REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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SETTLEMENTS MOVE TO THE DIPLOMATIC CENTER STAGE

The contention that the expansion of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and Israeli-Palestinian peace are not incompatible is one of the principal assumptions upon which Arab-Israeli diplomacy during the past decade has been built. From the earliest days of the Madrid process, U.S. diplomacy has accommodated an Israeli refusal to endorse a halt to settlement growth and to defer Palestinian demands for a "settlement freeze." Only when Yasser Arafat conceded on this issue in 1993 was the stalemate broken that had attended the Madrid-mandated talks and the road opened to the historic Declaration of Principles at Oslo.

The popular energy and enthusiasm supporting the Palestinian revolt that erupted in September 2000 against continuing Israeli occupation is in large part generated by a conclusion at odds with Oslo's conventional wisdom, but consistent with the history of the contest between Israel and the Palestinians. Settlements *do* matter. A diplomatic

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process that has permitted the doubling of Israel's settler population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the increase of Israelis living in East Jerusalem by one-third is viewed by Palestinians as irrefutable evidence that the prevailing diplomatic assumptions are incapable of securing their sovereignty and independence.

The diplomatic vacuum created by

The Government of Israel should give careful consideration to whether settlements which are focal points for substantial friction are valuable bargaining chips for future negotiations or provocations likely to preclude the onset of productive talks.

Mitchell Commission Report May 6, 2001

the failure of final status talks earlier this year and the persistence of the al-Aqsa intifada have created a diplomatic opportunity for the Palestinians to reintroduce this demand. The initiative undertaken by the Jordanian and Egyptian governments includes a settlement freeze by Israel "in all Palestinian areas conquered in 1967." The Mitchell Commission, created at the October 2000 Sharm al-Sheik conference convened to investigate the outbreak of violence in September, has called for a complete freeze in settlement expansion and suggested that Israel consider the evacuation of some settlements for

security reasons. The report notes that "the GOI [government of Israel] should freeze all settlement activity, including the 'natural growth' of existing settlements. The kind of security cooperation desired by the GOI cannot for long co-exist with settlement activity." The European Union has repeated that Israeli settlements established in the occupied territories are illegal and an obstacle to peace, and there is increasing pressure within the EU to suspend Israel's coveted economic association agreement with the body, in part because Israel has illegally exported products produced in settlements under its preferential terms.

The administration of U.S. president George W. Bush, while terming recent Israeli proposals for settlement expansion "provocative," has not repudiated longstanding U.S. support for the "natural growth" of settlements first established at a meeting between President George Bush and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin in August 1993.

The government of Ariel Sharon opposes any effort to rewrite the diplomatic ground rules that have facilitated settlement expansion during the Madrid-Oslo period. It is equally insistent that the negotiating framework for this era continue to reflect Israel's ability to condition the process according to Israeli, and not Palestinian, requirements. The Sharon government insists, therefore, that Israeli settlement policy will continue to be guided by a commitment to maintain and support the "natural growth" of settlements.

TO OUR READERS

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's unabashed promise to preserve all settlements, limit a Palestinian state to 42 percent of the West Bank and 80 percent of Gaza, and his refusal to freeze all settlement activity are a formula for endless conflict. Defending settlements and roads impose a disastrous security burden on Israel, not to mention the misery and injustice on the Palestinians. The archipelago of settlements requires the defense of borders about 2,000 miles long, ten times longer than the 1967 Green Line. Israel now deploys almost eleven divisions—more than 27,000 troops—in the West Bank and Gaza, compared to about eight divisions on Israel's northern borders. Peace and security for six million Israelis and three million Palestinians are now hostage to the defense of 200,000 Israeli settlers in the West Bank and Gaza.

The current intifada has degenerated into a bloody feud. Escalating force by

Israel has only fueled the flames, and the Palestinian militants who think they can use force to drive Israel out of the West Bank and Gaza are no less wrong-headed. Absent wise leadership on both sides, an interminable war of attrition is threatened. The Jordanian-Egyptian initiative and the Mitchell Commission both call for a mutual end to violence, renewed security cooperation, and a freeze on settlements. If implemented, this formula could stop the bloodshed and create a more favorable political dynamic for renewed negotiations. But Sharon's insistence on "natural growth" of settlements, which Palestinians correctly view as a trap, is the key obstacle. Until the Unikted States takes a more assertive role and obliges Israel to confront the basic contradiction between settlements and peace, the conflict will continue.

