

# SOVEREIGNTY

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## Sovereignty - Economic Benefits for All

Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, along with massive building in these areas, will yield tremendous economic benefits. The cost of housing will be reduced throughout Israel, and that's only one of the benefits.

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Meir Har Zion in Sabastia 1975. Photo: Shaya Segal from the Benny Katsover collection

## A Word from the Editors

In recent weeks we parted from two great figures in the history of the State of Israel. One, known as a man of action and security and the other, a man of justice and law – Meir Har Zion, O.B.M. and Judge Emeritus Edmund Levy, O.B.M.

These two figures inspired the People of Israel, each serving as a guiding light in their pursuit of integrity and love of the Land. Neither was interested in fame and thus, each one had a general policy of avoiding the media. Nevertheless, we will not refrain from bringing to light the words of Meir Har Zion – from a rare interview given after partnering, both spiritually and practically, in efforts to establish an additional community in Samaria.

Har Zion's words, quoted by Makor Rishon journalist Hagai Segal, are worthy of being etched in our collective consciousness. "The objective that we made for ourselves has been achieved. Yes, absolutely. But the final objective has not yet been achieved. This will be achieved only with the official decision for annexation, accompanied by a comprehensive settlement project. It is most important not to leave Jewish land deserted, beckoning to thieves."

In his long term view, Har Zion understood the deep

need to integrate settlement with a diplomatic process by which we apply Israeli sovereignty over the entire territory, without fear and especially without self-intimidation.

The editorial staff of Sovereignty will continue, in this spirit, to raise consciousness among Israeli leadership of the call arising from the People for the sane, Zionist and ethical political solution – application of Israeli sovereignty over the entire territory of the Land that was promised to us by its true owner, the Almighty.

These days, between the Festival of Freedom and the Holiday of Independence, we wish national and political independence to all of us, as we march toward intellectual freedom and away from the political fixation under which we have labored in recent years.

**We wish you a pleasant reading experience.**  
Editorial staff of "Sovereignty"

**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.



Celebrating the liberation of all of Jerusalem and of Eretz Yisrael. Photo: Shutterstock

## Letters to the Editor

### Rewriting history

Lovers of Israel are caught in the trap set for them by the Left and the Arabs. This trap is the use of the expression 'the entire Land of Israel' in connection with only the western part of the Land of Israel and especially Judea and Samaria. The use of this expression is intended to weaken the connection of the Jewish People with 77% of the territories of the Land of Israel that are located on the eastern side of the Jordan River, territory that was taken from the minority Jews in the Middle East for the purpose of establishing the Jordanian kingdom.

As most of us know, the Whole Land of Israel extends over 120,466 square kilometers in both banks of the Jordan River, while the size of the western Land of Israel is not more than 28,166 square kilometers, which is 23% of the territory of the Whole Land of Israel (Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria are included in this territory).

The Left, like the Arabs, are attempting to rewrite history to fit their ideology. This is why they use half truths or inaccuracies like the terms 'Palestine' (the foreign name for the Land of Israel and the name of Israel before the establishment of the state), 'Palestinians' (Arabs of Judea and Samaria), 'West Bank' (instead of 'Judea and Samaria'), the 'Zionist occupation' (Israel liberated Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria from Jordanian occupation (1946-1967)). All of these are intended to increase ignorance and cut the Jewish People's connection to its Land.

It is sad to discover that even people who should be leaders to us all, mainly to the younger generation, fail in their choice of words and err by using inaccuracies. Being accurate with historical facts is the first tool we can use to bring the younger generation up from the pits and restore the consciousness of righteousness in the struggle for our freedom in the Land of Israel.

**Uri Hirsch, Herzliya**

### Who are the Palestinians?

These days, when negotiations are being conducted, negotiations in which Israel is willing to give and the Palestinians are willing to take – the question arises – who are the Palestinians?!

The Palestinians are a people with no history who appropriate for themselves history based on the history of the People of Israel (this is why they demand to own archaeological findings in Judea and Samaria).

The name that they took for themselves is the name that the Romans gave the area of the Land of Israel after their victory over Bar Kochba in 135 CE. By giving them the name Palestine, which is based on the name Philistines, the Romans wanted to break the Jewish People's connection with the Land of Israel. The Philistines were a seagoing nation who invaded the southern coast of the Land of Israel – the area called Philistia. The

Philistines, who were not a Semitic people, are mentioned in the Writings until approximately 2,500 years ago (until the 5th-6th century BCE), when they disappeared from history.

The Jewish People's right to the Land of Israel stems from G-d's promise to the fathers of our nation that their seed would inhabit the Land of Israel. Much research that has been published and archaeological findings that were found throughout the Land prove that from the period of the forefathers until our days there has been continual Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. There are many examples of this, from the names of Arab settlements that are based on the names of Hebrew communities to the graves of the forefathers and foremothers in Hebron.

**Hezi Zilberman**

### Thank you for the breath of fresh air

It was with great joy that I discovered the publication of the journal "Sovereignty." In these troubled times, when our Israel advocacy organs have fallen asleep at their posts, the publication of political journals such as "Sovereignty" is a breath of fresh air.

**Gratefully,**  
**Dr. Rafael Tzvi Aharonson**  
**Jerusalem**

# We must Speak of our Right to the Land Even before Security, Strategy and Policy

The head of The Jewish Home party, Minister Naftali Bennett, presents his ideological vision, "The Israel Stability Initiative," which, according to him, has not changed since he joined the government. The things that you see - from there and from here - are the same.

**Editors' note: the interview with Minister Bennett was held before the latest blow-up of political negotiations between Israel and the PA and the reconciliation deal between Abu Mazen and Hamas.**

By presenting the coin you actually say that the Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel.



A Judaean Shekel of the Great Revolt, with the inscription "For the Redemption of Zion"  
Photo: Gershon Ellinson

If we recognize Area C as sovereign territory that belongs to the State of Israel, the Israeli public will gradually feel that it is Israeli territory, and the public will come there more and all of the questions will disappear, but this is a process.

Just before his official entry into the political system, Minister of Economy Naftali Bennett, head of the Jewish Home party, issued his proposed policy entitled "The Israel Stability Initiative," the main thrust of which is the gradual annexation of the territories of Judea and Samaria and ending the Jewish-Arab conflict. From a recent conversation with him, more than a year after his entry into the government, it is clear that Bennett has apparently found no reason to change anything in his plan. "What I saw from there, I see from here as well," he tells us.

"The plan is based on the understanding that we must not and can not establish a Palestinian state within the Land of Israel, but we also must not and can not incorporate two million Palestinians within the State of Israel and we cannot have two different classes of people in any given territory," Bennet begins, and presents the principles that led him to formulate the plan.

"The solution called 'the Stability Initiative' entails the application of sovereignty over Area C, which constitutes 60 percent of the territories of Judea and Samaria, an area where approximately four hundred thousand Jews live and about seventy thousand Arabs. We will offer a choice

between residency and citizenship to those seventy thousand Arabs. In my estimation," he says, "almost all will choose residency and not citizenship, however, even if they all choose citizenship, this number of Arabs will not represent demographic ramifications."

**And what about the rest of the territory?**  
"Regarding this territory we will establish Palestinian autonomy, this is an area in which two million Arabs live and not a single Jew."

**Would this Palestinian autonomy actually be freezing the current situation as it is?**

"In general, yes, but with the addition of contiguity of transit and not sovereignty. This will allow the Palestinians freedom of movement in Judea and Samaria. In my estimation this is the sore point. We understand that neither the Jews nor the Arabs in Judea and Samaria are going to disappear and since there is no magic solution we must arrive at the situation where the fabric of life is improved for everyone. Today, thank G-d, we travel on the same roads and I am not suggesting that we make separate roads for the Jews and the Arabs but rather to continue using the same infrastructure and the same roads."

**So who actually does know how to make peace?**

Minister Bennet sees the shared roads as another proof of the geo-political absurdity that we live in. "After all, it is the Jews of Judea and Samaria who know better than anyone how to coexist and this is the great absurdity. Why, who is it that sits in the traffic jams together everyday with the Arabs? The Geneva Initiative crowd from Tel Aviv? No. It is the residents of Ofrah and Eli and the rest of Benjamin who sit in the traffic jams at Adam Junction. Who shops together in Rami Levi supermarket in Gush Etzion and in Sha'ar Benjamin?

And who works together in the industrial area of Barkan or Mishor Adumim? Actually, it is the settlers who are making peace the most, in a practical way, even if not with the greatest love, and they can teach the left what true peace is."

"There is no great love in the air but most of the Jews recognize the fact that the Arabs are not going to disappear and also most of the Arabs recognize the fact that the Jews are not going to disappear. In this sense I believe in strengthening the dynamic, in improving the transportation infrastructure, the economy and the industrial areas in Judea and Samaria."

**You describe your plan as one that is good for Israel as well as the Arabs. That's nice, perhaps, but the Arabs will tell you that they don't want it. They want a state and a place at the UN.**

"So they want it. We want to live, we are a country that desires life and has no other land and ironically, because this land belongs to us and we recognize that there are two million Arabs in Judea and Samaria, we realize that we must give them a suitable and honorable answer."

"There are more than a few voices from the Palestinian territory who say that they do not trust the Palestinian Authority and do not want a Palestinian state because of the corruption and we represent an alternative. It is clear to me that it is not a perfect alternative but compared to the others it seems good to me."

What is the overall, practical solution that you see for the future?

"Long range, it is not impossible that Jordan will gradually become a sort of Palestine if only because seventy percent of the Jordanians are of Palestinian origin. I would see this process as a desirable one and, in my opinion, this is already happening. This is a long range process, but meanwhile we must not ruin what was already achieved in the field and we must surely, surely prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state west of Jordan at any cost."



We must surely prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state west of Jordan at any cost.

Minister Naftali Bennett. Photo: Ministry of Economy

**Your plan to divide the territory into Areas A, B and C reinforces the terms of Oslo.**

"The plan regarding the remainder of the territory speaks about autonomy that does not include security control. I know what the reality is. I do not want the Israeli civil administration to return to conduct life for the Palestinian residents of Judea and Samaria. I have no interest in deciding where Arab children will go to school and I am not interested in collecting taxes from them and controlling their daily lives. I believe that the present situation is alright."

**The world will not recognize our declaration? It did not recognize previous declarations either.**

Bennett does not sound especially concerned even when he is asked about the world's expected reaction to a plan of this sort after decades during which the vision of two states has been fixed in international consciousness as the only logical and reasonable plan. "The world will not recognize the Israeli declaration of sovereignty over Area C just as it did not recognize the application of sovereignty in the Golan Heights or in the Old City in Jerusalem. So there will be another place that they don't recognize sovereignty," Bennett says dismissively and immediately focuses on the importance of the plan inside Israeli society.

