

# REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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## NEWS

On January 5, Israel implemented the Stage II redeployment outlined in the Sharm el-Sheikh memorandum, signed on September 4, 1999.

Originally scheduled for November 15, the redeployment, postponed by the Palestinians, increases to 11.1 percent the area of the West Bank under Palestinian civil and military jurisdiction (Area A), and to 28.9 percent the area under Palestinian civil/Israeli military jurisdiction (Area B).

Israel retains complete control over 60 percent of the West Bank, all of East Jerusalem, and 20 percent of the Gaza Strip.

The Stage III redeployment scheduled for January 20 has been postponed.

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## SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORY ISSUES AT THE HEART OF FINAL STATUS TALKS

The final status negotiations now underway between Israel and the Palestinian Authority are informed by but conceptually different from the framework resulting from the Declaration of Principles initialed in Oslo in September 1993. Unlike previous discussions, which centered upon creating an interim regime regulating interaction between Israel and the nascent Palestinian self-governing authority, these "final status" talks aim at a much grander goal—the permanent resolution of all outstanding issues between the state of Israel and the Palestinian people.

Foremost among these many issues are the creation and territorial dimensions of a Palestinian state; the extent of Israeli control, if any, over territories in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, captured in June 1967; the status of civilian Israeli settlements; the resolution of the status of Palestinian refugees from the 1948 and 1967 conflicts; and the division of water rights.

According to the most recent timetable, established in the September 1999 Sharm el-Sheikh accord, February 13, 2000, is the target date for a "framework agreement" outlining the general principles underlying the yet-to-be negotiated agreement, which is to be finalized in September 2000.

Disputes over sovereignty and territory are at the heart of the final status talks. Indeed they are at the heart of the century-old dispute between the

two peoples. To a certain extent the issue of sovereignty—that is, Palestinian sovereignty—has already been addressed. Although Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak has yet to utter (even in the shower, according to one aide) the words "Palestinian state," it is clear that Barak's view of the final status agreement as a mechanism for the resolution of all outstanding issues between the two peoples can only be credibly addressed by a treaty signed by two states. It is reported that Barak shares this assessment.

Having acknowledged the need for an internationally recognized Palestinian state, defining the character and extent of Palestinian sovereignty is therefore a basic requirement of the current diplomatic process.

It is at this critical juncture that the Palestinian and Israeli visions of sovereignty and territory clash.

The Palestinian view is straightforward, even simple. Sovereignty and territory are mutually reinforcing. Complete and unambiguous Palestinian sovereignty should extend throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including East Jerusalem, and over all of its inhabitants. All Israeli civilian settlements are illegal and must be transferred to Palestinian sovereign control.

To the extent that provision is made for Israelis to remain in these locations, they will come under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian state,

**FINAL STATUS**, continued on page 5

## TO OUR READERS

This issue of the Foundation's *Settlement Report* marks the beginning of our tenth year. We trust that we have confounded the expectations of those who assumed that Israel's expanding civilian presence in the occupied territories could not support a bimonthly review. Indeed, there are those in the Foundation itself, myself included, who marvel at the *Report's* continuing ability to convey still-compelling insights about settlements to an ever-growing audience.

This is a bittersweet achievement, given that it reflects the continuation of a dynamic drive by Israel to retain permanently, through settlement expansion, as much of the occupied areas as it possibly can.

Our goal has remained constant, and in some respects has become a more immediate requirement as a consequence of Israel's historic rapprochement with the PLO.

Settlements in the West Bank continue to grow and have actually increased at a greater rate during periods of greatest progress with the Palestinians—under Rabin in the wake of the Oslo process and in recent months under the stewardship of Prime Minister Barak—as Israel seeks to plant “facts on the ground,” which diplomacy will have no alternative but to recognize. The Golan Heights may well prove a vital exception to this effort, an issue that the *Report* intends to cover in some detail.

On the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip, and in East Jerusalem, the Israeli strategy has proven remarkably effective, but it is during the current talks on “final status” with the Palestinians that the true extent of its success will be measured. And the *Report*, as always, will be there as well.

*Lucius D. Battle*



**Turtle:** *For us, there is no problem moving. We simply take the house and move to another hill.*

**Snail:** *Just like the settlements.*

*Yediot Aharanot*, October 17, 1999

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## OPTICAL ILLUSION AT HAVAT MA'ON

*The following editorial appeared in the Israeli daily newspaper Ha'aretz on November 11, 1999.*

Overriding the resistance of the settlers and protests from the right, the IDF yesterday executed the decision of the government to evacuate outposts that were established in the West Bank without the authorization of the relevant state bodies. The male and female soldiers were forced to struggle with civilians, including women and children, in order to carry out the evacuation decision. The operation became a necessity after attempts to hold a dialogue with the settlers broke down, following the failure of the YESHA council of settlements to persuade the demonstrators to leave voluntarily.

