SOVEREIGNTY

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Editor's Note: The positions brought in the journal, in interview 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.

This issue is dedicated in memory of

My grandparents **Avraham and Leeba Devorah Fiacre** z"l, supporters of Chovevei Zion.

By Hindy Kellerman

Composer **Robert Furstenthal** z"l, in recognition of his contribution to the Land of Israel and our sovereignty over it.

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

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

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A Word from the Editors

From his first moment back in the White House, President Donald Trump quickly initiated a significant series of bold steps that signal the promising potential of his second term.

President Trump and leading officials in his administration have repeatedly asserted the biblical right of the Jewish people to its land, resulting in legislative efforts to replace the term "West Bank" with "Judea and Samaria" in all official U.S. documents. The new administration also released weapon shipments that Biden had halted, preventing a decisive victory and compromising the IDF's ability to protect the lives of our soldiers on the battlefield. These steps, along with the cancellation of economic sanctions imposed by the Biden administration on organizations and activists aligned with the Israeli right, signal that President

Trump is leading a new discourse regarding the future of Gaza, migration from a practical and humanitarian perspective, and a series of other measures heralding a positive and important trajectory for the Jewish people and the world as a whole.

However, we must be careful not to become complacent. The Israeli government faces several critical tasks vital to Israel's future, tasks that it cannot and must not entrust to foreign governments, even the friendliest.

We must strive for a definitive victory over the enemy, and categorically reject the policy of conflict management, which has resulted in repeated bloody rounds of fighting. We must restore Israeli deterrence and reaffirm Israel's position as an undisputed regional power that no one dares challenge.

Israel's government must determine its own defensive borders, to ensure its security and well-being for generations to come. To that end, Israel's sovereignty should be applied to all of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, the emigration office that previously operated should be reopened, and efforts to facilitate the relocation of Arabs who wish to leave should be made.

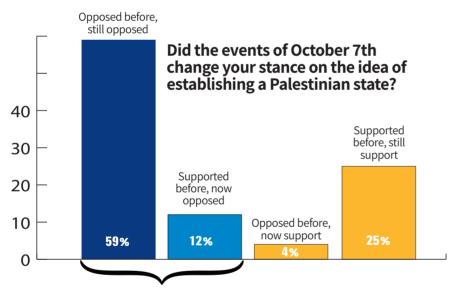
In the north, we must redraw the Lebanese border further north, imposing a territorial cost for the indiscriminate terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians and enabling northern residents to return home. At the same time, we must retain the strategic assets secured in Syria.

Furthermore, the critical need for an immediate response to Iran's growing nuclear challenge is becoming increasingly urgent.

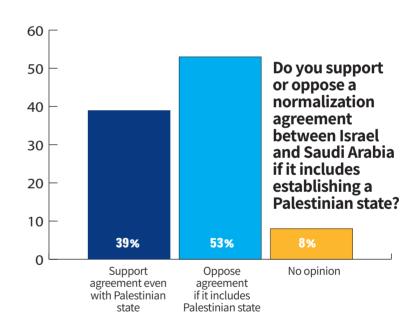
These challenges and others cannot and should not wait for a consensus from the international community that is unlikely to materialize. Israel must act by virtue of its profound moral and ethical strength. Nations and leaders who seek to stand on the right side of history, to support Israeli actions that will be remembered as having saved the Western world, will be welcomed as allies, advocates, and supporters of Israel's actions - but not as those whose approval is required or without whom nothing can be accomplished. To advance these important challenges, the Israeli government requires maximum support from the people. This issue of Sovereignty aims to contribute to that extensive public support, urging the Israeli government: "Go in this strength of yours and save Israel".

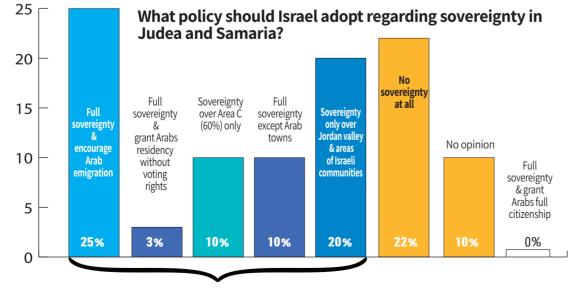
A clear Consensus: Israelis support Sovereignty!

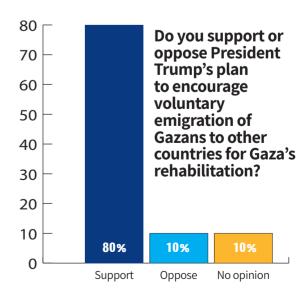
A special survey by Direct Polls on behalf of the Sovereignty Movement and Pulse of Israel examined the Israeli public's views regarding sovereignty versus the option of peace with Saudi Arabia, sovereignty versus a Palestinian state and more.



Total of 71 % oppose a Palestinian state







Total of 68% are in favor of applying sovereignty in different frameworks

Between Sovereignty and Peace with Saudi Arabia, I Choose Sovereignty

Energy Minister Eli Cohen sees Trump's second term in the White House as a historic opportunity to apply Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria. He is willing to pay political prices for that sovereignty.



Energy Minister Eli Cohen

In his various government roles, and in his current position as well, Energy Minister and member of the political-security cabinet, Eli Cohen has worked to promote and develop settlement in Judea and Samaria, considering the long-term potential of these areas for Israel's future, beyond their strategic-security significance.

As a former Foreign Minister, Cohen recently stated that applying Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is more important in his opinion than a diplomatic agreement with Saudi Arabia, which many consider the crown jewel of diplomatic agreements with Arab states. "When asked which is more significant, peace with Saudi Arabia or sovereignty, my answer is decisive: sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is higher on my list of priorities," he says in an interview with "Sovereignty".

"It is clear to me and clear to everyone that between the Jordan and the Mediterranean, there can and must be only one state, the State of Israel, the state of the Jewish people. This is our ancestral heritage. The path of the Right is the correct one, and since October 7th, many have come to their senses and the number of supporters of our policy has gradually increased. With President Trump's entry into the White House, there is a historic opportunity to promote sovereignty in Judea and Samaria ",says Minister Cohen.

"In all the positions that I have filled, I took action to promote groundbreaking steps in Judea and Samaria," he says, pointing to the honorary consulate in the city of Ariel opened during his tenure as Foreign Minister, the first honorary consulate in Judea and Samaria. "Until then, the Foreign Ministry did not relate to Judea and Samaria, but with this step, I placed Judea and Samaria on the map. The country in question is a little-known country, Papua New Guinea, located north of Australia, a country with over ten million inhabitants that is considered the third largest island state in the world. Despite its relative anonymity, Cohen sees the establishment of the consulate in Judea and Samaria as a breakthrough of political consciousness. As Economic Minister, Cohen worked to preserve the

industrial zones in Judea and Samaria as priority A areas and expanded additional industrial zones. "We must ensure that there is no legislative discrimination against Judea and Samaria relative to other parts of the country, and therefore in my opinion, the most important objective with Trump's entry into office for the next four years is the application of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, and I am glad to see that many in the Trump administration consider the Land of Israel between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River as the state of the Jewish people".

Making Clear Statements Leaving no Room for Misconceptions

Minister Cohen is also unwilling to accept a statement that perhaps the correct course of action is to maintain the status quo: on the one hand, not to impose sovereignty and, on the other hand, not concessions to the Palestinians, as was the case in the Abraham Accords, since "ultimately, these countries are assessing their interests, and their interests are to create a regional coalition with Israel with its security, intelligence, and technological advantages against the common enemy, which is Iran".

"These countries seek the connection with Israel because it has already proven to be a regional military power, it is the only one in recent decades that has operated in Iran and its planes maneuvered in Iran's skies as in their own. Israel attacked in a manner that these countries lack the knowledge and the ability. Therefore, even from the security perspective, an agreement with Israel is in their interest".

To promote sovereignty, Minister Cohen emphasizes, Israel will need and seek the support of the American administration and coordination with it. "This hen answers honestly that he does not know what Trump really thinks about Abu Mazen. But from his meetings with senior officials around the president, he learned that these are people who see eye to eye with Israel both in terms of the importance of the struggle against the Iranian axis of evil on one hand and the historical right of the Jewish people to their ancestral inheritance on the other.

Correcting a Historical Injustice in Judea and Samaria

Cohen's perception of the close historical connection between the Jewish people and Judea and Samaria also has implications regarding his current tenure as Energy Minister, and in this context, he talks about what he defines as a historical injustice that he is correcting in his ministry.

"The energy sector is an important economic growth engine, especially in the areas of water, electricity, and gas. It is a growth engine that generates many employment opportunities, as well as income from property taxes. I am working to correct a historical injustice. Currently, there are no power stations in Judea and Samaria, which I find to be unreasonable. Currently, there is no infrastructure for Israeli gas in Judea and Samaria, which is a central component of state revenues. I intend to correct these injustices and have already instructed planning for placing a gas infrastructure in Judea and Samaria in general and in industrial areas in particular, as well as establishing power stations. We have already identified the sites where we intend to establish six new power stations".

It is clear to me and clear to everyone that between the Jordan and the Mediterranean, there can and must be only one state, the State of Israel, the State of the Jewish people.

to establish a Palestinian state, in order to normalize relations with Saudi Arabia. "We need to speak clearly and not give countries illusions or cultivate false hopes. I oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. Imagine if we sign a peace agreement when the other side is convinced that a Palestinian state will be established and ultimately it will turn out that no state was established. Therefore, I prefer to speak clearly and not leave room for people to draw conclusions that we did not mean. Therefore, I will take action to impose sovereignty and prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state, and if the price is that there will be not be peace agreements with additional Arab countries, I am willing to pay that price".

He adds that in his assessment, peace agreements can be promoted without

will be the greatest achievement," he says. To the question of whether it is possible that Trump sees the Palestinian Authority leadership in general and Abu Mazen in particular as a partner in the containment bloc of the Iranian axis of evil, which would complicate the move toward sovereignty, Minister Co-



The Case for Israeli **Sovereignty Now**

We must apply sovereignty wherever possible. Yes, also in the Quneitra area and the Crown of Hermon region (some call it the Syrian Golan). International law stands with us on this issue. Prof. Talia Einhorn

Photo: Yonatan Zindel Flash 90

The application of Israeli sovereignty in the territories of the Land of Israel reflects our understanding that this is our land, and that is why we must pursue this objective wherever feasible, such as in the Jordan Valley, Area C in Judea and Samaria, and the Mt. Hermon Crown and Quneitra area. Even if political constraints force us to postpone the application of sovereignty over all these territories, this should be our ultimate goal. Let us not be impatient.

International law supports our position in this regard .The principle of uti possidetis dictates that the borders of a new state are determined by its existing borders at the time of its establishment .When the State of Israel was established, these were the borders delineated for the reconstitution of the Jewish national home in the Land of Israel, as outlined in the Mandate and affirmed in Article 80 of the UN Charter. No subsequent events have altered this determination.

This principle has underpinned the border agreements in the peace treaties between Israel and Egypt in 1979, between Israel and Jordan in 1994, and also informed the delineation of the blue line (the withdrawal line) between Israel and Lebanon, which the UN recognized in 2000 as the de facto border, despite the absence of an official border line, since ultimately no peace agreement was signed between the countries. The territories of Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip fall within these borders. Consequently, the application of sovereignty over these areas requires no more than a government directive to apply Israeli law, jurisdiction, and administration to

The status of the Golan Heights, captured in the Six-Day War, was different. Initially, most of the Golan and the Hauran were designated to be part of the British mandate, as per agreements signed between Britain and France in December 1920. These agreements acknowledged that Jews had purchased numerous land tracts for full payment, had them registered in their names in the Ottoman land registration books, and received title deeds confirming this. While the settlement points established there were abandoned already in the

The application of sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and Gaza requires no more than a government directive to apply Israeli law, jurisdiction, and administration to them.

early 20th century, Jewish ownership primarily of PICA, the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, established by Baron James de Rothschild - remained in force. However, Britain transferred these areas to the French mandate in the British-French agreement that definitively delineated the border in 1923 (the Newcombe-Paulet Agreement). The registration of the land in the names of their Jewish owners remained unchanged even after Syria was established. Only in the 1940s did Syria expropriate the lands without compensating the owners as required by international law.

In the Yom Kippur War, Israel captured additional territories in the northern Golan and Mt. Hermon. However, following the disengagement agreement reached in May 1974, Israel withdrew from the town of Quneitra and its immediate environs, as well as from the Hermon Crown, the highest peak. Because the Golan was not included in the British mandate territory according to the Newcombe-Paulet Agreement, a simple government order was not sufficient to apply Israeli sovereignty to it. Consequently, Israel enacted the Golan Heights Law in 1981, which stipulated that "the laws, jurisdiction, and administration of the State shall apply in the territory of the Golan Heights." This legislation effectively concluded fourteen years of military rule in the Golan.