"If we recognize Area C as sovereign territory that belongs to the State of Israel, the Israeli public will gradually feel that it is Israeli territory, and the public will come there more and all of the questions will disappear, but this is a process."

"I do not accept the approach that 'Things you see from there, you don't see from here.' I believe the opposite, things that you see from here you also see from there. From the seat of government, things appear exactly the same. On the contrary, from here, I see even more how correct our approach is."

"The present government under the leadership of Netanyahu desires the establishment of a Palestinian state. It is no secret that we object to this and will not lend our support. I am presenting an alternative because I believe that at the end of the day, the present process will not be realized, and when the present process comes to an end, everyone will ask 'what now?' - and therefore, we must already prepare the answer."

Bennett is convinced that in order to promote the plan, it is particularly important to prepare the infrastructure in the sphere of international public relations. He explains the connection between these things. "It is very clear to me that we must create an international system against de-

There is no lecture or interview that I don't open with the fact that this Land was given to our forefather Abraham 3,700 years ago and it will be ours forever.

legitimization of Israel. Something appalling is happening here. Even the Left does not expect peace. Even Tzipi Livni has stopped claiming that there will be a peace agreement. I spoke with her about this and here is a scoop for you: Even she claims that an agreement will not bring peace. When you then ask why do all of this she says that the objective is that we will not be isolated in the world. That is, no one claims that the process will bring peace or security. On the contrary, they know that this process will bring missiles and all of the disasters that may happen, but they are

convinced that there is no choice because the world is pressuring us. The State of Israel must establish a system that is beyond Israel advocacy. It must be a system to fight de-legitimization."

**We must combine Israel advocacy, settlement activities and policy, but first and foremost is the discussion of our rights to the Land.**

"I am active in the field of public opinion but unfortunately the prime minister is leading in the direction of establishing a Palestinian state. We knew this when we entered the government. It is clear to me that this direction will not happen because it is hopeless. The Palestinians will not give up on the right of return or Jerusalem and the process will not go forward. When I returned from Sharon's funeral in Havat HaShikmim and, immediately afterward, missiles were launched, I was reminded of all the security experts' great promises that the Disengagement would bring security. Not security, nothing at all. We must establish a basis for the alternative," says Bennett who, perhaps in contrast to others, does not consider his plan as the only plan to follow.

"I am not locked into it and I don't say that my solution is the only correct one. I hear about other suggestions for a solution and do not discount them. We must create alternatives that will be ready for the day that the current process is exhausted, and it is only a matter of time."

Along with all of this, and perhaps even before the day in which he can present the plan as a practical alternative on the table, Minister Bennett sees the real value, as it was in the past, to actually building and developing the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria. "I very much believe in a system of Israel advocacy but it is also of great importance to continue the development and building in Judea and Samaria.

The fact that there are, today, four hundred thousand Jews who live in Judea and Samaria is a fact that carries great meaning. We must develop the physical side along with the Israel advocacy efforts."

Just before we end the discussion Bennett feels that we have perhaps dealt too much with current politics and policy and that perhaps we have slightly neglected what is truly important. "There is one insight that I have learned especially as a minister in the government. I have had the opportunity to conduct over a hundred discussions and lectures on policy during the past year. I speak about security and demography but there is one thing that takes precedence over everything else in interviews and discussions abroad. More than anything, we must speak about our right to the Land. With all due respect to security rationale, in the end there is no lecture or interview that I don't open with the fact that this Land was given to our forefather Abraham 3,700 years ago and it will be ours forever. Afterward, there is room to speak about practical things, about missiles, etc. The greatest mistake in the entire international campaign is that people have not made it a practice to say these things."

These things brought us almost immediately into what has become Bennett's calling card in the world, the ancient coin of two thousand years ago that was found in Jerusalem, a coin which he takes out during interviews and has had a tremendous international impact in the official media. "This coin has made waves and everyone can relate to it. Tens of millions have seen this in various broadcasts. By presenting the coin you actually say the extremely simple thing that the Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel and afterward we discuss how to cope with the presence of Arabs. It is not a matter of fine English, but rather the message. It is not necessary to speak of sensors and drones but that the Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel." ■

# Application of Sovereignty - an Economic Bonus

The application of Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria carries enormous economic implications, to which both the Left and the Right can relate. Economist Eran Bar-Tal presents the initial conclusions of his comprehensive research.

The application of de facto Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria presents many complex challenges, but the economic challenge that many cite, together with the demographic, as one of the greatest, is more of a bonus than a challenge.

Apparently, it is not easy to find an answer to questions such as "Where will the necessary resources come from to build a decent quality of life for the Arab residents in Judea and Samaria?" because clearly, if Israel takes official responsibility for all of those residents, Israel will have to build hospitals, schools, pave roads and supply the rest of the infrastructures that are there now, but only partially and in a run-down condition.

Before we answer this question we should ask ourselves how much we care that, until now, all of those infrastructures are in poor condition. Do the Left and the Arabs have a more suitable answer for all of those Arabs who have been waiting for a decision on these matters for 46 years? Clearly not. If it is up to them, the Arabs of Judea and Samaria would continue making do with their lower quality of life for the next several decades as well, and the Jews of Judea and Samaria are even less interesting for them.

But the impermanent life in this beautiful part of the Land is far from a heavenly edict. In work that students of Accounting and Economics from the organization "National Vision" prepared under my supervision, they divided the territories of Judea and Samaria into small units of land and traced the market value of this land in contemporary terms.

From this work it seems that most of the territories of Judea and Samaria are areas where land is in high demand in the country – whether in the western part between Hadera and Gedera or the eastern part, near Jerusalem and its environs. If, in the past, a western community such as Ariel

was considered desirable, then today communities east of it are valued even higher. Thus, for example, in the community of Revava the value of the land stands at approximately 2.5 million shekels per dunam (approximately ¼ acre of land).

In Ariel the value of the land stands at approximately 300,000 shekels per dunam, in AlfeiMenashe 670,000 shekels per dunam and in Sha'arei Tikva at 3.3 million shekels per dunam. In communities such as Giv'at Ze'ev the value of a dunam of land stands at about 2 million shekels on average and in Efrat at about 1.3 million shekels per dunam on average. These prices are correct for the year 2014, as Judea and Samaria is considered an area whose status is unclear and many Israelis hesitate to live there. Clearly, application of sovereignty will mark a new future and will cause the value to rise steeply.

**There are building reserves in all of Judea and Samaria and these reserves represent a lot of money, but the state does not take advantage of this.**

But even if not, in today's terms, unfreezing the building and opening the market for building, according to ordinary demand, will bring tens of billions of shekels into the state's coffers! In each one of the tens of communities that exist, there are thousands of dunams of reserve of land for building – and this is even before we build new communities. In simple terms, there is big money lying there on the ground waiting for someone to redeem it, yet the state refuses to collect it. It is really like that.

The prices we checked in the aforementioned work relate to dunams of land for the building of houses. But of course the numbers are much greater when we talk about an urban building scheme that includes a different sort of layout – such as

buildings and industrial and commercial areas. And in any case, the source of money for the state's coffers is not only from the sale of land – it will stem from investment of the new residents in development and the leverage caused by acquisition of apartments and buildings there. Real estate is an important engine of growth for any market, since the owners of the assets raise money from mortgages (future funds) and actually commit to creating income. Also, when they create the income, many of them mortgage their homes in order to raise new money for real investment and capital investment. This is how economies develop in the world.

The World Bank has discovered the primary reason for lack of development in failed states stems from the problem of land registration. In places where the real estate is not registered in the name of the residents, they cannot take out mortgages and loans, they cannot leverage their investments, they do not have the motivation to improve it and they cannot trade their assets. This, more or less, describes the situation of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria in recent decades but it does not have to continue this way.

**If we do not deal with the distress of the Arabs in Judea and Samaria as sovereigns, this distress will spill over to us.**

Application of sovereignty has many additional ramifications from an economic point of view. It should catapult the Israeli economy and also enable it to contend with the challenges of improving quality of life for the Arab residents of Judea and Samaria (J&S). I believe that this is a worthy goal, because only if we understand that application of sovereignty is a good step for every side and we aim toward that, will this process be possible and yield fruit. We have no interest in being responsible



Application of sovereignty and extensive building in Judea and Samaria will significantly reduce the cost of housing throughout Israel. Photo: Miri Tsachi

If we look at the issue purely from an economic point of view, we will understand that we are obligated by the reality to apply sovereignty - it is the only solution that will grant a better quality of life to the Arabs and the Jews alike.



The Arabs of the area will be able to integrate into the life of the country and live well, if only they would recognize the fact that it is a Jewish state. If national identity is more important to any one of them, he would need to find a different country, just as Jews in the countries of the world do not aspire to establish a Jewish state within the United States.

for the poverty and distress of the Arabs in J&S and there is no ethical justification for this. As long as we don't apply sovereignty over this piece of land we are actually behaving as occupiers. Only the application of sovereignty will end the 'occupation', because no other solution is practical and will put an end to the distress of the Arabs of the area and it cannot be that their distress will remain only in their area and not spill over to our doorstep.

The economic aspect of applying Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria requires an unbiased look – what economists call the "aggregate value" to everyone involved in the matter. After 46 years of hesitancy the time has come for us to recognize the neglect – the wait that has become criminal negligence – and take responsibility for the land and for the people who live in it.

Instinctively, we look at how any of the choices will benefit us, just as the Arabs look for the maximum benefit that would accrue from any choice or concession. However, in the meanwhile, for 46 years both sides have been losing. The territories of Judea and Samaria comprise about one fourth of the territory of Israel now recognized by law. Most of the territories of Judea and Samaria are located between Hadera and Gedera – an area in maximum demand for land in Israel. But the status of these lands is undetermined and waiting for a decision that never comes and will not come in the normal course of affairs. Meanwhile, the cost of indecision is expressed in not exploiting the valuable land and, effectively, harming the local residents – and not only them.

For historical reasons, as is the case in the Middle East, we have developed a conceptual fixation in the matter of Judea and Samaria, which has brought us to think that we must decide amongst ourselves if

Judea and Samaria is part of the territory of the State of Israel or not. The Left has taken the position of the Arabs according to which a new state must be established in this area that never existed before. The Left has succeeded in introducing terminology, according to which, many in the world, and even many in Israel, believe that this area was conquered from that state that never existed and therefore, supposedly, Israel has no ethical right to apply sovereignty over this area.

The Right, on the other hand, in general, of course, sees this area as part of the historical State of Israel, connected to ancestral birthright, and so forth. This argument has deep roots that draw from various concepts of nationalism, religion and the People. And therefore, it is not about to be decided even in the next 46 years.

