

SOVEREIGNTY

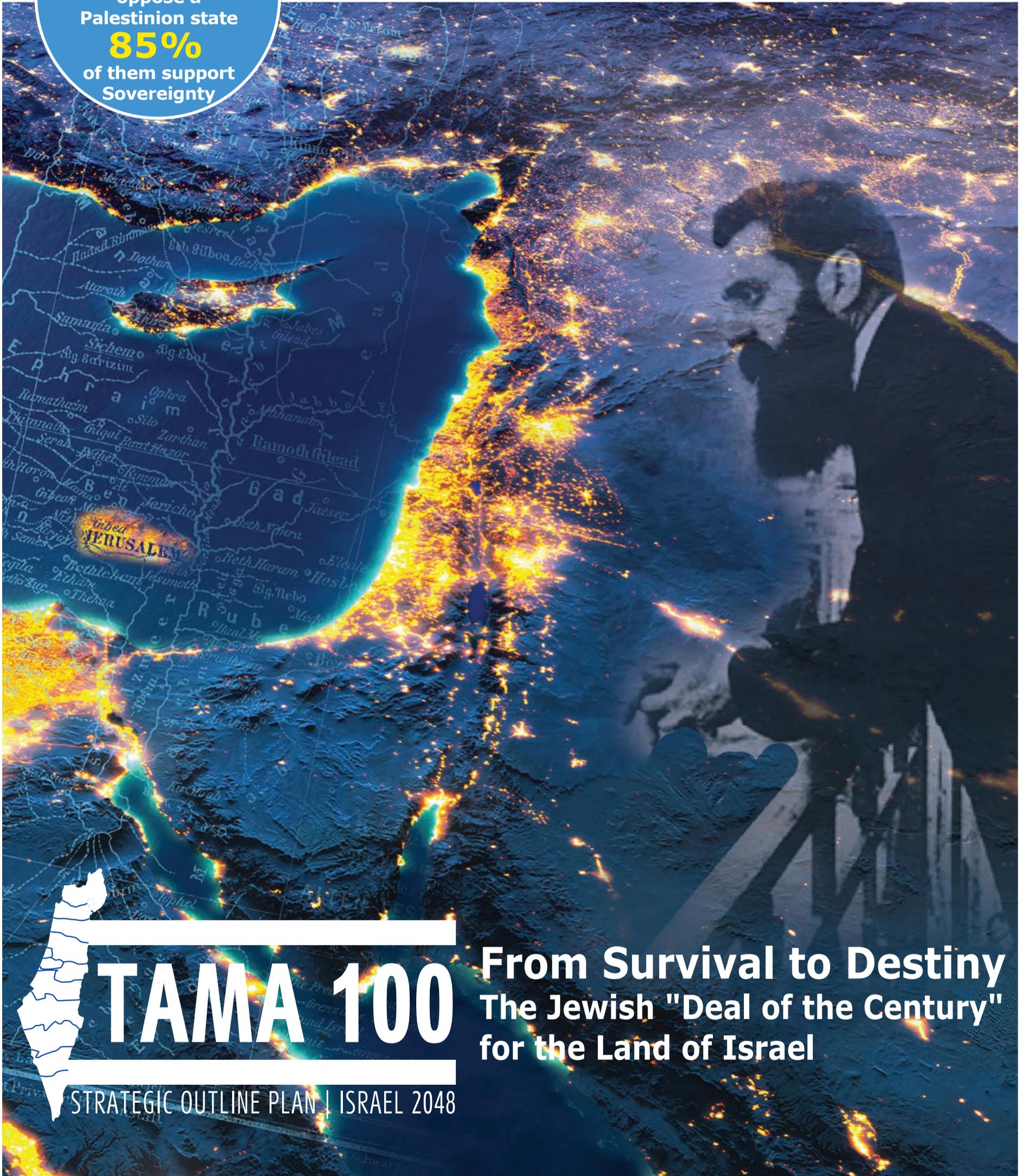
Survey:



73%
oppose a
Palestinian state
85%
of them support
Sovereignty

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**From Survival to Destiny
The Jewish "Deal of the Century"
for the Land of Israel**

TAMA 100

STRATEGIC OUTLINE PLAN | ISRAEL 2048

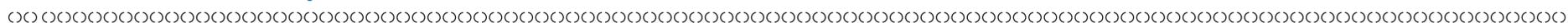


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Editors' note: The positions brought in the journal, in interviews and articles, do not necessarily represent the position of the editorial staff. The Sovereignty platform is a platform for presentation of various, sometimes even contradictory, positions.

A Word from the Editors

Once again, the citizens of Israel are facing elections, and this period is certainly a period for national introspection. What were the political objectives that the Israeli Government set for itself, what did it accomplish and what remains as challenges for the future?

The Sovereignty discourse is already an established and conspicuous reality in the context of the Israeli discourse. It is being promoted by the Sovereignty Movement and others such as ministers, members of Knesset, the Yesha Council, Regavim, The Land of Israel caucus in the Knesset, the Matteh Leumi in the Likud, mattot Arim, Dror and Legal Grounds.

There is no serious political discussion today - on the Right or on the Left - in which the Sovereignty vision is not debated.

Concomitant with these, there has been a recent re-awakening of the Israeli Left as well, in a desperate attempt to return the Israeli citizen to the days of false belief in the concepts of Oslo and partitioning the land, although now, after the period of painful renunciation of these concepts that the State of Israel has undergone, there are those who seek to camouflage their intent to partition the land under the rubric of

"divorce from the Palestinians" or "concern for the Israeli interest" and similar catchy, promising titles that conceal the same cruel reality of a terrorist state in our heartland, in a different guise and packaging.

The Sovereignty movement is confident in the resoluteness of the position of the citizens of Israel who understand the enormity of the tragedy latent in returning to the Oslo plan. The typical Israeli wants to return to the Zionist-Jewish vision of the return of the Jewish people to its land in the plain sense of the matter. See the poll below. We consider this period, the pre-election period, a period during which it is incumbent upon the citizens of Israel to make it clear to their elected officials that their vote is not disconnected from the vision. Politicians and parties that will display practical steps promoting Sovereignty, are the ones who will receive the votes of the national camp.

In this issue, a special chapter is devoted to the National Outline Plan, Tama 100, which we have been working on for more than a year. Tama 100 is a strategic Zionist program that will accompany us on our way to the application of Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria and beyond. This program is not

being introduced as a response to President Trump's "Deal of the Century" - although it is the ideal response to it; rather, the program is a continuation and an enhancement of the Zionist path.

Alongside the "do good" of designing and consolidating the Tama for a new and comprehensive plan for the State of Israel, including all its regions and the cradle of its history, there is also the need for the "turn away from evil" of the dismantling of the Palestinian Authority (PA), an authority that encourages terrorism and perpetuates the Arab effort to establish a state on the ruins of Israel. Throughout this issue, you will encounter treatments by different personalities of different aspects of the necessity to dismantle the PA on the road to application of sovereignty.

In the pages of this edition are statements of several elected mayors who elaborate about the importance of Sovereignty in their eyes as mayors and communal leaders and about the manner in which they intend to promote that vision.

Pleasant reading!

The "Sovereignty" Editorial Board

Geocartographia Survey: Sweeping opposition to a Palestinian state

A special survey that was taken on behalf of the Sovereignty Movement prior to publication of this issue, examined the positions of the Jewish public vis-à-vis the vision of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria.

The survey, which was carried out by the Geocartographia Institute, during the third week of March 2019, examined the positions of 500 Israeli citizens who are eligible voters. The survey data reveal that more than 73% of those surveyed oppose an Israeli withdrawal from Judea and Samaria and the division of Jerusalem in order to establish a Palestinian state, while only approximately 22% support that notion and only 8.5% were characterized as very supportive of it.

The survey also examined the preferences of the opponents of the concept of a Palestinian state. 85% of that group supports one of the Sovereignty proposals, with a plurality of 45% supporting the plan to apply sovereignty over the expanses of Jewish settlement. 21.3% believe that sovereignty should be applied over Judea and Samaria in its entirety, while granting resident status to the Arabs living in

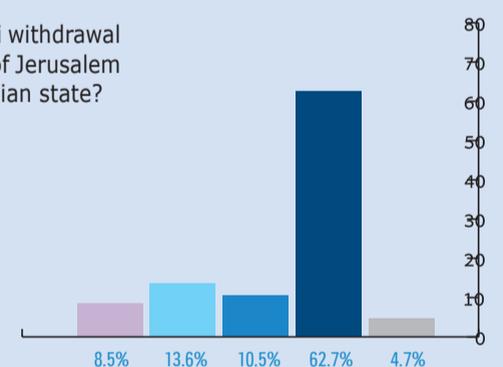
those areas.

The Sovereignty Movement relates to the results with a sense of satisfaction. "This survey indicates that our call for Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria is, to a large extent, the voice of the Jewish people," the heads of the movement, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, say. They add: "The survey constitutes unequivocal proof of the dramatic change in Israeli public opinion that has transpired and is transpiring regarding the future of Judea and Samaria. This change leaves the movements of the Left, which call for partition of the land and establishment of a terrorist state in its heartland, as an extremist minority that is alienated from the people and its spirit."

The Sovereignty Movement calls upon the Israeli leadership during these days of the election campaign, to consider the voice of the people as a tailwind for the political-historic step necessary to promote regional stability, security, and Israeli prosperity. "A historic privilege and obligation has presented itself before the Israeli leadership to apply sovereignty and strengthen our hold on our historic homeland."

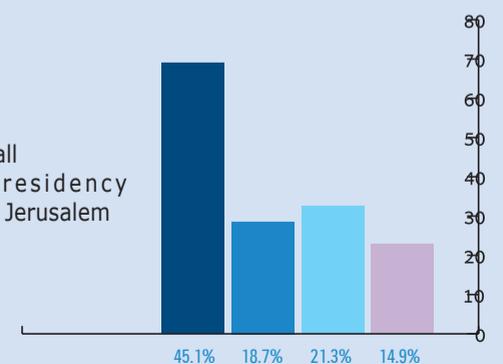
Do you support or do not support an Israeli withdrawal from Judea and Samaria and the division of Jerusalem in favor of the establishment of a Palestinian state?

- Very supportive
- Pretty supportive
- Not so supportive
- Does not support at all
- No opinion / Refuse to answer



Given that you do not support an Israeli withdrawal from Judea and Samaria and the division of Jerusalem in favor of the establishment of a Palestinian state, which of the options do you prefer regarding the application of Israel's sovereignty over Judea and Samaria?

- The application of sovereignty over Jewish settlement only
- The application of sovereignty over Area C, which includes some 80,000 Arabs
- The application of sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria and granting residency to the Arabs of the region as in East Jerusalem
- No opinion / Refuse to answer





The Zionist Dream – What Does the Future Hold?

Yoram Ginsburg,
Architect of Tama 100

How Far into the Future Do We Dare to Look?

An invitation for innovative thinking to realize a common objective

Tama 100, the Strategic Outline Plan for 100 years of Israeli independence, invites us to lift our heads at this juncture, and to look at the big picture. To simultaneously look at the Zionist enterprise and its future in the broadest context and from the most detailed perspective, and in that way produce an overview that includes the past, acknowledges the present, and sets its sights on the future.

The plan presents the great challenge facing Zionism in the 21st century, not only from a place of survival, but from a place of optimism and realizing potential, which is responsible for the momentum of the actualization of the miracle that is the State of Israel.

The Zionist vision was, continues to be, and always will be to strive to be the national home for the entire Jewish people in the land of its forefathers. A vision in which Israel, our homeland, is the Promised Land from ancient times, where we have always remained, and where we ingathered from the Diaspora after 2,000 years of exile. The Jewish people, the Torah, and the Land of Israel are inseparable, and the next step of the Zionist project is to translate that vision into practical steps.

The initiative of the Strategic Outline Plan Tama 100 comes to promote the advancement and the actualization of this vision.

Therefore, it is the responsibility of all future Israeli policy planners to decide how to manage density indices that will double or even triple themselves in the future.

At present, we have responsibility vis-à-vis future generations to guarantee them a homeland and a viable state, a place of secure peace, prospering and flourishing, with a bright economic future, a place with meaning, and both personal and collective Jewish identity responsible for the sense

of partnership among the people, while at the same time building a great society that will radiate on its surroundings.

**Between existence and consciousness:
The physical and functional dimension of reality**

The ideals and ideas of Zionism cannot merely remain on paper or in the spiritual consciousness; rather, they must be manifest physically, functionally, and politically, and therefore, in the administrative-constructive-concrete dimension.

For that purpose, one year ago, the Strategic Outline Plan, Tama 100, was born. Its role is to create a diagnosis on the basis of the present reality, and to formulate a programmatic, mission-oriented prognosis for the Jewish people in their land, based on short-term and long-term professional and operational planning instruments.

Continuing the Zionist momentum:

At the beginning of the Third Aliya (1920) the population of Israel

numbered 60,000 Jews. With the establishment of the State (1948), there were already 650,000 Jews. Today, the Jewish population in the Land of Israel numbers 6.8 million. In other words, the Jewish population in the Land of Israel has, contrary to all demographic projections, multiplied itself by 100 times and more, since the starting point that was only one hundred years ago.

This demographic miracle is impressive by any parameter – historical, geographic, and design – and that is because, already today, the State of Israel is the largest Jewish population center in the world, and in 2025, the majority of world Jewry, 8 million out of the 15 million Jews throughout the world, will be concentrated in the Land of Israel. This is a demographic and symbolic situation that the Jewish people have not known for 2500 years, since the First Temple era. This is the greatest practical success of the Return to Zion movement, and we are all very proud of this.

At the present rate of growth of the Israeli population, the Central Bureau of Statistics projects that in the year 2048, there will be between 15 and 20

million residents west of the Jordan. It is conceivable that there will be even greater immigration and greater growth, and it is necessary to prepare for those possibilities.

Therefore, there is a great responsibility on the shoulders of the architects of future Israeli policy at present to step forward and determine: How to manage population density indices that will double or even triple themselves in the future from an average of 420 people/sq km, to an average of approximately 1,300 people/sq km. Where will all these millions of people live? How far will the settlement of the residents of the land spread?

How can we ensure their economic prosperity, full employment, education, health, and extensive culture, as well as the education, well-being, and security of millions of the residents of the Land of Israel while maintaining their identification with the ethos of the Zionist values in the future?

From the existing statutory status to Tama 100

Tama 35 is the National Statutory Outline Plan that was ratified and has been in effect since the year 2005. This plan, that systematizes the entire expanse of the State of Israel, establishes national, district, and local planning guidelines; however, surprisingly (or perhaps not) it does not include the territories of Judea and Samaria.

The exclusion of Judea and Samaria reflects a political reality lacking vision and sovereignty in these areas of the homeland, and disregard for the physical reality that considers the entire territory east of the Jordan as one geographical planning unit. It is an expanse that, from a professional perspective, cannot be divided into disconnected planning sub-units, because they constitute a single entity (in terms of foreign policy and security, urban policy, settlement and population distribution, treasury and economy, domestic policy and justice, ecological infrastructures and open

areas, and traffic and transportation policy throughout the expanse). They must all be addressed together in an integral manner.

The region of Judea and Samaria influences the conditions in the rest of the country. Every action on the mountain ridge - influences the residents of the plain and the valley (The environment, air, water, and land pollution). The crowded means of transportation also requires planning in Judea and Samaria. In every future scenario, all segments of the physical alignment will be integrated and joined; therefore, planning that overlooks the existence of Judea and Samaria betrays the future of the Zionist enterprise, and there is no alternative to altering the planning approach, regardless of the nature of the eventual political agreement. We may not ignore the natural and economic factors. They do not recognize political borders, but rather geographic ones.

In any case, the physical reality imposes responsibility on Israel, and investment of resources in Judea and Samaria. In

the Fifty years of absence of a political and planning decision, considerable investment of resources was not saved on the one hand, and on the other, comprehensive planning was not taken into account, not for the present, and certainly not the future developments. It is the duty of the Jewish public in Israel to promote planning that is not blind to reality, in order to prevent endless trouble for future generations.

In the near future, there is a new National Outline Plan (2050) that is supposed to replace Tama 35 in 2020; however, despite many years of right wing rule, it too, like its predecessor, does not include the territories of Judea and Samaria.

Tama 100, which will be detailed below, constitutes, in our opinion, a necessary condition for the continued existence of the Zionist enterprise, its realization and its success in the tempestuous Middle East, including the application of full sovereignty over the entire area of the Land of Israel west of the Jordan.

120 Years of Zionism – the Development of Sovereignty in Israel and the National Mood

From the start of the 20th century, with the beginning of the aliyot to Israel, "the Zionist line" (marked in pink in the adjacent graph) gained momentum and made progress: Aliya, pioneering, settlement, establishment of the State, victory at war. In the territorial dimension as well, there were changes since the British Mandate period, and despite the

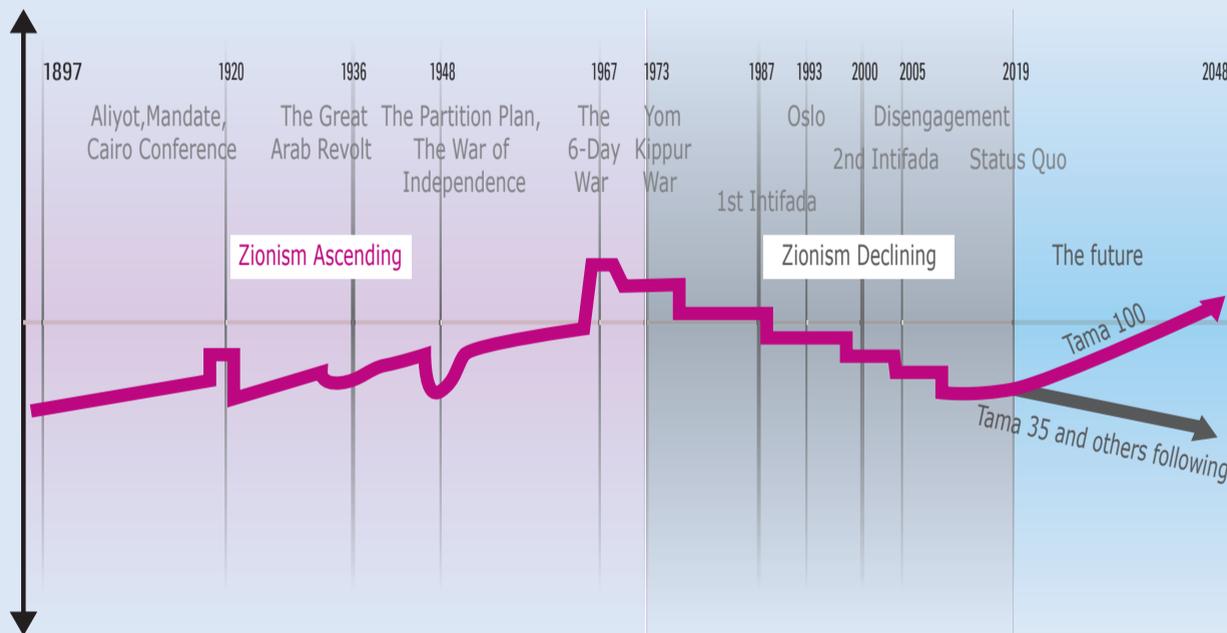
fact that the objective was not to spread beyond the territories that the various agreements allotted us, in practice, after we were attacked in several wars, we redeemed the lands of our homeland, and we improved our situation.

