

SOVEREIGNTY

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**Am
Yisrael
Chai!**

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Annexation of Judea and Samaria is no longer a distant vision

Minister of the Economy
Naftali Bennett, Looking forward

A Word from the Editors

The bloody events that have been besetting us recently have again caused the radical Left to hope of leading the citizens of Israel into the delusional scheme of dividing the Land and establishing a terror state in its heart. As if we have learned nothing over the years of pain and blood, quite literally, those same radical Leftist leaders are again pushing for separation and segregation, partition and detachment.

But the citizens of Israel carry within themselves a healthy and strong spirit and they understand well what the ruinous results would be of the 'two states' idea, an idea that the radical leftist leadership has advocated since the days of Oslo. The majority among us and among the people want something else.

At a meeting of Peace Now, Haim Levinson, a journalist from Haaretz, determined, much to the dismay of the listeners, that "the subject of two states is no longer relevant...it is logistically, physically and technically impossible to turn back the clock.. the numbers are too great...the process will not happen", he said, and mentioned that the uprooting and expulsion from Gush Katif (the disengagement, in his words) paralyzed the state and cost a fortune.

The journalist Shalom Yerushalmi published a column after the destruction of the Dreinoff buildings in which he wrote that "a world war broke out over these two miserable buildings... if this is what happens for the sake of the shell of two buildings that the Dreinoff brothers built in West Beit El, is there anyone who can or wants to or would dare to uproot the community of Beit El... would the prime minister or defense minister ever give orders for such a move? Never. And if we take the Dreinoff buildings and Beit El as an example, what would happen if they wanted to evacuate Ariel, Kiryat Arba or the communities of the Jordan Valley? Almost six hundred thousand people live over the Green Line today, including in Jerusalem. This act would be like the disengagement times fifty...the Left busies itself with vain arguments and plans in air-conditioned rooms. The settler Right is conducting a battle for every single building, they sweat, get arrested, determine facts on the ground and score achievements".

The radical Leftist journalist Gideon Levi recently

published an article in his newspaper, Haaretz, in which he states that the settlers are victorious over the state of Tel Aviv in the battle for the Land, in his words, and they deserve their victory. "They simply wanted it more, and therefore they won. The settlers exerted themselves more, sacrificed more, invested more and persisted more.

"They succeeded to attain their main objective, which was, from the start, to kill any chance of dividing the land and having a two-state arrangement. Today there are very few people who really think that it is still possible to have two states. Those who mumble about this know well that we have missed that train a long time ago; they still babble about this because this is how they gain time and do not suggest anything else", he wrote.

These words show a mood of dejection in the Israeli Left, which sees how the vision of two states that they led has brought about ruin, slaughter and destruction, both for the Jews and the Arabs. He sees how the People of Israel are abandoning this sinking ship of the Left's and is searching for something else. The determined way that the residents of Judea and Samaria acted against the demolition orders, determining facts on the ground with settlements in the field, only reinforces the gloomy atmosphere in the Leftist camp.

At this time we proudly raise the vision of sovereignty, the vision of the People of Israel's full possession of its land, providing the People with a true path that will lead it to the moral, ethical and historical truth of Israel's rule over its land, a truth that will lead ultimately to peace and security.

On the Left there are those who regard the vision of sovereignty with a gloomy, dejected and depressing point of view. And this is despite the price in blood that they have brought on the State of Israel with the illusory vision of dividing the Land and establishing a terror state in the heart of it. On the contrary, we will prove that the call for sovereignty arises from the spirit of hope and optimism, a spirit of Zionism and faith, a steadfastness of Jewish spirit that will replace the despondency and the void that the Left's plan has led to.

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



Letters to the Editor

Titles:

Thank you for your newsletter, Sovereignty. It is very interesting. After I read it from beginning to end I pass it on to my family in Tel Aviv and what can I tell you? I was surprised to discover that they don't know that Judea and Samaria are not under Israeli sovereignty. Many people simply don't know the facts... So please continue to inform us through your journal, which is so critical to our future, and we will continue to distribute the issues to the public in Israel.

Dana Almaliah

Titles:

Dear Editor,
You write and speak a lot about sovereignty and it is all so correct and just, but we cannot ignore the burning question about the Arab population in Judea and Samaria. What would we do with the extra million and a half Arabs, who would change Israel's demographics and character? This is the central question that we must find a solution for.

Sincerely,
Idan D., Jerusalem

The Response from the Editor of Sovereignty:
Within the ever-increasing public that is calling for application of sovereignty there are a number of approaches that relate to this important matter that you raise. Among other suggestions, there might be an autonomous structure under Israeli sovereignty, with a political connection to Jordan for the Arab residents of Yesh, arrangements for residency that do not include rights of citizenship, and others.

In the issues of Sovereignty, a stage is given to a number of leaders who represent these different approaches, among which are Atty. Elyakim Haetzni, journalist and authoress Caroline Glick, Uri Elitsur, obm, Martin Sherman, Prof. Aryeh Eldad and others. All have expressed themselves in our journal and in the future Sovereignty will continue to grant a stage to various opinions which delve into the demographic issue and present various solutions for this.

The economic aspect of the sovereignty vision

The Left talks about the cost of living, attainable hous-

ing ... the Lovers of Zion must have a say in this conversation as well. Why, every knowledgeable, reasonable person knows that the greater the supply, the lower the prices must be! And the opposite: the less land that is available, the higher the cost of housing must be.

Only building in the heart of the Land, meaning Judea and Samaria (as well as the Negev, Galilee and Golan) will, necessarily, bring down the cost of housing... as the supply increases, the cost must decrease!

Anyone who objects to Jews being in the Negev, the Galilee, Judea and Samaria is also to blame for the fact that the cost of housing is so high (when supply is low, prices go up).

Uri Hirsch
Herzliya



We Must Pass Legislation in the Spirit of Sovereignty as Quickly as Possible



'The Levy Report must be adopted, and parts of it should be implemented now'

Has Edmond Levy's Report really been shelved and abandoned or is there a chance that it will be implemented?

"I think the Levy Report must be implemented. On this topic as well, I had more than a few discussions with the minister of defense and the prime minister. There are many things that are unacceptable, and the primary example is the ordinance for disturbing the peace, which should be annulled. This is an anti-democratic ordinance that has no justification, an ordinance the main use of which is to allow entire orchards to be uprooted with the claim that their very presence on the ground is a disturbance, which is an amorphous claim. The result is that when there is no legal process to justify the uprooting, this ordinance is used. It is rarely used, indeed, but the very fact that this step can be taken is unacceptable. The Levy Report indicated the need to do away with this practice immediately and I think that there is no reason not to do away with it. I also raised this matter time and again with the previous government as well as with the present government, and I hope that we will see an annulment of this ordinance".

Levin notes that beyond this clause in the Levy Report there are various components that have been implemented, and regarding this he notes that "Credit must be given to the minister of defense for the stubborn battle that he waged for a very significant change in the answers that are given to the High Court. We have made great progress in this matter. The answers today are much better, but in my opinion we still lag behind in the formalization of the plan. We must act much more urgently and the case of the destruction of the Dreinoff buildings in Bet-El a few months ago is a good example of this. If they had done all of the things that were eventually done one year before, all of the destruc-

tion would have been avoided". "In order to provide good and effective answers to the High Court as early as possible, we mapped all of the problematic places that are now under discussion in the High Court, so that we could deal with them and assure that things would be worked out, so that we would not get to the situation that we got to regarding the Dreinoff buildings", says the minister.