It is not only the residents of Israel who are "bothered" by this matter, but the Arab world in general and perhaps even the entire world, yet those who are truly suffering from the situation are the Arabs and the Jews who live there. The Arabs are sentenced to severe poverty even though they are in demand as workers who build the Land – for industry, building and agriculture. Both sides lose capital from the loss of value of the land, from the lack of workers on one side and unemployment on the other.

**The Right and the Left can be unified in striving toward sovereignty that will benefit the residents, Jews and Arabs.**

Israel is the only state that can take responsibility for the land and the residents and improve their situation.

Throughout the world, countries have managed to create various solutions that we don't even think about. For example,

the strip of land in northern Europe – Lapland – 3 states took responsibility for the residents and the lands and decided as part of the creative solution to grant 3 different citizenships to every resident. Isn't this problematic? Of course, but this is reality. The time has come for us to say that we've had enough of searching for perfect and hermetic solutions which would leave no question marks. The time has come for us to understand the price the entire State of Israel pays for the lack of decisiveness.

If we look at the issue purely from an economic point of view, we will understand that we are obligated by the reality to apply sovereignty – it is the only solution that will grant a better quality of life to the Arabs and the Jews alike. The application of sovereignty must be done with consideration and respect for the residents there. The concept, if it exists, that a low quality of life for the Arabs will convince them to find better alternatives from among the Arab countries, especially Jordan, does not stand the test of reality.

Even if we tried to do such an inhumane thing, we could not compete with the evil of the Arab states' regimes and therefore this possibility does not really exist. After all, Israel's determined stance will slowly bring about the recognition that "the eternity of Israel is not false" and no diplomatic and political wind will move us from here.

The Arabs of the area will be able to integrate into the life of the country and live well, if only they would recognize the fact that it is a Jewish state. If national identity is more important to any one of them, he would need to find a different country, just as Jews in the countries of the world do not aspire to establish a Jewish state within the United States, Canada, or any other place and it is only possible to experience Jewish life fully in the State of Israel. ■



Economist Eran Bar-Tal at 3rd Sovereignty Conference in Jerusalem, organized by Women in Green in January 2013. Photo: Gershon Ellinson

# The Changes that have been Taking Place in the Middle East Lead to the Sober Conclusion - A Palestinian State would be a Disaster

The Middle East is experiencing a real earthquake. Orientalist and jurist Dr. Guy Bechor analyzes the data and arrives at irrefutable conclusions regarding the regional danger of a Palestinian state and presents hidden and encouraging demographic data.



When the orientalist and historian Dr. Guy Bechor, editor of the Internet site G-PLANET, analyzes the upheavals of recent years in the Middle East, his optimistic attitude is reinforced. Everything that is happening, as he proves again and again, is working in our favor. We need only watch, internalize and behave suitably.

“For more than sixty years, the central claim in the Middle East and in the world has been that Israel is the problem and that actually all of the various problems in the Middle East are connected to Israel and if only there was peace between Israel and the Arabs, the entire area would stabilize. The Americans voiced this claim, the Arabs voiced it and there were even people in Israel who believed that, indeed, Israel is the problem,” says Bechor, who sees things from the opposite point of view.

“I always said that we are not the problem but the solution and that the Arab states and regimes draw attention to us in order to divert relating to the real problems, their internal problems, but it was difficult to prove. During the last three years, we have seen the true Middle East revealing its real problems while the Israeli problem turns out to be so marginal that it almost does not exist.”

Dr. Bechor sees the motivating factor driving most of the revolutions in the Middle East as an increase in the power of religious minorities and tribes. “It is a phenomenon that is actually destroying the Arab states while Israel, which was supposed to have been the problem, now turns out to be the only stable place.”

## Israel is the island of stability in the Middle Eastern chaos.

Bechor mentions that this is all happening when, not long ago, it seemed that Israel was on the brink of a security tsunami. “There was a sense that we are about to be eliminated and they are gathering on our borders. Now we see that the Arab countries have withered. In Egypt there have been hundreds of events and dozens of fatalities. The regime there is an oppressive regime. The Islamists do not intend to surrender and it’s not going to get any easier, it will only become worse. Syria is no longer one country but a collection of autonomous ethnic enclaves, mostly Salafi. In Lebanon, from Beirut northward, a civil war is raging. In Iraq a civil war is being waged between the Sunnis and the Shi’ites. In Libya there is a civil war that makes the Italians fear that Libya may yet lash out against them. Yemen has fallen apart and so has Sudan and this reality becomes increasingly acute from day to day. But I want to mention that it was always claimed that everyone is stable and Israel is the source of instability and suddenly it turns out that it’s all the opposite – Israel is the island of stability in the Middle Eastern chaos.”

“In 2013 the world began to internalize what we have understood for some time. People such as Peres, Kerry and Obama see all of these facts as a nightmare because it means that they were wrong and did not understand the reality for their whole lives

and moreover, Israel comes out clean. This is why these people have turned reality on its head and instead of saying that Israel is the United States’ only ally so the US should cling to it, because Turkey, Jordan and Saudi Arabia are on their way to being shaken up, they have turned reality on its head and now claim that this is the opportunity to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They try to explain this by saying that this is the time to step on the gas in the Israeli-Palestinian direction, while all of the Arab countries are busy with themselves.”

Bechor’s words sound almost like quotes recalled from Minister Ya’alon. To him as well, the focus on Israel is almost fanatically obsessive. “The Middle East has turned 180 degrees and they still insist on continuing with us. From this you understand that there is some personal, emotional matter and it’s not just political.”

Bechor concurs with Ya’alon completely. “He’s right. There is something messianic going on here. The entire Middle East is on fire and now you want to solve the Israel-Arab problem?”

Bechor ties the danger of a Palestinian state to the general Islamic radicalization that is occurring in the Middle East. “Today there are no more countries. Every one is filled with Salafis,” he says and immediately explains, “Every place where any sovereignty moves out, al-Qaeda comes in. Would the United States give al-Qaeda half of Washington so that they will be able to shoot at the White House? If they are not willing to do it, then really, why are they demanding it from us? Let’s see what happens in Syria where two huge Salafi countries were established and one of them joined territorially to the Sunni Salafi state of Iraq. After this alliance was made, the Sunnis, who were a minority in Iraq, became the majority.”

As an experienced orientalist, Bechor sees the events of the Middle East in the context of a connection between local events and tectonic movements affecting the entire area. He claims the facts tell us about preparatory measures taken by radical Islam, the goal of which is the establishment of a huge caliphate that includes the Land of Israel. “Sham is Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, the Land of Israel and part of Turkey. We are also included in this. The Salafis in northern Jordan are waiting for a signal and are training and arming themselves. In Judea and Samaria tens of thousands of Salafis are getting organized and are waiting for the signal, and when the PA becomes independent they will overthrow it. We ourselves are protecting the PA today. The success of the PA to achieve nationhood will also spell its doom, because without Israel’s protection, Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Salafis would come in, get rid of the PA and within a few weeks there would be no Palestinian Authority and we would be left with a hostile Salafi Authority overlooking Haifa, Ben Gurion Airport, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Then we would have no power ever to solve the problem because Abu Mazen wants to bring hundreds of thousands, if not millions, more Palestinians from Syria, Lebanon and other countries to the Palestinian state, and these Salafis are the most dangerous.



Jewish demography is taking off and Palestinian demography is plummeting downward. Photo: Miri Tsachi

They will come here with missiles to ‘fix the problem of 48’. They would sit on the border fences because they want Israel and not Abu Mazen’s entity.”

## Let’s learn patience from the Bedouin

In view of the changes occurring in our region, Dr. Bechor recommends that we gird ourselves with almost Bedouin patience. “At the moment, while there is a storm outside and countries are collapsing, this is not the time to solve this problem. When the Middle East stabilizes, in my estimation in another twenty or thirty years, then we will be able to see what can be done. At the moment even Jordan is on shaky ground. It also may fall, and in my estimation that will happen because Jordan is largely a Salafi monarchy. King Abdullah still has control but when they become violent there will be a civil war there. This is what is happening in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and other countries. The Palestinians today are Salafis and do not want either Fatah or Hamas, because they are Salafis. They want to live in the 21st century as though it was the 7th century. They don’t want any pragmatism or compromise, but only an Islamic caliphate that would control the entire Middle East in the first phase, and afterward, the entire world. An independent Palestinian Authority would be swept away by al-Qaeda.”

Dr. Bechor has harsh criticism for America’s Middle East policy. “In Iraq the American policy collapsed. In the United States itself they are already talking about it. Almost ten years were invested and tens of billions were poured in to try to turn Iraq into a western democratic country. Four thousand five hundred soldiers sacrificed their lives in bitter battles in Sunni areas of western Iraq, and now al-Qaeda flags are waving in the same cities that the United States wanted to be democratic. This is as

dramatic as the fall of Saigon. This is the ruin of American foreign policy, which saw Iraq as its flagship project. So if Iraq, where they invested many billions, fell into the hand of the Salafis, then this Palestinian Authority – which hasn’t enough legitimacy to pick up a telephone or move a pen from one place to another – will be able to stand up to these forces? If huge countries such as Egypt are falling apart when faced with these phenomena, how do they expect the powerless PA, which has no military, to cope? The al-Qaeda flags are already waving in Ramallah, Bethlehem and especially in Hebron. Huge events of the Palestinian Salafi movement called the Liberation Party are already happening now.”

## And the Americans and their experts and orientalists don’t understand all of this?

“From the American plan it is clear that they do not understand what is happening here. They presented a security plan to prevent the entry of saboteurs by way of the Jordan Valley, but they don’t understand that it is not necessary to protect ourselves from something that might come via the Valley because the problem is here, inside. Here, within, there would be tens of thousands of Salafis with shoulder launched

all it would take is one mortar per month in the flight path of Ben Gurion and no jet in the world would land here. In order to leave the country, Israelis would have to sail to Cyprus and fly from there. The entire center of the country, including Jerusalem, would be under the continual threat of being targeted. They may shoot or maybe not, according to their whim? So when the defense minister says things like this, the Americans tell him that his words are insulting and they get angry, but we are the ones who will remain here and not Obama or Kerry. In two years they will no longer be serving in their offices and we will have to live with this disaster. Abu Mazen hopes to bring in two million Arabs from Sudan and Yemen and every other place in order to change the demographic balance and then no one would be able to remove them, and the absurdity here is that those who are pressing to carry out such a process are the same ones who talk about a demographic threat.”

## And on top of all this, even demographics are working in our favor

When the demographic issue arises, Bechor, like many others whose position is not considered worthy of proper coverage by the media, presents encouraging and optimistic data. On his Internet site (G-PLANET) he publishes the data in detail. “Jewish demography is taking off and Palestinian demography is plummeting downward. Jewish demographics is soaring higher than Palestinian demographics in Judea and Samaria (J&S). The Jewish people are pulling ahead from this point of view as well, even compared to Israeli Arabs and even compared to the Palestinian Authority. From this point of view also, there is nothing to worry about,” he says.

