

# SOVEREIGNTY

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Victory

# SOVEREIGNTY

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This issue is dedicated in memory of



Composer **Robert Furstenthal z"l**, in recognition of his contribution to the Land of Israel and our sovereignty over it. (Scan the barcode and hear the music)



Historian Professor **Robert Wolfe z"l**, who invested his energy and resources into embedding the vision of sovereignty in Israeli public life, and was one of its enthusiastic supporters.

The Sovereignty Movement, founded by the Women in Green, was established in 2011, with the aim of promoting the vision of the application and implementation of Sovereignty in all areas of the Land of Israel, through public, legislative and informational activities. The movement has thousands of supporters in Israel and overseas, as well as the affiliated Sovereignty Youth movement, which is training the next generation of leadership for Israel.

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**SOVEREIGNTY**



# A Word from the Editors

Dear Readers,

You are holding the latest issue of Sovereignty, and in these turbulent times, nearly a year after the Simhat Torah massacre, the need for sovereignty has never been more pronounced.

We have lost sovereignty throughout the country because we allowed a sovereignty vacuum in Judea and Samaria. This vacuum signaled weakness and hesitation, inviting terror and war. The war is being waged over who will ultimately have sovereignty over this land – us or the Arabs?

The current administration in the United States, Europe and the UN continue to cling to the misguided belief that if only we surrender Judea and Samaria to establish a Palestinian state in our heartland, the result will be peace and tranquility. Meanwhile, the Iranians and their proxies have made their intentions and goals crystal clear: the destruction of Israel.

In the face of these threats to our existence, we have no choice but to assert and implement Israel's sovereignty over all of the Land of Israel. We will address the demographic challenge associated with applying sovereignty with clarity and realism. As the late Uri Elitzur once said, "The Jewish people will find a solution for this." This issue features an extensive interview with former US Ambassador to Israel David Friedman, who discusses this challenge as part of a broader political strategy he is now revealing, which includes the assertion of Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria.

The Sovereignty Movement urges the government to initiate the sovereignty process in the Jordan Valley. This region, which contains our longest border, requires enhanced security controls, especially given Iran's efforts to dispatch its proxies from the east into the heart of Judea and Samaria. The vast majority of the Jordan Valley is classified as state land, and the demographic challenge there is negligible. Additionally, this area enjoys a broad national consensus, including support from prominent left-wing leaders, both past and present.

Sovereignty in the Jordan Valley would enable extensive Israeli investment in infrastructure and housing, attract many Jews to the area, and serve as a proud affirmation of Zionism: The people of Israel are here forever because this is our land.

This issue also includes interviews and articles on the importance of sovereignty, particularly in the Jordan Valley. You will also find pieces on Israel's strategic situation during this time of war, at The Hague, at the UN, concerning UNRWA, and in response to the surge of antisemitism. From all these articles, one conclusion emerges: what really matters is what the Jews do!

Applying sovereignty will also shift the rules of the game on the diplomatic landscape. Since the Six-Day War, we have made a series of painful concessions and withdrawals – Sinai and Yamit, Gush Katif and northern Samaria. As anticipated, and as we had cautioned, these concessions did not bring peace; instead, they fueled the enemy's demands and increased their appetite. Applying sovereignty in the Jordan Valley first will be a game-changer and a victory. Such action will serve to deter opposition and affirm that the Land of Israel belongs to us, and that we will not surrender it.

There is no doubt that shifting Israeli policy from withdrawal to sovereignty is a long process necessitating fundamental educational efforts. To this end, the Sovereignty Youth members are working energetically all across the country.

This year, we suffered a severe and painful blow, but the people of Israel have risen courageously to strike the enemy and continue to do so. In the wake of this terrible tragedy, there has been a national awakening. The people now understand the enemy's true goals. We commend opposition members who recognize the gravity of the situation, demonstrate national responsibility and support the government's offensive actions.

We call on the government – Be bold and take this historic step. By applying sovereignty over the Jordan Valley, Israel can begin the vital task of restoring deterrence and governance.

To you, dear readers, we say: Proclaim sovereignty, speak sovereignty, spread sovereignty, join the Sovereignty Movement and be part of the historic process of the Jewish people's return to its Zionist spirit and political strength.


As we write these lines, we have received the sorrowful news of the passing of our courageous friend, Cherna Moskowitz z"l. Reflections in her memory also appear in this issue.

As the new year approaches, we pray for Israel's victory over its enemies and the safe return of our abducted brothers and sisters with strength and valor.

Sincerely,  
The Sovereignty editorial board

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

Wednesday June 28, 2023  
The day of the launching of the Israeli Sovereignty  
in the Jordan Valley Lobby

 SOVEREIGNTY

## The Jordan Valley Pact

The Jordan Valley, the eastern gateway of the Land of Israel,  
Is the region where our ancestors first strode  
upon their return to their Land.


The Jordan Valley is the security belt,  
the eastern wall of the State of Israel,  
standing resolutely before enemy and foe.

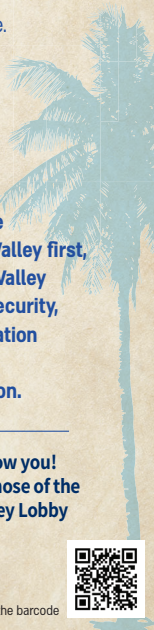
In the Jordan Valley, the renewed  
Israeli settlement was established,  
through sacrifice of body and soul.

Therefore, we, the undersigned, join  
the lobby that will take action to realize  
the vision of applying sovereignty in the Jordan Valley first,  
to bring about the flourishing of the Jordan Valley  
in the areas of agriculture, settlement, and security,  
and thereby add another layer in the realization  
of the yearning of the generations  
for restoration of Israeli sovereignty in Zion.

Members of the Knesset have already signed. Now you!  
Make your voice heard and add your signature to those of the  
members of the Sovereignty over the Jordan Valley Lobby


To add your signature please scan the barcode





# SOVEREIGNTY

We present this issue of the  
journal with a solemn prayer to  
the Almighty that He grant us  
victory over our enemies, the  
safe return of our hostages from  
captivity, the security and well-  
being of our soldiers, the return  
of the displaced residents of the  
North and the South to their  
homes, unity for our nation, and  
Israeli sovereignty in the Land  
of Israel.





# “The world will respect Israel when it respects itself”

**Former U.S. Ambassador to Israel David Friedman puts forth an out- of- the- box political strategy that advocates for Israeli sovereignty over all the territories of the Land of Israel, resulting in sovereign responsibility that fosters stability, prosperity and security for all inhabitants of the region. The interview also features MK Ohad Tal, who favors Ambassador Friedman’s plan.**

Photo: Michael Katz



Ambassador David Friedman

Former U.S. Ambassador David Friedman’s new book *One Jewish State*, currently being launched and distributed, presents a coherent political doctrine aimed at shifting approaches and perceptions. In it, he argues that Israeli rule over the entire territory not only aligns with Israel’s historical biblical right to the land but will also benefit all parties involved, both Jews and Arabs.

Friedman has drawn on his years of policy experience, which played a significant role in key actions such as relocating the

“Number one to bring stability, safety, security, prosperity for the State of Israel. Number two is to be faithful to the will of God with regard to the way in which the Jewish People should hold the Land of Israel. These are achieved through sovereignty. But it’s not about achieving sovereignty. It’s about achieving these two goals.”

Friedman outlines the path to his goal in several stages. “I don’t think it can happen overnight. The most important thing is for the state of Israel, by a

with the support of a significant majority of the people in Israel.”

Friedman continues: “Step two I think there needs to be a real plan. How is it going to get done? How is Israel going to be a sovereign over what could be an additional two million Palestinians? How will Israel separate the ones who want to be peaceful from the ones who continue to want to commit acts of terror? That’s going to have to continue until it’s resolved. How does Israel pay for it? It’s going to involve a lot of money to assume responsibility for an additional 2 million people.”

“So that involves an expansion of the Abraham Accords. Convincing Saudi Arabia and the Emirates and other countries that this is the best outcome for the region and even for the Palestinians themselves.”

Friedman emphasizes that a governmental structure must be established to ensure the continuation of a Jewish state. “It involves a governance structure which makes sure that Israel always remains a Jewish state and that you don’t have the risk that by increasing the population, you have the risk that the non-Jewish Israelis could cause the

country to make decisions that are not consistent with being a Jewish state, so it’s a whole bunch of steps. I wrote a 240 page book about it and I try to address all those complicated issues.”

## Right and left can unite under a single political plan

Friedman expresses the hope that his proposed plan can unite diverse groups: those that promote Israeli sovereignty, those concerned with Palestinian welfare and those focused on issues of human rights or national security. “This is something that can appeal to people with a diverse range of interests,” he says. “It’s crucial that it be presented in this way, and not simply as a small minority of the population grabbing territory at the expense of someone else.”

MK Ohad Tal listens intently, emphasizing what sets this plan apart from the political discourse until now: “Ambassador Friedman’s proposal represents a significant departure from the thinking we’ve grown accustomed to, certainly over the past thirty years. Many attempts to resolve the conflict, including international efforts, have tried taking the territory and dividing it into

Friedman: What the State of Israel needs to do is to come in and say we are asserting our sovereignty under these terms, and here are the opportunities available to the Palestinians. This will be the new reality

American embassy to Jerusalem and securing U.S. recognition of the Golan Heights as sovereign Israeli territory, to write his 250-page book addressing a wide range of political, security, civil and economic issues. Friedman is well aware of the multifaceted challenges involved in such a political plan. We held a three-way conversation about this topic with him and MK Ohad Tal, a key figure in advancing Trump’s plan within the Israeli political arena.

At the outset, Ambassador Friedman summarizes the main points of his plan, which views the application of sovereignty as a step toward achieving the political goal of securing two things.

meaningful consensus to decide this is the right thing for the state of Israel before any other country gets involved. The state of Israel has to decide that. And I think the State of Israel should decide that through a process which is deep and robust and thoughtful. I mean, I think people really need to discuss it.”

Friedman cautiously adds that while he doesn’t mean to offend anyone, the discussion around such a move needs to be approached somewhat differently from the hasty manner in which the judicial reform was promoted “by a narrow majority that created a lot of dissension. This issue is much bigger and if it’s going to go forward, it must do so

MK Ohad Tal: Israel is currently home to an Arab-Muslim minority as well as other minority populations. If you ask them whether they would rather live in any Arab country in the Middle East or in Israel, their answer is clear: They prefer to live under Israeli control.

two and to see whether it's possible to establish a shared reality with borders. This approach has failed to bring peace, prosperity, security or welfare to either Israelis or Palestinians. Ambassador Friedman's plan says let's try to focus on the well-being of the people themselves. It suggests setting aside ideologies momentarily to explore how we can

**Talk to the people. Not the corrupt despotic leadership**

When asked whether there is an Arab partner to talk to, given the history of rejected proposals even when they promoted Arab welfare, Friedman emphasizes a key aspect of his plan: it bypasses the Palestinian leadership and communicates directly with the people

Photo: MK's office



MK Ohad Tal, Religious Zionism

MK Ohad Tal: We'll have to consider how to deal with those who want to keep fighting us. We obviously can't allow them to benefit from the good life Israel has to offer. Those who want to leave can leave, those willing to accept Israel as a Jewish state are welcome to stay and live here and enjoy a much better life than any previous plan has offered in the last thirty years.

implement a tangible solution for the people on the ground. "And to address the people on the ground, we must examine reality. Israel is currently home to an Arab-Muslim minority as well as other minority populations. If you ask them whether they would rather live in any Arab country in the Middle East or in Israel, their answer is clear: They prefer to live under Israeli control. Their lives are much better, they enjoy better education, health care and welfare services. Ultimately, there's no terrorism coming out from cities under Israeli control because Israeli control means the reality of a better life, of security, prosperity, welfare. Now let's see how we can take this model and replicate it in other places. This is essentially the plan, and as Ambassador Friedman says, applying Israeli sovereignty is part of what it means when Israel takes responsibility for everyone's lives."

Tal considers Friedman's vision pragmatic and realistic, despite its challenging complexities. "We'll have to consider how to deal with those who want to keep fighting us. We obviously can't allow them to benefit from the good life Israel has to offer. Those who want to leave can leave, those willing to accept Israel as a Jewish state are welcome to stay and live here and enjoy a much better life than any previous plan has offered in the last thirty years."

"This is a vision that presents a completely new and different opportunity, beneficial for everyone, Palestinian Arabs, Israelis and the entire Middle East. It offers genuine peace, security and stability. It will allow many countries to reallocate resources and focus on economic growth and building a better regional future, breaking the cycle of recurring violence as part of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It offers a way out of the current deadlock."

living in Judea and Samaria. "The Palestinian people have lost faith in their leadership." They see how aid money ends up in the leaders' pockets. Ismail Haniyeh's children are fighting over a multi-billion-dollar inheritance, Arafat's widow shops on the Champs-Élysées. Beyond that, the plan is not an agreement, a contract or negotiations, all of which have proven to be a waste of time. The Palestinians will never say please come and take over our territory, but nor will they ever say, please don't take our territory if they see it happening."

Friedman explains: "Meaning: Don't ask them! We don't need to ask the Palestinians whether they're willing to give up something that they've been promised by their leadership for the last 50 years. You don't need to have a discussion like that. What the State of Israel needs to do is to come in and say we are asserting our sovereignty under these terms, and here are the opportunities available to the Palestinians. And I believe that they will accept it, but not in a formal way. Not like, you know, they're going to sign a contract, they're not going to sign a treaty. But this will be the new reality. The Palestinian people have never lived under their own authority. I mean, they're the majority of Jordan. Do you see them protesting in Jordan? Maybe 50 years ago. But, you know, they have shown an ability to accept living within the sovereignty of another country. They've shown that. And I think they'll do it here as well. But I wouldn't waste time negotiating. It's not necessary."

**But how might the world react to such a move?**

"That depends on a number of things. The first and most important is that the State of Israel has to decide on sovereignty, and the second is that it has to be a serious decision, not one established on a narrow majority of 61 votes. When

that happens, when Israel respects itself, the world will respect it. The key is to do it with a broad consensus. Afterwards, the United States, under a Republican administration, understanding the full scope of the move, would likely support it. We'll need to work with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, and there's a real possibility they'll agree once they see how the plan improves Palestinians' lives. What it requires at all time is that

"The public wants to hear something new, some out-of-the-box thinking and that's what this plan offers. However, we must admit that it presents a challenge. Even in right-wing circles, we've become accustomed to the Oslo paradigm, which is why it's difficult at first to grasp Ambassador Friedman's idea, even though it's simple, logical and smart any way you look at it. We need to move ahead and push it forward. We need to

Friedman: The Palestinian people have lost faith in their leadership. They see how aid money ends up in the leaders' pockets. Ismail Haniyeh's children are fighting over a multi-billion-dollar inheritance, Arafat's widow shops on the Champs-Élysées

it be presented as a win-win-win plan. As for Europe, it's uncertain what will happen there, but I believe that within five to fifteen years, this issue will fade from the global focus as other concerns take precedence."

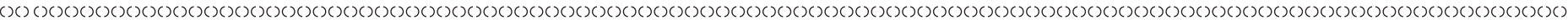
"It's not what the gentiles say that counts, but what the Jews do," says MK Ohad Tal, invoking the well-known saying by Ben-Gurion. "In this context, in the aftermath of October 7th, we as Israeli society need to reflect on the past 76 years and the last 30 years and see how we can learn from our mistakes rather than recycle them. This plan is an opportunity to do just that."

start getting used to hearing ideas like this."