The Yom Kippur War constitutes a critical point

in the history of Zionism when the conceptual divergence among the Jewish people began in the wake of the liberation of Judea and Samaria in 1967, and the lack of decisiveness regarding Israeli policy in those areas, which represent, above all, its Jewish identity.

The influence is extreme: The resources invested in the interim resolutions, and in the attempts to generate permanent resolutions, are considerable. The difference in the approaches vis-à-vis the proper handling of the territory is one of the causes of political and social tension in Israel, and the "Zionist line" fluctuates. And if we again return to the territorial dimension, this bite taken out of the heartland constitutes a problem in many senses and a blow to Zionist values.

Today, in 2019, after various diplomatic attempts to resolve the problem (all of them with an orientation of concessions and withdrawals), we remain faced with the question: Where do we go from here? How far will the Zionist line progress? According to our understanding, Tama 100 is the continuation of the traditional Zionist line of the fathers of the Hebrew Yishuv and even of the historical Labor Party.



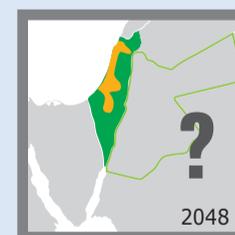
1920 The British Mandate in Palestine, the borders of the territory designated for construction of the Jewish national home. The San Remo Conference.

1946 Independence of the Kingdom of Jordan
1947 The UN Partition Plan

1948 The cease-fire lines after the War of Independence

1967 After the Six-Day War

2019 The present situation, after the 1982 withdrawal from Sinai, the 2005 withdrawal from Gaza, and the 1993 Oslo Accords

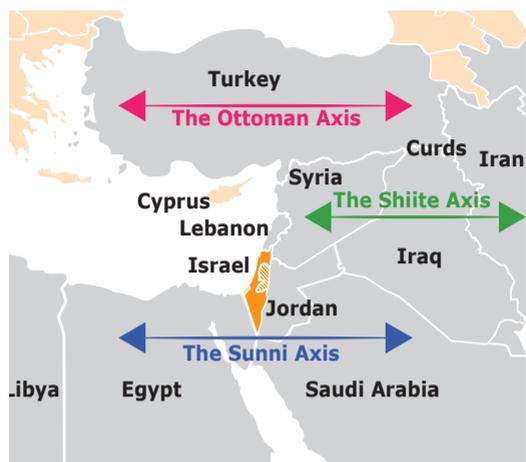


2048 Where are we headed; sovereignty west of the Jordan or withdrawal to a state of 4 metropolitan areas?



Territory under Israeli sovereignty (orange)
Territory under Arab sovereignty (green)

A Geopolitical Analysis of the Middle East



Status quo 2019 –The Land of Israel as part of the Middle East, Judea and Samaria not under Israeli sovereignty

of the State of Israel and the Zionist enterprise, while striving to establish a Moslem caliphate in its place.

The Sunni alliance, which, at present, has a relatively moderate ideology, tends toward recognition of the State of Israel as a fait accompli. Nevertheless, these elements are constantly weighing the opportunity versus the danger in posing a military challenge to Israel.

The State of Israel can never allow itself to lose even one war; therefore, it is incumbent upon us to become a regional power in every area.

As long as the State of Israel maintains its standing, its power, and the fabric of regional cooperation and shared interests from a stable and durable position of

The military means do not replace the importance of territories

In the framework of the broad perspective with which we are surveying the present situation, it is necessary to take into consideration the region and the context within which Israel finds itself – the geopolitical status of the Middle East, in order to propose realistic solutions to the challenges facing us.

Israel, as a Jewish, democratic state, and as a representative of Western culture in the Middle East, stands now between the alliance of the Sunni countries and the alliance of the Shiite countries with the dangerous extremist ideology who call for the destruction

strength, the chances of peace increase and the chances of war decrease.

The State of Israel can never allow itself to lose even one war

Israel is powerful when its defense policy is based on the triangle of deterrence, intelligence, and thwarting the enemy by striving for a decisive military victory on the offensive, not on the defensive.

Therefore, Israel must maintain its military/technological superiority. This is a necessary, but insufficient, condition. The primary component of the State of Israel's military strength is based on the internal underpinnings of the people's army and on the sense of partnership, responsibility, national solidarity, and sacrifice on behalf of the Return to Zion and the homeland, with a sober consideration of the alternatives of life without sovereignty and the anti-Semitism raging in the world even today.

The Israeli defense philosophy must be based on integrated internal and external might.

The external defense philosophy

1. Israel is a regional power with secure, defensible borders.
2. The objective is demilitarization of the Arab countries that border Israel based on the Sinai model.
3. Treaties and military and civilian cooperation with the nations of the region.

The internal defense philosophy

1. Full governance and freedom of movement in the entire territory.
2. Military capabilities are no replacement for territory.
3. The central highlands and the Jordan Valley provide the geographical security dimension.
4. Eliminating autonomous pockets of resistance not loyal to the Zionist idea.
5. Resolute enforcement of law, order, and justice throughout the Land of Israel.

Tama 100 – Not only a political solution, but a comprehensive vision

Tama 100 relates to the entire territory west of the Jordan as a single national planning unit, the influence of the entirety of the parameters is not limited to political-administrative planning, but also to the planning of open spaces, national infrastructures, transportation, urban planning, ecological planning (nature reserves, water resources, etc.).

Beyond the core issues surveyed in the 3 schools of thought, Tama 100 creates simultaneously a detailed physical planning policy that will meet the needs of the future population increase in the following areas:

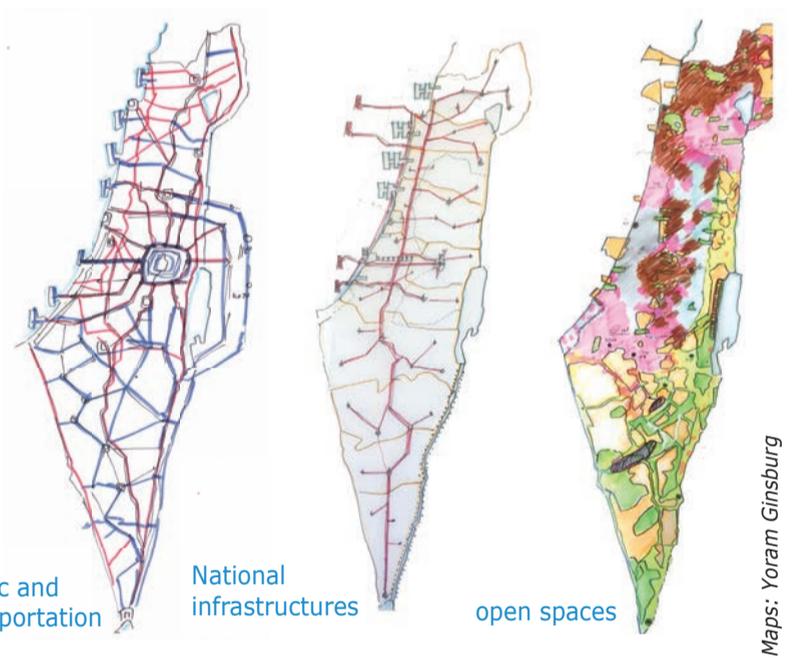
Traffic and transportation – Moving from private to public transportation and minimizing the concept of periphery and therefore commuting; airports in each district, seaports, a national network of trains that connects to the nations of the region; a national, district, and sub-district network of roads; extension of the Israeli National Trail into Judea and Samaria.

National infrastructures – Planning national consumption and clean alternative energies and export of energy and water to the countries of the region, gas rigs, and a municipal network for supply of gas, power plants, gasoline stockpiles, desalination facilities, the future of the National Water Carrier; and in the future: The Med-Dead canal linking the seas, artificial islands, purification institutes, and landfills.

Ecology and open spaces – Delineating the boundaries of new nature reserves and national parks in Judea and Samaria; establishing a policy regarding beaches and lakes; cliffs and craters; expanding agricultural lands to facilitate demographic growth; expanding the areas for forests and thickets; preserving desert and wilderness areas.

Greater Jerusalem – capital and global city – Planning the Holy basin, transfer of all government institutions to Jerusalem; planning an infrastructure of transportation, housing, and employment for 5 million residents; planning and establishing 180 embassies throughout the city; planning coastal Jerusalem, today's Ashdod, as the port of the capital.

Historical and archeological heritage – Development of existing and new sites, for domestic and international tourism, and transforming them into the generators of the identity of the Jewish people in its homeland.



A view of sketches in the realm (to the right and to the left) open areas, national infrastructure, traffic and transportation

Military lands – Planning the alignment of the border of the State of Israel, planning the location of army camps; land, sea, and air firing ranges; airports; planning the distribution of emergency roads, storehouses, and military supply routes.

Special structures – Each district will plan for itself and with nationwide coordination; government buildings; religious buildings; hospitals; institutions of higher education; employment centers; cultural and leisure institutions; sports arenas; district parks.

Planning Israel in times of emergency against natural disasters.

Maps: Yoram Ginsburg

A parametric comparison between the three political schools of thought regarding sovereignty and its ramifications for the future

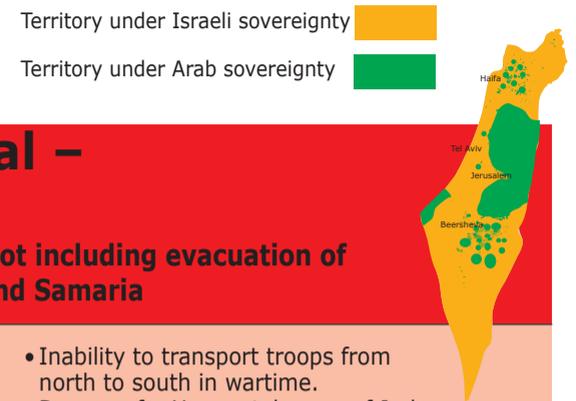
The political discourse over the last 50 years since 1967 tends toward superficiality and slogans that have been repeated so many times that it seems to us that we know the meaning of every plan. However, complex situations demand complex solutions; therefore, it is worthwhile to dive in and deepen our understanding in order to ascertain what really stands behind the slogans: What does two states for two peoples mean in practice, and what does sovereignty mean in practice? In the table that follows, we present the three central schools of thought which exist in the Israeli discourse, in order to assess the compatibility of each approach with the realization of the Zionist vision and to guaranteeing the future of the Jewish people in its homeland west of the Jordan. The analysis in the table presents a condensed reading of reality as we understand it today that was prepared based on consultations with professionals who are experts in their fields. We were convinced that the third school of thought is the direction toward which we should proceed, the compass on the basis of which we composed Tama 100.



The first school of thought: Maintaining the status quo

The State of Israel has sovereignty within the Green Line, the Golan Heights, and Greater Jerusalem. Judea and Samaria are divided into three areas, A, B, and C, without de jure sovereignty, but with security sovereignty. In area A&B a PA that supports terror and takes illegal control of state lands in area C in order to strangle Jewish settlement

<p>1. Security and practical sovereignty</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security and only partial de facto sovereignty • The deterrence/intelligence dimension is reasonable but not complete. • Policy of static containment, and not a policy of dynamic decisiveness • The eastern border with Jordan under complete Israeli control and relative security on the Egyptian border. In contrast, a perpetual Iranian threat from the direction of Syria in the Golan Heights, the threat of Hezbollah in Lebanon on the northern border and from Hamas on the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> border with Gaza, which requires constant military maintenance instead of decisive victory. • Israeli communities are subject to potential terrorist attacks daily, a status that no sovereign nation would be willing to tolerate. • Relative security within Israel accompanied by terrorist attacks in Jerusalem, in Judea and Samaria, and in the rest of Israel. • IDF control in Area C providing continuous security for the Jewish communities and the main thoroughfares. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security coordination in areas A and B facilitates partial security. • The Palestinian Authority (PA) incites against Israel, and is corrupt, anti-Semitic, supports terrorism, provides funding for the families of terrorists. With the impending anticipated departure of Abu Mazen, chaos, and the rise to power of Hamas, similar to the Gaza model. • Arab hope, planning, and activity toward an independent state in the heart of western Land of Israel.
<p>2. Governance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial physical governance in the Land of Israel west of the Jordan. • In the Israeli Knesset, an Arab minority that expresses opposition to the very existence of the Jewish state. Likewise in the Arab dispersion in the Land of Israel, a significant portion is incapable of being loyal to the State of Israel. • Lack of freedom of movement in certain areas in the Land of Israel and restricted movement in many hostile areas. • Illegal construction in the Bedouin dispersion, in the Galilee and in Jerusalem. A well-funded and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> deliberate Arab takeover of Area C in Judea and Samaria and in East Jerusalem are proceeding unhindered. • Concern regarding a potential strangulation of the communities in Judea & Samaria and establishment of a de facto terrorist state that will pose a threat to the entire country. • Pressure by the leadership before external elements (international institutions, UN bodies, the European Union, BDS). • The judiciary, which is not elected by the public, determines the reality, not the elected legislature or 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> government that represents the people. • The elites (academia, media, cultural institutions) and senior officials in the state institutions determine the public agenda setting a post-Zionist path, despite the fact that they constitute a minority. • Police and internal security - Arab pockets of resistance within the country's borders create large areas lacking governability. • A quarter million legal and illegal immigrants with no clear policy or regulation. • Today, there is no obligation to vote in Knesset elections.
<p>3. The Zionist vision</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a harsh dispute between two paradigms: The Zionist vision versus the post-Zionist vision. Supporters of the Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People and the uniqueness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> of the idea of the Jewish State versus those who support normalization of Israel as a state of all its citizens with no connection to Jewish identity and with the danger to deteriorate into an Arab state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> over the entire western Land of Israel. • Apparent physical sovereignty – An underdeveloped national/public Israeli realm.
<p>4. Jewish and Arab demography</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of Jews in the world – 14.5 million Among them in Israel – 6.8 million, which are 47% of world Jewry. • In Israel: Total population west of the Jordan (excluding Gaza) – Approximately 11 million. Among them – 6.8 million Jews, 1.8 million 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arabs within Israel's borders and 1.85 million in Judea and Samaria, 450 thousand others. • During the course of 2018, Israel's population increased by 2%. 81% of the increase stemmed from natural growth, and 19% from the aliya surplus. • After 70 years of advantage for the Arab fertility rate, the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jewish fertility rate equaled and even slightly surpassed the Arab rate (3.11 to 3.09 children per woman). • The area of the State of Israel (without Judea and Samaria) – 22,500 sq km, population density of 400 people/sq km. In Judea and Samaria – 5,800 sq km, population density of 390 people/sq km.
<p>5. Settlement policy and population distribution</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The trend of population concentration in the existing large metropolitan areas while neglecting settlement in the Golan, Galilee, Judea and Samaria, Negev, and the Arava, and failure to establish a sufficient number of new communities. • 400,000 Jews reside in Judea and Samaria, the heartland of Israel. The potential Jewish population in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judea and Samaria is estimated at approximately 3 million. However, today there is effectively a building freeze in Judea and Samaria. In addition, the lack of sovereignty, infrastructures, and sources of income, prevents people from opting to live there. • 92% of the Israeli population live in cities and only 8% in rural communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater Tel Aviv today – 4 million Jewish residents, which constitutes 60% of the Jewish population in Israel. • There is no policy of encouraging agriculture, which is a guarantee of the hold on the lands of the homeland and the capability to supply food in emergencies, and to prevent losing lands to non-Jewish elements.
<p>6. Governmental/administrative structure</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the Israeli Knesset there is an Arab minority that expresses opposition to the very existence of the Jewish State. This makes it difficult to form a broad coalition. • Israel is divided into 6 districts + Judea and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Samaria, which is under military rule, a temporary condition that has lasted too long. • Tama 35 does not include Judea and Samaria. • Some Israeli laws are not in effect in Judea and Samaria. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The General Officer Commanding – Central Command is the sovereign in Judea and Samaria. • The district representatives are chosen by the Interior Ministry with no respondent liability, no obligation to report to the citizens and no accountability.
<p>7. Jerusalem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jerusalem is, for all intents and purposes, divided and does not function as the capital of the State of Israel in every sense, still does not constitute a global city of destiny, and as a source of the authority of the universal spirit of man. • The physical development of Jerusalem is, for all intents and purposes, blocked in every direction except for the west. With the lack of radial growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> potential, a substantial effort has been expended in recent years in internal urban planning and high-rise construction in order to prevent the net migration rate that totals approximately 17,000 people per year, or 300,000 Jerusalemites who have left the city since the year 2000. • The area of the city – 125 sq km • Average population density – 7,200 people/sq km 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demography in Jerusalem – 900,000 residents, among them 600,000 Jews (65%) and 300,000 Arabs with resident status. • Jerusalem is the poorest city in Israel. • Absence of application of sovereignty in the Arab neighborhoods, the Holy basin, the Old City and on Temple Mount.
<p>8. Economy, employment, housing and urban development, tourism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic status – Israel is part of the First World and a member state of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in which 35 of the 192 countries of the world are members. • A centralized economic framework that is still crying out for free initiative and growth • Monopolies privately owned and owned by the Histadrut labor union paralyze competition that would benefit the economy. • Human development index (which factors in economic status, education, and life expectancy – 22nd place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in the world. • Gini coefficient (the index measuring equality of per capita income) – 66th place in the world – much improvement is necessary. There is built-in tension between the classes and lack of distributive justice. • Unemployment – Less than 5% – an accomplishment • Cost of living – The average shopping cart is Israel is 20% higher than the OECD countries. • Housing costs – There is an intolerable gap: A resident of the Netherlands can purchase an apartment for a price of 70 average salaries, while it costs an Israeli 140 salaries to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> purchase that apartment. • A successful hi-tech nation; however, the wealth is concentrated in the upper one-tenth of one percent of society. • National infrastructures are undergoing constant development, including the gas market and transportation. • Tourism – In 2018, 4 million tourists entered Israel. During that same year, 20 million tourists visited Paris and Venice.



