

SETTLEMENT AND SOVEREIGNTY

THE GALIL, THE NEGEV, AND JUDEA AND SAMARIA BACKGROUND:

Establishing settlements and communities throughout the entire land has always anchored our presence in the Land of Israel and served as a mainstay of the Jewish people's connection to its ancestral land. Long before the establishment of the State of Israel, the "Yishuv", the local Jewish community in pre-state Israel, fought to establish a Jewish presence throughout the land with the understanding that "Wherever the Jewish plow plows its last furrow is where our border will lie".

Even today, more than 74 years after the establishment of the State of Israel, we still grapple with many challenges, both internal struggles and challenges superimposed from outside. These challenges demand of us to use all means at our disposal to develop immediate and long-term solutions as we build another layer of our national resurgence, implement Israeli sovereignty in Judea and Samaria, and fully exercise Israeli sovereignty in the Galilee and Negev.

PROMOTING SOVEREIGNTY AND LEGALIZING 'YOUNG SETTLEMENTS'

The point of departure for promoting Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria over the next four years, in the face of a multifaceted relationship with the United States, is changing the rules of engagement. It is untenable for discussions/arguments with the US government to center on potential construction freezes, settlement evacuations, and the establishment of an Arab state that endorses terror. The discussions must focus on an entirely different set of issues, such as: How far should Israel's sovereignty extend in these areas? What should the scope of

construction be? How many settlements and homes should be legalized? To this end, we must constantly introduce government initiatives and motions that focus on these issues, put pressure on the government and political system from within, and change the agenda.

Alongside these efforts, we must redouble our efforts to prevent Arabs from seizing control of unsettled territory in Judea and Samaria and strengthen the Jewish presence there. This initiative is completely legal and should not encounter significant international opposition.

Thirdly, since declaring sovereignty over the entire area will encounter opposition from the United States, we must de facto promote sovereignty by taking the following steps:

LEGALIZING THE 'YOUNG SETTLEMENTS':

WHAT ARE THE 'YOUNG SETTLEMENTS'?

This term refers to approximately 70 different settlements in Judea, Samaria, and the Jordan Valley established over the past several decades, since the Oslo accords. Though these settlements are termed 'unofficial' (on account of politically motivated policies and decisions), in truth they were established with the full support and backing of various Israeli governments.

In order to cast aspersion on these communities and insinuate that they are subordinate and can be dismantled, the left and the media refer to them as "outposts".

Who lives in these settlements? Approximately 3,000 families, 25,000 normative people, the salt of the earth, the pioneers of our generation, people who readily pay their due to the country, but are unfortunately not granted equal rights.

WHAT IS THE "SASSON REPORT"?

In 2004, when the government supported dismantling outposts, then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, approached Talia Sasson (a radical left-wing lawyer who had just stepped down from her official post at the District Attorney's office) and asked her to prepare a report on the "outposts".

The Sasson Report demonstrated the Israeli government's categorical involvement in founding and developing these "outposts" through the years, but concluded that the enterprise should be completely frozen. Moreover, the report determined that the government should not be allowed to invest in "outposts" at all, including providing basic municipal services.

THE RESULT:

'Young Settlements' are not eligible for the basic services that the state ostensibly provides for all its citizens, such as water, electricity, communications, and public buildings. 'Young Settlements' are not even entitled to basic security provisions.

De facto, the Sasson Report transformed the people who live in 'Young Settlements' into secondclass citizens and deprived them of their basic rights, even though they readily pay their due to the government.

THE TRANSFORMATION:

Approximately ten years ago, the government decided to impose a new policy: Settlements built on private Palestinian land would be removed (meaning, dismantled and destroyed), while settlements built on state land would be legalized.

THE FIRST PART:

The first part of the government's policy (the removal of settlements) was fulfilled in its entirety: From the destruction of the Migron settlement to the demolition of the homes in Netiv Avot on account of a narrow strip of land delineated as "private".

THE SECOND PART:

The second part of the government's policy is proceeding at a snail's pace, on account of a shortage of personnel to fully address the intricate process of legalizing settlements, and the incessant difficulties that legal experts heap upon on the entire process. If the authorization process continues at the current rate, it will be completed in another...35 years.

