

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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WHERE WILL THE PALESTINIAN STATE BE ESTABLISHED?

By *Geoffrey Aronson*

Israeli president Shimon Peres recently observed, “There is a competition here over staying power, not just over the ability to withstand suffering.” Peres was referring to the conflict with Hamas in Gaza, that has just entered a new phase with the joint declaration on June 19 of a *tadbiya* or “calm.” He could point with equal justification, however, to the ongoing campaign of settlement construction in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, that has succeeded, despite Palestinian opposition, in settling almost half a million Israelis in territories captured in June 1967.

Settlements are the most visible, potent, and tangible manifestation of Israel’s “staying power” in its ongoing struggle with Palestinians to prevent the creation of a genuine Palestinian state. They represent an existential challenge to Palestinian efforts to establish sovereignty and independence, and thus are understood by Palestinians as *the* critical benchmark against which the prospect of their liberation from occupation is to be measured.

U.S.-led diplomacy has failed to address the central challenge that settlements pose to the international consensus supporting an end to Israeli occupation and the creation of a Palestinian state at peace with its neighbors. Indeed, to judge by remarks made by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice during her June visit to the region, it is not clear that she fully understands that settlements are more than simply one of

the generic issues to be negotiated.

Palestinian Authority president Mahmoud Abbas was at pains to convey to Rice that “Israel fulfill its obligations vis a vis colonization, because we consider settlement activity as the most important obstacle facing the political process. And the more there are dates [announcing tenders for new settlement housing] and construction of settlements, the more this will constitute an impediment that will obstruct reaching any peace.”

Rice acknowledged that almost eight years into the George W. Bush administration, U.S. remonstrations to Israel about settlement construction go no further than “pressing the case”—the long-standing, pro forma effort to convey to Israel that the U.S. views settlements as problematic and that “it is in Israel’s interest to do everything that it can to promote an atmosphere of confidence.”

“I think the issue here,” Rice explained to reporters on June 15, “is to try to get back to a place that there’s some confidence that [Israel’s settlement program] is not an effort, in some way, to dictate or prejudice the final status issue and to prejudice the final status outcome.”

Settlements, as Israelis and Palestinians know too well, serve the very purpose—unilaterally determining Israel’s border—that Rice wants to discount. Her insistence that this is not the case has been betrayed by the administration’s own policy of acknowledging in April 2004 that “in light of new realities on the ground, including already exist-

ing 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.”

Recalling this commitment, a reporter asked Rice, “didn’t President George Bush’s [April 2004] letter to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon acknowledge the facts on the ground?”

“It acknowledged the current realities of 2004,” Rice noted. “And of course there are current realities and new realities since 1949 and 1967 for both sides. So what the president’s letter said is there are population realities. Look—some of those realities have been recognized in every agreement that never quite made it as well. So this is nothing new, that those realities have been acknowledged. But the president said subject to mutual agreement and I would remind [you] that the president’s letter talked about realities at that time. And there are realities for both sides, which is why they need to draw a map and get it done.”

No one but Israel and the U.S. has formally acknowledged that these settlement realities will determine Israel’s border with a Palestinian state. The American acknowledgment of the facts created by settlements is not subject to Palestinian endorsement. The secretary invoked the precedent of the stillborn diplomatic dialogues at Camp David and Taba in order to justify unilateral presidential recognition offered without

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TO OUR READERS

First-time foreign visitors to the West Bank and East Jerusalem, or those who have not been to the area for many years, are shocked by the large scale of settlements and related occupation infrastructure that have transformed the landscape. It is obvious to these observers that the more than 200 settlements housing close to half a million Israelis, the hundreds of miles of settlement roads, the 500 or so checkpoints, and the massive separation barrier and watch towers, are not temporary, but rather part of a sweeping and determined plan for permanent Israeli occupation and control. It is not surprising that in the face of this glaring reality, many Palestinians and a growing number of foreign observers now believe that Israel has created an irreversible *de facto* single state.

The Foundation for Middle East Peace has always advocated a division of historic Palestine into two states as the only means of rescuing Israelis and Palestinians from permanent, mutually destructive conflict. In

our view, there is no one state “solution” that could meet the basic needs of both peoples and resolve the violence and injustice inherent in the status quo.

