

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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SHARON MOVES AHEAD WITH GAZA EVACUATION

"By the end of 2005, not one Jew will remain in the Gaza Strip," declared Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon three days before the June 6 cabinet endorsement of his plan to evacuate all 7,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip and less than 1,000 from four settlements in the northern West Bank.

The endorsement came only weeks after Likud activists rejected Sharon's initial evacuation plan. In the wake of this embarrassing setback, minor elements of the plan were modified. The new plan reaffirms Sharon's strategic intention to end Israel's occupation of Gaza, splits the evacuation during 2005 into four stages, calls "in general" for the physical demolition of settlement housing, and states explicitly Israel's intention "not [to] cede the right to a permanent military presence in the territorial area of the Gaza Strip" and the northern West Bank.

One day after the plan's approval,

Sharon explained that it "is good for the security of Israel, its diplomatic status, its economy, and is good for the demography of the Jewish people in Israel."

There is no formal link between the settler evacuation of Gaza and the expansion of settlements in the West Bank. The Sharon government, however, faces a political imperative to appease settler opposition to the Gaza evacuation by expanding construction in the West Bank, a move that received indirect approval from U.S. president George W. Bush in April talks with Sharon.

In mid-June Minister of Defense Shaul Mofaz gave the go ahead for creation of what *Ma'ariv* described as "massive construction plans for the settlements in the Etzion bloc, as a first stage for settlement expansion in the areas of Ma'ale Adumim and Ariel." Etzion bloc settlers have already submitted to Mofaz a memorandum outlining the construction of 5,300 residential units throughout the bloc's settlements, including 2,300 in the Nokdim area, 56 units in Bet Ayn, and 250 units next to the settlement of Kfar Eldad. Settlers also asked for the annexation of an additional 10,000 dunams of Palestinian land to their planning area in order to expedite the long-delayed establishment of Ir Ganim and its 7,500 units. Settlement expansion of this magnitude in the Bethlehem region will further isolate the Bethlehem-Beit Jala area, already cut off from Jerusalem, from its southern hinterland.

The approximately 1,500 settler

families to be evacuated from Gaza can expect to receive compensation averaging \$330,000 per family—\$550 million in all. Military costs related to the evacuation and redeployment are estimated at \$450 million. Gaza settlers, like other Israelis contemplating a move to a West Bank settlement, are free agents, and there is little the government can do, short of sweeping prohibitions on settlement expansion, which is currently not on the political horizon, to answer demands made by Palestinians and many in the international community to prevent their resettlement in the West Bank. Linking compensation to a commitment not to settle in the West Bank would be impossible to manage effectively and would likely be struck down upon judicial review.

A source in the YESHA Council was reported to have said that "notwithstanding the understanding between the prime minister and the Americans not to settle settlers from Gaza beyond the Green Line, construction in the settlement blocs of Judea and Samaria will result in a substantial increase in the number of settlers."

Even if Sharon's plan is not implemented, its approval by a Likud-led government effectively seals the future of the Gaza settlement enterprise. In a stunning reversal of decades of bipartisan support, Mofaz confirmed the fate of Gaza settlements when he declared on May 2, "Settlements established in the Gaza Strip are an historic mistake.

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Arabic and Hebrew translations of recent *Settlement Reports* can be viewed at www.fmep.org.

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TO OUR READERS

In the early decades of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the United States supported the rule of law as a tool for resolution of the conflict. We championed many landmark United Nations resolutions defining the issues and obligations of the parties. Until the early 1980's we supported the view that the Fourth Geneva Convention outlawed Israeli settlements. In recent decades, however, we have held that settlements—and more recently the separation barrier—are "political" issues that can only be resolved through negotiations. We therefore opposed the right of the International Court of Justice to rule on the separation barrier. And after the Court held that both the barrier and settlements are illegal, we opposed a UN General Assembly resolution supporting the ruling.