The television pictures and the reports on the dramatic implementation of the evacuation in the predawn hours by soldiers from the Givati Brigade and by women from the military police—virtually all of them without their weapons—distracts attention from the main point: within the framework of the agreement with the YESHA council the majority of the settled outposts remained intact, and the building momentum in the settlements is continuing uninterrupted. It bears recalling that at the beginning of this month the ministerial committee on settlements received information on the existence of 42 illegal outposts. Prime Minister Ehud Barak decided at first to make do with evacuating 15 of them and finally compromised on only 11 outposts, 4 of which were not inhabited and 4 others that became new neighborhoods of nearby settlements.

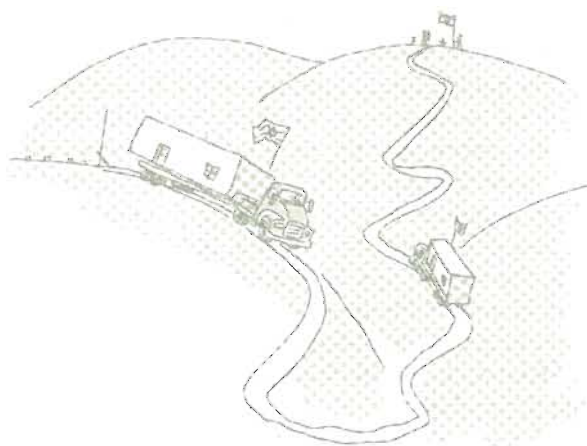
The evacuation of a few patches of temporary structures is totally insignificant in the face of the steps the government has taken recently to bolster the Jewish settlement enterprise in the territories. Since the government's installation, the Ministry of Housing and Construction has issued tenders for building more than 2,500 new residential units in West Bank settlements.

As part of the agreement with the YESHA council to evacuate the 11 outposts, it was decided to authorize the master plan for the settlement of Itamar, which validated the existence of four outposts to be included in the 7,000 dunams [1,750 acres] of the new plan.

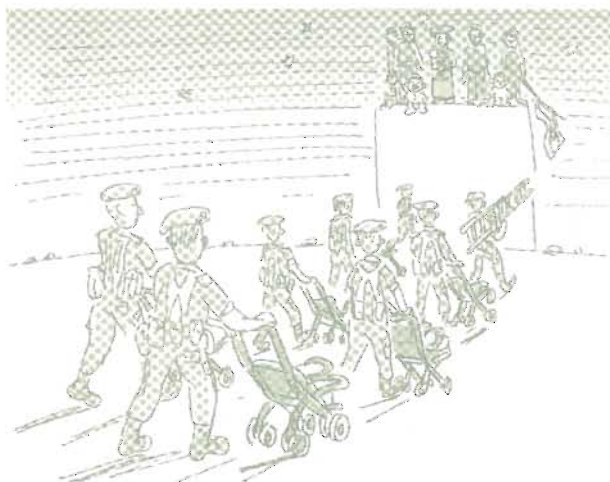
Prime Minister Barak's forceful handling of the extreme fringes of the settlement movement has the effect of emphasizing precisely the indulgence he is displaying toward the movement's mainstream. It is difficult, therefore, to be overawed by the showcase effort that was invested in the evacuation of the settlers and their supporters at Havat Ma'on. In fact, Havat Ma'on was no more than an island of settlement, cut off from the established settlement framework. It is no cause for wonder that the YESHA council made an effort to persuade the group at Havat Ma'on to evacuate the site voluntarily.

In the months ahead, the government is supposed to concentrate its work on concluding a permanent agreement with the Palestinians in the face of the geographic and demographic constraints that are dictated by the complex settlement map, the result of policies pursued by successive Israeli governments. The Barak government will have to strive for an agreement that will produce the shortest and simplest possible borders with the future Palestinian state. The point and purpose of the entire Jewish settlement project in the territories over the past quarter of a century was to prevent the possible establishment of a durable independent Palestinian entity, with the result that the government now faces territorial facts that complicate any possible agreement.

Ostensibly, the evacuation of Havat Ma'on attests to the government's resolve, but that is a misleading impression. Precisely its readiness to accept the existence of other outposts and the unwarranted "thickening" of existing settlements gives rise to the suspicion that making the outposts disappear amounts to an optical illusion. ♦



*Ha'aretz*, November 4, 1999



*Ha'aretz*, November 11, 1999



## SHORT TAKES

*Excerpts from an October 1, 1999, Yediot Aharanot interview with Aaron Domb, secretary general of the YESHA council, shortly after his resignation. The interview drew harsh reactions from YESHA leaders, who vowed to oppose the principle of evacuation.*

**Domb:** If the people agree to dismantle settlements, I will accept their judgement. However, the settlement movement needs to do its utmost so that settlements won't be evacuated.