**So in the spirit of Shimon Peres’ im-**

## mortal question, I ask you – what is the alternative?

“In my opinion Jordan must be part of the picture. Remember that King Hussein annulled citizenship for the residents of J&S on the 31st of June in ’88. He made an appearance on television, gave a speech and their citizenship was canceled that same day. Citizenship must be restored for the residents of Area A so that they will be able to vote in elections for Parliament in Amman. They will win a seat or two in the Jordanian parliament and that will end the matter.”

## Why would the Jordanians agree to this?

“The Jordanians know that if an independent Salafi state is established on their border it would be a disaster for them. It would mean that there would be a Salafi state constantly plotting to overthrow them to take over Jordan as a springboard to the North. We can also mention that Jordan itself has said more than once that they must be part of the solution. They want it because they know exactly what would happen the day Israel leaves the area.”

## And would the Arabs of Judea and Samaria agree to this?

The Palestinians would be happy because they would get what is considered the second most important citizenship in the area after Israeli citizenship. Israel would be happy because she would retain responsibility for security; Jordan would have civil administrative responsibility for Area A and the Jewish communities would remain in place. The only ones who would not be satisfied are the people who belong to the Palestinian Authority, which came here artificially as part of the Oslo Accords and is alien to this area. No one wants any part of the Palestinian Authority, not the Arabs in Jerusalem, not the Israeli Arabs and not the Arabs of Area C. This is a good solution that would last for years, if only Jordan can hold up. ■



There is something messianic going on here. The entire Middle East is on fire and now you want to solve the Israel-Arab problem?

missiles. How will the drones that the Americans would bring in stop any firing at Ben Gurion Airport from above? Why,

# He Supports Settlement Blocs - Arab Settlement Blocs...

People don't talk about it, but even in the Likud there are alternative plans to the 'Two-State' mirage. Take, for example, the idea of Arab settlement blocs. Deputy minister of defense, Danny Danon, explains simply and directly, the danger entailed in a Palestinian state.

As Deputy Minister of Defense can you detail the security dangers of a Palestinian state?

"Whoever wants to know what would happen if a Palestinian state would arise should just look at what is happening in Gaza and he will understand what will happen. Simply 'copy, paste'. We would have, in the State of Israel's back yard, another Hamas and al-Qaeda terror entity. This is the meaning of a Palestinian state. It is only a matter of time before Hamas would take control in Judea and Samaria and therefore, with all due respect to the various campaigners, we do not want the Gaza scenario in Judea, Samaria and Jerusalem."

There are those who would say that this is not an accurate comparison. You left Gaza without an agreement and no one owes you anything. In Judea and Samaria a state would be established under an agreement, in a measured way and under supervision of the Americans who would assure that, indeed, a moderate state would be established here.

"We have seen in the past how much influence international powers have in times of distress. We remember the experience on the border of Lebanon and the border of Syria. It is only we who remain here to contend with reality, good or bad, and therefore I would not rush to take suggestions even from our friends in the United States."

They are talking about a demilitarized state, so that the dangers would be relatively small.

"We must look at the world and see where there is this sort of reality, and understand that with all due respect to the American Secretary of State, there is also a Middle East reality. Sometimes it seems to me that those who are conducting the negotiations live in a different world from the world we live in."

The Likud has determined, after Netanyahu's battle, that they oppose a Palestinian state.

Among other positions that you hold, you are also the president of World Likud and Head of the party conference. Your movement has not seen fit to present a plan that is an alternative to Oslo. It seems that you are focused only on limiting the damage done by the Left, determining boundaries, fences and conditions, but not presenting a well thought out plan.

"I take issue with that statement. I wrote a book on the vision of the nationalist camp, in which I very clearly present my position and say that I am for settlement blocs, but Palestinian settlement blocs, that in the future will have an affiliation with Jordan, and in Gaza will have an affiliation with Egypt. There are those, perhaps, who would not like to hear this plan but we must definitely discuss these things, and weigh their logic instead of folding up again and again."

"The idea is simple – just as today we have Jewish centers of population, the same approach is acceptable to me but the opposite. We can talk about places where there are Palestinian centers of population. I do not want to talk now about maps and percentages but we must change the dialogue from Jewish settlement blocs to Arab settlement blocs. In the area of these blocs they will have autonomy and independence with affiliation to Jordan. Whoever would want to fly to the United States would do it via Amman and not via Ben Gurion Airport."

This is, perhaps, your vision, but what about your party, the ruling party. Has there been a meeting in which the Likud has decided whether to go with an idea such as this and promote it as the movement's plan?

"I agree with you and I remind you that also the 'Two-State' idea was never approved anywhere. As head of the Likud center I can testify that the idea of a Palestinian state has never been approved and even the contrary; the last time that there was a discussion on the subject the current prime minister pushed for a resolution and a vote against a Palestinian state and, indeed, it was so determined in the

vote and this is our official position. That is, we have a clear position objecting to a Palestinian state and if someone wants to change this position he can come and start a discussion, but at the moment the official position of the Likud is opposition to a Palestinian state."

Also from what you say, the Likud only passed a resolution on what would not be, no Palestinian state, but has still not stated its position on what should be.

"That is correct. I raise the subject and we conduct ideological discussions in every Likud conference and things are said. At this time there is no resolution on this subject, but it definitely could be that we are not far from a resolution. The alternative exists. The problem is that it is very difficult to create a discussion around it because public opinion deals only with yes or no to a Palestinian state. I personally raise the alternative proposal everywhere. If there is an attempt to promote the subject of the '67 borders I can say clearly that I and my colleagues will not lend our hand to this. The position of the Likud does not support the outline of the '67 lines, with all due respect to Tzipi and Tibi, we will not support these positions."



Deputy Minister MK Danny Danon at the annual Women in Green Tisha B'Av Walk around the Old City Walls, Jerusalem 2013. Photo: Gershon Ellinson

'Reality will change and the idea of the Arab settlement blocs will catch on.'

Does your plan actually seem to have any chance, in your opinion?

"Reality changes, and with it the feasibility changes. I will give you an example. I believe that there must not be a connection between Gaza and Judea and Samaria and indeed today there is no such connection. If we had talked about it a few years ago it would have sounded outlandish. Everyone believed that there must be a connection between Gaza and Judea and Samaria because this was the demand and this was the reality, but reality has changed. So I believe that this will also happen to the idea of Arab blocs of settlement."

How much, in your estimation, can a plan such as this be accepted in the world? You travel quite a bit, meet statesmen and hear their positions. Could any of them accept such an idea?

"Today there are already people who come to us and say that we must decide what we want. Our lack of faith causes hesitation in our interlocutors. We must clarify to ourselves what we want and then go on to convince others. ■

Whoever wants to know what would happen if a Palestinian state would arise should just look at what is happening in Gaza and he will understand what will happen. Simply 'copy, paste'. We would have, in the State of Israel's back yard, another Hamas and al-Qaeda terror entity.



Rabbi Haim Druckman, former MK, head of Bnei Akiva yeshivot

# Rabbi Druckman: Application of Sovereignty is a Positive Commandment

What were the sages referring to when they decreed that we tear our garment upon seeing the cities of Israel in their destruction? Does this relate to destroyed buildings or does it have a totally different meaning? Rav Haim Druckman on the obligation for sovereignty as a positive commandment.

The conversation about sovereignty with Rabbi Druckman is first and foremost a discussion of Torah and Halachah (Jewish law). Even higher priority than the demographic and security issue, there is a prior commandment that we must carry out, just as any other commandment of the Torah.

When asked what should be the vision regarding Judea and Samaria, you can hear surprise in his voice about the very fact that the question is raised. "It is the Torah that commands us what must be. We are not here by chance but because the Almighty determined that this is our place and commanded us in the Torah to settle the Land of Israel."

"This commandment has two components. The first component is sovereignty, 'And you will inherit the Land and you will settle there because I have given you the Land as a possession.' This commandment demands from us that we will not abandon the Land of Israel to other nations or to desolation, that is, we have a positive commandment not to abandon the Land of Israel to be ruled by another people. We must take care that the Land will be under the control of the Jewish people and not only that we should be here. This is sovereignty," states Rabbi Druckman resolutely.

"The second component is settlement, meaning that we will not leave the land desolate. This is a positive commandment despite the fact that it is expressed in negative language 'not to abandon it'; the practical meaning of this commandment is the act of settlement. It is our obligation to ensure our sovereignty in the Land and our settlement

in it. This is what we have aspired to all the years, but we must also act and not only aspire."

To sharpen his words Rabbi Druckman quotes a Talmudic phrase according to which he who sees the cities of Judea in their destruction must tear his garment like the act of mourning for his father or his mother. "What is that vision of the cities of Judea in their destruction? Can anyone think that the reference is to the ruined and destroyed communities? But HaBeit Yosef, (Rabbi Joseph Karo) discussed this and says that the meaning of the destruction is not physical ruin and destruction, but rather, if they are built and then given to foreign control that is not Jewish, this is what you must tear your garment for. This is the destruction referred to, and thus other Jewish authorities have determined likewise after him. That is, a community that is beautifully built but not under Jewish rule, this is what the garment is torn for, since this is destruction. HaBeit Yosef says that I do not tear because of the technical destruction, rather because of the national destruction, and if the People of Israel does not rule here, this is national destruction."

Adding to this, Rabbi Druckman emphasizes that "on one hand, it is our duty to see the great affirmation in all that has happened since the year 1948, because until then the Land of Israel, even when it was settled, was in ruins since it was under foreign rule. Since the establishment of the state, wherever the People of Israel rule, the Land was built up; of course, this applies also to Judea and Samaria, the very heart of our Land, and we must rule in these areas and bring sovereignty to them."

Regarding the relations with Arabs who live in Judea and Samaria Rabbi Druckman notes that "the question is not the people as individuals. The question is who will rule, if the State of Israel is the sovereign or not. This is the determining factor. The State of Israel can include within it individuals who are not of our people. The problem is not what to do with them but what we must do. Of course we must apply our sovereignty on all parts of the Land."

In the discussion with him, the rabbi repeats again and again his astonishment and wonder at the very question and it seems that within this wonder there is also much sadness. "It is unbelievable. We came home. What doubts do we have about places which, according to all the opinions, have been our land for thousands of years? How can we not apply our sovereignty upon it? What is the difference between these and other areas? What, are they any less the Land of Israel than Gush Dan (the area around Tel Aviv)? In any case we must apply sovereignty."

