

SOVEREIGNTY

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Special poll:

A decisive majority of the Right is in favor of Sovereignty, even as a unilateral step

A Time for Sovereignty

Before the window of opportunity closes!

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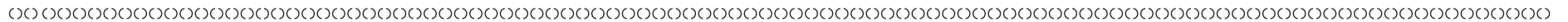


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Editors' note: The positions brought in the journal, in interviews and articles, do not necessarily represent the position of the editorial staff. The Sovereignty platform is a platform for presentation of various, sometimes even contradictory, positions.

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A Word from the Editors

This issue of the Sovereignty Journal that you are reading is being published in the tumultuous days between the Trump program and an additional round of elections.

It seems that the Trump plan has managed to sow perplexity and confusion in the Israeli Right. This is because it has combined the blessed discourse regarding sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and Judea and Samaria with the tragic discourse that views as its objective the establishment of a foreign state in our heartland.

Nevertheless, we must not be mistaken or confused. We must categorically reject an Israeli declaration that recognizes the falsehood of the national rights of another people in the Land of Israel. We must battle against the very possibility that any leader of the Right, certainly the Prime Minister, would consider a program that would culminate in the establishment of an Arab country in the heart of our Biblical homeland.

The dependence of some of us on Arab recalcitrance as the factor that will lead the program to self-implode is a dependence on haggling and the thinking of real-estate merchants; however, we don't make deals and exchanges or conduct business regard-

ing the Land of Israel. We apply sovereignty over the Land of Israel, we build and develop the Land of Israel, and in it we realize the Zionist vision and the longings of the Jewish people throughout its years in exile. The very existence of Israeli agreement to the idea of establishment of a foreign state on the inheritance of our forefathers would constitute a fatal blow to the Zionist idea and its virtue as the expression of our historic right to the Land of Israel. We will not agree to this under any circumstances. The Jewish people have not returned to its land in order to treat it like merchandise.

All this, not to mention the expected existential danger that will face the State of Israel with the establishment of a terrorist state on the mountain ridges overlooking Greater Tel Aviv, Ben-Gurion Airport, Jerusalem and more.

The Israeli leadership must not be duped by the discourse of a demilitarized Arab state, or reliance on the consistent Arab obstinacy. Demilitarization is not realistic, especially considering the blatant objective of the Arab enemy: the liquidation of the State of Israel and the establishment of an Arab state upon its ruins. The statement of principles, the Zionist vision and the secu-

riety warning are intertwined and become one.

In the pages of this issue, you will read of the internal debate among the Right regarding the approach to the Trump plan, about the historic and security value of the Jordan Valley, about the increased activity of the members of Sovereignty Youth who gather from throughout the land under one ideological roof, and about the understanding of the Zionist mission of this generation: the mission of sovereignty.

We contacted Likud ministers and requested to interview them about the Trump plan, but, based on the Likud campaign discipline, they decided to waive the offer. However, between the pages of this issue you will find the positions of other Likud officials.

Likewise, we invite you, in the pages of this journal as well, to join the "Members for Sovereignty" initiative, which grants ever-widening public clout for the information activity of our movement vis-à-vis leaders and decision-makers in the political arena.

**Meaningful and pleasant reading,
The Sovereignty Editorial Staff**

A Decisive Majority of the Right: Sovereignty, Even as a Unilateral Step

A special poll, commissioned by the Sovereignty Movement, reveals the positions of right-wing voters regarding sovereignty and the future of Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley. The survey found that a vast majority of right-wing voters in Israel support the application of sovereignty even without international consent.

According to the data, 89 percent of voters support such a sovereignty as a unilateral measure.

Approximately 41% support the application of sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and the area of the communities. An additional approximately 32% support the application of sovereignty over the entire Area C, which constitutes approximately 60% of the territory of Judea and Samaria and which are

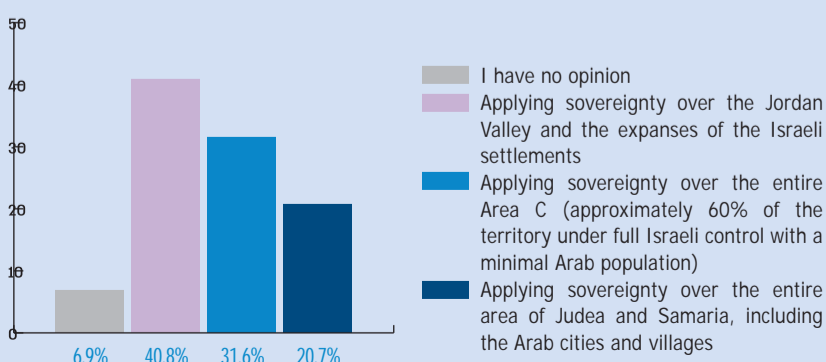
under total Israeli control.

The poll also examined the position of the respondents regarding establishment of a Palestinian state over Areas A and B. 74% would oppose that step. Only 6.5% believe that they would certainly support it.

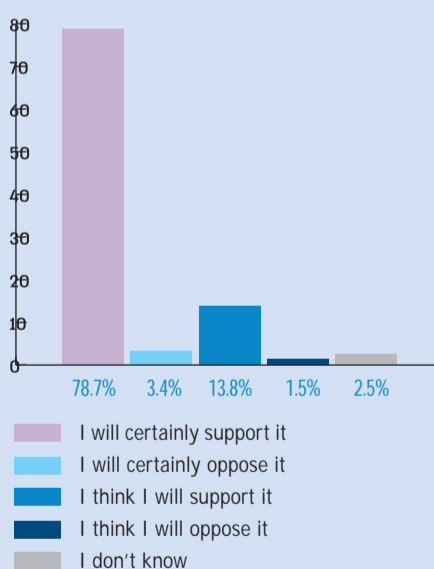
The poll was conducted by the Direct Polls company, on January 6, 2020 among 522 respondents who voted for the parties of the right-wing bloc in the last elections. The margin for error is 4.1% with a probability of 95%.

It should be noted that the survey was carried out a few days before President Trump and Prime Minister Netanyahu announced the highlights of the American president's political plan.

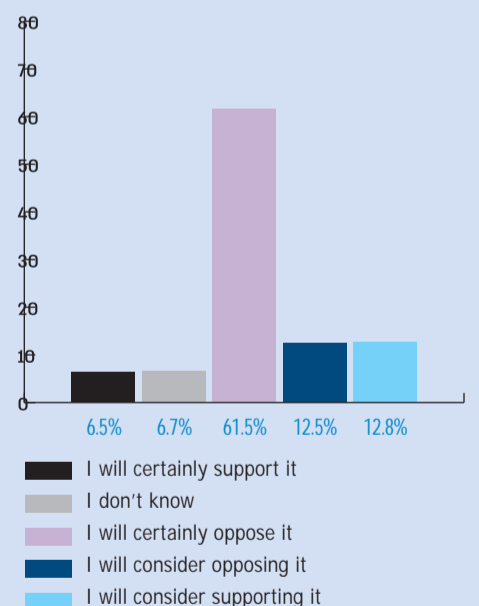
1. The Israeli discourse is about the issue of applying sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. Which of the following possibilities is, in your opinion, the best for the State of Israel?



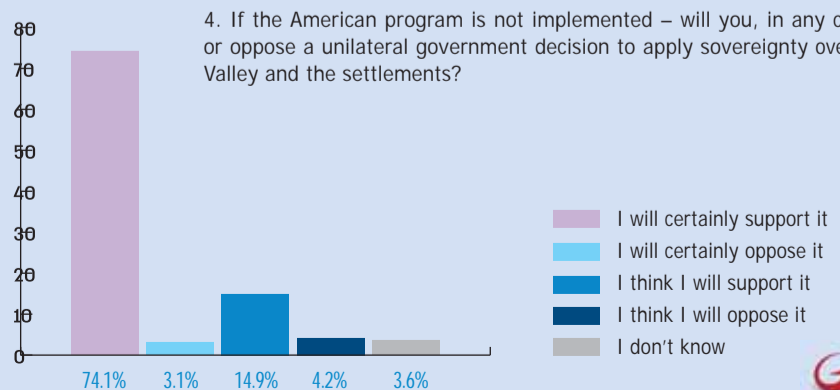
2. Netanyahu announced that after the elections he will apply sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and the settlements. The Trump Administration will, apparently, support Netanyahu's decision – in the framework of the "Deal of the Century" that Trump initiated. Will you support or oppose that step?

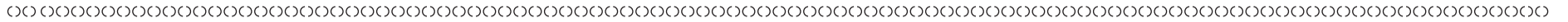


3. If the State of Israel applies sovereignty in part of Judea and Samaria, what is your position regarding establishment of a Palestinian state in the remaining territory?



4. If the American program is not implemented – will you, in any case, support or oppose a unilateral government decision to apply sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and the settlements?





Credit: Transportation Ministry



MK and Transportation Minister Bezelel Smotrich

Sovereignty or Oslo III – It depends on us

The Trump plan creates the danger of a Palestinian state – Minister **Bezelel Smotrich** wants to forestall this by adopting the sovereignty parts of the plan here and now. His greatest concern is that an anti-sovereignty unity government will be formed after the elections, without sovereignty first being applied

US President Donald J. Trump's diplomatic plan, known as the "Deal of the Century," has met with mixed and nuanced responses from the right. Transportation Minister Bezelel Smotrich is convinced that it is important to distinguish between the good and bad in the plan. With all the good that the plan offers, he says, it also contains a serious pitfall that must be avoided.

Smotrich prefers to introduce his comments with a premise familiar to us all regarding the persistent Arab refusal to agree to a compromise of any kind, as expressed by the stream of harsh invective Palestinian Authority Chairman Abu Mazen recently hurled at the plan and the American president.

"The chances that anyone from the other side will ever be willing to compromise – and certainly under these conditions – are infinitesimal. I don't think that what hasn't happened in 70 years will suddenly

happen now, or that the DNA of the Arabs will suddenly change and they will be willing to sign a peace agreement with the State of Israel. While it's true that we cannot and must not rely on that, it must be taken as a given when weighing the facts and making assessments so that we can maximize the outcome."

As is his wont, Smotrich's remarks combine political positions with spiritual-philosophical approaches, and this is reflected here too: "My dilemma is whether the Almighty

is testing us or presenting us with a great opportunity. Based on a great many indications surrounding the matter, I am convinced that the Almighty is offering us a great opportunity, for example because of the important principle that good things come about through good people. When all is said and done, Trump is basically a good person in these contexts: He supports Israel, he moved the US embassy to Jerusalem, recognized Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights,

recognized the legitimacy of the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria – and so in general terms, if this very important thing comes about through him, then G-d willing, it will be a great merit."

At the same time, further to the positive aspects, Smotrich warns of the potential conceptual harm embodied in the plan. "Under no circumstances can an official entity such as the government adopt this plan. We must not recognize the establishment of a Palestinian state under any conditions, and we refuse to accept that in any way, shape or form. Eretz Israel is not ours to give away; it is G-d's and we have no right to relinquish sovereignty in it to anyone that is not the Jewish people. That is why the government has not authorized it and will not authorize it, and if anybody presents it to the government, we will oppose it with all our might, and I assume that we will not be able to continue to be part of such a government.

Credit: Sovereignty Movement



Sovereignty-Yes! A Palestinian State-Never! Sovereignty youth at vigil near PM's residence.

"In order to prevent the risk of such a thing occurring, we need to apply sovereignty now. The assessment is that if we start with the sovereignty part of the deal, there's no chance in the world that the Palestinians will come along for the rest. If, G-d forbid, they decide nevertheless to enter into negotiations that could possibly culminate in the establishment of a Palestinian state, it would be a great danger. Consequently, the question of whether this is a sovereignty plan or Oslo III, a continuation of the Oslo agreements, whose purpose is to establish a Palestinian state, will be determined by where we begin. That is why we are demanding that the prime minister apply sovereignty here and now, before the elections. That will create facts on the ground and almost certainly cause the Palestinians to upset the apple cart. That will minimize the danger.

"The alternative is to squander a huge opportunity to secure and consolidate the settlement enterprise in Judea and Samaria once and for all with major recognition, and as an interim stage that will prove that creating facts on the ground works. We'll need to expand the sovereignty eventually to the rest of the territory too, with international recognition coming later, G-d willing," says the minister. He emphasizes that despite the feeling that the Americans are demanding that the plan be approved en bloc, that is not at all the situation.

"The feeling is that Kushner is trying to slow-walk the process in order to create a team that will draw precise maps that will not prevent the future establishment of an Arab state. But the Americans have not conditioned the application of sovereignty on the entry of the Arabs into the process, and certainly not on its progress. One of the most important innovations of this plan is the American understanding that Israel cannot be held hostage to Arab intransigence. That is why we should take now what according to their plan will be ours in any case later."

"It's important to bear in mind that the alternative is to say no to everything and squander a huge opportunity to move ahead. To say that because there is concern that this opportunity might ultimately



The Deal of the Century. Ceremony at White House

lead to problematic places we should give up on the whole thing is the wrong way to look at it. In this world, we have to manage risks. Anyone who doesn't want to take the chance that he might be injured or worse in a road accident must stay at home and never get into a vehicle," he explains, analogizing from his ministry. "If I thought there

is why he is demanding the application of sovereignty immediately. The name of that danger is a unity government.

"We are demanding that sovereignty be applied immediately and I am certain that Netanyahu can do it. If he wants to, he will succeed in reaching understandings with the Americans

"I expect PM Netanyahu to apply sovereignty even without getting a green light from the Americans"

was a serious danger that this could lead to a destructive outcome, then certainly we would oppose it. I am not willing to sell one thing to get another, but that is not the case here. Here we have a 100% chance of getting the good part with a 99.999% chance of preventing the bad. I don't take the conceptual, declarative implications lightly, and that is why everything must be stated in no uncertain terms, leaving no room for ambiguity."

Nevertheless, as Minister Smotrich sees it, there remains a significant danger and that

and addressing any difficulties there may be with Kushner. Incidentally, I expect him to apply sovereignty even without getting a green light from the Americans. Begin didn't wait for a green light when he applied sovereignty to the Golan Heights and Levi Eshkol didn't wait for a green light when he applied sovereignty to Jerusalem. And the same goes for Ben-Gurion when he declared the establishment of the State of Israel. After the Americans said what they said, we can have a bit of chutzpa and take a step forward even without their agreement."