**Q:** If Ehud Barak offers to include you in discussions about evacuating settlements, will you agree to this principle?

**Domb:** If we know his final position on this issue, and if the Left will agree with this position, I believe that, in the end, such a proposition can work. We need to be realistic and to reach a broad understanding about this question. In a wide and secure dialogue, it may prove to be necessary to arrive at an understanding about evacuation.

I agree that [the settlement movement] did not succeed to achieve its principal objectives. Perhaps we were too arrogant.

**Q:** Do you take personal responsibility for this failure?

**Domb:** Certainly. One of my major mistakes was that in confronting those radicals who sullied the entire settlement camp, I didn't succeed in taking with me a broader front in order to attack and denounce them. I remained alone on this issue.

**Q:** In the final analysis, today the settlement enterprise is in crisis. Barak implements the Sharm el-Sheikh agreement and the settlers are apathetic.

**Domb:** Part of our ethos has been shattered. This happens in every society. Our ethos can be summarized: "We know best what is best for our nation."

**Q:** But also your primary and grandiose ideas—the concept of the whole Land of Israel—it also has been shattered.

**Domb:** I continue to believe in the concept of the whole Land of Israel, but only in theory. Practically speaking, there are today facts on the ground that I don't particularly like, but that must be recognized, to come to grips with them. And to come to the necessary conclusions.

The idea of the whole Land of Israel will remain a theoretical ethos. Although this will be a mistake, at the end of the day there will be a Palestinian state. Three times a day I pray for a return to Zion and I will continue to pray for this after part of greater Jerusalem will be held by a Palestinian state. It will remain an ethos. But after the murder of Yitzhak Rabin, this entire matter became a different story altogether.

We must now understand that not everything we want to believe will in fact occur. This is without doubt a change in the traditional view of Gush Emmunim.

**Q:** Do you believe that these are critical days for the future of settlement?

**Domb:** I believe that the big decision has already been made. But we are facing a very important decision, particularly for the next generation—the final agreement.

*Excerpts from an October 24, 1999, al-Sharq al-Awsat interview with Feisal al-Husseini, Jerusalem Affairs Minister, Palestinian Authority.*

**Al-Husseini:** The Palestinians must again begin to fight on the ground [against] the settlement [activity]. . . . Barak will not stop without struggle on the ground.

**Q:** What do you mean [by] "fighting on the ground"?

**Al-Husseini:** It means that the public [should] go into the streets to clash with the Israelis, in order to defend its property. The Israelis should know that any piece of land that they take will bring about a clash. . . .

**Q:** But such a clash may cause the whole situation to blow up.

**Al-Husseini:** If it does, it will be Barak's responsibility, because he is the one who took control of the lands, counting on Palestinian lack of reaction.

**Q:** You are not worried about the implications [of such an explosion] on the entire peace process?

**Al-Husseini:** The peace process is not a Palestinian interest, but rather an Israeli and international interest. Therefore, it is unreasonable that we should pay all of the cost. Either the Israelis pay a real price or they do not want peace.

Translated from Arabic by  
Middle East Media and  
Research Institute (MEMRI)

The settlement campaign, beginning at Sebastia [in the mid-1970s], has historically been one of "compromise." There, for more than a week, we fortified ourselves in the old railroad station to press our demand to establish a settlement at Elon Moreh. Benny Katzover, Menachem Felix, and Hanan Porat "surrendered" and agreed to "evacuate" to the army camp at Kaddum. To those who don't pay attention, today in Sebastia [the settlements of Shavei Shomron and Kedumim] there are big and flowering communities.

The entire history of settlement has been two steps forward and one step back. We always found the way to insist, to protest, and even to threaten, and in the final analysis to agree to a "historic compromise," which the Left greeted with vicious satisfaction, while we managed to establish another community. Even Rabbi Levinger in his day compromised with Yigal Allon, agreeing [in 1968] to "evacuate" the Park Hotel in Hebron for the barracks of the military government, "surrendering" the immediate demand to settle in Hebron. And today thousands of Jews live in Hebron and Kiryat Arba."

Shlomo Filber, YESHA director general,  
in *Nekuda*, October 29, 1999

losing the extraterritorial status that they currently enjoy.

This Palestinian view, presented without success during the interim period, has been a constant refrain of Palestinian negotiators in the talks with Israel and with U.S. officials, including President Bill Clinton. Negotiations have even been suspended temporarily by the Palestinians to protest continuing settlement expansion. With the exception of a temporary halt in the publication of housing tenders in settlements, a "confidence-building measure" of dubious impact rejected by the Palestinians, Israel has exhibited no intention to curb expansion. Rather, if history is any guide, one can expect the pace of settlement expansion to increase, as it did after Camp David in 1978 and as it did in the aftermath of the September 1993 agreement in Oslo. Indeed, that is what is happening today.

