

# SOVEREIGNTY

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## What is really behind the curtain?

As we stand alone in the voting booth with the envelope,  
we will not be thinking about the price of Milky pudding in  
Berlin, or about recycling the bottles or garden furniture.  
As we stand there we will think of our beloved Land of Israel



Head of Knesset  
Yuli Edelstein says:

**The world  
wants to hear  
the Right's  
alternative**

7



Minister Naftali Bennett  
is convinced:

**The vision of  
annexation in Judea  
and Samaria is  
taking hold within  
the Israeli public**

5



Yoni Chetboun:

**Sovereignty  
will prevent the  
vacuum that  
would be filled  
by terror**

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**Attorney Dafna Netanyahu** views the Palestinian Authority as an embryonic Palestinian state and shows us an alarming ultrasound examination

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The world is beginning to be interested in the Right's alternative

Head of Knesset Yuli Edelstein

## A Word from the Editors

Israel is in the final stretch of complex elections. Parties that entered the election season with their heads held high and a sense of confidence find themselves crashing; some parties combine and others divide; there are those that disappear and those that have only just appeared and already are winning flattering results in the polls.

In the present whirlwind activity of the campaigns, the economic-social aspect garners attention as well as accusations of corruption, but it seems that behind matters of recycling bottles, garden furniture and the price of dairy desserts, hide the clear biases of those on the Left, who are convinced that they have come up with the right way to confuse and deceive the Israeli voter; to speak to his heart and his pocket and the economic situation in order to generate a revolution, to establish a leftist government that would restore and promote the momentum of the negotiations to divide the Land and establish a Palestinian terrorist state in the heart of the Land.

One detail in the surveys and news about the elections that is downplayed is the party that is expected to become the third or fourth in size in the next Knesset – the Joint Arab List. This list is expected to receive 12-14 mandates and to be a significant factor in shaping the next government, if indeed it will become the Left camp's role to build it. One might easily guess what po-

litical direction they would like to take. And this fact is in addition to the fact that the current American president's term is approaching its end, when he will not be vulnerable to the pressures of the American voter and will be able to place enormous pressure on the elected Israeli leadership. As of now, they are working hard in the White House to conceal the plans under consideration as much as possible, until the day after the elections and are taking care not to attack the Israeli Right because they understand that this would only strengthen it. But after the ballots are counted, we can expect the political pressure cooker to burst.

In this issue of the Sovereignty Journal, we hope to intensify the call to strengthen the national camp at this critical political juncture; to strengthen those who carry the banner of battle against a nuclear Iran; to strengthen those who are leading the battle against the idea of dividing the Land and establishing a terror state in its heart; to strengthen those who call for the application and implementation of Israeli sovereignty over all parts of the Land of Israel; and to strengthen those who are leading the camp that is restoring the People of Israel to Zionist values, to settlement and to security.

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

# CHOOSING SOVEREIGNTY

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Application of Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria

SOVEREIGNTY / Political Journal

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# 'The motives for the attack on Netanyahu's speech in Congress - politicization and lack of understanding'

**Professor Moshe Arens is convinced that even if Obama and his people do not like Netanyahu's speech in Congress, this will not cause a degradation of relations between the United States and Israel, a relationship that is based on mutual interests, which the United States also understands should not be given up.**

A lack of understanding and political biases. These are the two reasons that former foreign minister, Prof. Moshe Arens finds for the frontal attack against the prime minister regarding his speech in the American Congress and the claim that Israel's relations with the government in Washington are being degraded.

Prof. Arens endured tremendous American stresses while he was a minister in Yitzhak Shamir's government and the present stress on Netanyahu's government appear in his eyes to be of totally different proportions than how they are described in the Israeli media.

"Relations with the United States are very good", he states and clarifies that even if it seems that in the fabric of Israeli-American relations, that Israel is the receiver and the United States is the giver, the reality is quite different. "The relationship is based on the interests of both countries. The connection between the two countries is advantageous to both countries. No country would harm relations that it considers to be advantageous for it. Therefore I am sure that Netanyahu's speech in Congress cannot harm these interests. Everyone who is concerned can rest reassured".

Arens, perhaps because of his responsible political approach, finds it difficult to understand why the prime minister's political opposition must make use even of this speech in order to butt heads and fight with him. He sees the speech as having importance of the first degree for every Israeli whatever his political beliefs. "The agreement that is being formulated between the United States and Iran is not good for Israel and it is in the interest of every responsible Israeli citizen, no matter whom he intends to vote for, that the prime minister's speech before the two houses of Congress will be effective. Period".

Arens is not impressed by the fact that those who oppose Netanyahu's speech are headed by the person who was foreign minister, MK Tzipi Livni, and who should,

supposedly, understand the true structure of Israel's relations with the United States. In his opinion, as mentioned, the reasons for the criticism of Netanyahu are clear. "The unfortunate fact is that many Israelis speak on the subject of relations with the United States without understanding the United States and the way in which a position is formulated there and without understanding the true essence of the relationship, or they prefer to hide this in order to blame the prime minister. It is a mixture of lack of understanding and political motives. There is a lack of understanding here. People do not understand what these relations are based on. The support for Israel comes from Republicans as well as Democrats and nothing will change as a result of the speech, even if the president of the United States is not enthusiastic about Netanyahu's appearance there".

Arens also relates to Israel's degree of political freedom, especially in light of the Israeli sense that the Israeli prime minister cannot take a different political stance from that which is dictated to him by the White House. Arens totally rejects this approach and states that an Israeli leader must have only Israeli interests in mind. "We must take care of our own interests and our interests in Judea and Samaria are essential and necessary for our security. We must state our policies according to our interests and with all due respect to former

American president Bush and his letter, I am not sure that this letter represents the epitome of the State of Israel's security interests".

Arens reminds us that there have already been leaders who stood up for Israel in the face of American dictates, and under much tougher circumstances. "Begin did it and he told them that we are not a banana republic. Why is it a problem to say this?" he says, and mentions that this stance was taken with the Americans during the period when Israel's economic dependence was far greater than that of today. "The State of Israel has progressed in giant steps since then. Israel of today is a relatively rich state showing impressive growth for years. It is nice to get grants but we must remember that this support also serves American interests. These are not gifts. But even during the economic crisis, when there was no choice and they had to cut their governmental budget, and also the support to Israel, it became clear even then that we can even get by without this. Their support represents perhaps one and a half percent of the Israel gross national product and if this is decreased or eliminated it will not harm us, and certainly not harm us critically. We do not need to change direction because of some dependence or other on a friend like the United States". ■



Prime Minister Menachem Begin with Secretary of State George Shultz 1983 Photo: Yaakov Saar/Flash 90

Their support represents perhaps one and a half percent of the Israel gross national product and if this is decreased or eliminated it will not harm us, and certainly not harm us critically. We do not need to change direction because of some dependence or other on a friend like the United States.



Prof. Moshe Arens Photo Flash 90

# 'The annexation of Judea and Samaria is not far off. We must only really believe'

**For economic minister and member of the security cabinet Naftali Bennett, the dangers represented by a Palestinian state are a fatal combination of security and economy, but it all begins with the biblical promise.**



In this period just before the elections, economic minister Naftali Bennett continues to present his plan for gradual application of Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria. The information that was revealed to him as a member of the policy and security cabinet, not only did not cause him to reconsider his plan, but even strengthened his resolve.

"The essential reason for our presence in Judea and Samaria is not security, but rather the fact that we belong to this place by merit of the biblical promise of thousands of years; but if we do speak about the security matter, I can say that I am even more sure of the fact that in every bit of territory where we do not have civil and military presence, we do not have good intelligence capability and certainly not the ability to prevent events from happening. I have seen the result of our lack of intelligence in Gaza because we do not have communities there. In any place where there are no communities,

there is no military. There are those who think that we will be able to remove the residents but maintain a military presence. There is no such animal. This is not the essential reason for our presence in Judea and Samaria but we must recognize this fact”.



Ben Gurion Airport would be paralyzed, there would be no tourism, no commerce Photo: Shutterstock

**You go back to the historical, biblical reason for our presence in Judea and Samaria, but is there anyone the world who is at all willing to listen to this? Does anyone care about this?**

“Very much. They care very much and are willing to listen. In the beginning I thought that when I would talk in terms of rights and destiny to foreign diplomats, they would look at me as if I was crazy, but it seems that it was exactly the opposite. I discovered that when I speak about heritage and about the country that we had 3000 years ago, about the Second Temple, and give them the historical perspective, it changes the entire atmosphere and all of the basic assumptions. This is the dramatic mistake that has been made over recent decades when these concepts were not spoken of. By the way, I learned this from a good teacher, David Ben Gurion. When he spoke of the Land of Israel, his arguments were not practical, but biblical. This is how it was when he testified for the Peel Committee. Not security, but a mandate that begins with the Bible. Unfortunately, in the Left and also in the Right, this discourse has been lost and I see it as part of my role to restore this discourse and lately, this has succeeded. More and more people are going back to talking in these terms”.

