

# SOVEREIGNTY

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Published by The Sovereignty Movement founded by Women in Green



## Sovereignty - The future of Israel

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# Wanted: leaders of Vision!

Leaders of the Rightwing Camp:  
Don't hide your values and principles behind the Corona.

"The inherent hostility of the Biden administration makes clear that contrary to the media spin, the March elections will be a pivotal ideological event. They will decide whether Israel stands up for Zionism or embraces post-Zionism, whether Israel will fight for its sovereignty and its interests or concede both in favor of good relations with Israel haters." Caroline Glick, Israel Hayom 29/1/2021

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.

### SOVEREIGNTY / Political Journal

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## A Word from the Editors

Dear Readers,  
 Israel is again facing an election campaign, this time with the backdrop of the economic and health struggle with the covid-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, in the pages of this issue, as well as in the general activity of our movement, we are seeking to restore the values of Zionism and Judaism, in whose name the State of Israel was established, to the public, political, and leadership discourse in Israel.  
 We call upon the leaders of the right-wing camp and all its parties to present clear, resolute ideological positions due, among other reasons, to the change in administrations in the United States and its anticipated ramifications in terms of the approaching political pressure. To counteract this pressure, Israel will require prominent leadership that clearly and resolutely expresses the position of the majority of the people in Israel, the position of the right-wing camp. Democratic values demand this, the truth demands this, and the role of our generation in the chain of Zionism requires this.  
 In the issue before you, we asked representatives of the right-wing parties to present their positions regarding the sovereignty vision and commitment to the Land of Israel and to the settlement movement. The moral, ideological, and practical questions that we posed to them are the questions that should concern every voter in Israel before going to the ballot box.

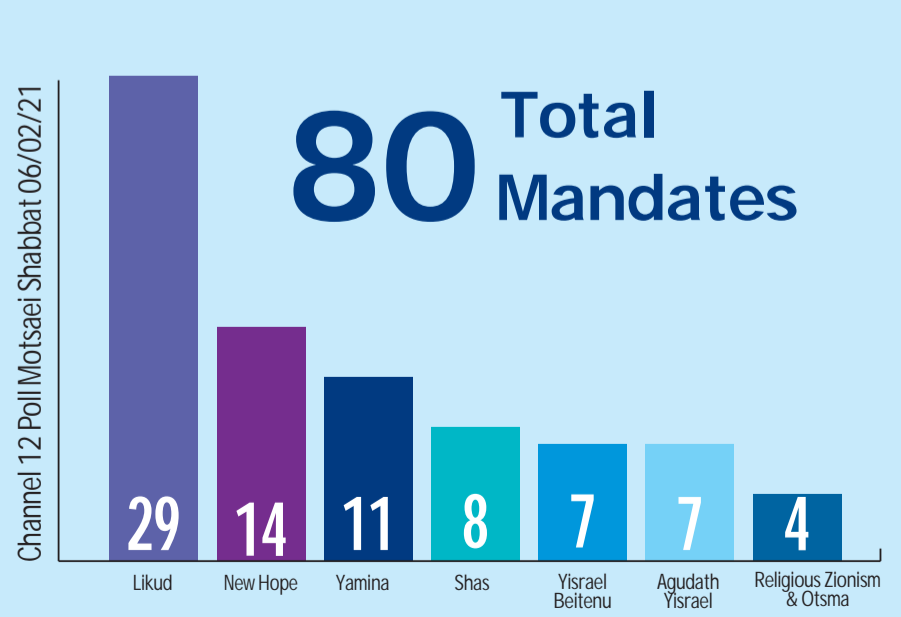
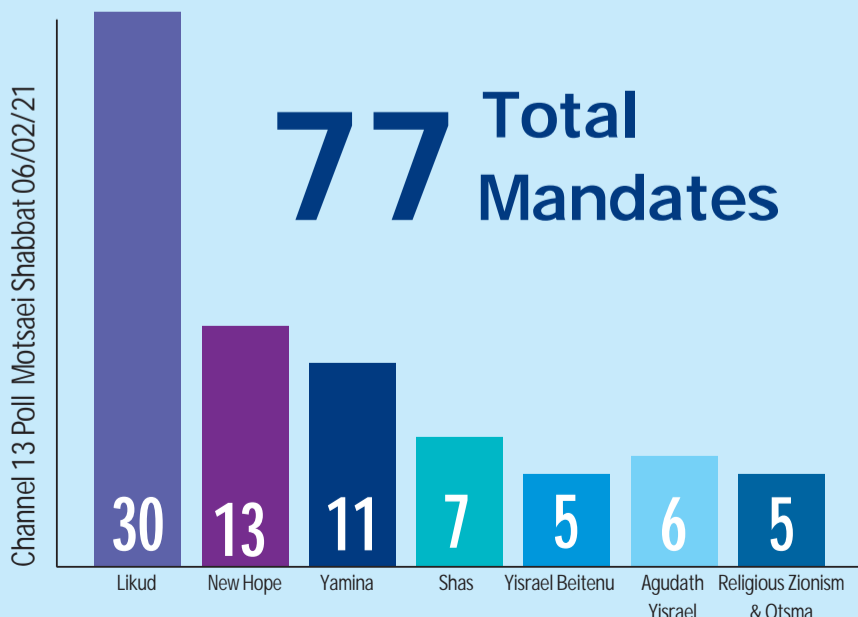
The significance of the struggle with Covid-19 is second to none, as is the struggle to restore the Israeli economy to form, but that does not justify the blurring of the principles of the right-wing camp. A central question common to several of the articles in this issue is the question of the ramifications of the Abraham Accords on the commitment to sovereignty of the Israeli leadership in the next government in its dealings with the new administration in Washington. The words of Professor Talia Einhorn, cited in this journal, clearly establish why declarations regarding a freeze in the implementation of sovereignty, if they were, in fact, spoken, are not binding from the perspective of international law.  
 In an interview with journalist Hodaya Karish-Hazoni there are very significant citations of pro-Israel elements in Washington who explain why it was correct to oppose sovereignty according to the outline of the Trump plan, which would apparently have led the Biden Administration to an attitude whereby, in exchange, it would be necessary to recompense the Arab side with compensation of equal significance, God forbid.  
 There are new winds blowing in Washington. As these lines are being written, the American administration has already contacted the Palestinian Authority, but has not yet contacted the Israeli Prime Minister. The new appointments in the administration indicate

a clear orientation in favor of the Palestinian Arabs. There is no doubt that had we agreed to the application of sovereignty of the Deal of the Century, the new administration would have immediately fulfilled the additional part of the agreement, i.e. the establishment of a Palestinian state and giving away parts of the Negev to the Arabs, steps that the majority of people in Israel oppose and which constitute an existential threat to the future of the State of Israel. We have no doubt that it must have been Divine intervention that halted this dangerous process, as it is promised in the verse: "The eyes of the Lord your G-d are upon it" (Devarim 11:12). This is the place to repeat our position: Yes to Sovereignty! No to a Palestinian state! The Land of Israel, in its entirety, is ours.  
 We will emphasize here, the call of Josh Reinstein, president of Israeli Allies Foundation (page 6), to the Israeli leadership to establish a political vision in the spirit of the biblical promise: "To your descendants I will give this land" (Bereshit 12:7). This position received significant momentum during the Trump Era, and the ear is open and receptive to it even in the era that follows.  
 Leaders of the Right, keep right!  
 Pleasant reading,  
 The Sovereignty Editorial Board

## The Majority of the People is Rightwing

Ca. **80 Mandates** demand:

- Eretz Yisrael • Sovereignty • Settlement • Aliya • Jewish Identity • A reformed Justice System



## Do the Abraham Accords indeed freeze the application of sovereignty?

Continuity of government in democratic countries mandates the implementation of previous commitments by later governments. Does the commitment some claim Netanyahu gave to freeze the sovereignty process in Judea and Samaria bind Israel's next government?

**Prof. Talia Einhorn** answers our questions.



Prof. Talia Einhorn, expert in international law

As Biden enters his term as president of the United States and in view of the anticipated change in Israel's government following the upcoming elections in March, the question of whether Israel's government is bound by pledges supposedly made by Netanyahu

In general terms , a declaration made by a Heads of State has no binding force unless it has been made public  
In the present case, I have not heard any public commitment made by Prime Minister Netanyahu, and when there is no such public commitment, it has no effect in terms of international law

to the Trump administration to freeze the application of sovereignty over parts of Judea and Samaria as part of the Abraham Accords – if such pledges were indeed made – remains pending.

We posed this question to Prof. Talia Einhorn, an expert in international law who had studied in-depth the status of the land of Israel in international law: Does continuity of government in a democratic regime mean that oral declarations that were perhaps made and that are not explicitly recorded in written documents are binding?

Already at the outset, Prof. Einhorn sets out some hard and fast rules: "On the subject of unilateral statements made by leaders, the rules of international law are very clear. The sources of binding law in international law are first and foremost custom, convention, general principles of law"

"In general terms , a declaration made by a Heads of State has no binding force unless it has been made public, and in that case, it does not matter whether it was written down or not, as long as it is clear and detailed enough for the public

to know exactly the contents and scope of the undertaking made by the Head of State. Only if these conditions are fulfilled, the commitment may be binding on the state. In the present case, I have not heard any public commitment made by Prime Minister Netanyahu, and when there is no such public commitment, it has no effect in terms of international law," observes Prof. Talia Einhorn.

She offers two historical examples in which this issue was examined by the International Court of Justice:

"In 1974, French President Charles De Gaulle made a public declaration at a press conference broadcast in France's media channels, conveying to the world at large its intention to terminate all nuclear tests. The International Court of Justice in The Hague held that because the declaration had been made publicly and unambiguously, it was binding upon France.

In another case presented to the same court in 1986, concerning a frontier dispute between Burkina Faso and Mali, the court ruled that, since in this case there was nothing to hinder the parties to the dispute from manifesting their commitments in a formally negotiated bilateral agreement (something that was not practicable in the case of the nuclear tests), there were no grounds to interpret the declaration made by Mali's Head of State as a unilateral act with legal implications."