The second school of thought: Withdrawal – the situation in 2048

Any type of partial or total withdrawal from Judea and Samaria, including or not including evacuation of Jews, e.g., the Trump plan, resulting in an independent Arab entity in Judea and Samaria

1. Security and practical sovereignty

- Collapse of security systems – The State of Israel becomes a country on the defensive, under constant siege, and surrounded by fences, against a hostile entity consisting of Jordan, Judea and Samaria, Gaza, and some of the Israeli Arabs.
- Any type of withdrawal by the IDF or from communities in Judea and Samaria, even a partial one, creates hope and momentum for an Arab conquest and for the liquidation of Israel by Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt, individually and collectively.
- Abandonment of the Jewish communities in

- Judea and Samaria by evacuating them or transforming them into unsustainable isolated enclaves.
- The three fundamental principles of the IDF: Deterrence, intelligence, and military victory capability are severely compromised.
- The danger of bisection of the State of Israel in a 15 km strip (Kalkilya – Kfar Saba, Arara – Hadera), in addition to a border abutting Highway 6, with all its ramifications: Infiltration, demonstrations along the fence, and sniper fire, a Gaza-like situation in the narrow heartland of the State of Israel.

- Inability to transport troops from north to south in wartime.
- Danger of a Hamas takeover of Judea and Samaria and for the return of massive terrorist attacks throughout the country.
- Danger of closure of military airports and Ben-Gurion airport.
- A porous eastern border: Danger of infiltration to Judea and Samaria by Iranian and jihadist forces.
- The Dan region is not defensible and is a target for missile attacks.

2. Governance

- The deteriorating security situation will lead to demoralization and fear for the fate of the country, and therefore, to insolence, aggression, and removal of the legal impediments before the residents disloyal to Zionism.
- The Arab minority will demand autonomy in the Galilee, the Triangle, and the Negev. In

- addition, there will be violent riots in mixed cities like Ramle, Lod, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Jaffa.
- The road connecting Gaza and Judea and Samaria will bisect the northern Negev.
- All this is in addition to what is detailed in paragraph 2 in the first school of thought.

3. The Zionist vision

- A temporary victory for the post-Zionist paradigm.
- Israel is a state of all its residents and not a Jewish state..

- Alienation from Judaism and the Hebrew language and movement toward a universalist culture

4. Jewish and Arab demography

- The right of Arab return to Judea and Samaria introduces millions of Arabs by means of free passage and family reunification via the eastern border.
- Demand for the right of return, creating the danger of an Arab inundation of the State.

- Jewish demographic collapse – The Jews become a minority west of the Jordan.
- Approximately 20 million residents west of the Jordan, not including Gaza.
- Area of the State of Israel within the 1967 borders – 22,000 sq km, Population – 15

- million, population density – 680 people/sq km
- The area of the Arab state in Judea and Samaria – 5,800 sq km, population 5 million, population density – 800 people/ sq km

5. Settlement policy and population distribution

- Concentration of the majority of the population on the coastal plain.
- In Greater Tel Aviv in 2048 there will be 10 million Jews, who are approximately 65% of the Jews in the Land of Israel.
- Population density today, on the basis of

- approximately 10 million residents is 450 residents/sq km.
- Population density in 2048, on the basis of a forecast of 15 million residents is 680 residents/sq km.

6. Governmental/administrative structure

- The Israeli Knesset, functioning as the upper legislative body, without elected regional representation, and therefore, it is without political control of the territory.
- The State of Israel is divided into 6 districts.
- Judea and Samaria are partially or completely

- under foreign control.
- The district representatives are chosen by the Interior Ministry with no respondent liability, no obligation to report to the citizens, and no accountability.

7. Jerusalem

- Jerusalem, the keystone of the country reverts to corridor status – a border city on the periphery, as it was until 1967. Tel Aviv becomes the de facto capital.
- The Holy basin, the Old City, and the Temple Mount are not under exclusive Israeli sovereignty.
- The city is divided and split between east

- and west – the border fence creates a violent boundary, with all its ramifications: Pisgat Ze'ev, Ramot, French Hill, and Gilo all become neglected frontier neighborhoods.
- Jerusalem is surrounded by an Arab population from all three sides, which enables physical growth only to the west.
- An acceleration of the net migration rate, not

- only of the youth; therefore, there will be a decline in its ability to function as a large and important city.

8. Economy, employment, housing and urban development, tourism

- The State of Israel will be unable to control the demand for employment by the Arabs of Judea and Samaria, who are trapped in unemployment and poverty in the east. They will infiltrate Greater Tel Aviv in large numbers to seek employment and/or perform terrorist acts (the Gaza precedent).
- Large expenditures to ensure routine security.
- The overcrowding in Greater Tel Aviv is a surefire formula for a spike in the cost of living

- and unaffordable housing that will lead to emigration from Israel.
- Concern about a decline in foreign investments due to the unstable security situation.
- Employment pressure and lack of stability, danger of a stock market collapse.
- Rising inflation and unemployment.
- Diminished domestic and international tourism and massive losses for the economy.

The third school of thought: Israeli Sovereignty between the Mediterranean and the Jordan – the situation in 2048

With a solid Jewish majority and an Arab minority loyal to the State



According to the third school of thought, there are several developing tracks in stages or all at once:
The track calling for sovereignty first over the settlement areas, on the basis of the resolution of the Likud Central Committee on December 31, 2017

- Equating the status of the Jews of Judea and Samaria with that of the citizens of Israel.
- This track relates to the areas of Jewish settlement that do not include Arabs – there is no change in the status of the Arabs.

The track calling for applying sovereignty over Area C excluding the Arab settlement blocs

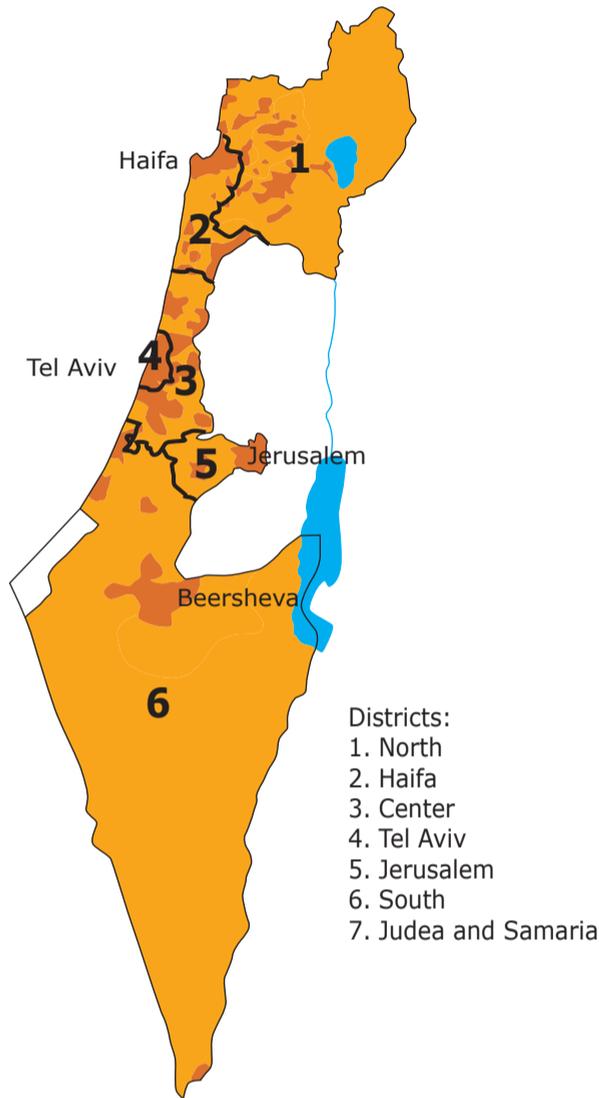
- Equating the status of the Jews of Judea and Samaria with that of the citizens of Israel.
- Expanding construction and establishing new communities.
- The Arab settlement blocs remain outside this track – there is no change in the status of the Arabs.

The comparison that follows relates to the track of applying sovereignty in all of Judea and Samaria, in accordance with the Tama 100 plan

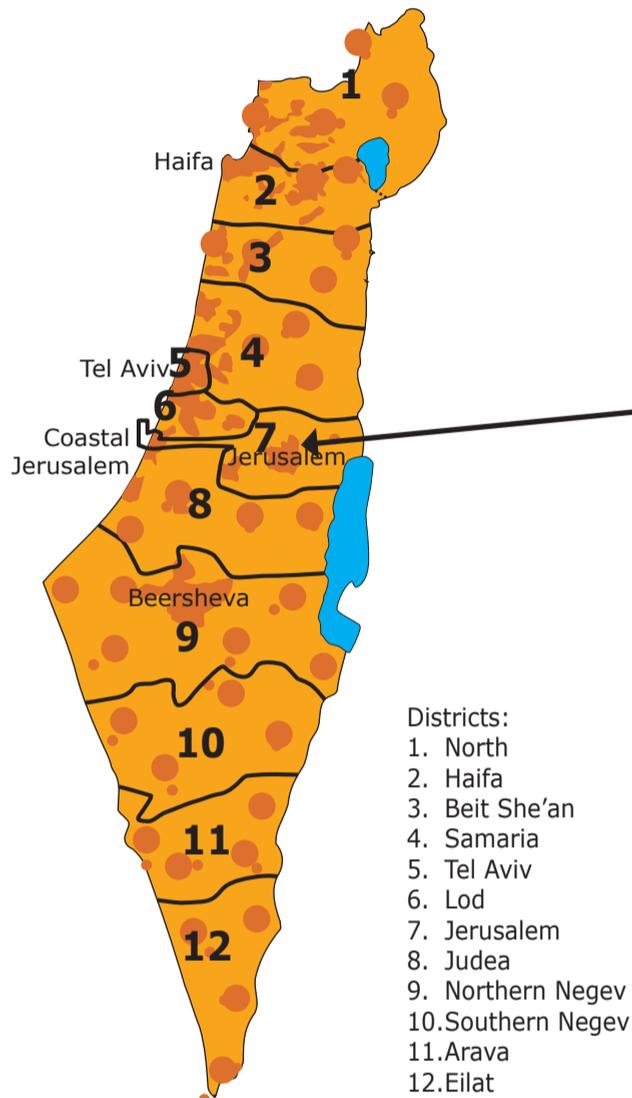
<p>1. Security and practical sovereignty</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full sovereignty west of the Jordan; a return to the path of Zionism: settlement-immigration-security-Jewish identity; abolition of the Green Line, abrogation of the division of Judea and Samaria into areas A-B-C; Jewish settlement throughout Israeli territory (and someday in Gaza as well). • Ending once and for all the Arab/Moslem hope for establishment of an Arab state west of the Jordan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The State of Israel is a regional power; political/security cooperation with the countries of the region. • Dismantling of the Palestinian Authority (PA) – Establishment of a loyal municipal Arab leadership under Israeli sovereignty. • Full internal security • Accelerated development of the eastern corridor to balance the narrow coastal plain. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The essentiality of deployment on the eastern mountain ridge and in the Jordan Valley against the eastern front. It will never be possible to guarantee that it will not come alive at any moment.
<p>2. Governance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete physical governance west of the Jordan. • Full freedom of movement throughout the Land of Israel with no restrictions. • Vigorous law enforcement – All illegal construction in the Bedouin dispersion, the Galilee, and Jerusalem will be prohibited, and elimination and dismantling of the pockets of Arab resistance throughout the country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rehabilitating relations between the three authorities: The judiciary will be chosen by representatives of the public reflecting the will of the people. • Clear policy that will be implemented vis-à-vis legal and illegal immigrants. • A constitution for Israel after 100 years of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> independence. • A clear policy regarding citizenship/residency status. • Requirement to vote in Knesset elections. • Logical physical planning capability, that considers the topography of the land, the infrastructures, and the populations. • Redeeming lands and turning them into state lands.
<p>3. The Zionist vision</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Return to the complete path of Zionism and its realization. • Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People will constitute the basis for the Israeli constitution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From a coastal state with a western orientation, to a country of mountain, valley, coastal plain, and Arava, which integrates east and west. • Apparent physical sovereignty – national/public realm will be Israeli, with a Jewish/Zionist skyline. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete partnership in bearing the burden: The obligation to serve in the army or three years of national service will be incumbent on everyone.
<p>4. Jewish and Arab demography</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Striving for a solid Jewish majority and a non-Jewish minority loyal to the State with resident status, with the option to apply for citizenship in the future. • The number of Jews in the world – 20 million, among them in Israel – 15 million (75%). (In 2025, more than half the Jews in the world will reside in Israel). • The total number of residents west of the Jordan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> excluding Gaza – 20 million distributed throughout the country. • The upward trend in Jewish fertility will continue. • National project – Government encouragement of mass aliya that will bring another million Jews from the Diaspora and fully integrate them into Israeli life. • A budget earmarked for evacuation/restitution to encourage volitional Arab emigration from the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State of Israel. • Annual demographic growth in 2048 –2%, an addition of 360,000 people per annum. This means 80,000 new residences per year in the 12 districts and throughout the country. • The area of the State of Israel – 27,800 sq km, population – 20 million, population density – 720 people/sq km.
<p>5. Settlement policy and population distribution</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The trend of distribution and decentralization of the population throughout the land, including directing populations to settlement in Judea and Samaria, Jerusalem, Golan, Galilee, Negev, and Arava with governmental incentives. This will result in abolition of the concept of periphery and commuting. • The population of the communities in Judea and Samaria, approximately 2 million residents, not 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> including the Jerusalem metropolitan area. • Establishment of new cities in districts and sub-districts as centers of employment, academia, and culture, which will facilitate functional independence. • 75% of Israel's residents will live in cities of various sizes in districts throughout the country, while 25% (5 million) will reside in communities in rural/communal/agricultural territories. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An efficient public transportation system throughout the country. • A policy of encouraging agriculture, which is the guarantee maintaining possession of the lands of the homeland and the capability to supply food in emergencies.
<p>6. Governmental/administrative structure</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tama 100 includes the entire Land of Israel west of the Jordan and it will be planned as a single geopolitical unit. • The Land of Israel will be divided into 12 districts and 40 sub-districts. • Division of the Israeli Knesset into two houses: The upper house and the house with regional representation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The upper house will address issues of policy, security economy, and national infrastructure. Its members, like today, will be 120 elected officials. The lower house will address regional and local issues and will be comprised of 100 members. • Israeli citizens will vote once every five years with two ballots, one for each house. • There will be coordination and cooperation between 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the two houses as well as a connection of absolute commitment between the elected official and the voter. Therefore, many of the core issues will be decided by a referendum with both legislative houses. • The governmental structure in the districts and sub-districts will be based on a municipal division into neighborhood councils representing all kinds of minorities.
<p>7. Jerusalem</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The physical and spiritual center of the State of Israel, a global city of destiny. • The eastward move of the center of gravity of the Land of Israel and its upward move to the mountains will transform Jerusalem and the Judean bloc to the functional and cultural center of the Land of Israel. • The Jerusalem metropolis will number approximately 5 million residents – 25% of the residents of the Land of Israel. It will have access to the sea and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> an international port through coastal Jerusalem (currently Ashdod). • The main international airport in Israel will be the Hyrcania airport, located in the Judean Desert east of Jerusalem. • The physical development of Jerusalem will proceed in all directions. • Massive construction and settling hundreds of thousands in affordable housing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The area of the city – 1,000 sq km, average urban density – 5,000 people/sq km. • Demography in Jerusalem – 5 million residents, among them 4.5 million Jews (85%), with half a million loyal Arabs with resident status. • Jerusalem is a wealthy, prosperous city. • Realizing sovereignty in the Old City and on the Temple Mount. • Transfer of governmental institutions to Jerusalem
<p>8. Economy, employment, housing and urban development, tourism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State income will be earmarked for national/regional projects and for individual prosperity. • Establishment of the "United Middle East Market." The market will constitute a symbol of the future of the Levant as a leading regional economic power in the world, in which Israel will be a key participant. • Economic status – Israel is part of the First World and of the (OECD), and aids its neighbors in every parameter. • Distributive justice – A decentralized free market in conjunction with a developed social welfare network. • Human development index – 5th place in the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gini coefficient – 10th place in the world. • Minimal unemployment, and maximal market efficiency • A rise in retirement age for men and women in proportion to life expectancy at the time. • Reduction in the cost of living • Housing costs – Affordable housing for all youth who served in the army or national service. Standard residence will cost the equivalent of 70 average monthly salaries. • New designated districts, development areas, and employment centers will be established outside the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> existing centers. • Successful hi-tech country • National infrastructure – Constantly developing including water, alternative energy, the canal linking the seas. • Move from private to public transportation, which will reach the entire country. • Funding scholarships and higher education subsidies for everyone who served in the army or national service. • Tourism – 15 million tourists a year.