On March 25, 2019, U.S. President Donald Trump signed a presidential order declaring the United States' recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights, following his statement that "After 52 years it is time for the United States to fully recognize Israel's Sovereignty over the Golan Heights, which is of critical strategic and security importance to the State of Israel and regional stability!"

The Biden administration did not change this order. In July 2024, following a Hezbollah bombing of Majdal Shams that killed 12 children, the United States reiterated its full recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights.

Israel would do well to assert its sovereignty over the territories it vacated after the Yom Kippur War and has since recaptured. This stance is further supported by the presence of an Israeli and Druze population that favor Israeli sovereignty, alongside the absence of a hostile population in the Golan Heights - who fled from Golan into Syria in 1967. It is further supported by the significant amount of land that was under Jewish ownership and was expropriated by Syrian authorities without compensation to owners, which contravenes international law. The American recognition by President Trump's administration and subsequently by President Biden's administration gives us significant hope that, as the song says, "For us, for us, we will have the Crown of the Hermon".



Yisrael Gantz, Head of the Yesha Council and of the Binyamin Regional Council: "Above all, sovereignty is historical justice. Judea and Samaria are part of our homeland and the glorious heritage of the Jewish People. The Jews that live in this region are a leading force in Israeli society in every field, and it is one of the state's obligations to its citizens. Israel needs sovereignty over Judea and Samaria today more than ever to secure its future and above all, to prove to itself and to the entire world the justice of our cause."



Avshalom Shoshan

They Voted Against But We Will Support A Proposal That They Bring

MK Oded Forer is disappointed by the coalition's opposition to the legislation calling for sovereignty in the Jordan Valley, accusing it of prioritizing the security of the coalition over the security of Israel, but he promises that when a similar legislation is proposed by the government, his party will support it.

A curious incident occurred recently in the Knesset. It was when the chairman of Yisrael Beiteinu, Member of Knesset Avigdor Lieberman, proposed legislation calling for application of Israeli sovereignty in the Jordan Valley, a move that enjoys broad national consensus and is supported by the entire coalition, but ultimately, although it was supported by members of the opposition, members of the coalition voted against.

It is difficult for MK Oded Forer, a senior member of Lieberman's party, to conceal his disappointment at the coalition's decision to oppose the bill, but adds, "Unfortunately, this is not the first time I have been unpleasantly surprised by the coalition's conduct. We have been accustomed to the fact that Netanyahu says application of sovereignty and votes against it, but that people from the coalition who support the move and have proposed legislation on the subject, mobilized to vote against it, was a great disappointment for me".

Forer notes that perhaps one could have understood a coalition vote of this kind had there been a significant left-wing component in the coalition that demanded it and there was concern that the government would collapse. But in a coalition that characterizes itself as a right-wing coalition, a vote of that kind is difficult to understand. "After all, this is not some meaningless, inconsequential declaration, but a vital step for Israel's security, certainly at this time".

Declarations by ministers who explained their vote by saying that the political conditions had not yet ripened, remind MK Forer of statements by left-wing Knesset members. "This is confusing," he continues to mock the members of the government and adds, "I thought, perhaps that due to pressure from Biden they voted against, but Trump was elected and the

administration is Republican. I do not understand what the political excuse is for this opposition".

However, in response to our query, Forer clarifies that at the moment that similar legislation is proposed by the government, he and his party will vote in favor. "Of course we will vote in favor," he says, and reminds, "I am also a co-signer on a covenant that was signed in the Knesset during 2023. I do not think that the question of coalition and opposition is relevant here, but rather one of agenda, certainly when it comes to so significant an issue that is in the consensus. After all, there is no dispute about sovereignty in the Jordan Valley even on the international level. In both the demographic and the security aspects there is no question, and therefore, even in plans presented by the Left, the Jordan Valley is under Israeli control".

Regarding the content of the legislation, which, as stated, was defeated, and the status of the Arabs of the area to which it relates, Forer says that their number is low and that granting citizenship to those among the Jordan Valley Arabs who are interested, should not create any demographic problem. The Jericho region, which is not currently under Israeli control, is excluded from the proposed legislation that intended to apply sovereignty over the region that is already under Israeli control and includes the Jewish communities, industrial zones, open areas, roadways, archaeological sites and the like. "This would not have hurt anyone, and therefore I do not understand the objection. I would have expected a right-wing government to pounce on this proposal. What better opportunity will you have to garner a consensus of this kind even from those parts of the electorate for whom the issue is not at the core of their agenda, e.g., from parts of the National Camp and Yesh Atid parties who joined the support

Autonomous independence for Arab cantons

And what of Judea and Samaria? In this regard, MK Forer has no magic solutions and is open to hearing suggestions, e.g., autonomous Arab enclaves, mini-emirates of sorts in the format raised by the Middle East scholar Dr. Moti Kedar, but "certainly not a Palestinian state." Meanwhile, he says, until a solution is found for Judea and Samaria, "we must move forward in places where there is Israeli control and it is possible, e.g., in the settlement blocs and the Jordan Valley". "Declarations about sovereignty lead to

the fact that we pay a price without ac-

tually applying sovereignty. Specifically

After all, there is no dispute about sovereignty in the Jordan Valley even on the international level. In both the demographic and the security aspects there is no question, and therefore, even in plans presented by the Left, the Jordan Valley is under

Israeli control.

in the Jordan Valley there was already a declaration by the Prime Minister and there is also a broad consensus in Israeli society, and therefore we should act wisely. Acting wisely means applying sovereignty in the Jordan Valley".



MK Oded Forer

These statements by MK Forer regarding Judea and Samaria appear to ostensibly contradict the familiar political program of his party chairman, MK Lieberman, according to which territorial exchanges will take place between Israel and the Palestinian state. Forer reiterates his rejection of the term "Palestinian state" and clarifies that the idea behind the move is the principle that without loyalty there is no citizenship. "If the residents of Umm al-Fahm do not consider themselves loyal to the State of Israel, there is no reason that they should have Israeli citizenship. I need not uproot them from their homes. They will continue to live there but their identity card will be Jordanian or of some other country. But they cannot remain Israeli citizens".

Regarding past statements regarding moving the border in a manner that would remove Arab cities from Israel's borders, Forer reiterates that "we are not talking about a Palestinian state and there will not be a Palestinian state between the sea and the Jordan. There is no question about that .We are talking about what citizenship there will be and who will control the territory. Our plan speaks of cantons that would be under Palestinian self-rule. Dr. Mordechai Kedar's plan is excellent in that it provides control in accordance with the local tribal character of each area, which is in keeping with the characteristics of this society. I do not believe in Palestinian nationalism as a nation because there was never one. There are tribes and clans according to regions in Hebron, Shechem, etc. Therefore, the Arabs of Judea and Samaria do not consider the Palestinian Authority a government that is acceptable to them, but rather as a hostile takeover by a crime family of sorts".

Rabbanit Shulamit Melamed, Director of Arutz 7: "To your seed, I will give this land." Those who believe that God gave us the entire Land of Israel do not need any formal legislation of sovereignty. However, for the nations of the world and for those among our people who do not believe in this, sovereignty must be applied to affirm that Judea and Samaria are ours.'



The Basis for Sovereignty in the Trump Era – Recognizing Our Exclusive Right to the Land

Knesset Member Amit Halevi views Trump's return to the White House as a historic opportunity for applying sovereignty. However, this will be contingent on several essential steps that should have been taken long ago.



Knesset Member Amit Halevi

The chance of promoting sovereignty in Judea and Samaria during the joint tenure of Trump and Netanyahu seems very realistic to Knesset Member Amit Halevi (Likud), "as part of a broad array of possibilities that this historical period offers us," he says in an interview with "Sovereignty".

MK Halevi emphasizes that in his view, the most important clause of the "Deal of the Century" – which did not develop into a finalized agreement – is the clause that asserts, by an American president for the first time since the San Remo Conference and the Balfour Declaration, that the national rights to the Land of Israel belong to the Jewish people. "Although, there were terrible ideas in that plan, such as, agreement to establishment of a Palestinian state, which I do not think anyone would consider after the events of October 7th, but this principle is significant in the context of sovereignty. The recognition that the Land of Israel belongs solely to the Jewish people is the basis of sovereignty, even if there are other individuals residing there".

Halevi sees this principle as the foundation upon which a distinction can be made between the status of the territory and the status of the residents.

The starting point, which he claims is accepted by Trump and his team, is that the land was and will continue to belong to the Jewish people, "whether in Gaza, Beit El, Jerusalem, Gamla or Tel Aviv," and this can and should serve as a point for launching sovereignty, after which the question of regularizing the status of minorities in this state will be discussed.

Sovereignty depends on what is done here in Israel. The administration in Washington will provide backing.

MK Halevi emphasizes that the challenge of sovereignty awaits backing from the Trump administration, but it is "primarily our responsibility, and depends on what we do in Israel, in the Foreign Ministry and the Prime Minister's Office, to advance the objective of sovereignty. The plans and discussions with the people appointed by President Trump should have begun even before Trump entered the White House. I would expect to hear this content and this basic position from Israeli representatives regarding national rights that belong only to us, and that, as a result, political sovereignty belongs exclusively to the Jewish people. This should be stated without hesitation and without apology .This should have been the Israeli statement in response to the Hague Court. These are the territories of our homeland, and historical and biblical justice is on our side. These are not occupied territories. We did not conquer the territory from other peoples".

The recognition that the Land of Israel belongs solely to the Jewish people is the basis of sovereignty, even if there are other individuals residing there.

In his opinion, the fact that the map of the United States is dotted with cities and communities with biblical connections like Bethel, Shiloh, and others, constitutes a significant cognitive infrastructure for realizing the potential of sovereignty, especially within the Republican Party. "Therefore, this position should be sounded as a fundamental position of the Israeli government, and beyond that, I also expect practical steps, with detailed plans and maps already prepared to promote a sovereignty plan, even if it is in stages. For this, we need to expand the sovereignty maps from the previous round. We have learned the lessons of the events of October 7th, and among our most fundamental lessons must be the overwhelming need to apply sovereignty as the banner of justice borne by Israel. Without internalizing that justice is on our side, the UN Secretary-General can appear after such a horrifying massacre and murder and speak of an equivalent conflict between two parties".

"In addition, we have also come to the understanding that this is the heart of the struggle with the enemy . This enemy is not fighting because of a territorial conflict to obtain land for a people who were here in the past. It seeks to take control of the land as part of a vision of taking over the entire world without recognizing the rights of any people to any territory. Therefore, we have a significant lever in the international arena to promote our rights and claims to this land, upon which we can add our strategic and security needs in this territory. But the main contention is the biblical and moral foundation, the incontrovertible connection based on our biblical right. These must be the official positions of the Israeli government. We have friends in the world who think likewise and we can work with them. In the current Congress, they have significant influence, and I expect our diplomats to work in this spirit and with this consciousness and establish the lobby in favor of sovereignty".

To Be Both Just and Smart

With all the understanding that historical, moral, and value-based justice are on Israel's side, perhaps the practical challenges involved in sovereignty require us to be smarter and less just? Perhaps it is not certain that it is wise for us to control the terrorist hornet's nest spread throughout Judea and Samaria?

The question of justice and wisdom, says MK Halevi, is tied to the question of the status of the residents, and this question should be addressed after it is clear that there is no doubt regarding the territory's status. "There is no other legal owner other than the Jewish people. The Land of Israel belongs exclusively to the Jewish people and its nation-state. Any change in the territory's status bolsters the false Palestinian illusion that they might be able to build a state for an imaginary people that will achieve the coveted goal of destroying Israel in a jihad war".

Regarding the status of the residents, MK Halevi agrees that we must act wisely, and in his view, the maximum Israel can allow is municipal management of local authorities, "a model that succeeded after the Six-Day War and can be restored. Communities will be managed locally, not nationally. When creating a centralized authority like the Palestinian Authority, you create an authority that cultivates the Palestinian national lie, that contains nothing except for the destruction of Israel, and this is why that authority engages in terrorism or corruption".

"True, it's not perfect, and some will say not all our rights exist. But from conversations I have conducted with residents in Hebron and Ramallah, the feeling is that they would be happy to move from the murderous and corrupt militias of Abu Mazen to Israeli rule.Rights are trampled there day and night. Even if it is not perfect, that move will provide an arrangement that will improve the lives of the individuals".

Rabbi Haggai Londin, Rosh Yeshivat Holon: "Sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is not merely a security or political issue but a moral statement as well—the land belongs to the Master of the Universe, and the People of Israel are the sovereign over it for eternity!"



