

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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AS PROSPECT OF TWO STATE PEACE RECEDES, NEW U.S. POLICIES ARE URGENT

By *Geoffrey Aronson*

Israel's assault on Gaza, after the breakdown of a six month cease-fire with Hamas, offers the most recent evidence of the breakdown of the diplomatic process ushered in by the Oslo agreements in 1993 and the declining prospect of a peace agreement based upon its principles. It is yet another signal that, beginning with Ariel Sharon's "disengagement" from Gaza in 2005, the focus of the Israel Palestine conflict is now urgently centered on the Gaza Strip, and more broadly, on the contentious relationship between Israel and Hamas.

The election of Barack Obama offers

the international community the opportunity for some new thinking about how to re-energize its unfulfilled commitment to end the occupation and create a sovereign, independent Palestine at peace with Israel. The selection of former senator George Mitchell, a mediator of international standing, as President Barack Obama's special envoy is widely viewed as an inspired choice. As Mitchell begins a much needed reassessment of the U.S. led effort to strengthen Abu Mazen and weaken Hamas, he inherits a policy based upon the following principles:

- denying Hamas's role in Palestinian affairs, demanding its adherence to the Quartet principles (recognition of Israel, forswearing the use of force, and accepting the Oslo Annapolis agreements); refusing to accept its rule in Gaza, and opposing national political reconciliation;

- acquiescing in practice to Israel's diplomatic and security agenda on the West Bank while offering only rhetorical objection to the system of checkpoints and settlement construction;

- supporting Israel's security agenda in Gaza, and the draconian Israeli and Egyptian restriction of imports sufficient only to meet minimal humanitarian needs, and supporting reconstruction aid on condition

that it strengthens Abu Mazen and weakens Hamas;

- continuing the West Bank effort to strengthen Abu Mazen by acting as paymaster to the Palestinian Authority (PA), supporting a "counterinsurgency" strategy against Hamas, and prodding Israel to make marginal concessions to PA security services as part of a "performance based" effort aimed at moving toward Palestinian independence and an end to occupation.

Continuing U.S. support for policies that fail to acknowledge the real changes among the principle players risks making Washington increasingly irrelevant to the march of events. Israel and Hamas in particular are pursuing agendas that differ markedly from those promoted by the international community. In the absence of a revitalized and re-oriented American-led effort, their confrontation will define the policy choices of the future. It may still be possible for the international community to bring an end to Israel's occupation and to enable the creation of a unified Palestinian state next to Israel under secular Palestinian leadership that enjoys the support of both Israeli and Palestinian majorities. To do so, however, will require a dramatic departure from prevailing assumptions and policies.

The ongoing battle in Gaza has made the environment for such an effort far more difficult. Israel increasingly focuses on Hamas as its primary

West Bank Settlement Update, 2008

- 285,800 West Bank settlers (excluding East Jerusalem)
- 1,518 new structures (including 261 in outposts) built in 2008
- 61 percent (927) of new structures built west of the separation barrier
- 39 percent (591) of new structures built east of the separation barrier
- 25 percent of new structures built east of the barrier were in outposts
- 31 percent increase in the settler population in the West Bank compared to an 11 percent increase in Israelis inside the Green Line between 2000 and 2006
- 15,000 new settlers moved to the West Bank in 2008

PROSPECT, continued on page 6

TO OUR READERS

President Barack Obama and his Middle East envoy, George Mitchell, face huge challenges as they look for a way to bring about peace for Israelis and Palestinians. A stable cease-fire and reopening of Gaza's borders, after a war that accomplished nothing while inflicting great human costs, should be an immediate priority. Reunification of the Palestinians, now deeply fractured between Fateh and Hamas, must also occur if the Palestinians are to become a credible partner in making peace with Israel.

At the same time, Israel must be persuaded to reverse its relentless effort to control the West Bank and East Jerusalem through continued settlement, barriers, settler roads, checkpoints, and other measures designed to hinder the creation of a viable Palestinian state. Israel must also cease aggressive efforts in and around the Old City and greater Jerusalem to seize and settle more Palestinian land in order to seal off East Jerusalem from the West Bank.

Solving these problems will require profound changes in Israeli and Palestinian policies and a comprehensive and determined new U.S. approach. Success will hinge, above all, on the restoration of hope in Israel and Palestine that a two-state peace remains possible. The power struggle between a militant Hamas that is undermining the moderate Palestinian Authority cannot be resolved unless Palestinians perceive that peace and sovereignty are possible and that their internal quarrel stands in the way of their liberation. American diplomacy must create this hope. The United States must similarly offer the Israeli public a vision of real peace and security to overcome their existential fears. Only this hope will embolden Israelis to confront their own rejectionist minority and oblige their leaders to turn away from the current self-destructive policies of occupation and settlement and accept a genuine two-state peace.

Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.

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The Story of Every Jew*

Judea & Samaria



בידרמן

עמוס בידרמן | amosb@haaretz.co.il

Source: *Ha'aretz*, October 27, 2008

* The slogan of the new Yeshu settlers' public relations campaign.

