



Chaikin Chair in Geostrategy
University of Haifa



Arnon Soffer

Israel's Challenges – 2016

Recommendations for
National Priorities



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Priorities**

Arnon Soffer

March 2016

The Chaikin Chair in Geostrategy, University of Haifa

The Chair studies issues of national security from a special standpoint that encompasses more than just military elements – that is, how the space that a country occupies is utilized, such as natural resources and distribution, population spread, physical infrastructure, and the environment.

The Chair publishes position papers, books and scientific studies, advises senior decision makers, initiates research, organizes study days and conferences, and assists research students in these fields.

The Chair also promulgates study of these issues at high schools and academic institutions.

The Late Reuven Chaikin (1918-2004)

Reuven Chaikin was born in Tel Aviv, and became a senior partner in the Somech-Chaikin firm of chartered accountants. He evinced profound interest in geography and geopolitics, and contributed greatly to these fields at the University of Haifa.

May his memory be for a blessing.

Prof. Arnon Soffer

Holder of the Reuven Chaikin Chair in Geostrategy

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Table of Contents

Preface	5
Introduction	6
The First Challenge: Demography of 2015 and Onwards	12
Annexation of Judea and Samaria – The end of the Zionist vision	13
Within the green line, Israel has an overwhelming majority	15
East Jerusalem – A city that has never been united and will never be united. Enough with the bluff!	15
What is the lesson the extreme right needs to learn from “Protective Edge” and from the months of stabbing in 2015-2016?	17
The Second Challenge – Israel as the Most Densely Populated Western Country – A Recipe for Strategic Disaster	18
The Third Challenge – Convergence into Tel Aviv and Abandoning the Periphery – A Recipe for a National Disaster	21
Israel is not just another western country	21
Agriculture – a cornerstone in Israel’s security and in the periphery’s protection	22
Population distribution – old hat, but still new nonetheless	25
The Fourth Challenge – Progressing Towards a Religious State – Is it Really a Threat?	26
The Fifth Challenge – Israeli Arabs and National Security	27
The Sixth Challenge – Toward a Third World Country: Environmental, Educational, Health, Moral and Security Deterioration	29
The Seventh Challenge – The Boycotts, Privatization and Piggish Capitalism	30
The Eighth Challenge – The Weakening of National Resilience	31
The Ninth Challenge – “No Governability” – Result or Circumstance?	34
The Tenth Challenge – A Changing World and a Crumbling Middle East	37
What is happening in our world?	37
First-circle countries	37
The Second-Circle States	38
Climate Change!	40

Why is it difficult for me to be optimistic, even though I am not despondent – a personal perspective	41
A Summary Note	44
Appendices	
Appendix 1: Yoram Ettinger – Jewish Demography: Not What You Thought!	47
Appendix 2: Lying With a Straight Face – for a Greater Israel Data Can be Fabricated!	51

Preface

The first version of this work was published prior to the elections of 2015, and the once-abundant inventory of copies has run dry (3,000 copies were distributed to the country's decision makers, and another 2,000 entries to the Chaikin Chair for Geo-strategy's website). This is the second version; it contains small changes dictated by the passing of time.

My thanks to Ofra Peri, who edited the text, to Marshall Grant for the translation from Hebrew and to Noga Yosellivitz who prepared it for print, including the sketches. I also owe thanks to the many people who have responded, who are responsible for quite a few changes and the decision to print the current version, which is intended to reach every Zionist home in Israel and in the Diaspora.

Arnon Soffer

Haifa, March, 2016

Introduction

What are Israel's elected leaders really dealing with today? Economic leadership, the media, and a steady flow of gossip? With Sarah Netanyahu¹, Bar Rafaeli², and the salary benefits of the nation's elected? To them, the how and why of the closure of a restaurant owned by a renowned restaurateur and television personality is certainly no less important. And, at the same time they are debating Amos Shoken's³ odd and hysterical "Peace Conference", to spay or not to spay Tel Aviv's cat population, letting the IDF be victorious, and "God willing", everything will turn out exactly we wanted, just as it has for the last 3,200 years. But most important is to deal with Oren Hazan⁴, a bizarre and revolting phenomenon, that defines more than anything who our elected officials, the leaders who are supposed to provide a solution for what I will present in the coming pages, really are.

In spite of these grave issues, and while the house is still in flames, nobody mentions the fact that **Israel is not a western country**, and this is because it lies in the Middle East. This is not a hypothetical statement, as a host of decisions that need to be made are derived from it, such as political initiative and right and wrong. However, the nation's leaders (the Bibis, the Buzys, the Lapids, the Bennets, and the Ivets) think we are still a western country, but look at what they are dealing with.

We are **not** another western country!

So what is allowed and forbidden in London, in Oslo or New York is not relevant for us, and what happens there just cannot go on in the "State of Tel Aviv"; the Tel Aviv that is depleting the remaining, suffering and abandoned parts of the country from its Jews. Paris and Brussels are beginning to understand that complacency and denial extract a heavy price. Europe in its entirety understands that democracy, liberalism etc., are polite words until extreme Islamic terror

1 The Prime Minister's wife.

2 A prominent Israeli model currently being investigated for tax evasion.

3 The publicist of *Ha'aretz*, a left-wing Israeli newspaper.

4 A Likud Knesset member who has been insulting and unprofessional antics led to a month-long suspension from parliamentary activities.

strikes. And it strikes and will strike again until enough courage is marshalled and it is called by what it really is – Extreme Muslim Terror! When these words are finally uttered in public, which is when it will have to be treated as such.

I have outlined a list of 10 challenges I consider existential for Israel's future.

1. Demography – The drawn out annexation of Judea and Samaria is leading to a two-nation state. Is this the end of the Zionist era?

- a. Jerusalem will never be “completely united”. In the meantime, we are losing it as Israel's capital! Enough with the bluff!
- b. The Jordan Valley, to annex or not?
- c. Annexation of areas defined as C⁵. Is that the solution? Will the world accept a map with 100 “Bantustans”?
- d. Maybe we should nurture the conditions for two states (Palestine and Israel) for two the nations even if the Palestinian state will only be able to declare its independence sometime in the future? This means the evacuation of a large portion of the settlements. Can it be done? I am sure it can.

Maybe we should encourage unilaterally determined borders? In my opinion, this is the only viable option, because we do not currently have, nor will we have in the future, a Palestinian partner to end the conflict.

2. Of all western countries, Israel is the most densely populated

A crowded world is a violent world. It is a world of lofty real estate, severe potential environmental disasters (Haifa, for example), and chaos on the roads. I am certain the issue of the roads will soon rise to be the country's highest priority.

3. Convergence into Tel Aviv is Abandonment of the Periphery

The periphery in the north, south and even all the east, meaning Jerusalem, has been abandoned. This has reached the point where it has become a strategic risk to Israel. There are those who claim that the convergence into Tel

5 Areas in Judea and Samaria under Israel's municipal and security control. Areas defined as Area A are under the Palestinian's municipal and security control.

Aviv represents a normal global process, so it need not be opposed. This could be correct, if we were just another western country, say Austria or Holland. This process is abandoning Tel Aviv's suburbs to disasters of all kinds, as it is impossible to "adorn her with dresses of concrete and cement" and also hope that everything will remain the same. There are those who think that four-five days of torrential rain a year do not justify a change in the way that city is built. Meaning, it is OK to continue and destroy every natural corner in this region under the slogan *Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die!*

The Neglect and abandonment of agriculture – Is this a marginal issue in the myriad of challenges facing Israel? Is it a direct threat to its security? For those who do not understand what I have written, I recommend taking a half-day tour to Metula, while paying attention to the orchards that stretch just meters away from homes on the Lebanese side of the border, or a closer trip to Kerem Shalom, Maor or Achitov⁶. There, and only there, will you understand my words.

4. Israel is Marching its Way to be a Religious Country

It is fair to ask: what is so bad about a religious state? There are many advantages to a process like this, especially in the irrational Middle East, which threatens our existence.

In the meantime the exodus of the secular has begun – they are not waiting for numerical data, they see what happened to the IDF song troupes – the embellishment of the religious fallen in Israel's wars, the scope of Haredi evasion from military service and the stately support it receives, and the list goes on and on. Can this deterministic process be prevented? I am convinced it cannot! And what will happen to Israel's economy if the process of religionization continues (according to the Governor of the Bank of Israel)?

⁶ Small agricultural communities (moshavs) in close proximity to borders and the Green Line.

5. Israeli Arabs

- a. The neglecting of Israeli Arabs is fast becoming a disaster, on its way to becoming a time bomb! What should be done? Maybe their true integration into the daily life of the country will provide a solution, albeit a partial one, for coexistence? Can they truly be integrated in the country's current atmosphere? The extremists among us will say that they can be removed from here. In my opinion they can never be removed no matter what we do. We do not have very many options to choose from: to live among them and next to them with continual and mutual destruction or attempting to ease the tensions and look for any chance, no matter how remote, to bridge the gaps, while maintaining law enforcement and sovereignty.
- b. The Bedouin in the Negev – From a small and nagging problem, they have become a strategic risk to their own children and to the country. There is no chance of moving the IDF to the south before solving this problem.

6. Progressing towards the Third World in the following areas:

- a. Threatening economic-religious-social-national divides
- b. Ubiquitous corruption becoming a third or fourth-world country

But maybe I am exaggerating and everything is actually exactly where it is supposed to be? According to *Israel Hayom*⁷, a free Israeli daily, there is no problem at all; according to the *Ha'aretz* newspaper, dark days are upon us and nothing positive.

7. The boycott of Israel

The boycott of Israel is ever increasing and it is felt in the economy, universities and tourism. The fact that "they" are anti-Semitic and haters of Israel is not new; we have known that for hundreds of years. But do we bear responsibility for what is happening? What, if anything, are we guilty of?

⁷ An Israeli daily, distributed free, that is often accused of voicing the opinion of Netanyahu and his government.

8. Cracks in national resilience

My litmus test is this: the amount of public corruption, the emigration of those who are able, the legislative system (Oren Hazan, for example), the executive branch (when will you finally handle the Hilltop Youths⁸?) and the judicial system (how long will the judgments concerning prominent figures in our society be delayed?) all point to advanced stages of collapse. The amount of evasion of military service is worrying, as are the lines to receive foreign passports.

9. Lack of governance

This transcends everything, but is mainly a catalyst for the demise of democracy (e.g. verbal abuse and physical violence: in the street, in educational institutions, against the courts. It is everywhere!). A recent example concerns the natural gas that was finally discovered in Israel. The discovery of gas creates the opportunity that we will finally be released from our dependence on others. The gas is supposed to be clean, safe and “ours”. But this gas reaches Israeli consumers by only one pipeline, and its entry into Israel is at one of the worst places possible, and that too is an understatement. This is an existential question in the full sense of the word. So why aren’t there additional places to bring gas onto Israel’s beaches, mainly in the north?