According to various publications and reports in the media, the number of (Jewish) dwelling units that Minister Levin is talking about comes to approximately 2200. These may all be destroyed if the state does not carry out the legal procedures and if it does not respond to the petitions of leftist organizations effectively and decisively. Levin does not volunteer the precise numbers and says, "The numbers are very high. I hear a lot of numbers. There are those who speak of hundreds, those who speak of thousands and those who speak of three thousand. I think that every building is important and in every building there lives at least one family that might be thrown out of its home for no reason and without justification and this must be dealt with".

And if Levin is already speaking about legislative possibilities that touch on matters of his office, he cannot ignore tourism in Judea and Samaria. "This is another topic where I have more influence, fortunately. I indeed intend to promote tourism in Judea and Samaria, in marketing and bringing tourists as well as strengthening the tourism infrastructure in Judea and Samaria. For now, the ministry's team for planning and development is discussing projects that have requested the ministry's help and support, and I certainly think that in Judea and Samaria there is great potential for tourism and it is also very important to bring people there, so that they will see the reality for what it is, and we will invest efforts and resources to make it happen". ■

The new government has already been operating for several months and we wanted to know from the minister of Tourism, Minister Yariv Levin, one of the most prominent champions for the application of Israeli law in Judea and Samaria, whether the changes that have occurred in the government bring us closer or further away from the day in which sovereignty will be applied in the area.

"I see no difference between the present government and the previous one. The reality has not changed from that point of view from that of the previous government or its predecessor", says Minister Levin. "The battles now are to strengthen the building activity on one hand and on the other hand, a determined battle must be waged to change the way Israel presents itself to the outside world. This is where we are at this stage". "We must speak about sovereignty and raise the subject continuously, but from the point of view of the ability to carry out such a step now, this thing seems difficult now, unfortunately; this is the sort of thing that demands patience and the right moment will come", says Levin.

And what about the parliamentary legislative action to make the law identical for both sides of the Green Line? "We must make progress on this subject, and it is possible to do so. In my opinion this is something that is primarily humanitarian. People live in communities, and communities must continue to progress, and therefore what is correct for a citizen in one area must be correct in every place. Regarding the issue of application of the law, it is a correct and just process. We must remember that even now there are many laws that have already been applied. It is impossible to demand citizens to pay taxes but when it comes to getting services and other rights, they are discriminated against. Therefore in this process, there is definitely a chance to succeed".



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Text Photo



"Annul the accursed Oslo Accords"

MK Miki Zohar is convinced that it is the political and proprietary sin of the Oslo Accords that still constrains our politicians and even the High Court.

He has been taking his first steps in parliament in the past few months, and it already seems that he has clearer and more resolute political positions than some veterans in his party, the Likud, whose ideological faith has eroded over the years, some more and some less. While others of his colleagues in the party are afraid to express opinions that perhaps might anger the public opinion shapers in Israel and editors of certain newspapers in the country, he, on the contrary, is not afraid to say exactly what he thinks about the Oslo Accords and about the need for an alternative plan. We went to meet with young MK Miki Zohar (35).

You have said more than once that we must annul the accursed Oslo Accords. Is this at all possible since it's almost as if this accord has been grafted into the Israeli political DNA?

"In my opinion, yes. The process must be carried out courageously and the People of Israel will have to prepare for it. There must be the right kind of diplomatic preparation and this will have an influence. Those accursed accords that the Rabin government signed have planted the concept in the in-

ternational public sphere that the land belongs to the Palestinians. They claim all the time that there is this Oslo Accord and in this agreement, Israel admits that the territory belongs to the Palestinians and not to Israel. This agreement presents an international line that is incorrect. We know that it is not correct and the Palestinians know that it is not correct. They use these accords to define us as occupiers despite the fact that the one who is really occupying here is they, because we were here before them".

What immediate diplomatic implications do you see in the official annulment of the Oslo Accords?

"When the Oslo Accords are annulled the concept of illegal building will not exist, because when you build in your own land it cannot be illegal. Since these accords do exist it is, in a way, possible, to understand the High Court because they say that as long as there is this agreement, I will behave in accordance to it. If you change the agreement, the status of the territory will change and your actions in the territory will not be contrary to the agreement".

So actually, the diplomats have constrained the High Court and today it is no longer possible to complain to the

High Court

"No. I still complain to the High Court that instead of thinking big, it prefers to think small. Why, it is even clear to the High Court that these are territories of the State of Israel and it is clear to them that it is legitimate to build in them, but it prefers to argue that it is sticking to the agreement. It is a sort of affectation. My criticism of the High Court is that they know that it is alright to build there and that it belongs to the State of Israel and the Jews must be there, but since there is a stupid agreement that they know is very bad, they stick to it stubbornly, while ignoring the people's rights to the property as well as other, additional rights, as we have already seen".

And what about the day after that agreement has been annulled?

"When we annul the accords we will be able to begin a different political process. As of now, Oslo is the source of the Palestinians' hope, who say that it has already been recognized that it is theirs and the only thing left is to put more pressure on Israel in order to get more territory and be a state within the State of Israel, G-d forbid. This all stems from those accords.

Some claim that embedded in those



Those accursed accords that the Rabin government signed have planted the concept in the international public sphere that the land belongs to the Palestinians



'The only occupation there ever was in Judea and Samaria was the Arab occupation'

The head of the Legal Forum for the Land of Israel seeks to put a stop to the discussion about security issues and begin a discussion about values and legal issues where Israel holds strong cards. "International law is on our side".

the partition plan was the tailwind for establishing the state, but it is not the legal infrastructure for establishing the state. This infrastructure, as stated, begins with the San Remo Conference and is confirmed by the UN Charter.



'The text of the Mandate

The head of the Legal Forum for the Land of Israel, Attorney Yossi Fuchs, decisively states that the cards that Israel holds regarding international law are stronger than any others. Judea and Samaria, according to international law, belong exclusively to Israel and history teaches us that the only ones who have perpetrated an illegal occupation of this area are the Jordanians.

Nevertheless, Fuchs casts a fair amount of the blame on Israeli governments over the generations for instilling in the international consciousness the need for a Palestinian state, which is nothing but a recent contrivance.

"The blunder began with the end of the Six Day War. With the glow of victory, in Levi Eshkol's and Moshe Dayan's first press conferences, the messages to the world were not that we had liberated areas of the homeland that belongs to us and had been held in enemy hands, but that after all, we had defended ourselves and we were now holding territories as a bargaining chip. We had a historic public relations opportunity at that time and did not take advantage of it", says Fuchs, who sees the act of transferring the Temple Mount into the hands of the WAQF as the first practical evidence of Israel's weakness, "not only because of the words of Uri Zvi Greenberg, which is that whoever controls the Temple Mount controls the Land of Israel, but also because of the practical message to those around us – if we can't manage to control this Mount, that reality will pertain to the rest of the territory. We seem to say that actually, the territory is not ours and we are only concerned with the security issue".

seems as if it could have been written by HaBayit HaYehudi'

Again and again, Atty. Fuchs calls on Israel's diplomatic echelon to stop the discourse centering on security and begin a discourse centering on values and also a legal discourse, where, he is convinced, Israel has the upper hand. We only need to say these things clearly and unhesitatingly. To adequately explain things, we must be familiar with some historical details that are beyond any doubt, and Fuchs explains: "We must understand that contrary to the common misperception, the basis in international law for the establishment of the State of Israel is not the UN Council's resolution of November 29. The actual background goes back to 1920, when the San Remo Conference convened, where the Land of Israel was divided anew between the British and the French after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The parts that are relevant to us are the western and eastern parts of the Land of Israel, which were given to Britain as a trust. Anyone who has investigated this has seen that the clauses of the Mandate manifesto, which was signed at the conference, seem as if they could have been written by someone from HaBayit HaYehudi. Among other things, it is written that this territory is designated for the establishment of a national home for the People of Israel. It also speaks of the right of 'close Jewish settlement'. There is not even one word about the national rights of the Arab people in the British part of the Mandate. The Arabs received the entire territory west of Saudi Arabia, Syria, etc. and no one thought of giving them rights in the Land of Israel as well. Obviously, no one spoke the about a Palestinian people, which did not exist".

