

# REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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## NEWS

The unprecedented series of Hamas attacks on Israelis in recent weeks have overshadowed all other dimensions of domestic Israel and Israeli-Palestinian affairs. The attacks have called into question two fundamental Israeli assumptions about reconciliation with the PLO—first, that the organization could be counted on to police the Palestinian community, and second, that Israelis' sense of their personal security would increase as a consequence of granting the PLO ruling authority in part of the occupied territories.

The complex nature of this arrangement is illustrated in a map on page 3 showing the various zones into which the West Bank has been divided following Israel's military redeployment. It also depicts the system of roads supporting the withdrawal.

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## SETTLEMENTS AND JERUSALEM RANK HIGH AS ELECTION SEASON OPENS

Israel will hold national elections on May 29, 1996, to choose both a new prime minister and a 120-member Knesset. For the first time in Israel's history, these votes will be separate, with voters selecting a nominee for prime minister as well as a party slate for the Knesset.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Likud Party leader Benjamin Netanyahu are the two main candidates for the premiership. Other candidates, however, may force a run-off if neither wins the required 51 percent of the initial vote.

In the early weeks of the campaign, each candidate has sought to establish both personal and party credentials for

an electorate that supports the Oslo process of reconciliation with the Palestinians but remains skeptical and concerned about its consequences—sentiments that were exacerbated by a series of deadly attacks on Israelis at the end of February and early March.

Jerusalem is at the center of both Labor and Likud election strategy. Likud's Netanyahu is trying to undermine the credibility of Peres' commitment to prevent any diminution of Israeli authority in the city.

"The elections," Netanyahu said on February 18, "will determine whether

**ELECTIONS**, *continued on page 6*

## PERES GOVERNMENT DISCOURSES RELOCATION OF SETTLERS

The assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the redeployment of the Israeli Defense Forces reinvigorated efforts by settlement opponents to encourage settlers to leave their homes in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights. The main focus of the political effort to assist in relocation to Israel is in the settlement of Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, where 200 families are said to be interested in leaving.

For Israelis, this small but politically emotive movement is akin to the "man bites dog" story. For decades, considerable government effort has been directed to achieve an entirely opposite result—to place ever-growing numbers of Israe-

lis, now numbering almost 150,000, in outposts throughout these territories.

Even today, after the Oslo declaration and the installation of Yasser Arafat as the elected president of the Palestinian Authority, the Israeli government, led by Prime Minister Shimon Peres, continues to invest hundreds of millions of dollars annually to encourage the growth of these settlements, whose population continues to increase at a rate approaching 10 percent annually.

The first efforts to organize official support for settlers willing to return to Israel began two years ago. They failed

**COMPENSATION**, *continued on page 7*

## TO OUR READERS

Israel and the Palestinian Authority are to be commended for their punctual implementation of commitments established in the Oslo II agreement. In the months since the agreement was signed, Israel, despite the hardships imposed by the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, fulfilled its obligation to redeploy its troops out of six of the principal Palestinian cities in the West Bank—Jenin, Kalkilya, Tulkarem, Nablus, Ramallah, and Bethlehem. Together with the PA it has endeavored to establish a new and workable security regime in the West Bank, one under which settlers, also, have cooperated, despite threats to the contrary.

The February and March attacks on Israelis in Jerusalem, Ashkelon, and Tel Aviv threaten to disrupt the Oslo II timetable and add to the many obstacles that still must be surmounted to achieve a genuine peace between the two peoples.

Israel's scheduled redeployment from part of Hebron—the most contentious and potentially disruptive element of Israel's redeployment—may be delayed as a conse-

quence of the attacks. Notwithstanding the evident deficiencies of the Hebron agreement, Israel needs to implement this important step according to the timetable established in Oslo II.

The Hebron redeployment, more so than Israel's pullback from West Bank cities already evacuated, raises the question of the future of Israel's settlements in the West Bank. The Oslo process has proceeded on the assumption that the continuing existence and expansion of settlements can be reconciled with the satisfaction of Palestinian aspirations. This is a seductive but ultimately unworkable view. Two important articles written by Israelis on opposite poles of the political spectrum—journalist Uri Avneri and Rabbi Yoel Ben Nun—eloquently address this issue on pages 4 and 5.

