

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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NEGOTIATIONS COMMENCE AND SETTLEMENT EXPANSION CONTINUES

By Geoffrey Aronson

The government of Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced wide-ranging increases in settlement expansion in the West Bank and East Jerusalem just as talks between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) commenced. This latest wave of settlement construction and planning advancements represents not only opportunistic measures by the Netanyahu government to reward coalition partners and others intent upon pre-empting the possibility of Palestinian sovereignty west of the Jordan River. These actions also offer fresh evidence of Israel's single-minded intent to settle anywhere and everywhere in the territories it has controlled for almost half a century in a manner unencumbered, and in some respects encouraged, by an uncertain diplomatic engagement sponsored by Washington.

"[During our visit], it seemed that all of Judea and Samaria is one big building site," wrote *Yediot Aharanot* reporters Oded Shalom and Akiva Novik on August 16. "At the entrance of every settlement we visited, alongside the signs with biblical inscriptions, were computer-generated pictures of new homes with green gardens. In Tekoa and other settlements, no one was concerned about the international condemnation [following the announcement of government tenders for 1,187 settlement dwellings on August 11. The world can keep complaining as long as the heavy equipment

Secretary of State John Kerry told members of Congress that in a prospective agreement, "I think that 85 percent of the large settlement blocs will remain under Israeli sovereignty." This imprecise formulation recalls Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's proposal to PLO chairman Mahmoud Abbas in September 2008 to annex 7.9 percent of the West Bank and 86 percent of settlers to Israel.

Yediot Aharanot, August 1, 2013

continues to prepare the ground for new construction."

The developer of an expansion scheme in Revava, a settlement of more than 1,000 near Nablus, explained. "We sold 34 plots in the 'build your own house' program in one and a half days."

"What can we do?" lamented the Palestinian contractor for the Revava project. "Israel is winning." He dismissed the prospect of a political agreement as simply "nonsense."

Revava is one of the "Baker settlements," established in April 1991 during one of the visits of US Secretary of State James Baker to the region in the months before the Madrid peace conference

in October 1991. The *Baltimore Sun* reported at the time,

"Bulldozers began cutting a road through the hillside not long before one of Mr. Baker's scheduled visits to Israel. Trucks brought in mobile homes while Palestinian workers prepared concrete foundations and connected the trailers to temporary water supplies and tanks of propane gas.

Their work was done without public notice and was completed two days before Mr. Baker's arrival. Revava leaders insist the new area is merely an expansion of an existing settlement. There was one more settlement, another potential subject for negotiations, and housing one more group of Israelis who would have strong personal reasons to oppose Israel's lessening its control over the area. . . .

Mr. Baker said in Damascus, Syria, that he was 'very disappointed' by the news of another settlement. "That points up very visibly," he said, that 'it is easier to obstruct peace than to promote peace.'"

The Revava "patent" for settlement expansion has been used for decades, before and since 1991, to expand the scope of Israeli control over the land and resources of the West Bank. Located far east of the separation barrier, Revava's continuing government-supported

NEGOTIATIONS, *continued on page 6*

TO OUR READERS

There is no longer much doubt that the government of Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu is unwilling to accept a genuine two-state peace with Palestine. As Jeff Aronson describes in this *Report*, Netanyahu's right wing coalition is determined to control permanently the West Bank and East Jerusalem by continuing aggressive settlement. History indicates that this will ultimately fail. But Israel's current leaders seem to believe that Israel can maintain this policy with impunity, given the unequal balance of power with Palestine and the weakness of effective opposition from the Israeli public, the U.S., and the world community.

It is hard to expect that the new talks, whose ground rules call for secrecy and only nine months of negotiations, could overcome the huge gaps between the parties and make peace. Such an epochal agreement could not be reached without radical, transformative political change. Without this, negotiations will fail. Ultimately, the Israeli

and Palestinian people must be brought into the process. Much more than nine months, and perhaps new elections, will be needed for such politics to unfold.