"At first, all of these statements also applied to the eastern part of the Land of Israel. Later, in 1922, the decision was taken that these things would only apply to the territory west of the Jordan River. This decision was taken unanimously by the League of Nations. Fifty two member states of the League of Nations accepted these things. The United States was not then a member, and had observer status only, but this decision was confirmed by both houses of Congress. The significance of this is that according to American law, the settlements are absolutely legal".

Fuchs progresses through the pages of history to the decision that accompanied the establishment of the UN, the decision in clause eighty of the UN Charter in which it is stated that all of the agreements and covenants that had been accepted by the League of Nations would be enshrined and ratified by the UN as well.

When he comes to the proposal for partition, Atty. Fuchs makes a meaningful semantic comment: the decision, which was rejected by the Arabs, says that 'Palestine' will be partitioned into a Jewish state and an Arab state. The significance of this is that the term "Palestine" does not denote in any way that it belongs to the Arabs, but rather relates to nothing more than a name of a certain territory, a name that, incidentally, was invented by the Romans when they wanted to demean the Jewish people by naming the land for the Philistines.

Jordan - the only illegal occupier

And back to the partition plan – Attorney Fuchs mentions that the Jewish population agreed to it, since at that time they had just been rescued from the fires of



Auschwitz and preferred to get half rather than be left with nothing. Contrary to the Jewish community, the Arab leadership refused to accept the partition "and therefore this resolution is invalid. All serious jurists know that this resolution is invalid", he states and again stresses what he said at the start: "the partition plan was the tailwind for establishing the state, but it is not the legal infrastructure for establishing the state. This infrastructure, as stated, begins with the San Remo Conference and is confirmed by the UN Charter".

Fuchs continues his historical overview, which anchors Israel's legal status in Judea and Samaria: "When the state was declared, the Arabs began a war against the Jewish population. Jordan, whose international border crosses the Jordan River line in the same resolution of partition of the 1920s, extended beyond its international border in '48 and illegally conquered Judea and Samaria and Eastern Jerusalem. The entire world, aside from Britain and Pakistan, saw Jordan as an occupier.

"This means", Fuchs stresses, is that it is Jordan who was the occupier here between '48 and '67. In the Six Day War we returned the area to its legal owners. This is the reason that we dispatched a letter to UN General Secretary in which we stated that his determination that the settlements are not legal is simply lies and deceit".

Leading jurists in international law agree with this view. One example is Professor Eugene Rostow, who passed away 15 years ago. "He was the American under-secretary of state, who wrote the text for Resolution 242 of the UN Security Council, the resolution on which the Arabs stake their claim demanding full Israeli withdrawal. Later he was dean of the College of Law at Yale University. He stated that "the Jews

right to settle in Judea, Samaria and Jerusalem is based in international law on the same right that they have to settle in Tel Aviv and in Haifa".

Reinforcement for Prof. Rostow's opinion is presented by Professor Julius Stone of Sidney University, who also taught at Harvard, is considered one of the leading experts in international law and has written 27 books on these subjects. Prof. Stone wrote a confirmation of the opinion, according to which there is no occupation, since these territories were not legally held by any other sovereign before the State of Israel. Rather, they had been occupied by Jordan and Egypt. He states that the resolution of the League of Nations is still binding today.

'Declarations made by the governments of Israel did the Arabs' work for them'

So how does it happen that despite all of these things, which are clear and accepted, the world says something different today? The world is undergoing a process where international law is being politicized, and it is the governments of Israel over the generations that have done this 'good work' for them. Instead of claiming that we are realizing our rights on the Land, we speak of security. The Palestinians speak of justice and we speak about terror and when you continue to speak only about self-defense, the world tells you that the simplest solution is to give them back their land and you will have quiet".

He sharpens his words regarding the problematic way that the governments of Israel have conducted themselves by saying that even though this is the reality in international law, a problem arises when

Israel speaks about two states and when they speak of a road map leading to a Palestinian state because then the claim can be made that Israel is willing to recognize a Palestinian state, and this is a fatal mistake".

In light of such a reality, says Fuchs, since the governments of Israel have made such declarations about the Palestinians' right to an independent state, we can expect significant difficulties in the effort to change political direction. Nevertheless, he does not despair and reminds us that since the borders of that Palestinian state are not dealt with, Israeli leaders can still say that it refers to a Palestinian state in Jordan.

"I salute Netanyahu for his position on the issue of the Iranian nuclear project and his willingness to confront the entire world on this subject. If he had taken as strong a position regarding the Land as he did regarding the Iranian nuclear issue, he would have swept everyone along with him. The problem is that he adopted the mainstream Israeli terminology, such that when they abandon the path of terror, we will establish two states here. It may be that he takes this approach as political lip service because of the battle over the Iranian nuclear project, but in the long term view a withdrawal from Judea and Samaria would endanger Israel's existence more than an Iranian nuclear bomb. The bomb is an international issue; nuclear war would mean a third world war, but a situation that would bring Hamastan near to Rosh Ha'ayin and Ben Gurion Airport would represent a real existential threat for us and the world would not bat an eye over what would happen to us". ■



The world is undergoing a process where international law is being politicized, and it is the governments of Israel over the generations that have done this 'good work' for them. Instead of claiming that we are realizing our rights on the Land, we speak of security.

Panel for Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria

The Younger Generation is Thinking Ahead

The panel was held at the Oz veGaon Nature Reserve on Friday, October 2015, 9

For a summary and recording of the panel



www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/307482



MK Miki Zohar
Likud

“I told the heads of the councils of Judea and Samaria in the vigil tent at the prime minister’s residence that the time has come to annul the Oslo Accords, the time has come to engage in massive building in Judea and Samaria and to announce to the Palestinians that there is no intention to establish a Palestinian state here. They are invited to live with us here in peace, but it must be clear that this land is ours”



MK Bezalel Smotrich
HaBayit HaYehudi

“Annexation and application of Israeli law in Judea and Samaria are the only answer to operational terror as well as the political terror that Abu Mazen is conducting. ‘The Left was correct’ – the political freeze is bad and the strategy of playing for time is a mistake. ...we must decide if it is ours or not and then we must apply Israeli law and normalize Judea and Samaria”.



Yisrael Zaira founder of Jewish Head and economic entrepreneur

“Anyone who wants to talk about sovereignty must talk about a process where tens of thousands of families are sent to Judea and Samaria in order to create an irreversible reality... We must explain to the People of Israel that this is not only the alternative solution to the housing crisis but that this is also important land to the People of Israel”.



MK Shuli Mualem-Refaeli HaBayit HaYehudi

“It is our privilege today that Jewish history, of which we are part, has placed us in this place where the State of Israel exists. My grandparents from Morocco shed tears over such a reality and to be this close to Jerusalem. Now we must add the next level at our threshold, which is the application of sovereignty over all territories of Judea and Samaria”.



