

# REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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## POLITICAL STALEMATE AND SECURITY COOPERATION EQUALS CONTINUING OCCUPATION

By *Geoffrey Aronson*

As the September date for consideration of the Palestine Liberation Organization's UN bid for recognition and state membership approaches, the attention of Israelis, as well as many Palestinians, is focused elsewhere.

The occupation is more distant from everyday Israeli concerns than at any time in the last two decades. Israelis are protesting about internal domestic issues, from the price of cottage cheese to the critical lack of affordable housing. In contrast, relations with Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, or the grinding expansion of settlements, hardly rate attention.

The "calm" security environment is at the heart of Israel's national complacency. As columnist Nahum Barnea wrote on July 15, "The situation that has been created in the West Bank, in practice, is a Palestinian autonomy under the auspices of the IDF. From the standpoint of the Israeli government, there is a winning combination here: political stalemate along with security cooperation. This was the heartfelt wish of Menachem Begin when he signed the Camp David Accords. This was the vision that he took from Jabotinsky. This is what they imagined when they sang, 'How shall they dwell in happiness, the son of Arabia, the son of Nazareth and my son.'"

In the West Bank, the IDF is engaged more frequently in confrontations with settlers than with Palestinians, par-

**"Living in this country is great. If you go to the Ben-Gurion Airport you can't find a luggage cart. If you go shopping at the supermarket you can't find shopping carts. Everything is great here."**

**Nesher mayor David Amar,  
*Yediot Aharonot*, August 2, 2011**

ticularly those associated with state-supported "outposts" whose signature policy is "price tag" attacks on Palestinians. Although Israeli forces continue to enter Area A at will, as they have since Operation Defensive Shield in April 2002, Israel's first line of defense against Palestinian opponents is the security forces of the Palestinian Authority. In Gaza, the standoff between Israel and Hamas is played out through occasional deadly but nonetheless almost routine confrontations.

The diplomatic calendar is preoccupied with whatever action the United Nations may take in September, but among Palestinians, indifference mixed with a sense of foreboding prevails. The stillborn reconciliation between Fateh and Hamas, and what President Shimon Peres once described as the never-ending contest for "staying power," which, as always, continues to be most graphically expressed in the ongoing struggle between Arabs and Jews for control of

the land (see pages 3 and 7), define the overall environment. The ranks of the ruling Fateh cadre are preoccupied not only with endemic sniping between Prime Minister Salam Fayyad and PLO chairman Mahmoud Abbas, but more ominously with a high-stakes internal battle between Abbas and former Fateh strongman in Gaza Mohamed Dahlan. The PA's financial troubles are also at center stage; the vital salaries to PA employees have been delayed. Top PA officials in Ramallah are once again warning that, in light of the failure of the Oslo process to bring an end to settlement and occupation, regardless of what happens at the United Nations, it is perhaps time for the PA to disband and hand Israel responsibility for managing the occupation. Close supporters of Fayyad are counted among those expressing such a view.

Fayyad was the author, in mid-2009, of a two-year blueprint for statehood—"Palestine, Ending the Occupation, Establishing the State"—whose "sell-by" date is fast approaching. The plan was meant to respond to U.S.-led calls for "bottom up" construction of the institutions deemed necessary for statehood. Many diplomats compared Fayyad's effort positively to Ben Gurion's state-building project during the British mandate. Fayyad argued that winning international recognition of the state-building effort could tip the diplomatic balance against occupation, particularly in

OCCUPATION, *continued on page 8*

## TO OUR READERS

The Obama administration is seeking a way to avoid another diplomatic train wreck at the United Nations, where it has vowed to oppose a Palestinian bid for UN membership. Following the U.S. veto in February, which contradicted the administration's own policy, of a Security Council Resolution opposing settlements, another such confrontation driven by domestic politics rather than strategic interests would further compromise American's sinking credibility as the lead mediator for a two-state peace agreement.

The U.S. claim that UN action for Palestinian membership would undermine renewal of direct negotiations rings hollow. Exclusive reliance on direct negotiations in recent years has failed because the U.S. and the international community have lacked the will to create a level playing field for successful negotiations, and Israel has exploited its advantage as the much stronger, occupying power. In any case, the Palestinian Authority has affirmed the obvious fact that UN membership, or some kind of improved UN status, would not preclude essential renewed negotiations.

Washington's objection to UN support for Palestinian self-determination through UN membership also ignores the UN's support for two states in its 1947 partition plan, celebrated in Israel's Declaration of Independence, and that UN resolutions have been pillars of U.S. peace efforts for six decades. Israel's claim that a Palestinian "unilateral" appeal to the UN is a betrayal is even less persuasive, given Israel's unilateral—and illegal—settlement project, which is designed to cement its control in the occupied territories and avoid a genuine two-state peace.