To this Einhorn adds that there is a deeper and more compelling question that may need to be considered, namely the pressures that Israel and its government may face. "Sometimes leaders make pledges or fulfill commitments not because of a legal obligation to do so but because of political considerations or constraints. In some cases, the price the State will have to pay otherwise may be unaffordable. A country may find itself placed under heavy economic sanctions or under an arms embargo and so on."

Specifically regarding the issue of suspending the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, Einhorn says that, in practice, "no public statement was made." Moreover, the final status of Judea and Samaria has remained pending since the Interim Agreement with the PLO signed in Cairo in 1995 (for a period of five years), where it was determined that the permanent status would be decided in subsequent

negotiations.

At this point, Prof. Einhorn states emphatically and in no uncertain terms that, "from the point of view of international law, there is nothing illegal in the Jewish communities across the Green Line. In support of the allegations of illegality, international law rules, concocted especially for Israel, are invented. We must not ourselves forget the true legal situation. We must not under any circumstances allow ourselves to be convinced that the settlements are illegal, because that claim is simply wrong."

In reference to the declarations made with respect to the Abraham Accords regarding the suspension of the application of sovereignty, Prof. Einhorn notes a guiding principle whereby "In international law, when a state limits its own authority, such limitations are interpreted restrictively. To find out the scope of a commitment, one must examine the text of the commitment, read in its context."

The document echoes "the reception held on January 28, 2020, when President Trump presented his vision for Peace," in which the parties pledged "to continue the efforts to achieve a just, comprehensive and enduring solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." The document also notes the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Jordan, which contain a commitment to "working together to realize a negotiated solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that meets the legitimate needs and aspirations of both peoples, and to advance comprehensive Middle East peace." The document further emphasizes, "The belief that normalization of Israeli and Emirati relations is in the interest of both peoples and contributes to the cause of peace in the Middle East and the world."

**Is there anything in this formulation that constitutes a commitment on the part of Israel to remove its plans to apply sovereignty from the table?**

Prof. Einhorn, who also reviewed the joint declaration made by the United States, Israel and the UAE on August 13, 2020 that appears on the White House website, also mentioned in the agreement, as well as USA President Trump's "Peace to Prosperity" plan, says that thus far she has not been able to find

an Israeli commitment that international law should consider binding. The Palestinians themselves rejected President Trump's plan out of hand and refused to accept any of the preliminary terms set out in the agreement, and nor did Israel do anything to advance the Trump plan either.

"The indefinite and sweeping statements regarding this matter, that were included in the agreement with the UAE, appear to me to serve perhaps as lip service, aimed at quelling an international uproar that could prevent support for the Abraham Accords. The agreements note a desire to strive toward a just solution, they do not at all refer to the Interim Agreement between Israel and the PLO, all of which means that any solution that will be found, will be deemed acceptable. Later, there is discussion of working together through negotiations, but there is no mention of a commitment to any kind of freeze."

However, as noted earlier, Prof. Einhorn observes that there may be a necessity

From the point of view of international law, there is nothing illegal in the Jewish communities across the Green Line. In support of the allegations of illegality, international law rules, concocted especially for Israel, are invented

for various reasons to suspend the application of sovereignty, but in legal terms, this is not stated in writing anywhere.

"In terms of international law, there is nothing here. But it is not international law that determines the issue, but rather the level of threats and pressure." To this she adds, "In this matter, Prime Minister Netanyahu has proved himself to be the expert at how to maneuver in the international arena, both regarding the Iranian issue as well as on other matters."

# How and Why Did the Trump Era Pass But we Remain Without Sovereignty

Is there someone to blame for the fact that the opportunity presented by the Trump Era was not exploited for the application of sovereignty? Was the sovereignty proposed by Trump the one for which the settlement leadership had hoped? Had we applied partial sovereignty, would Biden exact a price for it?

An interview with journalist **Hodaya Karish-Hazony**



Journalist Hodaya Karish Hazony, Makor Rishon, interviews Amb. David Friedman

In an attempt to understand how Trump's tenure passed without the Israeli government and its head having advanced, in a practical way, the application of sovereignty, we turned to one who has accompanied the political arena for a long time now, and among other things, monitors the pace of progress of the sovereignty process, the political reporter of the Makor Rishon newspaper, Hodaya Karish-Hazony, who also, it turns out, finds it difficult to point a finger at a specific individual who is to blame for the freeze on sovereignty, or even for its taking a step backward.

In order to monitor the progression of events and the moment when the opportunity for sovereignty was lost, Karish-Hazony takes us to January 28, 2020, the date of the ceremony at the White House, when, she relates: "Something happened that American sources insist on characterizing as a misunderstanding."

"Something happened which caused Netanyahu to emerge from the White House with the feeling that he would be able to apply sovereignty within one week; however, within a few hours, Jared Kushner conducted media interviews in which he explained that it would take time, and that a committee must be established that would outline what precisely needs to be done and how. Apparently there was a misunderstanding between Netanyahu and White House officials regarding the work that was required before it actually happens. At that point, the Mapping Committee was established with Israeli and American representatives."

"The committee began its meetings, but then Covid-19 arrived, which halted the process," Karish-Hazony says, and notes that it is unclear whether Covid-19 was, in fact, the reason for the suspension of the cessation of the committee's work, or whether it is merely a pretext that some people preferred to exploit.

After the White House ceremony, there were elections in Israel and a national unity government was formed with the Blue and White party. In

the Government Platform, the date on which a change could have been implemented was mentioned – July 1<sup>st</sup>. According to the agreement between the coalition parties, from that date forward it would be possible to raise the issue for discussion. However, on the date set "not much happened beyond a vague pronouncement by the Prime Minister. Apparently, that was the only day during the year on which it would have been possible to implement something. This was after much of the initial plan that had been discussed during those first two exciting hours in January had already been eliminated. Different proposals began to be raised regarding sovereignty in Gush Etzion and something in the Jordan Valley, partial steps, however, those, too, were on the agenda for a short time, because at the same time agreements began to

Washington officials who are settlement enthusiasts believe that had sovereignty been applied, even partially, it is possible that at present, the settlements would have been confronted with a more complex situation after Biden's election and they would deem it necessary to give the Palestinians a gift that is no less significant

be formulated with the United Arab Emirates, which was publicized on August 13<sup>th</sup>. That was the flickering of the possibility."

Karish-Hazony notes that at the same time "there are elements, like Gabi Ashkenazi, who, in an act of self-aggrandizement, take the credit for removing sovereignty from the agenda." It is notable that in an interview that she conducted with the

aide of Ambassador David Friedman, he related somewhat derisively to Ashkenazi's self-aggrandizement regarding the removal of sovereignty from the agenda. "Around July, there were American officials who said that it is important to them that there be bilateral agreement on the process. It is unclear that the credit that Ashkenazi has taken is overstated. Apparently, he contributed to it. He declared that he does not want it to happen and the Americans did not want to get involved in an internal Israeli matter. That caused them to take several steps backward from a plan that was, in any case, shaky."

She also mentions the opposition to the process by elements from the Right like the Sovereignty Movement and the Yesha Council, opposition that, even if they attempted to present it as complex, opposition to the paragraph regarding the Palestinian state and agreement to sovereignty, it was received by the Americans as additional opposition to that of Blue and White, but this time, from the Israeli right-wing. In this situation, "when an opening was created to replace it with the Abraham Accords, they opted for those agreements, which were accepted throughout the world with open arms, and in the framework of those agreements, Israel abandoned the sovereignty plan."

**Is this agreement that Israel is abandoning sovereignty written anywhere?** Apparently not. It appears that it is a mutual agreement between the parties. "In the initial American press release on August 13<sup>th</sup>, the day of the trilateral conversation between Trump, Netanyahu, and bin Zayed, it is written that Israel is postponing the application of sovereignty. After the fact, it became clear that Israel agreed to remove the matter from the agenda in order to progress on the path of the Abraham Accords, which were gradually extended to additional countries."

Regarding the paragraphs of sovereignty in the plan, Karish-Hazony is skeptical whether it had the capacity to lead to full, comprehensive sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. "That is not what was included in the plan from the outset," she says and

mentions the significant problems that the settlement supporters indicated, among others, the young settlements that were not included on the map, traffic arteries and roads that are truncated, and more. "It is not at all clear that this application of sovereignty was good for those who seek the wellbeing of the settlement movement."

**Here, we return to those hours during which it became clear that the matters were interpreted differently by the Israelis than they were by the Americans. What or who caused this?**

Around July, there were American officials who said that it is important to them that there be bilateral agreement on the process. It is unclear that the credit that Ashkenazi has taken is overstated. Apparently, he contributed to it.

"That is the question. I posed this question to Friedman and to his aide. The American answer is that there was a misunderstanding."

Karish-Hazony continues with a very significant comment regarding the possibility that Israel would have, indeed, applied sovereignty over the entire territory in the face of Arab refusal. She attributes this comment to what she characterizes as, "Washington officials who are settlement enthusiasts," who, in her opinion, believe that "had sovereignty been applied, even partially, it is possible that at present, the settlements would have been confronted with a more complex situation after Biden's election, because it would have been perceived as the ultimate gift to the Israeli settlement movement, and they would deem it necessary to give the Palestinians a gift that is no less significant."

## Sovereignty and Faith-Based Diplomacy

By: Josh Reinstein



Josh Reinstein, President of the Israel Allies Foundation

The signing of the Abraham Accords is an incredible victory for the policy described as "peace through strength". For the last four years former President Trump disregarded all conventional wisdom regarding the Middle East despite warnings from past presidents, State Department officials and diplomats around the world. Many thought that his new policies would end in death and destruction. How did he know what no one else did? How did he see peace when everyone else saw war? The answer lies with a concept called faith-based diplomacy.

