

# SOVEREIGNTY

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## From the State of Israel To the Land of Israel

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TAMA 100 – A  
Master Plan for  
Greater Israel

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**Minister Gila Gamliel presents an outline for a political plan:** Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria and a Palestinian State in Sinai

**Scoop:** A team of experts is preparing **TAMA 100**, a National Outline Plan that will, for the first time, include Judea and Samaria, as an indivisible part of the State of Israel

**Former Minister Gideon Saar:** Sovereignty must be the Likud's Position

The Shas Party in favor of Sovereignty. An interview with **MK Yoav Ben Tsur**, head of the faction.



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## A Word from the Editors

# The second, and perhaps more significant, reversal is underway

Leadership of the political discourse has finally become the province of the majority; no longer the leadership of the left-wing minority toward the two-state disaster. The authentic representatives of the majority of Israeli citizens are initiating a new discourse in the government and the Knesset, the discourse of sovereignty. The left-wing minority reacts and vehemently protests.

Credit: Tomer Noburg, Flash 90



Naftali Bennett

Credit: Mark Yisrael Salem, Flash 90



Yisrael Katz

Credit: Nati Shochat, Flash 90



Yoav Galant

Credit: Koby Gidon, La'Am



Gilad Ardan

The Israeli Right is continuing to assume the reins of the political discussion in Israel. The discourse surrounding the nightmare two-state concept is gradually dissipating and in its place, the discussion surrounding the viability and implementation of the vision of sovereignty is intensifying. Alongside the political programs presented by the members of Knesset, the voice of government ministers calling for sovereignty is also being heard. On the other hand, the extreme Left is engaged in frightening the population in Israel from realizing the Zionist-Jewish vision of Israeli sovereignty in its land.

One of the ministers who is insistent on consistently raising the sovereignty vision is the Minister of Education, Naftali Bennett, who took the opportunity during the occasion marking the jubilee of the settlement enterprise to assert that the time is now to make history and apply sovereignty: "There is a time to write history and a time to make it," Bennett said, and he added: "The time has come to apply sovereignty over this good land because it is ours and there is no better time than now for doing so."

The Minister of Internal Security, Gilad Ardan, recently articulated his position on this matter, and in an interview with Arutz Sheva he asserted that it is incumbent upon Israel to apply sovereignty over Area C already at this stage, as part of its realization of its right over the entire expanse of Judea and Samaria. In his opinion, this is a step that Israel should have already implemented in the past.

Consideration of Judea and Samaria as a component of the solution of the housing problem in Israel has been heard in recent months from the Minister of Housing, Yoav Galant, who asserted in a session of the Economics Committee in the Knesset: "The entire expanse from Avnei Hefetz, Oran-

it, Nili, Na'ale, the Halamish bloc, Talmonim, from Kfar Sava until Ben-Gurion Airport is vital for maintaining life in the greater Tel Aviv area." He added and stated: "Settling this entire expanse provides a strategic security solution."

The declarations of the ministers in the government plenum are manifest in advancement of legislative actions to apply Israeli law in Gush Etzion and Ma'ale Adumim as part of the program proposed by Minister of Transportation, Yisrael Katz, calling for the establishment of the Jerusalem metropolis, a program that he discussed at length in Issue 4 of Sovereignty. "The reference is to an action that has not been undertaken since the Six Day War, and it is clear that there will be a struggle; however, in my opinion, the time is ripe and the idea is right. This will serve as a catalyst for additional appropriate actions in Judea and Samaria in the future."

The people in Israel understand that it is necessary to carefully read and appreciate the responsible nature of the sovereignty programs proposed by the members of Knesset and ministers.

Therefore, it is appropriate and fitting to continue to address the dramatic change that has taken place in the political discourse in Israel. The leadership reins of that discourse have moved, one might say in an almost unprecedented manner, into the hands of the nationalist majority of Israeli citizens. After decades in which the Left presented its political programs as the only possible solution to which one might aspire, after many years during which the Israeli Right sufficed with braking and obstructing those programs and explaining the danger inherent in them, recent years are exemplified by the transfer of the scepter of leadership to the Right, which is presenting its programs openly and

in detail, while it is the Left that is reacting, negating and attacking. The nature of the political debate in Israel is beginning to reflect the real balance of power in the Israeli public – the majority, the Right, proposes programs and works toward their realization; while the minority, the Left, as is traditional and appropriate in a democracy, reacts, opposes and attacks.

In this issue before you, Issue 9 of the Sovereignty Journal, which is published by the Sovereignty Movement, founded by 'Women in Green', a forum is provided for several additional programs found on the political agenda today. Similarly, you can reveal the beginnings of a research project that seeks to present the National Outline Plan 100. This plan is a revolutionary plan, the only one that includes Judea and Samaria as an indivisible part of the State of Israel.

The sovereignty vision is no longer mere talk and declarations and is certainly not a weak, isolated voice as it was at the beginning of the publicity campaign of the Sovereignty movement seven years ago. Thanks to public figures, spearheads of public opinion and a supportive and encouraging public, this vision is being transformed into operational, organized political programs found on the agenda of the Israeli public and politics and is arousing active discussion and debate.

**Pleasant reading!**

**The Sovereignty Editorial Board**

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

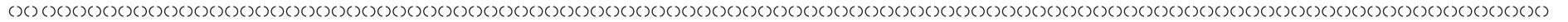


Photo: Hadas Frosh, Flash 90

Minister Gila Gamliel's objection on principle to establishing an Arab state west of the Jordan is backed by arguments based both on historical rights and security, but lead her to present an alternative political plan for the region.

**“If there will be a Palestinian state, then only in Sinai”**

Minister for Equality of Social Rights, Gila Gamliel, has presented her position opposing the establishment of a Palestinian state on several occasions. In an interview with *Sovereignty*, she presents the basis for a plan which, in her opinion, can be accepted both by the international community and among the Arab states neighboring Israel.

There are three key principles that cause Minister Gamliel's opposition to a Palestinian state, the first and the second of which

are the ideological and historical motifs. “The first reason that brings me to my positions is first and foremost, our right to our Land. This is the essential and key reason, but those who deny this historical and ideological reason, will have to explain the logic behind the idea of establishing another dictatorial state in the Middle East”.

The third reason, says Gamliel, is the basic harm to the security of the citizens of Israel. The guarantees presented by the international community, and until recently, by the American administration as well, for

**“The first reason that brings me to my positions is first and foremost, our right to our Land”**

an Israeli withdrawal, are not convincing for her. “We have learned over the years that on the subject of security, “if I am not for myself, who will be for me”. We have seen what happened to the multi-national force that was supposed to protect the calm on the northern border. It is clear to us that today, with Hiab'Allah and Iran sending forces into the region, if there were no Israeli forces in the Golan Heights, no one would be left there to defend the citizens of Israel. The security of the State of Israel is our responsibility alone”.



Photo: The Minister's office



Minister Gila Gamliel in Hebron



Between the Jordan River and the sea there cannot, and must not arise a Palestinian state. We must take into consideration the Sinai option.

After clarifying, in summary, why there is no place for the establishment of a Palestinian state, Gamliel adds that if, despite everything, it becomes clear that there is no choice but to establish a state and indeed, the international-political consciousness demands it, as unacceptable as it is, to establish a Palestinian state, then, such a state cannot exist in Judea and Samaria and an alternative must be sought. A "Palestinian state", Minister Gamliel emphasizes, "is a dangerous idea to the State of Israel. Between the Jordan River and the sea there cannot, and must not arise a Palestinian state. From my point of view, the most realistic alternative, and the only one under the existing circumstances, is a Palestinian autonomy in Judea and Samaria. However, if it becomes clear that there is no alternative but to establish an actual Palestinian state, then this would be a regional problem, not just for Israel. Accordingly, it is appropriate that parts of the Arab countries, such as the Sinai Peninsula, should be considered.

**Could such an idea catch on in the diplomatic-political arena?**

"Absolutely. Any initiative might catch on the moment that there is a lack of solutions, as long as there are those to act upon it. It is important to emphasize that the "Palestinian problem" does not only concern the State of Israel. It is indeed possible to act within the framework of a comprehensive plan, that will allocate territory from the Sinai Peninsula along with economic and other kinds of aid to Egypt on one side and from the other side, to give the new entity the possibility of territorial contiguity with the Gaza Strip, which will provide accessibility to the sea, something that would blend well with the idea of the artificial island that Minister Yisrael Katz speaks of".

Recall that in various forums, Minister Yisrael Katz proposes to build an artificial is-

land off the coast of the Gaza Strip, in which there will be an airport and shipping port that would constitute a secure entry point between the Gaza Strip and the world. Security forces would prevent the entry of weapons into the Strip and on the other hand, Katz believes, the complaint lodged against Israel that it is still occupying the Strip and preventing the residents of Gaza from economic and other forms of independence, would be removed.

"This can all happen if the Palestinians indeed want to find a solution to their problem", says Gamliel.

As she continues explaining the details of the idea of a Palestinian state in Sinai, Minister Gamliel views Israel and the neighboring Arab states as partners in the initiative. In Egypt's precarious economic condition, and in light of the strengthening of ISIS' position in Sinai, which threaten the stability of the Egyptian regime, there is joint interest on both sides. "The Arab states have the ability to promote such an idea and create significant economic activity for this initiative. We have the ability to give an answer in the areas of agriculture, digitization, cyber warfare and security. With such a joint process we will be able to examine our needs in the fields in which we can contribute to others and create a new, realistic and more correct discourse in the Middle East".

Gamliel emphasizes that her idea for a Palestinian state in the Sinai Peninsula does not necessitate the transfer of population from one place to another, and that in actuality, the Arabs of Judea and Samaria can remain where they are if they so desire. "They can be outlying citizens of the state in Sinai, or choose to move there. "This must be their choice. What we solve for us is the matter of citizenship, which has cast a shadow over us as a democratic state. They will not have citizenship of Israel, but of the

**“They can be outlying citizens of the state in Sinai, or choose to move there. This must be their choice. What we solve for us is the matter of citizenship, which has cast a shadow over us as a democratic state. They will not have citizenship of Israel, but of the entity in Gaza and Sinai”**

entity in Gaza and Sinai".

Both before and after these words, Minister Gamliel makes a point of reiterating her general objection on principle to establishing a Palestinian state anywhere. "I do not see any reason for establishing another dictatorial state in the Middle East. But if I am forced to address the problem that our ties and relations with Arab states is limited by the deeply rooted discourse that such a state must exist, then it is better and more appropriate to move it to another place and not in parts of the State of Israel".

**Are there other members of the government who promote such a process?**

"We always talk about another layer. Minister Yisrael Katz spoke about building a port, there was a vague discussion about Sinai, but if we look at the crisis that exists in Egypt, this plan could indeed be a solution for them too".

**So why don't you promote this process in a more significant way?**

I speak about it everywhere. Unfortunately, I am not yet in the security cabinet, where I could give it more emphasis, but in my opinion, we must create alternatives that do not harm our interests, to think outside the box and provide answers that will prove that we are not always engaging in objections, but there are positive suggestions too. We must also clarify to the world that the Palestinians are not a problem only for Israel. This is a problem that should engage all of the states of the Middle East, and if we want to find a solution for them we must link arms and provide an answer in a realistic place. As long as this is not so, the only realistic alternative is a Palestinian autonomy in Judea and Samaria – a Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria will not be. It must not be".



Photo: Roe Alima, Flash 90



# Sovereignty is not just a vision. Practical Steps are also being Taken

**Former minister Gideon Saar views the idea of a Palestinian state as a security and demographic disaster. The Likud movement must present sovereignty as a vision for a political plan.**



**“Our goal is the application of sovereignty. The claim must be made for the entire area that we control, that which is called Area C. This, in my opinion, must also be the public position of a government under Likud readership”**

Former minister Gideon Saar's rich experience in government places him among the first tier of candidates to head the Likud movement after the Netanyahu era. In an interview with Sovereignty, he states that the application of sovereignty must be the basis for his movement's political worldview.

