

# REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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## WILL PROXIMITY TALKS END THE OCCUPATION?

By Geoffrey Aronson

The formal inauguration of proximity talks between Israel and the PLO signifies the high-water mark of 17 months of diplomacy conducted by the Obama administration. After a rancorous false start in March precipitated by an ill-timed announcement of settlement plans in East Jerusalem on the eve of a visit by Vice President Joe Biden, formal proximity talks finally commenced on May 8.

Hanan Ashrawi, the veteran Palestinian negotiator, on May 3 said of the limited process sponsored by the Obama administration. "I would not call them negotiations but rather diplomatic shuttle tours undertaken by the American envoy."

Some terms governing the talks were modified in the wake of the March debacle. The United States appears to have reached agreement on two issues with Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Although the immediate aim of diplomacy is to move to a direct Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, the proximity talks would indeed offer a forum to discuss, if not negotiate, "core issues"—settlements, borders, refugees, security, Jerusalem, and water; and notwithstanding insistent Israeli declarations about a continuing commitment to settlement expansion in East Jerusalem, Israel would refrain from unspecified "provocative" settlement activities.

### A Policy Rethink

The most important result of the

*And the truth is, in some of these conflicts the United States can't impose solutions unless the participants in these conflicts are willing to break out of old patterns of antagonism. I think it was former secretary of state Jim Baker who said, in the context of Middle East peace, "we can't want it more than they do."*

*But what we can make sure of is, is that we are constantly present, constantly engaged, and setting out very clearly to both sides our belief that not only is it in the interests of each party to resolve these conflicts but it's also in the interest of the United States. It is a vital national security interest of the United States to reduce these conflicts because whether we like it or not, we remain a dominant military superpower, and when conflicts break out, one way or another we get pulled into them. And that ends up costing us significantly in terms of both blood and treasure.*

*So I'm going to keep on at it. But I think on all these issues—nuclear disarmament, nuclear proliferation, Middle East peace—progress is going to be measured not in days, not in weeks. It's going to take time. And progress will be halting. And sometimes we'll take one step forward and two steps back, and there will be frustrations. And so it's not going to run on the typical cable news 24/7 news cycle. But if we're persistent, and we've got the right approach, then over time, I think that we can make progress.*

President Barack Obama. Press Conference by the President at the Nuclear Security Summit, April 13, 2010

recent dispute between Jerusalem and Washington over East Jerusalem settlement expansion may be a broad re-examination of U.S. policy. Two important principles guiding U.S. policy towards the Israel-Palestine conflict can be discerned from these recent statements by President Obama and two senior aides:

■ The definition of the resolution of the conflict as "a vital national security interest of the United States"

■ The framing of the challenge facing U.S. policymakers as one requiring reconciling Israel's legitimate security requirements with the demands of Palestinian sovereignty in the West

### Bank and Gaza Strip

Notwithstanding suggestions to the contrary, the consistent and impassioned articulation by top U.S. officials, including the president, of a "vital U.S. national interest" in ending Israel's occupation and creating a Palestinian state at peace with Israel is unprecedented. It also suggests a new determination to solve rather than manage the problem, not as a favor to the parties but first and foremost as a consequence of a hard-headed determination to safeguard U.S. interests.

This central strategic conclusion is,

PROXIMITY TALKS, continued on page 6

## TO OUR READERS

Skeptics of all U.S. efforts to help Israelis and Palestinians make peace over the years have argued that conditions have not been “ripe” for a solution and that peace-making should await more favorable circumstances. Yet there is overwhelming evidence that this conflict has grown ever more intractable with the passage of time.

Advice that efforts to make peace should wait, or even pause, underestimates the threat that the situation may be moving toward irreversibility. The danger is not only that a massive, growing settlement effort is physically transforming the West Bank. Even more important, forty years of military occupation, settlement and conflict have changed Israel’s political culture for the worse.

