

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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NEWS

A new era has opened in relations between Israel and the Palestinians, characterized by violent confrontations throughout the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem. Settlement areas and military installations protecting them have been the principal flash points during the last month.

As we go to press, Israelis and Palestinians alike appear to be preparing for a continuation of escalating confrontations that have already claimed almost 200 lives.

The article beginning on page 1 reviews this phenomena, as does a separate "intifada timeline" on pages 10 and 11.

The story on page 12 presents an excerpt from the "Abu Mazen-Beilin" understandings that remain an important component of Israeli-Palestinian deliberations.

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PALESTINIAN REVOLT CENTERS AROUND SETTLEMENTS

By Geoffrey Aronson

A few days before the September violence that consumed Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip, a group of analysts specializing in Israeli and Palestinian affairs highlighted the vulnerability of Israel's settlement areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and wondered aloud why Palestinians had not yet marched en masse upon one of the 200 or so outposts that Israel has established in the course of its 33-year occupation.

The widespread confrontations that began on September 29 did not follow precisely this script, foreshadowed during Israel's precipitous retreat from Lebanon earlier this year, but they did nevertheless relentlessly expose the shortcomings of four related assumptions at the heart of Israel's Oslo strategy.

First, the assumption that an Israeli redeployment out of populated Palestinian areas would reduce the potential for violent clashes has been repudiated by the recent unrest. The scale of Palestinian casualties, confrontation at scores of points, Israel's deployment and use of helicopter gunships not only for evacuating settlers but also for offensive military operations, (particularly at the Netzarim junction in Gaza and at Joseph's Tomb in Nablus, but also in major Palestinian towns), and the deployment and use of tanks on the borders of Palestinian-controlled territory [Area A], weigh heavily against the long-prevailing view that redeployment

according to the Oslo format means disengagement.

Second, even in a situation where Israel still remains in complete control in East Jerusalem and in over 60 percent of the West Bank and 20 percent of the Gaza Strip, many settlements—where more than 360,000 Israelis now live—proved to be vulnerable and exposed and isolated in times of conflict. Vehicular travel to and from Netzarim, for example, was impossible for two weeks. The evacuation under fire of Joseph's Tomb in Nablus marks the first time since 1967 that Israel has been forced, at point of arms, to evacuate a civilian settlement outpost.

Third, grave doubts have been created about Israel's ability to maintain at acceptable cost defensible transport and communication routes both between some settlements and from settlements to Israel. Fourth, the placement of fortified military positions at strategic crossroads to protect these settlements itself created flashpoints, most particularly at Netzarim and the Ayosh junction north of Ramallah, where the most violent and sustained confrontations occurred. These four elements of the current crisis will no doubt have a profound effect on policies and actions of both Israel and the Palestinians on the issues of roads, settlements, and security.

In recent months, and especially since the Nakba events in May when

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TO OUR READERS

When the late Merle Thorpe, Jr. created the *Settlement Report* in 1991, he was convinced that Israeli settlements were a grave threat to an Israeli-Palestinian peace. He predicted that the de facto annexation of Palestinian land for settlements would complicate, if not prevent, an equitable territorial compromise, and that the planting of Jewish settlements within a rapidly multiplying Palestinian community would create perpetual and violent communal conflict. Yet all Israeli governments, including Ehud Barak's, have continued to expand settlements, notwithstanding the Oslo Accords of 1993. Since its signing, the settler population in the West Bank and Gaza has doubled to 200,000; it is now at 170,000 in East Jerusalem.

The recent explosion of violence and breakdown of peace talks have confirmed Merle's worst fears. There are many causes for the current crisis, but land and settlements remain at the heart of the conflict. According to Israel's offer at Camp David, though never clarified, Israel would apparently have surrendered 90 percent or so of the West Bank and Gaza. Yet no settlements would be abandoned. Instead, Israel

would annex the majority of them and the others, though nominally under Palestinian sovereignty, would continue to be protected by Israeli forces and connected to Israel by a vast road network. It should not be a surprise that Palestinians view this a confirmation of Israeli conquest and domination which would deny the emergence of a genuinely sovereign, geographically viable Palestinian state.

As this edition of the *Settlement Report* notes, much of the recent violence has occurred near settlements or road junctions and military outposts associated with the protection of the settlements. These actions undoubtedly will prompt reappraisals by Israel. Indeed, Israeli officials are again discussing unilateral "separation" to restore security. However, neither separation nor security are possible unless Israel withdraws from settlements that create a disastrous entanglement for both Israelis and Palestinians. The parties, including the United States, should heed this lesson when peace talks resume.

Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.

"The Sharm understandings are not being upheld by the Palestinian side. There are preparations for attacks, public incitement, continued mass demonstrations, shooting incidents and a lack of security coordination. Released terrorists are not being detained and the violence is not being reined in. We cannot ignore such a situation and must act in accordance with Israel's vital security interests in order to provide the area with maximum security, stability and normal daily life.

"Today, it seems that the Palestinians have chosen not to continue on the path of Camp David, and are

preventing a discussion on the basis of the ideas raised by President Clinton. It appears that they have turned towards violence in order to try and internationalize the process and secure international support for the establishment of their state without agreement with Israel.

"After the Arab summit, and in light of its results, we will have to call a time-out, the goal of which will be to reassess the diplomatic process in light of the events of recent weeks. The need for this is self-evident, natural and dictated by common sense."

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak,
October 22, 2000

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With a Song in Their Hearts

By Daniel ben Simon, in *Ha'aretz*, October 20, 2000

In the beginning, Israelis the same roads in the land of strife, entered into conflict and provoked one another. Then the Oslo agreements were signed, which begat bypass roads so that the Jews could travel undisturbed, far from hostile Palestinian neighborhoods. In the fullness of days, the Palestinians saw that it was good and began to travel the bypass roads that were intended for Jews, as these roads were open, fast and free of obstacles. Of late, with the waxing of the riots, the bypass roads became a preferred location for Palestinian ambushes. In the blink of an eye, new roads were paved to bypass the bypass roads, so that the residents of the besieged Jews beyond the 1967 borders might travel in safety. On Rosh Hashanah—the Jewish New Year—the Ayosh Junction, which links Ramallah and Beit El, was closed to Israeli vehicles. The junction became a death trap, where Israel Defense Forces soldiers daily faced off with hordes of Palestinians from Ramallah and its environs, who fell upon them. The road to Beit El was closed, and its residents found themselves cut off. Last Friday, the army paved a new bypass road to the settlement that runs through the base of the Benjamin Brigade. Travelers to the settlement must stop at the gates of the base, show identity papers and cross through the camp in order to reach the gate to Beit El.