The alternative to yet another failed bilateral peace process is more direct American involvement. In previous talks, the U.S. has not provided such leadership, and Netanyahu has always adamantly opposed such intervention. In the likely event that the current process breaks down, Washington should outline a comprehensive peace plan as the basis for continued negotiations and push this hard. It is just possible that President Obama and Secretary of State Kerry are considering such a "Plan B", after giving the parties one last chance to make peace by themselves.

Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.

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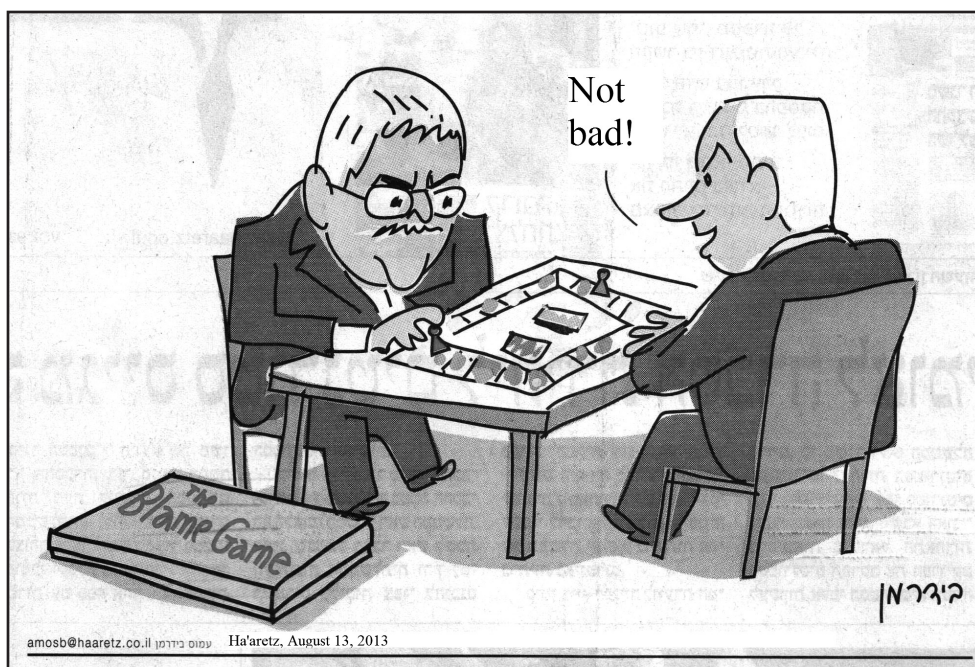
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The Foundation for Middle East Peace has prepared a presentation of maps illustrating the evolution of the conflict from the UN Partition Plan in 1947, and depicting the growth of Israel's occupation and settlement project from the 1967 War to the present. To download the presentation visit: <http://www.fmep.org/resources/publications-1/map-progression-1948-1967>.

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WHAT IS THE U.S. POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS?

Question: Does the United States believe that all Israeli settlement activity along—and we can include in that East Jerusalem construction—is all of it illegitimate?

State Department Spokesperson Jennifer Psaki: Well, our position on Jerusalem has been clear and has been consistent for some time, which is that we believe it is a final status issue in terms of the discussion of that—of Jerusalem, right? . . . That is part of the discussion. We have, of course, expressed concerns about construction in East Jerusalem. That hasn't changed. Our position on settlements we have stated a number of times, and I just stated, and that has not changed either.

Question: Okay. So you do not regard the construction in East Jerusalem as illegitimate. Is that correct?

Psaki: Well, I think I just stated what we—what our longstanding position has been on construction. . . .

Question: The 900 homes that were announced for construction in East Jerusalem. Is it fair to say you do not regard those as illegitimate?

Psaki: Well, we—in terms of those specific—that specific announcement—you know we oppose any unilateral action. Certainly we would include this, that attempt, to prejudice final status issues, including the status of Jerusalem. That's where that building is taking place. That's our view on it.

Question: Okay. So you're opposed to it, but you don't say that it's illegitimate?