Israeli policies today, foreign and domestic, are increasingly shaped by hard-line religious, ideological, and security leaders, whose devotion to land, messianic religion, and power is at odds with liberal, Enlightenment values. Their right-wing ethos is penetrating Israel’s institutions, including schools and the military, and threatening its

democracy and civil society. “Shared values,” proclaimed as the cement of the U.S.-Israel alliance, is becoming a threadbare slogan, and this unique relationship is at risk. A similar extremist trend is infecting the politics of Palestinians and their support for a two-state peace.

A lasting two-state peace agreement will therefore require transforming Israel’s deteriorating political culture and institutions and mobilizing a pragmatic, democratic liberal, pro-peace majority. Israeli politics are still divided and volatile. It is not too late to achieve such change through unprecedented strong, sustained U.S. diplomacy, private and public, and wise use of the American-Israeli relationship. The risks to American national security of anything less are unacceptable. There is another reason why waiting is not an option. The U.S., as Israel’s best friend, protector, and often enabler, is just too deeply involved to step back.



Anyone who observes the Arab or Palestinian official stand in running negotiations with the Zionist enemy, will unfortunately notice confusion, turmoil, persistence and even a move away from past positions. Indeed, one month ago, before the Sert [Arab] Summit, the [Arab League] made a connection between returning to negotiations and freezing the settlements. The summit of Sert also stressed this through an Arab resolution. Today, during its last meeting in Cairo the Arab Initiative Committee backed away from this and thus the condition of freezing settlements. This weakens the Arab and Palestinian position and entices Israel to increase its militancy and settlements in addition to ignoring Palestinian and Arab demands. As to the issue of guarantees, there are no American guarantees, and no written guarantees. Any verbal guarantees, if present, are worthless. . . . Therefore we are against the return to negotiations with the Zionists. . . .

Khalid Meshal, Hamas leader, interview, *al-Masri al-Yawm*, May 12, 2010

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## What Freeze?

### Construction Summary of 2009

There were 1,703 housing starts in West Bank settlements in 2009 according to data released by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in February 2010. This number compares to 1,518 starts in 2006, 1,471 starts during 2007, and 2,107 starts in 2008, during which construction was expedited in the wake of the November 2007 Annapolis conference. Construction on 2,077 housing units was completed in 2009. CBS also reported that as of December 2009, soon after the construction moratorium went into effect, a total of 2,778 housing units were in various stages of construction in West Bank settlements.

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### Construction Freeze Compensation

The [Israeli] cabinet will soon be asked to approve \$27,000 in compensation to 3,000 settler families that were harmed as a result of the construction freeze. . . . Those families which received building permits by November 26, 2009, will be entitled to compensation. Each family will receive a sum equivalent to ten months rent in a house of equal value to the one they had planned to build. The amount will vary by community and the size of the house. Compensation requests may be submitted by September 26, 2011—one year from the freeze. Anyone who received a permit to establish a business will also be compensated. "We must not allow the failure of the disengagement repeat itself," said Danon. "It is inconceivable that to date the state has not given so much as a penny to the very public that is paying for the freeze out of its own pocket."

*Yediot Aharanot*, May 14, 2010

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### Houses in Exchange for a Sapling

In January, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu planted a tree in the West Bank settlement of Kfar Etzion to mark the Tu Bishvat festival. There were twenty houses in the settlement that had already been sold, although the foundations had not been poured and their construction was halted because of the construction freeze (the foundations for 29 other houses in the settlement had been poured already and therefore were not affected by the freeze).

When Etzion Bloc Council chairman Shaul Goldstein realized that Netanyahu would face resistance from settlers, he contacted the Prime Minister's Office and negotiated an agreement that would calm the settlers. When officials from the Prime Minister's bureau asked that Netanyahu be allowed to plant a tree in honor of Tu Bishvat in the Kfar Etzion settlement, Goldstein hinted that in exchange for agreeing to the request, officials would have to grant settlers concessions on the freeze on construction in the settlement. According to

reports by Amihai Attali of *Ma'ariv*, the day after the tree planting, Kfar Etzion settlement received a verbal message from the Prime Minister's bureau that the settlement would not be included in the freeze, and twenty houses were removed from the list.