Yaron Rosenthal principal of Kfar Etzion Field School

“The process of sovereignty includes less popular elements within it. Even Uri Elitsur and Hanan Porat said that they agreed to the idea of giving citizenship to the Arab population because they understood that if we want to stay here, we must present a solution that is viable for the 20th century. The PA’s greatest battle is against normalization, because this would shatter their dream. The thing that distanced us from having sovereignty and went right under the Right’s radar is the separation fence. When they built it the Right was silent”.



Sarah Haetzni Cohen one of the heads of My Israel

“The solution of ‘two states for two peoples’ is no longer relevant. Now what? There is no vacuum. The Israeli public likes simple solutions. We are in the Facebook era. In the social network generation we must be very sharp and accurate in our messaging. To appeal to logic and emotion at the same time”.



Moshe Savil
Deputy Head of the Gush Etzion Council

“The settlement project is flourishing but because of the lack of sovereignty its residents are class B citizens. For example, Oz veGaon – a place where there is no doubt regarding its ownership and the authorizations that it was given before the tourism site was established – but without authorizations of the military we could not move the process forward”



Orli Goldklang
Deputy Editor of Makor Rishon, Panel Moderator

“As long as 30 years ago, Uri Elitsur, obm, tried to promote and speak of the Right’s alternative. He used to say that the entire Israeli discourse was on the left side of the map and what we needed to do was to move the discourse to the Right side of the map and present solutions. This is what we are doing today at this panel by presenting the Sovereignty plan.”



Yair Buchnik Eretz (Youth Sovereignty Organization)

“Just as they told us for twenty years that there should be two states here, today we must make heard the voice that says that this land is ours and that we must apply sovereignty. We have begun an Internet campaign that many have joined via the social networks. We want one state with sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria”.



Liat Kirschenbaum head of the Gush Etzion Youth Council

“There has been a dramatic change: settlement has developed in this place during the forty years that we have been here. Despite this, the ‘Gush’ is identified in Israeli consciousness as a center of conflict. In order for a change to occur, sovereignty must be applied”.



The First Steps of a Renewed Hevron

In an interview with the Sovereignty Journal, **Rav Eliezer Waldman** talks about his friendship with Rav Moshe Levinger, ZTZ"l, and their part in the establishment of the Jewish community in Hevron; of the first days of settlement and of the lesson in Zionism that they learned from Yigal Alon.

A few months after the death of Rav Moshe Levinger ZTZ"l, who was the founder of the Jewish settlement in Hevron and the engine behind the general drive of settlement activity in Judea and Samaria, we conversed with his partner in revolution, the head of Nir Yeshiva in Kiryat Arba, Rav Eliezer Waldman, about the days when they learned from the Mapainiks* how to ensure ownership of a territory.

"We both learned in the Mercaz HaRav Yeshiva beginning in the year 1958, and after a short period we began to learn together as a study-partners", relates Rav Waldman about the initial link with the person who eventually became linked by family as well, when he suggested Miriam, a relative, to Rav Levinger as a partner in matrimony, and then one year after their wedding, Rav Levinger suggested his relative to Rav Waldman.

The deep ties between the two, ties that led to the momentum in the settlement movement, began as a spirit that reverberated between the walls of the study house under the leadership of their rabbi, Rav Tzvi Yehuda Kook, ZT"l. "There was spiritual tension that was brimming with expectation of additional steps that would be taken by the Almighty toward redemption. We were taught to see the entire Zionist process, from the beginning, as the deeds of the Almighty which would arouse the People of Israel in the diaspora to redemption, national responsibility, rebellion against exile and immigration to the Land of Israel, and therefore we felt that the entire process from the beginning had a divine dimension. Therefore, we certainly saw the settlement and the establishment of the State of Israel, everything, as the deeds of the Almighty toward the redemption of Israel. Beyond the fact that we were living the experience of Israel's independence as the glory of the Almighty, we still expected additional steps".

The posters in B'nei B'rak and Jerusalem were infuriating

The next steps came with the Six Day War, which broke out a short time after the famous speech of Rav Tzvi Yehuda on the eve of Independence Day, 1967, when the Rav's cried out "Where is our Hevron? Where is our Nablus? Have we forgotten them?" The day after Independence Day, Nasser, the president of Egypt, announced to the whole world that he was about to throw the Jews into the sea; he mobilized his army and gave the order to remove the UN soldiers who were on the border of the Negev and Sinai and in Israel they began mobilization and preparations. Three weeks of tension began, which raised our expectation and the awareness that the Almighty had opened before us the gates of Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan Heights was what joined us together".

During the three weeks of preparations and the tension before the war, while the entire people was mobilized, the three – Rav Levinger, Rav Waldman and Rav Drukman – were not mobilized since they served in the military rabbinate and at this time mobilization of rabbis and rabbis who taught in yeshiva had not yet begun. "During those days we saw posters in Jerusalem and in B'nei B'rak and announcements in the haredi newspapers which called on the People of Israel to repent, since we were faced with great danger to our existence. We, Rav Drukman and I, thought about this, and we said that this should not be the message, not a message of fear. Clearly, it was good and important to repent, but not out of fear. The message should have been the strengthening of security for the People of Israel and the expectation of redemption in order to uplift the spirit and the sense of security".

"The next day Rav Levinger came to us from Nehalim and he also thought the same thing. We went to Rav Tzvi Yehuda and told him these things. He agreed with

us and said that we should compose some text and that he and other rabbis would sign on it. We composed the text on the Wednesday before the war, but before we had a chance to deliver the text to the media the war broke out", recalls Rav Waldman.

We also have the privilege of taking part in the process of redemption

The war ended and the return of the people to its historic cradle inspired the entire people with a new spirit; in the Mercaz Harav Yeshiva the spiritual excitement was tremendous. "Our role was clear to us. The Almighty had opened the heart of the Land of Israel so that we could build Jewish life in it, so that we could settle in these areas. The issue of settlement burned within us.

It was with this feeling that the friends went forth for the first time in a settlement operation in the heart of the Land with the first action being the mobilization for the

The Almighty had opened the heart of the Land of Israel so that we could build Jewish life in it, so that we could settle in these areas.

operation to return to Kfar Etzion under the leadership of Rav Hanan Porat. "The ascension to Kfar Etzion was done in Elul, three months after the war and we believed that it was a very important operation but we could not be satisfied with the renewal of a kibbutz, since we felt that we should return and rebuild our ancient cities and we thought that the best place would be Hevron", says Rav Waldman and immediately hastens to clarify that whenever he expresses himself in the plural it is not accurate. "It is important to know that the great engine, the initiator, the activist and the operator day and night with great faith and energy of activity and organization was Rav Levinger. Without him this entire reality would not have been created."

"We acted in the beginning in three fronts - first to sign families up who would be willing to move to Hevron. The second front was the effort to rent or buy houses in Hevron. The third front was dealing with the government, to obtain governmental authorization for the operation. Actually, the only front that we succeeded in was in signing up families. On the other two fronts we did not succeed at that time. Even if there were Arabs who were willing to rent houses, they were subjected to terror so they changed their minds. In the government as well, the government of Levy Eshcol, they were not willing to give authorization. They did not say no expressly, but rather that it was not the right time, and so forth".

A practical lesson in Zionism from Yigal Alon

In parallel with waiting for the first authorization by the government, the cadre of pioneers continued their efforts to locate houses for rent. During this period, notes Rav Waldman, a wide-ranging awakening began in Israel for a Greater Israel. Public figures of the Right and Left joined together under this banner, among them Eliezer Livne, Natan Alterman, Moshe Shamir, Yisrael Eldad, Geula Cohen and with them, representatives of Rav Nerya's religious group, Rav Levinger, Rav Waldman and others. "This was an awakening that indicated the immediate existence of a vision that we learned about in the study house. In 'Lights' and in the Natziv's epistle we learned that in the future, interest in the Land of Israel would unite the various shades of the People of Israel, proving the divine dimension of the events as well as their importance, and now – the events are being realized".