It turns out that “no governance” is not just a bother, it is a strategic threat! “No governance” is also “no sovereignty”. Israel is not sovereign in many parts of the country: in the northern Negev, in the central Galilee, in the “Small Triangle”⁹, in the neighborhoods of south Tel Aviv and in large and growing Jewish segments that have not yet recognized the Zionist nation. These are the same portions of the population who receive large amounts of our taxes every month (usually on the 1st), and in return they are waiting for the messiah to arrive.

8 A term commonly used to refer to extreme, nationalist, Jewish youths who establish outposts on West Bank hilltops that have not been legally sanctioned.

9 A term describing the Arab villages between the coastal plain and the Carmel mountain range.

10. A Changing world

- a. **The strained relations between the American administration and Israel**
 - The crises of American Jewry and Israel on the background of the reformed-conservative-orthodox divide
 - If America abandons the region, upon whom can we depend on? When will this critical issue ever be discussed
- b. **Climate change** – Are we ready, are we prepared? Look at one snow storm, or one system of precipitation in Ashkelon, Ra’anana, Herzliya, Ofakim or Tel Aviv in 2015 – and that is only the tip of the iceberg (no pun intended).
- c. **The unending conflict** – Our neighbors do not accept the State of Israel in the region. There is no denying that, but what is our part in all of this? For example, How can we improve our position through our relations with Jordan or with the residents of the West Bank, regardless if we want to annex them or disengage from them?

Do all of the threats have the same importance? No! Are the timetables of all of these threats the same? No! So we have to try and grade the most and least important when searching for solutions.

Of the 10 challenges I have listed, all are dependent on one another, and all of them together compromise the crisis in national resilience and lack of governance. David Ben Gurion is credited with the saying **“I don’t know what the nation wants, but I know what the nation needs”**. And it is true. Not everything is accepted by the people, especially if a majority is basically ignorant. The current leadership in the era of television “knows” what the nation wants and promises that by tomorrow it will get what it asked for. It may be for inexpensive housing, discounted cottage cheese or “chopping off the arm of terror” – something I have heard over the last 67 years, but the “arm” remains violently raised. This is the cousin of the clever statement, “Let the IDF win”. Choosing issues to deal with right away is very political, and I am sorry that current priorities are not aligned with Israel’s real existential needs.

A real leader must do what the nation needs!

The First Challenge: Demography of 2015 and Onwards

Table 1 presents the expected population data in Israel for the years 2015, 2017, 2024, and 2034. For those who find it difficult to analyze these fateful data, I present the conclusions I have derived from the table, which I recommend be in the pocket of every Israeli citizen – and especially of elected Knesset members and key officials.

Israel's population 2015-2034 (thousands)

Group	2015	%	2024	%	2034	%
Jews	6,218	74.9	7,087	73.9	8,244	73.2
Other	359	4.4	390	4.0	400	3.6
Total Jews and others	6,577	79.3	7,477	77.9	8,644	77.4
Druze	135	1.6	160	1.7	175	1.6
Arabs	1,584	19.1	1,950	20.4	2,355	21.1
Christians	163	1.96	180	1.9	200	1.8
Muslims	1,421	17.12	1,770	18.5	2,155	19.3
(of which are from East Jerusalem)	300	(3.6)	(350)		(400)	
(Bedouin from the south)	220	(2.65)	(350)		(500)	
Total residents of Israel	8,296	100	9,587	100	11,174	100
(unregistered foreigners in Israel)	(300±)		?		?	
Judea and Samaria	2,530		3,550		4,290	
Gaza Strip	1,850		2,563		3,150	
Total Arabs in the West Bank	4,380		6,113		7,440	
Total Palestinians in Eretz Israel	6,099		8,223		9,970	
Total population in Eretz Israel	12,676		15,700		18,614	
Of which are Jews (%)	51.9		47.6		46.4	
Jews without Gaza (%)	60.7		57.0		55.8	

Comments:

- 1 All the data concerning Israel are based on the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) for the years 2015-2034.
- 2 Data concerning Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip are based on the Civil Administration (IDF) and base Palestinian data since 1997, 2007, and the forecasts for 2024 and 2034 based on the author's calculations.

According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), in Judea and Samaria there were 2.83 million Palestinians. Since they included Jerusalem in its census, as did the CBS, the Jerusalem data must be deducted from the Palestinian census. Without Jerusalem (300,000), the number of residents in Judea and Samaria is 2.53 million, which means my data are identical to the Civil Administration!

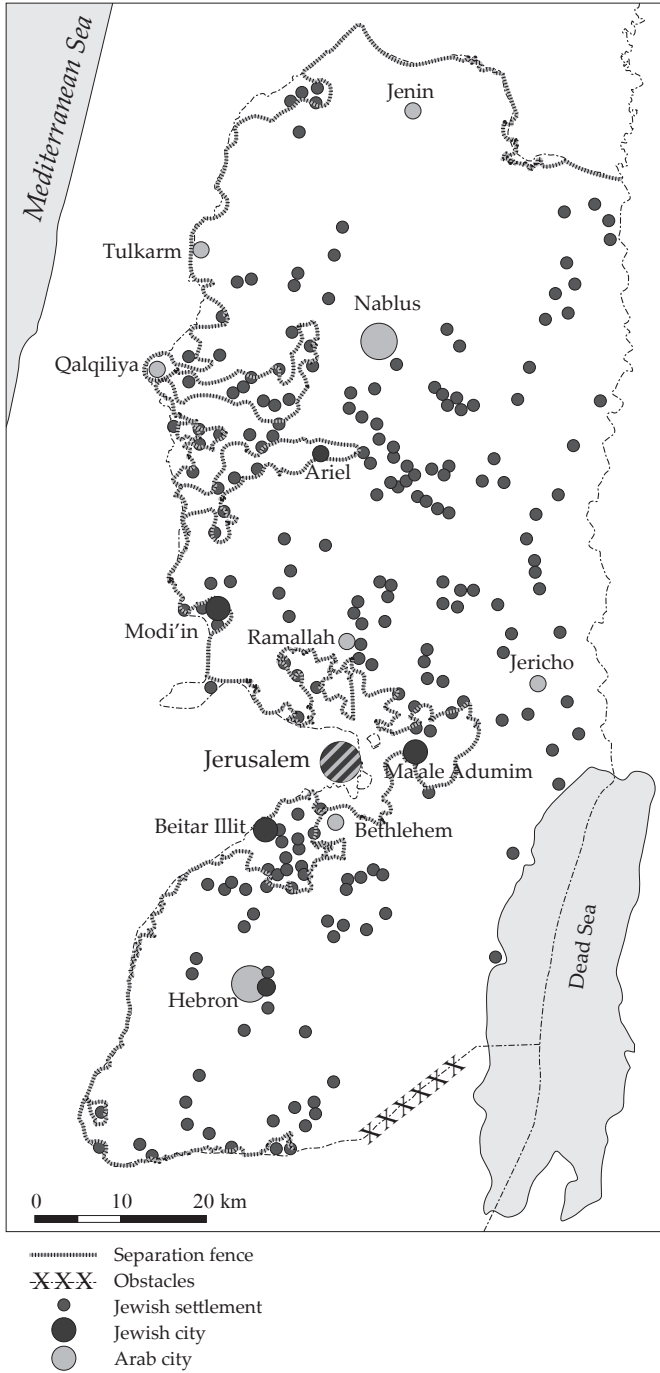
Concerning the Gaza Strip in 2015, only IDF data are presented here, while the Palestinians only claim 1.79 million.

Christians in Israel are Arab Christians and a few more that are not Arab but are not documented as “others”.

Annexation of Judea and Samaria – The end of the Zionist vision

According to the table, in 2015 the Jews will make up 51.9% of Israel's population, in 2024 they will be 47.6%, and in 2034 only 46.4%. A small margin of error in either direction does not change the trend. Hopes for large waves of *aliya* following anti-Semitism, disease, natural disasters and wars cannot be assessed. Therefore, it is absolutely clear, anyone who annexes Judea and Samaria will turn Israel's Jews into a minority, resulting in the end of the Jewish state (Map 1). **A party that facilitates the annexation (only of Area C) is not Zionist! It is anti-Zionist! This needs to be said out loud and without fear. I repeat – any party that annexes Judea and Samaria is not Jewish and is not Zionist! Even if leaders continually repeat their “love of Israel”, the “rights of our forefathers” and “God willing”!** For more about the artificial argument created by those on the extreme right, which include Yoram Ettinger, Guy Bechor and Moshe Arens, see pragmatic comments in appendices. Standing behind the data I presented in Table 1 is the IDF and the Civil Administration, all the leaders of the international community and their security and intelligence services, the responsible Israeli academia (that which is apolitical) and various academic institutions around the world. None of the members of the right understand demographics, but they have the chutzpah to challenge experts in the field.

In spite of the aforementioned, I must be clear: while it is impossible to swallow up Judea and Samaria through annexation, it is also impossible to abandon them as the extreme left suggests. Every person of average intelligence knows that evacuating Judea and Samaria now will result in the strengthening of Hamas and Israel's geo-political situation will be severely worsened. Therefore, the IDF must remain there, but the option of establishing a Palestinian state in the future will remain.



Map 1: The dispersion of the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria

Within the green line, Israel has an overwhelming majority

The table has an important message for every concerned Zionist Jew. The number of Jews (within the green line and with East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights) is almost 80% (79.3). Even in 2034, the amount of Jews will remain high: 77.3%! As long as we stay inside the green line (along with the areas annexed by the security fence in Judea and Samaria, which includes 75% of all the Jews across the green line), Israel will remain Jewish in the long term. The natural increase of the Jewish population is relatively high and will remain so in the near future. At the same time, the natural increase among the Arab population has been slowly declining since 1970 and this trend is expected to continue.

