

# SOVEREIGNTY

A Political Journal

/

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## MAKING PROGRESS

NRG Poll, Jan 2016: Are you in favor of the gradual application of Israeli Law in Judea and Samaria?

44% in favor of gradual application of Israeli law in Judea and Samaria

44%

In favor

38%

Not in favor

18%

No opinion

60%

of the youth favor the application of the law on the entire area

61%

of rightwingers favor the application of law on the entire area

61%

of ultra-orthodox favor the application of law on the entire area

69%

of those who define themselves rightwing favor the gradual application of the law

18%

of those who define themselves as leftwingers favor the application of the law on the entire area

32%

of those who define themselves as leftwing favor the application of the law on the Jewish communities



**Minister Haim Katz:**

We need a declaration of commitment to Judea and Samaria as there was for the Golan Heights

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**Rep. Alan Clemmons:**

It is impossible for a Jew to be an occupier in his own ancestral homeland, Judea

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## A Word from the Editors

In recent months there has been a change in the people's frame of mind. The idea, which till now still exacts a heavy price in blood, that withdrawal will reduce the intensity of the terror, is fading. The People of Israel has understood that the reality is not suitable to such notions, even if friends, or so-called friends, on the other side of the ocean put pressure on us to act in this misguided manner.

The People in Israel and its leaders understand that the cause of terror is not despair but rather, the Arab hope to destroy us and push us out of the Land that was promised and given to us thousands of years ago. The people understand that this hope must be cut off and therefore the time has come for sovereignty. Even if there are differences of opinion about whether it is proper to act gradually, step after step, area after area, or whether, perhaps, it is better to act decisively, once and for all, why, the answer is clearer now than ever - sovereignty is not only the realization of the Zionist and principled vision; responsibly applied sovereignty is also an essential answer for security.

These days, when, from the United States threatening winds are blowing to give a green light to anti-Israel political initiatives and the withdrawal of the American veto, the government of Israel must be alert and ready with its own answer, based on the will of the people, as was shown from the Survey that 78% support sovereignty in Ma'ale Adumim even at the price of such a confrontation.

The People of Israel yearns for decisive and determined leaders. Ministers Haim Katz, Yisrael Katz, Ze'ev Elkin, Miri Regev, Ofir Akunis, Yariv Levin, Naftali Bennett, Uri Ariel, Gila Gamliel and Ayelet Shaked, as well as deputy ministers Tzipi Hotovely, Rav Ben Dahan, Ayub Kara and members of Knesset Kish, Smotrich and along with them, members of the Land of Israel Knesset Lobby must realize and implement the vision of sovereignty. The first step is happening now, in the area of Ma'ale Adumim with the help of the Land of Israel Knesset Lobby, which is taking the correct action, and for this, we thank and

give praise to the director of the lobby, former MK Orit Struk, the Yesha Council, the heads of councils and many other activists who make their voice heard at full volume, accompanied by the fluttering sound of history and the whiff of approaching change in the air.

You have in your hands Issue no. 7 of Sovereignty, a journal published and distributed in hundred fifty thousand copies in Hebrew and English, in Israel and abroad. This journal, which constitutes a key part of the sovereignty campaign that Women in Green began in recent years, wins very positive resonance and is received enthusiastically as a serious platform for the clarification of the profound issues entailed in the implementation of the vision of sovereignty and turning it into an integral part of the diplomatic and political discourse in Israel. The journal's success until now has been achieved with the help of cherished, like-minded people as well as each and every one of you, dear readers, who choose to distribute the journal and its contents among the ever widening circles of interested people.

Here it is appropriate to add a mention of the activities of Eretz (acronym for Sovereignty Youth Organization). The young generation throughout the Land is awakening to the call for sovereignty and is taking an active part in it. You can read about it in the pages of this issue.

We call on you to continue in this same spirit, spreading the vision of sovereignty in every way possible, as well as by the use of our material. Be active partners in the vision and the revolution. Send us an email (ribonut@gmail.com) and we will send you as many copies of the journal as you request.

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Pleasant reading  
Sovereignty editorial staff

*Editor's 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.*

## Sovereignty in the media



Miri Regev,  
Minister of Culture and Sport

Regev:  
The Zionist Answer  
to Terror is Sovereignty



Uri Ariel,  
Minister of Agriculture

Ariel:  
The Time has Come to Say - The  
Time has Come for Sovereignty!



Zeev Elkin,  
Minister of Jerusalem Affairs

Elkin:  
The Collapse of the PA is at  
hand, Prepare for Sovereignty



MK Shuli Mualem-Refaeli,  
Chairman of the Bayit Yehudi faction

Mualem-Refaeli:  
The true war - "changing the  
diskette" with sovereignty



Minister of Culture and Sport Miri Regev recently visited Gush Etzion. She was accompanied in her visit by Gush Etzion Council Head Davidi Perl and his deputy, Moshe Savile.

During the visit, Minister Regev came to the Oz veGaon Nature Preserve, which was established by Women in Green on the hill near the Gush Etzion Junction. As she spoke, Regev related to the question of how to deal appropriately to the terror attacks and stated that "Sovereignty is the Zionist answer to terror, and even if there were no terror, we must implement sovereignty because the Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel".

During the funeral of Rav Michael (Miki) Mark, Hy"d, who was murdered by an Arab terrorist, Minister of Agriculture, Uri Ariel, again called for sovereignty as the requisite answer for terror.

"The government must say one thing, clearly: From the Jordan River to the Sea there will be only one sovereign, and that sovereign is the State of Israel!", said the minister in his eulogy and added: "anything else we say - whether involuntarily or perhaps from ignorance - can be interpreted by our enemies as a reason to hope and to continue the terror. Enough! The time has come to say: The time has come for sovereignty! The government must convene for this; for this, the prime minister must stand up today and send a clear message to the People of Israel and to the entire world and thus the passage will be fulfilled: 'G-d will grant strength to His People, G-d will bless His People with peace'".

Minister of Immigrant Absorption and Jerusalem Affairs, Zeev Elkin, takes a look around the corner, where he sees the approaching collapse of the Palestinian Authority. In an interview with Nitsan Keidar for the periodical Besheva (June 2, 1916), he spoke about the things we will face the day after and the vision of sovereignty that he advocates.

"We will have challenges. The collapse of the Palestinian Authority is an opportunity as well as a challenge. But ultimately, I think that the State of Israel must progress in the direction of realization of her national aspirations; in Judea and Samaria as well, meaning, the entire process of application of sovereignty. This is a revolution that will take more than one day. It requires a change in the public discourse - because somehow, we have gotten everybody, including ourselves, used to the demand not being taken seriously - not by us and not in the international community - and therefore I cannot promise when it will happen. It first of all requires the consolidation of a majority among the Israeli public and the political system for this to happen, and I think that just as once, the idea of a Palestinian state was anathema - it has managed to gather many supporters, by the Left's hard and tedious work - thus, those on the Right must raise the banner in the matter of sovereignty and promote it with all of their strength."

In an interview with Israel Hayom (July 11, 2016), chairman of the Habayit Hayehudi faction, MK Shuli Mualem-Refaeli, presented a clear and resolute position on the issue of sovereignty, despite the possible consequence of a head-on collision with Prime Minister Netanyahu.

In the interview she explained that she believes that "the battle against terror must be waged against its three sources in parallel: ideology, funding and suicides. The military and the police work like crazy. I see it every day in the streets, but the real war is to "change the diskette" by applying Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. For the first phase we must do it in Area C, since it is their hope to chase us away that feeds this terror".

"The majority of the Israeli public understands that there will not be two states here and it is clear to all of us that the 450 thousand Jews who live in Judea and Samaria today are not going anywhere. I have proposed the Normalization Law, which is intended to normalize the matter of the communities in Judea and Samaria".

# "We Need the same kind of declaration by the government in Judea and Samaria, as there was in the Golan"

Minister Haim Katz deals mostly with the issues of welfare and the economy, but even in those issues, he sees the advancement of Israeli holdings in Judea and Samaria as an objective, step after step, acre after acre, and he is patient...

Haim Katz, who is Minister of Welfare and Social Services, is considered to be one of the most effective "bulldozers" in the upper echelons of the Likud, just as when he presided as head of the Likud Central Committee and not only during his days as minister in the Israeli government. Minister Katz, say his supporters and detractors alike, knows how to move things along, quietly, methodically, step by step, but ultimately, things that are important to him and that he marks as an objective, are achieved. Perhaps this is the

reason that when he says that the State of Israel and the government of Israel are drawing closer to the vision of sovereignty, even if at a slower pace than he would have desired, there really is a reason for optimism. In the very beginning of a discussion with him, Minister Katz leaves no doubt regarding where he stands within the wide ideological range of his party, the Likud. "I was one of the rebels who fought against the expulsion. I don't like the term 'settlers'. In my eyes these are residents who are settling the Land of Israel", and regarding what course to pursue in Judea and Samaria, Katz sounds resolute

and practical: We must expand the Plans to Build the Cities, build kindergartens and develop the Land because it is part of us and we are part of it. The situation where we must get permission from anyone if we want to increase electrical capacity for the heating system because there are now more children in the house, is unacceptable".

"We live in a democracy and we have a Prime Minister who is the first among equals and he is the leader. With my limited power, I stand to the side and to the Right of all the heads of the Authorities", says Katz and presents examples, in his usual, resolute way, in his behavior towards the communities and those who head them: "We have had several difficult months of terror. Community heads presented their needs for welfare, social workers and community activities; in accordance with their demands I brought the government to make the decision to transfer 20 million shekels for these needs. They said, in the government office, that they would transfer six million; three million from the Treasury Ministry and three from the Department of Welfare. I said that I would not accept such a decision. It's either twenty million, ten from the Office of the Treasury and ten from Welfare, an amount that will accomplish something, or it's just throwing money around and I don't accept such a decision. I did not raise this in the government".

"I am not trying to fool anyone. We do not have a lot of money. We are a very poor body, and we must get value for the money that we spend. If we just throw money around and do not remedy the problem, I would not



"I would like the Prime Minister to come to Judea and Samaria and declare that just as the Golan is an integral part of Israel, so is Judea and Samaria". Prime Minister Netanyahu overlooking the Gush Etzion intersection from Oz veGaon. Photo: Gershon Ellinson

give this amount. If I was rich, I would put down three million and even if I didn't get results it wouldn't have mattered, but since I am not rich, I want to put ten million".

I explained this to the heads of communities of Gush Etzion, South Hevron Hills and Samaria and they will apply pressure and I hope that we will have results", Katz summarizes the practical, economic part of his support of the settlement enterprise and mentions the certificates of recognition that he received from the councils in Judea and Samaria for standing by them and supporting them in a practical way.

Heights, a session where the Prime Minister made clear and resolute declarations about the future of Israeli holdings in this area. Katz expects and hopes to hear and see a similar demonstration in Judea and Samaria as well: "Just as the Prime Minister came and said that we will not leave the Golan and that the Golan is an integral part of the Land of Israel, this is what I would like to see in Judea and Samaria, that the government of Israel would come to Samaria, to Binyamin or to Gush Etzion and hold a government session there and the prime minister would make the same sort of declaration that he made in the Golan".

the community and the lands, and whoever thinks that the ground is his, we will pay him ten percent more than its value and that's that; let's go on"; thus Katz draws the outlines for the practical implementation of sovereignty.