Pluhp C. Willowy p.

PERSONAL PROTECTION FOR RESIDENTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP [YESHA]



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SHARON SPEAKS

Question: When quiet prevails, will you agree to recognize a Palestinian state on 40 to 50 percent of the territory?

Sharon: I did not say 50 percent. I said 42 percent. Maybe a bit more will be possible. But within the framework of a non-belligerency agreement, for a lengthy and indefinite period, in an agreement that does not have a timetable but a table of expectations.

Question: And 42 percent will resolve these problems? Sharon: The question is what the alternative is. The other possibility is to give more, but that will not end the conflict either. In that case we will remain without our historic and strategic assets, and without an end to the conflict. You have to understand: Every step here is irreversible. Because if we have to hit a terrorist and for that specific purpose we have to enter Area A [under full Palestinian control], that is possible. But to take back sections of Area A that were transferred to the Palestinian Authority is impossible. So we have to view things with our eyes wide open and be cautious. Very cautious. To give them the necessary minimum and try to ease things for the Palestinians as much as possible on the roads and at the roadblocks.

Question: Would you be ready to evacuate settlements as part of a non-belligerency agreement?

Sharon: No. Absolutely not. It's not by accident that the settlements are located where they are. They safeguard the cradle of the Jewish people's birth and also provide strategic depth which is vital to our existence. The settlements were established according to the conception that, come what may, we have to hold the western security area, which is adjacent to the Green Line, and the eastern security area along the Jordan River and the roads linking the two. And Jerusalem, of course. And the hill aquifer.

Nothing has changed with respect to any of those things. The importance of the security areas has not diminished, it may even have increased. So I see no reason for evacuating any settlements. In any event, as long as there is no peace, we are there. And if in the future, with God's help, there is peace, there will certainly be no reason for not being there. After all, hundreds of Arab families live in Upper Nazareth, and in Be'er Sheva and Lod and Ramla. So why should the residents of the settlements in Judea and Samaria be an obstacle?

I see no possibility of separation. I don't believe in the idea of us here and them there. In my opinion, that possibility does not exist in practical terms. I always said that it is possible to live with the Arabs.

Question: Do you believe that isolated settlements in the Gaza Strip have security value?

Sharon: First of all, they have Zionist importance. People say to me, why not evacuate Kfar Darom [in the Gaza Strip]? But Kfar Darom is a settlement that was established in 1946, and it held out and delayed the Egyptian army for a few critical days in 1948, even though it was no larger than 100 meters by 100 meters. So why does it have to be evacuated?

In October 1977 I presented to the government a plan ["A Vision of Israel at Century's End"] that aimed to solve a number of problems we were facing.

The first problem was that two-thirds of the Jewish residents of Israel live in a small strip that can be ruled over from a hilltop on Western Samaria. I wanted to assure that in any political agreement of the future Israel would retain these areas and would prevent the appearance of any other party. As someone who was born settling, it was clear to me that it was possible to retain these hills only by Jewish settlement. The second problem, the eastern front, was undertaken also in the Labor governments and they gave their answer through the Allon Plan. The third problem was the need for a system of roads that would connect the Jordan Valley with the sea coast and the Dead Sea. In order to retain control over these interchanges it was clear that we would have to control an area of many kilometers. The thing that seemed to me the most appropriate way of retaining this was the establishment of settlements on both sides of these strips.

Were there not Jewish settlements today on the Golan Heights and Judea and Samaria, Israel would long ago have returned across the Green Line. If there is one source that prevented the agreement of this [Rabin] government and complicated it from undertaking negotiations it was only the Jewish settlements. The Arabs also know their value.

Davar, July 14, 1995

Sharon: Netzarim has strategic importance. It was established as part of a conception that a buffer should be created between Khan Yunis and Gaza City and that we should have access from the Green Line to the coast. In the future Netzarim will enable us to ensure that no heavy war equipment is being unloaded at the port of Gaza. After all, it is no coincidence that the port of Gaza is being built next to Netzarim. So Netzarim has tremendous security importance. It is vital.

Question: And you won't agree to evacuate the Jewish settlement in Hebron either?