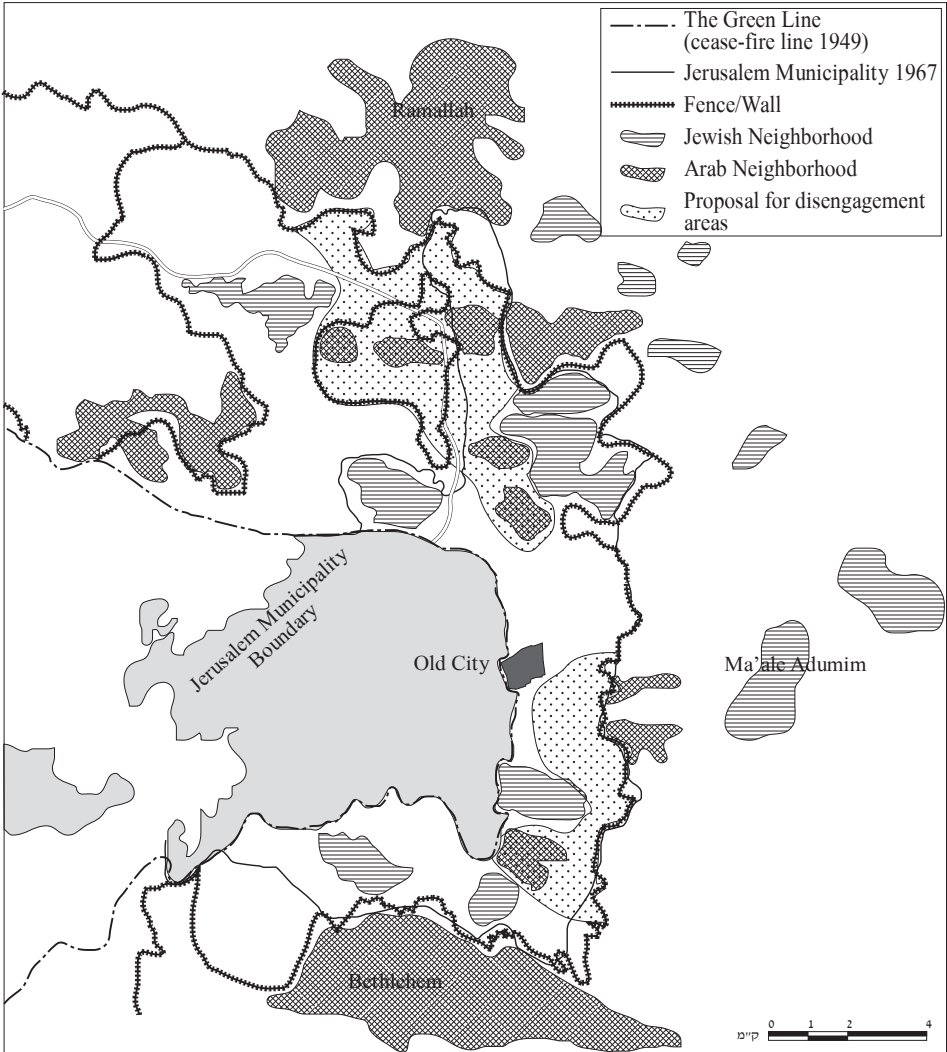
In light of these data, it needs to be asked if the idea to transfer Wadi Ara area, with its 300,000 residents to the Palestinian areas, thus making the Road 6 Israel's eastern border, is an idea worth pursuing. In this case, there is no doubt that the safety of Israelis driving down this route would be seriously worsened. And if we are discussing the issue of "transfer", maybe this is the time to announce that we are conceding East Jerusalem so it can be the capital of the Palestinian state.

Naftali Bennet is correct in his claim that the Negev is lawless. But that brings me to another question for Minister Bennet: why don't you offer to solve the Bedouin problem in the south by establishing communities, providing education and enforcing the law there? Better to consolidate your efforts! Instead of preaching about the love of Israel, instead of racing to annex Judea and Samaria, love Israel with practical action. And please start with the Negev.

East Jerusalem – A city that has never been united and will never be united. Enough with the bluff!

There are 300,000 Arabs living in Jerusalem, 38% of the city's residents. In 1967, they were only 26%! (See table 1). In another two decades, they will be half the city's residents (according to the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies). The truth is that in 2015 no one really knows how many Palestinians are living in the city. It is known however, that they are living in horrific conditions and by no fault of their own they have turned the capital of Israel from a city that was a pleasure to live in, into a poor, violent, filthy and unbearable city! The time has come to shout

the truth: **Jerusalem never was united and will never be united – and it is time to immediately admit to its being divided! Enough with the bluff! Who is the leader who is willing to tell the truth to the citizens of Israel and save Jerusalem and all of us? (Map 2)**



Map 2: Proposal for the disengagement from the Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem

What is the lesson the extreme right needs to learn from “Protective Edge” and from the months of stabbing in 2015-2016?

Imagine that the IDF would accept the claims held by the false prophet Yoram Ettinger, and his friends, who believe there is no demographic problem in Israel. Imagine the IDF would have entered the Gaza Strip thinking that only one million Palestinians live there, according to Ettinger, and only 1.4 million live in Judea and Samaria – numbers that represent only half of the actual numbers (in the Gaza Strip, the real number is 1.8 million, and in Judea and Samaria, there were 2.6 million in 2015!).

“Protective Edge” and the stabbing intifada of 2015/6 provided pictures for every curious person with average intelligence. These images showed hundreds and thousands of Palestinians everywhere, running away from soldiers, fighting, demonstrating, taking part in mass funerals, throwing stones and threatening. **Because they are here in numbers.** The right would be wise to realize that demographics cannot be deceived to realized political agendas. Claims of a “demographic tailwind”, a “demographic takeoff” or an “Arab demographic crash” should not be supported. The very fact that many good and wise people can adopt such unfounded information testifies to the very problematic emotional state of many parts of Jewish society in 2015/6.

The unending sequence of wars should have taught Israelis that we can ill afford to embrace the mistaken impression that we are just another country. No other country has fought again and again for its existence – and will be forced to do so again in the future. And since we are not just another country, we cannot annex areas full of Palestinians, and it is important to distribute the population in places around the country that need strengthening, at the expense of Tel Aviv. Agriculture must be fostered, and not everything should be privatized. Heaven forbid we nurture extreme globalization while distorting fateful demographic data – because we are **not** just another country.

The Second Challenge – Israel as the Most Densely Populated Western Country – A Recipe for Strategic Disaster

Table 1 reveals that in the beginning of 2015, there were 8.3 million people living in Israel. By 2024, 1.3 million will be added, and in the decade leading to 2034, another 1.5 million. Most of the new additions will be ultra-Orthodox or Arabs – relatively poor populations, which will lead to difficulties in funding all the necessary infrastructure for such a complex country. Even today, Israel is one of the most densely populated countries in the western world, and without the Negev, which is 60% of Israel's land area, its density is twice that of any other western country. This means that there is danger of deteriorating toward becoming a third-world country, to increased violence, and emigration of the strong.

It is difficult for the public to understand that we can no longer pave a major highway from north to south. We will continue to be dependent of the 2, 4 and 6 roads¹⁰, and millions of vehicles will spend long hours in traffic jams and not be able to travel towards Tel Aviv, the only center of strength Israel's leaders have ever nurtured. And what will happen in an emergency?

Will train tracks ever cover the country and reach every neighborhood, suburb and city? Even if they do, it will be decades until the dream comes true, and in the meantime, everyone who can is running away because of the shortsightedness of Israel's current leaders and their predecessors.

This is a **horrific forecast**, but no leader is dealing with this subject because it does not affect the present for our MKs and leaders, but concerns the future of our grandchildren.

It needs to be understood that according to population growth, we are a third-world country (a high natural increase rate reaching 2%!); according to the standard of living we are a developed country (developed, meaning we gobble up land, create mountains of garbage, sewage, pollution and who knows what else). All of this in a small country where 60% of its land is desert, and so many

¹⁰ Main thoroughfares in Israel that go from north to south.

other areas are used by the IDF and will be for years to come (50% of Israel's land is designated for security!).

Can anything be done? Of course!

One option is to expand into the Mediterranean Sea by building artificial islands to transfer all the harmful infrastructure that consumes large areas of land: airports, refineries, ports and naval installations. **Is anyone working on this?**

There are many planning bodies that compete with each other, and green organizations have jumped on the bandwagon. They are now speaking about the sea option; not, God forbid, to provide a solution for the large expanses Israel needs, but to define it as a reserve that is completely off limits. As far as they are concerned, the term *islands in the sea* is taboo.

But life is stronger than shortsighted opponents: expansion to the sea has already begun, and just like everything else in our society, there is no governability and nothing is being done for the long term. First of all our leaders wait until ad-hoc islands are created, and land is slowly being reclaimed along Israel's beachfront, and only then, (and as usual, too late) do the "planners" try and connect all the dots into one coherent system.

Let us remind the "experts" that the Haifa and Ashdod ports are located deep in the ocean and they continue to progress westward; that along Israel's coast tens of wave breakers have been built in front of the beaches; that floating islands called **rigs** have been built (huge structures for extracting gas from Israel's territorial waters) whose numbers will only grow, along with a number of large ships permanently anchored for other various purposes; that boat marinas and residential areas have been built in recent years which have created "facts on the ground"; and that more than a kilometer long of terminals have been constructed for the import of coal. These processes can be expected to continue and pick up speed, and reality will win here too, just like the National Outline Plan 35¹¹ and many others, where long and soothing words cover up the failures of our leaders and planners.

11 The last National master plan (numbered 35).

In addition to utilizing the sea, making cities denser must continue by only building high-rise buildings and not single family homes. We need to go underground more and more, certainly for security purposes, and continue to wisely and resolutely distribute the population (because we are not just another country in the era of globalization!)

The Third Challenge – Convergence into Tel Aviv and Abandoning the Periphery – A Recipe for a National Disaster

Israel is not just another western country

If all of Israel's Jews continue to converge into the Tel Aviv metropolis and leave the periphery empty of Jews, **then the fate of Israel and the State of Tel Aviv will be sealed.** Even if all of France's citizens would go and live in Paris and empty the periphery, it would not be such a strategic threat to France. The same is true for most of the 200+ countries around the world, but the same cannot be said for Israel. Like I said before, Israel is not just another country!

Older Tel Aviv residents and the hundreds of thousands who have moved into the metropolis in recent years do not like to hear things like this. They claim this is how globalization works, and they are correct. What they do not understand is that a Jewish city-state only within the confines of greater Tel Aviv, in the murderous space of the Middle East, will not be sustainable over time. The laws of this area are different from every other place in the world. Here there are no voids, and when Jews leave the periphery, their place is taken by those who do not recognize the rights of Jews in the area called Israel. The words democracy, liberalism, brotherhood, justice, multiculturalism and peaceful coexistence are foreign in the Muslim arena in which Israel finds itself. There is truth to the claim that we will not continue to exist without a strong head on the Israeli body, but Tel Aviv cannot turn into a monster. The Tel Aviv metropolitan area has become too strong and it is drying out the Israeli periphery. What can be done in Tokyo, London and Paris, cannot be done in Israel.