"If we were able to come to the Golan then I expect and hope that next year the Prime Minister will come and make it clear that all investment in Judea and Samaria is an investment for eternity because we have no intention to withdraw and do not intend to make it difficult for the residents. Just as in Ramat Gan, when they request a building permit from the local authority, in Judea and Samaria and Binyamin as well, they will request permission from the local authority and not from the military and not from the UN and not from the president of the United States".

After a few years, if you were the prime minister, do you think that you could ignore the international pressure on you?

"Listen, I am a man of action. I will not be Prime Minister even in another few years, a million percent. I say that everything that I have touched, even when there was no chance, ultimately, things turned out such that I brought results in the end. I believe in smart work, not hard work, but smart, the kind that brings results".

"Let's be like the Bedouin who says that even if it takes forty years to achieve something, he says that it happened quickly. We must have patience and perseverance and not engage in vain activity. The Land of

Israel was built with great pain and we must endure what the Almighty has intended for us. We must work step by step and achieve the goals that we have set for ourselves; to build and to be built up in this Land because this is the Land of our forefathers and we have no other inheritance. We must make sure that life in the communities of Judea and Samaria has a sense of permanency and that there are no encumbrances, like in Haifa or any other place".

And besides your personal vision, what about the vision of the ruling party, the Likud? We don't hear a clear vision to substitute for the vision of Oslo and the idea of two states coming out of your party.

"In a democracy, we have a head, and fortunately for us, I do not see anyone who will replace him, surely not from the opposition". ■

We must expand the Plans to Build the Cities, build kindergartens and develop the Land because it is part of us and we are part of it. The situation where we must get permission from anyone if we want to increase electrical capacity for the heating system because there are now more children in the house, is unacceptable



Minister of Welfare and Social Services Haim Katz. Photo: flash 90

Just as the Prime Minister came and said that we will not leave the Golan and that the Golan is an integral part of the Land of Israel, this is what I would like to see in Judea and Samaria

There is progress toward sovereignty, but it is not moving quickly enough

Minister Katz's practical behavior stems, as mentioned, from a clear ideological background and when he is asked what vision he presents for the future of Judea and Samaria he shoots a short, clear answer: "As in the Golan", and mentions the special session that the government of Israel held in the Golan

I would not have imagined, two years ago, that the Prime Minister would do what he did in the Golan. He said that he does not recognize anyone, not Syria or anything else; this is the Land of Israel and therefore I invest money here because these funds are forever, and when I invest and build in the Golan I do not need permission from anyone. This is how it must also be when building in Ofra. Without thinking about whether the land belongs to this one or that one. We annex

We must work step by step and achieve the goals that we have set for ourselves; to build and to be built up in this Land because this is the Land of our forefathers and we have no other inheritance

# Alan Clemmons one of the pioneers of change in Republican policy towards Israel - a Friend of the Land of Israel and the Communities of Judea and Samaria

A week before the Republican convention in the United States, the party decided on the promotion of a platform that surprised even the Israelis with its favorable approach towards Israel. The "two-states" idea was removed from the platform, Israel will no longer be defined as occupying Judea and Samaria and Jerusalem will be defined as a city that cannot be divided. It seems that not even all of the Rightist parties in Israel would word it with such clarity.

Is this just a tactic for the sake of the elections or is it, perhaps, something deeper? It seems that the decision's unanimous adoption, with no opposition, and the convention participants' applause for the platform after the changes were accepted, attest to the fact that there really is something happening in America, and there is more evidence of this in the agreement of AIPAC, the pro-Israel lobby group in the US, to the approved changes.

The significance of the change is underscored when we remember that the idea of dividing the Land and the acceptance that the two state idea was the way to solve the Israeli Palestinian conflict, have been an integral part of the platforms of both parties in the US.



Clemmons visits Netzer in Gush Etzion as a guest of Women in Green. Photo: Women in Green

This process was led, among others, by Alan Clemmons, the party's representative in South Carolina's House of Representatives. Clemmons has been a true friend of Israel for many years. Since 2011, Clemmons has maintained close contact with Women in Green and has visited the movement's ventures and initiatives on the ground. A tree in memory of his late father was planted in the Oz veGaon Nature Preserve.

In response to the words of gratitude spoken to him by the heads of Women in Green, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, Clemmons stated that his efforts to change the Israel plank of the Republican Party Platform began in 2011, not long after he was introduced by a common friend to Women in Green's work in support of Israel's sovereignty. "Women in Green inspired and influenced, in no small part, this change that now truly reflects America's strong support for America's greatest ally!"

Below is Clemmons' speech as it was given before 112 members of the Republican Party's platform committee before the vote ending with the unanimous approval of the changes that he led:

Like the United States of America, our greatest ally, the modern state of Israel is a country born from the aspiration for freedom, and standing out among the nations as a beacon of democracy and humanity. Beyond our mutual strategic interests, Israel is likewise an exceptional country that shares our most essential values. It is the only country in the Middle East where freedom of speech and freedom of religion are found. Therefore, support for Israel is an expression of our Americanism, and it is the responsibility of our party and our government to advance policies that reflect Americans' strong desire for a relationship with no daylight between America and Israel.

For the last 4 years, instead of standing in support for the indivisibility of Jerusalem, the eternal capital of the Jewish people and their nation-state, we have lent our silent approval

"... It is impossible for the Jew to be an occupier in his own ancestral homeland, a region that has been known as Judea since time immemorial ..."

to those wishing to split the city. Instead of calling for the U.S. embassy to be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in fulfillment of U.S. law, we have remained silent.

Making matters worse is the damaging language that has been unduly influenced into our Republican platform, some of which completely tramples upon the sovereignty of the Israeli people and their government, by endorsing President Obama and Hillary Clinton's efforts to pressure Israel into negotiating with her enemies in the face of suicidal risk.

With the eyes of the country and wider world upon us, we have now arrived at a moment of truth, where we as a party must reckon with our principles and faith. Over the last decade, public polling has definitively proven that the Republican base overwhelmingly stands with Israel. Yet that is not what our platform presently reflects. As it now stands, our platform endorses the idea of forcing Israel to concede strategically vital territory, for the goal of creating a state to be run by the very terrorists and jihadists who seek Israel's destruction, and who openly celebrated the attacks of September 11th.

Today I am presenting platform language that captures the true sentiment of pro-Israel supporters everywhere. The ideas and principles it forwards transcend partisanship. With the input of Mr. Trump's excellent team of advisors, as well as leading policy experts from across the spectrum, we have developed a plank that is wise and deliberate in its expression, and shines a clear light upon the way forward.

Today we likewise call upon our pro-Israel counterparts in the Democratic Party to demand similarly good policy from their

candidate and leadership at their upcoming convention. The false notion that the Jewish state is an occupier is an anti-Semitic attack upon Israel's legitimacy. It is impossible for the Jew to be an occupier in his own ancestral homeland, a region that has been known as Judea since time immemorial.

The platform we present today places our support squarely behind Israel's sovereign right to decide her own future with G-d's help. It does not foreclose any possible solution to the conflicts Israel faces, including the Two-State proposal. Instead it affirms that we will be here to support our greatest ally in solving her challenges as she sees fit in her own superior judgment.

Today we send a clear message to the tens of millions of pro-Israel Republican voters who must see that our party stands on faith and principle: Our support for Israel's wellbeing is of paramount concern, and will not be sold out or dumbed down for the sake of petty interests ever again. I ask all of you to stand with me and proudly make history, as we affirm for now and always that the Republican Party and America truly stand with Israel. ■

"... For the last 4 years, instead of standing in support for the indivisibility of Jerusalem, the eternal capital of the Jewish people and their nation-state, we have lent our silent approval to those wishing to split the city. Instead of calling for the U.S. embassy to be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in fulfillment of U.S. law, we have remained silent ..."

# "They Understand that the Argument here is not over Territory"

In an interview with Sovereignty, **Danny Danon**, our ambassador at the UN, tells of the difficulty of turning the steering wheel of diplomacy in the international arena, an arena where the Israeli leadership, by its own hands, has implanted the delusive idea of dividing the Land.

During his most recent visit to Israel, Ambassador to the UN Danny Danon made himself available for a short discussion with Sovereignty on the character of the diplomatic and political battles in the UN, with the resounding question being whether the international sphere can accept any policy at all that does not entail dividing the Land and establishing a terror state in its heart.

Danon is cautious in his answer, since he is aware of the complexity of his role and the ramifications there may be to anything he says in the international arena and he is also well aware of being the representative and ambassador of Prime Minister Netanyahu, who has not yet distanced himself from the

Bar Ilan speech. Although he personally supports sovereignty, as he expressed himself in an interview with Sovereignty in the days when he was deputy Defense Minister, Danon prefers to divert his answer from the idea of sovereignty to the channel of the political activism that he conducts with the world's ambassadors and diplomats.

"The main, and in my opinion, the correct, message that we send, is that the dispute is not territorial, but intrinsic; it is about the recognition of Israel and the acceptance of our presence in the region. People see the wave of terror in the world and understand that there is no connection between terror and territory", says Danon with conviction, who sees the wave of Muslim terror as a painful bridge to a political understanding with the Western countries. "I stress this in every meeting".



Danny Danon, our Ambassador at the UN. Photo: flash 90

## Combating the Well-Oiled Palestinian Propaganda Machine

Danon rejects the attempts in Israel and abroad to distinguish between Muslim terror in the world and that which is directed toward Israel, in the discussion with him as well as in the halls of the UN. In the course of our discussion with him he tells of the well-oiled Palestinian system's efforts to legitimize terror against Israel and to distinguish it from other terror. These efforts are expressed in exhibitions and displays operating within the UN that describe Palestinian terror as a legitimate and appropriate battle against Israeli occupation, and therefore, not terror at all, but a struggle for freedom.

Danon invests quite a bit of resources against such arguments. "They claim that despair is what leads them to terror and we prove that this is not true and that it is unacceptable. There is no justification for terror against any nation. We must not accept this language. Today, as we watch the wave of terror in the world, these things are much better understood than in the past".

As mentioned, Danon is well aware of his position as representative of the government

of Israel and its policies, and accordingly, this tenor is felt in the question of political negotiations as well. "I represent the policies of the government of Israel and its clear demand to return to direct negotiations and end the incitement. This is not happening. The incitement continues all over, and instead of returning to negotiations they do their best to internationalize the conflict and bring various international bodies into a discussion of the future of our region. Therefore, the subject of negotiations never reaches the halls of the UN, since suitable conditions for negotiations do not at all exist".

When we return to the question of whether we can propose a policy alternative to dividing the Land, Danon expresses himself carefully and diplomatically: "I can only say that today we must understand that the dispute is not over territory, not the '67 lines, but the lines of '48. We explain this and show that the terror began much earlier; when we show the world that the boycott organizations seek to boycott Soda Stream even though it is located in the Negev, this is proof that they reject the existence of the entire state, even within the lines of '48 and not just the '67 lines". ■

They claim that despair is what leads them to terror and we prove that this is not true and that it is unacceptable. We must not accept this language. Today, as we watch the wave of terror in the world, these things are much better understood than in the past

# Implementation of national rights for the Arabs of Judea and Samaria - Perhaps only in Jordan

The co-chairman of the Land of Israel Lobby, **MK Yoav Kish**, sees sovereignty in the entire territory as a historical and political necessity and Menahem Begin's vision of autonomy as the solution for Judea and Samaria.