“Our goal is the application of sovereignty. The claim must be made for the entire area that we control, that which is called Area C. This, in my opinion, must also be the public position of a government under Likud leadership”, says Saar. Concerning the remainder of the area, he says: “there is a situation of self-government, or autonomy called the Palestinian Authority, which includes the limitations of security and demographics that are essential for the future of the People of Israel in its Land. I do not think that we must make a claim to annex territory that is populated with Palestinians. We must object and oppose a Palestinian state west of the Jordan”.

“Unfortunately, we did not apply sovereignty over the territory that we control, except for the step that was taken in Jerusalem. The situation need not remain as it is and we must strive for a change that is beneficial to us. Turning the Palestinian Authority into a state would be a most dangerous thing to do and I object to it for

many reasons. It is clear that such a state would entail many security problems, it is clear that such a state would mean the loss of control of border crossings into the Land of Israel, because every sovereign state can decide on immigration into its territory and this would change the demographic balance in the Land of Israel, meaning, exactly the opposite of what the Left claims. This would not solve a demographic problem but would create a demographic problem”.

**After the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state is removed from the agenda, would international law recognize an entity that is not a state as an accepted political reality?**

“Of course. In the world, there are various models of self-rule that are less than a sovereign state. Certainly, in the long run there could be different scenarios; for instance, there could be a connection between the Palestinian residents of Judea and Samaria to the Hashemite Kingdom in Jordan. I do not reject this. There could be many solutions. What I do reject is the establishment of a Palestinian state west of the Jordan River”.

**Sovereignty – Step by Step**

In the process of implementation of the vision of sovereignty, Saar has intermediate phases that, in his opinion, are possible,

and should already be carried out – the application of sovereignty in the communities, for example. “While our demand must be sovereignty or a political claim on Area C, the most urgent thing is the application of sovereignty in the areas of the Israeli communities of Judea and Samaria. This is not a large area, but it would allow us to provide solutions to many problems, to normalize the lives of almost a half million Israeli citizens in Judea and Samaria after more than fifty years since the Six Day War and since the beginning of the settlement enterprise. All of those problems that come to the court and afterward become absurd decisions such as what we are dealing with regarding Netiv Haavot in Elazar (where houses are slated for destruction; ed.), if there was Israeli law in the communities, these things would not happen. Therefore, we do not need to talk only about a vision, but there is an important practical step that we must strive for. We need not do this contingent upon American agreement; it is also not realistic to ask for this – but the U.S., which provides Israel a security net in the international institutions, especially in the UN Security Council, must know that this is the goal that we are striving for”.

Saar does not view the situation that was created since Oslo until today as irreversible. In his opinion, in actuality, the situa-

Photo: Reuters Pool New



The change of government in the U.S. has expanded our field of political action



Photo Flash 90



Professor Shlomo Ben Ami

**“Even Shlomo Ben Ami, who had a part in the proposals that included far-reaching concessions on almost the entire territory, explained that this vision is entirely unrealistic. This is why the understanding that the idea of a Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria is not practical, continues to spread far beyond the segment of the population that identifies with the ideals of the national camp”**

tion has been different for quite a few years. “If we take a historical perspective, we have been in a different situation for at least ten years. It has been several years since there have been effective negotiations between the sides. I believe that the international community as well, is more skeptical than in the past. It is true that the two states paradigm is still prevalent in the international community, but this is happening also because we, the State of Israel, do not present anything else. It is somewhat difficult to demand for the world to abandon the idea that we ourselves have not formally abandoned, but I believe that the political time is ripe for it”.

Evidence of a general disillusionment with the idea of two states has recently surfaced within the Leftist camp as well; Saar mentions one case – former foreign minister and one of the architects of the political negotiations in the government of Ehud Barak, Prof. Shlomo Ben Ami, who, in an interview for Ma’ariv, expressed surprising positions regarding the chances of negotiations for partition of the country, an interview in which he placed a significant part of the responsibility on the Palestinian partner. “Even Shlomo Ben Ami, who had a part in the proposals that included far-reaching concessions on almost the entire territory, explained that this vision is entirely unrealistic. This is why the understanding that the idea of a Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria is not practical, continues to spread far beyond the segment of the population that identifies with the ideals of the national camp”.

**Does your plan, which does not include a Palestinian state, require a partner?**

“In the long range, it would be best if we had partners for all sorts of practical solutions and for cooperation that must exist between neighbors. If the other side says that he will continue to conduct a war against us, we must be prepared to continue to wage a war that is sometimes political

and not only military. We cannot condition our basic and strategic interests on the consent of another party”.

**Will sovereignty cause escalation? Let’s stop frightening ourselves.**

The process of sovereignty, Saar believes, will not necessarily bring about the escalation of the security situation that many fear. “The objection to the settlement enterprise exists and will not change if we apply Israeli law, perhaps the opposite. There will be a realization that we are resolute and the settlement enterprise is not temporary – it is a permanent part of the State of Israel”.

“It is always possible to fear an escalation of the security situation. People use the expression ‘security escalation’ not because they received informed intelligence information. We frighten ourselves in order not to do certain things so we have adopted a few code words such as ‘security escalation’ or ‘international isolation’. What was it that led to the wave of knifings and car ramming attacks that befell us about two years ago? Did we cause this by something that we did? We did not do anything, and nevertheless, it happened. I am not saying that we do not need, when we make decisions, to investigate all of the scenarios and take into account all of the security and political ramifications, but it should not cause paralysis that could leave us in a situation where we cannot make a decision”.

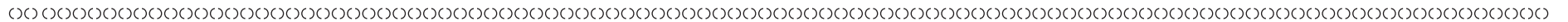
Even the possibility that the international community will be upset does not frighten Saar. “There was a general American objection to the application of the law in Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. There was objection, there were crises and we got past it. I think that it is necessary. We must do it after preparing the political field, especially with the U.S., but we must know where we are going and every nationalist person understands that this is what we must do”.

“Several times, I have been part of the decision making process where the political echelon took certain decisions that entailed the risk of possible negative ramifications and scenarios. Ultimately, besides our vision and our opinion that this is our land, and our approach that all of the communities must remain where they are forever, we also have obligations to almost a half million citizens of Israel who live in these communities and whose existing situation, which perhaps was correct when the settlement enterprise comprised only a few thousand or ten thousand, no longer provides a solution to the problems that exist since the area is still under military rule and the settlement enterprise must operate under the Civil Administration and absurd problems are created in the field and the political echelon is supposedly helpless against them. Therefore, I think that in the first phase, application of the law in the areas of the communities can solve very many of the problems that we are dealing with”.

**Is it possible that the fact that the Likud is the ruling party constrains it to relate to complex political considerations, and this is the reason that it cannot present a clear ideological position on the future of Judea and Samaria?**

“Undoubtedly, there are political constraints and I understand well what they are. I think that the change of government in the U.S. has expanded our field of political action. I do not believe that this field is unlimited. There are limits even today, but we must indicate our objectives and know how to explain things in the simplest way to the American government and to the president of the U.S. that this is the realization of our commitment to our citizens as well as the problems that will be solved by so doing. And by the way, this does not mean that we slam the door on political discussion, but we must not be constrained from doing the things that we think are vital and necessary, above all, from the point of view of the interests of the State of Israel and its citizens”.





# Sovereignty

## The Fulfillment of the Positive Commandment to 'Inherit the Land'

Israeli sovereignty over the Land is the positive commandment from the Torah of 'and you shall inherit it', a commandment for the collective, in which the individual plays a significant role as well. Rav Shmuel Eliahu, rabbi of Tsfat, in an interview.



Photo: Yonatan Zindel

Rabbi Shmuel Eliahu

"The application of sovereignty in the Land of Israel is the positive commandment of 'and you shall inherit it'. It is not fulfilled only by settling the land and living in it, but by ruling the Land, the commentators explain", states Rav Shmuel Eliahu, rabbi of the City of Tsfat, commenting that "living in the Land of Israel under Turkish, English or any other rule does not fulfill the commandment except for partially, the part of coming to the Land, but not the commandment of inheriting the Land, which is a positive commandment from the Torah, a commandment that has equal weight to all the commandments of the Torah. The commandment is not only to move to the Land, to be in it, to live in it and to travel in it, but to settle it and to inherit it".

"The legal arbiters of the Torah state that we are commanded that the Land should be under Jewish rule as well as settled. This is the meaning of 'and you shall inherit it and settle it'", says the rabbi, and his words raise the question of whether, as long as the State of Israel does not apply sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, those who live in these areas are fulfilling only part of the commandment and not the entire commandment, as residents of other parts of the Land.

The rabbi responds emphatically: "the Jews in Judea and Samaria are fulfilling the commandment more fully, since they cause, by their settling that area, the strengthening of sovereignty in an area where sovereignty is still weak. Thanks to them, the place that was desolate is now settled so they are fulfilling the commandment of 'and you will settle it', and thanks to them, the place where the sovereignty was weak is being strengthened and is becoming more significant. Therefore, they are fulfilling the commandment more completely".

Regarding the matter of relating to minorities, the demographic matter, from the Torah-halacha point of view, Rabbi Eliahu says that the answer to

this is found in the Gemara, the arbiters of the Torah and actually, in the Torah itself. "There is a concept of the ger toshav, who is someone that accepts upon himself the seven Noahide Laws and the sovereignty of the People of Israel in its Land. In such a situation, it is possible to allow him, under certain conditions, to live here, and of course, he also has rights. The conditions for this are detailed in the Seven Noahide Laws, which means that he should accept upon himself to live the normal life of a normal person, who does not steal agricultural equipment or land and does not support the phenomenon of theft, does not commit murder for reasons family honor or other reasons, does not attack a bus on the street because it did not allow him to pass. These are normal conditions that are required from anyone who lives here as a visitor in the Jewish State. He cannot live here as sovereign and certainly not as an invader. On the other hand, whoever lives here and undermines the sovereignty or permits himself to do things that are forbidden by the Noahide Laws should please move to another place".

### Is the commandment for sovereignty a general commandment or does it play a role for the individual as well?

"We have learned from the sages over the generations that the commandment exists for the individual as well. When Rabbi Yosef Karo moved to the Land of Israel he was an individual and not a people. All of those who moved to the Land before the 5th of Iyar, 1948, were individuals but nevertheless, they came because it is a commandment, and even if its full importance was not fulfilled, it has value as preparation for a future commandment".

### And what is the role of the individual in the commandment?

"The collective comprises individuals. The collective of the People of Israel who had the merit to inherit the Land in 1948 was composed of individuals and more individuals that accumulated and created the collective, and this was also the case in the Six Day War. Today as well, in Judea and Samaria, individuals are inducing the government of Israel to apply more and more signs of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. The individual will need to continue to act in ways that strengthen the People of Israel's sovereignty in its Land. This is what Rabbi Yosef Karo did when he came to the Land; it was so also for the Holy Shelah; for the Ari and for all of the great sages of the world who came to the Land over the generations, they settled it and bought homes in it, and in certain cases in Jerusalem, even did this on Shabbat, since they viewed it as part of the commandment of settling the Land of Israel, which causes and brings about the fulfillment of the commandment of sovereignty".

Photo: Women in Green



Working and connecting to the Land in Oz veGaon



# Key Reasons Why Israel Must Remain Sovereign In Judea /Samaria Forever

Ken Abramowitz



Photo: Noam Moskowitz Flash 90

Ken Abramowitz

Judea and Samaria were given to Abraham and the Jews by Hashem in the Bible. Jews have lived here for 3800 years. So called "Palestinian" Arabs are largely squatters who moved here during the past 100 years from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Jerusalem, Shiloh, Beit El, Hebron, Kiryat Arba, Efrat, Shechem and 40 other towns were mentioned in the Tanach. None were mentioned in the Koran. Jewish legal rights to Jerusalem (and even all

of Judea/Samaria) were "irrevocably" recognized in the San Remo conference of 1920 by unanimous agreement of the 51 members of the League of Nations. Moreover, for the past 150 years, Jews have been the majority population in Jerusalem. The IDF in Judea/Samaria protects 800,000 Israeli citizens and protects 1.4 million Muslim Arabs from inside ( Hamas, Islamic Jihad) and outside terror organizations (particularly Iran and ISIS).