As I wrote in my book "Titus, Trump and the Triumph of Israel", former President Trump chose to look at Israel from a biblical point of view. This shift was not necessarily politically correct, but it was biblically correct. His views were mirrored by Christian members of Parliament around the world. This past July, twenty chairmen of Israel Allies Caucuses from countries around the world, representing hundreds of politicians, signed a letter supporting Israel's right to sovereignty. The letter explained that Israel declaring sovereignty "had the potential to bring peace and prosperity closer to the region."

Like the recognition of Jerusalem and Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights, this way of thinking flies in the face of conventional wisdom. But just as those policies led to a period of unprecedented peace, so too would Israel's implementation of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria enhance peace in this region.

Since former President Carter's term, the policy of the U.S government has been to hold Israel's so-called "occupation" responsible for the absence of peace in the Middle East. The PLO's aggression and refusal to either disavow terrorism or accept Israel's right to exist was brushed aside. The Obama administration adopted the 1978 Hansell Memorandum, which condemned Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria, as official U.S. policy. This State Department document was based on an erroneous interpretation of the Fourth Geneva Convention from 1949 and had no basis in international law. But Obama's acceptance of it enabled the UN Security Council to pass a resolution

criminalizing Jewish communities beyond the 1949 armistice line.

The Trump administration recognized this false narrative, and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced that the administration was replacing the Hansell memo with an accurate assessment of international law. "It is important that we speak the truth when the facts lead us to it. And that's what we've done," Pompeo announced in January 2020.

Because many of Trump's core supporters were Bible-believing Christians who look at the world from a biblical point of view, he adopted their perspective and as a result made some bold decisions. The most notable example is moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem. Every advisor, from the secretary of state at the time to his secretary of defense, told Trump that he was making a huge mistake. The State Department said that such an initiative would start a third Intifada and that thousands would be killed. They claimed it could lead to World War III.

What it led to instead was a new wave of peace in the Middle East through the Abraham Accords. It proved that "peace through strength" and moral clarity is the only way forward to peace. Once again the purveyors of panic are speaking out against sovereignty. They believe that recognizing Jewish rights in the Biblical heartland would create more conflict and regional instability. They are wrong.

The leaders of Israel must learn from what we saw over the last four years and not be afraid to declare sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. There are more than half a million citizens living in these communities. It is time for Israel's leaders to boldly state the obvious - these citizens can not be abandoned and in order to enhance peace in the region, we must declare sovereignty over these communities. If our leaders have the courage to declare sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, legislators of faith will rally to the cause.



**Josh Reinstein** is the President of the Israel Allies Foundation which coordinates the activities of 50 Israel Allies Caucuses made up of 1200 legislatures in countries around the world.

## The Most Significant Decisions Were Made Contrary to the Position of the United States

Photo: Hadas parush Flash 90



Yossi Dagan, the head of the Shomron Regional Council

Those who feared confrontation with the hostile Obama, cautioned against a confrontation with the friendly Trump, and they will again cause us to panic over the prospects of a confrontation with Biden. But the determination and the decision take place in Jerusalem, not in Washington. An interview with the head of the Shomron Regional Council Yossi Dagan.

"Much to my chagrin, I am forced to repeat what I cautioned against in recent years. We have witnessed with our own eyes the miss of a historic opportunity. We could have achieved great and significant accomplishments. But it did not happen because the government did not want it to happen. It is just like the story of the Hebrew slave who refuses to go free, and is interested, instead, in having his ear pierced." So states Yossi Dagan, head of the Shomron Regional Council, who warned against the Trump plan, but at the same time believes that it would have been possible to promote a completely different blueprint during the Trump era.

"The government is not really a maidservant of the administration in the United States. The ball is in Jerusalem's court, not Washington's. I have attended meetings in very important offices in Jerusalem, with very, very important people. They said to me that Obama is a president who is hostile to Israel, and we must not enter into a confrontation with him. Who knows what will happen at the UN and in the Security Council. I told them that the ball is in their court, not in Washington. Suddenly, Trump arrived, and the same people, in the same offices, said that Trump is a supporter of Israel; therefore, we must not enter into a confrontation with him. I told them that the problem is not with Obama and not with Trump. The problem is with you. You do not dare to act."

In Dagan's opinion, the very notion that every Israeli move requires a seal of approval from the White House is fundamentally mistaken. "All the significant decisions in the State of Israel, beginning with the establishment of Israel, Ben-Gurion's decision extending sovereignty to West Jerusalem, continuing on to the preemptive strike that saved Israel during the Six Day War, establishment

of the nuclear reactor in Dimona, sovereignty in the Golan Heights, bombing the reactor in Iraq, bombing the reactor in Syria, all these were decided contrary to the position of the White House. We got confused. Instead of telling Trump: You are a supporter of Israel, your electoral base supports Israel, we will apply sovereignty over all the communities in Judea and Samaria and we will introduce a construction boom, and that we can disagree and remain friends; we remained with the old paradigm."

"The Israeli government wanted to remain with the Obama blueprint with improvements, and therefore there

We got confused. Instead of telling Trump: you are a supporter of Israel, your electoral base supports Israel, we will apply sovereignty and we will introduce a construction boom, and we are allowed to oppose a Palestinian state and remain friends; we remained with the old paradigm

was a historic missed opportunity of a historic situation. The greatest missed opportunity is regarding the issue of sovereignty," Dagan states and elaborates that the Trump sovereignty blueprint that left isolated communities and required agreement for the

Continued on page 15

# The Biden Era is no Reason to Shelve Sovereignty – on the Contrary

**MK Bezalel Smotrich:** The Biden era will be more difficult for the challenge of sovereignty, but it is important and possible to begin with symbols of sovereignty, one of which is to dismantle the Civil Administration and normalize life for the Jews living in Judea and Samaria.



Photo: office of the MK  
MK Bezalel Smotrich, head of the "Religious Zionism", former Minister of Transportation

Contrary to many others on the Right, Member of Knesset Bezalel Smotrich vigorously criticized the Trump plan right from the start, and saw that its entire purpose was the establishment of a Palestinian state, albeit on a smaller scale than that which leaders of the PA and the Israeli left hoped for. Smotrich points the finger of guilt for the wording and design of the dangerous plan, which supposedly came from the White House, at Prime Minister Benjamin

our interests; to cling to the best of the Trump legacy, which is that the Palestinian matter is the basis for instability in the Middle East and to take off the table the bad idea of dividing the Land for the sake of a Palestinian state". "Anyone who will become prime minister will have had to establish such a stance because if you give in to pressure, you cause them to pressure you more. Just as Netanyahu stood during the Obama period on the Iranian issue, he could also have stood for the issue of sovereignty" **As someone who leads the opposition to the idea of shelving the right-wing values during the Corona period, MK Smotrich is convinced that it is possible to do quite a bit, even during the Biden era, to advance the vision.** "We must begin with symbols of sovereignty, by dismantling the Civil Administration and making the management of the settlement enterprise subject to various government offices, a step that has no international significance but a lot of significance to de facto sovereignty. This is a step that would normalize life and signal that Israel controls her territory directly by taking the military administration, which is bad from a practical point of view as well, out of the picture, because the services it gives

Moreover, Smotrich believes, it is possible and necessary to advance sovereignty over the Jordan Valley, Ma'ale Adumim and more during the Biden era. "Advance in phases. I certainly do not believe that we must shelve sovereignty for four more years. This, in my opinion, would be very bad. We must roll the ball halfway down the opponent's half of the field, so that the conflicts with the administration will be around our demand for sovereignty and not around their demand to freeze building, to withdraw and make concessions".

**About the Trump plan and the missed opportunity that it represents, Smotrich says:** "I did oppose the Trump plan. When the plan was launched there was an unequivocal American statement that it was a plan whose maps could be drawn differently. When we understood that the Americans insisted on the map that breaks the contiguity of the Jewish communities and maintains Arab contiguity in a way that very clearly favors the conditions for a Palestinian state, we made it clear that this map is bad and we opposed it".

**But as mentioned, Smotrich's criticism is directed toward Netanyahu and he clarifies:** "My criticism is for Netanyahu, who brought us there. Netanyahu, faithful to his approach from the Bar Ilan speech, thinks that we must create a separation in Judea and Samaria. He does not want to define it as a state, but as an "autonomy plus" or "state minus", but his concept is the same concept as the Left and we totally disagree with him in this matter".

**Smotrich views the matter of sovereignty as one of the issues that led ultimately to his party's separation from Naftali Bennett's New Right and he explains:** "The basis for the New Right and Religious Zionism parting ways is, among other things, in this. Naftali says that during the next four years he will put aside the values of Religious Zionism, including sovereignty, and deal with the economy. This statement immediately imply certain components of the coalition".

"We can now expect pressure from the Biden administration and the question arises as to what will be the structure of the cabinet, which will have to vote on whether to submit to pressure for

We can now expect pressure from the Biden administration and the question arises as to what will be the structure of the cabinet, which will have to vote on whether to submit to pressure for a building freeze, evacuating outposts or even more than this, Heaven forbid

Netanyahu should have advanced sovereignty. He is the one who wrote the Trump plan, and he should have written something else, much better. It would have been possible to come up with a much better plan

We must roll the ball halfway down the opponent's half of the field, so that the conflicts with the administration will be around our demand for sovereignty and not around their demand to freeze building, to withdraw and make concessions

Netanyahu, who, in his opinion, could and should have led to an outline of true sovereignty, with American support. "The reality of the settlement enterprise during the Biden era might be more difficult and complex than during the Trump era, and this is the greatest criticism of Netanyahu, who wasted the four Trump years. Although Netanyahu did indeed bring about achievements in normalization with the Muslim states, he should have advanced sovereignty. He is the one who wrote the Trump plan, and he should have written something else, much better. It would have been possible to come up with a much better plan", Smotrich is convinced.