But if the United States is serious about helping Israelis and Palestinians rescue the dream of a genuine two state peace, it will need to replace its current weak and evasive approach to settlements and Jerusalem, make clear that peace means ending Israel’s occupation and settlement venture, and provide urgent and resolute diplomatic leadership and mediation. The wheel need not be reinvented. The details can draw upon the Clinton, Taba, and Geneva plans, which offer ways to address borders, settlement withdrawal, and land swaps, a shared Jerusalem, and other final status issues. Without such an effort, the prospects for peace and two states will become even more distant than at present.



Golan Compensation

Yediot Aharonot reports on May 25, 2008, that \$430 million will be spent in evacuating all the settlers in the Golan, with \$570,000 going to each family. The settlers will be offered relocation to the Galilee, where each settler will receive half a dunan of land.

Amid Talks, Golan Gets First Mall, and Development Booms

As Turkish envoys were mediating Israeli-Syrian talks in Istanbul, construction workers in Moshav Bnei Yehuda were putting the finishing touches on the first mall in the southern Golan Heights, which will open next month. According to the mall’s owner, Terrace Investments, it is meant to serve the needs of the “large population of tourists who visit the area,” as well as local residents. The mall is just one example of the Golan’s rapid development in recent years.

Terrace CEO Assaf Schuster offered an optimistic assessment of the Golan’s economic future: Local communities are planning to bring in hundreds of new families, unique archaeological sites are being developed, and there are even plans to build a small airport, he noted. Local businessmen evidently share this optimism as well: Terrace said that most of the mall’s stores have already been rented.

