SOVEREIGNTY

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MK Orit Struk

Photo: Flash 90

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A Word from the Editors

Operation Protective Edge, which we recently experienced, has left behind a few strong and basic insights for us: the danger of a Palestinian state is clearer today than ever. After the uprooting and expulsion from Gush Katif, control of the Gaza Strip was not transferred to Hamas but to the "moderate" Abu Mazen. However, within a short time he was thrown out, his people were shot to death or thrown from the tenth floor to the sound of cheers from Hamas, Ismail Haniye and his gang imposed their terror on the entire Strip and Hamas became the exclusive power in Gaza.

Those who hung their hopes on the "moderate" leadership of Abu Mazen received a painful and bloody message regarding the intentions of Hamas. Now it is clear to an increasing number of Israelis that if, G-d forbid, Judea and Samaria are given to Abu Mazen, the scenario of the Gaza Strip would return and within a short amount of time the Arab revolution would be complete – Hamas would drive Fatah out, depriving it of its authority, take the reins into its own hands and, from here to a missile attack on Gush Dan from the heights of Samaria and from the hills of Judea on Beersheba and Jerusalem, the way would be short and terrible.

Another insight etched into our consciousness during the days of the operation is regarding Ben Gurion Airport. One day of concern about missiles on Yehud led friendly airlines to announce that their jets would not land at Ben Gurion. There was total hysteria in the wake of just one such day as this. International meetings were cancelled, business deals torpedoed, masses of citizens found themselves sitting on their suitcases with no one to talk to at unmanned airport counters. After only one day of international concern over missiles. No one wants to imagine what the damage to the Israeli economy would be if there was a permanent threat of missiles from the hills of Samaria and the Benyamin region, and if the Palestinians could detect every takeoff and landing at the distance of a mortar. Any responsible CEO of an airline who is committed to the safety of his passengers would distance his jets from the skies over Israel and the economic ramifications as a result of the establishment of a Palestinian state would be immediate and so painful as to be intolerable.

The more these understandings are internalized within the Israeli public, the greater the expectation for a diplomatic alternative that would stand strong against the nightmare of dividing the Land. In this issue of Sovereignty we continue to present the vision of sovereignty. You will discover that the vision of sovereignty is no longer only a declaration of intentions and ideological ideas, but a process that is progressing step after step within the halls of the Knesset.

We dedicate this issue of Sovereignty to the great spiritual figure and guide Uri Elitzur, of blessed memory, who passed away a few months ago.

About a month before Uri's death, he agreed to grant a comprehensive interview to our Sovereignty journal regarding his vision to apply Israeli sovereignty over Judea and Samaria, which is now taking on flesh and bones. Uri's complex medical condition did not prevent him from working to carry out his vision but it was during the time when his newspaper, Makor Rishon, was undergoing restructuring, and the demands of his full schedule caused the intended interview to be put off from day to day.

The interview was postponed until his fate overtook him and the bitter news reached us that Uri, z"l, was taken from us. He who held the arrow and showed the way is no longer with us, but those who walk in this path are increasing in number and we have no doubt that, together and as a great and powerful community, we will yet arrive.

By the courtesy of his dear family, we were given the privilege to comb through his innumerable articles and extract, from the sea of pearls, a number of which we have included for the edition that is in your hands. The task of choosing was not easy. Each and every article Uri Elitzur left behind is a statement and has insight that must be internalized and applied, but the limitations of space compelled us to choose several excerpts from his articles with the hope and faith that his full writings will eventually be collected and resonate throughout Israel's public discourse. We thank the members of Uri's family for their cooperation and, on behalf of the editorial staff, we publish the personal words of his son, Rav Itai Elizur, in honor of the issue that is dedicated to his late father.

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

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.

My father took upon himself the task of promoting sovereignty

Even when the battle for the Whole Land of Israel first began, it was clear to my father, of blessed memory, that the goal of the battle is the State of Israel's sovereignty over the Land of Israel. Over time, he discovered that there are some people for whom this is not clear and that someone must explain this point to them.

He took this task upon himself. Over the years he published many articles which clarify this point. Thank G-d, today there are many people who do this and speak about it and everyone knows that the subject is now discussed seriously.

We thank the editors of Sovereignty, who chose to dedicate this issue to the memory of my father by bringing samples of my father's articles on this important subject.

Itai Elitzur

Uri Elitzur z"l Photo: Makor Rishon

Letters to the Editor

Letters from our Readers:

Jews of the World Join the Call for Sovereignty
TO PRIME MINISTER BINYAMIN NETANYAHU AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

We, the undersigned – and all members of The Toronto Zionist Council, ardent lovers of Israel – hereby fully endorse and subscribe to the endeavor undertaken by Canadians for Israel's Legal Rights and its chairperson, Goldi Steiner to urge the government of Israel to declare the Jewish people's rights to the entire land of Israel, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, as recognized by the 1920 San Remo Resolution and the Mandate for Palestine 1922 under International law.

Declaring Israel's legal rights and asserting Israel's rightful sovereignty will increase our national long term security by clearly defining the borders of the Jewish State.

Establishing Israeli sovereignty, democracy, human rights and law for every person within those borders will be a standard and a model of Jewish values and actions for the entire world.

Without restoring the truth and our rights, there is no solution.

Joseph Winter, President
Paul Rotenberg, Vice President
TORONTO ZIONIST COUNCIL 788 Marlee Ave Toronto, Ontario Canada M6B 3K1
Signed in Toronto, Canada, September 2, 2014

Civil Rights for Jews

I attended the Sovereignty conference you organized in Haifa and want to congratulate you on your wonderful work. I would like to point out something regarding sovereignty in Area C – one important reason for applying sovereignty that I missed hearing about during the conference – the fact the Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria have been living under military rule for more than 45 years! This is both unfair and unreasonable, harming basic civil rights of hundreds of thousands of Jewish residents. Anyone, on the Left or the Right can relate to this.

Also, to those living outside of Israel, the matter is clear and obvious – even without considering matters of security, historical rights and other important issues – it is natural and democratic to consider the abrogated civil rights of the Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria and take measures to improve the situation (by application of sovereignty). This is obvious and difficult to argue with and even the prime minister and the politicians can relate to the need for a solution of "this problem" because it is their obligation. In my opinion, this subject must specifically lead the push because it comes from a true and simple place that is not disputed.

It is discrimination that has lasted for 45 years. In the Jewish state, hundreds of thousands of Jews have been living under military rule for decades.

The time has come to end this disgrace.

Orliya Kirmayer, Haifa
Hezi Zilberman

Application of Sovereignty - not "Annexation"

Some people on the Right call for annexing Judea and Samaria or some areas within them. I say we need to do away with the term 'annexation' and erase it from the political lexicon of the Right. When we assert our sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, it is not annexation at all, since 'annexation' implies that you are taking territory that is not yours to begin with. Judea and Samaria is an integral part of the Land of Israel. It is already ours and there is no need for 'annexation'. What is needed is the official declaration of Israeli sovereignty.

Besides the fact that Judea and Samaria are already an integral part of the Land of Israel, there is another factor to consider. The term 'annexation' has an especially negative connotation in the international arena. Since there is some gravity and importance to the world's public opinion, it is better to use the phrase 'application of sovereignty' rather than 'annexation', which calls to mind past aggression of many countries, for example, Germany and Russia. France, the Netherlands and Belgium have also been guilty of imperialism, as well as Britain and America. These countries have come to regard the term 'annexation' in very a negative light, since it reminds them of their own past sins.

Talia Shimon, Tiberias

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Minister Katz: We will reach the Goal of Sovereignty through Jerusalem

"Greater Jerusalem" as a first step in the battle for Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria. Photo: Ofek

He is defined as the government's bulldozer and, along with the changes in traffic patterns that he causes in Israel's roads, he also promotes the establishment of 'Greater Jerusalem', which will include Gush Etzion, Ma'ale Adumim and more. In his view, it will be difficult to find opposition to this plan, and afterwards, the map will look entirely different. An interview with Minister Yisrael Katz.

Minister of Transportation Yisrael Katz

Minister of Transportation, Yisrael Katz is a Likud member who is known for leading and presenting clear positions. For example, he was outspoken against the release of terrorists while other ministers remained silent. Today, while other Likud members are busy minimizing the damage from Oslo and putting out fires that the Left has ignited, Minister Katz again presents a clear position on the matter of sovereignty, stating that Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is the plan that must be placed on the table, and it should be done openly.

Minister Katz supports the idea of applying gradual sovereignty, first and foremost over area C, and even beyond this. Contrary to Bennett's plan, Katz believes it is possible to apply sovereignty over the territory, even without including within it the Arabs who live there, a population that stands at seventy thousand people. "But even application of sovereignty over Area C is a good step," he says and notes his relationship to Minister Bennett. "We have shared similar opinions in the past, even before he became a Member of Knesset."

And what would happen regarding the Arab population? He returns to a solution spoken of in the days of Camp David – autonomy. "My vision of autonomy for the Arab residents is what was determined in Camp David. This was the most correct position and it's a shame that the discussion over this has been stopped. The entire attempt to move in the direction of a Palestinian state was bound to fail. I am talking about autonomy with a civil affiliation to Jordan and a type of political affiliation in the future with Jordan, an autonomy that would enable them to conduct their own lives but without matters regarding foreign relations or security."

Until that time, Katz, continues his activities. The political, diplomatic affiliation, he sees as a battlefield in which troops are facing each other; troops of the left against troops of the right and in order to win the battle you must identify the enemy's weak spot and act there with full power. He identifies the weak spot that will be difficult for the Left to deal with as Jerusalem. As a first step in the battle for sovereignty over all of Judea and Samaria, Katz began with a course of action whose objective is called "Greater Jerusalem", which will extend considerably over the Green Line. To the extent that it will succeed, he knows the diplomatic and political picture will change unrecognizably. Sovereignty will be almost here, within a hand's reach.

What will the dissenters complain about? Demography? Policy?

In his plan for Greater Jerusalem, Minister Katz includes Ma'ale Adumim, Beitar Illit, Giv'at Ze'ev and Gush Etzion. Israeli sovereignty will be applied over these areas, while logistical matters – traffic and infrastructure – will be combined under one roof in order to provide municipal independence in many areas.

Katz points to two European capitals as examples of this model. According to him, every Londoner or Parisian would accept this idea as obvious. This is how it is for them and there is no reason that it should not also be here.

Katz doesn't envision strong objection by the Left to the expansion of Jerusalem. There is nothing in this, he notes, that represents a demographic threat. All the Zionist parties, on the Left and of course on the Right, repeat the claim that these areas would be part of the State of Israel in any future agreement. The only objection that might remain is that of timing, an issue that will require a political and public relations battle. Katz is hopeful the importance of Jerusalem – both to Israelis and to Jews outside Israel – will help on this front.

"There will be a battle here. I am leading the battle openly and with all my strength and abilities. I will let the members of Knesset bring legislation and I will fight to have a majority in the government. This is a process we have not seen since the Six Day War and clearly there will be a battle here but I believe the time is right and the idea is correct. This will serve as a catalyst for remaining future matters concerning Judea and Samaria. For the time being, it seems to me this is an important matter for which we can muster maximum support."

> In his plan for Greater Jerusalem, Minister Katz includes Ma'aleh Adumim, Beitar Illit, Givat Ze'Ev and Gush Etzion. Israeli sovereignty will be applied over these areas, while traffic and infrastructure matters will be combined under one roof.

> The entire attempt to move in the direction of a Palestinian state was bound to fail. I am talking about autonomy with a civil affiliation to Jordan and a type of political affiliation in the future with Jordan, an autonomy that would enable them to conduct their own lives but without matters regarding foreign relations or security.

Katz is not satisfied with only Israeli parliamentary and public support. "World Jewry, and mainly the Jews of the US, support such a process and support Jerusalem," he says, and adds, "In the US, Israel's friends will see this as something clear and significant to fight for. Not to be in a losing battle over small things, but to fight for the main thing."

