

SOVEREIGNTY

A Political Journal / Issue no. 10 / May 2018

Published by The Sovereignty Movement founded by Women in Green

After the Embassy - It's Time for Sovereignty



12/ Minister Zeev Elkin

An interview about Jerusalem, the heart of the nation and the action



4/ Minister Yoav Galant

A special analysis on the importance of Judea & Samaria for the future of the State



6/ Daniel Pipes

Israel should aim to defeat its enemies



Table of Contents:

- 4 ** Minister of Construction and Housing, **Gen. (Res.) Yoav Galant**, combines the rights of the forefathers with a security analysis leading to the conclusion of the need for sovereignty
- 6 ** **Daniel Pipes**, President of the Middle East Forum, views Israeli victory and the defeat of the enemy as the necessary formula for peace and calm in the future
- 7 ** Authoress and Publicist **Emuna Elon**, in an interview on the political plan proposed by her late husband, Rav Benny Elon, obm, which included international connections, including with Jordan, on the way to sovereignty
- 8 ** The B'nei Akiva youth movement calls for Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. **Rav Gilad Lewis**, who led the process in the movement, tells of the discussions and the resolutions
- 10 ** Entrepreneur and Strategic Consultant **Avraham Shvut** explains the principles of TAMA 100, the only national plan extending from the sea to the Jordan River
- 11 ** **Rav David Stav** states: The commandment is not only to settle the Land but also to apply sovereignty in it
- 12 ** Minister for Jerusalem Affairs, **Ze'ev Elkin**, is preparing for the reception of the U.S. embassy and other embassies in the capital and tells of the revolution that is taking place in Jerusalem

- 15 ** Meet the Sovereignty Youth, which is active in all cities of the Land, presenting a young and vibrant hasbara campaign
- 16 ** Don't let the political "status quo" mislead and confuse you. **Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar**
- 17 ** **Yochai Dimri** Head of the South Hevron Hills Council on the difficulties of development in the absence of sovereignty and on meetings with Arab dignitaries who quietly say: they want Israeli sovereignty
- 18 ** Get to know the facts that the Arabs are establishing on the ground right in front of Israel's closed eyes. An interview with **Yishai Hemu** from the Regavim Movement
- 20 ** In his new book, **Dr. Michael Calvo** explains why, despite all of the political attempts, the illusions and the hopes, there is still no peace
- 22 ** Demographer **Yaakov Feitelson** summarizes the lies and distortions of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
- 23 ** Architect **Israel Gudovitz**, formerly responsible for national planning, complains that it was irresponsible for Ben Gurion and Ariel Sharon to determine the Green Line as the border

A Word from the Editors

These are turbulent times for the State of Israel and for the entire Middle East, and at this time, the United States is standing beside Israel. The Trump administration is honoring its commitment and is relocating the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and is supporting the Israeli position against the threat posed by Iran and its satellites in the north and the south.

That position and that stand alongside Israel are additional proof of the enormity of the hour during which the Israeli Government is able to initiate significant and dramatic steps in the interest of its political and sovereign future. Israeli resolve accompanied by effective and precise public relations will be greeted with international support, albeit tacit in part. We appeal to the Prime Minister to continue displaying leadership and resolve without fear of domestic or international threats and intimidation and to take the step so crucial to our common future and dictated by our common past – application of Israeli sovereignty over the expanses of our land.

A significant portion of this issue is devoted to the enlistment of hundreds of young people from all over Israel to the public relations revolution that is at the forefront of the momentum of the Sovereignty

vision.

At the conclusion of its recent convention, the Bnei Akiva movement adopted, by an overwhelming majority, a resolution calling upon the Israeli Government to apply Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria.

At this time, a public relations campaign, spearheaded by the Sovereignty youth, is underway throughout Israel. Petition stands, billboards, meeting and dialogue with the public, distribution of publicity materials, and that is merely part of the initiative. About both of these youth related issues, you will be able to read in detail in the pages of this Sovereignty Journal issue nr10.

The public relations activity of the youth who are inspiring the Israeli public is directly tied to the parliamentary steps to promote legislation applying sovereignty over the areas of Judea and Samaria. This legislation is not as sweeping and comprehensive as it could and should be; however, one should welcome it as an important and significant consciousness-raising and practical step.

The next stages in the application of the Sovereignty vision depends on each and every one of us, just as

the stages that were accomplished to date arose from the grassroots and engendered a revolution on its way to a place on the government's agenda.

Mobilization of the general public to the call for Sovereignty is miraculous and heart-warming. The revolution that introduced the vision to the public discourse is the revolution that led to a change in the public consciousness. It has led us to the tenth edition of the Sovereignty periodical. It is instilling a vital spirit in the younger generation, which is joining the movement with courage and faith and is generating a tailwind behind the State leadership on its path to realizing the Sovereignty vision responsibly, with open eyes and a clear mind.

The song of the youth is the song of our future
The song of renewal, construction and aliya
As long as we have youth in our homeland
The vision of the Jewish people will be realized

Pleasant reading!
The "Sovereignty" Editorial Board

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



The Sovereignty Youth in action

Photo: The Sovereignty Movement

SOVEREIGNTY / Political Journal

Published by the Sovereignty Movement founded by Women in Green

Editor-in-chief & interviews: **Shimon Cohen**

Editorial Board: **Yehudit Katsover, Nadia Matar**

Translation from the original Hebrew: **Sally Zahav, Shira Shreier, Ruchie Avital**

Responses: ribonut@gmail.com Fax: 02-9309148 Cellphone: 050-5500834

The Sovereignty Movement founded by Women in Green, POB 7352, Jerusalem Israel, 91072, www.ribonut.co.il

The Sovereignty Team
Uri Bank / Ruthie Ben Hayim / Shimon Cohen / Yossi Dagan / Yoram Ginzburg / Yehudit Katsover / Ruthie Lieberman / Renee Margolis / Nadia Matar / Sam Salomon / Meryl Salomon / Shosh Shilo / Dr. Aviya Shoham / Lior Shurka / Avraham Shvut / Atty. Karen Stahl-Don

The Sovereignty Forum
Ken Abramovitz / Eran Bar Tal / Itay Elitsur / Helen Freedman / Amb. Yoram Ettinger / Caroline Glick / Atty Elyakim Haetzni / Dr. Motti Kedar / Rabanit Shulamit Melamed / Gen. Moshe Peled

בשבע

Chairman: Dudu Saada
Vice President: Dudi Finkler
Sales Manager: Oded Morad
Graphic Design: Studio Besheva
Editorial manager: Naama Ben Hayim
Production Manager: Shimrit Sameach
Publisher: Besheva



Build, build and build more!

Credit: Lior Mizrahi Flash 90



Minister Galant promotes significant construction in Judea & Samaria

Photo: from the office of the Minister

The Rights of our Forefathers Align with Security Needs

The combination of his role as Minister of Construction with his past as a general in the IDF and as someone who does not forget the rights of the forefathers to the Land brings Minister Yoav Galant to a logical, value-based security doctrine that views sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley as essential.



Minister of Construction Yoav Galant

Photo Yonatan Zindel, Flash90

He is well aware that his party, Kulanu, is not considered to be a party on the political right in the government, but his positions regarding the future of Judea and Samaria are clear and resolute. Judea and Samaria are one security unit which cannot be separated from the coastal plain and the other parts of the country, explains Minister of Housing and Construction Yoav Galant, in a conversation with the Sovereignty Journal, using his rich experience in security as a general. However, even at the start of the discussion he emphasizes the supreme value, which is our ancestral rights over these parts of the Land.

“The main topic regarding Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley in the Israeli discourse touches upon two natural and clear elements. The first of them is our right to the place. I have no doubt about this right. The places where we build and inhabit today is where King David walked – this is true for Hebron and Jerusalem as well as other places”.

The second matter that Minister Galant mentions is the relations between us and the Palestinians, and he notes, for whoever may have forgotten, that they have attacked us for a hundred years with riots, pogroms, attacks and wars. “In every one of these incidents, they were the ones who began the hostilities against us; they were the ones who lost and they were the ones who also refuse to make peace”. This being the situation, Minister Galant has a difficult time understanding why Israel must continue to surrender her rights to the rejectionist aggressor instead of taking care of her own essential security interests.

No one is Promising long-range Quiet from the East

“This narrow space of dozens of kilometers between the Jordan River and the sea must remain fully in Israel’s hands, from a strategic, security point of view, as strategic depth against any threat that might come from the East in the form of elements that might arise in the future. We

have already had various experiences, so the area is not a negotiable asset that can be traded away”.

The implication, from Minister Galant’s point of view, is unambiguous: **“We must view the area of the Jordan Valley and Judea and Samaria and all of the area west of them as one unit or territory, which together, allows for the defense of the State of Israel!”.**

At this point in the discussion, Galant uses military terms that lend greater clarity to the analysis that he presents and the conclusions that he draws. “My term for the defense of the Jordan Valley is ‘security buffer’. This is the area that enables you to carry out various activities when the enemy approaches. The area of the mountain ridge is what is called a ‘holding area’ and it is the place where you base your main defensive power, and the area between Jerusalem to Haifa and Ashdod or Ashkelon is what is called in military terms the ‘vital territory’ because that is where the majority of Israeli citizens live, our reserves are there, the greatest Jewish concentration in the world is there and this is the territory that must be defended. In order to protect this soft underbelly you must retain the mountain ridge as the holding area and enable the Jordan Valley as an area for attack where you can block any advance. These are the terms that I bring to my world view. This means not only our historical right and not only the relations with the Palestinians, but also the understanding that the Jordan Valley and the mountain ridge are, actually, our shield and a very wide advance buffer that can extend up to four hundred kilometers, from the Sea of Galilee to the Gulf of Eilat. Each and every place along this line could encounter various types of threats so there is tremendous value to this place”.

The resolute statements of Minister Galant, who is a general in the reserves, about the importance of the territories of Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley to Israel, serve to refute any idea of the use of international warning stations, technologi-

cal means and other ideas that have been used in recent years, especially under the leadership of Barack Obama and under the direction of then Secretary of State John Kerry. “This is all total nonsense. How will warning stations help me when someone comes”? I don’t need the territory in order to get intelligence. I need to hold the territory because I assume that tomorrow morning, theoretically, an enemy that behaves like Hizb’Allah in Lebanon might sit on our border or some other enemy in the Golan Heights”.

“Currently there is a buffer state to our east with which we have peaceful relations, and may it last many more years, but who said that it will last? Did anyone expect what happened in Syria? Did anyone think, forty years ago, that the Shah’s Iran would fall? Could anyone have guessed that Mubarak would fall and after him there would be Mursi and then al-Sisi? In the case of Egypt, we were fortunate that the revolution took a complete turn, but we might have remained with Mursi and then, who knows where that would have led... this could happen anywhere. That is why warning stations have no value. They are not what will ensure our security”.

And to all of the “Norwegians and Swedes” and the rest of those who bring up proposals and preach to us, Galant suggests that they remember that in recent weeks we commemorated the 75th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and the 70th year of the State of Israel. “Where were those Europeans at that time and where would we be if we had not established a state here, five years after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising”.

Back to Begin’s Plan – Autonomy and Nothing More

When we switch to the Palestinian aspect of the coin, Galant repeats Menahem Begin’s solution, and to him, autonomy is the maximal answer that Israel can offer them. Galant does not feel a need to connect the solution of autonomy to any international precedent that Israel would need to ad-

here to as a model. “I have no precedent for many things, but I say that the discussion begins with full control in the security areas, over border crossings, over the entry of citizens, over the air space and over the electro-magnetic space – all of this must be in Israeli’s hands. It cannot be that someone in Ramallah will disrupt our lives in Tel Aviv. This will not work. It cannot be that someone will land jets here and it cannot be that millions of Palestinians will flow in to realize a ‘right of return’ and come to Abu Dis and put pressure on Jerusalem. None of these things will happen. From this point, let’s begin the discussion and talk”.

Galant is not bothered by the question of a Palestinian partner for autonomy, mainly because of their past record of refusal and aggression. “For me, the first priority is the security of Israel and all the rest comes after this.

“If, under this principle, the Palestinians want to talk, then okay. If not, well, they haven’t been talking for eighty years and

best to do it in phases. “We must implement sovereignty gradually, according to priorities, with the most obvious places being in the area of Gush Etzion and Beitar Ilit and Efrat on the way to Teddy in Jerusalem. The second area is Ma’ale Adumim and the third area is the Jordan Valley. The order should be according to what is possible and what is easier”. However, he adds that it need not be the scenario that he presents now and other scenarios and solutions might be found for the application of sovereignty that he has not yet thought of.

Build, Build, Build!

About a year ago, Minister Galant presented his plan for developing Gush Dan in an eastward direction, a real estate plan for significant and accelerated development of settlement west of Samaria, a process that would immediately lead to a dramatic drop in housing prices and a more reasonable distribution of population density in the Center, he explained, and he presented maps and data to the members of Knes-

“We must view the area of the Jordan Valley and Judea and Samaria and all of the area west of them as one unit or territory, which together, allows for the defense of the State of Israel”.

each time war erupts again. So what do they want? To start wars, then lose the wars and then we should accept their plans? We must learn the lesson of history. If they want to talk, they are welcome. But we have demands too”.