Israel's view is more nuanced and complex. Unlike the Palestinians, Israel views both the territorial framework and the acknowledgment of the special status of settlements and settlers established during the interim period as important precedents for the final status. With the exception of the Abu Mazen-Beilin agreement, a preliminary understanding that was never formally acknowledged, there is no evidence that Israel's basic territorial demands in the occupied territories have been modified by its rapprochement with the PLO. Indeed, there is ample reason to believe that Israeli leaders, in part based upon the experience of the interim period, view this process as a vehicle to gain Palestinian acceptance of these demands.

Israel's view of its strategic territorial requirements in both the West Bank and Gaza Strip predate the June 1967 war. According to Yuval Ne'eman, who has played a key role in the debate on Israel's preferred security borders, and is the author of the 1953 Lavi plan, the first Israeli effort to formalize its preferences, Israel cannot abide a situation in which "population centers, from which reservists are drafted, would be conquered before the enlistment can proceed. Thus, at least border zones must be held, and it is

desirable as well to hold the Jordan Valley; a sufficient mass of hilly crossing areas must be held, to enable a small force to hold off the enemy for the 48 hours needed to undertake the recruitment [of reservists]."

In a December 7, 1999, article by Aluf Benn in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, Ne'eman explained, "After the Six Day War we pulled the file out of the archives, in order to compare the plan to the war's results. The only difference was that

in the original file there were references to grabbing the Har Dov zone on the Hermon (an area in Lebanon whose fate was not settled by the 1967 war). Everything else was carried out in accord with the plan."

According to Benn, "Barak's positions are an almost precise echo of the desk drawer plan formulated originally by Ne'eman and reproduced in subsequent incarnations."

Barak, like his predecessors, is committed to championing Israel's need for strategic depth provided by the occupied territories.

"When the time comes to set out the final status borders," he explained to an Israeli audience in early December 1999, "I believe it to be of utmost importance that we understand Israel's overall situation, as a country surrounded by Arab states. . . with an asymmetry not only in geographic and demographic terms, but also in terms of the character of the threat. Israel has never threatened the sovereign existence of any neighbor, whereas from the dawn of the establishment of our state, our neighbors have threatened the very existence of Israel several times."

The years of Israel's occupation have offered ample proof of the inextricable connection between Israel's strategic requirements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and

Israeli civilian settlement. In the absence of a substantive revision of Israel's security doctrine as it relates to these territories, there is unlikely to be a fundamental reassessment of the demand to maintain and expand its settlement presence. The final status agreement is viewed by Barak as conferring Palestinian acceptance not only on Israel's strategic security

The government position has always been, since its establishment, to permit only the natural growth of the settlements. Recently, 1,800 units have been constructed or are under construction in the primary settlements. Since it takes approximately two years between the time tenders are submitted to construct new housing units and the negotiations now will continue for approximately 70 days, and since the submission of bids and tenders now is harmful and will not strengthen our position in the negotiation process, there is no reason not to suspend the submission of new tenders for housing construction from December to March. Current construction, of course, shall continue and, I want to stress that this combination is logical and will in fact strengthen our position, both in the Land of Israel and in the negotiation process. Those who believe that we should continue to request a submission of bids at the moment are misguided on both of these points.

Prime Minister Ehud Barak,  
press briefing in Jerusalem,  
December 8, 1999



## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

**September 13** *Yediot Aharanot* reports that Burger King has refused to permit its Israeli franchisee to open a restaurant in the Latrun area, claiming that it would be located across the Green Line.

**September 16** *Yediot Aharanot* reports that, according to a study conducted by the Israeli security establishment, at least 10 of the more than 40 hilltop settlements established over the course of 1998-1999 in the West Bank "are overtly illegal." A security official who took part in the study affirmed that most of the settlements were being "launched" by means of obtaining permits after the settlements were already established. The study concluded that 10 of the settlements are not included in any master plan, and one was built inside an Israel Defense Force (IDF) firing range.

**September 17** *Ha'aretz* reports that the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture approved the expansion of the Golan Heights settlement of Ortal from the current 80 units to 195.

*Kol Ha'ir* reports that the ministry of housing approved the creation of a "little Switzerland," including an artificial lake in the Etzion bloc of settlements. Proponents claim that the project will assure that the area remains within the "national consensus" and therefore will not be turned over to the Palestinian Authority (PA). The Higher Planning Committee has yet to endorse the project.

It is reported that settlers from Ofra and Bet El have purchased 250 dunams along the projected route of a road that will connect the two West Bank settlements.

*Ha'aretz* reports that Israel has temporarily maintained an area near the settlements of Ofra and Mikdash as Area C in order to facilitate the creation of a controversial quarry by well-connected Palestinians. The Palestinian local governor opposes the project, as do nearby residents and settlers. After the quarry begins operating, the area will be transferred to Area B in conjunction with a future Israeli redeployment.