If the periphery will be completely left without Jews, the Middle East will not have a Jewish country; it will have a city-state called Tel Aviv, between Hadera and Ashdod, that is doomed.

Is there no responsible leader who proposes to handle this existential issue? My concern is that Israel's leaders in 2015/6, who understand sushi, galleries, coffee shops and fresh croissants, have absolutely no idea what the "national periphery" and an existential threat really are (see my paper, *The State of Tel Aviv, a Threat to*

Israel, 2006, 2008). Look at the distribution of the Palestinian population throughout Israel as compared to “The State of Tel Aviv” (Map 3) and you will understand that this is an existential threat and not an academic debate!

Beyond the strategic perspective, there is a miscarriage of justice crying to the heavens: the periphery has been abandoned from the aspect of security, health, education, culture, per-capita income – everything! And this is equally true for both Jews and Arabs.

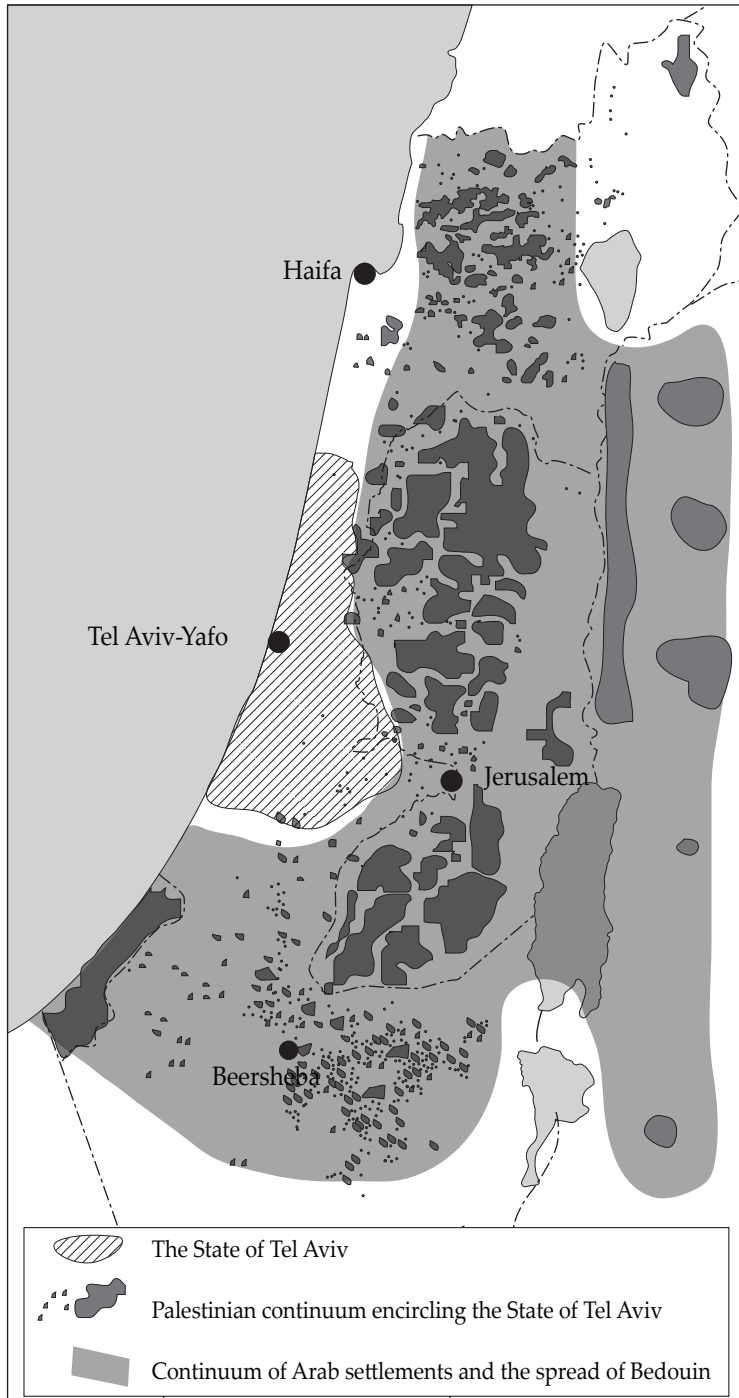
It must be noted that roads are being laid to the periphery, the IDF’s *City of Training Bases* is increasing its operations, other IDF units are slowly moving south, and Beer Sheva is full of positive activity. But at the same time, residential towers are replacing evacuated military bases in the country’s center, such as in Tel Hashomer, Tzrifin, and Glilot¹² – so what’s the point?

Agriculture – a cornerstone in Israel’s security and in the periphery’s protection

What has yet to be written or said about Israel’s farmers? They have been accused of plundering, called land robbers, jackals and bird killers, and water thieves. However, Israel’s farmers are only 2% of the country’s employed, but they hold most of our fertile areas – about three million dunams. Besides the fresh salads, milk and tomatoes they provide, they also color the countryside green; they are the connection of a people to its land, they use the sewage water city residents create, and most importantly – **they, and only they, are protecting Israel’s borders with their physical presence and their homes, from Rosh Hanikra in the north to Eilat in the south. Everywhere!** (Map 4).

No army or other military organization can exercise sovereignty over territory and know what is taking place on Israel’s violent borders, only a farmer who works there every day is able to do so. Nevertheless, Amir Kahanovitz, an economist from Tel Aviv, along with the other financial professionals in that city, do not understand what I am saying. But my words are reality.

12 Large military installations in the Tel Aviv area, that have been, or are planned to be, relocated to the south of Israel.



Map 3: "The Jewish State of Tel Aviv" compared to the distribution of Palestinians



Map 4: The presence of agriculture along Israel's borders. Is this not a cornerstone of Israel's security?

Yes, even today, even at this very moment, the communities bordering the Gaza Strip act as a security belt for the stockbrokers, economic professors and “Finance Ministry Kids”¹³ in Tel Aviv. Shortsighted experts do not understand that Israel is not just another western country. These economists continue to deal only with profit and loss, and thus are dictating the national agenda while ignoring the importance of Jewish agriculture in Israel to the existence of a Jewish state in the volatile Middle East.

Population distribution – old hat, but still new nonetheless

For years, the naïve who use the Ha’aretz newspaper as their mouthpiece, have vilified and cursed anyone who even tried to cry out for making the Galil, the Negev and Jerusalem more Jewish (Esther Zandberg, for example). At the end of 2014, they were again reminded what happens when a nationalistic minority is a majority in the periphery; a minority that does not recognize the group that is the majority in Israel. We saw, and not for the first time, what a minority of this kind can do, and what it did do: destruction, arson, calling and wishing for our demise (this happened on Land Day¹⁴ in 1982, in 1996, again in October of 2000 and yet again during “Protective Edge”). But these naïve and wishful people, which includes so many of my academic colleagues, are not listening and are not remembering, so they oppose population distribution, they oppose acceptance committees¹⁵ for Jewish small communities, which are an important step in exercising the distribution. They do not take into account that everywhere in the world where there is a nationalistic ethnic, religious or tribal group that differs from that in the center, then sooner or later it will lay claim to independence, especially if the center is weak or has ceased to function. A perfect example is ISIS, which was recently born between feeble Baghdad and Damascus.

13 Young bureaucrats in the Ministry of Finance.

14 An annual day for commemoration of Israeli Arabs killed during demonstrations against the 1976 government decision to expropriate Arab-owned land.

15 Committees that carry out vetting processes for potential new arrivals to small communities that have the authority to approve or reject the sale of homes to those who have not been accepted.

The Fourth Challenge – Progressing Towards a Religious State – Is it Really a Threat?

The table does not show that a secular woman will deliver, on average, two children in her lifetime (as of 2015), and a national-religious woman will bear more than four, and if she is ultra-Orthodox, she will have more than six babies on average. The natural increase of the national-religious population in Judea and Samaria is very similar to that of the Bedouin population in the south, which stands at more than 3.2% (according to CBS data from 2014).

The conclusion is clear: Israel is marching towards becoming a religious state! Would this affect the economy? And so, then how? For the annexation of Judea and Samaria? Does it matter to the young secular Israelis who will not remain here? Could it make “Price Tag”¹⁶ actions the consensus? On the other hand, maybe the increase of national-religious Jews will bring relief to Jerusalem and decrease the powerful influence of Tel Aviv. Maybe this is an opportunity for Israel’s periphery at the expense of its center. Is anyone dealing with this issue? Is anyone examining the significance of it all? (see what Shabtai Shavit had to say about this in the summary of this paper). In any case, this is not a prediction for the distant future; religionization and the penetration of religion to all corners of Israel’s lifestyle is a fact that already exists. This is easily seen by the level of involvement of the *Bayit HaYehudi* (The Jewish Home) party in every facet of life in Israel, especially in the saturation of the IDF and the national education system with religious content. This matter is one of the most important that needs to be discussed in Israel – and the sooner the better.

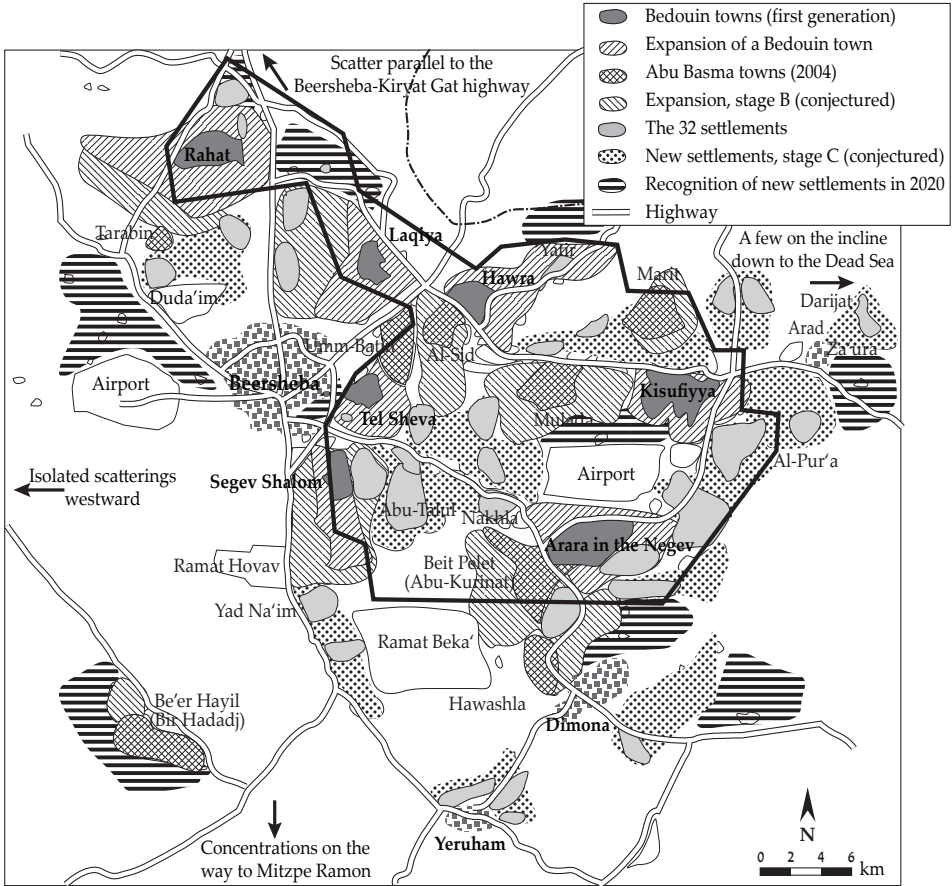
16 Violent actions carried out by West-Bank settlers in response to Palestinian terror attacks.