**And don't they tell you that regardless of all the justification and the history, we must also be wise and since there is now a problem with the Palestinians who want a state, we must go in this direction?**

“No doubt speaking in terms of rights and justice is the basis, but we must relate to practical problems that exist and therefore I present the plan of 'autonomy plus' for the Arabs in Areas A and B and annexation of Area C including the Arabs who live there, and then I get down to details, but it is critical to begin with the founda-

tion of justice and rights”.

As economic minister, Bennett analyzes the dangers of a Palestinian state in the economic realm as well. In his opinion things are simple and clear-cut: “A Palestinian state would crush the Israeli economy. Ben Gurion Airport would be paralyzed, there would be no tourism, there would be no commerce, we would return to the economic collapse of the days of the second intifada and people would run away from here. The Left thinks that the economy would flourish if there would be peace here but this is not correct. An economy needs quiet and not agreements. We are in a period of very good growth because, after all, there is calm. Missiles on Ben Gurion Airport and Tel Aviv would ruin this growth and this is what we would get if there were a Palestinian state here”.

**“Lieberman has not been on the Right for some time now”**

Surprisingly, Bennett hears criticism of his plan these days from Yisrael Beiteinu, which advocates the establishment of a Palestinian state in a process that would be backed by the moderate Arab states and with lines different from the Green Line. In an interview for Galei Yisrael, the head of Yisrael Beiteinu, minister Lieberman, attacked Bennett and stated that his plan is nothing but populism, cut off from reality and irresponsible. “When he speaks about applying sovereignty, he clearly knows that this is impossible, that it would turn us into a bi-national state and he does not speak of the ramifications. I have never heard Naftali Bennett say what the reaction of the European Union and the United States would be to the unilateral application of Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria”, said Lieberman.

**This is what they say about you in a party that is considered a right wing party...**

“Lieberman has not been on the Right for some time. Anyone who supports a Palestinian state right next to Route 6 is anything but on the Right. The reality is simply the opposite. On the contrary, it is the various plans to establish a Palestinian state, whether according to the outline of the Bar Ilan speech or Lieberman's outline or Oslo, that have been proved unrealistic in the past twenty years. They think that if we establish a Palestinian state the world would like us but this is a distorted view. The reality is the opposite. It is, on the contrary, the approach that advocates withdrawal and surrendering territory that would lead to degradation of Israel's position. This approach increases the Arab appetite and from then on there would be claims and demands for Israel to continue to withdraw more and more. The world has no respect for the weak and for those who make concessions and it respects those who have self-respect. Concessions would perhaps win some sympathy for a day or two but in the long run the result would be the opposite and the uprooting from Gush Katif proves this. Why, we did

everything that the world demanded from us there – we went out to the '67 lines, expelled Jews and surrendered territory to Abu Mazen, and what did we get? A world that continues to describe us as fascists and murderers. We got the Goldstone report, the Marmara and it hurt our position in the world, and all of this, ironically, as a result of Gaza”.

**What about the concerns over the cost of granting civil rights to tens of thousands of Palestinians in the territories that would be annexed?**

The world has no respect for the weak and for those who make concessions and it respects those who have self-respect

“We spend a lot more money on the Gaza belt. This money is pennies compared to the terrible damage that a Palestinian state would cause”.

Bennett is convinced that only a clear statement to the world, as well as to the Israeli public internally, that the Land has belonged to the People of Israel for 4000 years, will ultimately be accepted. “Really, just as in the beginning they opposed sovereignty over the Golan Heights and east Jerusalem and eventually, they got used to it. Peres cautioned Begin at that time that the world would boycott us and that we would be isolated and see what a miracle has happened. Begin applied sovereignty and nothing happened. This is what we must say and how we must conduct ourselves in Judea and Samaria as well”. The subject of annexation of Judea and Samaria is not a far-off vision but something practical that it is achievable with enough political and public strength. We must really believe in this”.

**You are acting to increase the number of groups that your party speaks to. When you present such a political plan, a plan that is considered rightist, do you not alienate potential audiences?**

Politics is a means to promote a goal, which, in this case, is to fight for the People of Israel, the Land of Israel and the Torah of Israel. If I promote a principle, even if at first it is not popular, I do not give it up, because this is the goal, even if it costs mandates. Moreover, I can say that in the past three years, since I brought up the plan of annexation, there is an increasing percentage of Israelis who support the idea. This is the first time that the Right has presented a political plan that is not defensive, but assertive and it is the Left that is defending itself. This changes the character of Israeli discourse and therefore we must continue and of course, not stop the process”.

# The world is beginning to become interested in an alternative on the Right

The head of the Knesset finds himself presenting positions that are contrary to the idea of a Palestinian state to statesmen and public opinion shapers in the world. How is this done? Are they at all willing to listen? It turns out that there are surprises in this area as well.

Within the framework of his role as minister of hasbara and afterwards while presiding as head of the Knesset, MK Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein, in various forums in Israel and abroad has presented his positions, which are contrary to the Oslo plan and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the heart of the Land of Israel. A discussion with him strengthens the sense that perhaps, contrary to the accepted train of thought, the world is no longer shocked to hear a senior figure at the top echelon of Israeli leadership who speaks plainly about a political plan that rejects the Oslo plan.

Edelstein sharpens his words by saying that surprisingly it is his opinions, which are contrary to the vision of a Palestinian state, that are creating increasing interest, especially because of the upheavals in the Middle East and the collapse of the process of political negotiations between the representatives of Israel and those of the Palestinian Authority.

“As an example, I will tell you about the visit by the president of an important and respected country who came to Israel with his entourage and when we met, he told me that he felt that the most important thing to him was to speak specifically with me. I thanked him and said that it was indeed very flattering, but I was curious to know why and he explained. He said that everyone in the world says that the solution is two states and he heard that I object to this idea and just because of that he wanted to hear the reasons for this objection and what I do suggest. Afterwards, we had a meeting and during more than a half hour I explained the reasons for this objection to him”.

**‘Up until now, they have been trying to erect a building without foundations’**



Knesset Speaker MK Yuli Edelstein at the 3rd Sovereignty Conference organized by Women in Green. Photo: Gershon Ellinson

**Is such a person convinced after a discussion like this?**

“You would be surprised to hear that people accept it. Even if they do not change their opinion, they understand that this is a legitimate position. I present the practical argument and prove to them that the idea of two states is no longer relevant. I explain to them that the time has come to try something else. Until now, we have been trying to shorten the Oslo process by the disengagement and other steps. It did not work. Let's try another way. Let's try to promote coexistence without deadlines, without hoping to sign a quick agreement where borders would be determined, we will determine the fate of Jerusalem and the communities and afterwards it will be alright. It will not be alright! When you build a house without foundations it falls, as happened with Oslo and with other plans”.

**So what you say in these meetings is that the thing is simply not practical but in principle you agree to dividing the Land? Is that the only way to draw world diplomacy to your view?**

“No. I don't tell them that I am for it because that would be a lie and I do not lie. I am not for it. But I also do not tell them 'not even an inch, never' because this would not be acceptable and would not help. I tell them that I am willing to listen to any solution that both sides come to, within the framework of negotiations on the principles of long-term peace. I do not know what this solution would be, but it is clear to me that it will not happen within the next few years, simply because as of now, there are no foundations and basic conditions for such a peace”.

**And after you reject the two-state vision, don't they ask to hear what you do suggest?**

“I tell them that we must get used to the idea that we will live together. I do not advocate transfer for Jews or for Ar-

abs. We live here and if we do not learn to live together and cooperate, no solution would help. In this context, I also tell the representatives from the European Union that they have made a serious mistake in boycotting the communities because they are based on cooperation in infrastructure projects, water, energy, quality of the environment and so on. It is not possible to support the Palestinians while boycotting the Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria. If they do not cooperate with everyone, there is no way to hope for progress. They must pay attention to the Jewish residents and together, think about ways to cooperate”.

**And how do they react to such statements?**

The visitors from abroad who hear this are surprised that in front of them is a “settler” with a kippa who objects to taking steps that would lead to a Palestinian state and nevertheless, he is willing to speak with Palestinians while they, the Palestinians, are not willing to talk. When they see the other side's reactions they become less convinced of these plans and begin to think anew about their foundational assumptions. By the way, in the same opportunity I also tell them that I am not willing to speak with someone who begins his morning with the desire to destroy the State of Israel”.