Sharon: The Tomb of the Patriarchs is located in Hebron. No people has a monument like the Tomb of the Patriarchs, where the patriarchs and matriarchs of the nation are buried.

Question: Does that mean that you cannot conceive of the possibility of evacuating the Jewish settlement in Hebron? That you rule out the possibility?

Sharon: Absolutely.

Question: [On the Golan Heights], the question is not whether the Syrians will reach the water line, rather there is a problem with the conception of a withdrawal from the Golan in order to achieve peace?

Sharon: Yes.

Ha'aretz, April 12, 2001

November 3 Kol HaZeman reports that the settlers have requested a longer school day in light of the "difficult security situation," and have decided not to use school facilities that are not protected against gunfire. The Ministry of Education announced efforts to enable students and teachers to attend classes in their settlements in order to minimize travel between settlements.

November 5 Palestinians fire on Israel Defense Forces chief of staff Shaul Mofaz and a group of senior army commanders during a visit to Nahal Elisha, east of Jericho. No injuries are reported.

Rachel's Tomb opens to Jewish worshippers for the first time in several weeks.

Palestinians shoot and wound two Israelis from the Ma'ale Levona settlement, near Shilo.

Palestinians fire on Kadim, Kfar Darom, Netzarim, Psagot, and Tzofim.

Palestinians destroy hothouses worth millions of dollars in the Jordan valley settlement of Ro'i.

Settlers temporarily close Road 55, the main route east of Qalqilya, to protest gunfire attacks against settler vehicles traveling on the road.

"[Arabs] will not be able to use a road that we are unable to travel," explained the head of the settlement council of Karnei Shomron. "We notified the army ahead of time about the operation, and it permitted us to undertake it. We hope that this model will be an example to other communities in Judea and Samaria. We are not prepared to be another Netzarim."

November 6 Shooting incidents take place at the Ayosh junction, near Halhoul, Hebron, Jenin, Nablus, Tul Karem and Vered Jericho.

Firebombs are thrown at Israeli cars near the settlements of Alfei Menashe, Elon Moreh, and Kedumim. No injuries are reported.

Arutz-7 reports a busload of children near Kfar Darom shot upon. No injuries are reported.

Palestinians fire at Beit Haggai, the Dotan junction army base, Ganim, Kadim, Nahal Elisha, and at IDF forces near Ariel and Susia.

Residents of Gush Katif in Gaza protest against the security situation.

Pinchas Wallerstein, head of the Binyamin Regional Council, tells *Arutz-7*, "The YESHA Council is doing all it can to fight the government's 'low-strength policy'—a policy based on the idea that it's not so terrible if the current low-flame violence, involving injuries only to settlers and soldiers, continues. . . . It's clear that the government wishes to cut off the YESHA towns one from another, and to create large Palestinian blocs that have no Jewish presence."

Ha'aretz reports that the Israeli navy is making contingency plans to evacuate Gaza settlers by sea if fighting becomes more intense.

A tender is published in *Yediot Aharanot* for the construction of 131 dwelling units in the Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev.

November 7 Five southern Golan settlements—Avnei, Chispin, Eitan, Nov, and Ramat Magshimim—are placed under curfew for nine hours when it is discovered that Syrians wishing to aid Palestinians have crossed into the area.

Ha'aretz reports that northern Golan settlements are increasing security measures in light of Hizballah warnings.

Palestinians fire on IDF posts at Bureij, the Karni crossing, Neve Dekalim, and Rafah in Gaza and Gilo in Jerusalem. The IDF responds to the shooting in Gilo with antitank missiles aimed at Beit Jala. Palestinians also fire on Psagot.

Israeli General Security Service head Avi Dichter and Palestinian security chief Jibril Rajoub reach an agreement regarding the prevention of attacks within pre-1967 Israel. In addition, they agree that there will be no further shooting at Gilo.

November 8 A firebomb and rocks are thrown at the Karni-Netzarim road in Gaza, effectively closing the route.

The Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR) reports that, since the beginning of the al-Aqsa intifada in September, Israel has bulldozed more than 807 dunums (3,228 acres) of Palestinian agricultural land in Gaza, destroying greenhouses, irrigation networks, and trees.

Al-Ayyam reports that settlers from Elon Moreh, near Nablus, have uprooted 200

olive tress belonging to the Palestinian village of Za Emout. Settlers from Kedumim are reported to have destroyed 55 olive trees in Amatin.