The Fifth Challenge – Israeli Arabs and National Security

There are 1.6 million Israeli Arabs, including East Jerusalem residents, and in another two decades they will be 2.4 million! Has any leader (apart from Moshe Arens) ever thought to build a strategy to integrate them into Israel? What will happen if 21% of Israel's entire population do not stand at attention when the flag is raised or the national anthem is sung? Or if they boycott elections, do not pay taxes, and do not obey construction and other Israeli laws whatsoever? I do not want to think about how they would respond in an all-out conflict. We were given a hint in the *Months of Knives* in 2015 (and continues into 2016) and the growing public support for ISIS towards the year's end. What will happen to the periphery if only they live there, poor, frustrated and angry – and let no one forget that they are part of the Palestinian nation.

Which Israel leader in 2015/6 is really concerned about the prediction that states the Bedouin of the northern Negev, who numbered 220,000 in 2015, will grow to **half a million people** in just two decades – a quarter of all of Israeli Arabs? Some 60% of them will be children – naked, lacking formal education, incited, angry and violent (Map 5).

Governments of Israel get around the issue by forming short-lived committees, one after another, to postpone difficult decisions. In the meantime, the reality in the northern Negev has become intolerable and irreversible, and it is overflowing everywhere. Even now, this phenomenon can be observed near Rishon LeZion and Ramla, and it will not stop there. Is there a chance that the enterprise of moving the IDF to the Negev can succeed in this reality? What value is there in constructing a community like Zur Yitzhak and erecting walls between it and Tayibe if the latter's residents overrun Zur Yitzhak and settle there, turning it into Tayibe Illit, just like what happened in Nazerath Illit, Carmiel and Jerusalem? What I want to say is, that without the development of Arab communities, we will not be able to stop what I alluded to here.



Map 5: No illusions, this is the way the northern Negev will look in 2030, and maybe by 2020

The Sixth Challenge – Toward a Third World Country: Environmental, Educational, Health, Moral and Security Deterioration

Where, in the platforms of all the political parties, is there reference to the **ordinary Israeli's** quality of life for today and tomorrow? I do not expand on these issues under the assumption that their importance is well understood by every Israeli leader. **It is clear that a country that is so small, crowded, split, and fighting for its everyday existence, with “palms being greased” on every level, with so many symptoms of the third world, could never survive for a long time in the Middle East.**

In a society as in the one I describe, all of the strong will run for their lives from here, and only the weak, the poor and the ignorant will remain. In many areas, the trends I point to hint that this is the direction, unless talented people will sober up and lead in a different direction – and fast.

Who at the top is seriously dealing with the deterioration of the systems I listed? **If a leader does not understand the connection between these challenges and national resilience and its projection on national security, or ignores this connection, then that person does not deserve to lead a country.**

The Seventh Challenge – The Boycotts, Privatization and Piggish Capitalism

For years, I have been crying out to politicians and economists – do not privatize everything. It was wrong to privatize El-Al and Zim, the refineries, the phosphate and potash plants and the other national factories that belong to all of us). But I only make them laugh!

Between July 20-24, 2014, we were witness to how our friends around the world are grounding their flights to Israel and leaving us to ourselves. All of the overtures of being a western country like all western countries shattered against a simple reality – we are not just another western country and the boycotts against us are only the first step! The academic boycott is slowly spreading around the western world; the boycott of products from the settlements is the beginning of a process that will end with the withholding of services from sea and land ports in the west, and maybe by even not allowing Israeli tourists into some countries.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, you are big believer in capitalism, but there is also capitalism that is relatively enlightened. Piggish, cruel capitalism is what has developed here, and in a fighting society like Israel's, this kind of economic model cannot be accepted. A society with economic, social, religious and social gaps like ours will not survive this reality.

The eighth and ninth challenges do not stand by themselves, they are the result of the seven challenges that have not been addressed until now, and they undermine our ability to survive in the Middle East.

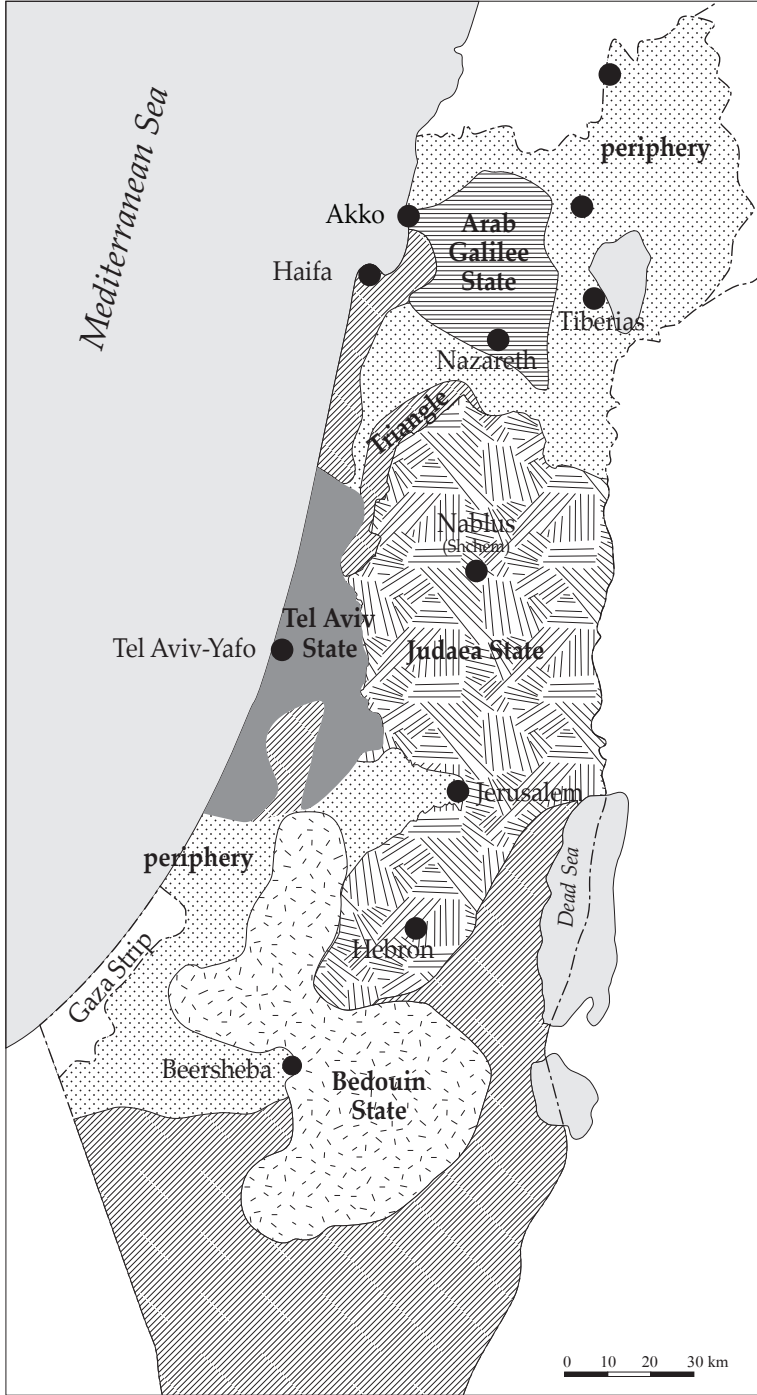
The Eighth Challenge – The Weakening of National Resilience

I do not accept the resilience indices that are published every year at the Herzliya Conference. These indices are based on moot questions and statistical analysis, and are always surprisingly optimistic.

How do I measure national resilience? By the length of lines at the various embassies requesting passports (yes, from Lithuania, Romania, Poland and Germany, because all shame has been lost in Israel!); by the scope of emigration of the strong from Israel; by the size of areas where there is no Israeli Jewish sovereignty; by the hours waiting in hospital emergency rooms; by the scope of evasion from IDF service; by the number of Knesset members and other leaders being investigated for stealing from the country's coffers (a country under real existential threat); by the public Israeli discourse in 2015 discussing the distinctions between a Jewish, secular-religious, democratic, Zionist, civilian, bi-national country; by the fear to say "make the Galil and the Negev more Jewish", "acceptance committees" and "settle the periphery"; by the exercising of the right to be an egoistic Tel Aviv resident who owes nothing to no one, and then is adamant about the right to have 19 children and demand that I finance their up-bringing.

I measure national resilience by the tribal structure in the Israel of 2015 (Map 6): Tel Aviv compared to the periphery; Arabs in Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip compared to Israeli Arabs (Palestinians living in Israel); the national-religious tribe that is next to the secular tribe, which is next to the ultra-Orthodox tribe; the sub-tribes in the periphery such as Moroccan and Kurdistan Jews compared to the Ashkenazi Jews of Tel Aviv; settlers compared to the other contemporary pioneers; tycoons compared to the rest of the nation; radical left compared to the extreme right, hilltop youths and the "price tag" compared to a sane society; and another very sad Israeli index: the index of losing the feeling of shame, from the loftiest government leaders all the way down to the simplest of laymen.

Yes, this is also about state attorneys and state comptrollers, attorneys general and regular attorneys; through mayors, managers in *Netevi Israel* – The National Transport Infrastructure Company (formerly *Ma'atz* – National Roads Company



Map 6: The “Federation” of countries and tribes in Israel 2016

of Israel), the Israel National Fund (*Keren Kayemet*) and generals – who have shamelessly run between the left and right offering their services and knowledge they have accumulated without any ideology or morals. In addition to these *professionals*, I will mention hundreds of key players in Israeli society with fabricated academic titles, and I will mention what happens to major generals from the Israel Police, or academia faculty whose misconduct includes, among other things, the support of choosing Israel Prize laureates by trumped-up committees, whose affiliation to true academic excellence is non-existent. And if that is not sufficient, who is the leader who is willing to promise me they will fight the deceptive culture for every one of their failures through misleading spokespersons, cronies, and the sold-out (or bought-out) media that cover-up anything and everything with disgust-invoking inflated words that arouse disgust. **Yes, these are my indices for national resilience. Did I say resilience, or terrible weakness?**

The Ninth Challenge – “No Governability” – Result or Circumstance?