The Legislation That Will Block Concessions and Withdrawals

Legislation seeking to apply the Referendum Law to Judea and Samaria, preventing the transfer of sovereign territory to foreigners, is being drafted during these days. This is not yet sovereignty, but a significant step in blocking the ideas from the Oslo school of thought. MK Simcha Rothman explains.

The Land of Israel Lobby in the Knesset , headed by MK Yuli Edelstein, MK Limor Sohn-HarMelech and MK Simcha Rothman, is currently promoting legislation that will establish a high hurdle in the face of any future attempts to relinquish Israeli territories and hand them over to foreign control. The chairman of the Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, MK Simcha Rothman explains the significance of the emerging

"Currently, Israel has a law on its books called the Referendum Law that states that in order to relinquish a sovereign territory of the State of Israel, or to abrogate Israeli sovereignty on a territory of that kind, the government would be required to obtain a special majority consisting of eighty Knesset members. If the government fails to attain an eightymember majority, it can be put to a referendum." Ostensibly, a referendum is like a survey, and as such, its phrasing is liable to influence its results, but Rothman clarifies that in a referendum of that kind, the government's decision will be presented verbatim and the question will be simple: for or against, with no convoluted formulations.

Confronting Leaders Who Disregard and Confronting Laws That Change

In fact, the law currently under discussion seeks to equate Judea and Samaria, an area not yet under Israeli sovereignty, with other parts of Israel in terms of the requirement to attain a special majority or a national referendum to relinquish it. Is this truly an effective law? Does past experience, such as Yair Lapid's relinquishing of Israeli territorial waters to Lebanese sovereignty without a majority, vote, or discussion, not prove that legislation of this kind can be disregarded? "Lapid's action was, indeed, a serious error in my opinion when he did not bring it

to the Knesset and the Referendum Law was not applied, but we must tell the truth that it concerned economic waters, and the claim was that the demarcation of the maritime border had not yet been performed. In other words, it was not demarcation of an official boundary that was abrogated. I do not agree with this claim, but this is the legal argument".

"The law we are drafting is very clear. It says that relinquishing territory from Judea and Samaria will require a referendum and with no games. Furthermore, we are also including recognition of a Palestinian state in the law. Meaning, if I define the territory of the Palestinian Authority as the territory of a state, the Referendum Law is in effect in its regard. The transfer of governmental powers to any entity, including the Palestinian Authority, will also require this mechanism," says Rothman. As an experienced lawyer, he notes the importance of ensuring the law does not create an absurd situation where, for example, the IDF's exit from a village where a counter-terrorism operation was conducted would require a

> The law currently under discussion seeks to equate Judea and Samaria, an area not yet under Israeli sovereignty, with other parts of Israel

referendum because there is apparently a change in its sovereign status. Discussions between the votes on the path to ratification are meant to regularize the details and formulations that will ensure that the law is serious.

Regarding the possibility that the legislation will be abrogated in a different political constellation, MK Rothman says that indeed a law enacted now could be abrogated by a simple majority in a future Knesset, "but when this matter is established as a Basic Law, we know that Basic Laws are not abrogated every day. Beyond that ,we are broadcasting to the world and the government the boundaries of the issue. If one seeks to disregard the Referendum Law and say they do not want to hear public opinion, there is a public and political price to pay .It is entirely possible that even in a coalition seeking to execute a political maneuver,

It is clear that the public in Israel says that establishment of a terrorist state, especially after October 7th, is not an option

there will be members who believe it is not right to do so by breaking the rules. Therefore, this step has significance in both international relations and in the domestic arena".

In a reality where we all know that the determining authority is often the judicial system, i.e., the Supreme Court, there is no alternative to questioning the Supreme Court's position on this legislation. Is there a loophole in the law through which the Supreme Court judges could explain why it should be invalidated"?I am not an astrologer predicting the future," says Rothman. "This is entirely a political consideration. From

Photo:Noam Moskowitz Knesset PR

MKSimcha Rothman

a legal perspective, there is no problem with this law. It is a law that says how the State of Israel makes decisions. On the face of it, there is no rationale for intervention, by the court or any other body". In the spirit of these times, we ask MK Rothman to assess whether Donald Trump's return to the White House is a substantive component of the sovereignty process". The Trump administration, first and foremost, even if it has its own directions and ideas, will first want to know what Israel wants. Many in his circle have great regard for Israel's will and would not want to impose their approach upon them. Like businessmen, they will want to know what is being discussed, and therefore there is significance to the law initiated by the Land of Israel Lobby, co-signed by eighty Knesset members, in opposition of the imposition of a Palestinian state. This law clarifies to the Americans what is not acceptable. Regarding what is acceptable, let us sit and talk, but it is clear that the public in Israel says that establishment of a terrorist state, especially after October 7th, is not an option. Afterward, we can discuss other solutions".



Photo:Noam Moskowitz Knesset PR

Minister Ze'ev Elkin: "As I have always said, I still believe today that advancing Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is the order of the day. These are essential parts of our homeland, the heart of our history and heritage, and they must be part of the sovereign State of Israel. Within the next four years, a historic window of opportunity will open to advance Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, and we must not miss it."



We Need To Clear The Area Of The Monsters We Created

Sovereignty could certainly be one of the most significant steps in the Trump era, but it will entail a direct confrontation with the terror monster that has burgeoned in Judea and Samaria, and we can no longer ignore it. An interview with Caroline Glick

The chances of applying sovereignty during this period depend largely on us and the outcome of the war, says columnist, author, and researcher Caroline Glick, an expert on the U.S. administration and its relations with Israel. "Currently, the outlook appears favorable, but we need to see what develops in Gaza, especially if we actually defeat Hamas and the subsequent implications for Judea and Samaria and the Palestinian Authority."

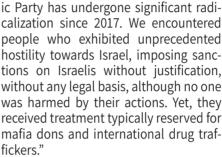
"I believe sovereignty will begin with intensive military operations in Judea and Samaria. This should include, whether intentionally or unintentionally, dismantling the PA, whose forces we see operating with RPGs in Jenin - a very dangerous situation. Jenin has Gazalike potential and these threats must be confronted. Operations against PA, Hamas and Islamic Jihad forces will lay the groundwork for the assertion of sovereignty in Judea and Samaria."

In her remarks, Glick draws attention to the fact that unlike in the past, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu now defines Judea and Samaria as one of seven fronts Israel is facing. "We receive near-daily warnings regarding the scale of the threat that could materialize at any moment if we fail to address it. It won't be a picnic. Abbas and all Arafat's murderers and their descendants won't go away quietly, nor will they allow us to live in peace, and the same applies to Hamas and Islamic Jihad. This represents a genuine military threat, and highlights the necessity for Israel to maintain control over all of Judea and Samaria as the sole armed entity, alongside our national imperative to protect our heartland, Judea and Samaria. We cannot achieve the second without the first. We created a monster here and we'll have to dismantle it." Regarding the new administration's role in the evolving situation in Judea and Samaria, Glick says: "The administration can offer diplomatic backing for military operations we must undertake in Judea

and Samaria. Until now, we have been unable to execute the necessary measures to eliminate this threat because the Biden administration saw the presence of IDF forces – rather than terror forces - as the problem here." Glick observes that the Air Force's unprecedented operations in Judea and Samaria, though still inadequate, signal a shift in the perception of the area as a genuine threat necessitating a substantive response.

ic Party has undergone significant radicalization since 2017. We encountered people who exhibited unprecedented hostility towards Israel, imposing sanctions on Israelis without justification, without any legal basis, although no one was harmed by their actions. Yet, they received treatment typically reserved for mafia dons and international drug traf-

We're shifting now from a hostile and



abusive administration - one that op-

descendants won't go away quietly, nor will they allow us to live in peace, and the same applies to Hamas and Islamic Jihad. This represents a genuine military threat, and highlights the necessity for Israel to maintain control over all of Judea and Samaria as the sole armed entity, alongside our national imperative to protect our heartland, Judea and Samaria

It won't be a picnic. Abbas and all Arafat's murderers and their

American backing for crucial military steps

"Since October 7th, security forces have thwarted over 10,000 attacks in Judea and Samaria - an astronomical figure. This is not a quiet area. That we continue to maintain a normal lifestyle here in Judea and Samaria is an illusion. The threat we face is not sustainable in the

Based on her knowledge of President Trump's inner circle, Glick asserts that Israel can expect the diplomatic support it will require for such operations. "These people aren't antagonistic to Israel, especially in contrast to the previous administration, which was the most hostile we've ever experienced. They were part of Obama's team, the same team, and it appears that the same guiding principles persisted under Biden, as the Democratposed the eradication of Hamas and estinian threat posed to Israel from Judea and Samaria."

The Iranian challenge should not hinder Israel's pursuit of sovereignty

Isn't it conceivable that we might be surprised by Trump demanding to halt any progress toward sovereignty in order to forge a regional coalition against Iranian nuclear aspirations? "Addressing Iran requires not a coalition but bombs," Glick replies. "Israel's delay in eliminating the Iranian nuclear threat, to my understanding, was due to the arms embargo that the outgoing administration imposed on Caroline Glick us. We must confront the Iranian threat directly, and for that, there's no need for a coalition."

"If the current regime in Tehran collapses as a result of Israel's current war, a new government may emerge in Iran that seeks to restore the pre-1979 peace that existed between Israel and Iran prior to the revolution. If we encounter a new Iranian regime that does not harbor animosity towards us and desires friendly relations and peace with Israel, the entire regional dynamic will shift. Time will tell where Saudi Arabia stands within a regional reorganization caused by the downfall of the Iranian regime. In such a scenario, Saudi Arabia's leverage might diminish, enabling Trump to pursue different strategies."

In this potential new reality, Glick believes it will be essential to convince the American president to relinquish illusions of a Palestinian state as a recipe for peace - something that was unattainable under Biden's administration. "That was an administration whose entire purpose was to force us to coexist with existential threats - both from the Palestinians even before October 7th and certainly afterwards – as well as from Iran. Immediately upon taking office, the Biden administration strove to renew nuclear talks with Iran, fully aware that this would lead to a nuclear-armed Iran."

Glick sees the current reality as a historic opportunity that Israel must not squander through diplomatic missteps. "We are at a pivotal juncture. The victories our fighters have brought have placed us in a position where for the first time in generations we can ensure Israel's security potentially for a hundred years ahead. If we allow this opportunity to slip away and bring down this government for any reason – failing at this moment – and do not make the most of this opportunity, history will judge us and all those involved harshly."

viewed Israel as the villain for its control over Judea and Samaria - to an administration that supports us. That is why I am confident they will back our military activities against the Pal-

MK Miki Zohar, Minister of Culture and Sports: "We have a real opportunity for sovereignty under the new U.S. administration, and we must not miss this historic opportunity."



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What Will Be The Status Of The Arabs In Judea And Samaria After Sovereignty Is Applied? A Proposal

The status of the Arabs in Judea and Samaria on the day after sovereignty is one of the most complex challenges for a state seeking to preserve its character as both a Jewish state and a democratic state. Here is the beginning of a proposed solution. Shimon Cohen



Shimon Cohen

Applying Israeli sovereignty to Judea and Samaria will require a clear-eyed and sober confrontation with numerous challenges in the areas of security, economy, civilian cohesiveness, and more. However, it appears that the status of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria on the day after is perhaps the most central challenge of all.

Even among clear supporters of sovereignty, there is concern about the change in Israel's Jewish character if Israel were to apply sovereignty to Judea and Samaria, and consequently be required to grant local Arabs status equal to its citizens. Opponents of sovereignty intensify this argument, asserting that integrating the Arabs of Judea and Samaria into the Israeli democracy will lead to a binational state and no less than the end of the Zionist dream. Conversely, leaving them without voting rights for the Israeli Knesset would damage Israel's status as a democracy, and the more extreme among them warn that it will be classified as no less than an apartheid.

Even those convinced that the alternative, G-d forbid, of establishing a Palestinian state, would be disastrous for the future of the State of Israel and its existence, cannot downplay this issue. Therefore, all those proposing sovereignty plans pay significant attention to the demographic-democratic question. Some propose restricting Arabs of Judea and Samaria to municipal voting, others suggest allowing them to vote for

an autonomous civil authority as an alternative to the Knesset, and other similar ideas. These proposals should not be rejected outright, although voting in local or civil parliaments would preserve the underlying national aspirations of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria and potentially serve as a basis for future flare-

> The essence of the proposal involves allocating 18–20 percent of the Israeli Knesset to those who are not eligible under the Law of Return. This proposal is intended precisely to preserve that purpose – ensuring Israel's Jewish character.

ups against Israel and its inhabitants. There are also proposals to allow Arabs of Judea and Samaria to vote in the Jordanian parliament, but it's hard to imagine the Jordanian royal house accepting a proposal that would give additional power to the Palestinian majority already troubling them. Beyond that, voting for representatives who cannot influence the voter's life, since they live in another country, Israel, is not truly democratic.