From Tama 35 To Tama 100

Tama 35 – The Official National Outline Plan of the State of Israel (in effect until 2020)



Tama 100 – The Proposed Plan of the Sovereignty Movement



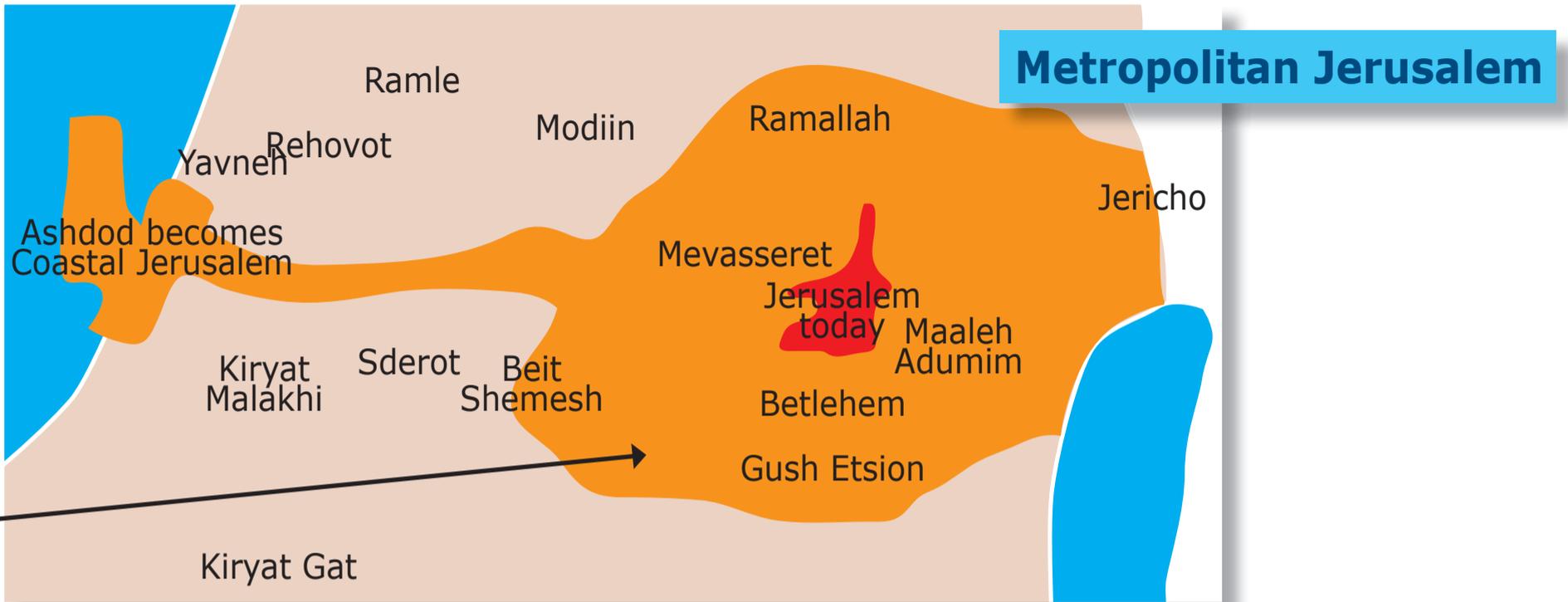
Ramifications of Tama 35

- Israel is dealing with a dispute between classical Zionism (a Jewish nation-state) and a post-Zionist approach (normalization, a state of all its citizens, severing ties to Judaism).
- The present official outline program, on the basis of which the planning and development of the state of Israel is managed, is based on the pre-1967 borders. Israeli sovereignty within the Green Line, without any planning for Judea and Samaria.
- A national space without protection, sovereignty or governance.
- The division of the State of Israel into only six districts does not allow for territorial control of the country.
- The Knesset today lacks district-municipal structure and representation.
- The trend is to settle 90% of the population of Israel in four or five metropolitan areas that will become an interconnected megalopolis in 2048. Jewish residents in rural/agricultural/communal communities will constitute only 2% of the population. The state will thereby relinquish territorial control.
- Jerusalem is a deteriorating border city, which suffers from a net migration rate East Jerusalem, and does not function as the capital of Israel in practice.
- The national public realm will have no apparent Jewish characteristics.

Ramifications of Tama 100

- The State of Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people in the spirit of the Scroll of Independence, a designated homeland for all the Jews of the world, with a solid Jewish majority and a non-Jewish minority loyal to the State.
- Western Land of Israel from the Mediterranean to the Jordan is a single fabric of life and therefore a single planning expanse. All the systems (economy, infrastructures, roads and transportation, government, education, and more) are planned as an integrated, united national entity. Full Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel west of the Jordan with no vestige of the Green Line, and including unified Greater Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria as the center of gravity of the State.
- The State of Israel is a regional power with a national expanse where defense, full sovereignty, and governance are possible.
- Division of the State of Israel into twelve east to west districts and 40 sub-Districts, which will enable full territorial control
- The new Israeli Knesset will be divided into a national upper house and a lower house with regional representation. In that way, each citizen will have representation in the upper house and in the lower house.
- The trend of decentralization and dispersal of the population of Israel into twelve main metropolitan districts and 40 autonomous sub-district capitals that will enable full distribution of the population throughout the entire country. This will abolish the concept of periphery and commuting. 75% of the residents live in cities; however a critical mass of 25% live in rural/agricultural/communal communities.
- Metropolitan Jerusalem – the eternal capital of the Jewish people will constitute a global city and the geographical, spiritual, and functional center of the entire Land of Israel. The area of Jerusalem is approximately 1,000 sq km and it stretches from Beit El to Gush Etzion and from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean.
- After 2000 years of exile, a new public domain, which is visually Jewish, with a national/symbolic skyline that represents the presence of the Jewish people and the Torah of Israel in its homeland.

For a detailed comparison between the schools of thought see tables in previous pages.



A year has passed since we went public with the Tama 100 project (in Sovereignty issue no.9), a project that integrates a broad perspective and vision with a detailed plan of how the Zionist vision is to be realized. This is an attempt to plan the State of Israel from the beginning that does not restrict itself to improving the planning on the basis of the status quo, but rather is directed to the State of Israel in future generations. The work is progressing and is being undertaken with a cadre of advisers, planners/experts in their fields in order to form a comprehensive, complex, practical blueprint for the State of Israel in 2048, 100 years since its independence. These advisers were selected to address the following issues: Distribution of settlements, demography, ecology, open spaces, transportation, national infrastructures, form of government, immigration absorption, economy, the Middle East, justice, security, internal security, housing and urban development.

We invite all of you to participate

This preliminary update presents the fundamental concepts of this program, an analysis of reality as we understand it, and the planning of a comprehensive system that will include the optimal solutions to the problems that we identify.

As stated above, we are working with experts in the various disciplines; however, in the spirit of the new world, we will happily confront the plan with the perspectives of additional people, and with a process of involving the public, and thereby deepen our understanding and, as a result, improve the quality of the proposed solutions.

The next stage of the project: detailed planning for the implementation of Tama 100.

We will be glad to receive detailed feedback, positive and critical, on the matters that appear in these pages, regarding the strengths and the weaknesses of the proposal, so that we will be able to incorporate the significant comments in later versions of the project.

Contact us: ribonut@gmail.com

We will be happy to hear from you, and of course we will keep you apprised of developments in the future.



Yoram Ginzburg, Planner and Chief architect of the Tama 100.



Advisers

Amir Avivi – Brigadier General (res.), entrepreneur and Senior Adviser for security and policy.

Prof. Elisha Hass – Professor Emeritus of Biophysics in Bar-Ilan University, member of the board of Professors for a Strong Israel

Dr. Mordechai Nisan – Middle East expert, published books about Israel and Lebanon, minorities in the region, Islam and the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Avraham Shevut – Geographer, Regional Planner

Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar – Co-Chairpersons of the Sovereignty Movement, Initiators of Tama 100

Yoram Ginzburg – Architect, and city and regional planner, and the chief architect of the Tama 100 plan.

Hamutal Lawrence – Design and graphic editing, assistant writer

Prepare for the Earthquake

The old Middle East is gone, never to return, and it is already possible to sense the approaching earthquake. The question is not whether, the question is when.// Motti Karpel

When several tremors transpired in northern Israel a little over half a year ago, the experts said that it is impossible to know whether these are precursors, God forbid, of a major earthquake. In any case, they say, a major earthquake is going to take place here; it is not a question of whether, but rather of when. It is impossible, of course, to prove a causal relationship between those earthquakes and our geopolitical situation; however, at least as a metaphor, they can serve us well. A friend told me how, one morning, he was standing in front of the aquarium in his house, and he suddenly saw the fish begin to go wild, breaking into a strange dance. "Come see something strange," he called to his wife. "Look how the fish are acting." Even before he finished the sentence, an earthquake transpired; a minor one, with no damage. One need not be a fish in order to sense something in the air. Although the experts say that significant earthquakes transpire here approximately once in one hundred years, the frequency of geopolitical earthquakes is much greater, approximately once in fifty years.

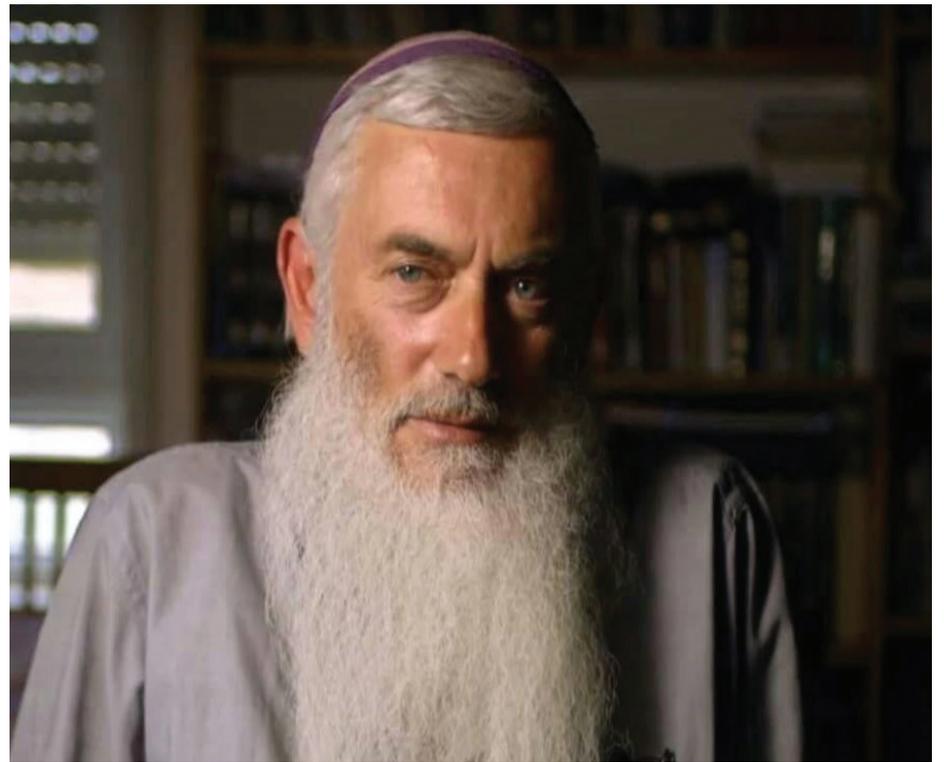
One hundred years ago, the process of our national renaissance took a quantum leap forward, in the wake of World War I and the Balfour Declaration. Fifty years ago, it was the Six Day War. Since then, our geopolitical existence has been in an impossible situation, which any intelligent person understands is temporary. It is a reality based on "not to swallow and not to expel," which necessarily portends a future earthquake. It is not a question of whether, but rather of when.

In every human system, there are internal contradictions which it learns to live with. However, at a certain stage, these contradictions become so great that the system can no longer tolerate them and they cause them to implode. The internal tension, the absurdities, the constant extinguishing of fires, the desperate and perpetual attempt to achieve quiet, sweeping the problems under the rug – all these characterize a system that is about to implode.

We release terrorists only to recapture them; we bolster the Palestinian Authority (PA), which embitters our lives; we maintain Hamas rule in the

Gaza Strip, etc., etc. These are only the tip of the iceberg of the chaotic situation that is about to explode. The inflexible Israeli government and security establishment, with its various divisions, seek to contain the explosive situation any way that they can, to maintain it with their last remaining resources, to plug holes, to live in denial, to overlook, to postpone the decision. However, the chaotic situation has its own procedures, and it will ultimately rise to the surface and explode.

"Although we, ourselves, are too entangled in complexes and crises to be able to ourselves initiate implementation of the law that is at the foundation of our renaissance – in any case, the atmosphere is charged with explosives, it has its own potential, and despite all the mitigating factors, it is possible that any day what will ultimately inevitably explode, will in fact explode," Shabtai ben Dov wrote (All His Writings, vol. 3,



Motti Karpel

The epicenter of the earthquake will be in Jerusalem and in Judea and Samaria, where the primary effects of the earthquake will be felt

p. 211) and foresaw the Six Day War a few years before it.

The Oslo Accords, a kind of national outline plan that was supposed to bolster the absurd foundations of our geopolitical existence, only accelerated the eruption of its internal contradictions, exacerbated the tension, and hastened the anticipated earthquake. But it is not only the foundations upon which these accords were constructed that no longer hold water. Even the framework of those accords is no longer relevant, as the entire process is not taking place in a vacuum, **Continued on page 25**

Giving up the heart of the Land would be a surrender of Zionism // Yossi Dagan, Head of Samaria Council

Israel must apply sovereignty over the Jewish communities and state lands in Judea and Samaria for several reasons. First of all, because this is the heart of the Jewish homeland. Giving up the heart of the Land would be an unprecedented and ruinous surrender of Zionism.

Without the hills of the center, what is left of the country is the coastal lowlands, which would become an overcrowded ghetto controlled by the mountain, and would constitute what is called in military slang "an extermination zone". When you see the Israeli confusion over what is occurring at the Gaza border, and when you consider the ramifications from the point of view of the threat of rockets, tunnels and "marches of return", it becomes clear that the danger to whatever would remain of Israel if there were a withdrawal from Judea and Samaria, would be dozens of times more terrifying.

From our eastern border to India, there is a huge Muslim expanse including hundreds of millions of

people. The difference between, on the one hand, the situation where this expanse starts with the Jordan Valley and on the other hand, where it would begin with Kfar Saba, is the difference between life and death. Therefore, giving away the heart of the Land would carry the highest of prices.

The Kafkaesque situation is that the only residents remaining under the undemocratic military rule of occupation are the Jews of Judea and Samaria, after the Arabs of the area have come under the aegis of the PA, which is a broad autonomy. Sovereignty would put an end to this injustice and the severe violation to human rights for a half million residents of Judea and Samaria.

Moreover, Judea and Samaria's potential to the State of Israel is tremendous. Great expanses of land are the solution to the high cost of housing stemming from overcrowding and low supply. Western Samaria is just "east Gush Dan". The only chance for Jerusalem to develop is northward, eastward and

southward, beyond the Green Line. Freeing up the political restrictions, that is, sovereignty, will bring down the cost of housing, which would make it easier for Israelis and allow for new immigrants to come to ready housing, and therefore to make aliya to Israel. The tourism potential as well, with breathtaking scenery and Biblical sites located less than an hour from the center and from Jerusalem, is tremendous.

The question is not if there will be sovereignty, but how to do it, as quickly and as correctly as possible.



Yossi Dagan Photo Israel Bardugo

We've moved closer to Sovereignty, but not close enough

Justice Minister, Ayelet Shaked, summarizes a right-wing term. Were concrete steps taken toward Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria? Are the steps taken to equalize the rights of the citizens in Judea and Samaria a step on the path to Sovereignty or in the opposite direction? Who is preventing more significant progress?

"When the Israeli government and its leader will talk about sovereignty, the world too will know how to accept it". Photo Yonatan Zindel Flash 90

The time for post-mortems of what was often characterized, especially by the government ministers, as the most right-wing government ever, has arrived. Among the entirety of synopses, the question also arises whether during the years of the government's term, significant steps were taken toward Sovereignty, the vision that elicits sweeping agreement among an overwhelming majority of the coalition members and government ministers.

We posed this question to Justice Minister Ayelet Shaked, who, together with Minister Naftali Bennett spearheaded the Stability Initiative that sought to take the first steps toward Sovereignty with the application of Sovereignty over Area C and removal of the two-state solution from the political agenda.

"We drew closer to Sovereignty during the recent term, but not close enough," Shaked states. "I think that we should have taken advantage of the years of the Trump presidency to promote steps toward Sovereignty, whether it meant applying Sovereignty in Ma'ale Adumim, or applying Sovereignty in Gush Etzion. We believed that the American government would be able to tolerate a step like that, but, to my chagrin, it has not yet happened."

At the same time, the minister notes the steps initiated by the government to regularize civilian life in Judea and Samaria and equalize them with the lives of all Israeli citizens. However, that was accomplished in the framework of the existing law and not in the framework of Sovereignty legislation. Although this arrangement is not

insignificant tidings for the settlers, some see it as a local solution capable of silencing the claim of discrimination proffered by residents of Judea and Samaria because they were citizens

sophistry, but rather for a courageous political decision.

We conducted this conversation with Minister Shaked a short while after she returned from another briefing of the

We must take action for the application of Sovereignty and exploit the years of the Trump presidency to promote this concept, especially in the areas that are in the consensus."

subject to military government and many civil rights are not in effect in their regard. Ostensibly, this arrangement is likely to be considered an inexpensive (from the perspective of the political price) alternative to Sovereignty, thereby weakening the public call for the comprehensive application of Israeli sovereignty over that territory.

Shaked responds to this contention and underscores that the significance of Sovereignty is not in a local response of one sort or another; rather, in the fact that it is a comprehensive framework. "Sovereignty is something much more profound and is capable of solving all the problems with one thrust of a sword. We must take action for the application of Sovereignty and exploit the years of the Trump presidency to promote this concept, especially in the areas that are in the consensus."

Sovereignty is not a matter for legal

foreign press regarding the Stability Initiative, the program that she promoted along with Minister Bennett, and regarding the vision of Sovereignty. It emerges that even if it seemed that the pair of Bennett and Shaked turned to matters of the Education and Justice ministries respectively, and curtailed their activity somewhat in the political/diplomatic arena, this is an optical illusion and briefings relating to their political initiative are conducted on a regular basis. "Minister Bennett and I conduct meetings like these all the time, both with foreign diplomats and with the foreign press."

Concerning the reactions that she hears from foreign reporters about the political initiative, she relates and concedes that in fact, in their eyes, it is a program that is unrealistic and contrary to the international consensus that exists regarding the two-state solution. "That

is what they say, but my response to them is that in the '80s, Abie Nathan sat in prison for speaking to Arafat. Later, Rabin shook his hand. Sometimes it takes time for matters to develop, for the other side as well."

We wondered whether her political position had indeed not changed despite all the legal materials to which she might have been exposed during her tenure in the Justice Ministry in recent years. In her opinion, the arena in which the Sovereignty initiative must be conducted and promoted is not the legal one, but rather the political one; therefore, no legal detail is capable of altering her positions. **"The Israeli government and the Knesset must make the decision to apply Israeli law to Judea and Samaria, just as Begin did in the Golan Heights.** It is important to remember that he did so in a day or two without telling the Americans, because he did not want them to oppose the step. Admittedly, the circumstances in Judea and Samaria are more complex, but it remains a political decision and there is no need to hide behind legal sophistry."

International law too, a sword wielded regularly by the Left against the concept of Sovereignty, does not trouble Shaked, who emphatically states: "According to international law, Judea and Samaria is a disputed territory. That is the legal definition, and we have enough capable legal experts who will know how to ratify the Sovereignty initiative from the legal perspective as well."

What about the world and its leaders? Will they be able to accept the change **Continued on page 24**

They Talk About Security, They Don't Talk About Sovereignty

The editor of Israel Hayom, Boaz Bismuth, calls on Israeli society to return to the discourse on sovereignty and not security needs, stating: We must please our future generations, not the world, and we can accomplish this with sovereignty.



Boaz Bismuth, editor "Yisrael Hayom". Photo: Avi Sulliman, Yisrael Hayom

His resume is a combination of that of a journalist and that of a diplomat and he is currently the editor of Israel Hayom, the most popular newspaper in Israel. Boaz Bismuth supports the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria and supports a political doctrine that often outrages his colleagues.

"One of the greatest mistakes that we have been making for years is that we speak in international forums and explain to the world the importance of strategic depth, and that we need this territory for security needs, but we forget to place the proper emphasis on the essential ideological and important matter that enables me to protect what is mine, and this is sovereignty. The mistake is that we speak with the world about security and not about sovereignty. This is why, from many people's point of view, this matter is not considered. This is the reason that even now, I still find that I have to justify myself. We must change the entire discourse".