Without proper IDF protection, a Palestinian State would be immediately attacked and occupied (as in Syria now) by the 4 worldwide professional "Political Islam" terror organizations: Iran, ISIS/Al Qaeda, Muslim Brotherhood, and the Saudi Wahhabis. A Palestinian State would be dedicated to Israel's destruction and represents an existential threat to Israel. A Palestinian State would inevitably declare war on Israel, forcing the IDF to re-invade, thereby costing 100-500 IDF lives and thousands of civilian lives. A Palestinian State would uncontrollably dig water wells, eventually destroying the aquifers, causing Israel to lose 25% of its water supply. Sniper shooting and terror operations from the Palestinian State into Israel could cause 25% of the citizens living on the border to flee (as happened in Jerusalem after 1948).

Judea/Samaria represents the Eastern border of Western Civilization. If Judea/Samaria were to fall, Israel would be gravely weakened and would soon follow suit, leading to an invasion of Europe by Political Islam. With Israel weakened or gone, Iran will attack or intimidate the Sunni countries in order to control their oil and gain control over world oil prices. Iran's Hezbollah agents will then be liberated to expand narco-terrorism in Latin America (in violation of the Monroe Doctrine), and then into the U.S. itself. With Jewish and Sunni enemies neutralized, Iran will expand its nuclear weapons and long range missile capability to intimidate or destroy the Christians in Europe (first) and then the U.S., aided by its nuclear co-partner North Korea. A nuclear Iran will lead to a nuclear Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey, among others, greatly increasing the chance of an eventual nuclear war or nuclear terrorism. In essence, Judea/Samaria protects Western Civilization. Any weakening of Israeli sovereignty over this territory would imperil the security of the rest of the West and irretrievably so.

**Ken Abramowitz - founder of SaveTheWest.com, Chairman of American Friends Likud, Gen. Partner NGN Capital**

## Jerusalem as a model of Israeli sovereignty

Prof. Robert Wolfe



Photo: Courtesy of R. Wolfe

Prof. Robert Wolfe

The success or failure of the movement to assert Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria depends in large measure on the degree to which that sovereignty is accepted by the Arabs now living there. It is generally assumed that the Arabs in Judea and Samaria would never settle for anything less than a Palestinian state, which would automatically exclude any possibility of accepting Israeli sovereignty on their part. Yet there is a model of Israeli rule that suggests otherwise, and that is Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem.

Following the unification of Jerusalem in the wake of the Six Day War, the Arab residents of Jerusalem were as-

signed a status as permanent residents under Israeli law. This meant that they were eligible for all the same social benefits as Israelis received and could vote in municipal elections in Jerusalem. They were not, however, considered Israeli citizens, which meant that they could not vote in national elections or receive Israeli passports. If they wished to become Israeli citizens they could apply and do so, and approximately 15% of Arab residents of Jerusalem have become Israeli citizens since 1967.

The main reason why this percentage is not higher is the unrelenting hostility of official Palestinian culture towards any manifestation of pro-Israeli sentiment. Public opinion polls consistently show that a majority of Arabs in Jerusalem would prefer to live under Israeli rule than under the corrupt dictatorship of the Palestinian Authority. But only a minority are willing to make this preference overt by actually applying for Israeli citizenship. Even so, the fact that Arabs in Jerusalem can acquire Israeli citizenship if they wish to do so is a key factor in the unspoken acceptance of Israeli rule by a majority of Arabs in Jerusalem.

The question is: what would happen if the model of Israeli rule in Jerusalem were to be applied to the whole of Judea and Samaria? All Arabs living there would receive permanent resident status along with the attendant social benefits, and Israeli citizenship would be available to those who applied for it. At the same time Israeli sovereignty would be proclaimed over the whole of the land of

Israel and all competing versions of sovereignty rendered null and void.

However, there is a big difference between the nature of the competition in Judea and Samaria as opposed to Jerusalem. Israel has never permitted a Palestinian governing authority to establish itself in Jerusalem, whereas in Judea and Samaria, to say nothing of Gaza, Israel has actually facilitated Palestinian rule. The Palestinian Authority is deeply entrenched in Judea and Samaria. Replacing it with Israeli sovereignty is sure to be a long and difficult process. The great advantage of Jerusalem as a model of Israeli rule is that it presents a clear and well established picture of what this rule might actually look like. It shows that Israeli sovereignty is possible so long as the legitimate rights of the Arabs are taken into account.

But what will happen if the Arabs begin to apply for Israeli citizenship in large numbers? Would this not constitute a threat to the Jewish character of the state? It would, but it would also constitute an expression of confidence in the future of Israeli sovereignty in the land of Israel. The changes which Israel may have to make to accommodate a large minority of Arab citizens would be more than compensated for by the realization of Israeli sovereignty over the entire land of Israel.

**Prof. Robert Wolfe , Professor of History, PhD Harvard University, came on Aliya in 2001.**

Atty. Simcha Rotman



# Are We an Occupying Power? Whose Land are we Occupying?

The threatening sword of international law hovering over the diplomatic-political discourse is nothing more than virtual. Jurist Atty. Simcha Rotman challenges this threat asking: if we indeed are occupiers, please tell us whose land we are occupying.

One of the key matters that arise in the political and diplomatic discourse around the vision of sovereignty is how international law relates to the application of sovereignty. In a conversation with him,

Attorney Simcha Rotman from the Movement for Government and Democracy surprises us by stating that the world need not deal with this matter at all, and if, nevertheless, someone wants to use this threat, he is doing so only for anti-Semitic or anti-Zionist reasons, nothing other than this.

"This issue, by any international standard, is marginal, whether regarding matters from the perspective of the number of victims or from a perspective of living conditions, etc.", says Rotman, mentioning that in the latest storm centering around the argument over Catalanian independence, the police injured dozens of peaceful demonstrators, but the world preferred to see it, ignore it and forget. He is convinced that when the world decides to concentrate its focus on Israel, it is only from anti-Israeli motives.

"Disputes over area and over borders occur in many places throughout the world – the Kurds, Cypress, Western Sahara and many more. None of those places receive a thousandth of the attention that the matter of the Arabs in Judea and Samaria receives. We must ask why this is happening and what the motives for it are. Why, when Russia conquered part of the Ukraine in a manner that flagrantly violated The Hague regulations, since it was a conquest of another country's sovereign territory and this is what these regulations speak of – the world closed its eyes. In contrast, in our case, there never was any state in this territory, and let us not forget the San Remo Resolution that granted this territory to us, according to international law".

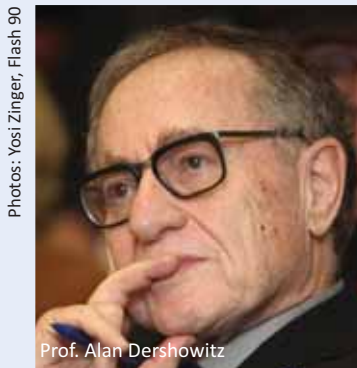
**There is no international law. There is politics and more politics.**

Atty. Rotman states resolutely that there is no clear legal discussion, as some people try to define it; rather, it is a totally political matter. In the current situation, he states, there is nothing in international law to prevent building in the settlements, which is something that any state occupying territory of a sovereign state does, and no one disturbs him. "We know that even if Israel builds in Gilo, Har Homa or any similar neighborhood in Jerusalem, the world views it with disfavor, for political reasons. There is no connection to any legal problem, but since our legal system suffers from hyperactivity, it thinks that it should be engaged in every matter, and this is why it says that the matter might place us in an unpleasant light, but to this I say – so what?"

Also, for those who seek to apply the prohibition of transferring a population of citizens



Even if Israel builds in Gilo in Jerusalem, the world views it with disfavor"



Photos: Yosi Zinger, Flash 90

into an occupied area to the territory of Judea and Samaria, which, as mentioned, is not relevant to these areas, there should not be any problem with building for that population that has grown within the settlement itself, states Rotman, and mentions that if someone has the burning desire to find elements that will result in legal criticism of Israel, there are a few actions that Israel has done in the past, while ignoring the world; exiling terrorists or destroying houses are only two examples of many others. In these cases Israel took a decision that, with all due respect to international law, put our national interest first. This is why we established a state, not in order to keep international law according to the interpretation of the most leftist Professor at Harvard".

"From the point of view of international law, according to the interpretation of petitioners, there is no difference between establishing a new community in Judea and Samaria and enclosing a balcony in Jerusalem. There are no levels or hierarchy in the laws of war and occupation. They are laws that are implemented by various states and therefore the legal determinations are not graduated into different levels. There is yes or no, forbidden or permitted, and therefore we must ask ourselves whether we want to adopt the approach that building in Har Homa or in the Golan Heights is a war crime, as some professors would like us to adopt, or that Israel should make clear to the world our legal position, which is that the area is not occupied, but at most, is disputed, and moreover, as mentioned, we can build

for the local population and those who were born there. This is Israel's steadfast position. The problem is that there are legal consultants within the Civil Administration who try to put a stick in the wheel because of a political agenda. Their legal method of strict interpretation is not used in any other place in the world".

**International law? It is nothing more than a fiction**

Rotman backs up a few steps and places a huge question mark over the very existence of the term "international law". Regarding this, he quotes Prof. Alan Dershowitz, one of the leading jurists in the world and not a supporter of the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria, he reminds us, who says "it is a fiction in the minds of some leftist academicians in university".

International law is a fiction because the idea behind law is that there are people who sit and formulate rules and there is a judicial system that decides what the rules are and there is a legal system and there is the Knesset that was established according to law and they abide by the rules and then there are also those who will enforce the rules. In international law you do not have these obligatory elements. There is no legislative body. And if there is a treaty, it is not clear if there is a judicial body that will adjudicate and it is not clear how it will decide if the treaty has been violated or not. Moreover, there is no tool for enforcement except for war, but war can be initiated regardless of whether there has been a violation of international law".

"International law is a fiction since ultimately, it is determined by the power of the victors. In the Second World War, both the Allied forces and the German forces bombed civilian populations, and it is clear that if Germany had won, Heaven forbid, they would have put the commanders and soldiers of the United States on trial. It is very difficult to speak of objective judiciary in this way".

"International law says that if you are strong you can do whatever you want, and if you are not strong you cannot do anything, with or without the law. There are cases of violations

and there are black and white rules but the rules that they speak of in regard to Judea and Samaria do not apply at all. The only entity that uses this subject is the High Court, which determines rules of conduct for the IDF in Judea and Samaria. But we decided this for ourselves".

**Israel and the US are not signed on the Hague convention**

Rotman brings up another failure to those who brandish the legal sword of The Hague: "Israel is not signed on the convention that gave authority to The Hague. The question is, what can this court do if Israel challenges their authority". Regarding this, he says that the U.S. is also not signed on this convention. Since the U.S. operates in places where some believe that it is violating the laws of war, it has been exposed to threats of prosecution in The Hague because of Iraq, Afghanistan, etc., but the American Congress passed a law that was nicknamed by some "Bomb the Hague". According to this law, in any situation where someone from the U.S. or its allies is put on trial, the president must take any means, including military, to extricate him. So if an American soldier is put on trial, the president will be obligated to send the necessary force to break in and bring him out. Clearly, this is a rhetorical law, like the threats to put someone on trial. No one is going to put anyone on trial and no one is going to break in with soldiers to rescue anyone".

Regarding the unique status of Judea and Samaria, an area that has not been conquered from any state, he summarizes the key claim with a few words: "They say that it is occupied territory? I just want to know from whom it was conquered", and Rotman explains: the simple answer is supposedly Jordan, but does Jordan want this territory? We signed a peace agreement with them and there was no claim on this territory. There is no claim of ownership by Jordan or any other state.

There is no state that claims ownership, and even if King Hussein wanted to give ownership to the Palestinians he could not give it to them because it is not his to give", says Rotman, and relates to the fact that no state recognized the legality of Jordanian rule in Judea and Samaria (except for Britain and Pakistan).