But also here, in Israel, Katz is convinced the timing is right. Abu Mazen's recent actions – his joining in a government with Hamas and his appeals to the UN – convince increasing parts of Israeli society and members of the government that dramatic steps must be taken. He sees the expansion of Jerusalem as the correct and necessary step to take now. "Something has changed. I have said in the past that Abu Mazen would not relinquish the right of return or other basic issues and now ministers from Yesh Atid are saying that they do not see Abu Mazen signing an agreement and conceding. It is clear to the public that over the next few years nothing is going to happen with the PA. Israel must consider what measures to take, and in my opinion, this is the necessary course."

"This process does not contradict other things and it has tremendous advantages. It can take on the most powerful tailwind. We must concentrate efforts on this touchstone and bring to bear all the political, parliamentary and media power for this thing because it is easiest to fight for this. When this thing happens, all the rules of this irrelevant game that we have gone along with for so many years will be broken. This is Archimedes point," he says, and emphasizes that there is nothing in this act to minimize the strength of the practical settlement enterprise throughout Judea and Samaria.

And what is Prime Minister Netanyahu expected to say about the plan? Won't he tell you to calm down?

"It's impossible for him to say something like that to me. I believe in this and will act with all my power to promote it and achieve a majority within the government. I will try to convince him that it is worthwhile for him. This is an initiative that is easy to explain to the world. Just as it is important to speak of recognizing the Jewish state, we will fight for Jerusalem. This is the biggest thing and has the most support in Israel and in the world, in the Jewish communities and in the American Congress. It is necessary, also from the point of view of common sense. This is the way that cities in the world work. This is worth fighting for."

This process might bring about changes in the composition of the coalition.

"That may be. It is also worthwhile. While we are fighting for a building, or the edge of a settlement, however important it may be, let's also fight for the major thing. Let's weigh all these leaders against Jerusalem and our right to Jerusalem. As long as there is a supportive atmosphere among the public, this will bring about significant enthusiasm." ■

Sovereignty is on the Way - The Laws are Already on the Table

While there are many people who talk, making declarations and statements, ten laws of sovereignty relating to ten different areas in Judea and Samaria are already on the table in the Knesset. Behind this process stand the heads of the Land of Israel Lobby, MKs Orit Struk and Yariv Levin. Could we be coming closer to the implementation of sovereignty?

MK's Yariv Levin and Orit Struk, heads of Land of Israel Lobby in the Knesset

The laws of sovereignty are actually intended for the application of Israeli sovereignty gradually over the areas of settlement in Judea and Samaria, which is called Area C, in keeping with the idea that the entire process of Zionism is a gradual process.

Members of Knesset, Orit Struk and Yariv Levin, heads of the Land of Israel Lobby in the Knesset, have prepared ten laws for applying sovereignty over ten different areas in Judea and Samaria. We discussed with MK Struk the laws that have been proposed and that are awaiting the right moment to be moved along in the path of parliamentary legislation.

"The laws of sovereignty are actually intended for the application of Israeli sovereignty gradually over the areas of settlement in Judea and Samaria, which is called Area C, in keeping with the idea that the entire process of Zionism is a gradual process. Indeed, there are sometimes jumps within this gradual process but the process overall is gradual. Regarding the State of Israel as well, things were gradual. In the beginning there was sovereignty over some territories of the state, and afterward over Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. We believe that it is a gradual process that must progress step by step," explains Struk regarding the logic behind the string of laws.

Struk and Levin see the current timing, in the shadow of changes in the Middle East and in the nearer reality of conflict with PA Arabs, as the right time to promote their course of action. "The Oslo Accords were a very severe deviation from the rising path of Zionism, but now there is disillusionment with the Oslo Accords and now is the time to return to the classic path of Zionism. We came to the Land to apply Israeli sovereignty over it and to establish, within it, a Jewish state in its entire territory, gradually."

So what will we do with these laws?

"We have divided the areas of settlement into ten different areas that can be called blocs, but contrary to the accepted use of the term, 'blocs of settlement', which usually signifies that some of the settlements are included and some are excluded, the blocs in our proposal include all of the communities and also the areas between them.

"We talk about the fact that, among others, there is an Arab population in these areas, about whom the dry data tell us their number cannot change the demographic balance of the Land of Israel significantly. There are between fifty and seventy thousand people, numbers that essentially do not change the demographic balance, which continues to improve with the years. In every area where we decide to promote the legislation, it means that Israeli sovereignty will be applied there."

In explaining the law, Struk and Levin quoted broad sections from the Declaration of Independence "because, in our eyes, this is one step that begins with the application of sovereignty in '48 and continues until the application of sovereignty in our days. It is the same rationale that says that the Jewish people originated in the Land of Israel and all of its history is in the Land. No other nation ever had its national home here; for two thousand years we were faithful and longed for the Land. We mention the resolution of the San Remo Conference to establish a national home for the Jewish People in the Land of Israel. This resolution is the basis in international law for the entire process of the return to Zion and application of sovereignty throughout the Land of Israel."

Learning Jewish history through the law proposals

Levin and Struk also added, into each one of the laws, something relating specifically to the close bond between each targeted area and its role in Jewish history. Regarding the city of Ariel and its surroundings, the proposed law refers to the "*cradle of the Jewish People, which has always been an inseparable part of the historical Land of Israel. After the People was expelled from its Land, it remained faithful in every country of its Diaspora and never ceased praying and hoping to return to its Land and to renew its political freedom within it. Because of this historical and traditional connection, the Jews strove, in every generation, to return and to take hold of their ancient homeland.*

Israel's right to these parcels of land was also recognized by the nations of the world, in the Balfour Declaration and the resolution of San Remo, which bestowed international legitimacy to the historical bond between the Jewish People and the Land of Israel and its right to establish anew its national home there. The recognition, by the United Nations, of the Jewish People's right to establish a state in its land, cannot be revoked. At the end of the War of Independence, this strip of land remained under Jordanian occupation for 19 years, until its liberation in the Six Day War."

In the law regarding Hebron, it is written: *"The forefathers and foremothers of the Israeli nation lived and were buried in Hebron, in the Cave of the Patriarchs, which is the first Hebrew property in the Land of Israel. And this is where the kingdom of David was first established. Jewish life thrived in the hills of Hebron, even after the destruction of the Second Temple, and in the city itself there was continuity of Jewish life until the riots of 1929 and 1936. At the end of the War of Independence the city of Hebron and its environs remained for 19 years under Jordanian occupation, until liberation in the Six Day War. Immediately after the liberation of Hebron from the yoke of Jordanian occupation, David ben Gurion called for Jews to settle in Hebron 'in order to demonstrate to the world its (Israel's) sovereignty over these territories, which always had been Jewish, and had been lost in the War of Independence,' and he noted that 'Hebron is worthy to be a sister to Jerusalem.'*

Many years have passed since then, during which the State of Israel established thriving Israeli communities in the area, where tens of thousands of Israeli citizens live, some of whom are now raising a third and fourth generation. Along with these new communities, there are holy places; first and foremost, the Cave of the Patriarchs, which attracts tens of thousands of Jews, as well as archaeological and historical sites that testify to the long bond between the People of Israel and these parcels of Land. Therefore the time has come to apply sovereignty over these areas that include Hebron, Kiryat Arba and communities of the Local Council of Mount Hebron, including commercial and industrial areas, archaeological sites, roads, Area C and all of the state lands between the communities."

The Oslo Accords were a very severe deviation from the rising path of Zionism, but now there is disillusionment with the Oslo Accords and now is the time to return to the classic path of Zionism. We came to the Land to apply Israeli sovereignty over it and to establish, within it, a Jewish state in its entire territory, gradually.

If we look at the issue purely from an economic point of view, we will understand that we are obligated by the reality to apply sovereignty - it is the only solution that will grant a better quality of life to the Arabs and the Jews alike.

Even the Left agrees to the idea of blocs

MK Struk emphasizes how the proposed laws further the political foundation developed by the Left. "From the standpoint of hasbara (official Israel public relations activity), we are saying that even the Left says that what they call 'blocs of settlement' will of course remain under Israeli sovereignty in an agreement. We say that there is no significant difference between what they define as blocs and what we call blocs, meaning all the areas that are settled, because from the demographic point of view, it is insignificant and from the point of view of benefit, there is great value to the communities that people have been living in for three and four generations beyond the fact that these are areas that are the cradle of Jewish culture."

And what will happen regarding Areas A and B? Have you given them up?

"We understand that the process is gradual and, at the moment, the process regarding Area C is logical and realistic compared with the other areas that are still far from attainable at this point. But history is always evolving and we are not giving up these areas, but rather, progressing and ascending one more step."

The journalist Caroline Glick claims that applying sovereignty in part of the areas is like paying full price for half of the goods – because we would have to absorb an international attack in any case – so it would be better to apply sovereignty over the entire territory.

"If the Israeli public was composed of seven million Caroline Glicks and Orit Struks then she is correct, but the people are not like this. We must aim towards something that the Israeli public, with its present situation, would be able to digest. The turnaround that we are experiencing away from the Oslo idea and the concept of two states to the concept of one state is a very significant turning point that must also be processed by the public. The public must also accept the ability to apply sovereignty over areas that have several thousand Arabs who are still called Palestinians by the public. With hasbara work, the people will be able to accept this. As of now, it is impossible to create such a basis of support for the idea of annexing the entire area including Ramallah, Nablus and more cities. I agree and also Caroline Glick agrees to this but the general public is not there yet. That's why we must continue in what has been the Zionist way, which has always been a gradual path."

What about the prime minister? Will he accept such proposed laws? Without him it simply will not happen.

"The prime minister does not concern me much. The prime minister has denied our initiatives in the past but then he joined them. This is how it was with the referendum. When we began, they told us that there is no chance. The prime minister objected; afterward he joined and now, he leads it. I do not negate the possibility that the prime minister would support, or at least not try to prevent the law's promotion. Already, many ministers support the process openly, from the Likud, as well as Israel Our Home and the Jewish Home Party. These things depend on hasbara work, so that the public will see the idea of two states as an absurd idea that has no practicality, something that more and more of the public understands and has internalized, even now. And the more this happens, the idea of sovereignty – the Zionist idea, which is not an alternative idea, but the leading, primary idea – will continue to advance."

A Knesset Committee Photo: Miri Tsachi

And what about the international response? Is this important in your eyes?

"There is no doubt that the international arena is important and relevant and we will need to do hasbara work in this area as well, but it all begins with the People of Israel knowing what it wants. Until today, the world has not recognized our sovereignty over Jerusalem or the Golan Heights and despite this, the sovereignty exists and is strong." ■

Joan Peters in a rare interview: Israeli sovereignty is indispensable in light of the Arab fraud

In an exclusive interview with Sovereignty, journalist Joan Peters, author of the best-seller, *From Time Immemorial*, analyzes reality in the Middle East both clearly and eloquently and calls on the world to recognize and reject the Arab fraud embodied in the words 'Palestinian state'.

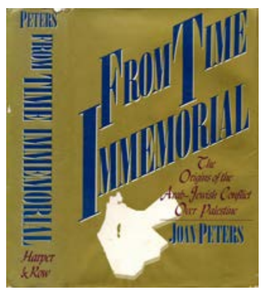
From Time Immemorial, with its profound insights, quickly became an integral part of the internal Israeli discourse on subjects ranging from Arabs of Judea and Samaria, refugees and UNRWA to the chances of a final agreement between Israel and her neighbors. The energetic journalist still writes about the situation in the Middle East, in general, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, in particular. Women in Green leaders, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, met Joan Peters some time ago and stayed in touch. Towards the publication of Sovereignty Issue number 4, they asked Peters some questions about her seminal book, about Zionism, and, of course, about sovereignty.

What made you decide to write your book and how did you come to realize the truth was different than what you originally thought?