Yuval Azoulay, *Ha’aretz*, May 23, 2008

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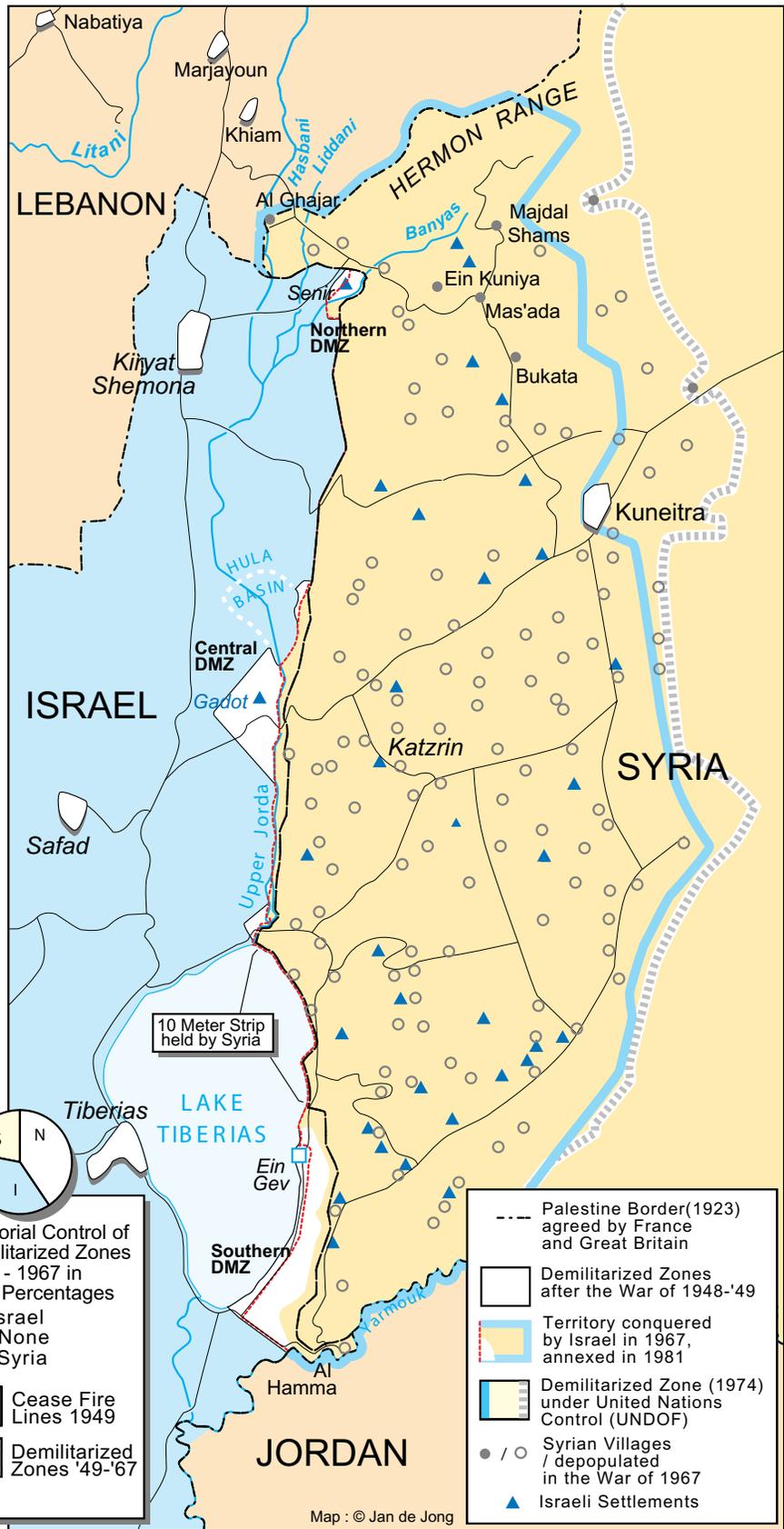
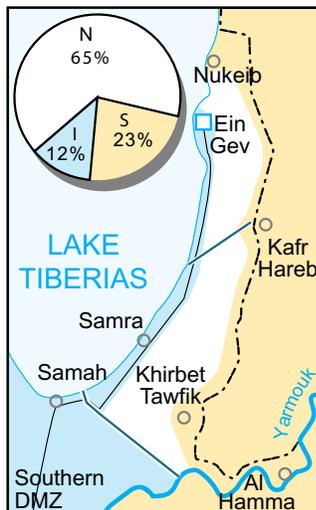
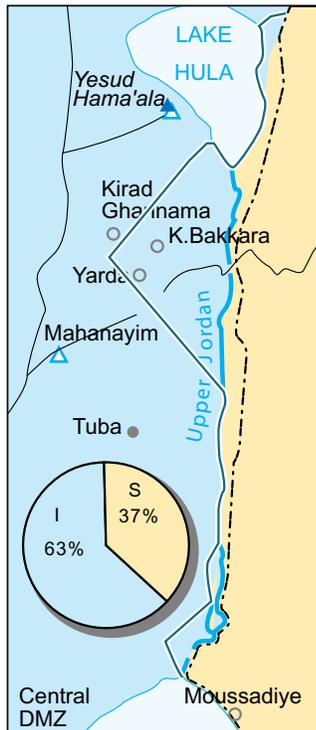
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The Foundation, a non-profit I.R.C. 501(c)(3) organization, supports peace and security for Israelis and Palestinians through mutual recognition and a negotiated division of historic Palestine. It publishes the bi-monthly *Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories*.

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GOLAN HEIGHTS 1923 - 2008



SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

February 1 Arutz 7 reports that construction has begun on 200 new housing units in Jerusalem's Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in East Jerusalem. The project is to be constructed on 4.5 acres.

Palestinians throw stones at Israeli vehicles traveling on Road 55 near Jinsafaut. (OCHA)

February 3 Two settlers traveling on Road 55 near the village of Azzun are injured by Palestinian stone throwers. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) closes the entrance to Azzun. (OCHA)

February 4 Settlers squatting in the contested "Peace House" in Hebron for a year are allowed to install windows to protect them from the cold. (Arutz 7)

Settlers from the Havat Gilad outpost uproot 200 newly planted olive trees on land belonging to Palestinian farmers from Jit village. (OCHA)

February 6 The IDF demolishes a two-story house on al-Buraq Street in Jerusalem's Old City for being built without a permit. It demolishes fifteen structures belonging to Bedouin families in al-Hadidiya. (OCHA)

February 7 A Palestinian man from Hebron is injured by a group of stone-throwing settlers from the Beit Hadassa settlement. (OCHA)

A Knesset bill proposing the removal of the Palestinian residents of Hebron is submitted by MK Arye Adler. (*Ha'aretz*)

February 8 Two settlers are injured when Palestinians throw stones at their car as they pass Awarta village. A settler traveling on Road 55 near Azzun is injured by Palestinians throwing stones. (OCHA)

February 12 *Ha'aretz* reports that between 2000 and 2007, 94 percent of Palestinian requests for building permits in Area C were rejected.