"Regarding the delayed authorization, our friend from the left-leaning part of the movement suggested to us to meet with the minister of labor, Yigal Alon, who was known as an activist, and ask him for advice. We took the suggestion, went to Alon and presented him with our wish for governmental authorization. We were surprised by his answer. He told us 'Are you crazy? You want governmental authoriza-

tion? This is not how Zionism works. We have never asked for authorization from the official institutions, instead, we first established facts on the ground and afterward we asked for authorization. If we had not done it this way, Ginosar and Hanita would not have been established'. This surprised us. We were taught to act according to legal custom .

Before Pesach a group of friends decided to go up to Hevron. There were, indeed, no houses for sale or rent but they found out about the Park Hotel, at the northern entrance to Hevron. "It was an old abandoned hotel. The owner of the hotel, Kawasme, was happy for the opportunity to earn a little money. We signed a contract to rent the hotel for a week with an option to renew for a month, and later with an option for a year, because at that point we did not know what the future would be".

"We told him that we did not need his workers and that we would manage without them. Our wives came and koshered the hotel. The rumor was passed by word of mouth that we were about to organize the first Pesach in Hevron since 1929. Many signed up to participate for the Seder. About one hundred people took part. During the holiday itself there was no more space in the rooms and the men slept in the hallways on mattresses", continues Rav Waldman, who, together with his wife, were one of three families which, it was decided, would remain living at the hotel. The other families were the Levinger family and the Amiram family.

The night of the Seder itself "was wonderful. We invited Rav Drukman to conduct the Seder. We danced all the way to the Cave of the Patriarchs and this is how the Jewish community in Hevron was renewed. It began with three families staying there, and today there are already more than ten thousand people in Kiryat Arba-Hevron. It seems that Yigal Alon was right. We were in the Park Hotel for a full month while the government deliberated over our matter. Yigal Alon supported us in the unity government together with MAFDAL ministers. Begin led the demand that, in a vote by the government, there would be no objection to recognizing us, and therefore he proposed that the wording would not include recognition of the renewal of the Jewish community in Hevron, but instead, it would be for the renewal of the yeshiva that was destroyed in the riots of 1929. To the leftist ministers, they explained that a yeshiva is easy to move from place to place, and therefore there was no reason to vote against it. Thus, a great renewal came about in the history of the settlement enterprise – at first, a community would begin with a yeshiva, and not the opposite".

He admires and blesses the leaders of the demand for sovereignty

It is difficult for Rav Waldman to forget the lesson that the new settlers learned



from the veteran representative of the settlement enterprise. "We went according to the classic Zionist way, as Alon said 'established facts on the ground', the furthest furrow of the plow is where the border will be. The borders were not determined at the beginning", he reminds us, and is convinced that in the matter of sovereignty as well, the government and the state leadership will join the voices that will arise from the field.

Rav Waldman relates to the transformation in consciousness brought about by Women in Green regarding the demand for sovereignty over all parts of the Land of Israel, "I want to bless and express admiration for the Women in Green movement, which speaks clearly about the matter of sovereignty and says that the Land is ours. As long as these words are not heard in the government, because of various misgivings, various pressures and weak faith, at least we will clearly say words about the truth and the life of the Land of Israel"

Rav Waldman says that the vision of Israeli sovereignty over all of the Land is not only a matter concerning the People of Israel but a matter concerning the entire world and all of the nations. "We are meant to bring a blessing to all families of the earth. This is what is said to our father Abraham in the Almighty's first words to him: 'In thee, all families of the Earth will be blessed'. We can bring this blessing from this Land in its entirety only when it is under our control and when Jewish life flourishes within it. The nations must know that they will not have a blessing, also those around us and those that think of themselves as great powers, except from the People of Israel, and therefore they must know that it is a privilege for them to help the People of Israel to settle in the Land of Israel. The prophet describes how the nations will carry Israel on their shoulders. The process is gradual and it is important to establish facts - the reality of millions of Jews who will live in every area of the Land of Israel. We are doing this and the Almighty has been helping us with miracles in recent decades". ■

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American Politics Changes Course

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Faced with what seems to be a treacherous political swamp that produces only outrageous and dangerous political mosquitos such as the Oslo Accords and the 'two-state' idea, a group of American public figures, for the most part immigrants from the US, have decided to mobilize for the task of draining the political swamp and introducing new and fresh ideas that will be able to empower not only the Israeli Right but also American diplomats and politicians as well. Here in Israel it may be that this initiative has not won enough resonance in the general public, but in a discussion with Ruthie Lieberman, who is the head of the 'YES ISRAEL' initiative, it becomes clear that the process is catching on not only among Israeli diplomats but also among their parallels across the ocean.

The whole idea began about five years ago, she says. "The idea was to change the conventional discourse on the international level as well as in Israel, to thinking out of the box that has been freezing us and has not allowed us to arrive at a solution or any sort of diplomatic progress. We did not come with one formulated and unified suggestion; rather, we began to introduce concepts and ideas to redirect the listeners, the public as well as leaders, to think otherwise, to think differently".

Lieberman is convinced that it is the Left's continual brandishing the idea of dividing the Land into two states and turning this idea into total agreement, that is, ironically, what is stopping the process. The diplomats in Israel and the US have a fixation, and it is this fixation that she and her people seek to change, step by step.

She proves the extent of this political fixation, ironically by those American members of Congress and diplomats who do not believe in the idea of establishing a Palestinian state and see it as a security disaster as well as an historic injustice. Lieberman describes how, despite their official world view, when they come to proposing a law of the type that would affect the Middle East, somehow a few sentences about the aspiration for two states as a step toward peace in this area manage to seep into the words explaining the proposed law. "I explain to them that this expression is not consistent with the biblical right of the Jewish People to the Land of Israel, which they speak about so much. I also tell them that the idea that there is only one legitimate policy position is contrary to the values of freedom of expression, which they also speak about".

And perhaps the reason for this is that while the Left presents a clear stand, the Right is busy putting out the fires that the Left has ignited and does not formulate the suggestion for a realistic political plan of its own?

"Correct. It would have been fitting and proper for the Right to have something positive to suggest and not only to criticize. Those on the Left have succeeded to conceal many internal arguments in order to pass this terrible thing (the Oslo Accords) by a majority of a single vote. I am convinced that we are much more unified than they are, regarding the number of people, as well as their quality and ideas, but in addition to this, what has been holding us back all these years is the difficulty of unifying the people of the Right

behind one political plan. There is a lot of agreement among the politicians of the Likud and to the right of the Likud on the principles, but I was surprised to discover that I could not unify everyone under one idea. Each one has his own areas of emphasis and nuance. It was difficult for me to formulate a common policy".

And opposing you is the Left, which manages to present a unified front for the promotion of its political concept despite the fact that there are many internal disagreements, subtleties and nuances on their side as well.

"It may be that this is the reason that they managed to pass the Oslo Accords, which led to a disaster. They did it together by joining forces. There were a few bulldozers there who achieved the required count and others fell into line after them. Nevertheless, I still think that on the Right there is enough similarity among the various concepts so that it is possible to come to an operational plan that most of the camp will be able to stand behind. It does, indeed, require discipline, mobilization and political capability but it is possible and it is also happening.