Psaki: I think you know our position.

Question: Okay. So in terms of illegitimacy then, this legitimacy issue, are existing settlements illegitimate in the eyes of the administration in the West Bank? Settlements in the West Bank that currently exist now, are they illegitimate, meaning that they should not be part of Israel once there is a peace agreement?

Psaki: Well, obviously, the question of borders will be worked through and is part of the discussion that will take place and will be ongoing in the weeks and months ahead.

Question: So are existing settlements illegitimate?

Psaki: Well, we have concerns about ongoing continued settlement activity.

Question: Okay. Do you understand that there's a serious problem here? Because if you talk about—if all you're prepared to say is that you don't accept the legitimacy of continued settlement activity, you are only calling illegitimate settlements that have not been announced, settlements that are, say, a twinkle in the Housing Minister or whoever's eye. Once they are actually announced or built, you stop calling them illegitimate, and they—and you start saying that that's a—that's something to be decided between the parties. Okay?

Psaki: Well, this has been our position for a number of years.

Question: That's—well, right. But . . . And I'm surprised that no one . . . has picked up on this before, because you have essentially—you don't oppose settlements at all, because once they're built or once they're announced, once plans for them—plans to build them are announced, you're not opposed to them anymore, because it's something for the parties to decide whether they're legitimate or not.

Psaki: Well, certainly it will be—a big part of the discussion will be that process moving forward.

Question: Right. Do you understand the problem? Do you understand the—

Psaki: I understand what you're conveying. I'm happy to talk back with our team and see if there's any more clarification we can provide.

Question: Okay. So tell me, am I wrong in thinking that the United States has no position at all except that it is to be decided by the parties on the legitimacy or illegitimacy of settlements that exist in the West Bank today?

Psaki: I believe you are wrong, Matt. We'll get you some more clarification.

Question: You believe I'm wrong? Okay.

Psaki: We'll get you some more clarification.

Question: —in fact, your longstanding position, going back all the way to 1967, and through George Herbert Walker Bush when he was representative at the United

Nations, and on to Andrew Young, and on and on and on, that the settlement, that Jerusalem—East Jerusalem, the West Bank, all territory occupied is contrary to the Fourth Geneva Convention, and any alteration stands contrary to that, that you will not support. That is your position, not to reconcile yourself to the facts on the ground, as has been suggested.

Psaki: Duly noted.

Daily Press Briefing, August 15, 2013,
U.S. Department of State

“We need to advance in the direction of complete, effective rule and annexation of Area C, and in the remaining territory [of the West Bank] to give self-rule to the Arabs while retaining security responsibility in the hands of the IDF.”

**Minister of Housing Uri Ariel,
Ma'ariv, August 16, 2013**

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

May 1 An Israeli settler stabs Ishaq Shawk, an East Jerusalem Palestinian, hospitalizing him with serious injuries. (Palestinian Monitoring Group–Negotiating Affairs Department, PMG–NAD)

Israeli settlers set fire to two homes owned by Ayman Safwan and Bashir al-Zin in the village of Huwwara, near Nablus. In nearby Orif, settlers attack several homes and destroy crops under the protection of Israel Defense Forces (IDF) soldiers. (PMG–NAD)

An Israeli military judge rules that three Palestinian men arrested near Hebron had been illegally detained and that one had been “beaten without justification.” The incident occurred after the men arrived at their land, located near the settlement outpost of Givat Gal, on April 24. The land had been declared a “closed military zone.” Wielding a camera supplied by Israeli human rights group B’Tselem, one of the men, Shukri Tamimi, aged 60, told Israeli soldiers in the area that the land belonged to his family. The soldiers then proceeded to beat and detain them. (*Ha’aretz*)

May 2 In an interview with Ynet News, the father of Salam Zaghaf, who stabbed and killed the settler Evyatar Borovsky on April 30 at the Tapuah Junction, called his son’s act a “duty” for Palestinians under occupation. Salam’s brother had been convicted by the Palestinian Authority (PA) of spying for Israel, so Israeli investigators are attempting to determine whether the incident was meant to clear the family name.