In the interim, the discrimination persists, and the anachronistic guidelines put in place in the Talia Sasson era continue to determine the quality of life for the people who live in these areas today. The residents of these settlements suffer needlessly; they are effectively bound by outdated policies that have not coincided with the government's protocol for over a decade. This untenable situation must be brought to an immediate end.

WHAT WILL WE DO IN THE UPCOMING KNESSET TO LEGALIZE THE 'YOUNG SETTLEMENTS'?

- We will promote legislation that extends official recognition to all settlements, either as new neighborhoods of existing settlements, or new settlements in their own right.
- We will allocate funding to the intensive work involved in legalizing the settlements, both with regard to the land itself (surveying the land and declaring the territory as state land) as well as in the realm of planning. We will ensure that these departments are adequately staffed.
- We will improve quality of life in these settlements immediately, even before the legalization process is completed.

DE FACTO SOVEREIGNTY: CLOSING THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION AND TRANSFERRING RESPONSIBILITY FOR SETTLEMENTS IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA TO GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES

Since the liberation of Judea and Samaria in 1967, the general of the Central Command, the IDF's commanding general of the region, has been charged with responsibility for all administrative and bureaucratic issues in Judea and Samaria. Initially, these different responsibilities were delegated to various staff officers. Eventually, they were consolidated under the jurisdiction of the Civil Administration, established by special military order in 1981.

Through the years, the way the Civil Administration functions has changed dramatically, on account of the extensive growth of Israeli settlements in Judea and Samaria, as well as a dramatic decrease in the number of Arab residents under the Civil Administration's jurisdiction as a result of the Oslo Accords.

In light of these changes, many administrative activities that pertain to the daily lives of Israelis living in settlements were transferred to the jurisdiction of Israel's government ministries. At the same time, those things that pertain to managing the lives of Arab residents of Areas A and B came under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority.

Today, it is apparent that the situation created by all these changes evolved into a reality in which 400,000 Israeli citizens live under military rule, while their civilian lives are managed by a mix of agencies directed by the Civil Administration and various government ministries. At the same time, approximately 120,000 Arab residents of Area C (even the Civil Administration does not know the exact number) do not justify the existence of an entire Civil Administration, with its myriad of employees and departments.

Beyond this, the extensive development of the Civil Administration from 1981 until today - development effected without a comprehensive plan and by addressing individual ad-hoc needs - produced a mixed organizational body staffed by both civilian employees and military

personnel (both soldiers performing compulsory service and career officers), that operates according to both "civilian" parameters and "military" parameters. This hodgepodge compromises the efficiency of the Civil Administration and the quality of services provided to the people who live in Judea and Samaria.

WHAT WILL WE DO IN THE UPCOMING KNESSET TO PROMOTE THE NEEDS OF THE SETTLEMENT ENTERPRISE IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA?

- We will promote legislation to dissolve the Civil Administration and transfer all its responsibilities to the relevant Israeli government ministries.
- This move effectively rights a wrong, by extending equal rights to Israeli citizens who live in this area and providing them with services that any upstanding country should provide for its citizenry. It also has strategic value and firmly establishes Israel's civilian jurisdiction over this area, without a temporary military administration.

GIVING THE 'SETTLEMENT DIVISION' JURISDICTION OVER MANAGING LAND ACQUISITIONS IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA AND EXTENDING LEASING RIGHTS TO THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THIS AREA

In the aftermath of the Six Day War, then Prime Minister Levi Eshkol approached the head of the directorate of the World Zionist Organization and asked that the organization's 'Settlement Division' assist the Israeli government process the lands it now controlled in Judea and Samaria, in light of its extensive experience establishing farming settlements.

In accordance with the government's decisions, in order to establish agricultural settlements in Judea, Samaria, and the Jordan valley, land intended for settlements was allocated to the World Zionist Organization, and long-term lease agreements (for periods of 49 years) were formulated. Based on these agreements, the World Zionist Organization extended secondary authority to settlers (authorized persons), groups

(settlement associations), and third parties. In light of the need to officially record and register these rights and everything else involved in this process, the World Zionist Organization keeps an official registry of all agreements concerning agricultural settlements with individuals, groups (settlements), and third parties, including a registry of mortgage obligations, liens and holds on property, through its proxy, the Settlement Division.