February 13 Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert meets with Shas member Eli Yishay and promises not to freeze construction in Orthodox settlements. (*Ma'ariv*)

February 14 Israel offers 3,500 settlers forgiveness of debt totaling \$102 million in an effort to resolve loans that were handed out in 1978 by the settlement committee. (*Ha'aretz*)

February 19 Members of the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades shoot at a settler bus near the Beta intersection, south of Nablus. (Ma'an News)

February 20 The IDF issues orders for the demolition of two houses in Qalqilya (Area C) for being built without a permit. (OCHA)

February 21 The IDF imposes a curfew on Beita village for 13 hours after Palestinians open fire on a settler bus traveling on Road 60. (OCHA)

February 22 IDF soldiers injure 12 Palestinians in Kufr Haris village when they fire rubber-coated metal bullets on a demonstration against roadblocks. (OCHA)

Settlers assault a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship on Road 60 near Yitzhar settlement. (OCHA)

February 23 The IDF issues orders requisitioning 766 dunams from the towns of Dhahiriya, Dura, and Al-Ramadin for construction of the separation barrier. Two thousand four hundred additional dunams will be isolated to the west of the barrier. (OCHA)

Twenty Palestinian protesters and one Israeli soldier are injured in clashes over the separation barrier in Bil'in. (*Ha'aretz*)

February 25 *Ha'aretz* reports that 3 percent of immigrants to Israel settle in the West Bank and 19 percent settle in East and West Jerusalem.

Eleven settlers from the Sha'arei Tikva settlement offer to voluntarily evacuate land that they had seized from nearby Palestinian villages after charges were filed against them. (*Ha'aretz*)

February 29 *Kol Ha'ir* reports on Israel Land Authority plans to sell five construction plots in the East Jerusalem Har Homa settlement.

March 2 Palestinians throwing stones injure a settler and three IDF soldiers near the village of Yatta. (OCHA)

March 3 A Palestinian boy is injured by live ammunition when the IDF opens fire on stone-throwers protesting in Surif against Israeli military operations in Gaza. (OCHA)

A settler from Talmon shoots and kills a Palestinian during a student demonstration near Ramallah. (OCHA)

Palestinians throw stones at vehicles traveling near Jerusalem's Wadi al-Juz neighborhood, injuring one settler. (OCHA)

March 5 The IDF imposes a closure on the villages of Huwwara and Azzun after Palestinians throw stones and open fire at settler vehicles driving nearby. (OCHA)

March 6 *Yediot Abaronot* reports an agreement between Defense Minister Barak and the YESHA Council leaders to evacuate 26 West Bank outposts.

March 7 Settlers throw stones at Palestinian vehicles and taxis on Road 60 near Yitzhar settlement, injuring an elderly woman. (OCHA)

Near Tulkarem, IDF soldiers fire rubber bullets at farmers protesting the closure of the separation barrier gate leading to their fields. One Palestinian boy is injured. (OCHA)

March 11 The IDF and civil administration demolish twelve Palestinian structures and bulldoze 15 dunams of planted agricultural land in the Jordan Valley. (OCHA)

Prime Minister Olmert approves the renewed construction of approximately 750 new homes in the West Bank settlement of Givat Ze'ev, near Jerusalem. (*Ha'aretz*)

March 12 IDF soldiers fire at Palestinian protesters, injuring two boys. The protest was in opposition to the requisition of Palestinian land for the expansion of the Karmeit Zur settlement. (OCHA)

March 13 Stone-throwing Palestinians attack a settler vehicle driving on a road near Ramallah. (Arutz 7)

March 16 Palestinians throw stones at settler vehicles traveling near Turmus'ayya. (OCHA)

March 17 Settlers uproot approximately 200 olive trees owned by Palestinian families from Turmus'ayya and destroy the fences around them. (OCHA)

March 18 Israel's High Court of Justice rules in favor of allowing West Bank Road 443 to be used for Israeli and settler traffic only. The road was constructed in the 1980s on private Palestinian land. (*Ha'aretz*)

March 19 Palestinians from Beit Umar throw rocks and flaming tires at settler vehicles. A Palestinian stabs a settler in the East Jerusalem settlement of Ramot. (Arutz 7)

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

March 20 The *Jerusalem Post* reports that the IDF Home Front Command has cut some 70 percent of funding for the maintenance of defense systems in West Bank settlements. The money is for repairing electronic fences, cameras, and other sensors.