Although it is really Minister Galant’s first term as a politician, he already sees that the process of legislating sovereignty is complex and therefore, in his opinion, it is

set and experts. This plan, as he explains it today, was not left to accumulate dust in a closed drawer, and even now he is promoting significant construction throughout Judea and Samaria.

“In general, we must build a lot in the area of Jerusalem. Also, we are developing in all areas, throughout Judea and Samaria”, he says, and presents several comparative data points relating to construction that reveal a significantly optimistic trend:

“The previous government, from 2012 to 2014, invested 106 million shekels in planning and development for communities in Judea and Samaria. We, in a similar period of time, from 2015 to 2017, invested twice as much. This is the first fact”, he says, presenting numerical data regarding each and every community from Ma’ale Amos to Revava, from Ma’ale Efraim to Na’ale and Kochav Ya’akov, and in each and every community, there was investment of millions in infrastructure for housing units and development.

Thousands of Housing Units are being Planned

Galant begins describing the plans that are being formulated now for building thousands of housing units in Gush Etzion and he details them from Bat Ayin to Alon Shvut, from Efrat to Ma’ale Amos and the rest of the communities in the bloc, “all of this is in the process of planning and execution”, he says, and for anyone who does not understand, he clarifies: **“Gush Etzion for me is a part of Jerusalem that will connect to the area where I hope we will get political permission to build - the Giv’at Hamatos Compound, and we will connect to Teddy and the slopes of Arnona and south Jerusalem”.**

Perhaps we do not talk a lot and we are not seen as those who glorify all sorts of things, but we are doing a lot for the settlement enterprise”.

“We must remember that we have some complex difficulties since we cannot do this alone; there is the Civil Administration and authorities of the Security Ministry when dealing with an area beyond the Green Line”, says Minister Galant, mentioning the situation in which, unlike the situation in the rest of the state, every building plan in Judea and Samaria must receive the approval of the military administration, since there is no sovereignty in that area. In his opinion, the Civil Administration relies exclusively on the decisions and the resolution of the Minister of Defense as the representative of the Government of Israel.

Working Together for Israel Victory

By Daniel Pipes, president of the Middle East Forum

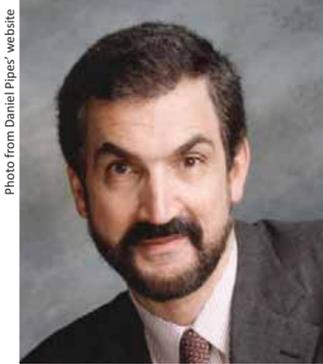


Photo from Daniel Pipes' website
Daniel Pipes, president of the Middle East Forum

oppression, extremism, and violence, and to become a successful people.

An understanding of today's situation requires going back to the aftermath of World War I and the emergence of Hajj Amin al-Husseini, the first modern Palestinian leader. He initiated a policy of rejectionism, of absolute refusal to accept any aspect of Jewish presence in what was then the British Mandate of Palestine. A century later, that rejectionism remains the dominant strain of Palestinian life. Political differences tend to be tactical: Better to eliminate Israel by negotiating with the Israelis and winning benefits from them, or stick to the consist-

ency of pure rejectionism? The Palestinian Authority (PA) deploys the first tactic, Hamas the second.

Over a 75-year period, 1918-93, the Jewish community in what is now Israel responded to rejectionism with deterrence, the policy of dissuading its enemies from aggression by threatening painful retaliation. However imperfectly applied, deterrence helped Israel evolve from the prospective prey of 1948 into the military powerhouse of 1993. Yes, even as Israel became a democratic, innovative, affluent, and mighty country, the basics stayed in place. Ideologies, tactics, strategies, and personnel changed, wars and treaties came and went, but Palestin-

ian rejectionism stayed stagnantly constant.

By 1993, frustrated with the slow-moving and passive nature of deterrence, Israel's impatient citizenry opted for an immediate resolution with the Palestinians. In the Oslo Accords, each of the two parties promised the other what it most wanted: recognition and security for Israelis, dignity and autonomy for Palestinians.

In their haste to end the conflict, however, Israelis made three profound mistakes that summer morning on the White House lawn: (1) Granting Yasir Arafat, leader of a unofficial, dictatorial, and murderous organization, diplomatic parity with Yitzhak Rabin, prime minister of a democratic and sovereign state. (2) Believing Arafat when he claimed to recognize Israel, when in fact he (and his successors) still sought Israel's elimination, now enhanced by his controlling two adjoining pieces of territory, the West Bank and Gaza. (3) Making concessions under the illusion that wars conclude through goodwill, when concessions actually had the contrary effect of signaling weakness and thereby amplified Palestinian hostility. These mistakes, tragically, turned a would-be "peace process" into a counter-productive "war process."

continue on page 21

Israel should aim not to please its enemies but to defeat them.

Conflicts throughout history become serial when an enemy is not utterly defeated

This moment is right for fresh thinking in order to dispatch the old and stale Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

With Arabs focused on other issues – the Iranian nuclear weapon build-up, civil wars in Libya, Yemen, Syria, and Iraq, Turkey going rogue, the Islamist surge, and the water drought – hoary anti-Zionist taboos have lost much of their pungency. A prosperous and strong Israel has lost hope in decades' worth of "peace process." The cowboy in the White House likes breaking with precedent. And the global Left's turn toward antisemitism, exemplified by Jeremy Corbyn of the British Labour Party, adds further reason for urgency; when it eventually holds power, the implications for Israel will be dire.

Conventional wisdom holds that the Arab-Israeli conflict will end only when the Palestinians' grievances are sufficiently satisfied so that they accept the Jewish state of Israel. This paradigm has reigned almost unchallenged since the Oslo Accords of September 1993; yet, that 25-year period has also made clear that Palestinians in overwhelming numbers (I estimate 80 percent based on scholarship and polling data going back a century) seek not peaceful co-existence with Israel but the brutal elimination of the "Zionist entity." With such attitudes, it comes as no surprise that every round of much-hyped negotiations has eventually failed.

I shall propose an entirely different approach to resolve the conflict, a reversion to the strategy of deterrence and victory associated with Zionism's great strategist, Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880-1940): **Israel should aim not to please its enemies but to defeat them.** Counterintuitively, I shall show why Palestinians need precisely such an Israel Victory to slough off their current



Israel needs deterrence and victory

Photo Amir Cohen, Reuters

The Diplomacy of Sovereignty and a Comprehensive Regional Solution



Photo: Hadas Forsch Flash 90
Writer Emuna Elon

Meetings with the Jordanian prince, establishing a parallel lobby in 20 parliaments worldwide, establishing diplomatic ties around the globe and spearheading an unprecedented right wing public relations campaign; the first Sovereignty campaign led by Rav Benny Elon, of blessed memory, is influential even today.

An interview with Emuna Elon

At the recent Sovereignty conference, in the presence of hundreds of participants from Israel and abroad, "Sovereignty Honoree" awards were presented. Especially poignant was the presentation of the award for the efforts of the former government minister Rav Benny Elon, of blessed memory, in promoting and spearheading the Sovereignty vision. His widow, writer and journalist Emuna Elon, accepted the award on his behalf, and we spoke with her about the political plan that Rav Benny conceived that, for all intents and purposes, was the first plan that dared to demonstrate to the people and to the world that the Israeli Right also has a structured, detailed political plan.

The plan, named "The Israeli Initiative," included a personal journey with encounters

with public figures throughout the country and meetings with members of parliament and diplomats throughout the world, including the Arab world, in order to convince them of the appropriateness and feasibility of his entire plan.

When she tells of the manner in which Rav Benny delved into the complexity of the details in preparation of the plan, it is difficult to overlook her admiration for him: "One of the special characteristics of Rav Benny is that together with the fact that he had a profound understanding of the Torah sources and that he was a Torah scholar, he would also involve himself with the most minute, practical, and precise details. As a member of Knesset, he was always told that it was hard to believe that he did not study law, because in order to be capable of formulating and legislating laws, he delved into all the particulars and studied every topic in depth."

"He saw that the primary difficulty with the philosophy of the Left is that their plan is limited to the territory between Jordan and the Mediterranean. His doctrine was the doctrine of two states for two peoples; however, according to the approach that views Jordan as the already existing Palestinian state. Eighty percent of the population there is Palestinian, the queen is Palestinian and the partition that transformed the Jordan River into the border is an artificial partition that was implemented by the British in their folly and due to their own parochial considerations. Without any rationale, they handed the territory to the Hashemite family, which arrived from Saudi Arabia, which was not at all connected to the region, merely as a gesture of appreciation to King Abdullah who had helped them and they established a kingdom. Benny believed that it is necessary to reclassify the entire territory as a single territory.

Beyond the fundamental determination that Jordan is Palestine, Rav Elon considered the refugee issue a critical issue that must be resolved. "It is unclear how others did not see this," Emuna says. "He saw that the fundamental problem in any peace agreement between us and the Arabs is the problem of the refugees between 1948 and 1951. As long as they are housed in refugee camps and the UNRWA agency of the UN provides for them and glorifies them, the problem will not be resolved, because their consciousness is that of one who is there temporarily and whose destiny is to return within the Green Line. The attempt to refrain from mentioning this problem as a problem that must be resolved before ev-

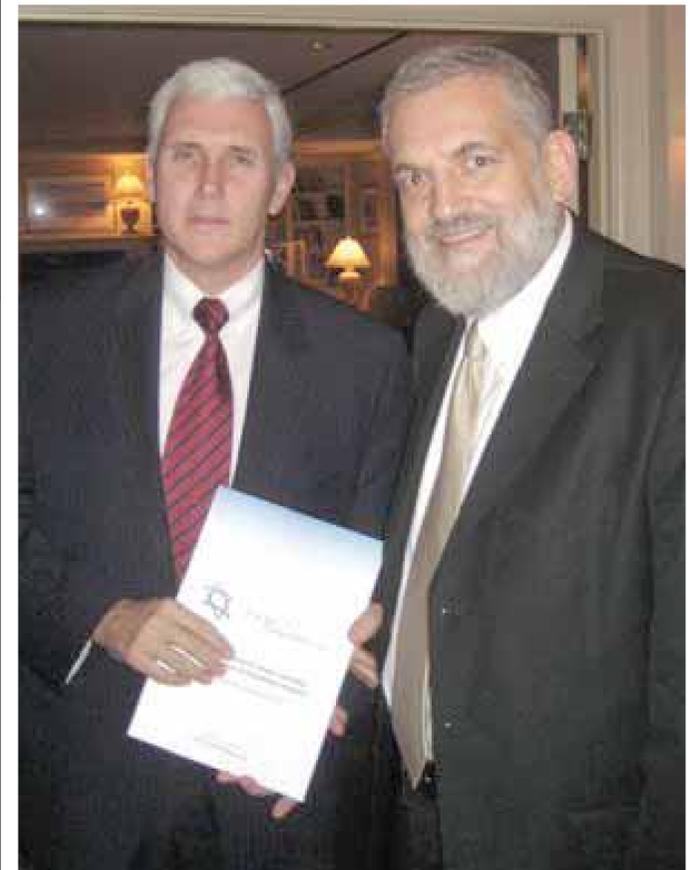
erything else is a moral injustice."

"We must first resolve this problem and resettle them. As opposed to others who might have observed and discussed the refugee problem, "Benny began to take action more than ten years ago in the international realm to disband UNRWA and to unify the UN's treatment of refugees, treatment that will be relevant to the Palestinians as well," Emuna says and mentions that while there is international law that applies to all refugees according to which at the conclusion of a certain period, a refugee will no longer be characterized as such and it will be incumbent upon him to find a place for himself, exclusively with regard to the Palestinian refugees, the principle is different. With regard to them, refugee status has been

perpetuated for 70 years and passes from one generation to the next. Disbanding UNRWA could have engendered a change in the general approach to their suffering.

"It is immoral and unrealistic to leave the Palestinians in the camps forever. It was clear to Benny that an international plan involving the United States, Jordan and additional countries was necessary. With regard to the Arabs who resided west of the Jordan before the War of Independence, they should be given the choice between Israeli citizenship and Jordanian citizenship, with the most worthwhile choice being remaining where they are and becoming citizens of the Palestinian state east of the Jordan in the framework of a confederation of sorts. Their capital will be Amman and they will

continue on page 21



Rabbi Benny Elon with Vice President Mike Pence

Photo: Courtesy of Emuna Elon

B'nei Akiva to the Government: It's Time for Sovereignty!



Photo: Rav Lewis
Rav Gilad Lewis, member of the movement's plenum

At the conclusion of a deep, internal process within the organization, the B'nei Akiva Movement issued a call to the government of Israel to apply its sovereignty over all territories of the Land of Israel. Rav Gilad Lewis, who led the process, tells of the story.

“Seventy years since the establishment of the State of Israel and fifty years after the liberation of Jerusalem and parts of the homeland, the movement is calling on the government of Israel to apply its sovereignty over all territories of the Land of Israel in order to fortify the settlement enterprise and strengthen the state. This is to be done while protecting minorities’ rights, holding them to their obligations and maintaining the Jewish character of the state”.