When Lieberman says that things are happening and progressing it is difficult to miss the confidence in her voice. Hundreds of discussions and meetings with members of Congress and diplomats in the US, as well as with Israeli politicians, lead her to one conclusion: "Our policy is becoming more and more accepted both in Israel and in the world. In Israel the evidence is apparent in the result of all the recent elections. The Right votes Right and today there is an absolute Rightist majority.



Historical Jewish sites are combined with their itinerary and there, in the Cave of the Patriarchs, in Samaria and in the Old City in Jerusalem the visitors hear and say sharp and clear statements about their commitment to the historical commandment that links the People of Israel with its Land.

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Members of Congress have a Connection to the American people, who identify with the Israeli Right

And what about American politics? Can the beginnings of an identifiable change of direction be detected there as well? Lieberman is convinced that this is so. "Even if what we are doing is not really 'the Oslo of the Right', we are creating here the basis on which discussions will be held and are being held of a different concept, which will change the discourse. If, in the past, it was acceptable to speak only about 'two states', it is now "allowed" to speak in political discourse of one state and about leaving the current situation to remain as is. Politicians are willing to say this aloud in the world.

Lieberman further clarifies that the structure of American politics, which sends members of Congress to the voter every two years, creates a continuity of discourse between the mood of the American street and his constituents. The result is that the people's spirit, which is more conservative and more Republican, is expressed in the strengthening of this aspect of American politics. "With the help that we receive from the field, from the voters, we identify these leaders and work with them. The result is that the influence returns to our government. Our representatives are very impressed when the Americans preach to us about our historical, biblical rights and about our right to hold this territory. When visitors or hosts from the U.S. say such statements it very much strengthens our politicians".

Lieberman also finds additional evidence of the turn-around that is occurring in American politics in the stands held by at least six of the leading Republican candidates for the presidency of the U.S. in every matter relating to Israel. In this context she mentions not only Mike Huckabee but also Bush, who, were it not for his advisers, would have repeated the opinions that he

has stated in the past, of a similar spirit, and it is so also for Cruz, Rubio and others.

"This battle will occur in another year and a half and even now the candidates say these things and some of them are waiting for the right time. We must act in the American field to encourage them and for this we need more and more people from here", she says and emphasizes that most of those activists working on her project are Jews who hold American citizenship, a fact that does away with the claims of foreign political interference in internal matters of the U.S. "We are active American citizens who also understand the American interest in the Middle East and are presenting a new, fresh and effective approach for the American politician and diplomat".

Even during this discussion, Lieberman calls for more and more volunteers, especially Jews who hold American citizenship, to connect with her initiative, to act among communities in the U.S. and with members of Congress and American candidates to strengthen an infrastructure that will be suitable to change the American discourse. An integral part of the activism includes visiting in Israel and briefing members of Congress and influential figures in the U.S. The people of YES ISRAEL and their visitors hold visits in the cradle of the Jewish People's homeland. Historical Jewish sites are combined with their itinerary and there, in the Cave of the Patriarchs, in Samaria and in the Old City in Jerusalem the visitors hear and say sharp and clear statements about their commitment to the historical commandment that links the People of Israel with its Land.

Except for the Calamity of the loss of Gush Katif, we are continuing to make Progress

The people of the YES ISRAEL initiative are also looking ahead. Following the consolidation of the infrastructure for a new political discourse and the shattering of the



political consensus that had been imbedded in Israel during the Oslo years, it is their intention to promote and encourage the rise and strengthening of Rightist initiatives in the Israeli field, "initiatives that will change the rules of the game", according to the definition of Lieberman, who is not willing to submit to the gloomy mood of some on the Right, who are disappointed about the diplomatic-political discourse as it is expressed in the media.

"Our Israeli street is much stronger and more faithful than we give ourselves credit for. We tend to remember the failures and downfalls but if we remember what we have succeeded in doing until now, except for the disaster of Gush Katif and northern Samaria, we will reach the clear conclusion that we are making progress. We see this in the number of politicians that we can turn to today with these concepts. Correct, as we said, there are, on the Right, arguments about the nuances, but many more people agree about the main principles. If more and more people join this discourse we will create something much more serious and meaningful than some law that the Left has passed by trickery, even if it is a law that has influenced our lives".

And when the discussion with her turns to pragmatic matters, to the questions that again and again are hurled at the Right, for example, the question of demographics and the practical feasibility to lead a vision that is not dividing the land, Lieberman is not deterred. She clarifies that in order to discuss every single matter, it is important to place at the front, the experts who have dedicated their work and invested time in investigating this problem, to know the true data and present a suitable solution. One of the examples that Lieberman speaks of is the demographer Yoram Ettinger, who leads an Israeli American team in investigating the truth and exposing the lies behind the demographic data that are offered in an attempt to instill a discouraged outlook in the Israeli public. According to her, in other matters as well, centering on the political discourse, the

people involved in the initiative that she leads have reliable research and facts that allow us to act decisively and fearlessly.

To critics of her political plan, which depends on Jordanian agreement to establish a Palestinian state within its territory, Lieberman answers: "I am not responsible for the Jordanians and cannot determine what they will do, but I can state what we will do. We will not commit suicide because someone thinks that it is possible to force upon us something that cannot be forced upon the Jordanians. Even if there is some difficulty in the political proposal, I still am not willing to accept on myself something that endangers me and is against my ethical principles, principles that begin with the passages of the Bible and end with the generals on the mountains. If someone is going to be forced, then they should force our neighbors and not us".

How do you explain the reality in which the leaders of the Right, who speak with determination, then change their opinions when they get to high positions, and in this context we can name the Likud princes like Olmert, Meridor, Livni, Sharon and others. Perhaps nevertheless there is something at the top that changes their positions?

"I have not been in their position and therefore I am not sure that I can answer, but one of our tasks is to encourage leaders who can stand up to these pressures. In order to strengthen the public infrastructure for the leadership, we are creating connections between people who think as we do and you would be surprised, it is not so difficult to do. There are very many people with whom we can work and they are in key political positions. These are people who determine policy and the more we give them the true sense of belonging to the group, the more tools we give them to speak in different, positive terms so that questions of this sort will disappear. The ideology exists and the right people exist as well". ■

Faith with Humanism

Moti Karpel

Although it may seem paradoxical, the root of the problem that bothers the fair-minded Israeli Left so much is specifically in repudiating the concept of “You have chosen us”. Our complex relations with the Arabs, is a symptom and a result of forgetting ourselves. Our return to ourselves, to our identity and our historical Israeli culture – to the awareness of “You have chosen us” – is a necessary condition in order to repair the situation, and it includes both the obligation to assert our possession of the entire Land as well as the return to understanding our role among the nations, from which will come an understanding of our relationship to every person, whoever he is.

“Instead of dealing with who we are and what we want from ourselves, we are busy with the bloody and painful matter of our relations with the Palestinians”, said the author Haim Be’er in an interview for the Shabbat section of Makor Rishon (June 13, 2014). “I also feel terrible about our attitude towards others in this battle, which has continued for more than a hundred years, but the dramatic question is not how we relate to the Palestinian individual... but what we want from ourselves”, he said.

If we want to relate to what really bothers the secular, fair-minded Israeli Left – not the provocative, post-Zionist one, who is consumed with self-hatred – then the words of Haim Be’er are a good starting point. We should listen to him.

Israeli society should, perhaps, not feel “terrible about our attitude toward the other”, but should at least be bothered by the way we relate to the Arab who lives in Judea and Samaria and who does not rebel against us. Even if the Arab population that lives in the area is not a distinct people - and this is what we believe - they still are people. Unfortunately, not all of us relate to them in this way.