In the following lines, I will briefly propose a direction of thought that will naturally require refinement, precision, and clarification by legal and political experts, but may be worthy of consideration, at least as the beginning of an

The essence of the proposal involves allocating 18-20 percent of the Israeli Knesset to those who are not eligible under the Law of Return. The connection of this proposal to the Law of Return is intentional. This law, the Law of Return, ostensibly tainted with racism, is aderstanding that its purpose is preserving Israel as the national home of the Jewish people – i.e., the raison d'etre of the state's establishment. In fact, Israel protects its Jewish character through the Law of Return, which grants

immigration rights exclusively to Jews. This proposal is intended precisely to preserve that purpose - ensuring Israel's Jewish character.

Allocating 18-20 percent of the parliament to those not eligible for return would allow voting in the Knesset with limited influence on Israeli democracy. The number of voters, even if it is high, would not lead to disproportionate representation in the Knesset and would not change Israel's Jewish character, yet the Arabs of Judea and Samaria would have an influential representation in the Israeli parliament, albeit defined and restricted.

As mentioned, there is a high probability this proposal would be presented as racist, but those who accept the logic of the Law of Return should understand and accept the logic of the proposal.



Matan Peleg, former CEO of 'Im Tirtzu', strategic consultant "Beyond the moral level, which is the most important, and the democratic level, which is appropriate, applying sovereignty is crucial because it would create a civilian territorial contiguity across the entire State of Israel. It would remove all barriers and eliminate all excuses preventing Israel from expanding eastward as it should and must."



Donald Trump as the Cyrus of Our Time?

King Cyrus' historic actions earned him, at least for some time, the title of "Messiah." Do the past and anticipated actions of U.S. President Donald Trump justify such a title for him as well? Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu shares his perspective in an interview.

Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu

Donald Trump's return to the White House for another term as president arouses renewed Israeli hopes for dramatic steps to be taken, both in the fight against terror and in advancing sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, which would be a natural continuation of the U.S. recognition of Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights and transferral of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

This situation, in which the leader of the world's most powerful nation has the opportunity to strengthen and fortify the Jewish people's standing in the world, invites comparisons to Cyrus, whose proclamation allowed the Jewish people to return to their heritage and culture, leading to a strong trend of the ingathering of the exiles. His contribution to consolidation of the Jewish people led the prophet Isaiah to refer to him as "Messiah of the Lord," saying, "Thus says the Lord to His anointed one, Cyrus" (Isaiah 45:1). Is this comparison appropriate, or does it go too far? Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu, Chief Rabbi of Safed, responds with a certain degree of caution.

"There is no doubt that every king, especially the king of a superpower like the United States, is a messenger of God. The Gemara teaches that all authority is ordained by Heaven. In President Trump's case, this is even more apparent in light of how beneficial he was to the Jewish people during his previous term," says the rabbi, and when he refers to the comparison to Cyrus, he notes that "In his private conduct, Cyrus was not one of the thirty-six righteous individuals of his generation... And there are other examples of kings who, in their personal lives, were not so righteous, but fulfilled their mission when they rose to power."

Rabbi Eliyahu also mentions that while Cyrus did indeed begin his mission, he later turned away from it, as described by the Sages, who said that he "missed the mark." "This means that while people have a mission, they also have free choice. We believe that Trump is no less

> We believe that Trump is no less a messenger of the Almighty than Cyrus or Balfour, who were also messengers of the Almighty.

a messenger of the Almighty than Cyrus or Balfour, who were also messengers of the Almighty."

Regarding the use of the term "Messiah," Rabbi Eliyahu notes, "One of the most prominent figures in Israeli history to use the term 'messianic' was David Ben-Gurion. Today, this would not pass a Supreme Court review, which views the term 'messianic' as derogatory. But for Ben-Gurion, the term symbolized vision and looking beyond material boundaries—not just focusing on economic development but also on the nation's moral aspect. In this sense, Ben-Gurion continued Herzl's legacy, who also spoke in such terms and did not view the state merely in its technical aspect as a refuge for the Jewish people but as a nation with a mission to spread light in the world. Today as well, we need leadership—both domestic and international that views the People of Israel from such a perspective."

In contemporary politics, Rabbi Eliyahu sees Prime Minister Netanyahu as someone who views reality from the perspective of a "super leader," as he puts it, while those who lack the tools to comprehend the magnitude of the reality attempt to sabotage his efforts. "But he is an outstanding leader of historic proportions—not just nationally but internationally. I don't see many leaders in the world of his caliber."

And returning to the historic opportunity for Israel to apply its sovereignty during Donald Trump's second term as U.S. President, we asked Rabbi Eliyahu what, in his opinion, Israel's message to the leader of the free world should be in order to mobilize him for the project of sovereignty.

"I think we need to tell him that we see him as a messenger of the Almighty and say it in those very words, without hesitation, and tell him that we pray he fulfills his mission in the right way. This is our language, and this is our way of thinking and we must act in this direction and ignore all the internal detractors—those who feel that we are at the lowest point in Jewish history, while we see this period as our second War of Independence, during which, thank God, we are winning and advancing."

"We are living at a great moment in history—both our own history and world history. We see ourselves as well as President Trump as messengers of the Almighty who guides history and we must look at reality through these eyes and not from a limited, ground-level perspective."



Bezalel Smotrich, Minister of Finance: "Sovereignty is important, first and foremost, because the Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel. After two thousand years of exile and wandering, the Jewish People is coming home, and nothing is more moral and just than that we have sovereignty over our homeland. Beyond that, Judea and Samaria protect the rest of the country. Where there is settlement, there is security. Applying sovereignty over our homeland sends a clear message to our enemies that there is not, and will never be, another state within the Land of Israel."



A Palestinian State = National Suicide.

Dr. Dan Diker, president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, considers Israeli sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and the central highlands to be no less than existential for Israel. He describes the idea of a Palestinian state as tantamount to national suicide

Donald Trump's return to the U.S. presidency is seen by many as a historic opportunity to advance a diplomatic initiative aligned with the Israeli right. Others, however, remind them of the "Deal of the Century" that President Trump promoted during his previous term, which included the establishment of a Palestinian state on approximately 70% of the territory. Dr. Dan Diker, president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (JCPA), discusses this matter and its broad and immediate ramifications. "In his first term, President Trump proposed the 'Deal of the Century,' which clearly recognized that Israel must maintain control over the Jordan Valley, as well as Israel's need for defensible borders, an approach that enjoys a full consensus in Israel. While the deal ultimately did not come to fruition, it established a fundamental principle for the future, that the application of Israeli law to the Jordan Valley and the central highlands is a strategic, existential necessity for Israel, and no progress can be made with any Palestinian entity without the fulfilment of this condition." Since this political and security basis was determined, significant changes and events have occurred - foremost among them, the October 7 massacre - which have led to new perceptions and a revised understanding of reality. "Since the 'Deal of the Century,' the genocide of the century occurred, fundamentally altering the security landscape. After the failure of Oslo, Hamas taught us a lesson: we cannot expose ourselves to future threats to our sovereignty, including from the east," says Dr. Diker. He warns of the increasing risk of Jordan's security collapse at the hands of pro-Iranian elements seeking to attack Israel from the east, while pro-Iranian terrorist groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad are positioning themselves in Palestinian cities to join the campaign to destroy Israel.

The legacies of Allon and Rabin

That Hamas was able to penetrate Israel 21 kilometers beyond the Gaza border on October 7 underscores the potential risk of a similar attack targeting Israel's narrowest region at its center. "This is a real existential threat from the east," he asserts. "Israel has neither strategic depth nor maneuvering space, which is why we must secure our sovereignty over the area." Diker believes that both

There is no Israeli security without a physical IDF presence on the border and, in some cases, beyond it. Hamas taught us a bloody and painful lesson, that technology alone cannot ensure our security. When put to the test, we know that agreements do not work. Any future arrangement must first be based on the acceptance of Israel's security needs

Yigal Allon and Yitzhak Rabin would have supported this approach. "If they were alive today, they would explain the need for defensible borders to safeguard our sovereignty, and that in order to secure these defensible borders, we must maintain control and sovereignty over the central highlands and the Jordan Valley. The elevation differential between the Dead Sea and the central highlands is 4,200 feet, creating a natural iron wall that embodies the principle of defensible borders. Without Israeli sovereignty and control over this region, we cannot protect the Tel Aviv metropolitan area and the 80% of Israel's population that lives between

Netanya and Ashkelon."

Is this reality, which enjoys a broad consensus in Israel, also clear to the White House? Dr. Diker is unsure, but he is certain of one thing: the Trump administration must hear this unequivocal message from the Israeli government. "We must brand our message clearly, stating that there can be no negotiations with a Palestinian Authority that has glorified terrorism, pays salaries to terrorists and their families, and systematically engages in the dehumanization and delegitimization of Israel – that, in effect, paved the way for the October 7 massacre."

As someone who closely follows the signals coming from Trump's inner circle, Diker anticipates that Israel will soon be presented with a comprehensive package deal that includes normalization with Saudi Arabia, broad cooperation against Iran's regional influence, and a requirement to accept some form of Palestinian political entity in Judea and Samaria. For Diker, agreeing to such a demand would be nothing short of national suicide.

Israel's security cannot be based on a piece of paper

"We have seen the cost of this danger in the murder of our children, our wives, our citizens - including babies. Israel cannot rely on a piece of paper when it comes to its security. There is no Israeli security without a physical IDF presence on the border and, in some cases, beyond it. Hamas taught us a bloody and painful lesson, that technology alone cannot ensure our security. When put to the test, we know that agreements do not work. Any future arrangement must first be based on the acceptance of Israel's security needs – only then can discussions move forward."

"Gaza was a de facto state." Diker reminds us. "Hamas had full civilian and military control, and we learned that when we withdraw, we are murdered.



When terrorists use abandoned cities as safe havens, our ability to pursue them is severely compromised. The only reason we haven't faced an October 7-style attack from Palestinian Authority-controlled areas in Judea and Samaria is the continuous presence of the IDF in those regions. We are already seeing Iranian efforts to smuggle weapons and operatives into cities such as Nablus, Jenin, and Tulkarm. If not for our presence there, we would be paving the way for an even more dangerous reality than in Gaza, as these territories dominate Ben Gurion Airport, the coastal plain, and the entire greater Tel Aviv area. We are dealing with the most supportive and understanding U.S. administration Israel has ever seen, and this administration must hear these messages from us."

Diker further emphasizes that Israel must repeatedly clarify to Trump's team that the conflict in Judea and Samaria is not about territory - it is religious and ideological. "We cannot commit national suicide," he reiterates.

Regarding the possibility of reaching an agreement with Saudi Arabia without making payment in Palestinian currency, Dr. Diker urges Israelis to take off our Israeli hats and don Saudi robes to better understand the regional mindset, as inhabitants of the Middle East rather than as products of the West.

"Mohammed bin Salman needs to show that he is highly sensitive to the Palestinian cause, which has become a symbol of victimhood versus oppression in anti-Israel propaganda. He cannot ignore it, but his primary concern is securing defense guarantees from the U.S. He needs weapons and technological supplies, including nuclear technology. This matters far more to him than the Palestinian issue. However, in order to defuse tensions among his own public, he must acknowledge the Palestinian cause, which has become an obsession in the Arab

In the Muslim world, where perception is key, Diker continue page 21

The Decision on Sovereignty will come from Jerusalem, not from Washington

The mayor of the Samaria Regional Council Yossi Dagan returns from the inauguration of Trump as President with good feelings regarding a supportive administration aware of Israel's security needs and connected to the values of the heritage of the Jewish people in Judea and Samaria, and yet he is convinced: The ball of sovereignty has never been in Washington's court, but in Jerusalem's.



Yossi Dagan

For Yossi Dagan, mayor of the Samaria Regional Council, this was the second time he attended the inauguration of Donald Trump as President of the United States. His mobilization to the Republican campaign both in Israel and among Jewish and Evangelical Christian communities in the United States have made him a familiar figure in the corridors of the Republican Party and a personality who, for many senior Republicans, bridges political reality with biblical his-

In the interim between the two inaugurations, Dagan conducted a systematic and structured campaign to strengthen the connection between the Samarian landscape and Jewish history in the Land of Israel and the politicians who are now occupying the important and influential offices of the world. When we speak to him about his impressions from conversations with the new administration's senior officials and their attitude toward the future of Judea and Samaria, Dagan ties these matters with the same channels of communication that have strengthened over the past decade.

An insight that emerged from the expulsion from Gush Katif and Northern Samaria was that one must operate in the political power centers in Israel and the United States. This led to the inception of a significant group in the Likud, dominant activity vis-a-vis journalists and influencers in Israel, and the activity in Washington and Brussels. "I realized that this was the way to develop and bring one million residents and sovereignty to Judea and Samaria," says Dagan.