Amihai Attali, *Ma'ariv*, March 21, 2010

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### Israeli Construction Company Demands Compensation for Freeze

Construction companies affected by the settlement freeze initiated by the Israeli government have started suing the State of Israel for financial compensation. A construction company in Modi'in Ilit, Neot Hapigsa, has filed a claim is demanding \$4.8 million in compensation from the government for damages.

. . . Neot Hapigsa said it had been in the midst of constructing hundreds of housing units in the settlement of Modi'in Ilit, as part of an overall project to build 2,300 housing units. The company claims that the 10-month freeze instated by the government ruined its ability to fulfill obligations made to purchasers of the housing units, and that this did inestimable damage to its public image. Neot Hapigsa says the sum of the compensation demanded takes into account [economic] damages as well as the damage done to its image.

*Yediot Aharanot*, January 7, 2010

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According to data given to the Supreme Court on May 2, 2010, inspectors supervising the freeze have carried out 1,044 patrols and confiscated construction equipment 39 times. In 20 cases, violations of the freeze were razed by the Civil Administration, and in 15 others, by the owners themselves. A total of 427 cases have been brought before a subcommittee supervising the ban, and 389 requests for exemptions from the ban have been discussed.

This week, the head of the Civil Administration's infrastructure department, Lt. Col. Zvika Cohen, prepared a document listing 46 violations of the construction ban in the northern West Bank. Copies of the document were sent to the director of the Civil Administration and the heads of the regional liaison and coordination offices.

Orders to raze the offending structures are first issued to the owners, who are supposed to do the job. If they do not, the Civil Administration carries out the demolition.

*Ha'aretz*, May 11, 2010

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## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

**December 17** Settlers clash with security forces in Talmon and Dolev when Civil Administration inspectors enter the settlements. Six people are arrested. (*Ma'ariv*)

**December 18** The Jerusalem municipality changes planning, construction, and licensing policies in certain areas of East Jerusalem, endorsing previous building violations, and awarding permits for four-story buildings, even if constructed illegally. (Roadmap Report)

**December 22** The Swiss firm Multi-Lock relocates its factory from the West Bank industrial complex in Barqan to an area in Israel, citing pressure by the Swiss government and human rights groups. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

**December 24** Two hundred high school students about to be drafted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) send a petition to Defense Minister Barak asserting that they will refuse to evacuate settlements because their loyalty to the Torah supersedes any law. (Israel Radio)

The Defense Ministry announces that it will amend the order to freeze all settlement construction and allow residents to build additions to their homes and repair and renovate them. Builders will be allowed to complete construction of homes in which the foundation had been poured before the moratorium went into effect. (Arutz 7)

A 40-year-old Israeli is killed in a drive-by shooting on his way to the settlement of Shavei Shomron. It is thought to be the first fatal shooting attack since March 2009. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

Confrontations erupt in Burin between settlers from Yitzhar and village residents. According to Palestinian press reports, settlers entered the village, threw stones at residents, fired weapons, and attempted to burn down at least one house. The IDF placed roadblocks along traffic routes, closing all entrances to Tulkarm. The military denied that any shooting had taken place in the area. (Israel Radio)

**December 26** The Israeli Ministry of Construction and Housing approves the issuance of building tenders for 692 units in Jerusalem settlements: 377 in Neve Ya'acov, 117 in Har Homa, and 198 in Pisgat Ze'ev. The tenders are part of a general tender issued by the ministry for 6,500 housing

units in 54 locations in the occupied territories. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

**December 27** Unknown assailants throw a Molotov cocktail at a bus traveling to the Negohot settlement, injuring one passenger. (*Jerusalem Post*)

**December 29** Israel's minister of public security, Yitzhak Aharonovich, says inspectors have issued 174 stop-work orders in places where they had found noncompliance with the settlement moratorium. There were 31 cases in which the visits resulted in "friction," with five law enforcement officers being injured and eight government officials being threatened. (Arutz 7)