**Does the Biden era herald the shelving of the vision of sovereignty at least until the end of his term?** Not at all, if it depends on Smotrich. "What we must not do during the Biden era is to broadcast that we feel pressured, which would invite even more pressure. We must broadcast that a disagreement between friends is possible, but not give in to pressure. We must be resolute and stand for our rights, advance

are much worse than those given by the government offices, but is also very bad from the point of view of "optics". We do not want the military to manage the communities in Judea and Samaria; but to signify it as part of the State of Israel".

a building freeze, evacuating outposts or even more than this, Heaven forbid? If you understand that you do not fold up your flags, you work for a certain coalition structure that will stand up to these pressures. Personally, Naftali Bennett is no less right-wing than I am, but we don't vote for people according to whether they have nice eyes or their personal opinions, but according to what they say they are going to do with our mandate and Naftali Bennett says that with these mandates, he will not promote sovereignty, amend the justice system, deal with illegal immigrants, Judaizing the Negev and the Galilee. He will only deal with livelihood. This is why we parted ways. He thinks that it is correct to put ideology aside and delve into economic matters. I believe that this is a mistake ideologically, and certainly practically, especially if it leads to a government with Lapid and Lieberman. Could such a government based on livelihood withstand Biden's pressures?" Smotrich views sovereignty as an integral part of his party's election campaign as well as a working plan for the day after the elections. "I want the State of Israel to strive all the time toward sovereignty, even if it is not complete, we will begin with Ma'ale Adumim, the Jordan Valley, etc. Conflicts with the American administration will be around our striving for sovereignty and not around their demand for withdrawals or concessions. Therefore, sovereignty must be alive and kicking".

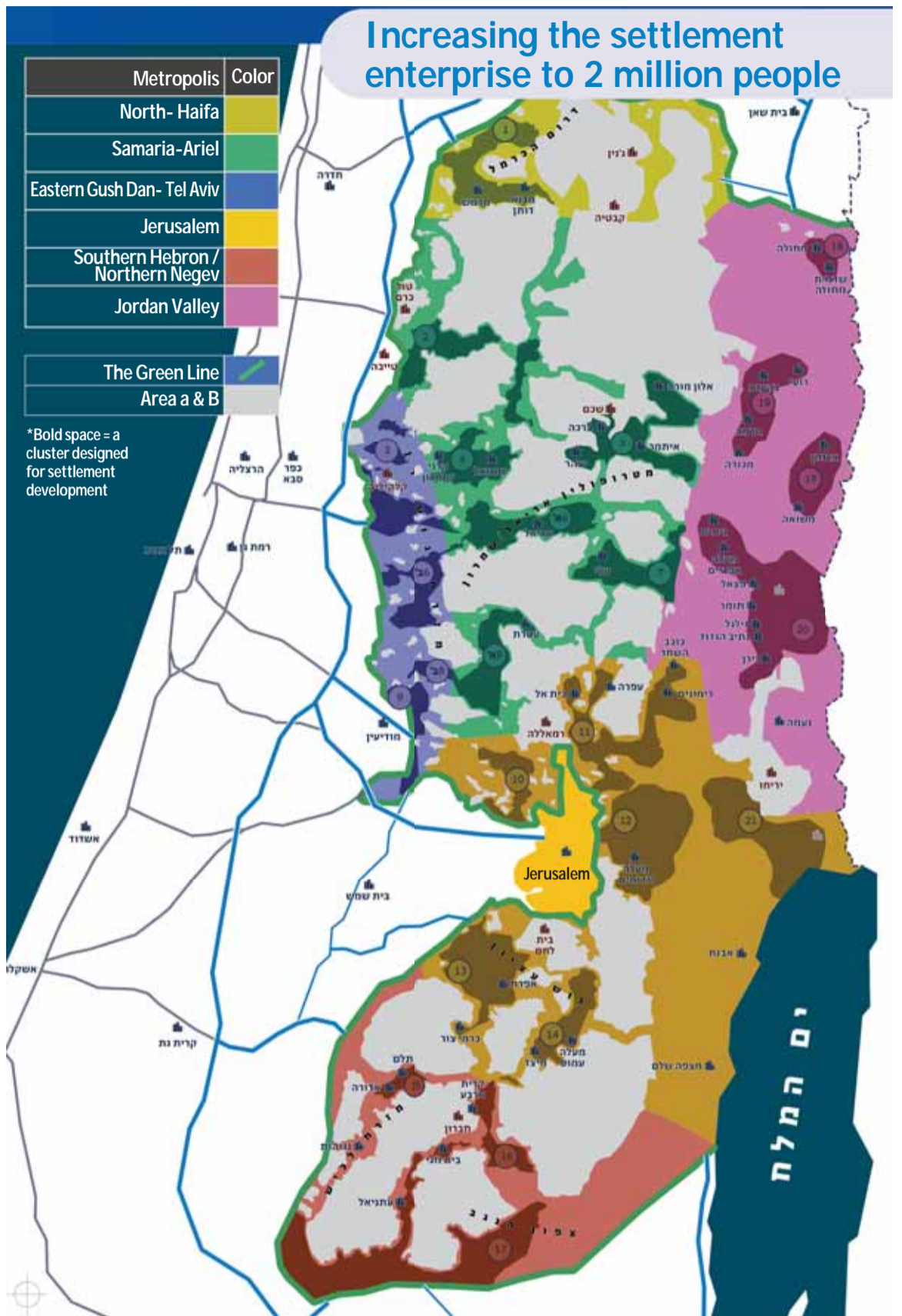
# Barkat's Master Plan Determines Sovereignty on the Ground

Photo: office of the MK



MK Nir Barkat

The international work teams recruited by **MK Nir Barkat** redrew Israel's map without the Green Line and from the perspective of land reserves for housing and employment in the coming decades. Sovereignty, in practice.



Maps taken from the brochure "The Barkat Plan for the economic and settlement development of Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley"

One person who is unwilling to wait for an official declaration of the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria and who seeks to create sovereignty facts on the ground – at least in terms of employment, industry, tourism and the expansion of Jewish communities – is Likud MK and former Jerusalem mayor Nir Barkat. Immediately upon completion of his second five-year term as mayor of Jerusalem and even before entering the Knesset, he recruited experts to draw up a comprehensive plan for dramatic development in Judea and Samaria. "I decided to use my experience as an entrepreneur and mayor for the benefit of the enormous potential in Judea and Samaria, and the very next day, two American experts arrived and we started working on plans for the economic

development of Judea and Samaria." Together with Prof. Michael Porter of Harvard Business School, a global expert in the development of competitiveness and economics in regions and cities, Barkat went out into the field to analyze the situation and gain insights regarding the area's business and tourism potential. "We wanted to see those initiatives that are already succeeding on the ground and where there's additional potential for growth," explains Barkat. "This is a well-known method all over the world. Prof. Porter is one of the world's leading experts in this field and together we created three work teams, one for the Galilee and the Golan, one for Judea and Samaria and one for the Negev and the Arava. Each of the teams delved in deep and closely studied economic reports. We set up round tables for businesses

**The Land of the Bible is in second place in terms of marketing potential, surpassed only by Jerusalem. Seven of all ten Americans and four of every ten Europeans would love to visit the sites where the Bible stories occurred**

and we defined two growth engines for Judea and Samaria, each of which is a significant engine in its own right." The first growth engine that the teams identified as having real potential is the advantage represented by the industrial zones in Barkan, Mishor Adumim and others, areas where all the available rental space is taken and that have proven to be consistently successful. The characteristic shared by all the businesses in these areas is a combination of Israeli entrepreneurship, technology, capital and management alongside lower labor and land costs. The center of the country does not offer these low costs and the PA does not have the technological and administrative advantage that Israel can provide," observes Barkat. Based on this insight, a map was drawn up



that expands the existing employment zones in Judea and Samaria by a factor of ten over the next thirty years. Barkat views the business potential that can be actualized in Judea and Samaria as an economic reserve for industrial plants from all over Israel, and even from neighboring countries in the Middle East. "This is not a theoretical map; it's a practical map," he emphasizes.

The second potential growth engine the experts identified was inspired by the successful tourist site in Shilo. "I learned that about 40,000 Evangelist tourists visited the Shilo site in 2018. There are more than 700 million Evangelists worldwide and they consider a visit to Shilo a must. We hired an international firm that conducted market research in the US and Europe, and it discovered that the Land of the Bible is in second place in terms of marketing potential, surpassed only by Jerusalem. Seven of all ten Americans and four of every ten Europeans would love to visit the sites where the Bible stories occurred." With these conclusions in mind, Barkat's

I discovered that the national Planning Administration is not responsible for comprehensive planning in Judea and Samaria and that no one is planning the growth there. The ones doing the planning are the settlement leaders, with each looking out for another hilltop and a few hundred more housing units in their area. But no one is in charge on the state level

work teams drew up a map of 23 different sites that focus on Bible stories, almost all of which are located in Judea and Samaria, including those that do not yet have a properly organized tourist site. Barkat notes, for example, that the Jacob's Dream site at Beth El is not yet constructed as a tourist site, whereas the site of the Dead Sea Scrolls draws about half a million tourists each year (in non-Covid years), and its souvenir shop brings in revenues of about NIS 50 million a year, so that it is a combination of an economic anchor and a tourist anchor in one place.