Atty. Rotman adds another detail toward the end of the discussion with him – if the British Mandate was intended to establish a national home for the Jewish People, then it certainly has not expired in Judea and Samaria, because these territories were not part of the State of Israel at the time of its establishment. The conclusion is that the original purpose of this area, as a national home for the Jewish people, according to the San Remo Committee and the committees and the treaties that followed it, is still valid today.



Mk Yoav Ben Tzur



Photo: Yonatan Zindel, Flash 90

# “The Time has come to Apply Israeli Law over Judea and Samaria”

Head of the Shas faction in the Knesset, MK Yoav Ben-Tzur, keeps in close contact with the settlement enterprise and presents resolute positions, calling for sovereignty and the application of Israeli law in Judea and Samaria.

Considerable rapprochement has been recorded in recent years between the settlement enterprise in Judea and Samaria and the Shas Movement. It seems that this is not in small part thanks to the head of the faction in Knesset, Member of Knesset Yoav Ben-Tzur, who keeps in close and continuous contact with the people of the settlement enterprise and its heads. We asked to speak with him about his world view regarding the strengthening of the settlement enterprise and the future of Judea and Samaria.

Ben-Tzur, who is the chairman of the Mount of Olives Protection Caucus and is a proud activist regarding the strengthening of sovereignty at the Mount of Olives, which will slow down and prevent the continual destruction and vandalism at the historic site, spoke about settlement and Israeli law at the conference that was held in the Knesset in commemoration of fifty years since the victory in the Six Day War, saying: “I live in an absurd situation! There are Jews who are subject to the laws of Israel, and there are hundreds of thousands of Jews who have not been liberated from the IDF and are subject to its orders. Why is this? Not because they do not pay taxes or fulfill their obligations to the state. But only because of the very fact that they live in Judea and Samaria. These are the people who are preventing these areas from becoming nests of murderous terror and a strategic threat to all citizens in the State of Israel; these Jewish pioneers are people who educate the next generations to love their fellow man and to honor the sanctity of life and the Land”.

Member of Knesset Ben-Tzur continued, at the conference, stating that “The attempt to play a double game and leave the matter of Judea and Samaria without a resolution only widens the social gap, harms the quality of life for our citizens and leads us into a series of apologies that are superfluous. After 50 years of settlement, we must stop chasing after global recognition and start nurturing a national consciousness”. In his opinion, this year, we must allow ourselves to be bolder. **The time has come to stop differentiating between one group of Jews and another; the time has come to apply Israeli law in Judea and Samaria and to recognize the communities there as an integral part of the greater whole, as an integral part of the State of Israel”.**

In a discussion with the Sovereignty Journal as well, Member of Knesset Ben-Tzur continues, taking the same position. “We must strengthen the connection with Judea and Samaria. The residents that were sent to settle there are preventing this area from becoming a no-man’s land and a terrorist base”.

Peace Now rally Photo: Gili Yeari, Flash 90



“I do not advocate the transfer of territories for peace”

## Say No to “Land for Peace”

“I do not advocate the transfer of territories for peace”, he emphatically declares, and states that there can be peace, but only on the basis of economic agreements with the cooperation of the Arab population, with Judea and Samaria as integral part of the State of Israel. We must present to the world a clear and resolute position. The world respects strong states that know how to make decisions and stand up for themselves. If we express our position clearly we will earn both recognition and respect in the world and thus, will strengthen the acknowledgment of the fact that Judea and Samaria are an integral part of the State of Israel”.

**“True Zionism is where there are Jewish residents who settle the land. These are communities that protect, with their physical existence, all the citizens of Israel”, says Ben-Tzur, and calls for “liberating the Jews from the rule of the Civil Administration”.**

According to him, even the emissaries of Trump, the American president, whom he meets with as part of his role in the Knesset, understand that there is no partner with whom a real political arrangement can be reached, “With whom can we sit and negotiate? With Hamas? However, Ben-Tzur believes, as mentioned, that the time will come, if there will be a partner for discussion in the future, when an answer for the Arab popu-

lation in Judea and Samaria will be found such as an autonomous entity that will be subject to Israeli sovereignty. “They will not be defined as citizens, but as residents”, he clarifies. “The Palestinian in the street wants a good and quiet life, economic prosperity and well-being. If we are smart enough to bring appropriate Israeli and international economic investment into the area, and provide them with economic well-being, it could be that there will no longer be a demand to establish a Palestinian state. In any case, this step, of economic peace, can happen only if there is a partner”.

## The First Step – Sovereignty over the Communities

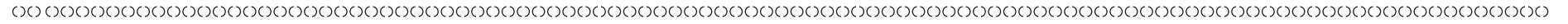
In Ben-Tzur’s opinion, Israel must apply her sovereignty in the communities as a first step and leave the Palestinian communities as enclaves. “In the present situation, the settlers have obligations but not rights. Matters such as infrastructure, environmental quality and other things are neglected only because Israeli law is not applied there, and those residents suffer from this. After several decades, the time has come to give all of the courageous and Zionist residents that were sent by the State of Israel, hope for the future, and the State of Israel has an obligation to give them all of the rights that they deserve, like any other residents of Israel”.

The question of “What will the world say” does not seem to bother Ben-Tzur, who be-

lieves that with the proper diplomatic public relations efforts, it will be possible to overcome this obstacle too. “We must make the appropriate preparations beforehand, for the diplomats as well as for public opinion. We will have to be convincing about our right to the Land, and I am convinced that with the appropriate public relations efforts, it will be accepted. Of course, there will always be radicals who will object, but most will move on. It will become a fact that will be determined for the generations”.

“As a Rightist government, we have an obligation to promote such a process. In my opinion, the prime minister will also see this process as desirable. For this to happen, we need a push from all parties of the coalition”, he says, emphasizing that these positions are not only his personal positions, but are the positions of the entire party. Along these lines, he mentions the tours that the members of the party had recently in Gush Etzion, in the Jewish section of Hevron, the support that Minister Der’i provides to the community in Hevron, and more. “As a party, we understand the great importance of the communities in Judea and Samaria. This is the general position of the movement and as the heads of councils in Judea and Samaria can testify, we support and contribute as much as we can to the settlement enterprise, which is, in our opinion, an integral part of the State of Israel”.





# TAMA 100 – Nation

The National Outline Plans of Israel still appear like a drawing is upsetting and outrageous. TAMA 100 seeks to change the



**The National Outline Plans of Israel completely ignore Judea and Samaria**



Architect Yoram Ginzburg

Photo: Courtesy of Y. Ginzburg



Today, 75 percent of the Jewish residents of the Land of Israel live in the coastal plain. In the future, 75% of the Jews of the Land will live on the mountain ridge”.

There have been more than a few national outline plans (TAMA plans) since the establishment of the State of Israel, including plans by various Israeli governments for construction and overall plans for housing, infrastructure, industry, transportation and other matters throughout the Land. The most recent national outline plan is TAMA 35, which was approved by the government in 2005 and includes the state’s plans for a construction scheme throughout the state until the year 2020.

A quick glance at the maps of the Israeli outline plans over the years show a surprising and gloomy picture. The map is colored in various shades showing the planning for activities, construction and development but only within the territories of “little Israel”, that which is delineated by the Green Line. The various TAMAs do not include even a stub of a plan for Judea and Samaria. The governments of Israel approve, from time to time, construction in communities or the paving of roads and traffic arteries in Judea and Samaria, but there has never been a comprehensive planning outline relating to Judea and Samaria as an integral part of the State of Israel.

In order to correct the situation in which the Green Line is seen as an impassable border for planning in the State of Israel, Women in Green co-chairs, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, joined forces with architect Yoram Ginzburg, and together began the preparation of TAMA 100, a plan that anticipates the needs of the

coming years. The team of three believes that national planning for the State of Israel should include a totally different view from that which has become familiar to us. The mountain area, with Jerusalem at its heart, would receive its appropriate centrality; the distribution of population will be balanced and much more correct when, in the State of Israel, an eighty percent majority of its residents are Jewish.

During these recent weeks and months, Ginzburg, Katsover and Matar have been writing up the details of TAMA 100 in various fields upon which the plan should provide a comprehensive, serious and profound answer to their planning needs. This includes, among other things, the areas of infrastructure, security, rural and urban settlement, transportation, social, demographic and more. The three are gathering a group of leading experts in each field, who will present, within a period of time that will be pre-determined, research that investigates the future needs for the State of Israel in each one of the fields, with the leading principle being the existence of Israeli sovereignty in the entire area; sovereignty that erases the old, distorted borders that restricted the Israeli governments from meaningful planning of the area of the mountain, the Jordan Valley and more.

In a discussion with Sovereignty, Ginzburg explains the main principles of planning that he and the experts are working on, and full details will be presented to the public and to the decision makers and politicians in the not too distant future.



# Final Outline Plan 100

of the pre '67 lines. The blatant disregard of Judea and Samaria situation. An interview with architect Yoram Ginzburg.



Photo Yossi Zamir, Flash 90



Greater Jerusalem

After a hundred years of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem must return to be the key city of the Land of Israel.

## TAMA 100 - A Master Plan for Greater Israel

The key objectives of TAMA 100 appear in its title, the main one being the turn eastward toward the Greater Land of Israel as a goal, "a master plan for Greater Israel toward a final resolution after fifty years of pointless stuttering and agony", in Ginzburg's words, adding: "the role of TAMA 100 is to create a sustainable living space for the People of Israel for the coming generations". The plans, as they are today, he will explain to us later, do not allow for a minimal and necessary living space for a country that expects to survive for many years.

When he speaks of the details of the skeleton of the plan, Ginzburg emphasizes the importance that he ascribes to Jerusalem as the actual capital of the Jewish People, and accordingly, he finds a special value in turning the tables, as he puts it, in moving the center of gravity of Israel from the coastal plain to the mountain, thereby necessitating, in various ways, a real reform in the world view of the state's leadership regarding many different areas.

"The role of TAMA 100 is to create an old-new ethos of the People of Israel in its Land, to take the biblical Jewish story and integrate it with the ethos of Israeli values into one organic space with no internal contradictions between the Jewish and the Israeli". This is why Ginzburg presents a number of basic principles to accompany the work of the teams of experts

dealing with the various aspects of the new TAMA.

First and foremost, he mentions the necessity of determining fixed physical borders for Israel, such as the red border lines on the line of the Jordan River. "These will be borders that our neighbors will recognize, thus also cutting off their hope for a Palestinian state ever to be established west of the Jordan River." In his estimation, the determination of such borders and starting a momentum of creativity and building from a comprehensive view of the Land of Israel as a single unit will inspire a spirit of hope and national resolve among the people.

There are, among the clauses of TAMA 100, those that relate to the demographic aspect. "The role of TAMA 100 is to assure control of the external borders and the internal territory vis-à-vis the various minorities in the Land of Israel and to bring about the need to choose between loyalty and emigration for all the minorities of Israel".

Another of the objectives of the TAMA, as stated, is also the "easternization" of Israel, and Ginzburg explains: "We should transfer the national center of gravity from the coastal plain to the mountain, while restoring the original Jewish culture between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River to the mountain ridge and to the desert". The crusader approach of concentrating the population on the coastline is not consistent with a long-range political view, and he seeks to change this point of view, although this is a not a return to the days of

the camel and the well, but "a combination of western and eastern culture according to Jewish values". According to him, the national ascent from the coastal plain to the mountain will also cause a cultural aspect of "connection to Jewish identity and ancient Biblical landscapes, to historical sites that constitute the basis of Biblical territory, by clinging to the mountain and massive urban and rural building for housing".

Ginzburg sees the national transfer from a situation in which Gush Dan is the heart of the country while the Jerusalem corridor is considered secondary, to a situation where the center of the country is the rebuilt Judea and Samaria bloc. "This is a paradigm change for the center of the country, a reorganization of the national center of gravity from Gush Dan to Gush Judea. After a hundred years of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem returns to be the key city of the Land of Israel. Five million residents will live in metropolitan Jerusalem in 18 neighborhoods that will be managed under one urban roof. Today, 75 percent of the Jewish residents of the Land of Israel live in the coastal plain. In the future, 75% of the Jews of the Land will live on the mountain ridge".

