a pilgrim who pays the guide and is not allowed inside the church.

A crown that will not take its jewel is not modest. It is incomplete.

Let the sequence stand on the wall where anyone can see it. Rome numbered. The Caliphate administered. The British held and left. Fatah printed a state. Hamas printed a resistance. Israel printed a nationality and sent the bill west. Quarta prints a constitution and keeps the people. That is the whole doctrine. It is intervention because we are already intervening. It is responsible because it finally names the owner. It is American because only a recovered America can do it. And it is about Jerusalem because every empire that mattered knew the hill was not a suburb.

Prima · Secunda · Salutaris · Salutaris II · Quarta

The jewel is Jerusalem.

The crown is the republic that has already paid for it.

The doctrine is to wear what we buy.

William Pounds, M.S.

Palaestina Quarta