"Why do they threaten us with an empty demographic threat? They have been threatening us with these threats since the Six Day War. What is there to fear in these threats? We must assure that more aliyah (immigration) will come, but we must not be frightened by threats. The People of Israel is a stubborn people and, as such, it is not frightened by threats," ends Rabbi Druckman and when he is asked why, during the period when he served as a member of Knesset, neither he nor other members of Knesset managed to apply that sovereignty, he sighs and mutters sorrowfully, "There were people of little faith then. ■



What is that vision of the cities of Judea in their destruction? Can anyone think that the reference is to the ruined and destroyed communities? But HaBeit Yosef, (Rabbi Joseph Karo) discussed this and says that the meaning of the destruction is not physical ruin and destruction, but rather, if they are built and then given to foreign control that is not Jewish, this is what you must tear your garment for.

In a discussion with Fiamma Nirenstein, the former senior Italian parliamentarian refuses to be discouraged about the chances for Israeli advocacy among Europeans.

# Europe and Israel - a Story of Love and Darkness

Demonstration "With Israel, For Freedom, Against Terrorism" held in front of the Italian Parliament during the Cast Lead Operation, January 2009. Photo courtesy of Daniele Scudieri

Fiamma Nirenstein, author, journalist, senior columnist, former member of Italian parliament and deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Italian parliament, made aliyah to Israel during the past year and today, resides in Jerusalem. In the course of a conversation with Nadia Matar, who heads the Women in Green movement together with Yehudit Katsover, she analyzed the complex European reality and Europe's relationship with the Jewish People in general and with the State of Israel in particular.

Nirenstein, who, in 2011, chaired the International Council of Jewish Parliamentarians and was named by the Jerusalem Post as one of the 50 most influential Jews in the world, characterizes Europe's relationship with the Jewish People as "a combination of love and darkness." She points to Europe as the cradle of Zionism. "Zionism itself was born in Europe. It is one of many nationalist movements that were born in Europe, like that of the Italians and the Germans. Zionism was not born with the Holocaust, as many claim. The Jews had a nationalist movement just like every other nation. For me, this fact is very important. From 1922 until receiving recognition in the UN, we also had strong support in Europe."

## There is truth and there is falsehood

These days, Nirenstein has been drafting a paper by the title "Against the Narrative – The True History of Israel", in which she bemoans the reality where the Arabs' false narrative is gaining momentum while

fewer and fewer people in the world are aware that the Land belongs to the Jewish People. "There is no narrative. There is truth and there is falsehood. The truth is written in the Tanach (the Jewish Bible), in Tacitus, in Joseph Flavius' book, in so many Christian and Muslim texts – they all testify to the Jews' existence in Israel. This is irrefutable."

On the other hand, there is "anti-Semitism, which was always there, even before the terrifying experience of the Holocaust. Nowadays," she explains, "European anti-Semitism is very much built as Israelophobia, which came to be the most important element of all the anti-Semite movement. Europe is unable to fight this new anti-Semitism, or unwilling to do it, because Israel is difficult for the old continent to understand; the EU has been built on the fear of nationalism and wars as a psychological outcome of its history."

"Nationalism brought about the First and Second World Wars; German nationalism gave birth to the monster that attempted to conquer all of Europe. Na-



As part of my position in the Italian parliament, I put forth many initiatives – parliamentary initiatives and individuals' initiatives. It was wonderful to see how it is possible to find millions of people who have a lot of love and admiration for Israel.

tionism changed from a component of identity into a brutal and aggressive movement. So what happened as a result? Europe constructed itself as a place that is multi-national, anti-identity, anti-religious, anti-nationalist and most important, anti-war. When Europe sees a rifle or a bomb, it is alarmed. It cannot tolerate this. On the other hand, Israel is the total opposite. Israel is a country that is always searching for elements of identity, culture and religion. In Israel there is a sense of community, of internal solidarity. Also, whether it wants it or not, Israel is a country at war. Its sons must serve in the army for three years. Sometimes they are killed. Sometimes they must kill. Europe does not understand that, in Israel, there is the same cultural aversion to killing and murder. Not only this; Israel sanctifies life more than any other country. When Israelis must rescue one child they will do anything for him. We saw – in the case of Gilad Shalit – that Israel released more than one thousand murderers and terrorists for one (Israeli) hostage. Sometimes this is even reasonable. This testifies to the love of life. Europe does not understand this. Europe sees only that there are exchanges of gunfire."

Another historical fact connected with Israeli-European relations is the fact that "Israel was on the other side during the Cold War. In the Cold War the world was considered to be divided into two parts – on one side was the oppressor, the capitalist, the imperialist, while on the other side was the underdog, the poor, the conquered. Israel was seen as a good friend of the most imperialist state – the United States. People do not remember the other side – that the Soviet Union was good friends with the totalitarian, fascist states that oppressed

their citizens and silenced anyone who did not agree with them. People do not think about this. The world was divided in two from their point of view, and Israel was on the wrong side of the equation. This is one side. When I say 'a story of love and darkness' – this is the darkness."

## There are also islands of sympathy. They are there. Search for them and expand them.

When Fiamma Nirenstein goes on to the second phase, the love phase, she says something surprising that most Israelis are not aware of. "The other side is love. As part of my position in the Italian parliament, I put forth many initiatives – parliamentary initiatives and individuals' initiatives. It was wonderful to see how it is possible to find millions of people who have a lot of love and admiration for Israel."

Fiamma takes out a flyer in which there is a photograph of the Italian parliament building with many Israeli flags. "This photograph," she says, "was taken during the Cast Lead Operation. There were so many events then, the Durban Conference, the Goldstein report, turning Israel into a criminal and more. We held a huge demonstration and thousands of people from throughout Europe came, including France and Spain, and among them were many from the Left. It seems that the Left also loves Israel. You just have to know where to look."

"I call these 'islands of sympathy' – for example, scientists, military and security personnel, hi-tech people, artists from the world of theater and music and many business people. You can find a lot of admira-

tion. Europe longs for a sense of unity and identity that Israel's young people have. Europe no longer has this."

Europe is also aware of the persecution faced by various minorities in the Muslim world and sees Israel as a haven for them. "In every place around Israel, in the entire Muslim world, jihad is the true flag after the era of Arab nationalism. Arab nationalism is dead. Now, jihad is the new ideology. And within jihad there is much persecution. Persecution of Christians, of women, of children and other minorities. I always thought that there must be a campaign to help girls between the ages of 10 to 12 who are forced to marry grown men. I have tried – I was an adviser to the European Council on Violence against Children. I tried to raise the issue, but this subject, it seems, is taboo; one can't talk about it."

Nirenstein even calls on the Pope, who is expected to visit Israel in the near future, for support. "I hope that he will say a few words about the fact that Israel is the only state that protects the Christians within her territory. I am glad that at least a few Christians have begun to understand this."

With sober vision that does not ignore reality Nirenstein states that the islands of sympathy that she speaks about are becoming increasingly common within the European ocean. Nevertheless she clarifies that "it is not that if you tell those Israel-lovers that the Palestinians don't really have a right to a sovereign state that they will recognize this or agree. They know the Israelis are connected to Jerusalem. And despite this, when the Palestinian question is discussed, things are not so clear to them and at this point I do not believe that it is possible to come to an agreement with them about anything other than the idea of two states for two peoples."

## The Europeans are convinced of the lie that a Palestinian state existed in the past

Nirenstein emphasizes that for the Europeans there is no European narrative other than the political plan that the Europeans are capable of considering. "It is, perhaps, crazy, but most of the Europeans are convinced that you conquered an existing Palestinian state. They simply don't know that this territory was part of Jordan and not under any sovereignty. I know that from the legal-international point of view these territories are not illegally occupied."

At this point, the conversation turns to the report issued by Judge Edmund Levy, O.B.M., in which it is established that this territory had never been under any sovereignty. Nirenstein comments. "Today these territories are disputed territories. Therefore I think that it is not right or ethical that Europeans define the Green Line as a final border. They should not de-

fine this as a guideline. By doing this, they distort the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians and give the Palestinians the sense that they can get whatever they want."

Nirenstein has sharp criticism for the Palestinian rejection of Israel's generous suggestions over the years. "I am aware of the claims that Israel has already offered everything and the Palestinians still refused. The fact that they refused is a scandal, a political and intellectual scandal. They refuse to recognize the Jewish State as the state of the Jewish People. This means that they do not recognize the right of the Jews to be here as a nation, perhaps just the reality that the Jews are here. They recognize that there is an entity here called Israel, but tomorrow another entity might be here. When they say 'we have already recognized the State' that is not correct. Even if they have recognized something, what have they recognized? They recognize their 'Nakba'. That's what they recognize. They refuse to recognize the State."

According to Nirenstein, Europe is at the height of a deep economic and social crisis. "On this continent countries have fought each other constantly, and suddenly they are living together. It's different from the United States – there too, there



Fiamma Nirenstein in front of her house in Jerusalem. Photo: Women in Green

was a war, a war of principles. In Europe it was a war of conquest between nations. France, Spain, Germany – they hate each other. They had empires. Italy was divided into small parts among France, Austria and Spain. It's a whole puzzle. Also, the euro has not proven itself and great gaps have been created between countries. Still, we must not forget that Europe is the place where all of philosophy, history, culture and art developed. I am from Florence and when I think about Europe I think about the Medici who were the patrons of Michelangelo, Donatello and others. History will need more than a few drunks to ruin it."

## There are many reasons for European anti-Semitism, but the main one is envy.

"And what about European Islamization?" asks Nadia Matar.

Nirenstein responds, "Europe has a seri-

ous problem. There are places in Europe where the most common name is Mohammad. There are places in Sweden where the Jews have had to flee because they could no longer live there. In France the anti-Semitism is terrible; Jews are attacked in the street. One can't wear a kippa (yarmulke); you can't wear a Star of David. Even in Italy, where I was head of the Committee to Investigate anti-Semitism, we found that approximately 46 percent of the population feels no affinity toward the Jews. This is a very serious problem. The worst thing is that in countries such as Hungary and Greece, openly anti-Semitic parties have become part of the government."

The reasons for this anti-Semitism come, it seems, from almost all possible directions. "It comes from everywhere, from the Right and from the Left, from both sides," says Nirenstein and expounds. "It comes from the idea that Jews are capitalists, from the idea that Jews are the underdog that ruins bourgeois society. It comes from those who believe that the Jews are too nationalistic and from those who believe that the Jews ruin nationalistic feeling. Principally, it comes from envy. I see it as envy for the only people that remains after 4,000 years, that outlived so many other peoples. Envy for the fact that we brought

to the world its most important innovation – monotheism. We invented democracy, because when you believe in one god then you don't believe in a king as a god. You believe that man is created in the image of G-d. This principle creates envy among them."

To all of these, she adds the statement that the Jews have won the battle against traditional anti-Semitism. You will not find any educated person who would say, 'I am anti-Semitic.' On the other hand, if you just mention Israel they will say terrible things, false things. They will say that

there has been ethnic cleansing in Israel since 1948 and so forth."

"So anti-Zionism is the new anti-Semitism?" asks Matar.