The plan also sets a demographic bar doubling the country's population. If today, between 10 and 11 million people live west of the Jordan River, toward the year 2048, a hundred years after Israel won its independence, 20 million residents will live in this tract of land, 80 percent of them Jews and 20 percent Arabs, con-

trary to the situation today, in which 65 percent of the population are Jews".

Ginzburg states that the distribution of population in Israel must also change. If today, 90 percent live in urban localities, the optimal situation is that 60 percent will live in cities, while the rest will be in towns and villages spread throughout the country. For this, he adds, the plan must include an answer to the architectural challenge that is entailed in planning large and small towns in Judea and Samaria respecting the Biblical landscapes and protecting them despite the necessary construction in those places.

The said outline plan also will have an important and central security aspect. The experts that will deal with this field, explains Ginzburg, "will prove that objectively, it will not be possible to manage within the pre-'67 borders"; regarding the economic aspect as well, it will not be possible to circumvent and ignore very large areas in the heart of the Land. It is not possible to remain economically constricted within the pre-'67 borders, and this too will be proven by the experts dealing with this part of the TAMA.

"To this point in time, dozens of national outline plans have been presented, and all of them have blatantly ignored the original territories of the homeland of Judea and Samaria. Even the Trans-Israel Highway avoids Judea and Samaria. This situation is artificial. We must return to what is Jewish, Israeli and natural", concludes Ginzburg.

How can a political plan from the days of Joshua bin Nun become a contemporary and well-organized political plan. **MK Bezael Smotrich** presents the Decisive Plan, which is “the only one that can bring about peace”.

# The Only Path to Peace – Resolution and Sovereignty

Mk Bezael Smotrich

The principles of the political plan, which, during recent weeks and months, has attracted no small amount of media attention, were already presented by Member of Knesset Bezael Smotrich a year and half ago. It was during the Jerusalem conference of the Besheva newspaper, when, as he began his speech, Smotrich gave credit for his political plan to none other than Joshua bin Nun. The three missives that Joshua bin Nun sent to the residents of the Land became, for Smotrich, a detailed political plan whose main principle is clear-eyed handling of the demographic challenge and the Arab presence in the Land of Israel after the application of Israeli sovereignty.

“The time has come for resolution!” Smotrich declared at the conference. “Joshua sent three missives to the residents of the Land just before he entered it: he who is willing to accept the situation will accept it, he who prefers to leave, should leave, and he who wishes to fight, will fight. Joshua bin Nun’s address to those who were here before us was based upon a fixed and absolute principle: we are here; this is the land that was promised to us and we have come to inherit it. From this point onward, there is only room here for one people to realize its national aspirations – the Jewish People. This is just. This is ethical and this is what will be. It is not something that can be argued, not something that is open for negotiation”.

“From this point on, there are only three options for the residents of the Land: Whoever wants to live here under Jewish rule, with total loyalty to it, without undermining the very essence of the state or its identity and Jewish values, is welcome to stay. We have been a very hospitable people since the days of our father Abraham. Anyone who wants to leave—anyone who has natural national aspirations and seeks to realize them – should go and seek his future in one of the many Arab states that surround us. And he who wants to fight – he who is not willing to give up his national aspirations and is also not willing to realize them in another place, choosing to fight – he will

fight, and with the help of the Almighty we will triumph over him”.

“This is the only plan that is not willing to leave an Arab collective with a desire to realize national aspirations here in the Land of Israel”, stated Smotrich, in an interview with Arutz 7. “All of the other plans, of Netanyahu and others, are based on autonomy or other euphemisms for a state-minus. If an Arab collective with national aspirations is allowed to remain here we assure for ourselves that the conflict, the terror, the blood and the violence, will continue for another hundred years”.

**We erode our own position, and the world sees it**

**And perhaps, we ask him, the present situation is the best that can be achieved, not establishing a Palestinian state on one hand, while on the other, not applying sovereignty?** “We deserve, after a hundred years of conflict, to live in peace, security and calm”, he responds, immediately adding: “Moreover, the current situation erodes our position”. This creates an erosion of awareness in the world. The more the so-called rightist prime minister deepens the commitment to a Palestinian state, the more our legitimacy is eroded. It is as if we admit that the solution is to have two states, but at the same time, we contradict this when we build in Judea and Samaria. We pay a heavy price in the international sphere because we are perceived as rejectionist since we seem to accept the Arab narrative but do not implement it”.

In parallel, Smotrich also mentions the practical ramifications of his political plan, ramifications that would be expressed in the building and settling in Judea and Samaria “When you present a different paradigm, it immediately presents new ramifications. Even if the application of sovereignty does not happen tomorrow morning, if I begin to adopt its principles I begin to behave as a sovereign and as someone who will be here forever

and that a Palestinian state will never will arise here”.

If the leadership had confidence that reflected faith in the justice of our cause and the ability to fight, then it would be alright; but with the unclear position of the leadership, it is difficult for Israeli society, and this is why I want resolution. We also have the power to resolve the issue and justice is on our side. This is both true and practical and it is right for the morale of Israeli society and its belief in the justice of its cause”.

**And what about the world? Will it agree to the process of sovereignty?**

“First of all, we cannot complain about the world. We are to blame for the world’s conduct. We have been saying for forty years that there would be a Palestinian state and the world says that if that is so, then stop the excuses about why it should not be done now. They say and will continue to tell us that ‘there are answers to your security concerns, take the necessary support package and all will be well, so start progressing in the direction of two states, or at least do not take any steps that make it more difficult to implement the solution that you speak about, the solution of a Palestinian state’. I believe that since the world is, for the most part, religious, it will understand us if we speak about justice, about the Bible and about rights. It will take more than one day but with intelligent diplomacy the world will accept this discourse”.

“The present timing is optimal. The American administration can accept it, Europe is busy with internal crises and the Palestinians do not interest them. We will have to explain to the world that there is no other way and that they must choose between them and us and if this is the choice, they will choose us, since we have no other alternative and they have 22 states. These days, we do not try to explain ourselves. We tell the world the

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# No to Ignoring Reality. The Solution – Federation

**MK Yehuda Glick**

Every day, on various panels, arguments arise on the subject of the solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Unfortunately, the discussions almost always ignore the reality that already exists.

The State of Israel, together with Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley, without the Gaza Strip, already constitutes one state today, in actuality. The IDF and Israeli security forces control Judea and Samaria; the Israeli shekel is the traded currency in the Palestinian Authority; 85% of the industrial and agricultural products of the Palestinians in Judea and Samaria are sold to Israel; nearly 300,000 out of the 800,000 Palestinian workers in Judea and Samaria are employed in Israel and the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria; about half of the budget of the Palestinian Authority comes from tax money that Israel collects from the Palestinian workers in Israel; about 300,000 Palestinians in east Jerusalem are Israeli residents, with residency cards that allow them to travel throughout the State of Israel; more than 400 thousand Israeli Jews live in about 160 communities throughout Judea and Samaria.

The state suffers from a lack of stability and without secure and internationally recognized borders, and there is a harsh security and economic cost associated with these factors. The Palestinian Authority is non-functional and is in the stages of collapse; does not supply services appropriately to the residents and does not succeed in preventing terror. Hamas and other radical Islamic terror organizations are taking advantage of the weakness of the PA and are undermining its existence. The Jewish residents in Judea and Samaria are confined within closed communities, cannot move around freely in the area in which they live. The Palestinian residents of Judea and Samaria are also confined within a closed area and cannot integrate into the state at large, and lack basic civil rights.

It seems that the most ideal plan today is the one proposed by the Federation Movement, calling for the implementation of a realistic solution, meaning the application of Israeli law in Judea and Samaria, granting equal civil rights to the Arabs of Judea and Samaria and a federal regime divided into cantons, sorts.

One of the conditions necessary for the settlement of conflicts is a stable, proper regime that is responsive to the citizen and the community. The existing regime in Israel and the Palestinian Authority is not such a regime. The regime in Israel is centralized and cut off from the individual and the community; the Palestinian Authority is not functional at all;

and the military regime in Judea and Samaria enacts a policy that is considered oppressive by the local population. Oppressive regimes and weak temporary regimes encourage violence and terror. A stable, federal regime with fixed and secure borders, allowing the various communities, sectors and minorities to live side by side and express themselves, can help to reduce the dimensions of terror more than any fence can.

This solution will solve the problems of the existing situation without the great dangers entailed in the two state solution. Most of the residents of the federal state will be Jews, the Arab residents on both sides of the Green Line will win equal rights and economic advancement and development, and all of this while the IDF will remain in Judea and Samaria and the Jewish residents in Judea and Samaria will remain in their homes without fear of uprooting or boycott.



Photo Aanna Kaplo, flash 90

**“The most ideal plan today is the one proposed by the Federation Movement, calling for the implementation of a realistic solution, meaning the application of Israeli law in Judea and Samaria, granting equal civil rights to the Arabs of Judea and Samaria and a federal regime divided into cantons, sorts”**

Implementation of the federal plan, after some time, not too long in duration, would bring about a dramatic improvement in the economic situation. The Palestinian residents of the territories will be able to work and integrate in agriculture, industry and construction while reducing the need to bring in foreign workers. The local market will grow and will enjoy broader international trade with Arab states and the rest of the world. The security calm would aid the economy. The rehabilitation of refugee camps and other infrastructure in the West Bank will attract Israeli and international companies and will stimulate economic growth.

Poverty and economic gaps are not the only factor for national conflicts but they are a key factor that exacerbates them. Economic growth in Israel, dealing with the housing crisis and reducing the large social and economic disparities between Jews and Arabs are a basic and necessary condition to solve the conflict. Therefore, we should implement a market economy and welfare policy that will invest in everyone according to egalitarian criteria. This policy can only exist by means of one regional, federal government that will be established throughout the Land of Israel, subjecting regional social programs to national planning, while giving priority to the weaker regions of Israel and weaker sectors of the population.

It is important to emphasize: the federal state will continue to be the State of Israel. Her army will be the IDF, her parliament will be the Knesset, her flag and hymn will be the flag and hymn of Israel, and she will remain open to Jewish aliyah according to the principles of the Law of Return. The Jews will constitute at least two thirds of the population.

The greatest change would be the political settlement, which would provide stability. The Arab residents of the Land will enjoy regional self-government and full civil rights and will be able to conduct their own affairs. The Arabs will be able to express their culture and identity in the cantons where there is an Arab majority. Each canton will also have its own local government that will help in the battle to resolve local conflicts and in the joint war against crime and terrorism.

Moreover: the economic prosperity, civil rights and freedom of movement for the Arabs and the local independence that each canton will have to conduct its affairs, should cause the greater part of the Arabs to feel some identity with the state and join the police force, the culture and the society instead of being isolated.

**The writer is a member of Knesset of the Likud**





Moshe Feiglin

# Israel the Land of the People of Israel Only

**Not autonomy, not a state minus, not sovereignty only over Area C and not any other partial plan. Moshe Feiglin's political plan includes full sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria and he has a detailed answer to all of the relevant questions.**

The political part of the platform of Feiglin's party, the "Zehut" (Identity) party, includes full sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria. The basic principle leading Feiglin in determining his political platform is "the Land of Israel- it is our Land. The Land of Israel is the land of the People of Israel only, by virtue of its clinging to the Land for all the generations, founded on the decision by the Creator of the world, the G-d of Israel".

The party platform states that actually, there is no demographic problem. "Demographics are not a problem. In contrast to the many polls that have been published, the woman from Tel Aviv bears more children than her neighbor in Ramallah. Even without considering factors of emigration and aliyah, the Jewish majority between the Jordan River and the sea will be maintained and will even grow. Approximately 12,000 to 16,000 people leave and emigrate from Judea and Samaria each year, by the Allenby Bridge alone – most of them young people".

Feiglin believes that ironically, the international pressure that has been put on Israel over the years of political negotiations will be reduced when these negotiations end. "Reality informs us that the political process increases international pressure and not the opposite, therefore the pressure cannot be justified. The past has proven to us more than once that when Israel takes a resolute stand on things that are essential to her and her security, the U.S. is the one that retreats from its position, without forcing upon us a different course of action".