The debate, we fear, will continue. The sooner Avneri's sensible views prevail, the better.

*Lucius D. Battle*



### Population Growth in the Judea Region [southern West Bank]—1992–1994

Settlement	Population			
	30 Jun 92	31 Dec 94	Increase	%
Betar	1,603	4,878	3,275	204
Efrat	3,181	4,606	1,425	45
Hebron	345	502	157	46
Kiryat Arba	4,765	5,044	279	6
Ma'ale Adumim	13,968	17,745	3,777	27
Regional Council				
Etzion Bloc	5,220	6,507	1,28	25
Hebron Hills	1,923	2,216	293	15
Total	31,005	41,498	10,493	34

Source: *Judea Magazine*, Vol. 3 No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 1995, reprinted by SNS News Service, Number 894 "Update from Israel," January 28, 1996.

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# Road Map for IDF Redeployment – the West Bank – 1996

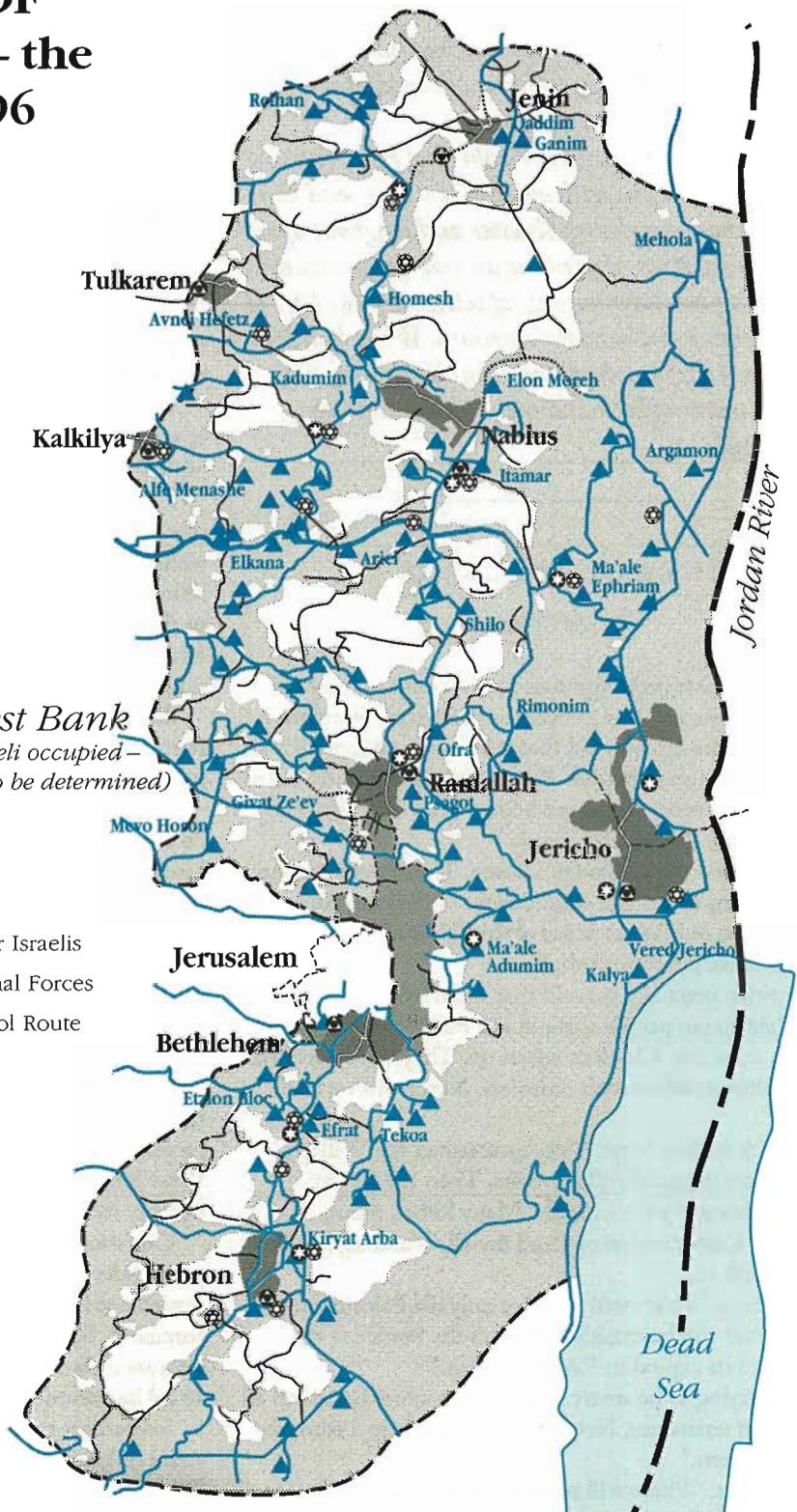


*West Bank*  
(Israeli occupied –  
status to be determined)

## LEGEND

- Recommended Travel Route for Israelis
- Non-Recommended Route for Israelis
- Route Restricted to Operational Forces
- Joint (Israeli-Palestinian)-Patrol Route
- Area A – Palestinian Cities
- Area B – Palestinian Villages
- Area C – Settlement and military areas, roads, state lands
- ▲ Israeli Settlement
- Military First Aid
- ★ Israel Police Station
- Israel-Palestinian Co-ordination Office

0 5 10 15 kilometers  
0 5 10 miles



SOURCE: Yediot Aharanot, January 3, 1996

## FROM THE ISRAELI PRESS

*The two articles below address the conventional wisdom in Israel that Palestinians will acquiesce in the permanent existence of settlements.*

*Significantly, both authors, Rabbi Yoel Ben Nun, an important figure in the settlement movement, and Uri Avneri, a former member of Knesset and longtime opponent of the occupation, agree that an emerging consensus exists favoring the maintenance of settlements as part of a final agreement with the Palestinians. While Ben Nun considers this belief prudent and feasible, Avneri condemns it as short-sighted and inconsistent with the desire for peace.*

### TWICE AND TWICE MORE

*By Uri Avneri*

There is no more presumptuous statement than one that begins: "I told you so." But sometimes there is no alternative.

Forty-five years ago we said that there will be no peace without the Palestinian people. But we were a minority. All of us could have fit into a telephone booth. They laughed and said, "There is no Palestinian people."