And if we change the discourse will the world accept the idea?

"First of all, we need the change in discourse not only for external purposes, but also for internal purposes. When Israeli society understands that it is our sovereignty and that we are here for reasons of sovereignty, we will not need to justify ourselves again and again. It is a sad situation that in 2019, I still need to explain what I am doing in the Land of my forefathers".

And when you travel in the world how is your conversation with them on this matter?

"I don't want to sound arrogant or impolite, but there is a lot of ignorance in the world. It can be compared to a discussion with the average Israeli on the conflict in the Balkans or the problems in Timor. This is how it is with our matter as well. In his book The Need for Separation, Prof. Dan Shifman describes the conduct of Israeli governments regarding Judea and Samaria as a sort of 'I don't know

whether to swallow or vomit'. Since this is the Land of our forefathers and I am not willing to 'vomit', please excuse the impolite expression, our message to the world must be a message of

that in that same world that so desires unity, suddenly, when we are involved, it wants separation?

Moreover, I will tell you about a visit that I had to my wife's relatives in

We need the change in discourse not only for external purposes, but also for internal purposes. When Israeli society understands that it is our sovereignty and that we are here for reasons of sovereignty, we will not need to justify ourselves again and again

sovereignty, but we tend to worry about how the world will accept what we say. This is how it was with the Nationality Law - for instance, the term 'the state of the Jews' and not 'the state of all its citizens' and other examples. We always want to please the world. There is no disgrace in saying that the people we want to please are the future generations and in order to do this, we must clarify who is the sovereign in this Land".

On a personal level, where does this position come from, that you say that it is not driven by security - from a historical reason? Religious? For some other reason?

"I was a journalist in Paris for 16 years. There, it is inconceivable to speak of west Paris compared to East Paris. Even before we talk about the religious position and Zionism, there is some healthy logic here. In my journeys through the world as a foreign journalist I have perceived a global tendency to unite and not to split. This is how it was in Berlin when the world became emotional about seeing the city reunited, and how it is now in Korea, with the dream of seeing the two Koreas unite, this is how it was when the world was so frightened a few years ago of the possibility of the division of Belgium and in many other cases. So how is it

Israel. Her father is a dentist without any preconceived ideas for or against. After the visit in Jerusalem he wanted to understand the simple and healthy logic of how exactly it would be possible to divide this thing... It makes no sense logically. After speaking about the logic, let's talk about justice: for the entire span of history they fought over Jerusalem, and despite the demographic situation between us and our neighbors, we are the sovereigns in Jerusalem, so it seems that there are miracles in the world and apparently someone is arranging it this way because this is how it must be, and I am not ashamed of it.

And this is all a result of the marvelous blend and magical formula which is the embrace between Judaism and Zionism, and woe to us on the day when we separate the two things. As long as those two go together, the claim for sovereignty is strong, powerful and victorious".

And what is the source of your belief in this?

"All my life I have 'shepherded in foreign fields'. My parents sent me to foreign schools. When I learned in university it was a foreign university and even as an ambassador I lived in an Arab country. Thanks to the Almighty, now I am the editor of a newspaper in my homeland. Now, after visits in 18 Arab countries

I can state that the problem is not territorial. To all those who talk about Judea and Samaria as the source of the conflict and speak of occupation, I can say that this is a big bunch of nonsense. Why, our Arab cousins are not willing to recognize our sovereignty over a one-room

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Yigal Lahav

Surrendering the Heart of the Land is Giving up Zionism

Yigal Lahav, Head of Karnei Shomron Council

The settlement in Judea and Samaria is a fait accompli and more Israelis live there than in many other settled parts of the south or the north. Quality of life, the human mosaic and proximity to the center bring many young couples to the area. The unnatural situation caused by the lack of sovereignty is increasing and the result on the ground makes things difficult and impedes them. I was among the first ones to set the application of sovereignty as a goal, and this is how I will always act.

“I Believed in Two States: Now, I’ve Changed My Position”

Rabbi Shlomo Riskin executes a dramatic about-face in his position. From support of a two-state solution, he has moved to the camp demanding Sovereignty. In an interview with “Sovereignty,” he presents the reasons for the change



Rabbi Riskin, lectures at Givat He'itam in Efrat as part of the weekly aliyot to the hill organized by Women in Green in 2012. Photo: The Sovereignty Movement

Over the course of many years, Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, founder of the Ohr Torah Stone institutions and the Rabbi of the city of Efrat, has held a position supporting Jewish-Arab coexistence, even at the cost of the establishment of a Palestinian state. He considered Gush Etzion, where he lives, a model for the feasibility of coexistence of that kind. Today, in light of the wave of terrorism in recent years, he has revised his position and calls for steps toward Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria.

“It is very important that we have Sovereignty in all parts of Judea and Samaria where Jews are found,” begins Rabbi Riskin, who is careful to emphasize that under no circumstances may Israeli Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria compromise the civil rights of the Arabs who have ownership rights to the land,

provided that they can legally prove that ownership.

“I was prepared to do a lot for coexistence. I was the most prominent spokesman for

I was prepared to do a lot for coexistence. I was the most prominent spokesman for coexistence, however, now there is certainly a change in my position

coexistence, for living together as it is manifest at the Gush Etzion Junction and the Rami Levi shopping center; however, now there is certainly a change in my position. I see that terrorism is directed specifically against Gush Etzion, and

the reason for this is the Arab struggle against coexistence itself. They condemn normalization of relations with Israel. Under these circumstances, giving

them land and endangering ourselves is suicide. We will not give land to one who says that his objective is to liquidate and expel us.”

Rabbi Riskin elaborates and sheds light on the about-face that took place in

his position: “Until now, I gave them permission to be and to live wherever they were found, but they did not allow us the same; they did not recognize our right to be here. They don’t think that the land on which I live belongs to me. This approach is the one that has led to so many terrorist acts; it is what has generated wars here.”

Rabbi Riskin’s demand from the Arab partner to recognize the right of the Jewish people to live

at least, on part of its land, evokes Prime Minister Netanyahu’s demand from the Palestinian Authority (PA) in general, and from the chairman, Abu Mazen in particular, to recognize Israel’s characterization as a Jewish state. Disappointedly, Rabbi Riskin says that it appears that the chance

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Americans For A Safe Israel/ Afsi Supports Sovereignty as the Only Solution For Israel!!



Helen Freedman, Chair AFSI. Photo: AFSI

The word, ‘Sovereignty’ surfaced when it was obvious that Judea and Samaria MUST be part of a whole Israel. The word did not appear in my Bible classes at the Brooklyn Jewish Center in Brooklyn, NY, where I began my studies in Hebrew, the Siddur, and the Bible. The hilltops of Samaria, the Judean hills, Gaza and Hebron were our biblical landmarks where the matriarchs and patriarchs lived out their lives. It was inconceivable that they would not be part of the promised land.

Fast forward to 1948 when ‘Palestine’ became Israel, tragically leaving Judea and Samaria and part of Jerusalem in Jordanian hands. Nineteen years later Israel rejoiced in the remarkable victories of the 1967 Six Day War. The regaining of Judea and Samaria

caught the leadership unprepared, and so they put it under “temporary” military control, where it still, unfortunately, sits today. The government also sent out a call to the lovers of the land to go to the hilltops and “settle” them. The best and the brightest left their comfortable homes in Israel proper to become “settlers,” enduring all the hardships of life in new areas which had to be built up from scratch.

Waves of Arab terrorism led MK Shmuel Katz, along with Drs. Rael and Erich Isaac, and Herbert Zweibon, to form AFSI in 1973 in order to educate Americans with the truth about Israel. Twenty years later, 1993, there were the Oslo Accords – an agreement between the terrorist, Yasser Arafat, and the then leaders of Israel, Yitzchak Rabin and Shimon Peres, orchestrated under pressure from America’s President

Bill Clinton. The precious lands of Judea and Samaria were now “occupied territory.” Israel, the proprietor of these lands, became the aggressor who was stealing land from the “Palestinians.” Who were these “Palestinians?” Where did they come from? How did Judea and Samaria become their inheritance? It was all done through brutal force, vicious terrorism, evil education, a malevolent media, and endless lies. Somehow, the world bought the story of the “poor Palestinian”. Israel was the strong Goliath, attacking the weak David. The truth was turned upside down, where it remains today.

Unable and unwilling to accept the present situation, AFSI does everything in its power to promote Sovereignty. We have partnered with Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, **Continued on page 25**

Israel in the face of a collapsing Palestinian Authority

The Palestinian Authority's collapse is not contingent on Israeli actions or plans. The PA is collapsing on the ground, every day. In light of this state of affairs, Israel must consider its actions to ensure that its interests are secured.

The question of whether Israel should or shouldn't dismantle the Palestinian Authority is the wrong question. The PA is collapsing on its own. The PA today no longer exerts control over the majority of the cities and villages located in Areas A and B in Judea and Samaria. These are the territories that Israel transferred to Palestinian control in the framework of the Oslo accords. They have functioned as self-ruled areas under PA control since 1996.

In recent months, Hamas terrorists in Judea and Samaria have expanded their terror operations against Israelis. Hamas's stepped up operations are proof of the PA's collapse. The PA rightly views Hamas as the greatest threat to its power. Its ability to operate even in areas, like Ramallah, the epicenter of the PA's security and governing infrastructure is a testament to the PA's weakness.

Beyond its flagging hold over territory it formally controls, the PA is in the midst of a leadership crisis. PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas is both reviled and in failing health. Whereas when Yasser Arafat died in 2004, Abbas was his recognized successor, Abbas has no recognized heir.

There are two scenarios for a post-Abbas PA.

First, Hamas may grab the reins of power. Hamas's recent terror attacks – including Sunday's attack in Ariel – demonstrate that Hamas is positioning itself to oust Fatah from power. Hamas's favored tactic for achieving this aim is to provoke Fatah's terror forces to join its terror operations against Israel. As Palestinian expert, Lt. Col. (res.) Baruch Yedid notes, this was Hamas's plan in



Renewing the Jordanian administration over villages in Judea and Samaria could bring about the overthrow of the king. Photo Flash 90

2014 when its terror forces kidnapped and murdered three Israeli youth in Gush Etzion and so set off the chain of events that led to Operation Protective Edge. Hamas's rationale is that Fatah participation in terror against Israel will provoke the US and Israel to cut ties with Fatah. Without Israel and American protection, Hamas reasons, the PA will be unable to block Hamas from seizing power.

The second scenario is that rather than be recentralized under Hamas control, power in the Palestinian population centers will be diffused and decentralized. Rather than centrally governed, each town and village will be

The first thing Israel must do in the face of the PA's collapse is apply its law to Area C.

ruled by local leaders, operating with the legitimacy and power of powerful family groupings and local alliances.

With these two scenarios in mind, and in the face of the PA's self-propelled implosion, the question Israel needs to broach is how to operate in this dynamic environment to secure its national and strategic interests in Judea and Samaria. There are, to be sure, several practical actions Israel must take. But their success will be dependent on Israel first taking a strategic step. The first thing Israel must do in the face of the PA's collapse is apply its law to Area C. Applying Israeli law to Area C -- that is, the territory in Judea and Samaria that includes all of the Israeli communities and military installations, Israel's eastern frontier along the Jordan River and its strategic defenses in the Samaritan mountain range and the south Hebron hills is essential to ensure Israel's perpetual control over the areas in Judea and Samaria that it requires to secure its strategic and national interests.

More than any other step Israel might take, applying its law to Area C will

demonstrate to the Palestinians that they have no hope of using terror or political warfare to dislodge Israel from the area. In one fell swoop, Israel will restore the deterrent power it lost over the Palestinians when it embraced the PLO as a legitimate force and gave the terror group legitimacy, territory and weapons 26 years ago.

Beyond the impact the move will have on the Palestinians and their appetite for war with Israel, the move will free the IDF to defeat the Palestinian terror forces operating in Judea and Samaria. Since 1967, the IDF's Central Command has been straddled with two missions – one military and one civilian. The

civilian mission has been to govern the residents of Judea and Samaria through the military government and its civil administration. Since 1996, with the establishment of PA autonomy in Areas A and B, Central Command has been responsible for governing Area C. Since eighty percent of Area C residents are Israeli, the prolongation of the Civil Administration has enmeshed the IDF in civilian governance issues it has no expertise in, at the expense of its military readiness and focus.

By dissolving the military government and civil administration in Area C and transferring governing responsibility to civilian government ministries, the government will free the IDF to concentrate all of its energies on its core competency – fighting and defeating Israel's enemies.

This then brings us to concrete actions Israel must take on the ground in Areas A and B in either post-PA scenario. Israel's first goal should be to block Hamas from taking over the areas as it took over Gaza in 2007. Among other things, this will require the IDF to enter Areas A and B and seize as much weaponry as



Caroline Glick lectures at Oz veGaon. Photo: The Sovereignty Movement

possible as quickly as possible.

The prospect of the PA being replaced by local bosses is a better outcome for Israel and in all likelihood, for the Palestinians as well. Still, under this more positive scenario, the IDF will be required to seize as much weaponry from Areas A and B as it can. But under this latter scenario, the Palestinian will to attack Israeli security forces and civilians will likely be reduced. Indeed, in at least some locales, empowered local leaders will seek out opportunities to cooperate with their Israeli neighbors in Area C.

Several commentators argue that the Hashemite Kingdom in Jordan has an interest in replacing the PA in Areas A and B. Israel, they insist should encourage such an outcome. But on the ground, there is no evidence that Jordan has any interest in governing the areas. To the contrary. The Hashemite Kingdom is in the grips of domestic protests challenging its legitimacy as never before. Throughout Jordan, demonstrations against the Hashemite monarchy have become routine. And even worse for the regime, the protests are not being led by the Palestinians or the Muslim Brotherhood or other traditionally hostile – and repressed -- groups. They are being led by the Hashemites' traditional supporters – Jordan's Beduin tribes.

Under the circumstances, the last thing King Abdullah II is interested in is restoring his kingdom's control over areas on the western side of the Jordan River. Such a move, which would increase still further the Palestinian majority in Jordan's population would undermine the little stability his regime still enjoys.

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"Dismantle the Civil Administration in Judea and Samaria". Photo Hillel Meir



Bassem Eid. Photo Yonatan Zindel, Flash 90



The PLO leadership is like a violent Mafia - the deep corruption prevents any chance of achieving change. Photo Reuters

The Purpose of the Palestinian Authority is for its Leaders to Get Rich

Human rights activist, Bassem Eid, a Jericho resident, is not afraid to express resolute positions about the corruption and the encouragement of terrorism by the leadership of the Palestinian Authority (PA). "Only annexation will bring about the end of the dispute."

For 26 years he has been battling for the human rights of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip. This struggle has led him to express clear, resolute positions against the corruption and the encouragement of terrorism of the PA, which resulted in his finding himself persecuted by the security apparatus of the PA, which during the rule of Yasser Arafat, even incarcerated him.

Bassem Eid, a resident of Jericho and a human rights activist, finds himself in recent years frequently traveling from Israel to Europe and the United States, where he participates in symposia and is interviewed in the leading media outlets in the world. There, he relates, even today, despite the significant personal price that he has paid, what is really happening inside the PA from the perspective of an insider. When analyzing the situation, he arrives at the unequivocal conclusion that reforming the PA is impossible, and therefore, there is no alternative to dismantling it. The corruption and the depravity there, padded with hundreds of millions of dollars received from the world, prevent any possibility or any desire among the leadership of the PA to engender reform.

"It is impossible to reform the PA. Since 2011, I have been following the Arab Spring, which destroyed more than it mended. We see what is happening today in Libya, Egypt, and Tunisia. The Arabs themselves today regret that they called those occurrences Spring,"

says Eid, who states that as long as a revolution will not take place in Iran, one will not take place in Ramallah and Shechem either.

"The intent of the PA in coming to Judea and Samaria was to get rich, not to manage the lives of the residents. That is why the PA today prefers to preserve the status quo in order to amass power and money from the international community. That is why in the course of the 25 years that have passed since

Oslo, the PA devoted itself more to learning how to conduct the struggle than to how to resolve the dispute."

Tens of millions have been poured into Gaza, but not even one dollar has reached any of its residents.

He describes the mood among the residents of the PA as general despair. "They are leading us to nowhere." There is despair among the people both in Gaza and on the West Bank, and when you despair, you say: Let's wait, maybe change will come from God." When he was asked about the possibility that in the reality that has developed since

Oslo that Arabs in Judea and Samaria would prefer Israeli rule, he responds positively, although he is well aware of the paralyzing fear and fright that the PA leadership imposes upon them.

"People led more dignified lives under Israeli rule. The Palestinian laborer seeks life with dignity. In the PA, he receives a monthly salary of \$300-\$400, while in Israel, he receives more than \$2000, and that is what he seeks. I have no shadow of a doubt

that between 1967-1993, the year of Oslo, people had a sense of economic prosperity; ever since, the situation has only deteriorated." In order to reinforce his claims regarding the Arab desire for Israeli rule, he tells of a meeting that he conducted recently with a senior authority member of the Arabs of Hebron. In the meeting, he relates, "He said to me that if Israel were to proclaim tomorrow that it is going to conduct a census in Hebron in order to grant citizenship to its residents, do you know what would happen? The night before, all of Jenin would infiltrate Hebron."

At the same time, he knows that sentiments of that sort would not be expressed out loud at this point: "They might not say it to avoid undermining what is characterized as their nationalism, but they will say that they want an economy and dignity and they do not care about anything else." According to his assessment, resident status without citizenship will satisfy the absolute majority of the Arab residents of Judea and Samaria. "They see what is happening in East Jerusalem. They see that the East Jerusalemites have rights without an obligation to serve in the army. They receive National Insurance payments and equality, so what is the difference between resident status and citizenship?"

Eid considers the dismantling of the PA a necessity; however, he is concerned that Israel does not have a clear interest to seek its dismantling. In the absence of an Israeli interest, the PA leadership will be able to maintain the status quo, which will enable its people to continue getting rich at the expense of its residents. At the same time, he is convinced that it is annexation of the territory, as he defines it, that will ultimately lead to the end of the dispute. His direct and penetrating criticism of the conduct of the Arab leadership in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip, Eid raises without fear, in local and international tribunals. He is a lecturer in demand in various symposia and in academia throughout the world. He is invited to

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The Time Has Come to Dismantle the Palestinian Authority (PA)

Attorney Ran Bar-Yoshafat, public diplomacy expert

There is no point to finding ways for Israel to apply Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria without first thinking about the dismantling and liquidation of the terrorist organization that controls Judea and Samaria – the PA. The very existence of the PA constitutes the de facto negation of Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. Application of Israeli jurisdiction to Judea and Samaria means dismantling the PA. That is the meaning of Sovereignty. The objective of the PA was to enable Arab municipal and security self-government in Judea and Samaria.