November 9 Palestinians fire on Kfar Darom in Gaza and Otniel, Psagot, and Susia in the West Bank.

Ha'aretz reports that there are 20 to 30 daily instances of shooting at settlements.

A tender is published in *Yediot Aharanot* for the construction of 110 dwelling units in Har Homa.

November 10 Ha'aretz reports that the municipalities of al-Bireh and Ramallah will soon begin to pick up garbage in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Kufr Aqab. The Jerusalem municipality has not provided basic services to the area since the beginning of the intifada.

Yerushalim reports that in a letter to Prime Minister Ehud Barak, Jerusalem mayor Ehud Olmert and Minister for Jerusalem Haim Ramon suggest constructing a wall around the industrial area of Atarot, where work has been curtailed by the intifada; offering grants encouraging the purchase of new apartments in Har Homa, where sales have almost completely stopped; and armoring vehicles used to provide public services and student transport in nearby settlements.

November 11 Palestinians and the IDF exchange fire in Gush Katif, Halhoul, Hebron, Itamar, Kadim, the Nahal Elisha outpost, Nablus Ganim, and Tulkarem.

Shots are fired at Psagot. The IDF fires missiles at buildings in al-Bireh in retaliation.

Violence erupts at the Ayosh junction. The IDF fires heavy antitank Orev missiles in response.

Hear Palestine reports that Shilo settlers have uprooted 800 olive and almond trees and grape vines belonging to Palestinians in nearby Qaryut, near al-Marjan, Nablus.

November 12 Palestinians fire on Gilo. In response, the IDF fires several missiles into Beit Jala, wounding seven Palestinians.

Palestinians fire on Vered Jericho. In response, the IDF fires a mortar shell at the shooters, damaging a building. Palestinians fire on IDF posts near the Allon Road, Beit El, Bezek, and Mount Gezerim.

A scientific conference sponsored by GM-UNI, the General Motors Israeli subsidiary, is held in the settlement of Ariel amid Palestinian and international protest.

Ha'aretz reports the construction of a \$7 million commercial and tourist center on a 30-dunam site in the Golan settlement of Katzrin.

November 13 Three Israelis are killed and eight wounded in separate shooting incidents near the settlement of Ofra, north of Ramallah.

A senior Tanzim source tells the Itim News Agency that the PLO is supplying weapons and ammunition to Hamas's Izz al-Din al-Qassim Brigade as part of the organization's plan to "turn the settlers' lives into hell, until they leave their homes."

Rocks are thrown at Israeli cars near Jericho; cars near Alfei Menashe, Neve Dekalim, and Shilo are fired on. Palestinians also fire on settlers in Bracha, Gilo, Hebron, and Vered Jericho.

A poll by Market Watch revels that half of the Israeli public feel their admiration for YESHA residents has grown; half feel the settlements "provide protection for the rest of Israel, in that they absorb the brunt of Palestinian violence;" four-fifths do not agree that settlements are the chief cause of violence; 60 percent do not believe that the evacuation of settlements will lead to calm; and 46 percent support unilateral separation even at the expense of the settlements.

November 14 Fatah calls on Palestinians to expel Israelis from the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem on the anniversary of the November 15, 1988, declaration of Palestinian independence.

Shots are fired at Beit Hadassa in Hebron, Beitar, Bracha, Psagot, and Vered Jericho. Shots are fired at IDF outposts near Qalqilya, Nahal Elisha, Neve Dekalim, Tel Arus, and at the Jericho and Gaza district coordinating offices.

Yediot Aharanot reports that settlers involved in an October 19 firefight with Palestinians near Nablus were looking for a site to establish a religious seminary.

November 15 Palestinians fire on Gilo, causing damage to cars and buildings but no injuries. Shots are also fired at soldiers near the Ayosh junction, a convoy traveling from

Netzarim, Nablus and, Tulkarem.

Palestinians attempt to break into the Har Adar settlement north of Jerusalem.

The IDF launches widespread missile attacks on Palestinian targets throughout the West Bank in response to shootings at Gilo and the killing of two soldiers and two Israeli civilians.

Arutz-7 reports the construction of 12 new homes in the settlement of Bracha.