A private contractor announces plans to double the number of houses in the settlement of Kedar, near Ma'ale Adumim, by building 88 new units priced between \$175,000 and \$209,000.

**September 18** Palestinians claim that only 6.5 percent, rather than the agreed upon 7

percent, of the West Bank came into their possession as a consequence of the last IDF redeployment. Israel denies the charge.

PA lead negotiator Yasser Abd Rabbo declares that negotiations on the final status will not begin if Israel continues to expand settlements.

**September 19** It is reported that the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency has expanded the new Golan settlement of Nimrod, 1.5 km from Majdal Shams. Fewer than 10 families live at the outpost.

*Yediot Aharanot* reports that sportswear concern Kappa, in which the Italian multinational Benetton is a minority shareholder, will establish a production system for its sportswear at the West Bank settlement of Barkan.

*Al-Quds* reports that, at a conference of Palestinian experts organized by the Miftah Institute, Saeb Erekat referred to "a study that had disclosed that all the Israeli military camps and the settlements put together make up 125 square kilometers of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

**September 20** Bnei Yehuda, a settlement of 240 families in the southern Golan, lays the cornerstone of a new 52-home housing project, the first phase of a 1,500 unit program. Housing and Construction Minister Yitzhak Levy officially dedicates the new neighborhood. Levy also dedicates 24 housing units at the Golan settlement of Kanaf. Golan residents end the day by joining several government ministers and MKs at a nighttime gathering, themed "Together We Will Preserve the Golan."

**September 21** *Ma'ariv* reports that 300 Israelis who have privately purchased land in the West Bank from Palestinians since 1967 plan to ask the Israeli High Court to assure that the government cannot enter into a political agreement with the Palestinians that voids their ownership rights. One settler estimates that 25,000 dunams in the West Bank has been purchased privately by Israelis.

**September 22** The Israeli State Attorney's Office files an appeal with the High Court to overturn the acquittal of the security coordinator of the Hadar Beitar settlement, who was charged with killing an 11 year old Palestinian boy three years ago in the village of Hussan, near Bethlehem.

*Ha'aretz* reports that the appointment of Joseph Vardi to be the settlement czar at the Israeli Defense Ministry is meant to "put order" in settlement construction.

"Those around Barak," reports the newspaper, "say that they were amazed to discover the extraordinary means employed by the Defense Ministry during the last year, in coordination with the settlers, to expand settlements and to legalize settlements established without legal authority."

**September 26** The Palestinian Center for Human Rights reports a September 16 action in which settlers, accompanied by Israeli bulldozers, leveled 20 dunams alongside the Malalha community, east of Rafah Mawasi in the Gaza Strip. The organization also reports that Israel has seized land in Gaza to build a road linking the settlements of Gan Or, Gadid, and Bedolah.

Peace Now reports that the Housing and Construction Ministry has issued tenders for the building of 2,594 new residential units in the West Bank since the installation of the government of Ehud Barak in July 1999. According to Peace Now, the tenders are primarily for new homes in urban settlements: 1,089 apartments in Beitar; 594 in Givat Ze'ev; 461 in Ma'ale Adumim, as well as Har Adar, Karnei Shomron, Kiryat Arba, and Otniel.

Prime Minister Barak announces that he will examine tenders issued by the Ministry of Housing and Construction to determine whether they conform to coalition guidelines regarding settlement expansion. Housing and Construction Minister Levy says that "the tenders for the construction of 2,600 apartments issued by his ministry in [the West Bank] do not stand in opposition to the government guidelines." He explains that "the housing units in question are necessary for natural growth" and "are mainly in areas not far from Jerusalem, such as Ma'ale Adumim and Beitar."

Minister Levy and Likud leader Ariel Sharon are guests at a ceremony at the Hebron area settlement of Otniel. Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel also attends.

**September 27** Tenders are published for two new roads in the West Bank—one connecting the settlements of Shaked and Katzir, another connecting Kiryat Arba and Ramat Mimra.

## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

*Ha'aretz* reports that the IDF has declared at least 80,000 dunams west of Hebron and along the Green Line to be a closed military area. Although the 14 orders for the closure were signed in May and July, affected Palestinian landowners only became aware of their existence in September. Two hundred families live in the affected areas, which the IDF intends to use in place of territories transferred to the PA according to the Sharm el-Sheikh agreement.

**September 30** Settlers in the Etzion bloc learn that the civil administration has approved fourteen Palestinian farms in the region. Thirteen of these, comprising 2,998 dunams, are in territory under total Israeli control Area C.

Deputy Minister of Defense Efraim Sneh has promised that "the works [will] be stopped for two weeks in order to carefully check who owns the lands." According to Arutz-7 radio, "a certain amount of territory is in the early stages of being declared state land, but even the farms on private Arab-owned lands are only allowed to be run privately and not by the PA, as is the case. The PA has signs on the properties, attesting to the fact that it is behind the works."