These connections, he relates, included reciprocal visits and hosting of members of congress along with prominent, influential American journalists at Jewish historical sites, e.g., Joseph's Tomb, the Tomb of Joshua bin Nun and other sites, visits that were described by personalities like Mike Huckabee, the new American ambassador to Israel, as the most moving of their lives. "The visits here generate knowledge, significant force, commitment and unmediated connection to Samaria," he says.

I am a disciple of Ben-Gurion who determined that what matters is what the Jews do and not what the gentiles say. This principle is also valid regarding the question of sovereignty. Even in the Biden era, I contended that we should take the necessary steps for our benefit, and all the more so, now.

There are many supporters of Israel in the administration, but not exclusively

A short time before Trump's second inauguration, Dagan launched the Congressional Lobby for Judea and Samaria. The lobby's first mission was to take action to rescind sanctions imposed by the Biden administration on Jewish residents and right-wing organizations in Israel and to pass a law prohibiting the use of the term "West Bank" and use only of the term "Judea and Samaria" in its place. "But," emphasizes Dagan, "above all, our objective as a state is to facilitate sovereignty. This is our overarching objective that we must establish for ourselves in the coming years."

Is this the next significant step that Trump will take in relation to Israel? Yossi Dagan prefers to place responsibility for this and the ability to implement it on

the shoulders of the Israeli government. "The ball was never in Washington's court. It was, is, and will continue to be in Jerusalem's court. The one who must and is able to make the decisions to apply sovereignty in Judea and Samaria is the Israeli government alone. Anyone who expects the US administration to be coerced into the application of sovereignty is either causing himself or us to fail. Trump is a great friend of Israel, but he is not the Prime Minister of Israel.

Dagan notes that while the Trump administration is composed of many supporters of Israel, it is important to be aware that there are also some who are hostile to it, even if they do not constitute the majority. He further emphasizes that Trump's interests are manifold and global. Russia, China, North Korea, Greenland, Latin American immigration, the economy, and more fill his agenda and his considerations are wide-ranging and first and foremost, the interests of America.

"In this context I am a disciple of Ben-Gurion who determined that what matters is what the Jews do and not what the gentiles say. This principle is also valid regarding the question of sovereignty. Even in the Biden era, I contended that we should take the necessary steps for our benefit, and all the more so, now. In the current administration one may be more daring and do more, but we need not seek the approval of the United States. It is also possible to disagree with them as friends and say that we appreciate them but this is what we consider to be for Israel's benefit."

"I reject the statement that sovereignty is predicated on the American administration approving it in advance and in public. I reject it both on the practical level and in principle. We are a sovereign state and one of the reasons that October 7th happened to us was that we relied on doctrines that come from abroad and less on ourselves," says

Unprecedented admiration for the people in Israel

"For twelve years already, I have been going there to conferences in Congress and the Senate, and the amount of support and admiration we received there was unprecedented. People in the United States understand today that we are together, that radical Islam is threatening the entire world, and we are the barrier, we are the test continue page 21



Expanding Israel's BordersWill Be the Keystone of Netanyahu's Legacy

The great opportunity of Israel's Second War of Independence is the creation of a geopolitical overlap between the borders of Biblical Israel and the borders of the renewed State of Israel. Gita Hazani-Melchior



"We cannot rise up against the people [...] And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak, who come of the giants; and we seemed like grasshoppers in our eyes, and so we seemed in theirs." This is how the Book of Numbers, in chapter 13, describes the paralyzing fear that gripped the spies upon their return from scouting the Land of Israel before entry into it, to assess its character and determine whether the Children of Israel could confront the "giants" inhabiting it. This may be the first recorded case of cognitive engineering in history.

In their encounter with the inhabitants of the Land of Israel - the "Nephilim, sons of Anak" - the spies inadvertently demonstrate a well-known phenomenon from social psychology: the impact of self-perception on how others perceive the self. The story of the spies illustrates the intrinsic connection between their own self-perception as small, insignificant grasshoppers and how the giants, in turn, perceived them accordingly. The message of their perception of themselves as weak and unworthy grasshoppers, unable to fight for their inheritance, was received by the Nephilim, and they reflected it back: "Indeed, we see you as grasshoppers – small, insignificant, and cowardly - while we are strong giants, confident in our ability to drive you out of the land." This is a tale of self-inflicted psychological manipulation – in which the manipulators are also the manipulated.

The spies' self-engineered sense of weakness quickly became a powerful, cost-

effective, and readily available weapon in the hands of the inhabitants of the land. The Nephilim's confidence in their ability to maintain their hold on the land was seemingly solidified by the Children of Israel's plea to Moses and Aaron: "Let us appoint a leader and return to Egypt." The fundamental sin of the spies – and of the people – was their preemptive

spiritual giants, resisting the engineered fear and weakness, calling upon the people: "Let us go up and take possession of the land, for we can surely conquer it." They refused to surrender to that self-image as grasshoppers in the face of giants, and silenced the voices of weakness and doubt, demonstrating spiritual and visionary

The State of Israel is approaching its 80th anniversary, despite our enemies' malicious hopes on the eve of its establishment that it would last only a few decades as a Jewish polity. However, we have yet to truly enter the Promised Land. Our repeated concessions of territory and sovereignty have been consistently interpreted by our enemies – rightfully so – as a moral weakness regarding our claim to the land.

relinquishment of the land, stemming from self-doubt and a lack of trust in the covenant with the God of history. For this they received a fitting punishment: the postponement of their entry into the Land of Israel and a forty-year journey through the desert. Those who do not believe they are capable of entering the Land of Israel are unworthy of doing so and, indeed, will not enter.

However, not all twelve spies succumbed to this grasshopper affliction. Caleb and Joshua stood out as strength. They understood that the key to victory over the inhabitants of the land and its conquest lay in crucial cognitive resources – self-confidence, faith in themselves, and trust in the God of history. Indeed, Caleb and Joshua alone were deemed worthy of entering the Land of Israel to conquer and bequeath it to the next generation.

Beyond the importance of psychological fortitude, the story of the spies offers the first glimpse of the biblical perspective regarding national sovereignty over

territorial-national assets. The Bible, recounting Joshua's conquests and the wars of Israel's kings, offers a political doctrine that views national independence, sovereignty over one's land, and the defense of territorialnational assets as the ideal framework for a healthy national existence, and commands the inheritance of the land through conquest and settlement within its borders. It unequivocally rejects voluntary territorial concessions and imposes severe consequences for **such actions.** Indeed, historical sources indicate that voluntary surrender of territorial assets has been rare in Jewish history. The paradigm of "land for peace" is, in fact, a radical departure from the biblical historical tradition. The few instances where sovereign Jewish rulers ceded land - such as King Solomon's voluntary transfer of twenty cities in the western Galilee to Hiram, king of Tyre, or the Hasmonean dynasty's concessions to gain recognition from the Seleucid rulers - were exceptions rather than the rule.

Despite the Jewish people's historical and emotional connection of over 3,000 years to the biblical Land of Israel, from the War of Independence in 1948 to the present, notwithstanding its remarkable conquests, Israel has yet to achieve full geopolitical alignment between the borders of biblical Israel and those of the modern state.

Paradoxically, as Israel's political and military might has grown, so too has the

Yigal Dilmoni, Founder of American Friends of Judea and Samaria (AFJS): "The People of Israel has returned to the Land of Israel to stay, forever. Hundreds of generations of our ancestors stand behind us, looking on enviously at the privilege that has fallen to our lot. For the sake of both past and future generations, we must apply our sovereignty and establish national ownership over the Land of Israel."



grasshopper mentality – the willingness to surrender biblical territorial assets among its leaders. It began with the failure to achieve key historical conquests during Israel's 1948 War of Independence, including the failure to capture Jerusalem, Hebron, Latrun, northern Sinai, Gaza and the Galilee. It continued when the post-Six-Day War leadership failed to assert full Israeli sovereignty over the newly reclaimed biblical heartland. Most notably, just nine days after that victory, Israel's leaders offered to "return" these assets in exchange for a nightmare masquerading as a "peace agreement." Fortunately, our enemies' deep-seated animosity led them to irrationally reject this proposal. This pattern persisted through the Oslo Accords, the disengagement from Gaza and Gush Katif, and ultimately culminated in the Simchat Torah massacre. These grasshopper concessions and withdrawals have not only strengthened the spurious claims of ownership by the Arab "Nephilim" over our land, but have also emboldened their murderous violence against us, aiming to make the land intolerable to us.

The State of Israel is approaching its 80th anniversary, despite our enemies' malicious hopes on the eve of its establishment that it would last only a few decades as a Jewish polity. However, we have yet to truly enter the Promised Land. Our repeated concessions of territory and sovereignty have been consistently interpreted by our enemies - rightfully so - as a moral weakness regarding our claim to the land. This pattern projects weakness, which is then reciprocated through terror and fear tactics aimed at expelling us from our inheritance and robbing us of our legacy. The terrorism, which is a response to our fear, is the punishment itself. The punishment of terror will end only when we fulfill Caleb and Joshua's command: "Let us go up and take possession of the land, for we can surely conquer it," in Gaza, in Judea and Samaria and at Mt. Hermon's highest peak.

Israel's Second War of Independence erupted at a time when the West is dominated by a tyrannical international legal framework that denies sovereign nation-states the right to independently manage their own military, political, economic, and cultural affairs. It seeks to impose arrangements on them in these areas that serve dark globalist forces at the expense of the nation-states' own interests. Accordingly, this legal framework prohibits military victories and decisive conquests by states or terror organizations, pushing for "conflict resolution"; it opposes wars and territorial expansions, enforces the freezing of national borders, and strictly forbids their expansion. Yet, international law reserves its most extreme intolerance for any expansion of Israel's borders, playing a key role in legally weakening the Jewish state and rendering it a paralyzed "grasshopper" before the world's "giants."

On January 20, 2025, during Trump's

taking of the Panama Canal and possibly the purchase or conquest of Greenland and other regions - hinting at the dissolution of this oppressive legal framework and the thawing of frozen borders, subject to states' national interests and sovereign decision-making. In other words, if Israel's Second War of Independence indeed continues, as the prime minister and his ministers declare, its next phases will unfold under a new world order one that restores the primacy of national sovereignty and re-establishes the biblical concept of the independent nationstate that lies at the heart of Western civilization, as emphasized by Trump in his speech.

In fact, the new world order is already manifesting itself with the creation of historical opportunities for Israel on its southern border. Trump's frequent declarations since his election regarding his expectations that Muslim countries absorb one and a half million Gazans stir the imagination about the possible future on our southern border and, of course, on our eastern border in Judea and Samaria and the Jordan Valley.

return as the legal heir to Gaza, may even mark the onset of Israel's golden age.

But Trump's sincere and bold policy declarations are not enough. The forces of tyrannical international law remain a powerful presence in the world. Netanyahu must assert political independence by both applying Israel's sovereignty over the regions of Gaza and Judea and Samaria, and implementing emigration policies from these areas to beyond Israel's borders. At the same time, he must pressure the President and his administration to support Israel's sovereign rights on the international stage, particularly in the Arab world.

The expansion of Israel's borders will be the keystone of Netanyahu's legacy only then can a peace agreement with Saudi Arabia follow. Israel must establish and secure the Biblical borders in Gaza and Judea and Samaria, thus marking our victory and the defeat of the twostate idea. Any peace agreement with Saudi Arabia that allows the return of Hamas to Gaza will only cement Israel's image as a grasshopper in the eyes of the Arab giants. In an era when independent nation-states are returning to the center of the world order, the expansion of Israel's borders to align with those of Eretz Israel would be an unparalleled historical achievement.

Prime Minister Netanyahu faces a historic opportunity that his predecessors could only dream of – to correct past failures and lead the State of Israel from the wilderness generation to the Land of Israel – provided he proves that the spirit of Caleb and Joshua, "Let us go up and take possession of the land," beats within him.

Gita Hazani-Melchior holds a Master's degree in Conflict Studies from the Hebrew university. She is a strategic consultant and a publicist.

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inaugural address, the grip of this international legal order was shaken. The address signaled that his presidency would be marked by the renaming of the Gulf of Mexico as the Gulf of America, the re-

International legitimacy for the emigration of our enemies in the south, who are merely the descendants of invading migrant workers from neighboring regional countries, and Israel's

Gen. (Res.) Gershon Hacohen ('Srugim', 28.1.25):

"Saudi Arabia is demanding progress toward a two-state solution. This would be a slippery slope. What the Saudis are demanding, along with Abu Mazen, involves the division of Jerusalem, withdrawal from the Jordan Valley, and bringing the Palestinian Authority right up to the Green Line, which would mean a border along Highway 6 near Kfar Saba. Israel cannot defend itself under these conditions. Even those who are in favor of separating from the Palestinians, like Yair Lapid, know that this is impossible. That is why we need the people to understand that the territory of Judea and Samaria is our national future; this is the solution to the housing crisis and the overcrowding in the coastal strip. We must have four million Jews living along the eastern corridor from Arad to Gilboa, on two levels of the Jordan Valley. We are heading toward a population of 20 million citizens, and we cannot exist solely in the area between Highway 6 and the sea."