May 3 An Israeli court issues a demolition order for a section of the Mohammad al-Fatah Mosque in the Ras al-Amud neighborhood of East Jerusalem. The structure had been built without a permit. (PMG–NAD)

Israeli settlers set fire to 30 olive trees owned by Palestinian residents of Deir Jarir, near Ramallah. (PMG–NAD)

May 5 Israeli settlers throw Molotov cocktails toward several Palestinian homes in Jallud, near Nablus. (PMG–NAD)

Israeli settlers throw stones at vehicles passing by the Betar Illit settlement, injuring three Palestinian residents of Bethlehem. (PMG–NAD)

In Eilat, Israeli authorities deport 250 Palestinian residents of the West Bank for having entered Israel on forged documents. (*Ma’ariv*)

Violent confrontations between settlers and Palestinians break out near the settlement of Binyamin after 30 settlers gather to protest stone-throwing incidents at Israeli cars. Aharon Zlatkin, 53, is hospitalized after being severely beaten by Palestinians. (Israel National News, *Ma’ariv*)

Ha’aretz reports that a contractor had cut down 536 pine trees in East Jerusalem’s Har Homa settlement while constructing a new housing development without a permit from the Ministry of Agriculture.

May 7 Israeli settlers set fire to agricultural lands in Burin, near Nablus, destroying 20 olive trees. (PMG–NAD)

May 8 Shin Bet reports a slight decrease in the number of attacks on settlers in the West Bank, from 101 in March to 90 in April. In East Jerusalem, the number of attacks on settlers increased, from 21 in March to 36 in April. (*Ha’aretz*)

An Israeli settler stabs a Palestinian near the settlement of Gilo, leaving him injured and hospitalized. (PMG–NAD)

Israeli settlers stone vehicles near the Huwwara checkpoint, injuring five Palestinians. (PMG–NAD)

Israeli forces level 250 acres of agricultural land near Hebron, destroying olive trees and demolishing an irrigation system. (PMG–NAD)

May 9 Israeli authorities summon the grand mufti of Jerusalem for questioning following violent confrontations on the Temple Mount when 200 Jewish worshippers enter the compound on the occasion of Jerusalem Day. After reports that the mufti had been “detained,” the Jordanian interior minister summons Israel’s ambassador to protest. (*Mideast Mirror*)

The civil administration approves construction of 296 housing units in the Beit El settlement in line with the government’s promise to compensate residents of Beit El’s Ulpana neighborhood, which was dismantled by court order because of its location on private Palestinian land. (Israel National News)

May 10 Israeli forces destroy 70 olive trees and serve demolition orders for nine homes in Hebron. (PMG–NAD)

May 13 Settlers from Yitzhar exhume Palestinian bodies and spray graffiti in the village of Sawiya, near Nablus. Another

group of settlers, from Shilo, set fire to agricultural land nearby, in the village of Qaryut, while others, from the Maon settlement, torch wheat fields in the south Hebron hills. (Ma’an News Agency)

Army Radio reports a delay in the issuance of tenders for 1,500 housing units in the East Jerusalem settlement of Ramat Shlomo. Government officials blame Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for delaying publication for political reasons.

May 14 *Ma’ariv* reports that Defense Minister Moshe Ya’alon has frozen plans for the new Palestinian city near Jericho a day after it was revealed that the plans would involve transferring 500 acres of land belonging to the Jordan Valley Regional Council.

May 15 A settler runs over a six-year-old Palestinian girl with his vehicle near the Ibrahimi Mosque in the Old City of Hebron, leaving her hospitalized. (PMG–NAD)

Settlers uproot 150 olive trees belonging to the villagers of Yatma, near Nablus. (PMG–NAD)

May 16 Ma’an News reports that a group of settlers attacked the town of Farata, in the northern West Bank, hurling stones at buildings. Palestinians responded by throwing stones.