In his remarks, Ambassador Friedman noted the anticipated support from a Republican administration for the plan. However, is such support certain, given that some may view it as conceptually different from Trump's business-oriented approach, which led to the presentation of the "Deal of the Century" during his term? Friedman does not accept the characterization of his plan as a "non-business" plan, even if it doesn't involve receiving percentages of territory, a flag, government or an Arab state.

"The model for this are the Israeli Arabs,





Friedman: There's both a carrot and a stick here, Friedman explains. Obviously if they want to commit acts of terror, Israel has to fight without mercy. But at least there's an opportunity for people to say, you know what? What are we fighting about? We can have better schools. We can have better education, we can have better hospitals

the Israelis who live inside the Green Line. You know, they participate in the Israeli economy, the educational system, the homeownership. In some respects the Christian Arabs in Israel do better than anybody, including the Jews. So the point is that over time, the goal would be leaving aside the rights to vote in national elections. Leave that aside for a minute, because it's complicated. We can spend time on it. But it's complicated. But the idea is to bring the standard of living of the Palestinian Arabs living in Yehuda veShomron up to the level of the Israeli Arabs living inside the Green Line. That's receiving a lot. That's infrastructure. That's education, that's hospitals, that's roads. That's billions of dollars that we would hope to get with our partners in the Gulf and from America. Right now, America gives a half a billion dollars to UNWRA which kills Jews. They give money for the worse things. I mean, America could just put its money in the right direction, coupled with the Saudis and the Emiratis and others.

"There's both a carrot and a stick here," Friedman explains. Obviously if they want to commit acts of terror, Israel has to fight without mercy. But at least there's an opportunity for people to say, you know what? What are we fighting about? We can have better schools. We can have better education, we can have better hospitals. We can build more. We can do more business. That's what this is about. The highest GDP per capita in the countries surrounding Israel is around \$4000-\$5000 and in places like Lebanon and Syria, it's even lower. Israel is like 11 times that. So the idea is for the Palestinians to share more in Israeli prosperity. That's the only way that that we can de-radicalize the Palestinian people."

MK Tal reinforces Friedman's position, emphasizing, "The plan offers a huge advantage for individual Palestinians. Their quality of life will improve, their health will improve, their economy will improve and their education will improve. The future for their children will be much better. True, the Palestinian leadership won't benefit from it, but that's because we're stuck in an outdated mindset. We've become accustomed to thinking only about whether there's an agreement and how to make the corrupt

Palestinian leadership richer. They won't benefit from it, but the life of the average individual will improve."

Spreading Ambassador Friedman's idea will require multiple platforms beyond the Knesset. There needs to be a national discussion on how to present this

**Replicating the Tel Aviv conversation across the country**

"Let's consider for a moment what has happened to Palestinian citizens in thirty years of Oslo – has their life improved? After all, they suffer from Hamas and Islamic Jihad terrorism, endless rounds of fighting and the corruption of the Palestinian Authority. So if we truly want to benefit the people themselves, Ambassador Friedman's vision offers the best path to ensuring better lives for everyone. The current reality benefits no one," says Tal.

Spreading Ambassador Friedman's idea will require multiple platforms beyond the Knesset. "There needs to be a national discussion on how to present this," he says, sharing a story from a business meeting he had with a successful and brilliant Tel Aviv high-tech professional in one of the city's skyscrapers.

"We talked a bit about business and then also about politics. I asked him, 'What do you think about Judea and Samaria?' He told me, 'You know, I haven't been there since I was in the army. I don't want to rule over people who don't want to be ruled by us. I don't want my children to have to risk their lives.' I said, 'Okay, I understand. Do you believe in God?' He said, 'I don't know. My parents went through the Holocaust, so I have issues with God.' I told him, 'I understand. Let me ask you a question. Let's pick a place instead of talking hypothetically. Do you know what happened in Shiloh?' When he said no, I said I'd tell him, and I told him about the Israelites coming out

of Egypt, about Joshua leading them across the Jordan, the seven years in Gilgal and about their arrival in Shiloh, where they remained for 369 years. Shiloh was Israel's Jerusalem before there was Jerusalem – that's where all the tribes came to, where they received their part of the Land of Israel, where the prophet Samuel was born, where Hannah taught the world how to pray. When he asked what I meant, I explained that she prayed so fervently that the high priest thought she was drunk. After telling him all this, I asked him to choose, 'Look, it's an important place. Now, what do you want to do? Do you want to keep it, or give it away? If you give it to a Palestinian state, it will be destroyed. The Palestinians want to erase any connection between the Jewish people

Ohad Tal is convinced that this moment, particularly after the trauma of October 7th, is the right time to consider new ideas like Friedman's.

"The huge crisis we're all facing is a tremendous opportunity to build a better future, to create change. We saw how in Kfar Aza, there were flags and signs of Peace Now on the doors of the burned houses. These are people at the tip of the leftist pyramid, the ones who drove Gazan Arabs to hospitals in Israel over the years, led big peace campaigns and employed Gazans in their homes. Yet when those Gazan Arabs came to murder them in the kibbutzim, they called those kibbutzniks 'settlers.' After the massacre, we heard many in the left-wing camp using very strong language about Gaza and Gazans. So many people in the left-wing camp are now saying enough is enough."

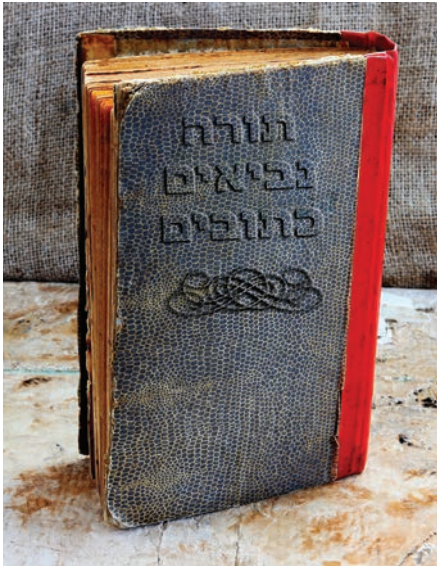
Friedman adds and emphasizes, "This plan is neither right nor left and that's a very important point. Someone from the left told me they don't want to rule over the Palestinians. I said, listen, my friend, you're already ruling over them. You're sending soldiers to Jenin, to Ramallah, to Tulkarem. You're there. Wouldn't you rather be there with an opportunity for change? If you go in and they see that with the help of a billion or two from Saudi Arabia, you're building a hospital, paving a road and establishing a school, it will be clear that at least now you're there with the opportunity to reduce tensions, not exacerbate them."

and their biblical land. So, what do you want to do?' He answered, 'We have to keep it.' I told him, 'But you're an atheist,' and he replied, 'So what? I don't care. I don't care who wrote the Bible, whether it was God, someone else, or ten people. I don't care. It's our book. It's the book

The Bible stories are who we are, just like America wouldn't give away the Washington Monument or the Statue of Liberty.

that kept us as a people. We've been here for 3,000 years. None of those other peoples are here anymore and it's all thanks to the Bible. This is our history,' that's what he said. The Bible stories are who we are, just like America wouldn't give away the Washington Monument or the Statue of Liberty."

"A discussion like the one I had with that fellow needs to happen every day, a thousand times a day, everywhere in Israel. Israelis are focused on worrying about Iran and Hezbollah, but they need to take a step back and reflect on the big picture. If we do it respectfully, without trying to push or force anyone, but with respect, education and love, love for Israel, we can move the people of Israel in a very positive direction."





## QUOTES from David Friedman's new book

The Jewish people are called Jews because they come from Judea, part of the kingdom ruled over by King David and King Solomon. The notion of Judea not being part of the Jewish state of Israel, as demanded by the Palestinians and nearly all of the world, is untenable and part of a larger goal to decouple the Jewish people from their biblical homeland. As an observant Jew, and particularly since the Hamas massacre of October 7, 2023, I feel as if God is calling out to us and admonishing, “How many more times do I need to convince you not to surrender the land that I have given to you for eternity?”

\*

The State of Israel is a sovereign nation. But Israel’s sovereignty over portions of its biblical homeland is challenged by many around the world and even some within Israel itself. Israel, however, can never fully be a Jewish state without sovereignty over the territory that

makes it Jewish. As a sovereign state, Israel, and only Israel, can bring closure to this critical issue.

\*

In the Trump administration we spent years crafting a Vision for Peace that we hoped might be acceptable to Israelis and Palestinians alike. It was called a “realistic” two state solution. The Palestinians would have been granted a “state” in a literal sense, but that state would not have many attributes of statehood. [...] The proposed borders of this Palestinian “state” would have included all of Areas A and B and about half of Area C within Judea and Samaria. The Jewish settlements all would have been incorporated into Israel, and Palestinian communities that were not contiguous with each other would be connected through bridges and tunnels. [...] I struggled with the plan because of

its potential nominal creation of a Palestinian state, even with all the practical limitations on statehood. I received many objections as well from the observant Christian and Jewish communities. Even though this plan offered far more land within Judea and Samaria than ever before to the State of Israel—incorporating every Jewish settlement into Israel—the idea of a state for Palestinians, no matter how that grant was spun, was anathema to their religious beliefs. In retrospect, they were right. The plan would have left places like Joseph’s Tomb and Mount Ebal, the home of the Tomb of Joshua, under Palestinian autonomy, and it would have created a precedent for statehood that the Palestinians would have manipulated with more leftwing governments.

\*

The Israeli right, which includes some incredible patriots, has never been able to articulate a full vision for the region. Most have advocated for sovereignty over the Jewish settlements located in what is referred to as “Area C” since the disastrous Oslo Accords. None have offered a solution for Areas A and B—the territory that Oslo placed under almost complete Palestinian control. But carving out Area C for Israel while leaving Areas A and B to fend for themselves would ultimately turn those areas into Gaza—isolated hotbeds of angry Palestinians who undoubtedly would grow their existing terror network. Imagine replicating Gaza right in the center of Israel.

\*

The critical objective for Israel is not to swap a security risk for a demographic risk. Currently, with Israel’s Arab population only 20 percent of the total, the demographic risk is minimal. But Israel simply can’t pick up an additional two million citizens, especially now when they have

expressed a desire to destroy it. Remember, in the end, Israel must always be the one Jewish state! The answer fits within the two principal Basic Laws of Israel: Human Dignity and the Jewish state. Palestinians living under Israeli sovereignty must have their human rights protected by law, but they cannot interfere with the rights of national self-determination of the Jewish people. That means that while living under Israeli sovereignty, they will not be able to exercise national voting to change Israel’s Jewish character. But they will have local suffrage to determine the governance of most aspects of their lives. Some reflexively will call this apartheid. All that means is that they don’t understand apartheid.

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The United States is not an apartheid state. Yet Puerto Rico is a territory owned by the United States whose population does not vote in our national elections. It works there and it can work here. The Bible provides just the right balance: the permanent resident. A group of people who, by reason of history or circumstances, cannot be full voting members of society. But their human rights, their dignity, and their entitlement to live in peace and security must be a sacrosanct obligation of the Jewish nation.

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The long-term path for Gaza must be the same as for Judea and Samaria. This is God’s land given to the Jewish People. Since Israel evacuated all its twenty-one settlements from Gaza in 2005, the land has been laying fallow, it has been polluted with terror tunnels and vile and despicable conduct, and it has been a source of murder and other heinous crimes. Israel has no other choice but to reclaim its biblical territory and return one day to the Gaza strip in a manner that brings peace, no further misery.



# A Portrait of Victory: Application of Sovereignty in the Jordan Valley.

Member of Knesset **Dan Illouz (Likud)**, co-chair of the Caucus for the Application of Sovereignty in the Jordan Valley

The Swords of Iron War, which began on October 7th, has posed a clear existential challenge to us. With unprecedented barbarism, our enemies – Hamas, Hezbollah and Iran – have sought to undermine our security and our future in the Land of Israel. In the face of this threat, the State of Israel must present

the Jordan Valley is not merely a reaction to our enemies. It is a basic historical right of the Jewish people. The Jordan Valley is the eastern gateway to the Land of Israel, a place where our forefathers went and settled the land. It is a region where our history and identity are intertwined. The application of sovereignty in the Jordan

days we are witness to an increase in smuggling from Iran via Iraq and Jordan into Judea and Samaria. Even though there is cooperation with the Jordanians, they cannot do the job in our place. We must assume full responsibility for our security, increase Israeli presence in the Jordan Valley, and not rely on anyone else. The way to do this is by means of applying sovereignty and expanding the Jewish communities in the area.

The Vast Potential of the Jordan Valley

The Jordan Valley has enormous potential. Beyond its strategic significance, the area could become one of the most flourishing regions of the State of Israel. The application of sovereignty will enable us to develop the region in the areas of agriculture, tourism and settlement. The Jordan Valley could serve as a vital agricultural reserve, with the ability to produce high-quality agricultural produce that would provide employment and quality of life for the residents. Likewise, this area could become a tourist magnet that would

Photo: MK's office



MK Dan Illouz, Likud, co-chairman of the Israel Sovereignty over the Jordan Valley First Lobby in the Knesset

When Israel extends its sovereignty, our enemies understand that they have been defeated. Applying sovereignty in the Jordan Valley is the most painful blow we can inflict on them

an unambiguous portrait of victory: application of sovereignty in the Jordan Valley. This is a decisive and precise step that will make our enemies realize that not only will they not succeed in harming us, but that they will pay the price that is most painful for them for their attempts, the loss of territory.

## Loss of Territory: the Price that is Most Painful for our Enemies

History teaches that what is most painful to our enemies is the loss of land. For them, territory is not merely a strategic asset, but also a symbol of power and rule. When Israel extends its sovereignty, our enemies understand that they have been defeated. Applying sovereignty in the Jordan Valley is the most painful blow we can inflict on them. Every missile, every infiltration attempt, every attempt to undermine our sovereignty, will be met with an expansion and reinforcement of our hold on the territory. The message is clear: any attack on Israel will exact a tangible and irreversible price.

Precisely for this reason I submitted proposed legislation that explicitly links the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria to the events of October 7th. If our enemies sought to undermine our sovereignty, they will be met with a response that will crush their aspirations: additional Israeli territory under our sovereignty.

## Justified Sovereignty without the Need for Retribution: Historical Right

It is important to clarify, sovereignty in

Valley is a natural realization of the Zionist vision and of the historic return to our land.

Moreover, it is important to emphasize that I believe in the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria in its entirety, and to our right to every

It is important to clarify, sovereignty in the Jordan Valley is not merely a reaction to our enemies. It is a basic historical right of the Jewish people. The Jordan Valley is the eastern gateway to the Land of Israel, a place where our forefathers went and settled the land

centimeter of the Land of Israel. The choice to begin with the Jordan Valley stems from both its strategic significance and the fact that it is in the consensus. Therefore, if politicians were to stand by their declarations during the election campaign, the measure should receive across-the-board support within Israeli society. This is the first step toward full sovereignty in Judea and Samaria.

## The Strategic Significance of the Jordan Valley

The Jordan Valley is not only an area of historical and moral significance, but also a strategic asset of the highest order for the security of the State of Israel. The Jordan Valley serves as our physical eastern border with Jordan, and these

attract travelers from all over the world to come and observe the development of Jewish and Christian history.