Palestinian Authority and Hamas- Different Means to Achieve the Same Goal

Lt. Col. (Ret.) Yehonatan Dahoah-Halevi researcher and former intelligence officer, discusses the illusions behind attempts to portray Abu Mazen's Fatah movement as fundamentally different from Hamas – attempts aimed at positioning the PA as a future partner for regional stabilization



Lt. Col. (Ret.) Yehonatan Dahoah-Halevi

From almost day one of the war, voices from Israel's center-left have been raising questions about the "day after." They demand immediate answers from the government, and in their absence, they brand the entire campaign a failure. When questioned themselves on this issue, they fall back on advocating for the Palestinian Authority and its leader as a moderate governing alternative for governance in Gaza.

This position finds support in European countries and the outgoing Biden administration, but is there indeed a significant, substantial ideological divide between Fatah, led by Mahmoud Abbas, and Hamas, which perpetrated the October 7th massacre and whose trained, armed terrorists continue to fight IDF soldiers to this day? We posed this question to Lt. Col. (Res.) Yehonatan Dahoah-Halevi, a senior researcher of Middle East and radical Islam at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.

Dahoah-Halevi has dedicated many years to studying and researching the sentiments in the Palestinian Authority. His research has informed many top state and military decision-makers, including providing specific warnings regarding scenarios that either materialized or were averted thanks to his warnings. Addressing our questions, he emphasizes his answer is not politically motivated, but is grounded solely in a professional analysis of data and the reality on the ground.

Regarding the various Palestinian organizations and the differences between them, he explains: "There are numerous organizations within the Palestinian landscape, with the most prominent ones being Fatah, which was founded by Yasser Arafat as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas, Islamic Jihad in Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. All the Pal-

estinian organizations share the same fundamental principles centered on the demand for full Palestinian rights without exception, foremost among them, full Israeli withdrawal from the 1967 territories including Jerusalem, the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, and the implementation of what Palestinians call the right of return (plus compensation)

This shift in Hamas's position, Dahoah-Halevi explains, laid the groundwork for Hamas leader Khaled Mashal's 2017 political document and a series of Fatah-Hamas agreements that were signed but never implemented. The reason for this lies in the power struggle between Fatah and Hamas over control of the Palestinian national movement."

"Hamas sought to leverage these agree-

All the Palestinian organizations share the same fundamental principles centered on the demand for full Palestinian rights without exception, foremost among them, full Israeli withdrawal from the 1967 territories including Jerusalem, the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, and the implementation of what Palestinians call the right of return (plus compensation) for the refugees and their descendants to their original places of residence within the territory of sovereign Israel.

for the refugees and their descendants to their original places of residence within the territory of sovereign Israel."

"The primary point of contention among the Palestinian organizations lies in the strategies employed to achieve these objectives. Fatah, which is the support base for the Palestinian Authority established by the PLO, advocates for a combination of diplomacy and legal action, alongside the continued violent struggle, as the most effective means to establish a sovereign Palestinian state, viewing this as a crucial step toward realizing the right of return. In the past, Hamas opposed Fatah's political strategy; however, following the Al-Agsa Intifada (the second intifada), there was a gradual shift in Hamas's position, and it is now willing to engage in diplomatic moves that further these goals, provided it is not required to compromise on its core demands."

ments to bring about new general elections in the Palestinian Authority, on the assumption that it could secure control of Judea and Samaria and integrate into the PLO institutions. This strategy was aimed at facilitating its complete takeover of this organization, which is recognized internationally as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and the State of Palestine."

The Withdrawal from Gaza and Northern Samaria as Proof of Success

Further to Hamas's shift toward political engagement, the Palestinian Authority maintains its position that armed resistance against Israel is a legitimate response to occupation. "From the Palestinians' perspective, only Israeli citizens and organizations can be classified as terrorists, while no Palestinian individual or group can be deemed terror-

ists." notes Dahoah-Halevi.

"The strategy of the Palestinian Authority is based on demonstrating the cost of the occupation, meaning that the struggle against Israel's presence in Judea and Samaria and Jerusalem aims to burden Israel and extract a heavy price that will ultimately force it to withdraw unconditionally. From the PA's perspective, the Al-Aqsa Intifada validated this approach, resulting in Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all of Gaza and portions of northern Samaria. Consequently, the Palestinian Authority engages in a dual narrative regarding terrorism. For external consumption, it professes its opposition to terror and claims to be committed to combating it, while simultaneously endorsing what it calls popular resistance against the occupation, such as protests, riots, violent confrontations, stone-throwing, Molotov cocktails, shooting attacks, IEDs, etc. In addition, the Palestinian Authority provides an economic safety net for those involved in perpetrating terrorist attacks against Jews by providing monthly allowances for families of shaheeds, security prisoners, and individuals wounded while carrying out such attacks. The Palestinian Authority regards these monthly allowances as a supreme and sacred obligation."

"The security chaos in Judea and Samaria benefits the Palestinian Authority, because it targets Israel and exemplifies the significant cost associated with the occupation, while claiming no involvement in it," explains Dahoah-Halevi. Referring to conflicts in recent weeks, especially in Jenin between Fatah and Hamas members, he says that these serve the PA's desire to portray itself as worthy of leadership and governance in Gaza, and to this end, has recruited international actors to label it as such.

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BEWARE THE TROJAN HORSE AT OUR GATES

The Oslo Accords were a Trojan horse designed to destroy us from within. This was acknowledged by leading figures in the Palestinian Authority. Now, a similar scenario is repeating itself with slight changes and a similar danger. Attorney Karen Stahl-Don.



Attorney Karen Stahl-Don

There is no need for Israel to sacrifice our sacred land in exchange for a Trojan horse. We are enticed by opportunists with the vision of a Trojan horse, which now stands outside our gates tempting us to let it in by so-called "moderates", promoting sweet deals. Israel is rich in resources with enough to offer the Arab world technology, industry, ecology, business and sciences in order not to make peace in exchange for the painful sacrifice, our most strategic resource: our beloved land.

Israel is currently standing at the forefront of defending the principles of Western Civilization. Following the horrors of October 7, the unspeakable brutality and cruelty imposed upon our hostages, it is suicidal to reward the fires of terror and raging anti-Semitism.

The Palestinians have tried all possible means - military, economic, lawfare and political rhetoric to rid the area of Jews. Multiple pundits have concluded that according to the traditional Arab mentality, "One Jewish state on the planet is one too many."

A tragic example of a Trojan horse includes Yasser Arafat, dressed up as a moderate during the Oslo accords. WE ACTUALLY BROUGHT HIM INTO OUR MIDST! We chose to ignore the fact that he and his minions arrived as despised pariahs after having been driven out of Jordan, then Lebanon, and Tunisia with Israel then rewarding him control of Ramallah. They arrived in Mercedes, with money, weapons and the power granted by the Oslo Accords.

During the Oslo accord negotiations Arafat was offered 94 percent of the West Bank for a Palestinian state, territorial

compensation for most of the other 6 percent plus half of Jerusalem along with restitution and resettlement in Palestine for Palestinian refugees. Arafat said no to all.

The future leaders of the Palestinian people have been and continue to be educated by UNWRA. They are being taught from childhood to worship martyrdom, destroy Israel and to believe that once

> Iran is the main impediment to peace in the Middle East today. The misconception that the lack of two states is the reason that there is no peace in the Middle East is absurd. Even were there to be two such states, the stated Islamic goal is to eradicate Israel.

land is controlled by Islam it is forbidden to be ruled by non-Muslims. Such essential beliefs prevent the feasibility of Israel negotiating a peace agreement with a plausible partner.

"Reuters polls reported that 3 out of 4 Palestinians approved of the October 7 attack and the Palestinian Center for Policy Survey and Research reported that 72% of respondents believed that the Hamas decision to launch the cross border rampage in southern Israel was 'correct' given its outcome so far, while 22 said it was 'incorrect."

Moreover, it should be noted that 'earlier this year, the Palestinian Center for Policy Survey and Research poll showed that 70% of Palestinians opposed a twostate solution, and the majority of Palestinians believe that an armed struggle against Israel is the most effective means to end the 'occupation'." 1

While there are individual Palestinians who support the idea of peace with Israel without the formation of two separate states, they are simply too few in number and strength. They fear to express themselves out of concern for the safety of their lives and families. They are isolated and overwhelmingly outnumbered by Islamic terrorism.

Iran is the main impediment to peace in the Middle East today. The misconception that the lack of two states is the reason that there is no peace in the Middle East is absurd. Even were there to be two such states, the stated Islamic goal is to eradicate Israel. The mantra "from the river to the sea", illustrates the ultimate goal of the obliteration of the Jewish state. Attempting to recap its influence in the region, it is clear after suffering blistering defeats of their proxies in Lebanon, Gaza and now Syria, their efforts and energies are focused on the development of new, sophisticated and powerful proxies in, Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley.

The Abraham Peace Accords signed by various Arab states recognizing Israel as a sovereign state demonstrated that peace with Arab states can be established without Israel ceding land or being coerced into recognizing a Palestinian state. These historic agreements prove how their own interests take priority over the continued boycott of Israel.

The Trojan horse stands before us, filled with enticing deals of peace, economic growth, and security. Israel needs to assert Jewish Sovereignty to enforce rule of law that is wreaking havoc throughout Judea, Samaria, and the Jordan Valley. This would allow rooting out terrorism, controlling crime, protecting the environment, promoting positive education, preserving our antiquities and allowing voluntary emigration. The belief that Israel is willing to give up a part of the land of Israel violates basic tenets of the sovereignty movement.

There is only one power with the interest, strength and ability to guarantee adherence to any agreement: Israel.

Karen Stahl-Don is an attorney with a Master Degree in law. She is an activist in Israel, Europe and the US. She has a Master Degree in Arabic, has published numerous articles and is licensedin Israel and the US.

¹ Aliza Pilichowski, 'The War No One is Talking About', The Jerusalem Post, December 29, 2024.



Yoram Ettinger, former Israeli envoy to Washington: "Sovereignty is a prerequisite for the long-term existence of the Jewish state, because it combines control over both our historical-religious-cultural foundation and the area that is the basis for our security in the most violent, intolerant, and volatile region in the world."



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Israel Must Remain in Control of Judea/Samaria Forever

Facing the Sunni axis on one hand and the Shiite axis on the other, along with their global domination tendencies, stands Israel, which has essential reasons to hold on to its land, and particularly to Judea and Samaria. Ken Abramowitz



Ken Abramowitz

There are 2 "elephants" in the Middle East, seeking regional domination and then world domination. Iran represents the Shiite Muslim wing of Islamists and Qatar/Turkey represent the Muslim Brotherhood Sunni Muslim wing of Islamists. Both hate each other and have been fighting over the proper succession to Muhammad 1,400 years ago. Both also hate all infidels like Christians, Jews, and Hindus. Neither respect the sovereignty of other countries. Both are run by unelected dictatorships. Both reject the 10 Commandments. Both reject the rights of individuals. Both are uncompromising Death Cults. Therefore both must be confronted by western countries like America and Israel, in a stern manner. Because of its proximity to the region, Israel must be particularly vigilant. Relative to Judea/Samaria in particular, Israel must particularly stand strong and uncompromising, for 16 rea-

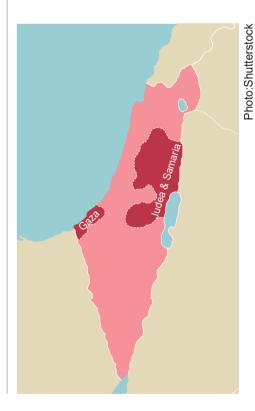
- 1. The land was given to Abraham and the Jews by God in the Torah.
- 2. Jews have lived here for 3800 years.
- 3. Palestinian Arabs are largely squatters who moved here during the past 100 years from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.

- 4. Jerusalem, Shiloh, Beit El, Hebron, Kiryat Arba, Efrat, Shechem and 40 other towns were mentioned in the Tanach. None were mentioned in the Koran.
- 5. Jewish legal rights to Jerusalem (and even all of Judea/Samaria) were "irrevocably" recognized in the San Remo conference of 1920 by unanimous agreement of the 51 members of the League of Nations. Moreover, for the past 150 years, Jews have been the majority population in Jerusalem.
- 6. The IDF in Judea/Samaria protects 8,000,000 Israeli citizens and protects 1.4 million Muslim Arabs from inside (Hamas, Islamic Jihad) and outside (Iran,MB) terror organizations.
- 7. A Palestinian State would be dedicated to Israel's destruction and represents an existential threat to Israel.
- 8. A Palestinian State would inevitably declare war on Israel, forcing the IDF to re-invade, thereby costing 100-500 IDF lives and 1,000s of civilians.
- 9. A Palestinian State would uncontrollably dig water wells, eventually destroying the aquifers, causing Israel to lose 25% of its water supply.