MK Yoav Kish

To MK Yoav Kish, co-chair (together with MK Bezalel Smotrich) of the Land of Israel Lobby, the necessary objective for Judea and Samaria is clear. "The State of Israel must apply sovereignty over this territory. This territory must remain Israeli territory", he clearly states.

Kish is well aware of the political complexity entailed in the process of applying sovereignty and therefore he states that such a process will not happen in one quick step, but will require a long period of public relations work so that this concept will gradually seep into the sphere of international consciousness.

In MK Kish's estimation, statesmen in Israel and outside of Israel, even those who until now did not believe in the vision of sovereignty, are beginning to internalize the idea that "there cannot be any other situation", in his words. "Israel cannot gamble on its future. With countries around us falling apart, we cannot have a hybrid entity arise that will do nothing but bring about the next war. Therefore, not only because of the belief that this is our Land but also because of the desire to find a practical solution, it is clear that Judea and Samaria must be part of the State of Israel".

Kish sees the pronouncements of the head of the Labor party, MK Herzog, that this is not the time to strive for the establishment of a Palestinian state, as evidence of the beginnings of a change in attitude. "This statement of theirs, 'not now', is also some sort of a change, and perhaps in the future

they will come to the conclusion that it should never happen".

Regarding the international sphere, Kish is aware of the complexity, which will require a long period of public relations work and things will not happen overnight, but will definitely happen. "Also, in the capitals of Europe, which are now flooded with millions of refugees, they understand that reality can change. We must strive to lead to this understanding which, ultimately, will permeate and sink in with work and a long period of persuasion".

## And if They Nevertheless Want to Vote for Parliament?

Kish casts a glance into the future to try to describe what the reality in Judea and Samaria will be in another decade or more, and relates to the vision of the Likud leader, the late Prime Minister Menahem Begin. "I will never give the Arabs of Judea and Samaria Israeli citizenship. I will not allow them to vote for the Israeli Knesset. The correct and desirable solution is autonomy, and the model for this already exists, more or less, in the field. The realization of national rights will not happen in Judea and Samaria. The only state in which such rights can be realized is Jordan, where there is a deep Palestinian identity".

So that his words will not be taken to imply long-range ramifications, MK Kish emphasizes that it is not his intention to promote such a Jordanian process and he does not push for it, "I am only saying that if there are complaints as to why I would not



"Sovereignty was Begin's ideology. This is the policy of Likud" A Likud Convention. Photo: Flash 90

allow them to vote for the Israeli Knesset, I would say that they are not citizens of Israel and are not connected to Israel, and if they want to vote for a parliament then it can only be in Jordan".

## Can an ideology in the spirit of sovereignty come from a party such as Likud, which seeks to be the ruling party, and speaks to as wide an audience as possible?

"Of course. This is the ideology of the Likud. This was Begin's ideology. We grew up with this concept. This is the policy of Likud".

## Begin indeed spoke of autonomy and this was his ideology, but he did not apply sovereignty.

"That's right, and we also cannot apply sovereignty tomorrow. We understand the international reality and that this is a step that we must progress toward, over time and while coping with international pressures, but this is what we must aspire to".

## Do you understand how a newspaper such as Haaretz can have the power to label everyone who doesn't favor the two state solution as a lunatic?

"I think that gradually, people are starting to understand that actually it is those people who do favor two states that are the delusional ones. You see this in what is happening to the Labor party. The public is trending to the right and the power of Haaretz is very narrow and limited. It is a niche that is gradually disappearing. They have an interesting economic newspaper,

The Marker, and that is criticized too, but I do not think that Haaretz succeeds in swaying public opinion or the opinion of the decision makers".

## How do you, as a co-chairs and members of the Land of Israel Lobby, move us toward the implementation of the vision of sovereignty in a practical way?

"We are very, very active in this matter. We are dealing with many problems and the problem of sovereignty is one of the essential matters that we push forward. We are also dealing with the subject of the building freeze and limitations in Judea and Samaria.

We are now engaged in a battle to renew the building in Ma'ale Adumim; we right now are in a process of planning our steps in the matter of sovereignty; this is a central focus of the Lobby and we are looking to see how to attack the subject in the coming term. I admit that during the first year of the term we had a period of organization and consolidation, to identify who is with us in the coalition and who we could work with, but in the next session there will be good news on this subject".

## Will we see this in the legislative sphere?

"We want to promote legislation but in a way that will be successful. We have no intention to act carelessly and see what happens. We are leading a gradual, well-structured process to strengthen sovereignty. This can be summed up by saying that the Lobby is investigating the matter of sovereignty in depth and what steps to take in the coming session".

## You mentioned the subject of the building freeze – in dealing with this subject, do you not find yourself somewhat restricted and prevented from acting precisely because you are a member of the ruling party, someone who cannot lead a head-on confrontation with the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, who is the responsible agent for activities in the field?

"There are two sides, since on one hand I am indeed limited and am aware of the difficulty and understand the constraints on the prime minister and the minister of defense, but on the other hand, the steps that I take are twice as effective because of the fact that I am in the ruling party and they are not considered as steps taken by HaBayit HaYehudi alone". ■

Gradually, people are starting to understand that actually it is those people who do favor two states that are the delusional ones.

# The Commandment to Settle the Land

Rav Eliezer Melamed, Head of the community of Har Bracha

Regarding the commandment to settle the Land, the sages said that it is “equivalent to all of the commandments in the Torah” (Tosefta Avoda Zarah 4, 3 Midrash Sifrei Parashat Reeh 53). Since the future of the nation and the revelation of the Torah depend upon it, and all of the commandments in the Torah were given so that we would perform them in the Land, and thus, the words of the prophecy will be fulfilled (Isaiah 2, 2-4): “**And it shall be at the end of the days, that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be firmly established at the top of the mountains, and it shall be raised above the hills, and all the nations shall stream to it. And many peoples shall go, and they shall say, ‘Come, let us go up to the Lord’s mount, to the house of the God of Jacob, and let Him teach us of His ways, and we will go in His paths’, for out of Zion shall the Torah come forth, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge between the nations and reprove many peoples, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore**”

The basis for the implementation of the grand objective begins with the commandment to settle the Land, which entails the conquest of the Land and the Land being settled by the People of Israel. And the Ramban wrote similarly (Omissions from the

Book of Commandments, commandment 4): “We have been commanded to inherit the Land that the exalted Almighty bestowed upon our forefathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, and not to abandon it to foreign nations or to neglect, and as it was said, (Bamidbar 33: 53-54): **And ye shall take possession of the Land, and dwell therein; for I have given you the Land to possess it. And ye shall settle the Land...**”

From the general commandment, the commandment extends to each and every individual so that he will do everything in his power to perform the general commandment. And even when the Land was under foreign rule and we did not have the military power to conquer the Land and settle it, it was still a commandment for each and every individual to do everything he could in order to come to the Land and live in it; since his settling in the Land helped to support the connection between Israel and his Land for the many long years of exile, and served as a basis for expanding the settlement towards the goal of Jewish sovereignty.

On the 5th day of Iyar, 5708, (according to the traditional date counting the years since the creation of the world), when the state’s independence was declared and sovereignty was applied over parts of the Land of Israel, the People of Israel were privileged to have the possibility to return and carry out the commandment of settling the Land, after two thousand years of exile. And thus, we find this rabbinic ordinance, stating that everyone who sees the cities of Judea in their ruin will say: “Your holy cities have become a desert” and he will rend his garment. And the rule is that even if most of the residents of those cities are Jews, as long as they are ruled by non-Jews, the cities are considered to be in ruins, and we tear our garments upon seeing them. And if they were under the sovereignty of Israel, even if most of their residents are non-Jews, they are not considered to be ruined, and we do not tear our garments upon seeing them (Beit Yosef and the Bait Chadash Orach Chaim 561, Mishneh Brurah 561 B). It is the sovereignty of Israel that brings the Land out of its state of ruin and begins the process of settling it and building it.

The commandment to settle the Land

is unique, because it is the only one of all the commandments that in order to keep it, one must be prepared to endanger one’s life. Because we know that all of the Torah’s commandments are annulled in order to save a life, as it is said (Leviticus 18:5): “You shall therefore keep My statutes and My ordinances, which if a man does, he shall live by them: I am the Lord”. The sages declared (Talmud Yoma 85, B): “You shall live by them and not die by them”. And there are only three transgressions, which, if a man has a choice of two options, to commit one of these trespasses or to be killed – he should allow himself to be killed rather than transgress, and they are: murder, idolatry and sexual immorality. However, all of this is only relevant to the case where there is no choice; there is no commandment for a person to allow himself to be killed so that he will not commit these sins, and if he has the opportunity to escape in order to prevent such a situation where he will be subjected to such a terrible question, to sin or be killed, he must



“... It is the sovereignty of Israel that brings the Land out of its state of ruin and begins the process of settling it and building it ...”

flee from the danger to prevent sacrifice his life.

And it is only to keep the commandment of settling the Land that we are commanded to be prepared to sacrifice our lives, because from the very fact that the Torah commanded us to conquer the Land, we learn that self-sacrifice is required in order to keep it, since there is no

war without casualties, and the Torah certainly does not intend for us to depend on miracles. Rather, the commandment of settling the Land, which is a commandment for all of Israel, necessitates actual self-sacrifice. And this is how the People of Israel acted when it conquered the Land in the days of Joshua and the days of David, as well as during the period while the Second Temple was being built and afterward, during the period of the Hasmonean Dynasty.

Indeed, it is also clear that the commandment of settling the Land must be done rationally, and the rule “you shall live by them” and not die by them, also applies; however, since the commandment is general, it is reckoned according to the nation in general, and not to individual soldiers. Therefore, in a situation where it is highly likely that we will not succeed in war, and even, Heaven forbid, we might lose the territories that are already in our hands and the life of the nation as a whole would be in the balance, in such a situation there is no commandment to go out to war to conquer the Land. The Torah is a Torah for life and not a Torah that commands us to wage a suicidal war. But when it is highly likely that we will be victorious, even though it is certain that some of us will lose our lives, we are commanded to conquer the Land and at least maintain that which we already have.

It is worth mentioning that any people that is not prepared to fight for its land with a willingness for self-sacrifice, will be conquered in the end, and its sons and daughters will be taken as captives. Therefore, the commandment to fight for the Land of Israel with self-sacrifice usually accords with the value of saving a life. So that he who fights to defend the borders of Israel is keeping two commandments, settling the Land and defending Israel.

Blessed are the residents of Judea and Samaria, who, in the name of all Israel, act to expand and deepen the commandment of settling the Land in the heart of our Holy Land. Every single Jew who moves to Judea and Samaria brings us closer to the stage where we will win full sovereignty and settlement. In this stage we are fulfilling the commandment of settling the Land in

Judea and Samaria only partially, since Israel sovereignty still has not been applied in Judea and Samaria, and there are still many areas settled by those people who oppose us and fight against the right of the People of Israel to its Land. But since the area is under the rule of the IDF and the communities were established by the State of Israel, the fact that these communities exist, counts a great deal toward keeping the general commandment of settling the Land. In order that we will have the privilege of keeping the commandment fully, it is a holy obligation on every one of us to do everything we can so that the State of Israel, in the name of the Jewish People, will apply full sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, and the communities in Judea and Samaria will grow and develop.