WEISGLASS WARNS OF A CLASH WITH OBAMA ON SETTLEMENTS

The idleness that the Israeli government has been displaying in dealing with the unauthorized settlement outposts shows that the ministers are insufficiently aware of the severity of the diplomatic problem that Israel faces with regard to the settlements in Judea and Samaria, and to what degree the issue could entangle Israel in a diplomatic crisis that would damage other Israeli vital interests.

There is no country in the world that accepts Israel's territorial demands in Judea and Samaria, and does not see the Jewish settlements over the Green Line as an unlawful act and an obstacle to an Israeli-Palestinian peace arrangement. Even President Bush's administration—perhaps the friendliest administration towards Israel since its establishment—was sharply opposed to any Israeli activity in Judea and Samaria that was not vital military activity.

The U.S. administration views the entire area of Judea and Samaria as a reserve of land for establishing a Palestinian state in due time. The proper existence of a Palestinian state requires, in the opinion of the Americans, an integral Palestinian territory, contiguous and with links between its different parts, not a “slice of Swiss cheese” as Secretary of State Rice put it. The settlements, in the view of the administration, particularly those located deep inside Palestinian territory, cut up and divide the future Palestinian state and prevent a future arrangement, which is also vital for Israel.

On most foreign policy issues, Israel and the administration saw eye to eye. It was only on the matter of construction in the territories that there were ongoing differences of opinion, tension and friction. In the summer of 2002 Israel committed to refrain from expanding the settlements: No lands would be confiscated for the purpose of settlements or encouraging settlers, and construction would be prevented in the settlements, with the exception of construction within the existing “line of construction” (inside the settlement itself).

In the road map, Israel repeated its commitment to cease all settlement activity in Judea and Samaria and to remove unauthorized settlement outposts. Since then, the government has indeed refrained from establishing new settlements, but unauthorized settlement outposts have been added and construction in the existing settlements has not stopped for a moment.

Conversely, the U.S. administration has not stopped complaining that Israel has failed to meet its commitments, and demanded, among other things, to mark the boundaries of the

existing settlements in order to supervise the expansion ban. For this purpose, an American delegation was scheduled to arrive in Israel, and this was a sign of anger and loss of confidence.

Bush Letter

In President Bush's letter to Prime Minister Sharon from April 2004, the administration reached the limit of its understanding for Israel's territorial demands: the large settlement blocs. The administration understood that regarding the new reality that has been established on the ground, it would be “impractical” to demand from Israel a full withdrawal to the 1967 borders, and any future arrangement would require taking into consideration the demographic reality created over the years. In other words: recognition of Israel's right to the settlement blocs by virtue of action and facts on the ground, but not by virtue of right and law.

The American recognition of the Israeli demand for control of the large blocs and their continued development was accompanied by a demand that Israel refrain from any settlement activity in the areas outside the blocs. In the administration's opinion, Israel would leave [these areas] as part of the final status arrangements with the Palestinians, and it is forbidden to build there and change the land reality.

It was the disengagement plan that prevented a public, severe crisis on the matter. The administration was impressed by the Israeli initiative, its leaders placed their

trust in Sharon, believed his statement that in the final status arrangements Israel would withdraw from the territories that had been occupied, and deeply appreciated his ability to keep his word.

The mitigating circumstances that existed then are no longer in force. It is difficult to believe that the new administration in Washington will be more patient and considerate than its predecessor. Israel will be called upon to uphold its commitments immediately, and if it continues to drag its feet, this will lead to a severe diplomatic entanglement.

Dov Weisglass was a key advisor to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, *Yediot Aharonot*, November 24, 2009

“I used to sit down and speak with Barak about the evacuation of illegal settlement outposts. Each time he would bring me a proposal that in exchange for the evacuation of one barrel and two tents somewhere, I would have to agree to build hundreds of housing units in the settlements.”

**P.M. Ehud Olmert,
Ma'ariv, January 22, 2009**

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

September 2 *Ha'aretz* reports that privately owned Israeli vehicles, as well as secured buses, can now enter Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem.

September 4 Settlers from Beit al-Rajabi ("Peace House," see the March 19, 2007, timeline entry) and the Kiryat Arba settlement throw stones at Palestinians from Hebron, injuring two people ages nine and twenty. (OCHA)

September 9 *The Marker* reports on a plan by the kibbutz movement to write off 50 to 60 percent of its debt on loans it took out on behalf of settlements in the Golan Heights, Jordan Valley, and the Etzion bloc.

Israel Defense Forces (IDF) soldiers and settlers block Palestinians' access to the Ibrahim mosque in Hebron. (OCHA)

September 10 The *Jerusalem Post* reports on a pilot program to allow settlers to drive through West Bank checkpoints without stopping for IDF inspection.