The Sovereignty-mobile in the streets of Jerusalem

His main concern, says Smotrich, is that a unity government will be formed after the elections without sovereignty first being applied. "The excuse of a government of that kind will be that this is an opportunity to reach a historic settlement and so they won't apply sovereignty, but rather engage in negotiations. That will be Gantz's ladder to climb down from the tree of intransigence. It will also represent a very good opportunity for Netanyahu to be treated with kid gloves by the left, the media and later the judges. That is my greatest fear and as I see it, it is also the reason he made sure that Gantz was also invited to Washington, in order to prepare the ground for a unity government. That would be a very dangerous thing. The only way to neutralize that danger is for the right to win at least 61 seats in the Knesset. In other words Yemina must be a large, strong party because it is the only one that categorically and absolutely opposes a Palestinian state.

As for Netanyahu's speech, Smotrich notes that he was careful not to include the phrase "a Palestinian state" in it. "The only problematic part was when he spoke about the Arab aspiration for self-determination. I consider that problematic although it's not new. Netanyahu said that he doesn't want to rule over another people and he also gave his Bar-Ilan speech. He believes in security and is counting on a demilitarized state, which is of course a fiction, because no one can decide for a sovereign state what it will or won't be. But Netanyahu is a person that believes in strong security. He wants control over the Jordan Valley, a demilitarized state and so on, but he has no problem with Palestinian sovereignty and self-determination. That is not especially new – he said the same things before in his Bar-Ilan speech in 2009, as well as in the Knesset and on many other occasions. The only political party that completely rules out any form of Arab sovereignty in Eretz Israel is Yemina. The most we are willing to talk about is municipal administration. That is why it's imperative that Yemina be as big as possible so that we can prevent this danger from happening."

It is our obligation to apply sovereignty

//MK Ayelet Shaked, former Minister of Justice

"Without a vision, the People will perish", wrote King Solomon in the Book of Proverbs, and he was right. And we, thank Heaven, we have a vision as to the settlement enterprise; a vision as well as a clear plan. For years the Left has been leading the political discourse with its plans and proposals for a solution to the conflict while we were just reacting. We were

"Israel will never have a more sympathetic American administration than the present administration of President Donald Trump. It is essential to take advantage of the rare window of time that remains until the elections for president of the United States, to press on with the application of sovereignty over Judea and Samaria"

always careful to issue cautionary messages and warnings about the danger of the Left's plans, but we did not take the trouble to propose our own cohesive plans. We became experts in managing the conflict instead of striving for its true and just solution. We were left behind.

This totally changed in 2012 when Bennett and I placed the Israel Stability Initiative on the table. The main idea of our plan was and remains the full application of Israeli sovereignty in Area C by the State of Israel's annexation of these territories. By doing this we would eliminate all differences between Israelis who live in Hevron and those who live in Tel Aviv. The law for Elon Moreh would be as the law for Ra'anana. We also proposed solutions for our neighbors. The small Arab population living in

these places would receive full Israeli citizenship after evaluating the possible threat, and would receive a blue identification card. Israel, with its nine million citizens can absorb this, in exchange for a large piece of land, without changing its unique character as a Jewish and democratic state.

The plan obviates the need for Israel to uproot communities, and it does so while avoiding any act that anyone could consider to be apartheid. Our point of departure is that to establish an Arab state in Judea and Samaria is dangerous and irresponsible. The rocket fire from Gaza on Israel would replicate itself, even more actively, from Judea and Samaria. And this time every spot in Israel would be exposed to missile attack. In such a situation, Ben Gurion International Airport would be left to the mercy of terror organizations. If, Heaven forbid, such a hostile state is established, Jerusalem and Kfar Saba would be called the "Judea and Samaria envelope". It would be like establishing Iranistan in the heart of the State of Israel. To this, of course, we will not agree.

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Lately, we are again hearing voices that advocate the application of sovereignty over the Jordan Valley. This is happening under the auspices of the campaigns and because of the elections. There are those who argue that these calls are made to earn easy political points. But actually, I am delighted to hear them, whatever the reason. I am guided by the well-known rule: It came to pass although the intent was different. It's just a shame that we had to waste time on unnecessary elections in order to hear these declarations. They should have been made long ago. The discourse and public pressure for the application of sovereignty must continue, focusing on the resolute struggle in the global political arena, vis-a-vis the Arabs, and by establishing fact on the

ground.

Israel will never have a more sympathetic American administration than the present administration of President Donald Trump. It is essential to take advantage of the rare window of time that remains until the elections for president of the United States, to press on with the application of sovereignty over Judea and Samaria – and in the first phase to apply sovereignty over the Jordan Valley, Ma'ale Adumim and Gush Etzion, which are within the public consensus. Secretary of State Pompeo's declaration provides a special tailwind for the process. The failure to apply sovereignty and the absence of a wise political initiative on our part might become a cause for generations of sorrow.

And it is really that simple. There is no legal impediment to the application of sovereignty in these areas. Not only is there nothing to prevent it, it is also possible to effect by a simple governmental decision, and there is no need for legislation. This step is not an issue for legal debate – but for a courageous political decision. We must face this challenge with open eyes. Just as we fought for the application of sovereignty over the Golan Heights. We must do this because it is the right and just thing to do.

**

The people in the communities of Judea and Samaria are exactly those dedicated and pioneering people who regard building the Land as the true national task. They teach us how to determine the reality on the ground.

And I too learned from them. I learned from Trumpeldor and I learned from the amazing pioneers who settled the land. During my term in the Justice Department, I also dealt with determining (legal) facts on the ground.

I advanced the application of the

Credit Photo: Office of Ayelet Shaked



MK Ayelet Shaked, former minister of Justice

Market Regulation mechanism in Judea and Samaria, which resulted in the normalization of about 2,000 homes; I established a department dedicated to dealing with equalization of Israeli legislation in Judea and Samaria; we registered more than 850 dunams of land in Kfar Etzion in the Land Registry in the name of the KKL-JNF, in order to protect Israeli sovereignty at the site; we legislated the Jordan Valley Regulations to defend the farmer in the Jordan Valley from the idle Arab claims; we established a director of civil services for providing civil services to the Jewish community in Hevron, etc., etc.

Our point of departure is that to establish an Arab state in Judea and Samaria is dangerous and irresponsible

The Yamina party is committed to the process of applying sovereignty and is leading it. It views the process as the direct continuation of Jabotinsky's and Trumpeldor's Zionist vision. It is the legal infrastructure for the great imperative: to build. Not tomorrow. Not after the elections. Today.

The Haskel Plan for Sovereignty over the Jordan Valley

For the past 3 years she has been trying to advance her proposed law for sovereignty over the Jordan Valley, but has encountered political and policy obstacles. This time, Knesset member **Sharren Haskel** is convinced that it will go through and succeed

Currently, in the midst of the election season and with the possibility that the political window of opportunity will close if the Trump era is over by the end of the current year, the discourse on sovereignty over the Jordan Valley is becoming the key discourse in the political and diplomatic sphere, but already more than three years ago, MK Sharren Haskel (of the Likud) proposed legislation to apply Israeli law over this area. She speaks of her stymied efforts.

In her proposed legislation, Member of Knesset Haskel detailed the process of sovereignty in the Jordan Valley and northern Samaria in a number of key phases. The wording of the legislation was cautious, she says, in order to allow freedom to the committee that was to discuss the implementation of the proposal.

The first phase toward sovereignty in the Jordan Valley touches on the practical application of Israeli law in this area. This would mean setting up police stations, regulating matters relating to water, electricity, National Insurance, HMOs and other such institutions. Later on, she explains, the status of temporary residency would be given to about 8000 to 18000 of the Arabs who live in the villages, aside from Jericho, which is located in Area A, meaning that is under the full responsibility of the PA. "A period of 5-7 years will be given for those who receive temporary residency to adjust, at the end of which, they will be able to seek permanent residency if they have not committed crimes.

When 5 to 7 years have passed they will be able to seek citizenship with the condition that they have not committed crimes or security trespasses".

In the preliminary phase, says Haskel, "Anyone seeking permanent residency that has committed a crime would be subject to the law of exile to Area A or the territory of Gaza".

"Now there is a totally different international atmosphere and situation. There is backing from Trump. There was an American green light for the step"

Haskel's attempts to promote the proposed legislation were blocked in the Ministerial Committee for Legislation. "Each time, the Prime Minister's Office requested more time to discuss the matter. They explained that it was because of pressure and problems in the international sphere, until we finally got the green light".

Haskel says that as part of her efforts to obtain a broad agreement in the Knesset for her proposal, she tried to enlist the aid of MKs from Yesh Atid, but was rejected. Memories of this rejection cause her to doubt the seriousness of the Blue and White's people as they now declare their loyalty to the Jordan Valley and promise to promote the application of sovereignty in this area.

Credit Photo: Mk Sharren Haskel



Mk Sharren Haskel and David Elhayani

However, she believes that now there is an opportunity for change. "Now there is a totally different international atmosphere and situation. There is backing from Trump. There was an American green light for the step. All of the reservations in the Prime Minister's Office and of Ayelet Shaked who

to shorten the legislative process with her proposed legislation for Israeli sovereignty over the Jordan Valley as well, but "when Nisenkoren saw that it was our request, he stalled Furer's request as well and stopped the discussion that was scheduled for the next morning".

In this way, Haskel's proposed legislation was frozen again with what is accepted in the Knesset as a gentlemen's agreement between the coalition and the opposition, by which it is agreed that neither side gets to advance their legislation during this period. In light of those political processes, "we still have a way to go before the proposed legislation gets to the plenum, but when it gets to the plenum, the expectation is that everyone who declared that he supports the Jordan Valley will stand behind his word. This would be Gantz, Amir Peretz and the Labor Party. It would be possible to hope for a majority of almost a hundred members of Knesset. You wouldn't expect them to back out now, but we may imagine that the reality will be a little different", says Haskel in a serious tone, aware of the power struggles in the area in which she operates.

And just to remove any doubt, Haskel emphasizes that the process in the Jordan Valley is only a first step of sovereignty, while the goal is sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria.

“Also the Jordanians Want Israeli Sovereignty over the Jordan Valley”

For **David Elhayani**, head of the Yesha Council and head of the Jordan Valley Regional Council, sovereignty over the Jordan Valley is merely a matter of time, and almost all indications point in that direction, beginning with the Israeli Knesset, through the Israeli consensus, and culminating with American support.

David Elhayani, head of the Jordan Valley Regional Council, and for the last two months, head of the Yesha Council as well, is convinced that the discourse about Israeli sovereignty in the Jordan Valley is not merely pre-election talk. “It is coming closer,” he says and identifies unprecedented processes that are underway. One of them is the initial meetings of the steering committee for the application of sovereignty in the Jordan Valley, a committee that was established by the Prime Minister, and whose members include representatives of his office, the Ministry of Defense, the Civil Administration, and others.

“The committee has already convened and that indicates that this is serious,” Elhayani says, and adds, “From my discussions with our people in the United States, I understand that long-term preparations have been undertaken to gain American recognition of sovereignty in the Jordan Valley. The visit of John Bolton (then National Security Advisor of the Trump Administration) to the Jordan Valley seven months ago was the first indicator for me.”

The domestic political arena, too, inspires in Elhayani unprecedented hopes. “In the course of negotiations to establish a government, Yisrael Beiteinu declared that one of its demands

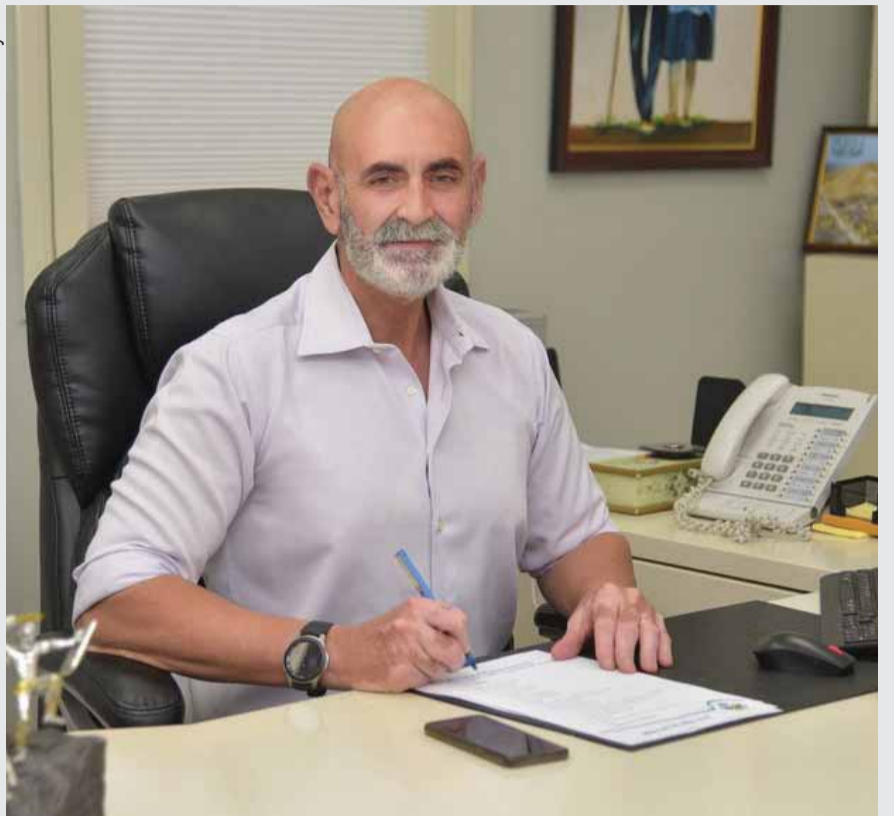
is that the coalition agreement include a paragraph calling for sovereignty in the Jordan Valley. I have heard of a proposal given by a senior member of the Blue and White party with the agreement of Benny Gantz and Moshe “Bogie” Ya’alon to Naftali Bennett and Rabbi Rafi Peretz. In this proposal, one of the paragraphs of the coalition agreement would be sovereignty in the Jordan Val-

The time has come to consider this area part of the State of Israel. It is a geographical strip of land that is longer than the strip between Hadera and Ashdod and has enormous development potential”

ley. All these tell me that it will happen.”