May we strengthen ourselves with the expansion of the settlements and claim our sovereignty and the Almighty will help us, and the words of the prophet will quickly come to pass (Ezekiel 36: 34-38):

“**The desolate land will be cultivated instead of lying desolate in the sight of all who pass through it. They will say, ‘this land that was laid waste has become like the Garden of Eden... Then the nations around you that remain will know that I the Lord have rebuilt what was destroyed and have replanted what was desolate. I the Lord have spoken, and I will do it.’ This is what the Sovereign Lord says: Once again I will yield to Israel’s plea and do this for them: I will make their people as numerous as sheep, as numerous as the flocks for offerings at Jerusalem during her appointed festivals. So will the ruined cities be filled with flocks of people. Then they will know that I am the Lord**”.

## Sovereignty - From Theory to Practice

On the Activity of the Land of Israel Lobby in the Knesset on the subject of sovereignty

By Former MK Orit Struk, Chairman of the Land of Israel Lobby

The Land of Israel Lobby in the Knesset, directed by MKs Yoav Kish and Bezalel Smotrich, made a strategic decision this year: To raise the subject of sovereignty from an idea – to practical deeds.

The deep, professional discussions dealing with the acceptability of the sovereignty idea within the Israeli sphere (among the public as well as in parliament and in the government) as well as internationally, have led the lobby’s directors to the conclusion that the current composition of Knesset and the government, the rightward shift in Israeli public opinion, and the changes within the international arena (both in Europe and the United States) – have combined to result in an important junction – an opportunity that we must not miss.

The understanding that there is a need for a very broad consensus in order to promote the concept of sovereignty as a realistic, sovereign plan, compared to the only plan floated in the political market (the 2 state plan), has led to identifying Ma’ale Adumim as the necessary “breakout point”. The city of 40 thousand residents, nearing the completion of its 40th year, has a varied and population, that can be viewed as representing Israel in general.

Fortunately, the mayor, **Benny Kashriel** has taken on the task, as well as many other mayors and council heads, understanding that this is a course of action that is relevant for the entire Land of Israel.

A survey that was done for us by the Midgam Institute reinforced our assumptions: it turns out that 80% of the Jewish population in Israel supports the application of sovereignty in Ma’ale Adumim, independent of whether it would be in the framework of a political agreement. More than 70% support the plan even if it results in a sharp international response. Since these positions are held among the general public – it will be possible to mobilize figures from the Knesset and the

government as well.

We opened the summer session with the results of the survey, and a public announcement about the Right’s new political initiative – the application of sovereignty in Ma’ale Adumim regardless of any political agreement.

We put the subject on the Knesset’s agenda for two discussions that we initiated: one is about our right to the Land (which is the basis for sovereignty), and the other is about the political plan itself. The Knesset plenum decided to continue the discussions on these two subjects in the coming session.

We held a **festive meeting of the Ma’ale Adumim Council**, to which were invited ministers and members of Knesset. **Minister Haim Katz** expressed his commitment to the plan of sovereignty and promised to bring the subject to a decision in the Likud Central Committee, which he heads. **Minister Zeev Elkin** announced his support of the plan, saying: “The Right must change from holding back – to leading”. **Minister Uri Ariel** expressed support of the idea as a starting point for application of sovereignty over all parts of Judea and Samaria. Among those who also participated were MKs Eliezer Shtern and Miki Levi from the Yesh Atid party, Robert Ilatov from Yisrael Beiteinu, Eli Cohen from Kulanu and Shuli Mualem from HaBayit HaYehudi.

Those who attended the gathering signed the **Ma’ale Adumim Declaration of Sovereignty**, which contains the guiding principles of the plan.

**We are now in the legislative phase** on the proposal of the law to apply sovereignty over Ma’ale Adumim. We have obtained

the signatures of almost all the coalition factions’ heads (except for Yahadut HaTorah), and one more representative from every faction.

During the “Sovereignty Conference” that we held in the Knesset, the law proposal was raised festively and served **to the Knesset Speaker, who took the opportunity to express support for the plan and sign the declaration of sovereignty**. After him, **Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked** signed, as well as **Minister Yariv Levin**, who explained that this is a historic correction of injustice and a political plan that will extend to all of Judea and Samaria. **Haim Bibas, Chairman of the Union of Local Authorities, Beni Biton, Chairman of the Development Towns Forum**, and many other MKs, council heads and public figures also gave their blessing, expressed their solidarity and signed the Declaration of Sovereignty.

The Lobby will continue to promote the plan of sovereignty for Ma’ale Adumim during the summer recess, and even more so in the next winter session, which will undoubtedly be a politically stormy session.

And now we come to your part, dear readers. You can also join our sovereignty initiative: Follow the (Hebrew) Facebook page for the **Land of Israel Lobby in the Knesset** and follow the ongoing activities that you can join – follow the announcements, be active, and have the privilege of being part of promoting the sovereignty plan. ■



Maaleh Adumim mayor at the Knesset Sovereignty conference with MK Moti Yogev, Knesset Speaker Yuli Edelstein and Land of Israel Knesset Lobby heads MK Yoav Kish and MK Bezalel Smotrich. Photo: Mini Tzachi



Rabbi Eliezer Melamed. Photo: Har Bracha



# Judea and Samaria in a region of failed states

David P. Goldman

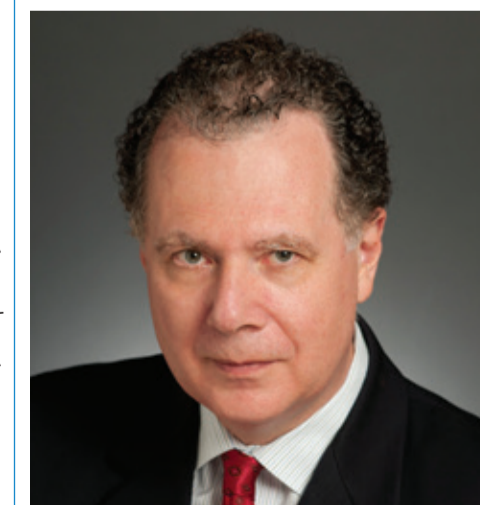
With the collapse of several artificial nation-states created by the victors of the First World War, the entire region from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf has entered a prolonged period of instability. The Syrian and Libyan states has ceased to exist; the Iraqi State is near collapse; the Lebanese state is hostage to Iran; the Turkish state has just survived a military coup and is descending into authoritarian rule; and Saudi Arabia will not be able to buy domestic peace much longer if oil prices remain low. Egypt survived a revolution and counterrevolution to return to the status quo of military rule, but depends on subsidies from the Gulf States.

Non-state actors now occupy the political and military space left vacant by the collapse or decline of nation-states. That is emphatically true in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, and increasingly true in Turkey. The most fanatical and determined of these actors play the decisive role—Hezbollah in Lebanon and Syria and the Iran-backed Shi'ite militias in Iraq, and ISIS and al-Qaeda in Iraq and Syria. Ethnic and sectarian divisions that were contained by the region's autocracies have turned into vehicles for existential war. With a military-age population of nearly 30 million, the region has sufficient cannon-fodder to continue the war for another generation, even without the involvement of foreign fighters from the Caucasus, Western China and Southeast Asia.

That is why Israel cannot presently give up control of Judea and Samaria, and will not be able to give up control in the foreseeable

future, whether or not it wants to. The problem lies not with the settlers but with the unsettlers. Radicalization has replaced long-established states with non-state sectors. What passes for "Palestine" is a collection of radicalized non-state actors in search of a state. The IDF presence in Judea and Samaria limits the extent to which these non-state actors can be drawn into the conflicts that surround them. The departure of the IDF would leave Iran, Turkey, ISIS and al-Qaeda

**"Israel cannot presently give up control of Judea and Samaria, and will not be able to give up control in the foreseeable future, whether or not it wants to"**



David P. Goldman, economist, analyst and author.

free to compete for control of the various armed entities controlled by the Palestine Authority, with their estimated (in 2007) 176,500 men under arms. Surrounded by fail states, a putative State of Palestine would become a prefabricated failed state.

Why did the states of the Levant and Mesopotamia fail so thoroughly and so suddenly? The Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 brought nearly a century of relative stability to the Levant and Mesopotamia. Britain and France proposed to divide the Arab provinces of the soon-to-be-defeated Ottoman Empire along lines that disrupted ethnic and confessional continuity. Syria and Lebanon, the French sphere of influence, separated the Sunnis of Mesopotamia from their co-religionists and tribal cousins in the Levant by an apparently arbitrary border. Iraq, ruled first by a Hashemite monarchy installed by the British and then by the Ba'ath Party, allowed a Sunni minority to rule a Shi'ite majority. After the Second World War Iraq and Syria became virtual mirror images: the same Ba'ath Party ruled both countries, except that the Syrian Ba'athists were led by a deviant Shi'ite sect, the Alawites, while the Iraqi Ba'athists were Sunni.

This arrangement was crafted for a pre-modern society with a small middle class, in which military service offered social advancement to the rural poor. It could not survive modernization indefinitely; In Syria, for example, the Syrian civil war was preceded by a crisis in the country's agricultural sector that displaced hundreds of thousands of farmers from their land. The incipient crisis of modernity, though, encountered fatal policy errors by the West.



Israel is the only industrial country to reproduce at above the replacement rate of 2.1 live births per female. Israeli children celebrate Independence Day. Photo: Flash 90

Left undisturbed, the Sykes-Picot system might have lasted for some decades to come. In countries characterized by longstanding and bitter ethnic and confessional divisions, minority rule had three virtues. First, the other minorities supported minority rule as a matter of course: Syrian Christians aligned with the Alawites against the Sunni majority and Iraqi Christians aligned with the Sunni Ba'athists against the Shi'ite majority. Second, the oppressed majorities, namely Syrian Sunnis and Iraqi Shi'ites, knew that the minority government could only persecute them up to a certain point and no further.

Third, the Iraqi state ruled by a Sunni officer corps created a natural balance of power in the region, offsetting the ambitions of Turkey and, most importantly, Iran.

Except for the Iran-Iraq War of 1988, conflicts in the region after 1918 were limited in scope and duration, and, most importantly, rarely led to regime change, although they frequently motivated a change at the top of the regime. Even the American invasion of Iraq in 1991 left Saddam Hussein in power, because Washington wished to maintain the regional power balance.

The old power balance in the region was destroyed in 2007, when the United States stood midwife to majority rule in Iraq, sponsoring a Shi'ite government friendly to Iran, and leaving Iraq's Sunnis at the mercy of the Shi'ite majority. The Sunnis responded with a terror campaign against American forces and Shi'ites. The United States countered with the "surge" of 2007-2008, whose most important measure was to put as many Sunnis as possible on the payroll of the American military through the "Sunni Awakening" and the "Sons of Iraq." As long as large numbers of America forces remained on the ground, the insurgency remained dampened. When the last US ground troops left in 2011, the Sunni resistance reemerged under the most radical leadership available.