**So you speak about peace in the field but they want a political plan. Don't they demand a plan of this sort?**

“To present a political plan is actually presenting a falsehood. Such plans are not implementable. I say this also regarding immediate annexation of all of Judea and Samaria. I like things that are more practical. I am willing to consider progress regarding Area C or the areas of Jewish settlement and attaching them more fully to the State of Israel (in my eyes the rest also belong to the Land of Israel). I am willing to consider such a step as a response

to unilateral Palestinian steps, but I also understand the danger that they might say that if I do this, I have surrendered the rest, and therefore here also, we must behave prudently. I am for actions and not for shouting”.

**At the observation point at Beit Aryeh looking out toward Ben Gurion Airport**

**What about the historical point of view? Does this aspect speak to the foreign diplomats and visitors?**

“Of course. I will give you an example from one of the tours that I led with foreign visitors, as the minister of hasbara as well as in the role of head of the Knesset – I took foreign journalists to the observation post in Beit Aryeh. This is an observation point from which you can see the Ben Gurion Airport and you understand how anyone who comes there with a shoulder launched missile or even a good sniper could shut down all flight activity to Israel. The goal is, of course, to show the severe danger of giving up territory, but even before I began the tour I told them ‘Listen, friends, everything that I am about to tell you from a security point of view is correct, but I would not dare to invite you to this observation point looking out at the airport if I were not totally sure that we have every right to this territory, that we are not stealing land, it is ours and we are here because of our rights and not because of any favors, because if this were not so, it would lack any foundation. Security claims do not justify holding territory if it is not mine. The fact that I fear that thieves might come from the direction of your house cannot justify my taking over your house. After I have stated this fact I can begin with the security explanation. Otherwise nothing means anything. It must all begin with our rights”.



Knesset Speaker MK Yuli Edelstein with head of Italian Parliament Laura Boldrini Photo: Flash 90

I discovered that when I speak about heritage and about the country that we had 3000 years ago, about the Second Temple, and give them the historical perspective, it changes the entire atmosphere and all of the basic assumptions.



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I discovered that when I speak about heritage and about the country that we had 3000 years ago, about the Second Temple, and give them the historical perspective, it changes the entire atmosphere and all of the basic assumptions.

# 'Sovereignty will close the Vacuum that leads to Terror'

**MK Yoni Chetboun:** Only a wearied society would be willing to sell its values for quiet. Such exhaustion begins with giving up the ideal of the Land and leads to a degradation of social values in every single area.

MK Yoni Chetboun (Yahad) finds the main danger entailed in a Palestinian state is primarily in the area of ideals and principles, in simply agreeing to the existence of such a state. "Even before the matter of security, which I am familiar with both as an IDF officer and also as someone who has sat on the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the recognition of a Palestinian state would harm the Zionist ideal", he says.

Such recognition is a blow to the essence of our belonging to the Land of Israel. When such an idea begins to permeate the Israeli consciousness and when Israeli politics is willing to speak about the possibility of a Palestinian state, the societal ramifications begin to deteriorate", says Chetboun and states that "since Oslo until today there is a correlation between the willingness to make concessions and internal social degradation in Israel and our national resilience in other areas such as our international standing and stamina in fighting".

The best example of this, as he defines it, Chetboun finds in the year 2005, the days of the uprooting and expulsion from Gush Katif, days when "the entire country and political and military system were engaged in the question of how to surrender the basic Zionist value of settlement and one year afterward we found ourselves involved in the Second Lebanese War, while that same echelon that was engaged in weakness did not succeed in waging the entire battle against a guerrilla enemy that was not especially complex or complicated. The soldiers' tactical echelon, the battalion commanders and so forth, performed as necessary, but we saw what happens to a country that does not know how to define its goals of defense and conquest for itself. There is a connection between concessions of Zionist values and the ability to cope in the defense and societal areas".

## Dividing the Land - a Symptom of Leftist Exhaustion and a Fear of Challenges

Chetboun sees the Left's drive to divide the Land and establish a Palestinian state as symptoms of social ills of a society that is weary and is apprehensive about taking on

challenges, which prefers to withdraw into the good of the individual and his enjoyments and gives up the national pride and national strength. "The talk about a Palestinian state is like saying that it is difficult for me and I haven't got the strength to stand up to creeping terror and to a world that boycotts me and therefore I will give up communities, just let me be", he says and again emphasizes that these things are said despite the knowledge of the security risks entailed in the existence of a Palestinian state. "This danger is greater than the security danger".

To this, Chetboun adds: "Moreover, as a believing person, the Torah tells me that at the root of these things is the belief that the Almighty gave the Land to us and we have no moral right to give parts of the Land to foreigners. The very fact that we are here and not in Uganda stems from the right that is anchored in the Book of Books. We are progressing in phases and we have no authority or right to withdraw when we are at the height of the process".

**You spoke of internal national strength as a value that is damaged by withdrawals, but the Israeli Left would tell you that on the contrary, it is precisely the abandonment of Judea and Samaria that would make possible an internal coherence of all segments of the People around the '67 lines**

"I disagree with the theory that a majority of Israeli society would agree to withdraw to the '67 lines. One can clearly see the gap between the position of the Leftist elite in

The very fact that we are here and not in Uganda stems from the right that is anchored in the Book of Books. We are progressing in phases and we have no authority or right to withdraw when we are at the height of the process.

the courts, in academia and the media on the one hand and the Israeli public on the other, which sees in the settlement enterprise a model worthy of emulation and not a stumbling block. It is thus also with the residents of the center of the country. And more than this, I will give you a simple example: imagine several brothers, some of whom say that they do not love their mother and they want to give her up, then perhaps we will throw her out of the house, but everyone understands that mother is the foundation of the home and there is an underlying principle that you cannot give her up. A society that gives up its basic values, such as its land, would give up other values as well".

## Sovereignty is essential. The lack of sovereignty would lead to a vacuum, where terror would enter

"There is no choice but to apply sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. Our party supports this idea. Our problem began in '67 when we did not apply then our legal standing over this area. This fact has led to a vacuum which has led to attacks coming from the world and from the Left. Application of sovereignty would cause the world to understand that Israel has decided and there is no reason to continue the attacks", says Chetboun, who hurries to clarify that he does not deny the complexity of the process that he suggests and the difficulty

entailed in it. "I am not cut off from reality. I know that there will be a short period of complexity, but over time this is what will save the situation".

When he speaks of sovereignty, Chetboun does not ignore the demographic threat and in short, he repeats the summary of principles that he lays out in meetings with members of American Congress. "In '48, just before the declaration of the state, there was the same discussion between Haim Weizman and Ben Gurion. You can read the diaries of Ben Gurion and see that Weizman attacked Ben Gurion and told him that the idea of declaring a state at that time was an insane idea because there were only six hundred thousand Jews here and millions of Arabs all around. The result would be that the establishment of a state ruled by a minority is a recipe for killing the idea of a Zionist state. Ben Gurion had a very simple answer. He did not deny the reality but he said that there is a challenge before us, and millions of Jews will come to the Land, we will create here a strong economy and a strong society and things will stabilize. Today, between the sea and the Jordan the Jews are 66 percent. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics show a critical decline in the Arab birth rate compared to the Jewish birth rate. You should analyze the data of Central Bureau of Statistics' Data and not read what is said by researchers who have an agenda. We have a task to perform, to bring immigrants, to strengthen the country and maintain this trend". ■



MK Yoni Chetboun with MK Rabbi Eli Yishai. Photo Flash 90

# A monster in the ultra-sound



By Attorney **Dafna Netanyahu** - editor of the "Mar'a" Internet journal

The "center", the Left and the media do not stop preaching to us that it is impossible to stop the establishment of a Palestinian state in the heart of our Land, at a distance of a few kilometers from our homes, our cities, from the Knesset, and from essential and strategic installations.

Those who call for the establishment of such a state, which, everyone knows, would become a Hamas state, like in Gaza, are behaving like hysterics. The events in the Middle East and the world, as well as the presence on our borders of organizations supported by an Iran in the process of becoming nuclear, do not change their opinions. They just repeat the empty and illogical slogan that the establishment of that country – without admitting that it would be a Hamas state – is the only way available for Israel. The people with delusions of peace try to relax us by saying that if it becomes clear that the experiment of a Palestinian state fails, we could, at any time, go in and "straighten things out".

Those same people who preach the establishment of a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria and Gaza totally ignore what is written in clause no. 9 of the Palestine National Covenant, "the armed battle is the only way to liberate Palestine and it, therefore, is a strategy and not a tactic", while clauses 19 and 20 declare the annulment of the Balfour Declaration, the text of the Mandate, the UN decision of 1947 on the

partition and the decision to establish the State of Israel.

But worse than anything: they do not take into account what the nature of such a state would be, and what kind of reality we would be subjected to on the day after its establishment.