Citing security reasons, the IDF razes greenhouses, garages, and buildings along the entrance to Qalqilya.

Ha'aretz reports that the airport at Atarot in East Jerusalem, which has been closed since the beginning of the intifada, is to remain closed.

November 16 Palestinians and settlers in Hebron exchange fire. An Israeli convoy is fired on at Netzarim. Two explosives detonate near the Karni checkpoint in Gaza. No injuries are reported.

November 18 The *Independent* reports settlers shooting, harassing, and throwing stones at villagers from Haris near Ariel. The village mayor states settlers frequently cut off the water supply as well.

November 19 A senior Palestinian official says that the "settlements should leave. This is the message of the intifada. . . . Coexistence with the settlers is impossible, not only because of the exchange of fire between Beit Jala and the Gilo or Psagot settlements, but because this shooting proved these settlements are military bases and occupation centers that should leave with the evacuation of the Israeli occupation from the Palestinian territory."

Settlers in Beit El protest the entry of Palestinian workers into the settlement stating, "Why should we provide support for our enemies?"

Shots are fired at an Israeli bus on the Karni-Netzarim road in Gush Katif.

Shots are fired at Israeli homes in Hebron and Neve Dekalim, near the Etzion Bloc.

Ha'aretz reports a decrease of 50 percent in cultural and celebratory activities in the settlements due to a refusal of teachers, performers, and instructors to travel in the occupied territories and settler concerns about traveling safely after dark.

Prime Minister Barak announces a special allocation of \$2.75 million for civilian defenses in Gilo.

November 20 Residents of Ofra and Shilo block the main highway to Palestinian traffic near the Palestinian village of Silwad to protest Palestinians shooting at settlers along area roads.

A bomb detonates near a bus on the road from Kfar Darom to Neve Dekalim, killing two Israelis and wounding 12 others. The IDF retaliates by firing missiles at Palestinian Authority targets in Gaza City. At least four Palestinians are killed and more than 100 are wounded. Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer states the attack did not involve even "one-thousandth of the force we could have used."

IDF bulldozers destroy olive groves, homes, and buildings alongside the road to Kfar Darom, citing the settlement's security needs. Most of the homes and groves are in Area A, under full Palestinian control.

Thousands of settlers and right-wing activists mount widespread demonstrations throughout Israel to protest the events at Kfar Darom and the policies of the Barak government.

Ma'ariv reports that settlers are hiring private security firms to assist the IDF in protecting highways and settlements. A group of Galilee residents have volunteered to guard settlements at night.

Ha'aretz reports that Israel's Ministry of Agriculture decided to increase grants to agricultural projects in Gaza to 40 percent of the project cost rather than the standard 30 percent in order to encourage the production of vegetables for export.

The Elkana settlement council publishes a tender for the construction of 76 residential units.

Israel's Ministry of Housing and Construction publishes tenders for road construction and infrastructure at the settlement of Betar Ilit near Bethlehem.

November 21 At least two Palestinians are killed in clashes in Kfar Darom and the eastern rim of Gush Katif. A bomb explodes near Kfar Darom, injuring one IDF soldier and an Israeli civilian is shot and killed

TIME LINE, continued on page 6

outside the settlement. A second IDF soldier dies from sniper fire near the Gush Katif junction.

Israeli buses, cars and homes are shot at near Beit El, Elon Moreh, Ma'ale Shomron, Ofra, and Psagot.

Palestinians shoot at Ayosh, Baal Hatzor, Bezek, Efrat, Elisha, Hebron, Jericho, Mount Ebal, and Tulkarem.

Settlers march into the village of Hawara to protest stone throwing by Palestinians. The settlers fire shots and burn more than 40 Palestinian cars before being escorted away by the IDF.

Citing continued "aggression" against Palestinians, Egypt recalls its ambassador from Israel after missile attacks destroy PA office buildings and facilities in Gaza.

The Palestinian national committee for boycotting Israel and settlement products calls for an escalation in the boycott.

November 22 A settler from Homesh shoots and kills one Palestinian and injuries two others after a rock is thrown at his car. A settler from Ofra shoots and wounds two Palestinians who reportedly tried to drive out of their village despite the closure imposed by the IDF.

Settlers from Kfar Darom surround a tract of land with barbed wire and place four caravans in its center in an attempt to incorporate the land into the settlement. Dozens of settlers reportedly confiscate cottages on the beach of Khan Yunis.