The root of the problem is indeed Israeli society’s failure to apply sovereignty of the State of Israel in the territories of Judea and

Samaria the day after the Six Day War. If we had just done that, if we had only had the resolve to do so, the Arab residents would have accepted it naturally, and would have acquiesced to our possession of the land. But the problems of identity and foreign ideology that “we imported” with our return from the diaspora, prevented us from doing this. The “vacuum” that was created – the vague, temporary and unstable situation of “not swallowing and not spitting out” – had to become filled with pretenses of a “Palestinian nationalism” and aspirations that were antithetical to an independent state - led to rebellion against us and caused an inevitable and unnecessary frustration and suffering for both sides. In this sense, the “Palestinians” are victims of our own confusion about our identity.

But even if the conquest of ‘67 was really a liberation – as we believe – it still obligates Israeli society to exhibit an exemplary level of morality and uncommon magnanimity. Only the demonstration of these traits could have created a resonance of esteem and true respect toward us on the part of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria, which would have been a positive thing since they would have come to terms with the situation and accept our dominion. Needless to say, Israeli society did not rise to such a level, and as a result, the Arab population in Judea and Samaria rose up against it.

Technical Solutions

Today, twenty years after the Oslo Accords and everything that has developed as a result, especially after Operation Protective Edge, when the unrealistic idea of “two states” began to fall from the agenda, the question becomes even more acute: How can we continue to rule the Arab population of Judea and Samaria?

In the intolerable situation that has been created, the tendency of the Western mind is to search for political solutions to the matter. Just as the matter of

social disparity causes him to search for a better socio-economic course – usually somewhere in the range between capitalism and socialism – it is the same with the matter that we are addressing now. The radical, post-Zionist Israeli Left suggests a “state of all its citizens”. The Israeli Left that is still Zionist still suggests partition and the establishment of a “Palestinian state”. It is certain that only with full political self-determination will you be able to create a situation where the Arab would have full human rights and be treated in a humane, proper and appropriate manner. On the Right there are those who suggest exiling the Arabs, thus solving the problem altogether. Others suggest applying Israeli sovereignty over all territories of Judea and Samaria while granting full citizenship to the Arab residents, or instead, a status of “permanent residency”. In any case, these are attempts to find a political, technical, formalized, bureaucratic solution.

But according to authentic Israeli tradition, a political solution by itself is not likely to repair the damage and its absence is not seen as the root of the problem.

Just as the solution for poverty among humanity will not come through innovative and sophisticated economic methods, but through improving man himself – his ideas, his ethics, his persona, his attributes and his nature – it is the same with this matter that is before us. According to the authentic Israeli concept, repairing the flaws in human society depends, first of all, on the ethical improvement of man. He sees the tendency to search for technical solutions as an attempt to escape from the true challenge.

Love toward all of Humanity

“The love for humanity must live in every heart and soul, love for each and every person, and love for all the nations, a desire for their elevation as well as spiritual and material rebirth; and hatred must be directed only toward evil and corruption

in the world” (Rav Kook, Midot Hare’iya, pg. 94).

“Love of Israel obligates us to love all mankind, and if it promotes hatred toward any part of humanity it means that we have not yet purified the corruption from our soul” (Rav Kook, Orot, pg. 149). If one’s Israeli nationalism causes him to hate someone, regardless of whom, it means that he does not understand the existential depth of Israeli nationhood.

Human dignity and human rights, which every person deserves, including our Arab neighbors, and even those who live in our land (on condition that he accepts our sovereignty over it and does not rebel against it), are not primarily required by the Arabs. We owe it primarily to ourselves. We owe it to the Master of the universe.

If dishonor or hatred toward the Arabs should appear within us, it does not come from a desire to cling to the Land of Israel, to Israeli nationhood, its Torah or any other of its ideals, but the contrary – it comes from abandoning them. Our clinging to

Yehuda Kook, To the Paths of Israel, I, pg. 17). If someone needs to hate foreigners in order to express his sense of identity or to sustain his Israeli nationalism – whether he be religious or secular – “it is an indication that his soul has not been purified of its corruption”; it is a sign that his love of Israel is distorted.

The Arabs are our enemies; we fight with them over the Land of Israel. This war must be waged with strength, heroically, aggressively, resolutely, with full confidence in the justice of our cause, with dedication and with complete faith. Not out of contempt for the enemy (in every sense) and not out of hatred. Hatred is a weakness that comes from not being able to build devotion to Israeli nationalism on its positive content.

Our ability to rule the population that exists in our land – which, it seems, is our lot, whether we want it or not – depends on our ability to truly respect them. And this ability depends on our return to the idea of “You have chosen us” and to an authentic Israeli ethical quality.

You are Called Man

The complete Israeli vision is not confined to creating a “religious” person; our objective is to define the Israeli person, in the original sense of the term. Him of whom it is said “Israel whom I will exalt” and “you are called man”; that which receives kingship from the heavens, truly, magnanimously. The Israeli ideal that we are trying to realize – whether we know it or not – is to create an exemplary, moral society that actually values its life, its very existence, and is an affirmation of life.

If someone is not connected to the tradition of Israel, or does not live its ideals, he cannot believe “that there is such an animal”. He also cannot imagine a situation in which the Arabs of Judea and Samaria would accept our sovereignty willingly and acquiesce to it. But that is not what the sages thought (Mishpatim Raba, parasha 32, letter A) and Rav Kook afterward: “If it had not been for the sin of the golden calf, the nations that were living in the Land of Israel would have accepted Israel and thanked them, because the name of the Almighty was upon them and would have awakened in them a fear of heaven, and no sort of war would have been waged, and the influence would have come in the ways of peace as in the days of the Messiah” (Orot, The War, 4).

Whoever believes in the Israeli ideal and lives it, knows how sufficient is the essence of this wonderful quality of humanity – “you are called man” - in order to project in its environs the message of spontaneous appreciation and awe for its moral power. He also knows with certainty how in the future, it will arouse in the nations of the earth, an acceptance of our sovereignty, out of wholehearted and true willingness.

This challenge, of bringing the shape of the perfect Israeli form to fruition primarily falls to us, “the religious people”. We cannot continue to be satisfied with just

being “religious”; we must aspire to achieve the greatness of the perfect Israeli, to be Israelis in the fullest sense of the word.

“To love every man” is, perhaps, difficult, but the ability to honor him at least, even if he is an Arab who lives near us and is hostile to us for the time being, this love is a necessary condition of our Israeli-ness. As people who are commanded to honor every person, whoever he is, we are commanded also to recognize his quality and to believe in him: The Arab will respect us – and accept our sovereignty – if we will be honorable, if we are a sort of “Israel in whom I will display My splendor” (Isaiah 49:3), if we realize our Israeli character in its complete form.



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'He who does not know the Land does not Desire it'

Each month, **Gen. (Res.) Uzi Dayan** takes buses loaded with tourists for an introductory trip to the primal scenes of the cradle of the Jewish People's homeland. 'Don't be ignorant. Come out to the field and then you will feel solidarity with it', he says to his listeners from the Right and Left and explains his philosophy of security regarding Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley.

Why, if the Cave of the Patriarchs was in Europe, Israelis would pay thousands of shekels for a flight to go and visit it. Here, because of the decision that 'it is under dispute' people do not come. Come and See. Afterward decide what your opinion is, but come".