As of now, in Judea, Samaria and Gaza there is a sort of embryonic state, or "Arab state in progress". And just as with pregnancy, it is possible, with ultrasound, to see the embryo's organs and know generally, what shape the fetus will be when it is born, it is so when speaking of a country as well.

When we were "a state in progress" – meaning an embryonic state – we established a health care system, a labor union, cities, kibbutzim and moshavim, theaters and opera; we developed an educational system in which was taught, in addition to the Jewish religious and secular culture, the best of humanist Western cultural heritage; the various political parties had newspapers, held discussions on the purity of arms and equality; religious and non-religious lived side by side, and the vision was to found a liberal and democratic state. And indeed, when the State of Israel was born, it was founded as a democratic state, which, until today, under almost impossible conditions, maintains its humanistic values – human rights, freedom, rule of law, democracy, and a free economy.

But how does the embryonic state created by Arafat-Abu-Mazen-Hamas look? Why, we are already familiar with enough

As of now, in Judea, Samaria and Gaza there is a sort of embryonic state, or "Arab state in progress". And just as with pregnancy, it is possible, with ultrasound, to see the embryo's organs and know generally, what shape the fetus will be when it is born, it is so when speaking of a country as well.



Atty. Dafna Netanyahu at the Sovereignty Conference organized by Women in Green. Photo Shlomi Shalmoi

of its characteristics to know what form it will take if we allow it to arise:

1) It would be a state free of Jews. Judea-rein. If, G-d forbid, a Jew lost his way and entered its borders, he would immediately be lynched, as happened in Ramallah.

2) The enormous sums of money that are poured into the Palestinian Authority from Western states would be directed primarily into two channels: one, into the private pockets of the leaders – that is, the Palestinian embryo would be characterized by corruption – rotten from the cradle; the other channel, in acquiring and creating means of destruction and developing martyrs, who would be ready to kill the residents of the State of Israel. Despite the fact that Abu-Mazen holds the civilian rule of more than 90% of the Arab population in Judea and Samaria, and Hamas has 100% of civilian rule of the residents of Gaza, only a small amount is invested in creating an economic, cultural, educational, health care and political infrastructure – that should serve the state in the future. Instead of this, most of their resources are channeled into one purpose: destruction of the State of Israel.

3) In the areas under the civil control of Abu-Mazen and Hamas there is no freedom of the press, Christians are persecuted and radical Islam is the sole ruling religion. Human rights, women's rights in particular, are trampled. Those who oppose the regime, those who belong to competing groups or those who "are suspected of collaboration with the State of Israel"



One need not be a prophet in order to know what a monster would be born from the Palestinian "embryonic state" in Judea and Samaria. Photo: Flash 90

This embryonic state carries out - in schools, in mosques and in the media - brainwashing on an entire generation. It puts into the heads of its youth the idea that "there is no solution to the Palestinian problem other than by means of "jihad"

- are simply eliminated.

4) This embryonic state carries out - in schools, in mosques and in the media - brainwashing on an entire generation. It puts into the heads of its youth the idea that "there is no solution to the Palestinian problem other than by means of jihad" (clause 13 of the Hamas Covenant), and turns them into human bombs imbued with a deep hatred of Jews. Despite all of this, people in the parties of the "center", the Left, academia and our media try to convince us that if only such murderers had a state - they could form a peace pact with us.

5) The population that is controlled by Hamas and the PA is brainwashed with anti-Semitism of the worst sort. According to clause 7 of the Hamas covenant, there is only one fate for any Jew, in any place in the world: death; the Jews are guilty for all of the world wars, including having organized World War I and World War II (!). Also the establishment of the UN, it seems, is in the Jewish interest, so that the Jews can use it to control the world.

Supporters of the Palestinian-state-in-progress also ignore the process of delegitimization that the Palestinians are leading in the world, which calls for a boycott of Israel and its destruction as a Jewish state.

If a Palestinian state is born, it will have control over its borders, and nobody would be able to prevent this over the course of time. It would bring millions of Arabs into the territories of the Land of Israel that were under its control, and with them, tens of thousands of jihad fighters. More than

this: according to clause 28 of the Hamas covenant, the Arab countries would be demanded to open their borders to facilitate the movement of jihad fighters.

The "demilitarization" of a sovereign state is a false notion. When the Hamas state is born, it will have a huge, well-equipped army, and the armaments of Hizb'Allah are only one sample. And if now it is difficult for us to rein in their militias and the amount of weapons that they smuggle in - it does not require a very developed imagination to understand what efforts would be required from us in order to repel the Hamas invasion into our homes.

Also the idea that we would be able to go into the area of the Hamas state whenever we wanted to in order to stop its attacks upon us, is folly. The IDF's entry would be an act of war against such a state, with all of the resultant international implications. Fighting with it would be much more complex, complicated and dangerous than it is today.

The elections in the PA show that Hamas is not a marginal movement, and its propaganda is not "for internal use only". Also the "calming" rhetoric, as if support for Hamas is primarily a protest against the corruption of Abu-Mazen's people, has been proven to be baseless, and brings to mind the statements that were heard in 1933 in Germany and the world, according to which, the election of Hitler stemmed primarily from the economic situation and not the German people's enthusiasm for Mein Kampf. Occurrences in the Gaza Strip under the rule of Hamas have debunked another of

the Left's assumptions, which is that the need to manage matters of state would lead the Palestinians to abandon their intention to destroy Israel and would lead them to give up the right of return. Exactly such a claim was made regarding Hitler, and the result was the conquest of Europe in a terrible war and the destruction of six million Jews. The Oslo architects made a similar claim regarding Arafat, and we have seen how much he invested in "managing the PA" versus managing the terror-war against us. Today, after the unending launching of missiles and mortars towards the communities of southern Israel, and after the operations that the IDF has carried out to suppress them, it is clear that all of the forecasts and evaluations of those among us who support an independent Arab state in Gaza and in Judea and Samaria - have been proven false and without foundation.

Hamas' and the PA's principle goal is one thing: the destruction of the State of Israel, killing the Jews that are in it, and aided by the Muslim territorial contiguity that would be created from Iran to the Mediterranean Sea - turning it into a bridgehead of the Arab nation's and Islam's attack on the Western world.

One need not be a prophet in order to know what a monster would be born from the Palestinian "embryonic state" in Judea and Samaria. We would not be able to live with it in any kind of peace. And if this state would achieve its goal - our destruction - there is no way that we would continue to live at all. ■

# 'It has been proven that all territory that is surrendered becomes a base for explosives labs and missile launching'



Photo: Flash 90

**MK Col. (reserves) Moti Yogev** knows Judea and Samaria like the palm of his hand and also the security dangers posed by a Palestinian state, which would be only the first step in the PLO plan of phases.

The security dangers posed by a Palestinian state are well known to MK Moti Yogev, not only as a member in the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and not only because of his military past as a colonel in the IDF, but rather and perhaps primarily, as a result of his familiarity with the area as someone who has presided in the past as deputy head of the Council of Benyamin. Along with all of this, Yogev begins speaking on the security aspects of a Palestinian state with a sort of title to the entire discussion: "The Land of Israel is ours not because of security reasons but by the power of the divine promise, by which the divine good is revealed to us and to the entire world".

And after this 'title' he details one by one the security

dangers of the idea of dividing the Land. "When it was agreed to surrender area C in Judea and Samaria and Gaza to the Palestinians it became clear that any territory of the Land of Israel that is surrendered to the enemy serves as an explosives lab and as territories from which to launch suicide terrorists into Israeli population centers. In Gaza the place became also a base for shooting mortars and missiles at us".

"These things are clear. Also in the Palestinian Covenant, which was written even before the Six Day War, just as in the Hamas Covenant, the Palestinians are commanded to destroy the State of Israel, to expel and destroy the Jewish residents who have no place in the territory which, from their point of view, is an Islamic endowment", says Yogev and recommends to us to check these things in the Covenant itself.

**We must become familiar with the clauses of the Palestinian Covenant**

Examining, as he suggests, the Wikipedia site, reveals the aggressive clauses of the covenant, and below are a few of the "pearls":

"Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian people and it is an integral part of the greater Arab homeland... armed battle is the only way to liberate Palestine and it, therefore, is a strategy and not a tactic. The Palestinian people affirms its absolute resoluteness and irrevocability of the decision - to continue the armed battle and progress toward armed popular revolution to liberate its homeland, and to return to it, to maintain its right to live in it a natural life and upon the existence of its right to self-determination and to sovereignty over it... guerrilla operations constitute the nucleus of the Palestinian popular war of liberation, and this requires its escalation and expansion, and enlisting every Palestinian public and educational means ... The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab point of view, is a national obligation in order to repel the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the greater Arab homeland and purify Palestine of the Zionist presence ... The division of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are inherently annulled..."