An Israeli police report concludes that construction of a settlement at Ma'ale HaZeitim [Ras al-Amud] would not present a security risk.

**October 1** *Yerushalim* reports that a British firm and the Greek Orthodox Church have reached preliminary agreement on constructing a \$150 million residential-commercial development on 150 dunams owned by the church between the Jerusalem settlements of Gilo and Har Homa. The British firm's Israeli representative notes that, the project will create a ring of Israeli construction along the southern border of the city.

*Kol Ha'ir* reports that preparations are being made to market another 600 units at Har Homa, where more than 1,500 have already been tendered.

Construction of 500 new units has begun at Ma'ale Adumim. According to the city's mayor, YESHA chairman Benjamin Kashriel, "Barak promised that he will help to build the city. It is clear to everyone that we are part of the consensus around Jerusalem."

**October 2** The General Committee for the Defense of the Territories, meeting in

Ramallah, resolves to ban all Palestinian work or contracting in settlements and to boycott settlement products.

**October 5** PA leader Yasser Arafat declares that the Barak government has approved the construction of 3,084 settlement dwellings in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since coming to power. "Settlement activity destroys the peace process," he announced. "I had an agreement with the late Yitzhak Rabin not to build even one new house in the settlements nor to expand them, including the settlements at Har Homa and Ras al-Amud."

**October 6** *Hatzofe* reports that the civil administration has permitted the Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture to establish 40 farms on 15,000 dunams in parts of Area C throughout the West Bank.

**October 7** Deputy Minister of Defense Sneh imposes limitations on the ability of the PA to establish farms in lands located in Area C near the Etzion bloc.

Prime Minister Barak confirms that Golan settlements will be eligible for the highest level of state subsidy as "priority area A."

**October 9** *Kol Ha'ir* reports that Israeli contractors have bid successfully on the construction of 727 new dwelling units in the East Jerusalem settlement area of Pisgat Ze'ev.

*Yediot Aharanot* reports that the Israel Lands Administration has stopped publishing tenders for new construction in the Golan settlements, awaiting "clarifications" from the prime minister. No tenders have been issued during Barak's government.

**October 11** Minister of Trade and Industry Ran Cohen rescinds his decision to freeze consideration of requests for state benefits for Israeli commercial and industrial concerns locating in the occupied territories.

**October 12** Prime Minister Barak announces that of 42 settlement outposts whose status was unclear, 16 will be frozen and not expanded, 3 will be permitted to continue the authorization process, and 8 are entirely legal. Seven have no legal authorization and 8 were authorized by officials who lacked the necessary legal authority. Of these latter 15 settlements, 11 will be evacuated; 4 of the 15 are uninhabited, and another 4 will

become new neighborhoods of existing settlements after moving a short distance. A YESHA official calls the decision "a great deal" for settlers.

**October 17** Interior Minister Natan Sharansky ends the practice of withdrawing the residency rights of Palestinians with East Jerusalem identity documents as long as they can prove a continuing connection with the city, expressed through occasional visits or the presence of extended family. Sharansky notes that as a practical matter, anyone who today has the status of a permanent resident of Jerusalem will remain so.

In succeeding days however, at least one resident has his residency rights revoked under the old criteria, and Interior Ministry officials deny receiving new instructions.

**October 19** *Yediot Aharanot* reports two rulings by rabbis declaring the transfer of lands to Palestinians to be a violation of Jewish law.

**October 21** Five uninhabited settlement outposts are evacuated: Hill 804 and Hill 8827 (Shvut Rachel B and D), Points 51 and 52 (near Kiryat Arba), and Khirbet as-Sana (near Eli).

**October 22** *Ha'aretz* reports that the Israeli Foreign Ministry has refused to receive a European Union report on construction in settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

*Kol Hazeman* reports that officials in the Etzion bloc are planning tours for Israeli parents opposed to sending their children on field trips to the West Bank in order to show them that there is no danger in touring the area.

**October 24** *Ha'aretz* reports that the IDF will request an additional budget of \$35 million to enhance the defenses of 40 settlements and to bulletproof 200 buses. The IDF has already spent \$10 million on 19 settlements affected by the transfer of land to the PA. The relocation of six IDF bases resulting from implementation of the Sharm el-Sheikh agreement will cost \$70 million.

**October 25** The first "safe passage" route for Palestinians linking the Gaza Strip to the West Bank is opened.

Israeli authorities demolish a home in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Beit

*TIMELINE, continued on page 8*



## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

Hanina, the fourth since the Barak government took power.

A tender for the construction of 10 units in the Gaza settlement of Rafiah Yam is published.

**October 26** *Ha'aretz* reports that two settlements west of Jerusalem will be evacuated after an agreement with settlers providing that all infrastructure remain at the sites. The government will also begin the process of approving the permanent return of settlers to the sites.