The political crisis known as the "Arab Spring" amplified the sectarian war in Mesopotamia. The Arab rebellions of 2011 began with an incipient food crisis in Egypt and a water crisis in Syria. Subsidies from the Gulf States keep Egypt on life support. Half of Syria's 22 million people have been displaced and perhaps 400,000 killed. The overflow from Syria has destabilized the surround countries as well as Western Europe. Nearly 2 million Syrian Sunnis have taken refuge in Lebanon and 2.5 million in Turkey. Refugees comprise almost half of Lebanon's total population of 4 million, shifting the demographic balance to the Sunnis—while the mass Sunni exodus tilts the balance

of power in Syria toward the Alawites and other religious minorities, who are largely allied with Iran. Jordan, meanwhile, has taken in 1.26 million Syrian Sunnis, making Palestinians a minority inside Jordan for the first time in a generation. A region that struggled to find sustenance for its people before 2011 has now been flooded with millions of refugees without resources or means of support. They are living for the most part on largesse from the Gulf States, and their young men are prospective cannon fodder.

ISIS and al-Qaeda cannot be eliminated by the usual military means, only contained. With Iran's ascendancy in the region after the 2015 nuclear agreement, the Sunni extremists have become the spearhead of Sunni resistance to Shi'ite ambitions in the region. The Gulf States and Turkey cannot embrace them, but neither can they permit them to be destroyed. Turkey has an additional move to back the Sunni resistance as a counterweight to the Syrian Kurds, who threaten to conquer the north of Syria from the Mediterranean to the Iraqi border and link up with their Iraqi compatriots in a new Kurdish state.

Freed from the constraints of the Sykes-Picot states, ethnic and confessional groups in the region are fighting an existential war. What explains the passion and abandon with which Sunnis, Shi'ites, Persians, Arabs and Kurds bring to this war? The answer, I believe, lies in a deep sense of civilizational fragility. The peoples of the region have been thrust suddenly into the modern world. Woken from the long slumber of traditional society, they find themselves confronted by social forces that put their future existence in jeopardy.

It is difficult to measure the impact of modernity, but one failsafe gauge of the social transformation now underway is the sudden demographic transition underway in most of the country of the regions. Arab, Turkish and Persian birth rates are falling from pre-modern to post-modern levels, and the result is a sudden aging of their populations. The

**The receding demographic tide in the Arab world has not spared Arabs in Judea and Samaria. The Palestine Authority, though, has inflated population numbers for political reasons, partly to justify more aid and partly to support the notion that a Palestinian state on the West Bank is inevitable.**

fall in Muslim birth rate is most extreme in Iran and Turkey, with different but related consequences. When Ayatollah Khomeini took power in 1979, the average Iranian woman had seven children; today the total fertility rate has fallen to just 1.6 children, the sharpest drop in demographic history. Iran still has a young population, but it has no children to succeed them. By mid-century Iran will have a higher proportion of elderly dependents than Europe, an impossible and unprecedented burden for a poor country. Iran's sudden aging will be followed by Turkey and Tunisia.

A review of the recently-released 2015 population data shows that the demographic scissors between Kurds and Turks continues to widen. Despite Erdogan's exhortations on behalf of Turkish fertility, the baby bust in Turkish-majority provinces continues while Kurds sustain one of the world's highest birth rates. Even worse, the marriage rate outside of the Kurdish Southeast of the country has collapsed, portending even lower fertility in the future.

According to Turkstat, the official statistics agencies, the Turkish provinces with the lowest fertility rates all cluster in the north

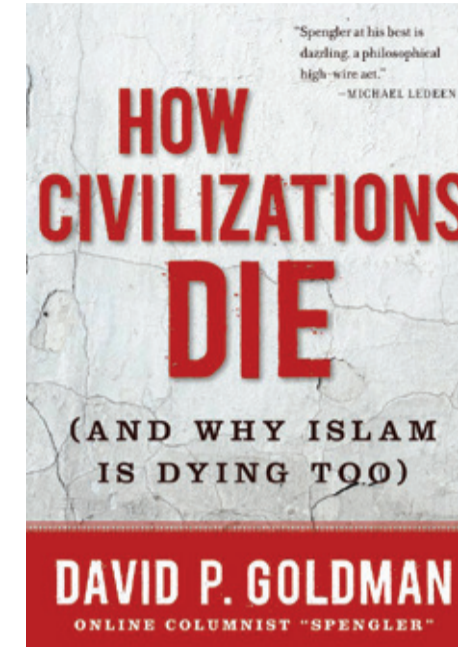
and northwest of the country, where women on average have only 1.5 children. The southeastern provinces show fertility rates ranging between 3.2 and 4.2 children per female.

Even more alarming are Turkey's marriage statistics as reported by Turkstat. Between 2001 and 2015, the number of marriages in Istanbul, the country's largest city, fell by more than 30%, and by more than 40% in the capital Ankara. Most of the northern and northwestern provinces report a decline of more than half in the number of marriages. Not only are Turkish women refusing to have children; they are refusing to get married. The plunge in the marriage rate among ethnic Turks makes a further sharp decline in fertility inevitable.

As I reported in my 2011 book *Why Civilizations Die (and Why Islam is Dying, Too)*, Muslim countries that achieve a high rate of adult literacy jump from infancy to senescence without passing through adulthood. Like their Iranian, Algerian and Tunisian counterparts, Turkish women reject the constraints of Muslim family life as soon as they obtain a high school education. The shock of sudden passage from traditional society into the modern world has produced the fastest-ever fall in fertility rates in the Muslim world.

Turkey and Iran, ostensibly the two most stable powers in the region, are the most fragile in the long term.

By the middle of the century, Iran's elderly population will rise to roughly half its working-age population, followed closely by Turkey. Israel's elderly dependent ratio, by contrast, will peak at around 30%. Iran will have a higher elderly dependency ratio than Western Europe, with roughly a tenth the per capita GDP. It will be the first country in the world to get old before it gets rich. Poor countries universally have had high birth rates and a large young population to support a small proportion of elderly. Iran's economy will collapse no matter what it does now, and the Iranian leadership is painfully aware of what awaits it.



Demographics are not the cause of the region's instability, but a symptom: the cause is the dissolution of the bonds of traditional society as modernity overwhelms Iranian health officials estimates that 12% of Iranian women are infected with chlamydia, for example. The collapse of the Turkish marriage rate cited above is another gauge of adverse social change.

In summary, the regional political structures that kept pre-modern populations under control broke down at precisely the point that modernity began to transform Muslim societies. The Levant, Mesopotamia and Persia face an existential crisis that is not imagined: the old way of life cannot continue and the young people of those countries refuse to perpetuate it.

The receding demographic tide in the Arab world has not spared Arabs in Judea and Samaria. The Palestine Authority, though, has inflated population numbers for political reasons, partly to justify more aid and partly to support the notion that a Palestinian state on the West Bank is inevitable.

A 2006 study by the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies showed that the West

Bank and Gaza population in 2004 was only 2.5 million, rather than the 3.8 million claimed by the Palestinian authorities. The numbers were falsified by double-counting Arab residents of East Jerusalem, West Bank Arabs who had moved inside the Green Line after marriage to Israeli Arabs, Palestinians living overseas, and others. Most of all, the PA invented large numbers of births that never occurred. As the report argued:

The Palestine Central Bureau of Statistics] projected that the number of births in the Territories would total almost 908,000 for the seven-year period from 1997 to 2003. Yet, the actual number of births documented by the PA Ministry of Health for the same period was significantly lower at 699,000, or 238,000 fewer births than had been forecast by the PCBS. The size of the discrepancy accelerated over time. Whereas the PCBS predicted there would be over 143,000 births in 2003, the PA Ministry of Health reported only 102,000 births, which pointed to a PCBS forecast 40% beyond actual results.

After the Begin-Sadat study used health ministry records to refute the estimates of the PA's statistical bureau, the Palestinian health authorities stopped publishing birth records. There is no hard source of data to compare to the PA's population numbers. The Palestine Authority continues to over-count births in the West Bank by 30,000 to 60,000 annually, according to Ambassador Yoram Ettinger (ret.). Respectable Western sources ignore the PA estimates. The CIA World Factbook in 2015, for example, put the Israeli Jewish fertility rate at 3.11 vs. 2.91 for West Bank and Samaria Arabs. As Ettinger observes, "In October 2015, Israel's Jewish fertility rate is higher than in any Arab country, other than Yemen, Iraq and Jordan (e.g., Egypt – 2.8 births per woman, Syria – 2.6, Saudi Arabia – 2.1)."

Israel's robust fertility profile also is a symptom: Israel is the only industrial country in the world to reproduce at above the replacement rate of 2.1 live births per female, and by a substantial margin. It is a gauge of Israel's long-term social and economic viability in contrast to the civilizational decline around it.

Time is on Israel's side. Conditions in Syria and Iraq will continue to deteriorate. The radical vanguard of the sectarian war in the Middle East will continue to export terrorism to the West. Turkey will remain unstable and will struggle with ethnic and demographic pressures. Iran is a declining country in the medium term; its military-age population will fall by nearly 10 million during the next ten years due to the collapse in the birth rate of the past decade and a half. For the foreseeable future, the only functioning government on the West Bank will be Israel. The alternative is to turn Judea and Samara into a Petri dish for terrorism and ethnic and confessional war. ■

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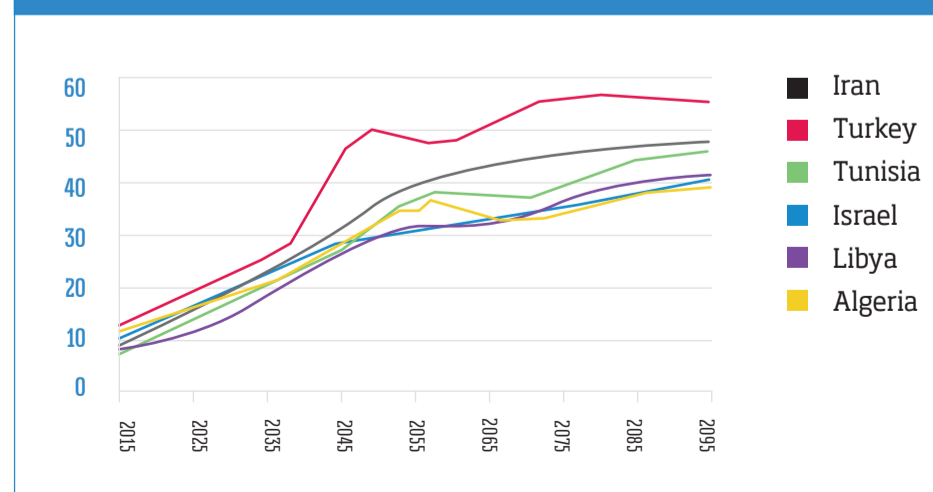
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**Elderly Dependent Ratios for Selects Mideastern Countries**

Source: UN Constant Fertility Scenario



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# The world is silent on settlements around the globe that, unlike by us, really are illegal

Where did the term “illegal settlements” come from? And does this term have any real meaning? And why are other settlements in the world ignored?

In short - where did we go wrong? Prof. Avi Bell answers.



Prof. Avi Bell

The issue of the territories of Judea and Samaria and their status in international law is one of the main issues that trouble politicians and public figures when talking about the possibility of applying sovereignty. It seems that this political, sovereign process will run into the brick wall of international law, which defines it as illegal. It seems that Israeli statesmen and even Israel in general, will find themselves under attack and subject to the sort of isolation deserving of one who engages in acts that are against international law.