For decades, the Settlement Division of the World Zionist Organization has managed all land and property in settlements in Judea, Samaria, and the Jordan Valley. This arrangement was, and remains, the most correct and effective way to manage land in the region, in light of the inherent political and security complexities. With that, through the years, many difficulties have come to the fore, included the exact nature of the settlers' rights to the land (given that they are 'authorized persons' and the agreement is not structured as a 'lease'), payment for land rights, and unauthorized fees among other things.

WHAT WILL WE DO IN THE UPCOMING KNESSET TO BRING ANOTHER MILLION JEWS TO LIVE IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA?

- We will pass legislation that extends the current setup, while regulating it and adapting it to the standards of land management prevalent in the rest of the country and taking into account the political sensitivity of the settlement enterprise. This will include conferring leasing rights, equitable land allocations, and the collection of payment as it is conducted in other places, among other things.

Only by taking these steps we will be able to bring one million new residents to Judea, Samaria, and the Jordan Valley, provide them with places of employment, develop the economy, and prevent the establishment of a terror state in the heart of the State of Israel.

ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY AND THE FIGHT FOR 'UNSETTLED TERRITORY'

The Torah establishes that the Land of Israel belongs to the Jewish people - this is our belief, and this is what we aspire toward. For this reason, extending sovereignty to all regions of the Land of Israel is our top priority.

With that, like the redemption process in its entirety, extending sovereignty is a long and drawn-out process that slowly gains steam as it progresses.

In recent years, the Israeli government has agreed to suspend the process of implementing sovereignty. There was always one reason or another. At times it was motivated by political concerns, at times an impending election, at times legal challenges.

We will work to advance Israeli sovereignty immediately! At the very least, we will work to implement sovereignty in areas where there is national consensus: the entire Jordan valley, and/or Israeli settlement blocs. Implementing sovereignty establishes that these regions are an inseparable part of the State of Israel and ensures equal rights for Israelis who live in Judea, Samaria, and the Jordan Valley.

At the same time, in areas that are not under Israeli sovereignty, it is imperative to respond to the institutionalized and well-funded Palestinian land grab of unsettled territory, a move that seeks to de facto create a Palestinian state by establishing facts on the ground in accordance with the Fayyad plan that literally gains ground every single day.

When MK Bezael Smotrich, head of the Religious Zionist Party, served on Israel's security cabinet, he was the first one to advocate for the cabinet's decision to preserve 'Area C', a preliminary move that must spur future government decisions and form the foundation of government protocol.

WHAT WILL WE DO IN THE UPCOMING KNESSET TO PROMOTE SOVEREIGNTY IN THE LAND OF OUR FATHERS?

We will advance a government decision to address this issue and thus provide an official political

response to Palestinian land grabs. We will allocate funding and personnel and empower different ministries to collaborate to address the challenge of preserving unsettled territory that remains beyond the confines of Israeli sovereignty for the time being.

STRENGTHENING THE SETTLEMENT ENTERPRISE, AND INCREASING THE JEWISH POPULATION OF THE GALILEE

Strengthening and encouraging settlement, specifically in the Galilee, the Negev, and border regions, is a strategic and national objective. One of Israel's basic laws ('Israel is the Nation State of the Jewish People') establishes that "The state views the development of Jewish settlement as a national value and will act to encourage and promote its establishment and consolidation". This legal principle must be realized - not through meaningless slogans, but through concrete action.

Logically, if strengthening and encouraging the settlement enterprise (specifically in the Galilee, Negev, and border regions) is a national and strategic interest, it follows that it should be easier - not more difficult - for Jewish settlers to lay down roots in regions far away from 'The Republic of Tel Aviv'.

And yet, in the past decade, the different financial incentives and benefits in the realm of land policies and planning guidelines that sought to encourage settlement, have largely been obliterated. The principle delineated in the 1988 'Galilee Law' that establishes that "The Galilee will be assigned priority regarding the activities of government ministries, including developing settlement, agriculture..." has become a dead letter. It was written into law, but it is not practiced at all. The plan of action delineated below intends to give practical expression to these agreed-upon principles.