September 12 At the West Bank settlement of Beit El, security forces injure Palestinians throwing Molotov cocktails. (Arutz 7)

Settlers enter the Palestinian village of Asira al-Qibliya, near Nablus, and vandalize property, damage windows and vehicles, sever water pipes, and uproot gardens. (OCHA)

September 13 A Palestinian man sets a house on fire and stabs a nine-year-old boy in Shalhevet, a settlement outpost near Yitzhar. (*Yediot Abaronot*)

Palestinians throw stones at settler vehicles near the West Bank settlement of Teqoa, injuring two passengers. (Arutz 7)

Workers from the El Ad settlement construction company attack and injure two Palestinians from Silwan village. (OCHA)

September 14 Settlers from Itamar set fire to an olive grove belonging to Palestinians from Awarta village, destroying the harvest of a dozen families. (Ma'an News)

The Israeli cabinet discusses a proposal by Vice Premier Haim Ramon to provide \$215,500 to settlers who agree to relocate west of the separation fence. (Ma'an News)

September 16 Stone-throwing settlers injure two Palestinians near Nablus. (Ma'an News)

September 17 Settlers from Itamar burn 50 dunams of olive trees belonging to Palestinians from Burin and Madama villages. (OCHA)

September 18 Police and IDF soldiers evacuate the Yad Yair outpost, after which settlers torch fields belonging to Palestinians and puncture tires on IDF vehicles. In response to a petition by settlers, Israel's High Court of Justice had issued a temporary freeze on the IDF's plan for the evacuation, but the orders arrived too late. (*Yediot Abaronot*)

September 20 Palestinians throw fire-bombs at settler vehicles near the settlement of Migdal Oz. (Arutz 7)

September 21 Israeli soldiers confiscate 140 dunams of Palestinian land in the northern West Bank village of Bardala, in the northern Jordan Valley. (Ma'an News)

September 25 Settlers injure historian Ze'ev Sternhell by detonating a pipe bomb on the front door of his Jerusalem home. The police find fliers offering more than \$196,000 to anyone who kills members of Peace Now. (*Yediot Abaronot*)

September 27 Palestinians fire on settler vehicles near the West Bank settlement of Ale Zahav, injuring a settler. (Ma'an News)

Stone-throwing Palestinians injure two teenage settlers near Hebron. (Arutz 7)

September 28 Peace Now petitions the High Court of Justice for an injunction ordering the evacuation of the Derech Ha'avot settlement outpost near Jerusalem. (Peace Now)

Armed settlers attack and injure four Palestinians and damage property in the village of Kafr Addik. (Ma'an News)

October 1 Stone-throwing Palestinians injure two settlers driving on Road 55 near Azzun. (OCHA)

October 2 IDF forces evacuate the West Bank outpost of Shvut Ami B, triggering riots by settler activists. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers attack Palestinian farmers from Immatin village and set fire to 10 dunams of land and 100 olive trees in retaliation for the evacuation of the Shvut Ami outpost by the Israeli military. (OCHA)

October 3 Settlers, with the help of the

Israeli military, force Palestinians in Kafr Qaddum to leave their land. (OCHA)

October 7 In Hebron, settlers from Beit al-Rajabi assault and injure a Palestinian woman. (OCHA)

October 10 Settlers from the Bracha settlement throw stones at Palestinian farmers from Kfar Qalil, injuring four. (OCHA)

October 11 Settlers from the Yitzhar settlement cut down 18 olive trees and throw stones at Palestinian farmers from Burin village, injuring three. (OCHA)

Settlers from the Susiya settlement physically beat and injure three Palestinians in their home south of Hebron. (OCHA)

October 12 Palestinians demonstrate against a new synagogue opened by settlers on al-Wad Street in Jerusalem near the al-Aqsa mosque. (Ma'an News)

October 15 A large group of settlers from the Bet El settlement attempt to damage a Palestinian Red Crescent Society ambulance transporting the body of a Palestinian boy killed by the Israeli military on October 14. (OCHA)

IDF soldiers shoot and kill a young Palestinian preparing to throw a Molotov cocktail at soldiers in the West Bank village of Kfar Malik. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 16 IDF soldiers fatally shoot a Palestinian armed with a firebomb near the Jalazun refugee camp. (*Ha'aretz*)

Hundreds of settlers enter Joseph's Tomb, in Nablus. The IDF provides security and sets up roadblocks. (Arutz 7)

Settlers from Beit al-Rajabi physically assault a Palestinian boy walking along the Prayers Road in Hebron. (OCHA)

Settlers from the Shilo settlement attack and injure Palestinian farmers in Turmus Ayya, near Ramallah. (OCHA)

Shvut Ami outpost settlers burn 30 olive trees belonging to Palestinians from Kafr Qaddum. (OCHA)

October 18 A harvest near Hebron is called off after settlers assault two photographers and a foreign activist. (Reuters)

Settlers from Tel Rumeida attack and injure a Palestinian journalist in Hebron. (OCHA)

October 19 Approximately 100 settlers from Qedumim attack Palestinian farmers

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

from Kafr Qaddum as they harvest olives. (OCHA)

Settlers from Mevo Dotan attack and injure Palestinian farmers at Arraba and steal their olive harvest. (OCHA)

A group of settlers force Palestinians from their land in Deir Istiya, interrupting their olive harvest. (OCHA)

IDF soldiers intervene when dozens of settlers assault olive harvesters near Qalqilya. (Reuters)

October 20 Palestinians throw stones at settler vehicles traveling along Road 5 near Barqan and Salfit, injuring one. (OCHA)