The Israeli government announces its intention to examine the legalization of four West Bank outposts. It claims that Givat Assaf, which was scheduled to be evacuated a year ago, is built on land that had been purchased legally from Palestinians. (Israel News, *Ha’aretz*)

Ha’aretz reports that several Bedouin communities in the Jordan Valley have rejected the civil administration’s plans to relocate them to a new village north of Jericho, complaining that they were not consulted.

May 19 After the Israeli human rights organization Yesh Din submits a petition to the Supreme Court on behalf of the villagers of Burqa, near Jenin, the Israeli government agrees to return land to the village that had been confiscated by the IDF in 1978. (Ma’an News)

Following a request by the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, the European Union delays full enforcement of its decision to label products from West Bank settlements as such. Kerry had contended that enforcement could

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

affect his efforts to restart Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers from Bat Ayin attack a group of Arab doctors participating in a trip to the area organized by the Israeli General Medical Association. (*Ha'aretz*)

The government acknowledges to the High Court of Justice that Palestinians can farm land that was previously part of the evacuated West Bank settlement of Homesh. (*Ha'aretz*)

May 20 Settlers from Beit El throw Molotov cocktails at Palestinian vehicles and passersby on the Ramallah-Nablus road, burning one vehicle. (Ma'an News)

Palestinians from the village of Deir Jarir clash with Israeli forces in attempts to dismantle a new roadblock, which they claim is collective punishment in response to peaceful protests. The roadblock will force villagers to make a substantial detour to reach Ramallah. (Ma'an News)

May 22 Israeli forces detain three PA security officers involved in the 2011 death of a settler, Limor Livnat, who was shot while attempting to enter Joseph's Tomb, in Nablus. According to Israeli officials, Livnat had tried to bypass a Palestinian patrol, prompting the police to fire in the air. When he refused to stop, they fired on his vehicle. The Palestinian security officers had been recently released by the Palestinian Authority from a one-year jail term due to the incident. (Ma'an News)

May 23 Unknown assailants throw a Molotov cocktail at a settler vehicle near Salfit. (Ma'an News)

Marwan Asaous, 14, is hit by a settler in a vehicle near the village of Burin and hospitalized with skull fractures. (PMG-NAD)

May 26 Near Nablus, settlers spray toxic chemicals on 100 olive trees belonging to the villagers of Burin. (PMG-NAD)

Ha'aretz reports that Finance Minister Yair Lapid granted Ariel University \$14.3 million in special aid, honoring a commitment made by his predecessor, Yuval Steinitz.

May 27 Settlers vandalize 15 cars in Sheikh Jarrah. (Ma'an News)

May 29 Settlers torch vehicles and vandalize Palestinian property in Jericho, Ramallah, and East Jerusalem. On a wall, they spray paint "For the anniversary of Evyatar," refer-

encing the settler killed on April 30. (Ma'an News)

May 30 Danny Seidemann, head of the settlement watchdog Terrestrial Jerusalem, reports that Israel is planning to build 300 new housing units in Gilo and 797 in Ramot, in East Jerusalem. He claims that the information was leaked to the media by Housing Minister Uri Ariel, a member of the Jewish Home party. (Ma'an News, Israel National News)

June 3 Settlers from Yitzhar torch 50 acres of agricultural land owned by villagers from Burin and Madama, near Nablus, destroying 1,000 almond and olive trees and five acres of wheat. (Ma'an News)

June 5 *Ha'aretz* reports that Israeli attorney general Yehuda Weinstein has issued a legal opinion declaring that the State of Israel may apply the Absentee Property Law to confiscate Palestinian property in East Jerusalem. The law, passed in 1950, states that any person living outside of Israel is considered an absentee, and his or her property therefore falls under the control of the Custodian of Absentee Property. Weinstein's predecessors opposed the implementation of the law, which will affect West Bank Palestinians who own land in East Jerusalem.