Of course peace must ultimately come through negotiations. But the U.S. view that international law is no longer relevant undermines a powerful source of principle

and legitimacy that should inform the negotiations. Law is especially important given the vast disparity of power between the two sides, and the leverage Israel gains from its occupation. If the U.S. is unwilling to restore negotiations and mediate in order to correct this disparity, it should at least not weaken the influence of international law. It is disingenuous to claim that settlements and the barrier must be left entirely to negotiations, especially when there are no such negotiations. The Road Map is effectively dead and the U.S. is doing nothing to revive it. Sharon rejects negotiations and is moving aggressively to build the barrier and plan new settlements that are designed to create permanent facts on the ground and foreclose negotiations.



Court at The Hague Rules Barrier Illegal

On July 9, the International Court of Justice ruled that Israel's construction of the separation barrier now snaking its way through the West Bank and around East Jerusalem is illegal and that those portions located in the occupied territories must be dismantled, with compensation paid to Palestinian landowners whose interests have been damaged by its construction. The Court's decision emphatically challenges the Israeli rationale for locating most of the barrier in the West Bank instead of in its own territory.

The American judge, Thomas Buergenthal, dissented from the ICJ's findings on the grounds that the Court did not have a sufficient factual basis for its conclusions. Nevertheless, his dissenting opinion supported in principle the Court's decision that settlements violate international law and that Israel has no legitimate or recognized security interests in protecting its settlements.

"Paragraph 6 of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention," Buergenthal wrote, "provides that 'The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.' I agree that this provision applies to the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and that their existence violates Article 49, paragraph 6. It follows that the segments of the wall being built by Israel to protect the settlements are *ipso facto* in violation of international humanitarian law. Moreover, given the demonstrable great hardship to which the affected Palestinian population is being subjected in and around the enclaves created by those segments of the wall, I seriously doubt that the wall would here satisfy the proportionality requirement to qualify as a legitimate measure of self-defence."