These are the words that begin one of the concluding resolutions of the latest B'nei Akiva conference, which was the movement's 24th conference. The movement also calls on the government of Israel to legalize “all of the Jewish communities in all parts of the Land, especially that which is under threat of evacuation and destruction”. This resolution also includes practical steps to be taken immediately: “The Department of Education and Training will produce hasbara (Israel advocacy) material and publications that will clarify the movement's position to its members. The

National Executive Secretariat will act to increase the public's awareness on the subject”.

The movement took the resolution with a majority of 248 representatives in favor and 58 who opposed it. We spoke about the discussions that preceded the resolution as well as the considerations of those who opposed it, with the person who was the driving force behind the scenes, bringing the issue to a vote and publicizing it, Rav Gilad Lewis, Director of Rosh Tzurim Ulpana in Gush Etzion.

“The previous conference, which took place 4 or 5 years ago, did not deal with subjects related to the Land of Israel, but only with the topics of education, Torah, training, etc., and internal movement matters, and there was a sense that the time has come for the movement to deal with public and national matters as well”, says Rav Lewis, who takes care to note that even in internal matters that were discussed in the past, there were those that related to Israel in general and one example of this is the connection to the haredi public, but “there was a sense that the matter of the Land of Israel had not received the proper attention”.

“The feeling is that if, in the past, Religious Zionism was identified with the settlement movement on the hilltops and with demonstrating for the Land of Israel, now the subject gets less attention. The question was how to bring the subject back into public awareness, and the conclusion was that a fresh idea was needed to bring the reins back under our control”. This fresh something is the vision of sovereignty, he explains.

We are Going with Sovereignty but also Protecting the Status of Minorities

To begin promoting the realization of the vision of sovereignty in the ranks among the movement, Rav Lewis received an initial mandate from the Secretary General, Yair Shaahal. The initial proposal was reviewed by the Standing Committee, which is chaired by Rav Druckman. Its role is to examine the movement's internal processes and ensure that they do not violate halakhic or legal requirements and that the course of action is indeed in keeping with the movement's needs and customs.

Rav Lewis says: “Two matters arose that I thought were appropriate to discuss after five years. The first matter is the subject of ascending the Temple Mount and reinforcing the Jewish hold on the Mount. Regarding this matter, the question was posed as to whether it is correct for us, as a movement, to take action that is opposed to the declaration and resolution of the Chief Rabbi; whether this would apply only to men

and not to women and other questions. The Standing Committee tried to moderate and direct it into a more respectful channel. However, on the second matter, the subject of sovereignty, there was complete willingness to deal with the matter, except for one condition that was placed for us, which is the need to deal also with the matter of the Arabs' status”.

“This call for Sovereignty is very powerful, despite the fact that it is not something that

will be implemented tomorrow morning. The call has an internal influence on the movement and at least as much influence externally, on society and on the events that will occur in the future as a result of the call”.

A Dramatic Resolution at 2:30 a.m.

For four days the delegates to the conference convened to discuss the various issues of sovereignty and as they were required by the Standing Committee, dealt for an entire day with the issue of the status of minorities. On this day, an Arab from Nazareth even came to speak and presented his position regarding the status of the Israeli Arabs under Israeli sovereignty.

Regarding the practical conclusions emanating from those discussions, Rav Lewis says: “As a youth movement that is ideological and religious, not political, when we came to the stage of forming conclusions, the level of resolution did not reach to the practical plans that have been raised recently by the politicians. We did not deal with the differences between them and any sort of preference, but we came to the conclusion that the state must take responsibility for the minorities' rights, and also for their obligations”.

Nevertheless, as mentioned, the resolution was not taken unanimously and out of a few more than 300 participants, there were less than 60 votes against it. Rav Lewis says: “At two thirty in the morning when the call finally passed, the representatives of certain branches stood up and said that they had to go home to report on the resolutions and the calls, and since these were branches where the parents come from a different ideological background, it seemed that with

The movement is calling on the government of Israel to apply its sovereignty over all territories of the Land of Israel in order to fortify the settlement enterprise and strengthen the state.



Nadia Matar, co-chair of the Sovereignty Movement addresses the Bnei Akiva convention

Photo: Bnei Akiva



Rav Gilad Lewis

Photo: Bnei Akiva



The resolution for the application of Sovereignty appears on the screen Photo: Bnei Akiva



Journalist and writer Nazir Najjali from Nazareth addresses the Bnei Akiva convention Photo: Bnei Akiva

this resolution we were practically excluding them from the movement. We had to explain to them, as well as to ourselves, that the movement does have a clear direction but it nevertheless embraces everyone”.

With respect toward those who objected to the resolution, Rav Lewis notes that their position came from “a responsible and mature place”, in his words. “They said that when we call for sovereignty, we are bringing more than a million Arabs into the State of Israel. It was an objection from a responsible point of view and it raised serious questions. It is clear to all of us that everyone wants sovereignty, but the question is whether and how we can take responsibility for the issue of the Arabs' status”.

Rav Lewis believes and hopes that the declaration of this resolution will not remain as hollow words. “The movement will not only publish training material for the counselors on the subject of sovereignty, but this call requires the movement to be a partner in

the outreach hasbara to the general public on the topic of sovereignty. We want to be partners in the promotion of this process.

“Our understanding in the B'nei Akiva movement is that the question of the Land of Israel need not be a matter only for residents of Judea and Samaria or Gush Emunim. The State of Israel must take responsibility for the question of the State of Israel”, concludes Rav Lewis.

And here it is appropriate to note the words of congratulation published by the Sovereignty Movement after the resolution was taken. “With this resolution, the youth demonstrates the healthy and proud nationalism that will bring about the revolution and lead to the long-awaited political change. We can rely on them. The youth that is educated according to these values will continue to shoulder the burden of national responsibility with love and will lead to the practical realization of our right to the Land of Israel”.

This call requires the movement to be a partner in the outreach hasbara to the general public on the topic of sovereignty. We want to be partners in the promotion of this process.

It is clear to all of us that everyone wants sovereignty, but the question is whether and how we can take responsibility for the issue of the Arabs' status.

TAMA 100 – A National Outline Plan for the Land of Israel from the Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea for the year 2048

Avraham Shvut



Avraham Shvut

Photo: Avraham Shvut

The Sovereignty Movement has taken upon itself to prepare a national outline plan for the western Land of Israel to be called TAMA 100, planning for the state's 100th year. The plan is being prepared by a team of experts in many fields under the leadership of architect Yoram Ginsburg from Ariel University.

TAMA (NOP in English) is a National Outline Plan. The plan determines a national policy for future population distribution, construction, establishment of communities, development of infrastructures, distribution of employment and industry and guidelines for preservation of natural areas. Every aspect of public and private development is influenced and is derived from the TAMA.

The National Outline Plan in effect in Israel today is TAMA 35 (a National Outline Plan Integrating construction, development and conservation), which was approved by the government of Israel in 2005.

Like any national outline plan under the responsibility of the Interior Ministry's Administration for Planning, TAMA 35 applies to the territories of the State of Israel and the Golan Heights and not to Judea and Samaria. Despite the fact that the State of Israel has controlled and been responsible for Judea and Samaria for more than fifty years, a national outline plan including Judea and Samaria has never been prepared.

The State of Israel has ignored and continues to ignore its obligation to regulate and determine a development and construction policy for Judea and Samaria, despite many shared systems. The cease-fire line (the Green Line) is like an invisible separation wall from a planning point of view and from the point of view of developing shared essential infrastructures as well. The main damage is to Israel's coastal plain.

In Judea and Samaria there is only local and district planning. Each Jewish community has its own detailed, local outline plan, most of which have been approved. Most of the Arab rural villages do not have an organized plan for development and construction even in the areas under full Israeli responsibility (security and civil).

The fact that national plans do not apply to Judea and Samaria constitutes a declaration of policy and practice that the state views these areas as territories that are not Israeli. A situation is created that forces the residents of the area to become accustomed to developing and building without plans, as in "each one does what is right in his eyes" (Judges 17:6). First and foremost, this harms the government but it also makes it difficult to establish modern infrastructures, to conserve natural resources, traffic systems, deal with pollution of the aquifers and more.

The starting point for the Sovereignty Movement is that the western Land of Israel is one geographical, physical and pop-

ulation unit. The integrity of the western Land of Israel is expressed, among other ways, in the following areas: its geographical, physical character, its history, the population that inhabits it, its economic space (the economy of the Palestinian Authority is 80% connected and dependent on the economy of Israel), the traffic and transportation system, the unified security space (the security of the coastal plain depends on the Jordan Valley and the central mountain ridge) and because the areas is relatively small, which demands unified long-term planning.

The conclusion to be drawn from all of this, and from the Zionist view of the national and security needs of the People of Israel and its state is that it is essential to prepare a plan for future development in the entire Land of Israel west of the Jordan River.

It is predicted that by the year 2048 there will be approximately twenty million residents west of the Jordan. This data point reinforces the need for a plan that will provide an answer to this population, regarding communities and economy, and for millions more in the second half of the 21st century.

In light of all these assumptions, the vision, the main goals and objectives of the TAMA 100 for the western Land of Israel are:

1. The Land of Israel west of the Jordan river is the national home for the People of Israel and we must prepare for the absorption of the entire People in its homeland.

2. The Land of Israel is one geographic, economic and human unit, which demands development and construction in accordance with a plan that includes the entire Land.

3. There must be a plan that provides an answer for over twenty million people, the establishment of new communities, high-rise construction in the urban communities. Conservation of rural areas for up to approximately 20% of the population.

4. Population distribution in all areas of the Land, especially in the periphery. Developing central cities in each district and a hierarchy of communities around it.

5. An emphasis on developing the central mountain ridge (Galilee, Samaria, Benjamin, Judea and the Negev) the heart of the Land and the birthplace of the Jewish People.

6. Central planning for high level (Hi-Tech) and traditional employment in all areas of the periphery.

7. Planning modern and advanced systems of transportation for mass transit that connects all parts of the Land.

8. Conserving green areas, nature preserves, ecological corridors and all locations of scenic, historical or archaeological value.

9. Emphasis on planning and development of

Greater Jerusalem - the historic, cultural and political capital city as the largest and oldest metropolis in the Land.

10. Development of tourism, historic and scenic sites as national gardens and parks.

11. Partitioning the Land into new districts shared by all governmental ministries and public bodies with the goal of improving public service and cooperation between these bodies.

12. The State of Israel is an important part of the Middle East region. We must plan and prepare for transportation, trade and employment relations with neighboring states for the time when there will be true peace, as it is written in Psalm 29, "G-d will grant His People strength, G-d will bless His People with peace".

The hope is that the plan will be promoted in conjunction with government planning bodies and receive the blessing and approval of the government, and will be the TAMA that will determine policy for the entire state. Even if the relevant bodies today are hesitant, the ideological and comprehensive plan for development of the Land will have an influence and will determine the development of the state just as informal plans in the past have influenced governmental decisions.

This new mode of nationalist, Zionist and ideological thinking will help to prepare the state and the People of Israel for the challenges of the next fifty years.

Avraham Shvut, Strategic Consultant and Entrepreneur, is a member of the Sovereignty Movement and its Forum of Designers for the TAMA 100



The solution for traffic and density in Gush Dan is to move eastwards towards Judea and Samaria Photo: Nati Shochat Flash 90

We are Commanded not only to Settle the Land, but also to Apply Sovereignty in it



Photo: Ofer Amram, Besheva

Rav David Stav, Rabbi of Shoham and chair of the Tzohar rabbinic Organization

Rav David Stav chooses to divide the question of sovereignty into two parts – the ideological part, which requires the clear application of sovereignty, and the practical part, which he leaves to the statesmen.

For Rav David Stav, the rabbi of Shoham and chairman of the Tzohar Rabbinic Organization, the applicability of the Torah vision of sovereignty does not depend on the other, practical, aspect of this vision. In his opinion, the basic commandment includes the application of sovereignty over all parts of the Land of Israel.

"We must make a very clear distinction between the halakic position of Jewish Law and the practical position, where I cannot take a position since I am not involved in politics", he says. "On the ideological level, as a student of Rav Tzvi Yehuda Kook, we were reared on the foundation of the fourth commandment of Ramban, which essentially states that the commandment to settle the Land of Israel is not only to settle individually, but also to apply Jewish sovereignty over the Land of Israel. This is the basic principle of the commandment".

Rav Stav continues, adding that "Rav Tzvi Yehuda was asked why, if this is so, the Ramban did not fulfill this commandment and why he did not apply sovereignty. He responded with an answer that perhaps might sound a bit childish: 'because he did not have rifles'. Clearly, the deeper answer is that of course, we have the commandment to apply sovereignty, and the practical question is whether we have the actual ability to do this, but ideologically, of course it is a commandment, to establish Israeli sovereignty in the entire Land of Israel".

To this practical question, the question of the ability to carry out the process of sovereignty in a practical way, we asked Rav Stav if the general public is required to act to change the existing situation to one in which the application of sovereignty will have greater feasibility and he answers: "Yes, of course".