Peters explains how she started out writing from the perspective of a human rights activist - who came to Israel to support the Arabs in Israel. "I was not a Zionist, or rather, not until my research taught me why Zionism is imperative to Jews who understand that Israel is forever our protection and our joy. I was an ardent civil rights activist helping to register Black Americans to vote, comparing what little I knew of the Arabs in Israel to the outrage of slavery and then racism as it existed in places in the South—Mississippi and South Carolina, where I worked. Of course, as I learned, the analogy was preposterous, incorrect, and the accurate analogy was the Jews of Palestine—Palestinian Jews from time Immemorial—and the Blacks of America, are comparably oppressed." She refers us back to the book for the description of what brought her to "challenge all of the gospels about Israel and the Arabs – I'd have to recite from my book to adequately recount the questions, the gaping holes in the fraudulent 'history' as presented by all the world's 'experts'."

In your opinion, what are the chances that the world will finally wake up to the truth? Is there something that the government of Israel should do to promote this awakening?

"The world saw a bit of the truth in 1967, when Israel took the reins and asserted its right and its strength. Today I believe that the same power of truth and strength must be asserted overwhelmingly to destroy the Hamas-ISIS-PLO-Hezbollah, etc. blight on Israel's borders. Why is it that ISIS is clearly seen as a threat to the world while murderous Hamas-ISIS is given more or less a pass on sympathetic grounds when Israel and Jews attack, defend and attempt to protect their country from the monstrous scourge?"



UNRWA is deceiving the Jewish People and the entire world

Peters devotes a large part of her book to the manner in which the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, UNRWA, perpetuates the refugee status of Arabs who were displaced, or left voluntarily, during the War of Independence. This has become an integral part of efforts to undermine Israel's standing in the eyes of the world and in its own eyes. Women in Green asks Peters to relate to this organization, which, although its stated purpose is to bring peace to the world, actually strengthens those whose goal is to destroy Israel.

"UNRWA has been perpetrating fraud against the Jewish nation and against the world since they became the only 'refugee' organ solely dedicated to one group of the world's refugees. The Arab refugees, who really ran or were displaced during Israel's War of Independence, were a small group when compared to the world's hundreds of millions displaced during wars and strife. The Arabs were also a much smaller actual number than the Jewish Arab-born refugees forced to flee from Arab countries. But the Arabs were counted over and over, going back and forth from the refugee camps. As American congressmen have attested, fraud was committed constantly, aided by the almost totally Arab staff in the UNRWA employ."

The Arabs base their specious claims on their falsified version of history

And of course, last, but most importantly: What do you think about the need to apply Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley?

"There only can be one sovereign Jewish Israel in its rightful land as delineated by everything from the Balfour Declaration to the League of Nations, from Churchill to President Truman and the UN, from left to right…

"Any and all other claims to the Jewish nation—including Judea and Samaria— are specious at best and fraudulent. Would a claim to peoplehood by any group—say, the Baader Meinhof claim to Berlin and environs as the Meinhof State from time immemorial—be taken seriously? No less open to ridicule should be the "Palestine Arab" state. Faked history, fake claims, all imitating the legitimate and rightful national history of the Jewish people." ■

/// There only can be one sovereign Jewish Israel in its rightful land as delineated by everything from the Balfour Declaration to the League of Nations, from Churchill to President Truman and the UN, from left to right... ///

Application of Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria

Uri Elitzur z"l - The goal is Israeli Sovereignty over the Land of Israel

Jewish history has entrusted our generation with the great mission of returning the Jewish People to the Land of Israel, the heritage of our fathers

I do not know why we were specifically chosen to be the special operations unit, but we have a heavy responsibility towards every Jewish generation that came before us, and every Jewish generation that will come after us, to keep the Land of Israel. And this, of course, includes the task of holding on to Hebron and Beth-El, Shiloh and Bethlehem. Ask your great grandfather, who has already died, your great grandson, who is yet to be born, and both will tell you, in simple language, that these places have much greater importance and meaning than Tel Aviv and Netanya do. It is not some utopian idea that was invented in '67 in Gush Emunim. If the Zionist movement had not, from its inception, been imbued with a sense of responsibility and historic mission of the return of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel, it would not have found within itself the strength to drain swamps, to make the wilderness bloom, to establish kibbutzim, to declare independence, to absorb millions of immigrants and to be victorious in war.

(Makor Rishon, 6 Tammuz, 2013)

The prediction that the Knesset would be flooded with masses of Arab MKs does not seem realistic

Is it possible and if so, how is it possible to annex the Palestinian population to Israel without turning it into a bi-national state? First of all, here is something about numbers and timing: As we know, there is a loud and angry dispute among the Jews regarding the number of Arabs in Judea and Samaria. But the number of them who have the right to vote is more or less known and agreed upon. According to official publications of the PA, the number is approximately 950,000, but this includes the Arabs of Jerusalem who have already been annexed to Israel, and it includes the layer of the population that is 16 or 17 years old, who do not yet have the right to vote in Israel, and it includes tens of thousands of people who have emigrated from here to the four corners of the Earth. A realistic appraisal would put it at about 700 thousand, about 12 percent of all of the voters in all of Israel. If we take into account the years that will pass until the end of the process of annexation, the very small number of Jerusalem's Arabs who choose to make use of their right as Israeli citizens to participate in elections, and the relatively low proportion of voters among the Arabs of Israel even 50 years after their annexation, the prediction that the Knesset would be flooded with masses of Arab MKs does not seem realistic. In general, one could say that the number of Arabs in Judea and Samaria is approximately the same as the number of Arabs in Israel, and therefore, if today the Arab electorate in Israel is represented by 10 MKs, then in the (distant) end of the process of annexation the number would come, perhaps, to 20.

(Makor Rishon, 6 Tammuz, 2013)

Encouraging emigration

Forced expulsion, with or without compensation, is not relevant in the present reality, and in my opinion, also not ethical in peacetime. Fortunately for us there is no need to do this; it is enough to encourage emigration by economic and promotional means. Even before we begin, polls and research have shown that about forty percent of the Arabs who live in the area are willing to leave if they could have in their hands the means to do so; all we must do is to supply those who are interested in emigrating with what they require and encourage others to follow them. This will not happen overnight but, within a decade or two, it is decidedly possible to arrive at a significant dilution of the Arab presence in Judea and Samaria, and not only there.

Until now, we have literally invested much blood and money in order to hold on to the mountain ridge on one hand, and on the other hand we have allocated great resources to create a terror incubator in the Palestinian Authority. If only we can divert a small part of these resources for the purpose of encouraging emigration, we would have much better results.

The Oslo architects were not interested in peace with the Arabs but rather in the collapse of religious Zionism

A very interesting document, written by the International Crisis Group that includes 150 former researchers and politicians from the world over, analyzes the national-religious public in Israel with the assumption that without it, it would be impossible to come to an agreement with the Palestinians.

This document is from November 2013, and in it, someone is quoted who is called a "national-religious leader" who claimed to the researchers that "the Oslo Accord is a secular-messianic idea. Its goal is to cause the collapse of religious Zionism." I don't know who the person is who expressed himself this way, but the writers of the document went to ask for the response of Dr. Ron Pundak, one of the most prominent architects of Oslo, and he appears there with his full name. And this is what Pundak says: "They are correct. I want peace in order for there to be 'Israeli-ism'. Peace is not a goal in and of itself, but a means to take Israel from one era to another era. To an era of what I consider a normal state. "Israelization" of the society instead of Judaizing it will enable the integration of Jewish nationalism, prosperity for Israeli culture, separation of religion and state and full equality for the Arab minority in Israel."

Here is a frank admission. It is not peace with the Palestinians that interests him but our hegemony in Israeli culture. Israelism and not Judaism, separation of religion and state, a normal state and not a Jewish state. In short, the entire argument about peace and territories, all of the international conventions and John Kerrys of all sorts, all of the President Obamas, and all of the Arafats and the Abu Mazens, all of them are only pawns in a game whose goal is victory in the internal-Jewish argument.

This is not the first time in the history of the Jewish People that the Jews have driven half the world crazy because of a rift among them, and they try to enlist the non-Jews in order to win an internal argument. In most of the cases it ended in disaster for all of the Jewish People, for both sides of the internal-Jewish conflict.

(Makor Rishon, 12 Adar 1, 2014)

The Jews will always be accused

The Old Left's basic assumption is that everything depends on us and it is only because Netanyahu and the settlers that there is not peace with the Palestinians. "Just say it," yelled Tzipi Livni four years ago, "say the words 'Palestinian state', and then either it will become clear that there is a partner for peace or at least, the whole world will understand that it is the Palestinian side that refuses." He did this, but to no avail. And then they told him to just freeze the building in the settlements and then either there will be a political breakthrough or at least everyone will understand that Abu Mazen is the one who refuses and not we. Nu, he did this too, and the result was that Obama demanded more; it caused him embarrassment and he was publically reprimanded for building in Ramat-Shlomo, an entirely Jewish neighborhood in northern Jerusalem.

Even now, the Old Left still writes new articles of commentary every day on how Israel must respond to this or that thing creatively, that would prove to the entire world that it is not we who present obstacles. The game is fixed; it is based on an old and irrelevant argument. No matter how much Netanyahu goes toward the Palestinians and no matter how much Abu Mazen backs up and openly and blatantly balks, the world will always say that we are the ones who refuse to make peace.

(Makor Rishon, 1 Tevet, 2013)

Uri Elitzur z"l

There is no partner on the other side

The Palestinians define themselves, not in terms of the Palestinian state, but in terms of the conflict with Israel. And they will not give up this definition of themselves. Arafat bolted from the meeting with Ehud Barak in Camp David the moment that Barak said "end of the conflict". They cannot allow this. The friendly and disarmed Palestinian state living side by side with Israel in peace is a one-sided dream of good and utopian Israelis. There is no partner on the other side, and there will never be one. Abu Mazen went to the UN to get recognition because he wants a Palestinian state without an agreement with Israel and without an end to the conflict. Arafat thought that he could achieve this with blood and fire and terror, and Abu Mazen is trying to achieve it in the international sphere.

(Makor Rishon, 1 Tevet, 2013)

Heads of Security Organizations Forewarned, the Politicians Closed their Eyes

MK Eli Yishai (Shas) suggests that we all read Fatah's platform before we conclude that it is more moderate than Hamas and only then decide whether there is someone to talk to. "Rabbi Ovadia Yoseph warned about missiles in Ashkelon and asked the members of Likud to object to the uprooting, but Sharon did not listen."

MK Eli Yishai of the Shas movement calls for the government to declare the Oslo Accords a disaster in order to break free of them and their ramifications. "For the citizens of Israel there is no difference between Hamas, Hizb'Allah and ISIS. The three of them are terror organizations that want to see the end of Israel, and the Oslo Accords have served and still serve this goal," he said after security forces revealed the Hamas groundwork being laid to take over the Palestinian Authority.

21 years after those accords, and 9 years after the uprooting and expulsion from Gush Katif, he reminds us of the security and political admonitions that were sounded from every stage yet received disparagingly. Yishai was then a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and, as such, he received multiple security admonitions from high officials, while politicians were promising there would be peace.


MK Eli Yishai with Rabbi Ovadia Yoseph z"tsal

"All the politicians during the Oslo era, and also afterward, during the expulsion from Gaza, spoke about the peace that would come, about the development and prosperity that would arrive, about the investment and increase of the gross national product and growth. They even said that this would not be the sort of peace that exists with Egypt and Jordan, but a totally different world," says Yishai and mentions that "the Netanyahu government in '96 was also compelled to go in the direction of the Wye Accords, etc., as if there were no choice. We must wake up and understand that this thing is a disaster that has caused tremendous damage."