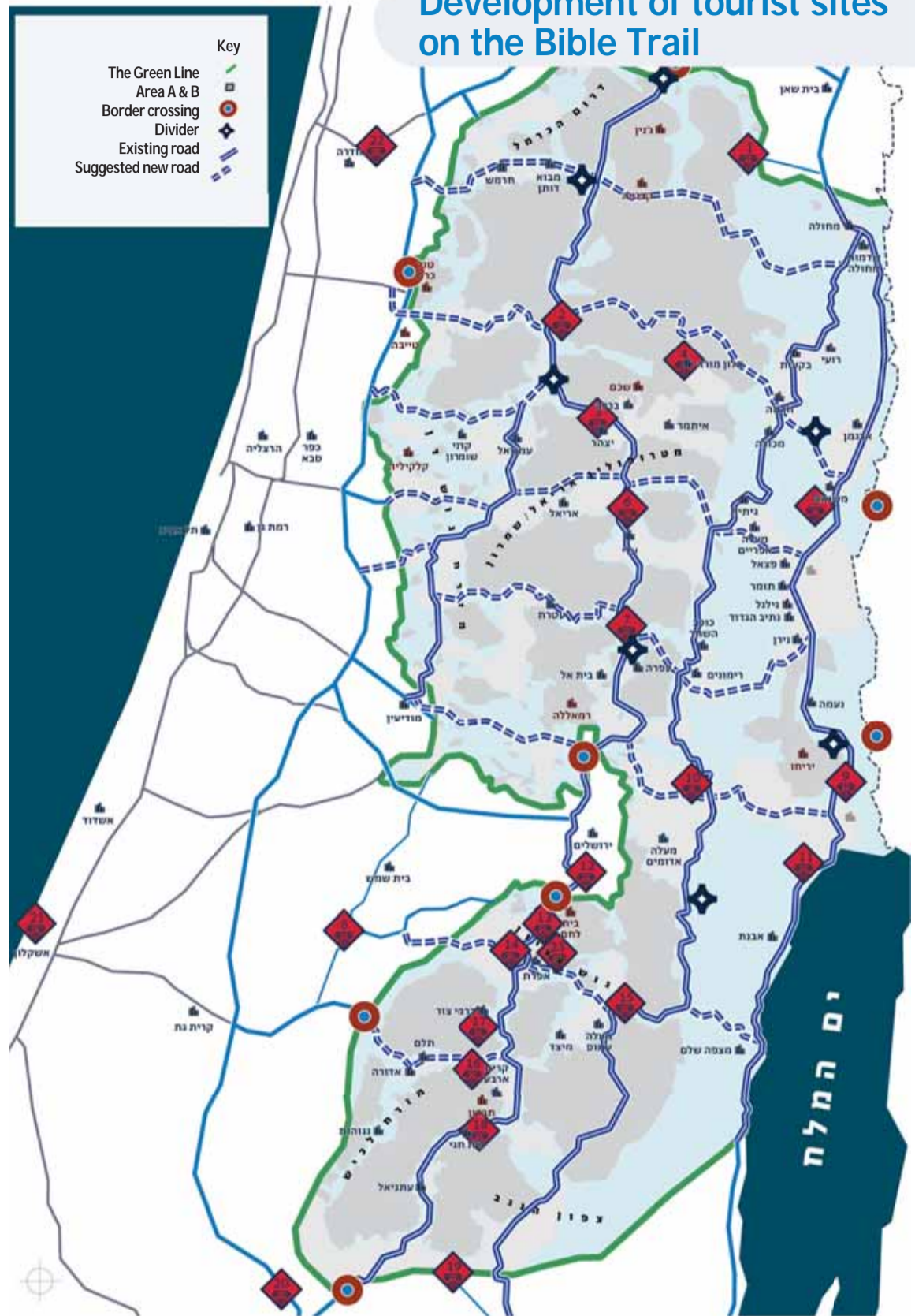
"Beyond the economic and tourist value, organized tourist sites also make it clear to the world who the land on which the sites are located belongs to," says Barkat. "An individual that comes to Israel and has visited these tourist sites in Israel goes home and becomes a loyal ambassador of Israel, so this has additional value in terms of

public diplomacy for Israel too. This plan is ready for action and with G-d's help, my goal is to move this plan forward." **Following an in-depth examination of the state's attitude towards Judea and Samaria, Barkat was surprised to discover that the Israeli land reserves in Judea and Samaria have not been the target of orderly state planning.** I discovered that the national Planning Administration is not responsible for comprehensive planning in Judea and Samaria and that no one is planning the growth there. The ones doing the planning are the settlement leaders, with each looking out for another hilltop and a few hundred more housing units in their area. But no one is in charge on the state level. That's why together with the Kohelet Forum, I sat down to plan where two million people would live. It's

a completely different type of approach compared to settlement leaders who naturally focus only on a few hundred more housing units." **In order to make the mental switch, Barkat's team designed a map of the population distribution and drew up a map for Israel's future. The map, which completely ignores the Green Line, focuses on the impact of the various metropolitan areas on Judea and Samaria.** "For example, western Samaria is the eastern part of the greater Tel Aviv area. That's where their jobs and shopping are; southeast Mt. Hebron is impacted by Be'er Sheva; the southern part of the Benjamin region and the Etzion Bloc are part of the Jerusalem metropolitan area. This approach ignores the Green Line, but relates to the actual fabric of life."

**Can a plan like this be advanced during the Biden era?** Barkat does not overlook the political and global changes anticipated with the new administration in the White House. "There is no doubt that Biden is not Trump. But as I see it, in any scenario, if you don't put an orderly plan on the table and create a broad Israeli consensus, it will be that much more difficult to reach your objective. Our plan is the first of its kind. I am committed to it and will do whatever it takes to execute it as far as the political situation allows." "It depends on us more than on anyone else. I'm convinced that if we present smart and fair plans – and the Palestinians also have a lot to gain from this plan in terms of employment – they will be accepted and advanced," concludes Barkat.

## Development of tourist sites on the Bible Trail



## Do not Remove Sovereignty from the Public Discourse

Photo: office of the MK



MK Ayelet Shaked, Yamina, former Minister of Justice

**MK Ayelet Shaked** considers Netanyahu responsible for missing the historic opportunity during the Trump era to advance sovereignty and no, she is not at all referring to a deal that would include establishing a Palestinian state.

Former Justice Minister MK Ayelet Shaked also sees the end of the Trump era as the closing of a very important window of opportunity to advance the vision of sovereignty, and she blames Netanyahu for this.

"During the Trump administration, there was a rare opportunity to apply sovereignty at least over part of Judea and Samaria, over the Jewish communities and the Jordan Valley. Unfortunately, Netanyahu missed this opportunity. We are now entering a term of Democrat administration, the Biden administration, and it is clear that it will be more difficult, but we must continue to place this matter on the table".

**Regarding her party's commitment to the vision of sovereignty,** Shaked says: "It was Bennet and I who raised this when we entered the Knesset in 2013. Before that, no one spoke about sovereignty. But since then, with the help of Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, who have been leading this matter for many years, it has become a kind of consensus in the Right. Yamina is a right-wing party. Everyone we bring into the party supports sovereignty.

"Operationally, whatever was not done during the Trump era will be difficult to do during Biden's first year, but it must be on the table and it must be part of the discourse. We must find opportunities and the most courageous politician that I know is Bennett. Just as he had the courage to blow up the negotiations between Netanyahu and Abu Mazen in 2014 when he issued an ultimatum on the release of Israeli terrorists, when the time is right he will have the courage to place this plan on the table with the American administration".

Shaked notes that during the Trump era, which she defined as a period when there was the highest chance for a breakthrough in the matter of sovereignty, her party, which was then in the opposition, made it clear to Netanyahu that he would have full support of her party if he brought the issue to a vote. "He did not do it. He chose to make a peace agreement with the United Arab Emirates".

**Shaked makes clear that the position of her party today is consistent with the policy that Bennett presented a number of years ago entitled The Stabilization Plan, the essence of which is sovereignty over the entire territory of Area C.** To this, she adds that if she had been asked whether to accept the Trump plan for sovereignty only over the Jordan Valley, her answer would be positive. "We must take what we can - to say that in principle, we want sovereignty over all of Area C but take what we can. Unfortunately, Netanyahu did not take even that".

**Would a coalition including Lapid allow Bennett to promote the application of sovereignty?** "We don't know what the options would be", says Shaked, refusing to see a coalition with such a structure as the only option. "All options are open. Bennett can also form a government

Yamina is a right-wing party. Everyone we bring into the party supports sovereignty

with the haredim and the Likud." **We ask whether, as someone who defines the end of the Trump era as a missed opportunity, she is ignoring the package deal in the Trump plan, a package deal that included establishing a Palestinian state on part of the territory.** Shaked responds with the clarification: "We don't accept it, but according to what we understood from senior American officials, there was an opportunity to apply sovereignty because the Palestinians were not cooperating. So on the day when Netanyahu was with Trump in Washington, we understood from those officials that it would be possible to apply sovereignty without paying a price because of the Palestinian refusal to cooperate.

## Avigdor Lieberman's Canton Plan

Yisrael Beiteinu has become the tie breaker between the right- and left-wing blocs. What are the party's views on sovereignty, the future of Israel's communities in Judea and Samaria and a future political settlement?

**MK Yevgeny Soba** explains in an interview with Sovereignty

Flash 90



MK Yevgeny Soba, Yisrael Beiteinu

In the last few election campaigns, the Yisrael Beiteinu party led by MK Avigdor Lieberman found itself on the rift line between the right- and left-wing blocs. Its decision not to join the Netanyahu government came as quite a surprise at the start in view of Lieberman's hawkish views, but from one election to the next, the Israeli public grew accustomed to what appeared to be a change not only in the party's behavior, but also in its political positions.

**In a conversation with MK Yevgeny Soba, we tried to determine what the party's positions are on the issue of sovereignty, Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria and the political future of Judea and Samaria.** MK Soba expressed his views frankly without making bombastic declarations or promises that may be pleasing to hear now but difficult or impossible to make good on after the elections.

At the outset, Soba refers to the former US President Donald Trump. "We should and do regret that we were unable to bring about recognition of the Jordan Valley as sovereign territory of the State of Israel during the Trump era. We as Yisrael Beiteinu submitted a bill to that effect that was signed by the entire faction, but unfortunately, it didn't happen."

In regard to Judea and Samaria, MK Soba's answer is a bit more nuanced: "On the personal level, of course I support sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, but we have to be realistic. It's impossible to apply sovereignty right now over Area A, which is home to a large Palestinian population. Let's be pragmatic. We won't be able to apply sovereignty to the areas that Netanyahu handed over as part of the Wye Agreement. Anyone that focuses on sovereignty outside the settlement blocks does not understand the situation on the ground."

Soba emphasizes: "For now, Israel's sovereignty efforts should be focused

on the Jordan Valley, "as it says in the bill submitted by my party, a bill that enjoys wall-to-wall support. We had an opportunity to do that during the Trump period. Unfortunately, it didn't happen because Netanyahu didn't want to support our bill."