Another non-routine week in the land of strife. The Jewish settlements on the outskirts of Ramallah were encircled by military forces, and the Palestinian settlements were encircled by tanks. The roads are nearly desolate, and only few dare to travel them. Every time a car with Palestinian plates is seen, the feeling of danger sharpens among Israeli travelers. Veteran settlers cannot recall such a tense atmosphere since the beginnings of the settlement in the territories.

Last Thursday, a few hours after the rockets were fired on Ramallah, Michael Blum, one of the residents, was called to headquarters at Beit El and ordered to join the settlement's defense force. He was stationed at a forward guard post that overlooks the nearby Palestinian settlements in order to face any evil. "This happened before in the [1996] tunnel incidents," he explained. "They called us up in the framework of the Beit El Company for fear that the rioters might invade our settlements."

Since the outbreak of the riots, information sheets have been handed out to residents. In Information Sheet 5, which was distributed on October 5, the residents were required to follow the orders of soldiers and police. "It might not be possible to collect the garbage," it said. "If the bins are full, garbage must not be thrown outside but must be kept indoors. We will do our best to see that the day nurseries operate as usual."

"Tomorrow there is no organized transportation to Jerusalem. It is important to purchase whatever possible in the settlement (food, restaurants, fuel). The social services department will be open for questions from parents and children about dealing with the security situation."

The Hand of God

The depressed atmosphere that spread throughout the land left no traces in Beit El. Despite their proximity to the major flashpoints and the fact that they were exposed to clear and present danger, the settlers insisted upon celebrating the holiday of Sukkot as if they had cut themselves off from the grave reality around them.

When the speeches were over, the celebrations began. In the background could be heard the echoes of shots coming from that nearby junction where soldiers and Palestinians were fighting. This did not bother the celebrants. They were so absorbed in singing and dancing that it seemed as though they were living in a bubble.

Among the celebrants circulated Hillel Horowitz, the administrator of the Jewish settlement in Hebron; he had come to Beit El to rub shoulders with the American donors, whose generous contributions had helped to expand the Jewish settlement in Hebron. The army had ordered him to cancel the celebrations that had been planned for the intermediate days of Sukkot, in the wake of the escalation of the riots. "It's too bad," he sighed. "This year we were expecting 100,000 people to come to encourage the Jewish settlement."

Shooting Incident

Toward evening, the sounds of shooting near the settlement grew stronger. The nearby Ayosh Junction has heated up, and hundreds of Palestinians rushed there and began to confront the IDF soldiers. Traffic stopped, and the residents of Beit El were stuck at the exit from the settlement. They were told to wait until the fighting abated. "What happened?" they asked. "A shooting incident," answered the guard at the gate indifferently. None of the people who were waiting got excited. After a while, the gate opened again and the residents were allowed to travel the roads.

It is hard to exaggerate the fear that accompanies travel on those roads. It seems as though only the settlers who live in the area are continuing to act as if nothing were out of the ordinary, demonstratively ignoring the sounds of war echoing on all sides. On Sunday night, many of them took their children and drove in a protected convoy to visit their besieged friends in Psagot at the top of the hill. They were greeted with singing and dancing, and the rejoicing continued into the wee hours. At the same time deathly silence prevailed in Ramallah, and its busy streets had emptied of people, as if the earth had swallowed them up. ♦

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

June 21 *Ha'aretz* reports the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) in the West Bank and Gaza deploying first response units in larger settlements and planning to distribute rubber-coated bullets and tear-gas grenades to every settlement. Officers are examining the possibility that unarmed Palestinians will march en masse on the settlements, as was done in the waning days of Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon.

June 23 *Kol Ha'ir* reports that a Palestinian police station has opened in Azariyya, extending a permanent Palestinian police presence beyond neighboring Abu Dis. Israel, despite assurances to the contrary, has postponed the formal transfer of both neighborhoods to Palestinian security control.

The weekly newspaper also reports that Israeli planning officials have refused to increase the density of construction in the Palestinian neighborhood of Kufr Aqab in East Jerusalem. The area, comparable in size to the Pisgat Ze'ev settlement, has only 1,100 dwelling units, while in Pisgat Ze'ev, 12,000 units are planned.

June 26 Violence erupts between Israeli and Palestinian Authority forces when the Palestinians attempt to stop an Israeli convoy between the Karni crossing and the Netzarim junction in Gaza. At nearby Kfar Darom, Palestinians throw stones at an Israeli motorist. At the Katif junction another Israeli motorist is attacked with concrete blocks. No injuries are reported.

June 27 *Ha'aretz* reports that for the first time in recent memory, settlers are constructing buildings and roads on lands that they recognize as Palestinian, leading in some cases to clashes between settlers and Palestinians. Such actions have occurred near the settlements of Bracha, Elkana, Itamar, Neve Daniel and Revava.

June 28 *Yediot Aharanot* reports that Prime Minister Ehud Barak has asked U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to inform Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat that Israel will annex territories if he unilaterally declares a Palestinian state on September 13.

Barak declares "the agreement that we will sign will win a decisive majority not only among the Israeli public, but also among the settlers in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and there is no greater proof that the agreement represents our interests and achievements."

MK Rechavam Ze'evi tells Israel Wire that PA forces are using mock settlements established by the PA in exercises to practice overrunning settlements.

Yediot Aharanot reports that a building boom on the Golan will add 350 units to settlements—207 in Katzrin and 10 to 20 units in nine other settlements.

June 29 Israel Wire reports the IDF has rejected Kiryat Arba's request for 10 M-60 heavy machine guns. In addition, the military has confiscated weapons possessed by IDF reservists living in settlements.

June 30 Attorney General Elyakim Rubinstein argues that UN Resolutions 242 and 338 do not apply to the Israeli-PA negotiations because they were passed more than 25 years before the establishment of the PA. PA leader Yasser Arafat responds, "Israel is making an effort to thwart the whole peace process." A State Department spokesman responds, "For 30 years Resolutions 242 and 338 have determined the way in which the U.S. addresses Middle East issues. All negotiations between Israelis and the Arabs must be based on them."

July 3 The Palestinian Central Council gives Arafat until the end of the year to declare a state, without committing to a specific date.

In an address to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Barak asserts, "We have warned the Palestinians that any unilateral actions will be met with Israel's unilateral actions, which will include placing the Gush Etzion area of Judea under Israeli law and the establishment of a large security zone in the Jordan Valley."