"Arafat never changed the covenant", says Yogev and adds to this that in the opinion of many public figures, among them Defense Minister Moshe Yaalon, who again and again said in the past that the claim that it had been cancelled was only an empty show for the president at the time, Bill Clinton. This is because in order to cancel clauses from the covenant, there must be a majority of two thirds of all members of the national council of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a special sitting, which would be convened specifically for this purpose" (Clause 33 of the Palestinian Covenant). Such a majority would never be achieved. Arafat's gathering did not end with a count of votes, but with a general es-

timination of hands that were raised both for and against the change in the covenant. It is further claimed that if the covenant had been changed in that gathering, a new covenant would have been written and issued, and such a document was never published.

**"The international promises are not worth the paper they are written on"**

**And what about the international promises to keep security guarantees to Israel? Is it impossible to depend on them?**

"Any international promise is worthless. It was so in Lebanon also, as well as in Sinai and in the Golan Heights and the best example is from last year in the Golan Heights where UN forces were overcome and they retreated. No Norwegian mother would send her son to endanger himself on the border between Israel and its neighbors. Such forces are actually no longer relevant in the Middle East. Even American forces would not be loyal to our defense. Until now, they could be depended upon only to



**MK Col. (Res.) Moti Yogev at the Mothers' Vigil for Sovereignty 2014.** Photo: Women in Green

train Palestinian forces for war. True, in the broad sense, the United States is obligated to Israel's security and we are aided by the support of three billion dollars; it is impossible to ignore and we must thank them for this, but together with this, the United States, especially during Obama's rule, has presented a pro-Palestinian position and also weakness toward Iran, and therefore Israel can only depend on her own guarantees of Israel's security".

From here, Yogev adds another aspect of the danger of a Palestinian state – the upheavals in the Middle East. "An axis of evil has been created by Iran and other radical Muslim organizations which, even if they fight among themselves like ISIS, Jabhat al-Nusra, Ansar Bayt al-Makdis, Hizb'Allah and Hamas, ultimately conquer more and more of the Muslim world and might create a radical, geographical axis that passes through Iran, Iraq, Syria and Jordan and connect to the mountain ridge that is the very heart of Israel. This would turn Route 6 into the front line of Iran's subsidiaries in order to isolate Jerusalem and would be a

threat to Ben Gurion Airport in the Gush Dan area".

Yogev adds to these words a reminder from the days of Operation Protective Edge, when a single missile was launched from Gaza to the area of Ben Gurion Airport. "What noise and commotion there was here when Israel's air lanes were closed for a day... These front-line positions in strategic areas of the mountain ridge of Judea and Samaria could become an appropriate base, for the purposes of the Palestinian Covenant, for the occupation of Judea and Samaria in negotiations, and from that point, to continue the annihilation of the Zionist state in battle until the sea. This is the Palestinian plan of phases in short. This theory could be wrapped in a keffiyah or in a suit and tie, but this is what is hiding behind its belief, despite its smiling appearance, its fluent English and seeming willingness to negotiate".

**A basis of faith, strengthening security, rising birth rate and immigration are essential to leverage the regional security conflict**

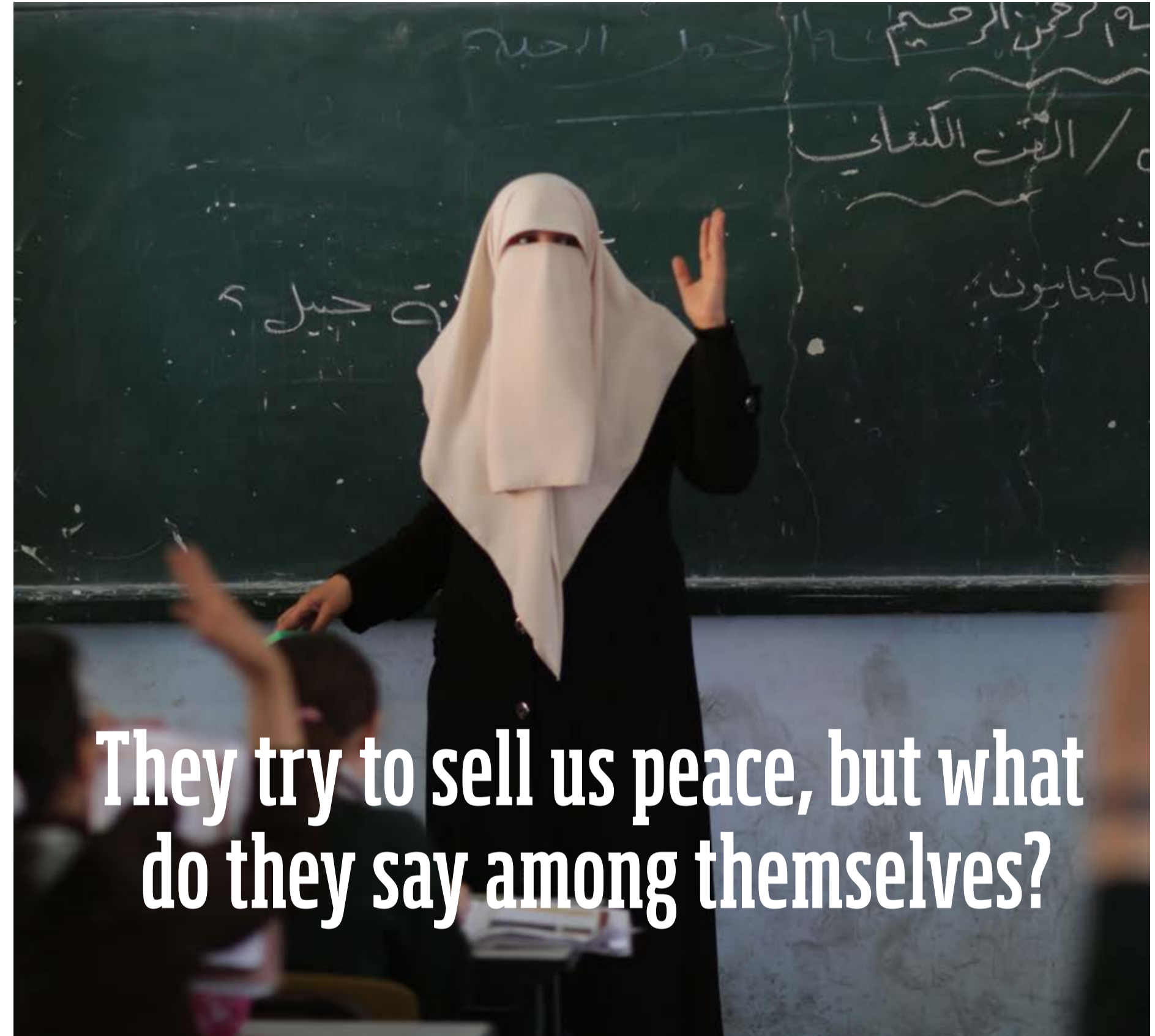
**In light of all of these words about the security dangers entailed in the existence of a Palestinian state, whether in the local context or within the aspect of the Middle East in general, the simple question is sharpened – and they, the people of the Left, are not familiar with these facts? Don't the security dangers bother them? How did they miss this data?**

Yogev has an answer to this question as well: "The Left has a number of misgivings. The first is the lack of an appropriate relationship to the Land of Israel, which they did not learn in their educational institutions, schools that neglected everything connected with faith, Torah, commandments and our relationship to the Land of Israel. Moreover, there is also the demographic fear because of the low birth rate among the non-religious public. On the other hand the religious and haredi public, because of its high birth rate, can feel optimism and hope in the future, which does not exist in those who have created a culture of late marriage and low birth rate. In addition to this, they have anxiety in relation to the nations of the world and international relations with an emphasis on the United States. When the belief in the justice of your cause weakens and on the other hand the apparently real aspect of international relationships seems to be unstable, it seems like a justifiable fear. If someone has a basis of faith and opinions, and does not depend on a miracle, but strengthens the settlement enterprise, the birth rate, security and immigration, the national strength can stand strong against the changes in our reality in the Middle East and against the reality in Judea and Samaria." ■

The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab point of view, is a national obligation in order to repel the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the greater Arab homeland and purify Palestine of the Zionist presence.

Even American forces would not be loyal to our defense. Until now, they could be depended upon only to train Palestinian forces for war.

These front-line positions in strategic areas of the mountain ridge of Judea and Samaria could become an appropriate base, for the purposes of the Palestinian Covenant, for the occupation of Judea and Samaria in negotiations, and from that point, to continue the annihilation of the Zionist state in battle until the sea.