THE SETTLEMENT ENTERPRISE - A PREREQUISITE TO SOVEREIGNTY

A civilian presence in the land is a prerequisite to sovereignty. In the absence of civilian settlement, the land is simply not in Israel's hands. This underscores the critical importance of establishing settlements,

including agricultural settlements, all over the country. Special weight must be assigned to establishing settlements all over the Galilee (including the upper and western Galilee), and especially the central Galilee, the Golan Heights and Emek Hamaayanot region, the Iron valley and Adulam region, the northern Negev, the Bnei Shimon area, the southern Hebron hills and Negev Heights, the Lachish region, Gaza envelope and Eshkol region, the mid-Arava and the southern Arava; in a word, establishing settlements in the Galilee, Negev, and border regions serves an interest shared by Israeli society.

The administrative and bureaucratic challenges that stand in the way of strengthening and encouraging the settlement enterprise are the source of the problem. The bureaucracy - both the land policies and the policies that regulate planning - must be completely eliminated.

The weakening of the settlement enterprise, specifically in sensitive regions of the country, like the central Galilee and the northeastern Negev, comprises a serious threat to Israeli society in its entirety. The problem has become acute.

Strengthening settlements goes hand in hand with strengthening the urban sector of society, the cities, and the regional councils; one does not come at the expense of the other. As a case in point, the power and strength of the city of Carmiel depends on its status as a regional center and its ability to function as a center of commerce and provide public services for residents of Misgav.

WHAT WILL WE DO IN THE UPCOMING KNESSET TO STRENGTHEN THE SETTLEMENT ENTERPRISE IN THE NEGEV AND GALILEE?

WE WILL WORK ON TWO DIFFERENT FRONTS:

- We will pass legislation that eliminates the obstacles - First and foremost we will pass specific and effective legislation to eliminate administrative and bureaucratic obstacles. There is a profound need for simple and straightforward legislation - 'Whatever is not simple, simply won't work'. This legislation will be based on specific and precise steps that will not

be dependent on the discretion of legal or bureaucratic bodies, which is often characterized by endless complications, convoluted rules, and long delays.

- We will pass government decisions that eliminate the obstacles - A significant portion of the obstacles that prevent the development of settlements stem from administrative decisions, such as decisions passed by the Land Council and decisions made by the planning authorities (like the National Council for Planning and Construction). Accordingly, passing government decisions that force the government representatives in the relevant agencies to act in accordance with the decisions specified in this plan and to advance and support the policies determined by the government will effectively eliminate many obstacles and strengthen and support the settlement enterprise. A large portion of this plan is dependent on a specific government decision that will be binding for the government's representatives in the Land Council; most of the members of the Land Council are government representatives.
- We will work to demarcate the entire Galilee as a national priority area, which will enable us to decrease the value of the land by 31% of the first million NIS.
- We will work to enact legislation that entitles young couples to a 21% discount on the price of the land in order to encourage people to live in the 'periphery' (outlying areas).
- We will promote uniform and stable land assessments by area.
- We will promote a government decision to offer significant discounts on the price of land to people who serve in the army reserves and in national service.
- We will work to decrease the price of land development by offering a subsidy of up to 200,000 NIS per lot.
- We will promote a government decision to annul amendment 2 of Tama 35 - and thus annul the regulation that limits the number of lots that can

be put on the market in Jewish settlements, which will bring many new families to the settlements.

- We will establish a special task force, a work forum led by the director generals of the relevant government ministries, to shorten the process of settlement planning.
- We will amend the Regional Admissions Committee Law, that will increase the number of households in communal settlements. This will allow the settlement to grow, while preserving its distinct communal structure.
- We will promote a government decision to strengthen and support businesses in these areas.

REINSTATING OUR SOVEREIGNTY IN THE NEGEV, FIGHTING ILLEGAL BEDOUIN LAND GRABS, CRIME, AND 'PROTECTION' PAYMENTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

The fact that there are entire regions of the country where Israel does not really have sovereignty, and the rule of law has been suspended by gangs who dispel fear and demand extortion payments is nothing new. Every night, in too many places, millions of dollars of damage is caused to farmers and business owners who refuse to pay 'protection' extortion. Though these problems are widespread and well-known, law enforcement officials have barely done a thing about them.