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ISRAEL'S HIGH COURT FORCES CHANGES IN SEPARATION BARRIER ROUTE

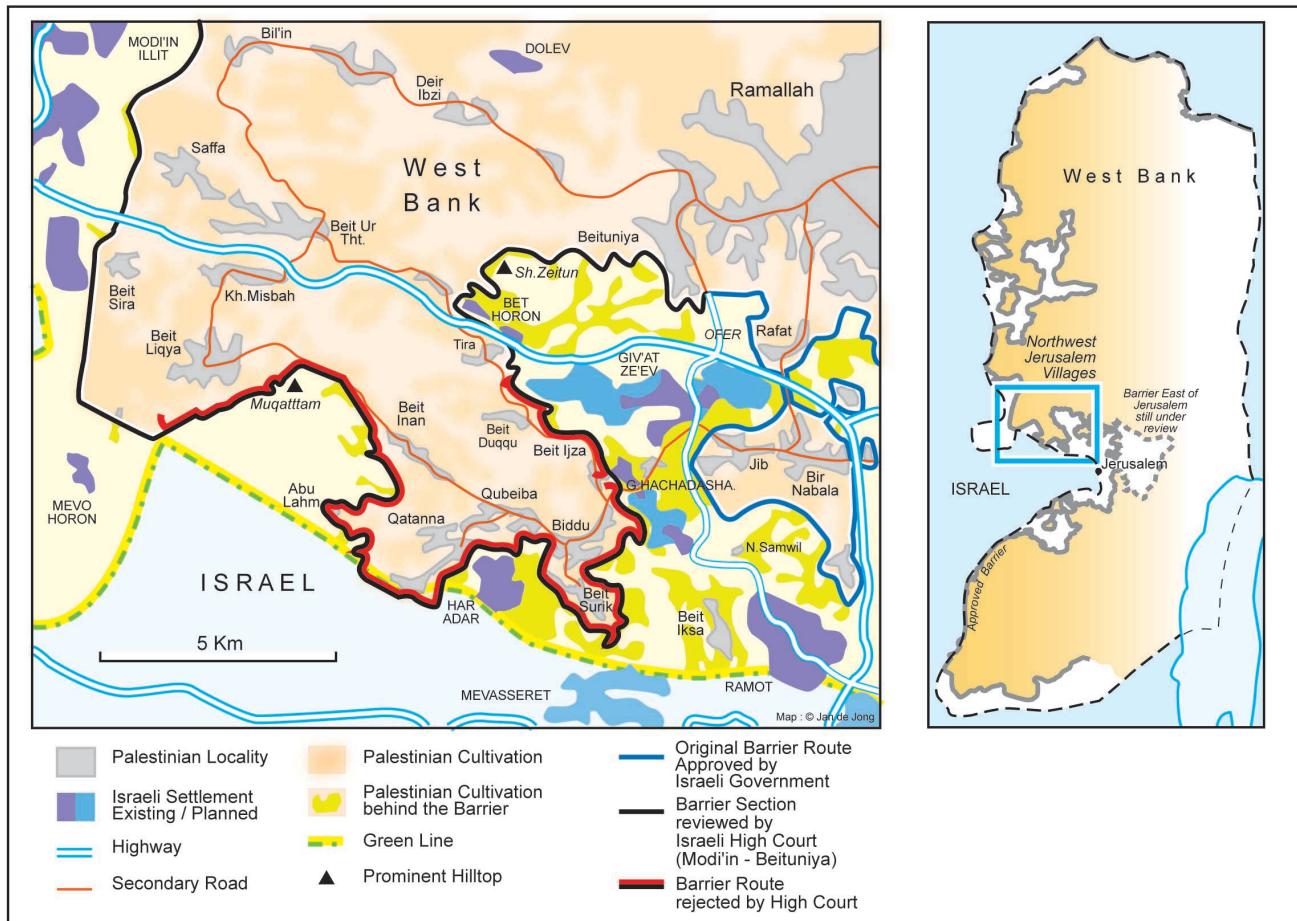
Both President George Bush and challenger John Kerry have made their peace with Israel's separation barrier along the route approved by the government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Not so Israel's High Court, which declared more effective, if qualified, opposition, in a June 30 decision calling for changes in the trajectory of Israel's West Bank separation barrier along a 30 km segment northwest of Jerusalem. The court accepted the argument that the barrier serves a military purpose and that Israel has a right to construct it in occupied territory and to take account of settlements in determining its route. It noted unequivocally, however, that in certain locations, the barrier route disproportionately violates the protections afforded Palestinians under international humanitarian law and where it does so, must be relocated. The Sharon government is expected to alter the barrier's route by moving it closer to settlements and the Green Line. In view of the court's decision, additional legal challenges to the barrier route are expected.

In a decision that should be required reading in Washington, the court ruled that, "The route disrupts the delicate balance between the obligation of the military commander to preserve security and his obligation to provide for the needs of

the local inhabitants. This approach is based on the fact that the route which the military commander established for the Security Fence—which separates the local inhabitants from their agricultural lands—injures the local inhabitants in a severe and acute way, while violating their rights under humanitarian international law. Here are the facts: more than 13,000 farmers are cut off from thousands of dunams of their land and from tens of thousands of trees which are their livelihood, and which are located on the other side of the Separation Fence. No attempt was made to seek out and provide them with substitute land, despite our oft repeated proposals on that matter. The separation is not hermetic: the military commander announced that two gates will be constructed, from each of the two villages, to its lands, with a system of licensing. This state of affairs injures the farmers severely, as access to their lands (early in the morning, in the afternoon, and in the evening), will be subject to restrictions inherent to a system of licensing. Such a system will result in long lines for the passage of the farmers themselves; it will make the passage of vehicles (which themselves require licensing and examination) difficult, and will distance the farmer from his

HIGH COURT, continued on page 7

Israeli High Court Reviews Barrier Route - 30 June 2004



SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

March 2 *Arutz 7* reports that construction of new homes in Israel was down by 8 percent in 2003, while in the occupied territories, it had risen by 35 percent. The number of settlement housing starts in 2003 was 1,849 (excluding East Jerusalem), comprising 6.2 percent of the national total. In 2002, there were 1,369 starts, 4.2 percent of the total.