## International Relations: Do not be Bothered by Opposition

Like every significant step that Israel seeks to take, here, too, there are voices heard in the world against the application of sovereignty in the Jordan Valley, as they were heard when Israel applied sovereignty to Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. However, history has shown that the world learns to respect strength and adherence to principles. Even if there is a short-term diplomatic price to be paid, in the long run it is clear that the way to achieve international accomplishments is to project uncompromising strength. A strong and uncompromising Israel will attract partners and allies, because peace is made with the strong. Our deterrence must be based on the display of power, not on yielding to pressure.

## Conclusion: Portrait of Victory that Guarantees a Secure Future

The application of sovereignty in the Jordan Valley is a necessary step to ensure our security, to bolster our hold in the Land of Israel and to project strength. It is a move that creates an indisputable portrait of victory and ensures that our enemies understand that the Jewish people are not only here to stay – but to continue to expand. We must seize this historic opportunity, to apply sovereignty to the Jordan Valley and to secure our future as a strong, secure and prosperous country.

The choice to begin with the Jordan Valley stems from both its strategic significance and the fact that it is in the consensus. Therefore, if politicians were to stand by their declarations during the election campaign, the measure should receive across-the-board support within Israeli society. This is the first step toward full sovereignty in Judea and Samaria



# The Daily Victims of the Lack of Sovereignty

The Head of the Yesha Council **Yisrael Gantz**, experiences the effect of the lack of sovereignty every day – a severe violation of Civil Rights, infrastructure, laws, political arguments, regulations and even democratic values, and above all, that we must state clearly that we have not taken foreign land.

Yisrael Gantz, head of Binyamin Council, and since last May, also head of the Yesha Council, is one of the most prominent supporters of the vision of sovereignty, and as one who copes with the daily ramifications of the lack of sovereignty over the territory where about a half million Jews live, he speaks of the practical ramifications of the legal reality in Judea and Samaria, of the historic obligation to complete the process of sovereignty and of the prospects of leading such a practical course of action.

Gantz opens his remarks by integrating the Yesha Council and the authorities themselves in the historic process. “The role of the authorities is to strengthen the settlement enterprise, to establish and deepen the roots. The next significant step in anchoring the settlement enterprise, beyond physical anchoring, is legal equalization, equalization of rights, and put simply, the application of sovereignty”.

Such a process, says Gantz, will solve two key problems, one internally and the other, externally. “We are in a situation where both the residents do not get what they deserve, and the State of Israel entangling itself in

He expands on another example touching on the ability to enforce the law and limitations on the territory between the towns. “In all of the regional councils in the State of Israel, the area of jurisdiction is the area of the regional council. In Judea and Samaria, the area of jurisdiction is only the area of jurisdiction of each town, meaning that if a person, Jew or Arab, and usually, it is, of course, an Arab, builds illegally on the main road, or has caused pollution, I have no authority to enforce the law on him. Even if an entrepreneur comes who wants to build a shopping mall, I cannot approve it without the prior approval of the Civil Administration. In fact, everything that happens outside of the towns is under the authority of the Civil Administration, and this is how it looks...”

**Dismantle the Civil Administration**

And civilian life under the supervision of the Civil Administration is far from equality of rights. “The fact that citizens live under military rule is essentially bad. Beyond this, it is a severe violation of rights. I will give you one example of many others: a few years ago, I had to establish a kindergarten in the town

Administration is a sick and bad thing that must be dismantled.”

In this context, Yisrael Gantz points out a little-known detail that “In the governmental decision to establish the Civil Administration it is explicitly written that work with the Jewish authorities will be carried out by government offices directly. This decision is not implemented”.

The various ramifications of the lack of sovereignty on the power of the authorities and on life of the residents is extremely broad. It is water infrastructure and paving roads, providing answers for the matters concerning building and more. In Judea and Samaria, many matters that could be closed on the level of a local committee are not closed on this level. “This means that the lack of sovereignty, first of all, causes discrimination, beyond the absence of the ability to enforce procedures and laws over Arabs in the field. For example, if in the Jordan Valley, a shepherd comes with his flock and violates the regulations in the area of a Jewish town, the council has by-laws for shepherding that state where it is allowed and where it is not allowed for sheep to graze, but the court says clearly that these laws are relevant and apply only to Jews and not on Arabs”.

**The country is avoiding a decision**

As noted, Gantz views the lack of sovereignty as also having ramifications outwardly and he details them as well: “In the diplomatic world, Israel often tries to flee from making a decision and now, we see all of the criticism thrown at us and the sanctions that they try to place on us. All of this is happening because Israel has not made the decision that these lands belong to Israel. Therefore, this desire to flee from making a decision creates damage not only for the resident but also for the state. The way to solve it and strengthen the settlement enterprise is with sovereignty”.

Gantz also comments that in the current situation, there are also ramifications to the state’s master plans; that the state does not plan for Judea and Samaria even in such basic areas as gas, electricity and water. “Only now, are the relevant ministers trying to fill in the gaps in basic infrastructure”, he says.

“Because of all this and many other examples, sovereignty is a necessary step to take and it is also good for the State of Israel”, Gantz states. And we ask him whether, with the ill winds blowing from Hague, it doesn’t increase the concern that a step such as the application of sovereignty will lead to even greater attacks

on Israel. “I call this the paralyzing fear syndrome. The State of Israel is afraid to take the necessary steps because of what they will say, but Israel must do what is best for her, albeit in a wise and calculated way, but to act for what is good and right for her.

“Many times, we frighten ourselves and see the shadow of mountains as giants. We must say the simplest thing with a clear voice: we are here because of our historic right, the right of the forefathers that we have on this Land. This is the starting point and from here, how and when we apply sovereignty is a secondary matter that will become clear along the way. First of all, it must be said that we have not taken foreign land. So far, the State of Israel has not defined its goal and has not officially declared that Judea and Samaria are an integral part of the State of Israel.”

**If we change the situation in the territory, won’t Israel bring the world’s fury upon itself, especially because it is determining civil facts on undetermined ground?** “The key problem is that the Israeli Ministry of Justice defined the territory as disputed instead of saying that it is sovereign territory of the State of Israel. What angers the Hague is when they see that the State of Israel is wavering. If you, yourself will not say that it is yours, there are ramifications”.

And so, Gantz believes, “our job is to bring about the application of Israeli law over all of Judea and Samaria as quickly as possible. Even under political constraints it is possible to promote things very much. The question of timing, he says, entails the complexity of world diplomacy, however, it is not right to wait with folded arms for something to happen. “There are many practical things that are possible to do today. Natural gas must be brought to Judea and Samaria immediately without regard to the question of whether we have already applied sovereignty, as well as equality of law, areas of jurisdiction, expanded building, eliminating the need for political approval for every housing unit and many more details that can and should be done even before Israeli law is applied”.

When he is asked about the chances of these things happening, Gantz highlights and compliments the persistent and tireless work of the Sovereignty Movement co-chaired by Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar. “I always think that when someone is really committed to something, it is more likely to happen. Also, when you raise a flag with a great light, you see it even in the dark and go forward with the task. It is the same with the application of sovereignty”.

Photo: Avshalom Sassoni



Yisrael Gantz, head of Binyamin Council and head of the Yesha Council

When there is no sovereignty, there is injustice like the situation in which a Jew cannot buy land in Judea and Samaria but an Arab can. This is simply crazy and scandalous

complex diplomatic vulnerability”, and he explains:

Referring to the violation of civil rights, says Gantz, “When there is no sovereignty, there is injustice like the situation in which a Jew cannot buy land in Judea and Samaria but an Arab can. This is simply crazy and scandalous”. To understand how such an absurdity looks in practice, he details: “The law that applies in Judea and Samaria, in the absence of sovereignty, is Ottoman law, which only allows a subject of the Jordanian Kingdom to buy land in Judea and Samaria. In such a situation, if there is state land one, can build on it, but if there is private land in Area C and some Ahmed wants to sell it to me, it is forbidden, because I am not Jordanian, despite the fact that it is territory under Israeli control. On the other hand, if an Arab wants to buy land from a Jew, it is possible, and this is only one example of many”.

of Eli. The Ministry of Education approved the budgeting for this kindergarten. The legal advisor from the Civil Administration came and asked me for a letter to explain why the children cannot travel to Jerusalem or Ariel instead of establishing that kindergarten. I was furious at first, but then I understood that a soldier does not understand civil life, does not understand children, he does not have the necessary organizational skills for it”.

Life under military control is contrary to the concept of democracy according to which, the elected individual is accountable to his constituents, and if he does not function well, he will be replaced. An officer is promoted to the next rank due to other considerations, “He is not subject to anything civilian, he desires to be promoted and he is afraid that if he allows too much for the settlement enterprise, he will anger the level above him, who will prevent his promotion. This is why the Civil

# Sovereignty, Without any Fear at all

**David Elhiyani, the head of the Jordan Valley Council, believes, with all his heart, in the vision of sovereignty, but when sovereignty was proposed in the Jordan Valley in the framework of the “Deal of the Century”, he vehemently opposed it. Why? And why is it difficult for him to imagine the leadership taking the first vital step, sovereignty in the Jordan Valley?**

Photo: Office



David Elhiyani, Head of the Jordan Valley Council

For years, David Elhiyani, head of the Jordan Valley Council and former head of the Yesha Council, has been calling for the application of sovereignty over the Jordan Valley. He hears promises that it is imminent, smiles politely while hearing a speech by another eloquent politician, who sounds faithful to the idea of sovereignty in the Valley, but again and again he is disappointed. We chose to open the discussion with him with a direct, short and perhaps frustrating question: **Do you believe that sovereignty in the Valley is nearing?**

“It will not happen”, he answers firmly, with the directness of a farmer who is a bit tired of being polite. “It will not happen because we do not have the leadership that is capable of making this decision. It won’t happen because our leadership is fearful and worries about what the Americans will say, what the world will say and what the Jordanians will say. The only thing that they do not deal with is how to protect our security and communities.”

**And aren’t you concerned about what the Americans, the world and the Jordanians will say?**

No, and for one simple reason. Anyone who is familiar with history knows that in the Partition Plan, Nahariya, Acre, Be’er Sheva, Ashkelon and other places were left out. Jerusalem was an international city whose fate would be decided in the future. The Golan Heights was Syrian after all, and when we conquered the Golan Heights in 1982, with three quick votes, they transferred sovereignty in the Golan Heights and until today, the world is silent and mum.”

**Perhaps it is silent and mum, but it has still not said that it has despaired of giving the Golan Heights to Syria.**

“Yes, but we are now in the situation that no one cares anymore. There is sovereignty and everything that happens in Syria only strengthens our hold on the Golan Heights. So yes, there will be criticism, they will attack us, impose sanctions on us, say that we are harming the chances for a Palestinian state to be established. They will say it all, and after two or three weeks, it will pass”.

**Aren’t you concerned that we will become a pariah state?**

“We will not become a pariah state for several reasons. The U.S. will be angry with us, but is interested in having good relations with Israel. Regarding the European countries, what can they do, anyway?

**They will prevent Israelis from setting**

**foot on European soil.**

So what? I am willing to pay that price. The People is also willing to pay the price. There are alternatives to Paris and London. They will travel to other places. But the Europeans will not do that”, he says reassuringly. “Indeed, they will not recognize our sovereignty in the Jordan Valley and they will pay full customs duties for agricultural produce in Europe, but the bottom line is that they cannot do more than that”.

**You also mentioned the Jordanians as one of the concerns of the government and prime minister. Aren’t you concerned about their response as well?**

“More and more Palestinian intellectuals claim that Jordan is Palestine and that the king must pack himself up, along with his children, and move to London. He is afraid of this, and we are also afraid of a revolution in Jordan, for the Palestinians to take over the kingdom because then Iran will be right on Israel’s border the very next day. In unofficial discussions from the Oslo era, they were saying that if a Palestinian state would arise, Jordan would not want a territorial connection with this state so that it would not endanger them. This is why King Hussein supported Israeli sovereignty in the Valley. He did not say it officially and they would never support it officially, because they would not want to anger the Palestinians, but unofficially, they want a buffer to separate them from the Palestinian entity. Our people know this and are familiar with it.”

“I’ll tell you something about the panic from Jordan. In the past, the baptism site was open only with military approval and coordination, but then Silvan Shalom, as Minister of Regional Cooperation, decided to open the place every day. In discussions that preceded this, someone said that this might cause a third intifada. I asked him who he was. He said that he was the legal advisor for the Ministry of Tourism. I told him, ‘You are not a politician, don’t interfere.’ Silvan decided to open it anyway and invested five million shekels in developing the site. The Minister of Tourism, Stas Misezhnikov, was also invited to the opening ceremony of the site. He wrote to Silvan that he would not come because it would cause unrest in the Middle East and he would not lend a hand to it. The site was opened. And the maximum noise in Jordan was on the level of a headline on the last page of some newspaper where it was written that some monk had said that Israel is again rewriting history and that

Jesus was baptized in the east bank of the river. That was the whole story. No intifada or anything else. Everybody threatens us. Sovereignty will be applied suddenly, and if you want it to be easier, do it with correlation and tell the PA that if they go to Hague, we are going to apply sovereignty”.

**You mentioned at first, that the government is not thinking about what is good for the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria, and security, sovereignty. Please expand on this a bit.**

“Look, from the point of view of our daily life, application of sovereignty might make things a little more difficult because the bureaucracy involved with the laws of the State of Israel are more difficult than those of the Civil Administration. Approval for a building permit in the State of Israel takes ten years but in Judea and Samaria, three years. There are advantages to the current situation, but this is beside the point. The point is that it is not only that we will finally be a sovereign part of the State of Israel, but also that sovereignty in the Jordan Valley will put an end to the Arab delusion of establishing a Palestinian state”.

**Will They Stop Dreaming about a state?**

“They will continue to dream but they will not get a state. They will not agree to establish a state on less than one hundred percent of the territory. After all, they were offered a state on 98 percent of the territory when they spoke about the entire territory except for the blocs of settlement and they refused because they want the entire territory, so the moment you apply sovereignty, the creation of a Palestinian state becomes impossible.”

**So, if sovereignty is so good, why did you oppose the “Deal of the Century” which would have given you sovereignty over the valley?**

“Because the Trump Plan included establishing a Palestinian state. I said that I was willing to give up sovereignty over

the Valley if it was conditioned on having a Palestinian state on seventy percent of the territory. Of course, I want sovereignty, but without the Trump outline, which was built on a business-like basis. He viewed the event as a businessman. There is 40 percent in Areas A and B, which leaves 60 percent, thirty for a Palestinian state and thirty for Israeli sovereignty. It’s all very simple”.

**But a moment ago you said that they did not agree to 98 percent, and now you say that you are concerned that they will agree to a state on 70 percent.**

“Meir Ben Shabbat, head of the National Security Staff at the time, spoke with me about this and he said that he does not agree with my opposition to the Trump plan, and that it was a matter of risk management. I told him that the Jewish People after the Holocaust must not take risks. You are not God and you don’t know what they would say. This plan was accepted by the King of Jordan and I know this because one week before it was proposed at the White House, King Abdullah was interviewed on French television and he said that he is familiar with the plan. They asked him about his opinion and he said that one must look at the half full part of the glass, which is that the Deal of the Century will bring about the establishment of a Palestinian state. Every Arab state is familiar with this plan, especially the Saudis, who came to the Arabs and told them to take the state that was offered to them, we will help you and shut your mouths”.