The Israeli High Court of Justice rules that the decision to close Route 443 was unjust and instructs the state to reopen it to Palestinian vehicles within the next five months. The road traverses the West Bank, linking the Tel Aviv region to Jerusalem, and passes by several Palestinian villages whose lands were confiscated to build the artery. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu condemns the ruling, claiming it will endanger Israelis, and instructs his office to investigate its security implications. (*Ma'ariv*)

Israel announces a plan to promote planning and construction in the northern West Bank settlement of Kiryat Netafim. (*Ha'aretz*)

**December 30** French and Belgian-owned Dexia Bank in Israel notifies settler regional councils it is severing their lines of credit and instructs them to close their accounts. The bank had been under pressure from a divestment campaign with the slogan "Israeli colonizes, Dexia finances." (Arutz 7)

The PA approves construction of an international airport in al-Bukieh, an area between Jerusalem and the Jordan Valley in Area C, which is under Israeli security and civilian control. (Arutz 7)

**December 31** Israeli police arrest a teenage settler suspected of an arson attack on a mosque in Yasuf. The attackers were suspected of burning copies of the Quran and prayer carpets and writing defamatory slogans on the walls. (Ma'an)

Five Israeli settlers entering Nablus are detained by PA security forces while trying to visit Joseph's Tomb without prior approval from the Israeli military. (Ma'an)

2010

**January 1** Twenty-nine members of the Knesset sign a letter to Prime Minister Netanyahu challenging the temporary moratorium on new construction starts in the West Bank, citing violations of human rights resulting from the ban, the need for extensive and protracted legislation to implement the policy, and the centrality of Jewish construction in the West Bank to the "Zionist enterprise." (Arutz 7)

Israeli settlers, accompanied by soldiers, bulldoze the Neweitef al-Majur spring and several olive trees near the West Bank town of Qarawat Bani Hassan to expand their settlement, eyewitnesses claim. The spring is the main water source for the town. An IDF spokesperson says that officials were unaware of the incident. (Ma'an)

*Ha'aretz* reports that Israeli attorney general Menachem Mazuz has instructed the police commissioner to evacuate immediately the structure known as Beit Yonatan in East Jerusalem's Silwan neighborhood. The seven-story residence was built illegally, and Israel's High Court issued an evacuation order for the building in July 2009.

**January 3** Security forces demolish three wooden buildings in the Negohot settlement, west of Hebron. (*Makor Rishon-Hatzofe*)

**January 5** The Jerusalem municipality issues permits for the construction of four buildings near the Beit Orot Yeshiva on the Mount of Olives and decides to reclassify the area as a residential neighborhood. Jerusalem councilman Elisha Peleg of Likud says of the new settlement, "It is the Jews' right to build. Everything was done openly and legally. This isn't the last project in the eastern part of the city either." (*Yediot Aharonot*, Israel Radio)

The Jerusalem municipality considers a pending request to build a new residential neighborhood, Kidmat Zion, in East Jerusalem. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

One hundred twenty drivers from Modi'in settlement join a petition protesting the High Court of Justice's ruling to open Route 443 to Palestinian vehicle traffic. The settlers claim that their lives will be at risk if Palestinians are allowed to use the road. (*Makor Rishon-Hatzofe*)

The Egged bus company, which owns the bus attacked on December 27, cancels its bus

## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

route to the Negohot settlement. Buses ran twice a day to the secluded settlement and typically carried less than five passengers. (*Ha'aretz*)

**January 6** In a letter to Prime Minister Netanyahu and Defense Minister Barak, the Modiin Ilit-based construction company Neot HaPisgah demands that the government pay it \$4.8 million in damages for financial losses and degradation of their public image, which they claim are the result of the government's temporary construction moratorium announced in late November 2009. (*Arutz 7*)

Palestinians near Salfit burn settlement-manufactured construction materials confiscated from Palestinian merchants. Palestinian prime minister Salaam Fayyad participates by tossing sacks of cement and plaster into the fire. (*Israel HaYom*)

**January 7** Six weeks after the moratorium order was issued, Defense Minister Barak announces an easing of restrictions imposed by the order, allowing local settlement municipalities to issue building permits that will be valid after the 10 month moratorium expires in September 2010. The revised order also allows for the expansion of existing structures as long as no separate units are constructed. (*Ha'aretz*)