March 21 Stone-throwing settlers from Kiryat Arba injure a 44-year-old Palestinian from Hebron.

March 23 Stone-throwing settlers from Tel Rumeida injure a 23-year-old Palestinian woman. Settlers from Eli kidnap two young Palestinian shepherds from al-Lubban al-Sharqiya village. (OCHA)

March 25 Defense Minister Barak approves the transfer of five new mobile homes to the West Bank settlement of Tene Omarim. (*Ha'aretz*)

March 27 Arutz 7 reports that demolition orders have been issued for seven homes in the Jordan Valley settlement of Maskiyot.

March 28 Settlers from Efrat uproot 100 trees in the vicinity of a new construction site for the settlement. Two three-storey buildings will contain 54 units. (OHCA)

March 30 Israel's Justice Ministry rules that Ariel College, in the West Bank settlement of Ariel, cannot be designated as a university. (Arutz 7)

Palestinians throw stones at settler vehicles traveling near East Jerusalem's Ne've Ya'akov settlement. Settlers from Kedumim assault a 39-year-old Palestinian farmer. Settlers from Shim'a assault a 70-year-old Palestinian man from al-Dhahiriya. (OCHA)

March 31 Prime Minister Olmert signals support for settlement construction in the West Bank after a meeting with Shas party members. (*Ma'ariv*)

April 1 *Kol Ha'Ir* reports Jerusalem mayor Uri Lupoliansky approved 600 new housing units in the East Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev.

Settlers kill a Palestinian university student at a hitchhiking post on Road 60. (*Ma'an News*)

April 2 Clashes ensue when police and civil administration officials evacuate seven settler youths squatting in Shvut Ami, a six-month-old outpost near Kedumim. Later, West Bank settlers clash with Israeli activists and Palestinians when they arrive at the site with

the intention of establishing their own outpost. (*Ha'aretz*)

The IDF confirms removing 50 dirt mounds used as roadblocks to restrict Palestinian travel in the West Bank. (*Ha'aretz*)

Arutz 7 reports an Israeli government announcement that it will no longer fund anti-rock plastic windows for West Bank settler vehicles.

April 4 *Ha'aretz* reports Israeli border police allowing settlers to return to the Shvut Ami site, built on Palestinian land near Kedumim, and forcing out left-wing activists who had been guarding it. The outpost had been evacuated nine times, but each time settlers returned, preventing the legal owners from reaching the land.

Settlers from the Havat Gilad outpost assault a Palestinian shepherd from Far'ata village. (OCHA)

April 6 Israeli military forces dismantle 10 dirt roadblocks in the West Bank, bringing the total number of security barriers removed during one week to 60. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 7 A settler bus hits and kills a 15-year-old Palestinian shepherd near Nablus. (OCHA)

April 8 Palestinians throw a metal rod at a settler vehicle traveling near al-Lubban al-Sharqiya village. (OCHA)

April 9 *Ha'aretz* reports that following several break-ins at West Bank settlement armories, the IDF has begun collecting weapons from settlers and transferring them to regional brigade camps.

Stone-throwing settlers from Yitzhar injure a Palestinian woman driving on Road 60 near Huwwara village. Settlers from Bracha enter a Palestinian house and uproot a number of olive trees. (OCHA)

A Palestinian house in the Jerusalem municipality is demolished for being built without a permit. (OCHA)

April 12 Settlers from the Gilad outpost attack Palestinians working in the fields near the village of Tal, Nablus, and uproot their trees. (*Ma'an News*)

April 13 Stone-throwing Palestinians injure a settler traveling in a bus near Hizma village, Jerusalem. Settlers from the Gilad outpost throw stones at Palestinian vehicles traveling on Road 60. (OCHA)

April 15 Palestinians throw a molotov cocktail at a settler house in the East Talpiyot settlement of Jerusalem. (OCHA)

April 16 A 5-year-old Palestinian boy from the village of Furik is found dead near the Hamra settlement. (OCHA)