“The people and the politicians have internalized that this step is essential and its significance is that the area will no longer be enveloped in political uncertainty and it will be possible to engage in long-term planning after 52 years of settlement during which we were forced to do it all ourselves, with no organized guidance from the government. The time has come to consider this area part of the State of Israel. It is a geographical strip of land that is longer than the strip between Hadera and Ashdod

Credit Photo: Office David Elhayani



David Elhayani

and has enormous development potential.”

Regarding the mundane reality that is likely to change in the Jordan Valley on the day after application of sovereignty, he continues: “Over the years, they never developed infrastructure in the Jordan Valley. I imagine that the costs of developing Route 90, creating infrastructures of water

and I asked them: Did you think that the Jordan Valley would not develop over the course of forty years? That the agriculture would not develop, that there would be no packaging plants, that there would be no refrigeration facilities? The quality of the electricity supply is inferior.

Regarding the matter of transportation and road infrastructure, the situation is similar. Beyond the resurfacing of Route 90, nothing has been done. Only after eleven years have passed, they are finally making improvements at the Yafit Junction. We had a meeting with the Transportation Minister at which the representative of the National Authority for Road Safety said that the head of the Council is correct and it is one of the roads with the largest number of car accidents and it must be given priority. I have not received a response beyond the fact that there are plans for the future. I am anticipating a directive that already tomorrow, the matter will rise to the head of the list of priorities and beginning tomorrow, they will prepare a program for improving the road that will begin being implemented within two years.

Elhayani is convinced that the population of the Jordan Valley, which to date has not increased beyond 6,000 residents, will rise dramatically **Continued on page 25**

The Jordan Valley – Strategic Depth Essential for Israel's Existence

He skips between the Likud, his party, and the Labor Settlement Movement, his ideological cradle, and in both, he finds consensus surrounding sovereignty over the Jordan Valley. As the former Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the IDF, **Uzi Dayan** explains why the Jordan Valley is a security necessity and presents a systematic program for the development and strengthening of the region to the east.

Inside and outside the Knesset, General (res.) Uzi Dayan is very active in bolstering Israel's foothold in the Jordan Valley. In his drawer, he has a systematic program for significant progress in the region, and he leads more than a few tours for decision makers from Israel and abroad along Israel's eastern border. He considers the present era as a rare opportunity to generate

but a national issue. Although the reference is to Israel's security border, it is important to remember that the children of Israel entered via the Jordan River to conquer the land under the leadership of Joshua bin-Nun. The name of the point where the crossing took place is Maberot HaYarden, regarding which I am conducting a campaign to recognize it as a National Heritage

"Without strategic depth that enables the deployment of early-warning systems, and interception of rockets and missiles and provides a security perimeter until the mobilization of reserve forces, it is not possible to defend the state"

a bona fide political revolution and to lead to the application of Israeli sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and the northern Dead Sea.

As one who, in his past, filled a variety of military posts, among them, commander of the commando unit of the Chief of the General Staff, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, head of the National Security Council, the talk with him about the significance of the Jordan Valley, focuses on the security aspect. However, he insists on beginning this talk with a reminder: "This is not merely a security issue,

Site."

To date, the site is recognized as a site sacred to Christianity, where according to Christian tradition, Jesus was baptized. However, under the leadership of Dayan, special tours are being conducted as well as a special ceremony in the framework of what he characterizes as the "First Aliya Festival" on the tenth of Nisan. The first aliya was not in 1882, but rather 3,293 years ago, when the Israelites crossed the Jordan at the Jordan River crossings, and entered the Land of Israel."

Alongside the site's Jewish-

Credit Photo: Uzi Dayan



Uzi Dayan leads a tour at Maberot HaYarden

historic value, its security aspect cannot be overlooked, an aspect that receives a broad consensus among security-minded people from the Center-Left. Dayan explains:

"The Jordan Valley is the only line that fills the three essential criteria for national security that defensible borders must satisfy: The first criterion is that it provides strategic depth. The average distance between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea is 64 kilometers, which is the minimal distance required in these days of missile threats and attacks. 'The Green Line,' in contrast, affords only a very short distance to the sea, with a narrow strip in the middle containing 70% of the Israeli population and 80% of Israel's industrial production. 'The Green Line' is not only impossible to defend, as it has already been proven in the past, but it also encourages the enemy to attack and bisect the country."

"Moreover, any country that seeks to exist must sustain a security perimeter against the possibility of an external conventional attack. We have seen in the past that Iraqis participated in every war against Israel by dispatching forces. "The Jordan Valley is the only place where it is possible to deploy two divisions," Dayan says. When he is asked about the contention that in an era of missiles, land expanses have no security value, he responds decisively: "That is real nonsense. Without strategic depth that enables the deployment of early-warning systems, and interception of rockets and

missiles and provides a security perimeter until the mobilization of reserve forces, it is not possible to defend the state, not to mention the need for the necessary air and electromagnetic expanse. Therefore, this statement is nonsense."

Provide us with an expanse equal to the distance that it is prohibited to sail next to vessels of the American Navy.

"In 1967, when the Green Line was the border, it meant that in the Tulkarem region, the distance was 11 miles to the sea. That is a distance that is so short that there is great temptation to attack Israel. In UN Resolution 242, which was adopted after the Six Day War, it does not say that it is incumbent upon Israel to return to the prewar borders, but rather to return to "secure and recognized boundaries." It was clear then that the outbreak of the Six Day War resulted from the lack of strategic depth. When strategic depth is non-existent, the temptation is great."

In his talk, Dayan cites an anecdote that he mentioned to his American counterparts during a visit to Capitol Hill: "The Americans have a principle that it is prohibited to draw nearer than 40 miles to a US Navy vessel without receiving approval from the captain. I noted on Capitol Hill that we are willing to suffice with those 40 miles."

A third critical element for Israeli security that renders Israeli sovereignty in the Jordan Valley essential is control over the external boundaries to combat terrorism. "Anyone who does not effectively

Continued on page 25

Applying sovereignty to the Jordan Valley – The time is now

Col. Ronen Itzik - Harel Division Commander in the past and today researcher and lecturer, member of the Protectors of Israel organization

The borders of the State of Israel have always been determined by settlement lines. The fact that we are talking about civilians – many of them pioneers in every sense – on Israel's front line, represents the ultimate justification for their protection. When this interfaces with an international border, it means that full governmental sovereignty should be exercised on the ground.

Sovereignty designates the limits of the government's scope of action. The territory that lies within the sovereignty lines falls under its complete authority for every decision concerning it, while what is beyond does not. In geographical terms, the international border creates the framework of sovereignty. Beyond it, the government lacks authority or international backing to act.

A look at Israel's borders clearly illustrates how to fully exercise sovereignty:

In the north, the Blue Line communities on Israel's border with Lebanon are on the border itself (the Blue Line is the line recognized by both Lebanon and Israel as an international border). Some are contiguous with communities located beyond the fence in Lebanese territory, for example, the Ramim ridge near Metula, which touches on many Lebanese villages. The

situation in the Golan Heights is similar, as is the situation along the border with Jordan. Israel's borders are determined de facto by the communities.

This means that IDF forces, which act to exercise Israel's sovereignty and protect its borders, are even more important. We are not talking about the defense of an abstract entity or border, but rather the defense of a living, thriving community, the homes of families and their children. Every soldier understands the importance and crucial nature of his actions when he can see at close range the essence of why he is there – to defend those families, those communities, the settlement line. Defense there is essential and there are no two

that democracies have become postmodern and patriotism is the refuge of the scoundrel, studies show that citizens' understanding of how vital it is to have an army to defend their country leads to motivation to serve, both in the regular army and in the reserves. When citizens do not appreciate that importance and crucial need, there is no motivation to serve in the army. It's as simple as that. Israel's brief history has taught us that where there is no civilian settlement, the expanses of defense tend to be more "brittle." In other words, it becomes easier to withdraw in return for a political "mess of pottage." When there is no need to uproot people from their homes, it is much easier to withdraw, and when it comes

"The Jordan Valley is a vital territory in strategic terms and instead of turning it into a barren "buffer," it should be transformed into an area bustling with life"

ways about it.

Many studies have shown that the motivation of citizens to serve in the army is primarily due to their perception of how crucial it is to do so. Even today, in the 21st century, where it is claimed

to disputed areas, this is all the more so. Settlement represents a paramount component of motivation in narrowing politicians' decision-making space for setting borders that require the uprooting of the civilian population from their



Col. Ronen Itzik

homes.

And now for the discussion in principle – Why do we have a state? And why a Jewish state?

A glance at Israel's map shows that more than 70% of its population is concentrated along the coastal plain, in the area between Hadera and Gedera, in a strip about 4-8 km (2.5-5 miles) wide and 100 km (62 miles) long. This is a dense area to which many threats are posed, certainly in an era of wars that involve rockets and missiles. The very same expanse is where all of Israel's strategic infrastructures are located: gas, electricity, water, communications and traffic arteries.

We have concentrated our entire strategic infrastructure and the majority of our population in a small, threatened space. In this era, a different mindset is needed, certainly when Israel's land reserves are dwindling and the housing demand is increasing. Where will we house future generations? In what expanses will we be able to live?

A state must carefully address these challenges, and this is all the more so in a country with Israel's tiny dimensions. Every kilometer we concede, or when we build infrastructures far from the border, means not fully tapping into our potential. The purpose of a state, surely a democratic one, is to enable settlement in every possible expanse, from one end of the country to the other, from one border to another. In tiny



Convoy of tractors in the Jordan valley calling for "Sovereignty Now!"

Israel, there is no other option. We must not concede any more territory. We have shrunk to the point that our land reserves have become far too small.

These are burning issues at a time when some are putting forward the notion of turning the Jordan Valley into a "security buffer zone." This type of approach is superficial and lazy. Why define it in this way? Would it be a settlement-free expanse that military forces would protect as part of a security arrangement? That is unthinkable.

In an era when our entire eastern border is in jeopardy, with the Iranians aspiring to expand their hegemony and with the presence of Shiite militias, or alternatively terrorist organizations in the style of ISIS or Al-Qaeda creating chaos right on our borders, are we to be expected to station troops in defense of an abstract area devoid of civilian infrastructure? That fundamentally undermines a soldier's understanding of what and against what he is defending. Moreover, creating a "security" settlement-free buffer zone in the Jordan Valley means establishing an eastern security strip. We Israelis remember the lessons of our stay in the security zone in Lebanon very well. We remember how it began and how it ended, and how we fled with our tails between our legs.

The idea of establishing an uninhabited security zone in the Jordan Valley is unreasonable and irresponsible, and would just be a countdown to completely giving up the Jordan Valley. The approach should be just the opposite – the Jordan Valley is our strategic defense belt eastward. Settlement of the Jordan Valley should be encouraged and those living there should be further empowered. The Jordan Valley is a vital territory in strategic terms and instead of turning it into a barren "buffer," it should be transformed into an area bustling with life.

When contemplating the natural beauty and resources of this part of Israel – the Dead Sea to Hamat Gader, Jericho to Jerusalem – we must retain our focus. It is a wondrous land that embodies the bedrock of our existence and our ancient cultural infrastructure. We as Jews have a strong historical bond to this region, and when the question of sovereignty is involved, that bond has far broader implications.

Anyone who knows anything about security understands the importance of the Jordan Valley as a developed and protected region. The chaos in Iraq and the Iranian aspirations in our region mean that the time to declare sovereignty over the Jordan Valley is now. Giving up sovereignty in the Jordan Valley in a state as narrow as ours would pose an existential threat to Israel, no less.

Jordan will not impede the US peace plan

It is actually convenient for Amman to have Israel retain security control over the Jordan Valley. And this is a rare opportunity to advance and potentially realize Israel's security needs for a cemented border in the east with the support of the world's top superpower // Prof. Efraim Inbar

Credit: Israel Bardugo



Prof. Efraim Inbar

Jordan has been a strategic partner of Israel for many years, even before the 1994 peace treaty the two nations inked. The main reason for this is the common enemy - the Palestinian national movement.

Israel and Jordan share various common interests, including support for American presence in the region, opposing to pan-Arab and pan-Islamic nationalist movements and, of course, fighting the rise of radical Islam, Sunni or Shiite. Amman also sees eye to eye with Jerusalem on the issue of the Iranian threat.

Israel assists Jordan deterring extremists from threatening it, while Israel, for its part, sees Jordan as a buffer state between it and the extremist entities east of the kingdom.

Jordan is certainly not interested in a neighboring political entity that could develop into another Hamas-controlled Gaza. The Israeli military control of the Jordan Valley is convenient for Jordan, as it protects Amman from the west. This was also the case when

"Jordan is certainly not interested in a neighboring political entity that could develop into another Hamas-controlled Gaza"

Israel ruled the Jordan Valley exclusively before the second phase of the Oslo Accords was implemented in 1995, which defined this area as Area C.

It should be noted that Jordan did not use Israel's control over the unified Jerusalem as a pretext not to sign a peace deal – all it asked for was to retain its position as the custodian of the holy Muslim places on the Temple Mount. Jerusalem is more important than the Jordan Valley.

Since the signing of the peace agreement, Jordan's dependence on Israel has increased.

Israel supplies it with increasing quantities of water, far beyond its obligation under the deal, and it also supply's it with natural gas. In addition, the Israeli lobby in Washington is working overtime to secure US economic aid to Amman.

Moreover, it is hard to imagine that Saudi Arabia, other Persian Gulf countries or Egypt will exert any pressure on Jordan to protest against an Israeli annexation of the Jordan Valley.

Faced with the threat from Iran and the possibility of the US pulling its troops from the region, Israel remains a regional bulwark against Iran's aspirations to achieve regional hegemony.