PA paramilitary forces destroy a newly constructed electrical security fence around the industrial area of the northern Gaza settlement of Alei Sinai.

July 4 Israel Wire reports that Egged, Israel's largest bus cooperative, might eliminate all its routes in East Jerusalem, including those to the Western Wall. Egged has recently cancelled its routes that go through East Jerusalem, citing security concerns.

July 5 Burger King reneges on its August 26, 1999 agreement to remove the Burger King logo and products from a location in the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim.

A tender for an additional 522 dwelling

units at Har Homa is awarded to seven Israeli contractors. Tenders have been awarded for more than 1,500 units at the site in southeast Jerusalem.

July 7 *Yerushalim* reports that the PA is stepping up its purchase of properties in Jerusalem's Old City and surrounding neighborhoods. A recent purchase in the Muslim Quarter will be used as a school.

Yerushalim reports that Abu Ala, head of the Palestinian Legislative Council and a senior negotiator, is part owner of a quarry that supplies material for the construction of settlements in Har Homa and Ma'ale Adumim.

Kol Ha'Zeman reports Ehud Olmert, mayor of Jerusalem, saying "The independent existence of Ma'ale Adumim is only temporary. I assume that in the framework agreement with the Palestinians, Ma'ale Adumim will become part of Jerusalem."

July 9 Israel Television reports that Ehud Barak's attorney, Gilad Sher, told a group of Golan and Jordan Valley residents that the prime minister has proposed to settle Palestinian refugees in an area in the valley near Jericho.

According to *Ha'aretz*, Chief Rabbis Eliyahu Bakshi-Doron and Yisrael Meir Lau do not object to Israel giving the PA control over the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, Joseph's Tomb in Nablus, and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem as long as Israelis maintain access to the holy sites. The rabbis oppose relinquishing Israeli control of the Temple Mount but did not rule out the possibility of a trilateral governing body consisting of Jews, Muslims and Christians.

According to *Kol Ha'ir*, the Ministry of Construction reports 6,500 units under construction in urban settlements—1,000 in Ma'ale Adumim, Ariel, Adam and hundreds each in Karnei Shomron, Givat Ze'ev, Ofarim, and Emmanuel. In smaller village settlements the total is 3,500. The newspaper also reports that "the Ministry of Housing will invest more than \$25 million to subsidize construction and infrastructure in the coming year." In April, the expenditure of a similar sum for the construction of 25 bypass roads was announced.

July 11 Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat arrive at Camp David, outside of Washington DC.

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

July 13 MK Ahmed Tibi tells Israel Wire that senior, reliable sources close to the Camp David II summit have informed him that the two sides have agreed that none of the Israeli settlements in Gaza would remain under Israeli sovereignty in the final status.

July 16 *Ha'aretz* reports a demonstration of more than 200,000 Israelis opposed to Prime Minister Barak's policies toward the Palestinians and Syrians, in particular his readiness for a territorial compromise in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights.

July 17 Voice of Palestine radio reports tensions near Tulkarem and the Israeli settlement of Avnei Hefetz where local Palestinian farmers oppose Israeli efforts to expand the settlement.

July 19 Protesters in Ramallah demand the dismantling of settlements. At the same time, Fateh members march in Gaza calling on Arafat to refuse any agreement giving Israel sovereignty over Jerusalem.

Leading Palestinians issue a statement urging that any agreement signed by the PA be ratified in a national referendum. The document declares that "a just and lasting peace in the area will not prevail without full Palestinian sovereignty over all territories within the June 4, 1967, borders, including East Jerusalem, the indisputable capital of the independent Palestinian state; without the return of Palestinian refugees in accordance with UN Resolution 194; without dismantling of all settlements residing on Palestinian land and without maintaining future Palestinian state's sovereignty over its borders, water, and natural resources."

July 20 Following a directive from Barak, a \$1.25 billion, five-year plan has been set in motion to "strengthen" Jerusalem. Half the money will come from the state budget and the other half from a campaign abroad by the Jewish Agency. The money will be invested in all aspects of the city, with special emphasis on the development of East Jerusalem.

July 21 *Ma'ariv* reports that the ratio of Jews to Arabs in Jerusalem is decreasing. The city's Arab population growth rate is more than double the growth rate of its Jewish residents.

Binyamin Regional Council head Pinchas Wallerstein emphasizes that settlers "are not setting up militias and we are not buying

arms. All we are doing is preparing and training. We rely on the army."

Ha'aretz reports the declaration by two former chief rabbis of Israel that "It is forbidden for anyone to transfer or surrender any part of the Land of Israel which was given to us by the Torah, especially the holy city of Jerusalem and any place where Jews live."

July 23 The YESHA council announces that settlers will not leave their homes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip under any circumstances.

Ha'aretz reports that organizations that for years have purchased houses and land in East Jerusalem for Jewish settlement are accelerating their efforts to close a number of deals in anticipation of a Camp David II agreement that will freeze all existing purchases, construction and occupation of buildings.

Ma'ariv reports that Eliahi Bakshi Doron, Israel's chief Sephardi rabbi, has declared "Raising the Palestinian flag on the Temple Mount is absolutely forbidden. The holy places must remain under Israeli, Jewish sovereignty. The place must remain under our full sovereignty."

July 25 In an address to the Knesset Foreign Affairs Committee, IDF Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz says that military officers and YESHA residents have been instructed to open fire with live ammunition if necessary to defend themselves from any attempt by Palestinians to overrun their communities.

The Camp David Summit between Ehud Barak and Yassir Arafat ends with no agreement.

July 28 Israel Wire reports that, according to a statement issued by the Prime Minister's Office, Barak does not intend to transfer control of Abu Dis to the Palestinians in order to implement the third and final Israeli redeployment called for in the Oslo II agreement, or to release additional Palestinian security prisoners in the near future.

Ministry of Interior officials report that in the past year there been an increase of 13,600 residents living in settlements in the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) and Gaza Strip. According to the ministry, there are almost 20,000 settlers living in Ariel, 14,000 in Betar Elit, 14,000 in Modi'in Elit,

and about 6,700 in Gaza settlements and 460 in Hebron.

August 3 *Ha'aretz* reports that residents in the Pisgat Ze'ev settlement in Jerusalem have offered to sell their apartments to the PA after repeated appeals to the municipality to do something about "illegal Palestinian construction" near their homes. The residents arranged a meeting at the Orient House but canceled it after the Pisgat Ze'ev neighborhood council protested their actions. The residents said, however, their offer still stands.