- 10. Sniper shooting and terror operations from the Palestinian "State" into Israel could cause 25% of the citizens living on the border to flee (as happened in Jerusalem after 1948).
- 11. Judea/Samaria represents the Eastern border of Western Civilization. After Judea/Samaria falls, if Judea/Samaria were to fall, Israel would be gravely weakened, leading to an invasion of Europe by Political Islam.
- 12. With Israel weakened, Iran would attack or intimidate the Sunni countries in order to control their oil and gain control over world oil prices.
- 13. Iran's Hezbollah agents will then be liberated to expand narco-terrorism in Latin America (in violation of the Monroe Doctrine), and then into the U.S. itself.
- 14. With Jewish and Sunni enemies neutralized, Iran would expand its nuclear bombs and long-range missile capability to intimidate or destroy the Christians in Europe (first) and then the U.S.
- 15. A nuclear Iran will lead to nuclear S. Arabia, Egypt & Turkey, among others, greatly increasing the chance of an eventual nuclear war or nuclear terrorism.

16. Jewish sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and the Jordan valley will prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state. This will weaken the two "elephants" and prevent them from executing their agenda.

Ken Abramowitz is the author of "The Multifront War" and founder of a website to save Western Civilization: savethewest.com



Brig. Gen. (Res.) Amir Avivi, Chairman of IDSF: "Sovereignty is the fundamental condition vital to ensuring Israel's security for generations. This applies both to our spiritual essence and our connection to this most historic and significant region of the Jewish people, as well our essential military requirements—the need to reside within defensible borders, in the Jordan Valley and the mountains. We will not be able to exist in the Land of Israel without settling in the mountains and without a natural, protective border like the Jordan Valley—especially in a country as narrow as Israel."



From Hostages and War to Sovereignty. The same Failure, the Same Solution

The message conveyed by the absence of sovereignty is the same message reflected in Israel's conduct during the war and the negotiations for the return of the hostages - and there is one word for it. Tzvika Mor, father of Eitan, speaks.



Since his son Eitan was abducted to Gaza on the morning of Simchat Torah, Tzvika Mor has become, in the eyes of many, the voice, silenced until now, of those who understand the value of the collective and the nation in its deepest sense. In an interview with Sovereignty, he draws a connection between the hostage deal, the IDF's withdrawal without achieving the war's objectives, and the lack of sovereignty in the heart of the Land. "Hesitation," he sums it up in one word.

"At this point, I don't know how the issue of the hostages will be resolved, but as of now, Israel has essentially raised a white flag and surrendered to Hamas's demands after 15 months of fighting in Gaza. That should have been enough time for the IDF to conquer both Syria and Iraq together, yet Hamas is still setting the terms regarding the hostages," says Tzvika, noting that even now, so long after the war began, "we have not yet met the war's objectives, and we still do not know how the remaining hostages will return home. This is a cause for concern not only for the hostages' families but for every citizen who is concerned about their life and that of their families, both because Israel is once again surrendering to terrorist organizations, and because hundreds and thousands of terrorists will be released into Judea and Samaria, Jerusalem, and Gaza, endangering mainly the border communities but perhaps also beyond."

"The picture we see in Israel's conduct of the war is that of hesitation and lack of clarity. The State of Israel does not know

how to win wars. It does not want to triumph and achieve victory. The army has undergone a process of dismantling the values of victory, decisiveness, and defeat of the enemy. On top of this, in recent decades a culture of individualism and anti-nationalism has developed, a progressive culture that that negates all values. And because of this lack of absolute values, the values of preserving the land, the nation, and sovereignty have been eroded over the years to the point citizens of Israel here, but on the other, there is no sovereignty. So what exactly is it? Is it part of us or not? Is it the Land of Israel or not? We hesitate and do not say clearly that this is our Land, the Land of the Bible, where our forefathers walked, and that our rights to Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Mishmar HaEmek are based on the fact that our ancestors were primarily in the mountains of Judea and Samaria. If we abandon this part of the Land and do not clearly state that it is ours and an integral

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of crippling the state's ability to protect its citizens through preventive measures."

What is Important to Graduates of the **Education System**

According to him, "the hesitation we have seen in every round of fighting in the Gaza Strip and what we are seeing now relating to the hostage matter also applies to Judea and Samaria. On one hand, there are half a million Jewish

part of the Israeli ethos and history, we undermine our ability to fight for it. We do not invest in physical infrastructure such as roads and cellular reception because we leave the status of this area in question, and we will not win the war this way.

"After 12 years of study in the Israeli education system, its Jewish graduates aspire to succeed in life, travel abroad, and make a lot of money, while on the other hand, the Arab graduate dreams of conquering the land and expelling the Jews. This leads to the situation where we will not win because we do not present a clear commitment."

In his view, the solution lies precisely in this issue. "The answer to the lack of clarity is a return to our national consciousness," he says, and he emphasizes, "I do not mean the consciousness of the state's founders and their successors because we see that it has collapsed. I mean a return to the consciousness that the Jewish People had throughout the generations regarding themselves, its unique role, and its status as a chosen people."

And he believes that the public is now receptive to this new discourse. "Since the war broke out, we have heard voices expressing an awakening from the Left and Center, calling for a return to values. But do they mean the values of the founders that collapsed? We need something much deeper, something that will not break or erode over time or as a result of other cultural influences. We call this to 'return out of love'— to show people the true power and beauty of Israel's sources. The majority of the public in the country is ready for this encounter."

In Tzvika's opinion, while there indeed are "ideological secularists," as he calls them, who will be a tough nut to crack, the vast majority of the people, throughout the months of war, have seen how a certain sector of the public has produced many ground troops who have fought with the willingness to sacrifice their lives.

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Orit Struk, Minister of Settlement and National Missions: "On the conceptual level, applying our sovereignty removes the absurd and shameful question mark over our right to these lands. On the legal level, it is an unequivocal statement that this land is not available for division and allocation. And on the practical level, it is the way to normalize all aspects of life in an area that has suffered for decades under military administration."



This Is How Sovereignty Was Achieved in the Past

The way Shimon Sheves, who would later serve as Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, chose to convince Prime Minister Menachem Begin to apply Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights offers valuable lessons in how to mount a successful campaign and ideological determination.



Sheves was the right-hand man of late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin during the Oslo era and many on the Right consider him to be a staunch political rival, but in these days of upheaval in Syria, the dramatic political path he forged when he was but 24 years of age, comes to mind along with the implications of that move, which are especially significant these days.

The application of Israeli sovereignty to the Golan Heights, resulting from the campaign he led, prevented the area from falling into the hands of the senior Assad and decades later, it also kept the territory from falling into the hands of the rebels, who right now might very well have been perched on the Golan Heights, dipping their feet into the Sea of Galilee and threatening the communities of the Galilee.

We reached out to Sheves to hear first-hand how a successful campaign for sovereignty is orchestrated and how ordinary citizens can drive such a dramatic political initiative. He smiled, wondering aloud if we intended to draw lessons from those days. We didn't rule out the possibility. "Why not..." we responded. He chuckled, fully aware of what a rightwing movement like ours might want to learn from him and his experience.

The Concerning Clause in the Camp David Accords

The young Sheves had been elected head of the Golan Settlements Council, succeeding Yehuda Harel, who continued to work with him on both political and settlement-related matters. The Camp David Accords had just been signed, and the residents of the Golan Heights identified a troubling clause in the agreement that Menahem Begin brought to the Knesset for approval.

"The problem with the agreement," Sheves recalls, "was the distinction it introduced between the territory within borders of the Mandatory Land of Is-

rael and the other territories" During the Camp David negotiations, a contentious debate arose, ultimately resulting in a decision to revert to the pre-Six-Day War lines of June 4, 1967. Talks about autonomy in Judea and Samaria were also agreed upon, and one clause in the agreement stated that the deal could serve as a model for agreements in other areas. This clause was a clear red flag for the Golan Heights residents. "It was evident that this agreement would likely lead to a similar deal with Syria," Sheves explains.

The fear that the euphoria following the peace agreement with Egypt would make

The dramatic Israeli move sparked international outrage, including from Israel's staunch ally, the United States. President Reagan suspended strategic talks with Israel, and a flurry of global condemnation followed. But it didn't last long.

the Golan the next target for concessions drove Sheves and the Golan leadership to act pre-emptively by launching a major campaign.

"We established the Northern Residents' Council, which brought together not just the Golan leadership but also most of the Galilee regional heads," Sheves recounts. "We formed a large team of local authorities, which I coordinated. Early on, we launched a major petition, with wording that we designed to build a broad consensus—ranging from Likud leaders who supported sovereignty over the Golan to members of the Labor Party. We drafted

the petition in cooperation with the late Yigal Allon, a year before his passing." It was not easy to win the support of the Labor Party. "There were fierce debates within the kibbutz movement and other groups affiliated with the Labor Party," Sheves explains, "but the party's mainstream supported it."

"The petition declared that 'the Golan is an inseparable part of the Land of Israel, and Israel's sovereignty over it would be a guarantee of peace and security.' According to the documents, we gathered 745,000 signatures - members of youth movements such as Hashomer Hatza'ir, Bnei Akiva, and HaNo'ar HaOved, along with other volunteers, collected signatures throughout the country over several months. At the campaign's conclusion, as campaign director and head of the Northern Settlements Committee, I presented the petition to Begin in the Knesset, accompanied by MK Katz-Oz of the Labor Party, who was chairman of the Golan Lobby in the Knesset at the time.

Begin Needed Convincing as Well

While it may seem that the petition would have been accepted easily, convincing Begin was no simple task, Sheves explains, and to secure his support, the petition was bolstered by the signatures of 79 MKs', who also signed the citizens' petition. "We met with Begin multiple times and exerted a lot of pressure on him," Sheves recalls. Then he spoke of a time when even he was surprised by the pace at which the matter was progressing:

"I don't know if it was only because of us, but at the height of our campaign in December 1981, Begin broke his leg or hip and was confined to a wheelchair. One day, I received a call telling me to come to the Knesset for a discussion on the Golan. I didn't know what to expect. I travelled to Jerusalem with a few friends, sat in the gallery, and suddenly, Begin stood up and

spoke about applying Israeli law to the Golan Heights. That same day, the law passed all three readings."

Sheves emphasizes the impact of the step, especially because of the international status of the Golan Heights, since it was not within the borders of the Mandatory Land of Israel, and required special legislation to apply Israeli sovereignty.

The dramatic Israeli move sparked international outrage, including from Israel's staunch ally, the United States. President Reagan suspended strategic talks with Israel, and a flurry of global condemnation followed. But "it didn't last long", because six months later, the Lebanon War began, and they had other reasons to criticize us", Sheves notes, saying that all throughout the campaign, there was awareness that there could be a harsh international response but it was a necessary political decision aimed at differentiating the Golan Heights from the Sinai, where Israel had fully withdrawn to the Green Line. "That's why Begin applied Israeli law—to dispel any illusions."

As one may assume, Sheves makes it clear that he does not believe it correct to apply a similar approach to Judea and Samaria. "Not because we do not have rights there—we do," he clarifies, "but because of the millions of Arabs living in these areas." And we ask about the Jordan Valley - could a consensus similar to the one he achieved 40 years ago be formed now? Sheves would like to believe it possible but doubts the political feasibility.

"I would like to remind you that in my role at the Defense Ministry, I helped establish ten communities in the Jordan Valley. Listen to Rabin's speech three weeks before his assassination—he speaks of Israeli sovereignty in the Jordan Valley in the broadest sense of the term. We have a clear ideology regarding the state's security borders. I support sovereignty in the Jordan Valley, but I don't think it's politically feasible to apply sovereignty in the Jordan Valley today."

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A Palestinian State = National Suicide.

notes, honor plays a paramount role. This means that the Saudi leader can demonstrate goodwill in various ways. In this context, Diker recalls a 2006 discussion in Washington with former Jordanian Prime Minister Abdul-Salam al-Majali and a high-ranking Palestinian Authority official regarding possible alternatives to a Palestinian state, in which he found a receptive audience. One of the proposals discussed was a federation under joint Jordanian-Israeli control. "We must be proactive rather than allowing ourselves to be dragged into a security-diplomatic process with the U.S. on the Palestinian issue. The conditions that existed at the time of the 'Deal of the Century' are no longer relevant to today's security reality. It's time to finally bury the Oslo mindset and propose alternatives that will ensure our sovereignty and presence along and beyond our borders, while respecting our neighbors.