**And would they have agreed?**

“I don’t know how they would have responded, but why must I take a risk? I don’t want to gamble on the Jewish People’s existence. It is a plan that would have allowed millions of Arabs to come via the crossings - Adam Bridge and Allenby Bridge, from the entire Arab world including Iran. This would be an existential danger for the Jewish People The Jewish People must not take risks, especially in our environment”.

There will be criticism, they will attack us, impose sanctions on us, say that we are harming the chances for a Palestinian state to be established. They will say it all, and after two or three weeks, it will pass



# When the World is so Inclined, it Recognizes Even More Complex Sovereignties

**Dozens of models of special sovereignties are recognized in the world. Many of these models enable the countries to stay a western democracy without becoming an apartheid state. Introducing the research by Or Yissachar of the IDSF.**

**The challenge of applying sovereignty in Judea and Samaria necessarily entails a sober confrontation with several challenges, many of them involving the status of the Arab residents of these areas on the day after the application of sovereignty. Will Israel indeed become an apartheid state that discriminates against some of the citizens subject to its authority? How will the world react to this new sovereign reality? It appears that many of the leaders of the right-wing camp are reluctant to engage this “hot” topic for fear of being burned, but there are those who have taken upon themselves the mission of examining and assessing whether there is any substance to the outcry.**

The researcher Or Yissachar, Deputy Director of Research and Content at the Israel Defense and Security Forum (IDSF), spearheaded a comprehensive study that sought to determine whether the political reality is indeed black and white, two states or apartheid and occupation. Already at this stage we will reveal the bottom line of his research: the world is filled with dozens, or more precisely 66 precedents that represent a large variety of forms of sovereignty that are accorded international legitimacy. It is clear that not all of them can serve as suitable models for Israel, but their very existence opens channels of thought and clarifies that the myth that the only possible solution is partition of the land into two states and granting of full sovereignty to every minority is far from reality.

“From our perspective, the security world is very rigid, but the diplomatic world is very broad,” he says as he reconstructs the reasons that led to the study. “When I hear political recommendations designed to force Israel’s hand, recommendations asserting that two states is the only solution, being a curious person, I already begin to cast doubt. When Israel is pressured to make territorial and national compromises that are contrary to the principles of Zionism and the principles of professional security, it raises a red flag for me.”

“As a history and geopolitics aficionado and as a member of our research department, I consider it a challenge to propose solutions. Not only to say what is unacceptable and why not a Palestinian state, regarding which we have issued a comprehensive study

that was distributed to all embassies in the country, but also to say what is acceptable,” says Yissachar, and relates a conversation that he conducted with Brigadier General (res.) Amir Avivi, CEO of the movement, who told him about the existence around the world of no fewer than 66 different models of sovereign reality recognized by the American State Department neither as occupation nor as disputed territories, but as special sovereignty, in other words, the status of these territories is recognized and accepted throughout the world.

Yissachar emphasizes that in order to assess these models it was decided to focus specifically on those that maintain Western democracies rather than autocracies, like China, in order to prove that “these countries

These countries maintain, on the one hand, very interesting political models, but on the other hand, they say that there is no other solution but a fully sovereign state for the Palestinians

maintain, on the one hand, very interesting political models, but on the other hand, they say that there is no other solution but a fully sovereign state for the Palestinians.”

## They Preach to Us but do not Look in the Mirror

The primary examples on which Yissachar focuses are the United States, Holland and Britain that conduct themselves in this manner. They allow themselves a special political reality, but to Israel they preach a Palestinian state as an idea with no alternative.

“The Dutch-controlled island of Curacao, the British-controlled Isle of Man, and the United States-controlled Puerto Rico, and the United States territories of Guam and Samoa are examples of a reality where external control over immigration, security, and foreign policy are in the hands of the country, while the internal administration of these territories is conducted independently, including education, infrastructure, roads, and more.”

Yissachar adds: “There are four states under the rule of the kingdom of Holland. In fact, Holland is one of four states that are subject to the kingdom of Holland. All four of these states are unable to represent themselves in the world in foreign relations that are considered to be affairs of the kingdom. Only a representative of the king of Holland can represent the kingdom of Holland in foreign policy. This is also the case in matters of immigration, international aid requests, security, etc.”

The citizens of these Dutch states hold passports of the relevant state and of the kingdom of Holland. The status of the kingdom of Holland, in whose capital the king resides, is different from that of the other three states. During the Covid period,

these states were plunged into an economic crisis as the tourism industry, which is the mainstay of their economies, was abruptly cut off. When they sought assistance from the kingdom of Holland, a series of conditions for reforms was presented to them to ensure good governance and transparency. Acceptance of the kingdom’s dictates was then a necessity, since it is prohibited for them to seek assistance from any international entity.

In his study, he says: “I am seeking to open the mind to models that are not full-fledged states, models of a state that does not have full sovereignty but has special sovereignty.” Another example of this is Puerto Rico, which is an American territory but is not a state like the 50 member states of the United States. Puerto Rico is one of 6 entities that are characterized as not integrated. “The citizens there do not vote for Congress or the Presidency, but the United States rules them and does not allow them declaration of independence or representation in Congress, i.e., they do not have the possibility of voting for the same Congress that decides their fate.

Photo: Daniel Strabbo



Or Yissachar, Deputy Director of Research and content at the IDSF

Another example is American Samoa, whose citizens do not have American citizenship but are defined as ‘American nationals.’ Like any foreigner, they too can apply for citizenship. They have no automatic right to immigrate to the United States.”

## When Britain Responds to the Hague Tribunal

“In Britain there are 6 types of British passports. They criticize us for the Nation-State Law and talk about the fact that there are second-class citizens in Israel; yet they have 6 types of passports and different statuses of subjects of the king in different places in Britain. “They are under British rule, but do not have the automatic right to reach London or to the central state. Most of them also cannot vote for the Parliament from their own territory, but must fly to Britain and vote there, which costs them thousands of pounds.”

Another interesting political phenomenon is that of the Chagos Islands, which the International Court of Justice ruled that Britain must return to Mauritius, but “Britain said it does not agree with that decision. It considers the ruling scandalous and it is British territory.”

Yissachar does not accept the argument that what is permitted for large countries like Britain is prohibited for a small country like Israel. “Small countries like the Vatican and Barbados have a vote just like the United States. If there is international law, it is supposed to apply to everyone.” If you apply models of second, third, and fourth-class citizenship to citizens who cannot vote, cannot emigrate, and cannot decide on foreign policy and you think that is acceptable and recognized by the United Nations, then it is permitted for everyone.”

When the results of Yissachar’s study were published, some claimed that it was illogical to compare Ramallah with Puerto Rico and the differences were enormous. Yissachar does not deny this and explains that he had no intent to draw an exact comparison between the cases, especially since it is referring to colonies and not the land of our ancestors to which we have returned. The comparison is only to open up the channels of thought and see that there are many nuances and not everything is black and white.

# At Last We Are Saying to the World: No to a Palestinian State

**MK Ze'ev Elkin initiated, Knesset members from the coalition and the opposition joined, and the unequivocal statement of the Knesset was opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state. The only dissenters were the Arab MKs.**



MK Zeev Elkin, the National Right Party

In a rare display of bipartisan cooperation, the Knesset voted 68 to 9 to declare that “the Knesset of Israel is unequivocally opposed to the establishment of a Palestinian state west of the Jordan River. Establishment of a Palestinian state in the heartland of Israel would constitute an existential danger to the State of Israel and its citizens, would perpetuate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and would destabilize the region. It would not take long for Hamas to gain control of the Palestinian state and transform it into a radical Islamic terrorist base, operating in concert with the Iranian-led axis, to eliminate the State of Israel.”

The process was initiated by MK Ze'ev Elkin of the National Right party and he was joined by MKs from the Likud, the National Camp party, Shas, United Torah Judaism, Religious Zionism, Yisrael Beiteinu, Otzma Yehudit, and his own party. Regarding the significance of the decision and the parliamentary work that preceded it, Elkin speaks with Sovereignty:

“I’ve been working on this proposal for several months. I initiated the move already during the winter session with the intention of not sufficing with a few words spoken in the plenum, as often happens in the Knesset, but of reaching a definitive resolution of the Knesset. I suggested to MK Moshe Solomon that he join the initiative and he joined.”

## A Principled Statement and not just Against Forced Coercion

The first attempt to conduct the debate was already during the winter session of the Knesset in the wake of an international attempt to effect unilateral recognition of a Palestinian state, European resolutions to recognize a state of that kind and worrisome briefings from Washington. The response to these international moves was the government’s decision against unilateral recognition of a Palestinian state. Elkin, for his part, proposed to hold a Knesset debate and pass a resolution on the basis of his proposal. “I had almost convinced them, I was told they would agree and it would happen, but then Netanyahu feared that we would submit a proposal that did not speak against unilateral recognition of a Palestinian state, but rather a principled resolution against a Palestinian state, so the government decided to block my proposal and instead bring to a vote in the Knesset the resolution that had been adopted by the government, and indeed it passed by the vote of 99 members of the Knesset.”

**Elkin considers the difference between the**

**two proposals dramatic.** He explains: “The previous resolution was a tactical one, against unilateral recognition of a Palestinian state, but it did not preclude the possibility of a Palestinian state after negotiations. Therefore, left-wing parties such as Yesh Atid were able to vote for it. This was an important vote in its own right as a tactical statement to the world against the European attempts to unilaterally recognize them, but I wanted to get a principled statement of the Knesset against a Palestinian state. This is something unprecedented in the Knesset of Israel.”

“In fact,” adds Elkin, “the Israeli Knesset has addressed this issue in the past, directly and indirectly, and there was always a majority that tended toward establishment of a Palestinian state. This was the case with Oslo A and B and with the Disengagement which were passed by a majority in the Knesset. There has never been a Knesset vote with a clear majority voting against a Palestinian state west of the Jordan as a matter of ideology.”

In order to get his proposal passed, which, as stated above, had been blocked initially, Elkin employed a clause in the Knesset regulations to the effect that if the sponsor of a proposal insists, it must be placed on the agenda within three months. “I continued to press and we agreed on cooperation with the Yisrael Beiteinu faction and the Land of Israel Lobby, which is composed mainly of coalition members, and we agreed that in advance of Netanyahu’s visit to the United States, where it was rumored that the Saudi initiative would be discussed, it was very important to pass the bill during the summer session. We obtained more than 61 signatures on the request and in addition, Gideon Saar drafted the resolution we sought to pass. That version received everyone’s approval, so when a request of more than 61 members of Knesset was submitted, it was clear that the Speaker would be obligated to place it on the agenda, and to his credit he also did not try to obstruct the move.”

After these political twists, a significant majority was achieved in support of the aforementioned resolution, which Elkin considers an historic event. “This is a dramatic change relative to everything that has happened here in the last thirty years, when there was always a fundamental majority speaking for a Palestinian state.”

**True, everything is reversible, but... Is this decision reversible in a future Knesset**

**configuration?** Even Elkin knows that “in the Knesset everything is reversible,” in his words. “That is the nature of democracy, but it requires a positive vote, which is not always easy to initiate and achieve a majority, when the Left has never had a majority on its own. Therefore, I do not think it will be easy to pass a contrary decision.”

Furthermore, he says, “when there is mounting

heartland of the United States after the Twin Towers disaster, so it is impossible to demand the establishment of a Palestinian state in the heartland of Israel.

Even if no official Israeli position has yet been articulated on the alternative to the two-state solution, we are not absolved from making it clear to the world that the concept of a Palestinian state is wrong and should be

I wanted to get a principled statement of the Knesset against a Palestinian state. This is something unprecedented in the Knesset of Israel.

international pressure for a Palestinian state, even from countries friendly to us, and those hostile to us simply recognizes them, an official statement of the Knesset of Israel is very significant, especially when it expresses an overwhelming majority. It was very symbolic that the Left-Center parties dared not vote in favor a Palestinian state, but fled the vote, which was not possible in the past, and the only 9 who voted in favor of a Palestinian state were members of the Arab parties. This reflects the profound change that has taken place in Israeli society. Even the Labor Party, which today is in a joint party with Meretz, did not vote in favor of a Palestinian state. Even Yair Golan did not send them to support a state of that kind.”

“There is also a message to the world. When the world pressures us, it discovers that the only parties publicly supporting this idea are the Arab parties, and therefore, they can have no expectations. What Israeli leader needs to be elected prime minister in order for this to happen? Ahmed Tibi? Even Benny Gantz, the alternative candidate to Netanyahu, agonized long and hard and finally, fearing public opinion and the fact that 8 members of his party, including himself, voted against a Palestinian state. Yair Lapid, who had not previously opposed a Palestinian state, and there are many expressions of this, in the post- October 7th atmosphere, is afraid to stand before the nation and support a state of that kind.”

As one who participated in many international diplomatic processes, MK Elkin is convinced that the Israeli decision can and must be marketed to the world and clearly state that just as no one would suggest to the Americans that they establish an Al Qaeda state in the

removed from the agenda, says Elkin. “The notion that this would solve all the problems of the Middle East is a grave error and an idea that runs counter to common sense and to both our national and historical roots in Judea and Samaria and to our security philosophy. In addition, it is today clear that this state would become a Hamas state when we see 70% support for Hamas in Judea and Samaria. This must be marketed to the world.”

**Against this backdrop, we ask Elkin regarding the next step, a vote not only about what will not be, but what will be, a vote on sovereignty, is likely to become possible soon, and he replies:** “In these conditions, with the present American administration, it is still far off, but I have always advocated that redemption comes gradually, and what is far off today can become feasible in the future. One needs only to believe and push in that direction. I believe in this direction of sovereignty and have already worked toward it when I was the head of the Land of Israel Lobby. The idea is not a venture that is unfeasible in reality. Therefore I am optimistic.”

The Knesset of Israel is unequivocal in its position that the establishment of a Palestinian state would constitute an existential danger to the State of Israel and to the Jewish people, and that the only way to gain control of the Palestinian state is through the establishment of a Palestinian state at this time.



# A Zionist Policy Anchor for every Future Prime Minister

**MK Moshe Salomon** views the sweeping vote against a Palestinian state as an unprecedented and historic event, a political-diplomatic bargaining chip that every prime minister can use to counter international pressure.



Photo: Yehuda Cohen  
MK Moshe Salomon, Religious Zionism

MK Moshe Salomon (from the Religious Zionism party) joined MK Ze'ev Elkin's initiative and was actually the coalition arm that led the vote whose purpose was to state the Israeli Knesset's resolute decision, 'no' to a Palestinian state.

For MK Salomon, the key significance and importance of the vote is "to create an agenda and a change of awareness on the international level and that this must begin in Knesset. The broad agreement in Knesset and the majority of the house gives every senior Israeli diplomat and every prime minister a decision that he can present, and he can present himself as a representative of this".

"There has been talk of a Palestinian state for many years and it is brought up in many, varied ways. As a result of this kind of pressure and others, a prime minister may make another Bar Ilan speech and speak about two states for two peoples. But with this Knesset decision, we are now at a place where we demanded that the matter be brought to a discussion and indeed, there were 68 Zionist

I clearly believe that beyond preventing a Palestinian state we must apply Israeli sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley and that this is the right thing to do. Integrity of the Land is important, but we are obligated to ensure that this will not create worse divisions and disputes in society

members of Knesset who were present in the plenum who voted against a Palestinian state and nine Arab members of Knesset who voted in favor. From our point of view, we have thus equipped the prime minister with an unambiguous declaration, stating that the Israeli Knesset opposes the establishment of

a Palestinian state. And if anyone demands it, the prime minister will be able to say that he cannot accept such a dictate because of the members of Knesset who oppose it. The idea is to create another anchoring point for any diplomat or politician who wants to float such an idea and tell him, you have no backing in Knesset for that".