November 23 Settlers throw stones at Palestinian cars in Hawara and on the Nablus-Ramallah road. Settlers attempt to enter the village of Beit Hawil after shooting at villagers and destroying agricultural land. As a result, the IDF tightens the closure on the village. Settlers shoot at villagers from Husan; settlers from Gilo demonstrate and close roads with burning tires.

Two Israeli children suffer burns from a firebomb thrown onto their bus traveling between Givat Ze'ev and Ramot, north of Jerusalem.

A grenade is thrown into the Neve Dekalim district coordinating office, killing one Israeli soldier and wounding two others. As a result, the IDF orders all Palestinian security personnel out of the jointly stationed district offices. The order effectively ends all Israeli-Palestinian security cooperation.

Arutz-7reports that the Ministry of Education has promised to establish a school at Kfar Darom so the settlement's children will not need to travel to Gush Katif.

During the curfew on the 40,000 Palestinians in the section of Hebron directly controlled by Israel, the IDF closes the temporary fruit and vegetable market in the Old City. Ha'aretz' reports that "Palestinians fear that the closure of the market was done upon the demand of [the 500] settlers living in Hebron—and that they intend to fulfill additional settlers demands"—including restrictions on Palestinian pedestrians and motor vehicles.

Shooting into Gilo resumes after a oneweek lull.

November 24 An Israeli citizen is killed near the Tapuah junction south of Nablus.

Shots are fired at Gilo, Psagot, Rachel's Tomb, Rafiah-Yam in Gaza and at factories in Tulkarem. The IDF fires two mortar shells from Rachel's Tomb.

A bomb explodes on the Gush Etzion tunnel road damaging a bus and injuring the driver. No passengers were on the bus.

The access road to the Palestinian village of Samoa is blocked by settlers.

Israeli and Palestinian leaders agree to resume low-level security cooperation and reopen Israeli-Palestinian district coordination offices in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Elementary school teachers in the Shilo settlement demand transportation in armored vehicles after one of their colleagues is killed in a drive-by shooting.

Ha'aretz reports soldiers complaining of having to assure the safety of protesting settlers' children in Hebron under "impossible conditions." Explained a senior IDF source, "Instead of protecting the roads, the IDF is busy protecting settlers in impossible situations that they force upon [us]."

November 25 Palestinians and the IDF exchange fire near the Ayosh junction, Beit Haggai, the Erez checkpoint, the Jenin bypass road, and Psagot. Palestinians fire on a bus near Alfei Menashe. One IDF soldier is wounded near Ofra.

November 26 Palestinians from Beit Jala fire on Gilo. The IDF responds with heavy machine-gun fire. No injuries are reported. Palestinians exchange fire with the IDF in Alfei Menashe, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jenin, Nablus, Qalqilya, and Tulkarem.

Palestinians fire on Gush Katif and Kfar Darom, and the IDF razes buildings suspected of housing snipers. Palestinians and the IDF exchange fire south of Nablus, leading to the closing by Israel of the main road to Nablus. Palestinians fire on Gilo and Hebron.

Arutz-7 reports a request by the YESHA Council to the Israeli government for armored buses for night use to bolster traffic to and from the occupied territories.

The IDF forbids military travel in the Jordan Valley in non-bulletproof vehicles, angering many settlers. Fearing attacks on unarmored buses carrying soldiers, the IDF transfers tank-training courses from the Sanur base near Jenin.

Settlers attack an ambulance returning from Ramallah, seriously wounding the driver.

Ha'aretz reports the approval of the first stage of the "Eastern Gate" development and housing project by the local council in Jerusalem. The 170-dunam area is located between the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim and East Jerusalem.

November 27 The IDF orders all military personnel to travel in armored vehicles throughout the occupied territories.

The Palestinian Center for Human Rights reports that Israeli forces have destroyed at least 40 dunams of palm, olive, and citrus groves in Gaza as a "security measure." An Israeli government spokesman states that the "shaving" is to clear foliage so that Palestinians cannot ambush army and settler convoys. The Palestinians claim that the destruction is collective punishment for attacks on settlers.

Palestinians fire on Gilo. The IDF retaliates by firing antitank missiles and machine guns at Beit Jala.