**January 8** Jerusalem municipal council member Yakir Segev declares the Palestinian neighborhoods in Jerusalem east of the separation fence "no longer part of the city." He declares that the neighborhoods are "outside the jurisdiction of the state, and certainly the municipality. For all practical purposes, they are Ramallah." On the subject of Jewish settlement in the heart of Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, Yegev says, "we will protect the Jews' right to live there just as we would protect Arabs' right to live elsewhere." (*Ha'aretz*)

**January 10** Israeli security forces demolish Palestinian structures in the area of Tana near Nablus. The structures, which include houses, stables and a school, house about 150 Palestinians. According to Israeli authorities, the Palestinian structures are built on land used for Israeli military training. A local Palestinian official says that the small Palestinian farming community had lived there for decades. (*Reuters*)

**January 11** The Israeli High Court announces that it will reexamine whether the

Hayovel and Harsha settlement outposts are built on state land or privately owned Palestinian land. The nine dwellings at Hayovel and seven at Harsha had been set for demolition by the state following a 2005 petition from Peace Now. In 2009, the High Court requested a specific timetable for the demolition of the two illegal outposts following years of delay. Israeli security forces announce that, at present, any potential demolition of the two outposts would require six months to evacuate the residents, which they say would be difficult given the current commitment of their law enforcement to monitoring the ten-month settlement construction moratorium. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers Council members dismantle the tent encampment in front of Prime Minister Netanyahu's residence in Jerusalem, which had been constructed to protest the construction moratorium order. Council officials say that they have decided to shift their focus to fighting against the establishment of a Palestinian state. (*Army Radio*)

**January 12** Pinhas Wallerstein resigns his position as director general of the Settlers Council. He headed the Binyamin Regional Council for 28 years. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

A Qatar investment firm breaks ground for a new Palestinian city near Ramallah called Rawabi. The 500 million USD project is planned to house 40,000 people. (*Arutz Sheva*)

**January 13** Palestinian prime minister Salam Fayyad announces the National Dignity Fund to remove settlement-produced products from the Palestinian marketplace. (*al Ayyam*)

Israeli forces bulldoze four dunams of Palestinian agricultural land in Safa village north of Hebron following efforts by the villagers to plant olive trees in the valley near Beit Ummar. (*Ma'an News*)

Palestinian customs officials confiscate and destroy 136 tons of materials used to manufacture asphalt en route from a settlement near Ramallah. (*Ma'an News*)

Settlers torch three cars and a tractor near Immatin village, west of Nablus. (*Ma'an News*)

**January 14** Israeli Supreme Court judge Neil Handel strikes down a petition restraining construction of a new neighborhood called Givat HaBrecha in the Talmon settle-

ment. The new development will have 300 houses, of which 60 have been completed, and a school. (*Arutz Sheva*)

Settlers in Hebron begin a legal battle to return the ownership of Beit al Rajabi to settler ownership. (*Arutz Sheva*)

Settlers from Revava enter Deir Estiya, dig up land with bulldozers and erect a barricade in an attempt to add the privately owned Palestinian land to their settlement. (*Ma'an News*)

**January 15** Seventeen activists are arrested in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah during protests against the eviction of Palestinians from their homes. (*Ma'an News*)

**January 17** Judge Ilta Ziskind orders the release of 17 activists, including the executive director of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel. The activists were arrested while protesting against the eviction of Palestinian families from their homes in Sheikh Jarrah. The judge ruled the arrests illegal. (*Ha'aretz*)

**January 18** Security forces arrest four settlers in connection with the mosque arson in Yasuf village. (*Ha'aretz*)

**January 19** *Ha'aretz* reports that two soldiers who had waved a sign during their military swearing in ceremony opposing the evacuation of settlements had received twenty days of confinement and dismissal from their combat unit.