October 22 Settlers erect tents and build two wooden structures at the site of the Homesh settlement, which was evacuated and razed in 2005. Subsequently, the settlers camping at Homesh burn 43 olive trees that belong to Palestinian farmers from Nablus. (OCHA)

A dozen masked settlers armed with clubs scuffle with IDF soldiers deployed to guard Palestinian farmers during the olive harvest, wounding one soldier. (*Ha'aretz*)

Modi'in police arrest 29 settlers protesting outside the home of IDF major general Gadi Shamni, GOC Central Command. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 23 A Palestinian stabs to death an elderly settler in the East Jerusalem settlement of Gilo and wounds a police officer. (Arutz 7)

October 26 Settlers from Beit al-Rajabi enter the al-Ras cemetery and destroy headstones. (OCHA)

Rioting settlers from Hebron demolish sections of the electrified perimeter fence around the Kiryat Arba settlement.

October 30 Clashes erupt between settlers and Israeli security personnel during the demolition of the Fedderman Farm outpost near Hebron. (OCHA)

Israeli soldiers bulldoze houses in the West Bank village of Umm al-Kher, near the Karmel settlement, and in a Bedouin community near the Ma'ale Mikhmas settlement, leaving 130 Palestinians homeless. (Ma'an News)

Israel Radio reports on Defense Minister Ehud Barak's approval of a plan to carry out

demolition orders for West Bank settlement houses. The proposal focuses on structures under construction but not yet inhabited.

November 3 The Samaria Settlers' Committee demands that Ministers Haim Ramon and Benjamin Ben-Eliezer be indicted for slander and incitement for making statements critical of settler violence. (IDF Army Radio)

November 5 Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and Defense Minister Ehud Barak decide to relocate the outpost of Migron to the east of the Adam settlement. The High Court of Justice had ordered evacuation of the settlement built on private Palestinian land. (Makor Rishon-Hatzofe)

Israel demolishes four unauthorized Palestinian buildings in East Jerusalem, triggering clashes between Palestinian youth and Israeli police in the Silwan neighborhood. A home in Shuafat and a wedding hall in Beit Hanina are also demolished. (BBC News)

November 6 Seven Knesset members visit Beit al-Rajabi in Hebron and call on the government not to evict the settlers. (Arutz 7)

November 9 Israel demolishes two Palestinian dwellings in East Jerusalem. The action follows a ruling by the High Court of Justice that the al-Kurd family did not own the land. (Ma'an News)

November 12 The High Court of Justice issues a temporary order blocking settlers from inhabiting 35 housing units being built for the settlement of Beit El on private Palestinian land. The Court also freezes further construction. (*Ha'aretz*)

November 13 *Al-Quds* reports on statements made by Nir Barkat, the newly elected mayor of Jerusalem, supporting new home construction in East Jerusalem settlements.

November 15 Settlers from the Havot Ma'on outpost, in the southern West Bank, attack Palestinian shepherds grazing their flocks nearby, killing one donkey and injuring two international activists. (Ma'an News)

November 17 Members of the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades open fire at a vehicle near Qalqilya, injuring a settler. (Ma'an News)

November 18 Settlers squatting at Beit al-Rajabi in Hebron fail to meet the deadline established by the High Court of Justice for

the voluntary evacuation of the property. Thousands of settler activists in the Kiryat Arba settlement demonstrate in support of the squatters. (Israel Radio)

November 19 In the Binyamin area in the West Bank, clashes erupt between settler activists and Israeli security forces during protests over the demolition of illegal buildings near the Modi'in settlement. (Army Radio)

Israel issues a military order seizing 20 dunums of land south of Yatta, in the Hebron area, for construction of the separation barrier. (*al-Quds, al-Ayyam*)

November 24 Knesset members sign a letter to Prime Minister Olmert calling on him to refrain from evacuating Beit al-Rajabi until after Knesset elections on February 10, 2009. (Arutz 7)

November 25 Israeli military forces demolish a Palestinian house in Azariya, East Jerusalem, for being built without a permit. (Ma'an News)

November 26 New housing sales in 2008 are reported to have dropped 5 percent in Israel and 21 percent in Jerusalem, but to have increased by 17.1 percent in the West Bank. Of all new housing sales, 4.7 percent were in the West Bank. (*Ma'ariv*)

YESHA Chairman Danny Dayan was quick to respond to Mitchell's appointment, saying: "The appointment of George Mitchell as special envoy to the Middle East is disturbing, particularly against the backdrop of the fact that Mitchell was the first who included natural growth in the settlement as part of the policy of a settlement freeze, which is something that is inconceivable. Will every new mother in Judea and Samaria require authorization from the administration in Washington? Mitchell also drew an unacceptable and immoral comparison between the Palestinians' obligation to combat terrorism and a construction freeze in the settlements."

Ma'ariv, January 22, 2009

Palestinian threat and principal Palestinian interlocutor, rather than Fateh and Abu Mazen. The latter in Israel's view have been "domesticated" by the peace process. Their interests, therefore, do not have to be seriously addressed.

Israel waged war to force the Hamas-led government and security forces in Gaza to accommodate a security agenda defined by Israel—to cease all missile strikes against Israel without conceding Hamas's demand to open Gaza's borders, especially to Egypt (at Rafah). Hamas, in turn, demands an end to the economic "siege" and open borders as the price of a durable ceasefire.