April 17 Following an agreement with the Defense Ministry, the Merom Ayalon outpost is evacuated in exchange for new housing in the nearby Mevo Horon settlement. (Arutz 7)

April 18 The Israeli Ministry of Housing and Construction issues tenders for 100 housing units in the Elkana and Ariel settlements. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers from Kiryat Arba attack a Palestinian man at his house in Hebron. (OCHA)

April 20 Settlers uproot 200 newly planted olive trees on land belonging to residents of Deir Istiya. (OCHA)

April 24 *Ha'aretz* reports that no effort has been made to dismantle part of the separation barrier near the Palestinian village of Bil'in, eight months after Israel's High Court of Justice ordered the IDF to do so.

The IDF evacuates 40 Palestinians and Israeli activists who had come to the abandoned unauthorized outpost of Yad Yair to plant a Palestinian flag. Settlers were later permitted to return to the outpost's synagogue to pray. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 27 Arutz 7 reports on a decision by the IDF to transfer responsibility for security at 40 West Bank settlements to private firms and to withdraw protection entirely from 10 others.

April 28 *Ha'aretz* reports on a settler plan to take up residence in a police station in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Ras al-Amud when the police finish moving to a new complex in nearby E-1.

April 29 Arutz 7 reports that in a recent poll, fifteen Kadima Knesset members opposed returning the Golan Heights to Syria.

Palestinian gunmen fire at homes in the Adi Ad outpost near the West Bank settlement of Shiloh. (*Ha'aretz*)

April 30 Police and IDF troops demolish Ma'oz Esther, an unauthorized outpost near

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SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

TIME LINE, continued from page 5

the northern West Bank settlement of Kochav Hashachar. (*Ha'aretz*)

Ha'aretz reports that Israeli police have begun operating in a new police station located in E-1 near the Ma'ale Adumim settlement.

May 1 *Ma'ariv* reports that housing sales in West Bank settlements dropped by 57 percent in the last year.

May 2 Defense Minister Barak authorizes the Infrastructure Ministry to build five water projects proposed by the Mekorot Company in West Bank settlements. (*al-Quds*)

An ad hoc committee set up by the Interior Ministry recommends that the West Bank settlement of Modi'in Illit be granted municipal status. (*Ha'aretz*)

May 4 The IDF approves a request by settlers to host an Independence Day march to the ruins of the evacuated settlement of Homesh. (*Arutz 7*)

Settlers dismantle two caravans in the unauthorized outpost of Havat Beit Yatir, south of Hebron. It is the second time that settlers have voluntarily dismantled an outpost. (*Ha'aretz*)

May 8 Approximately 100 settlers infiltrate the ruins of the West Bank settlement of Sa-Nur, evacuated in 2005, in an attempt to rebuild it. Security forces evacuate the settlers. (*Ha'aretz*)

May 9 Israel's Interior Ministry establishes a new municipality in the West Bank that includes the Ariel bloc settlements of Elkana, Etz Efraim, Oranit and Sha'arei Tikva, with a total population of more than 13,200 settlers. This administrative measure removes the four settlements from their traditional regional authorities and paves the way for their further development and expansion. (Peace Now)

May 12 Peace Now reports settler leaders, with the help of Israel's Defense Ministry, placing a mobile home in the E-1 area of East Jerusalem. Settlers are also reported to

have begun setting up a new winery near the Migron outpost, which is slated to be evacuated in August.

IDF soldiers injure three Palestinians when they fire rubber-coated bullets at a crowd of protestors demonstrating against the requisition of 2,500 dunams of Nil'in village. (OCHA)

May 15 Approximately 100 settlers from Efrata, Har Homa, Kiryat Arba, and Teqoa attempt to establish a new settlement in the old military base east of Beit Sahour. (*Ha'aretz*)

May 16 The Jerusalem Committee on Planning and Construction approves 150 additional housing units for the settlement of Gilo. (*Kol Ha'Ir*)

May 19 A settler opens fire and injures a Palestinian man at the al-Fahs junction near Hebron. (OCHA)

May 21 Israel's Housing Ministry issues tenders to build an additional 286 housing units at the Betar Illit settlement. (*Yediot Abaronot*)

May 22 *Ma'ariv* reports that approximately 50,000 Palestinians have moved into Israeli neighborhoods in West Jerusalem because of a lack of affordable housing in East Jerusalem.