True, Amman is facing domestic opposition to bolstering its relations with Israel. It is difficult to explain the benefits of good relations with Israel to ordinary Jordanians, especially with respect to Jordan's security need for Israeli control of the Jordan Valley. But Amman's political ability to deal with the prevailing anti-Israeli sentiment in Jordan cannot be discounted. The regime has been doing this for a long time via its effective security organs and impressive political flexibility. Unlike other Arab nations, Jordan weathered the Arab Spring well, so the regime can be trusted that it knows what it's doing.

We are facing a rare opportunity to advance and potentially realize Israel's security needs for a cemented border in the east with the support of the world's top superpower. It is time to pursue an initiative highlighting the need for defensible borders while being sensitive to the demographic issue.

Of course, declarations about sovereignty are not enough. What is needed is deeds – settling many more Jews in the Jordan Valley and uncompromising governability.

Efraim Inbar is President of the Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security (JISS)

Hendel: There is no sovereignty? It is mostly the fault of the right-wing governments

MK Yoaz Hendel views the discourse of sovereignty as nothing more than spin, and is convinced that ironically, a government led by Benny Gantz will bring about practical sovereignty over the Jordan Valley

Credit: Flash 90



MK Yoaz Hendel

The conversation with Yoaz Hendel, perhaps the most prominent right-wing symbol of the Blue and White party, is belligerent and cutting. He has been disappointed by the various right-wing governments as he speaks about the Jordan Valley, and the accusing finger he points especially, perhaps as might be expected, toward the Netanyahu government.

"Strategically, they have not advanced one centimeter in the past 52 years, they have only regressed, and it is mainly the right-wing governments' fault"

A moment before he presents his sharp criticism for the supporters of sovereignty in the government, the Knesset and outside of these institutions, he clarifies his basic position, which is "For me, the Jordan Valley is part of the State of Israel and is also the most important part from a strategic point of view. Without the Jordan Valley, all of the arguments over Amona and Nativ Ha'avot is symbolic and nice, but much less important. The Valley is a strategic asset. Yigal Alon understood this, but since then things have deteriorated, especially in right-wing governments".

MK Hendel particularly accuses the organizations calling for sovereignty, such as Nahalah, Women in Green and others,

who cooperate with what he defines as hot air ballooning. "In each election, they talk about annexation as if it is going to happen, and afterward they explain why it didn't happen. It's always the Left's fault, the Arabs' fault, the political partner's fault or the opposition's fault. It is really just foolishness. There has never been a serious discussion here about strategic objectives, it's just spin and everyone collaborates in this spin".

"The right-wing parties collaborate because they are in power, but strategically, they have not advanced one centimeter in the past 52 years, they have only regressed, and it is mainly the right-wing governments' fault because the more they talk the less they do", says Hendel, who believes that while movements such as the Sovereignty Movement hold conferences on the idea of sovereignty, in reality, in every election they support those who do not really intend to apply Israeli law. "They don't want it. It's not a matter of capability", he asserts. "If they cannot do it, they should make no promises, but for the past 6 elections they have promised to annex parts of Judea and Samaria".

Hendel finds proof of the Likud's apathy toward the matter of sovereignty in the three years of Donald Trump's term in the White House and his sympathetic administration. "This is the most sympathetic president to Israel regarding Judea and Samaria, and in the last election there was a real American proposal to apply sovereignty under the condition that there would be a unity party of the Right and the Left. Fate

ordained it and there is a majority in Knesset that the Jordan Valley is a strategic necessity. This is what Likud and Yamina claim, despite the fact that they have not done anything with this. This is in Blue and White's platform and in part of the Labor party, but there was no decision to have a unity party. The right-wing parties refused to do it because it was important for them to maintain Netanyahu in power. I do not think that any one of them really wants to apply the law. It looks to me like an attempt to gain the mandates of uninformed people before the elections".

Hendel's remarks are indeed resolute, although they contradict the resolute statement of another member of his party, MK Ofer Shelah, who states "The annexation of the Jordan Valley has not been and will not be part of Blue and White's platform". We request Hendel to resolve this contradiction and to this end he refers us to the party's head, Benny Gantz.

"When Benny Gantz says that he will develop the Jordan Valley and turn Ma'ale Ephraim into an urban center and that we will double the number of farms, this is not idle talk". "What is beautiful about this party is that a third of its voters are right-wing, a third is left-wing and a third is in the center and this can also be seen its members of Knesset as well. When you talk about natural partners, I am more of a natural partner with someone who has served in the army and has fought with me shoulder to shoulder than with Litzman. We may end up in a coalition with Litzman, but the basics are Zionist, as we can hear from Gantz, Ashkenazi and Bogey Ayalon.

Forget me and Ofer Shelah. We are level 2". Hendel views the chance for a government led by Blue and White and supported by the Arabs as spin with no basis in reality. "I do not foresee a coalition with Tibi, he says.

When asked if he foresees his party applying the law over the Jordan Valley, or whether he favors a practical channel for building, without a legislated political definition, Hendel responds: "They accuse us of being Mapainikim, so I am willing to accept the good part of 'another acre and another goat'. To me, to abandon the Jordan Valley and leave it uninhabited as it is now, and not connect it to the infrastructures and to offer it in peace talks as happened during the Netanyahu government is the opposite trend. Long before the

Hendel's remarks contradict the resolute statement of another member of his party, MK Ofer Shelah, who states "The annexation of the Jordan Valley has not been and will not be part of Blue and White's platform"

spin about sovereignty I expect to invest resources there and I certainly hope that we will arrive at a constellation that will allow for the application of sovereignty under suitable conditions, but I do not intend to play Netanyahu's spin game.

“In no uncertain terms – Rabin supported Israeli sovereignty in the Jordan Valley”

Credit: JNF Hasbara



JNF Chairman Dani Attar

Under his leadership, the JNF has invested a considerable sum in agriculture and numerous projects in the Jordan Valley. **Dani Attar** may be disappointed in his party, but he still plans on returning to its leadership team: “The Israeli Labor Party’s position on matters of security and settlement has lost its standing”

In recent years the JNF has invested in a number of agricultural, educational and cultural projects in the Jordan Valley. As far as JNF’s chair, Dani Attar, who is also a member of the Israeli Labor party, is concerned – such investments are very much in keeping with his political views.

“There is a connection between the fact that my opinions are no longer those of the party’s mainstream, as was the case in the past, and the fact that we are a much smaller party today”

“Yes, there are ongoing debates on these matters within my own party, but my personal worldview is no different from that of Rabin’s or Yigal Alon’s and all those other leaders who believed the Jordan Valley must be an integral part of the State of Israel. We cannot give up our

hold on the Jordan Valley nor on Israel’s inland mountain range. My stand on this has been unequivocal throughout the years.” Attar adds further that it is his belief that “such matters must be formalized through negotiations, if there is somebody to talk to, of course.”

As to Rabin’s take on the issue of the Jordan Valley, Attar asserts that the former definitely endorsed the idea of Israeli sovereignty in the Jordan Valley. “In no uncertain terms that was his position. I heard it from Rabin personally and spoke to him at length about it. It was his unequivocal position.”

In Dani Attar’s party, the Israeli Labor Party, opinions differ. It is his contention that as the party moved away from an ideology promoting strong security and the building of new communities across the land, the smaller it got, until it dwindled to its current size. “There is a connection between the fact that my opinions are no longer those of the party’s mainstream, as was the case in the past, and the fact that we are a much smaller party today. I see a direct correlation between the two.

Historically, the Israeli Labor Party always placed emphasis on settlement and building new communities, as well as maintaining strong security; however, this ideology has eroded with time, and so has the unity of the party. When I talk of building new communities or settling the land I mean in every part of the country, especially in areas which play a role in determining the country’s borders. Today, people are too scared to talk about it, but it used to be the very creed of the Israeli Labor Party: the borders of the country are set by the furrows of the plow, and drawn in blood and sweat.”

“Except for the six or seven Knesset seats belonging to the Yesh Atid party, all the other seats obtained by the Blue and White alliance are comprised of former Labor voters, who, potentially, might still find their way back to the Labor party if the latter reverts to its historical values. The new and equally important values that the party has been advocating need not come at the expense of such values as settlement and security,” says Attar, and recalls that even in the days when the historical values

he spoke of were given top priority, there were still those who held onto leftist ideology - people the likes of Avraham Burg, Yael Dayan, Salah Tarif

“It used to be the very creed of the Israeli Labor Party: the borders of the country are set by the furrows of the plow, and drawn in blood and sweat”

and Nawaf Massalha. “We were witness to the fact that it is possible to unite under one umbrella, even if there is a broad range of ideas. But since that time, the party’s left wingers have become more prominent, while those who were more inclined to right-wing ideologies have dwindled in numbers.”

Attar is firm in his belief that the Israeli Labor Party will revert to its core values. When his term at the JNF ends, he believes he will go back to compete for a place in the national leadership.

'They are Shoving down our Throat a Ticking Time Bomb Wrapped in Sovereignty

A time bomb. This is how Atty. **Elyakim Haetzni** defines the Trump plan. He sees Netanyahu as a talented salesperson with the rare ability to sell anything for his political goals

Atty. Elyakim Haetzni, one of the giants of the settlement movement in Judea and Samaria, sees and hears how Netanyahu and Trump are presenting the Deal of the Century and he almost explodes. "This is a right-wing plan?", he asks, and cannot understand the cries of joy and applause in the Rightwing camp.

"If a month ago, I had brought up a plan where the Land would be divided, the idea of two states for two peoples would be accepted, there would be a capital for the state of Palestine in Abu Dis and other parts of Jerusalem, leaving contiguous blocs of settlement while leaving 15 key communities as enclaves and isolated islands, I would have added the offer to give the Arabs parts of the Negev and Emek Iron with the part of the Negev bigger than the Gaza Strip. In addition, I would have proposed a connection via a tunnel, not under Israel's control, between Judea and the Gaza Strip, a connection that would cross the Negev, by way of which they could transport anything without oversight. Why, they will be able to build a port in Gaza as a sovereign Palestinian territory and via the tunnel they could bring into Judea and Samaria weapons or even a battalion of Turkish soldiers, just as such soldiers were sent into Libya. Would anyone define such a plan as a right-wing plan?", Haetzni asks, leaving this great question hanging in the air.

"Anyone would define such a plan as a leftist plan, but because of Netanyahu's genius, he manages to package the plan in such a way that the Right celebrates. He does this by using a special technique, saying that such a state will not have an army and the military presence there would be Israeli and that the settlements would remain in place and that the border crossings, except for the border crossing to the Gaza Strip, would be in our

hands and that the Jordan Valley would be in our hands as well as the skies and the electromagnetic field, and that they would say that Israel is a Jewish state and Gaza would be disarmed and other gestures. Netanyahu says that it would only be called a state, but in essence it is autonomy".

Haetzni defines this as a "sucker trap" and he goes on to clarify: "All of the other things would not survive one day, just like all of the Oslo stipulations". He dismisses the attempt to depend on the phenomenon described by the late Abba Eban, that 'the Arabs never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity', which the plan's supporters use to view the possibility of a Palestinian state as an idea that has no chance for becoming reality. Haetzni reminds us that twice the

what the Oslo Accords were built on, which were responsible for the deaths of more than one thousand five hundred Jews. So I do not accept the delusion that none of them would sign. Someone will be found to sign, just as there were two others that signed and we got the Sinai evacuation and Oslo".

"From all that has been promised there will be nothing left but the word "Palestinian sovereignty" that will control everything like the emaciated cows in Pharaoh's dream. By dint of sovereignty he will invite in the Turkish army and no one will say a word to him that he committed to something years ago", says Haetzni, adding: "It will happen because, among other things, the entire world will be on their side".

Haetzni calls on us to listen well

"Anyone would define such a plan as a leftist plan, but because of Netanyahu's genius, he manages to package the plan in such a way that the Right celebrates"

Arabs proved that they actually did not miss opportunities. "There was one statesman, Anwar Saadat, perhaps the greatest statesman, who indeed did sign an agreement and there was also the scumbag Yasser Arafat, who also signed letters, dressed in a suit, about recognizing the State of Israel as required of him by the wise men of Oslo. Well, he founded the Tanzim terror group at the very moment when he was pledging that there would not be terror anymore".

Haetzni notes that the number of rifles that could exist in every Palestinian police station was specified in that same document, but "did anyone actually think that they would keep any of their commitments? However, this is

to the American President's words. "Trump says that he is giving a gift like nothing else, sovereignty. Afterward, following this sovereignty, all the rest will follow. No restrictions that you try to place on them will remain in place. This is the issue, and anyone who does not see it is committing suicide".

And what about Israeli sovereignty that is included in the Trump deal? "It is dividing the Land", says Haetzni, and finds a direct link to the Meretz party platform, which also proposes a plan based on the same principle. Atty. Haetzni views these clauses of sovereignty as nothing more than the soft material with which Netanyahu wraps the time bomb, so that it will slide more easily

Credit: Hadas frosh Flash 90



Former MK Elyakim Haetzni

down our throats.

"From the point of view of the Land of Israel, Netanyahu is not Left, but he is also not Right. He is indifferent. He has no deep instinct toward the Land of Israel, he does not see the Land of Israel above all else", says Haetzni, who calls on the Right to unite in a struggle against the Trump plan. If this doesn't happen, he says, it means that there is no Right in Israel.

Haetzni indeed devotes a significant part of his remarks to the existential security threat to the State of Israel alongside a Palestinian state, but also emphasizes the ideological aspect. "We must not say that we object to the establishment of a terror state, because even if we know that it would be a state of English lords, we should not give our land to anyone, not even to a state of Einsteins or the world's nobility. The fact that they are terrorists is another matter".

"This is why I welcome the Sovereignty Movement's reaction, which is that we are not selling our homeland, even at a good price. We hear talk about the bad price, but would we agree even at a good price? We don't sell our mother and we don't sell the homeland".

And to all of this, Haetzni adds that he wonders about democratic conduct surrounding the American plan. "The Soviets had the 'Politburo', where they discussed such things. Before Netanyahu came out on behalf of the People of Israel to say these things and to receive any plan from Trump, had there been any discussion in the Likud, in the government, in the cabinet, in any forum? Perhaps in his kitchen with Sarah. One moment, are we a democracy? He obligated us without anyone making a decision. Has anyone who voted for the Likud voted for this? We are living in a democracy. And no one says a word".