In Zehut, they see political processes as a destructive economic factor. "The total cost of the Oslo Accords to the Israeli public until today is more than a trillion shekels. The political process is a heavy burden on the economy of Israel".

## Moshe Feiglin's Plan of Phases

Feiglin's political plan includes, in the first phase, the official cancellation of the Oslo Accords and the restoration of the legal situation in Judea and Samaria and Gaza to its state before the agreements. The second phase will include a respectable proposal for emigration to anyone who is not willing to live under Israeli rule. Afterwards, Israeli security forces will take control of Judea and Samaria and Gaza and immediately apply full Israeli sovereignty.

Regarding the Arabs of Judea and Samaria on the day after sovereignty is applied, Feiglin's plan proposes that in the first phase, the Arab residents will receive temporary Israeli residency cards. "After the application of Israeli sovereignty, every adult resident will have the opportunity to choose for himself between three possibilities: an "emigration package", residency and citizenship. No one will be forced to decide immediately, and the possibility to choose will remain open to him".

Sixty percent of the Arab population in Judea and Samaria are interested in emigrating – this is a total of 170,000 households. The cost of these emigration packages to Israel would be much less than the cost that Israel pays for the Oslo Accords each year (about 10% of the state's budget)".

Regarding the destinations of emigration, Zehut says: "We are experiencing today a global era of widespread Arab emigration to countries like Chile (a half million Palestinians), Argentina and Brazil. The countries of the world will be glad to receive these immigrants and will prefer immigrants from Gaza with an 'emigration package' to ease their absorption, over destitute immigrants, with no knowledge at all of the West".

The possibility of the status of permanent resident will be conditional, according to Feiglin's plan, on an open declaration of loyalty to the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish People. "Permanent residents will be able to move freely and work throughout the Land, and in general, to enjoy all of the rights that are conferred by virtue of the status of permanent resident. The only differences between them and a regular citizen will be obligatory military service and the right to vote".

## What? You would not give them the right to vote for Knesset?

On the subject of denying these permanent residents to right to vote for Knesset, Zehut says: "Our objection to giving the right to vote automatically to someone who is not Jewish is an objection on principle. The State of Israel was established as a Jewish state. The claim that the application of sovereignty obligates us to bestow citizenship is not a true claim. The United States, for example, applied her sovereignty over Puerto Rico and in other territories, but from her own considerations, did not give those residents full rights to vote. Israel can also bestow the full status of permanent resident with all of its associated rights to the Arab population in Judea and Samaria that accept the sovereignty of the State of Israel".

The third possibility, the granting of citizenship, includes a long-range path in which those who apply for it will be required to enlist in the military or national service, and in general, to tie their fate to the State of Israel as the Druze and the Circassian communities have done.

In Zehut, they emphasize that in addition to these possibilities "there are two more possibilities: whoever wants to emigrate without Israel's help, can. Whoever fights Israel will be exiled, impris-

oned or killed, and his possessions will be confiscated".

The concerns around Feiglin's political plan and how to deal with them are also detailed in the party platform. Regarding the concern about American pressure it is written: "When the leaders of Israel place Israeli interests before anything else, the American administration accepts it – this is a fact that has been proven many times in a practical way. On foundational questions such as Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, Israel should not and cannot submit to external pressure".

Even the possibility of endangering American support to Israel does not cause Feiglin and his people to lose any sleep: "the assumption that Israel's existence depends on the U.S. is totally refutable: today the total military support is about 3.5 billion dollars per year – about 3% of the state's budget – one percent of the GNP, overall. The "support" actually pours American money into its own weapons industry, at the expense of Israel's security and economic interests. Giving up this "support" is a must. It is certainly possible to give it up economically, and correct from the standpoint of security".

## When we do not stand up for the justice of our cause, the boycotters take note

The European arena, which is constantly threatening boycotts, does not disturb Zehut, either. "The European boycott is mainly the result of conceding the justice of the Israeli cause. The expansion of the boycott to European bodies came as a result of the political process. Israel always expects that concessions will win greater understanding from the Western world. The reality has always been clearly the opposite. We can expect that the opposite kind of process will yield a similar result. If Israel returns to a position of standing for the justice of her cause, it will certainly be met with protest, but the enlightened nations will basically support the party that has justice on its side.

Those who attack the vision of sovereignty often raise the matter of international law as a significant obstacle to implementing the vision. About this, Feiglin himself says: the Edmund Levy Commission clearly stated the legal position that Judea and Samaria were recognized as territory that was designated for the Jewish state, and had no other sovereign. The position that was reached by the Levy Commission was supposed to be officially adopted by the government of Israel, which commissioned the document of its conclusions. The usual considerations prevented the government from taking this step publicly, but this is how it is, and these are the conclusions regarding the territory that is subject to unclear military rule, so of course this would also be true for full annexation, done in a clear and orderly fashion".

And what about the inciting accusations that Israel would be an apartheid state on the day after the application of sovereignty, when there would be discrimination, supposedly, between its Jewish citizens and the Arab residents? "Other enlightened states also make the distinction between citizenship on the national basis and on a territorial basis and this is not "apartheid". There is a difference between human rights and civil rights. The People of Israel has returned to its birthplace in order to establish here a Jewish state. The principles according to which we want this state to operate are the means and not the end. Wherever it appears that granting citizenship to other nationalities may threaten Israel's Jewish identity, Israel is fully justified not to do so".



Credit: Avi Ochayon, LaAim

"The total cost of the Oslo Accords to the Israeli public until today is more than a trillion shekels"

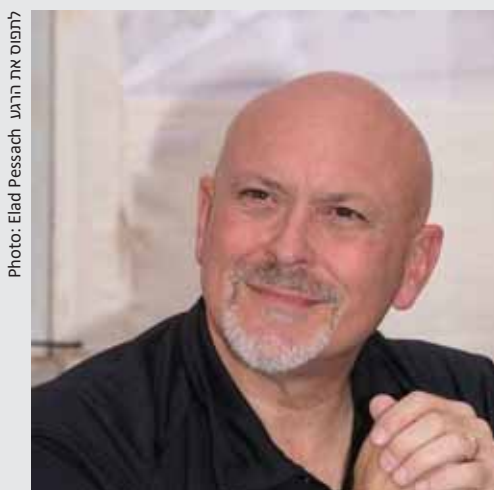


# “No more Political Correctness. This is your Land”

**Rep. Alan Clemmons, member of the South Carolina House of Representatives who removed the idea of the two-state solution from the Republican Party platform, visited Gush Etzion: “This land will always be the heart of the Jewish nation’s land. This land cannot be cut off from the Jewish People”.**



Rep. Alan Clemmons with members of South Carolina legislative body and MK Shuli Mualem-Refaeli visit Oz veGaon in Gush Etsion



A delegation of members of South Carolina’s legislative body visited Israel during the holiday of Sukkot. The delegation dedicated a large part of the visit to Judea and Samaria, with a special emphasis on the area of Gush Etzion.

The delegation, headed by Representative Alan Clemmons, visited Oz veGaon, the Nature preserve located near the Gush Etzion Junction, created by Women in Green and residents of Judea, as a Zionist response to the murder of the three abducted boys, Gil-Ad, Eyal and Naftali, hy”d.

Clemmons is the representative that led the revolution in the platform of the Republican Party, President Donald Trump’s party, when he removed the mention of two states and dividing Jerusalem as a diplomatic vision and objective.

In his speech at Oz veGaon, Clemmons noted that in the past, he also believed in what he defined as “the politically correct narrative”, according to which, there is no Jewish history in Judea and Samaria, there is no evidence that testifies to Jewish habitation of this area in the past and that it is “Arab land” that had been taken by the Jews in 1967, but this concept changed after a meeting with the heads of Women in Green, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, who “opened his eyes so that he could see the reality, the truth, the concrete evidence, that you (turning to the legislators) have seen and will continue to see while you are here”.

Clemmons added emphasis to his words, declaring: **“Here is the heart of the Jewish Land. This is the historical homeland of the Jews. This is where Moses brought the Israelites from the desert; this is where they came to, this is their most precious asset. To cut away part of this Land from the Jewish People is like cutting out the heart of the Jewish People”.**

Relating to the reversal that occurred in the Republican Party platform, he said: “I think that the most significant element in removing the two-states idea from the Republican platform is that it is not my place, or your place, or the place of the president of the U.S.

to decide for Israel what should be her path to peace. This decision must be taken by Israel herself. This decision must be made by Israel together with the regional leaders, and then the U.S., as the best friend and closest ally of Israel, will have to stand by Israel’s side and support her decision. But let me be clear, whatever the decision will be, this land that we are now standing on will always be the heart of the Jewish nation, and I learned this from the two teachers, Yehudit and Nadia, and I must not forget my friend Eli Piepsz who introduced us”.

About Oz ve Gaon, Clemmons said: “This beautiful place is a symbol of all of Judea and Samaria. The heart of the Jewish People is here among the stones, the soil and the trees and the harshness of this amazing Land”.

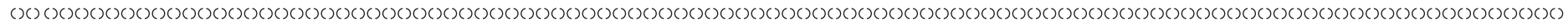
As he spoke, he turned to MK Shuli Mualem, head of the Bayit Yehudit faction, who accompanied the visit, and thanked her for her support. “I must say that I have been following your political career since you entered public life. Yesterday I spoke about the importance of moral clarity to the public servants. You, Shuli, are a person of integrity and great moral clarity. I admire you for this. Thank you very much”.

Clemmons ended his words with thanks to the five members of the delegation who took part in passing the resolution stating that Israel is not an occupier of lands that belong to another people, but rather that the Land of Israel was given by G-d to the People of Israel.

לתפוס את הרגע. Photo: Elad Pessach

לתפוס את הרגע. Photo: Elad Pessach





# The Economic Advantages of Sovereignty

## The First Research of a Series

**Research that was presented at the Knesset by economist Amatzia Samkai, investigates with professional, objective tools the economic significance of the process of sovereignty. Real estate, the costs of citizenship, collecting taxes, manpower and more are considered together in this research.**



Photo: Yaniv Ben Yehuda

Economist Amatzia Samkai

Along with stating the Zionist and Jewish vision of the application of Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria as a goal, the economic aspects of the process cannot (and must not) be ignored. An objective and professional investigation of the data reveals, as expected, that the process has implications for the budget, some of which are borne by the state and some of which yield profit. It is possible, and indeed, appropriate, to state that even if the cost of sovereignty is high, this is still the correct and just political course that the State of Israel must take, and just as the entire Zionist initiative entailed economic investments that did not always yield immediate return, it will also be so for the completion and implementation of the vision of sovereignty. The matter is too important to investigate for economic parameters alone;

however, one necessary step toward the application of sovereignty is to take a sober look at the economic aspect of the move, along with other aspects such as security, international law, society, and more.

In anticipation of the events marking the fiftieth years since the Six Day War, the Lobby for the Land

of Israel in Knesset and other bodies, among them the Sovereignty Movement founded by Women in Green, commissioned professional economists to investigate the economic implications of the process of sovereignty. Amatzia Samkai, owner of an economic consulting company, is the economist that led the research team and last June he presented the first part of it, the economic significance of the application of Israeli sovereignty over Area C, which encompasses seventy pages.

“It is important to emphasize that the work that we presented is the first among a series of research that will be completed in the future, because it covers and examines one aspect, although a central aspect among several in the process of sovereignty”, Samkai makes a point of saying, as he began to speak.

The exact number of Arab residents of Area C is not known accurately and it is estimated at 100 to 150 thousand people. In his work Samkai’s team related to the more conservative estimate, one hundred and fifty thousand people, as a basis for the computation of costs and profits that would stem from including them under Israeli sovereignty.