I will demonstrate what “No Governability” means by several examples.

The Bedouin population in the south has built 60-80 thousand illegally constructed homes over the years, and the law is not enforced. Intolerable violence prevails, lawlessness is everywhere, talk about solutions have continued since the 1960s, and almost nothing has been done. In the meantime 60 Bedouin settlements have sprouted in Na’an, Rishon LeZion and Ramla, and even inside of an IDF base. Hundreds of Bedouin settlements have been built along the coastline from the north to the border with Gaza, in fact all through the country.

The treatment of infiltrators, the Marriage Law¹⁷, populating the periphery, the issue of acceptance committees for Jewish settling of the periphery, the behavior of the Israel Land Authority or the Planning Administration concerning the population of the marginal nationalistic groups – all testify to the lack of governability in Israel.

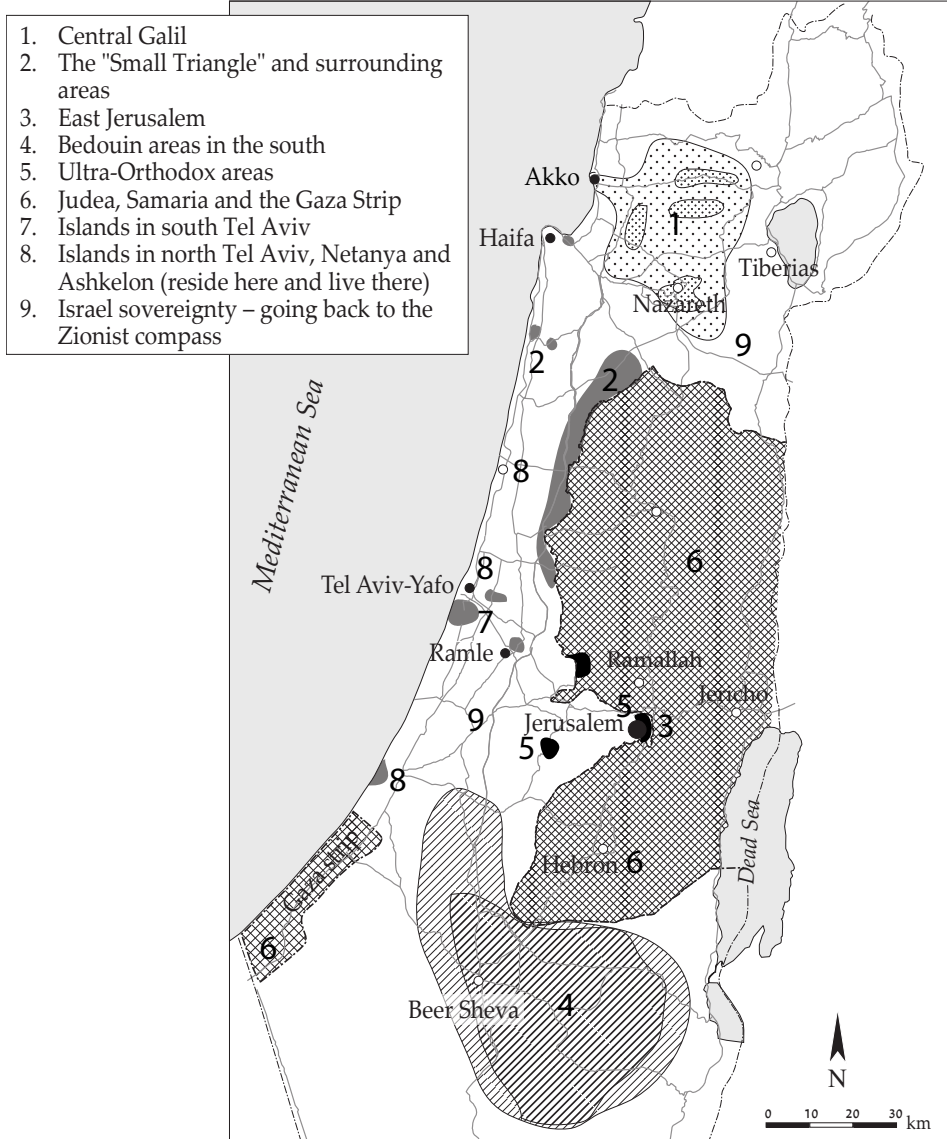
There is no national shame larger than the founding of “The New Israeli Guardians”, an organization established to fill the gap for protecting Jewish shepherds and farmers in the north and south!

Extensive parts of Israel are without Israeli sovereignty, its flag, anthem, or language; there is no law enforcement, legal construction, payment of taxes, Israeli education, IDF recruitment and national service (Map 7).

There is talk about a train reaching Carmiel and to Jerusalem, a subway in Tel Aviv, paving Road 6 to the IDF City of Schools – there is a lot of talk, but only a few deeds are being done lethargically.

The preparation of a plan for Israel’s sea by teams of experts is nothing but a pipe dream. For how long?

17 A law aimed to stop Arabs from all over the Middle East from marrying Israeli-Arab women, often temporarily, and for receiving an Israeli identity.



Map 7: Areas in Israel where there is no Israeli sovereignty (in whole or in part)

One of my friends, an IDF major general, told me, **“Israel manages, but it is not managed!”**. He knows what he is talking about. How much longer can we depend on “miracles” and “hoping for the best” and “with God’s help”? The bureaucratic and legal systems must undergo reforms and modify themselves to the Israel of the next two decades.

To conclude this section, I would like to share a note-written by a well-known personality in Israel in answer to my question: When will we finally see the IDF go south? He wrote, **“That is a perfect example to demonstrate the crumbling of governability and leadership by a government of civil servants and a lack of vision”**. I think it fair to say that we cannot acquiesce to “an anarchical democracy” as we saw in 2015/6! If this situation will not be corrected, and fast, we will find ourselves far from any democracy.

The Tenth Challenge – A Changing World and a Crumbling Middle East

What is happening in our world?

The western world is becoming atrophic, and disappearing. The population of countries affiliated to Islam will grow more than any other population, and many of those countries are close to Israel. Africa's population is growing fast, and the only country in the world that unfortunate Africans can walk to is Israel!

The demography in the Middle East is unprecedented from almost every aspect. It is worth noting that between 1800 and 1900, its population doubled, and in the 50 years between 1900 and 1950, it did so again. **During the 30 years between 1950 and 1980, it was doubled yet again! And if this is not worrying enough, between 1980 and 2008, it was doubled again – a feat never before seen in demographic history.**

Nowhere, in any region or in any country, can a population growing at that pace be managed and treated well, especially when it is poor to begin with. The region is simply falling apart!

First-circle countries

The nation- state in the Middle East is crumbling into tribes, clans and families. When Israel was founded there were four states facing it (Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon). Now there are dozens of groups, gangs and organizations, all affiliated to Islam, that break up, unite and constantly move around the region. Islam, like Judaism and Christianity does not preach terror, but **the fact is that most terrorists around the world today are Islamists.**

In Islamic circles, loyalty is first towards the family and the tribe. These tribes live in areas without clear borders and they could unite and act against governments that still exist.

What will we do if this happens? Will we reconquer Sinai, or take parts of Saudi Arabia or Jordan, or maybe Syria or western Iraq?

Egypt is busy protecting the Nile from Ethiopia and the rest of its southern neighbors. It can't be bothered by the periphery of Sinai. There are more than two million Syrian refugees living in Jordan, along with a few from Iraq, and they are annoying and threatening. The Kingdom of Jordan, which is so important to Israel, is in danger of collapse. Its borders are riddled by organizations such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda. Our responsibility will be to protect it, and we can in no way accept the possibility that ISIS will control one of our borders, from the Kibbuz Shar-HaGolan in the north, to Eilat in the south (400 km).

Syria has totally disintegrated, and I know that is nothing new, but who is the sovereign there? Lebanon was, and remains unstable. It recently accepted 1.5 million Syrians, and the ethnic-religious melting pot is becoming more fluid. If the Hezbollah decides to involve Israel in the game, will we agree to hundreds of missiles flying over our heads? Will we be drawn into Lebanon like in the past, and what choice will we have (up to 45 kms like in the First Lebanon War? Into all of Lebanon? Maybe just to destroy its entire infrastructure and return it to the middle ages under the cries of condemnation from an emaciated Europe)?

And where in all this madness is the White House? It seems that in these difficult times, there is no real world leader in America. And we all know thrones of leadership in the world do not remain empty for a long time, so it has been filled by Russia, who immediately understood who it was dealing with. Who can Israel rely on in this reality?

The Second-Circle States

Most of the second-circle states are failed states; they are mostly tribal with no one in charge and no one person bearing responsibility. Turkey is dealing with the Kurds along its borders with Syria, Iraq, Iran and Russia. Its leader acts like an old-day sultan, but he is hotheaded and dangerous for his country and the vicinity. Iraq disintegrated long ago into three separate entities. If there is light at the end of the tunnel, it is the Kurdish nation that is finally awakening and challenging Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Syria and ISIS – and there is potential for a solid friendship with Israel.

To all of these, the Red Sea and its surroundings much be added, which then makes another active front. From the Bab el Mandeb Strait in the south, to the Bay of Eilat in the north, everything is collapsing and threatening. Somalia, Yemen, Eritrea, North and South Sudan are all failed states. To a certain extent, the Egyptian periphery is as well, and so is Libya. The fall of Jordan and Saudi Arabia could make the entire Red Sea uncontrolled and hostile, placing the future of Israeli and international marine transportation in peril. Do we also need to be involved in what is happening there?

And what about our friends? Do we still have any in the beginning of 2016? Not Turkey, not European countries (Except Angela Merkel's Germany). In the meantime, there is only America, and we are doing everything we can to ruin that as well.

It seems there is no bigger thrill than being a “nation that dwells alone”!

Now seriously, is the IDF prepared for all the challenges I listed above? And how can we prepare the home front for barrages of missiles from the north, south and east, and maybe from the sea as well? What are we doing to prevent these horrific possibilities? What should the nation be told by our leaders? The truth, or is the stock market is more important? The truth, or do they repeatedly preach, “Our lives have never been better”? The truth, or do they make sure the media deals with gossip about Oren Hazen, Miri Regev¹⁸ or another program lineup meant to sedate the nation living in Zion?