June 6 The Jerusalem Local Planning and Building Committee clears plans to construct a new interchange between Jerusalem and Ma'ale Adumim. According to Jerusalem municipality officials, the plan includes "Palestinian lanes" set apart from settler lanes by a separation barrier. It must be approved by the District Planning and Building Committee before proceeding to the next stage. (*Ha'aretz*)

June 7 Settlers from Itamar attack a 66-year-old farmer near Nablus, slightly injuring him. (Ma'an News)

Settlers burn a Palestinian car in East Jerusalem. (Ma'an News)

Ha'aretz reports that the United Nations is planning to provide emergency aid to Palestinians affected by settler violence in the West Bank following an increase in attacks.

Under the protection of the IDF, 400 settlers vandalize Palestinian homes in Kifl Haris, near Salfit. (Ma'an News)

June 9 PA officials claim to have discovered 25 instances of Israeli construction compa-

nies forging land ownership documents to transfer land near Salfit to Israel for building settlements. (Ma'an)

The governor of Nablus tells Ma'an News that settlers have destroyed more than 2,500 olive trees in the Nablus area since the beginning of the month.

June 10 Settlers visiting Joseph's Tomb in Nablus clash with Palestinians, injuring three. (Ma'an News)

June 12 The civil administration rejects a PA request to establish a base for its Preventative Security Services between the villages of Beit Ghur al-Foqa, Beit Gur al-Tahta, and Bitunia. The base would have overlooked Route 443, a major road connecting the coastal plain to Jerusalem. (Arutz 7)

Ha'aretz reports that the Israeli government is planning 537 additional housing units and legalizing 130 existing ones built without authorization in the West Bank settlement of Itamar. (*Ha'aretz*)

June 13 Construction and Housing Minister Uri Ariel meets with the head of the Etzion Bloc Regional Council and promises to move forward with plans to build 1,000 new housing units in the settlement of Alon Shvut. (Arutz 7)

June 14 Jewish extremists torch two vehicles in a 'price tag' attack in Sheikh Jarrah. (Israel National News)

According to *Ma'ariv*, Palestinians have begun digging tunnels under the separation fence near the town of Taybeh, in the northern West Bank.

The *Jerusalem Post* reports that zoning plans for 550 new homes in the Bruchin settlement and 675 in Itamar have been presented to the Higher Planning Council for Judea and Samaria.

June 15 Settlers set fire to more than 300 olive trees in Immatin, a Palestinian village near Nablus, and throw stones at villagers attempting to put out the blaze. Israeli forces prevent firefighters from accessing the site because of confrontations between settlers and villagers. (Ma'an)

June 16 Settlers burn 70 acres of land and destroy 300 olive trees near Qalqilya. (PMG-NAD)

expansion contradicts expectations that following construction of the separation barrier a decade ago, settlement in “blocs” located east of the barrier would suffer.

This assumption has been belied by the continuing growth of settlements *everywhere* on both sides of the barrier. So too has the notion that settlement blocs limit settlement—a view that has no basis in fact or history. The World Zionist Organization’s (WZO) “Master Plan for the Development of Settlement in Judea and Samaria (1979–1983),” for example, divided the *entire* West Bank into blocs for settlement-planning purposes. *Every* settlement belongs to one of a score of blocs, established in order to prevent the territorial consolidation of a Palestinian state, a role they still play today.

The disposition of settlements,” noted the WZO report, adopted shortly after the Camp David Accords were signed in September 1978, “must be carried out not only *around* the settlements of the minorities [Palestinians], but also *in between* them. . . . Over the course of time, with or without peace, we will have to learn to live *with* the minorities and *among* them. . . .”

Settlement blocs and Israel’s plan for Palestinian “autonomy” were born at the same time and for the same strategic purpose. To invoke settlement blocs as a means for *limiting* settlement, whether east or west of the separation barrier, or as a means for enabling Palestinian sovereignty, betrays an ignorance of these origins and the practical purpose of this vital concept during the last four decades.

Key figures in the Netanyahu government and in the Knesset are not prepared to restrict Israel’s settlement horizons even by this expansive standard. Minister of Housing Uri Ariel, explained, “I don’t know what settlement blocs are, and I don’t recognize the concept. I truly do not understand which settlement is located within the blocs and which are outside blocs. I can, however, say one thing clearly: We will continue to build everywhere.”