Nirenstein is doubtful regarding this harsh definition. "I don't call it that. I call it 'Israelophobia'."

Nevertheless, Nirenstein does not despair. She is convinced that the proper investment in those islands of sympathy will yield fruit in the long term.

## Come to Israel

She summarizes her main message to European Jews in three words: "Come to Israel!" And by way of illustration she adds a personal note, "I did not come here because of personal persecution. I was a very proud and happy Jew in Europe. I wrote 12 books, I was a member of parliament. I could have remained there. I am here and want to be here. There is nothing better than here." ■

It is, perhaps, crazy, but most of the Europeans are convinced that you conquered an existing Palestinian state. They simply don't know that this territory was not under any sovereignty. I know that from the legal-international point of view these territories are not illegally occupied.



She summarizes her main message to European Jews in three words "Come to Israel! There is nothing better than here".

# Insights into the Levy Report

International jurist, member of Judge Levy's Commission, Alan Baker, talks about his work with the late judge, about the conclusions of the report and about his disappointment with the way the legal and political systems related to the report that was commissioned by the prime minister and also hidden by him.

Edmund Levy, Judge Emeritus of the Supreme Court of Israel, passed away in March of 2013. In addition to his humane rulings, Justice Levy, O.B.M. was renowned for both the dissenting opinion he presented, contrary to that of the other Supreme Court justices, whereby he opposed the Law of Disengagement (and determined that this law is not legal) and for his leadership of the committee that investigated the status of Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria, which resulted in the report bearing his name.

We met with Alan Baker, expert in international law, former Israeli ambassador to Canada and a member of the Levy Committee, who is full of admiration for the deceased judge's nature, his special character and the work that was done by the committee that he led. "This was a very committed person, someone who demanded dedication and serious work that continued day after day. He would spend hours listening to witnesses, asking questions and discussing the insights arising from the witnesses' words. On the other hand he was a sweet person. A pleasure to work with, a man with a wonderful sense of humor. I very much enjoyed the opportunities to sit together – three members of the committee and the secretary of the committee – for discussions on how to word the report."

There were those who claimed that the committee overstepped its mandate when, instead of focusing on building in Judea and Samaria, it made inclusive and broad legal determinations about the status of the area. Baker believes these issues are interwoven and required careful examination. "The mandate was to investigate the building situation in Judea and Samaria. In order to investigate the status of building, it was necessary to delve into whether it is permissible to build, according to the existing legal framework in the area of Judea and Samaria, where both Jordanian law and Israeli military law had been ap-

plied and also according to international law, since this is territory on which we had not declared sovereignty, yet we administer. We had to investigate what is permitted and what is forbidden given all of these factors. If we had arrived at the conclusion that building in the area is forbidden according to international law, we would have had to determine that we must destroy everything and expel everyone. The committee was not established in order to discuss only the outposts or in order to give approval to something that is illegal, but to discuss the legal situation and status of the territory from the year 1968 until now. We had to investigate how the situation was created where outposts were not considered recognized communities because they lacked some component of legality. We had to investigate what caused this and analyze all of the data in order to arrive at conclusions."

## The report is not a counterweight to the Sasson report

Baker does not accept the prevailing public sentiment that the Levy report was intended as a counterbalance to Talia Sasson's report, which was requested by the late Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and which determined that the outposts in Judea and Samaria (J&S) were established illegally as Israeli legal authorities closed their eyes. Baker sees the Levy report as a continuation of the Sasson report.

"The Sasson report pointed out deficiencies in the way building is handled in the settlements - building without permits, illegal transfer of money, and so forth - and Sasson's committee, that is, actually she herself, determined that the Jewish residents of J&S are criminals and violate the law. We took what she wrote and continued onward and investigated to determine if this were really so. We arrived at the conclusion that this is not correct and it

is impossible to blame the Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria. Indeed, there is no justification for continued presence in a place where private land was taken, but those who have built without permission because the planning committee was frozen (and that being the reason they could not get permission), these people did not violate the law or commit a transgression. They simply completed the building and got approval from governmental bodies. But without the planning committee being functional, there was no legal framework that could declare that it was indeed legal building, and therefore we issued approximately 15 practical recommendations in order to solve this problem within a legal framework."

The practical recommendations that Baker talks about are primarily derived from establishing the principle according to which, construction in Judea and Samaria is legal and not a violation of international law, so long as communities are established lawfully and in accordance with the government's decision. "The moment that we determined this principle, what was left was to solve the specific problems that would allow the planning committee to become functional once more. With the committee unfrozen, they would be able to investigate whether what had already been built meets the zoning laws, and if so determined, then the building must be declared legal. But if the construction is found to be in violation of the laws, then it is illegal and must be removed."

Among the committee's recommendations intended to enable the determination of building in J&S as legal was the establishment of a real estate court "so that whoever acquired land from a local Arab and an Arab comes with a claim that the deal is not legitimate, instead of an official in the Civil Administration or Ministry of Justice deciding on the matter, as it is today, the matter would come to a special court that would consider the claims of both sides and make a legal decision, not an ad-



He commissioned it and then shelved it. Prime Minister Netanyahu receiving the Levy Report from Judge Levy. Photo: Flash 90

The overall purpose of the recommendations was to prevent a situation where conflicts over land would be determined in the High Court of Justice, which, by its nature, does not arrive at conclusions by hearing testimony, but rather, by making administrative determinations according to requests by the State Attorney.

A very serious report was prepared here, to which we dedicated a lot of work and he was promised that the report would be given to a committee of ministers who deal with settlement matters, but this never happened.

ministrative or military decision."

Another step recommended by the Levy report was the establishment of a review committee that would check all land with existing Jewish building upon it to see if it is private or public land in order to determine the true legal status of such land.

The committee also recommended activities to protect environmental quality in public parks and gardens, something that does not exist today because of the Palestinian Authority's refusal to cooperate with Israeli authorities. "We said that we need this for nature's sake," says Baker.

Baker explains that the overall purpose of the recommendations was to prevent a situation where conflicts over land would be determined in the High Court of Justice, which, by its nature, does not arrive at conclusions by hearing testimony, but rather, by making administrative determinations according to requests by the State Attorney to destroy a community or a building. "We recommended that even before we get to this situation, the matter should come to a court to decide legally."

## So who is preventing implementation of the report?

The intensive and meticulous legal work carried out by the members of Judge Levy's Committee was stopped after a sumptuously bound volume was delivered to the prime minister. Baker explains that the one who is stopping it is none other than the State legal adviser, Attorney Yehuda Weinstein. "For his own reasons, the legal adviser did not approve the continuation. He holds up its implementation. The matter is in his hands."

According to Baker, Adviser Weinstein is

blocking the process of the report's implementation in keeping with his position on the very essence of the Levy Committee's establishment. "He didn't like the idea of a committee of senior jurists that is not subject to his authority and he demanded that the recommendations remain in his hands and he never approved it, so the matter is in his hands."

Edmund Levy, O.B.M. was frustrated by the way his report was received.

To say the least, the amiable Judge Levy did not like the treatment that his report received from those who should have given it great attention, and should have become acquainted, in depth and breadth, with the work that was done and then implement its recommendations. "This was very disappointing to him and angered him quite a bit. He felt extremely frustrated about this. I don't know if he spoke about this with the prime minister. It was also not part of his character to speak about his feelings and his anger, but a very serious report was prepared here, to which we dedicated a lot of work and he was promised that the report would be given to a committee of ministers who deal with settlement matters, but this never happened."

Contrary to other judges in emeritus, Judge Edmund Levy was meticulous about not speaking to the media. Since the first issue of Sovereignty, we, the editors of the journal, tried to convince him to be interviewed, but without success. Alan Baker understands this silence. "He decided not to go to the media as long as the report was not presented to the committee of ministers and until that happened (and the report remained held in the hands of the prime minister's legal adviser), he did not want to be interviewed." Now it is too late. ■

The amiable Judge Levy did not like the treatment that his report received from those who should have given it great attention.



Jewish outpost in Judea. Photo: Miri Tsachi

Construction in Judea and Samaria is legal and not a violation of international law, so long as communities are established lawfully and in accordance with the government's decision.



International law expert Alan Baker at 3rd Sovereignty Conference organized by Women in Green, Jerusalem 2013. Photo: Gershon Ellinson



# To Grant Autonomy, Sovereignty must be Applied First

Attorney Elyakim Haetzni has accompanied the settlement project from its beginnings and sees how, time after time, Israel misses opportunities to create a political turning point in its international approach. Even now, he explains, we are presented with such a window of opportunity.

Contrary to others on the Israeli Right, Attorney Elyakim Haetzni, former member of Knesset and one of the central ideologues of Gush Emunim, does not ascribe little importance to the demographic issue, which he thinks might threaten not only the Jewish character of the State of Israel but also its future as such.

With this being his central issue of concern, Attorney Haetzni presents a political plan, the goal of which is to establish Palestinian autonomy; but in order to implement such a course of action, the State of Israel must first apply sovereignty over all of the territories of Judea and Samaria, if only for legal reasons.

Haetzni regards the conduct of the State of Israel on the seventh day, the day after the Six Day War, as one of the greatest mistakes in the history of the State of Israel. "This is one of the greatest mistakes and there are no words to describe it," he says and likens that window of opportunity, like other windows that have opened, to the closing of a camera's lens. It opens for a second and then closes. If you didn't seize the moment, it is gone.

Nevertheless, he emphasizes with satisfaction that another window, the window of settling Judea and Samaria, was not missed. "Imagine what the reality would have been today if the Golan Heights, Judea and Samaria and East Jerusalem were in the hands of the Arabs... it is hard to imagine the State of Israel surviving."

**Annexation after the Six Day War - this was also the advice of the mayor of Hebron**

In Haetzni's estimation, if only Israel,

after the Six Day War, had immediately annexed the entire territory and granted autonomy to the Arab population there, the Israeli public would have accepted it, and it would have been accepted by the local Arab population, as well as in the eyes of the world. "This was what was suggested by Sheikh Mohammad Ali Jabari, who was then the mayor of Hebron, and who considered us members of his household at that time."

Haetzni is convinced that with proper explanation in the world, the State of Israel could have shown that "not the whole world is anti-Semitic," in his words. He, indeed, does not believe that the world would have run to embrace Israel and its citizens, but as nations usually behave toward other nations, they would have been indifferent toward events in Israel, except for the usual anti-Semitic group that, in his opinion, would have always remained as a sort of eternal evil versus the eternal People of Israel, one opposite the other.

Haetzni defines Israel's conduct in the world of Israel advocacy today as "the greatest of failures." He mentions the claim that the Jewish People control the world media and Hollywood and despite this when he is asked to explain the basic matter of the Jewish People's existence as a nation, he "still has not come down from the trees, while the Arabs win with awkward and childish explanations and rationalizations, on falsehoods that are sewn with threads so crude that they should not have been accepted by anyone, and nevertheless, they conquer public opinion. If this is the situation it is difficult to blame the world."