There has always been a discussion in Knesset on the issue and voices were heard both for and against, but the issue was never brought to a vote before. This is why it is a historic vote with the clear expression of Knesset. It is true that it is reversible, just as a Basic Law is reversible, and it is true that it is not a binding declaration and actually, a prime minister could behave like Ariel Sharon, who acted against the vote of Knesset, but there will always be a strong statement in front of him".

Those who voted in favor of the proposal against a Palestinian state come from a wide ideological range, from members of Benny Gantz's National Unity party to members of Itamar Ben Gvir's Jewish Strength party.

Salomon believes that the Arab states are also influenced by this decision, which expresses the spirit of the People of Israel. "The Arab world feeds on the Israeli discourse. If we speak about victory and resolve or express a lack of unity, these things are understood there and it has an influence on them. This

is also true when we express opposition to a Palestinian state".

**And What do Benny Gantz and Yair Lapid Really Think about this?**  
When Benny Gantz is among those who voted

We have thus equipped the prime minister with an unambiguous declaration, stating that the Israeli Knesset opposes the establishment of a Palestinian state. And if anyone demands it, the prime minister will be able to say that he cannot accept such a dictate because of the members of Knesset who oppose it

in favor of the declaration, but hosted the head of the PA in his home and took care to transfer a half billion shekels to the PA in order to prevent its collapse, someone who thinks of himself as Rabin's successor and could be expected, one day, to support the establishment of a Palestinian state, are we not concerned that this vote is a passing, marginal event, even just to mislead the voters? Salomon responds with a question: "And are we sure that Netanyahu will not act in this way? He does not speak of a Palestinian state because the political coalition that he has built is a coalition that will not allow it. After all, he also spoke of this possibility in the past, and ultimately, everyone looks to his partners, who influence decisions. This is also true for Benny Gantz, watching Ze'ev Elkin, who promoted the process, and this creates cooperation that, unfortunately, still has not brought the Yesh Atid people to the event".

Regarding Yair Lapid's people in Yesh Atid and their decision to be absent for the vote, Member of Knesset Salomon believes that

their absence was motivated by the desire to differentiate themselves politically from Benny Gantz and that it is not a decision based on principle. "I believe that the reality of the seventh of October calls for a totally different understanding of all the attempts at peace with the Palestinians. We all understand this,

even on the Left. I can say that part of Yesh Atid views a Palestinian state as a great danger, nevertheless, in the end, there is a desire to differentiate themselves as leaders of the Left against the Right more than the others."

**And what about the next step, when are we going to say what there should be, i.e. sovereignty and not just what there should not be, a Palestinian state?** "There is a right time for everything. The trick is to identify the right opportunity to create a broad political partnership that will bring it about. At this time, the declaration is important and everyone in Israeli society understands the reality better and is moving toward the Right.

On a personal level, he emphasizes, "I clearly believe that beyond preventing a Palestinian state we must apply Israeli sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley and that this is the right thing to do. Integrity of the Land is important, but we are obligated to ensure that this will not create worse divisions and disputes in society".

ally opposed to the establishment of a Palestinian state west of the Jordan River. Establishment of a Palestinian state in the heartland of Israel would the State of Israel and its citizens, would perpetuate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and would destabilize the region. It would not take long for Hamas state and transform it into a radical Islamic terrorist base, operating in concert with the Iranian-led axis, to eliminate the State of Israel. Promoting the me will be a reward for terrorism and will only encourage Hamas and its supporters to see this as a victory to the massacre of October 7th, 2023 and a prelude to the takeover of Jihadist Islam in the Middle East."

The text of the proposal accepted in the Knesset 18/07/24

# What has happened to the US Democratic Party?

The Biden administration’s adversarial stance toward Israel, reminiscent of Obama’s, which contrasts sharply with its more accommodating and favorable approach to Iran, is deeply rooted in a perception gaining increasing traction in the U.S. Democratic Party. An interview with **Caroline Glick**

For 16 years, researcher, journalist and author Caroline Glick has been closely monitoring the changes occurring in the U.S. Democratic Party. Her findings raise significant concerns, especially – but not exclusively – for Israel.

“The Democratic Party has been radicalized,” she states, describing how the party has become pro-Iranian, no less, while abandoning its values, friends and allies.

“Until the Obama era, perceptions in the Democratic Party were similar to those of the Republicans, and this facilitated bipartisan cooperation. Today, there is hardly any common ground between the parties on foreign and domestic policy due to that radicalization,” explains Glick, and to help us understand how this shift occurred, she provides some background.

The U.S. has always viewed itself as a second promised land. Abraham Lincoln spoke about this. They considered the Bible the founding fathers’ principal source of inspiration, and their common denominator with Israel and the free world is based on the Torah. As a result, the American alliance with Israel, as well as the alliance with other countries like England, in the Muslim context of the Middle East, is founded on the belief in the Torah’s message and the idea of the Jewish people being chosen by God. This is what led to American support for Jews even before the establishment of the state, the absence

of institutional antisemitism in the U.S., institutional support for Israel and the fundamental insights most Americans possess about the Middle East. Belief in the Torah’s message meant that even if Israel were weak and even if supporting it strained relations with the Arabs, the U.S. continued to support us.”

To this was added the belief in American exceptionalism, that they too are a light unto the nations and that America is a divine tool designed to bring the message of freedom, including civil rights, to the world. But then Obama came along. “From the outset, he rejected the perception that sees the U.S. and Israel as a light unto the nations. He severed the link between American foreign policy and American values and rejected the view of America as a moral state, adopting instead the Soviet perspective, which sees America as a state born in the sin of black slavery, with a legacy of oppression, suffering and enslavement, both domestically and towards other countries.”

This approach views American power as a tool for oppressing others, and consequently, Obama believed, matters should be reorganized to ensure equality of outcomes rather than equality of opportunities. This was reflected in the suppression of those with economic, intellectual, physical and other capabilities in order to achieve results that would benefit those with fewer abilities, particularly non-



Caroline Glick, Journalist, researcher, author

whites. Jews were included among the oppressors. “As a result, for the first time, the door was opened to oppression and discrimination against Jews because they were considered part of a super-privileged and successful subgroup that required unique suppression.”

Initially, Glick notes, Obama’s policy was met with opposition within the Democratic Party, but his actions managed to severely undermine the political power of the erstwhile majority in the party who held different views. As a result, Democrats who were pro-

Democrats who were pro-Israel, pro-Jewish and pro-American were pushed aside and supplanted by extremist elements who seriously damaged relations with Israel

**We are guilty, so now we will grovel and correct**

This perception also has consequences for U.S. foreign policy, suggesting that the regimes opposing America were correct in viewing it as an immoral nation, with Iran being the prime example. “The idea is that the problems in the Middle East result from U.S. efforts to oppress the Iranians and prevent them from asserting their rights to be anti-Western and anti-American. That’s why the flag of Obama’s foreign policy was the flag of reconciliation with Iran and the formation of a new axis of powers in the Middle East at the expense of Israel and the Sunni countries, led by Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The goal was to empower Iran, which American actions had supposedly harmed.

“The Palestinians are the other entity that had to be compensated due to the detrimental effects of oppressive American policy. That’s why Obama decided that his policy should be to empower these two parties at the expense of America’s allies, and that’s what they’ve been doing ever since.”

Israel, pro-Jewish and pro-American were pushed aside and supplanted by extremist elements who seriously damaged relations with Israel. In this context, she mentions people like Nancy Pelosi, who originally came from a very pro-Israel background – her father had been a donor to the Etzel and Lehi – but now finds herself in a completely different position, boycotting the speech of the Israeli Prime Minister.

The empowerment of extremists and the marginalization of pro-Israel elements in the party led many leading Democrats to be swept along with the current, causing the party to increasingly change its face. Glick explains: “In the midst of an Israeli war for survival, Chuck Schumer, the Democratic majority leader in the Senate, who calls himself a defender of Israel, takes the podium and calls for the overthrow of the Israeli government. He is concerned not with overthrowing the government in Iran or ousting Hezbollah, but with the Israeli government. This is the same Schumer who in 1996 acted to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem, was once one

Then Obama came along. From the outset, he rejected the perception that sees the U.S. and Israel as a light unto the nations. He severed the link between American foreign policy and American values and rejected the view of America as a moral state



of Israel’s most prominent supporters in the Senate, and is now facilitating a hostile policy towards Israel.”

Tell me who your advisors are and I'll tell you what your plans are

Glick views Kamala Harris’s appointment as a presidential candidate as the culmination of the process. And when she selects the radical Tim Walz as her running mate instead of the Jewish candidate Josh Shapiro, who could have secured a crucial victory

swing votes. On matters related to the Middle East, she prefers to appeal to the left, “So that everyone understands that if Biden has pro-Israeli sentiments, as seen at the beginning of the war, Harris does not share those sentiments. She wants it to be clear that if Biden’s policy is hostile to Israel, she will continue it without schmaltzy stories about Zionism or Golda.

“Ilan Goldenberg is even more extreme than Gordon in both rhetoric and his record where Israel is concerned” says Glick. “He is a central figure in the task force set up to impose

Philip Gordon, according to all scenarios, is the leading candidate for Secretary of State if Harris is elected. He fully represents Obama’s pro-Iranian, anti-Israeli, and pro-Palestinian stance

in Pennsylvania, the process becomes clear and dramatic for Israel. If that’s not enough, Glick highlights the two leading figures in Harris’s inner circle, Philip Gordon and Ilan Goldenberg, as further indicators of her intentions.

“Philip Gordon is Harris’s national security advisor and Ilan Goldenberg, who was Harris’s Middle East advisor and moved to the National Security Council as a senior director, was also appointed as her liaison to the Jewish community during the campaign,” says Glick, outlining some of their backgrounds. “Philip Gordon, according to all scenarios, is the leading candidate for Secretary of State if Harris is elected. He fully represents Obama’s pro-Iranian, anti-Israeli, and pro-Palestinian stance, and he will advance this agenda with a mandate,” Glick is convinced. She notes that contrary to expectations and political logic, Harris is not trying to appeal to the center in order to win

sanctions on Israelis. The purpose of the sanctions is to undermine the right-wing government and bring about its collapse, and Goldenberg is the one leading this task force. He was born in Israel but grew up in the U.S. and renounced his Israeli citizenship to serve in the Obama administration. He is a very anti-Zionist person who defines himself as pro-Israel but opposes the right and its leadership, and consequently, criminalizes figures like Itamar Ben-Gvir and Bezalel Smotrich and seeks to overthrow Netanyahu. This individual is expected to hold a very senior position in matters related to the Middle East.”

Caroline Glick provides several examples of problematic U.S. policies under the Democratic administration. One such example is the Lebanese army. “This army is effectively under Hezbollah’s command, but is trained and armed by the U.S. This is an army that doesn’t move an inch without

Nasrallah’s approval, assists Hezbollah logistically and is filled with Shiites. Despite this, the U.S. finances it, even paying several months’ salaries to officers and soldiers in cash. Outwardly the Americans claim that the Lebanese army is the entity that is responsible and that it opposes Hezbollah in order to justify their actions, but everyone knows it is completely under Nasrallah’s control. In practice, if we attack Hezbollah, they will use the Lebanese army as human shields, and if we harm them, the U.S. will intervene to stop us.”

She also mentions the American decision to lift the sanctions imposed on Saudi Arabia after it ceased fighting the Houthis. “The Democrats accused the Saudis of war crimes against the Houthis. And in the first month of his term, Biden removed the Houthis from the State Department’s list of terrorist organizations. Arms sales from the U.S. will resume because the Saudis are no longer fighting the Houthis, even though the Houthis are terrorists who are attacking in Bab el-Mandeb, the strait critical to the world’s economy through which about forty percent of global oil exports pass.”

However, when asked whether she considers the U.S. a friend or foe in light of these issues, Caroline replies: “It’s hybrid and depends on the administration.” That is why, she believes Israel should establish a

if Trump is elected, we won’t receive warships to help us, but he will give us political backing in the UN against the Europeans, Chinese, and others if we do the job ourselves. Our self-perception as America’s doormat needs to disappear. We need to be powerful regardless of whether the Republicans or Democrats are in power.”

Restoring Israel’s strategic independence, Glick says, should begin with eliminating military dependence and not preparing military plans that are contingent on renewing the American aid package in 2027. Israel should work to wean itself off this aid and not renew it. “We must not perpetuate our dependence on the Americans, certainly not by purchasing two squadrons from them. The decisions we make today regarding future procurement will affect our ability to maneuver in the complex international arena.

“I don’t call the U.S. an enemy because eighty percent of Americans strongly support Israel, despite the riots on campuses and the rhetoric in the White House, but this majority isn’t reflected in American policy. The Democratic Party doesn’t want Israel as a sovereign state but as a vassal state, and they masterfully use the Israeli left, which willingly cooperates with them, to achieve this. I can’t forget how in 2023, Asaf Zamir returned from his position as consul in New York, and in an interview

If we hadn’t closed the factories that produced machine guns, tank and artillery shells, bullets for assault rifles, bombs, spare parts for tanks and more – if everything were manufactured in Israel – we would be in a different situation. We wouldn’t have to wait for an American green light or for weapon shipments

consistent policy that addresses the full range of issues and levels concerning Israel-U.S. relations, and especially “to loosen our strategic dependence on the U.S.”

Strategically preparing for true independence

“We saw how after October 7th we were unable to wage a war without American armaments, making us dependent on them from the start. If we hadn’t closed the factories that produced machine guns, tank and artillery shells, bullets for assault rifles, bombs, spare parts for tanks and more – if everything were manufactured in Israel – we would be in a different situation. We wouldn’t have to wait for an American green light or for weapon shipments. Even

with Channel 12 defined Israel as a vassal state that should behave accordingly. The same goes for generals who talk about a defense alliance with America as a necessity. They accept this anti-Zionist view, and whoever accepts it rejects the concept of a sovereign Jewish state. This perception needs to be completely eradicated. They turn this dependence into a value, while the Americans see the nullification of Israeli sovereignty as a key tool to toppling the right-wing government.”

Caroline Glick cautions against internal political instability that could lead to the government’s collapse over disagreements. That would be absolutely disastrous, she asserts: “You don’t relinquish power, certainly not at a time like this.”

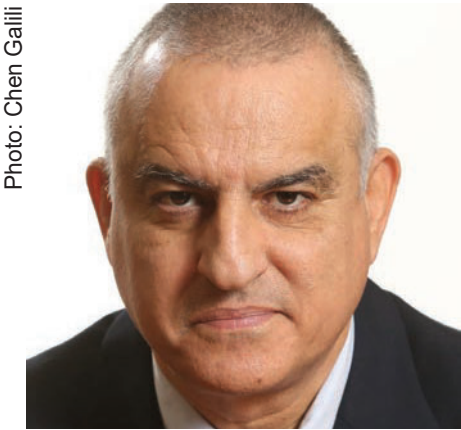
Photo: Shutterstock



Anti-Israeli demonstration in the United States

# Return to Munitions Independence – One of the Essential Lessons of the War

While confronting no fewer than seven military fronts, Israel has come to the realization of just how much damage was caused by its decision to downsize the IDF and close Israeli munitions factories. The process of remedying this will take years. Col. (res.) Prof. Gabi Siboni takes a bird's-eye view of the war.