"During the expulsion from Gaza I stood up and said that there would be missiles in Ashkelon and Netivot. Deep inside I knew that it would come also to Tel Aviv and Gush Dan. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee I received intelligence material and heard presentations revealing that this is exactly what would happen but I did not want to say these things aloud." Lamenting about the political echelon being captivated by the idea and closing its eyes to reality, he explains, "I felt that they would say I am crazy, so I focused on Ashkelon and Netivot. They ignored intelligence presentations and professional opinions of people from the military and the Israel Security Agency (Shabak). They said that there would be peace. They did not think that Abu Mazen would be thrown out under live fire from the Gaza Strip but they should have taken this possibility into account."

Yishai, head of Shas at the time, came with the data and alerts to the home of Rabbi Ovadia Yoseph for consultation and to formulate an official position. "I came to Rabbi Ovadia Yoseph, may he rest in peace, and after I brought him all of the data and the things that had been said, for and against, he analyzed the things and said that missiles would come to Ashdod and he called for the Likud voters to vote against it and then, as we recall, they did vote against it, but Sharon paid them no heed."

Regarding this, it is proper and correct to mention Rabbi Ovadia's letter to the residents of Judea and Samaria on the 23rd of the month of Shvat (January 26), 2003, in which he clarified his position according to Jewish law.

To our dear brothers of the House of Israel, residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza (Yesha), may G-d grant them life.

May you forever live in peace.

I wish to clarify my position on the matter of Yesha. More than once I have explained that the legal ruling that I issued in the past regarding "land for peace" is no longer valid in light of the current situation; I was referring only to true peace, in which Jerusalem and its surroundings would dwell in security, peace and serenity. It was not the current kind of peace that we wished for and it was not for this kind of peace that we prayed. Therefore the Oslo Accords are cancelled and annulled, because "I am for peace, but when I speak, they are for war." (Psalms 120)

And we have no one on whom to lean except for our Father in heaven. And I hereby bless you with all my heart and soul. May G-d increase your blessings a thousand fold and may He bless you as he told you he would. May the Almighty guard your going out and your coming in for a good life and for peace from now until forever, may it be that in your days and our days Judea will be saved and Israel will live in security, and Jacob will return and dwell in safety and serenity and none shall fear.

With much love,
Desiring your peace and welfare with my heart and soul
Ovadia Yoseph

MK Yishai adds, in describing the security concerns that arose from the idea of establishing a Palestinian state, "They expelled Abu Mazen from Gaza. If Hamas had succeeded in carrying out its plan to take over Judea and Samaria according to what we saw recently, when the IDF arrested a few dozen Hamas members involved in this plan, within a few years they would have developed missiles with a range of fifteen seconds from Jerusalem and Netanya, just as it is with Nahal Oz."

And if there had been a peace agreement, who could have promised us that tomorrow Hamas would not have taken over Fatah?" asks Yishai and immediately mentions that, even before talking about Hamas, "Abu Mazen is not such a great Zionist either … he was not willing to recognize the State of Israel as a Jewish state, even in terminology. He knows that if he recognized us, members of his own people would eliminate him. Indeed, we do not need his recognition, but this teaches us something profound. Look at the sort of education that is offered in their schools. They glorify the martyrs. Look at the Fatah platform, not the Hamas platform, and you will see what is there and you will think that you are reading the Hamas platform. So do we bury our heads in the sand?"

So what is the solution? Yishai does not rely on a long range vision. He is satisfied with what he calls "economic peace". True peace, a life of neighborliness, he states, need not be a signed agreement. "Everyone wants peace. Even the most adamant rightists want peace but to hand over territory and abandon our security? When I was a yeshiva student in the Negev," he remembers, "we would go for shopping and dental care to Gaza. There was no peace agreement then but we would walk around freely, not to mention Hebron and the Old City. The proper process is economic peace – to freeze the present diplomatic situation. We cannot turn things back but we can freeze them. Abu Mazen will continue to rule over them. We will freeze the diplomatic negotiations for a few years, during which time we will promote matters of employment, economy and industry, so that they will understand that terror attacks would only cause economic collapse for them. Security matters would remain our responsibility. We will return to the days before the Oslo Accords. It is impossible to place our security in their hands. We will observe them over the coming years."

Another necessary condition for his plan is the end of the Palestinian Authority's incitement. "They should stop the incitement in the schools, at least; Abu Mazen should recognize the Jewish state and stop the type of education that arouses the desire for martyrdom. They should stop sanctifying blood and, in the coming years, we will see how life is together," says Yishai. ■

A Palestinian State – It Simply does not Work

When Prof. Efraim Inbar, head of the Begin-Sadat Center, examines the feasibility of a Palestinian state, he does this with a cold scalpel and comes to a clear conclusion: even if we wanted it, it will simply not work.

"I am one of those people who do not object to dividing the Land. But then again, so what if I am willing? It will not work. Is it possible to compromise with Hamas?" Prof. Efraim Inbar, head of the Begin - Sadat Center for Strategic Research at the University of Bar Ilan, with these words, seals the cold and realistic analysis that he has been doing on the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state.

"What we see in the Middle East is that the entire political framework, set up after the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, has collapsed before our eyes. In Syria, Assad does not manage to maintain his state. A bloody civil war is going on there. It is the same way in Iraq. The Iraq we knew under Saddam Hussein no longer exists; in the North, there is a Kurdish entity, in the South, a Shi'ite entity and in the center there is a battle between Shi'ites and Sunnis. This is true not only for these areas. The Arab state is in crisis also in Libya, where there is a battle between militias; it has also been true in Lebanon for very many years, and also for Yemen and even an historical state such as Egypt has been finding it difficult to exert effective control in Sinai."

Professor Inbar uses, as a test of a state's ability to rule, exclusivity of the use of force. With this test, he says, it may be possible to give Egypt a higher grade than other states but even Egypt still finds it difficult to stand up to this test and one glance at what is happening in Sinai is enough to understand how complex the reality is there.

"The Arab world has a problem with the idea of the states," says Inbar, and reflects upon the history of political Islam. "The Pan-Arab idea gnaws away at the structure of the state because it claims that the Arab world must be composed of one political unit."

Nevertheless, he also recognizes the more successful and stable models of the Muslim state, exemplified by such states as Turkey, Indonesia and Malaysia, but for him it is difficult to imagine a future Palestinian state that would resemble these models. "Meanwhile," he points out, "when they allowed the Palestinians to begin to establish a state within the framework of the Oslo Accords it did not prove itself. They told them that the police should be strong and they gave them tools to maintain exclusivity of the use of force. The arrangement was not 'land for peace' but 'land for security' with the expectation being that the Palestinians would behave like the Jordanians and the Egyptians, who prevent terror from being carried out from their areas. The Palestinians failed in this and moreover, the Palestinian entity became split between Judea and Samaria and Gaza because it did not manage to learn how to maintain the exclusivity of force. This split was brought about by the Palestinians. We did not cause this. It is a political culture that is not mature enough to establish a state."

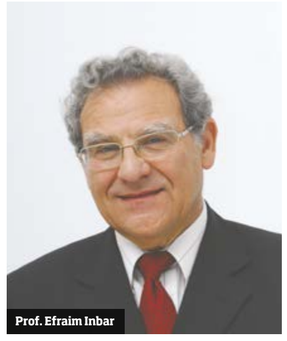
> The Pan-Arab idea gnaws away at the structure of the state because it claims that the Arab world must be composed of one political unit.

In Inbar's estimation, the international community has also internalized the Palestinians' lack of political maturity. "The Western world, for its part, tries to help the Palestinians build a nation and a state, but building a state can only happen when it has an identity such as Egypt and Germany. This cannot happen when there is no such identity, and this is what we see in Syria. Within the so-called Palestinians, there are also several identities. The world thinks that it can help but the world has failed and the most obvious example of this is Iraq. Could there be any more ambitious attempt than that of the Americans who tried to build a state in their image in Iraq? They invested blood and money and this project failed, so why should we think that the world can fix the Palestinian experience?"

And perhaps, as the adherents of the Oslo school claim, we must give them time to prove themselves? Prof. Inbar does not reject the possibility out of hand but still wonders why Israel must pay the price for these experiments. "It could be that things will change over time but meanwhile the Palestinian experiment is problematic from our point of view. If they want to do a Palestinian experiment, they can, by all means, but not at our expense. Why must we tolerate an entity such as Hamas until the Palestinians learn that this Hamas is a bad entity for them? Meanwhile they are not learning. How can they develop awareness that Hamas is bad for the Palestinian state if the head of the Palestinian Authority does not have the courage to say that Gaza must be disarmed? If he does not say that a Palestinian state will not be established unless Hamas is dismantled?"

The present reality being as it is, Prof. Inbar does not feel any need to present an alternative plan to that of dividing the Land. He believes that Israel must act only according to her own considerations and apply the policy of one acre and then one more acre, one goat and then one more goat. He calls this 'practical sovereignty' and he calls himself a Mapainik regarding this. "We must explain that the dream of two states for two peoples, which in my eyes is a nice dream, is not implementable. Period. There is nothing we can do about this. Why must I prepare an alternative plan to solve the problem for them? We must decide what is good for us and continue to do what is good for us. The basis is security and in this way it is possible to achieve the broadest consensus in the state of Israel. That's what is important is to maintain social cohesion when faced with complex and complicated security challenges, which most of the people understand are approaching. It is clear to all of us today that we will have to live on the sword for many more years. There is not a solution for everything."

> The dream of two states for two peoples is not implementable. Period. Why must I prepare an alternative plan to solve the problem for them? We must do what is good for us.


Prof. Efraim Inbar

Inbar prefers practical sovereignty over declared sovereignty. "Sovereignty was declared also over East Jerusalem and it is difficult to maintain control there. There are advantages and disadvantages even in a place such as this. Is there official sovereignty on the Temple Mount? Yes - so what? When they make problems, they close off the Mount to us. This is a shame and a disgrace. The policy is what determines the situation and if there is a weak-kneed government it does not matter if there is sovereignty or not."

And what about the Arabs of Judea and Samaria? In this matter as well, Inbar does not feel a need to present a solution. From his point of view the current reality can continue as it is. "In Judea and Samaria there is a functional entity, you pay it money and it functions like a third world entity. Many people in the world conduct themselves in this way. We think that everything must be orderly but great parts of the world are in disarray. In Syria and Iraq as well, there is disarray so here also there will be some disarray. Our matter is the matter of security." ■

"We made every Possible Mistake, One after Another"

Prof. Avraham Zion has harsh criticism for all the governments of Israel which, in his opinion, made every possible mistake leading to a loss of its sovereignty, beginning with delivering the keys of the Temple Mount to the Waqf and ending with the greatest disaster of all, the Oslo Accords.

At almost every junction in her path, the State of Israel made every possible mistake, each one of which contributed to pushing Israel further and further away from the vision of sovereignty. Prof. Avraham Zion, head of the Center for Law and Communications at the University of Ariel, is convinced of this.

Prof. Zion opens the discussion of this series of mistakes with the Six Day War, when "very many Arabs from Judea and Samaria left Judea and Samaria and went in the direction of Jordan and we brought them back. Moshe Dayan called for them to come back and even stopped them at Allenby Bridge so that they would not cross the border. There was a flow of refugees to Jordan and we stopped them. We told them 'don't go, we will not harm you' and we should not have done this. We did not expel them. They wanted to leave, so what business was it of ours to tell them they should not go? It's not logical. This was an exaggerated niceness at the expense of our future, because if another two hundred thousand Arabs had left, the situation today would have been radically different."

They wanted to leave. Why did we prevent them?

Prof. Zion sees Dayan's act as the antithesis to the Jewish and democratic State that everyone wanted to establish here. He also does not accept an attempted explanation of the act as an ideological break that perhaps existed at the time, between the areas of the Green Line and Judea and Samaria. "During that time we all beheld the days of the Messiah. We saw the return to Zion and we defined the conquest of the Old City as liberation, and not conquest of something that belongs to someone else." As this was the spirit that moved within the State of Israel and the IDF at the time, it was not logical to prevent the Arabs from leaving these areas voluntarily, unless, of course, it was because of this exaggerated niceness that Zion speaks of.