In order to know the true mindset that motivates the "peace partner", we must listen to what the Palestinians say among themselves. Photo: Flash 90

To get an idea of how serious the Palestinians are, we must examine their internal discussion, their schoolbooks, the official Internet sites of their leadership there, the speeches and children's television programs in the PA. The person who does this every day is **Itamar Marcus**, head of Palestinian Media Watch, who describes several insights that the average Israeli must know.

In order to know the true mindset that motivates the "peace partner" in political negotiations, each and every one of us, especially Israeli leaders, must listen to what the Palestinians say among themselves; to the messages deeply embedded among them, to the style of discourse, to the vision that they see in front of their eyes not only as an ideal, but as a process to be implemented step by step. In order to clarify all of this it seems that there is no one better suited than Itamar Marcus, head of the Palestinian Media Watch institute, which tracks what they say among themselves in Arabic. We wanted to hear from



The Palestinians do not want only Judea and Samaria. They see the goal as a Palestine from Metulla to Eilat. The community of Efrat between Jerusalem and Hebron Photo: Flash 90

him what is said in the PA internally, not in sanitized language, or in the polished and smiling English of Washington lounges, but rather, that which is relayed to the Palestinian masses, to the reader of the Palestinian newspapers, to the Palestinian child and in the rooms of the Muqata where decisions are taken.

“The problem is much greater than incitement”, says Marcus. The problem is the Palestinian ideology, where the incitement is only the public expression of this ideology. The Palestinian ideology, which is expressed there all the time, is the principle according to which, Israel has no right to exist. This statement is a basic principle and it appears in schoolbooks. An example of this is can be found in a schoolbook for twelfth grade, where the establishment of the State of Israel is defined as the theft of Palestine. We meet with this attitude every year when Israeli Independence Day approaches, their Nakba Day, in articles that appear in the official press of the PA. Here is what is written before last year’s Independence Day: ‘Sixty six years ago a monster was born, which grew and flourished on the ruins of an entire people, which was expelled from its land and its homeland, and its name became Israel... the Zionist gangs invaded the land of Palestine and expelled the residents as the world saw and

heard, but did not lift a finger, and more accurately, the superpowers of that time, which covered for the Zionist gangs, made the foul act easy for them, and gave them all of their support. This is a crime that was unprecedented in history... The occupation of Palestine was the greatest crime that humanity has ever known. From that very time, the Palestinian people have been dealing with these gangs in every way and with every means in order to restore to itself the right that was stolen from it, and it is still awaiting this longed-for day”.

**The problem is the fantasy and the lie that they only want Judea and Samaria**

“The basic problem is that some of the public in Israel and the world have the fantasy that the Palestinian Authority recognizes Israel and its problem is only with Israeli rule in Judea and Samaria. This is simply not correct and these things are expressed not only when they describe the past but also in their expectations for the future. They see the goal as a Palestine that extends from Metulla to Eilat”, says Marcus.

To these words he adds a number of current examples: take, for example, what happens in the most important children’s

**The things the PA says are almost totally identical to the Hamas Covenant**

The essence of the Palestinian ideology - the Jews and Israel have no right to exist and in the future they will not exist in any place. Everything that occurs in the Palestinian world is intended to promote this view”.

program in Palestinian television – The House of Houses. In her discussions with the children, the presenter repeats over and over again the definition of cities such as Haifa, Acre and Jaffa as occupied Palestine since the year ‘48, cities that Palestinians should long for and expect their liberation. And here is an example of a typical discussion in the program:

**Child:** “I have never been to Israel or to Gaza”

**Palestinian Television Emcee:** “What Israel? This is our land”.

**Child:** “Israel is our land – the lands of ‘48.”

**Emcee:** “This is our land, occupied Palestine.”

**Child:** “The lands of ‘48.”

**Emcee:** “These are our lands, occupied Palestine. They are Haifa, Jaffa and Acre. These are our occupied lands, the lands of ‘48 that Israel occupied in ‘48. Israel occupied them in ‘48. These are Palestinian lands that will remain Palestinian, G-d willing, someday they will return to us, and they will no longer be under the rule of the occupation.” (Official PA television, 04/10/2014)

“These citations are the essence of the Palestinian ideology – the Jews and Israel have no right to exist and in the future they will not exist in any place. Everything that

occurs in the Palestinian world is intended to promote this view”, says Marcus and goes on to an even more essential problem – the religious ideology, according to which the entire area of the State of Israel is land that belongs to the Waqf (the Islamic endowment), which cannot be surrendered. “This was said recently by Mahmoud Al-Habbash, Abu Mazen’s personal advisor for religious affairs, who was also minister of religion in the past and the second most important figure in the PA. The things that he said are almost totally identical to the Hamas Covenant”.

**The religious battle is more intense than the nationalist battle**

“There are two wars going on here – a nationalist war and an Islamist war, which is even more meaningful, because while in a nationalist war there is a chance that perhaps a leader will come in the future and say that their nationalist opinion has changed, a religious ideology that believes that the entire area of Israel belongs to the Muslims is not given to change and compromise. This view does not accept the viability of Israel’s existence and everything is in the name of Islam”, he says and comments that secular Palestinians, who perhaps would be able, in the distant future, to be partners for discussion on compromise, are distanced from every position of official influence in the PA.

The secular power in the PA is increasingly disappearing, explains Marcus. “Many years ago, when Fatah was established, it was a secular movement. Then, even the expression ‘G-d willing’ was not mentioned in the Palestinian Covenant. Today, Fatah and the PA have almost totally adopted the ideology of Hamas, which believes in the Islamic obligation to liberate all of Palestine”.

Itamar Marcus is not impressed by expressions such as “you make peace with enemies” and “look at the precedent of Egypt and Jordan”. To tell the truth, he also does not sound like a great believer in those peace agreements, which he defines as ‘agreements of interests’ and even ‘agreements of bribery’. The agreement with Jordan, he explains, is worthwhile to the Jordanian kingdom because of what Jordan gets in return – water, and lots of it. “In Jordanian schoolbooks they justify the agreement with Israel not on principle, but as a step in the procurement of water”. He returns to the most basic measure – which is what is written in the schoolbooks and these are the guiding principles for the next generation. The agreement with Egypt does not impress Marcus either. According to him, as of now, the quiet and the agreement match the interests of the leadership there but there is no guarantee that this will be the case in the future, especially as the Egyptian people are not developing any trend toward peace with Israel. “They are not educating toward peace, and hatred

for Jews still exists among them on the background of religion”, he says. And what about the quiet that exists on the southern border? “There is also such quiet in the north, facing Syria”, he says. It all depends on interests. Not on documents signed on grassy lawns and accompanied by the sounds of trumpets.

And the internalization of these messages does not begin or end in the Palestinian educational system. In the PA’s Internet site for security services, Marcus says, there is a section called “pictures from Palestine” in which they show photographs of cities such as Jaffa and other Israeli cities, and under the pictures is the caption ‘Palestine’ or ‘occupied Palestine’ “and all of this is happening under the leadership of Abbas”, he mentions, and notes: Fatah’s Facebook page always presents Israel as Palestine. This is their basic and deep ideological principle”.

**Terrorists are praised because the desire for genocide against the Jewish people is sanctified**

The people of Palestinian Media Watch also track the phenomenon of official Palestinian praise for terrorists. “The PA continually demonizes Jews and Israelis, spreads a great deal of groundless slander to justify terror, and in its official television it presents children’s programs with songs that describe the Jews as the descendants of apes and pigs, as the devil with a tail and so forth. It is not only a negation of Israel’s right to exist but a call for the need to harm them because they are the enemies of Allah”, says Marcus.

The words of praise and approval of terrorists, such as naming public squares, summer camps and sport events for them,

as well as making payments to those who are in prison, and issuing certificates of appreciation to members of murderous terrorists’ families, doesn’t come out of nowhere. Marcus mentions the words of the Palestinian Mufti, who spoke recently in Jerusalem and quoted the hadith (a collection of religious laws) that calls for bringing genocide upon the Jews. “We published this fact and it led to much criticism and even a police investigation. It is not clear to me why he was not brought to trial. Apparently, political reasons are the answer for this”, says Marcus and notes that an investigation revealed that 65 percent of the Palestinian public believe in this hadith. “Two thirds believe that the destruction of the Jewish People is part of Islam. For them, the final solution for the Jews brings the Muslim redemption... The Palestinian society is very religious. Polls show that 90-98 percent see religion as very significant for them. When the religious leaders say that the State of Israel has no right to exist, this has an influence”, he says.