**January 20** Defense Minister Barak fulfills a promise he made to Israel Beiteinu during coalition negotiations and awards Ariel College in the West Bank university status. (*Ha'aretz*)

**January 22** *Yediot Yerushalaim* reports on efforts by Israeli and Arab organizations to build a Jewish, Muslim, and Christian neighborhood in Jerusalem. According to the report, a church near the settlement of Gillo has promised to provide the organization with 14 dunams of land.

**January 23** Eighteen activists are arrested during a protest in Sheikh Jarrah opposing evictions of Palestinian residents. (*Ha'aretz*)

**January 30** Approximately 100 Palestinians from Bnei Salah village protest outside the West Bank settlement of Halmish against settlers taking control of their land. (*Ha'aretz*)

however, at odds with the oft-stated reflexive insistence that Washington “cannot want an end to the conflict more than the parties themselves.” Past administrations often relied on such rhetoric to avoid tougher U.S. policies. Both Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, among others, have invoked this phrase as if the concept is self-evident. But if an American commitment to achieve an outcome that by definition meets U.S. national security requirements is to be left hostage to the warring interests of Israelis and Palestinians, then Washington has ceded the strategic initiative to them. This strategy promises not merely continuing instability but the festering of a conflict that costs the United States in both blood and treasure, and which by Obama’s own estimation, threatens vital American national security interests. Simply stated, defining the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict as a vital national interest requires Washington to want to achieve its objective more than the other parties to the conflict want to achieve theirs. If the Obama administration believes in its own assessment of the stakes involved, Washington must be prepared to want peace more than Israelis and Palestinians do, not primarily for their sake but for our own.

There are, therefore, policy consequences to the administration’s decision to describe the resolution of the Israel-Palestinian conflict as a vital interest. U.S. officials have correctly distilled the basic challenge facing policymakers. Reconciling legitimate Israeli security requirements with the demands posed by the exercise of Palestinian sovereignty is achievable, but until now it is not clear that Washington has internalized the costs involved in realizing this objective or shaped U.S. policy to meet it. Doing so requires Washington to establish a menu of legitimate Israeli security requirements and legitimate attributes of Palestinian sovereignty that can be married to a policy framework that enhances the U.S. interest in stability and regional security. This was in fact the task begun by NSC advisor Gen. James Jones for the George W. Bush administration in the wake of the Annapolis conference in November 2007. A White House policy review will no doubt make use of Jones’s earlier effort.

### A Rump Palestinian State

The road from today’s proximity talks to the execution of a new American policy is a long one, however. Continuing stalemate, and an abiding Israeli desire to maintain control of the policy agenda are far more likely to increase the prospects

that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will promote the creation of “a state with provisional borders” on those areas of the West Bank where Israel has diminished settlement or security interests. Netanyahu may pull a page out of former prime minister Ariel Sharon’s playbook with a West Bank variation of the 2005 Israeli “disengagement” from the Gaza Strip. The territorial dimensions of the rump Palestinian state envisaged by Israel were first established in 1995 with the creation of a Palestinian Authority governing Areas A and B comprising 41 percent of the West Bank. But the origins of this concept can be traced to ideas presented by Ariel Sharon as early as 1977 and foreshadowed in Netanyahu’s own Allon plus map 13 years ago. (see July 1997 *Settlement Report*, <http://www.fmep.org/reports/archive/vol.-7/no.-4/netanyahu-presents-his-allon-plus-final-status-map>) These are populated Palestinian areas that even the most ardent supporters of “Greater Israel” are prepared to cede for demographic reasons. Although he has yet to adopt it as policy, this plan reflects

Netanyahu’s minimalist concept of a Palestinian state, preserving expansive settlement and territorial gains from Israel’s 1967 conquest,

As the map on page 7 shows, the amount of territory awarded to such a rump entity would initially approach 60 percent of the West Bank, and notably appears to include the evacuation of more than a score of settlements in the Jordan Valley-Allon Road region that would nonetheless remain under Israeli control. As in Gaza in 2005, an Israeli redeployment would be viewed by many as transforming the connection between Israel and the West Bank from occupation to a relationship of reduced Israeli responsibilities.