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Along with all of his public roles, Gen. (res.) Uzi Dayan, former deputy chief of staff and current director general of the Israeli Lottery, spends time guiding tours in the cradle of the Jewish People's homeland. Historical locations in Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley, as well as meetings with the residents, attract hundreds of participants in each of Dayan's tours. "The sense of belonging begins in the people's hearts, and when people are not familiar with their land they do not feel connected to it", he says, explaining the principle that guides him as he leads the tours. "The word 'lada'at,' to know', has a broad range of interpretation in Judaism, from 'to understand' to intimate relations between a man and his wife. This is how it is as well, when speaking of the Land. If you do not know your land, your connection with it is very weak".

It is not logical for the state not to bring its important visitors to the Temple Mount

In each tour, Dayan sees from ten to twenty percent of new faces. The population, he explains, comes from throughout the Land, some in groups and some as individuals. When he brings tourists to the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hevron, Dayan passes between the buses and throws out the question 'who has never been to Hevron?'... "Most times, he explains, about sixty percent raise their hands. They have never been to Hevron and this surprises me, but then I ask them 'who has never been to Manhattan?' and here, there has never been a tour where there were more than ten participants who raised their hand. Here, in front of you, is the oldest building in the world that still fulfills its original function and people don't come to it. It is not connected to a political view. Why, if the Cave of the Patriarchs was in

Europe, Israelis would pay thousands of shekels for a flight to go and visit it. Here, because of the decision that 'it is under dispute' people do not come. Come and See. Afterward decide what your opinion is, but come".

Dayan makes a connection between the Cave of the Patriarchs and the Temple Mount, where he also brings tourists, official guests from abroad. He finds it difficult to understand how the People of Israel are satisfied with a visit to the external supporting wall of the Temple Mount and do not visit the upper compound. "The story is the Temple and the Temple Mount, and we bring visitors and school children to the wall whose function was to support the enormous blocks that Herod set up in order to build the Temple upon it. Does it make sense that instead of going up we are satisfied with the supporting wall, even with all of its importance? Should we be satisfied only with that wall that they allowed us to approach, when they did not allow the Jews to come any closer throughout the generations? In the Cave of the Patriarchs they found a solution to Jewish prayer, but in the Temple Mount they did not find a solution that would allow members of other faiths to pray, especially Jews? So there are certain rabbis who do not allow Jews to go up to the Temple Mount and I respect that, but the state does not take its most important guests to the place? It is not logical to me that they exclude this place".

It is possible to talk with apostates. With ignorant people there is nothing to talk about

Dayan speaks almost longingly about his days as a boy in Emek Yizrael, where, he says, studies were conducted in the field with Bible in hand. For us, the Bible was both history and our deed of ownership to the land. We know where Sisra's army

was camped, where Barak ben Avinoam was, how Mount Zamora got its name and much, much more. We did not study the Bible as a sacred book but we knew what was in it.

I tell the public that they don't need to be anthropologists specializing in the Land of Israel. Come and get an impression of the area and then formulate your opinion. Very many years ago there was an argument among HaShomer Hazair (the Young Guard). Hazan, one of the leaders of the movement, told the young people there 'We wanted to bring up a generation of apikursim (heretics) and we brought up a generation of amaratzim (people lacking Torah knowledge)'. They weren't even insulted because they did not understand what apikursim were or what amaratzim were. There can be discussions and there can be disagreements, but not to know is catastrophic".

No foreign soldier will fight for us

A significant number of Dayan's tours pass through the Jordan Valley. He relates to the security importance of the holdings in the Jordan Valley by virtue of his position as former deputy chief of staff and notes that this matter, contrary to what people think, is very simple and its main importance is to maintain defensible borders for the State of Israel, and this, he explains, can only be attained on the border of the Jordan River.

"In the North, we have a reasonable border, and we must say each morning a prayer of thanks for not having been tempted with the "genius" idea of giving up the Golan Heights through Erdogan's "fair" arbitration. In the South, we have a reasonable border because Sinai is a demilitarized zone, and in the East we have the Jordan Valley. We need strategic depth and even with all of the technological and rocket sophistication, territory does not



Has the UN done anything throughout the entire civil war that began in Syria? In Sinai there is a multi-national force with Marines; have they fought with even one terrorist?

lose its importance. The distance between the Jordan Valley and the Mediterranean Sea is 40 miles. This is undoubtedly the very minimum needed to maintain security. The second reason is our obligation to defend the eastern front. For years, they told us that there is no eastern front but today it is clear to everyone that nothing is clear regarding what we can expect to occur in Jordan and Iraq".

"More than this", Dayan adds, "we cannot fight terror without having control over the envelope and the Valley allows for this control, which will allow us fight terror effectively".

Also with these words, which focus on security aspects, he takes care to stress the importance of Israel's borders based both on nationalism and faith as the more significant and important basis for the obligation to hold on to the Jordan Valley. Dayan emphasizes the obligation of settling the Valley as a leading national principle. There are only five thousand Jews in this area as of today, he notes. "At this time there is less than two thirds of the population that there was in Gush Katif living in the Valley. Therefore, as of today, a decade after that national disaster that we brought upon ourselves, the disaster of the expulsion from Gush Katif, we must take care that there will be ten times as many people,

and that the area will not be based only on farmers, but also on industry. There must be somewhere to sleep in this area, a decent hotel, and a place to drink coffee. A hotel at the site of Kasr al Yehud would bring more than a million visitors per year. There is already a suitable infrastructure there. Ma'ale Efraim must be enlarged so that it takes on the dimensions of Ariel. Recently we held a meeting on this subject with Shlomo Lalaush from Ma'ale Efraim, David Elhiani, head of the Jordan Valley Council and Rav Eli Sadan".

Dayan is aware that his statements regarding the necessity to leave the Jordan Valley under Israeli sovereignty leads to many obvious and complex political and diplomatic conclusions, but he focuses on the level of principles, as he defines it. Dayan rejects the proponents of the various peace agreements. Only a negligible minority believes and entertains the idea of the Saudi Initiative, he says, and adds: "Nobody thinks that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the heart of the Middle East's problems anymore. It must also be said to anyone who talks about the Arab Initiative that it is not at all clear which Arab countries are suggesting the idea. Why, all of the Arab countries are falling apart... But even the few who do think so must understand that from the security point of view, in order to have a defensible border, it must be on the Jordan River. Anyone who insists on denying this statement is actually talking about the formula that has failed in every case, the formula of land for peace, meaning that an agreement will lead to peace, but this has not happened in any place in the Middle East", he says and recommends that we not point out the Sinai precedent because "Sinai has remained demilitarized and this demilitarization is what is responsible for keeping the peace. Here, there is nothing to demilitarize".

Of those who rely on a multi-national force and technological means that would be scattered throughout the Jordan Valley

and the area, to protect Israel's security, he asks, "Where has a multi-national force ever succeeded? Only in places where there is already peace. Has the UN done anything throughout the entire civil war that began in Syria? In Sinai there is a multi-national force with Marines; have they fought with even one terrorist? This is not the role of these forces. Just as we do not want our sons to fight foreign wars in Africa or any other place in the world, we don't need and don't want to ask foreigners to fight our



wars, especially when it is clear that they also do not want to do it. Why, they are the first force that disappears and flees the first moment a problem arises, and I understand this". "Israel's most important security asset is defensible borders, especially during this present period of uncertainty". And Dayan concludes, commending to us words that he heard from his grandmother - 'Don't rely on the words of experts. Remember that Noah's ark was built by an amateur and the Titanic was built by experts...' ■



The Almighty had opened the heart of the Land of Israel so that we could build Jewish life in it, so that we could settle in these areas.

we must say each morning a prayer of thanks for not having been tempted with the "genius" idea of giving up the Golan Heights through Erdogan's "fair" arbitration.

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