Marcus recommends to those who support negotiations to take a look also at the conclusions arising from an American poll that was carried out by the Washington Institute, a respected research institute, whose people are Left-center. This poll was intended to investigate the views of the Palestinian street, regarding the day after the completion of negotiations with Israel – whether peace will finally reign in the Palestinian view or perhaps there would be a need to continue the battle with Israel. The results show that 65 to 70 percent support continuing the battle even after the establishment of a Palestinian State. “They were asked in the poll what would be the goal of the Palestinian leadership and the answer that was received in the highest percentages

was to liberate more territory”. Marcus sees the data from this poll and additional, similar data as testimony to the ingrained Palestinian view that even having a Palestinian state would not mean the end of the claims. “The result would be that either they would choose a different leader for Fatah who would continue to promote the war or Hamas. Whoever thinks that a Palestinian state would prevent the fighting from continuing is either deluding himself or does not know the facts. We must remember one of the lessons from the Second World War – when the enemy says that he wants to destroy you, you must believe him”.

Every three months, Marcus and his people present the data that is collected about what goes on in the Palestinian media to the prime minister and senior members of intelligence units, and despite the fact that the data is spread out fully before the decision makers, people of the Left as well as the Right, still see the existence of political negotiations as a goal in and of itself. Marcus thinks that the reason is the desire to fulfill American demands, which want to see political progress in the Palestinian channel, even if it would only be in exchange for the US standing by Israel in the Iranian matter. Moreover, he finds it difficult to understand the position of those among Israeli leadership who advocate the establishment of a Palestinian state. “We must not measure the Palestinian position by what they say in discussions with Jewish leaders who come to them in Ramallah. I am surprised to what degree people who aspire to leadership are shown to be naïve and therefore dangerous to Israel, since they are ready to accept whatever is told to them”.



Some Israelis who aspire to leadership are shown to be naïve and therefore dangerous to Israel, since they are ready to accept whatever is told to them. Isac Herzog and Mahmoud Abbas. Photo: Flash 90



# International law is on our side

Prof. **Eliav Shochetman**, an expert in international law, states: according to documents of international law accepted by the nations, the rights over Judea and Samaria belong exclusively to the Jewish People and to its national home. So why is it that everyone is convinced that international law is not on our side and why doesn't Israel use these arguments?

These days, when the Leftist organizations are warning about the dangers presented by the court in the Hague and international law, Prof. Eliav Shochetman, a world-renowned expert in international law, listens to the Israeli reaction and cannot understand why Israel keeps repeating security justifications and totally ignores the best card in her hand – Judea and Samaria are areas that belong to it according to any reading of international law, in addition to the historical justification.

It turns out that what the radical Left has managed to embed within the Israeli public's consciousness during three and a half decades simply lacks any factual basis. And while the average Israeli might define our position in Judea and Samaria by the familiar cliché – occupation – it seems that the international documents state the to-

tal opposite: it is not occupation, but Israel standing up for the right of the Jewish People as it was determined by the nations, and yes, even if we have not understood it until now, it relates to Judea and Samaria also, and not just to Tel Aviv and its surroundings.

In order to understand the background and the sequence of events, Prof. Shochetman has set out a short but essential historical survey for every Israeli. "The right of the People of Israel to the Land of Israel was recognized by the League of Nations in 1921 with the end of the First World War. This international organization determined the partition of states that was necessitated as a result of the changes in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe. Within the framework of this assemblage it recognized the right of the People of Israel to the Land of Israel".

This recognition was achieved with the

international adoption of the Balfour Declaration, which, until then, had only been accepted by the British government and from this moment on, became accepted by all of the nations. "This decision was unanimously taken in San Remo by all of the 52 countries that were members of this organization".

"After the People of Israel had been in exile for so many years, its right was recognized to return to its Land. The practical translation of this recognition of the right of the Jewish People to its land was expressed in the text of the British Mandate for the Land of Israel, within which framework, Britain was named to be the executor of the plan to establish a national home for the People of Israel", Shochetman explains.

## The text of the Mandate prohibits Britain from transferring any territory of the Land of Israel to a foreign sovereignty

The way to implement this international decision was to add to it several clauses, which also dealt with increasing Jewish immigration to the Land of Israel, the Jewish People being a small minority in the Land, faced with an absolute Arab majority. "In addition to this, in order to assure that the government of Britain would indeed carry out this plan, a specific clause was defined in the text of the Mandate in which it was stated that the government of Britain was forbidden from transferring any of the territory of the Land of Israel to a foreign sovereignty.

This decision did not differentiate between the western part of the Land of Israel and the eastern part. Actually, every necessary step was taken in the framework of the text of the Mandate to assure the establishment of a national home for the Jewish People in the Land of Israel".

There is no document in international law that grants rights of sovereignty to the Land of Israel to anybody other than to the Jewish People.



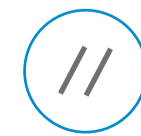
Prof. Eliav Shochetman photo: Flash 90



Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (R) awards Israeli Professor Eliav Shochetman with the "EMET Prize" award given out for excellence in academic and professional achievements in the arts, science and culture. November 2011. photo by Miriam Alster/Flash 90



In the UN charter there is a special clause, nr. 80, in which it is said that all of the rights that were recognized in international law by the League of Nations still exist and are still binding. Its entire purpose is to assure the rights of the Jewish People.



"Within a short time, the government of Britain that had led the Balfour Declaration, the government under the leadership of Lloyd George, whose foreign minister was Lord Balfour, fell, and was replaced by another government, which was hostile to the Zionist idea and within a short time it led to an interpretation that allowed territory of the Land of Israel east of the Jordan River to be removed from the area in which the British mission was to establish a Jewish homeland and this territory was transferred to the Royal Hashemite family". Prof. Shochetman does not wish to enter into pedantic political arguments about Britain's authority (whether it had such authority or not), to act in this manner since ultimately the present, concrete reality until today is that on the eastern side of the Jordan River, the government of Jordan exists and this is not the time to deal with questions of "what if".

## The UN Charter enshrines and reinforces the rights set forth and approved by the League of Nations

After the British government's about-face, only the western part of the Land of Israel remained, from the river to the sea, in the area that was intended to establish the national home for the Jewish People. Prof. Shochetman clarifies: "Clearly, there is no basis for any other sovereignty besides that of the Jewish People on territory within the western Land of Israel. This is how it is, according to international law. Since then

until today nothing has changed regarding international law, rather the opposite. This view has even been reinforced in international law after the Second World War. The League of Nations ended its role then and in its place the UN was established and in the UN Charter there is a special clause, no. 80, in which it is said that all of the rights that were recognized in international law by the League of Nations still exist and are still binding. This clause was stated so that it would be clear that there was no validity to the idea that since a new organization had been created, the rights that were recognized by the previous organization are canceled".

Shochetman adds a comment that testi-

fies to the historical uniqueness of clause 80, which, in accepted diplomatic jargon, was called the "Palestinian clause", since its entire purpose is to assure the rights of the Jewish People, despite the fact that the name of the Land of Israel is not mentioned.

This international paragraph received more reinforcement a few decades ago in the shadow of the African conflict, which, seemingly, does not relate to the Jewish People. "In southwest Africa, in the country that today is called Namibia, there were arguments about the rights that had been recognized by the League of Nations. In the decision of the court in The Hague, it was said that all of the rights that had been



The San Remo Conference April 25th, 1920. With thanks to CILR Canadians for Israel's Legal Rights.



recognized by the League of Nations are still binding and still exist. This is correct regarding Namibia and of course, it is also correct regarding the rights of the Jews in the Land of Israel, and this thing takes on even more validity from the international court in The Hague”.

Prof. Shochetman summarizes these things with a clear and resolute statement: “there is no document in international law that grants rights of sovereignty to anybody other than to the Jewish People. This is the legal position”.

If this is so, it is really not clear why the State of Israel does not officially make use of this argument in international arenas.

“It is just as unclear to me as it is to you”.

**“To the best of my understanding, there is no answer to this argument”**

Shochetman adds that there is no answer to this legal argument that he presents except, at the most, a legal claim that touches on appropriate treatment of the Arabs located in Judea and Samaria. “This is indeed a practical problem, but not a legal one. Legally, to the best of my understanding, there is no answer to this argument”.

These words are said not only by Shochetman, but also by Israeli jurists, who do not have access to the public stage in order to say them, but also by international jurists in the world. Prof. Shochetman mentions a few examples – Prof. Julius Stone, Prof. Shnabel and others.

Shochetman proves the claim from another direction. According to him the legal claim that he presents here was at the basis of the view that guided the government of the United States after the Six Day War when resolution 242 was passed in the UN, which talked about Israeli withdrawal from territories and not from the territories. “Why, if Israel had been considered an occupier, they would have called on her to withdraw from all of the territories and would have used the term ‘the territories’. The reasoning here is that since it is not occupied territories at issue, but territories that Israel has a legal claim of sovereignty over, she need not withdraw from all of the territories but only from territories according to negotiations that would occur between the sides. From this as well, it seems that the world sees Israel’s position not as an occupier, but a state with rights over the territories”.