August 8 *Ha'aretz* reports that the Israeli police are planning to construct a prison compound in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood of East Jerusalem. The area covers 29 of the 354 dunams expropriated by the government in 1968.

Ha'aretz reports Chief of Staff Shaul Mofaz describing Hebron as "the most difficult place. The frictions here can ignite the whole of Judea and Samaria."

August 9 In Jerusalem, President Moshe Katsav says that he cannot imagine a situation in which Jews will not live in Hebron. "It was agreed by the Palestinians that Jews would be able to live there."

According to *Palestine Report*, Palestinians in the Gaza Strip say they are worried by the military reinforcement of Israeli settlements. Israel claims that it must protect the settlements in case the peace talks collapse.

August 10 *Ha'aretz* reports that in recent weeks Hebron has been the scene of a wave of violent incidents between settlers and Arabs. The IDF notes an atmosphere of growing extremism that to a large extent has been created by the settlers.

August 13 The IDF and YESHA agree that settlers will remove seven illegal structures and trailers—three each at Nof Kana and Bruchin and one at Amuna—on the West Bank. In recent weeks, settlers have moved trailers to various locations, including some evacuated in October 1999, and begun roadwork near some of them. In the future, they must submit requests to expand outposts.

August 14 Two houses in East Jerusalem are demolished after the Jerusalem Municipality issues orders for their destruction.

TIME LINE, continued on page 6

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

TIME LINE, continued from page 5

August 17 The Ministry of Interior says that 198 Palestinians from East Jerusalem applied for Israeli citizenship in 1999, double the number of applicants in 1998. Only 13 were approved.

August 18 *Yediot Aharonot* reports that there are 104 Jewish families living in the Old City outside the Jewish Quarter. There are approximately two guards for every family, costing more than \$5 million annually.

Yerushalim reports the budgeting by Israel's Ministry of Transportation of more than \$60 million for road construction in Jerusalem, much of it in East Jerusalem, in 2001. The municipality is expected to contribute an additional \$20 million.

August 20 A senior Palestinian official warns that if Israel blockades the West Bank and Gaza after a unilateral declaration of independence, Israeli settlers in those areas will become hostages. He says that if an agreement is not reached between Israel and the PA, "We will begin implementing our sovereignty and the conflict will reach a new level."

According to *Ha'aretz*, two Israeli families will soon move to the Beit Varsa in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City. The Jerusalem Municipality has authorized the construction of an additional floor at Beit Garvriel, a Jewish structure in the Christian Quarter, which will house four Israeli families. The Municipality has also decided to allow the expansion of Beit Hatzelem in the Muslim Quarter.

August 22 The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics reports that construction in the occupied territories (excluding East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights) increased by 81 percent, to 1,000 construction starts in the first quarter of the year. In the last quarter of 1999, 550 starts were recorded.

August 23 U.S. senators, Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif. and Richard Lugar, R-Ind., announce plans for legislation to discourage U.S. recognition of a Palestinian state if one is declared unilaterally. The legislation will prohibit direct U.S. assistance to a unilaterally declared state except for humanitarian aid or cooperation against terrorism.

Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdelilah al-Khateeb says that Jordan supports the

implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 242, including measures pertaining to East Jerusalem "which [Jordan] considers the capital of the future Palestinian state." Al-Khateeb also says that Jordan "rejects non-Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem's holy sites."

August 24 *Ha'aretz* reports that, according to the Golan regional council, there has been a significant drop in the number of families moving to the Golan in 2000. Since the beginning of the year, 66 families have moved to the area and 19 more are expected by the end of the year.

According to *Ha'aretz*, the IDF has sent warnings to settler leaders in Hebron and Nablus instructing them to prevent settler attacks on soldiers and Palestinians.

A tender is published for the construction of 17 dwelling units in the West Bank settlement of Efrat.

August 28 Ateret Cohanim announces the purchase for one million dollars of two Palestinian apartments and four stores in Ras al-Amud in East Jerusalem.

August 29 The Jerusalem Municipality demolishes three Palestinian homes in Ras Khemis, near the Shu'fat refugee camp.

September 4 The Mate Binyamin regional council issues a tender for 29 housing units in the settlement of Talmon A.

September 10 Barak tells Israel Radio that "no Israeli prime minister would ever be able to sign a document giving sovereignty over the Temple Mount to the Palestinians."

Ha'aretz quotes Deputy Defense Minister Ephraim Sneh, during a tour of Hebron, saying, "To my regret, from what I've learned it is in fact certain elements within the [Jewish] community who have increased the number of violent acts of late."

September 11 Peace Now reports that the Israel Land Authority has issued a tender for 80 housing units in Har Adar, bringing the number of settlement housing units tendered during the Barak administration to 3,499.

September 17 A demonstration commemorating the Sabra and Shatila massacres escalates into violence at the Netzarim junction in Gaza.

September 18 Palestinian protesters, burning tires and throwing stones, march toward

the gates of Netzarim. IDF troops fire rubber-coated bullets, injuring five demonstrators.

Martin Indyk, U.S. Ambassador to Israel, remarks, "There is no other solution but to share the Holy City. It is not, and cannot be, the exclusive preserve of one religion and the solution cannot come from one side challenging or denying another side's beliefs. Here too, mutual respect is the foundation for any agreement."

September 21 *Ha'aretz* reports that Arab residents of Sur Bahir and Suwahara have received expropriation notices from the Jerusalem Municipality to make way for the construction of the eastern ring road. Residents of Wadi Kadum and Ras al-Amud are expected to receive similar expropriation letters in the coming days. The lands in question are currently classified as "green areas."

September 25 Palestinian protesters throw Molotov cocktails at an IDF patrol at the Netzarim junction following a car accident involving an Israeli settler and four Palestinians. The protesters also throw stones and bottles at several Israeli vehicles along the route between Netzarim and Karni.

September 26 The construction of 56 housing units begins in the Golan Heights settlement of Katzrin. Another 100 are already under construction. New housing units are also being built in Kidmat Tzvi, Ma'ale Gamla and Ramat Magshimim.

Palestinians claim that four Israeli military bases constructed outside the settlements in Gaza are illegal and built on Area A land.

September 27 Barak announces "If a peace agreement is signed, it will include Jerusalem and al-Quds as two capitals." The *Jerusalem Post* reports "one government official [noting] this is the first time Barak has spoken publicly of Jerusalem and al-Quds as separate entities, and of al-Quds as capital of a future Palestinian entity."