"Judea and Samaria should not be treated as a single entity. Area A is completely different from Areas B and C. It's clear that Gush Etzion is an inseparable part of Israel, and nor is there any dispute about Ariel or Maaleh Adumim."

"It is important that sovereignty be applied in coordination with the Americans and based on a consensus in Israeli society, and not used as a bargaining chip before elections. It is unacceptable to me to throw the five hundred thousand Jewish residents

For now, Israel's sovereignty efforts should be focused on the Jordan Valley, as it says in the bill submitted by my party, a bill that enjoys wall-to-wall support. We had an opportunity to do that during the Trump period. Unfortunately, it didn't happen because Netanyahu didn't want to support our bill

of Judea and Samaria a few promises in the air before the elections, and after the elections to say I was unable to withstand the pressure because of the agreement with Dubai, so I had to concede applying sovereignty in

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## The Silent Obstacle Facing Sovereignty Legislation

Photo: Arnon Busnaei



Mk Amit Halevy, Likud

As long as the balance of power between the branches of government are not reformed and regulated, as long as the court interferes and nullifies laws, as long as the Attorney General nullifies and expunges Knesset and government decisions, sovereignty legislation will remain a distant dream. **MK Amit Halevi** puts the cards on the table.

When speaking with Member of Knesset Amit Halevi of the Likud on the topic of sovereignty, he takes us several steps back and asserts that as long as the necessary changes to the legal system are not implemented, it will not be possible to promote the practical steps of sovereignty. These steps, he determines, will again and again encounter the fortified wall of the legal system that has coopted authority to which it is not entitled to nullify laws, to determine what is reasonable and what is not, and for all intents and purposes, coopted the hegemony over the ability to govern in Israel.

According to Halevi, "until the imbalance between the branches of government in the Israeli democracy is rectified, until the separation of powers, the ability of the Supreme Court to intervene in Knesset legislation, as well as the ability of the Attorney General as a single individual to intervene in government and Knesset decisions are regulated, we will continue to be in the same situation regarding the issue of sovereignty."

In light of this reality, Halevi believes, "Even if the State of Israel were to seek to apply sovereignty and Israeli law with all the ramifications of these steps, all sorts of people will race to the High Court of Justice and we will again see the same type of intervention that we see in cases of 'mini-sovereignty,' like the regulation of the young settlement enterprise. The High Court of Justice will not hesitate to nullify a Knesset law. 'Market overt' is recognized, exists in law as an Israeli military order, but the Attorney General delays it and the High Court of Justice postpones it."

**Halevi is hopeful that after the upcoming elections, a right-wing government will be established with the issue of sovereignty on its agenda.** "The reference is to the realization of the national rights that only we have over this region. Therefore, it is important

that this has been placed on the agenda nationally, internationally, and in Washington, and that it is resonating in the diplomatic world. This decision must be adopted by the Israeli government; however, the legal aspects are impediments to the implementation of these steps."

**When he is asked to put his finger on those legislative actions that will restore the ability to advance legislation in various areas to the Knesset, among them the issue of sovereignty, MK Halevi responds and mentions several governability laws that he proposed in the Knesset whose objective is to regulate relations between the branches of government in Israel.** "A law that establishes in legislation in what matters the court can and

All these laws were intended to enable the people to determine their own fate, so that the people will be sovereign over their lives, and fifteen judges or a single person on Saladin Street will not determine our fate and our future

cannot intervene, the limitations of judicial review in court, a law that addresses the method of selecting judges, who are currently chosen, not by a majority of representatives of the public, but by others. The same is true regarding the authority of the Attorney General, whose standing today is not legally regulated, which does not prevent him from coopting authority that is

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## Anyone who says that he will Apply Sovereignty Right After the Elections is Not Telling the Truth

photo: Ari Briggs



Dani Dayan, New Hope

A senior member of the "New Hope" party, **Dani Dayan**, asserts that in light of Netanyahu's commitment to the United States and the Emirates not to apply sovereignty, it will not be possible to implement that step even after he leaves. On the other hand, it is important to cultivate public opinion in favor of sovereignty and take sovereign actions and bolster the communities in Judea and Samaria.

Dani Dayan, former head of the Yesha Council, and today a senior candidate of the "New Hope" party, is not rushing to promise application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria immediately upon establishment of the new government headed by Gideon Sa'ar. He directs blame for this situation at the present Prime Minister, Binyamin Netanyahu.

"Personally, certainly I, Gideon Sa'ar, Ze'ev Elkin, and the party in general, support sovereignty over the communities in Judea and Samaria, but the problem is that we live in a democratic regime in which the elected prime minister is obligated to honor the commitments of his predecessors. Regrettably, there is an unequivocal commitment by Netanyahu to the Americans and the Emiratis not to apply sovereignty in the near future," asserts Dayan, who is convinced that even if this commitment was marketed as a vague statement, actually, "it is a firm commitment by Netanyahu," according to his characterization.

"Just as when Netanyahu was first elected prime minister in 1996, although he opposed the Oslo Accords, he was forced to continue to fulfill them. He even signed off on a partition of the city of Hebron and a withdrawal from most of the city. Therefore, anyone who says that he will apply sovereignty right after the elections is not telling the truth."

In a political and diplomatic reality of this kind, Dayan says that "we will be forced to devote the upcoming period to cultivate public opinion in Israel, the United States, and the world to the fact that our position is that in the future it is necessary to apply sovereignty."

**When you say that you will**

**devote the upcoming period to cultivate public opinion in favor of sovereignty, what will that look like?**

"First, we will assert our right. We will raise the issue onto the international agenda, and beyond that, we must work on cultivating public opinion in Israel as well."

**"Parallel to those actions, we must take steps that, even if they do not fully satisfy our desire, are expressions of sovereignty.** The

The reference is to taking resolute action against Palestinian construction in Area C. Application of sovereignty is not necessary in order to put an end to the anarchy sponsored by foreign and Israeli elements, to which the Israeli government and the Civil Administration turn a blind eye

reference is to taking resolute action against Palestinian construction in Area C. Application of sovereignty is not necessary in order to put an end to the anarchy sponsored by foreign and Israeli elements, to which

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# The Right is talking about Sovereignty again!

Representatives of the Likud, Yamina, New Hope and Religious Zionism met for a special zoom panel led and initiated by the Sovereignty Movement. Representatives of the four right-wing parties presented their party's position on the matter of sovereignty, the Land of Israel and the expected political atmosphere during the Biden era.

## Likud- Coalition Head MK Miki Zohar

The meeting, which was conducted with a positive and friendly atmosphere despite the differences between the parties, began with a question to Miki Zohar: **How can he promote the sovereignty plan that he believes in.** Zohar emphasized at the beginning of his remarks that the proposal for the application of sovereignty that he published in the past is not enough because a practical proposal must be backed by the government with a large majority that supports sovereignty and the relative consent of the U.S. administration.

However, he emphasizes that in his personal opinion, the American agreement should not take too much of our attention because "We cannot live according to international dictates. We must make decisions according to our own needs here in the State of Israel".

**Is there a chance that Netanyahu will go against policy dictated by the U.S.?**

Zohar: Netanyahu's approach is clear. He usually tries to maintain good relations with the U.S. administration, but there are things that he opposes, such as the matter of the Iranian threat during the Obama era. Netanyahu protects Israeli interests. Regarding sovereignty, the matter was not practically advanced because we did not succeed in achieving a majority of 61 mandates in favor of the move since we did not have a truly right-wing administration, which I hope we will have after the next elections".

In Zohar's opinion, the new administration in the U.S. will present positions different from those that we had become accustomed to during the Trump term. **Amroussi, in response, sought to view Netanyahu's term in office from the practical point of view of establishing communities and**



Photo: Yonatan Zindel flash90

the dismal result is zero new communities and there was very little building even in Jerusalem. Zohar explained that he does not look at the number of communities but at the number of Jewish residents, which is close to half a million, which is far from what it was a decade ago". This is not trivial. This is a great achievement".

**Your position in favor of the settlement enterprise and sovereignty is well known, but there is a sense that you do not criticize Netanyahu for his conduct, regarding the freeze, etc.**

Zohar: "We do criticize the Prime Minister, but in contrast to others, we do it internally, behind closed doors and in personal conversations. If you asked Netanyahu, he would be very happy to apply sovereignty, but as a pragmatic person, he looks at broader considerations, relating to the Americans, other countries, the UN, etc.

It was Netanyahu who managed to bring the matter of sovereignty for negotiation and the matter was part of the Trump plan, part of which I did not like because it includes the component of a Palestinian state, which I oppose vehemently and could not support such a thing".

**And what will be the status of the Arabs?**

"They will live in a sort of autonomy, like a municipal authority, similar to a canton. They will never be able to be considered a state. In a peaceful situation, the border crossings will be open and they will close if there is a terror situation. Control of security and airspace will be in Israel's hands. There will have to be international support for such a plan.

**And what is the Prime Minister's opinion of this plan?**

I presented it to him. He did not reject it but said that it requires both political and international feasibility. As of now, we do not know that this is feasible. This plan will be more relevant if and when the PA collapses".

## New Hope – Former Minister Zeev Elkin

Former Minister Elkin (New Hope) is asked how significant the matter of sovereignty will be for his new party, Gideon Sa'ar's New Hope, especially in light of the expectation by the party's members of forming a coalition with Yesh Atid and similar parties.

Elkin: "My approach is that we have to tell the truth, even when it is not so comfortable, and the truth is simple. Although sovereignty is so important, and I was the first within the Likud to push for it, we must know the facts. Netanyahu is committed to the American policy as part of the peace accords, which postpones the matter of sovereignty for a number of years. This commitment is official, therefore, though Miki Zohar spoke of the matter as a political matter, it is not such, but a matter of policy as a result of this commitment.