Dr. Diker's position is unequivocal: "If we must choose between normalization with Saudi Arabia that includes recognition of a Palestinian state, then we should forgo normalization."

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The Decision on Sovereignty will come from Jerusalem, not from Washington

case. What happens in Gaza and in Judea and Samaria will determine the future of human civilization. People stood in line to receive a lapel pin with the Israeli flag and the logo of the Samaria Regional Council. This admiration must be translated into action, but as one who is active and present there, it is clear to me that the decision on sovereignty is not theirs."

Sovereignty, Dagan reminds, has always been applied in Israel in defiance of the American position, so it was in West Jerusalem, so it was in East Jerusalem, and so it was in the Golan Heights. He adds a caution against reverting to the template with which Trump sought to promote a deal in his previous term. "Then they sought to apply sovereignty only to the settlement blocs and establish a terrorist state in the heartland of the country, which would have transformed Kfar Saba into Kfar Azza. I am warning now against applying sovereignty only to the blocs, for that would mean uprooting the communities outside the blocs, including the relinquishment of security needs and of biblical sites. We are talking about red lines that the government will be unable and presumably unwilling to cross."

"I reckon that there will be opposition from the administration to the step of applying sovereignty, but this is an administration that is both personally and ideologically tied to us, and the partnership with it is robust, so even if there is opposition and perhaps even anger, this is a positive administration that will not fight with us as a Biden administration would. Disagreement is legitimate between friends," he says, adding an assessment that already now "there are powerful forces in the United States, including in the new administration, that are seeking to promote a peace initiative with Saudi Arabia. This is an important agreement in the construction of an alliance against the Iranians, but we must beware of those who will seek to force us to pay for the agreement by abrogating sovereignty or recognizing a Palestinian state.

We will need to clarify that sovereignty is one thousand times preferable to an agreement with Saudi Arabia. This is eternal life as opposed to transitory life."

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Palestinian Authority and Hamas- Different Means to Achieve the Same Goal

For those who believe that the establishment of a Palestinian state would give the Palestinians grounds to declare an end to the conflict, Dahoah-Halevi notes, "There is a Palestinian consensus that the conflict won't end until all the rights of the Palestinian people have been restored, including the right of return. According to this approach, the establishment of a Palestinian state is unlikely to bring an end to the conflict. Terrorist organizations have carried out shooting attacks against Israeli settlements along the Green Line in recent years and continue to do so. In northern Samaria, Hamas operatives have engaged in training exercises simulating infiltration and assaults on Israeli settlements. From Hamas's perspective, Judea and Samaria hold greater strategic significance than Gaza, due to their geographic domination of Israel's center. They believe that these territories provide a vantage point for monitoring and potentially defeating Israel in military operations from these territories. The October 7th attack serves as a source of inspiration for the Palestinian organizations in Judea and Samaria."

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From Hostages and War to Sovereignty. The same Failure, the Same Solution

Further acquaintance and closer ties will show them the values of family and decency embodied by this group. "At the very start of the war, voices were already searching for something different, something deeper to strengthen their connection to the Land after the possibility and the dream of peace collapsed for them."

Facing this lack of clarity, Tzvika says, "we must speak clearly and truthfully. Stop talking about secondary things like security. It is a lie to say that we are in Judea and Samaria because of security considerations or that we returned to the Land to secure welfare and happiness for every citizen. I am in favor of welfare, happiness, and security, of course, but that is not why we came here. If that were the only reason, it wouldn't be worth being here, the hottest region on the globe. We could live well in the U.S., even if we were to move there as an organized group of eight million.

"The common thread in our failures has been the lack of clarity and commitment that still persists. The answer is to clearly state the justice and absolute truth of our cause and our rights to the Land and to start speaking about the vision and destiny of the Jewish People."

Tzvika Mor is the chairman of the Tikva Forum. This is a forum of families of hostages held by Hamas in the Gaza Strip since the October 7 massacre. The forum supports increasing military pressure on Hamas and terrorist organizations and opposes a hostage release deal that does not include all hostages. They also oppose negotiations with Hamas, which, according to them, gives Hamas breathing room and extends its rule. The forum opposes the IDF's withdrawal from the Philadelphi Route and the Nitzanim Route, or ending the war before all its objectives are achieved.



The Biblical Command

ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY!

On the day of Donald Trump's inauguration for a second term as President of the United States, the Sovereignty Movement and the Israel Forever Movement held a joint event entitled "The Biblical Command – Israeli Sovereignty", with a call to to the Israeli leadership to internalize that fateful decisions regarding Israel's future have to be taken only in Jerusalem and a call to the American president to strengthen his support for Israel and caution against the political pressures to establish a Palestinian state in Israel's Biblical Heartland.

At the event, which began with two groups coming together for a joint ascent to Jerusalem, many people from across the country participated. The main event started at the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, where a special prayer was read for the success of the Israeli and American leaders. Another group set out from Joseph's Tomb above Shechem (Nablus),

where Israeli flags were raised "in hope and faith for the return to the people of Israel of all those places that left their mark on Jewish history".

The two groups met at the site of the Jordan River Crossing, the point where the Israelites entered the Land of Israel during the time of Joshua Bin Nun. A rally was held with speeches by Yehudit Katsover, Attorney Nili Naouri, Head of the Jordan Valley Regional Council David Elhayani, and Nadia Matar.

Yehudit Katsover, co-chair of the Sovereignty Movement, raised the idea that Trump may seek to establish a pro-American Sunni axis of states, and for this purpose, for which he will seek to embrace Saudi Arabia, which in turn may demand a nuclear reactor, weapons, and the establishment of a Palestinian state, which will lead to great pressure on the Israeli government. "This will be our main

struggle in the coming days, to fight against a Palestinian state, which would be a cancer in the heart of our nation and our land," Katsover said.

Attorney Nili Naouri, Chair of "Israel Forever," highlighted the significance of the Jordan River Crossing site, which marks the location where the Israelites entered the Land of Israel under the leadership of the first "Chief of Staff" of the Jewish people, Joshua bin Nun. "Forty years before this, they were slaves. They entered the Land of Israel and became soldiers, leaving behind them the mentality of exile and learning how to behave as sovereign. "It is very difficult for our people today to understand that we have finally become masters of our own home and that we are obligated to act solely in accordance with our own interests. How hard it is for our people to break free from depending on the goodwill of other nations."

In her remarks, Naouri emphasized that the People of Israel welcome anyone who stands on the right side of history. "Israel is at the forefront of this struggle for the entire free world against jihadist ideology. However, at the same time, we must not accept any dictate – not even from our friends."

Along with her congratulations to President Trump on assuming office, Naouri quoted the biblical promise: "I will bless those who bless you, and whoever curses you I will curse, and all the families of the earth will be blessed through you" and its meaning: "In order to succeed in making America great again, President Trump must support making Israel great again."

Chairman of the Jordan Valley Regional Council, David Elhayani, whose council hosted the event at the Jordan River Crossings: "Application of Israeli sovereignty will once and

for all put an end to the delusional dream of the Arabs, and unfortunately also of some Jews, to establish an Arab state between the Jordan River and the sea, which would endanger the survival of the State of Israel."

Nadia Matar, co-chair of the Sovereignty Movement: "the trouble we are in started with the infamous Oslo Accords in which the government of Israel at the time legitimized the mass murderer Arafat, gave him weapons, built him an army and gave him and his terrorists gang large parts of our homeland. We will be victorious when we, once and for all, erase the dogmas of Oslo".

From the Jordan River Crossings the participants made their way to Jerusalem. Along the route they hung banners on the infamous road-signs prohibiting Israelis from entering Area A, with the text "Israeli Sovereignty is a Biblical Command."

Throughout the route veteran historian Dr. Hagi Ben Artzi guided, elaborating on significant milestones in Jewish history at the sites they visited.

The participants gathered at the Heroes' Tent, where the concluding assembly of the event took place, opened by bereaved father, Voly Wolfsthal, whose son Ariel hy"d fell in the battles of Gaza. Voly spoke about his son Ariel and his leadership qualities, his dedication to his family and soldiers, and his volunteer work at a young age. He left behind a wife, Sapir, and a baby who will never know his father. He also spoke about the Forum of Heroes whose purpose is: 'In their death, they commanded us victory."

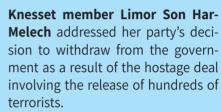
Minister of Settlement Orit Struk expressed the hope that the Trump administration would act favorably toward the people of Israel and the Land of Israel, that he will "help the Israeli government with the big things it needs to do, such as de-

feating and completely destroying Hamas, applying Israeli sovereignty, and other important things. But we must remember one thing – it is very important to have a president who helps, and we've seen how terrible it is to have a president who hinders. But ultimately, decisions about what will happen in the Land of Israel and the State of Israel are made here, in the Land of Israel, by the People of Israel, the Knesset of Israel, and the government of Israel."

portant mission now. When we apply sovereignty as the first step of the Netanyahu-Trump era, we are taking a decisive step of victory over the enemy, radical Islam." According to Halevi, complete victory does not come through military force but through defeating ideology and infrastructure of the enemy, and for this reason, Israeli sovereignty is the most important and truest step of victory. "By applying sovereignty, we make it clear to radical Islam that there is a place that does not belong to

around the world that the foundation of the Jewish people's claim is the Bible. Not only does it fulfill the biblical promise, but it also affirms that the Bible is the foundation for the culture and the rights of the State of Israel.

"We must win the war, and winning the war means applying sovereignty. This will be a revolution and a true victory," says Halevi, who asserts that the discourse on the rights of the people of Israel over their land will change the entire social and public discourse in Israel, while in contrast, the victimhood narrative surrenders justice and rights to the enemy, while the true, deep reality is the opposite.



According to her, the people of Israel are not accustomed to leadership having red lines, but her party does have red lines that it has no intention of crossing. In her remarks, she shared a conversation she had with her daughter, who was born in the terror attack in which her husband was murdered, and who told her that it is unacceptable for her to take part in a government that releases murderers with blood on their hands.

In her view, the hostage deal erases Israel's achievements of the war, is a retreat from the ideal of sovereignty and from the understanding of the people of Israel's connection to its land and the essence of the people's role. "We will continue to fight for the people of Israel, even in the political desert. The desert has its advantages."

The participants in the tour expressed great exhilaration about all the events of the day. "We all have been filled with strength to continue the journey towards the realization of Israeli sovereignty over its land," the organizers concluded.





Knesset member Amit Halevi defines the day of Trump's inauguration as a "T-junction," where one path goes in the wrong direction, including the hostage deal, and the other path is the path of the Bible and sovereignty. "The ultimate mission that has been waiting for us for almost sixty years is the application of sovereignty. This is the most imthem," says Halevi, who reminds of the significance of the Muslim worldview that aspires to impose Sharia law on the entire world. "Against this plan, it is a true victory to tell them that in the Middle East, which they define as 'Dar al-Islam, there is a land that belongs to the Children of Israel." Furthermore, sovereignty serves as a reminder to the billions















Sovereignty Youth seminar, Hanukka 2024-25 Credit: The Sovereignty Movement

He who plans for days ahead sows wheat, he who plans for years ahead plants trees, and he who plans for generations ahead educates people." Janusz Korczak

Oz Zeira, head of the Sovereignty Youth

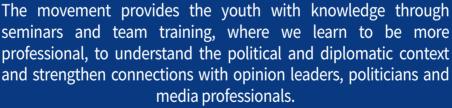


The Sovereignty Youth Movement continues to grow. Israeli youth find it important to be involved in the processes happening in the country, it is important for us to take part and make an impact, especially after October 7th.

Our Sovereignty Youth understand the profound significance of applying sovereignty. We are running a campaign to change public awareness. We teach youth to be good at hasbara. With this incredible power, our youth then goes out into the public space, to explain and persuade, and to raise the topic of sovereignty both in the street and on social media.



Ultimately, Sovereignty will be implemented by elected Israeli politicians. Members from the Sovereignty Youth Movement's parliamentary wing go to the Knesset on a regular base to create connections with Knesset members who already know us personally and are happy to see us in action.





We recently launched a new project: the English department of the Sovereignty Youth Movement. We would like to create bonds with our Jewish brothers and sisters in the Diaspora, who like us are between14 to 18 years old, and empower them to fight the anti-

Israeli propaganda.

We call on parents, grandparents, educators, principals, and teachers: Connect us to your youth, encourage them to join, and together, with G-d's help, we will work to strengthen Jewish identity and ensure a safe and sovereign Israel.

When I see the amazing youth who want to learn and act to make this country even better, I am filled with optimism. Yes, we are going through tough times, but there is a bright future ahead.









To contact us: ribonut@gmail.com or scan the barcode