Haetzni finds the proof of his claim about the great failure of Israel's public relations efforts in the vigorous activity of the Samaria Council that is doing such

great work. It sends people to the strongholds of European enmity and they are surprised to find a sympathetic ear and on the sidelines they also manage to convince people and demonstrate successes. Until now, only the Left spoke to the world, in deleterious and defamatory ways, in an attempt to bring international pressure on us in order to promote what they did not succeed in achieving in the voting booth, but now there is someone who is beginning to present things differently."

That political window of opportunity of the seventh day of the war indeed has closed, however Haetzni is convinced that "not all is lost but we have to begin from the beginning." In his opinion, the People of Israel must clarify to itself where it wants to arrive and advance toward this clear and defined goal.

Aware of the complexity of the vision of sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, he also does not deny the concerns over a bi-national state on the day after equal citizenship is granted for all. Haetzni sees a Jewish majority of 60 percent of the citizens against 40 percent of Arabs as a marginal situation in which it will not be possible to exist. According to him, the demographic claim should be taken into account but it is not like the lies of the Left, as he defines it. "If the choice is between bi-nationalism or two states I would prefer two states because with them, at least we are left with one small state. A bi-national state will not leave me with even one such small state" he says.

**The goal - sovereignty while protecting a Jewish parliamentary majority**

According to Haetzni's version, the goal



Former MK Attorney Elyakim Haetzni gives a lecture at the week-long Mothers' Sovereignty Vigil organized by Women in Green in conjunction with the Professors for a Strong Israel and Mattot Arim, February 2014

is "presenting a model of sovereignty that will not harm the Jewish parliamentary majority," and according to him, the solution, in one word, is "autonomy."

"This autonomy already exists," Haetzni stresses, speaking of the current reality in which the Arabs of Judea and Samaria (J&S) have a parliament, a flag and even more representation in the world than Israel has. He also mentions the economy in the Palestinian Authority, which, had it not been for the Paris Accords, would have been independent. And he also mentions the armed police militia that poses no danger to Israel because it does not have aircraft or tanks. Haetzni mentions the current Israeli security control over the area, the fact that it controls the border passages, the fact that Arabs cannot sign international agreements and covenants with countries such as Iran, Israeli control of water and more – the picture of a situation that signifies the existence, in practice, of Arab autonomy.

Moreover, Haetzni points out one necessary legal detail. In order to grant autonomy to the Arab population, first sovereignty must be applied on the territory because the meaning of granting autonomy is "that I, the sovereign, set aside certain areas for independent rule by part of the population. That is, first of all we must annex the entire territory of Israel west of the Jordan and afterward the same Knesset that applied sovereignty can set aside the relevant areas for autonomy."

Haetzni continues and adds that such a policy will enable us to determine the areas of autonomy according to the outline that will include Um al-Fahm and additional Arab communities because, after the application of sovereignty, the status of the various areas will be equal. He also adds

that the nature of autonomy is that it can be changed by the sovereign.

In this reality of autonomy, says Haetzni, in order to be fair, we must make the rights of Arabs equal to those of the Jews, as it is today for the status of the Arabs of Jerusalem. However, in order to maintain the parliamentary majority, Haetzni believes that the Arabs of the autonomous areas should be denied the right to vote, in contrast to the reality that exists for the Arabs of East Jerusalem, who are given the choice of whether or not to vote for Knesset. In his opinion, indeed the model of the East Jerusalem Arabs has proven that they do not rush to the voting booth and few of them come to vote, however, we should not gamble the future character of the national society of Israel in case they decide someday to mobilize and come to vote deliberately to affect such a revolution. "I don't want to give them the voting option because tomorrow they may want to take it and then I will find myself in a bi-national state."

**Do you want to vote in a national framework? Please do it in Amman.**

Haetzni divides the matter of voting into two parts. First he mentions that the Arabs of J&S already vote for the parliament of the Palestinian Authority so that "whoever claims that there is occupation is lying." Nevertheless he is aware of the possibility that the citizens in the autonomous areas will want to be able to vote for a state parliament. In this case, he says, I come to the Jordanian matter.

"The government of Israel cannot say these things openly because of the delicate

relations with the government of Jordan. The prime minister cannot say openly that Jordan is Palestine, but I can say it clearly and just to remind you, the Land of Israel defined in the British Mandate included the area over the Jordan River, and one and a half months after the Mandate was approved, the League of Nations decided to temporarily take out the Jewish clauses that relate to the area East of the Jordan. This temporary condition has continued until today. The reality today is that seventy to eighty percent of Jordanians define themselves as Palestinians. There is a game with names here. In order for the Palestinians to claim that they have no national home the area east of the Jordan River is called Jordan, but this name game has resulted in them getting two thirds of the territory and they still claim that they have no home."

With this being the situation, Haetzni sees the solution for national voting rights for the Arabs of Judea and Samaria as being permitted to vote for the Parliament in Amman, a vote that should be carried out in voting booths in Nablus, Ramallah and the rest of the cities and would be sent by mail to Amman, just as votes of citizens living abroad are sent from one country to another country.

Haetzni is aware of the uniqueness and complexity of the solution that he suggests, but he is not deterred by this. "True, there is no similar situation in other places but the situation of the Jewish People is a situation that is unlike any other place in the world. Just as with a patient who needs medicine that is unique to him and medicine that is suited to another patient may kill him, it is the same for this matter as well. The medicine that we need is a unique medicine for our problem. A medicine that is suitable for another place might kill us." ■

The Arabs win with awkward and childish explanations and rationalizations, on falsehoods that are sewn with threads so crude that they should not have been accepted by anyone, and nevertheless, they conquer public opinion.



First of all we must annex the entire territory of Israel west of the Jordan and afterward the same Knesset that applied sovereignty can set aside the relevant areas for autonomy.

Imagine what the reality would have been today if the Golan Heights, Judea and Samaria and East Jerusalem were in the hands of the Arabs... it is hard to imagine the State of Israel surviving.

Haetzni defines Israel's conduct in the world of Israel advocacy today as "the greatest of failures".

True, there is no similar situation in other places but the situation of the Jewish People is a situation that is unlike any other place in the world.

# The Jerusalem Law forbids the transfer of sovereignty in Jerusalem into foreign hands, but this is what is happening in practice

Politicians declare, over and over again, that Jerusalem will remain united forever and ever, but it seems that in reality, the city is divided. Certain neighborhoods are closed to security forces and municipal enforcement bodies and there are signs forbidding Jews to enter. Jerusalem Council member Aryeh King describes the dismal and suppressed reality.

For years, Aryeh King, head of the Israel Land Fund and current member of the Jerusalem Council, states that along with the politicians' declarations and oaths of commitment for the unity of Jerusalem, our eternal and everlasting capital, the government of Israel itself is dividing the capital in practice. Aryeh King has many proofs of this and he presents them in every possible forum; from legal discussions to official documents, and in the answers that he receives from the City of Jerusalem in response to his questions. All of this and more lead him to one conclusion – the Law of Jerusalem does indeed forbid the transfer of sovereignty over the territories of Jerusalem to any foreign body, but in practice, that is exactly what the governments of Israel have done, one after another.

King directs the main thrust of his criticism toward the present government of Israel and its head, Benjamin Netanyahu, perhaps because of the rightist orientation shown by many of its members, both now and in the past. King is very disappointed with the behavior of those who, until not very long ago, knew quite well how to criticize the process of nibbling away at Israeli sovereignty in the capital and now have nothing to say about this most problematic conduct.

"The Netanyahu government made the decision to prevent Jews from entering eight neighborhoods in Jerusalem. In these neighborhoods Jews are forbidden to enter, and we're not just talking about individual Jews; law enforcement bodies such as police, tax collectors and city municipal inspectors are also forbidden to enter and even governmental bodies such as fire fighters, the electric company and others are forbidden to enter," he says and relates

another from a series of events in which tens of Palestinian policemen entered the Arab neighborhoods in northern Jerusalem to restore order instead of the Israel Police. "These are indeed Arab neighborhoods but from the point of view of their legal status", King reminds us, "they are exactly the same as the Jewish neighborhoods of Har Nof or Bayit vaGan. The municipality does not enter these neighborhoods to clean or deal with problems in the schools. We appealed to the High Court of Justice against the municipality and they answered that they are willing to enforce the law but the Israeli Police does not allocate forces to the municipality's people in order to carry out these actions, thus, effectively preventing enforcement. When we continued and asked the police as well, they told us to refer our questions to the prime minister's office. This is a directive that was upgraded by Yaakov Amidror who headed the National Security Council. He frightened Netanyahu into stating that everything that is done in East Jerusalem, such as building enforcement, must be submitted for approval of the prime minister's office."

## Large signs stating - entry to Jews is forbidden

"The current reality is that, at the entry to the Jerusalem neighborhoods, huge signs are in place stating that entry to Israelis is forbidden. The problem is that everyone who lives in these neighborhoods is Israeli. These are Israeli Arabs with blue identification cards. The true interpretation of what is written there is that entry is forbidden to Jews. We have seen the proof of this in the field. We came there with intent to enter and the police, who forbade us to enter, clearly told us that entry to



Signs put up in Judea, Samaria and also in Jerusalem. Photo: Women in Green

Why are the Arabs permitted to enter the Western Wall freely and Jews are forbidden to go up to the Temple Mount freely? Every week Jews are attacked in the Mount of Olives and we are silent.



Aryeh King at the Mothers' Vigil for Sovereignty. Standing next to him is MK Shuli Mualem-Refaeli. Photo: Women in Green

Jews is forbidden. We have recorded evidence of these things," he says and continues, "None of the ministers or members of Knesset can say that he doesn't know what is happening. Everyone knows and is quiet. Minister Uri Ariel experienced this reality firsthand when his vehicle was stoned during the previous term of this government."

For King, the definition of reality is very simple and very serious. "There are actually two mayors in Jerusalem. In the western part of the city there is Nir Barkat, who was elected by the residents, and in the eastern part of the city there is Netanyahu who conducts a policy of apartheid against Jews there. This is clear discrimination. There is someone here who places himself above the Law of Planning and Building and this someone is Benjamin Netanyahu. He can decide that you cannot build because of what is defined as 'political considerations', it was explained to us in an official document of the Ministry of the Interior."

King has many examples of this reality and he brings up a few of them. "Lots that were intended for building in the eastern part of the city and belong to Jews, are not dealt with at all in the municipal committees, when there is a boom in Arab building in its surroundings. The deputy legal advisor states that no matters regarding building should be considered besides those of zoning. The building laws do not allow the prevention of building and despite this, in the neighborhood of Shimon haTzadik, eighty meters from the light railway, Jews hold the rights for the land that is designated for building and their case has still not begun to be discussed in the committees. Meanwhile an Arab to the right of that building submitted an application six months after [his] construction was completed and to the left, an Arab submitted



an application a year and a half after [his] construction was begun."