### Half a percent of the state budget, even before calculating the profits

In a discussion with Sovereignty, Samkai summarizes the significant highlights of the work. The bottom line tells of investment of no more than two billion shekels, an amount that perhaps sounds high, but for a state budget that is estimated at more than





450 billion shekels it is a negligible sum of less than half a percent. This summary investigates the budgetary costs of payments for national insurance, health services, government office budgets that will need to grow in accordance with the added population and additional data, however, on the other hand, there is the component of tax that will be added to the state coffers from taxes and VAT, which many of the additional population will pay.

Another significant economic factor that will be examined in the following phases of the research is the real estate aspect. Samkai notes that according to the preliminary evaluation, if the area in question is related to as any other Israeli area, then there would no longer be American or any other international pressures regarding construction, development and infrastructures of the area. If Israel presents this sovereign position, then "it will be possible to establish two more cities east of Rosh HaAyin. These would be two cities that would be in the center of the Land and the influence on housing prices would be dramatic".

When the data of the implications of sovereignty on real estate in the center of the country are added, a profit can be expected that will be much greater than the investment of two billion shekels which were mentioned in the first part of the research. "Even if we totally ignore the influences at the level of national income, a net expenditure of less than 2 billion shekels is an expenditure that the economy can certainly withstand if policy makers decide that the move is worthwhile both politically and security-wise". Commentators of the study note that they estimate that this amount will be significantly reduced due to several elements. Among other things, there is an estimate that "new opportunities will be created as a result of the application of Israeli sovereignty in Area C, whether because of the additional manpower in the labor-intensive branches or because of adding real estate for building and agriculture, it will enable Israeli entrepreneurs to generate profits that will offset the net budgetary expense of the process".



Joshua Bin Nun sent 3 missives to the residents of the Land

cont. from page 14

opposite. The "most rightwing" prime minister identifies with the Arab narrative and says that he does not want to be an occupier, and so forth, so what do we expect from the world? We should tell the world that it doesn't work and cannot work. There are two different national aspirations here that cannot coexist".

**I do not feel obligated to solve problems for someone that wants to destroy us. I am obligated to provide a solution to the Jews only.**

As he speaks about doing what is good for the Jews, Smotrich emphasizes that contrary to others, who seek to present a political program that is concerned with the interests of both sides, he, when formulating the plan was concerned with the benefit to the Jewish People, although, among the ramifications of the plan, there were also benefits for the Arab side.

**"I seek to solve the Jews' problem and not the Arabs' problem, but indirectly, it is good for them too.** I don't owe anything to someone who fights me again and again and tries to destroy me. I have no moral obligation to him. He is not interested in me and I am not trying to solve the problem of his rights, but ultimately, I believe that the plan will give them more rights and a better life than any other Arab constellation in our area, but this is not what interests me when I present a plan".

And if it seems to someone that the general Israeli public, which is hungry for discourse of peace, will have a difficult time digesting Smotrich's

plan, which is entitled the "Resolution Plan", which might sound belligerent, Smotrich is convinced that the truth is totally different and ironically, his plan is what will bring the peace that Israelis so long for. "This is the true chance for peace. The only thing that the Left has brought about is continued terror and living on the sword. The only way to bring about peace and coexistence is this plan, which ends the hope for a state and leaves here only those who will accept the existence of a Jewish state".

**Since you are not the prime minister and not even a member of the ruling party, what is the chance that from your position you will be able to promote such a significant political plan?**

"Firstly, I can motivate the prime minister. This is how it works. Moreover, even if the plan is not adopted as is, immediately, many of the statements from the plan will already enter into the Israeli political discourse. Thus a dialogue will be created after the public discourse; people will talk about the fact that there are two contradictory national aspirations, and there is no chance to come to an agreement with them; and the ethical quality of the program will be examined as a result, and ultimately, this will create many significant ramifications. I am not afraid of a long-term process. I know that at the end of the day it will happen because there is no other choice. The question is how much time will pass until we understand this and how much we will pay for our mistakes on the way".

Painting: Gustave Dore, Shutterstock



# The Civil Administration and its Problematic A

**In his book summarizing his 21 years of service in the Civil Administration, Lt. Col (Res.) Yaakov Sabag tells of the ramifications of a world view which, in his opinion, is embedded within the Civil Administration, that 'In any case, there will shortly be a Palestinian state here, so why invest in settlement?'**



Yaakov Sabag's new book "Memories of Abu Yussuf"

Yakov Sabag, who is currently a resident of Ofrah, retired after 21 years of working in the Civil Administration and the IDF liaison bodies that interface with elements of the Palestinian Authority. His first steps in the connections between Israel and the Arabs of Judea and Samaria were back in November of 1988, when he served in Gaza until the period of the Oslo Accords. Later, he served as a liaison at the Erez Crossing until May, 2000, after which he served for two years in coordinating governmental activities in Judea and Samaria and afterward, until 2009, he was stationed in Judea and Samaria and served there. All of these roles in their various capacities, provided Sabag, during a period of more than two decades, with a comprehensive view of how the Civil Administration was managed and related both to the Arab, as well as the Jewish, populations.

After retiring, he decided to write the story of his military activity for "future generations" and as he wrote it, he discovered that the story is full of failings and surprising behaviors which, during his service, he did not take notice of, but in which, retroactively, he was able to see that there was one principle that caused the behavior and led to quite a few problematic results.

Most of Sabag's story does not deal with criticism of the Civil Administration, but it is especially that part of the story that draws a fair amount of attention and calls for rethinking the Administration, its role and whether it is actually necessary.

## Two Sides of the Coin

"The way the Administration relates to the Palestinians and the way it relates to the settlement enterprise are actually two sides of the same coin", says Sabag, when he is asked to summarize the main insight that he reached while writing about these things. "The approach of the high officials in the Administration, which is apparently shared with many of the senior officers of the IDF, and is something that is anchored in the Planning Body's position papers, is that in effect, we are actually forming the basis for a Palestinian state. The attitude is that someday, Israel will withdraw from Judea and Samaria. At first, they thought that it would be the '67 Armistice Lines and later, they understood that the '67 lines are irrelevant and now they talk about the fence as the border, a border that leaves several settlement blocs, such as Ma'ale Adumim, Giv'at Ze'ev, Kiryat Sefer and other large communities in our hands. On the other hand, communities that are fairly large like Ofrah and Beit El, would not

be included under Israeli sovereignty".

If this is the guiding principle then obviously, the first thing that will result from this is the attitude that the Jews of Judea and Samaria are not supposed to be here, so there's no need to invest any more in them other than in their security, and of course there is no need to encourage the development of the settlement enterprise. This attitude also gives rise to the idea that we don't care what happens on the Palestinians' side, let them manage their own lives without our involvement. The result is that if they take steps that are against Israeli interests and take over parts of Area C, that's alright, since anyway, it will be theirs in the future, so what do we care if they start doing it now".

Sabag goes on to describe the ramifications that stem from this attitude: "This encourages the more radical elements, since this way, a Palestinian party that wants to do some things that are contrary to Israeli interests can come along and he might be corrupt, but the Israeli system says that it is not interested and will not get involved in what happens there. Thus it happens that the Palestinian Authority violates the free trade agreement that was signed with them by allowing only certain companies to import materials while preventing other Israeli companies from doing it, and we do nothing about it".

## The "coupon collectors" who were close to the center of power, celebrated

And if this is not enough, Sabag remarks that this behavior served the interests of quite a few others, especially those who were "in" and could pay senior PA officials with coupons that they received as part of their roles in the corrupt battle of monopolies that was set up between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

And as mentioned, the main victim of the attitude of "anyway, there will be a Palestinian state here in the future", is the Jewish settlement enterprise. "The approach is that there is no reason to encourage it if it is going to disappear anyway. Therefore, if an individual wants to build in a community such as Beit El it's his problem, but we will not invest the state's money in places outside of the fence. This is the reason that one doesn't see investment and government building in the communities".

If anyone thinks that this approach is true only for when the Left was in control, and during the Oslo days and the uprooting of Gush Katif, then he is mistaken. Indeed, in those days, there was a relationship of real bonding between the IDF senior staff and the politicians whose positions matched their agenda, but even during more Right-



# ation Agenda

Photo: Yaakov Sabag



Yaakov Sabag (in middle)

leaning periods the approach was fairly similar, although during such Right-leaning periods the military echelon led the political echelon a little more slowly, “in evaluating the situation, the senior military figures warned against taking steps in the spirit of the political echelon on the Right, and this echelon was afraid to promote steps contrary to the position of those who were considered professionals with no agenda. One needed a significant measure of courage to stand up to the officers and not everyone had it”.

“It began in the period when Rabin was Defense Minister in the unity government, but even after he was no longer there, and from this point when Ahrens was appointed as defense minister, the people that Rabin had appointed, who supported his political-diplomatic line and had already taken key positions, continued to have influence. Afterward was the period of Oslo, when generals managed the negotiations and later on, some of them joined teams to formulate the Geneva document as political consultants. The phenomenon took on significant strength during the period of the Disengagement, because there was a sense that we were progressing toward the establishment of a Palestinian state and it was only a matter of time, Olmert had already spoken about the convergence plan, and teams from the Planning Directorate had already begun planning accordingly”.

Sabag sees the period of Prof. Ahrens as defense minister as a good example of the concept when the military elements subordinated the political-diplomatic echelon, even when they felt differently. “When Ahrens entered the role of minister of defense, they thought ‘here comes a radical rightwing person’, but at the end of his term, Matan Vilnai, who was then GOC Southern Command, said that the most radical minister implemented the most moderate approach. He was referring to a series of steps that occurred during Ahrens’ days, in the Leftist approach of the IDF senior level. The Islamic University was opened, another university opened in Gaza, the IDF took steps to free the refugee camps from military presence, a sort of indirect dialog began with the PLO, despite the fact that communicating with the PLO was then illegal, and other steps as well”.

**“The approach of the high officials in the Administration, which is apparently shared with many of the senior officers of the IDF, and is something that is anchored in the Planning Body’s position papers, is that in effect, we are actually forming the basis for a Palestinian state. The attitude is that someday, Israel will withdraw from Judea and Samaria”**

## Recently there have been signs of internalization: The Administration has an agenda

**And what about now? Does the phenomenon still exist?** Sabag believes that recently, a change has occurred for the better and politicians are beginning to internalize the fact that behind the Civil Administration there is an agenda that is not purely professional. One example of the awakening is the fervent resistance at government meetings to the plan for the expansion of Qalqilya.

Let’s be clear – Sabag does not believe that it is necessary to close down the Civil Administration, but in his opinion, there is certainly no need to expand it. “The Civil Administration cannot be closed as long as we are maintain a link with the Palestinians, but this is not the body that should be administering Area C, the areas where there are Israeli communities. The IDF General of the Command, who is in charge of Area C, has delegated the authority for management of these areas to the Civil Administration, which should not have happened. He could just as well have delegated the same powers to the local authorities, as is the case in all other areas of the country”.

There were several difficulties involved in the publishing of Sabag’s book. He went with his manuscript from one publisher to another and from almost all of the large publishing houses that had the capacity to reach a broad distribution in bookstores, he receive the same answer. Not one of them told him that the book is too oriented toward the Right or was written poorly, however, they concluded laconically that it was decided not to publish the book and that they wish him success in the future.

Sabag is not discouraged, and these days he is in the final phases of editing the book that he hopes will be published quite soon. “The objective is to have an influence on public opinion. I am not naïve. I know that one book will not change the situation, but it is important that people know what is really happening in Judea and Samaria, as it relates both to Israelis and to Palestinians. These are people that we regard as professionals, but

it is important that we know that they also make mistakes and are driven by an agenda that is not clean”.

## The Administration: These claims are unproven and stem from foreign motives

This is the place to note that previous advertisements of Sabag’s claims yielded the following response from the Civil Administration: “It is regrettable to see the mixed messages, most of which are unproven, stemming from motives that we will not specify so as not to damage the individual’s privacy, receive public media attention in an effort to promote the book of an officer in the reserves. Unlike the things that are described in the article, most of his statements are unfamiliar and refuted. The unit, with its commanders, its officers, its workers and its soldiers, act day and night as part of the national effort to protect the security of the State of Israel and its residents, and as derived from the directive of the state, which is defined by the government of Israel, according to the customary law and regulation of the locality. The Unit for Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories operates subject to the directives of the political echelon and with full transparency, and all its actions are approved by the IDF leadership and the political echelon. An IDF officer is expected and required to express his opinion as part of the internal discussions and in accordance with customary ethics in the army and not to the media. It seems that the officer imagines himself in a position of status and influence that is not consistent with reality and the activities of the unit and therefore he has a one-dimensional point of view that does not accurately reflect what is actually done and the unit’s contribution”.