But it turns out that all of this only seems to be the case. Prof. Avi Bell, a faculty member of the College of Law at Bar Ilan University and a senior fellow in the Kohelet Forum, states that this alarming terminology, “illegal settlements”, which Israeli politicians and statesmen are so fearful of, does not exist at all in international law and is, after all, only invented, in an effort to scare and deter us.

Prof. Bell further emphasizes his words, noting that those who oppose the communities and outposts in Judea and Samaria use the prohibition against forced transfer of populations into occupied territories as a basis upon which to build their legal case, but this prohibition, as mentioned, is not at all relevant to the Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria. He recounts a few from a long list of true forcible transfers of populations into occupied territories in the world at large, and miracle of miracles, those countries that actually do commit acts

In each of these places states take coercive actions against the populations in order to transfer them to an occupied area and despite this, we do not hear the term ‘illegal settlements’. This term is reserved only for Israel

prohibited by international law are not at all subject to international criticism. This is the situation with Russia, which carries out forcible transfers of populations in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine; this is what China does in the territories that it conquered from India; this is also going on in Kashmir, which is ruled by India, Pakistan and China, with each one of them forcibly carrying out these population transfers in order to determine facts on the ground and to demonstrate ownership to its adversaries.

Prof. Bell explains that when China carries out population transfers they are indeed done forcibly since transfer to those areas is a condition for obtaining employment –

“Have you moved to the occupied territory? Then you will get work. You haven’t moved? Then you will starve”.

“All of these countries, and others as well, indeed do carry out population transfers actively and forcibly, in a manner that is a true violation of the Geneva Convention according to the prevailing interpretation, in contradistinction to the way that Israelis establish communities in Judea and Samaria”, says Prof. Bell, and he continues his quick survey around the globe, mentioning the Turkish occupation of North Cyprus, the Moroccan occupation in the western Sahara, the territories between Armenia and Azerbaijan that are controlled by both of the sides, and the territory between Ethiopia and Eritrea. In each of these places “states take coercive actions against the populations in order to transfer them to an occupied area and despite this, we do not hear the term ‘illegal settlements’. This term is reserved only for Israel. Here, for us, for some reason, it is seen as totally obvious and is not even discussed in depth”.

We cannot expect the world to be more Zionist than we are

How have we come to the situation where this problematic term, ‘illegal settlements’, is used, specifically for Israel, and not for any other place in the world, despite the illegal things that are actually going on there? Here too, as in many other cases, we cannot necessarily blame external factors. Again, it is

It was not a foreign country that forced Israel to administer this area by military rule according to the laws of belligerent occupation. In ‘67, Israel took upon herself, by her own free will, the decision to administer the territory according to the laws of belligerent occupation

clear that more than a few of the complicated problems that Israel finds herself in are caused by her own doings. “There are things that Israel has done to herself. When Israel relates to Judea and Samaria she speaks about herself as an occupier, in common language, or she defines her holdings as belligerent, in legal jargon. It was not a foreign country that forced Israel to administer this area by military rule according to the laws of belligerent occupation. In ‘67, Israel took upon herself, by her own free will, the decision to administer the territory according to the laws of belligerent occupation. This was the military’s decision and the government has confirmed it ever since then. There is military

administration in that area and the laws that apply there are laws of belligerent occupation and the so-called prohibition against transfer of population has its source in the laws of belligerent occupation. Actually, the moment we said, by our own initiative, that we are acting in Judea and Samaria according to the laws of belligerent occupation, we obligated ourselves to observe the prohibition against transfer, despite the fact that our actions cannot at all be defined as forcible transfer of a population. We would not have to fight about the definition of the term “transfer” since it is clear that the territory is not under belligerent occupation”.

Regarding how to correct the current situation, Prof. Bell believes that the window of Israeli options is not closed and even if it seems that the world would attack us and criticize us if we present the data and the facts according to international law, there is no reason to get excited about it. “The world has been hostile toward us and will continue to be hostile toward us in any case. The Israeli public must internalize this fact, especially since the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip. In the eyes of the world the situation there is still defined as Israeli occupation, or more accurately, as a different sort of Israeli occupation, so if military occupation is not acceptable, withdrawal is also not acceptable, and sovereign Israeli holdings such as in eastern Jerusalem are also not acceptable in the eyes of the world, then what is acceptable?” he asks.

Israel has a range of possible options for action, but she must act...

In Prof. Bell’s opinion the options that Israel can take are broad, and in his words, “from a legal point of view all paths are open. It is a question that only Israel herself must decide, as to what she wants to do. We must remember that the fact that we have military rule there stems not from a legal decision, but only from a political decision, not to relate to Judea and Samaria as part of the State of Israel, in contrast to eastern Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, areas that we do consider as part of the State of Israel”.

Bell is also not alarmed by scenarios of sovereignty and full citizenship for the Arabs of Judea and Samaria. He mentions the precedent of east Jerusalem, where the residents were given the option of Israeli citizenship rather than permanent residency, but they chose not to take this citizenship for their own reasons. In Prof. Bell’s view, even in a reality where a significant part of the Arab residents of Judea and Samaria do decide to take Israeli citizenship, this will not have an especially dramatic influence on Israel’s character, which still would be a democratic state with a solid Jewish majority, and in a choice between this democratic threat, the complex situation that exists today and the threat and danger that would surely be posed by a Palestinian

state, he prefers the first option and even takes care to place the word “threat” in quotation marks to indicate the relatively low level of that threat. “I do not see this as a great threat. There will be a large Jewish majority here, whether they take citizenship or not. In his opinion the democratic option is the strongest option. Indeed, the possibility exists that thirty to forty percent of the Knesset would be Arabs representatives, but it is not at all certain that this possibility, which is not so dangerous anyway, would even occur. As of today they are about twenty percent of the citizens and in the Knesset the Arab representatives on the Joint List are less than ten percent. Even if we double this strength, and I don’t think that we would have a situation of doubling, we come to twenty percent of the representatives – is this so drastic?”

According to him, the present reality, in which Israel pays a political price for the lack of sovereignty, a reality in which even the citizens of Israel do not recognize Israel’s right to sovereignty and holdings in Judea and Samaria, is a much more difficult and dangerous reality in the long run. “If we are afraid to stand up for our rights here at home, it will be much more difficult to convince even the friends that we have in the world to stand up for our rights, since if we indeed have rights on this Land, why don’t we exercise them?” ■



The city of Beitar. Photo: Flash 90

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# This Political Correctness is Killing us



Raheel Raza, Muslim public speaker, journalist and author.

Raheel Raza is a Muslim native of Pakistan, President of the Council for Muslims facing Tomorrow, author of "Their Jihad...not my Jihad", who, in recent years, has been leading an extensive public relations struggle against Islamic radicalization and its chosen method of using terror as a legitimate way to change the world. Raza appears on campuses and in parliaments throughout the world, including in Israel, where she presents disturbing data about the ongoing radicalization of the Muslim world and warns of submitting to political correctness, which inhibits many of the world's statesmen from saying what they really think and know about Islam.

Raza's struggle is not contained only within air conditioned halls. Many in the

Muslim world are trying to silence her and for them, any way they can achieve this goal is legitimate. The editors of "Sovereignty" conducted an Internet conversation with Raza about terror, radicalization and the West, which represses its awareness of the sword swinging over its head.

**There is a saying that not all Muslims are terrorists but all terrorists are Muslim. Even if this is not a hundred percent accurate, what, in your opinion, is the connection between radical Islam and terror?**

"Radical Islam has been waging a war against the West. In their view, success will be achieved through infiltration, terror and propaganda. Unless the West recognizes this agenda and accepts that Radical Islam is the enemy, it will be very difficult to defeat them".

**It was difficult for Obama to define the slaughter in Orlando as having been perpetrated by Islamic terrorism. Do you understand why he hesitates to say these things clearly?**

"Obama has surrendered to the policy of 'appeasement' so he can't articulate the words 'Jihad', 'Radical' 'Islamist' etc. He thinks that if he uses the term Radical Islam, it tarnishes the image of 1.7 billion Muslims – what he doesn't understand is that by NOT using the term Radical Islamist to separate people like me from the Jihadists, he is doing us (Muslims who are battling the cancer of Radicalization) a disservice".

**Hillary Clinton, perhaps the next president of the United States, has declared that the Muslims are peace-loving people. How do you relate to her statement?**

"Saying all Muslims are peace loving people may get her the Muslim vote and maybe a majority of Muslims in the US are peace-loving Muslims or perhaps they just don't want to get involved. However, these heinous acts of terror keep happening over and over again in the US. Why? Unless we identify the problem there can be no solution. Keeping our heads in the sand is not a good strategy right now".

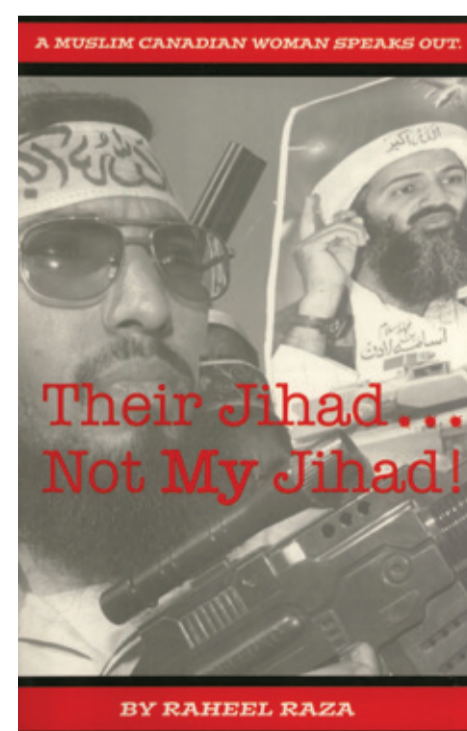
**How might the presidency look, under the leadership of someone who thinks like this?**

"It will only get worse".  
When Hillary Clinton first began her run for the White House, Raza publicly demanded for her to renounce Muslim organizations and Muslim states that discriminate against women, including Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. She told Clinton that she is disturbed about the source of tens of millions of dollars that have been channeled into her campaign for presidency and apparently came from Muslim states that oppress women. In

response, Clinton's campaign managers promised that contributions will continue to come from Muslim states and organizations, but not from those that oppress women.

**Why is it that, ironically, it is the peace lovers among Westerners who are afraid to express themselves against radical Islam? Is it hypocrisy? Is it out of fear?**

"The left has joined hands with the Islamists. It's the same people who promote the BDS movement in educational institutions. The Western Feminist Movement has let us down by not fully supporting our documentary, Honor Dairies, about the abuse of women. There is also white liberal guilt which causes the fear of being called racist, and keeps them silent. With every new atrocity, we think that the tipping point may have been reached and Muslims will wake up to the virus in their midst. However the silent majority refuses to speak up and be counted".



Raheel Raza, a Muslim native of Pakistan, tells the truth to the West and the Arab world, despite being faced with threats to her life and constant attempts to silence her clear voice speaking out against the Islamic trend toward terror and jihad; she tells the truth that so many suppress in the name of Political Correctness and politeness

**Is the West becoming the victim of the political correctness that it, itself, invented? And if so, why did it invent this political correctness?**

"The West is a victim of political correctness at its worst. Perhaps the most honest response to this question was given to me when I travelled to Sweden, where I spoke in the Swedish Parliament. I asked a Swedish MP why they have such immense problems (Honor killings and rape are high in numbers in Sweden along with difficulty in reporting and punishing the perpetrators). The MP said 'We don't like ourselves – we think we have too much so we should bend over backwards to appease others.' This is what the West is doing".