March 3 Israel decides to modify the route of the separation barrier, tearing down a section, which cuts off the town of Qalqiliya from Jenin, in the northern West Bank. The barrier will be built west of the town. In addition, one kilometer of the eastern section of the barrier that surrounds Qalqiliya will be torn down. (B'Tselem)

March 4 The Israeli High Court rules in favor of destroying two Palestinian homes to widen "Worshippers Way," the route connecting the settlement of Kiryat Arba and the Cave of the Patriarchs (Ibrahimi Mosque) in Hebron. Twelve settlers were killed along the route in an ambush in November 2002.

March 7 *Ha'aretz* reports the Israeli High Court issuing an order prohibiting construction of the security barrier through the olive grove of the village of al-Has, southeast of Jerusalem.

March 10 *Ha'aretz* reports that a 2.3 km gap in the security barrier east of Jerusalem near the road to Ma'ale Adumim will be left open. One-fourth of the 80 km barrier section in the Jerusalem area has been completed. Only 10 km of the remaining 60 km is under active construction, due in part to the 26 judicial petitions filed against the barrier with the Israeli High Court. Fifteen have been rejected or resolved by the parties. Of the 11 still before the court, 8 have resulted in postponement of construction. The remaining three relate to issues of principle.

March 11 Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics reports that 300 new settlement dwellings (excluding East Jerusalem) were sold by the private sector in 2003. This figure represents a 26 percent increase over that for 2002, which recorded the highest sales in this category since 1998. Nationally, private home sales declined in Israel by 22 percent in 2003. (*Ha'aretz*)

March 12 *Yerushalim* reports that the European Union's planned imposition of 7.5 percent duties beginning March 30 on

imports originating in settlements "has begun to have a real effect on industries in Mishor Adumim." Spain and Greece are to begin enforcing the policy on March 13. (Ma'ariv)

March 16 *Ha'aretz* reports that Palestinians with blue Israeli residency cards who reside outside the "Jerusalem envelope" are moving back into municipal Jerusalem because they fear losing social and economic benefits if they remain outside of the barrier. According to the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, approximately 60,000 to 90,000 Palestinians living outside of Jerusalem carry Israeli ID cards.

March 19 *Yerushalim* reports that plans have been approved by Israel's regional planning committee for a new Palestinian neighborhood of 190 dwellings and a park in Jerusalem's Wadi Joz area. The committee overrode objections by residents from Sur Baher to the construction of an eastern ring road around Jerusalem. Construction of the 20 km road will require land confiscations separate from those for the security barrier. The petitioners did, however, win support for changes in the road's route.

Yerushalim also reports that the Hebrew University is once again attempting to sell a 90-dunam plot in Beit Hanina. Previous efforts to sell the land at \$100,000 per dunam failed in part because of large-scale illegal construction on the parcel.

March 21 *Arutz 7* reports that 3,961 missiles have been fired at Gaza settlements since September 2000.

March 22 The Israeli High Court removes the last legal obstacle to the demolition of several outposts in the West Bank. YESHA Council member Pinchas Wallerstein contends that two of the outposts, Ginot Aryeh and Tal Binyamin, are neighborhoods of the settlement of Ofra and that YESHA will fight for every outpost the government attempts to dismantle, "No one expects the government to stop with just outposts. It's obvious that [Prime Minister Ariel] Sharon wants to uproot full-fledged communities as well."

March 23 *Arutz 7* reports attacks against the Katif bloc, including 3 mortar shells and several incidents of antitank missiles and light-weapons fire against Israel Defense Force soldiers.