"Judea and Samaria is the Land of Israel. Tel Aviv and Jaffa are not the Land of Israel. Nablus, Hebron, Bethlehem and Jerusalem are the places that we prayed about for two thousand years. This is the heritage of the Jewish People. And then, when Arabs leave this place after the most just of wars, we come and tell the Arabs of Judea and Samaria not to go? There is no reason for this. We did not expel them. They left voluntarily," he emphasizes.

The next mistake Prof. Zion counts occurred a short time after the Six Day War. "We allowed family unification for tens of thousands of Arabs that requested to return to their villages. We brought them back. They served requests to return and the Israeli government returned them under the heading of family unity. This thing was not at all wise. If you want a Jewish, democratic state and there is the possibility for annexation, then why do you tell them not to leave? And even if annexation is not about to happen, these are hostile people, so must we embrace them and tell them to stay?"

Prof. Zion defines the next mistake as a real disaster, connected to the same heroic days of the Six Day War. "The disaster is when Moshe Dayan gave control of the Temple Mount to the Waqf. There is nothing less wise than this thing. At that time we could have done anything. They were afraid that we would take revenge on them, as they would have done if the situation had been reversed. To come and say, out of generosity of spirit, that they will get the Temple Mount? What logic is there in this? Since then they have ruined the Temple Mount for us, they destroyed the Jewish heritage in the Temple Mount and turned Solomon's Stables into a huge mosque where tens of thousands of Arabs can pray at once yet Jews cannot go up and pray on the Temple Mount. It all began there."

Prof. Zion continues, skipping over twenty five years to what he defines as "the greatest disaster that has ever happened to the Jewish People since the establishment of the state," which is the Oslo Accords. "These accords," he says, "are a disaster for the Jewish People in general and not only for the citizens of the State of Israel. First of all, because in the Oslo Accords we surrendered the Jewish heritage in Hebron, in Bethlehem, in Nablus and in Jerusalem. We gave this to the Palestinians; we gave this to a people that did not exist 65 years ago. The Jewish People appears with 4000 years of its heritage and gives up the heritage of Israel to a terror group that calls itself 'Fatah.'"

Describing the Oslo disaster, he continues, "Another thing is that in these accords we turned our enemy into David and ourselves into Goliath. As long as our battle was against seven Arab countries, we were the underdog, the unfortunates, who were in dire straits, who were threatened with eradication. When we changed the tone, and said that the Palestinians are our enemy, we ourselves became the brutes. This is what caused the anti-Semitism to increase. Anti-Semitism did not increase because we did not implement the Oslo Accords, but because we signed the Oslo Accords. The current degree of anti-Semitism in the world has not existed since the Second World War."

"After the Six Day War I traveled to Scandinavia," Zion mentions. "They received me like a king. The customs people felt me and touched me just so that they could have the privilege of touching an Israeli. The Six Day War was so successful that it made a great name for us in the world, and on the contrary, when we surrendered in Oslo is when we became bad people. In Oslo we declared that this Land in Judea and Samaria is not ours; in the narrative, they spoke of 'returning' territories. Return to whom? Why, a Palestinian state has never existed."

"The government of Israel, in its lack of wisdom, offered to the arch-terrorist named Arafat to establish an entity in Judea and Samaria. Because of the lack of wisdom among the generals and the elite security people, they allowed the terrorists to have unlimited arms. Between the Jordan and the sea there were no borders and Arab terrorists held arms, so what was expected to happen, did happen – a joint patrol of Israeli and Palestinian soldiers went out, drank coffee together and immediately afterward a Palestinian got up and shot his partner, the Israeli soldier. We have come to the absurd. They circulated among our Arabs and blew up Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa and not Nablus and Jenin. Why, all of the western Land of Israel is Palestine for them."

The greatest disaster that has ever happened to the Jewish People since the establishment of the state are the Oslo Accords.

Prof. Avraham Zion

By calling them Palestinians we turned them into the original sovereigns

Prof. Zion also sees a severe and historical public relations mistake in the terms 'Palestine' and 'Palestinians', which has adhered to the Arabs of Judea and Samaria. According to him, this term fixed Israel's lack of legitimacy in the international consciousness.

"When a person who lives in Sweden meets two people, one, who defines himself as Israeli and the other who presents himself as Palestinian, he knows that this land has been called Palestine for a long time. Why, the Romans and the Greeks had called it 'Palestine' for thousands of years. So for the Swedish person who hears these things, which came first, Palestine, which has existed for two thousand years or Israel, which was established in '48? Because this is the name that we gave to the Arabs, it has come to mean that they were first and then were expelled. We have mortally wounded our legitimacy."

The expulsion from Gush Katif - one of the results of the disastrous Oslo Accords Photo: Miri Tsachi

Prof. Zion appears on many international panels, television interviews and conferences that deal in the future of the State of Israel and the future of the Middle East. In all of these venues, he meets again and again with the profound difficulty of convincing people of the Jewish people's historic right to the Land of Israel. "Today there is no country in the world that thinks that Judea and Samaria belong to the Jews, except, perhaps, Canada. All of the countries are convinced that the Land of Israel belongs to the Palestinians and that we actually oppress them in their own state and in their own land. This is the reason for all of the boycotts and the acts that are done against us in the world and in Israel no one opens his mouth to make a peep. Each of our successive governments has been paralyzed regarding hasbara. There is no hasbara."(Official Israel public relations activity)

The long-standing failure in hasbara gives Prof. Zion no rest. "There is one presenter here, Netanyahu, who has not seen the need to establish a public relations team, to establish a public relations office with that name or another name, to disseminate Israeli hasbara. Today, hasbara is split between various groups and offices such as Foreign Relations, the Prime Minister's office, the Diaspora office, the IDF spokesman and more. When there are so many presenters for hasbara it means that there is no hasbara. Any Israeli company dedicates more money to public relations than the budget of the State of Israel to world hasbara. The governments of Israel never related to hasbara in a meaningful way. Instead of investing three billion shekels each year, one percent of the budget, in hasbara, the State of Israel invests a total of ten million dollars, out of which, six go to officials' salaries. With only four million dollars allocated to hasbara in the entire world, this means that there isn't hasbara."

We have no hasbara and they have propaganda

Prof. Zion sees the strong effect of the lack of Israel's hasbara, especially in light of the variety of informational channels that could have become a light weapon for Israel, a weapon which, for some reason she decided not to use and then left the arena to the Arab side. "In contrast to our absence of hasbara, the Arab side has propaganda and not hasbara. The difference is that propaganda vilifies the other side. How can a thief accuse another person of theft? Usually, he cannot, but here, it does happen. Here, the thief provocatively accuses others of his misdeeds. There is apartheid among Arabs; among the Arabs there is oppression of women and minorities; the Arabs do not honor human rights, they have no democracy and they arrogantly accuse us of every one of these things. They accuse us of apartheid, while among them you will not find one Jewish minister or judge; yet in Israel, an Arab can be named as a judge of the Supreme Court or he can be a member of Knesset, despite the fact that these MKs act openly for the enemy's benefit. In Syria, Lebanon or Egypt no Jew rises to any kind of high office. In Saudi Arabia, whoever is not Muslim cannot enter the country. This is not apartheid? This is not racism? And they dare to accuse us of apartheid, though we have multiple races here and more freedom of religion and democracy than the US. They accuse us of apartheid. This happens because of the propaganda that works 24 hours a day and on our side we do not take initiative but only react. This is how it is with tunnels and with missiles, and also with hasbara. We do not take any initiative, we do not attack and expose them, but only defend ourselves and react."

In a choice between Hamas and Fatah, Prof. Zion does not let Fatah or its leader off easily. "Among our elite there are people who are convinced that if only we give Abu Mazen authority, there would be peace. They do not understand that Abu Mazen is much more dangerous than Haniye and Hamas. Abu Mazen acts in a way that the world understands and accepts. He speaks in the language of the world and wants to destroy the State of Israel using the UN and the International Court in The Hague, to turn us into pariahs and break our legitimacy. All of the boycotts come from him and we try to appease him and strengthen him again and again."

"We do not understand the basis for this conflict. This is not a conflict over territory. Even if we gave the Arabs all of the territory and were left only with Tel Aviv, this would not satisfy them. They do not want us here because this is a religious war. And if we do not understand that this is a religious war we will continue giving in to them and appeasing them but there will not be peace in our days."

So how can we achieve peace? Prof. Zion does not make rosy promises. "There are two possibilities. It is possible to live under the present condition, from time to time we will go at it with them, bring in the air force and we will have to return again in a year and a half after a light rain of missiles. We can say that we do not want to pay a very dear price, but if we want long-term quiet we must conquer Gaza and pulverize the terror organizations. I said this even before the disengagement," he reminds us and adds, "the whole idea of peace with the Palestinians is utopian, because if you make peace with Fatah, Islamic Jihad will come and say that it does not include them. If you make peace with Islamic Jihad then Hamas will come and say that it is not involved and the same thing with Hizb'Allah and so forth with many other organizations. We must fortify ourselves and wait one generation or ten generations and perhaps after this they will be reconciled. Peace will come only after the Arabs are one hundred percent sure that it is impossible to destroy the State of Israel. The problem is that we give them all the reasons to think that, on the contrary, it is possible to destroy the State of Israel." ■

In Syria, Lebanon or Egypt no Jew rises to any kind of high office. In Saudi Arabia, whoever is not Muslim cannot enter the country. This is not apartheid? This is not racism? And they dare to accuse us of apartheid, though we have multiple races here and more freedom of religion and democracy than the US.

Abu Mazen is much more dangerous than Haniye and Hamas. He speaks in the language of the world and wants to destroy the State of Israel using the UN and the International Court in the Hague. Why do we try to appease him and strengthen him again and again?

Abu Mazen Photo: Flash 90

These days, former MK Ayoob Kara is establishing a task force in the battle against Muslim radicalization. Acceptance of the seven Noahide laws is essential for normal life in the area. This is the message that he brings, also to the residents of Gaza, and yes, he has something to say about the need for sovereignty.

"Jordan was designated to be Palestine. Why should there be any other solution?"

These days, former deputy minister and MK Ayoob Kara is establishing a task force on Muslim radicalization. Among the activities the task force promotes is distribution of leaflets calling upon the Arab world to adopt the seven Noahide commandments as well as the moderate view, which represents an answer to the radicalization in the Middle East that is sowing brutal and cruel death and destruction in more and more Arab countries.

The subject of concessions and the idea of two states for two peoples has been dropped from the agenda, he is convinced. "The agenda both of the region and of radical Islam is not two states but one large Islamic state with the Caliph as its ruler, as it was 500 years ago."

"People are not aware of the radicalization in the Arab world today. The situation is very dangerous. These are people who kill over nonsense and ethnically cleanse anyone who is not Muslim, and they shoot any Muslim who does not behave according to Islamic law. Whoever is not Muslim has the choice of paying the jizya tax or being executed. These are the most dangerous things on the face of the Earth."

Kara sees the radicalism of the Arab world and the deeds of the ISIS terror organization as a terrible reality but as something that will lead the world to become disenchanted, including with the Palestinian arena. "In the short range we are benefitting from it, in retrospect. The subject of establishing a Palestinian state is being dropped from the agenda. The world sees radicalization against every religion in the area. We see that Christians are disappearing from Iraq and Syria, just as it is with the Druze, the Yazidis, the Ahmadis, the Bahais and the Turkmen as well as other sects and ethnicities who find themselves being executed. This thing has no connection to Israel. This is ethnic cleansing of anyone who is not Muslim and this thing might lead us to a third world war with every indication that it would not end here, but would continue on in the direction of Europe."

> The idea of two states for two peoples is fading

> When we speak about concessions we are playing into these radicals' hands who are taking over more and more territory from this holy Land. When we gave up Gush Katif we got terror bases and if we give up more territory we will find even more radical terror organizations there.