Col. (res.) Prof. Gabi siboni

In a conversation with **Sovereignty**, Prof. Gabi Siboni, a colonel in the reserves, head of the research programs of the Institute for National Security Studies in the fields of cyber and the army, in a comprehensive overview from a bird's-eye view, analyzes the events of the "Swords of Iron" war, the successes along with the shortcomings.

If the campaign in the Gaza Strip is considered to be complex, perhaps one of the most complex in which a modern army has ever been challenged, Siboni insists on characterizing the war as a multi-front war that requires attention and response in no fewer than seven different fronts: Gaza, Lebanon, Judea and Samaria, the Houthis, the Iranian militias on the Iraq-Syria

in manpower that requires us to deploy manpower simultaneously in Gaza, Judea and Samaria, and the northern border. Rectifying this shortage will take a long time. Dismantling was easy, but remedying the situation will be much more difficult."

Siboni is careful not to point a finger at any particular individual who spearheaded the downsizing of the forces. "The downsizing was not necessarily undertaken willingly," he says. "There were also budgetary constraints that engendered great pressure from the Treasury to reduce the size of the army and, as a result, the decision-makers were forced to make a decision. In addition, some, not all, of the commanders, failed to understand

the equipment. In that way, it is making its presence felt among the population and increasing its breathing room. It is important to remember that among the war's objectives was destruction of Hamas's governing capabilities, and that we have not yet completed because of a strategic failure on our part. When we do not address the civilian story and the IDF does not take on civilian responsibility, the result is that Hamas takes control. This fact prolongs the war."

Civilian control, which Siboni sees as so critical to the completion of the war's objectives is precluded because "the IDF and the defense establishment oppose military rule. They discourage the public when they translate this control into areas of education, among others, even though it is entirely without basis. It is not in those areas that the control is needed, but in control of humanitarian aid of food, water and basic medical care. "The undertakings are being overstated as a manipulation designed to frighten the public and the political echelon."

A not insignificant measure of responsibility, says Siboni, is borne by the political echelon, the government and its head who is unable to impose his will on the security establishment. "But one must remember that the IDF receives the Defense Minister's support in its opposition to a military government, so that the political echelon is split and this creates problems."

Regarding the northern front, Siboni says that the separation between Gaza and the North, which was valid during the first months

When we do not exploit opportunities to act in the north and delay taking action to expel Hezbollah northward by going on the offensive, this is very problematic."

Paramount to all these, Siboni places Iran, which "pulls the strings. Iran must understand that any action that they take against Israel will be answered with the wide-ranging destruction of infrastructures in Iran, electricity, oil, water, ports, and economic infrastructure, which could severely undermine the regime. It could also be a strike on the nuclear reactor, but Israel has a wide range of possible actions. I am certain that they understand what I am saying here."

In the middle is the internal arena in Judea and Samaria which is also intensifying, and here, too, Iran's involvement is extensive. "One of the central components is Iran's attempt to create a new proxy, after its proxies in Gaza, Hamas and Islamic Jihad, have disappeared. Therefore, they are seeking to generate a serious effort in Judea and Samaria by introducing weapons and directing terrorist attacks. Here the IDF is operating and fighting very well, thwarting the infiltration of weapons into the region."

Confronting all these, the decision-makers in the defense and political echelons today realize that they can no longer rely on American and European aid, which is subject to the whims of leaders and potential sanctions, and that independence of Israeli munitions must be restored. Siboni notes that to the best of his knowledge, a process of this kind has already

Some, not all, of the commanders, failed to understand the magnitude of the threat and therefore reduced the reserve and ground forces. We are experiencing the result of that now. This requires a systemic overhaul

border, and the Iranian front that oversees the entire campaign.

Siboni estimates that Iran was surprised by the timing of Hamas's attack on the communities in the Gaza envelope. The attack, he emphasizes, is indeed part of Iran's broad strategy, so that it did not oppose it, but the timing was received with surprise in Tehran. "In my estimation, Iran sought to initiate an integrated campaign at a time that was suitable for it, i.e. after it had already become a nuclear state." Yet, once Hamas initiated the campaign, Iran chose to join it in its own ways.

"At the outset of the war it was important to separate Lebanon and Gaza in order to allow focusing on Gaza and expedite completion of the objectives that the political echelon had set. This separation contributed to the fact that the IDF entered Gaza intensively in the first months and achieved significant gains," says Siboni and notes that already at that stage, the size of the army was its limitation. "The IDF is small and has significantly downsized over the past few years. The result is that we very much need a ground force in this war, but it is very small and insufficient to confront the threats we encounter. We are experiencing a shortage

the magnitude of the threat and therefore reduced the reserve and ground forces. We are experiencing the result of that now. This requires a systemic overhaul."

In his talk, Siboni stresses that it is not merely a manpower shortage but also of inventory and munitions. "There is a very significant problem that stems from a lack of understanding of the threat and its implications. This must be investigated in the future, to study and see how to remedy it. At the moment we are in a reality where the manpower and the ability to act in Gaza and the north are influenced by the shortage that has been created."

**The IDF Has the Support of the Defense Minister in its Opposition to a Military Government in Gaza**

"In Gaza, the IDF is doing its utmost and is proceeding systematically to destroy Hamas capabilities. The main problem is not the military aspect, which is being handled excellently by the army, but in addressing the civilian dimension of the operation. Hamas is taking control of the humanitarian aid and in that way gaining control of the population, as it is the one that is distributing and selling

The decision-makers in the defense and political echelons today realize that they can no longer rely on American and European aid, which is subject to the whims of leaders and potential sanctions, and that independence of Israeli munitions must be restored

of the war, is no longer applicable in recent months. "The State of Israel must return the residents to the North, and this will happen only by expelling Hezbollah from southern Lebanon, where it can fire upon us directly. This can be accomplished only by occupying southern Lebanon. Therefore, all thoughts of agreements and creative solutions will not restore even one resident to the north.

been initiated, but its completion will take several years. "Dismantling is easy; building is as difficult as parting the Red Sea. There has been a beginning, but it requires significant efforts. The committee tasked with analyzing the defense budget will also need to engage in deep discussions and provide answers to the question of addressing the entire array of threats surrounding it."



# The Horses have not yet Bolted from the Hague tribunal

Israel’s hesitancy over the past half century regarding its connection to Judea and Samaria has invited upon us an international onslaught, and the Hague Tribunal is merely one example. Attorney Maurice Hirsch is convinced that it is not too late to remedy the situation.

Photo: Maurice Hirsch



Lieutenant Colonel (res.) Atty. Maurice Hirsch

The decision of the Hague tribunal to characterize Israel’s presence in Judea and Samaria as illegal was greeted with much Israeli criticism. The decision was characterized here as anti-Semitic and as a tailwind in the sails of Hamas terrorism. This is characterized as “a disaster both factually and legally,” by Advocate Lieutenant Colonel (res.) Maurice Hirsch, a former senior prosecutor in the IDF, and an expert on the history of law and justice in Judea and Samaria. Nevertheless, he is convinced that the preemptive antidote to this situation was certainly available to us, and still is.

To understand the vast chasm between the truth and the tribunal’s decision, Hirsch takes us back more than a century. “We must remember that the entire region was under Ottoman rule for approximately 400 years, and in the context of the post-World War II agreements between the nations, it was decided to dismantle the region into states. The agreements are also addressed in the context of the Balfour Declaration, the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the San Remo Conference of 1920, and all of this was codified in the Mandate for Palestine which allocated the entire area between the sea and the river for the sake of establishing a national home for the Jewish people. However, the British betrayed the mandate given to them and succumbed time and again to Arab terrorism, and incrementally recommended once after the 1929 massacre and again at the Peel Commission to partition the area between the sea and the river into two states. That is what was proposed in the 1947 partition plan.”

“The history is well known. The Jews accepted the plan and the Arabs rejected it and, as a result, the legal status that remains unchanged to this day is that the entire area from the sea to the river is territory that the international community earmarked for the Jewish state,” says Hirsch.

“In 1948 the Jordanians occupied Judea and Samaria and the Egyptians occupied the Gaza Strip. Here there is a very important point that is not mentioned anywhere but is absolutely fundamental: the tribunal refers in its decision to the ‘occupied Palestinian territories’ and here the cardinal question arises: When did these areas become occupied Palestinian territories? After all, between 1948 and 1967, there is not a single

resolution calling upon Egypt or Jordan to withdraw from ‘occupied Palestinian territories.’ This idea of ‘occupied Palestinian territories’ was born only after the territory was liberated from the Jordanians and the Egyptians.”

“When exactly did it become Palestinian territory? When one examines the history, one reveals that relating to this area as

Talmudic discussion in tractate Bava Metzia, where one party claims “all of it is mine” and the other claims “half of it is mine,” the latter’s claim is deemed to be a renunciation of the other half and there is a dispute over the first half alone.

Returning to the legal status of Judea and Samaria, Hirsch emphasizes for the record that the Oslo Accords do not constitute

The legal status that remains unchanged to this day is that the entire area from the sea to the river is territory that the international community earmarked for the Jewish state

Palestinian territory began after 1993 and the Oslo Accords, saying that even the Jews are not convinced that this territory is theirs.”

### The Cost of Hesitancy and Vacillation

This Israeli hesitancy, Hirsch says, does not come out of the blue, and its origins are in the Israeli vacillation that began with the decision of the State of Israel in 1967 not to apply Israeli law in Judea and Samaria, while at the same time applying sovereignty in Jerusalem. “Israel opted to keep Judea and Samaria under military rule. In so doing, we ourselves created the distinction between what is ostensibly legitimate and what is ostensibly illegitimate. This is a position that is completely illogical, as the Partition Plan was rejected by the Arabs. We created a distinction between Judea and Samaria and the rest of the country on the basis of the Green Line, and this distinction has been the bane of our existence ever since.”

Hirsch takes us back to the proceedings in the Hague tribunal and reminds us that the motivation behind the prosecutor’s request was that since the Palestinians claim sovereignty over Palestine in its entirety, and the Israelis define their territory up to the Green Line and regard Judea and Samaria as disputed territory, the logical conclusion is that, indeed, it is the territory of Palestine. If legal justification for that contention is required, Hirsch finds it in the well-known

official Israeli renunciation of the territory that is part of the territory designated for the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people. “The Oslo Accords preclude any change that could affect the final status of the territory, but the Palestinians have violated every clause of Oslo,” he mentions, and noted that in his October 1995 Knesset speech, a week after signing the interim agreement and a month before his assassination, Prime Minister Rabin declared that the agreement was not intended to create a Palestinian state. Everyone speaks of the establishment of a Palestinian state as Rabin’s legacy, but that is completely incorrect.”

**And now “the entire world is looking and saying that initially you did not apply the law to Judea and Samaria but only to Jerusalem, in other words, you relinquished the territory from the outset, so please leave; this is Palestinian territory,” Hirsch explains the gist of the claim that was raised in The Hague.** In this reality, more than a half-century after the beginning of the Israeli hesitancy, the question arises whether we have not missed the train that has already left the diplomatic station without a clear Israeli statement.

“We have not missed the train,” Hirsch is convinced. “We must decide as a country how we view the territory: Is it part of the State of Israel as decided by the League of Nations 102 years ago?”

### “Enough of the Human Experiment”

“We must remember that what we have done up until now is not accepted by the United Nations, which is a hostile organization in its very essence. The very fact that the tribunal’s decision determines that the entire Jewish presence in Greater Jerusalem is prohibited, just as the Jewish presence in Ramallah is prohibited, teaches that the sovereignty that you imposed on Jerusalem means nothing to the United Nations because it is an arbitrary imposition of sovereignty over part of the territory. If the justification is the British Mandate, take responsibility for the entire territory. You cannot lie to yourself and arbitrarily take only a portion. The United Nations does not accept a situation where we take only a portion. Either we take it all in accordance with the mandate or we relinquish it because it is a Palestinian state.”

Nevertheless, if for a moment it seems that the legal interpretation of the decision of the Hague provides this tribunal with a less anti-Semitic rationale, Maurice Hirsch emphasizes that the anti-Semitism inherent in the decision is masked by the fact that the judges there choose to invent a people that does not exist and a country that never existed, and to do so only against the Jewish people, despite the facts laid out before them. “There is substantive anti-Semitism here,” he says.

**“The human experiment that began with the Oslo Accords must end. More Arabs and Jews have been killed and murdered since Oslo and the ‘peace’ process than ever before. This process absolutely failed and we must acknowledge that.** Israel must decide where we want our border to be and take appropriate action. Do we apply Israeli law over the entire area? What then do we do with the population? Or do we examine alternatives as exist in those special sovereignties (see expansion on this in the interview with the researcher, Or Yissachar)? All this must emerge from a basic understanding that it is not I who have created the situation where these people are stateless, but it is they who have chosen that situation. The Jordanians who invaded Judea and Samaria made them so. All this begins with the conviction and belief in the justness of the path. We must know that the legal rights to the entire area from the river to the sea are ours, and then decide how to act regarding both the territory and the people.”



# Returning to New Struggles in the Familiar Arena

Our new-old ambassador to the United Nations, Danny Danon, returns to the international arena in the wake of a wave of anti-Semitism unprecedented in its scope, precisely at a time when in a reasonable world we would expect a modicum of sympathy and international support.



Ambassador Danny Danon

Former government minister, Danny Danon, returns for a second stint as the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations, and if his previous term appears to have been complex, the one he is now entering seems ostensibly much more complex in the wake of the bizarre spike in the popularity of the Palestinian idea, despite and perhaps because of the October 7th massacre, and especially in the face of burgeoning anti-Semitism throughout the world.

**So how does it happen that after the horrific images of the massacre we underwent on the morning of Simchat Torah, after the broad support for Hamas among the Arabs of Judea and Samaria, in days when common sense would dictate that Israel would be treated with support and sympathy, at least as a victim, precisely in these days, an unprecedented wave of anti-Semitism has swept the world along with countless demonstrations and marches in support of Israel's attackers?**

"There has always been anti-Semitism, but we did not witness it to this extent. It was always there, and together with October 7th, it erupted in surprising intensity throughout the world. The best example of this is the demonstrations that began on October 8th, in other words, before we mobilized the reserves, before the first soldier entered Gaza to defend Israel and liberate the hostages, even then millions of people took to the streets in demonstrations against the Jewish people and the State of Israel," says Danon.

This immediate outburst, he says, was a "red flag that indicated to us that there are very large populations in the world that adhere to anti-Semitic positions. They routinely conceal it in everyday life, but when something happens they cannot suppress it any longer."

## Not Surprised by the Support for the Gaza Butchers

As one who has spearheaded more than a few international struggles against anti-Semitic phenomena, Danon is not surprised by the timing and choice of

millions around the world to rally to the side of the terrorist organizations, the butchers and the rapists. "When one analyzes the essence of anti-Semitism, one understands that it relates to Jews differently than it does to all other people; therefore, I am not surprised. The fact that there are people, who, because of our faith, consider us inferior and allow themselves to take actions in our regard that they would not allow themselves to take vis-à-vis any other people, is problematic. We need to understand what we are up against and not expect the change to come on its own."

Danon assigns responsibility for generating change to the international leadership. "A large majority of world

words, zero tolerance for statements and expressions of anti-Semitism. When I sit in a room with ambassadors and leaders and hear someone utter an anti-Semitic statement, I immediately respond and demand an apology.