Despite all of this, the government of Israel mystifyingly withholds this winning argument and ignores it. Prof. Shochetman has no solution to this diplomatic-political-legal mystery. “These are things that in the past would have been acceptable to Israeli governments, but for many years, unfortunately, it refrains from using this argument, which works only in its favor. I do not understand, I really do not understand why they do not use this argument, but only the security argument”. ■

# Let’s talk again about human rights

**Shimon Cohen**

Along with the all-important discussion of the historical, biblical right, security, faith and other things, we have forgotten one more small matter – human rights. We have become accustomed to leaving the issue of human rights to the Left, but if we stop for a moment and think about everything anew, we will come to the correct conclusion – there is no reason for this relegation. A Palestinian state is the farthest thing from human rights that it is possible to imagine. One might say that the Left’s success in tying their hope to establish a Palestinian state to the issue of human rights is an unprecedented marketing miracle.

Even a cursory glance at the regimes that surround us and at what happens there should be enough for any rational person to understand the absurdity that they have managed to put into our heads. Across our northern border a president slaughters hundreds of thousands of his citizens who are trying to kill his soldiers in order to save their skin from the threat of his thugs. To our south, regimes change between the Muslim Brotherhood to brothers who are perhaps a bit less Muslim but still know how to oppress their citizens, just like the Brotherhood. The revolutions of the Muslim world have brought us a host of examples from Iraq to Tunisia, from Libya to Yemen, each one cutting the other one down in order to impose their authority and take control of the government. In countries that are a bit more organized they only cut off the hands of various sorts of sinners and thieves.

And we have still not mentioned the way the Palestinians behave towards those who are trying to instigate an internal revolution in government. Guns and daggers have replaced the ballot boxes and polls. One need not go far into the past or cover too much distance. Just recall the dubious treatment that Fatah experienced during the change of government in Gaza, when Ismail Haniye and his group executed dozens of their brothers, the Abbas faithful, when the Palestinian fighters for freedom and liberty went into the Gaza hospitals and cut off the patients from life support systems only because they had maintained a connection with the Muqata when they were functioning. Remember? You may also remember the days when Haniye’s people threw their political opposition (their brothers and family members!) off a 14-storey high roof.

In short, dear people of the Left, are you serious? Is there really not even a little mercy in your hearts for the poor Palestinians, that you relegate them to a life under such a regime? What – aren’t they human beings? What have they done to you, leftists, that you work so diligently to impose upon them a life of oppression and maltreatment? I do not think for a moment that there is one clear-thinking person among you who believes that Abu Mazen’s rule will last for more than one day. You are not that naive, right? Or am I wrong?

And we have still not spoken of the oppression of women and the beating of women, or about of child slavery and exploitation, about unbridled religious coercion, about the destruction of any monument that is not connected to their religion, or about trampling on the honor of the unfortunate and on and on... this is the fate that you are planning for your friends the Palestinians? Have you no mercy?

The Right’s plan of application of Israeli Sovereignty, with all of its difficulties and limitations, on the contrary, is the one that entails both the rights of the fathers and human rights. If you still do not believe me, ask the folks from Umm al-Fahm and its surroundings why they really are so afraid of the idea of moving them to a Palestinian state. Why do they cling so to their blue Israeli ID cards, which they debase from every stage? Do they know something that we have not internalized?. ■

**In short, dear people of the Left, are you serious? Is there really not even a little mercy in your hearts for the poor Palestinians, that you relegate them to a life under such a regime? What – aren’t they human beings? What have they done to you, leftists, that you work so diligently to impose upon them a life of oppression and maltreatment?**

# ‘There is No People in the World that would surrender their Homeland’

Deputy Minister in the prime minister’s office, **MK Ofir Akunis**, connects together the values of history, Bible and security as the basis for his long-term opposition on principle to the idea of dividing the Land.

From recent statements, Deputy Minister MK Ofir Akunis is convinced that Prime Minister Netanyahu himself no longer believes in the vision of two states and that the Bar Ilan speech is no longer relevant. Netanyahu still does not say this himself, because of his own considerations, but to Akunis it is clear, as he has said more than once in recent years.

“My opposition to a Palestinian state stems from several reasons but primarily because we say that our right to the Land is eternal and irrevocable. The Land of Israel is the property of the Jewish People and there is no such thing in this entire world as a people that would surrender its homeland. Judea and Samaria are the cradle of the People”.

“Regarding the matter of security”, Akunis adds, “It is clear as day and we must learn the lessons of the past. Territories of Israel that have been surrendered turn immediately into terror bases, from which missiles are shot toward Israeli population centers or from which tunnels are dug. Now we ask ourselves, do we want tunnels into Rosh HaAyin, Kfar Saba, Beersheba via south Mount Hebron and into Afula by way of northern Samaria? There is no one in Israel who wants this. Therefore, for ethical, historical, ideological and security reasons,

I am against a Palestinian state”.

**When the Americans give us promises of security guarantees, means of deterrence, perhaps additional forces, do not all of these things reassure you in the matter of security?**

“I rely only on the IDF. This is the only army in the world that will ensure the security of the citizens of Israel. In nearby areas, we have seen soldiers who came from other armies in the world and who are quickly defeated by fundamentalist Islamic terror. Look at the incident at the crossing in

Quneitra and the UN soldiers who fled into Israel out of fear of what the A-Nusra fighters would do to them. We will not abandon any sector to foreign forces. I have respect for the American forces, but our fate must only be in our own hands and no multi-national force will have the responsibility for our security”.

**The simple statements that you make here are not clear to people like Tzipi Livni and others?**

“No. Since this woman, who signed on the miserable Resolution 1701, allows by agreement, the arming of

Hizb’Allah, and she is the one who went to Abu Mazen and sold him everything, getting nothing in return and he told her that it is not enough and he wants more. She also was one of the supporters of the expulsion from Gush Katif, so you ask me if she doesn’t understand? No. She does not understand. There are people to whom, unfortunately, the regional reality is not clear to them. They prefer to dig in their heels and stick to the old slogans that have lost their value. They promised us democracy and openness in the Arab Spring and we see what we got. Any child could analyze the reality around us but there are those who prefer to ignore it. It is not only you and I who must ask this question, but anyone who will be voting in the near future”.



Children celebrate near the Machpela Cave in Hebron, City of our Forefathers Photo Flash 90

I have respect for the American forces, but our fate must only be in our own hands and no multi-national force will have the responsibility for our security.



Dep. Min. Ofir Akunis at Oz veGaon Photo Shlomi Shalmoni

There are people like Tzipi Livni to whom, unfortunately, the regional reality is not clear. They prefer to stick to old slogans.

# Snow Tourism at Oz veGaon



Following a summer and spring filled with visitors and activity at the Oz veGaon Preserve, which was established by Women in Green immediately after the murder of the three youths, Gil-Ad, Ayal and Naftali (GAoN) HY"D, became known, there was a slight concern about our ability to cope with the stormy winter days.

In preparation for these days, volunteers and youths strengthened the tents of the technical staff and helped by preparing paths, improving the electrical system and indeed, thank G-d, two snowstorms came and went without causing damage. Nevertheless, Women in Green tell of a minor problem that occurred during the last snowstorm. It was when water pipes froze and the guardians of the forest had no choice but to melt the snow so that it would be possible to cook food for Shabbat, using the melted snow.

The high point of the snow tourism was during Shabbat Parashat Truma, when hundreds of visitors came to the site from all parts of the Land, from Bat Yam, Modi'in, Be'er Tuvia, Kfar Menahem, Yinon and other locales. They all came to enjoy the beauty of the white landscape. The visitors left behind them many original snow sculptures and many loaded snow on their cars in order to "export" it to the lower-lying areas.

Hundreds of youths continue to come to the preserve, to enjoy the instruction in self-defense and the work in the forest, under the supervision and guidance of Elyashiv Kimhi. "There is nothing like work and blisters on your hands to make you feel close to the Land of Israel", they say there.

In light of past experience, we are preparing to welcome the many visitors that are expected to come during the spring and summer seasons. As part of this preparation at Oz veGaon, we are working diligently to add more equipment for leisure, recreation and entertainment. Likewise, the fascinating lectures will continue at the site, every Friday as planned; these lectures that are attended by visitors from nearby communities as well as from throughout the Land, who are supporters and boosters of the settlement enterprise. Updates of activities can be viewed at the Women in Green site [x](#)

Groups that are interested in taking part in the activity at the preserve are invited to call Elyashiv Kimhi directly, at 054-2007354.

Women in Green thanks the Gush Etzion Council for its help and encouragement and the Etzion Division for its support, and would like to express special thanks to all of the donors who contributed, by whose merit the activity in the forest is made possible. ■