**Perhaps actually, Islamic radicalization represents only the behavior of a radical group and is not representative? Perhaps any attempt to place every Muslim in the single category of terrorist is prejudiced and unfair?**

"Of course placing every Muslim in the category of terrorist is totally wrong. The radicals derive their ideology from one of 3 sources: the Muslim Brotherhood, Wahhabi/Salafi doctrine from Saudi Arabia and Khomeni-ism. There are a great number of Muslims who hold beliefs that are not in sync with 21st century values of peace and tolerance".

**Perhaps the younger generation, which is more exposed to Internet and the West, will be able to or will want to formulate a different sort of Islam, which would be more moderate?**

"We hope for that but much of the younger generation is heavily influenced by the ideologies mentioned above".

**Does anything exist, politically, religiously or economically, that can moderate the Islamic radicalism or is it**



Raheel Raza with husband Sohail and TalkIsrael spokesperson Ardie Geldman visit Oz veGaon in Gush Etzion. Photo: Women in Green

**something inherent, deep within, that will always emerge when the opportunity arises? Our hope is in The Muslim Reform Movement, a new movement to bring Islam and Muslims into the 21st century and modernize the way in which Muslims understand, interpret and implement Islam in their lives.**

**Tell us about what happens to you when you say things so clearly? Do you get threats? Are there attempts to silence you? Perhaps there is respect for the courage that you display? Are you accused of having some sort of personal gain from saying these things?**

"When I speak in Israel and show my support for the right of Israel to exist, I am called a 'Zionist' agent. When I speak about Islam, I am rebuffed because of my gender. When I support my claims by the Quran, my detractors call me either Ismaili or Ahmaddiya (fringe sects of Islam). They can't argue with me based on the merit of what I'm saying because I speak and act from within the faith of Islam as a practicing Muslim. So they find

different ways to intimidate and attack me through hate mail and death threats".

**Are there other public figures in the Muslim world who can express themselves as you do?**

"Yes there are and after a long lonely struggle, it's heartwarming to find like-minded Muslims. In North America: Dr. Zuhdi Jasser, Asra Nomani, Dr. Tawfik Hamid, Qanta Ahmad, Salim Mansur, Maajid Nawaz, Irshad Manji and many others".

**What, on a personal level or other level, has brought you to this public battle that you have entered into against radical Islam? Why did you enter into this battle?**

"I was born in Pakistan. It doesn't seem possible now but when I was growing up, it was a pluralistic country. I interacted with people of all faiths and studied in a Catholic convent. The Islam I grew up with was a very different Islam – one that was compassionate and tolerant".

"In 1977 this pluralism was taken away. Pakistan was transformed with a rise in

radicalization due to the Salafi/Wahhabi ideology imported from Saudi Arabia on the backs of billions of petro dollars. The turf war between Iran and Saudi Arabia is being waged today in Pakistan and this has transformed truth into falsehood. My faith was stolen and replaced by a vicious, violent ideology that we see all over the Muslim world today".

"It's been a long hard journey to learn and acknowledge what has happened to my faith and my fellow-Muslims but there was one thing I learned as a child and which I cling to during my entire life – that truth and justice cannot be hidden. Today we are engulfed with the virus of a radical Islamist ideology and the global rise of a Jihadist insurgency. This is our challenge of the times. Like any other virus if we don't identify it, if we don't acknowledge it and find a cure for it, it will envelop us all. This is why I speak out. I speak out for all of you, for myself and most importantly for the future of my children and grandchildren". ■



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# Forging a roadmap to sovereignty, resisting the heirs of Sykes-Picot

By Ari Soffer

The Jewish state was forged, in the face of fierce opposition from the Arab world and the mighty British Empire, amid great struggle, blood, sweat and tears.

Such is the way of all nations who choose dignity over servitude, and make the brave decision to fight for their independence.

From the very start of the exile, as our ancestors wept by the Rivers of Babylon, they imparted that blueprint of liberation to future generations: “Those who sow in tears shall reap in joy” (Psalm 26). To reap the fruits of freedom, one must sow the ground with tears.

The sages of the Talmud, too, reminded us that “the land of Israel is acquired through suffering” (Brachot 5a).

The “stiff-necked” Jewish people have proven more than up to the challenge, re-establishing and defending an independent homeland against all odds. That is why the very concept of “Zionism” has anti-Semites foaming at the mouth: the re-empowerment of the Jewish people renders those who wish to see us disempowered and annihilated humiliatingly impotent.

That is how Yom Hazikaron, when we remember those who sacrificed their lives for Jewish independence, bleeds seamlessly, without contradiction, into the euphoria of Independence Day. The painful sacrifices are

the reason we are able to celebrate at all.

That spirit of resistance lives on today, as the Jewish people continues its long struggle to preserve its hard-won dignity and independence.

It lives on in the courageous Israeli men and women – in uniform and not – who fight like lions against the Islamic fascists attempting to butcher their way back to dominance. Take one look at the CCTV footage from almost any given terror attack and you will see something bewildering: Israeli civilians running towards the scene, bravely risking their lives to rescue the wounded and neutralize the terrorist. That is the remarkable Israeli ethos of resistance.

That spirit of Jewish resistance finds one of its strongest expressions in the movement to resettle Judea and Samaria, where the stubborn cry of “they kill, we build,” is the unofficial slogan of Jewish nonviolent resistance. The establishment of new centers of Jewish life is the most appropriate response to acts of terror intended to ethnically-cleanse us.

For the Jews of Judea and Samaria, existence is resistance. The aim of the Arab terrorists is not merely to murder and maim – it is a political act meant to erode our sense of security and eventually make life here unlivable for us. By staying put and insisting on living normally regardless, we are resisting their murderous designs.

It is this spirit of resistance which enabled the settlement movement to triumph. In the face of adversity, the stubborn Jews only become stronger.

No wonder then that our enemies want them “dismantled”.

## The real enemy

But beyond the physical struggle is an insidious enemy far more difficult to fight than 1,000 Arab terrorists.

It is the plague of self-doubt, of our own astounding inability to appreciate the miraculous re-empowerment of the Jewish people today through the miracle of Zionism.

Complexes rooted in 2,000 years of exile, where the very nature of Jewish existence was

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based on uncertainty, fear and powerlessness, have been imported back into our independent State of Israel.

Ask yourselves: How could the liberators of the cradle of Jewish civilization, Judea and Samaria, in 1967 do anything but immediately annex that land? How could they have even thought of not liberating Jerusalem?

The answer: a mixture of self-doubt, fear, and an inability to believe in our own capacity for decisive victory.

Today, we live with the results of

that self-doubt – a weakness which our current government, like all previous governments, displays every day it delays the implementation of full Israeli sovereignty over our ancestral lands.

Lands where Jewish warriors from the Maccabees to the defenders of Kfar Etzion fought and died with the certainty that this is our land; today, regarding those same lands, our leadership hesitates. Even though most of them know it is ours by right, they can’t muster the courage to not only say it to their voters in Hebrew, but to follow up with actions and communicate that fact clearly to the rest of the world.

And so something very natural has occurred: Our enemies sense our weakness, and are exploiting it. As the saying goes: the biggest provocation to a bully is weakness.

But it’s not only our mortal enemies in the Arab world who capitalize on the vacuum of Jewish sovereignty and self-confidence.

## Soft imperialists: The heirs of Sykes-Picot

Only recently, we marked 100 years since the Sykes Picot agreement, when the great powers carved up the Middle East in a way that would secure their “spheres of influence” and control.

By dividing and conquering the natives, ensuring constant chaos and war, they would guarantee that no Middle Eastern people would be capable of true self-determination. Even if they ostensibly ran their own states, they would forever be forced to turn to their Western patrons for support.

This was not an act of hatred or enmity, only of naked self-interest coupled with contempt for the indigenous populations. It was the blueprint for the modern form of “soft” imperialism – using manipulation, pressure and political proxies to control other peoples’ destinies.

Fitting, then, that the week of the Sykes-Picot anniversary witnessed two clear personifications of western soft imperialism’s lasting legacy here.

The first was revelations that the months of political courtship between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and leader of the opposition Yitzhak Herzog were engineered by foreign actors – at their head, former Quartet envoy Tony Blair – as a means of installing a more “moderate” (read: compliant) Israeli government.

Those efforts came to naught – though we may never know if Netanyahu’s spurning of Herzog in favor of Avigdor Liberman was intended as an act of defiance, or simply enacted at the time due to sheer political opportunism. Either way – and regardless of one’s opinions of Liberman – it was a defiant victory for Zionism.

What we do know is that, to their eternal shame, the Labor party has ceased to even resemble a Zionist movement. The “Zionist Union”, like much of what passes for the

Time and time again, the world powers show their obsessive, arrogant addiction to redrawing our borders as if we do not exist as an independent nation with genuine national aspirations.

Israeli Left, has morphed into nothing more than a post-Zionist vessel for outside actors to subvert Israeli sovereignty.

That same week, the French government announced a final date for their own initiative – one which would make Francois Georges-Picot proud: On June 3 a Paris “peace conference” would take place – one at which, in true European colonialist style, none of the native peoples involved in the conflict would be present. Instead, the great powers prepared to meet and decide among themselves how best to further Balkanize the Levant.

Time and time again, the world powers show their obsessive, arrogant addiction to redrawing our borders as if we do not exist as an independent nation with genuine national aspirations.

Why? Because we invite them to. When we prevaricate about our rights, others will take advantage, whether out of enmity or self-interest. It is also a self-perpetuating cycle: the more we yield, the weaker and more pliable we become.

Consider, for example, that a withdrawal from Judea and Samaria – apart from robbing us of our ancient heritage – would deny Israel crucial strategic depth. If the Gaza withdrawal led to more rockets and terror tunnels, and subsequently greater reliance on foreign military aid (e.g. Iron Dome), imagine how much more beholden to foreign support Israel would be if it abandoned the strategic heights of Samaria, which overlook all of her major population centers and her only international airport.

How could a country which relies totally on masses of military aid to shield against an impossible strategic reality resist political pressure from its “benefactors”? This, again, is a mechanism of soft-imperialism, and describes the Obama doctrine towards Israel in a nutshell: increase military aid while simultaneously upping diplomatic pressure.

A key ingredient in this recipe for soft imperialism is, of course, the long list of foreign state-funded NGOs (primarily bankrolled by Europe), whose very raison d’etre is to render Israel’s military superiority

impotent by increasing external diplomatic, legal and media pressure.

Where the “hard power” of war and terrorism have failed, the forces of anti-Zionism are trying to succeed with “soft power.”

## A roadmap for victory

The Zionist calling of the day, therefore, is to push back, to resist, and to ultimately quash those efforts to squeeze us out.

The only way to do that is to remove the doubt, to stake our claim to this land as clearly as possible.

Ultimately, the government of Israel must apply Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, as it did in the past in the Golan Heights and Jerusalem.

But those of us who believe in this project must not be in denial about the difficulties involved. It’s not something which can occur overnight, certainly not after decades of marching down dead-end “preace processes”. What worked for the sparsely-populated Golan in 1981 will not work for Judea and Samaria in 2016.

And so, if the first stage is to understand the importance of the Sovereignty Project, the second phase is for the nationalist camp to seriously engage with the “how?”. What is the end goal? How do we want to get there? And most importantly, where do we start?