The Palestinian leadership in Ramallah failed to win Israeli support for its restoration in Gaza. Israel's decision not to destroy the Hamas regime dispelled the illusion fortifying many in Fateh that Israel would support their return to power lost in the January 2005 election and the June 2007 debacle in Gaza. The war demonstrated Israel's lack of interest in promoting its declining fortunes. This view informs Israeli policy on issues now at the center of international concern—Gaza's border regime and reconstruction aid. Fateh, weakened by the war, should be prepared to entertain proposals that will win it a role in the provision of aid to Gaza and border operations commensurate with its reduced power. In the West Bank, European, U.S., and Arab officials continue to make the case for the need to strengthen Abu Mazen through Israeli security if not political concessions. In today's environment, Israel is less likely than ever to follow this international agenda.

The war in Gaza placed Hamas at the center of a new page in the history of the century old Palestinian battle against Israel. It survived the Israeli attack and successfully defended Gaza against an Israeli re-occupation. In contrast, Abu Mazen, and more significantly Fateh, were mere spectators in this latest Palestinian battle against Israel. In the aftermath of the war, Hamas's control of the government, bureaucracy, and security arms in Gaza is undiminished. The "movement" remains intact despite its leadership losses, and its decision making capacity has not been compromised. The integrity of Hamas's security forces has been impaired but there is ready evidence that they continue to exercise a monopoly of force in Gaza. They remain capable of projecting power, however feeble, against Israel. Hamas is also demonstrating an ability to provide for the burgeoning humanitarian requirements of the Gaza population, despite the continuation of the "siege." This situation establishes a threshold far above what Hamas leaders defined as victory in the midst of the war.

Hamas' policy goals today remain almost identical to the prewar period:

- recognition by Israel, Egypt, and the international community as the responsible power in Gaza, without submitting to external dictats (the Quartet principles);
- maintaining a credible "resistance option," not to defeat Israel, which it recognizes is impossible, but rather to alter the terms of the relationship with Israel in its favor;

- ending the siege and restoring functionality of Gaza's borders with Israel and Egypt for imports and exports so that normal economic activity can resume;

- opening the Rafah border with Egypt as a strategic goal in order to establish a link with the world independent of Israel;

- resolving the prisoner exchange issue with Israel according to its suggested formula.

As George Mitchell has noted, the immediate challenges facing the new U.S. administration have been defined by the bitter contest between Israel and Hamas. The war has forced Israel to reconsider its previous policies on prisoner release and border operations. There is as yet no agreement on a cease-fire or the release of prisoners, notably the Israeli corporal Gilad Shalit, because there is no agreement on ending the draconian import export regime imposed by Israel with international support. Gaza's borders remain all but closed because Israel longs to divide Israel and the West Bank from Gaza and end all economic ties with the area, no matter which Palestinians rule there, and because of Egypt's determination to resist Israel's intention to move Gaza into its economic and security orbit. Nevertheless, the prospects for fragile understandings on borders and prisoner release on terms closer to those long favored by Hamas are now better than before the war.

The diplomatic dimension of the Annapolis process has exhausted itself. The deafening silence that greeted lame-duck Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's report to Mitchell of his conditional offer of Palestinian statehood and settlement evacuation attests to Israel's disinterest in addressing final status issues under the Annapolis banner. Israel's uncertain election results make a credible resumption of this process even more problematic.

Little remains of the Annapolis effort except the security element managed by U.S. and European security officials in cooperation with Israeli and Palestinian security forces. During the war in Gaza, PA security forces in the West Bank performed well and according to script under extreme and unprecedented pressure in a successful effort to minimize public protest and unrest. Their motivation for doing so, however, was not so much a desire to protect Israeli interests or to safeguard Palestinians from IDF entry into the streets, as it was to demonstrate to the international community and particularly to the U.S. that Palestinians have upheld their part of the Oslo/Mitchell Commission/road map/Annapolis bargain and that they now expect a payoff in the form of more security space to call their own and real progress towards settlement evacuation, an end to occupation, and independence.

An American policy that results in the timely realization of these Palestinian national demands, which have been endorsed by the international community, is the only effective means for reviving the fortunes of secular Palestinian nationalists. Israel and Hamas have chosen another road. They are not waiting for Washington, but are creating a dynamic alternative to a moribund "peace process." ♦

NOTABLE QUOTES

“Every grain of soil from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea is the Land of Israel. When you dig in this soil, you don’t find writing from Arafat’s grandfather’s grandfather, but rather Jewish history. However, four million Palestinians live between the Jordan River and the sea, and Israel must decide whether it will become one state that includes everyone, or two states—one Jewish and democratic, and the other Palestinian. If we reach the conclusion that the right solution is two states, then we must hand territory over to them. I never gave up the Temple Mount or the holy sites, since these are the places we faced as we prayed for two thousand years. However, no Jew ever prayed toward the Kalandiya refugee camp or Abu Dis. Three hundred thousand Arab citizens who have no connection to Israel live there, and we see them as part of Jerusalem, and really, all we are doing is providing them with municipal services and National Insurance payments.”