March 25 The IDF kills two Palestinians attempting to infiltrate the Katif bloc with a rocket launcher, rifles and grenades. They were spotted after swimming ashore and opening fire on a settler vehicle. (*Jerusalem Post*)

Ma'ariv reports the government of Thailand is asking 400 of its citizens who work as agricultural laborers in Gaza settlements to relocate following the assassination of Sheikh Ahmad Yassin by Israel. Settlement farms in the Katif bloc export an estimated \$40 million a year in produce.

Ma'ariv reports that no tenders for residential settlement construction have been issued since December 2003. In the first quarter of 2003, in contrast, tenders were issued for the construction of more than 2,000 settlement units.

The Israeli police report that during 2003 there was a decrease in the number of reported cases of settler violence against Palestinians. In the West Bank there were 361 cases in 2003, compared to 476 in 2002 and 537 in 2001. Complaints about destruction of olive groves declined from 88 in 2002 to 18 in 2003. Officials also reported that some police were compelled to move to new homes because of threats resulting from efforts to remove outpost settlements. (*Ha'aretz*)

March 26 Residents of Beit Hanina present a plan to Israeli authorities for the construction of 250 residential units and associated infrastructure on a privately owned 100-dunam plot north of the settlement community of Rekhes Shoufat to be called Askariyya. Thirty units are already under construction but lack the required permits that the project's organizers are seeking for the entire project. Organizers are hoping that an agreement will be reached freezing this construction and preventing its demolition while the plan is under review.

Kol Ha'Zeman reports that land in Wadi Joz will be the site of a new government complex housing branches of the ministries of interior, health, and social welfare.

Yerushalim reports that, according to attorney Muhammad Jabara, since October 2002 there have been no building permits issued for housing in Palestinian areas of East Jerusalem. At that time, Israel began requiring that persons listed in the 1967 Jordanian

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land registry as owners of the property physically accompany those requesting permits or land ownership transfers.

March 29 Sharon states that he had agreed to dismantle four settlements in the West Bank because the quid pro quo from the United States would be more "serious and significant" than if only the Gaza Strip settlements were evacuated. (*Ha'aretz*)

March 30 In the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Silwan, 11 Jewish families move into two buildings over the protests of Arab residents. Settlers claim that one of the buildings was recently bought by people close to the Committee for the Renewal of the Yemenite Village in Shiloah, with the assistance of Ateret Cohanim, a group active in acquiring properties in the Old City and East Jerusalem for Jews. A month prior 16 families moved into a building in Ir David as part of a strategy to create a continuous settler presence to Silwan and the settlement of Ma'ale Hazaytim in Abu Dis. There are more than 50 Jewish families in the Ir David-Silwan area. (*Ha'aretz*)

March 31 *Ha'aretz* reports an IDF clash with 25 demonstrators protesting the construction of the separation barrier near the West Bank village of Kata'ana.

The IDF dismantles the Hazon David synagogue outpost of Kiryat Arba and the Bat Ayin West outpost. Tal Binyamin is the next outpost scheduled for dismantling in the Beit El-Ofra area. It is uninhabited, but used during the day and on holidays. (Arutz 7)

The Bank of Israel reports that the intifada, which commenced in September 2000, has cost the Israeli economy between \$700 million and \$900 million in lost economic activity, not including defense expenditures. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 2 Peace Now launches a campaign in support of the Sharon disengagement plan under the slogan "Evacuate settlements—Choose life." (*Ha'aretz*)

Arutz 7 reports the firing of the 4,000th mortar shell or Qassam rocket into the Katif bloc in Gaza.

Israel's Finance Ministry reveals that \$65 million in settlement mortgage credits has not been repaid. The credits are part of a

\$200 million program that assisted the construction of 2,568 settlement dwelling units from 1990 to 2003. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 5 *Ha'aretz* reports that the Finance Ministry intends to transfer \$66 million to finance the construction of "special security zones" around isolated settlements.