Residents of the other outposts will not leave until the master plan for "Greater Itamar"—which will increase the territory of the settlement to 6,000 dunams—is approved.

**October 27** According to a report by Arutz 7, the Palestinian effort to boycott work in Gaza settlements has resulted in a considerable reduction in laborers working in settlements. In the settlement of Netzer Hazani, the labor force has been reduced by 50 percent and in Morag by 90 percent. "If the workers continue to leave because they fear for their lives," explained the security coordinator for Netzer Hazani, "we will be on the verge of collapse."

More than 200 rabbis reaffirm the prohibition on transferring parts of the Land of Israel to non-Jewish sovereignty. In response, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, the spiritual leader of the Shas movement, reiterates his ruling that such actions are permissible in order to save lives.

**October 28** Settlers in the Etzion bloc announce, "If we allow thousands of dunams to be handed over to the PA, we are agreeing to the breaking up of the bloc into isolated settlements, the end to future growth, and surrendering control of the road to Jerusalem."

**October 29** *Kol Ha'ir* reports that, during the preceding month, the industrial park in the Etzion bloc sold 70 of the park's 350 dunams for an average price of \$34,000 per dunam.

**October 31** The last remaining section of Hebron's Shuhada Street is opened to traffic for the first time since the killing of Palestinians by Baruch Goldstein in the city's Ibrahimi mosque in March 1994.

**November 2** Israelwire reports that PA

leader Arafat has called upon U.S. president Bill Clinton to take action to stop settlement expansion.

**November 3** Prime Minister Barak rejects PA leader Arafat's demand to freeze settlements, explaining that if a final-status agreement can be reached in the next year, "the number of homes that can be built by then is insignificant."

The two families living at the outpost of Mitzpe Hagit leave the settlement in accord with the government decision of October 12. The families will be permitted to return in several weeks.

**November 4** The IDF presents to the Israeli cabinet the map outlining the next phase of West Bank redeployment.

**November 7** Israel's High Court rejects a petition by Palestinians opposing the expansion of Ma'ale Adumim. One judge suggests that "some good for the residents of the neighboring [Palestinian] villages might spring from the economic and cultural development of Ma'ale Adumim."

*Ha'aretz* reports that 6 of 11 outposts have not complied with Prime Minister Barak's October 12 order to evacuate.

Settlers at Mitzpe K'ramim, one of the outposts scheduled for evacuation, move 1 km to a new location. Four settlements remain to be evacuated.

**November 8** At the first substantive session on final-status issues, Israeli negotiator Oded Eran notes, "The establishment of secure borders should leave most of the Israelis residing today in the West Bank and Gaza Strip under Israeli sovereignty."

Construction of a new neighborhood at the settlement of Itamar begins at Hilltop 851.

**November 9** The IDF map outlining the next redeployment is presented to YESHA officials. Settlers complain that "if the government doesn't do something about the illegal construction in Area C, settlers will take matters into their own hands."

**November 10** The IDF evacuates the last of 11 outposts—Havat Ma'on near Hebron—as ordered by the Barak government on October 12.

**November 11** The Israeli cabinet approves (17-1) the next IDF redeployment scheduled for November 15. PA leader Arafat

refuses to approve the map outlining the transfer of West Bank territories scheduled for November 15.

*Ha'aretz* reports that the Barak government will enforce a prohibition on settlement expansion more than 200 meters from existing housing.

The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions reports that destruction of Palestinian homes in the West Bank and East Jerusalem declined from 249 in 1997 to 175 in 1998 to 74 in 1999.

It notes that 35 percent of East Jerusalem's 70,000 dunams has been expropriated for Israeli settlement, and an additional 54 percent is off limits to Palestinian residential construction.

*Al-Quds* reports that the West Bank settlement of Rechalim will be expanded to include 2,306 dunams belonging to villagers from Jalud and Qaryut.

Peace Now reports that the Barak government has issued tenders for the construction of 2,703 units in settlements since coming to power.

**November 16** Israeli Minister of Labor tells residents of the Bet El settlement, "In principle we are against the uprooting of settlements, and in favor of enhancing their security. For the sake of the process, however, we are going to have to take painful actions."

It is reported that the master plan boundaries of the settlement of Itamar have been expanded from 700 to 7,000 dunams, thereby including 4 of the 42 outposts evaluated by the Barak government on October 12. The plan was authorized, according to Minister of Trade and Industry Cohen, one day after agreement was reached between the government and YESHA on the outpost issue and was an integral part of the agreement.

**November 21** The Palestinian National Defense Land Committee calls for a boycott of work at the settlements; and the PA blocks all transit points between the Gaza Strip's Katif bloc of settlements and the rest of Gaza. Five thousand Palestinians normally work in the Katif bloc.