Then there was the Jordanian Option. There were wars and more wars. Many killed and wounded on both sides. And so at Oslo, we recognized the existence of the Palestinian people and the need to make peace with them.

Twenty-two years ago we said that there will not be peace with the Palestinian people without the PLO. Once again we were in the minority. Children cut us up. They were appalled. "You are fellow travelers with terrorists. Never will we deal with them!"

They stuck to their ways. They established the "Village Leagues." They engaged collaborators. Then the war in Lebanon, followed by the intifada. Many killed, many wounded. At Oslo, they recognized the PLO and signed an agreement with it.

We tell them, "There will be peace only if a Palestinian state alongside Israel will be established, with the border at the green line and its capital in East Jerusalem."

They are trying to be smart. "Less than a state. Less than all the conquered territories. Never will we enter into a compromise on Jerusalem."

We tell them, "There will never be peace without dismantling settlements. Settlements without peace, or peace without settlements."

**TWICE & TWICE MORE**, *continued on page 5*

### SETTLEMENT AND PEACE

*By Rabbi Yoel Ben Nun*

Since the Six-Day War, believers in Greater Israel mobilized all our forces to preempt any political agreement that would cause the retreat of the IDF [from the occupied territories]. Our fundamental strategic assumption was that the political status quo, together with the settlement process, would create "the whole land of Israel" as an irreversible reality; that Arabs would be compelled to acquiesce, and in the end so too would the world as a whole.

It is now clear that we made two fundamental errors in this strategy from its very beginning. The first error became clear with the evacuation of Sinai and the terrible disaster at Yamit.

As a result of the Six-Day War, most Israelis, including most Jews, wanted to reach a peace agreement more than they wanted to realize "the whole land of Israel." And in fact they refused to annex Palestinians [from the occupied territories] to the state of Israel and give them the right to vote in the Knesset. The people favoring the Land of Israel never gave a serious answer to this preference.