Reality has proven that non-Israeli control leads to consequences that are bad for Israel and for the Arabs in Judea and Samaria. An Arab in Haifa lives better than an East Jerusalem Arab, who lives better than an Arab in Judea and Samaria, who lives better than an Arab in Gaza. The same is true for the Jews, for Israeli prosperity, security and halting the anti-Semitic indoctrination of the Arabs in Judea and Samaria, it is appropriate to dismantle the PA. The army, police, and judiciary – all these must be under the control of the State of Israel, and not of those whose legal system includes the death penalty for one who sells a house to Jews.

A brief history for those who have forgotten. The PA was established in the course of the Oslo War in the mid-nineties between the State of Israel and the PLO – the same terrorist organization that was established in 1964 while the State of Israel did not control Judea and Samaria – a mutual recognition agreement was signed. Ever since 2013, the PA considers itself the state of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria. It represents the Arabs who reside there and is elected exclusively by the Arab residents in Judea and Samaria.



A square in the PA Authority named after a terrorist. Photo: PMW Palwatch.org

The fiction of a new Arab nationality that included those who are not in Israel at present is still represented by the PLO. The largest organization in the PLO is Fatah. Identity has been established between the PLO and the PA because the leader of the PLO, the arch-murderer Yasser Arafat, served as the head of the PA, and the upper echelons of the PA were members of Fatah. In 2004, after Arafat's death, Abu Mazen was elected chairman of the PLO. In 2006, Hamas achieved a majority in the Parliament and routed the PLO, while the presidency remained in PLO control. Israel continued to be confronted by the body ruling over the Arabs of Judea and Samaria that consists of a terrorist organization that boasts that it has murdered the most Jews (Fatah) and a terrorist organization that proclaims that it intends to kill Jews wherever they may be (Hamas). From all this salad of movements and organizations, it is important to remember one thing, and that is that these are the same terrorists that organized into various committees and institutions, and the most significant entity in terms of relations with Israel is the PA, the one with de facto control over Judea and Samaria.

In order to eliminate the fiction of an Arab nationality in Judea and Samaria, one must begin with eliminating its most dominant factor. The PA leads the industry of lies that negates the existence of the State of Israel within any borders. If there is a legitimate claim regarding the connection of the Arabs to an Arab nationality in Judea and Samaria, the world will never accept Jewish sovereignty there, because it would be considered an act of robbery. If we dismantle the ostensible uniting factor of Arab nationalism in Judea and Samaria, we will cause the clouds of falsehood regarding their claim to the land to dissipate.

Practically, the only reason that the PA is successful in surviving in Judea and Samaria is due to IDF support. Without that support, Hamas would assume control of the presidency as well. Ostensibly, the IDF does so due to the security cooperation that benefits both sides; however, that is a fiction with which all **Continued on page 26**



Atty. Ran Bar Yoshafat, expert in public diplomacy. Photo Yonatan Zindel Flash 90

In order to eliminate the fiction of an Arab nationality in Judea and Samaria, one must begin with abolishing its most dominant factor - the PA

Sovereignty – the True and Zionist Response to Terror

Hananel Durani, Head of the YESHA Council, Mayor of Kedumim



Hananel Durani

This past year, the Yesha Council held a special workshop dealing with the vision for the future of the settlement enterprise. We set for ourselves two important goals: bringing another million residents to Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley, and the application of sovereignty. We are promoting parliamentary activities toward sovereignty and hope that the government of Israel and its current leader will act with courage and will accept the decision to apply Israeli sovereignty for us as well.

In recent weeks we have been witness again and again to horrifying terror attacks. The goal of the despicable terrorists is to bring us

to despair. Their goal is to cause us to leave this beautiful piece of land and expel its residents. We say no. We are continuing to build and grow with thousands more homes and communities in Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley and we are making progress on the way to the application of sovereignty. This is how we tell them unambiguously: We are here to stay. This is actually our direct, true and Zionist response to terror – to cut off the hope that it is possible to drive us away from here. The application of sovereignty means – we have come home, and we are here to stay.

The appropriate Zionist response to terror attacks is not only to defend ourselves and set up more concrete barriers, not only to add more soldiers and security forces and closing checkpoints. These things are indeed important for immediate security needs, and they protect our dear citizens while punishing the terrorists and their family members. But this is incomplete without settlement and building. The lack of Israeli sovereignty over the areas of Jewish settlement means a lack of security.

Sovereignty is Progressing Even Today – Slowly but Surely

Will the extensive changes in the leadership of the Palestinian Authority (PA) be of any use on the day after application of Sovereignty? MK Moti Yogev explains why the dismantlement of the PA is a necessary step.



Motti Yogev Flash 90

The recent series of murderous terrorist attacks, led MK Colonel (ret.) Moti Yogev, a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of the Knesset, to repeat his statement that the PA cannot be part of the political solution, quite the contrary.

In a press release that he publicized in response to the statement of the American ambassador in Israel, David Friedman, Yogev wrote: "The PA is a terrorist organization. Any attempt to base a political solution that will improve the situation on it will end in a bloodbath. [The only path to peace is overall Israeli control – political, security, and humanitarian – over Judea and Samaria. We will see to security and to the fabric of life of the residents of Judea and Samaria, both Jews and Arabs.](#)"

At the same time, it appears that even among right wing circles and those who demand Sovereignty, the feeling remains that even though PA Chairman Abu Mazen is a Holocaust denier, promoter of terrorism, and an inciter of the world against us, it is still preferable for Israel to preserve his rule and the PA security apparatus. The reason is that it allows the Israeli government and the IDF to refrain from dealing with the civilian, social, economic, and educational matters of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria. MK Yogev is very familiar with these positions and he responds to them.

"To the list of the ostensible advantages of maintaining the PA, one can add their battle against Hamas. It must be said that due to its interest in battling Hamas, the PA assists the General Security Service and the IDF in their war against the cruel enemy in handing over and arresting murderous terrorists; however, all that is from the short term perspective. The PA understands that it needs the IDF bayonets, but in terms of deep-seated processes and from the long term perspective, it is

creating the infrastructure for terrorism against Israel. This happens because

these matters are fundamentally dependent on "wars and beliefs," as he

The PA is a short term, or at best an intermediate term, investment, as it was created by the Oslo Accords and the Left. For the long term, it is a very bad investment

the PA is educating all its children to kill and destroy the Jews. It pays a lot of money to murderers and thereby clarifies who are the elite of the PA and it names plazas and institutions after them. In practice, through these and other actions, it creates a continuous assembly line of terrorists for future generations. This is the most difficult stumbling block."

Dismantling the PA will be an expensive but necessary step

"The PA is a short term, or at best an intermediate term, investment, as it was created by the Oslo Accords and the Left. For the long term, it is a very bad investment, both from the perspective of relinquishing, God forbid, territories of Judea and Samaria to its control, and from the perspective of fostering terrorism. The Oslo Accords have caused considerable damage, which I hope is still reversible. Its reversal will require us to make painful sacrifices in performing certain undertakings such as collecting firearms that were given to them and are legally in their possession, approximately 7000-8000 unlicensed firearms and makeshift weapons. All this will lead to bloodshed."

This realistic acknowledgment of the price that Israel is likely to pay in reassuming its complete control over the territory does not discourage MK Yogev, who reminds us that

characterizes it. "Someone who beyond being nationalist and right wing is also a person of faith, his entire consciousness regarding the affiliation of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel and the Land of Israel with the Jewish people is much more intense. That is the source of his resolve to contend with all these challenges, and from there, his military policies undergo a change based on his faith."

[What about the day after the implementation of the Sovereignty law?](#)

[Won't Israel still need the PA security apparatus to mediate between it and the Arab population in Judea and Samaria?](#)

Here, too, there are more than a few members on the Right who believe that in one constellation or another, and perhaps after replacing some of the officials in the PA leadership, it will be possible to consider it a positive factor. Yogev does not accept that approach and sets his sights on establishing a type of municipal government for the Arab cities in Judea and Samaria, but absolutely not an authority like the PA.

"The ability to apply Sovereignty, a measure that I am striving to accomplish, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, and in the future in other areas, depends on achieving a national consensus. It is impossible to make decisions of that kind without a broad national consensus. That is because achieving that objective requires steps that entail endangering human lives, civilian and military. Therefore, our responsibility is to bolster consciousness. When seventy or eighty per cent of the people will be conscious of **Continued on page 26**

No more Question Marks. It's Time for Sovereignty!

Shlomo Ne'eman, Head of Gush Etzion Council

The vision of sovereignty is the highest priority, a national mission of unequalled importance, in Judea and Samaria in general and in Gush Etzion in particular.

The application of sovereignty must progress in several related, but independent fronts, in the political-diplomatic sphere, in the area of settlement and clinging to the Land, in the hasbara sphere, and of course, in the judicial-legislative sphere.

We, in the **Continued on page 27**



Shlomo Neeman Photo: Gush Etsion Local Council

Sovereignty Protects Civil and Human Rights

Sam Solomon, Beit Zayit

Two short anecdotes. I live in Beit Zayit, a village right outside of Jerusalem. Though we are very close to the entrance of Jerusalem on Route 1, we are within the municipal boundaries of Matte Yehudah. Recently, the Israel Lands Authority moved to have 5 villages, including Beit Zayit, within Matte Yehudah and near Jerusalem absorbed into the Jerusalem municipality. This would have significant negative implications since these villages are "moshavim" and with a strong agricultural tradition. Why is this significant? This decision is a direct result of the lack of Israel Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria! As strange as this might sound, there is an absence of political will to envision Jerusalem's expansion to the East. East towards Ma'ale Andumim, the Gush Etzion block and the lands called E-1. These are vast tracks for Jerusalem to expand without infringing on existing agricultural villages. However, in this topsy-turvy world of Israel Sovereignty, the Israel Lands Authority only looks west to expand into the most conjectured areas outside of Jerusalem.

A second anecdote. Recently, a resident of Itamar in Judea and Samaria was arrested for flying a helicopter without a license. His defense: since he is under a military government for the "territories" which has no law about these aircraft – and, get this, Jordanian law does not have a specific prohibition – there is no way to convict him of a crime. His lawyer stated that if Judea and Samaria are placed under Israeli civilian law then he is more than willing to accept the consequences.

These two simple aspects of Israeli Sovereignty – municipal planning for Jerusalem and being subject to standard Israeli land use practices as well as the application of Israeli civilian law for Israeli citizens living in Judea and Samaria are just a few examples of the real discrimination that takes place every day with Israeli citizens living legally in Judea and Samaria. **Many serious anomalies effect the lives of over half-million Israeli citizens living "over the green line": environmental enforcement, traffic control and tickets -- even building a deck for your home.** Israeli Sovereignty is, of course, not just an issue in Judea and Samaria. Due to many factors, the government fails to act on illegal squatting by Bedouin citizens of Israel, Israel Arabs who are

interfering with State lands in the North and enforcing education standards in East Jerusalem. But this is not an excuse to ignore Israeli Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria and, I believe, how we behave as sovereigns in Judea and Samaria influences our enforcement of sovereign laws throughout Israel. There are two conceptions that support this absurd situation. The first is to leave open the possibility of a "two state solution" and the second is preventing any more Arabs to become part of our national collective. This is what I want to address in this article.

This past summer, The Sovereignty Movement conducted research of the "soft" left and right – the Israeli center representing probably 60% of Israelis – to better understand how to move the center towards a consensus supporting Sovereignty. What we discovered were two main threads of thinking: the first is that no one, really no one, in the center sees any type of peace agreement with the Palestinians worth anything. Maybe in a few generations – 50 years was usually mentioned – but this is considered unattainable with the currently Palestinian leadership or street. As the say in the Southern U.S.,

As strange as this might sound, there is an absence of political will to envision Jerusalem's expansion to the East

the two-state dog does not hunt! It's over. This group would accept Israeli sovereignty if no Arabs in Judea and Samaria were to become citizens or be able to move freely around Israel. So, they are stuck and therefore opt for: 1. The status quo and 2. Building a high wall and letting "them" live autonomously on the other side of the wall. Importantly, they all recognize Israel's historic right to Judea and Samaria – the problem is "the Arabs" living there.

This unworkable conception has become the basis of decisions being made by the Israeli government in its present policies. This lack of consensus feeds the confusing messages and dangerous inaction of the government. This indecision is aided by "civil society"



Sam Solomon, the Sovereignty Movement, Chairman of the Advisory Board

NGOs, funding by various European and progressive-left organizations to turn the situation into a "human rights" story – while ignoring the civil and human rights of Israeli citizens living in Judea and Samaria. It also places the military governing body into an impossible situation. The status quo is no longer acceptable or sustainable and avoids the real solution to this problem for both Israeli citizens and Arabs alike. **So, practically speaking, what should we do today?**

The first priority for the Sovereignty Movement is to remove the fiction of a two-state approach to the resolution

process our Sovereignty Movement is working on.

Third, we need to embrace Arabs of Judea and Samaria who are sick of the corrupt and authoritarian PA regime and want to align themselves with the Jewish State. This is especially true of the tribal heads, or Hamulot, who have been sidelined and humiliated by the Oslo process. **Continued on page 27**



Eliyahu Livman

Eliyahu Livman, Kiryat Arba-Hevron

Striving toward and fighting for the application of Israel's sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is an integral part of the role of any head of authority in Judea and Samaria. The process toward sovereignty is also essential – a fundamental ideal of Zionism and Judaism. It is vital for the proper administration of any authority in Judea and Samaria and is a basis for equal treatment among the residents.

As head of the Kiryat Arba-Hevron Local Council, the city where the Kingdom of David took its first steps, I will continue to act with all of my power to implement the vision.

of our conflict. This is most effectively accomplished with the immediate application of Israeli sovereignty of Area C where all the Israeli citizens live and a small number of Arabs – less than 100,000 – many of whom were moved to Area C illegally by EU-based NGOs. The total number of Arabs legally living in Area C will be under 50,000 and easily absorbed into Israel. Areas A and B will continue as autonomous areas under Arab administrative and Israeli security control. Does this suggest that Oslo is over? Yes, and we all know it even if it is painful to say it out loud in polite circles.

Next on the agenda is to produce a real master plan, a TAMA 100 for all of Israel, including Judea and Samaria. This is a

The End of the Occupation and "Two States"

Professor Aryeh Eldad

Anyone who attempts to deal with the Jewish-Arab conflict in the Land of Israel soon reaches a state of profound frustration. Ostensibly, it is a territorial dispute between two peoples about a tract of land. The classic solution to a dispute of that kind is partition. However, the attempts to divide the Land of Israel between Jews and Arabs have continued for almost one hundred years (since the Churchill White Paper in 1922), and every attempt of that kind culminated in more deadly failure than its predecessor.

If we suffering from a sore throat and the doctor would diagnose it as an infectious strep throat and prescribe antibiotics, but the treatment was ineffective, we would certainly return to the doctor, and he would almost certainly change the treatment and prescribe another type of antibiotic. If then, too, there would be no cure – only a bad doctor would attempt a third, fourth, or fifth antibiotic – until the patient would die and join his late ancestors. It is more likely that we would try another doctor. However, if that option is not available, the expected reaction of the doctor would be to take a moment and consider why the treatment failed. The most logical answer is that there was a mistaken diagnosis. Clearly, if it is not an infectious strep throat but a different malady, it is clear why the antibiotic treatment was useless.

The same is true of the Jewish-Arab dispute. The error is in the diagnosis. It is not a territorial dispute, but rather a religious war. It is a clash between two contradictory ideologies. This dispute – if there is a solution to it at all – is not resolved by drawing a line on a map,



"To end the Muslim occupation on the Temple Mount and to abolish the Palestinian Authority"
Photo: Hadas Frosh Flash 90

partition, "they are there and we are here." Most of the historical precedents for disputes of this kind extend over many centuries of insoluble blood feuds.

Tell the Truth, it's a Religious War!

The Jewish Arab conflict is also like that. A religious war. Even if its symptoms are territorial – the root of the dispute is religious, or ideological. This is not a unilateral religious war stemming from the "extremism" of jihadists, the various fundamentalist Moslems, for whom the Land of Israel will forever be wakf land, regarding which it is prohibited for a Moslem to recognize the right of a Jew to control it. This is a bilateral religious war, as the Jews,

At this point, all that is necessary is to end the Moslem occupation of the Temple Mount and to abrogate the Palestinian Authority, the foul result of the Oslo Accords

even the secular ones, are here, thanks to the Bible. That is why David Ben-Gurion, who was not a "religious" Jew, showed the Bible to the members of the Peel Commission in 1937, and said to them that this is our deed to the Land of Israel, not the Balfour Declaration or a League of Nations resolution regarding the mandate.

Therefore, any attempt to partition the land west of the Jordan and to establish a Palestinian state in the heart of our homeland will, of course, not bring any remedy to the dispute, but rather, it will enflame the Palestinians, will crack the "iron wall" that we have attempted to erect here for one hundred years already, and will convince the Arabs that a people prepared to relinquish its homeland is more similar to the short-lived Crusader phenomenon than to an eternal people returning to its homeland.

However, the world demands two things of us: Ending the occupation and "two states." We can skip, for the purposes of this discussion, the old argument whether the Palestinians are a nation at all. Since the entire world recognizes them as a people, they recognize themselves as a people, and we provided them with at least one component of a people – a historical narrative, albeit not a long one, only one



Prof. Arieh Eldad. Photo Shlomi Yossef

hundred years, but the friction and the war with us define them and distinguish them from the Syrians, the Egyptians, or the Iraqis. The concern is that even if once in fifty years we are privileged

to have a worthy prime minister, like Yitzhak Shamir, who does not move one millimeter from the fundamentals of his ideology like an impenetrable rock – others have been, and might yet be found, who would be willing at a time of historic distress to grant the Arabs a state in the heart of our homeland, and there will also be an Arab leader willing to agree to the conditions – then it will already be much more difficult to reverse the wheels of history. Therefore, we must now address both issues: Ending the occupation and "two states." Ending the occupation is very easy. At this point, all that is necessary is to end the Moslem occupation of the Temple Mount and to abrogate the Palestinian Authority, the foul result of the Oslo Accords.