**I would like to dwell for a moment on a key member of your party, MK Yifat Shahsa Biton, whom we have not heard expressing herself on issues concerning the Land of Israel.**

Elkin: She won't object because we have a clear position as a party. The head of the party, Gideon Sa'ar, has expressed this opinion clearly. We oppose a Palestinian state but unfortunately, because of the Israeli commitment the question will not be practical for the next three years. The critical thing is to continue the discourse of sovereignty so that it will become a consensus within the Israeli public and take practical steps to bring us closer to sovereignty. These would be steps such as normalizing the young communities, which we support as a party, development of the settlement enterprise, which appears in the party platform and its work plan, and legal steps to normalize the settlement enterprise.

**Will the Atarot neighborhood in**



Photo: Yonatan Zindel flash90

**north Jerusalem be built?**

Elkin: In my opinion, it certainly will. Even when I ran for mayor of the city, I set this as a goal, and as minister for Jerusalem Affairs in the past, I saw this area as a key land reserve for Jerusalem.

**What about the Arab neighborhoods in north Jerusalem?**

Elkin: I am unequivocally opposed to relinquishing sovereignty over them. As someone who opposes a Palestinian state, I do not see any logic in surrendering sovereignty there. Regarding their treatment and municipal membership, that is something else, because at the moment there is almost no municipal governance of these neighborhoods, which have become a no-man's-land with illegal building and illegal immigration.

**Gideon Sa'ar speaks of correcting the justice system, but how does he plan to do it if he partners with Benny Begin? Benny Begin defined the law of normalization as a law to "steal lands".**

Elkin: "I think that Benny Begin was badly mistreated. Begin is a person with the most right-wing positions on the political scene. He vehemently opposes a Palestinian state, he left the Netanyahu government because of the Hebron Accords, he demanded to halt the Oslo Accords. He was the first to oppose the building freeze and he openly opposed the Prime Minister and was the first minister to sign the letter of opposition to this freeze. On the subject of normalization of the settlement, he is given credit for perhaps the most important achievement in the matter, the rejection of the Talia Sasson report. He headed the committee of ministers to normalize the settlement and he led to the decision that anything that was built on state lands should be normalized. This rescued 95 percent of the houses that were marked for demolition".

"It is true that there is a disagreement between Benny Begin and myself regarding the need for reforms in

The panel was moderated by journalist **Emily Amroussi** and consisted of a representative from the Likud - Coalition Head Member of Knesset **Miki Zohar**, a representative from New Hope - former minister **Ze'ev Elkin**, a representative from Yamina - Member of Knesset **Matan Kahana** and a representative from Religious Zionism - Atty. **Simcha Rotman**.



journalist Emily Amroussi

## Yamina – MK Matan Kahana

Member of Knesset Matan Kahana (Yamina) presented the position of his party in light of the policy promoted by the head of his party, Member of Knesset Naftali Bennett, which is that "Corona is the only thing that is interesting". **Has sovereignty been pushed to the side on his party's agenda?**

MK Kahana reminds us that "Naftali Bennett is the one who brought the topic of sovereignty into the political discourse. Before Shaked and Bennett went into politics, everyone said that there would be a Palestinian state. Bennett came and changed the entire paradigm and from a situation where everyone was sure that there would be a Palestinian state, suddenly, it was clear to all that there would be sovereignty. It was Bennett who constantly pulled Netanyahu to the Right, until the situation where even the president of the U.S. spoke about sovereignty". "It may be that when Netanyahu goes to sleep at night, he dreams right-wing dreams, but when he wakes up in the morning, he behaves like a person of the Left. In every election, he first fixes himself a coalition with parties of the Center-left, whether it was Livni or Barak, whether it was Lapid, Bogey, Herzog or Benny Gantz, when he kicked us out. He does this so that he will not be pressured into implementing right-wing policies".

**"And who will you go with? You are very careful and it's impossible to know whether you will go with Lapid, or with Meretz..."**

"We have to judge people by their actions. Bennett, as Defense Minister, made it possible to establish a neighborhood in Hevron, made it possible to expand Efrat, made it possible to make the Cave of the Patriarchs accessible to the disabled, etc. Thanks to Ayelet Shaked, there was a market regulation made for the fledgling settlement. We are a

party with right-wing values. There is Corona now, with thousands of casualties and we must take care of the lack of governance that affects everything. We will fill our government with people who believe in ideological right-wing foundations and we will take good care also of Corona and governance".

**Naftali Bennett's Stabilization Plan relates to sovereignty in Area C. What about the rest of the territory?**

"We must begin with Area C. We can talk about greater dreams, but there was a Knesset with a significant majority to apply sovereignty in the Jordan Valley and the settlement blocs - why didn't it happen? Everyone was in favor and there was a majority, but Netanyahu, as usual, stopped it. It would have been possible to do it. We want sovereignty, first over Area C and the communities. It cannot be that in order to enclose a pergola in Efrat or pave a road for Asael, we need permits from the commanding general".

**And what is the status of the Arabs according to your plan?**

"The Arabs who live in a place where there will be Israeli sovereignty must receive an Israeli identification card. We cannot do otherwise. It would be a few tens of thousands and the State of Israel will be able to cope with this. Regarding the rest of the Arabs, the reality is that the one who refused them citizenship is the King of Jordan and they must come to him with complaints. We are against a Palestinian state, which would bring a disaster upon Israel. What happened in Gaza would happen in the heart of the State of Israel, over Gush Dan and Ben Gurion Airport".



Photo: Dani Sheem Yov

## Religious Zionism – Atty. Simcha Rotman

Atty. Simcha Rotman, representative of the Religious Zionism Party, who is taking his first steps in politics, is asked about the polls, which are not necessarily encouraging to his new party and he responds:

"As we know, polls are like perfume - they are for smelling, not for drinking. The Religious Zionist party cannot help but pass the mandate threshold. All the polls are speculative, but the audience of Religious Zionism is looking for a party that represents its values without lowering any of them to half mast, or at all. This is what our party represents, settlement, as well as the justice system, and sovereignty as well as the economy, etc."

"There are a lot of issues to address and many issues where Religious Zionism leads the way. Lately, we discovered the ability of Bezalel Smotrich as minister of transportation, but beyond this, there are tasks in the areas of



Photo: Yanatan Zindel Hershko

justice, security, education, welfare, etc.

**Bezalel Smotrich has the Decisive Plan for the application of sovereignty over the entire territory. What would be the status of the Arabs in this outline?**

"It would be applying sovereignty over the entire territory of the Land of Israel with the idea that we cannot do half the job and postpone the problem more and more. When you apply sovereignty partially, you create the incorrect and unjustified hope for a Palestinian state and this is a great disaster. Every time a plan arises that speaks of sovereignty over a certain place, immediately the question arises as to what happens with the rest of the places and the answer is that you give them a state minus or autonomy plus. By doing this, we

would be importing more and more security and demographic problems.

If we give them a state minus or autonomy plus, how, exactly, would we stop the Arabs from Syria to Lebanon or Jordan from entering into that territory? Would anyone tell a state minus not to let them in?", Rotman says.

## Co-chairs of the Sovereignty Movement- Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar

The co-chairwomen of the Sovereignty Movement, Yehudit Katsover and Nadia Matar, the panel's initiators and organizers, view its importance as actually restoring the ideological discourse on the matter of the Land of Israel and sovereignty to the forefront, in preparation for the elections. The present elections are turbulent, and not always for the right reasons. Slander, boycotts, mutual accusations take up too much space and push to the side urgent matters of essence,

the correct path and values. In this panel and in general, the Sovereignty Movement is working to restore to the agenda the discussion to the future of the Land of Israel, the future of the settlement enterprise and the vision of sovereignty.

Katsover and Matar call on the Israeli public "to demand answers from the elected officials and emissaries in the arenas of politics and policy in these important and critical matters and accordingly, to help make the right decision at the ballot box".



To watch the entire broadcast

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## Anyone who says that he will Apply Sovereignty Right After the Elections is Not Telling the "Truth"

the Israeli government and the Civil Administration turn a blind eye. This too is a lack of governability and a lack of sovereignty. Of course, we will also regulate the young settlement enterprise. I worked with Netanyahu to void the false Talia Sasson report through establishment of the Edmund Levi Commission. In 2013, I met with the mayors and central officials in Judea and Samaria and we demanded implementations of the findings of the Levi report. To this day, the practical section of the report has not been implemented. That, our government, will certainly do."

**You mention Benny Begin and his loyalty to the Land of Israel. However, we remember his position regarding the Judea and Samaria Settlement Regulation Law, which he characterized as a land grab. With an approach like that, is it possible to promote sovereignty?**

"I would like to remind you that Benny Begin is the man who was the chairman of the committee that adopted the resolution, that today seems obvious, which established that from that moment on, the policy of the State Attorney in its responses to the High Court of Justice will be that any building constructed on state lands would be regulated.

Without the vigorous work of Benny Begin in this area, hundreds, if not thousands, of houses would be facing an immediate threat of evacuation.

**Regarding Benny Begin's fundamental positions, do you not find them somewhat problematic?**

"Regarding the issue of the legal system, Benny Begin's positions differ from the positions of the rest of the members of the list; however, the position of 'New Hope,' and certainly, my position and Sa'ar's position is that a substantive, far-reaching reform is required for the legal system. That is the position that counts."

**Since this is not a trivial issue, don't you anticipate a future rift in the party on this basis?**

"It is important to also remember his merits. Benny Begin was the only minister in the Netanyahu government who resigned in the wake of the Hebron agreement after several months as Science Minister. I will also remind you that in 2013, Netanyahu returned from a meeting in New York with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, where he promised her to renew the building freeze. Benny Begin was the first minister to raise the banner of revolt and sign a document opposing it, contrary to other ministers who said that ministers do not sign a document against the Prime

Minister. Benny Begin was the first minister, and in his wake others joined and the step was thwarted."