Barak also says "If there is an agreement, it will include an end to the conflict, permanent borders for Israel recognized by the world, 80 percent of the settlers in Judea and Samaria under Israeli sovereignty in settlement blocks, security arrangements, principally along the eastern border and Jerusalem bigger than ever since King David with a solid Jewish majority for generations united

FROM THE ISRAELI PRESS

On October 19, settlers clashed with Palestinians from the Askar refugee camp in Nablus. One settler and one Palestinian were killed, and many others were injured. The following are excerpts from an interview with General Tawfiq Tirawi, head of Palestinian General Intelligence in the West Bank, that appeared in Ha'aretz on October 27, 2000.

Ha'aretz: What happened at the Askar refugee camp last week during the settlers' hike on Mount Ebal?

Tirawi: Yitzhak Eitan [head of the IDF's Central Command] himself said that those people should not have been there. They came to a place where they were not supposed to be, carrying weapons. They were 100 meters from the homes in Askar. The Palestinian residents called the [Israeli-Palestinian] coordination and liaison office and the Palestinian side tried to contact the Israeli liaison people to get them out of there. For 45 minutes there was no reply, the settlers were not removed and the Israeli liaison people did not intervene. That was when the confrontation developed.

The residents threw stones, the settlers began firing. Then the whole village arrived and the Palestinians began shooting back at the soldiers who were firing. You know, the army was above them, on the top of the hill. Helicopters started firing. The shahid [martyr] Ziad al Aarda was an innocent civilian, a passerby, who was shot to death there. If the Israelis had stopped shooting, everything would have ended far more quickly. They should have contacted the liaison unit and dealt with the crisis by means of dialogue. I am talking here about the arrogance of the army. When the army has helicopters and tanks, it prefers a military decision above all else. Arrogance overrides logic.

Ha'aretz: How do we put an end to the situation?

Tirawi: The Palestinian people wants its rights. It is not anxious for death, but it can no longer remain without rights. True, this people has been struggling for dozens of years, but it is a people like any other. It too wants a state with secure borders and personal security for its inhabitants.

Ha'aretz: Many Israelis do not understand why all this is happening now, at a time when there is a prime minister who offered so much.

Tirawi: What did he give? Barak did not implement any agreement that was signed. He made a decision to withdraw from Azariya and Abu Dis, but did not implement it. He did not execute the third redeployment. On the contrary, he always takes pride that in contrast to his predecessors, he has not withdrawn from any territory. He knows that Netanyahu fell because of his rejection of the peace process, but he has not learned the lesson.

Ha'aretz: What have the Palestinians gained from the confrontation?

Tirawi: It is not a matter of immediate profit or loss. For seven years, we have experienced the failure to honor agreements, arrests, the failure to release prisoners, settlements, expansion of settlements, settlements everywhere, contempt for our values and for our holy places—they have no consideration for anything. That is pressure, and every form of continuous pressure generates an explosion. ♦

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

TIME LINE, continued from page 6

under our sovereignty and recognized by the world as the capital of Israel."

Three roadside bombs explode as two Israeli military vehicles escorting three civilian vehicles reach the Netzarim junction in Gaza. One IDF soldier dies and another is wounded in the attack.

September 28 The Shomron Regional Council issues a tender for the infrastructure

of 14 housing units in Rachelim.

The PA calls off negotiations with Israel, demanding a halt in settlement construction in the West Bank and Gaza.

One thousand Israeli police escort Likud leader Ariel Sharon into the al-Haram al-Sharif compound [Temple Mount].

September 29 Barak reiterates his promise to settlers in the Jordan Valley that "under any agreement, if one emerges, Israel will

maintain control over the Jordan Valley as well as its settlements and security."

Violence erupts at the al-Haram al-Sharif at the conclusion of Friday's prayers.

Worshippers throwing stones at police at the Mugrabi gate and at Western Wall plaza are met with paramilitary border police firing rubber-coated bullets. At least four Palestinians are killed and over 100 wounded in the clash.

settlements were targeted by Palestinian demonstrators, settlements have been fortified as never before. Arsenals have been created and expanded in each settlement, security perimeters have been strengthened and modernized, and settlers have been given increased responsibility for defending their settlements. Israeli military officers have been emphatic in their assurances to settlers that they would not suffer the same fate as Israel's proxy South Lebanon Army and IDF installations in South Lebanon.

In a meeting in early July with settlement leaders, Chief of Staff Shaul Mofaz insisted, "All the statements that the army will leave or abandon the settlers are out of place. I want you to leave this room with the feeling that we are committed to your security and that no one intends to abandon you. The soldiers of the IDF are ready to be killed for the sake of your security."

"There is no way you can infer from anything we did in the past that you are being forsaken."

"During the events of Nakba Day [referring to the violence on May 15] we put an attack helicopter into the air: That is offensive and it was a deterrent. We intended to open fire that would endanger lives."

"I would recommend very strongly that no inferences be made from the events in Lebanon regarding the events that might take place in the [West Bank and Gaza Strip]. It is true that psychologically, part of the [Israeli] population is afraid that that could happen, but militarily there is no resemblance and no place for comparison. A situation in which Palestinians will try to take over an army position or take over settlements is a situation of mortal danger, and the IDF is very good at operating in situations of mortal danger. In Yesha, the army's supreme mission is to safeguard the Israeli population."

Later that month, Mofaz authorized both settlers and IDF officers to take "all necessary measures" to prevent Palestinian demonstrators from penetrating perimeter fences around settlements.

On October 2, at the height of Israeli-Palestinian violence, Israel's deputy chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Moshe Ya'alon noted, "Despite the limitations, in most of the settlements life goes on nearly without disruption. Most of the schools opened as usual and security was provided to whoever needed [to travel outside the settlements]."

For settlers these assurances rang hollow. For many days they were virtual prisoners in their communities, if not in

their very homes. Mail and public transport were disrupted, and travel in armed convoys was "advised" by the IDF. In the Gaza settlement of Netzarim, for example, visitors had to be evacuated by military helicopters. In the West Bank settlement of Psagot, where settlers can see into the homes of the nearby Palestinian residents of el-Bireh, people were advised not even to venture out of doors due to heavy exchanges of gunfire. One report noted that "residents cowered inside their homes as gunfire was heard outside." At the settlement in Hebron, bullets penetrated houses. Hundreds of Palestinians attempting to breach the perimeter of a military outpost guarding the settlement of Sanur near Jenin were repelled. A large-scale confrontation occurred one kilometer from the settlement of Bracha, south of Nablus. Four Palestinians were

killed, including the son of the governor of Nablus. Israeli troops battled stone throwers outside the settlement of Elisha near Jericho, killing three. Shots were fired at the southern Jerusalem settlement neighborhood of Gilo and shots were recorded at Kiryat Arba as well as at Dugit, Neve Dekalim, and Morag in Gaza's Katif bloc.