A Plan that is entirely Cut off from the Reality of the Middle East

American guarantees in the Trump plan? There is no commitment for the next president and it hardly obligates Trump himself. Will economic gestures bring about moderation among the Arabs? It is cut off from reality and the lessons of history // **Yoram Ettinger**, in an interview

Credit: shlomi Shalmoni



Yoram Ettinger at 2nd Sovereignty conference in Hebron

Yoram Ettinger, former emissary to Washington, views Trump's deal as very concerning proof that the architects of the plan are disconnected from the reality of the Middle East, and when this disconnect is mixed with the exaggerated leniency regarding Palestinian behavior since the fifties, the result could be tragic.

"The assumption that a Palestinian state can be demilitarized and detached from terror and the education for hatred and the reality in the Middle East are things that contradict each other", says Ettinger, who lists the shortcomings of the plan one by one, and it seems that each one could serve as a cautionary message for Israeli statesmen.

"Israel is an independent and sovereign state and as such, she must protect her independence in her political and military decisions, as Ben Gurion did during the War of Independence when he was faced with enormous American and international pressures. Despite those pressures he annexed western Jerusalem to the Jewish state and did not agree to evacuating territory in the Negev and the Galilee, which the world considered occupied", he says, noting also the steps taken by Levi Eshkol during the unification of Jerusalem and construction there, in opposition to pressures from Washington.

"In December '81, Begin declared the application of law in the Golan. President Reagan, who was a friend of Israel, announced that he had suspended the agreement for security cooperation, which

was the most advanced between the states, and instituted a freeze on the supply of weapons to Israel. Begin responded to this by saying that no threat or punishment would deter him from annexing the Golan Heights. Today the situation is much easier for Israel. The reason for this is that Israeli control in the Jordan Valley and Judea and Samaria promotes Israeli deterrence, thus contributing to Israel's position as a force multiplier for the Americans". Ettinger states that "A strong

"Israel is an independent and sovereign state and as such, she must protect her independence in her political and military decisions, as Ben Gurion did during the War of Independence when he was faced with American and international pressures"

Israel in Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley is an insurance policy for the Hashemite kingdom and the pro-American countries in the Persian Gulf".

Ettinger also bases his arguments on his diplomatic experience and familiarity with American diplomacy. He seeks to put Trump's promises that American guarantees will prevent the future Palestinian entity's arming of terrorists in proportion, regarding the American constitution. "We must welcome American guarantees and commitments, but not fall into the trap of believing that Trump's promise will obligate his successors. The American constitution makes

clear that a presidential promise that is not confirmed by two thirds of the senate does not obligate any president that succeeds the president who made the commitment, and even the president who made the commitment can rescind his commitment, according to the changing situation".

There have been several precedents for such reversals of commitment, notes Ettinger. One of them was from the days of Jimmy Carter, who abruptly

cancelled an agreement with Taiwan after concluding that it was preferable to favor Chinese interests over the signed agreement. Another precedent concerns us: "Ben Gurion withdrew from Sinai after the American commitment that if Egypt violated the disarmament and closed the Straits of Tiran, the U.S. would act to remove the closure and restore the disarmament", notes Ettinger, adding that the commitment ended when the Tiran Straits were closed in the days preceding the Six Day War. "Levi Eshkol appealed to Johnson showing him Eisenhower's pledge and the response was that it was a presidential decision that

was subject to revocation. In his colorful language Eisenhower added that 'it is not even worth a dime'. It seems that Ben Gurion and his advisors were not familiar with the complexities of the American administration and the American constitution".

"Moreover", Ettinger remarks to anyone who might have forgotten, "Trump is not president forever. In the best case he will be president until 2025, but perhaps only until 2021. If Trump indeed will not be in the White House in 2021, he will be replaced by a Democrat president, who will deem it most important to crush anything bearing Trump's fingerprints. I can imagine a conversation between a Democratic, very dovish and ultra, ultra liberal president, (and there is no lack of such candidates) and a future Israeli prime minister of Israel, who will ask why the U.S. does not react to the future Palestinian state's weapons stockpile and why he ignores the continuous incitement. The president will reply that he is not Trump. He actually understands the wishes of the Palestinians and that no one expects them to be angels".

In the future, cautions Ettinger, if Heaven forbid, a Palestinian state will arise no one in the world would accept the denial of its right as a sovereign state to arm its security services.

"Moreover, no one knows what will be the result of the upcoming elections in Israel, but there is certainly a chance that a leftist government will arise here. Does anyone

Continued on page 26

'The Trump Plan recognizes the Jewish People's Right to the Land of Israel'

He was part of the delegation composed of heads of Judea and Samaria to Washington and heard Netanyahu shortly before the Trump Plan was publicized. He is aware of the dangers but he views the plan as a historic opportunity // **Shlomo Ne'eman** in an interview

Credit: Eli Itkin



Shlomo Neeman

Shlomo Ne'eman, head of the Gush Etzion Council, hears the great concerns that his colleagues among the settlement leaders have about the Trump plan, and is careful not to disregard the warnings and admonitions, but nevertheless prefers, as is characteristic of him, to be filled with optimism.

"We have fundamental recognition of the Jewish People's right to the Land of Israel here", begins Ne'eman, when he was asked to list the benefits of the plan, regarding which he issued an announcement that concluded with the celebratory words, "With G-d's return of the exiles to Zion we were as dreamers – it is a bright morning and an auspicious time for the entire People of Israel".

Ne'eman views the importance of the Trump plan primarily in the declaration of the essential principle behind it, along with practical steps of sovereignty. "Until this point, the nations recognized in a general way that the Jews deserve a state, but no more than that. They claimed that we deserve a state because we are in the Land of Israel, so it should be here, but there was no precise definition of our historic right to the Land of Israel. This is the source of all of the disputes over Jerusalem, the Temple Mount, etc. When Trump speaks about Rachel's Tomb, the Cave of the Patriarchs and the Temple Mount as part of Israeli sovereignty, this is de facto recognition of the fact that the Land belongs to us".

"Today, explains Ne'eman, "the wheel has turned. They indeed do recognize that the Arabs should have a state, but they say they should have a state here because they live here, although in essence, the place belongs to the Jewish People.

This is the most dramatic change since the Balfour Declaration. It is this approach that gives rise to the concept of applying sovereignty over the Jewish communities, which signifies that it is not occupation. It is not annexation because it belongs to us; it is the application of law over territory that Israel possesses legally. This is a statement of international principles that are identical to everything that Israel has been telling the world for many years".

One other thing that Ne'eman counts among the benefits of the plan is that "there is no need to wait and hear about the other side's position. We have to be in contact with them but their position is irrelevant".

After all of this, Ne'eman admits that the clause regarding, in principle, the establishment of a Palestinian state in the future, he cannot accept. "This is indeed an essential problem with this plan. We of course do not recognize their claim. We know how to convey complex messages and we will not accept the plan as a package. I understand that the Americans want to take care of the Arabs too, and think that they have responsibility for the Arabs. This is not new to me, but we must not agree to it in any way. We must not blink in this matter". As we know, Ne'eman was part of the delegation of Yesha leaders who met with the Prime Minister in Washington before his meeting with the American president. In those meetings, he says, Netanyahu was presented with the demand not to agree to the idea of a Palestinian state, and in Ne'eman's opinion, this is the reason that the phrase "Palestinian state" was not included in Netanyahu's speech, even if it

was possible to understand from Netanyahu's words that this is the direction that the plan leads. "We must employ every means of protest and pressure, all of the People of Israel's healthy power, to resist this".

According to the Trump scenario, 15 Jewish communities would be left as enclaves, balloons tied by the 'string' of a road to Israeli sovereignty. Three of them, Karmeit Tsur, Meitsad and Ma'ale

" This plan will be a phase of redemption only if it is handled by a right-wing government"

Amos are part of his council, the Council of Gush Etzion. About coping with such a reality he says: "I am not familiar with the details and meanwhile there really are not many details to know. We are dealing with the application of sovereignty over all of the Jewish communities, even those that are called enclaves, and to treat them as if they are under our ownership". However, he emphasizes that they will not be enclaves inside a Palestinian state but enclaves within Area C, meaning that it would be a very similar situation to what exists today, but with the addition of the application of sovereignty and Israeli law over the communities themselves. About the clause regarding freezing the settlement enterprise, he emphasizes that it would not be a construction freeze in the communities but rather construction in Area C that is outside the area of sovereignty,

and reminds us sadly, that this has been the situation since '92.

"Actually, we have here a reverse plan of phases. We receive what we get now and prepare for the continuation", says Ne'eman, who hedges his words with the necessary caution.

"My optimism is one way of seeing it, but the truth is that this plan can also be disastrous. There are two conditions for this: First, that we, the people for sovereignty and the Greater Land of Israel, act everywhere from the understanding that it is a plan for sovereignty and a plan of phases to end the military rule in Judea and Samaria and that we will not surrender to the American discourse on the plan. We have a very important role in the matter". "The second thing is that we must understand that this plan will be a phase of redemption only if it is handled by a right-wing government. It might be a disaster if it is handled by a left-wing government that could change the order into an Arab plan of phases, meaning first we establish a Palestinian state on 40 percent of the territories and later conduct negotiations over the sovereign 30 percent. We must be vigilant both in the political sphere and within the Right camp, not to allow the discourse of a Palestinian state to dominate us".

Ne'eman summarizes his position thus: "We are at a very dangerous junction, but with many chances. The question is whether we want to endanger ourselves by taking the opportunity or whether we want to skip the moment. It is possible to skip the moment, to say that we cannot endanger ourselves and that we must fight the plan.

I personally do not think this way".

What will change after we apply sovereignty?

// Yehuda Yifrah

In truth, not much will change externally after the government's decision (which, hopefully, will be passed soon). But in terms of substance, a great deal will change. At long last, we – the Israelis living in the communities of Judea and Samaria – will no longer be subject to a military government. At long last, neither the Civil Administration nor the military commander in charge of Judea and Samaria will be running our lives. This transformation will have many implications and consequences and it is important that we understand them.

Let's start with day-to-day life and human rights. As we all know, Israeli law does not apply in Judea and Samaria; Jordanian law applies there. However, the State of Israel applies laws that involve individual obligations to the settlers and that is why all Jews living in Judea and Samaria must serve in the military, pay taxes and if caught committing crimes and misdemeanors, criminal proceedings will be instituted against them in Israel's criminal courts. But the courts do not apply laws that have a territorial aspect to Judea and Samaria because doing so might be interpreted as de facto annexation.

Here are a few examples in a nutshell: Labor protection laws

do not apply to businesses in Judea and Samaria, including those laws aimed at protecting women. An employer in the Barkan Industrial Zone who decides to fire a female employee because she is pregnant may do so and no one can stop him. Environmental protection laws do not apply in Judea and Samaria either. Inspectors of the Ministry of Environmental Protection cannot fine the owners of quarries that cause pollution or the operators of landfills that illegally pollute the environment. The Sports Law does not apply in Judea and Samaria and consequently, sports clubs there do not receive the benefits given to similar clubs inside the Green Line. Here is a particularly

outrageous example: Even the National Road Safety Authority law aimed at saving lives does not apply in Judea and Samaria, and the same goes for the laws pertaining to local elections. **Until now, the settlements have been forced to run an obstacle course to get things**

done. Take for example the Special Education Law, a social-minded, humanistic law of the first order. Sadly, it does not apply in Judea and Samaria, and this causes grave harm to the level of services received by special education students in the area. In order to adopt the law, a special decree by the military commander of Judea and Samaria is needed. The problem is that every decree of this nature is forced to undergo a virtual *via dolorosa* by the legal counsel of Judea and Samaria and the deputy Attorney General, who inspect it with a magnifying glass to see if it complies with the Geneva and Hague Conventions, and to make sure that radical leftist organizations

"At long last, neither the Civil Administration nor the military commander in charge of Judea and Samaria will be running our lives"

don't plan to appeal it to the High Court of Justice. In order to issue a decree that applies an Israeli law to Israel's heartland, it is necessary to practically duplicate the entire convoluted process that the law has already completed in the various Knesset committees. The difference is that in the Knesset, the MKs discuss the laws in videotaped and documented committee sessions, and here the process is carried out by lawyers in uniform under conditions of zero transparency. It can take years before the decrees are published, and the process by which they are updated is prolonged and exhausting.

But we're done with that. That bad movie is over. On the way there, I recommend getting rid of all the unnecessary bureaucrats that handle day-to-day affairs. Remember the saga of the sewage treatment plant in Ofra?

Credit: Yehuda Yifrah



Yehuda Yifrah is a journalist and the head of the Legal Desk of Makor Rishon

The plant was intended to serve not only the Jewish population of Judea and Samaria but also the Palestinians living in the area, to save the groundwater from severe pollution and provide clean and affordable water for both Jewish and Palestinian farmers. But the environment never interested the radical left organizations that predictably petitioned the High Court of Justice to halt construction of the sewage treatment plant. The whole matter was stuck for many long years in a legal instance that doesn't know how and is unable to conduct evidence hearings. But that too will end, and just as matters related to infrastructures in the rest of Israel are not decided in the High Court of Justice, but rather in administrative proceedings, that will be the case in Israel's heartland too.

And we haven't even discussed the level of services provided to residents by the Civil Administration, which is a small, inefficient, weary, bureaucratic military body, devoid of any vision, and most importantly, outrageously slow. No matter how dysfunctional it is or how awful its decisions, only in very rare cases is it possible to submit an administrative appeal. No more. From this day forward, the residents of the Jewish communities of Judea and Samaria will speak directly with government ministries, and government ministries will be able to include Judea and Samaria in their plans from the outset rather than under the table. The national committees for planning and construction and other **Continued on page 26**

Credit: Arutz 7



Road Sign "to the Civil Administration"



Jews are Indigenous to Israel

//By Dr. Nan Marie Greer

Jews are told not to deny the historical inhabitation of others, despite recent migrations (Avneri, 1982; Gilbar, 1990; Gottheil, 2003; Grief, 2008; Jarvis, 1937; Kushner, D. (1986); *Palestine Blue Book 1937*; U.O. Schmelz, 1990; and, Ziff, 2010, among others) of these ethnic groups. Jews are often told they are colonizers, settlers, and not indigenous to their homelands, despite profuse archaeological, cultural, sociological, historical, literary, geographical, political, ecological, biological, and genetic evidence to the contrary. While sites such as the Dome of the Rock are built on top of pre-existing sites, such as the Bait Hamikdash/Temple Mount, Jews continue to be told by many in the international community that their sacred sites, including burial grounds of their acknowledged forefathers, now recognized under foreign names are no longer theirs (UNESCO, Kraków 2017).