Kara's expectation stems from, among other things, data that indicates unprecedented strengthening of Islam in Europe. He mentions recently published data, according to which "the most popular name for babies in England in the year 2013 is Muhammad; in Brussels, the day is approaching when a Muslim mayor will be elected; and in Paris there are neighborhoods that the police cannot enter."

As mentioned, as part of the effort to slow the spread of radical Islam, Kara is establishing a new task force. "We use various organizations, Chabad among them, and establish a task force whose function is to arouse moderate Islam, which understands that radical Islam is a bitter and cruel enemy for them. We have distributed flyers in newspapers and on the Internet and even in the Gaza Strip on the importance of the seven Noahide commandments, which allows a place for everyone and the existence of the world should be based on them," he says and adds that "in the announcement that we distributed in Gaza we called upon them to rise up against the radical elements that are there." It is not clear how interested and how capable the residents of Gaza are to act in such a direction. Kara, from his side, believes that the slow, steady presentation of moderate positions will yield results, even if only in the long term.

With his words, Kara attacks and criticizes the conduct of the political democratic echelon regarding the MKs of the Israeli Arab political party Balad. "It cannot be," he says, "that members of Knesset go out to Qatar and meet with the biggest anti-Semites. Azmi Bishara is one of those former MKs. They call for the destruction of Israel and say it is democracy. This cannot go on. We find ourselves in a situation of democracy that does not know how to defend itself and this is anarchy. It is important that leaders of the people admit to this sin, the sin that laws suitable to the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish democratic state have not yet been legislated; the state is democratic, but first of all, Jewish. If it is not Jewish it will not be democratic."

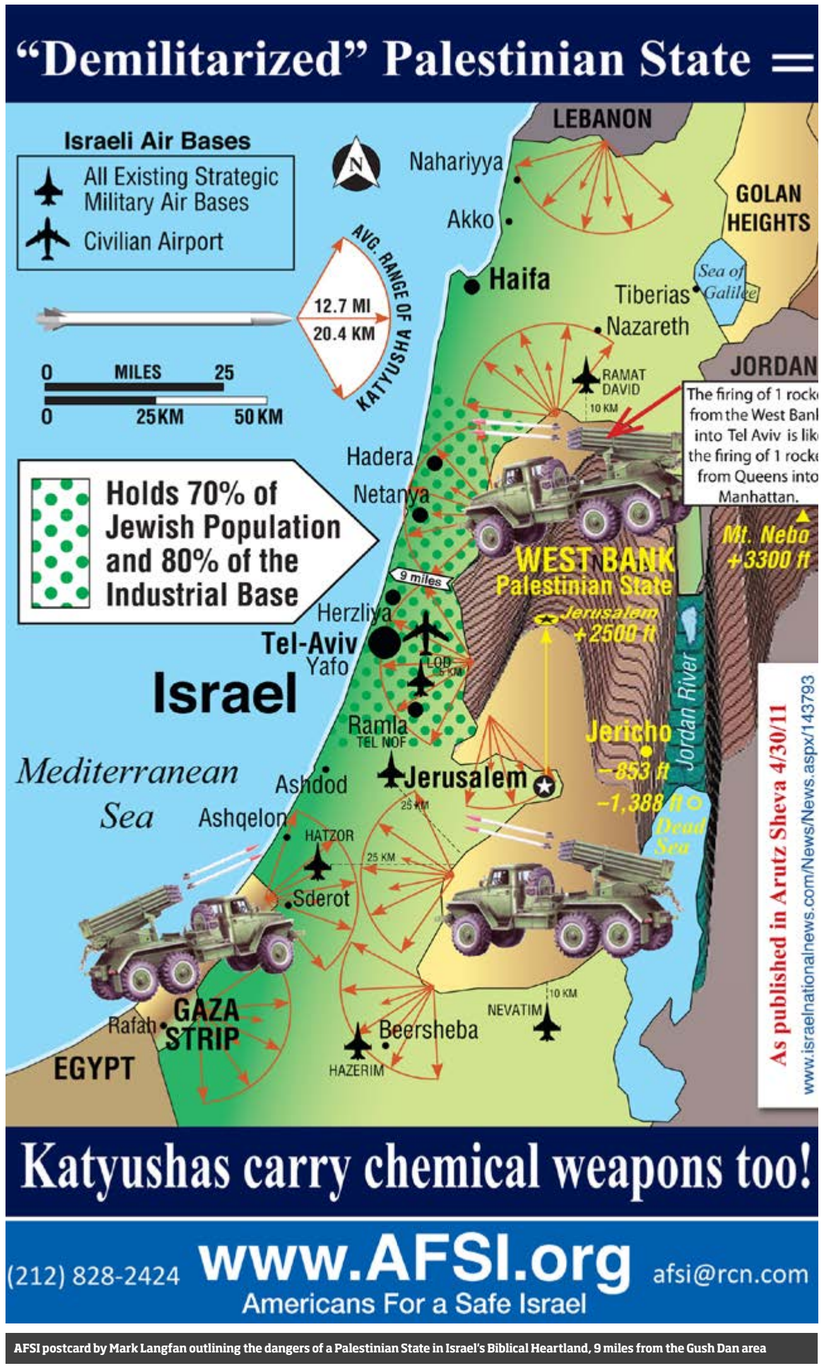
About Israeli democracy, regarding which Kara has concerns for the future, he adds, "I am disturbed by what is happening here and not only in Iraq and in Syria but also in Sakhnin and in Arabe we have seen that flags of ISIS have been waved, flags that mean identification with those who want to destroy the world and not only Israel. It is intolerable and cannot continue. Ra'ad Saleh is not permitted to appear in Jordan and other Arab states because of his opinions. But here, we are willing to accept and absorb his opinions; we are willing to accept the opinions of all these radicals that would not dare even make a peep in the Arab states. This is a cynical exploitation of the Israeli democracy here and we must do something that will stop them before there is an even worse deterioration here. There is no question here of freedom of expression and freedom of movement. We are not Europe. We are the Middle East where there is a different culture and a different way of thinking. Our neighbors are not Europeans and will not ever be such."

"There is, here in Israel, a sort of desire to appease the world. We forget the Talmudic teaching that 'the poor of your city come first'. I must guard the lives of my children and if they throw a bomb or a rocket at me I must respond with ten rockets. Indeed, I do not want to fight but if someone wants to fight with us, we will fight ten times harder without checking who is innocent, just as they did not search and did not check who is innocent among us before they shot at us."

As mentioned, Kara is convinced that the idea of two states for two peoples is fading in light of the changes occurring in the Middle East, and nevertheless, even he finds it difficult to present his alternative view. "That which was, is that which will be. We must apply Israeli law over all areas where there is Jewish settlement, leave the IDF to remain on the Jordan and go back to the plan where all of the Arab residents in Judea and Samaria will be Jordanian residents." In his opinion there is no need to extend the conversation about this and it is even unadvisable. The mere act of speaking, he is convinced, leads to unnecessary political weakness. "We must stay here and not give an inch. There is a religious argument here and when we speak about concessions we are playing into these radicals' hands who are taking over more and more territory from this holy Land. When we gave up Gush Katif we got terror bases and if we give up more territory we will find even more radical terror organizations there."

Kara does not feel the need to find a partner for his idea of joining the Arabs of Judea and Samaria with the Jordanian kingdom, east of the Jordan River. "I don't need a partner. I don't need to suit myself to their wishes. I must suit myself to my own needs. We did not occupy Palestine. The area was conquered from Jordan. And perhaps the king of Jordan will take back those citizens. Why, 90 percent of them are Palestinians. We must solve the problem together with him. I very much admire the Jordanian king and we must be in contact with him but the poor of your city come first. I am ready to turn the wheel back and give the king of Jordan civil control of his citizens while I keep control of security. He will not be able to guard the borders of Jordan better than we can. He also understands that Israeli presence on the Jordan River is a good solution for him too."

"Jordan is actually Palestine. Why must there be another state? Jordan was intended to be a Palestinian state and the king himself is Palestinian. Why should we search for other solutions? Because of delusions of peace, we got the Oslo Accords, the flight from southern Lebanon, the withdrawal from Gush Katif. What have all of these withdrawals gotten for us?" and with this, MK Kara seals his words. ■



AFSI postcard by Mark Langfan outlining the dangers of a Palestinian State in Israel's Biblical Heartland, 9 miles from the Gush Dan area

"It is the obligation of each person in Israel to ask himself, every day, what he did today for the Land of Israel"

In an interview with Sovereignty, Rav Baruch Efrati, head of the rabbis of 'Derech Emuna' (the way of faith) defines the imperative, according to Jewish law, for Israel to apply sovereignty over the entire Land of Israel, and thus emphasizes the value of hasbara in implementing the Torah commandment to conquer the Land and dwell in it.

What is the vision and the goal that the Torah gives us regarding Judea and Samaria?

"The goal is what the Torah clearly says and what the Talmud repeats, which became a practical law in our days: that we must conquer all parts of the Land of Israel and apply Israeli sovereignty over the entire Land. This is the outline of the commandment to settle the Land, as written by the Ramban, and this is our goal.

"The way to arrive at this goal is by two central paths. One is by practical deeds. We must, in the name of all of Israel and as emissaries of the People of Israel, ascend to the mountains of Judea and Samaria and dwell in them. The second path, which complements the first, is by wide-reaching hasbara aimed toward the People and decision makers, because it will not be possible to remain in the Land without being convinced of the justice of our cause and that the Almighty gave us this Land, and that we are, therefore, obligated to apply Israeli sovereignty over it."

I hear the words 'settlement in the mountains' and, through hasbara, 'settling in spirit'. What I do not hear are words about the political path of legislation and sovereignty.

"Politics is a reflection of the People of Israel's will. When the People of Israel wants something, it will happen. Our goal is that there be Israeli law in all of Judea and Samaria and in this way, the state will be performing the commandment of inheriting the Land of Israel. As long as sovereignty is not applied over Judea and Samaria it means that the State of Israel is not carrying out its duty in this area and this is extremely serious, but the way to convince the decision makers to apply the law in Judea and Samaria is by hasbara, PR. Politics, in my opinion, is not the main thing here."

What should we hope for regarding relations with the Arabs here?

"First of all we must stop using the terms that they have invented. There is no such thing as Palestinians; there is no such thing as a Palestinian people and there is no Palestinian history here. These are refugees who came here within the past decades. Whenever the People of Israel is confused about its identity, the Almighty sends us enemies to sharpen our sense of identity for us. The moment the People of Israel know who they are, the Arab will stop posing a threat to us. As long as there is a threat of a Palestinian state or Arab objection, it tells us that we still do not know what we are.


Rabbi Baruch Efrati

Every person must ask himself each and every day what he has done for the Land of Israel.

"This is similar to a person who goes to the forest where there are wild animals. If this person radiates self-confidence and knows how to use his wisdom and his strength powerfully, with faith in his righteousness, the animals will very quickly understand that it is not worthwhile for them to get involved with him and they will run away from him wherever he is. This is how it is with Israel. When it is sure of itself the non-Jews will fade away from here."

Perhaps all of this is a vision for the very distant future and we, who talk a lot about reaching our goals "little bit by little bit" should wait another few "little bits" for things to happen?

"This is exactly why we have religious law, which defines things in an orderly way. We can talk about matters of faith and "little by little", etc., but from the point of view of religious law there is a positive commandment for Israel to inherit the Land of Israel. This commandment applies today in the full sense of the word and just as a person would not say that he will do the commandment of phylacteries, Shabbat or Kashrut in a "little by little" manner, it is the same concerning the commandment to settle the Land of Israel. There are no compromises in commandments from the Torah. The People of Israel must carry out this commandment by persuasion and this persuasion takes time. That's why I see the publication of the Sovereignty Journal as doing the positive commandment from the Torah to inherit the Land and dwell in it. This is one of the ways to strengthen the Israeli consciousness on the subject of our right to the Land and also to exert pressure on the decision makers to make the correct decisions."