The single reason for not reaching peace 28 years ago was the Arab refusal expressed at Khartoum: no recognition, no negotiation, and no peace agreements with Israel.

In every place and time when there was a change in the declared aims of the Arabs, even if there was no change in their hearts—agreements were reached. . . .

The second error was embodied in the assumption that most Palestinians would be reconciled to development with our administration, and they would be satisfied with this—with a life better personally but without national rights. With the minority that dealt in terror, we assumed, we could manage to confront. . . .

All of this was true until the intifada. The internal failure of the Whole Land of Israel was not to realize that as Israel increased its strength and as much as settlement in Yesha [the West Bank and Gaza Strip] expanded, the Palestinians also became stronger.

Our strategy of "stopping the [Oslo] political process at any price" failed, to my great sorrow. Our single achievement was settlement in Yesha—a glorious enterprise whatever the measurement. Saving this enterprise is today a national objective, because only by doing this will a deep fissure in the people of Israel be prevented.

Settlement expresses a belief and a connection with the Land of Israel. It is not an instrument of conquest or rule over Palestinians nor is it an instrument in the diplomatic negotiating process. And it is not a security problem. Settlement is the act of placing the Land of Israel in our hands, and it can be

**SETTLEMENT & PEACE**, *continued on page 5*

But they deceive themselves and only themselves. "You need to understand them," they say. "It's necessary to keep peace in our house."

Their intention: to keep the settlements.

The first consensus collapsed. And the second. And the third and fourth. And now a new consensus has been established, idiotic like the others, deceitful like the others, a disaster like the others.

They say, "It is possible to make peace without returning all the occupied territories. It is possible to make peace without dismantling settlements. We will annex to Israel "Greater Jerusalem," including all the lands between Bethlehem, Jericho, and Ramallah. And the entire Jordan Valley. And the bloc of settlements around Ariel. And the bloc around Kadumim. And the Etzion bloc and its environs. And the Katif bloc (in Gaza)."

A wonderful consensus that includes Prime Minister Shimon Peres and cabinet ministers Yossi Beilin and Yossi Sarid, and also includes opposition members Raphael Eitan and Zvuelen Hammer. Ehud Barak, minister of defence, is one of its prophets.

This is a useless infatuation. There is not even one Palestinian who will agree to it. Like all the earlier consenses, it aims to make peace without Palestinians. . . .

Once again they try to make peace with themselves. Once again they deceive themselves and only themselves. . . . And once again we will have to say, "We told you so."

We are not prophets. Someone who says that two and two make four is not a prophet. He simply knows how to count. . . .

Our warnings will also be heeded this time, and our views accepted, after the spilling of blood and much suffering and torment on both sides.

And so someone will say, "That's a problem for the future."

There is still time to think and consider. Because in the meantime we have created "facts on the ground" that place new difficulties along the road to peace and make it more difficult for future Israeli governments to make peace—facts that hinder the ability of the moderate Palestinian leadership to stop the radicalization of its people.

The day will come, when most of these odious people will say to us, "You were right." Maybe after one year. Five years. Twenty years.

And after much blood.

*Ma'ariv*,  
December 4, 1995

integrated into the peace process.

In the last three years the government has worked with us to prepare the infrastructure for this integration—creating settlement blocs in every possible place and connecting roads in almost every place where they are needed.

The late Yitzhak Rabin was a full and a daily participant in attaining this objective. He worked on every detail, and we could turn to him at any moment and on any issue. Our views were always taken into consideration. The settlers of Yesha owe him and his memory a great debt. Whoever claims that he divided us either makes a mistake or is fantasizing. Only media propaganda and a desire to blow up everything produced the idea of de-legitimizing settlers—to my great sorrow.

The only potential agreement [with the Palestinians] that is not the Whole Land of Israel but which is closest to our hearts, is the confederation—like a Benelux between Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority. Each side will safeguard its own identity and political culture. With open borders and freedom of movement and trade, Israeli rule in the communities of Yesha and along security corridors will be connected to the Whole Land of Israel—in peace, without destroying settlements or suffering expulsion or compensation.