Is there a connection between reality as I have presented it, to the issues currently being discussed in Israel? Are meetings being held to discuss the urgent need to correctly distribute the population? Or the need to build islands for additional air and sea ports? On national resilience? On sealing Israel's borders? On maintaining separation lines between Judea and Samaria and Israel? On the desire to overshadow the separation fences? On the need for accountability for everything that endangers the life of Israelis?

18 A Likud MK, who is currently the Minister of Culture and Sport. She has made headlines for her course, nationalistic and vocally loud statements.

Climate Change!

I have presented quite a grave picture, and I have not even touched on the implications climate change has on Israel. My opinion is that Israel will safely get by this frightening phenomenon. It will be hotter and drier, there will be more fires, more damage to our beaches due to storms, but we will prevail. Our poor neighbors are not prevailing, nor will they prevail over lengthy droughts, increasing global warming and their thirst for water. Since climate change will continue and our neighbors have no solution for its ramifications, the near future will be increasingly chaotic, as will be the waves of immigrants trying to enter Israel. Based on past experience, it is safe to assume the “cartel of some human rights organizations” will continue its efforts to allow all the world’s poor to enter Israel. I simply do not believe these loud organizations.

Does any one of the Knesset’s members or Israel’s judges have a coherent stance about what should be done? Let their voices be heard now. Should Israel’s borders be more intensely sealed? Should we modify the judicial system to reality, and not to baseless realistic pretentiousness in such an obstinate world? Should we start thinking about utilizing the space underground? Should we develop the environment more than we have in the past, as this is the first victim from a lack of water from climate change? Desalinate more water?

What does the 2015 Paris conference have to do with Israel?

I am one of those who believes that climate change came before the industrial revolution, so I do not understand how environmental pollution is connected to the changes all of the planet’s residents are currently experiencing. However, the fact is that there are changes, and so we need to prepare for them as I previously mentioned, and the reasons for these changes are unimportant – whether they be global, cyclic, or due to human behavior.

What took place in Paris? The world’s leaders will not achieve the goals they discussed and agreed upon, but it is an opportunity for us to fight for reduced pollution inside Israel, regardless of conferences decisions and the commitments towards others.

Why is it difficult for me to be optimistic, even though I am not despondent – a personal perspective

For the last 50 years, I have been pointing out Israel's soft spots, its weaknesses and threats (from home and abroad), and have tried to recommend to anyone willing to listen, various ways to act and cope with these challenges (I had the privilege to have lived for many years in the amazing seam between an academic ivory tower and security organizations). For more than 50 years, after every lecture I have given, or after every position paper I submit, I hear, "You are exaggerating, reality is far different". Five years go by, ten at the most, then I hear those same people (prime ministers, ministers, CEOs, IDF generals and chiefs of the General Staff, consultants, professors and others) ask "How did you know?". But immediately after my lectures I still hear the same chorus: "This time you are exaggerating!".

There have been times when people listened, internalized and acted, and history will judge if the recommendations were good or bad. I will mention several of them:

1. Realizing the idea of establishing the Mizpim (Look Outs) in the Galil¹⁹ (1976-1982).
2. Building the "cruel fence" along the Egyptian border (2010-2013).
3. Understanding that the annexation of Judea and Samaria means the end of the Zionist vision, because of the demographic threat.
4. The separation fence in Judea and Samaria, an outline that is not security-based, but essentially ethnic!
5. Withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, which in spite of loud lip-service, in closed conversations leaders from the right admit that leaving there was the right thing to do.
6. Moving the IDF to the Negev – too little, too late – but it is happening.

19 A plan to increase Jewish residents in the Galil by establishing communities on mountain peaks. The plan continued until 1982 and was successful in bringing thousands of Jews to the Galil.

7. It even seems to me that concerning the monster, meaning "The State of Tel Aviv", understanding that things need to change is starting to sink in. Real activity is evident to help the periphery; for example, the paving of roads and laying train tracks to these areas. Too little, too late – but things *are* moving there!

My most burning failure, one for which I was completely unsuccessful (and I know I am surprising many) concerns the improvement of relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel. Moshe Arens and his assistant, Amos Gilboa, remember the document I personally presented to them at their request, concerning responsible policy towards this sector. Thousands of my students both uniformed and civilian, are familiar with my warnings concerning Zur Itzhak: if we ignore Tayibe, then Zur Itzhak will become Tayibe Illit (upper Tayibe), just like what happened to Nazareth Illit across from Nazareth, and to Carmiel in the heart of the Beit Kerem valley.

Without hesitation, acceptance committees need to be established in small communities; these kinds of committees are impossible to establish in cities.

Another failure of mine concerns the spread of the Bedouin in southern Israel. So many words have been written and spoken for the need to find a solution for the double catastrophe taking place there (to them and the country), but to no avail. What have governments done between 1950 and 2008? What did it do since 2008 until today, following the report by Judge Eliezer Goldberg? Udi Prawer was appointed to tackle this issue. He was replaced by Benny Begin, who was quickly replaced by Doron Almog, then by Yair Shamir and then by another. Time passes and the tragedy is unsolved and becomes a strategic threat to an entire country. The Bedouin population constitutes 2% of Israel's population, but holds 10% of its land area, as of the writing of this document.

In fast operations, we are heroes. Think about the Six-Day War, the Entebbe operation, the *Karine A* cargo ship, "Defensive Shield", and bringing Ethiopian Jewry to Israel. But when Ethiopian immigrants need to be given attention, this is no longer a "fast operation". Therefore, Israel looks patchy, a collection of one-off solutions until what has been known forever becomes clear: haste is of the devil.

This cannot continue! The challenges are too many, too complex and too fast. The “no governability” is paralyzing this country – the only country I have!

Let’s admit it, anarchical democracy cannot provide a solution for Israel’s real needs.

I will conclude with a special story. A decade and a half ago, I sat with Binyamin Netanyahu, the current Prime Minister, and the two of us addressed these issues. He suddenly got up, went to the blackboard in his office and said, “I accept all the challenges you have put on the table, and I am going to write them on the left side of the board”. Then he created a matrix by writing the political parties that existed then, and started to think with whom he could solve the problems we had raised. After a few moments he summed up the meeting, “I’m afraid I can only handle maybe two challenges”. I asked about issue A that seemed critical to me. He laughed and said, “Come on, it is maybe in 19th place...”. This was a moment of truth, a pragmatic examination of the intolerable reality in which we live.

In our anarchical democracy, I do not think there is a chance for a real breakthrough for the challenges awaiting us that I have listed here (my conclusion, not Netanyahu’s). And so it is no surprise that I am concerned with the slow but steady annexation of Judea and Samaria, the expansion of piggish capitalism, not distributing the population, and non-action in the Arab sector.

All that is left is to quote Psalms (1, 9) “What has been done will be done again”.

In the meantime, the older secular Zionists are disappearing, and their places are being taken a new generation that believes in “with God’s help...” (everything will work out, just as it did in 1939, in Bar Kokhba’s time, and in all the other difficult times our long-suffering people have endured).

A Summary Note

Ever since the War of Independence, 1947-1949, Israel has not faced as large as assortment of strategic challenges as it faces in 2016! The domestic front is on fire, the external front is undergoing dramatic changes, and the leadership only deals with the marginal, the brand, poetic paraphrasing and averting attention from the important to the mundane.

Leaders of Israel, we expect you to address the many questions that were raised here, a political platform for increasing national resilience, the policy towards the Bedouin, and population distribution. We expect you to address the issues of health, welfare, education, threatening population density, and climate change, but most of all, we expect you to prevent the (anti-Zionist) move that has already begun, the annexation of Judea and Samaria to Israel. We expect to hear all the parties express what they believe need to be done concerning the unforgivable connection between crony capitalism, the media and politics. We expect clear policies on how to reach permanent borders (agreed or unilateral) for a more modest existence, to revive Jewish and democratic values, to ensure a Jewish majority in Israel, to reduce emigration from Israel and increase immigration by keeping Israel more attractive and beautiful than in the past.

A leader who does not respond to all of the above needs to be removed from the public spotlight!

A party that does not deal with these issues is not Zionist, and it is not Jewish! Our politicians need hear this every day, all day. Finally, I will bring here a portion of a list comprised by Shabtai Shavit (former head of the Mossad), who is concerned like me at what is happening in Israel, and was published in *Ha'aretz* .

Blindness, Stupidity, Room for Concern

Shabtai Shavit, November 22, 2014.

I am truly concerned about the future of the Zionist project. I am concerned about the critical mass of the threats against us on the one hand, and the government's blindness and political and strategic paralysis on the other. Although the State of Israel is dependent upon the United States, the relationship between the two countries has reached an unprecedented

low point. Europe, our biggest market, has grown tired of us and is heading toward imposing sanctions on us.

Anti-Semitism and hatred of Israel have reached dimensions unknown since before World War II. Our public diplomacy and public relations have failed dismally, while those of the Palestinians have garnered many important accomplishments in the world. University campuses in the West, particularly in the U.S., are hothouses for the future leadership of their countries. We are losing the fight for support for Israel in the academic world. An increasing number of Jewish students are turning away from Israel. The global BDS movement (boycott, divestment, sanctions) against Israel, which works for Israel's delegitimization, has grown, and quite a few Jews are members.

In this age of asymmetrical warfare we are not using all our force, and this has a detrimental effect on our deterrent power. The debate over the price of Milky pudding snacks and its centrality in public discourse demonstrate an erosion of the solidarity that is a necessary condition for our continued existence here. Israelis' rush to acquire a foreign passport, based as it is on the yearning for foreign citizenship, indicates that people's feeling of security has begun to crack.

I am concerned that for the first time, I am seeing haughtiness and arrogance, together with more than a bit of the messianic thinking that rushes to turn the conflict into a holy war. If this has been, so far, a local political conflict that two small nations have been waging over a small and defined piece of territory, major forces in the religious Zionist movement are foolishly doing everything they can to turn it into the most horrific of wars, in which the entire Muslim world will stand against us. I also see, to the same extent, detachment and lack of understanding of international processes and their significance for us. This right wing, in its blindness and stupidity, is pushing the nation of Israel into the dishonorable position of "the nation shall dwell alone and not be reckoned among the nations" (Numbers 23:9).