The second demand of the world from us is harder to implement, because even if it is obvious to many that a Palestinian state in the heart of our homeland would constitute an existential threat to the State of Israel, the world's demand was not withdrawn because of this conviction of ours. Therefore, the declaration that "a Palestinian state will not be established" is insufficient, as we understand how easy it is to cause our leaders to fold and cause them to do tomorrow what they totally rejected

today. Since that is the case, we must point to a different "solution." For example: "Two states for two peoples on two banks of the Jordan," because "Jordan is Palestine and Palestine is Jordan and anyone who says otherwise is a traitor," in the words of King Hussein. Jordan extends over 75% of the territory of the "national home" that was allocated to the Jews by the mandate, 70% of its citizens identify themselves as Palestinians, and therefore – Jordan must be recognized as the Palestinian national home, even if today King Abdullah vehemently opposes this program, and the Palestinian Authority asserts that it has no claims on the territory of the kingdom of Jordan. We remember that in Arafat's days, there was a heated argument in the PLO camp: Is the path to Amman through Jerusalem or is the path to Jerusalem through Amman?

Remembering our historic right to the east bank of the Jordan as well Arafat sought to conquer Jordan first and he was expelled from there in shame to Lebanon. However, the Palestinians consider Jordan part of "greater Palestine." We, too, should consider it as part of the Land of Israel, in which the tribal portions of Reuven, Gad, and half of Menashe were located; however, the chance of realizing that right during our lifetime is unrealistic. If a Palestinian state were established there – with the agreement of the monarchy or in the wake of a coup d'état or a civil war – we are not committed to any concession of our historic right to the east bank of the Jordan, just as they will not relinquish their claims to the entire State of Israel. This is not "peace" because there can be no peace in a religious war. The situation that will be created in practice, with a Palestinian state east of the Jordan and Israel to its west, will constitute a dramatic weakening of the Palestinian claim presented **Continued on page 26**

The Vision for Activism in the coming Years – Sovereignty!

Yisrael Ganz, head of Binyamin council

Sovereignty – a word that embodies the highlight of my vision in Binyamin for the coming years. I have promised the residents to do all I can in order to bring about the annulment of military rule and for the application of Israeli law in Binyamin and in all of Judea and Samaria – this is my dream and I am convinced that it is possible.

We want normal roads, security, communications, cellular reception and public transportation as in the other parts of the country. No more "in retrospect". No more "with a wink". In one word: sovereignty.

The time has come to increase the budgets for the residents of Judea and Samaria in the government's ledger book, to take care that all Israeli communities in Binyamin and in Judea and Samaria have approved building plans that will allow for organized building and that everything will be according to law – Israeli law, of course. Not Mandatory law, not Jordanian law or Ottoman law.

The time has come to end the military rule and to connect life in Judea and Samaria directly to government offices. I intend to coordinate an effort to build the basis of sovereignty for the settlement enterprise. The Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel by virtue of the Divine command, our historic, ideological and pioneering right and it is our obligation to settle every inch of the land.

The time has come to ensure that the **Continued on page 27**



Yisrael Ganz



The vote in the Likud Central Committee for the application of sovereignty over the areas of Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria, December 31st, 2017. Photo Tomer Nauberg Flash 90

The Sovereignty Report – A Summary of the Term

In anticipation of the approaching elections, Mattot Arim, an organization headed by Suzy Dym, publishes a balance sheet of the outgoing Knesset.

// Suzy Dym



Suzy Dym

Mattot Arim has been publishing a report of governmental accomplishments from time to time for years, summarizing what the elected representatives have actually done, carried out and achieved for the entire period of the term. The report serves anyone who wants to investigate and monitor the activity: Does the Right know how to govern? And who on the Right knows how to govern? (And each minister and member of Knesset is listed by name along with his or her accomplishments).

Fortunately, the current Mattot Arim report is different from previous reports. In the report that was written in the first half of 2014 for example, one page sufficed to show the meager

preliminary accomplishments on the topic of sovereignty. In contrast, in the Mattot Arim report for 2018 there are 11 pages detailing a broad spectrum of governmental and parliamentary activity on behalf of the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. This is the main matter that has plagued our country for the past 50 years.

Among other things, it is worthwhile to note that 18 legislative proposals were served in the current Knesset seeking to apply Israeli law in these and other areas. Legislative proposals enjoyed a majority and despite this (or because of this?) they were stalled by the leader of the Likud, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. For its part, the Likud Central Committee understood the problem and approved the formulation of the decision committing the Likud to the application of sovereignty. This was made possible thanks to the power of the individual citizen, the simple person who chooses to join a Rightist party that he hopes to influence, to push the recalcitrant Israeli political wagon with his own two hands. And the ideological resonance of this event in the Likud Central Committee reached as far as the Left-leaning media giant CNN, when one of the senior ministers of the government of Israel explained to the **Continued on page 27**

Sovereignty – Our Duty to the Citizens and to History

Shay Alon, Head of Beit El Council

The application of Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is, first and foremost, the next phase in the Zionist-Jewish dream – the return of the People of Israel to its Land. When our forefathers in Persia and in Poland, in Yemen and in Italy dreamed of the coming of the Messiah, they dreamed of walking through the streets of Jerusalem and the mountains of Judea and Samaria, the hills where forefathers walked, who received the promise of the Land and where the prophets prophesized.

However, besides the realization of the promise, we are obligated to act toward the application of Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria to make possible equality of human rights and living conditions for approximately a half million Jews, especially as the YESHA Council has placed for itself the goal of bringing in another half million people in the coming years. We will not be able to bring about a revolution of the million without preparing the necessary legislative infrastructure for sovereignty.

As heads of local and regional councils, we encounter endless bureaucratic obstacles resulting from the lack of sovereignty each and every day. Any expansion of the water or electricity infrastructure, whenever a road is paved and every building permit, whether large or small, requires the military governor's approval. Endless committees, legal advisors, staff officers and political considerations that long ago have ceased to be relevant **Continued on page 27**



Shay Alon

The National Camp Unites Around the Vision of Sovereignty

The three day Leumiada opened with a Special panel on the vision of sovereignty. Minister Haim Katz: I will do everything I can for the application of sovereignty. Minister Elkin: Apply sovereignty by the salami method.



Photo: The Sovereignty Movement

From Left to Right: Minister Zeev Elkin, Atty. Yoram Sheftel, David Elhiani, Shevach Stern, Yoram Ettinger, Dep Minister Tsippy Hotobely, Shimon Riklin, Minister Haim Katz, Dep. Minister Michael Oren, Bassam Eid

The Rightist camp began the stormy election season with a three-day 'Leumiada', which was held in Eilat, where statesmen, politicians, public opinion shapers, media people, public figures and intellectuals and especially, many who vote for rightist parties, attended a happening that allowed the candidates and the voters to meet each other, to exchange opinions and have an influence on the image of the future Knesset.

The three days of the Leumiada opened with a panel which dealt, with the only vision that the national camp has placed on the political agenda – the vision of sovereignty. The panel was a sort of summary of activities of the past year since the Likud Central Committee took the decision unanimously that the political vision of the Likud movement is the application of Israel's sovereignty in Judea and Samaria.

Deputy Foreign Minister MK Tzipi Hotovely, the first speaker on the panel, stated that "a revolution has occurred, thanks to Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar. In 2009, the politicians focused on matters of building and fighting the freeze and the Left's political programs without placing their own political plan on the table". In her opinion, the lack of a political plan from the Right to apply Israeli law in Judea and Samaria left Judea and Samaria to be used as a political bargaining chip. She said that the extent of the revolution is becoming clearer now, with almost all members of the Likud supporting the sovereignty program and the unanimous acceptance to strive toward the application of sovereignty in the party's central committee.

"We are coming closer to the point with the Trump administration, which has already said that the settlements are legal, legitimate and are not an obstacle to peace, when the next subject is the application of sovereignty. The next challenge is recognition of sovereignty on the Golan, and if the Likud faction is large and strong enough, the next challenge will be coordination and advancement of the application of sovereignty".

"The Land is ours up to the last Millimeter"

Deputy Minister MK Michael Oren related to the chances for advancing sovereignty with the Trump administration. He began his remarks with a statement of ideals and values: "The Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel up to the last millimeter. I participated in the last round of talks with the Palestinians about a decade ago and regretted that we approached the process with an attitude that only part of the Land belongs to us while the Palestinians claimed that it all belongs to them. This is not a wise opening position on our part. If we take the approach that it all belongs to us, it strengthens the claim to our sovereignty on the Golan Heights, where thirty of the ninety ancient synagogues that have been found in the entire Land of Israel, are located and where we have been present about three times as long as the Syrians".

Regarding Judea and Samaria, MK Oren believes that actual American recognition of the blocs of settlement

in the Valley, which also is the result of the same impossible legal situation and authorities' lack of enforcement relating to Arab infiltrations. "We live in an illogical reality", he said.

Elhiani also had criticism for the present government's functionality, a rightist government that, according to him, is good at talking but despite continuous rule for a decade, has not advanced the process of sovereignty in practice. "Why do I need to go to the Civil Administration for subjects of environmental quality? This is a body that perpetuates the 'occupation' and harasses the Jewish population in Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley. This body must be dismantled and shut down".

Sovereignty by the Salami Method

Minister Ze'ev Elkin views with utmost importance the very existence of discourse on the vision of sovereignty, discourse that is becoming a cherished aspiration and as other cherished aspirations have become reality, this will also become reality. "In the end,

Elhiani: Why do I need to go to the Civil Administration for subjects of environmental quality? This is a body that perpetuates the 'occupation' and harasses the Jewish population in Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley. This body must be dismantled and shut down

is a first step on the road to a similar process in this area as well.

Head of Jordan Valley Council David Elhiani told the attendees to the panel about the civil and day-to-day meaning of the absence of Israeli sovereignty in the territory, a situation in which an IDF officer is the one who deals with field of tourism, despite his not having any concept of this field and the same is true for the field of agriculture. This is besides the dilapidated infrastructure

there must be a solid majority of the public and in Knesset in order to lead such a process to fruition, and when this happens, the world will also recognize it".

According to him, to have a majority on the Right is not enough. "We must change the sovereignty discourse to a discourse of the Center", and in his opinion, the correct way to conduct the vision of sovereignty to realization is in phases. This is contrary to the

sense that prevailed on the Right in the past, which was an approach of "all or nothing", which actually prevented the practical advancement of the idea.

Shevah Stern, one of the most senior members of the Likud and one of the key leaders of the idea of sovereignty in the Likud movement, sees a direct connection between building the settlement enterprise at its inception and the first seeds of the vision of sovereignty up to the important moment of the vote in the party's central committee, when the decision was taken to see sovereignty as the party's political goal. Stern admits that indeed, since the vote, there

Continued on page 27



Yochai Dimri

The time has come for resolution!!
Yohai Dimri, South Hevron Hills

The elections pose an excellent opportunity for the ruling party to present the voters with the historic step of the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria and rectify the historic injustice that just becomes worse and worse for the hundreds of thousands of residents who live in Judea and Samaria.

Without the full application of sovereignty, there will not be quiet and there will be no security and our right to exist in the Land of Israel and in Judea and Samaria will continue to be clouded with doubt.



Tsippy Haetzni obm with her husband Atty. Elyakim Haetzni. Photo Gershon Ellinson

My Mother, Zippora Haetzni

Boaz Haetzni, supporter of the Land of Israel and the settlement enterprise, writes for Sovereignty about his mother, Zippora (Zippy) Haetzni, obm, who passed away recently:

It is fairly obvious to mention that the historic process of settlement in Judea and Samaria would not have happened without women's activism, when writing for the journal of the Sovereignty Movement, headed by Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar.

Many steps, especially in the past, took place without the significant involvement of women, and not only fighting in the battlefield, but also in battles conducted by men who wore clothes laundered by women and who returned home for a meal that was prepared by women. In our days, women engage in leadership and management, but the settlement enterprise in Judea and Samaria did not require only management, it also required partnership. Because the essence of a home where there is laundering, cooking and educating, promotes maintaining the territory in our hands using the strategic tool that is called "settlement". Moving to homes in these areas was characterized in the first periods by difficult living conditions, and later on, by dangers that no other sector in the State of Israel ever had to face. Therefore every laundry, every meal, every travel and every home improvement took on a political and nationalist significance, so the women's "managerial" aspect as well, took on this significance and made it possible.

I can easily mention a long list of women who made a direct and decisive contribution to settlement such as Yehudit Katsover, Nadia Matar, Miriam Levinger, Sarah Nahshon, Orit Struk, Yael Ben-Yaakov from northern Samaria,

Limor Har-Melech from Homesh, Daniella Weiss and the women from Kedumim, Ina Vinyarski, obm, from Tekoa, and this is just a small sample. My mother, Zippora Haetzni, obm, was not an elected representative, did not stand at the head of an organization or take a leadership position, but together with my father, Elyakim (may he live a long life), they were a team. My father was involved in initiating the settlement movement, even before there was such a "movement", immediately after the

infrastructure, dangerous, and far from friends and family. And they were not a young, flexible couple but parents of a family with stable employment and a social circle, with four children and parents, over 40 years old, after the adventurous age – it was a transition that required a revolution in all areas of life – in the direction of reduced convenience.

Not only did my mother not object, she prepared for the transition with her exceptional practicality, energy, spiritual

When necessary, she even drew her weapon first and shot a terrorist in the Deheishe Refugee Camp through the window, while driving, and even stopped to pursue him.

area was liberated, in Gush Etzion and afterward in Hevron. When he decided to move to Hevron, even before a connection was made with Rav Levinger and religious Zionism, it was hard for him to find partners for settlement among his friends, not in small part because of their wives' objections. In contrast to them, my mother agreed to leave the villa in a luxurious neighborhood and a wonderfully easy life, and go to an "unseeded Land", a remote and distant area with primitive

strength and resourcefulness. She arranged for schools for the children in the new location, she organized the new set of folding, modular furniture for the small apartment in Kiryat Arba that we squeezed into, which was too small for the large furniture we had in our cottage in Ramat Hen. She drove the car, even in the heavy fog of the mountain, which was once so heavy that one time it was necessary to open the door while driving in order to see where the shoulder of the road was. When necessary, she

even drew her weapon first and shot a terrorist in the Deheishe Refugee Camp through the window, while driving, and even stopped to pursue him. During the Sebastia campaign in 1975 she traveled there with some of the children, crossed through Arab villages, and was extremely active in the battle to establish the Harsina neighborhood in Kiryat Arba, since, as we know, we received nothing without a struggle.

She was strong, exceptionally diligent, very opinionated and had a "big mouth", and I never saw her hesitate or worry. She understood that someone had to take upon himself the role of an auxiliary force, "supporting the fighting", and she paid for it with a not insignificant personal price, because she was a woman of many skills. She was an outstanding artist in ceramics and sculpture, had management skills, in her youth she managed the offices of Minister of Commerce and industry Pinhas Sapir, a diligent and demanding man who managed the young state's economy around the clock. Likewise, she was a nurse in the hospital and legendary English teacher, and more than a few people whom I have met have told me that they owe their competence in the language to her. She could have developed a career in any of these fields, but her greatness was in giving that up, because she understood well that her role in the family "team" contributed to the great national process much more than any such personal career would have done. With all of this sacrifice, and actually because of it, in retrospect, her life was not only good, it was full of meaning and satisfaction. As a member of the team her significant contribution to the historic change in the process of the People of Israel's return to its land was irreplaceable, and when sovereignty over Judea and Samaria is declared, it will be partly to her credit.

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We've moved closer to Sovereignty, but not close enough

government will generate from the two-state policy to the Sovereignty policy? Shaked is convinced that they will; however, she states that first and foremost, the matter depends on us. "If we are resolute, then yes, definitely. It is important for the Israeli government to talk about it." She again places the responsibility upon the person standing at the head: Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu. "The Prime Minister does not speak about it. He speaks only about two states. I believe that when the Israeli government and its leader will speak about it, then the world too, will learn to accept it. In order for the vision to be realized, the Prime Minister must acknowledge it and speak about it."

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Americans For A Safe Israel/ Afsi Supports Sovereignty As The Only Solution For Israel!!

in every way possible. Our semi-annual Chizuk missions to Israel, which have taken place since 1994, always include a stop at Oz V'Gaon where our members have made various contributions to the growth of the park. In addition, we regularly visit communities in Judea and Samaria where we have developed strong bonds with the remarkable residents of the communities. We have fought against the destruction of Jewish homes in Judea and Samaria, as we fought mightily against the destruction of the Gush Katif communities in 2005. AFSI recently created the IF NOT US program, taking gap year students from the U.S., who are studying in Israel, on free guided tours into Judea and Samaria for them to see the "settlements" first-hand. It is our hope that when they return to America they will be ambassadors for Sovereignty.

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Prepare for the Earthquake

but rather, when all around, on the circumference, huge shockwaves are transpiring.

Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Hezbollah, the Iranian intervention, the Russian, and perhaps even the American, involvement – all these powerfully impact our existence, and become in its regard, a magnetic field that generates change and radiates dramatic change. The Middle East of the nineties, which constituted the geopolitical basis of the Oslo Accords, is gone, never to return. Egypt, Jordan, and additional countries that constituted part of the supporting and complementary alignment for these accords, are not what they were and their interests are totally different.

We already feel the minor preliminary tremors beneath our feet. In Gaza these were the conflict in 2014 [Tzuk Eitan – Operation Protective Edge], the "return march," and the kite terrorism. On the Syrian front too, the preliminary tremors are gradually increasing. In both places, the tremors are of relatively low intensity, approximately 3 on the Richter scale. But they definitely indicate that something is transpiring beneath the surface.

The Lebanese front is ostensibly quiet, but is it liable to erupt at any moment. In Judea and Samaria, in contrast, the seismographs have recorded several more intense tremors in recent years, and now, in light of what is taking place – Trump, transfer of the Embassy, "the

On our trips to Washington, DC, we work to develop relationships with Senators and Congressmen who will support our efforts to educate the American public. Those who are paying attention understand that Mahmoud Abbas, now entering his 15th year of a 4 year term as PA President, has no interest in a "two-state solution" which would be a peaceful resolution with Israel. Hatred of Israel is taught in the PA schools and preached vehemently from the mosques. That "solution" would be deadly for Israel. The only path for Israel today is the application of Sovereignty to Judea and Samaria so that the blessed pioneers who built the beautiful communities which now exist, can enjoy the same rights and privileges as all Israelis. We pray this will happen in the immediate future.

deal of the century," and especially Abu Mazen's condition – additional intense tremors can be anticipated in that sector.

Even if the anticipated earthquake will be felt first on the periphery – in Gaza, the Lebanon border, or the Syrian border – these will only have radiated from the epicenter. The epicenter of the earthquake will be in Jerusalem and in Judea and Samaria, where the primary effects of the earthquake will be felt. It appears that it will be specifically there that the greatest change will transpire, and it is advisable that we prepare for it so that we will know precisely what to do when the time comes, and how to implement then what we are unable to today. When the earth will quake, we will have no alternative to applying the umbrella of Israeli sovereignty up until the Jordan. Under this sovereignty umbrella, there can be different solutions, e.g., autonomy on a municipal, regional, or clan basis, or permanent resident status as it exists in east Jerusalem.