After determining final borders less or more according to the preference expressed by Yitzhak Rabin in his Knesset speech on the interim agreement [see November 1995 Report], tens of thousands of Palestinians will remain within areas under Israeli sovereignty, but they will preserve their status and identity through a full connection with the Palestinian Authority. In parallel, so too will the status of the communities of Yesha be safeguarded. They will remain connected to Israel in every way, even those within the area of Palestinian sovereignty. We will not rule over Palestinians, and they will not rule over us. The grave danger of an independent Palestinian state constantly gnawing at Israel will be halted.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres has favored this option for many years. Minister Yossi Beilin works in a similar direction, but less comfortable to us, for the meantime. The visit of King Hussein to Tel Aviv and the good atmosphere in Amman are encouraging signs in this direction. And if this astonishes anyone, Palestinians are also ready to speak with us officially.

But the heads of Yesha, rather than open serious discussions about coexistence, are still playing with the illusion of stopping the diplomatic process through [Israeli] elections and their aftermath. Friends, come down from the trees! It is crystal clear that the Likud will continue the process—albeit with some differences. Although I don't minimize them, these differences will not change the principal elements. . . .

Saving the pioneering communities in Yesha today means their integration in the irreversible historic process.

*Yediot Aharanot*,  
January 12, 1996

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## ELECTIONS, *continued from page 1*

the Jewish dream of a united, rebuilt Jerusalem will continue or disintegrate." Likud posters declaring that "Peres will Divide Jerusalem" have appeared throughout Israel.

Peres has refuted this charge, saying, "We don't have any plans to reorganize Jerusalem, clearly not to divide it. Jerusalem will not become a Berlin, and we shall not permit any walls in our heart. Jerusalem will remain, undivided, the capital of Israel."

Peres, unlike Netanyahu, has the power to implement his intentions. Labor governments have indeed established a formidable record in East Jerusalem since 1992, during which time the Israeli population of this sector of the city increased by more than 50,000.

### Har Homa

On February 25, the same day that Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal announced a ban on visits by foreign dignitaries to Orient House, headquarters of leading Palestinian personality Faisal Husseini, Minister of Housing and Construction Benjamin Ben Eliezer announced that he would proceed with the construction of 6,500 housing units at Har Homa in the southeastern corner of Jerusalem. This project would be the largest single Israeli housing development under construction in East Jerusalem, where neighborhoods at Pisgat Ze'ev, Ramot, and Rekhes Shoufat are already largely built-up. Ground-breaking for the settlement, said to be imminent, has been postponed for more than one year.

Both leaders hope to attract voters committed to retaining Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Netanyahu has declared that he will not seek to reverse the Oslo process, but he is less likely than Peres to grant Palestinians further authority during "final status" talks set to begin after the Israeli election. Netanyahu has called for a "contained autonomy" in which Palestinians will rule Arab-inhabited areas while the remainder of the West Bank—including all settlements—remains under exclusive Israeli control.

The settlement organization Yesha (Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip) has come out in open endorsement of Netanyahu and the Likud.

"We will do what we can to assure the victory of the national [Likud] camp," Yesha chairman Uri Ariel said recently.

### Yesha Split

Growing acknowledgment among settlers that the Oslo process is a fait accompli and that Peres and Labor can be partners to a solution that preserves vital settler interests, however, has led to a split in settler ranks. Rabbi Yoel Ben Nun, a member of the Yesha executive, has criticized the organization's endorsement of the Likud as a "very irresponsible move." In addition, mayors of six of the largest West Bank settlements—Alfei Menache, Bet Aryeh, Givat Ze'ev, Ariel, Oranit, and

Ma'ale Ephraim—have split from Yesha to form their own "Forum of Mayors," which has scheduled a meeting with Peres.

The split within Yesha is a significant victory for Peres' strategy of reassuring the mainstream settler movement of his government's commitment to their well-being while isolating its extremists. The newspaper *Ha'aretz* noted the formation of the forum as evidence that these leaders have decided to "prepare their residents for normalization of relations" with the Palestinians, in the context of continuing Israeli settlement.

Peres' policies are encouraging this attitude.