Danon recounts anti-Semitic sayings that are not stated in passing or as a casual slip of the tongue, but as statements that are carefully crafted and woven into the speeches of leaders and representatives of countries. "It happened to me in the past that the president of Venezuela spoke of a 'final solution' that we are perpetrating against the Palestinians, of the 'atrocities' that our soldiers are performing, and some characterize them as Nazis. We must not accept this as a

and Jewish ethics are not always enough. "This will not be an easy confrontation, but we must present the facts, regret the harm to the innocent, and we must lodge complaints against Hamas for using them as human shields and conducting its gatherings in hospitals and schools. We are doing everything we can to minimize harm to the innocent."

**Is the international ear receptive to these contentions?** Danon believes that the protracted nature of the war makes the challenge more and more difficult. "But that need not stop us from continuing our uncompromising mission to eliminate Hamas and bring the hostages home. I say to the military people, you engage in the war against the scoundrels who have harmed us and I will contend with the attacks in the United Nations."

Alongside the battle in the conference halls and on the podiums in New York, Danon also sees his role in strengthening Jewish communities in the difficult hour they, too, are undergoing. "I meet with them, I encourage them, and the sense of togetherness is very empowering. Both they and we are being attacked, we are in the same boat, and I say to them that we will also emerge victorious together. We will overcome our enemies by working together. In my conversations with local political leaders, I raise this issue and demand much more vigorous responses from the authorities."

I say to the military people, you engage in the war against the scoundrels who have harmed us and I will contend with the attacks in the United Nations

leaders condemns anti-Semitism, as we have also seen recently, but here, mere condemnation is not sufficient. What is needed here are practical actions, and it is these leaders who are obligated to take these actions. They must employ a firm hand against those who harm Jews, burn synagogues, scrawl invective on Jewish institutions and other harsh manifestations. If we assess the number of indictments or the number of those sentenced to prison terms in the wake of anti-Semitic acts, we see that there is a problem in the leadership. There is a huge gap between proclamations and actions."

Regarding his role as the Israeli ambassador to the United Nations, particularly in light of his deep familiarity with this complex arena from his previous tenure in the post, in the face of this tsunami of anti-Semitism, Danon sees his task as "one who represents the Jewish people on the United Nations podium, not to allow this discourse to become acceptable discourse; in other

predestined fait accompli."

The war in Gaza, and especially the photographs that Israel's oppressors are so assiduous in disseminating around the world, will certainly pose difficulties for Danon's public advocacy efforts, for he knows that in counteracting these, the sense of belief in the justness of the path



UN plenary



# Facts You Didn't Know about UNRWA

**The months of war have exposed the involvement of the international aid organization in terror, but the connection goes much deeper. Noga Arbel, UNRWA investigator tells of UNRWA's contribution to terror and how it strives to destroy Israel. And if you are convinced that it is an organization that belongs to the UN, you are in for a surprise.**



Photo: Rina Nakunchini  
Researcher Noga Arbel

The name of UNRWA, an international organization affiliated with the UN, ostensibly to aid the Palestinians who are defined as refugees, came up again and again during the months of war. While in the past, we know that summer camps for the children of the PA were held under the auspices of this organization, or that the organization kept alive the hope that the Palestinians would return to Haifa, Ashkelon and Sheikh Munis, during the war it was revealed that UNRWA workers took part in the slaughter of the seventh of October and kept hostages in their own homes, there were tunnels dug under the organization's institutions, the organization's well-oiled machine for laundering terror money, etc. Researcher Noga Arbel, who in the past was senior intelligence analyst for the Foreign Ministry, has investigated UNRWA in the scope of her office. "UNRWA was founded in order to maintain the situation of Arabs as refugees from 48", she states. "The organization is built to maintain the concept that exists in no other place in the world, the idea of the right of return".

The way the organization contributes to terror is not only when UNRWA people take part in murderous terror attacks or laundering terror funds, says Arbel. When you absolve a group of people from the basic need to take care of themselves and their children, when you make sure that someone else will do it for them, and tell them that the only way to improve their difficult lives is to murder Jews, you are inevitably paving the road to terror for them, even if that is not your original intention".

"Of UNRWA's thirty thousand employees, less than 150 of them are international workers - less than half a percent. All the rest are local workers. The more terror ideology there is in the environment, the more it inculcates into UNRWA to preserve it. UNRWA creates the bureaucracy for the Arabs that they lack, so that they can free themselves to preserve their distorted ideas and instill them into the next generation".

### They Free up their Energy for Terrorism.

Arbel: "The CEO of UNRWA, Philip Lazzarini, perhaps does not instruct the terrorists where to hide the missiles, but he supplies the space for it, the money for it and the appearance of a legitimate organization and work, as well as protection by the UN insignia on top of all this, so that no one will come to check and investigate. Lazzarini indeed, is the CEO, but he is the smallest part of the organization. Under

him there is a mechanism of thirty thousand workers who cannot be distinguished from terrorists. It is not that Lazzarini is Haniyeh's substitute, but without him, Haniyeh could not have planted terrorists in the schools and the clinics", she says, noting that the number of hospitals in Gaza Strip is twice the number of hospitals in Israel, despite the fact that the number of citizens there "according to the most absurd lie, is 2.5 million people", and "all of this serves Hamas, which has studied the system of humanitarian laws and uses those laws so that UNRWA became the point of the spear. This is why they use ambulances, hospitals and mosques."

"There was a claim that if Hamas could deal with managing civil society in the Gaza Strip, it would not be free to engage in terror. What did UNRWA do? It took upon itself the mundane and difficult task of civil administration, thus freeing Hamas to take advantage of every

you must prove a prior connection to the area from which you were displaced, here too, for UNRWA, the rules are different. For UNRWA, a person who lived in Israel between '46 and '48, even if he was an Egyptian who came at that time to visit relatives in Israel, even if he has family to go back to, he is registered as a refugee by UNRWA. Also the limitation according to which, involvement in crime or terror cancels the refugee status, is not held by UNRWA.

As we know, Arab countries are careful to preserve the refugee status of Palestinians as a tool of war against Israel, and because of this, they leave Arabs in their territory in refugee camps, despite that they are actually cities with skyscrapers, like every other city. The people who live in those refugee camps are encumbered by limitations of occupation so that they will not settle in the absorbing countries, and UNRWA makes this possible

When you absolve a group of people from the basic need to take care of themselves and their children, when you make sure that someone else will do it for them, and tell them that the only way to improve their difficult lives is to murder Jews, you are inevitably paving the road to terror for them

resource that it received to shoot at us. This is how they both enable terror and are an integral part of it".

Much is written about how the definition of a Palestinian refugee on the UNRWA registry differs from the definition of every other refugee in the world, one that increases a phenomenon that could have been taken care of long ago. Arbel speaks a bit on this topic: "In UNRWA, the refugee status is passed from one generation to the next, and even if your situation is not that of a refugee, you will still be considered by UNRWA to be a refugee. This is how it happens that they report on providing aid to almost seven million people in their registry, while the organization actually supplies aid to 2.5 million people. There are also no deaths on this registry so that even someone who was born in 1910 is still considered to be living, kicking and above all, registered, and babies born recently in the U.S., who have American citizenship, are still considered Palestinian refugees".

While in order to have the status of refugee,

and "instead of being oriented toward assimilation and integration in the new place, they channel the reality to a place of violence and terror because of the distress that they experience there". Preserving the refugee status under UNRWA auspices is the attempt to negate the historic process of the founding of the State of Israel instead of trying to solve the problem".

### One Moment, is this actually a UN Organization? I'm not so Sure

These days, when the Knesset is working to finally put an end to UNRWA in all areas under Israeli control, some legal consultants are claiming that the connection between the organization and the UN means that there is special immunity, which makes it impossible to remove the organization and its people. According to Noga Arbel, there are not many compliments one can lavish on those legal consultants who, she says, are not familiar with either the historic reality or the legal

principles. "Article 105 of the UNRWA Charter has become a twisted and radical immunity treaty. Many countries deal with UN immunity, which is almost absolute, but if a country does not want an organization to come into their territory, it can prevent it or expel it, and there are many examples of this. Immunity means immunity from prosecution, but it is not a defense against deportation if the rules of the hosting country have been violated, and in our case, it is complicity in terror and the slaughter of the citizens of the state. In such a case, it is possible to throw them out; the foundation of the UN Charter, which is the basis for immunity, is the recognition of the sovereignty of member states. But UN immunity is not at all relevant since UNRWA is actually not part of the UN, says Arbel surprisingly and explains:

While UN organizations are international, UNRWA is specifically located in a specific place, like a few other such organizations, "If this is the case, you do not serve the entire international community", she says, noting that adding the letters UN to the name of an organization is intended to convey such a connection, but actually, this is not how it is. We can see this from the UN decisions on loaning money to UNRWA so that it will return it in the future.

Arbel also states that when UNRWA began operating in Israel in '67, after Judea, Samaria and Gaza were liberated, there was a temporary agreement that included Israeli approval for senior UNRWA diplomats to receive passage for their work in Judea and Samaria and Gaza, and not more than this.

And if we are talking about Israeli commitments, Arbel tells us all that the Israel's primary commitment is first and foremost to protect its citizens from terror. "It is not only a moral obligation, it is also an international commitment, based on the Charter and on two binding resolutions by virtue of Article 7 of the UN Security Council".

"UNRWA has violated many basic foundational, humanitarian treaties and rules. They hide weapons in schools, allowing for a situation of child-soldiers and in practice, break every single one of the covenants that we are committed to. Educating for hatred and genocide against the Jewish people as well, is against international law. The duty to prevent terrorism is binding and absolute for the State of Israel and UNRWA's presence in Israel clearly violates that", states Arbel.

# What do they Want from us Anyway?

“The little Satan”, is how the Iranians define us and they invest tremendous resources in the effort to wipe us off the map. Middle East researcher **Eliyahu Yossian** explains why Israel’s presence on the map is so bothersome to the ayatollahs in Teheran.



Researcher Eliyahu Yossian

The distance between Iran and Israel is more than 1700 kilometers, Israel has never claimed or taken control of any part

This is what they have been saying since they rose to power. The fact that the West and Israel do not take them seriously is a

The Iranians do not want to join the Gulf countries, but to control them so that the Gulf countries will be under the control of the Persian kingdom. All this is not happening because the State of Israel exists. It has become an event that prevents Iranian takeover of the entire Middle East

of Iran’s land and it has no plans to do so in the future, so what makes the Iranian leadership invest so many resources in the challenge of destroying Israel, to neglect the basic needs of the Iranian citizens, to give up investing in basic infrastructure like water and electricity and sinking everything in the nuclear project; what makes them focus so much attention on creating and arming arms of the terror octopus that attack Israel on all sides, why do they so desire to wipe from the face of the earth, the people that they define as the little Satan, the State of Israel?

We posed this simple (and perhaps naïve) question to a person who has become one of the best-known commentators in Israel during the past year, a researcher of the Middle East and Iran, winner of the Israel Defense Prize, Eliahu Yossian, who grew up in Iran, studied in Iranian educational institutions and learned, in a personal and practical way, the ramifications of Iran’s attitude toward the State of Israel after the revolution.

Yossian divides his response to this question into several interwoven parts. Israel, he says, is at the heart of Iran’s ambition to expand and take over the Middle East.

The Iranian regime rose to power with one goal, to export the principles of the Iranian Republic in the world. Under this goal is the goal of Shi’a domination over the Middle East. This has been their plan ever since the revolution of 1979.

Since then, they have been preparing, step by step, and today they already control Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Lebanon and Gaza because they are really planning to take control.

Western problem.”

“In fact, Israel gets in their way. For example, if the State of Israel did not exist, the Abraham Accords would not have happened, and if there were no Abraham Accords, the Gulf countries, which are threatened by the Iranians every Monday and Thursday, could not have fought against them. Iran could not conquer them because it would then be under attack by the Americans, as happened to Saddam

means that Iran can choke the European Union and the United States, and Israel would then become the life-line for global energy”.

“In the Trump era, they signed the Abraham Accords, which connects Riyadh to Jordan, Jordan to the Haifa Port and by train it is possible to export energy from the Middle East. An alternative route to the Persian Gulf has been created here, meaning that once again, we are hindering the Iranians from controlling the world economy”, says Yossian, who mentions the ancient and renewed Persian aspiration for an empire that will control the territory as well as energy.

### And beyond all of this, there is Race Theory

The additional motive, and perhaps the one that is behind all other reasons, is the religious and cultural motive. “The Iranians view themselves as an Aryan race like the Germans. The Iranians have believed in their racial and cultural superiority over the Semitic Arabs for thousands of years. The Iranians are Shi’ites, while one may state in general that the Middle East is

says Yossian.

Yossian himself also felt this Iranian sense of superiority over other peoples even on the personal level during his years there. “We felt it every day, in the neighborhood, and in school. When you are a Jew in a Shi’ite Muslim environment, which sees itself as superior, it is very natural and clear. You feel the discriminatory treatment even when you are a child or a student”.

The differences between the members of various religions and the peoples in Iran are manifested in many ways. One example is the constitution, which states that “An Iranian Muslim who kills a member of a minority will pay a fine, but if a member of a minority kills an Iranian Muslim, he will be sentenced to death. A member of a religious minority cannot testify against an Iranian Muslim in court, and when the case is the opposite, he can testify. In a mixed marriage, of an Iranian Muslim to a member of a religious minority, the inheritance will always go to the Iranian Muslim”. There is a long list of clauses, intended to emphasize and internalize, by law and consciousness as well, the superiority of the Iranian race over the surrounding peoples and within Iran.

Is the implication of Iran’s cultural, religious and political mindset that Israel must always live under the constant threat of destruction? Not necessarily. “They can exist alongside us as long as we are stronger”, states Yossian. “The infamous concept of a ‘small and smart army’ is nonsense. We need a large army with many war-fighters and deadly technology. They should see us as the angels of death so that we can live here with our neighbors, and this rule is relevant for everyone in our vicinity. There are no exceptions to this rule. We must shake off our sick western idea and the shackles of human rights and similar values that we place on our army. We will not win, shackled in this way”.

The infamous concept of a ‘small and smart army’ is nonsense. We need a large army with many war-fighters and deadly technology. They should see us as the angels of death so that we can live here with our neighbors

Hussein. Actually, the Iranians do not want to join the Gulf countries, but to control them and that is what we would get. The Gulf countries be under the control of the Persian kingdom. All this is not happening because the State of Israel exists. It has become an event that prevents Iranian takeover of the entire Middle East”.

Another reason that Yossian mentions for the Iranian struggle against Israel is based on the economy and energy. “45 percent of the world’s energy is in the Middle East. This amount of energy is exported to the U.S. and Europe via the Persian Gulf and Bab al Mandeb. The Gulf countries are threatened by the Iranian regime. This

Sunni. From a religious point of view, the Iranians saw themselves as righteous vis-à-vis the surrounding peoples. Thus, the sense of superiority of religion and race leads them to the aspiration to control the territory and the economy and energy”,

The Iranians view themselves as an Aryan race like the Germans. The Iranians have believed in their racial and cultural superiority over the Semitic Arabs for thousands of years



# The Irrepressible Return of Anti-Semitism in the Western World

Dr. Guy Millière



Dr. Guy Millière

The horrific massacre perpetrated in Israel by the Islamic terrorists of Hamas has sparked a sense of horror throughout the Western world. It quickly became apparent that this sentiment was not unanimous. Soon, demonstrations erupted in major cities across Europe and North America, which were presented as “pro-Palestinian” rallies. These demonstrations were, in fact, pro-Hamas,

What makes the situation particularly alarming is that while Western leaders are always quick to denounce anti-Semitism, they generally focus primarily on right-wing anti-Semitism, which, even though it exists, is not what permeates the demonstrators, attackers, and purveyors of hatred. And while some Western leaders have begun to (timidly) denounce far-left anti-Semitism, this is

America but is gaining importance there as well.