P.M. Ehud Olmert, *Yediot Abaronot*, November 12, 2008

“There is no Palestinian people, nor has there ever been, and there never will be a Palestinian state. We shall offer them human rights without civil rights, so long as they prove their loyalty to their Jewish state host and accept Jewish sovereignty over their land. In such a situation they will be given legal-resident status and they can carry on their private affairs without anyone infringing on their human rights.”

Moshe Feiglin, head of the Likud’s Manhigut Yehudit (Jewish Leadership) movement, in the manifesto

“The Day After,” describing policies he would pursue if he became prime minister, *Ha’aretz*, December 10, 2008

“The settler presence here is in itself illegitimate. And in addition to that, they engage in acts of violence against our citizens, particularly at this time of year when they pick olives, with all that the olive tree signifies to our people.”

Prime Minister Salam Fayyad, *Ma’an News*, October 20, 2008

“For years we shut our eyes, now we intend to act before it’s too late. It is inconceivable that we should finance a school or yeshiva out of which come lawbreakers who pose a danger [to] Israeli democracy. Even if the issue at hand is only a budget for transportation to the school, we will stop it.”

Deputy Defense Minister Matan Vilnai, *Yediot Abaronot*, November 23, 2008

At an emergency meeting in Kiryat Arba concerning the planned evacuation of the “Peace House” in [Beit al-Rajabi] Hebron attended by the settlement’s residents and members of the settlement in Hebron, Rabbi Zalman Melamed, director of the yeshiva in Beit El, called for Israeli police and IDF troops to not participate in the evacuation. Rabbi Shalom Dov Wolpe, chairman of the right-wing Committee to Save

the Nation and the Land, said during the meeting, “The enemy of the Jewish people is not the left wing, but rather the State of Israel.” In response to Wolpe’s incendiary remarks, Rabbi Eleizer Waldman, director of the hesder yeshiva in Kiryat Arba, said, “We are not fighting against the state, but rather against those who have become disengaged from Zionism and Judaism.” Wolpe later recanted, stating that he meant the government of Israel, not the State of Israel, is the enemy.

Yediot Abaronot, November 23, 2008

Israeli security forces on [December 4] forcibly evicted some 250 settlers and their supporters from a disputed building in the West Bank city of Hebron, about three weeks after the High Court of Justice ordered its immediate evacuation.

Israel police and Border Police troops could be seen on television pulling the settlers out of the house and dragging them away from the premises, one by one.

Israeli Settler Response

“[Daniela Weiss] is responsible for the events of the past few days and is ruining any chance of saving the (Hebron’s al-Rajabi) house. Weiss’ conduct is causing the public to view the West Bank as some sort of ‘Wild West’ that no person in his right mind would want as a part of his country.”

Danny Dayan, chairman of the Yesha Council, *Ma’an News*, December 3, 2008

“Senior officials serving in the Prime Minister’s [Office] yesterday made an astonishing statement: ‘Since these Jewish terrorists are as bad and as dangerous as the Arab terrorists, they need to be dealt with using the same means that the Shin Bet security service employs against Palestinian terrorists.’”

Yediot Abaronot, December 5, 2008

“There are those who accuse the youths here of acting violently towards the security forces and the local Palestinian population, but truth is that they are the victims of violence, not the perpetrators. The Palestinians throw stones at us and we respond by throwing them back—because we are no longer a people in exile and we have no intention of remaining silent. The security forces, instead of protecting Jews, protect Arabs, and pelt us with smoke grenades and tear gas. That is the reason for the violence.”

Daniella Weiss, *Israel HaYom*, December 4, 2008

A Pogrom in Hebron

[Palestinian woman]: “There were thousands of [settlers]. They attacked our homes. We are 10 homes here. You can count them. Do they think that those young men will be able

NOTABLE QUOTES, continued on page 8

to rescue the entire population of this area? Where are the Arabs?

[Palestinian man]: “Those herds of settlers are burning homes. They have injured us. They have beaten our children and women.

[Second Palestinian man]: “Let them leave us alone and we can take them on. But the army should not attack us as well. What a misfortune! Where are the officials? Where are the people to help us?”

[Illyas Karram, al-Jazeera reporter]: “These attacks took place after settlers were evacuated from the house of the family of al-Rajabi several days after the settlers had been holed up in the house, refusing to vacate it voluntarily. Thousands of police members took the settlers by surprise and evicted them from the house by force in implementation of a decision by the highest judicial authority in Israel. The evacuation did not last more than an hour and ended with around 20 injuries within the ranks of the police and the settlers.

[Avshalom Peled, commander of the Hebron Police]: “I think that we carried out the main task we have been assigned. First, we implemented the order of the Israeli Supreme Court. Second, the mission of evacuation ended quickly and with the least number of injuries.