The IDF's firing zones in the south of the country have been transformed into fields for growing drugs, and once every few months we hear stories about Bedouins who stole ammunition from the IDF. Some stolen goods are sold to Arabs to violently settle family feuds, others are sold to terror organizations. On occasion, stolen bullets find their way to Arab weddings, where guests use the ammunition to express their heartfelt emotion.

The black market is in full bloom, and organized crime has reared its ugly head, casting fear on innocent people. Southern Tel Aviv's neighborhoods

are full of drugs, prostitution, and violent crime on account of illegal immigrants and economic migrants. Despite this long list of problems, police and law enforcement officials are moving at a snail's pace.

WHAT WILL WE DO TO RESTORE SAFETY AND STABILITY TO ISRAEL'S STREETS?

- We will pass a government motion that delineates countering crime as a primary goal of the next government
- We will amend the criminal code and establish minimum punishments for stealing and reselling ammunition and guns.
- We will allocate funding for special police units to address the issue of 'protection'.
- We will appoint a special district attorney in each district to deal with these cases.

Only by dealing with crime head-on will we be able to restore safety, security, and peace of mind.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POLYGAMY AND TERMINATION OF THE FICTITIOUS STIPENDS THAT EXPLOIT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT

Polygamy is widespread among the Bedouin population in the Negev. Not only does this phenomenon hurt the weakest sector of the population - women and children - but it also marks the disintegration of Israel's sovereignty in the Negev and exploits the country's goodwill through extensive fraud.

The sharp cut in child allowances by the government more than a decade ago led polygamous families to identify a new income source - government "supplementary income" allowances allocated to women who declare they are single mothers, even though they actually live in a household together with their husband and his other wives.

An overwhelming number of these families defraud the National Insurance Agency (Bituah Leumi) and receive stipends each month. These supplementary income allowances cost Israeli taxpayers more than 100 million NIS each year, alongside additional benefits provided to this population on account of false representation: eligibility to receive a free plot of land, monetary compensation for illegal building, and additional payments from the welfare department and the National Insurance Agency, among other things.

HOW DOES IT WORK?

Since polygamy is illegal in Israel, women in polygamous relationships are registered as single mothers, as opposed to married women. Alternatively, the first wife presents a fake certificate of divorce issued by the Sharia court system, which unfortunately joins forces with the civilian population to defraud the Israeli government. On account of her "divorce", the first wife declares that she is a single mother.

As absurd as it sounds, in recent years, a staggering 5% of all allowances distributed by the National Insurance Agency were allocated to less than one tenth of a percent of the population, namely the "single" women under discussion.

Beyond this, many women involved in these polygamous relationships and money-making scam, are actually from areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority. They come to Israel and give birth under the false identity of their husband's first wife. On occasion, as preposterous as it sounds, one "mother" will register the birth of several children within the same year! Obviously, each birth is subsidized by Israeli taxpayers, and on most occasions also earns a 'birth grant' and an additional monthly child allowance.

The Sharia courts are willing accomplices in another scam that relates to child support payments. In order to earn additional stipends from the Israeli government, Bedouin couples come to the Sharia court to conduct

divorce proceedings. The Sharia court will rule that the father is required to pay a ridiculously low sum in child support, that amounts to just a few hundred NIS. Since this negligible amount of money cannot provide for the children's needs, the Bedouin woman submits a request to the National Insurance Agency to offset insufficient child support.

Beyond the outrageous financial repercussions, this situation also presents a serious security threat. As the years go by, Bedouin youth, the children of women from PA territory, identify more and more with the Palestinian nationalist struggle. This phenomenon must be terminated immediately.

WHAT WILL WE DO IN THE UPCOMING KNESSET TO PUT AN END TO THE FRAUD?

- We will develop a government program that makes this issue a top priority.
- The District Attorney will be directed to press charges against anyone who participates in the fraud and to avoid plea bargains.
- We will pass an updated government motion to guarantee that the Palmor Report that addresses polygamy is carried out, in accordance with clear and quantifiable goals.