"Every person must ask himself each and every day what he has done for the Land of Israel. None of us is exempt from this, whether you are a farmer or work in hi-tech, whether you are a rabbi or you own a grocery store. Everyone can contribute to the cause of the Land of Israel in his own way and from wherever he is. If we act in this manner we will win." ■

First of all we must stop using the terms that they have invented. There is no such thing as a Palestinian people and there is no Palestinian history here. These are refugees who came here within the past decades.

We must conquer all parts of the Land of Israel and apply Israeli Sovereignty over the entire Land. This is the outline of the commandment to settle the Land.

Application of Israeli Sovereignty over Judea and Samaria

Uri Elitzur z"l - The goal is Israeli Sovereignty over the Land of Israel

Withdrawals have only made things worse

Has our withdrawal solved the Palestinian problems or made them worse? Has the expulsion, as painful as death, freed us from the label of occupiers of the Gaza Strip in the eyes of the Western World and in the eyes of the Arabs themselves? Enough. We can't continue with these delusions. The solution of two states has not spilled one drop of water on the fire. It has poured gasoline on it. We see this every day in the news; we read it in the headlines of the newspapers. It is no longer a prediction of the future, but an experience in our past and a present reality. Now, the question is whether to pour gasoline on the fire because there is no choice, because no pail of water was found, or to understand that gasoline will never put out a fire, and begin to search nevertheless for where there is water.

(Yediot Aharonot, 3 Kislev, 2007)

Shimon Peres once knew the dangers of a Palestinian State

Shimon Peres in 1978: "If a separate Palestinian state is established, it would be armed from head to toe. It would also have bases for the most radical terrorists, and they would even be armed with shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles and tanks that would endanger not only passers-by, but every jet and helicopter that would take off in Israel's skies, every transport vehicle in the main traffic arteries of the coastal plain and the shore. There is indeed a doubt whether territorial space affords an absolute deterrent. But without minimal territorial space, it puts a country in a situation of total non-deterrence. This, by itself, is an almost irresistible temptation to attack Israel from all sides… even disarming the West Bank seems a dubious remedy: the problem is not the agreement about disarmament, but putting the agreement into practice. The number of agreements that the Arabs have violated is no less than the number of agreements that they have made." (Kaet Mahar, Jerusalem, 1978, pg. 255)

I did not bring the quote from 30 years ago to ridicule Shimon Peres. It is known that, until 15 years ago, everyone from the Left and the Right were against a Palestinian state. Ten years ago the Labor party still did not agree to include it in its platform, and today everyone is for it. On the Left and on the Right. Every one of Peres' words against a Palestinian state is as correct today as it was then. Nothing has changed, except for Peres himself.

(Makor Rishon, 27 Adar, 2011)

The time has come to stop being afraid of Sovereignty

Enough. The time has come to stop being afraid and to go along with them. First of all, a bi-national state is a thousand times more preferable than two states with Katyushas raining down on Ben Gurion Airport. Secondly, we are not talking about a bi-national state. It could be one state between the sea and the Jordan that is not bi-national, but the state of the Jewish People within which is a large Arab minority that enjoys full equality and all of the democratic freedoms. They will not overcome us by demographics or childbirths. Not true. No, even here we are winning. They will not swallow us up culturally or rule over us. Not true. Even after annexation we are the majority. One state, democratic and ethical and Zionist from the sea to the Jordan, non-discriminatory and not bi-national. It is a great challenge but it is possible.

(Makor Rishon, 9 Tevet, 2014)

A Palestinian state will shower us with a rain of Katyushas on Petah Tikvah and Grads on Tel-Aviv; from time to time it will paralyze Ben Gurion Airport and strangle the Israeli economy

We are tired of hearing about a Palestinian state. We are tired of hearing that it must be established because there is no other choice, and we are especially tired of hearing that it would save and redeem Israel, the Jewish People and Zionism, because the establishment of a Hamas and al-Qaeda state in Ramallah is a paramount Israeli and Jewish interest. And the irrepressible John Kerry's 12th visit is an appropriate opportunity to say it aloud finally: enough with this nonsense. I know that today, this is the conventional wisdom of almost all politicians and public opinion shapers, and nevertheless it is a deluded and crazy idea. The emperor's new clothes were also an idea that everybody agreed about but the emperor was naked. A Palestinian state will not save us; rather, it will ruin us.

A Palestinian state will shower us with a rain of Katyushas on Petah Tikvah and Grads on Tel-Aviv; from time to time it will paralyze Ben Gurion Airport and strangle the Israeli economy. Generals with deep voices will explain to you that the IDF has an answer for this. But it does not. Only a year ago terrorists sent all of the residents of the south into the shelters, and they will likewise send the residents of Gush Dan into shelters and strangle the country. Instead of listening to the deep, soothing voices of the generals, who are deceiving themselves, listen to your own logic. Go one time, to Rantis Junction, a half-hour's journey from the Shoham-Rosh Ha-ayin Road. From there it is very easy to shoot down a passenger jet on its way to landing in Ben Gurion. This can be achieved with a missile that can fit, together with its launcher, in the trunk of a Subaru station wagon, or a donkey's saddle bag. Ride a quarter of an hour eastward and you will see this. And you know how it is: if it is possible, then it will happen. And try to guess what would happen to tourism in Israel, and the Israeli economy, the day after such a jet is shot down together with hundreds of passengers and their baggage.

(Makor Rishon, 1 Shevat, 2014)

What do the supporters of ?separation really want

The problem is that as the years have gone by, the supporters of separation have turned the uprooting of communities into a goal for its own sake. Give them peace without uprooting communities, and they will not take it. I am not sure anymore if today they want to uproot communities in order to achieve peace or if they want separation in order to uproot communities.

(Yediot Aharonot, 21 Shevat, 2004)

Agreements and Withdrawals have not improved Israel's status in the world. On the contrary

It is not at all clear what effect a political agreement and the establishment of a Palestinian state would have on the threat of boycott. Several times already, the naïve leftist belief has been disproved, which claims that all of our troubles stem from the occupation and would all disappear the moment that we have an agreement with the Palestinians. The Oslo Accords did not bring an improvement in Israel's status in the world, but the opposite. In the days of the full "occupation" we were never under threats of boycott, we never feared a political tsunami in the UN; they never stopped senior Israeli officers in European airports. Before the withdrawal from Gaza we were never under a rain of missiles and Katyushas, which cause millions of Israeli citizens to run for shelters; there was never a report against us of the Goldstone type and we never experienced international provocation such as the Turkish fleet and its ramifications. It's difficult to argue with facts, and the facts are that our international status after the agreements and withdrawals is lower than it was beforehand.

(Makor Rishon, 6 Adar 1, 2014)

Getting out of the Forest

There is a Hasidic story of a Jew who got lost in the forest and could not find the way out. Suddenly, just before he despaired, he saw a man sitting under one of the trees. He ran and asked, "How do you get out of here." And the person answered him: I also don't know how to get out yet. But nevertheless, I can help with one thing. I have already tried the path that you are on, and it does not lead out of here. Let's search for another way.

After all of the failures and disappointments, the blood and the tears, of the Oslo way, the time has really come to try to break through another wall. The Oslo approach has already trod the unbelievable path of ceremonialism and grotesqueness, from the White House lawn, via a Nobel Peace Prize for Yasser Arafat (you don't believe it? I promise, they gave it to Yasser Arafat. Yes. For peace). And the embarrassing thing is that, contrary to most of the folly known to history, when at most, what remained from them are a few black and white pictures and umbrellas, ours is documented on video and in color in miserable glory and splendor. All of the festive ceremonies, the red carpets, the flags waving in the wind, the politicians from all over the Western world who came to be photographed with our pain and our delusions, to take this opportunity to get some benefit for themselves. All of the ceremonies. Each one more foolish and touching than the last, everyone talking and singing about peace while bringing on yet another war, each one an example and a model of the amazing failure of Jewish genius, bumping its head again and again and again on the same wall.

(Yediot Aharonot, 3 Kislev, 2014)

They are Stealing our History and we Shut our Eyes

There is Jewish History Concealed in every Valley and every Hill in Judea and Samaria; in every Cave or Tel, one can find evidence that links us in a bond that extends over time to our past. So why do we allow the antiquities thieves to do as they please?

Hevron by painter Shmuel Mushnik

When you speak with historical researcher, scout and tour guide Dvir Raviv about Jewish historical findings in Judea and Samaria, it seems that if you move any random rock in Samaria, he will see that it has been moved on his next tour. It seems Dvir knows every corner and every path, every site that has been excavated as well as those yet to be excavated.

When he shows us a few examples from the sea of historical findings discovered in digs in Judea and Samaria, it is clear why the area is considered the birthplace of the Jewish People. There is no need to speak too much about Hebron and Jericho. The living historical connection makes every Jewish visitor cling to his national past, but besides the obvious places, there are many others. As he begins speaking Raviv divides the findings from Judea and Samaria into three groups associated with three types of sites where significant findings have been discovered. "One type are the biblical sites, another type are sites from the period of the second Temple and the rebellion of Bar Kochba and the third type are later sites from the Byzantine period. The significant and seminal biblical sites that were excavated and exposed very well are Nablus, Bet El and Hebron. Findings of the Second Temple and the Bar Kochba Rebellion focus mainly on coins, which bear very interesting inscriptions. The later sites are from the Byzantine era and synagogues have been found in those."

Raviv begins the list of biblical findings with the greatest, and perhaps most famous, of all findings – if, for the moment, we skip over the Cave of the Patriarchs – Joshua's altar on Mount Eval, the exciting find that Prof. Adam Zartal discovered in his excavations. "The altar in Mount Eval is the find and discovery. This is a very, very ancient discovery from the biblical archaeological point of view and it is almost identical to what is described in the Bible and this is what makes it a very tangible and exciting thing," says Raviv, explaining the uniqueness of the place.

"It is a ritual site at Mount Eval, from the beginning of the period of Jewish settlement, the period of Joshua. This is the altar, about which is written in the book of Joshua (8: 30), where it is told that Joshua builds an altar to G-d, the G-d of Israel, in Mount Eval. What makes the place a ritual site are findings such as tools that are identified as ritual objects, bones and ashes that testify to animals having been sacrificed there. These are bones of animals that we are commanded in the Bible to sacrifice, yearlings of sheep and cattle."

Findings of bones consistent with the rules of Jewish sacrifice are not at all easy to find. This is mainly because the Canaanite neighbors and Philistines were careful to sacrifice pigs, and indeed bones of pigs are found in the ritual sites of Canaanites, Philistines, etc. On the other hand, in the altar on Mount Eval, there are almost no pig bones at all.

Raviv continues to describe the findings of Mount Eval. "There are also 'fingerprints' – these are tools from the period of the Judges, and on their handles and rims of the jars and pitchers you can see some holes that form a triangle, square, circle or line, something that has meaning in the ritual. This could be the sign of a family or the sign of the type of gift; research has various suggestions for what this might be. 'Fingerprints' were found on Mount Eval and Shiloh, which are Israeli ritual sites from the period of the Judges."

> Sovereignty and application of Israeli law in the field will transfer the responsibility for stopping the phenomenon of Arab theft of antiquities to the Antiquities Authority, which has many resources. Perhaps they will know how to deal with it better

The findings of Mount Eval left those who are skeptical about Biblical archaeology without an answer.

Regarding the dating of the place as consistent with that of Joshua bin Nun, Raviv mentions the pottery shards and the scarabs (amulets) and the seals that were found there, which testify to its belonging to that period – the beginning of the era of settlement, the thirteenth century BCE. "All of this together with the fact that Mount Eval is known to us as the biblical Mount Eval, makes this place something very exciting, with which you cannot argue."

Regarding those who deny the Biblical link of the findings, when faced with the findings in Mount Eval, the claims of many of the archaeological historians were thwarted, even the toughest of them.