The indigenous peoples of Israel have been called a "prototypical" first nations people (Cotler, 2008). It is said Jews have consistently maintained the strongest claim as aboriginal people in their ancestral homeland, with their existence and roots widely documented, acknowledged,

and recognized (Baker, 2017). In 1992, the League of Nations recognized them as having a pre-existing right and historical connection to the land (Gold, 2007). They are known as a small indigenous minority in the Middle East, periodically persecuted, perennial victims of discrimination, yet maintaining their demographic and cultural ties to their ancestral homelands for over 26 centuries (Hertz, 2014).

Their rights have been denied, minimized, and attacked viciously in national and international circles - against precedence, and against universally accepted human rights, policies, and norms. Despite this, to protect them, there exists a desperate need to understand what it means to be indigenous under international laws and precedence.

After consulting indigenous groups around the world, Mr. J. Martinez Cobo, then Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, prepared an internationally recognized definition of indigenous peoples (1987).

This definition became more formal with notable document PF11/2004WS.1/3 (under the United Nations Department of

Economic and Social Affairs-Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues), albeit still falling short of critical protections. For the purposes of litigation, a working definition was established and published in United Nations (UN) UN documents, and thereafter updated and utilized in international litigation in National, Regional, and International Courts.

This was first tested in 2001 with the Mayangna indigenous group under the InterAmerican Human Rights Court (*Awas Tingni vs. Nicaragua*), and has been subsequently upheld in numerous cases in regions around the world, including in the international level. This definition was the foundation of what is now referred to as the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous (UNDRIP) (2007, September), signed by a majority of countries, and with many articles endorsed by countries close to signing. In 2015, the definition was revised



Dr. Nan Marie Greer

- 3) Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources;
- 4) *Distinct* social, economic, or political systems;
- 5) *Distinct* language, culture, and beliefs;
- 6) Form non-dominant groups of society; and,
- 7) Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as *distinctive* communities.

Critical to this definition is the identification of indigenous people having a language and belief system *distinct* only to the area claimed as ancestral land, and not generalizable to

"Israel has declared its Jewish population as indigenous to the Nation of Israel, and to the World using two critical documents"

to incorporate key language distinguishing indigenous from populations of long-standing presence (including those tribal in nature). This United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Fifth Session, Fact Sheet 1: Indigenous Peoples and Identity. 2015 "Who are Indigenous Peoples?") formally defines indigenous under international law as follows:

- 1) Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member;
- 2) Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies;

other areas. This in and of itself identifies Jews as indigenous to Israel. Furthermore, Jews are a minority in the Middle East, thus defined as non-dominant populations of society. The presence of Jews as a non-dominant group in the region and a minority at the time of statehood formation is also critical to the adherence of the definition of what it means to be indigenous in international circles.

While it is impossible for more than one indigenous group to exist on one piece of land, the declaration of Jews as indigenous in no way denies the right of **Continued on page 27**

Credit: Amir Levi Flash 90



UN Gathering

“The World is More Receptive to the Claims for Israeli Justice than in the Past”

Pompeo's declaration regarding the legality of Israeli settlement in Judea and Samaria has a profound legal background and great historic and political significance

// An interview with Dr. **Dore Gold**.

Dr. Dore Gold, a senior Israeli diplomat, former Israel ambassador to the UN, and former director-general of the Foreign Ministry, is convinced that it is incumbent upon Israel to present its truth in the international arena, even if that arena is inundated with falsehoods bordering on the anti-Semitic.

Dr. Gold considers the declarations of US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, regarding the legality of the Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria, as extremely dramatic and significant. He is aware that this position is far from convincing Israel's persecutors in the world, and they are many. At the same time, he sees it as a dramatic impetus for the improvement of Israel's position in the international legal arena.

“Unfortunately, there is an impression that there is an international consensus that determines that settlement in Judea and Samaria is contrary to international law. In his reasoned pronouncement, Pompeo negated that approach and he thereby significantly improved the point of departure of the Israeli position,” Gold says.

International law is composed

of several parameters that constitute a basis for the accepted positions in public deliberations. The majority of these parameters are international conventions, the conduct of countries over a period of time and whether or not that establishes a legal norm, and the positions proffered by senior international justice officials in various articles and tribunals, Gold explains. He emphasizes that Pompeo's declaration did not come as a detached slogan, but rather as the conclusion based on the determinations of respected, leading American jurists, who analyzed the political and legal reality and determined that the Jewish settlement activity in Judea and Samaria is indeed legal.

“In Syria, the Shiite militias expelled large numbers of the Sunni population. This is precisely the case for which the convention was designed, but no treatment of that sort has been forthcoming”

“There are prominent jurists who related positively to the legality of Jewish settlement and to its demands for sovereignty over the territory,” Dr. Gold says and presents several examples, first among them the statements of Prof. Eugene Rostow. “He was the Under-Secretary of State in the Johnson Administration, he took part in the drafting a paragraph in Resolution 242, and he comes from a very impressive academic background as the dean of the Yale Law School. He stated

definitively that the settlement activity is legal.”

Professor Rostow expressed a decisive position against the claim that Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria is contrary to the Fourth Geneva Convention.

“That convention was intended to negate the non-humanitarian practice of the Nazis and the Soviet Union during World War II, a practice of massive transfer of population to occupied territories either for the purpose of extermination, enslavement, or in order to establish colonies.” Rostow attacks that contention and emphasizes: “The Jewish settlers in the West Bank went there voluntarily. No one expelled them or relocated them to that territory. They were

not transferred or exiled by the Israeli government. Their move there is unrelated to the horrific objectives that the convention came to prevent.”

Incidentally, this interpretation of the motive that led to the formulation of the Fourth Geneva Convention was set in the speech delivered by the US Ambassador to the UN in Geneva in 1990. The ambassador, who had participated in the deliberations of the Nuremberg court and the sentencing of high ranking officials of the

Credit: Yonatan Zindel Flash 90



Dr. Dore Gold

Nazi regime who had survived the war, determined that the prohibition that appears in paragraph 49 in the convention regarding transfer of population to an occupied territory was designed to prevent countries from acting in the way that Germany conducted itself during the war. Dr. Gold notes the attempt to equate the Nazi action and Israel's conduct and states that this comparison is more than repulsive. When asked if he would characterize it as anti-Semitism, he answered in the positive.

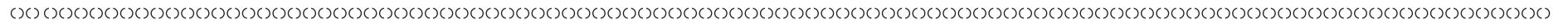
“Israel has the strongest claim to the territory.”

An additional example is the statement of Prof. Steven Schwebel, who “began his career as a legal adviser in the American State Department, was promoted and served as the President of the International Court in the Hague. He wrote an article in the *American Journal of International Law*, the most significant journal in America on the topic of international law, in which he established that “Israel has the strongest claim to the territory, including all of Jerusalem, relative to the claims of Egypt and Jordan, who then



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo

Continued on page 27



Credit: Umit Bektas Reuters



President Erdogan

The Palestinian Authority and Turkey

There is no Sovereignty. Legal suits will Follow...

Jurists from the PA sift through archived documents received from the Turkish government and are preparing to claim plots of land throughout Judea and Samaria. In the absence of sovereignty, someone is trying to determine legal facts on the ground.

While the Israeli leadership hesitates to promote sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, it seems that the other side does not rest for a moment. Along with focused mobilization of the PA leadership with European auspices to take over lands in Area C that are subject to exclusive Israeli control, and along with selling land in Area B to any Arab who is interested by real estate agents from the PA, there is a very disturbing report on preparations for personal legal suits by Arabs claiming ownership of land in Judea and Samaria under the auspices and with the backing of the Turkish government.

According to data reported in Israel Hayom (January 3, 2020), by journalist, researcher and author Nadav Shragai, people from the PA received 140 thousand microfilm pages from the Turkish government, photographed and organized carefully, that in the coming years could have a dramatic effect on the State of Israel's ability to continue to hold many assets – lands and buildings throughout the Land including in Judea and Samaria and eastern Jerusalem.

These documents are copies of the Ottoman archive that include tens of thousands of land registration documents

in the territories of the Ottoman Empire, which ruled in the Land of Israel from 1517 to 1917. The Palestinians view those documents as a game-changing weapon in the battle against Israel for land. They are already using it to overturn Israel's hold on real estate and land in various areas of the Land, writes Shragai.

Since they understood the tremendous significance of these documents to the legal status of real estate throughout the Land, an archive copy was deposited at the beginning at the PA consul in Ankara. The assumption was that Israeli parties would attempt to get their hands on them, however because of the Israeli silence a significant part of the archive was transferred about a year ago in a festive ceremony to Betlehem. The key figure at the Betlehem ceremony was Yusef Adias, the Palestinian Authority Minister of Endowments, who received the files relating to assets of the WAKF in Beit Lehem and Jerusalem.

Currently, says Shragai, attorneys from east Jerusalem are already turning routinely to the Ottoman archive to locate asset registration and land ownership. Those documents help them in their legal battles that they conduct to hold onto many plots of land, especially throughout Jerusalem.

They are Preparing for Hundreds of Claims against Israel

Shragai also tells of a report by Said al-Haj, a Palestinian researcher specializing in a Turkish matter, since 2015, on a very

large project in cooperation with a body called The Turkish-Palestinian Forum, in which a routine transfer was made of hundreds of thousands of documents from the Ottoman archive, in order to select all of the documents connected to the Palestinian matter. Al-Haj explained that in this way, the Palestinians will be able to sue the owners and serve hundreds of suits against Israel – in the International Court as well – to prove “the Palestinian rights”.

As noted, while Israel hesitates in defining sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, the PA is acting energetically.

According to the report, Director of the Palestinian Lands Authority, Judge Musa Shacharna, has begun conducting registration of lands in the Judea and Samaria Tabu in Jerusalem, with the support, among others, of Turkey and its archives. In an interview that the Wafa News Agency gave, Shacharna explained that the process has already begun and that no one can stop it. He defined the process as strategic and explained that by registering lands owned by Palestinians living abroad, he is also realizing the right of return.

Shacharna estimated that by 2023, legal registry of all lands in Judea and Samaria will be completed. Shragai says that PA head Abu Mazen and people from TIKA, the Turkish Development Agency, headed by Dr. Sarder Gham, a close associate of Erdogan, are involved in the initiative on the side.

Shragai continues with the comment that “if we need to illustrate the possible influence of this latest Turkish process, it is similar to a better-known case, when the Greek-Orthodox church used this method by refusing to extend its leasing contract with the State on a great deal of land under its ownership in Jerusalem. As a result, thousands of Jewish families in the capital are now living under the threat of evacuation from their homes”.

As we may recall, the Sovereignty Movement issued a caution in recent years regarding the dangers of being blinded by the idea of a “status quo”. The co-chairwomen of the movement, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, emphasize that while parties on the Israeli Right believe that with the existing challenges of sovereignty, it is easier to make due with the current situation, from the sense that the status quo would freeze the situation, however, the other side is acting in every way to determine facts on the ground. This happens both in the practical field of illegal Arab construction and illegal Arab take-over of agricultural lands, as well as in the legal sphere, all which will embarrass Israel in the future.

"If the public doesn't wake up, I fear what will happen"

The discourse of the struggle on corruption is viewed by **Pinchas Wallerstein**, as a mirage designed to rake in a majority for a policy returning us to Oslo days. "Giving up Netanyahu as the leader and his accomplishments will be hugely costly and tremendously dangerous. We must not be complacent. The situation is reversible"

Pinchas Wallerstein, former Chairman of the Yesha (Judea and Samaria) Council and former Chairman of the Benjamin Regional Council, sounds very concerned about the coming elections. "The main problem is that the public has bought into the campaign, 'Only not Bibi,' and hasn't understood the national political significance of this campaign," he exclaims.

"The discussion is about the State's future concerning sovereignty and settlement. The opposing side says nothing, which means a lot about what it really thinks about sovereignty and the State of Israel. It is necessary to arouse the public to understand that once the Trump-Netanyahu collaboration window-of-opportunity are closed, we can only dream of a similar situation in the future."

The window of opportunities, which Wallerstein speaks about does not begin and end with the joint struggle against the Iranian atom bomb, the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem, recognizing Israel's sovereignty over the Golan, and the legality of the settlement enterprise, but also the threat of the Criminal Tribunal in The Hague. "It should be understood that the threat by The Hague is not necessarily about Jewish residents in Judea and Samaria, but for anyone who serves in Judea and Samaria; for any soldier who serves here." This threat could be most severe without a resolute government and without American support."

"If the public doesn't wake up, I fear what will happen,"

Wallerstein repeatedly stresses. He believes that an Israeli waiver of benefits of cooperation between the two leaders will be at "a huge price and fraught with tremendous danger. We will have to get up the next morning and start all over again. It's not at all like the situation we're in now."

Does this mean that we must support Netanyahu's leadership and only that? Is there any place for another leader in the Right camp?

"In the short run, we have no other choice. It is also not currently topical for the

"It is necessary to think what will happen to us, Heaven forbid, if Gantz and the Arabs form the next government. We have to think about how we can arouse our complacent public"

coming elections," Wallerstein says that he observes that the wrangling within the camp about Netanyahu's character and his conduct, will lead to the destruction of the Right. "If the dispute is not about the future of the State and sovereignty, but rather about Netanyahu's corruption, it causes many members of the nationalist and the Right camp not to vote, or to vote for parties that won't pass the threshold, or to vote for 'Blue and White' because there are a few rightists there.