In such an environment, settlement growth trumps concerns about proper planning and bureaucratic and legal procedures. A report issued by the Israeli state comptroller on July 17 criticized the lawless nature of settlement expansion, even when measured against Israel’s own standards. The report noted that there was little to no criminal law enforcement in the settlements regarding violations of planning and construction laws and that administrative procedures for demolitions ordered by Israel’s own courts are rarely implemented. In another move, a ruling by an Israeli court will make it easier for settlers interested in buying West Bank land to identify Palestinian landowners.

During 2012 construction began on 1,747 settlement dwellings. During the first three months of 2013, construction on 865 dwellings commenced.

New construction is only one indicator of the settlement expansion process. Tender announcements and numerous planning decisions also attest to a continuing, vibrant program

of planning, construction and settler population growth that represent the critical constants since June 1967. For example, Peace Now reports that during the 2013, more than 16,000 settlement dwelling units in various planning and execution stages of were under discussion throughout Israel’s settlement, planning, and approval bureaucracies.

Minister of Housing Ariel, a central figure in Israel’s settlement drive for the past three decades, described the announcement of new tenders in August as “only the first course, and as everyone knows there are many other courses which are usually larger than the first course. No country in the world accepts dictates from other countries where it is permitted to build and where it is not. We plan to continue to market apartments [in settlements] and to build in all parts of the country.”

Ariel declared, “Bet Arie, Ofarim, Elkana, and other [settlement] communities are the center of the country, and we are prepared to immediately market 10,000 units in these areas.” Netanyahu is reported to have promised Ariel’s Jewish Home Party that an additional 3,500 to 4,500 units will be approved for construction in coming months. As always, settlement expansion remains the bottom line of Israeli policy. ♦

TENDERS ANNOUNCED IN AUGUST 2013

East Jerusalem Settlements

Pisgat Ze’ev	183
Har Homa	210
Gilo	397
Ramat Shlomo	1,600*

West Bank

(East/West of the Separation Barrier)

Almog	31	East
Betar Ilit	36	West
Gilgal	78	East
Ma’ale Adumim	92	West
Ariel	117	West
Shilo	112	East
Efrat	149	East
Talmon	559	East

* \$17 million approved for groundwork.

Source: News reports.

FOUR DECADES OF U.S. POLICIES: THE JUNE 1967 LINE

“It is clear, however, that a return to the situation of 4 June 1967 will not bring peace. There must be secure and there must be recognized borders.”

President Lyndon Johnson,
September 1968

“In the pre-1967 borders, Israel was barely ten miles wide at its narrowest point. The bulk of Israel’s population lived within artillery range of hostile armies. I am not about to ask Israel to live that way again.”

President Ronald Reagan,
September 1, 1982

“Israel will never negotiate from or return to the 1967 borders.”

Secretary of State George Shultz,
September 16, 1988

“It has long been our position that only direct negotiations based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 can produce a real peace. No one can dictate the outcome in advance. . . . The United States has long believed that no party should take unilateral actions that seek to predetermine issues that can only be resolved through negotiations. In this regard the United States has opposed and will continue to oppose settlement activity in the territories occupied in 1967, which remains an obstacle to peace.”

Secretary of State James Baker,
October 18, 1991

“I think there can be no genuine resolution to the conflict without a sovereign, viable, Palestinian state that accommodates Israelis’ security requirements and the demographic realities. That suggests Palestinian sovereignty over Gaza, the vast majority of the West Bank, the incorporation into Israel of settlement blocks. . . . To make the agreement durable, I think there will have to be some territorial swaps and other arrangements.”

President Bill Clinton,
January 7, 2001

“Ultimately, Israelis and Palestinians must address the core issues that divide them if there is to be a real peace, resolving all claims and ending the conflict between them. This means that the Israeli occupation that began in 1967 will be ended through a settlement negotiated between the parties, based on

UN resolutions 242 and 338, with Israeli withdrawal to secure and recognize borders.”