Hebron settlers throwing stones injure a Palestinian teacher and student near their school. (OCHA)

May 24 Settlers from Shima, south of al-Samu village, confiscate a herd of 60 sheep belonging to Palestinians. (OCHA)

May 26 *Yediot Abaronot* reports on the recent construction of a new outpost on a hilltop west of Hebron.

Palestinians from Bil'in clash with settlers attempting to construct a new outpost near the village. The IDF arrests one Palestinian. (OCHA)

May 27 IDF soldiers injure 14 Palestinians, including 7 children, when shoot rubber-coated bullets at protestors in Nil'in. (OCHA) ♦

PALESTINIAN STATE, continued from page 1

reference to any diplomatic process. Notwithstanding Rice's demurral, Bush's commitment was indeed new, and it remains, far more than his administration's lukewarm and patently ineffective criticism of Israeli settlement policy, an important legacy of his presidency.

The Bush Administration, Yesterday's Failure

As the *Economist* wryly noted in a recent feature about Bush's foreign policy, the only thing worse than a failure is yesterday's failure. The president's May trip to Israel and the visits of his peripatetic secretary of state lowered the bar of expectations yet again for the diplomatic process inaugurated at Annapolis in November 2007. The U.S. still hopes for some sort of agreement between the parties before Bush's term ends. Yet it also considers sufficient the creation of the Annapolis process as a platform for the future.

Prime Minister Salam Fayad notes, however, that measured against the standard of ending settlements and occupation—the core Palestinian demands—the Annapolis process has failed. “The change that has taken place on the ground is not qualitative and so far has no significance. It could be labeled as limited change in both quality and quantity,” Fayad explained. “My cause with the Israelis is not a matter of roadblocks. My cause is the occupation. Therefore, with respect to these issues . . . what I am asking the Israeli defense minister to do is to stop the settlements in the first place. . . .”

“I do not see the progress that you are talking about and I do not sense any progress. The track that people see in the road map track is the settlements and this is what people see every day and hear every day about a settlement announcement. For this reason, I cannot assume that things are proceeding in the right way. . . . During the two meetings that were held with Rice and [Israeli

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defense minister Ehud] Barak, we raised these issues and we asked, 'Where will the state be established under these continuous settlement activities?' The question in the minds of many, including myself, is, 'Where will the state be established?'

"Even if you believed in the possibility of a solution this year, you must not accept the continuation of these settlement activities let alone if you have a strong and almost certain feeling [as Fayad himself has expressed] that the solution will not be achieved this year. If the solution is not possible this year, the international effort should at least focus on keeping the possibility of the solution alive and this necessitates in the first place a halt to the settlements."

Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert remains deaf to this demand. He made clear to Rice that "construction would continue in the Jewish neighborhoods that are expected to remain Israeli under any agreement." Construction of thousands of units is proceeding in various stages in scores of settlements.

Rice's by-now-familiar litany of complaint about Israel's settlement policy is dismissed by Israelis. As one *Jerusalem Post* columnist noted, "it is likely too late for Rice to reverse the consequences of those policies she pursued in this corner of the world. Nor to prevent Israel from pursuing the same construction policy in Jerusalem that has guided all of its governments, including this one, since 1967."

Little wonder then that Palestinians are, as Bush noted, not only "discouraged by the settlement activity," but also despairing of Bush's commitment to end the occupation, and as the final months of his presidency unfold, casting for a more effective strategy to reach that goal. ♦

2008 SETTLEMENT CONSTRUCTION OVERVIEW

- There are approximately 4,000 settlement dwellings under construction in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.
- 220 permanent buildings in 37 settlements are in various stages of construction.
- In addition, during 2008, construction commenced on 275 new buildings in 53 settlements; 81 percent are located west of the separation barrier.
- During 2008, 184 mobile homes have been erected in settlements; 82 percent are located east of the separation barrier.