"On the ideological level, it is easy for me to answer, but on the practical level, it is the politician who must answer and say how he will implement this deed – this decree and this dream". The questions that a politician will have to answer in the process of implementing this vision and dream, explains Rav Stav, deal among other things, with the presence of approximately half a million Arabs and their civil status. "What do you do about the basic civil rights that we must give them? I do not want a state in which 40 or 45 percent of the representatives in Knesset belong to Arabs or a state in which the Arabs have no basic rights. Because of these questions, should we perhaps apply sovereignty, at this stage, in an area where there is not a dense population? The answers to these questions depend on many variables, which must be answered by someone who is knowledgeable in the political arena. I want to believe that leaders in the public sector are endeavoring to find an answer".

"All questions relating to the gap between the vision and reality, such as keeping Shabbat among the general public and the application of sovereignty must be dealt with in a realistic and practical discussion and not only on the ideological level. On the ideological level, we pray every day for the Temple to be built and despite this, on the practical level I do not see that anyone makes the building of the Temple a condition for joining the coalition".

The challenges of Sovereignty – Minorities, International Relations and Jews of the Diaspora

When he returns to the challenges facing those who promote sovereignty as challenges that must be met and for which there must be answers, Rav Stav names human rights for the Arab minority, the sensitive nature of Israel's international relations and the State of Israel's

delicate connection with diaspora Jews.

Regarding Israel's relations to minorities, Rav Stav notes that "Rav Herzog dealt with this extensively and determined that it is impossible for the State of Israel not to grant equal human rights to the Arab residents. He thought that in the modern world, a state cannot last in such a situation. This is what he wrote seventy years ago. If this serves us as a basis then I do not see a solution for the issue of voting. I do not know a solution and am not sure that anyone has a solution, but I am not sure that just because there is no solution this means that we must stop dreaming, since sometimes the Almighty brings about solutions that we did not think about. As people of faith, we believe that if the Almighty promised us the Land, He will give us the Land".

"Geula Cohen once said a sentence that I take with me to many arenas. She said that there is no doubt that the demographic problem is a headache, but if a person has a headache he does not cut off his head. I apply this principle to many arenas. There are problems that we are born with and it is a mistake to think that there is one solution that will solve everything magically. There is no magic solution from the Right or the Left, and nevertheless, I want to live here in the Land of Israel, to maintain the state and exercise sovereignty but to do this with some sense, that will allow me to ensure security for the Jewish People and the state in the best way possible".



Israel Prize winner Geula Cohen: If a person has a headache he does not cut off his head photo: Nati Shochat, Flash90

A Revolution is Underway in Jerusalem

The Minister of Jerusalem Affairs, and perhaps soon-to-be mayor of Jerusalem, Ze'ev Elkin, ascribes dramatic significance to the relocation of the American embassy to the city. In addition, he tells of the activities of his ministry, whose establishment, in the past, seemed to be exclusively for symbolic purposes. In the course of his three years of activity at its head, he has proved otherwise.



Minister Zeev Elkin with Jerusalem in the background

Photo: The Ministers' office

Conversation with the Minister of Jerusalem Affairs, Ze'ev Elkin, gives the impression that indeed, the capital of Israel is not only our foremost joy, but is also the focus of attention and investment, and the Jerusalem Ministry is not at all marginal. Matters of foreign policy, security, economy, public relations, culture, international law and many more issues accumulate on the desk of the minister who is considered one of the closest confidants of Prime Minister Netanyahu.

We begin our conversation with Elkin with the international reversal regarding Jerusalem, a reversal that began with the American decision to relocate their embassy to the Israeli capital, and in its wake, other

countries have joined and apparently still more will join them.

"This is a breakthrough. To us, these matters are obvious, it is clear to us that Jerusalem is our capital; however, over the course of an extended period, no one in the world was willing to officially recognize that reality. In practice, though, they recognized it; they meet the Prime Minister of Israel, and the ministers and the members of Knesset in Jerusalem, the foreign ministry is in Jerusalem and most of the work of the ambassadors is in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the move of the embassy to Jerusalem is a breakthrough, and the proof is that one country after another is asking itself: If the Americans are moving to Jerusalem, why won't we do so as well.

What leads Honduras, Guatemala, the

Czech Republic and perhaps additional countries to this reversal? It is a result of activity along several channels, Elkin explains, among them the diplomatic activity of the Israeli government vis-à-vis the various countries, who seek to demonstrate their friendship with Israel in practical terms. Beyond that, he notes, these are countries with connections to the United States that seek to express their support for the superpower's position through the relocation of their embassies. Beyond that: "There are also those motivated by the religious factor, the special status and symbolism of Jerusalem, its biblical status, is a sufficient reason in their eyes."

The Israeli media makes certain to emphasize in myriad headlines the Palestinian threat

of a painful reaction to the relocation of the embassy to Jerusalem. Elkin points out that the iron-clad rule for Israel is to be perpetually vigilant with regard to security; however, beyond that, he finds no reason to frighten ourselves. "During the years that I have been in politics, I have already heard several times people like Ehud Barak issuing dire predictions if, God forbid, we do not capitulate or compromise... We must be vigilant; however, we must not terrify ourselves with apocalyptic predictions."

Minister Elkin does not deem it wise to be overly impressed with the Palestinian rage that perceives the transfer of the embassy as the burial of the diplomatic negotiations on the one hand, and on the other, a pretext for violence and escalation. "I did not see that



The US Embassy is moving to Jerusalem

Photo: Amir Cohen, Reuters

the Palestinians came to the negotiating table before this decision; therefore, I view that rationale as baseless. However, beyond all that, this step entails a declaration of the truth. We will not relinquish our history and the areas that are the very heart of our nation."

At the same time, when he is asked whether the American administration is seeking to pacify the Palestinians prior to relocating the embassy, he says: "The administration is attempting and will attempt to resolve the matters with Abu Mazen and the Palestinian Authority. In my opinion, it will not be successful, and I very much hope that it will not be at our expense. As a member of the cabinet, I say that it is incumbent upon us to do everything to ensure that indeed, it will not be at our expense. The tendency to pacify the Arab world at our expense has occurred; however, as it is clear to all, this administration is much friendlier than its predecessor."

Two Billion Shekel to Reinforce the City and Its Heritage

Jerusalem Liberation Day is a good opportunity to take a closer look at the Ministry of Jerusalem Affairs, a ministry, which when it was established, many contended that it was a ministry without any real substance, whose entire purpose was to glorify the name of the capital city, and for all intents and purposes, has nothing substantive behind it or in it. Elkin recalls those contentions and is convinced that the three years that have passed since the establishment of the ministry have eradicated those contentions and silenced the detractors.

"Any intelligent person who considers the ministry's activity over these three years, sees how it is gaining momentum and that it is influential," says the minister who separates between the matters relating to its heritage and the matters relating to Jerusalem, which are under the jurisdiction of the ministry. In the section addressing heritage, Elkin mentions the accelerated activity during the period leading to the 70th anniversary of Israel's independence, which included, among other things, an initiative to renovate and restore Independence Hall,

the structure in which the state was declared in 5708 (1948). In addition, he mentions the investment of his ministry in heritage sites like Herodion, Kefar Etzion and Shilo, where a massive sum of money was invested in a special Visitors Center, in the Golan Heights, and in many additional historical sites throughout the country.

With regard to Jerusalem, Elkin estimates the sum raised by the government on behalf of the capital over the course of the last three years at over two billion shekel. "This is a contribution to everything that transpires in the city: The strategic development of the city, the induction of Jerusalem into the elite of the international hi-tech community, developing new sources of income, etc., while at the same time developing the ancient heritage of Jerusalem.

To Apply Sovereignty in Practice in East Jerusalem

Over the course of several years, Minister Elkin warned about the neglect of Jerusalem's Arab neighborhoods and the creation of a vacuum that the Palestinian Authority would fill, with regard to, among other matters, the local school system, which leads to incitement of the youth of East Jerusalem and their increasing involvement in terrorist acts. Today, he announces, we are on the precipice of a revolution in these neighborhoods. "The policy, common to both Left and Right, of non-intervention and lack of investment there, and the de facto lack of sovereignty, was the error that led to the reality that most of the terrorist acts during the most recent wave of terrorism originated in Jerusalem and its environs. Therefore, on Jerusalem Day, we intend to pass a governmental decision that will address these elements, with one of the foundations being a revolution in the area of education that we will implement together with Ministry of Education. We will transfer the East Jerusalem educational system to Israeli auspices. For a year already, we have been implementing a pilot program to support the schools that adopt the Israeli syllabus. This will receive special emphasis, because we believe that it is a crucial matter."

Elkin relates that the transfer of the East Jerusalem educational system to Israeli

—
"Despite the fact that, ostensibly, I am an influential governmental minister, Jerusalem is not just any city. It is the heart of the nation, and the heart of activity; therefore, I am seriously considering the prospect of running for mayor"
 —

—
"The policy, common to both Left and Right, of non-intervention and lack of investment in East Jerusalem, and the de facto lack of sovereignty, was the error that led to the reality that most of the terrorist acts during the most recent wave of terrorism originated in Jerusalem and its environs"
 —

auspices, which the Palestinian Authority has provided its content to date, is not a simple step, since despite the interest and demand on the part of the parents, it is difficult for the school administrators to implement the transfer due to a long-standing taboo and due to pressure exerted upon them. In order to extricate them from the influence of those pressures, special compensation and incentives are required.

He also mentions the need for special economic support for the ultra-orthodox [haredi] section of the city in order to facilitate development that will in turn generate income for the municipal system.

A City with Its Own Foreign Ministry

The activity of the Ministry of Jerusalem Affairs goes beyond the internal affairs of the city. Elkin ascribes special significance to the struggle over the international status of the city, especially to counter the activity of significant international forces in various arenas, e.g., the UN, which seek to sever the Jewish connection to the city and produce "bizarre resolutions," according to his characterization. UNESCO is only one example of this." We adopted a decision to establish a quasi-foreign ministry for the defense of Jerusalem, which will work in concert with the Foreign Ministry. We bring influential people to disputed places, to the city of David, to the Mount of Olives, etc. I believe that Jerusalem knows how to defend itself when it tells its story, if people will just listen."

The activities of that "Foreign Ministry for Jerusalem Affairs" include the recent international conference of jurists from around the world in which the theory that according to international law Israel has no rights in Jerusalem was debunked. Among other items, ancient seals were displayed on which names like "Barukh ben Neriya," which is mentioned in the book of Jeremiah, and even the name of a prime minister named Netanyahu appears on one of the seals. "The Christian world sees and discovers that the characters in the Bible in which they believe speak to them from the findings," the minister relates, and notes that testament to the influence of that exhibition can be ascertained from the complaints submitted by the Arab representatives to the UN Secretariat over the staging of the exhibition.

Toward the end of our conversation with Minister Elkin, we ask one more question and we allow him to choose whether or not to answer it: **Does he indeed plan to contend for the position of the next mayor of Jerusalem?** Elkin, characteristically, does not exploit the opportunity provided him to avoid answering, and chooses to answer, albeit diplomatically. "I receive many requests, from both municipal and national figures, to contend for the position. I am considering the matter very seriously. Despite the fact that, ostensibly, I am an influential governmental minister, Jerusalem is not just any city. It is the heart of the nation, and the heart of activity; therefore, I am seriously considering the prospect of running for mayor. It is a decision that must be taken by the Likud movement as well, whether or not to present a candidate. I will make my decision in the coming weeks."

The Sovereignty Youth Makes its Appearance

Hundreds of young people are currently engaged in an ongoing hasbara campaign to promote the vision of sovereignty in Israeli consciousness. They tell the Sovereignty Journal about the lively discussions and refreshing spirit in the booths where they engage in hasbara and enlist people to the cause.

In recent weeks, young people who are members of the Sovereignty Movement have gone out to dozens of central localities throughout the Land in a comprehensive campaign of hasbara led by the young people themselves.

Billboard signs were hung along traffic arteries and on bridges with the words "The People Supports Sovereignty", hasbara flyers with the principle ideas of the sovereignty vision, its goals and importance were handed out to the passersby and there were sign-up booths where signatures were collected of thousands of citizens who support the vision of sovereignty and call on the government of Israel to take the required political step, the application of sovereignty.

In these hasbara activities, as well as many others, the young people from various sectors of society, different cities and communities from the Center and from the periphery, conducted a lively dialogue about the vision that, until quite recently, was a distant, unattainable dream and today it is on the government ministers' table, waiting to be enacted into law.

In meetings that were held after the activities and in preparation for future activities, the young people who participated in the initiative reported great enthusiasm both among the young activists and among the general public who heard, sometimes for the first time, about the idea of sovereignty and the possibility of realizing it. We spoke with several of the key activists about the activity that has already occurred and that which will be in the future and it seems that the younger generation has many ideas about how to promote the hasbara about sovereignty and bring the idea into the Israeli political discourse.

It is Clear to me that Sovereignty is the only Solution

"I heard about the idea as a 16-year-old youth who wanted to bring up his children here in the future and who cares about the future of the state", says Asaf Jayson, a resident of Rosh Tzurim, who coordinates the activists in the area of Jerusalem and the Center. "It is clear to me that the existing situation cannot continue and that the solution is sovereignty. I do not accept the Left's fear mongering about a bi-national state. It is now known that the demographic threat is much less of a danger than the way it is presented. The data they show us are not accurate. The true data show that the Jewish birthrate is higher than the Arab birthrate and that this trend is only rising", he says, sounding a bit like a polished politician, who takes care to clarify: "I am not getting into the details now of the differences between the various sovereignty plans, but it is clear to me that this is the direction, it is clear to me that the only solution is sovereignty".