President George W. Bush, June 24, 2002

“In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli population centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities.”

President George W. Bush, letter to
Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon,
April 14, 2004

“There are settlements whose location poses a problem. But there will be a Palestinian state and Israel will annex part of the land of this state and give compensation for it. . . . We

must start with the land occupied in 1967 and I believe that the basis is all the land that was occupied in 1967.”

Secretary of State Condoleezza
Rice, June 15, 2008

“We believe that through good-faith negotiations the parties can mutually agree on an outcome which ends the conflict and reconciles the Palestinian goal of an

independent and viable state based on the 1967 lines, with agreed swaps, and the Israeli goal of a Jewish state with secure and recognized borders that reflect subsequent developments and meet Israeli security requirements.”

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton,
November 25, 2009

“The borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states.”

President Barack Obama, May 19, 2011

“The [Arab League] proposal that was put forward originally . . . only talked about ’67 lines, nothing else. Yesterday they stated that they are prepared to accept ’67 borders with adjustments to reflect mutually agreed-upon land swaps, recognizing some of the changes that have taken place. That is a very big step forward.”

Secretary of State John Kerry,
April 30, 2013

“The borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states.”

President Barack Obama, May 19, 2011

EU PUBLISHES GUIDELINES FOR FUNDING PROJECTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

On July 19, 2013, the EU Commission published guidelines for “the eligibility of Israeli entities and their activities in the territories occupied by Israel since June 1967 for grants, prizes and financial instruments funded by the EU.” The guidelines, which are non-binding for member states and apply only to the European Union, state that Israeli organizations must meet the following conditions to be eligible for funding from the EU:

■ “In the case of grants and prizes, only Israeli entities having their place of establishment within Israel’s pre- 1967 borders will be considered eligible . . . the activities of Israeli entities carried out in the framework of EU-funded grants and prizes will be considered eligible if they do not take place in the [Occupied] territories . . . either partially or entirely.”

■ “In the case of financial instruments, only Israeli entities having their place of establishment within Israel’s pre-1967 borders will be considered eligible as final recipients [of EU

funds] . . . [only] if they do not operate in the [Occupied] territories, either in the framework of EU-funded financial instruments or otherwise.”

■ The conditions on eligibility for EU funding apply to “Israeli regional or local authorities and other public bodies, public or private companies or corporations and other private legal persons, including non-governmental not-for-profit organisations.” Israeli public authorities at the national level (ministries and government agencies), Israeli individuals, Israeli organizations opposing the Occupation, and Palestinian entities are exempt from these requirements, which are scheduled to come into effect in 2014.

■ The rationale for these measures is “to ensure the respect of EU positions and commitments in conformity with international law on the non-recognition by the EU of Israel’s sovereignty over the territories occupied by Israel since June 1967.”

The current situation is unsustainable. We have got to find a way to make the two-state solution that Democratic and Republican administrations have supported. We’ve got to get there, and the chances for it, as the king of Jordan has pointed out, are starting to ebb, because the settlements and where they’re at, they’re going to make it impossible to maintain the two-state option. For example, if I’m Jerusalem, and I put 500 Jewish settlers out here somewhere to the east, and there’s 10,000 Arab settlers in here, if we draw the border to include them, either it ceases to be a Jewish state, or you say the Arabs don’t get to vote—apartheid. That didn’t work too well the last time I saw that practiced in a

country. So we’ve got to work on this with a sense of urgency, and I paid a military security price every day as the commander of CENTCOM, because the Americans were seen as biased in support of Israel. And that moderates all the moderate Arabs who want to be with us because they can’t come out and support publicly a people who don’t show respect for the Arab Palestinians. So, [Secretary of State John Kerry] is right on target with what he’s doing, I just hope the protagonists want peace and a two-state solution as much as he does. . . .

General James Mattis, former Centcom commander,
Aspen Institute, July 20, 2013

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