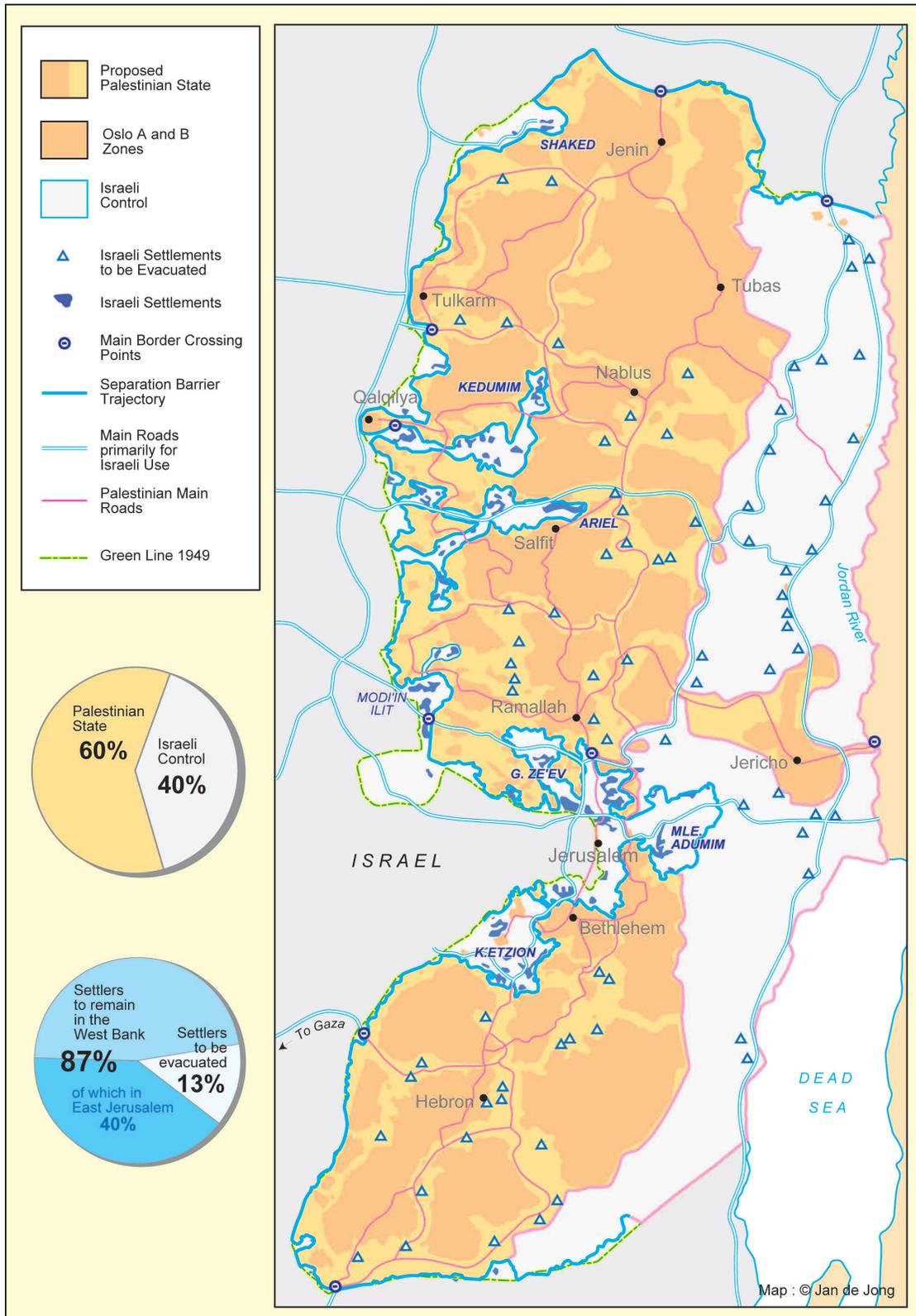
Unlike in Gaza however, Israel has in place in the West Bank the infrastructure—settlements and the vital road network of roads built during the Oslo era—to enable the annexation of land and settlements where the vast majority of settlers live. That is, Israel may undertake a partial evacuation, as part of an interim agreement or unilaterally as in Gaza, without a withdrawal of the scale required to enable the exercise of Palestinian sovereignty in the West Bank.