April 9 U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell announces that the U.S. has no plans to reduce loan guarantees to Israel because of outlays on the separation barrier. "We have expressed concern to the Israelis over time about the route of the fence and whether it intrudes too deeply into Palestinian territory—more than is necessary for [the] legitimate right of self-defense. But at the moment, we don't have any plans to dock them over the route of the fence." (Reuters)

April 12 The IDF kills two Palestinians and wounds a third attempting to attack the settlement of Netzirim in Gaza. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 13 Local councils in settlements acknowledge using public funds to support protests against the Gaza evacuation plan, noting that such expenditures are legal. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

April 14 Israeli attorney general Menachem Mazuz orders a halt to all government funding of the settlements. He announces that before settlement funding is resumed legal mechanisms must be established to assure that the government does not fund illegal outposts. (*Mideast Mirror*)

April 16 Twenty-five residents from the Jerusalem villages of Jebel Mukabbar and al-Sawahrah lodge claims for \$2 million in compensation for a plot of land 50 to 70 m wide and 1 km in length confiscated by the IDF for construction of the security barrier. The IDF is offering \$215,000. (*Yerushalim*)

Yerushalim reports that the 30 families currently residing in the settlement of Ir David near the Old City of Jerusalem will increase to 46 families in the near future.

April 17 An Israeli border guard is killed in a Palestinian suicide bombing at the Erez crossing in Gaza, the fourth attack this year. Three others are wounded. (Arutz 7)

April 18 The Swiss embassy refuses to attend a street naming ceremony for one of its nationals because the street is located in the East Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 19 Israel Line reports the firing of 15 Qassam rockets into the Katif bloc, wounding one settler and damaging more than five structures. Two missiles are also fired at the settlement of Neve Dekalim, damaging a house. They are the worst attacks in more than three years. As a result, the IDF masses troops around Beit Lahiya in an operation aimed against the rocket and mortar crews operating in the area.

Yitzhak Pass and Mati Shvo, settlers convicted of preparing attacks against Arabs, have their prison sentences increased from 15 months to 24 months. (Arutz 7)

April 27 Approximately 60,000 Israelis rally in the Katif bloc in Gaza to protest Sharon's disengagement plan. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 28 Figures released by the Rafah governorate reveal that more than 1,600 homes have been destroyed by the IDF since September 2000, leaving 1,767 families homeless. Approximately 600 homes have been partially demolished and another 3,520 homes have sustained damage from Israeli shelling. According to UN Relief and Works Agency statistics, 14,850 people are homeless in Gaza as a consequence of Israeli actions. Most demolitions are concentrated around the Philadelphi strip, the border area separating Gaza from Egypt. (*Palestine Report*)

April 29 *Ha'aretz* reports the demolition of 11 Palestinian structures in the Ma'on region, south of Hebron near the route of the security barrier. Six of the buildings were erected by the British development agency.

April 30 An East Jerusalem Electric Company official estimates that the company is losing \$2.2 million to \$3.3 million monthly. It is unable to reach locations on the West Bank side of the security barrier, customers have no way to pay their bills, and electricity theft has increased.

May 2 Five settlers, a mother a four children, are killed in their car en route to the Katif bloc in the first civilian attack in Gaza in more than a year. Following the attack, the IDF destroys 13 homes in the area as well as 3 more in Rafah. (*Ha'aretz*)

Ha'aretz reports four settler families moving into two homes in the east Jerusalem village of Abu Dis.

They are not on the map of the State of Israel's [national] interests." On another occasion he noted, "The Gaza Strip is not part of the Promised Land. Whether there is a peace agreement or not, the settlers in Gaza will not be there in another five years. I claim that the founding fathers of the 'Gaza-Jericho First' agreement made a mistake when they allowed Israeli settlements to remain in the Gaza Strip." ♦

Settlement Expansion Brief

The settler population in the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) and Gaza Strip grew faster (5.3 percent) than any region in Israel (1.8 percent) during 2003 to 231,800.