Roadside bombs detonate near Elon Moreh as an IDF jeep passes and on the Karni-Netzarim road in Gush Katif near an Israeli convoy accompanied by IDF jeeps. No injuries are reported.

Ha'aretz reports the approval of a bill by the Knesset that requires a majority, 61 members, to concede authority in any part of Jerusalem to a foreign body.

The Palestinian Center for Human Rights reports the destruction of more than 40 dunams of Palestinian agricultural land near Khan Yunis in Gaza.

After seeing settlement expansion in southern Gaza, UN Human Rights Chief investigator Mary Robinson notes, "That seemed to me to be almost incomprehensible at the moment in a situation where the settlements are causing such amount of tension." She adds, "From a human rights perspective, it seemed to me that [the settlements] were a seriously aggravating factor that was leading to flash points and resulting in the loss of life and permanent disablement of young people."

November 28 Arutz-7 reports that government-employed settlers who arrive late or are absent because of the violence will not lose wages.

Ha'aretz reports the detonation of three bombs near settlements. The first bomb detonates as IDF troops pass the settlement of Morag in Gaza. A second bomb detonates near an Israeli convoy on the road to Netzarim. The last bomb detonates in the West Bank near the Hermesh settlement.

Ha'aretz reports shooting incidents in Gaza near the Erez checkpoint, Neve Dekalim, Morag, and Rafah. In the West Bank, shooting occurs in Hebron, on the Jenin bypass road, in Nablus, and near Tulkarem.

November 29 An Israeli bus driver is shot near the Tapuah junction. Two firebombs are thrown at the Ayosh junction, and shots are fired near Rachel's Tomb.

According to *Hear Palestine*, dozens of settlers attack and set fire to shops, greenhouses, and cars in al-jalma.

According to the *Palestine Report*, settlers from Kiryat Sefer, under the protection of the IDF, close a road north of the settlement that is used by several Palestinian villages. According to villagers, settlers continue to stop cars along the route.

According to *Arutz-7*, a senior Israeli military source states that regular army units deployed in the West Bank have "reached their limits" and will be replaced by reserve units.

November 30 Hundreds of settlers protest at the Tapuah junction against the lack of security in the area. One settler tells *Arutz-7* "The efforts [the army has] invested here are just not sufficient. It seems that we will likely have to help the army by taking over the position [where attacks occur] ourselves."

A bomb punctures Netzarim's water tank. The settlers are resorting to emergency supplies, reports *Arutz-7*.

According to *Arutz-7*, a bomb explodes near the settlement of Bet El; no injuries are reported.

Arutz-7reports that shots are fired at a public bus traveling on the Tunnel Road from Jerusalem to Gush Etzion, effectively closing the road. Shots are fired at Israelis and military targets in Bet El, Bet Haggai, Bracha, Hebron, and Neve Dekalim. No injuries are reported.

The Palestinian Center for Human Rights reports the destruction of over 83.5 dunams of agricultural land by the IDF on both sides of the road between al-Shuhada' (Netzarim) junction and al-Mentar (Karni) outlet. The PCHR also reports the destruction of 16 dunams of agricultural land by the IDF along the road to Kfar Darom.

December 1 The *Jerusalem Post* reports the installation of bulletproof glass in windows of Gilo apartments facing Beit Jala. The Jerusalem municipality also places sandbags in school windows.

December 2 Ha'aretz reports exchanges of gunfire at the Ayosh junction, Beit Haggai, Hebron, Psagot, and Salfit near Ariel; in the Gaza Strip shooting incidents occur near the Netzarim junction and at Neve Dekalim in Gush Katif. Shots are fired at a bus near French Hill in Jerusalem.

December 3 Settlers in Shilo strike to protest the security situation, which according to the residents includes daily shooting attacks.

Palestinians fire on Beit Haggai, Neveh Tzuf, and at a bus near Ofra. Palestinian gunmen attempt to take over the IDF outpost near Rachel's Tomb.

The Mount Hermon ski site reopens to the public after a military closure due to the kidnapping of three soldiers by Hizballah.

A group of settlers raid the Hussan village, firing on Palestinians as they enter the

mosque. Clashes break out between the settlers, the Palestinians, and IDF soldiers. At least two Palestinians are critically injured, reports *Hear Palestine*.