Unlike the intifada, which progressed in incremental stages both in intensity and breadth, this latest revolt descended upon settlements in a bolt of full fury. West Bank settlers, who adjusted to the power of the intifada over time, by, for example, installing shatterproof glass in vehicles in response to the evolution of Palestinian tactics, were initially stunned into paralysis by both the scale and tactics of recent violence.

"I was stoned yesterday," explained one veteran settler at the outset of the violence, "but not as forcefully as during the intifada. The danger today is that you might get shot."

In Gaza, the situation was somewhat different. There, the level of violence and tension had been increasing for many

months. (See Timeline this issue) Palestinian positions near the complex of Israeli outposts at Netzarim were reinforced with sandbags, battle trenches, and weapons. Opposite IDF positions at Netzarim, the junction at the Katif bloc and at the brigade command post at the settlement of Nisanit, new high-rise residential construction was advanced.

Ha'aretz reported on July 12 that, "If the crunch comes, these multi-story buildings overlooking the Israeli outposts from above will be turned into front-line outposts." That is in fact what happened, when Palestinian forces set up firing positions at Netzarim in the buildings, which were, as a result, destroyed by Israeli fire.

West Bank



The Netzarim junction takes its name from a small settlement to its west, which has grown by more than 100 percent, to about 400 people, since the Oslo process began. In early summer, a new neighborhood of private homes was dedicated in the settlement in the presence of Housing Minister Yitzhak Levy.

The crossroads is defended by a fortified IDF outpost, which not only acts as a forward defense for the settlement but, more significantly, controls the major north-south travel axis for the entire Strip, effectively dividing Gaza City from Rafah and the Egyptian border to the south. The accepted rationale for the presence of the IDF is that it is defending the settlers nearby. One Israeli commentator, however, noted that if the settlement did not exist, it would have to be invented, so as to justify Israeli military control over this critical thoroughfare.

In recent months, electrical warning fences were erected around the settlements in the northern part of the Gaza Strip, following the model in the south. Military positions were established in most settlements. Protective systems in the outposts have been improved and patrol roads have been paved. The outpost at the Netzarim junction was fortified with a new roof to prevent incendiary bombs from damaging it and the small number of troops who man the position. At the settlement itself, an advanced observation system was set up.

During the Nakba events in May and in recent months, the junction has been the scene of the most violent and sustained level of confrontation. Two days before Ariel Sharon's controversial visit to the Haram al-Sharif, a roadside bomb near the outpost killed an IDF soldier. Israeli officers were already describing the situation in Gaza as "Lebanonization." Soldiers who were deployed in Gaza after their withdrawal from Lebanon were also struck by the similarities.

The Ayosh junction, just north of Ramallah's multistory City Hotel, as well as many of the ministries of the Palestinian Authority (PA), is another flashpoint, in the current violence as well as in that which occurred in May. Throughout October, Palestinians launched waves of assaults against small units of well-fortified Israeli troops, which, at one stage, occupied the City Hotel which is located in Area C. Palestinians succeeded in closing the junction to Israeli traffic, forcing residents of the Beit El settlement to drive through a nearby army camp in order to reach Jerusalem.

The IDF succeeded for the most part in keeping both its

troops and settlers out of harm's way, and it has largely prevented the most intense violence from reaching the settlements themselves. Palestinians too, with isolated exceptions, appear to have focused their attention less on the settlements than on the military outposts meant to defend them. At Joseph's Tomb, on the southern outskirts of Nablus, the few seminary students were evacuated at the beginning of hostilities. But a unit of Druze soldiers mounted a thankless defense against persistent Palestinian attack before Prime Minister Ehud Barak heeded the recommendations of his generals and withdrew "temporarily" from the site.

As the confrontations persisted, increased numbers of settlers have been in fear of their lives, yet their level of dislocation is far less than that suffered by Palestinians. Beginning in

the second week of violence, settlers began operations outside settlements—clearing blocked roadways, blockading others used by Palestinians, and in some instances mounting reprisals against Palestinians and their property. These actions were comparatively limited, both in scope and in scale, a consequence of settlers' willingness to defer to the IDF. Independent settler/militia actions however, remains a potential threat, as Prime Minister Barak himself acknowledged.

An undetermined number of Palestinians have been killed by settlers. Two settlers in the West Bank have been killed by Palestinians. Yet the vast majority of settlers have had to confront the unsettling fact that the IDF has been unable to guarantee the safety of the vital transport lifelines linking them to each other and to Israel.

The recent unrest has demonstrated the shortcomings of the intricate and extensive security protocols in the Oslo II accords, which were meant not only to ensure settlers of a seamless connection with Israel but also to enable the IDF to maintain

strategic military superiority over the entire region. The Barak government refused to risk widening the "war" being fought against the Palestinians in order to keep the routes open—a lesson that will not be lost on either side when final status talks resume.

The head of the Etzion Bloc Regional Council, south of Jerusalem, decried the government's instructions to stay off roads after 6 p.m. "The closing of the Tunnels Road—the connection between the Etzion bloc and Jerusalem—and the other road closings are a scandal of the first order. The government must wake up and order the army to station tanks facing and threatening Beit Jalla. Guns should cause a major Israeli artery to close down? This brings us back 52 years!" ♦

Gaza Strip



INTIFADA TIME LINE

September 27 Three bombs explode near the Gaza settlement of Netzarim killing one Israeli soldier and wounding another.

September 28 Likud leader Ariel Sharon visits the Temple Mount (Haram al-Sharif).

A bomb explodes north of the Nahal Oz roadblock near Netzarim.

September 29 Violence erupts at the al-Haram al-Sharif compound at the conclusion of prayers. Worshipers throwing stones at the Mugrabi Gate and the Western Wall are met with Israeli border police firing rubber-coated bullets. At least four Palestinians are killed and more than 100 wounded.

A gunman fires on an Israeli army jeep participating in a joint patrol with Palestinian police near the West Bank town of Qalqilya, killing one Israeli border guard and seriously wounding another. Israeli Radio reports an attempt by Palestinian protesters to storm the Atarot airport in East Jerusalem.

September 30 Three Palestinians die in clashes between near the Netzarim settlement in the Gaza Strip. Palestinians throw stones and Molotov cocktails at the IDF, which exchanges fire with uniformed Palestinian police.

Israeli forces cut the road between Gaza City and Rafah, stopping all traffic at the Netzarim checkpoint.