A Palestinian state established under these circumstances contradicts the vital interests of the United States as expressed by the Obama administration itself. A state with provisional borders would likely prolong the conflict, since it would not create a foundation for a comprehensive final status peace agreement rooted in the exercise of genuine Palestinian independence and the preservation of legitimate Israeli security interests—the two elements at the heart of American policy. ♦

*I think that while we’ve not taken any decision to jumpstart any dramatic shift in our strategy, I think we should say to make clear that we don’t intend to surprise anybody at any time, and that whatever we do will always be done with the effort to help both Israel in its legitimate [requirements] and our unqualified pledge to their security, and the emergence of a new Palestinian state that has legitimate claims on sovereignty and what that would look like; that we will be a full time player and we will do everything we can to bring this about so that all sides are satisfied.*

National Security Advisor General  
Jim Jones, press gaggle aboard  
Air Force One, April 09, 2010

## Projection of a Palestinian State with Provisional Borders According to the Mofaz Plan



This plan was presented in November 2009 by  
former minister of defense and current member of Knesset Shaul Mofaz.

## OUTPOSTS WILL HAVE TO WAIT

**Question:** I want to read you [a] quote from someone whose opinion you respect: "The eviction of outposts is an obligation that Israeli society has to itself. A society that seeks to live and that abides by the law cannot accept attempts by some citizens to cast off and undermine the authority of the state over its citizens." You said this.

**Minister of Defense Ehud Barak:** Correct.

**Question:** How many outposts have you evicted so far?

**Barak:** I removed hundreds of attempts to construct outposts. Some of them amounted to dozens of attempts, time after time. One of the achievements I am proud of, and it is also an expression of the seriousness of our actions on all levels, is that no new illegal outposts have been constructed. We

dismantle everything. But we have not, to date, removed the illegal outposts on the famous list of 26.

**Question:** Why?

**Barak:** For all sorts of reasons, most of which concern the small details of the present sensitive political reality. Despite everything, we need to consider how we go about such things. The time for such action will come in a more natural fashion within the framework of a peace process. But if it becomes clear that we are not entering a serious peace process, then everything I said is true and we have to abide by our commitments in the future.

*Yediot Aharonot, May 7, 2010*

### Call for Reason

We are citizens of European countries, Jews, and involved in the political and social life of our respective countries. Whatever our personal paths, our connection to the state of Israel is part of our identity. We are concerned about the future of the State of Israel to which we are unfailingly committed.

Israel faces existential threats. Far from underestimating the threats from its external enemies, we know that the danger also lies in the occupation and the continuing pursuit of settlements in the West Bank and in the Arab districts of East Jerusalem. These policies are morally and politically wrong and feed the unacceptable delegitimization process that Israel currently faces abroad. . . .

1. The future of Israel depends upon urgently achieving peace with the Palestinian people on the basis of the two states solution. As we all know, this is urgent. Israel will soon be faced with two, equally disastrous choices: either to become a state in which Jews would be a minority in their own country, or establish a regime that would be a

disgrace to Israel and lead to civil unrest.

2. It is essential therefore that the European Union, along with the United States, put pressure on both parties and help them achieve a reasonable and rapid solution to the Israeli-Palestine conflict. . . .

3. While the final decision belongs to the sovereign people of Israel, our commitment to Israel as Jews of the Diaspora obliges us to work towards reaching a just solution. Systematic support of Israeli government policy is dangerous and does not serve the true interests of the state of Israel.

4. Our objective is to create a European movement that will allow the voice of reason to be heard by all. This movement is non-partisan. Its aim is to ensure the survival of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. This depends on the creation of a viable and sovereign Palestinian state.

We ask all those who agree with the above principles to sign and encourage others to sign this call.

Letter submitted to the European Parliament,  
Brussels, May 3, 2010, <http://www.jcall.eu>

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