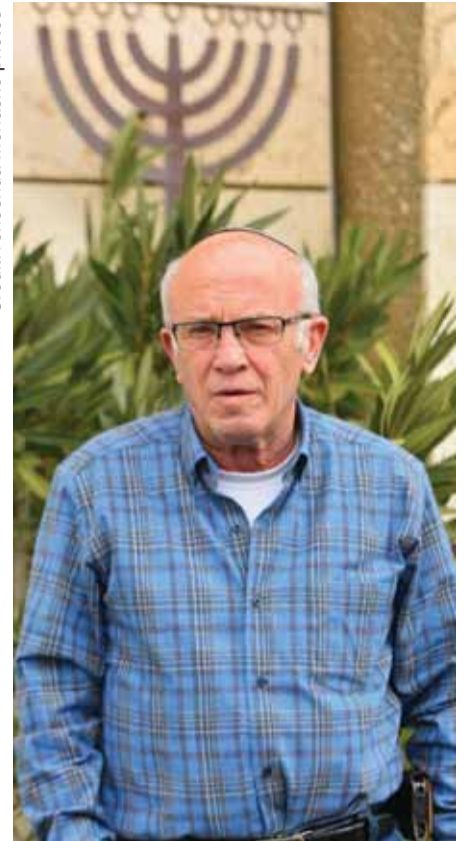
"There's a definite question here and one can't vacillate. It is necessary to think what will happen to us, Heaven forbid, if

Gantz and the Arabs form the next government. We have to think about how we can arouse our complacent public to realize that the elections are about the future of the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria and the identity of the State of Israel. You can't hesitate about such things. Therefore, the order of the hour is to clarify what these choices are, and how we can avoid a situation in which we will have problems we will then have to deal with. We passed the 1st and 2nd Intifadas with an unprecedented number of casualties because of the Oslo crimes but we dealt with them.

Israeli society has become stronger, but it is always necessary to consider things responsibly, not in black and white, but in shades of gray, and in light of that, reach a decision. Therefore, if I have the Jewish People's interest in mind, the decision is unequivocal and it's forbidden to be complacent."

Wallerstein welcomes the change in the political discourse of the past decade, from discourse on a Palestinian State to one on sovereignty and other topics but emphasizes that so far there has not been an irreversible move. However, under leadership by

Credit: Yehoshua Menashe photos



Pinchas Wallerstein

a government with another outlook, things can definitely roll back. "We can, Heaven forbid, return to the European concept that there should be a Palestinian state with the right of return for Palestinian refugees who will fill the area. We must not rest on our laurels and think the situation is irreversible. The situation was indeed improved beyond recognition. Most of the Zionist public places itself from the Center and to the Right. Therefore, the leftist campaign does not deal with both Left and Right but with corruption and presents itself as if it intends to continue the rightist policy, but that will not happen. They're not the Right."

Wallerstein notes that he is very sad in face of what is happening in "Israel Beiteinu" and Avigdor Lieberman, because he has the power to take votes from the Right. His hatred of Netanyahu is absolute." It belongs to the right voices that we will lose. There is a percentage from the Right that will vote for Lieberman and a percentage for "Blue and White," and some will not go to vote. And then there will be some who will vote for ideological parties that do not pass the threshold. This is the reality and forgive me if I am stressed and very worried. We cannot allow complacency to get a grip on us."

We Take our Leave from the Priestess of Love of the Land

“Every day that passes without the application of sovereignty promotes the establishment of a Palestinian state. The proper and appropriate solution is Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria.” So stated Geula Cohen, of blessed memory; a fighter and guide along the paths of her love of the Land. A farewell column

Credit: Nati Shochat Flash 90



Geula Cohen z"l

The Land of Israel and the Jewish people have recently bid farewell to the glorious, inspirational Israel Prize laureate; a fighter, an eternal lover of the Land, and a genuine leader, Geula Cohen.

The Sovereignty Movement took its first steps together with Geula Cohen. Despite her advanced years that slowed her down, Geula Cohen insisted in participating with us in numerous activities in the field. When she was no longer able to attend herself, she would send her written or videotaped blessings, encouraging and leading us to more activity, and to adding another level in the building of the Land of Israel and possession of it.

The steering committee of the Sovereignty Movement conducted its first meetings in Geula's house. Her eye-catching house was the natural place to convene and deliberate over the manner in which it is proper to promote the vision

of sovereignty, to assess its challenges, and to suggest solutions and methods of coping. Her age did not prevent her from passionately speaking from the heart of her love of the Land and her sincere concern for its future.

Over and over again, she related how she was able to exploit the political window of opportunity to

nity and to prepare an organized, systematic contingency plan to be publicized when the time comes. Over and over again, she exhorted us to fearlessly continue and move forward on the path to application of the vision.

In an interview that she gave to the first issue of "Sovereignty," she decisively declared that "every day

because you never know which will be the day for this law or that one. When I attempted to pass the Jerusalem law, I went from one member of Knesset to another in order to prepare for the opportune political hour. As long as there is leadership like Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, the issue will not be removed from the agenda. They are vigilant and I foresee them searching for the historic opportunity to place it on the agenda. But that is not enough. There must be activity in the Knesset as well. There you have MK Orit Struk from Hebron who is taking action on the inside."

The Sovereignty Movement feels a deep commitment and a great privilege to continue in the path of Geula Cohen, who passed the baton in the relay race of Zionism to the next generation that is continuing in the same spirit and with the same determination, motivated by the same sense of mission and faith until the realization of the dream of generations of the Jewish people, sovereignty in its land.

May her memory be enshrined in our hearts and serve as a compass for our activities.

“The path to achieve this does not include only conventions and conferences, but also parliamentary preparedness and waiting for the historic opportunity appropriate for legislating the sovereignty law”

advance the application of Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem. Over and over again, she underscored how important it is to prepare for that window of opportu-

that passes without the application of Sovereignty promotes the establishment of a Palestinian state,” and immediately added the positive step that follows the negative warning: “The proper and appropriate solution is Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria.”

“The path to achieve this does not include only conventions and conferences, but also parliamentary preparedness and waiting for the historic opportunity appropriate for legislating the sovereignty law. There must be a group of Knesset members who will propose the legislation and at the appropriate opportunity raise it and pass it in the Knesset. This requires parliamentary activity.”

Geula called upon us all “to lay the groundwork and place the matter on the agenda on a daily basis,



Geula Cohen at the Knesset



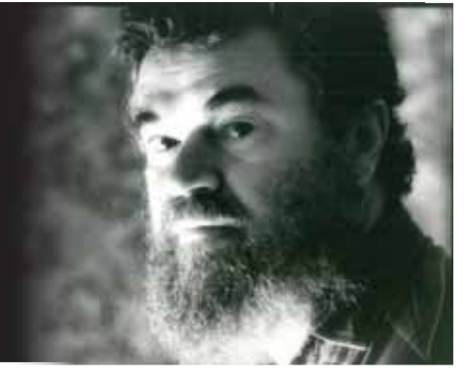
Geula Cohen at the Knesset

Credit: Yaakov Saar, Laam

Credit: Yaakov Saar, Laam

Prof. Robert Wolfe z"l

The Invisible Star Who Lit Up our Path



The Sovereignty Movement recently bid farewell to one of the first people who understood the value of publicizing the vision, and who invested his energy and resources into inculcating the vision in the Israeli public: Prof. Robert Wolfe, of blessed memory.

This issue of the Sovereignty Journal is dedicated to the memory of historian Prof. Robert Wolfe z"l, who recently passed away.

Prof. Wolfe was one of the most passionate supporters of the idea and activities of the Sovereignty Movement and was among the leaders of the revolution of

in human history. The light of the Jewish People has cast its radiance all over the earth, yet the source of this light is not seen."

Due to Prof. Wolfe's humility, tens of thousands who support his ideas and who are indebted to him for furthering these ideas in Israeli society, never knew him in his life. Therefore, in these lines, we will tell you about a wonderful individual who stood alongside us, supported us and radiated light, like that same star, without being seen.

We expressed the main ideas at the funeral:

"I am a Zionist because I believe in the Jewish People."

Prof. Wolfe was overjoyed when he saw how, step-by-step, we were making progress in inculcating the vision of sovereignty among the Israeli public and their political leaders. He was well aware that the declarations of loyalty of politicians to the vision of sovereignty were consistent with the people's hearts and that ever-wider circles were becoming aware of the greatness of the hour and the greatness of the unique vision to strengthen the nation of Israel in its land, leading to security, stability, and especially, a return to the most fundamental principles of Zionism and Judaism.

In the chapter "Why I am a Zionist" in his book, he writes: "I am a Zionist because I believe in the Jewish People. My study of history has convinced me that the Jewish People was the force behind the ideologies of Christianity, Islam and Marxism, the three dominant ideologies of the modern world, but unfortunately all three assumed an anti-Semitic veneer in order to make their way in a world

his actions made waves, is making waves and will continue to make waves until the realization of the vision. He believed that ideas cannot be inculcated only through contemporary social media, but rather through deep and serious written content. That is why he chose to be the supporter of the publication of the Sovereignty Journal, in Hebrew and English, reaching hundreds of thousands of homes in Israel and abroad, as well as statesmen and politicians in Israel, Europe and the United States, thereby disseminating the idea of sovereignty, that has become the main topic of political discourse in Israel today.

Prof. Wolfe's abiding request of us was "to preserve the land and protect the people." We will honor this request and use it as a compass for guiding our activities and we will bequeath it to the growing number of people who support the Sovereignty Movement and its values. We will continue to spread awareness of the ideas that are formulating and becoming reality. It is our hope and prayer that others

"This issue of the Sovereignty Journal is dedicated to the memory of historian Prof. Robert Wolfe z"l, who recently passed away"

consciousness in Israel concerning the vision of sovereignty and its implementation. He was one of the first to understand the value of providing information (*hasbara*) as a generator of reality. Prof. Wolfe was the sole supporter of the publication of the last issues of the Sovereignty Journal, a very costly initiative, as is known. His wife, Leah, continues in his path and her contribution enabled the publication of this journal that you are holding.

Prof. Wolfe contributed his energy and resources for the benefit of the future of the Land of Israel and the People of Israel who reside there. He began his book **Dark Star** with the following words: "A dark star is a star that gives light yet is not seen. At night, the sun is such a star for us. We see its light shining from the surface of the moon, yet we do not see the sun." He added, "The purpose of this book is to show how the Jewish People has played the role of the dark star

The late Prof. Wolfe was a unique historian who delved into the research of the history of the Jewish nation with the goal of seeking the channel that would lead the Jewish people to dwell safely in their land. After 30 years of teaching history, he made aliya 19 years ago through a love of the land, loyalty to its people, and a firm belief in "*Netzach Yisrael*," the eternity of Israel.

In our meetings with Prof. Wolfe, we discussed and consulted with him extensively on the vision of Israeli sovereignty over all parts of the Land of Israel, and on the best way to counter the terrorism of the Palestinian Authority. He offered his wise advice with measured and responsible consideration. Meetings with him were short and focused, but provided us with many important insights regarding the best way to continue the path of our pioneering, ideological movement.

"'Jews are like everyone else, only more so.' We have to be 'more so,' because that is the way that we can be a 'light unto the nations.' Israel is that light, and that is why I am a Zionist"

dominated by kings and tyrants. My experience of Jewish life, which is extensive, has left me with a feeling of profound admiration and respect for my fellow Jews. Like they say, 'Jews are like everyone else, only more so.' We have to be 'more so,' because that is the way that we can be a 'light unto the nations.' Israel is that light, and that is why I am a Zionist."

In this spirit, Prof. Wolfe acted with modesty and humility, but

with a similar spirit and vision will join us in providing the financial assistance provided by Prof. Wolfe, sometimes alone, and together we will perpetuate the momentum in promoting Israel's path in the realization of the Zionist dream, the vision of Jewish Sovereignty over the entire Land of Israel.

May his memory be engraved in the annals of Jewish history!

Credit: Gerishon Ellinson



Sovereignty Youth at Sovereignty seminar in Oz veGaon, Hanukka 2019

For the first time in Israel a Sovereignty Shabbat

Showing great creativity and competence, members of the Sovereignty Youth Movement organized the first ever Sovereignty Shabbat in branches all over Israel

Members of the Sovereignty Youth Movement advocate sovereignty in novel and unique ways. An outstanding example of their projects and initiatives was the first ever Sovereignty Shabbat, which took place in about twenty branches across the country.

The young members prepared activities for children and teenagers and the Movement's emissaries were sent out to places all over the country, from Katzrin in the north down to Eilat in the south. In preparation for this Shabbat, a special get-together took place, in which the members got to exchange ideas, ask questions, receive answers and prepare for the diverse and creative activities with the hundreds of children and teenagers they

were about to meet all over Israel.

To advocate this special Shabbat, numerous politicians called on the youth to take part in the project, emphasizing the importance of such field work, which, in fact, bolsters and gives backing to the work they do in the Knesset and government, as policymakers who have been promoting the vision of Sovereignty. Among the politicians who extended their video blessings were Minister Yariv Levin, Minister Betzalel Smotrich, MK Ayelet Shaked, Minister Rafi Peretz, Minister Miri Regev, MK Nir Barkat and former MK Yehuda Glick.

The Sovereignty Movement sent out a formal message to all the branches of the movement. In-

ter alia, the following was written to the young generation: "Every vision starts with a long journey, which requires us to take one step at a time. Your activity, dear Sovereignty Youth, impacts Israeli discourse on a daily basis. In your merit, public discourse no longer evolves around ideas of retreat or dividing the land; rather, it has adopted the language of sovereignty, Zionism, vision and realization! As sons and daughters of the People of Eternity, a nation that was never wary of treading long paths, you, members of the Sovereignty Youth Movement, are not wary of the task at hand, nor afraid of long-winded journeys. And for this we convey to you our blessings and esteem."