During the first quarter of 2004, construction commenced on 291 dwelling units in the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) and Gaza Strip, representing a decline of 13 percent compared to figures for the same period in 2003. Nevertheless, only 50 new privately constructed dwellings were sold in the same areas during the January-March 2004 period, a 50 percent decline compared to the same period in 2003. Almost 200 new units remained on the market, more than twice as many as a year earlier.

In the wake of a construction program that saw building starts in settlements during 2003 increase by 35 percent over 2002 levels and at a time when construction nationally contracted by 15 percent, the Construction and Housing Ministry will issue land tenders in Jerusalem and environs during the coming months for 2,414 dwelling units, most of them in the occupied territories. Of this number, 156 units will be marketed in Kiryat Arba in the framework of a government policy of encouraging such purchases by reducing the risk to contractors. An additional 600 units will be marketed in Betar Ilit, 200 units in Ma'ale Adumim, 180 units in Givat Ze'ev, 130 units in Adam, 100 units in Efrat, and in East Jerusalem, 700 units in Har Homa and 48 units in Pisgat Ze'ev. ♦

Evacuation Timeline

2004

June 6

Only settlers resident prior to this date are eligible for compensation. Some settlement development plans are frozen.

July

Compensation law is approved by cabinet committee and considered by the Knesset.

August

Voluntary settler evacuation commences. Compensation is to be agreed upon.

October

Agreements brokered with international community on the disposition of settlement assets.

November

Compensation payments commence.

2005

February

The government issues a decision on staged evacuation.

Evacuation Stages (2005)

Stage 1

Evacuate the Gaza settlements of Morag, Netzarim, and Rafiah Yam

Stage 2

Evacuate the West Bank settlements of Ganim, Homesh, Kadim, and Sa Nur

Stage 3

Evacuate the Gaza settlements of the Katif Bloc: Atzmona, Bedolah, Gadic, Ganei Tai, Gan Or, Katif, Kfar Darom, Kfar Yam, Netzer Hazani, Neve Dekalim, Pat Sadeh, and Shalev

Stage 4

Evacuate the northwest Gaza settlements: Dugit, Eli Sinai, and Nisanit

August 14

The deadline for evacuation of all settlers. Settlements become a "closed military zone." Entry to settlements is prohibited and settlers remaining after this date risk being removed by force.

September 2-15

Forced removal of all remaining Gaza settlers

September-October

IDF withdraws from Gaza territory (except for the Philadelphia zone along the Gaza-Egypt border)

Sharon, the father of settlements, did yesterday what his predecessors, Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, Benjamin Netanyahu and Ehud Barak never managed to do. They all talked about dividing the land with the Palestinians, but postponed addressing settlements until a permanent agreement, preferring instead to strengthen the settlers. Sharon has raised for government decision the words "evacuation and compensation" which haven't been heard since the Sinai evacuation in 1982.

Aluf Benn in *Ha'aretz*, June 7, 2004

SETTLEMENT OUTPOSTS CONTINUE TO THRIVE UNDER SHARON ADMINISTRATION

In recent discussions, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has acknowledged not doing enough to make good on commitments to the Bush administration to dismantle scores of settlement "outposts" established during his tenure. The government of Israel has presented to the Bush administration a list of 28 outposts that have been established since March 2001. According to the Israeli organization Peace Now, however, approximately 51 outposts that were established since March 2001 are extant. Altogether, approximately 100 new settlements have been established since 1996 with a population of 1,500.

According to Dror Etkes, head of Peace Now's Settlements Watch project, "At the end of June, Settlements Watch had identified 96 outposts in the West Bank. Forty-four of these sites were established prior to the Israeli elections in February 2001, leaving 52 outposts that were built after those elections, including 51 constructed after March 2001—not 28 as the Sharon government claims. While some of the outposts on the Sharon list exist, many of the sites are unknown, are not really outposts, or have already been evacuated. None of the outposts could have been built without government help or acquiescence.