"Where settlers are concerned," he said on February 23, "why should they not live among [Palestinians]. This time it is not Yamit [a settlement in Sinai evacuated in 1982 as part of the Israel-Egypt peace agreement]. We have a million Arabs who went through five wars with us. The settlers represent 10 percent of the Palestinians and I see a gradual acceptance of the situation. Not everything is solved by a barbed-wire fence."

Peace Now, an organization that has tried without success to enlist the government in an effort to compensate settlers willing to move to Israel and to freeze settlement construction, lamented that "sadly the government continues to support a policy of settlement."

Peres' reelection campaign is focused upon parlaying this settlement strategy into an electoral campaign aimed at winning the allegiance of critical swing voters who are more religious than Labor Party loyalists and more hawkish toward both the Palestinians and Syria.

The strategy builds on his ongoing effort to minimize the untoward effects of the IDF redeployment in the West Bank for both Israelis and settler residents of the West Bank. The plan for "regional defense," adopted for blocs of settlements, has passed its initial tests. Until the attacks in the Israeli cities of Ashkelon, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv, the major security problem associated with the redeployment had been a rise in thefts, particularly of cars—clearly a bothersome but acceptable price to pay. The terror fomented by Hamas, however, raised among both Palestinians and Israelis fundamental questions about the viability of the Oslo process itself, highlighting Peres' electoral vulnerability. By mid-March Peres was fighting for his political life and exerting a major effort to reestablish Israeli support for his diplomacy.

Peres' strategy also includes demonstrating, by "creating facts on the ground," that Labor is a credible advocate for the settlement enterprise.

Ben Eliezer, who won government approval last year for the construction of 4,100 settlement units during 1995, presented a program on February 25 for the construction of 6,300 new dwelling units to the Ministerial Committee on Construction in the occupied territories. Included in the proposal are 3,000 dwellings in Ma'ale Adumim, Givat Ze'ev, Beitar, and Kiryat Safer. The latter two settlements are populated by ultra-orthodox Jews affiliated with the Agudat Israel party—whose

**ELECTIONS, *continued on page 7***

## COMPENSATION, *continued from page 1*

to attract a significant following. Labor Party MK Hagai Merom was one of the organizers, but he is not part of the current effort.

"He doesn't want to be involved in it," explained his spokesperson. "A couple of years ago, he spoke with Rabin [about assisting in relocation], and Rabin asked him to stop. He didn't want to oppose the government on this issue."

The massacre in Hebron in February 1994 helped to convince a small number of families in nearby Kiryat Arba to leave. Ninety-one families left the settlement of 5,000 inhabitants, along with 25 families from other West Bank outposts. Each received a housing subsidy of up to \$300 per month.

Subsidies were paid only to those in financial need who were what a Ministry of Housing spokesperson called "genuine residents of Yesha [the West Bank and Gaza]."

The arrangement did not include residents of the settlements Ma'ale Adumim, Adam, Givat Ze'ev, and Ma'ale Efriam. All but the latter are considered part of "Greater Jerusalem." Ma'ale Efriam was established by the Labor Party as the commercial center for its Jordan Valley

settlements. Today, fewer than 40 families receive the subsidies.

In the wake of the Rabin assassination, the Peace Now movement, assisted by some members of the Meretz Party, has once again sought to increase the public profile of settlers willing to leave in return for compensation.

"A very large number of settlers want to leave," said Mossi Raz, political secretary of Peace Now, "and we call upon the government to help them. There are humanitarian reasons for this. [Opposition leaders] Netanyahu and Raphael Eitan will speak differently if they know that 70 percent of the settlers want to leave."

## ELECTIONS, *continued from page 6*

support Peres would like to have in the May vote.

"It is no secret that the government's stand, which will be our ultimate demand," Ben Eliezer said, "is that as regards the Jerusalem areas—Ma'ale Adumim, Givat Ze'ev, Beitar, and Gush Etzion—they will be an integral part of Israel's future map. There is no doubt about this."

Peres, however, has postponed a decision on the construction plan, which may not include housing for the

Recent polls suggest that up to 30 percent of settler families would be willing to consider leaving their homes if suitable compensation were made available. Less than 10 percent, however, believe that the government plans to offer them compensation for leaving.