The Left knows what it wants - “Two States for Two Peoples”. They want to partition these lands, rob the Jewish people of our ancestral heartland and turn Israel into a ghetto-state in the pocket of the great powers, in exchange for pieces of paper and even more worthless promises. It is absurd, it is suicidal, it is unjust – but they have a deceptively simple elevator pitch which, in an era of slogans and quick solutions (like John Kerry’s messianic nine-month peace plan), is key.

“The Right” needs to start articulating itself similarly. And we, the people, can and must play a role.

First, by laying the groundwork on a grassroots level. By raising our heads high and behaving as the rightful owners of the ancient lands of Judea and Samaria that we are. By physically living there or at least visiting regularly and encouraging others to do so; by hiking its beautiful hills and forests, by frequenting its countless holy sites, by helping to expanding the Jewish presence as much as possible, and never allowing ourselves to surrender to fear.

The more visible the Jewish presence, the stronger our case will be for sovereignty.

When the “wave of terror” began in 2015, protests erupted throughout Judea and Samaria, as they did in the rest of Israel. Dozens of youths blocked roads, marched and set up new outposts in remarkable shows of defiance. But those demonstrations soon petered out, giving way to a grim sense of inevitability. Part of our grassroots efforts to lay the groundwork for Jewish sovereignty relies in reviving, sustaining and expanding such a peaceful protest movement, to ensure that no act of aggression – terroristic or otherwise – goes unanswered.

Secondly, by laying the intellectual foundations, by encouraging open, frank and sincere discussion on alternative solutions until we have forged and distilled our own narrative.

Thirdly, the supporters of sovereignty must exert pressure on their political representatives – demand more from them, hold them to account, don’t let them get away with mere lip-service. This applies equally to dual-citizens: write to your Congressman or MP to demand an end to anti-Israel initiatives – whether via NGO funding or undue diplomatic pressure – and encourage others to do the same.

Finally: Vote with your ideals. If parties or politicians don’t live up to your expectations, why are you still voting for them?

The march towards sovereignty will be neither short, easy nor simple.

It will require plenty of Jewish grit, and a series of intellectual and political revolutions along the way. Nothing we haven’t done before. ■

*Ari Soffer was until recently the Managing Editor of Arutz Sheva English, one of Israel’s leading news sites. Formerly a pro-Israel campaigner in the UK, today Ari lives with his family in Shiloh, Samaria.*

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Ari Soffer. Photo: Avi Kontorovich



Torch race in Judea in memory of Rabbi Yaakov Litman and son Netanel, hy”d, both murdered by Arab terrorists. Photo: Flash 90

# “The Americans want to hear us speak about our rights”

The discussion of sovereignty is now also heard on the other side of the ocean, but in order for it to take on real momentum we need Israeli statesmen to speak clearly about it. **Jeff Daube**, ZOA Israel Director and co-chair of “Legal Grounds” is working to provide legal and other tools to Israeli politicians so that they will finally say things with clarity.

In the halls of Israeli politics there are many who understand that Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is a policy that is ethical, historic, Zionist and indispensable for security, but amazingly, despite the fact that they have been swimming for some time in the political ocean, they do not have the necessary public relations tools and facts to stand up to media attacks and present their positions in various sorts of venues. The result for many of them is that they do not take a stand and they keep waiting for something to happen and for the reality of sovereignty to rise to the surface

from some other place.

To prevent precisely such a sterile and emasculated situation the Legal Grounds organization was born, which seeks to equip our politicians with data and factual and historical documents that they will be able to use during public battles against dividing the Land and establishing a terror state in its heart and in favor of promoting the vision of sovereignty, and it turns out that there is quite a bit of such data.

Jeff Daube, co-chair of the Legal Grounds organization and who also serves as director of the ZOA, divides his time between the US and Israel. Both here and there he holds

“... they do not have the necessary public relations tools and facts to stand up and present their positions ...”

innumerable meetings with parliamentarians, statesmen and diplomats and presents them with the historical and political truth, which, until recently was silenced and hidden.

“My objective in establishing Legal Grounds is to convince our leaders and encourage them to begin speaking aloud, and not in a whisper, about our rights in Judea and Samaria”, he says, and explains that quite a bit of his organization’s legal and historical arguments and evidence is based on the Levy Report, but not on it alone.

### Educate the Israeli Leaders that there is no Occupation

“We are not a political organization. We think it is correct to first explain and educate our leaders. It has already been 22 years since the era of Begin and Shamir; there is a need to educate the Israeli leadership to understand how deeply our rights are rooted in Judea and Samaria, so that they will understand and internalize the reality that there is no occupation and that it is out of place to talk about our presence in these areas as occupation, but rather, it is the realization and implementation of our rights; rights that were given to us legally, by international law. It is our right to live and build there”.

Daube supports his resolute position with historical data that has been suppressed, including, among other things, the actual meaning of the clause that is brandished by those who oppose sovereignty; the clause that was decreed by the Fourth Geneva Convention, which states that a population of citizens may not be transferred to an occupied territory. “This clause is not relevant to our presence in Judea and Samaria”, he states, and further clarifies that the purpose

of the clause was to reverse the aftermath of the German occupation in the Second World War, and that it actually relates to forcible transfer of populations from the occupier’s territory to the occupied territory.

Daube also mentions the document of the British Mandate for the Land of Israel as

night”, says Daube, who mentions a survey that was taken in October 2013 in which, in answer to the question of whether to withdraw from Judea and Samaria and uproot communities, only one third answered in the positive. Another question, asked to that same

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dramatic historical data as well as what was discussed at the San Remo Conference. These, and the decisions that stemmed from them, together with other international documents, are the anchors for the legal Israeli hold in Judea and Samaria on the foundations of international law.

“There are people, even on the Right, who say that they treat these subjects in the spirit of the Report of Edmund Levy, but they think that it is necessary to promote matters under the table, under the radar and not to talk about it openly and aloud. This idea makes us seem like thieves in the

“... that it is out of place to talk about our presence in these areas as occupation, but rather, it is the realization and implementation of our rights; rights that were given to us legally, by international law ...”

third, was: what would be their answer to the first question if it became clear that Israeli presence in the territory is justified, according to international law. Only a third of that third continued to hold their opinion. “The Israeli public is ready to hear the arguments for our rights in Judea and Samaria, it understands that our rights are anchored in international law and when these things become inculcated in the people’s consciousness, those who support our continued holdings in Judea and Samaria will have their say”.

## The Youth Joins in the Call for Sovereignty

ERETZ (the Sovereignty Youth Organization) is taking its first steps. The head of the organization, **Daniel Gabai**, a resident of Yeruham, talks about the organization’s objectives, its first activities, with which the organization started on its way.

“The organization was established with the objective of expressing the younger generation’s call for the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. We are constantly acting in order to inculcate within the teens and young adults the understanding of the enormous importance of sovereignty as the solution; the political solution of the Right, and to intensify the demand, especially from the youth, for a change of policy in the government out of a sense of responsibility for the future”.

“The organization acts in the field, with the “Thinking Anew” project, holding public relations activities in meeting with nationalists, face-to-face operations and distributing informational material about the sovereignty solution”, Gabai says, and adds:

“Another activity involved in presenting the younger generation’s voice is holding meetings with public figures and MKs from nationalist parties. Just recently, we met with MK Smotrich of HaBayit HaYehudi and MK Miki Zohar from the Likud, and we are just beginning a new round of meetings these days, with the objective of getting the nationalist parties to adopt officially the sovereignty solution for themselves, and to inculcate the importance of the matter within their constituencies”.

“In the social media we maintain a Facebook page that has thousands of followers, with more every day. We have recently opened a Youtube channel, and hopefully in the near future also a new Internet site. We intend to hold a unique kind of conference soon for teens and young adults, where leading public opinion shapers will speak, and several artists who are identified with the general nationalist community will appear”.

Gabai invites the younger generation “to lend support, follow our activities and join our ranks!”



Eretz youth holding banners saying : The time has come for Sovereignty! Photo: Zevulun Toutang



Jeff Daube at the 33 hour vigil organized by Women in Green, near the PM’s residence, calling for the application of Sovereignty. Photo: Avi Kontorovich



# Public Figures Call for Sovereignty during events held by Women in Green

During this past year Women in Green held a series of events, lectures and conferences with the participation of public figures, along with many thousands of Israeli citizens who support the vision of sovereignty and call for its implementation. Below, we present you with a few choice quotes from these event

Lectures can be viewed on the [Women in Green](https://www.womeningreen.org) youtube channel  
• [www.womeningreen.org](https://www.womeningreen.org) •



**Prof. Aryeh Eldad**  
former MK

“Our claim is for sovereignty in the entire Land of Israel, not because the Arabs are murdering us but because this is our homeland, and we are raising this demand now because with the present campaign of Arab murdering Jews, the world will understand it”.



**Rav Menahem Felix**  
among the founders of the renewed Jewish presence in Samaria

“The People of Israel has returned to its cradle and does not apply its sovereignty over the territory? Is this normal? We returned here in order to reestablish the Jewish kingdom”.



**Yehuda Glick**  
MK

the matter of sovereignty is in our hands. When the leadership senses that this is the will of the People, that’s what will be, and this will of the People is what I express in the Knesset. We must apply Israeli law in Judea and Samaria”.



**Yisrael Harel**  
Founder of The Institute for Zionist Strategies

“Women in Green’s Sovereignty Campaign is the only extra-parliamentary political process taking place on the Right. This Sovereignty Campaign will succeed with the proper forethought and preparation”.



**Areyh King**  
Member of the Jerusalem Municipality

“The solution for all of the Arabs on the other side of the Jordan River exists in Jordan. Encourage them to emigrate. Israel must invest heavily in housing projects east of the Jordan”.



**Dr. Hagai Ben Artzi,**  
Teacher at David Yellin school

“The plan is to apply sovereignty first in Area C, about 60 percent of the territory . And this way there is no demographic threat. Afterward we will progress little by little”



**Yosi Dagan**  
Head of Samaria Local Council

“We expect to apply the law in the communities not as a favor but as our right. The thirteen percent of the citizens of Israel who live in Judea and Samaria have all of the obligations but not all of the privileges of citizenship. Sovereignty will solve that.



**Rav Eli Ben Dahan**  
Deputy Defense Minister MK

“At the root of the wave of terror is the desire to expel us from the Land. We are here to tell them that we have returned here forever in order to realize the vision of the prophets and G-d’s promise. The terror attacks cannot frighten us off. Our true response to terror will be sovereignty all areas of Judea and Samaria. This is the only way that those terrorists’ hope will be extinguished”



**Moti Yogev**  
Member of Knesset

“The goal is sovereignty between the sea and the Jordan River. The Arabs will have three options as in the writings of Joshua: Whoever wishes to accept our rule, will accept it; whoever wishes to fight is free to do so; and this is what we have a strong army for; and whoever wishes to leave, should leave, that is acceptable to us too. There are no other options. The State of Israel is simply going to apply her sovereignty. It’s not so complicated”.



**Yohai Damri**  
Head of Southern Hebron Local Council

“The only way to wage the war on terror is to give them a reason to stop, and if terror is an engine that drives the hope for a state, we must cut off this hope and create an alternative that will prevent terror. Therefore, from this point of view as well, the demand for sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is not only justified, but essential for the State of Israel”