**November 22** Settlers establish an unauthorized outpost near the Nokdim settlement on lands east of Bethlehem that are



## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

scheduled to be transferred to Palestinians as part of the delayed November 15 redeployment. YESHA leaders want the government to demolish all Palestinian homes built without permits in the Etzion bloc area.

Work begins on tunnels through Jerusalem's Mt. Scopus, part of a road system meant to connect Ma'ale Adumim with the coastal plain. The project will take two years and cost \$60 million.

"Our goal," explained Jerusalem's mayor Ehud Olmert, "is to create an infrastructure that eventually enables these places to

become an inseparable part of metropolitan Jerusalem."

Six Palestinian homes are demolished by the IDF in Gaza's Khan Yunis refugee camp, the first demolitions in Gaza since the signing of the Oslo accords in September 1993.

**November 24** PA leader Arafat, bowing to popular concerns about economic hardship, cancels the order prohibiting Palestinians from working in settlements.

**November 28** As a consequence of military orders published in September, the IDF

demolishes three homes in the village of Al-Khader near Bethlehem. The Palestinian organization LAW reports that 14 homes in the West Bank and Gaza have been demolished since October 26.

**November 29** At a regular session of final-status talks, Palestinians threaten to boycott the talks unless settlement activity is frozen.

**November 30** Members of the "next generation" settlement movement are forcibly removed by the IDF from a site near the settlement of Nokdim. ♦

### FINAL STATUS, continued from page 5

requirements, particularly as they are measured in territory long claimed by Palestinians, but also on the presence of most settlers and settlements under yet-to-be determined degrees of Israeli sovereignty and extraterritorial control.

No detailed version of Israel's territorial requirements has been formally presented to Palestinian negotiators, but the drafts prepared by Israel clearly establish an intention to limit the territorial breadth of a Palestinian state.

According to Benn, "Two senior political figures, acquainted both with the prime minister and the land in question offer the following: Barak, they reckon, will demand roughly 50 percent of the territory of the West Bank, including two security regions in the Jordan Valley and Samaria, and a ring around Jerusalem. Settlements adjacent to the Green Line will comprise a western security zone, whereas an eastern zone will depend upon deployments of the IDF; the army will be allowed to move between these security zones, under terms to be stipulated in the agreement.

"One possible compromise that might arise at the end of the negotiations would involve classifying the eastern security zone as "B" lands, subject to Palestinian civil authority and Israeli security responsibility.

"Another formula would have Israel in full control of a thin strip running along the Jordan Valley; hilltops overlooking the valley would be classified as "B" areas. A border in the west would run as straight as possible between the Israeli settlements and Palestinian villages; there would be some overlap between this new border and the old Green Line."

The dilemma facing Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians is of a far different dimension than that confronting Israel. Barak appears determined to minimize the extent of territory transferred to Palestinian control, while maximizing Israeli security considerations and the prospects of settlement expansion. Arafat must confront the fruits that were planted during the interim period, when the legitimacy of settlements and their expansion was initially conceded, and minimize the territorial consequences of these critical concessions. ♦

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"THERE ARE NO LEGAL SETTLEMENTS. PERIOD."

Advertisement sponsored by the "Peace Bloc" organization opposed to settlements  
appeared in *Ha'aretz*, October 20, 1999

## Tenders Issued by the Barak Government for Construction in West Bank and Gaza Strip Settlements, July–December 1999

<i>Date</i>	<i>Settlement</i>	<i>Housing Units</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Settlement</i>	<i>Housing Units</i>
July 8	Betar Ilit	589	October 14	Neve Dekalim (Gaza)	22
July 19	Har Adar	185	October 25	Rafiah Yam (Gaza)	10
July 29	Betar Ilit	500	November 1	Metzad/Esfar	9
August 9	Ariel	65	November 4	Sanur/Ganim	14
	Karnei Shomron	178	November 15	Ariel	54
August 19	Givat Ze'ev	594	December 2	Geva-Benjamin	177
	Ma'ale Adumim	356		Alfei Menashe	316
		105	<b>Total:</b>		<b>3,196</b>
August 30	Otniel	10			
September 14	Kiryat Arba	12			

*Source:* Peace Now, December 5, 1999.

**“The principle of a just peace contradicts the continued existence of settlements erected in order to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian State, and to undermine the geographical integrity of the Palestinian territory. Is there any country in the world in which there are settlements not under its sovereignty?”**

**The Likud government of Menahem Begin dismantled the settlements erected in the occupied Egyptian territories, and now the Barak government envisages dismantling the settlements erected on the Golan Heights. Nothing except the logic of injustice can legitimize the continued existence of settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory. It has become a crucial necessity to stop all settlement activities in the Palestinian territory, totally and not selectively. For settlements are not only illegal, and a breach of international law; they are destructive to the peace process itself.”**

*Speech by Yasser Arafat, Chairman, Palestinian Authority  
at the XXI Congress of the Socialist International, Paris, November 9, 1999*

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