When he returns to the demographic question, which very much engages those who are leading the vision of sovereignty, he mentions: "The state was established when there was not a Jewish majority here and if we had feared the demographic threat then, there would not be a Jewish state but today we are in an excellent situation".

Neither does the demographic matter bother Ariel Gastfried (17), coordinator of the northern district and responsible for the enlistment booth in Tiberias.

"It is clear to me that the existing situation cannot continue and that the solution is sovereignty. I do not accept the Left's fear mongering about a bi-national state" Assaf, 16 years old



The Sovereignty Youth in action

Photo: The Sovereignty Movement



The Sovereignty Youth in action

Photo: The Sovereignty Movement



Sovereignty Youth hangs posters: The People supports Sovereignty

Photo: The Sovereignty Movement

"I don't think that the demographic threat is a danger now. We now have more people than the Arabs and the gap is growing larger. In the past there was a significant threat but now they are decreasing. It is, indeed, a problem but I am convinced that we will be able to cope with it".

From the Struggles against Demolition to the Campaign for Sovereignty

Jayson came to the Sovereignty Campaign after his activism in the struggles against the demolition of Amona and Nativ Ha'avot. Jayson was not satisfied with waving signs and garrisoning himself in buildings that were scheduled for demolition. He read the court decree ordering the destruction and this led him to one conclusion: "It is clear to me that in Tel Aviv this would not happen. If there was sovereignty in Judea and Samaria it would be solved differently. There would not be a demolition", he is convinced.

We asked Jayson if it was difficult to enlist young people for the hasbara activity and he said absolutely not. According to him, even he was surprised by the great response. "I was shocked. One Thursday we opened a Whatsapp group. I sent a link to the members and told them about the campaign and within one night there were 256 young people. I thought that I would need to explain to them what sovereignty meant, why it is important and to address the question of whether this idea would lead us to an apartheid state, as they say in the Left to shock and frighten us. But there was really no need for it. Everything was clear to them. These are people from all over the Land who care about the future of the state, really, very serious people. Seventy years ago the youth established the state and today the youth



The Sovereignty Youth in action



The Sovereignty Youth in action

"We want to see and demonstrate our strength as the youth and as a movement. The credo of the whole group is 'This is our Land'"

is fighting for the future of the state".

Fifteen-year-old Hadas Babad from Ashkelon, a student at Ulpanat Even Shmuel, coordinator of the southern district and responsible for the Kiryat Gat booth, came to the Sovereignty Campaign after her activities with the youth of HaBayit HaYehudi. Within the framework of her activity against the demolition of the Nativ Ha'avot houses she met Yair Buchnik, one of the leaders and initiators of the Sovereignty Youth, who suggested that she join as coordinator of the southern district and Hadas agreed. Since then she and other activists in the area where she lives have been opening hasbara booths twice a week.

"The youth want to be active, they want to be part of the process", she says. "We want to see and demonstrate our strength as the youth and as a movement. The credo of the whole group is 'This is our Land'. This is the main principle but even before we set out to the field we got a lot of information on the subject of sovereignty. We didn't jump into the water unprepared".

The Spearhead in every Battle

"The hasbara booths are the spearhead in the entire battle. This is what makes the difference", Jayson is convinced. "We have seen that pressure from the field has an influence on the People and on the decision makers", he says, and hints at future plans of a large youth conference and other activities.

Fifteen-year-old Talia Ratzon, coordinator of the Samaria booths and responsible for the booth at Karnei Shomron, tells of varied responses to the youth's activity. "There were those who objected and there were those who immediately agreed and signed up; there were

questions and we explained things to them", she says.

And how did those who objected to sovereignty react to the youths who were selling the idea that up until less than a decade ago sounded delusional and cut off from reality? The coordinators that we spoke with speak of a serious atmosphere and pleasant discussions around the hasbara booths. "I did not encounter any cursing or yelling from the Left. The discussions are conducted very respectfully and are very practical. It is understood that we all care about the future of the Land", says Asaf Jayson and Gastfried adds from his experience in the North: "There was no shouting but there were opposing opinions. The activists at the booths were prepared with hasbara material and they knew how to answer. There was no need for a decision beforehand not to argue or yell. The respectful atmosphere that was created at the booths came about naturally because we wanted to conduct a serious discussion".

In Jerusalem, says Jayson with a smile, "I handed out stickers with a friend. There was a man there who listened to our explanations about sovereignty for quite some time. He listened and we explained. In the end, he said that he is an Arab from east Jerusalem, shook our hands and left...".

"The approach of the activists is to come with a positive spirit, not ready for battle. We speak with the public and listen to them; we do not raise our voices, and this works", says Yair Buchnik.

And nevertheless, it could not pass without a noisy protest by leftist activists, it seems, and Yair tells about three or four Peace Now activists who came to a booth and "yelled at those who were signing people up that they are racists and fascists. Our people answered them politely and were not drawn into a shouting match with them and after a half hour like this, they understood that there would not be a public disturbance and left. Our people continued to collect signatures".

So far, Yair notes, there were thousands signatures collected in the first wave of collecting signatures, and the youth does not intend to let up. New booths will pop up soon in more places throughout the Land. And this is in addition to hasbara activities that are already planned for the weeks and months ahead and a large Sovereignty youth Conference on May 27th. For details see page 24.

“Arab dignitaries tell me, ‘We want Israeli sovereignty’”

Yohai Dimri – Mayor of the Mt. Hebron Regional Council



Yohai Dimri, Mayor of the Southern Hebron Regional Council

When the mayor of the Har Hebron Regional Council wants to increase the diameter of the antiquated pipeline that brings water to a population that has doubled in size, he needs to first obtain the approval of the military government. The absence of sovereignty creates a third-world state inside Israel, he says. He also talks about his meetings with local Arab leaders

Yohai Dimri, mayor of the Har Hebron Regional Council, experiences the consequences of the lack of Israeli sovereignty and the harsh discrimination against the Jewish citizens living in the area on a daily basis. In an interview with Sovereignty, he discusses how crucial it is to apply Israeli sovereignty to the area and tells us about talks he holds with his Arab neighbors who tell him, albeit behind closed doors lest their words reach the ears of the Palestinian Authority, that they too would prefer to live under Israeli sovereignty.

“It is intolerable that the Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria are discriminated against compared to the rest of Israel’s citizens,” says Dimri. “Where responsibilities and obligations are concerned, they are the same as everyone else: They pay the same taxes and do their army reserve duty just like all other citizens. But when it comes to rights, there we suffer from discrimination. Does it make sense that as the mayor of a regional council, I have to go to the military officer in charge, a staff officer in the Civil Administration, to obtain approval for building plans so that I can plan housing and do what needs to be done to improve the quality of life, the environment, electricity and the other things we take care of?”

When he looks to the right and to the left at the neighbors next to whom he and the other citizens of his regional council live, discrimination takes on another, equally important aspect: “The great absurdity is that there are about 1.8 million Arabs in Judea and Samaria who don’t have to ask anyone permission for anything and who can do whatever they like in terms of construction, water, roads, and electricity without anyone getting in their way. The

Palestinian authority makes decisions without considering anything. They don’t have to ask the Israeli government, the army or the Jewish residents; 1.8 million Arabs can do whatever they want, build wherever they like and pave roads anywhere they like throughout Areas A and B. In addition, there are about 180,000 Arabs in Area C living alongside 450,000 Jews, and those 630,000 individuals need to obtain the approval of the official sovereign, which is apparently the army. This is an anomalous situation that needs to change. That’s why our desire for sovereignty starts first of all from the elementary assumption that the basics of life should be equal for all.”

Dimri may surprise some people on the right when he declares, “I am not in favor of the proposal passed by the Likud to apply sovereignty only to the territory on which the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria are located.” “We have an opportunity to apply sovereignty to the entirety of Area C. Areas A and B contain a de facto state with a police force and a government with 5,000 soldiers, etc., except that it doesn’t have borders or an army. With a situation like that, let’s at least settle the situation and take Area C where the Jewish population is three times larger than the Arab population.”

To these matters, which Dimri considers fundamental principles, “We should add the matter of discrimination against Israeli citizens. There is one law for Jewish citizens and another law for Arabs. How can there be one law for Jews on one side of an imaginary line, and on the other side of the line, another law? How can there be a state within a state? It’s been more than 50 years since the liberation of Judea and Samaria, and it’s time this situation was corrected.”

Occupation corrupts!

Dimri believes that the change is urgent because, “You never know what the future holds. We remember the Obama administration and we ought to take advantage of the opportunity provided

by the Trump administration,” he said. In his view, the approach that some take, whereby we need to somehow continue to manage within the existing constrained and discriminatory reality in order to refrain from poking any political bears is wrong. He considers that kind of approach to be part of a Diaspora mentality that he himself is unwilling to accept: “That’s not who I am. We must move forward and aim for the best situation possible for Jewish life in the Land of Israel – and sovereignty is part of that.”

Some might believe that a military bureaucrat can fulfill the same function as the municipal bureaucracy on the other side of the Green Line, but that’s where the similarity ends. “The aspect that is different is ten times more fundamental, because there is nothing democratic about being subject to a military government. The occupation corrupts! Occupation means political decisions delivered in the form of military orders that can come from the defense minister, the prime minister or the president of the United States, and we’ve seen how much we suffered in the past when there was a prime minister or US president that wasn’t on our side. If I can promote a plan to build 500 housing units in the context of the planning laws, no one should be able to tell me not to promote a plan of 500 and to make do with 50. I want to advance plans in accordance with the demand, and if the demand is 5,000 units, I want to be able to do that. I want a national master plan for roads, but there is no master plan in all of Judea and Samaria for water, sewer, roads, electricity, vehicles and so on. Why can’t I be part of the State of Israel that has a national zoning plan for everything and anything. I want to connect to roads and advance the construction of water lines because the population is already several times larger than it used to be and is still connected with a 3 or 4-inch pipeline when in all the rest of the country water is pumped in 30-, 40- or 50-inch pipes. Here they’ve never heard of

that and we’re in the midst of a water crisis, and there are constant electricity blackouts too. Why do I have to live in a third world country? But that’s the reality I live in. The difference does not lie in the identity of the bureaucrat I have to work with but in the bigger picture.”

Dimri’s fluency with the facts and figures and the examples he presents one after another clearly reflect the difficulties he faces in the absence of sovereignty. He continues: “Our regional council is considered part of the Negev and there is a government ministry that deals with the Negev, but that ministry issues calls for proposals that say that a local government that is not part of the sovereign territory of the State of Israel can’t apply. That means that because of the occupation, I am discriminated against, while my neighbors who live five kilometers away can apply even though their socioeconomic status may be much better than mine. It doesn’t matter that 80% of my population lives in the Negev, works in the Negev, studies in the Negev and so on. None of that matters. I am the victim of discrimination, and I haven’t even mentioned all the benevolent foundations that refuse to cross the Green Line because it’s not part of the State of Israel.”

Confidential meetings with heads of Arab clans and villages

Dimri’s position in favor of first applying Israeli sovereignty to Area C in no way ignores the presence and status of the area’s Arab population. He describes most of them as good neighbors who are aware of the advantages of Israeli sovereignty. “I have excellent relations with them, business relations and we talk, including with academics, doctors and businesspeople, also religious leaders. We have no problem. We’re neighbors, and this relationship produces only positive things. At the end of the day, what interests the Arab resident is the same as what interests the Jewish resident: making a living, life, health and education, and wherever we can cooperate

amongst ourselves, we will. And taking care of the bad guys – regardless of what percent they are of the population – the army will do that, whether it is to kill terrorists, carry out arrests, destroy the Hamas infrastructure, or any other necessary action. We’ll do whatever it takes, make no mistake, but whoever extends his hand to me in order to maintain reciprocal neighborly relations that benefit my population, I will extend my hand to him in peace.”

And here, Dimri reveals some new information: “I have a lot of Arabs who come to my office and tell me that they don’t trust the Palestinian Authority and would rather be residents of Israel, without voting rights, like the residents of East Jerusalem.” They say, “We appreciate what the Israeli government provides. We don’t want to vote; what we want is your professionalism and sense of responsibility. You aren’t corrupt and don’t line your pockets. We see all the things you do to develop your communities and we want that too.”

In Dimri’s estimation, statements of this kind represent the view of the majority of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria, even if they don’t dare say so out loud. “It would be interesting to conduct a survey, but as far as I can tell, most of them share this opinion. Tomorrow I’ll be meeting with a clan head and yesterday I met with a village leader, all very hush-hush, under the radar, because the PA would do whatever it could to disrupt such meetings if it knew about them.”

“We have to be prepared for the day after Abu Mazen, and the option of Israeli sovereignty plus a joint Arab-Jewish council that will deal with the shared day-to-day aspects of the population must be taken into consideration. We use the same electricity, breathe the same air and use the same water, the same sewage system – and we should form round tables to discuss these issues. That should be the innovation on the day after Abu Mazen, and that’s what I’m already doing quietly today.”