It is also significant that 75 percent believe that settlements will not be evacuated as part of a peace agreement with the Palestinians. This attitude is being encouraged by the government, whose expansive building plans for settlements are increasingly accompanied by reassuring rhetoric as well.

Settlers and settlements have won a large measure of recognition and protection from the Palestinian Authority, establishing precedents that the Peres government is intent upon maintaining in the final status talks scheduled to begin in May.

Government ministers have discouraged efforts by Peace Now and some Meretz members of the Knesset to organize support for evacuation and compensation.

Prime Minister Peres remarked that, "We never asked settlers to leave and therefore we didn't offer compensation."

"In the framework of the permanent agreement," Minister of Housing and Construction Benjamin Ben

Eliezer said, "every Jew who wants to live in Judea and Samaria can continue to live there."

Minister Yossi Beilin is reported to have explained to Peace Now leaders that compensating settlers is "not realistic." Peace Now efforts to enlist Labor Party MKs in their efforts failed to identify a single Labor politician willing to support them.

Legislation tabled by MK Naomi Hazan to compensate settlers who leave has been rejected by the government, which argues that "removal of settlements is a government issue."

Hazan responded by noting that, "If that is the case, the government has a responsibility to introduce legislation of its own on this issue." ♦

ultra-orthodox in the West Bank.

The Meretz Party, although a member of the ruling coalition, is interested in reasserting its credentials as an opponent of settlement expansion. The party has voted to oppose "all building over the Green Line." Minister of the Environment Yossi Sarid explained that, "If, after the elections, Peres desires to form a coalition with the National Religious Party, Agudat Israel, Shas, and Tsomet, he can build in the settlements as much as he wants, and thereby destroy the peace process with his own hands." ♦

## OUT FOR LUNCH

How do settlers and their supporters manage to find the time to attend what at times has been a frequent calendar of protests and demonstrations? This question has vexed journalists and other observers for years. Many have conducted informal polls among participants at daytime demonstrations, seeking an answer to the simple question: How can you take off work to do this?

The anecdotal evidence is now improved by a December 15, 1995 article in the Israeli newspaper, *Ha'aretz*: "How Do the Settlers Earn a Living?"

The article confirms what many have long assumed—that settlers are employed in public sector jobs in far greater proportion than the Israeli public at large and that many of these "jobs" exist on paper only, permitting those holding them an almost complete freedom of activity.

"In these places," notes the article, "no one lifts an eye when employees leave to demonstrate for a common aim."

The article noted the following details:

- Sixty percent of all employed adults in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are on the public payroll, compared to 33 percent in Israel.
- There are 2,650 government jobs for the 147,000 West Bank and Gaza settler population, a rate 60 percent higher than for Israel, which has 70,000 public employees for a population of 5.5 million.

■ Religious councils, supported by public funds, employ 300 individuals, a rate 60 percent higher than in Israel. There are 20 heads of religious councils in these territories, a rate five times higher than in Israel.

In the settlement of Kiryat Arba on the outskirts of Hebron, for example, an informal telephone survey revealed that 1,160 of the population of 5,000 are employed, of whom 65 percent are on the public payroll. An additional 10 percent depend on public sector wages or transfers. Only 100 wage earners work in the settlement's private sector, with 225 engaged in private sector employment outside of the settlement.

The local office of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce is headed by Menachem Livni, the former head of the Jewish underground in the early 1980s, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder and membership in a terror organization before receiving a presidential pardon. Livni gives seminars to students and works on developing high-tech industry in settlements south of Jerusalem.

The rabbi of Kiryat Arba, Dov Lior, receives a salary of \$5,000 per month from the Ministry of Religion. As far as could be determined, Lior spends three hours per week at the religious council offices, and he has no fixed schedule at the local religious school, which he also heads. Every settlement has such a publicly supported position. ♦

**"I am opposed to the closure of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. I live in the Shomron, not in Jerusalem like many MKs. The longer the closure is in effect, the more the financial situation of the Arabs will continue to deteriorate. This is creating a pressure cooker that will explode. The closure just guarantees additional attacks against the [Jewish settler] residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. There are many other solutions. The closure has proven ineffective."**

*Likud MK Ron Nachman, Mayor of Ariel  
February 26, 1996*

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