In an exchange of fire, the IDF shells Beit Jala with rockets, missiles and heavy machine-gun fire in retaliation for fire on Gilo. The electricity is subsequently cut off in al-Khader, Beiter, Beit Jala, Hussan, and Nahalin.

In an exchange of gunfire, the IDF fires four rockets on al-Bireh in retaliation for fire on Psagot.

December 4 Two settlers from Paduel, near Ariel, are wounded by gunfire.

An Israeli traveling between Homesh and Shavei Shomron is shot at; a security coordinator for Avnei Hefetz is fired on as well. No injuries are reported.

The IDF closes the al-Shuhada' junction in Gaza near the Kfar Darom settlement, effectively trisecting the Gaza Strip.

Palestinians fire on Rachel's Tomb; the IDF deploys helicopters and fires missiles at the Palestinians.

December 5 Shots are fired at the Elon Moreh, Dagan, Efrat, Gilo, Ma'aleh Levonah, and Psagot settlements, at a bus near Kiryat Arba and an IDF base near Paduel. A bomb explodes on the Jericho bypass road. No injuries are reported.

Settlers demonstrate in Ariel, protesting the gunfire that wounded a settler from Paduel.

Settlers begin to patrol the Tunnel Road that connects Gush Etzion with Jerusalem.

December 6 Shots are fired toward Israeli factories near Tulkarem and at Beit El, Gilo, and Psagot.

Hear Palestine reports that settlers raid the village of Hawara in Nablus and attempt to set the mosque on fire.

A report by the municipality of Beit Furik states that settlers accompanied by soldiers repeatedly attack farmers and uproot olive trees with the intent of confiscating their land. The report states that more than 80 farmers have lost land in this fashion, 975 olive trees have been cut down, and 73,190 kg of olives have been stolen.

The Return of Sharon

I learned the strength and power of the past when Sharon explained why it is forbidden to evacuate [the ten remaining families of] Kfar Darom—because Kfar Darom repelled the Egyptian attack in 1948. Were Sharon not my prime minister I would die laughing. If there were, god forbid, an Egyptian attack today, would Kfar Darom, would any settlement, stop it? Is there a security expert among us who would endorse such an outdated security concept?

And the settlement in Hebron—is this also security? I am sure that Yigal Allon [the patron of the first settlement in Hebron in 1968] is already tired from turning in his grave from seeing his dream of Hebron turn into a permanent nightmare. The idea of establishing a radical Jewish community in the heart of a crowded Arab city was from the first a foolhardy notion that threw together scoundrels speaking in the name of the Torah with those speaking in the name of the Koran, who together oppress our lives. We must remove this wild settlement from the heart of Hebron, because it will be the center of the most dangerous conflict in the entire region.

And if we cry about the first settlements, about those settlements to come we protest and do all that is necessary to thwart their creation. Don't tell us that new settlements will not be established. This false and ridiculous story we have heard for many years already. The entire world knows the perverse trick of Bet El G and Keddumim H, built only

Declaration by the Presidency on Behalf of the European Union on Israeli Settlement Activities

The Presidency of the European Union expresses great concern at the continuing Israeli settlement activities, including the plans for establishment of new settlements and the expansion of existing ones. Recently plans to expand the settlement Har Homa/Jabal Abu Ghneim with an additional 2,800 housing units and a new settlement to be called Giva'ot with 6,000 housing units have been announced. The European Union calls on the Israeli government to prevent the implementation of these proposals.

Settlements change the physical character and demographic composition of the occupied territories. All settlement activities are illegal and constitute a major obstacle to peace.

The European Union strongly urges the Israeli government to reverse its settlement policy as regards the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem.

April 4, 2001

according to "natural growth." The expansion of settlements is exactly the same, if not worse, than the creation of new ones. An absolute freeze of settlement is required, because we want to encourage the initiative supporting the end of settlement in return for an end to violence.

Opposition leader Yossi Sarid Yediot Aharanot, April 20, 2001

Sharon doesn't want us. He wants security, settlements, to give us 40 percent of the West Bank and for us to say thank you. That won't happen. Even if he keeps bombing us for 10 years, even if he assassinates us all. It will not happen. I can tell you, forget that theory.

Mohammed Dahlan, head of Preventive Security in Gaza Ha'aretz supplement, April 13, 2001

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