King notes that after (another instance of) freeing of terrorists, Minister of Housing Uri Ariel announced that the time had come to allow building in the Shimon haTzadik neighborhood, yet Netanyahu blocked the decision. King brings this as additional proof that directives to freeze construction in the eastern part of the city originate in the prime minister's office.

Along with the severe criticism that is directed upwards, King does not spare the public at large. "Our public is silent and allows everything a free pass – as if it doesn't see how facts are established on the ground as it was in Gush Katif, a fence at first, afterward a gate and after that they close the gate. Everyone sees how the city conducts itself as if it was two different cities. Why are the Arabs permitted to enter the Western Wall freely and Jews are forbidden to go up to the Temple Mount freely? Every week Jews are attacked in the Mount of Olives and we are silent."

## Political misgivings? Who cares? We care about Jerusalem.

King believes that Jews turn a blind eye to the situation because of a lack of awareness. This is the reason that he uses every possible stage and platform to present the data and call on the public at large to mobilize in order to spread and disseminate awareness of the reality in the field, whether in the virtual space or in meetings and writing to public figures, media and other citizens. "We must spread the information about the division of Jerusalem that Netanyahu is carrying out. The Likud ministers and members of Knesset know and are silent. A rightist cannot be part of such a government."

And what if there is, indeed, something to the political misgivings that the prime minister's office projects? Perhaps, nevertheless, there are considerations that the prime minister is aware of and takes into account?

King does not accept this sort of explanation. "These considerations do not interest me. At one time there were considerations regarding Bush the father, afterwards Clinton, Bush the son and now Obama. This is not interesting. The only consideration that interests me is protecting Jerusalem. No consideration, not Iran and no other security considerations are worth more than the fact that the Jewish People are, in reality, losing this city. Why, this city is why we came here. We are not called Israelis, but Zionists, for the name of Zion, which is Jerusalem. She is the reason that we came here and we are abandoning her." ■

# The demographic data supports the 'One-State' solution

Based on his research, Dr. Michael Wise dispels the concept of "Two States for Two Peoples" as the only way to preserve Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. This concept is based on flagrantly false demographic information.

The groundbreaking 2005 demographic studies and projections by the American Israel Demographic Research Group of Zimmerman, Seid and Wise\* destroyed the demographic myth that there was or would be an Arab majority in Israel including Judea and Samaria.

Nonetheless, there remains a minority of academics as well as columnists who, remarkably, believe the undocumented claims of Professors Soffer and DellaPergola. In 2000, based on Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics data, these "experts" told the world and told Israel that there was an Arab majority between the River and the Sea. As a consequence, there are still people (including John Kerry, Tzipi Livni, Barak Obama and Martin Indyk) who believe that the creation of a Palestinian "State" is the only way to preserve a Jewish majority in Israel.

Currently the Jewish population of Israel is (with J&S) 67% Jewish and growing. The last 20 years of birth and migration data have demonstrated a positive Jewish demographic momentum with the trend indicating the majority will grow.

## Will Israel with a one-third non-Jewish minority lose its character as a Jewish State?

Distinguished historians, political scientists and sociologists preach that once a minority community reaches 20% to 33% of the total population, the character of a state changes. The majority cultural group loses its integrity and a new creation is morphed into reality. Where and how were the "scientific" conclusion reached? By observing multiple non-Jewish societies around the world. Can these theories account for the history and integrity of the Jewish people through their almost 2,000 year Diaspora? No.

The survival of the Jewish people as distinct minorities in multiple societies suggests that Jewish society is a remarkable exception to conventional sociological thinking. Jewish minorities of 1-5% have prospered and grown, in remarkably diverse environments, economically, culturally, and demographically (sans pogroms and inquisitions) over a period of 2,500 years since the destruction of the First Temple. The Jews in Babylonia as well as in Lithuania, the Ukraine and Poland succeeded and violated all the accepted norms about assimilation and acculturation. Societies where the Jewish minority never even exceeded 5% exhibited extraordinary Jewish participation in the highest levels of society and administrative infra-structure. We will not go into the causes and explanations, but there are many unique factors that contributed to their success. One need not explain the phenomenon to observe it as proven fact.

Now imagine a country that is 67% Jewish, with a strong Jewish presence and contribution in all segments from Arts and Science, Politics, Religion, Medicine, Law, Security and Foreign Policy, Business and Finance, High

Tech and Agriculture etc. Will that society lose its Jewish character?

Per Israel's Declaration as an independent democratic Jewish State, the rights of minority communities and individuals must be preserved. But those minorities must uphold the Law of the Land and cannot be permitted to act inimically to the well-being of the country.

The fears of a fifth column are legitimate but are clouded by the current political environment. Israeli Arabs have been told by Israeli politicians and media for over 20 years that there will be a hostile Arab state created in Israel's backyard. That is a guaranteed formula to foster an extremely hostile internal Arab population. Once that proposition is laid to rest, the benefits of remaining and becoming part of Israel's success will become paramount for the vast majority of the Arab population. Recent events surrounding the "Arab Spring" in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and eventually Jordan, have made it clear to the fortunate Arabs living in Israel and Judea and Samaria that a blue Israel Identity card is a treasured asset. Very few Israeli Arabs have sought refuge under the PA or have fled to Gaza or Syria. The tragedies that we created with Oslo by importing Arafat and his gang of terrorists into Israel can be undone. The Arab population of Judea and Samaria will applaud the opportunity to become part of a thriving just society.

Concerns associated with regard to a large minority community – security and social issues, prejudice, political and economic issues, global reactions, character of a Jewish state, character of a democratic state, religious issues, inter-marriage, conversion, impact on Jewish immigration and emigration, government budgets, electoral issues, districting and representation, paths and criteria for citizenship, all must be analyzed, quantified and put into proper perspective using game theoretic disciplines.

There is no quick, assured or ideal resolution to a conflict that has more than a 100 year history. Nonetheless,

it has become increasingly clear that complete annexation of Judea and Samaria offers the best opportunity for security, peace and prosperity for all the residents of Israel. ■



\* Dr. Michael L. Wise, Physicist, High Tech Investor, Demographer

www.onestateplan.com  
www.israeldemography.com



Professor Moshe Arens, former Minister of Defense, gives a lecture in Shdema about his book *Flags over the Warsaw Ghetto*. Photo: Women in Green



# Eretz Yisrael 2014 Summer Program

## Lectures and events

- Friday, April 25, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **The Attitude of Rabbis to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising**  
Dr. Chaim Shalem, historian
- Friday, May 2, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **The History of Settlement and Warfare in Gush Etzion**  
Yohanan Ben Yaakov, one of the founders of the Kfar Etzion Field School, Eretz Israel researcher
- Friday, May 9, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **Are Lessons Learned in the IDF?**  
Dr. Uri Milstein, military historian
- Tuesday May 13 at Chashmonaim | 7:30 pm
  - **Conference on Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria**  
At Rimon shul, with Rabbi Itamar Orbach of Chasmonaim, MK Yariv Levin, Amb. (ret.) Yoram Ettinger in conjunction with "Am Chazak"
- Friday, May 16, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **Is There Anyone to Talk With, and Is There Anything to Talk About?**  
Prof. Moshe Sharon, Professor Emeritus, Hebrew University, expert on Islam
- Friday, May 23 at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **The Rabbis' War against Early Christianity**  
Dr. David Matar, Talmud researcher and pediatrician
- Wednesday, May 28, at Haifa | 5:30 pm  
Merkaz Rambam, Menachem Hall
  - **Conference on Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria**  
Participants: DM of Defense Danny Danon, Rabbi Eliyahu Zini, Adv. Alan Baker, Dr. Martin Sherman, Adv. Elyakim HaEztni, Amb. (ret.) Yoram Ettinger, Eran Bar-Tal, Dr. David Boukai, Dudu Elharar. In conjunction with the Chazon Leumi student group
- Friday, May 30, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **Hachnassat Sefer Torah** by the Mayer Blisko Family Foundation in memory of Eli and Dina Horvitz HY"D.  
With Dep. Minister Rabbi Eli Ben Dahan, Rabbi Chananel Etrog, head of Shavei Hevron yeshiva, Mr. Davidi Perl, mayor of Gush Etzion, Rabbi Yaron Durani, Rabbi of Nokdim and Shdema, Rabbi Itamar Cohen, Magen Shaul Mechina Nokdim, Rabbi Shmuel Natanson, Yedida Mechina, Sde Bar
- Friday, June 6, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **Eretz Yisrael and Israeli society from a psycho-historical perspective**  
Dror Eydar, literary scholar and "Yisrael Hayom" columnist
- Friday, June 13, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **The Annexation of Palestine**  
Rabbi Yisrael Rosen, head of the Zomet Institute
- Friday, June 20, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **A Personal Discovery about the Kindertransport**  
Yochi Shimon, Alon Shvut
- Friday, June 27, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **Footsteps**  
Prof. Adam Zertal, archaeologist, Professor Emeritus of Land of Israel Archaeology, Haifa University
- Friday, July 4, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **The Two State Solution**  
Dr. Mordechai Nisan, Lecturer on Middle East Studies, Hebrew University
- Friday, July 11, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **Upon Your Walls, O Jerusalem**  
Aryeh Rotenberg, Kfar Etzion Field School
- Friday, July 18, at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **The Monarchy in Israel (part 1)**  
David Nativ, Bible lecturer
- Friday, July 25 at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **The Monarchy in Israel (part 2)**  
David Nativ, Bible lecturer
- Friday, August 1 at Shdema | 9:00 am
  - **Screening of the movie *Home Game* and discussion**  
Avi Abelow, founder, 12 Tribe Films
- Monday Tisha B'Av eve, August 4 Jerusalem
  - **Annual Tisha B'Av Walk** with the participation of Housing Minister Uri Ariel. Details to follow.

Lectures are in Hebrew with simultaneous translation to English



[www.womeningreen.org](http://www.womeningreen.org)

Women in Green and the Committee for a Jewish Shdema

For details

Yehudit Katsover 050-7161818  
Nadia Matar 050-5500834

**Shdema** is a military base between Har Homa and Tekoa. Abandoned by the IDF in 2006. Arabs, aided by international anti-Israeli NGO's, have set their sight on the hill in order to interrupt the Jewish continuity between Jerusalem and Gush Etzion. In 2010, after Women in Green and the Committee for a Jewish Shdema got involved intensely, the IDF returned to Shdema. Women in Green and the Committee for a Jewish Shdema have been active in Shdema for the past six years to intensify the Jewish presence at the site.

**Shdema is accessible by private car or by transportation (by prior registration)**