As part of his public activities, Dimri meets with quite a few members of the left, journalists and opinion makers. When he tells them about the coexistence he is actually implementing on the ground with his Arab neighbors, “They look at me incredulously and can’t believe what it is they’re hearing. I tell them about genuine coexistence between neighbors but the penny doesn’t drop for them. But it will. After all, the left doesn’t really believe in coexistence.”

“I have a lot of Arabs who come to my office and tell me that they don’t trust the Palestinian Authority and would rather be residents of Israel, without voting rights, like the residents of East Jerusalem.”

The Status Quo in Judea and Samaria Poses a Danger to the State!

Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar

As part of our efforts to promote the vision of Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, we appear before groups throughout the entire Land. Military preparatory schools, high schools, religious and secular schools, from the Left and the Right, invite us for discussions, panels and lectures. Sometimes these meetings are held as part of what is called “Judea-Samaria Week”, when youths come to Judea and Samaria to meet with spokesmen from across the political spectrum.

In these meetings we present the youth with our point of view, the main idea of which is that the Land of Israel belongs to us and we must not surrender it; the plan of “two states for two peoples” constitutes an existential, spiritual, ideological and security threat to our country. We lay out the plan for the application of sovereignty that we have been promoting in recent years before the visitors and hosts and explain the ramifications of applying sovereignty.

During the second part of these meetings there is a lively discussion where serious and profound questions arise. The youths demand real answers to various questions. One of the questions that comes up in almost every group goes something like this: “It is clear to us that dividing the Land and establishing a hostile Arab state in its heart would be a disastrous step for the State of Israel to take, but it is also clear to us that the application of sovereignty is very complex and the main difficulty is the status of the Arabs. Therefore, maybe the best thing and most correct thing to do is to leave the situation as it is now- status quo.”

At a time when the status quo in every area has become almost sacred, apparently, why would it be wrong to take that approach in this area as well? The IDF’s deep and daily involvement in the field prevents terror attacks and maintains a relatively low level of terror (despite the deep pain and sorrow over any loss or injury that does occur) it sometimes seems that all is quiet and calm and “that we need not endanger ourselves by establishing a Palestinian state, but on the other hand, we also do not want to cope with the complexities of applying sovereignty and thus best is to simply keep the status quo.”

We hear things of this sort not only from the youths in the seminars and discussions, but also from average citizens, among whom are also public figures and academics.

Here is where we explain one basic foundational fact. Even if it does not seem so, there actually is no status quo. The calm is nothing more than an illusion. We are living next to a ticking time bomb and things are happening - every minute that passes, facts are being established on the ground

and are becoming a basis for additional facts on the ground and this phenomenon is growing and pushing the State of Israel off of its Land. **Beneath the camouflage of calm and quiet the Palestinian Authority is taking over more and more of Area C, land which even according to the Oslo Accords is to be under Israel’s exclusive authority. Every day, Salam Fayyad’s plan for the Arab takeover of land in this territory is being realized by strangling the development of Jewish settlement.**

The residents of Judea and Samaria can see this reality happening around them every single day. Hills that were arid waste until recently, are being built up, funded and supported by the European Union, and the closer the construction is to the traffic arteries leading to the Jewish communities, the more support is given. And along with the illegal construction, there is illegal agriculture as well and illegal quarries, lands that have been bought by Jews are becoming enclaves, surrounded by Arab construction and agriculture and sometimes these lands as well are being appropriated by Palestinians without the appropriate and necessary Jewish response.

The Palestinians are determining facts on the ground and with characteristic Arab patience are quietly building a state for themselves without any objection and without handshakes or signed documents in brightly lit halls. They understand well the value of land and we, with our diaspora complexes, still prefer a signed piece of paper of no real value.

We are indifferent. We are convinced that the surrounding calm is evidence that the holy status quo is being maintained by the other side as well. Like fish that swim in an aquarium without knowing that someone has drilled a tiny hole in the bottom and the water is slowly leaking out.

Dear friends, we must wake up and understand – there is no such thing as the status quo. This is a dangerous and stupefying illusion that is allowing a Palestinian state to become a reality right under our noses, with all of the dangers that it presents to the long-term future of the State of Israel. We therefore repeat



Yehudit Katsover & Nadia Matar, leaders of the Sovereignty Movement

again that Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria is an urgent necessity. The hourglass is emptying and the sand itself is being lost, the lands are also being lost and we are losing our hold on them. A decision must be made as soon as possible – either a Palestinian state with all of its existential dangers, or sovereignty, while coping with the complexities of the idea and the vision. Is Israel going to commit suicide with the establishment of a Palestinian state in its heart or cope with a localized headache that can be solved by the application of sovereignty?

We are living at a time of dramatic change, a time when great things are happening, and great times are for great people. We are confident in the ability of this generation to stand up and shake off the dust blinding it, to see reality as it is and find a genuine, sovereign response to the enemy’s efforts to continually try to carve out pieces of the land that is our life. There is a good reason why the Almighty chose our generation to take up the challenges of this great hour. We have the strength. We have the fortitude. We are equal to the task of sovereignty.

Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar are co-chairs of the Sovereignty Movement founded by Women in Green www.ribonut.co.il



Yehudit Katsover in Oz veGaon addresses a pre-military academy



Arabs in favor of Israeli Sovereignty at the 4th Sovereignty Conference organized by the Sovereignty Movement, Jerusalem 2017

Photo Israel Bardugo, Besheva

Israel Shuts its Eyes and Facts are Established on the Ground

A special minister was appointed by the Palestinian Authority to coordinate and plan taking control of Area C. Illegal Palestinian agriculture and construction serve the objective: Establishment of a de facto state. That is what is happening on the ground as long as application of sovereignty is delayed.

An interview with Yishai Hemu, Field Coordinator of the Regavim Movement in Judea and Samaria.



Yishai Hemu in action

Photo: Meir Elipur

In an article that they published (and which appears here as well), the heads of the Sovereignty movement, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, address the contention raised by many, specifically from the Right, who believe that a Palestinian State would constitute an existential threat to Israel, but at the same time, Sovereignty would constitute a significant challenge; therefore, they suggest it to be appropriate and proper to aspire to preserve the status quo; the status quo in which the Palestinian Authority tends to its affairs, while Israel maintains security control over the entire territory.

Katsover and Matar establish in their article that while the Right is blundering in the fantasy of the status quo, the Arabs are establishing facts on the ground with illegal construction and agriculture, and for all intents and purposes, they are laying the groundwork for the practical establishment of a Palestinian State.

Yishai Hemu, Field Coordinator of the Regavim Movement in the area of Judea and Samaria, reinforces the determination of the two, and in an interview with "Sovereignty," he describes the intensifying phenomenon

of Arabs, in violation of all agreements and treaties, assuming control of Area C, the areas over which Israel has both security and civilian control. The two primary methods employed by the Arabs to gain control of the territory are construction and agriculture.

In order to implement the steps in a sophisticated and well-organized manner, the Palestinian Authority appointed a special minister for matters of Area C "whose entire objective is to coordinate and organize Palestinian control of the territory, to both seize more territory and based on the viewpoint that if there will be a future political agreement between the sides, it will be impossible to ignore the facts that were established on the ground," Hemu says and notes that this is based on the methodical philosophy of Salam Fayad, who served as the prime minister of the PA until 2013.

The Objective: A De Facto Palestinian State

"The concept of the Fayad plan is simple: The creation of territorial contiguity from Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nablus and Jenin, to connect all these cities and for all intents and purposes, to create a de facto state from the northern Negev until the southern part of northern Israel," says Hemu and

elaborates:

"The Fayad plan marks strategic places where it is necessary to settle, and at the conclusion of the process there will be territorial contiguity between all these cities. One example of a territory that is super-strategic is Area E-1 between Maale Adumim and Jerusalem. This tract of land remains empty, without Jewish or Arab settlement, and that will determine whether there will be territorial contiguity between Bethlehem and Ramallah, or between Maale Adumim and Jerusalem. At present in that area, to the left of the road descending from Jerusalem to Maale Adumim, there are thickets; however, as the road continues one can see European Union structures that seek to create a triangle connecting between East Jerusalem, Ramallah and Jericho."

The European-Palestinian construction in that area grew and flourished until recently, and was interrupted in the wake of an aggressive campaign by Regavim. In the framework of that campaign, data, photographs of the area, and quotes were presented before the government ministers, the Foreign Ministry, members of Knesset, and members of the Knesset committees indicating an intentional, organized effort

that is behind the plan. The campaign led to significant enforcement by the Israeli authorities, and for all intents and purposes, the process in that area has been halted. "This was not about humanitarian aid for the Bedouins; rather the exploitation of the Bedouins by the Palestinian Authority and the Europeans as pawns in the game of seizing the strategic territory."

Instead of Building on 100 Meters They Plant on Thousands of Dunams

The second avenue on which the PA is taking steps to gain illegal control of the territories of Area C is by means of agriculture. The Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC), affiliated with the Palestinian Authority and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is recognized as a full-fledged terrorist organization in the United States as well. "This organization openly articulates its objectives in detail, the projects that it has completed, and the progress toward achieving its objectives in Area C on its Facebook page. Their philosophy states: If you built a house, you occupied no more than one or two hundred meters; however, if you take control of an agricultural tract, you have seized thousands of dunams, and that is what is transpiring on

the ground.

They also realized that the Civil Administration says that from a legal perspective it is permitted, as it is merely agricultural development and the terraces are not higher than 1.10 meters, etc. In that way, there is disregard for the strategic aspect directed by the PA," Hemu explains. He notes: Over the past three years the Arabs have had great success in seizing thousands of dunams, developing previously undeveloped lands, hundreds of kilometers of roads, restoring hundreds of wells and more. All this is happening all the time. There is an additional aspect. According to Ottoman law, if you worked a tract of land for three years and no one challenged your ownership of the land, it is yours and you can claim ownership if any dispute arises."

In summing up his statement, Hemu says that in actuality "in the past Area C could have been earmarked for the development of the Jewish communities; however, today, anyone who seized the land could claim ownership before the High Court of Justice, just as it was in the cases of Amona and Netiv HaAvot, where they found some strips of land on which there appeared to be trees in one of the aerial photographs because of which they decided that it must be private Arab property. As a result, even though there was no Arab able to assert ownership and bring documents to support that assertion, the result was a decision to demolish the Jewish homes. A tree, or cultivated land, is sufficient to determine the ownership of the people there."

"With regard to agriculture as well, there is massive intervention of countries like Holland, Denmark and Norway." The data on the involvement of European countries like those in Palestinian initiatives are being processed by a research institute into an organized document that will soon be presented before the decision makers and the public.

Educational Institutions in the Service of Taking Control of the Land

In order to broaden their control over the



Salam Fayad- Let's conquer Area C. Areas A & B are already in our hands. Photo: Isam Rimawi Flash 90

"The concept of the Fayad plan is simple: The creation of territorial contiguity from Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nablus and Jenin, to connect all these cities and for all intents and purposes, to create a de facto Palestinian state from the northern Negev until the southern part of northern Israel"

land, the Arabs have been exploiting schools and educational institutions built at a distance from the village, thereby seizing significant tracts of land between the village and the school. An example of this is the school near Herodium. "The school there was built far from the village, for no logical reason, with the objective being to seize that site along with the land in between. After construction of a school in that manner, any Israeli attempt at law enforcement creates a very bad impression. It appears as though the State of Israel is battling against children seeking to study..." This is psychological warfare and a struggle over the perception of the matter and there is no doubt that this pressure influences the enforcement authorities."

Hemu emphasizes, to remove any doubt, that everything is being implemented in a coordinated and well-planned manner, with the Palestinian Minister of Agriculture incessantly wandering around Area C in a clear and obvious manner. They state and pronounce that the clear objective is to seize Area C against the "occupation, against the settlements and against Israeli aggression". Consequently, the status quo is non-existent. The passage of time does not make matters more secure. The parameters of Area C are very fragile. It is a territory defined as under Israeli control; however, in practice, we do not see the state actively enforcing matters.

As to the identity of the factor responsible for the deteriorating reality on the ground, Hemu says that although ostensibly, responsibility is that of the Civil Administration, to place all the blame on the Civil Administration is to bury one's head in the sand, as they are merely bureaucrats implementing policy. Responsibility should be ascribed to the Prime Minister who must initiate a policy of seizing Area C in a decisive manner based on the understanding that we have a right to the territory." He adds and comments that "the root of our tentative hold is the decline in our faith in the justice of our path and our right to the land. This is also manifest in the enforcement."



Photo of lands in area C illegally taken over by the Palestinian Authority with international funding

Photo: Regavim

Why is there still no Peace?

BOOK REVIEW

by Aaron Braunstein, USFSO (ret.)

THE MIDDLE EAST AND WORLD WAR III – WHY NO PEACE?™ by Dr. Michael Calvo, Esq., - Foreword by Colonel Richard Kemp - is the first book that rigorously considers the critical question of why the Middle East seems unable to achieve peace. It is also the first multimedia book to document and expose the terrorist and anti-Israeli Arab and Palestinian system to eradicate the State of Israel and the Jews in their Land, after delegitimizing, demonizing and dehumanizing them in the West.



Dr Michael Calvo

propaganda war against Israel covering many fields and how to answer it.