[Karram]: “The attacks of settlers have expanded beyond the city of Hebron. In Jerusalem, settlers have blocked the entrances of the city and clashed with the police, which arrested a number of them. Similar attacks have occurred in several areas of the West Bank, during which settlers blocked streets leading to Palestinian cities and towns. This prompted the Israeli army to declare south of the West Bank a closed military zone. The evacuation of the settlers was a test to the supremacy of law, especially since they had gone too far in their attacks on the occupation authorities and on the Palestinians alike. This evacuation could become a turning point in the way the occupation authorities deal with the settlers all over the West Bank.”

al-Jazeera, December 5, 2008

“Judea and Samaria Division Commander Brig. Gen. Noam Tibon and Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories Maj. Gen. Yosef Mishlav met with commanders of the Palestinian security forces in Judea and Samaria. ‘The Palestinians were highly critical of the IDF, which failed to prevent settler attacks on Palestinians across Judea and Samaria,’ said one officer from the division. ‘The IDF demands of them that they maintain public order and yet we failed to do that. The testimony is simply painful.’”

Ma’ariv, December 7, 2008

“What was going to happen after the evacuation was obvious, and I regret very much that the security troops were not prepared to prevent the pogrom that was perpetrated against the Palestinians by Jewish rioters. It was a shocking pogrom.

It should not have happened in an area under our control. We were always infuriated abroad when the authorities did not protect Jews. Here we see that the government is helpless, the rioters are going wild and harming Palestinians, and we stand and look and are shocked.”

Justice Minister Daniel Friedmann criticizing Ehud Barak for the security establishment’s failures after the evacuation of a disputed house in Hebron,
Yediot Aharonot, December 7, 2008

“Immediately after the evacuation, there were actions that cannot be described except as attempted pogroms by Jews from the Hebron area and other areas against Palestinian residents in Judea and Samaria. We are the children of a people whose historic ethos is built on the memory of pogroms. The sight of Jews firing at innocent Palestinians has no other name than pogrom. Even when Jews do this, it is a pogrom. As a Jew, I am ashamed that Jews could do such a thing.”

Prime Minister Ehud Olmert,
Jewish Telegraphic Agency, December 7, 2008

“Braude arrived at the Palestinians’ house, and he was holding a gun for no reason. He could have gone in the direction of the disputed house, but why didn’t he go? Because he came to attack. His goal was to instigate an entire population against us. These are people who take the law into their own hands.”

Police officer Daniel Toledano in reference to Zeev Braude, a Kiryat Arba resident suspected of shooting two Palestinians following the evacuation of settlers from the disputed house in Hebron,
Ma’ariv, December 8, 2008

RICE’S PARTING COMMENT ON SETTLEMENTS

Secretary Rice: And on the settlements, I think we’ve made stronger statements about the Israeli settlements than at any other time in American—for an American administration. But what has to happen is that they need to determine these borders so that everybody knows what’s in Palestine, everybody knows what [is] Israel, and that’s what we’ve focused on in the negotiation.

Question: I think your predecessor, James Baker, though, actually went as far as urging Congress to freeze the loans—the housing guarantees.

Secretary Rice: Well, in fact, one of the things that has happened that seems to have been little noticed is that much of the support to the settlement movement has ceased from the Israeli government. You know that there—if you look at the support for the—there were these guarantees, loan guarantees. The Sharon government got rid of those. So in fact, some of that’s already happened.

Remarks by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice,
Agence France-Presse, December 22, 2008

West Bank Settlement Construction Rose by 60% in 2008

According to a report by Peace Now, construction in West Bank settlements increased by 60 percent in 2008. At least 1,257 new buildings were built in 2008, compared to 800 new buildings in 2007. At least 261 new buildings were erected in outposts in 2008 compared to 98 in 2007.

In 2008, tenders were issued to build 539 new housing units in settlements, compared to only 65 housing units in 2007, an eight-fold increase in the number of tenders. Central Bureau of Statistics figures also showed a 60 percent rise in the number of building starts in 2008 compared to 2007: 1,647 new housing units through August 2008, compared to 1,389 in all of 2007.

In East Jerusalem, tenders were issued to build 1,184 new housing units in 2008, compared to 793 in 2007. Only 46 of the tenders in 2007 were issued during the first 11 months of the year. However, 747 were issued in December 2007, soon after the Annapolis conference. Construction plans for 5,431 housing units in East Jerusalem were open for public review during the year, of which 2,730 received final approval, compared to 391 housing units approved during 2007.

Housing starts in Tel Aviv in 2008 dropped by 29 percent and in Jerusalem by 14 percent. Conversely, housing starts in the West Bank settlements rose by 46 percent compared to the previous year. There were 1,650 housing starts in settlements in 2008.

The West Bank settlement of Modi'in Illit alone had 427 housing starts in the between January and September 2008, a 156 percent increase compared to the same period the previous year.

Peace Now, report on construction in the West Bank, January 2009; *The Marker*, December 1, 2008; *Ma'ariv*, December 1, 2008.

Defense Minister Barak Has Approved Dozens of Construction Projects in the West Bank

Ha'aretz reports that Defense Minister Ehud Barak has approved dozens of construction projects in the West Bank in recent months. Some of the permits for construction projects were granted in settlements to the east of the separation fence.

In January, Barak asked that all construction projects in the West Bank be brought to him for authorization. Since April, Barak has authorized the following construction projects in the West Bank:

- The marketing of at least 400 housing units and plots, of which 315 homes and 32 plots are in Beitar Illit, 48 homes and 19 plots in Ariel, and 40 housing units and a commercial center at Efrat.