The feedback we got following the first Sovereignty Shabbat was moving and invigorating. In addition to our gratitude for this blessed enterprise, we hope to see the Sovereignty Shabbat turn into a tradition that will spread to many more branches and incorporate many more activities. We believe that our youth is deeply aware of the fact that if in the past our pioneers dried up swamps and built "Wall and Tower" settlements overnight, now the mission is to dry up the swamps that are contaminating Israeli consciousness, and re-instituting the vision the Jewish People held onto during its two thousand years in exile: Israeli sovereignty in the entire Land of Israel.

Credit: Sovereignty Movement



Sovereignty Youth at Sovereignty seminar in Oz veGaon, Hanukka 2019

Credit: Sovereignty Movement



Marching towards Sovereignty from PM's residence to office. February 2020

Continued from page 08

Also the Jordanians Want Israeli Sovereignty over the Jordan Valley

on the day after application of sovereignty. "At the moment that we lift the fog, I assume that there will be governmental direction and the communities will flourish. Perhaps there will be additional communities, perhaps a city will develop here. Anything is possible. People want to build their homes here. During the last fifteen years, there has been a collective coming to the senses regarding the Palestinian issue, and the public has lost faith in the chance for a peace agreement, and, indeed, people are arriving and there has been an annual growth of 6%. However there are children who are returning and want to settle here, but they cannot because there is no room. Our communities are in a mode of accelerated absorption and it will expand and increase when there will be a much broader political basis and a sense of certainty that they are not throwing their money out the window."

Parallel to the intensification of the discourse surrounding sovereignty over the Jordan Valley, opponents of the step have raised the claim that Jordan, the neighbor to the east, is likely to oppose it, and the Hashemite royal house is liable to express its opposition in a variety of ways to the extent of abrogating the peace treaty. Elhayani hears these claims and dismisses them, asserting that the political discourse is being conducted under the heading of hypocrisy.

"In the days when I was still chairman of the Jordan Valley Settlements Committee, after the Oslo Accords, and already then, from informal conversations with the Jordanians, I know that the Jordanians did not want any geographical connection with what was then earmarked for the Palestinian entity – then there was no talk of a Palestinian state. The Jordanians already agreed that the Jordan Valley would be a geographical strip that would separate between the Palestinian entity and Jordan. This has a political rationale. 70% of the population there is Palestinian and a geographical connection would constitute a serious threat to the royal house. Therefore it is hypocrisy. The king is required to express public opposition. He knows what would happen to him were he to express consent to Israeli sovereignty in the Jordan Valley."

Elhayani is convinced that Israel will not be harmed by this step. When they applied Israeli law to the Golan Heights, they also said that the nations of the world would boycott. So they said. Nothing happened. At the INC convention, Trump related in his speech what he underwent after his decision to transfer the American embassy to Jerusalem. Presidents and heads of state, even countries that he did not know exist, called him and cautioned him how dangerous it is and how it would cause unrest in the streets and there would be a third intifada. But the next day, nothing happened."

The political discourse surrounding sovereignty in the Jordan Valley has produced several contemptuous reactions such as: "What difference will it make? They applied sovereignty to the Golan Heights and that did not prevent prime ministers, including Netanyahu, from viewing it as a bargaining chip in peace negotiations." Elhayani hears these detractors and is convinced that there is a significant difference between the Golan Heights and the Jordan Valley. "First of all, the Arab Spring changed the security discourse throughout the region. In addition, the Heights are perceived by the international community as occupied Syrian territory. The Jordan Valley is still a territory that cannot be labeled "occupied" because the Arabs refused to accept the Partition Plan. There was never a state here and the territory was not conquered from anyone. If one considers the Partition Plan sacred, then Nahariya and Akko are also occupied territory, not to mention Jerusalem," Elhayani recalls.

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The Jordan Valley – Strategic Depth Essential for Israel's Existence

combat terrorism leaves the initiative in the hands of the terror groups. In order to combat terrorism effectively, it is necessary to control the outer shell. The Jordan Valley does not merely protect Jerusalem, it protects Israel. Without it, Hamas will gain control of Judea and Samaria and we will be subject to rocket and other terrorism in the Israeli heartland."

Perhaps there is room to consider international proposals calling for deployment of multinational forces in the Jordan Valley alongside an Israeli early warning station under the command of an Israeli officer? Dayan characterizes this concept as a dismantling and reassembling approach. "They are offering us two balloons and a lookout point in Baal Hazor, or two weekly photography flights, a multinational presence and perhaps an Israeli officer. They are attempting to provide a solution for a prewar deployment by writing in an agreement that in a time of crisis it will be permitted to deploy two Israeli divisions. All this constitutes an ostensible response for each isolated position; however, it is like dismantling a watch and reassembling it without certain essential components. It will not work because there is no substitute for soldiers on the ground defending their homeland. If you do not control and are not present at the border crossings, they will smuggle whatever they want through them. When you are not on the ground, it is possible to circumvent everything.

Exploiting the Israeli consensus and the American agreement As one who moves back and forth between the Labor Settlement Movement and the Revisionist Movement and its heirs in the Likud Movement, Dayan is convinced that the consensus surrounding the Jordan Valley is broader than ever and the preparedness for the application of sovereignty over the region is closer than before. "After a years-long struggle, there is understanding of the need for this step. When we began this struggle, only 14% of Israelis said that Jordan should be the eastern border. Today, that is the position of 70%, and today there is American understanding of the issue. We must exploit this opportunity.

Dayan presents the fundamentals of his doctrine for the immediate bolstering of the Israeli hold in the Jordan Valley, primarily in the areas of tourism, industry and transportation.

"More than 750,000 tourists visited the Mabbrot HaYarden site this year, yet in the entire Jordan Valley region there is not even one hotel! I am working to have the site declared a Heritage Site and at the same time to establish a hotel and a Visitors' Center which do not exist in the Jordan Valley, one of the most interesting places in the world. Today, tourists who come to the region stay overnight at the Dead Sea or in Jericho or return to Jerusalem. When they travel north, they return to Route 6. There are no places where more than 70 people can stop and eat. Two years ago, I brought 130 congregational rabbis from around the world on a tour. We toured in the Jordan Valley, and in order to feed them, I had no alternative but to take them to the yeshiva in Shadmot Mehola. It is necessary to build a hotel on the Jericho bypass road."

"It is also essential to change the present situation in which they earn a living exclusively from agriculture. It cannot be that in the border areas there are only farmers. First it is necessary to develop tourism and then continue with industry. It is necessary to include in programs like Israel 100 construction of infrastructures like a train line from the Golan to the Jordan Valley to the Arava. In 2048, the population of Israel will be approximately twenty million, among them fifteen million Jews. It is necessary, therefore, that parallel to the development of the Negev and the Galilee, we will plan to develop Judea, Samaria, and the Jordan Valley to absorb at least three million Israelis. We will act and we will succeed," Dayan concludes.

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A Plan that is entirely Cut off from the Reality of the Middle East

imagine that a leftist prime minister's interpretation of Palestinian fidelity to its commitments is etched in stone? Forget it".

More Terror

In the historic survey that he conducted in the Middle East, Yoram Ettinger demonstrated that the more freedom the Palestinians obtain, the higher the level of terror that they create. This was the case in Jordan before Black September, this was the case later on in Lebanon, when the Palestinians who had been exiled by the Jordanian king from his land ignited a civil war there and were responsible for the Syrian invasion of Lebanon. He also mentions the 400 thousand Palestinians that were absorbed since the fifties in Kuwait, where they received freedom in the financial, social and political arenas but in exchange, provided military and intelligence support to Saddam Hussein's invasion into the country. "Here too, they received what had not been given to them in any other place. They brought in a hundred thousand of them from Tunisia, they were promised welfare and freedom and we got unprecedented education for hatred and unprecedented terror".

In this spirit, Ettinger is convinced that Trump's economic gestures to the Palestinians and his trust that they will have the power to moderate them are proof of a disconnect from the reality of the Middle East. "I am not saying with full confidence that it will happen this way but in the Middle East it is very important to be familiar with the scenario of the past 1400 years since the advent of Islam. The good scenario in the Middle East does not exist. This is an area of bad and worse scenarios. It is, perhaps, pleasant to hear about good scenarios regarding Palestinian involvement and integration in the spirit of progress, but Israel must prepare herself for the worst scenario and not for the best one".

Ettinger does not ignore Israel's military capabilities, however, he doubts Israel's ability to stand up to difficult scenarios that may develop. "To understand what is expected in Judea and Samaria it is enough to imagine a scenario many times worse than that of Gaza. The goal of terror is not to kill Israelis but to harm their morale and perseverance, to create pessimism about the future, which could lead to emigration from the Land. If it will not be possible to travel on Route Six or Route One and other roads securely, and in addition there will also be intense scenarios in the lowlands, there is real concern that broad sections of the public will lose their confidence in the leadership and their stamina and they will leave".

In light of all this, Ettinger believes that "Israel must annex the Jordan Valley but certainly not as part of a package deal that includes a Palestinian state. This deal might be the thing that drives Oslo from first or second gear to fifth gear".

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What will change after we apply sovereignty?

major Ministry of Housing planning institutions will now relate to Judea and Samaria as a land repository to solve the housing shortage.

When Maj. Gen. Moti Almoz served as head of the Civil Administration, I asked him about the expansion of Highway 60 and why such a basic step was bogged down for such a long time. After all, if it were inside the Green Line, the Ministry of Transportation would publish a plan, the state would allocate the necessary land required to double the width of the road as part of a procedure known as "Acquisition for Public Purposes," pay the necessary compensation to the owners of the land and pave the highway. I'm dying to do that, Almoz told me. My interest is to save lives and proper infrastructures are crucial to saving human lives. But because the road is not in Israeli territory but rather in an area defined as being under "belligerent occupation," the Attorney General won't allow it. It runs counter to international law.

So now, that's over too. From now on, a highway and the land around it will be Israeli territory and the state will be able to appropriate land for public purposes when necessary.

For the residents, it's not all good news. Normalization comes at a price too. Let's say a certain settlement gets a new Urban Building Plan (UBP) and it includes agricultural land owned by Jews. The UBP will cause the price of the land to soar, but until now, Jewish landowners were not required to pay a land betterment tax and they benefited financially from the situation. No more. As our sages say: Freedom comes at a price.

Planning and construction: The whole farce known as "initial registration" will finally be relinquished to oblivion. Land will be bought and sold exactly as it is in the rest of Israel. The same goes for the absurd situation whereby land registration is a closely guarded secret, and even petitions to the High Court of Justice by Regavim are unable to convince the state to reveal them to the public in order to prevent real estate scams. There is no reason why land registration should not be a completely transparent process so that anyone who wants to obtain all the necessary information about a specific block and parcel he wishes to purchase should be able to do so for a nominal fee online.

The second benefit of taking national responsibility for Judea and Samaria belongs to the political-diplomatic

realm. Every single square centimeter of land to which Israeli law applies will be subject to the Referendum Law, and should a weak government that caves into pressure from a hostile American administration be formed one day in the future, it will not be able to carry out another disengagement unless it first passes a referendum.

The application of sovereignty is of paramount importance in terms of the International Court of Justice in The Hague and the international community. The court will not be able to judge Israel based on the Geneva and Hague Conventions, but only in accordance with internal Israeli law. Moreover, the strategic step of applying sovereignty is hugely significant in international terms. The Oslo Agreements gave the Palestinians control over 40 percent of the territory, with the other 60 percent designated as "disputed." The application of sovereignty will affect 30 percent of the territory, and that territory will no longer be subject to negotiation. Consequently, only 30 percent will remain in dispute. That is a huge step forward.

The application of sovereignty will also help prevent legal withdrawals and evacuations. Land disputes will be resolved in the same way they are resolved everywhere else in Israel, by means of various logical and reasonable arrangements, rather than by destruction and demolition. In fact, the application of sovereignty makes the passage of the Regulation Law, which would retroactively formalize Israeli settlements in Area C, unnecessary. Incidentally, one of the arguments put forward by left-wing MKs against the law was exactly that: Why are you voting in favor of a law that hijacks the law? If you want to protect the settlements, annex them outright.

So there you have it: We are annexing them outright.

The application of sovereignty is irrevocable in the sense that the law does not allow sovereignty to be relinquished to a vacuum, only to another sovereign state. In view of the fact that another sovereign state in the territory is not a realistic option in the visible future – the application of sovereignty may be viewed as irreversible.

Yehuda Yifrach is a journalist and researcher

(From an article published on January 31, 2020 in Makor Rishon)

FRIENDS OF SOVEREIGNTY MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

Since its founding in 2011, the Sovereignty Movement has experienced highs and lows in the political arena. Now, after the unveiling of Trump's Deal of the Century, the term "sovereignty" is among the foremost terms dominating the political discourse and we are living in days and hours of historic decision.

In this decisive period, the Sovereignty Movement requires much more public power in order to more effectively promote the actual implementation of the Israeli sovereignty vision over the Land of Israel and in order to halt with all our strength the dangerous aspects of the Trump program, that falsely recognize the national rights of a foreign people in our land, and the aspects whose objective is the establishment of a foreign state in the heart of our Biblical homeland, irrespective of its size.

In order to bring the voice of the Land of Israel to the attention of the decision-makers in the Knesset and government until the application of Israeli sovereignty in the entire land of Israel, we require the support of each and every one of you. We call upon you to enlist as members of the Sovereignty Movement. This mass mobilization will provide impetus to the public and ideological declarations of the Sovereignty Movement. In that way, as your loyal representatives, we will be able to effectively bring the voice of the call for sovereignty to the leadership in Israel and to the public domain, a demand which is so crucial and essential precisely during the days when the discourse is liable, G-d forbid, to return to one of concession, compromise, and cutting ideological corners.

To this end, the Sovereignty Movement has launched a Membership Campaign in which we ask you to partner with us and join the growing public clout of one of the most influential movements in Israel in recent years and in the years ahead.

Signing up as members of the Sovereignty Movement includes registration and a symbolic payment of only 18 ("chai") shekels. Those joining will also receive a membership card entitling them to a long list of discounts in various businesses in Judea and Samaria (in cooperation with Dapei Katom), transforming all of us into a significant factor in encouraging and accelerating the economy in Judea and Samaria.

Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar



Join the Sovereignty Movement on www.nirshamti.co.il/en/sovereignty or scan the QR >>
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