They were all wrong. The Europeans, the Americans, the Israelis. Everyone thought that the 'Question of Palestine' was a territorial conflict that could be resolved by territorial concessions, as after European wars. Only Arafat, Mahmud Abbas and other Arab leaders knew that this conflict is not about territory. It is a theological conflict that extends to the whole world, which has become today an abode for conquest for most Muslims.

Behind Boycott, Disinvestment and

The author also analyses the rise of ISIS and the alliance of anti-Semites, anti-Jewish churches, questionable associations, radical Green of both the Left and the Right and extremist Muslims worldwide who lead and foster BDS actions against Israel. He tackles the difficult questions as to why these actions are financed primarily by the European Union and its member states, through European, Palestinian as well as Christian and Muslim NGOs.

You will discover that the Oslo Agreements were not the result of reciprocal concessions negotiated

why there is no peace in most of the Middle East and beyond. You will come to understand how Ayatollah Shia Iran is cleverly able to use Arabs to kill other Arabs all for the greater 'glory' of Persian Shia dominion, first in the Middle East and then in the world.

The book is a veritable documentary treasure trove plus astute commentary. It uses the latest technology (QR code square) to allow you to hear and see critical pronouncements page after page with the use of smart phone technology.

You will certainly be surprised to discover that the Intifada was not a spontaneous uprising and that Arafat and the Palestinian Authority self-avowedly ordered the terrorists into action. Mahmoud Abbas himself has acknowledged giving the orders. We can see and hear him in the book through a QR code. We can also see and hear Mohammed Dahlan stating: "70 percent of the terrorist attacks were done by Palestinian Authority Policemen" and "the Palestinian Authority had hidden Hamas members against Israeli counter-measures."

I urge everyone to read Dr. Calvo's new book. It combines a unique mix of political, geo-political, psychological, religious, as well as Biblical and Koranic analysis. The book thereby provides a broad and deep perspective based upon extensive research. It brings important factual data to help one understand a very complex situation often heavily distorted by politically-motivated disinformation. Its prescriptions for defeating the jihadist pandemic should be taken into account by anyone truly interested in Middle East peace.

Aaron Braunstein is a retired American-born U.S. Foreign Service Officer, resident in Jerusalem, who served 13 years in Arab and Moslem countries including five years in Egypt and two in Tunisia, besides postings in Washington, DC. He is the Founding President of the non-sectarian Jewish Covenant Alliance (JCA), with website at www.covenantalliance.org.

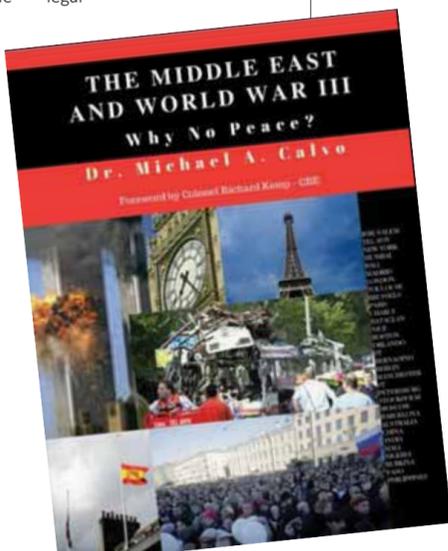
The book is available at Amazon.com and Amazon.fr

“Behind Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions (BDS), the Apartheid Weeks and the delegitimization, demonization and dehumanization of Israeli Jews, there is a Jihadist religious war”

Sanctions (BDS), the Apartheid Weeks and the delegitimization, demonization and dehumanization of Israeli Jews, there is a Jihadist religious war. How to explain otherwise that the so-called peace process did not lead to peace but to terror and war, and that 1.6 billion Muslims fight a country of 6 million Jews and the size of New Jersey?

between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs – not a win-win undertaking. Just an hour after shaking Yitzhak Rabin's hands... on the White House lawn, Jordanian Television broadcast a pre-recorded message from Arafat to the Arab masses assuring them the agreement he had just signed was merely the first step in the phased plan to destroy Israel. Later on Cairo ESC Television in Arabic, Arafat confirmed that the Palestinian flag will fly over Jerusalem, over its walls, minarets and churches. The Israelis ignored that Abbas financed the 1972 Munich massacre and shook the hand of one such murderer.

This book should be read by all political leaders, academics, journalists, students and anyone who wants to understand



The cover of the book

continue from page 7 Harav Benny Elon

vote for the parliament that will be in Amman and they will remain in their place with no transfer. One who insists on becoming an Israeli citizen will need to declare loyalty and serve national service. This concept, too, was not his creation. Many years earlier, Arik Sharon proposed a similar course of action and Dayan was also involved. These are proposals that existed in drawers; however, Benny elaborated, revised and adapted them to the current period and anchored the course of action in international legislation so that it would be possible to implement them.”

Attentive high-ranking ears for the plan in Jordan too

In order to promote the plan, Rav Elon took action in several channels simultaneously. Alongside his public relations activity with billboards, disseminating publicity materials in lectures and speeches, he also made progress in the diplomatic channel. For that purpose, he met with leaders from throughout the world while he was still a member of Knesset and a minister and he established an international lobby to promote the plan in the various parliaments. At the same time, he held talks with Prince Hassan, the brother of King Hussein. “He met with him in Europe and in Jordan,” Emuna relates and notes that it was specifically the fact that Hassan did not fill any official role that enabled him to articulate a more liberal position and willingness to listen to the ideas that Rav Elon presented before him.

In those talks with the Jordanian prince, Rav Elon conveyed the advantages that the plan would yield for the Hashemite Kingdom. It is worthwhile for

Jordan for the same reason that Jordan signed the agreement characterized as a peace agreement, i.e., economic interests. In the framework of that peace agreement, it gave only recognition of Israel as a Jewish state and in return, it received from the world unprecedented recognition that it is an independent, sovereign state and significant monetary support from America and additional countries.”

After leaving the Knesset, Rav Elon established a lobby, with branches in 32 parliaments worldwide, with offices in Asia, Washington and Brussels. “This lobby was based on personal relationships that Benny cultivated with Sisyphean labor over the course of many years with personalities all over the world. He would begin with a Christian Evangelical member of parliament who believes as an article of faith that the land of Israel belongs to the Jewish people, and with the help of that first seed, branches were established with other members. Everything was built on close personal friendship like the one that he had with Mike Pence (Donald Trump's vice president), and like him, there were many others in each and every parliament.”

Although we dedicated the majority of the conversation with Emuna Elon to the section of the Israeli initiative that addressed the future of the Arab refugee; it is important to her to underscore the section addressing the Jews, i.e.: Sovereignty. She mentions that “the first law that Benny legislated with great attention to detail was the plan to apply Sovereignty over the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria, with the intention that Sovereignty would spread over the entire territory.”

continue from page 6 Daniel Pipes

How to escape this 25-year dead end?

The study of history shows that wars typically conclude not through negotiations but through defeat and victory. According to the military historian Victor Hanson, “Conflicts throughout history become serial when an enemy is not utterly defeated and is not forced to submit to the political conditions of the victor.” Defeat means giving up war ambitions. Victory means imposing one's will on the enemy.

It's a simple, universal truth that Palestinians well understand. In July 2017, Fatah declared that the “campaign for Jerusalem has effectively begun and will not stop until a Palestinian victory and the release of the holy sites from Israeli occupation.”

To gain Palestinian acceptance, Israel must return to its old policy of deterrence, of punishing Palestinians severely when they aggress. One example: When rockets come out of Gaza, water, food, and electricity do not go in from Israel for increasingly longer periods of time.

That's deterrence; it's more than tough tactics, which Israeli governments

already pursue; it means developing consistent policies to break rejectionism and encourage Palestinian acceptance of Israel. It implies a strategy to crush irredentist Palestinian ambitions so as finally to end the demonizing of Jews and Israel, recognize historic Jewish ties to Jerusalem, “normalize” relations with Israelis, close the suicide factories, and shutter the entire machinery of warfare. This process will be neither easy nor quick: it requires Palestinians to suffer the bitter crucible of defeat, with its attendant deprivation, destruction, and despair. Unfortunately, there is no shortcut.

A change of heart implies, not just a permanent absence of violence against Israelis but shutting down completely, everywhere from the United Nations to the university campus, the Palestinian-driven campaign of delegitimizing Israel.

If Palestinian defeat is good for Israel, it is ironically even better for Palestinians, who will finally be liberated from ugly ambitions, revolutionary rhetoric, and genocidal fantasies. An educated and skilled people can then improve its life by building its polity, economy, society, and culture. Think of this as a miniature version of post-1945 Germany. And if diplomacy is now premature, issues

such as Jerusalem, borders, and resources can be fruitfully discussed after a Palestinian defeat.

How those issues should be resolved, however, goes beyond our mandate; Israel Victory is solution agnostic. Our goal is only to get Israel to the point where the Palestinians are no longer an enemy. We avoid what happens next for three reasons: It's premature to be working this out now, it distracts attention from victory, and it obstructs making Israel Victory appealing to as wide as possible a swathe of Israelis, Americans, and others.

Western powers should support an Israel acting within legal, moral, and practical boundaries to take the steps necessary to win. They should move their Israel embassies to Jerusalem, reject the Palestinians' claim of Jerusalem as their capital, stand by the Israel Defense Forces when it punishes savagery, and join U.S. ambassador to the UN Nikki Haley in denouncing the “Palestine refugee” farce whereby some children born today are deemed refugees.

Starting about a year ago, the organization I head, the Middle East Forum, has promoted the idea of Israel Victory, in part by organizing



Letter of condolences sent by Vice President Mike Pence to the Elon family after the passing of Rabbi Benny Elon obm

Mr. Pipes (DanielPipes.org, @DanielPipes) is president of the Middle East Forum. © 2018 by Daniel Pipes. All rights reserved.



The Demographic Jinn again emerges from the Palestinian Bottle of Lies

In the discussion held recently in the Knesset, representatives of the Civil Administration presented demographic data that reinforced the position of those who are in favor of dividing the Land and establishing another Arab state in its heart. The data seems to show Jewish-Arab equality between the sea and the Jordan River. In this article, demographer Ya'akov Feitelson summarizes the main points of deliberate misrepresentation, lies and distortions that the disturbing data of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics was based on. Is the threat of the demographic genie increasing or dissipating?

For many years now, a number of Israeli experts have been doggedly declaring their absolute faith in the credibility of the Palestinian Authority's official demographic data. To reinforce their position, they point to the publications issued by the Civil Administration as if it was another independent and autonomous source.

But even two years ago (on June 7, 2016), in a discussion of the subcommittee for Judea and Samaria of the Knesset's Committee for Security and Foreign Affairs, representatives of the Civil Administration said that they only "maintain" the data from the Palestinian Authority on the size of the Arab population in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip and that these data include people who have emigrated from the area long ago and are permanently living abroad.

Also, the Palestinian Authority's data on the Arab birthrate, which is copied and submitted to the government of Israel by the Civil Administration, are unreliable, since they include the children of emigrants who were born abroad and are living abroad.

Here, it is important to note that including the emigrants as part of the existing population in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip contravenes international procedures defined by the UN in performing a population census, according to which, anyone who leaves the country to live abroad for a period of more than 12 consecutive months is not included among the population registry of the country that he left. Only if he returns to the country and stays there for at least 90 consecutive days can he be included in that country's population registry.

The reliability of demographic data regarding the Palestinian population is doubtful not only regarding the Arab population in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. On December 26, 2017, the first population census of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon was taken. The census showed that there were 174,422 Palestinians living in Lebanon, about one third of the official UNWRA data, according to which, this population numbered 469,331 refugees.

We can understand how the data that is submitted to the Civil Administration is distorted by examining the balance of Arab immigration and emigration and data on mortality in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.

Balance of Arab Immigration/Emigration in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip

According to data from 1997, which were provided by Dr. Abu Libdeh, who was the chairman of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, the number of migrants from Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, which were included in the census data, stood at 325,253 people for that year.

According to Civil Administration data for the years 1997-2007, which were submitted by Deputy General Sharon Biton, December 12, 2008, there was an overall negative balance of migration of 309,361 people; of this number, 212,299 people were from Judea and Samaria and 97,062 people were from the Gaza Strip.

According to the assessment of the American Office of Statistics, the negative balance of migration from the territories of the Palestinian Authority for the years 2008-2017 amounted to 213,579 people, among whom were 122,691 from Judea and Samaria and 90,888 people from the Gaza Strip. This indicates that in the years from 1967 to 2017, the negative Arab balance of immigration from Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip amounted to 848,193 people, among whom were the 516,553 who emigrated from Judea and Samaria and the approximately 331,640 who emigrated from the Gaza Strip.

Arab Mortality in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip

As Col. Mendes noted to the members of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the data that is presented regarding Arab mortality in the territories of the Palestinian Authority represent a number that is less than the reality. This phenomenon is not new and as noted by Advisor to the UN, Dr. Wail R. Ananab"... The registration of births and deaths was incomplete and of poor quality before 1967, especially in the villages where there was a lack of health services such as hospitals and clinics; therefore it is difficult to be sure of the levels and trends of fertility and mortality in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip... In 1971, the Central Bureau of Statistics estimated that about two thirds of the deaths in the West Bank are not reported".