"In addition, Settlements Watch has just completed a second round of aerial and ground surveys of all settlements in the occupied territories in order to find any changes that have taken place in these communities over the last four months. We found that over 3,100 housing units are in the process of being constructed in the territories today. In the Gaza Strip," whose 21 settlements are to be evacuated by October 2005, "over 190,000 square meters have been added to built-up settlement areas during the past few months, mostly through increasing the amount of farm land. The Gaza settlement in which the most changes have been noted is Bnei Atzmon (Atzmona), where an area of 113,000 square meters surrounding the settlement is being prepared for agriculture purposes. The Gaza settlement of Katif also has some notable additions to its farm areas. Further, a new residential area is being built in the Gaza settlement of Neve Dekalim, while seven new trailers have been added to Netzarim in Gaza in order to increase the number of settlers in the area." There has also been an expansion of settlement housing units in Sanur, one of the small West Bank settlements slated for evacuation, where four new trailers have been added.

West Bank settlers have moved 70 trailers to outposts in the past six months, according to a report compiled by the Civil Administration's department for monitoring infrastructure. During the first half of 2004, the Civil Administration approved the transfer of 220 trailers to West Bank settlements. Towards the middle of the year, the Civil Administration determined that 70 had not arrived at their intended destinations, but rather to illegal settlement outposts. ♦

Local Settlement Council Territorial Expansion (in square meters)

Etzion Bloc	34,000
Binyamin Area	64,000
Mount Hevron	1,900
Shomron	138,000
Jordan Valley	10,000

Main Settlement Construction Sites in the West Bank

Alfei Menashe
Ma'ale Adumim (21,000 square meters)
Betar Ilit (11,000 square meters)
Kiryat Sefer
Efrat
Neve Daniel
Elazar
Giva Binyamin
Kokav Yakov

Source: Peace Now.



Ha'aretz, June 4, 2004

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lands (since only two daytime gates are planned for the entire length of this segment of the route). As a result, the life of the farmer will change completely in comparison to his previous life. The route of the Separation Fence severely violates their right of property and their freedom of movement. Their livelihood is severely impaired. The difficult reality of life from which they have suffered (due, for example, to high unemployment in that area) will only become more severe." ♦

Settlement Housing Data 2000–2003

	Year	Israel and Settlements (units)	Settlements* (units)	Settlements*/Israel (%)
Housing Starts Initiated by Ministry of Construction and Housing – Urban and Rural Areas	2002	7,695	772	11.2
	2003	7,258	1,141	17
Housing Completions Initiated by Ministry of Construction and Housing – Urban and Rural Areas	2002	10,376	1,110	12
	2003	8,840	1,258	17.4
New Dwellings (Privately-Sponsored Construction)	2001	14,535	733	5.3
	2002	14,483	239	1.7
	2003	10,383	269	2.7
Transactions of Land Designated for Residential Development by the Israel Lands Administration	2000	22,466	2,804	14.3
	2001	14,083	1,950	16.1
	2002	14,375	1,017	7.6
	2003	15,205	1,242	8.9

* Excluding East Jerusalem.

Source: Ministry of Construction and Housing, *Monthly Bulletin*, January 2004, pp. 7, 9, 29 33.

On the 100th anniversary of Herzl's death, we should indeed admire him for his vision. But we must also not be afraid to state that 21st century Zionism will not survive if the new interpretation of the "Jewish state" is an apartheid state that rules over the Palestinians against their will. We must remember that the suffering of the Palestinians who live under Israeli occupation is as desperate as was that of the Jews of Europe in the late 19th century, when Herzl sought a solution for their distress.

The future of the Jewish state is linked to the future of the Palestinian nation that lives alongside and within it, and the logical and ethical solution for that cannot be found in a vision, but by bringing about a change in reality.

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