Settlement Construction Update — July 2008

<i>Name</i>	<i>Construction (Buildings)*</i>	<i>Tenders (Units)</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Construction (Units)*</i>	<i>Tenders (Units)</i>
Alfe Menashe	53		Kfar Adumim	4	
Allon	7		Kiryat Arba	4	
Almon	14		Ma'ale Adumim	59	
Ariel	3	100	Ma'ale Shomron	2	
Barqan	6		Matityahu	2	
Beit Arye	14		Menora	4	
Beit El	3		Mevo Horon	16	
Beitar Illit	15		Migdal Oz	1	
Brakha	2		Modi'in Illit	15	
Dolev	7		Neve Daniyel	9	
East Talpiyot	NA	440	Nirit	17	
Efrata	8		Nof Tzion	100	
Eli	3		Noqdim	4	
Elkana	4		Ofra	10	
Elon Moreh	5		Oranit	29	
Elon Shvut	6		Pisgat Ze'ev	NA	763
Etz Efraim	1		Revava	15	
Geva Binyamin	2		Sal'it	3	
Gilo	6		Sha'are Tiquva	6	
Givat Ze'ev	29	750	Shaqed	2	
Har Adar	43		Shilo	1	
Har Homa	NA	428	Talmon	3	
Hashmonaim	16		Teqoa	9	
Karmeit Tzur	5		Tzofin	2	
Karnei Shomron	15		Vered Yeriho	1	
Kedar	5		Yakir	9	
Kedumim	4		Yitzhar	1	
			TOTAL	604	2481

*Excluding East Jerusalem.

Settlements in **Bold** are east of the separation barrier.

Source: Peace Now, "Report on Settlement Construction, January-March 2008," Peace Now, "Jerusalem Settlements Take Center Stage," Settlements in Focus, February 2008 "Housing Ministry to Issue Tenders for the Construction in East Jerusalem Neighborhood," Nadav Shragai, *Ha'aretz*, May 31, 2008.

MEVASSERET ADUMIM E-1—THE DEFENSIVE SHIELD OF JERUSALEM

President of the United States
Mr. George W. Bush

Mr. President,

We welcome you to Israel on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel. You are considered, and rightly so, a true friend of Israel. The people of Israel and the United States share common values: democracy, tolerance, openness and the determination to fight terrorism.

During your presidency you have frequently expressed your commitment to the security and strengthening of Israel. In a letter to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon on April 14th, 2004, you wrote, inter alia: "As part of a permanent agreement, Israel must attain secure and recognized borders which will be determined in negotiations between the sides . . . in view of the new facts on the ground, including the existence of large Israeli population centers."

The settlement blocs in Judah and Samaria referred to in this letter also conform to the consensus of opinion in Israel that supports the strengthening of the State of Israel and Jerusalem and desires to keep Ma'ale Adumim an integral part of Israel in any political agreement.

As chairman of the Greater Jerusalem Forum and mayor of Ma'ale Adumim, I was privileged, together with former Prime

Ministers, the late Yitzhak Rabin, Ehud Barak, Binyamin Netanyahu and Ariel Sharon, to promote the Mevasseret Adumim E-1 building plan. This plan is intended to preserve Jewish territorial continuity between Ma'ale Adumim—the largest city in Judea and Samaria with a population of more than 36,000—and Jerusalem. Prime Minister Ehud Olmert has also, more than once, declared his commitment to strengthen Ma'ale Adumim and his approval of the construction of Mevasseret Adumim E-1.

The citizens of Israel interested in the construction of Mevasseret Adumim E-1 and in the strengthening of Jerusalem await the implementation of this building plan which is consistent with your letter to former prime minister Ariel Sharon and with the broad national consensus encompassing all sectors of the population.

In the name of the citizens of Greater Jerusalem and Ma'ale Adumim, I wish you a pleasant stay in Israel.

Respectfully,
Benny Kashriel
Mayor of Ma'ale Adumim
Chairman of the Greater Jerusalem Forum

I told Dr. Condoleezza Rice that we are fully committed to the international legitimacy and to the UN resolutions, Roadmap plan, the Arab initiative, and all that constitute a basis for this solution with the establishment of a Palestinian state, side-by-side with the Israeli state, to live together in security and stability. I requested from Dr. Rice to assist us to make Israel fulfill its obligations vis-à-vis colonization, because we consider settlement activity as the most important obstacle facing the political process. And the more there are dates and construction of settlements, the more this will constitute and impediment that will obstruct reaching any peace.

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas before meeting with
U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Ramallah, June 15, 2008

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