But this is not only a question of the intensity of the preliminary tremors, the frequency is also significant, and it is gradually increasing and intensifying just like frequent labor pains that herald the coming of the newborn. Yes, undoubtedly, we are on the eve of a geopolitical earthquake, and the birth of a new situation. The question is not whether, but only when. The present

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I Believed in Two States: Now, I've "Changed My Position"

of recognition of that kind being forthcoming seems very unlikely, perhaps even impossible.

Therefore, Rabbi Riskin believes, the time has come to establish Sovereignty facts on the ground, to make certain not to rob lands on which there are private Arab property rights, but to proclaim Sovereignty over the rest of the territory and to take action accordingly. "An absolute majority of the territory consists of state lands," Rabbi Riskin notes. "Over that territory, the state must proclaim Sovereignty. It belongs to us and we will live here with all the connotations of our right to live here. Sovereignty means regularizing civilian life everywhere that was not acquired privately by the Arabs." Rabbi Riskin adds and emphasizes that defining a territory as privately belonging to an Arab requires actual proof that will withstand the court's scrutiny. "If an Arab has ownership of a certain land, we will not demand that land. That is the way it was in the past. That is how the late Plia Albeck (the director of the Civil Department of the State Prosecutor's Office, who was involved in mapping the state lands in Judea and Samaria) acted, and that is what the Torah instructs us. Although the Master of the universe gave us everything, we are also commanded not to rob private land. Robbing gentiles is prohibited."

Sarah's prophecy predicted the Arab refusal to recognize us.

Rabbi Riskin is well aware of the ramifications of establishing Israeli Sovereignty over even part of the territory in terms of the chances of the future establishment of a Palestinian state, a vision in which he believed in the past.

"In the past, I was for two states, but if I understand the Palestinian position, they claim that all the land in Israel belongs to them. I don't want a state like that next to me. I would expect that they would recognize my right to live here just as I grant them the right to live in the places where they are found; however, I do not receive any such recognition."

Rabbi Riskin finds support for his contention in the biblical narrative. "Sarah sought to banish Ishmael after he performed a terrorist act of sorts. She tells Abraham that the son of the maidservant would not inherit together with her son, with Isaac. Our Sages say that Sarah was a greater prophet than Abraham because she understood the truth. She knew that Ishmael's 'hand will be against everyone,' meaning that he will demand everything, and not able to share land. He demands everything, and if possible, he will take everything by force. Ishmael will not give you what is yours, and therefore, there is no alternative but to banish him. Today, I hear the Arab side adopting that position. They are unwilling to agree to any kind of partition, while citing the Koran. I am aware of the reality. In this situation, I would need to be out of my mind to want to support the establishment of a Palestinian state, when they already are proclaiming that it has exclusive rights even over the territory where I live."

What about the distant future? Perhaps then, in the future, it will be possible that under Israeli Sovereignty and after receiving all their civil rights, Ishmael will agree to live alongside Israel as the prophets prophesied; however, that is unlikely in the foreseeable future.

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They Talk About Security, They Don't Talk About Sovereignty

apartment in Tel Aviv. We all know quite well that the talk of Judea and Samaria is only an excuse, and I am not willing to concede my essence, my identity, my roots, my past and my future for a peace that will never be".

As a journalist, you understand quite well all of the questions about the sovereignty plan, questions of demography, political, legal and international status, as well as other questions. How much do you address these questions when you formulate a position on the subject of Judea and Samaria? Do you answer yourself?

"International law? What problem is there in international law? We have not conquered the territory from any other sovereign state and it is not occupied territory, so international law is not what they try to tell us. It makes me sad that we have reached this situation, but I am less concerned by the world. What

bothers me more is that in Israeli society, our society, there are many, including among my colleagues, who do not view this wonderful part of the Land as part of our Land and our homeland".

Despite your position as editor of the leading newspaper in Israel, do you feel that you pay a personal or professional price for your positions?

"I will tell you what price I pay... During the Sukkot holiday we, my family and I, went for a trip to the site of the tabernacle in Shiloh. I saw Koreans, Chinese and Nigerians, people from all over the world, who came there because they understand the importance of this holy place and its connection to the Jewish People. I was there with three of my four children, and after the visit we went to the Gvaot Winery to taste their amazing wine, and this is the price that I pay: A wonderful day with my family..."

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Israel in the face of a collapsing Palestinian Authority

In the absence of a helping hand from Jordan, it will fall to Israel – and Israel alone – to secure its long term national and strategic interests in Judea and Samaria.

Again, Israel has no need to expedite the process of dismantling the PA. But it also has no interest in slowing down the process.

Rather, Israel must concentrate on the parts of the story it controls. It needs to prepare for the anarchy barreling towards it in light of the PA's collapse. Israel must remove as much weaponry as possible from Areas A and B. It needs to block Hamas from filling the leadership void the PA will leave in its wake. And it needs to prevent hostile foreign powers, including the EU from deploying civilian or military forces to the area.

To this end, Israel must dismantle the military government and civil administration in Area C to enable Central Command to focus its energies on defeating enemy forces. The government must use the civilian resources required to ensure the continuous supply of basic goods to Palestinian population centers to prevent the creation of a humanitarian crisis in Palestinian areas.

Taking these actions will go a long way to ensuring that whatever happens in Areas A and B, Israel's long term strategic and national interests in Judea and Samaria – and the rest of the country – will be protected.

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The Time Has Come to Dismantle the Palestinian Authority (PA)

are familiar. The PA displays contempt for the IDF and does what it pleases. The claim that it is preferable to entrust our security to the Arabs of Judea and Samaria rather than to the IDF is baseless. Many times the PA did not lift a finger to prevent attacks against Israel, and at times, it is the PA security apparatus itself that was involved in the terrorist attacks.

At the end of the day, it is an entity that promotes, and does not prevent, terrorism. The funds that the PA receives from various terrorist states, and to our chagrin, from Israel as well, reaches the families of the terrorists. A terrorist who murdered a Jew and was killed in the course of that action, will be

memorialized by having a soccer team or a plaza named for him. A terrorist who murdered a Jew and was imprisoned will receive a reward five times the average salary in the PA. Money that is not earmarked for terrorists goes to promoting terrorism, in both the school system and on television programs. Most of the rest of the money goes to Abu Mazen's corrupt, dictatorial government, our "partner in peace." That same Abu Mazen is already 83 and has not appointed a successor. Various gangs of terrorists are awaiting his death. At that point, an armed struggle will begin, with the winner being the one who is successful in inflicting the most significant harm upon Israel. It

could also be a good opportunity to totally liquidate the PA.

Application of Sovereignty cannot be undertaken as long as the PA exists, both practically and philosophically. The objective of the PA was to enable the Arabs of Judea and Samaria to rule. Israel paid a very steep price for that failed attempt, in terms of its negative image, the damage to its societal solidarity, and human life. The time has come to restore the reins to Israeli hands, to dismantle the PA and liquidate the terrorism that comes with it, and to apply Israeli Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria.

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Sovereignty is Progressing Even Today – Slowly but Surely

the affiliation of the Land of Israel and the Jewish people, it will be possible to contend with the challenges of ruling the land."

Don't threaten us. In the past, Israel was very capable of governing the territory.

MK Yogev reminds us that until the days of Oslo, Israel was able to control that territory, and Israeli control of the territory in the future will need to be implemented accordingly. This situation can exist in several frameworks, "whether it is a framework of clans, as MK Moti Yogev suggests, in the framework of work with mayors, as in the past, or in any other framework by means of an administration as a liaison; however, the staff officer for matters of education will be responsible for the curriculum in the schools. They will learn that they are proud Arabs who

live in Judea and Samaria as neighbors of the Jews. They will understand that Israel is the sovereign, and that their objective is not to murder Jews. This is the vision that we must strive to realize. Once we know the objective, it will be possible to plan the necessary steps, for example, strengthening the communities in Judea and Samaria, and strengthening our security control, alongside thwarting any hope that there will be a Palestinian state, which never existed here and never will exist here." In the spirit of his words about promoting steps already now leading to Sovereignty, MK Yogev asserts that even in summarizing the term of the present Knesset it can be stated that steps of this kind were taken. "We were educated on the basis of the belief that the redemption will come slowly but surely, until it erupts and arrives, and

indeed, significant steps have been taken. During the Obama years, there was a total construction freeze, and we were able to extricate only educational institutions. In contrast, during the Trump era, every few months, we are advancing in the supreme Planning Bureau of the Civil Administration thousands of housing units from one stage to the next, and in fact, we are building in all the communities in Judea and Samaria, not only in the blocs. We are strengthening infrastructures in Judea and Samaria in the subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Although there is not yet Sovereignty, progress has been made as the prophets prophesied to us."

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The End of the Occupation and "Two States"

today throughout the world as the legitimate claim of a people without a state. In the eyes of most of the world, they will already have a state and their support will wane considerably.

In order to apply this formula, Israel must annex all the territory of Judea and Samaria up until the Jordan, and Jordan would need to grant renewed Jordanian-Palestinian citizenship to the Arabs living west of the Jordan.

The annexation is also necessary in order to put an end to other Palestinian dreams, and also to implement the possibility of granting civilian status (permanent residence) to Arabs in those territories. Only one sovereign state in the territory can grant that status. Would that be an apartheid state? God

forbid. There are tens of millions in the world who are residents of one country and citizens of another country.

Would Israel become a binational state? Nonsense. Only granting full citizenship to the Arabs is liable to lead to that result.

When the UNSCOP committee formulated in 1947 the draft proposal that was ratified in the General Assembly on November 29, it envisioned a Jewish state that was to be established with 600,000 Jews and 450,000 Arabs. The committee understood that a state like that could not survive with a hostile minority that large and therefore recommended a differentiation between citizenship and residency. This must be the formula today as well. The Arabs of

Judea and Samaria, like the Arabs of Jerusalem, will be entitled to the rights (and obligated in all the obligations) of a permanent resident, but would vote for the Parliament in Amman. Don't threaten us with the enormous economic burden that will fall upon us, or the responsibility to remove the garbage from Shechem: Municipal control of the daily lives of the Arabs will be on the basis of the model that was in effect in Judea and Samaria until Oslo. In an ideal world, all people would live in peace; however, in reality, there are wars. The program that I described might not be ideal, but the situation, too, is not ideal.

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The Purpose of the Palestinian Authority is for its Leaders to Get Rich

participate in television panels where he expresses himself clearly and sharply against representatives of the PA and its emissaries. When he is asked whether he fears for his life, he mentions his incarceration by Arafat's people during the nineties. According to his understanding, that arrest constitutes an "insurance policy" for him, as ever since that arrest, the focus of the media is upon him, which also keeps the threats of the security apparatus of the PA away from him. "Today, I live in Jericho without fear, and sometimes I feel safer in Ramallah than I do in New York," he says.

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The Sovereignty Report – A Summary of the Term

news network that indeed, we have turned toward sovereignty.

We will see what the future brings. It may be that the public in social networks or through the right-leaning media will demand that Prime Minister Netanyahu commit himself to passing some of these legislative proposals within the coming year. If Prime Minister Netanyahu does not accede, it may cause an undesirable loss of mandates toward Habayit Hayehudi or toward Bennett and Shaked's party. And this may happen if these parties choose to highlight the subject of sovereignty during the election period, which would be politically advantageous for them but inconvenient for Netanyahu.

The Nationality Law is also a Step toward Sovereignty

The Sovereignty Law as well, was worded in such a way as to support the continued effort that will be required in the next term for the application of sovereignty (if the results of the election will strengthen the right camp enough, of course). Thus, the State of Israel, for the first time, grants the Jewish People the legal recognition to self-determination.

More than a few steps were taken toward the application (some of them still small) of some of the state's laws in Judea and Samaria. For instance, an embarrassing story was revealed about a Holocaust survivor who was one of the Mengele Twins, and was unable to receive the tax benefits due her because she lives in a "settlement". It turns out that legal advisors withheld more than 40 thousand shekels from that elderly woman because no one bothered, for 50 years, to take care of such a basic thing: that the law relating to tax benefits for the Mengele twins would apply in Judea and Samaria as well... the situation was alleviated because the number of people who voted for Habayit Hayehudi was great enough so that a representative

of Habayit Hayehudi "dared" to confront the Likud and demand the Ministry of Justice. Habayit Hayehudi turned this passive ministry into a 5-kilogram hammer, calling those legal advisors to order who, for decades, somehow did not find the time to apply the law in Judea and Samaria. For example, since the minister of Justice also serves as chairman of the ministerial committee for legislative affairs (which determines the entire coalition's position regarding each proposed legislation that is served) it was now possible to begin a new era where, if the proposed legislation ignores the matter of its application in Judea and Samaria then it might simply not be put on the agenda at all. (Comment: whoever serves as chairman determines, in large part, its agenda and without a proposed legislation first appearing on this committee's agenda, the proposed legislation will simply not become law...)

Indeed, there was an embarrassing moment in the past term. It was when only a few ministers in the cabinet objected to removing security cameras from the Temple Mount and as a result, they sort of forgot that the Temple Mount is under Israeli sovereignty. But with just a bit more of the public's ideological and active participation in ruling parties on the Right, this problem will be solved as well. Head of the Jordan Valley Council, who scrupulously comes to the Knesset in Jerusalem once a week in order to promote the application of sovereignty in the Jordan Valley, said that he complained to a powerful senior minister as to why, if the Right has been in power for 10 years, sovereignty has not yet been applied?? "Bring us voters who will put pressure on us", said the minister to the council head. Testimony to the importance of active ideological participation in party membership – from the horse's mouth.

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The National Camp Unites Around the Vision of Sovereignty

has not been additional progress among the ranks of the Likud and therefore, he outlines the following steps to be completed in the next term: re-submit the Law of Sovereignty, establish a sovereignty lobby and act intensively to implement the course of action.

Minister of Welfare Haim Katz sees the large number of Likud members in Judea and Samaria as a decisive step toward advancing the vision. Minister Katz told of the moment when, during the expulsion from Gush Katif, seeing the destruction of the last house, he realized that it was important to bring about a dramatic revolution that would prevent such scenes from happening

and from this insight, he has led the sovereignty vote in his movement. "We must continue to strike at the wall and widen the crack that we have created because we have no other choice. This is our Land, for which we have longed thousands of years and the time has come for sovereignty to be applied in it, and I will do everything I can for this cause and so that Judea and Samaria will be an integral part of the State of Israel".

Human rights activist Bassam Eid, an Arab resident of Jericho and one of the key leaders in the battle against the PA leadership, was a special guest. Eid stated that the voices emerging from

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No more Question Marks. It's Time for Sovereignty!

Gush Etzion Local Council, and I as its head, view the task of expanding the territory of Gush Etzion as a national task and as the highest order of Zionism in our generation.

Of course, the current government does well when it approves construction in Judea and Samaria and in Gush Etzion. In this sphere, the progress is very great compared to previous periods, but nevertheless, we again call on the government to remove all restriction on building in Judea and Samaria – we need much, much more! We will continue to submit more and more plans, we will continue to build, we will continue to develop Gush Etzion and we will act, in doing so, toward the application of full sovereignty.

We are committed to act with all of our power so that the government of Israel will put an end to the question marks in the matter of "To whom does this Land belong".

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The Vision for Activism in the coming Years – Sovereignty! Yisrael

residents of Binyamin, together with all of the residents of Judea and Samaria will be class A citizens of the State of Israel and not be knocking on the doors like beggars. As I have promised, I will, G-d willing, focus my

Fourth, we want to encourage youth and their energy to carry the flag of Sovereignty forward and represent a potent voting block over the next few years.

Lastly, we want to encourage our Christian friends to specifically support the Biblical necessity of Jewish Severity over Judea and Samaria to step forward on both a personal and political level. Real human and civil rights dictate that we need to incorporate Israeli Sovereignty into our way of thinking and insist that our political leaders initiate this process in stages, starting with Area C, to ensure the strength and future of the State of Israel.

Sam Solomon, the Sovereignty Movement, Chairman of the Advisory Board

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Sovereignty – Our Duty to the Citizens and to History

impede every development initiative, severely harm the residents and prevent the younger generation from remaining in their parents' communities, so they leave. This is how the government of Israel quietly decrees a freeze on

efforts on intensive activity on behalf of implementing the very just and historic step of applying sovereignty, so that once and for all, the inheritance of our forefathers in Judea and Samaria will no longer be under question marks.

settlement and long years of suffocation. As council heads we must mobilize ourselves for the battle to apply sovereignty that will put an end to this absurd situation. It is possible. It is in our hands!

and this will occur with the end of Abu Mazen's leadership, when a new reality will be created in which Israel will have no choice but to apply her sovereignty over the territory and we had better already be preparing for it.

The False Arab Demographics
Another speaker on the panel was former Israeli Ambassador to Washington demographer Yoram Ettinger, who reiterated his statement that there is no demographic demon as we can see from true data and not that which is supplied by estimation, in his words.

Following Bassam Eid's remarks, Minister Elkin added that those who will bring about sovereignty are the Palestinians,



The Sovereignty Shield of Honor

Sovereignty - the just program that will facilitate true peace and security



The Sovereignty Movement thanks the Knesset Land of Israel lobby, the ministers and members of Knesset who promoted the vision of the application of sovereignty over Judea and Samaria during the last term. In their parliamentary and public activities, they led to a profound change of consciousness in Israeli society about the historical and existential necessity for Israel's sovereignty over its land.

In order to continue its good work for the application of sovereignty, we call upon the people of Israel to vote so as to impact this issue.



MK Betsalel Smotrich,
co-chair Land of Israel Lobby



MK Yoav Kisch
co-Chair Land of Israel Lobby



Orit Struck
Director Land of Israel Lobby



Knesset Speaker
Yuli Edelstein



Minister Zeev Elkin



Minister Ofir Akunis



Minister Uri Ariel



Minister Gilad Erdan



Minister
Naftali Bennett



Minister Yoav Galant



Minister Gila Gamliel



Minister Eli Cohen



Minister Haim Katz



Minister Yisrael Katz



Minister Yariv Levin



Minister Ayoub Kara



Minister Miri Regev



Minister
Ayelet Shaked



Deputy Minister
Michael Oren



Deputy Minister
Rabbi Eli Ben Dahan



Deputy Minister
Tsippy Hotobely



MK Amir Ohana



MK David Amsalem



MK Nava Boker



MK Yoav Ben Tsur



MK Yehuda Glick



MK Sheran Haskel



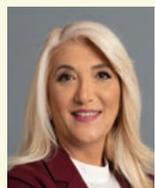
MK Mikky Zohar



MK Oren Chazan



MK Motti Yogev



MK Osnat Mark



MK Shuli Muallem



MK Avraham Na-
gossa



MK Nissim Slomi-
ansky



MK Nurit Koren