Sabag relates to this response, saying: “They are trying to ignore my questions and give a response that is irrelevant”. As to the allusions to personal motivation behind the publication of the claims, he says: “There were many personal things that happened to me in the Civil Administration, but this is not why I wrote the book. I wrote it because I felt that some things were not right and I wanted to point these things out”. And he adds to this, emphasizing that except for a single instance he was not hurt in the process of his work in the Civil Administration. “The people were, and some still are, good friends of mine and I do not want to hurt them. Some of them are my good friends even now. It is the behavior that bothers me”.



# The Sovereignty Team is growing!



**President of Israel, Ruby Rivlin**

"I, who believe that Zion is all ours, believe that the sovereignty of the State of Israel must be everywhere, with all that it implies"



**MK Yuli Edelstein, Knesset Speaker**

"We need not fear the international reaction to the application of sovereignty. We must apply sovereignty gradually and practically". (Sovereignty Conference 3, Jerusalem, 2013)



**MK Ayelet Shaked, Minister of Justice**

"We really want to change the equation and application of sovereignty is the solution".



**MK Naftali Bennett, Minister of Education and Minister of the Diaspora**

"A nationalist government has no other choice. We must change from withdrawals to sovereignty".

**MK Uri Ariel, Minister of Agriculture and Peripheral Development**



"The vision is one state west of the Jordan –which is the State of Israel, without any additions. Sovereignty must be total, although it might be done gradually".

**Gilad Arden, Minister of Internal Affairs**



Israel must apply its sovereignty already at this stage on the territory c. This is part of the realization of its right to all areas of Judea and Samaria.

**MK Miri Regev, Minister of Culture and Sport**



"I established the lobby to apply sovereignty over the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria as a start. I have not given up on sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria. The process of the application of sovereignty over the communities is meant to help, first and foremost, the government to begin with a step, and afterward, to do what the platform of the Likud demands – to complete Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria." (Sovereignty Conference 1, Hebron, Summer, 2011)

**MK Yisrael Katz, Minister of Transportation**



"A first step in the battle for sovereignty in Judea and Samaria – establishing Greater Jerusalem, which will spread far beyond the Green Line. The time is ripe and the idea is right..." (Sovereignty Journal 4, 2014)



**MK Haim Katz, Minister of Welfare**

"A declaration of commitment to Judea and Samaria is required, as it was for the Golan".



**MK Ofir Akunis, Minister of Science**

"Our right to the Land is an eternal and irrevocable right. No people would surrender its homeland" (Sovereignty Journal 5, 2015)



**MK Yariv Levin, Minister of Tourism**

"We must apply the legislation in the spirit of sovereignty as much as possible" (Sovereignty Journal 6, 2015)



**MK Zeev Elkin, Minister of Immigration and Jerusalem Affairs**

"We will try to apply sovereignty on the maximum possible area whenever we can,, I propose that we learn from the Arabs and adopt the "salami method" – step after step." (Sovereignty Conference 3, Jerusalem, 2013)

**MK Eliyahu Ben Dahan, Deputy Minister of Defense**



"I commit myself to acting within the political system to promote the most correct, the most ethical and the most essential process: Jewish sovereignty in Judea and Samaria".

**MK Tzipi Hotovely, Deputy Foreign Minister**



The goal is that Judea and Samaria will be under Israeli sovereignty. (Sovereignty Journal 2, 2014)

**MK Ayoob Kara, Minister of Communications**



"We must apply Israeli law in all areas where there are Jewish communities, keep the military in the Jordan Valley and return to the plan where all the Arab residents of Judea and Samaria will be residents of Jordan" (Sovereignty Journal 4, 2014)

**MK Gila Gamliel, Minister of Social Equality**



"It is our obligation to strengthen the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria. To apply Israeli law in all of Judea and Samaria".



**MK Yoav Kish, Head of the Land of Israel Lobby**

"The time has come to apply sovereignty, to build, to strengthen the entire Land of Israel – our task in the Knesset is to do this by legislation and to give a tailwind to the people in the field to strengthen the settlement enterprise in the Land of Israel".



**MK Miki Zohar**

"Cancel the accursed Oslo Accords" (Sovereignty Journal 6, 2015)



**MK Shuli Mualem-Refaeli, head of Bayit Yehudi Faction**

"We must add the next level that has been placed at our doorstep, which is the application of sovereignty in the entire territory of Judea and Samaria".



**MK Bezalel Smotrich, Deputy Knesset Speaker**

"The only way to defeat terror is to cut off the hope that drives it, by applying Israeli sovereignty in the entire territory of Judea and Samaria".

**Our ambassador to the UN, Danny Danon**

"We have a clear position of objection to a Palestinian state and if anyone wants to change this position, he can come for a discussion. But at the moment, the official position of the Likud is objection to a Palestinian state" (Sovereignty Journal 3, 2014)



**MK Yoav Ben Tsur, head of Shas Faction**

"After 50 years of settlement, it is time to apply Israeli law to Judea and Samaria and recognize settlements as an inseparable part of the State of Israel".



**MK Yehuda Glick**

"Now, when there are already a million Jews over the Green Line, is the time to apply Israeli law in all of Judea and Samaria".



**MK Nisan Slomiansky**

"I am in favor of two states for two peoples – One of them up to the Jordan and one from the Jordan eastward, which will be the state of Palestine".



**MK Moti Yogev**

The State of Israel will apply sovereignty between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, and this will happen. It is not so complicated".



**MK Nurit Koren, Deputy Knesset Speaker**

The application of sovereignty in all of the Land of Israel is extremely important to me. Now is the time. We will do everything in our power to apply sovereignty and to protect the Greater Land of Israel".



**MK Oren Hazan**

"Sovereignty of the State of Israel in Judea and Samaria should have happened many years ago".



## Letters to the editor

### Hasbara that was lacking

Your journal is another important element in the necessary blow to the dangerous ideas of the Left. I am convinced that there are many others like me in Israel who read the arguments that are raised in your journal and use them in the arguments and discussions that each and every one of us encounters everywhere, daily – at work, in the street, within the family, friends and more. The arguments in Sovereignty serve as a hasbara tool for us, which was lacking for years in the Rightist camp. Good work!

**Aliza G.**

### They must not murder the idea

To the Editor of Sovereignty Greetings.

In previous issues of your journal I encountered various positions supporting sovereignty. There are those who spoke of autonomy, those who spoke of several autonomies, those who spoke of immediate sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria and those who spoke of gradual sovereignty. It seems that the key problem of the different types of sovereignty is coping with the demographic problem, and indeed it is important to place the problem on the table with open eyes and not bury our heads in the sand. My question is only why we do not read in your journal about the idea of voluntary transfer. This, perhaps, is not always popular and surely not politically correct but it still is the most effective and correct idea, and it is also an idea that proved itself historically in more than a few international conflicts that were solved in this way.

Since the murder of Rehavam Ze'evi, Gandhi, who advocated the idea of voluntary transfer, it seems that the murderers have succeeded to murder the idea as well. It no longer is raised for discussion in the Knesset and the media and it's a shame. It seems to me that it is appropriate to give this idea a new platform. We must not allow Gandhi's murderers to murder the idea that might bring about peace and security.

**Itzik Ben Avraham**

#### The editor's response:

Indeed, we must not ignore the idea of voluntary transfer advocated by Rehavam Ze'evi, hy"d, and indeed it is integrated in one way or another in the political plans that some of the leaders of the idea of sovereignty have presented. In this issue as well, there is material in this spirit that encourages emigration (see the plan of Feiglin, for example). In one of the issues we also provided a stage for the idea of voluntary transfer in an interview that we held with Gandhi's son Palmach, who elucidated his father's plan. We must admit, however, that not very much space has been devoted to the idea. The reason for this is that until now, we were careful in issues of Sovereignty to give a stage to various proposals led by public figures, members of Knesset, ministers and parties that can promote them in a practical way in the political arena. The fact that these figures are in the political arena obligates them to examine the various aspects of their political plan; this we want to hear and this is what we want to express.

### Months of waiting between issues of Sovereignty

Greetings to Sovereignty

I just wanted to ask why your journal is not published more frequently.

**S. Y.**

#### The editor's response:

Thank you for your question. There is a long list of public figures whose ideas about sovereignty we are interested in bringing to you, and there are many issues to discuss centering on the vision of sovereignty – security, economy, society, infrastructure, demography, history, implementation, politics, hasbara and much, much more. Yet, indeed, "sovereignty" issues are published only once every few months.

The reason for this is surprising in its simplicity – as you can see, in this issue as well as previous issues of Sovereignty, we have not included advertisements in the journal. This is so that we can give you readers a serious and meaningful journal. Our ability to publish the journal depends on the funds that are raised from donors who understand the value of hasbara in the battle for sovereignty. This is an opportunity for us to thank those donors and to call for those who are interested to join them, to make a donation and enable us to publish the coming issues more frequently.

For those who are interested in contributing to the publication and distribution of Sovereignty: please contact us at [ribonut@gmail.com](mailto:ribonut@gmail.com)



# 8 SOVEREIGNTY CONFERENCES

From the State of Israel to the Land of Israel

This year, G-d willing, we will hold 8 Sovereignty gatherings throughout the Land

## Team of Speakers:

### Alan Baker

Former Israeli ambassador in Canada, legal counsel to the State Department. Served in the Edmund Levy Committee, Director of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

### Caroline Glick

Journalist and commentator, fellow at the Washington-based Center for Security Policy, Senior editor of the Jerusalem Post, one of the founders of the Latma site, author of the book The Israeli solution: a one-state Plan for Peace in the Middle East

### Yoram Ettinger

Expert on U.S.-Israel relations, served in the Israeli embassy in the U.S. and as manager of the Government Press Office

### Atty. Simha Rotman

Legal counsel of the Movement for Governance and Democracy

### Gershon Hacohen

General in the reserves, served as commander of the military college, researcher in the Begin-Sadat Center

### Amatzia Samkai

PH.D in economics from the University of Bar-Ilan, founder of the B'tzedek Association

### Eran Bar Tal

Economics editor of Yisrael Hayom

### Yoram Ginsburg

Architect, Senior lecturer in the School of Architecture, University of Ariel

### Dr. Dror Eydar

Commentator, researcher in literature and culture, critic and editor, expert of Hebrew and Holocaust Literature, musician

### Avraham Shvut

Architect, one of the founders of Gush Emunim and Jewish communities



Sovereignty Conference in Jerusalem, February 2017

Photo: Yisrael Bardugo

## With the participation of:

### Members of Knesset

- MK Shuli Mualem
- MK Yoav Kish
- MK Bezalel Smotrich
- MK Moti Yagev
- MK Miki Zohar
- MK Yehuda Glick

### Council heads

- Hananel Durani, head of Kedumim Council, Chairman of the YESHA Council
- Shlomo Ne'eman, Head of Gush Etzion Council
- Yossi Dagan, Head of Samaria Council
- Yohai Dimri, Head of South Hevron Hills Council
- Avi Naim, Head of Beit Aryeh Council
- Avi Roeh, Head of Binyamin Council
- Shai Alon, Head of Beit-El Council

## Conferences to be held in:



## The first Conference in English

will take place in Oz veGaon, Friday November 10th at 9:00 am with the participation of Minister of Agriculture Uri Ariel and member of Knesset Yehuda Glick.

Speakers: Ken Abramowitz and atty. Karen Stahl-Don

For details: Yehudit Katsover 050-7161818 Nadia Matar 050-5500834  
ribonut@gmail.com

For more details about our conferences

[www.ribonut.co.il](http://www.ribonut.co.il)