[...] The nation of Israel is galloping blindly in a time tunnel to the age of Bar Kochba and his war on the Roman Empire. The result of that conflict was several centuries of national existence in the Land of Israel followed by 2,000 years of exile. The religious Zionist movement, by comparison, believes the Jews are "God's chosen." This movement, which sanctifies territory beyond any other value, is prepared to sacrifice everything, even at the price of failure and danger to the Third Commonwealth. If destruction should take place,

they will explain it in terms of faith, saying that we failed because "We sinned against God." Therefore, they will say, it is not the end of the world. We will go into exile, preserve our Judaism and wait patiently for the next opportunity. I am concerned that large segments of the nation of Israel have forgotten, or put aside, the original vision of Zionism: to establish a Jewish and democratic state for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel.

No borders were defined in that vision, and the current defiant policy is working against it. What can and ought to be done? We need to create an Archimedean lever that will stop the current deterioration and reverse today's reality at once.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Yoram Ettinger – Jewish Demography: Not What You Thought!

Yoram Ettinger is a member of an organization called American-Israel Demographic Research Group (AIDRG), that deals with, among other topics, the demographics concerning the Arabs in Israel. This is what he writes (published in *Israel Hayom*, April 5, 2013):

Israel's Jewish Demography Defies Conventions

By Amb. (Ret.) Yoram Ettinger, "Second Thought: a Israel-US Initiative"

On March 21, 2013, President Obama stated at the Jerusalem Convention Center: "Given the demographics west of the Jordan River, the only way for Israel to endure and thrive as a Jewish and democratic state is through the realization of an independent and viable Palestine."

President Obama was misinformed by his advisors. *The suggestion that Israel should concede Jewish geography, in order to secure Jewish demography, ignores demographic trends in Israel, in the Muslim world in general and west of the Jordan River in particular. These trends reaffirm that time is working in favor of Israel's Jewish demography.*

In 2013, in sharp contrast with projections issued by the demographic establishment, there is a 66% Jewish majority (6.3 million Jews) in the combined area of Judea, Samaria (1.66 million Arabs) and pre-1967 Israel (1.65 million Arabs), compared with a 40% Jewish minority in 1948 and a 9% Jewish minority in 1900. The Jewish majority benefits from a robust tailwind of fertility rate and migration, which could produce an 80% Jewish majority by 2035.

The 66% Jewish majority of 6.3 million (including 350,000 Olim not yet recognized as Jews by the Rabbinate) exposes the systematic errors of leading demographers. ***In 1898, the leading Jewish demographer/historian, Simon Dubnov, projected a meager 500,000 Jews in the Land of Israel by the year 2000. In 1944, the founder of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics and the guru of contemporary Israeli demographers and statisticians, Prof. Roberto Bacchi, projected only 2.3 million Jews in Israel by 2001, a 34% minority.***

On October 23, 1987, Hebrew University's demographer Prof. Sergio DellaPergolla, told Yediot Achronoth **that no substantial Aliya was expected from the USSR, but, one million Olim arrived.** In a September, 2006 article, Prof. Soffer projected that by 2011 there would be 4.5 million Arabs in Judea and Samaria, double the number published in 2011 by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics – 2.6 million. And, in fact, the Palestinian number was inflated by one million Arabs: 400,000 overseas residents; a double count of 300,000 Jerusalem Arabs, who are counted as Israeli Arabs and as West Bankers; etc.

In defiance of demographic projections, Israel's Jewish fertility rate of three births per woman is **higher than any Arab country** other than Yemen, Iraq and Jordan. The modernity-driven downward trend of Muslim demography is highlighted by Iran's fertility rate of 1.8 births per woman, Saudi Arabia's 2.3 births and Syria's and Egypt's 2.9 births per woman. **The Westernization of the Muslim fertility rate** was triggered by the unprecedented expansion of education among women, urbanization and family planning. The surge of Israel's Jewish fertility rate was triggered by high level optimism, patriotism, collective responsibility, the stable economy and attachment to roots.

In contrast with conventional wisdom, Israel's Jewish-Arab fertility gap has been reduced from six births in 1969 to half a birth in 2012. Moreover, the fertility rates of Jewish and Arab women in their 20s and 30s – in Judea, Samaria and pre-1967 Israel – has converged at three births per woman, with the Jewish rate trending above – and the Arab rate trending below – three births. Furthermore, the fertility rate of Israeli-born Jewish women is already above three births per woman.

In defiance of the demographic profession, the annual number of Israel's Jewish births has surged by 62.5% from 1995 (80,400) to 2012 (130,000), while the annual number of Israeli Arab births has been sustained at around 40,000 annually. In 1995, there were 2.3 Jewish births per 1 Arab birth; in 2012 – 3.2 Jewish births per 1 Arab birth. In 1995 Jewish births amounted to 69% of total births; in 2012 – 77% of total births. In 2013, the Jerusalem Jewish fertility rate is 4.2 births, compared with the 3.9 Arab fertility rate.

Contrary to political correctness, Israel's Jewish fertility rate is surging at a time when the fertility rate of the ultra-orthodox sector declines, due to its growing integration into the employment market and military service. The surge in fertility is produced by Israel's secular Jews, and mostly by the yuppies around Tel Aviv and the Olim (immigrants) from the former USSR.

Anyone suggesting that Jews are doomed to become a minority west of the Jordan River is either dramatically mistaken or outrageously misleading.

The Ettinger Group Lies and the Right Thirstily Drinks these Fabrications

(Arnon Soffer, October 1, 2014)

Do we have the wind at our backs? A Jewish population explosion? An Arab population crash? A victory for Jewish demography? Yoram Ettinger, Guy Bechor, Gabi Avital, Yakov Faitelson and their cronies are claiming yes! Let's see what the Central Bureau of Statistics has to say about it. To these data, the "others" need to be added (Christians that are not Arabs or Russian Jews the rabbinate does not recognize as Jews) – 4.4% since 2005, but even with this addition, the Jewish decrease continues. This becomes clearer in 2025, the rate of "others" declines to 4.1%. In 2035, the rate of the "others" will decrease to 3.8%.

The conclusion is clear – there is no tail wind, or Jewish skyrocketing. All the lofty words are nothing by an attempt to create the illusion that everything is fine.

The number of Jews (in Israel) in selected years

Year	Percent of Jews of all of Israel's residents (not Eretz Israel) – less foreigners, illegal immigrants, illegal aliens and tourists
1968	85.6
1978	84.0
1988	81.7
1998	79.2

2005	75.9
2009	75.5
2014	74.9
Forecasts of the Central Bureau of Statistics:	
2025	73.8
2035	73.1

So what is the "Ettinger Group" actually doing? There is an increase in the number of children with Jewish mothers, and there is a decrease in Muslim children. However, among Jews, the death rate (not among infants) is twice as high as that of Muslims; this is because Muslim society are mostly younger people, while the Jewish population is much older. In 2008, the death rate among Jews was 6.2 per thousand and among Muslims 2.5 per thousand. In 2013, the rate among Jews decreased to 5.9, but among the Muslims it remained the same, 2.5 per thousand.

When considering natural increase, it is not enough to count high or low birth rates; what needs to be taken into account is the birth rate minus deaths rate. This is the natural increase! Those who calculate differently are telling half-truths.

In the case of Israel, which is a country that accepts immigrants (and that has emigration), the immigration less emigration figure needs to be added to natural increase, which results in a sum called the population growth. In 2013, the rate among Jews was 1.7% and among Muslims 2.4%. In spite of the increase of the birth rate among Jews and others, the growth of the Muslim population is still higher. **However, Ettinger did not present the whole story, and a half-truth is worse than a lie!**

Let's take a closer look at the real data (according to the CBS, September 2015): in 2013, there were 171,444 births in Israel (of all sects and religions) and 41,632 deaths. This means the natural increase in Israel is 129,812. Among Jews: In 2013, there were 126,999 births and 35,680 deaths. The natural increase of Jews: 91,319. Among Muslims: In 2013, there were 34,927 births and 3,512 deaths. The natural increase of Muslims: 31,415. The Jews, who constitute 74.9 of Israel's population, only grew by 70.3% from the entire population, less than their portion of the population! The Muslims, which constitute 20.7% of the population in Israel, grew 24.2% more than their portion from the entire population. Therefore, we have found a continued decrease in the number of Jews in Israel in spite of the increased fertility rate.

And what is happening in the field of immigration (Aliya) to Israel? In 2013, 16,884 new immigrants arrived in Israel. This number would represent the emigration balance if no one had left the county, but the emigration balance was 11,800, meaning 5,084 people emigrated from Israel.

Again, Ettinger and his cronies have not presented all the data, and a half-truth is worse than a lie!

Appendix 2: Lying With a Straight Face – for a Greater Israel Data Can be Fabricated!

I now present data from two sources regarding the scope of exodus of Arabs from Judea and Samaria who have no intention of returning. The first source is data from the Civil Administration collected at the bridges between 2007-2009; the second source is data from Yakov Faitelson from the Institute for Zionist Strategies, a work colleague of Yoram Ettinger who is in charge of public relations of the American-Israeli Group, which has made its goal to deny Palestinian demography. Their conclusion is that there are not so many Arabs in Eretz Israel, therefore Judea and Samaria can be annexed.

	First source – the number of those leaving the territories	Second source – Faitelson data
2007	15,669	58,861 (according to Civil Administration representative, Sharon Biton)
2008	22,398	63,386 (in only the first seven months)
2009	30,329	44,000 (in only the first eight months)

So who should be believed? Data from the Civil Administration (from the bridges) or from Faitelson? You need to be reminded that Faitelson and Ettinger are right-wing political activists and not professionals. And if I have not been sufficiently convincing, then here is a quote from an article by Faitelson. Pay attention to the credibility of the data: footnote 96, Dalit Halevy, “the Palestinian Authority admits tens of thousands have emigrated.” And here is the certified and *objective* source: **Arutz 7** (July 2, 2007) ²⁰...

There is no shame or disgrace, everything is allowed for a greater Israel. And who receives the data: The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University, former senior officials in the Ministry of Education, "Israel Hayom", all the settlers in the West Bank, and half the Knesset members in 2015. What have we become?

And now a naive question: imagine that the IDF would adopt the group's data that claims that in Judea and Samaria there are only 1.7 million Palestinians and not 2.5 million (without Jerusalem!) and in the Gaza Strip there are 1.1 or 1.3 and not

²⁰ A radio station identified with the radical right.

1.85 million. What should this deception be called? A deception that could cost the lives of IDF soldiers?

This group has learned well two rules concerning national brain washing:

The first, to inundate the public with lies of construed data under the verified assumption that if you tell a lie, then repeat it again and again, then it becomes the truth. And the second, to block alternative data, or prevent the undermining of the lies. If you do this, be assured they will believe your lies! Therefore, if you repeatedly tell the lie that there are no Arabs, and the last ones remaining are on their way to the Allenby Bridge, then there really are no Arabs any more...