However, the data on deaths that are presented by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), the Palestinian Authority's Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) and the U.S. (USCB) indicate a trend of rising numbers of deaths among Israeli Arabs as well as in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.

As an example of the unreliability of mortality data in Judea and Samaria, we can compare the estimates of the USCB with that of the PCBS for the years 2000-2015. According to the USCB, in the years 2000-2015 there were 142,778 deaths in Judea and Samaria, 52.8% more than the estimate of the PCBS, which reported 93,454 deaths.

It should be noted that **under-reporting of mortality artificially increases the size of the present population; as a result, this brings in more material support to the authorities of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip from international sources, because it is granted according to the number of reported residents.**

The Size of the Population in the Western Land of Israel

According to data that the chairman of the PCBS, Dr. Alaa Awad recently presented, the number of Palestinians in Judea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip and east Jerusalem in 2017 stands at 4,952,168 people, among whom, 3,008,770 are in Judea and Samaria and 1,943,398 are in the Gaza Strip.

We will not relate here to the lack of reliable demographic data from the PCBS, which is waging a psychological war against the Jewish state. We will take these data as a basis for calculating the size of the population from the top down, and we will subtract the data of the negative migration for the period between 1967 and 2017 and the residents of eastern Jerusalem, who carry Israeli identification cards. This way we can see that the population of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the year 2017 numbered 3,787,000 people. This breaks down to 2,175,217 people in Judea and Samaria and 1,611,758 people in the Gaza Strip.

These data on the population of the PA also include the children of migrants who were born abroad, who are also listed as residents of the PA, as well as the residents that have died but were not removed from the Palestinian population registry.

According to the PCBS's latest publication, in the years 2007 to 2017, the population of Judea and Samaria grew by 27%, more than in the previous decade and in the Gaza Strip it grew by 37.2%, almost identical to the increase in the years 1997-2007.

This estimate contradicts the publications about the continued downward trend in general fertility that exists among the population in the PA. According to the USCB, the general fertility rate has decreased in Judea and Samaria by 17.8% and in the Gaza Strip it has decreased even more – by 33.4%.

If we subtract the residents of the Gaza Strip from the general population, we see that in 2017, in the State of Israel and Judea and Samaria, there are approximately 10,334,976 people, with the percent of the Jewish population at 67.3%; the percent of Muslims is 30.0% and the percent of Druze, Circassians, Arameans, Armenians and Christian Arabs is 2.7%.

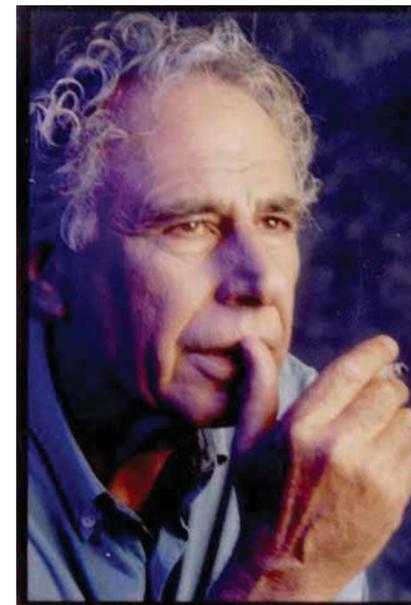
The Forecast for 2059

According to the CBS scenario 2 for the State of Israel in 2059, the extended Jewish population should reach 14,283,000 people and according to the Scenario 3 – to 15,964,800 Jews. According to both of the scenarios, the Arab population will number 2,796,000 people.

According to the author's forecast from 2011, if the existing demographic trends continue, that is, assuming that the Arab birthrate will continue to decrease, the Jewish birthrate will be maintained, and the existing trends in the balance of migration will continue for Jews (aliyah) and the Arabs (negative immigration), the general population in the Land of Israel should reach approximately 19,486,977 people in the year 2059.

According to this forecast, the expanded Jewish population should reach a number of residents slightly lower than the CBS forecast- 13,913,723 people, which is 71.4% of the general population. The Arab citizens of Israel should be slightly higher than the CBS forecast – 2,811,754, or 14.4% of the general population. The population of PA Arabs could reach 2,761,500 people, or 14.2% of the general population of the Land of Israel between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River.

They defined Judea and Samaria as outside the Land...



Architect Yisrael Gudovitz Photo Wikipedia

For many years, architect Yisrael Gudovitz, who was formerly responsible for national planning, has demanded to define the status of Judea and Samaria and stop evading the responsibility of planning for these areas. Until now, he states, the Green Line has been defined as the border, but what is beyond it? Is it some other country? Is it abandoned land?

Architect Yisrael Gudovitz served as head of national planning for the State of Israel during the critical decade between 1964 and 1974. His expertise in urban planning earned him an international name. For years Gudovitz has been stating that Israeli planning in all that is related to Judea and Samaria is shamefully inadequate.

In his opinion (and he proves this with data from the field) **the placement of the Green Line is totally illogical** from the point of view of planning, and the Israeli decision made many years to relate to these areas as out of bounds and beyond our consciousness is totally pointless and thoughtless. As he begins speaking, he emphasizes that he is not relating to political matters, in which field he is not an expert, but that he examines things from the point of view of planning and from the viewpoint of an urban planner who has been involved in this field for sixty years.

"When you plan a city, you cannot ignore the macro aspect. The macro for Tel Aviv includes all of the area from Sinai to the Hermon and from the sea to the Jordan River. These are the natural boundaries of the Land of Israel", he says, stressing that "I make a distinction between the Land of Israel and the State of Israel". It seems that the political injustice done to the Land of Israel in placing the Green Line as the border has been infuriating him for years. In his opinion the thought process of planning must relate to the entire area between the sea and the Jordan as one unit, but again and again, the government of Israel has decided, in political acts, to divide the area illogically and to leave the Green Line as the border for planning, beyond which sovereign Israel does not plan roads, construction, water conduits, electricity and so forth.

"The State of Israel, with all of its political shades and colors, has created conditions that make it impossible to solve the political problem", says Gudovitz relating to outline plans that have been made over the years.

"In political discussion in the Knesset you can prattle as much as you want, but Ben Gurion understood that a state needs a plan and a plan must have borders. This is the essence of a national outline plan", he says and tells of how Ben Gurion instructed architect Arie Sharon to prepare a national outline plan for the State of Israel with an enclave in its heart. "What is it? They asked him. 'It is outside of Israel' he answered. This is how two "kidney-shaped" areas were created in the heart of the Land, Judea in the south and Samaria in the north, and between them, a small 'button', which is Jerusalem. These two kidneys still have no clear sovereignty and now we must provide an answer to the question of the identity of these two kidneys".

Gudovitz views the plan that drew the Green Line as impossible and unacceptable. "Borders are natural, like a sea, a river or a mountain range like the Great Wall in China between Mongolia and China", he says and finds it difficult to understand how a respected architect could have accepted the impossible, unprofessional and illogical task from Ben Gurion to prepare a plan that ignores this unit of land's geographic conditions and the internal connections, without asking vital questions of the prime minister who had instructed him to do so.

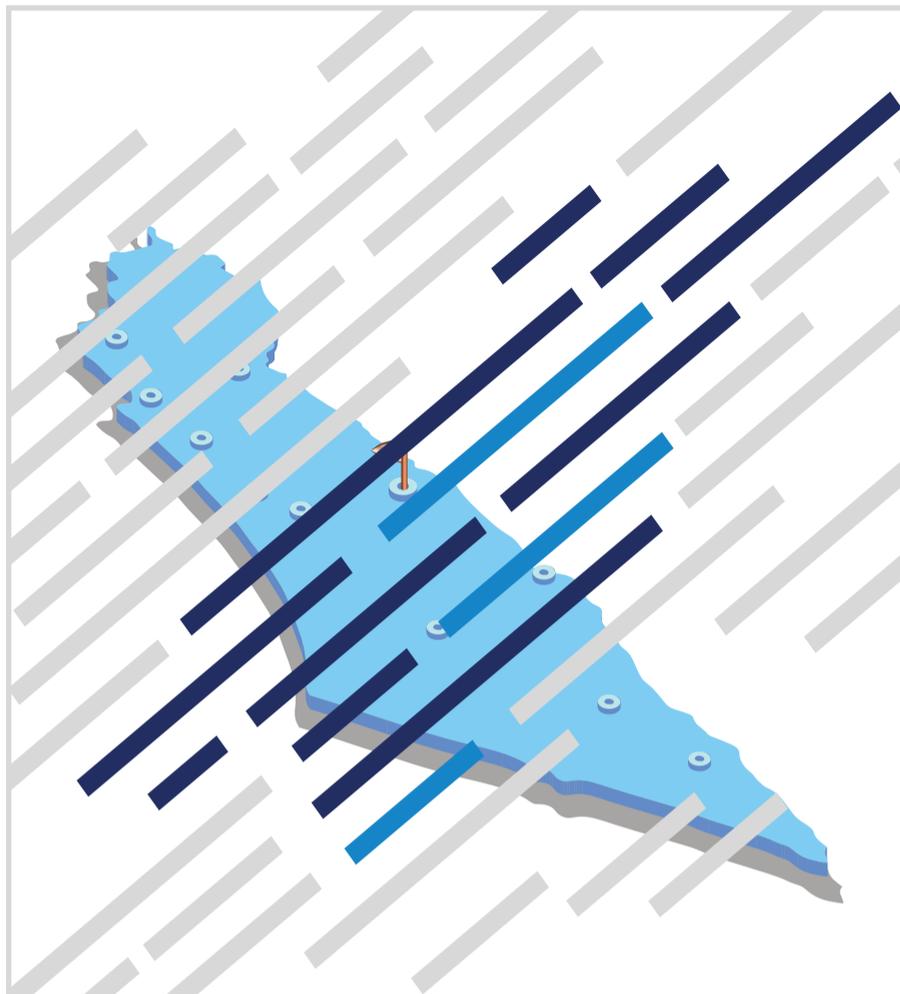
Another national outline plan was approved in 2006-7,

when Ariel Sharon was the prime minister and this one also does not cross the Green Line and places the line as a border and whatever is beyond it is abandoned land. Meanwhile, Gudovitz says, Ehud Barak ran to Clinton, the U.S. president at that time, and in his sack he had a map of a division plan as a political proposal which confirms the borders that were fixed by Ben Gurion. "If I were on the enemy's side, I would have taken this plan, which was prepared by the best experts and I would have said 'here is Palestine'. What are we talking about, anyway? We have no quarrel between us. TAMA 35 determines facts and borders".

Illustrating the practical implications of the artificial and illogical separation of the area, Gudovitz says: **The sewage from Nablus does not flow uphill. It flows down and comes to Jenin and from Jenin it comes to Afula. Separation fences do not help. The sewage will flow from below and advance.** Infrastructures are systems of continuous lines. A road must go from point to point and if it is cut off at an imaginary point it is not a road but just an asphalt surface. It is the same for high-tension lines, water, energy or sewage. They are not cut off in the middle. There are also forests, whether natural or planted, and it is impossible to pass a border in the middle of a forest".

Gudovitz demands again and again and from every possible stage to clarify the legal status of Judea and Samaria, whether it is really "outside the state" or part of the state, requiring preparation and planning. "Instead of dealing with the Iranian nuclear project or at least simultaneously, fix this situation. You establish Amona according to planning criteria but outside of the Land..." he adds, derisively. "If, in some strange way, almost magically, you, the government of Israel, removed Judea and Samaria from the State of Israel then how can you be sovereign? You, the government of Israel, created a state for us with two holes. Ben Gurion and Sharon, with their outline plans, determined the Green Line as a border. This infuriates me".

The area between the sea and the Jordan must be planned as one unit. The Green Line cannot be a border



The Program

- 4:30 pm **Entry, Handing out name tags, light refreshments**
- 4:50 pm **Opening**
Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar
The Sovereignty Movement
- 5:00 pm **Words of Greeting**
Rav Shmuel Eliahu, Rav of Tsfat
- 5:15 pm **Why Sovereignty?**
Sarah Haetzni-Cohen, Yisrael Sheli
- 5:35 pm **Talking about Sovereignty**
Matan Tzur and MK Bezalel Smotrich
- 5:50 pm **What to say? How to speak with the public**
Dr Irit Alon
- 6:20 pm **Why do I need Sovereignty? A film of illustration and explanation**
- 6:30 pm **Leaders of the Youth Movements:**
B'nei Akiva, Ariel, Ezra, Beitar
- 7:10 pm **It's our turn! The youth asks questions:**
Security - Dep. Gen. (Res) *Amir Avivi*
Land usage - *Meir Deutsch, Regavim*
Political - *Orit Struck, Land of Israel Lobby*
Tachles - *Matan Peleg, Im Tirzu*
- 7:45 pm **Kahoot quiz with prizes**
- 8:15 pm **Estimated time of conclusion**
Moderator: *Matan Tzur*



The Youth Supports Sovereignty



Sunday, May 27, 2018

The First Youth Conference

Hechal Shlomo, Jerusalem

For more information ribonut@gmail.com

ribonut.co.il **בשבוע**

Buses will be provided from all areas of the Land/Registration required 050-5500834

Gap-year students! English translation will be provided if there is enough demand. Be in touch.