- The construction of some 60 homes in a neighborhood that is several kilometers away from its mother settlement of Eshkolot, in southern Mount Hebron, but is included in its

municipal jurisdiction.

- The registration and publication of construction projects in Ariel, Modi'in Illit, Ma'aleh Adumim, Mevo Horon, Oranit, Efrat, Givat Ze'ev, Beit El, Neveh Daniel, Alon Shvut, Har Adar, Kochav Ya'akov, and Talmon. The two latter settlements are situated to the east of the separation fence.

- Mekorot, the Israeli water company, was given permission to prepare plans in Kiryat Arba, which is also situated east of the fence.

- Authorization to plan "an experimental electricity production farm" in southern Mount Hebron.

- Renewal of authorization for the marketing of 31 homes and commercial properties in Beitar Illit.

- The planning of a cemetery in the area of Ma'aleh Adumim.

- The allocation of 4.6 dunams (just over one acre) for the development of a nature reserve in the Prat stream in Wadi Kelt, which is east of the fence.

- The allotment of plots for the construction of public buildings in the neighborhood of Matityahu East in Modi'in Illit (which has been partially built on lands of the Palestinian village of Bil'in). Similar allotments were made in Elkana, Kfar Oranim, Kedumim, and Beit Aryeh.

Ha'aretz, November 16, 2008

**WORLD BANK REPORT ON
PALESTINIAN TRADE IN THE WEST
BANK, DECEMBER 2008**

(The following excerpts are from "Palestinian Trade: West Bank Routes," a World Bank report documenting the effect of settlements and the security structure that supports them on the functionality of the Palestinian economy.)

"The internal closures and movement restrictions imposed in the West Bank, mostly for the security of the expanding settlements, have significantly raised trade logistic costs, which in turn has resulted in shrinking the already small domestic Palestinian market. If Palestinian producers are going to achieve minimum efficient scale, not only will they have to take advantage of the entire local market but must also be able to access highly competitive international markets. But this will not be possible on a large scale under the prevailing conditions.

"The World Bank's trucking survey found that because of the Israeli restrictions, the travel time and distance for Palestinians moving between major cities increased dramatically after the beginning of the intifadah in 2000. Though the crossings have been built and are operational, the promised reduction in internal movement restrictions has not materialized and restrictions have in fact increased. Consequently, the new crossings are an additional layer of restrictions over and above the internal restrictions and thus add to the costs and delays faced by Palestinian shippers." ◆

TIME RUNNING OUT FOR A TWO-STATE SOLUTION?

60 Minutes: Growing Number of Israelis, Palestinians Say Two-State Solution Is No Longer Possible

Transcript of CBS's 60 Minutes, January 25, 2009

Daniella Weiss moved from Israel to the West Bank 33 years ago. She has been the mayor of a large settlement.

"I think that settlements prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state in the Land of Israel. This is the goal. And this is the reality," Weiss told 60 Minutes correspondent Bob Simon. . . .

Moderate Israelis who deplore the occupation used to believe passionately in a two-state solution. That is no longer the case.

Meron Benvenisti used to be deputy mayor of Jerusalem. He told Simon the prospects of the two-state solution becoming a reality are "nil."

"The geopolitical condition that's been created in '67 is irreversible. Cannot be changed. You cannot unscramble that egg," he explained.

Asked if this means the settlers have won, Benvenisti told Simon, "Yes."

"And the settlers will remain forever and ever?" Simon asked.

"I don't know forever and ever, but they will remain and will flourish," Benvenisti said.

"The settlers, the attitude that I present here, this is the heart. This is the pulse. This is the past, present, and future of the Jewish state," Daniella Weiss told Simon.

She says she and the settlers are immovable. "We will stay here forever."

Daniella Weiss told 60 Minutes [settlers] will not be stopped.

Despite the army tearing down a structure, the settlers began rebuilding it on the same day. "We will have the upper hand," Weiss vowed.

"But the army will tear it down again," Simon pointed out.

"And we will rebuild it," Weiss said. "The experience shows that the world belongs to those who are stubborn, and we are very stubborn."

Stubborn, she says, because they were ordered to populate this land by no less an authority than God. "This is the mission of our generation and I want to emphasize the most important point is this," Weiss said, picking up some soil, "to hold strong to the soil of the Holy Land." ♦

"The government calls on the new U.S. Administration, E.U. countries, all parties to the Quartet, and institutions of the international community to draw lessons from the dire results of the failure of international efforts to make Israel end its settlement policies and turning its back on the resolutions of international legitimacy and the previous agreements. This has caused a decline in the credibility of the peace process among our Palestinian people and the peoples of the region.

"This requires a serious handling of the root causes of the conflict, manifested in the Israeli occupation, aggression, and settlement policy, which pose a threat to the security and stability of the region. The government calls on the international community to shoulder its political, legal, and moral responsibilities by providing protection for our people and ending the settlement policy and the Israeli security violation of the West Bank areas as a prelude to ending the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories occupied on 5 June 1967."

Palestinian Authority Cabinet communique, January 26, 2009

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