The Defense for Children International/Palestine Section [DCI/PS] reports clashes near the Beit El Detention Center, Bethlehem near Rachel's Tomb, the Qalandia refugee camp, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, and near the settlements of Hebron, Netzarim and Tekoa.

October 1 Clashes erupt in Rafah, the border area between Egypt and Gaza, when Palestinians try to take over a post controlled by Israelis. As the Palestinian police and IDF exchange fire, Israeli military helicopters deploy 15 antitank missiles, killing two Palestinians and wounding dozens.

Violence ensues in Gaza after the funeral of two Palestinians slain in a September 30 clash with IDF forces in Netzarim. The BBC reports an exchange of gunfire between settlers and the IDF and Palestinian police near the Israeli military base that guards the settlement. Reuters reports the use of live ammunition and the firing of antitank weapons against the Palestinians. United

Press International reports the death of one Palestinian police officer. IDF troops kill 12-year-old Muhammad Rami al-Dura and wound his father at the Netzarim junction.

Ha'aretz reports a clash between Palestinians and IDF soldiers around the site of Joseph's Tomb, an Israeli enclave in Nablus. One Israeli soldier and one Palestinian police officer are killed. In Hebron and the Old City Israel imposes a 24-hour curfew for Palestinians in Israeli-held areas.

October 2 Settlers throughout the West Bank cannot leave or enter their communities without escort, after the IDF closes major West Bank thoroughfares to Israeli vehicles. "It is unprecedented. In the worst day of [earlier] attacks, we never had kids miss school," notes a settler spokeswoman.

Army helicopters evacuate Israeli visitors from Netzarim, and army convoys escort others. Kedumim mayor Daniella Weiss protests the escorts saying, "We came here to build a free nation in our land, no more ghettos. Convoys are merely an invitation to snipers."

The YESHA council meets with Israeli deputy defense minister Ephraim Sneh in the West Bank settlement of Psagot. The council accuses the government of preventing the army from implementing plans that were prepared to counter Palestinian attacks. It also criticizes the government for not imposing "administrative punishments" on the Palestinians, such as cutting their electricity, blocking roads, and preventing workers from entering Israel. The council meets with Maj.-Gen. Yitzhak Eitan, head of the IDF Central Command, and rejects his instructions to stay off West Bank roads after 6 p.m.

IDF troops clash with Palestinian demonstrators near Netzarim and Rafah. Israeli deputy chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon confirms that helicopters fired antitank missiles at buildings and cars in the Netzarim area, killing ten Palestinians and injuring 35.

Violence erupts outside Joseph's Tomb.

Ha'aretz reports a gunman firing at an Israeli army position near Neve Dekalim, two firebombs thrown at IDF troops near Kfar Darom in Gaza.

Ha'aretz reports the exchange of fire between the IDF and Palestinian police

officers near the settlement of Elisha, near Jericho.

Ha'aretz reports more than 30 incidents of shooting at Israeli vehicles, settlements, and IDF bases.

Israel Radio reports a gunman firing on a bus carrying settler schoolchildren near the West Bank settlement of Shilo.

The BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights reports more than 40 deaths and 1,500 injuries to Palestinians since fighting began on September 29.

Ha'aretz reports five gun battles around the West Bank town of Ramallah. The IDF estimates that more than 20 Palestinians are killed in the area since September 29th.

October 3 *Tanzim*, Palestinian paramilitary forces, attack Joseph's Tomb and exchange gunfire with IDF soldiers.

One Israeli soldier sustains injuries near the West Bank settlement of Adam. Two others are injured near the Gaza settlement of Morag.

October 4 Hundreds of Palestinians march along the west side of the Netzarim settlement in Gaza, throwing stones.

Shots are fired at an Israeli bus on its way to the Etzion bloc, wounding one passenger and stopping public transportation along the road. Shots are fired at cars in Netzarim and at Joseph's Tomb.

IDF chief of staff Shaul Mofaz says he will consider evacuating troops from Joseph's Tomb [seminary students have already been evacuated] if "an unreasonable danger to the soldiers [develops] there."

A pipe bomb is thrown at an army base in Hebron.

Violence is reported near Eli in the West Bank, at the Gaza settlements of Dugit and Morag, Pisgat Ze'ev and Armon Hanatziv in East Jerusalem, on the Modi'in—Givat Ze'ev highway and the Kiryat Arba—Kiryat Gat road.

Shots are fired at the Dugit, Gilo, Kiryat Arba, and Neve Dekalim settlements.

For the preceding three days, mail has not reached or left several settlements south of Hebron.

INTIFADA TIME LINE

The YESHA council releases the following statement: "The YESHA council demands that Prime Minister Barak protect the citizens of Israel on both sides of the green line. We demand that he order the Israeli army to prevent violence, and not hold the citizens of Israel hostage by closing road arteries to us. The leadership of YESHA has given fair notice to the heads of the army that if they will not open the roads, then we will open them."

Israeli helicopters fire rockets at buildings from which Palestinian gunmen fire upon the Netzarim junction. The IDF eases regulations for opening fire, enabling troops to shoot at any car approaching outposts.

Israeli security forces and settlers exchange fire with Palestinians in Hebron, killing one Palestinian.

Ha'aretz reports that many Palestinian attacks in preceding days have focused on settlements, raising Israeli concerns that Palestinians will attempt to take settlements.

During a 10 hour meeting with Palestinian chairman Yasser Arafat and U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright, Barak orders the pull back of forces at Netzarim, Joseph's Tomb, and areas around Ramallah. In exchange, Israel expects the PA to evacuate Tanzim activists from these areas.

October 5 A Palestinian dies of injuries suffered on October 2. Of the 67 people killed since September 29, 55 have been Palestinians from the occupied territories, 9 Palestinians from Israel, 1 Israeli soldier, 1 border guard, and 1 Israeli civilian.

DCI/PS reports settlers setting Palestinian agricultural land on fire in Yatta, south of Hebron. The organization reports dozens of Palestinian families fleeing Jerusalem's Old City and Hebron's Tel Rumeida areas for fear of random attacks by soldiers and settlers.

October 6 The IDF issues a press release praising the settlers and expressing appreciation for their cooperation during the preceding week.

Violent clashes erupt in a "day of rage" in the West Bank and Gaza. The IDF shells houses in Rafah and Khan Yunis in southern Gaza after protesters attack a military base near the settlement of Morag.

Israeli soldiers kill two Palestinians and injure more than 70 during clashes near Joseph's Tomb.