Raviv continues, presenting another example, also from the area of Nablus and also connected with Joshua bin Nun. "We can give more examples of sites that were destroyed in the period of Joshua like the great stone in Tel Shchem, biblical Shchem. This is a site that has been extensively excavated, where a gravestone dated from the beginning of the period of settlement and the Judges was discovered." He adds that the dating is somewhat problematic because there is not a 'layer of destruction' at the place to support the date of the findings according to their location, either above or below the ruins, nor dust of the event of destruction known from history. "Shchem (Nablus) was not destroyed in the days of Joshua and therefore it is difficult to date the gravestone accurately, but it absolutely matches the description of Joshua at the meeting where he assembles the people, establishes an altar and causes the people to swear with the words, 'Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it has heard all the words of the Lord which he spoke unto us' (Joshua 24:26). This is really exciting and significant. This is actually the stone that stands today and is documented in the Bible and we found it in the field during excavation."

On the tours he guides in the area of Nablus, the gravestone is one of the main stations and it seems, even for the groups that are full of archaeologists, students of archaeology, experts and tour guides, after he presents the findings at the site itself, and reads the accurate biblical description, very few of them try to argue against the history that is revealed in front of them. "When things are explained exhaustively – this is something with which it is difficult to argue."

40 structures, fortifications and a wall from the days of the kings near Psagot

"There are, of course, biblical cities such as Hebron, where we see the wall and the gate, places that are mentioned in the Bible, such as the purchase of the Cave of the Patriarchs by Abraham, where the gate of the city is mentioned. There is another example in Gibon, where a large water system was found – 'the Pool of Gibon', where there was a meeting between David's people and Boshet's people. There is a winery with ruins that also mentions the name Gibon, the name of the city, in inscriptions, and also names of people such as Hananyahu Nera, who is mentioned in Shaul's dynasty. This means that the family of Shaul is connected to the place. In ancient Samaria there are ruins that tell of the Israeli communities and the names of people, some of whom are mentioned in the Bible. One of the common names is 'Shemer', the name of a man from whom Omri brought the territory. One can find palaces of the kings of Israel there and ivory and more. There is much evidence in the area of many biblical stories but the most significant of them are the altar and the gravestone," Raviv repeats.

The second group of findings are from the days of the Second Temple and the Bar Kochba Rebellion. "This is the People of Israel's peak era in its land from the point of view of numbers. The peak was not the days of the First Temple but this period. We are speaking of approximately one million Jews who lived in Judea, which included the area from Beersheba to southern Shchem. Hundreds, if not thousands of communities, some of which were as large as Jerusalem."

From this period many inscriptions have been found on ossuaries, burial caskets that served to collect bones after a year in burial pits. "Many times we find the names of the dead on the caskets and one of the unique names we found is 'Israel' in Beit Anon, east of Hebron. The name is written in Hebrew writing and today it is in one of the burial caves that were excavated in the village."

Another important find are coins from the days of the destruction and the days of the Bar Kochba Rebellion. "In Shiloh, which was excavated very recently, very many coins with the inscription 'for the redemption of Israel', 'for the freedom of Zion' and 'for the freedom of Jerusalem' were found. In the Bar Kochba Rebellion, there were coins with 'for the freedom of Israel', 'Shimon prince of Israel', 'Shimon bar Kosba the prince of Israel', and more."

During the fifties and the sixties many documents were found in the Judean desert with the stories of the lives of Jews who escaped to the mountains. "The documents tell us of buying and selling, loans, inscriptions and more. These all give much information about the period. Many such documents were found in the Judean Desert but there are also documents from the area of the Samaria Desert, Wadi Daliah, and recently, also in the caves that were found in the more western places such as those near Beit Aryeh, where, in the Cave of Avod, 6 coins were found bearing the inscription from the second year of the rebellion, 'for the freedom of Israel', as well as the familiar symbols of a palm tree and grapevine."

In the category of coins there are also coins of the Hasmoneans, found in great quantity with many Jewish symbols and inscriptions with historical implications. "In the findings of the Second Temple era, the inscriptions connect the names of people to the spirit that reigned at that time among the people."

Magnificent synagogues from the Byzantine period

The third type of findings belongs to the Byzantine period. This period is not the Jewish peak in the area of Judea and Samaria. Most of the Jewish community had moved north to the Galilee and nevertheless, notes Raviv, even in Judea and Samaria we find large, wealthy communities such as the community in Sussya, in Ma'on, in Samoa, in Ein Gedi, in Jericho and more. "Sites are excavated in the area and magnificent synagogues have been found with mosaics where there are Jewish symbols and interesting inscriptions.

Joshua's Altar on Mount Eval. Photo Dvir Raviv

Remnants of parts of menorahs have also been found, as in Ma'on, where remnants of a marble menorah, the largest of its kind, have been found. The marble menorah weighs about one hundred kilograms. This is a menorah that was placed in the synagogue. Similar remnants were also found in Samoa, ancient Eshtamoa. There too, there was a magnificent synagogue. This is a significant period that did not leave much behind, but it did leave the synagogues that tie us to the place and they are obviously Jewish."

In light of these findings, and many, many others, it is worrying and saddening to hear Raviv's testimony as a scout in the field. Arab antiquities robbers use every means and are not afraid of anything. They come to every place, dig, find things, steal things and sell antiquities, mostly in the thriving black market. "I come across Arab robbers all the time. They are not afraid of us. Mainly, they are looking for sites from the eras of the Second Temple and Bar Kochba Rebellion because there you find coins and especially Jewish coins, and these are the most expensive, and their price can sometimes be thousands of dollars. They are willing to invest and to endanger themselves. They come to Areas A and B but to Area C as well, which is under our authority, and where we have the responsibility of oversight according to the Oslo Accords."

One overseer against hundreds and thousands of antiquities robbers

And what do we do when faced with this phenomenon? It is sad to say that we do almost nothing. "In the Civil Administration there is one overseer whom we alert when we discover a robbery or destruction of these antiquities. As part of his authority, he comes to the site and monitors the situation. What this means is that in the unit of the Archaeological Staff Headquarters of the Civil Administration, which functions as the antiquities authority of Judea and Samaria, there is only one person who is responsible for robbery and dealing in antiquities and he is supposed to take care of the hundreds and thousands of Arab robbers that are in the area and who ruin our sites…"

So what do we do? Raviv calls on us to come to the places, to visit, to get to know them and, when we see antiquities thieves, we should immediately alert that one overseer and summon him to the place. "If the overseer gets a lot of work, perhaps this is the only way to broaden the activity against robbery and destruction," he hopes and clarifies: "I go into twenty or thirty caves every week. I have never entered a cave that had not previously been visited by antiquities robbers before me. They know all of the places and they come to all the places."

On this subject as well, sovereignty might be the answer. Sovereignty and application of Israeli law in the field will transfer the responsibility for stopping the phenomenon to the Antiquities Authority, which has many resources and overseers. Perhaps they will know how to do it better… ■

The Oz veGa'on Forest- in memory of Gil-Ad, Ayal and Naftali HY"D / by Shimon Cohen

Turning Oz veGaon into a center for tourism. Photo Women in Green

In the beginning of the month of Tammuz (July), members from the Women in Green movement planted yet another stake in the Land, as they have done many times in recent years. Following the establishment of Netzer, Shdema and other sites, the movement established a tourist site, Oz veGa'On, on the hill above the Gush Etzion Junction.

It was on the night it was learned of the murder of the three youths, **G**il-Ad Sha'ar, **A**yal Yifrach and **N**aftali Frenkel (Ga'on), הי"ד. The activists quickly organized themselves for an ascent to the hill near the hitchhiking station from which the three were abducted.

Over the next few days the hill was the subject of widespread public attention. The heads of the Gush Etzion Council and residents of Judea joined Women in Green, offering help and logistical support; public figures such as MKs Ze'ev Elkin, Orit Struk, Shuli Muallem and others, as well as rabbis of the area, came to strengthen both the spirits and the hands of those who came up to the hill.

On the hill, which had been neglected for many years, work began. The heads of Women in Green, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, welcomed the Zionist Midrasha (students who recently immigrated from the former Soviet Union), and other youth volunteers from all over the country, residents of the area and supporters of the settlement enterprise, who came to participate in the intense activity. They worked rapidly to prepare and restore the site (a nature reserve, actually), in preparation for turning it into a center for tourism.

Since that first night, the appearance of the hill has changed daily. Paths were blazed, benches set up, thorns and weeds removed, fruit trees planted, tents were pitched and the old building that had served the forester during the Jordanian era (and had since been used by the Arabs as a garbage dumping site) was cleaned and painted for the many upcoming activities of youth and adults.

There have been many peak moments in the course of the weeks that passed since Oz veGa'on was established. One being the participation of the grandparents of Ayal Yifrach, H"YD in the planting of a commemorative garden.

The grandfather, Rav Amram Yifrach, spoke of his emotions during the visit, at the sight of the many youths present – weeding, cleaning and preparing it as a respectable site, worthy of a memorial for his grandson and the two other boys who were abducted and murdered. Rav Yifrach expressed a hope of developing the place as part of building up the Land of Israel on the way to full redemption.

At the end of the first thirty days of mourning, a memorial for the boys was held at the site with the participation of the head of the Gush Etzion Council, Davidi Perl, Rabbi Israel Rosen, Rabbi Baruch Efrati, head of the Committee of Foreign Affairs and Defense MK Ze'ev Elkin and hundreds of supporters from communities in the area and from throughout the Land. At the event Uri Yifrach, father of Ayal, H"YD, spoke about his sense during the fifty days that passed since the abduction, and the days of the IDF's fighting in the Gaza Strip.

Recently an inspirational night of song and slichot took place with classmates of Gil-Ad and Naftali, H"YD, with the participation of Racheli Frenkel, mother of Naftali, H"YD, who expressed a sense of spiritual elevation

Lecture at Oz veGaon by Arieh Rotenberg from the Gush Etsion Field School

because of the way the name of her son Naftali, Ayal and Gil-Ad were memorialized. "We want to see a silver lining in the cloud and this place is so sweet and so much like our delightful children," she said, very emotionally and added that she indeed does not know how to console "someone who changed his form" as she defines it, but in this place, so near to Gush Etzion Junction, they "feel so at home" and they have consolation from the memorial being in this place, she said, and expressed her hope for the continued development and growth of the site.

As mentioned, the site is intended to become a center for tourism that will include tours in the area, camping and activities together with a compound in which educational and cultural events as well as celebrations will be held. Among the first celebrations to be held at Oz veGa'on was the brit milah of the son of David and Alona Brenner, residents of Elazar. The Brenner family invited their guests, family members and the ritual circumciser to the hill where they held an emotionally moving ceremony. The baby's name, which has the merit of becoming part of the renewed history of Gush Etzion, is 'Oz Michael'.

"The nature reserve was established to continue the life in Israel, to give the breath of life and continual Jewish presence in an additional location in Gush Etzion. Therefore it was natural for the family to hold the circumcision of their first son here, at the Oz veGa'on Reserve, and to call their baby Oz Michael," explain the heads of Women in Green, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, who note that "in this event, the blessing 'my life is in your blood' receives a double meaning."

These days Katsover and Matar continue the momentum of activity that will make the compound into a "natural site for events in commemoration of the sons because it is a symbol of the unity that the People of Israel discovered in the days of the searches and the concern for their safety." The two women add, "The People of Israel discovered a sense of rare spiritual elevation in the days of the searches for the youths, H"YD, and in the days of the fighting in the South. Many among the People did not believe that under the veil of cynicism that we all have, there exists a wonderful core of Zionistic values. Fighters and officers testified in the days after the war how much this cohesive and unifying spirit helped lead them to victory against the terrorists of Hamas."

In MK Elkin's visit to the hill, he expressed the hope that the leadership would be worthy of this wonderful people, a People that knows how to stand up to the dangers and to sacrifice for the sake of its future. ■