**You mention Netanyahu's failure of leadership in the context of sovereignty, but perhaps there is something that you discover when you reach Balfour? Perhaps you are exposed to international pressure, perhaps there are considerations of national unity. Perhaps also Gideon Sa'ar, if he gets there, will discover these matters and will act in precisely the same manner.**

I know Sa'ar for 35 years, when he was chairman of HaTehiya Youth. Since then, he has been in the corridors of power. It was he who, as minister of Education determined that Israeli children would visit the Cave of Machpela, despite massive media opposition. Sa'ar's advantage over other candidates is that he has an ideological spine made of steel. Just as in the case of the disengagement, despite his close relationship with Ariel Sharon, in all votes, he voted against. He will conduct himself the same way as Prime Minister. Those of us who were born and raised in HaTehiya never believed in the concept of things you see from there you do not see from here."

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## Avigdor Lieberman's Canton Plan

Photo: office of the MK



MK Avigdor Lieberman, former minister of Defense, with MK Yevgeni Soba

the Jordan Valley. Our platform is quite simple: We are in favor of expanding settlement, in favor of reaching agreements that don't involve evacuating settlements or handing over pieces of the land of Israel. We're pragmatic and we don't think we should give up what we hold in our hands."

**When we ask him to sketch out the contours of his party's long-term political vision, Soba explains:** "When Lieberman talks about the conflict and resolving it, he's talking about it from the moment there is someone on the other side to talk to. At the moment, we don't see any leadership on the other side that we can talk to. Avigdor Lieberman doesn't talk about a Palestinian state, but rather about a system of cantons, similar to that of Switzerland. If, for example, there is local leadership in Hebron that wants to foster good relations with Israel, that doesn't support terrorism, etc., we can talk with them about establishing cantons and cooperation in various non-military areas such as water, electricity and the like.

Further to the description of Lieberman's canton plan, we tried to understand what the future holds for Jewish settlement, for those communities located outside the settlement blocs and in the Jordan Valley, according to his plan. Soba repeatedly underscores that he is opposed to the eviction of even a single Israeli from Judea and Samaria, and we ask if that means leaving Jewish communities under Palestinian responsibility. Soba immediately rejects that possibility out of hand:

"Of course not. No Israeli citizen should be abandoned. It's delusional to think that we would allow the Palestinians to control our citizens. That would be completely irresponsible."

**So what then?**

"I can't speak now about a hypothetical situation. I'm talking about ensuring security, expanding settlement, making sure that the parameters of life are the same for all Israeli citizens, and if a time comes when tough decisions have to be made, we will always side with the residents of Judea and Samaria."

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## New Hope – Former Minister Zeev Elkin

the justice system. This is a deep and long-lasting disagreement. A large and broad-based party can have differences of opinion, like the differences between me and Yifat Shasha-Biton, but it is very difficult to be to the right of Benny Begin".

**On the ability to act for the sake of the Land of Israel during the Biden era, Elkin says:** "We can expect some hard times in this matter. It will be a term to protect the achievement of the settlement and not only advancement. To do this, we will need people who have proven themselves as those who can stand up to pressures and we need a leader with a backbone. Sa'ar has proven that he is such a person. During the Disengagement, Sa'ar was the head of the coalition, so it was very difficult to openly oppose the Prime Minister but he opposed Arik Sharon in this test and voted consistently against the Disengagement plan, which other ministers did not do, including Netanyahu, who did not stand up to Sharon's pressure. The list that Gideon has formed proves that he does not intend to make concessions to the American administration".

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## The Silent Obstacle Facing Sovereignty Legislation

not his and preventing government actions for various pretexts, and a law that will empower the Ombudsman of State Representatives in the Court, expanding positions of trust for senior government officials. All these laws were intended to enable the people to determine their own fate, so that the people will be sovereign over their lives, and fifteen judges or a single person on Saladin Street will not determine our fate and our future."

"Sovereignty in Haifa and Jerusalem is also in doubt because an oligarchy of just a few people determines our lives. The sovereignty of us all is extremely dubious in recent years and it is deteriorating. That is the general situation regarding the entire country. Specifically regarding Judea and Samaria, until the political decision of sovereignty that will be, I hope, soon, there is room to take several actions that were raised in the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. That is, the need to register lands, to complete the initiative of the late Plia Albeck, unfortunately, for the time being, only in Area C, approximately three million dunams whose registration must be completed in addition to the lands that have already been declared so they can undergo a process of registration."

**Halevi also notes additional legislation that many right-wing members of Knesset are discussing, although, to this point, nothing substantive has been done to promote it, and that is transferring the authority of the Civil Administration to the relevant government ministries.** "The situation in which one half million citizens are subordinate to the Civil Administration and they, in contrast to the rest of the citizens, are the only ones under military occupation, is an impossible situation. It is possible to dissolve the Civil Administration and render it subordinate to the various government ministries, from the budgetary aspect, the administrative aspect, as well as in terms of the decision-making aspect of the various ministries."

**Since his party, the Likud, has been at the helm of government for more than a few years, one cannot avoid the simple question: Why have steps aimed at reforming the legal system not been taken during all those years of Likud rule?** As we remember, Netanyahu even boasted about his stance in defense of the legal system against changes that others sought to promote. It seems that until the matter affected him personally, the matters were not on the agenda.

Halevi does not deny the criticism and answers honestly. "Regarding the legal system, the Likud is not free of criticism in this regard. More could have been done. From Menachem Begin until today, all the parties of the national camp did not have a profound understanding of the revolution that was undertaken here by Aharon Barak when he semi-clandestinely passed these laws."

According to Halevi's assessment: "Today we are more resolute and have a more profound understanding of the intensity of the dictatorial discourse that is permeating here through all these enlightened concepts. They are robbing the genuine freedom, enlightenment, and liberalism from the people, and are determining its standards for it. Therefore, today, there is a very large group of people in the Likud who are determined to restore Israel to the 1992 boundaries in terms of government, and to place a barrier between the legal system and the elected officials."

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## The Most Significant Decisions Were Made Contrary to the Position of the United States

establishment of a Palestinian state, was a blueprint that had to be rejected. At the same time, he relates: "I was with Netanyahu in the White House, and we reached agreement on these matters. There was not supposed to be any difference between the settlement blocs and the communities located outside those blocs. Netanyahu did not speak of a Palestinian state. When Jared Kushner pulled the rug out from under him and announced that there is no sovereignty, I said to Netanyahu, you must inform him that, with all due respect, it is you who decides. What will happen? Will Trump send the marines to the Haifa port and conquer the city? He knows that his electoral base is Evangelist and loves Israel."

"Now, half a year has passed, of inactivity, of stories, spins, and excuses, and much to our chagrin, after Biden's inauguration, no one remembers who is Kushner. However, we missed the opportunity for sovereignty. That happened because the Israeli

government was afraid to be daring," Dagan asserts. He is convinced that Netanyahu had the ability to apply sovereignty without recognizing a Palestinian state. "I say again, the ball has always been only in Jerusalem's court. The role of the Prime Minister is to navigate the interests of the State of Israel with the American interests, to distinguish between primary and secondary issues, and to do what is best for the State of Israel. It is clear to all that if Israel will not be in Judea and Samaria, that is a greater threat than the balance of terror with the Iranians. The Jewish people's grasp of Judea and Samaria and sovereignty in Judea and Samaria are the building blocks of the future of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. Therefore the demand for sovereignty continues in full force. Most of the people anticipate it. It will be complicated, but with Trump, too, the same people said that it was complicated and dangerous."

### Home

Each week, activists from all over the country gather for a vigil against Israel's impotence and utter defeat of sovereignty in failing to bring our boys home from Hamas captivity to a Jewish grave.

The government's decision to continue to allow humanitarian aid to flow into the Gaza Strip, cement, electricity or water, vaccines or toys, cries out to the heavens. On Friday, February 4, the 146th week of the vigil, Hadar's mother, Dr. Leah Goldin, read this poem by poet Hamutal Ben Ze'ev, "Home."

Every man comes home  
Every woman comes home  
With them they retrace  
A uniform and beret

Distant from controversy  
Insisting on heaven's mercy  
They confront the pain  
Seeking to touch hearts humane

The compassionate Jewish soul  
The human, the personal  
A Jewish mother's heart  
Always filled with thanks

To the Creator of the world  
For the warm bond and connection  
The insight and perception  
The wisdom and understanding

We have the power  
We do not falter  
We will return the boys  
We've waited long enough

We can no longer remain silent  
We wish to scream and shout  
Where are they? Why are they there?  
The people of Israel have not forgotten them

Come home children  
Come to the values of Jewish brotherhood  
Come home to your land  
And may you find a peaceful embrace within it

Those who took your life  
Hold you now in captivity  
Along with the families  
That seek to heal the wounds

May we have the strength  
Sisters in heart and soul  
To give strength to the families  
And home to an aching heart

Every man comes home  
Every woman comes home  
Think about what you've done today  
To fulfill Leah and Simcha's dream

To finally lay to rest their son Hadar  
In a Jewish grave  
He fell sanctifying God's name  
Defending the homeland  
Enacting the nightmare  
Every mother's greatest fear

To come home, he prayed, come home  
Return to your land  
To your mother and father  
Who dream of your return

Help us in this fight  
So justified and right  
Raise your voice in a prayer for Leah  
As Rachel and Leah prayed for her

Home to everything home represents  
Return to Eretz Israel  
Home to return the boys  
After six and a half years

Home to virtues and values  
To better, tranquil days  
Home to return brothers  
To the families whom we comfort and console

We will return home in peace  
And return the boys  
Because the time has come.



Hadar Goldin Oron Shoukri



Idit Silman, Yehudit and Tsvi Katsover at the 146th week of the vigil

# Sovereignty Youth More Active Than Ever

Despite the limitations of the Corona  
the movement is operating at full force



Sovereignty Vigil in front of PM's office



Sovereignty Photo Contest



Substantial increase on social media 1K on facebook



Meeting of coordinators



Hanukka Seminar at Oz veGaon



Fundraising campaign - Reached our goal of 30,000 nis!



Sovereignty Summer Seminar at Oz veGaon



Hasbara Sovereignty Seminar



Hasbara Booth: Yes to Sovereignty! No to a Palestinian State!

Pre-election project:

➤ **The Real Right**, Applies Sovereignty

We invite you to join us

Look for us on social media and on our site [www.ribonut.co.il](http://www.ribonut.co.il)