Jewish worshippers are evacuated from the Western Wall when Palestinians throw stones from above. Israel temporarily entrusts security in the Haram al-Sharif compound to the Muslim Waqf and Palestinian police. Palestinian youths raise the Palestinian flag over al-Aqsa. Twenty-seven Palestinians are injured in the Old City.

Between 6,000 and 10,000 Palestinians throw firebombs and stones from outside the Neve Dekalim and Kfar Darom settlements.

Israeli soldiers kill two Palestinians at the Netzarim junction during firebomb and stone throwing incidents.

Confrontations are reported at the Nisanit settlement in north Gaza.

Shooting occurs at the settlements of Dolev and Psagot and Israeli outposts near Ramallah.

Israel closes its borders with Gaza and the West Bank for the Yom Kippur holiday.

Settlers from Shilo block Palestinian cars on the main north-south road in the West Bank.

October 7 The IDF evacuates Joseph's Tomb in Nablus following an agreement with Palestinian security forces. Palestinians then storm the site, setting fire to it. The evacuation marks the first time Israel has relinquished territory as a direct result of violent confrontation.

The IDF positions tanks near the Ayosh junction north of Ramallah, Gilo in southern Jerusalem, and Psagot.

The UN Security Council adopts a resolution condemning Israel's "excessive use of force against Palestinians." The United States abstains.

Two Israeli soldiers are wounded in an exchange of gunfire near the Katif bloc junction in Gaza. Two more soldiers are wounded near Morag.

Israeli settlers kill two Palestinians during attacks on Palestinian residential and cross-road areas, reports DCI/PS. In the Qalqilya region, eight villages are attacked. Settlers kidnap two Palestinians, burn homes, and ransack private property.

October 8 The IDF warns that Palestinians "must understand that any firing on settlements or Israeli military forces turns [the position] into a target for attack or destruction."

The IDF initiates offensive measures outside Gaza outposts, partially destroying the "twin towers" used by Palestinian gunmen. The IDF also demolishes a factory and Palestinian police post at the Netzarim junction and places tanks and heavy artillery near Nablus and the Gilo settlement near Bethlehem.

DCI/PS reports settlers taking to the streets in the East Jerusalem neighborhoods of Anata, al-Azariyah, Sheikh Jarrah and Shu'fat, smashing cars and shooting at civilians. Settlers also attack the village of Hossan near Bethlehem, burning trees and shooting at civilians.

The Israeli military commander for the Ramallah area suggests that residents of El Bireh living near the settlement of Psagot evacuate their homes. The IDF deploys tanks to the settlement.

In Hebron, Israeli helicopters target hilltops in the Abu Sneh neighborhood, where Palestinians are firing upon settlers below.

October 9 Settlers demonstrate in Hebron, shooting one Palestinian in the leg, breaking into several Palestinian homes, and beating residents. Near the village of al-Khader, near Bethlehem, settlers shoot and wound four Palestinians. In Ma'ale Adumim settlers throw rocks from a hilltop onto passing cars below.

The IDF reports shots fired at the settlement of Efrat and barricades the southern exit from Bethlehem. Shots are also fired at the Neve Ya'acov settlement in northern Jerusalem.

The YESHA council demands the opening of all roads in the West Bank, the replacement of Barak as defense minister, and the IDF's return to Joseph's Tomb.

Protests take place near the Beit El settlement. The IDF fires tear gas, rubber-coated bullets and live ammunition to disperse the crowd. Other clashes take place at Ariel, the Ayosh junction, Mevo Beitar, Nablus, and Tulkarem. Two bombs explode near Shilo in the West Bank.

SETTLEMENTS AND THE ABU MAZEN-BEILIN AGREEMENT

On September 21, 2000, Ha'aretz published for the first time a draft of the 1995 agreement reached by the PLO's Abu Mazen (Mahmoud Abbas) and Yossi Beilin, Israel's deputy foreign minister. The map appended to the original document called for Israel's annexation of 4 to 5 percent of the West Bank and the transfer of a like amount and quality of Israeli territory to the Palestinian state. Excerpts from the agreement are reproduced below.

31 October 1995

Framework for the Conclusion of a Final Status Agreement Between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Government of the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (hereafter "the P.L.O."), the representative of the Palestinian people;

Article V: Israeli Settlements

1. Subsequent to the establishment of the Independent State of Palestine and its recognition by the State of Israel as described in Articles I and III of this agreement:

a. There will be no exclusive civilian residential areas for Israelis in the State of Palestine.

b. Individual Israelis remaining within the borders of the Palestinian State shall be subject to Palestinian sovereignty and Palestinian rule of law.

c. Individual Israelis who have their permanent domicile within the Palestinian State as of May 5th 1999, shall be offered Palestinian citizenship or choose to remain as alien residents, all without prejudice to their Israeli citizenship.

d. Within the agreed schedule for the withdrawal [3 to 5 years] of Israeli forces from Palestinian territories as described in Article IV and Annex Two to the Final Status Agreement, the Israeli Government and its security forces shall maintain responsibility for the safety and security of Israeli settlements outside the areas of Palestinian security jurisdiction, pending the transfer of said areas to full Palestinian rule.

e. The SCC [Israeli-Palestinian Security Coordinating Commission] shall establish the mechanism for dealing with security issues relating to Israeli citizens in Palestine and Palestinian citizens in Israel. ♦

The State of Israel is not fighting against the Palestinian state; it is making do with preserving the country's vital interests—the places or concepts (such as freedom of flight) which we will not be ready to relinquish even in an agreement, and which we will certainly not relinquish if the other side tries to seize them. The IDF will safeguard the Israeli settlements and their access roads.

It will not permit the Palestinian Authority to take over blocs of settlements, key roads and border-crossing stations, or to enter Jerusalem. The IDF will react forcefully in any case where the lives of Israeli civilians or soldiers are under threat. The IDF has no interest in escalation or in the exacerbation of the conflict.

Immediate Israeli action will be required in order to forestall the situation of a unilateral declaration which will bring in its wake a steamroller response of international legitimation aimed at forcing Israel out of all of Judea, Samaria, Gaza and Jerusalem. The immediacy of the reaction is critical so that we will not be held responsible for igniting a regional conflagration. The main thrust of the struggle will be over how much international recognition will be forthcoming for the unilateral measures we take and over the question of whom the international community will consider responsible for the situation that is liable to be created.

Excerpts from the September 12 draft of the "military steps by the IDF [in the aftermath of a Palestinian declaration of independence] that will create unilateral separation in a manner that will serve Israel's military and state interests," published in Ha'aretz, October 20, 2000

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