What results is terribly logical: Muslim anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are rising irrepressibly and ominously throughout the Western world, and absolutely nothing is being done to truly counter them.

The problem is all the more serious because Muslim communities are growing in Europe and acquiring increasing electoral weight. Far-left parties recognize this electoral weight, seek to appeal to the Muslim electorate, and become resolutely and explicitly anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli. In North America, where Muslims currently represent a small percentage of the population and where the Jewish community is an important and influential minority, Jews are beginning to realize the danger, but this has not yet led them to believe they are facing a mortal peril. In Europe, the situation is different: the proportion of Muslims within the populations is

high, Jews are a numerically small minority, and their concern is growing, and rightly so. European Jews who had not previously considered leaving are beginning to change their position, and a growing number of them want to move to Israel, despite the war. If current trends continue, Europe will soon become a continent hostile to Jews, who will make their aliyah. North America could gradually become more hostile to Jews as well, leading to more departures to the land of Israel.

Israel has and will have enemies, but it will remain the country where Jews can live with pride, stand tall, and, if necessary, fight without having to lower their heads.

Academic, geopolitical analyst, French writer, researcher at the Gatestone Institute in New York and at the American Freedom Alliance in Los Angeles.

*Translated from the French by the Sovereignty Movement*

No Western leader dares to denounce Muslim anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism, for fear, evidently, of being accused of “Islamophobia” by the adherents of “political correctness,” and also for fear of triggering riots: the lack of integration of many Muslims in Europe means that, as seen in France and the United Kingdom, entire neighborhoods of major cities’ suburbs have become high-crime Islamic zones from which violence can emerge and engulf entire cities. The phenomenon is less visible in North America but is gaining importance there as well.

and alongside the “Palestinian” flags, Hamas flags were visible and present. The slogan of Hamas, “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free,” which is an explicit call for the genocidal destruction of Israel, appeared on countless banners. Some demonstrators shouted “Death to the Jews.” And immediately, anti-Semitic attacks exploded, particularly in Europe. In North America, universities witnessed an unprecedented surge of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish hatred. The demonstrators, the attackers, the purveyors of hatred, were young people from the far left, which demonstrated the harmful impact of “Palestinian” propaganda on Western youth. The demonstrators, attackers, and purveyors of hatred were also, very often, Muslims, which highlighted a serious problem of integration of Muslims within the Western world. And it must be said: while not all Muslims living in the Western world are anti-Semitic, a very significant number of them are. And among them, the hatred of Israel is omnipresent.

not the case for all: in France, despite the clearly anti-Semitic (and resolutely anti-Israeli) positions of La France Insoumise, other left-wing parties do not treat it as an untouchable party. In the United States, the Democratic Party, which has itself become a far-left party, now accepts within its ranks politicians who are just as anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli as the members of La France Insoumise in France.

No Western leader dares to denounce Muslim anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism, for fear, evidently, of being accused of “Islamophobia” by the adherents of “political correctness,” and also for fear of triggering riots: the lack of integration of many Muslims in Europe means that, as seen in France and the United Kingdom, entire neighborhoods of major cities’ suburbs have become high-crime Islamic zones from which violence can emerge and engulf entire cities. The phenomenon is less visible in North

The problem is all the more serious because Muslim communities are growing in Europe and acquiring increasing electoral weight. Far-left parties recognize this electoral weight,



Photo: Shutterstock

Destruction in synagogue in Europe

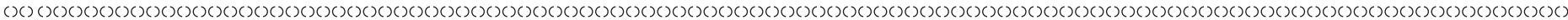


Photo: Flash 90



The Sovereignty Movement expresses profound pain and sorrow on the passing of the fighter for the people of Israel and the land of Israel, Cherna Moskowitz.

We are not saying good-bye, as we will all encounter Cherna and her legacy in the myriad initiatives that she helped establish throughout the Land of Israel. All her actions were intended for tomorrow, for the future and for the generations to come.

The crowning glory of Cherna’s life was Jerusalem, the eternal capital of the Jewish people and the heart of its redemption, as a continuation of the work of her late husband Irving z”l.

In innumerable projects throughout the length and breadth of the capital of Israel, she planted sparks of redemption that will continue to shine brightly.

In the eyes of the Moskowitz couple, forerunners in the practical realization of the redemption of Israel, the honor of the Jewish people was dear to them, and with it the honor of Jerusalem and the honor of the entire Land of Israel.

With their clear vision and rare and incredible tenacity, they were privileged to raise splendor from ashes. “Let us never forget for a moment that our generation was chosen to realize the return to Zion. After having sacrificed two millennia for the dream of the return to Jerusalem, we must not let it slip through our fingers,” Irving said, and many followed the path of realization and action with them.

The awe-inspiring acts of kindness to which the Moskowitz couple devoted themselves with all their might and

wisdom were exemplary and legendary even during their lifetime, and now, after their passing, will remain in our hearts as a bequest and a compass by whose light we will continue to proceed.

Cherna taught us to always choose the truth and to express it with courage and conviction. We recall her unequivocal and forthright words against the establishment of a Palestinian state and in favor of the application of Israeli sovereignty in a letter she sent in 2020 to the CEO of the Yesha Council with the backdrop of the Deal of the Century: “I support President Trump and his blessed achievements, both within the United States and abroad, and in strengthening the relationship with Israel in a historic and unprecedented manner. At the same time, I will never agree to or support any framework

that proposes a two-state solution as part of the final agreement with the Arab population in Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria, the Galilee and Gaza, no matter the “packaging” in which that framework may come. I say yes to sovereignty and no to a Palestinian state!”

Among her many undertakings, Cherna initiated the Moskowitz Prize for Zionism, and at the award ceremony in its ninth year she said: “It is no coincidence that the initiative to award the prize began after the evacuation of the Jewish communities from Gush Katif, an activity that was the antithesis of Zionism. After a trauma of that kind, it is important to acknowledge and honor those who are engaged in Zionism today, after their ancestors labored to build a country here. This generation must break the familiar

mold, we do not want sympathy, we want to take action. We have a message: Israel is not just another country. We are Jews, Zionists, and that is worth celebrating.”

In this stalwart and steadfast spirit, Cherna was a great boon to a long series of enterprises and organizations dedicated to the full and exclusive right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel. In this regard, we were privileged to have her see in our movement, the Sovereignty Movement, a faithful emissary to the realization of the dream of the generations, her dream, the sovereignty of Israel over the entire Land. In these painful moments, we will remember to thank her, from the depth of our hearts, for her help and cooperation and to pledge to continue along the same path that leads to redemption of the people and the Land.

Beyond her being a courageous leader, a woman of action, a trailblazer and a pathfinder, Cherna z”l was a close friend and a sympathetic ear. Great pain fills the heart with her passing from us, and with the pain we are filled with a profound sense of commitment to continue her Zionist path, to deepen the love of the land and the Jewish hold on it, and through all this to realize the vision of sovereignty in it.

To Laurie and the entire Moskowitz family may we be comforted in the building of the Land of Israel and in sovereignty over it.

Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar co-chairs of the Sovereignty Movement.

# A tribute to Cherna Moskowitz z”l



# Sovereignty: The War of History Against anti-History

The theological meaning of the concept of sovereignty in light of Dr. Avraham Livni's book 'The Israeli Secret'

Rav Lior Lavi

The great war that we are still in the midst of waging is accelerating vast national and international processes whose scope and ramifications for the future we are still unable to gauge. One of the most significant ramifications of the war will be in the area in which we seek to delve in this article, the concept of sovereignty over the Land of Israel. This concept contains a political-national aspect, but for us, who believe in the process of the return to Zion as a historical/meta-historical event, the concept of sovereignty

accept Israeli sovereignty, a fair offer will be made to them to settle a few dozen kilometers away, in one of the twenty-two Arab sister states that have gained independence, or to concentrate in Jordan which is already, in effect, Palestinian" (p.359).

**Nazism and Palestinian Terrorism**  
Later in his remarks, Livni delves into the transcendental-historical vacuum from which the invented ad-hoc Palestinian entity sprang, in order to dispossess Israel of its

the Jewish people, the war against Amalek is unceasing: 'Because a hand is on the throne of the Lord: the Lord's war with Amalek is from generation to generation' (Shemot 17:15). The "throne of the Lord" is not merely a spiritual entity, and Rav Kook taught us that "the State of Israel is the foundation of the throne of the Lord in the world" (p. 364).  
Israeli sovereignty over the Land of Israel is nothing other than the removal of that anti-historical and anti-moral disgrace in which the West takes pride. No wonder that support for the Palestinian lie walks hand in hand with malignant anti-Semitism, and denial of the atrocities, the rapes and the massacres perpetrated by the Arabs. "Both are offspring of the same human madness."

**Sovereignty Now or Peace Now**  
Livni does not neglect the issue of peace with the Arabs, despite the fact that his words were written approximately forty years ago (the book was originally written in French and published in 1986). He anchors peace with the Arabs in the Jewish law that requires acceptance of Jewish sovereignty as a basic condition for any covenant.  
"The conditions for making peace with this population were clearly defined in Jewish

following words: "In truth, the political crisis that afflicts the country attests to a profound metamorphosis that is gradually altering the thought patterns in Israeli society. Factually, it burst out due to the uncertainty regarding our relationship to Judea and Samaria, but in truth it reflects a serious identity crisis: Who is the Jewish people that returned to the Land of Israel?  
There is no doubt that no secular ideology can bear the entire weight of Jewish history, as that is self-contradictory: while its essence is the return to Zion, it imagines that it can avoid returning to the sources of the spirit of Zion; and in truth Zion is both a spiritual and earthly homeland..." (p. 366).  
According to Livni, the root of the erroneous conception of the political-security leadership resulted from the internal contradiction between the conceptual foundation of secular Zionism, which sought to return to Zion, but without returning to the spiritual sources of Zion, to return to the land without returning to the spiritual-cultural ground that enables us to take root in the land.  
**Sovereignty - Not Sacrifice**  
The copious blood that we have paid for this Land in the current war and all the struggles



Rabbi Lior Lavi, one of the heads of the "Bishvil HanesHEMA" organization

To Arabs who will not accept Israeli sovereignty, a fair offer will be made to them to settle a few dozen kilometers away, in one of the twenty-two Arab sister states that have gained independence, or to concentrate in Jordan which is already, in effect, Palestinian

contains a more profound, theological and faith-based meaning.  
In his monumental work, "The Israeli Secret" (formerly: "The Return of Israel and the Hope of the World"), Dr. Avraham Livni, who converted to Judaism after the Holocaust, in his keen spiritual senses understood the great role of the Jewish people in the struggle with the Arabs since the inception of the return to Zion, as a covert Western-Christian struggle: "The new myth concocted by Esau to oppose the return of the Jewish people to its Land is stunning. It only appears that Esau lay down his weapons...and after seeking to steal his brother's identity, he now seeks to steal his Land, by proxy, through Ishmael... Israel's identity has been stolen from it, and now it must relinquish its Land. This is Esau's ultimate corruption: lending its support to Ishmael" (p. 355).  
According to Livni, Israeli sovereignty over the entire Land of Israel is historical justice and any attempt to generate a national conflict between Israel and the Arabs is nothing but a Western-Arab pretext to dispossess Israel of its identity and Land.  
"In the perspective of the return of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel according to the moral code that it delineated, the situation is clear. Two thousand years of history could not create a Palestinian nation, and there is no reason why the return to Zion should facilitate its creation. To Arabs who will not

natural and historical right to its land and heritage:  
"Israel's battle against the Palestinian claim is in essence the war of history against anti-history, the war of man against political illusion and falsehood. Through the people of Israel, the continuity of the four thousand years of historical vitality is manifest, a continuity which bears within it the meaning and the objectives of human history. In the Palestinian myth, it is not a people seeking to redeem itself, and its affiliation with international terrorism is the best proof of this. We are addressing none other than one of the concepts of revolution which erases all values of the past, and considers man as being only a sociological datum living in the present without transcendent roots, a revolution that seeks to impose its destructiveness by means of terror."  
Later in his remarks, Livni links Nazism and Palestinian terrorism, a link that this war has brought to the fore with a vengeance. In particular, against the backdrop of the ancient war of Israel against its complete antithesis – Amalek:  
"Nazism and Palestinian terrorism are the offspring of the same human madness. The shame of the West reached new heights when the nations of the world bowed their heads in Hitler's memory in the raucous reception held for Arafat, armed with his pistol at the United Nations General Assembly; but for

Nazism and Palestinian terrorism are the offspring of the same human madness. The shame of the West reached new heights when the nations of the world bowed their heads in Hitler's memory in the raucous reception held for Arafat, armed with his pistol at the United Nations General Assembly (Dr. Avraham Livni p.364)

law: it must accept Jewish sovereignty like the rest of the Arab population that already lives under the jurisdiction of the State of Israel. One unwilling to accept Jewish sovereignty needs travel only twenty kilometers to find himself in the kingdom of Jordan, and the State of Israel will compensate him for any property he leaves in Israel. Let us recall that close to one million Jews left the Arab countries without receiving compensation for the property they left there" (p. 365).  
The depth of this crisis of political identity that is befalling the Jewish people, the roots of which it saw by itself, he characterized in the

for it, enables us to speak more freely of the application of sovereignty throughout our entire land. However, it is important to remember, what Prof. Shmuel Trigano tells us in his book "The Road to Jerusalem": "True sovereignty proclaims itself and does not beg for recognition, does not seek justification through suffering, sacrifice of any kind, or victimhood, but according to its light, an inner light. The existence of the people of Israel stems from a supernal force whose proclamation is an essential component of it" (The Road to Jerusalem – Political Theology, Prof. Shmuel Trigano, p. 98)."



# THE VICTORY GENERATION



## APPLIES SOVEREIGNTY

Youths from all over the country continue to flood the Sovereignty Youth activities on social media, at information booths, in discussion meetings, in spreading and embedding the vision of sovereignty.

At recent Sovereignty Youth events, the youth held a conference with the participation of hundreds of young people from across the country, including leadership workshops, in-depth and fascinating discussions on the meaning of sovereignty and ways to implement it in practice, with an emphasis on the special abilities of the younger generation to leverage the sovereignty revolution throughout Israeli society.

At the various events, members of the movement met with public figures, thinkers, and activists for discussions and lectures on the values of sovereignty. Those interested in more details and further information are invited to visit the Sovereignty website, learn about the extensive activities and join.

The heads of the Sovereignty Movement, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, summarize these events with great satisfaction: "It is exciting, refreshing, strengthening, and uplifting to see so many young people, full of faith and determination, gathering from all over the country and choosing to engage in promoting the vision of Israeli sovereignty over the entire Land of Israel. At these events, we meet the next generation of leadership in Israel, youth who fully understand their role in the chain of Zionist action. This next link in the chain is strong and determined, and with it, the future and security of the State of Israel."

to join: [ribonut@gmail.com](mailto:ribonut@gmail.com)