In a rational world, Israel and the U.S. would applaud UN support for a two-state peace and a Palestinian state within the 1967 lines, thus burying the stubborn claim that the real cause of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is Palestinian rejection of Israel. American opposition to Palestinian statehood in this highly charged context would be seen as an historic blunder, turning Washington's declared support for a two-state peace on its head.

West Bank Settlement Construction Update, 2008–2011

	Housing Starts			Housing Completions			Housing Under Construction		West Bank % of Israeli Population
	Israel	West Bank	%	Israel	West Bank	%	West Bank		
2008	32,692	2,105	6.4%	30,443	1,601	5.2%	3,190	5.2%	3.8%
2009	35,063	1,958	5.6%	32,732	2,070	6.3%	3,295	5.1%	3.8%
2010	39,675	630	1.6%	33,128	1,666	5.0%	2,215	3.1%	3.8%
2011*	11,273	242	2.1%	8,346	722	8.6%	1,774	1.7%	NA

\*January–March data only.

\*\*East Jerusalem settlements are included in the Israeli figures and excluded from the West Bank figures.

Source: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, June 2011.

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## NABI SALEH AND THE PRICE OF NON-VIOLENT OPPOSITION

*Near the West Bank village of Nabi Saleh is a natural spring, Ein al-Qarws. Since 2009 settlers from the nearby settlement of Halamish have prevented Palestinian access to the spring and surrounding land. In addition to mounting court challenges to the settlers' action, residents from Nabi Saleh and the nearby village of Dir Nizam began a series of Friday protests. Bassem Tamimi, a leader of the popular protests, was recently charged by the Israel Defense Forces with inciting and organizing "unauthorized processions" in the village. (See the article in Report Vol. 21 No. 3) Tamimi's address of June 6, 2011, to an Israeli military court follows.*

Your Honor,

I hold this speech out of belief in peace, justice, freedom, the right to live in dignity, and out of respect for free thought in the absence of just laws.

Every time I am called to appear before your courts, I become nervous and afraid. Eighteen years ago, my sister was killed in a courtroom such as this, by a staff member. In my lifetime, I have been nine times imprisoned for [a total] of almost three years, though I was never charged or convicted. During my imprisonment, I was paralyzed as a result of torture by your investigators. My wife was detained, my children were wounded, my land was stolen by settlers, and now my house is slated for demolition.

I was born at the same time as the occupation and have been living under its inherent inhumanity, inequality, racism, and lack of freedom ever since. Yet, despite all this, my belief in human values and the need for peace in this land have never been shaken. Suffering and oppression did not fill my heart with hatred for anyone, nor did they kindle feelings of revenge. To the contrary, they reinforced my belief in peace and national standing as an adequate response to the inhumanity of occupation.

International law guarantees the right of occupied people to resist occupation. In practicing my right, I have called for and organized peaceful popular demonstrations against the occupation, settler attacks, and the theft of more than half of the land of my village, Nabi Saleh, where the graves of my ancestors have lain since time immemorial.

I organized these peaceful demonstrations in order to defend our land and our people. I do not know if my actions violate your occupation laws. As far as I am concerned, these laws do not apply to me and are devoid of meaning. Having been enacted by occupation authorities, I reject them and cannot recognize their validity.

Despite [Israel] claiming to be the only democracy in the Middle East, you are trying me under military laws which lack any legitimacy; laws that are enacted by authorities that I have not elected and do not represent me. I am accused of organizing peaceful civil demonstrations that have no military aspects and are legal under international law.

We have the right to express our rejection of occupation in

all of its forms, to defend our freedom and dignity as a people, and to seek justice and peace in our land in order to protect our children and secure their future.

The civil nature of our actions is the light that will overcome the darkness of the occupation, bringing a dawn of freedom that will warm the cold wrists in chains, sweep despair from the soul, and end decades of oppression.

These actions are what will expose the true face of the occupation, where soldiers point their guns at a woman walking to her fields or at checkpoints; at a child who wants to drink from the sweet water of his ancestors' fabled spring; against an old man who wants to sit in the shade of an olive tree, once mother to him, now burnt by settlers.

We have exhausted all possible actions to stop attacks by settlers, who refuse to adhere to your courts' decisions, which time and again have confirmed that we are the owners of the land, ordering the removal of the fence erected by them.

Each time we tried to approach our land, implementing these decisions, we were attacked by settlers, who prevented us from reaching it as if it were their own.

Our demonstrations are in protest of injustice. We work hand in hand with Israeli and international activists who believe, like us, that had it not been for the occupation, we could all live in peace on this land. I do not know which laws are upheld by generals who are inhibited by fear and insecurity, nor do I know their thoughts on the civil resistance of women, children, and old men who carry hope and olive branches.

But I know what justice and reason are. Land theft and tree burning is unjust. Violent repression of our demonstrations and protests and your detention camps are not evidence of the illegality of our actions. It is unfair to be tried under a law forced upon us. I know that I have rights and my actions are just.

The military prosecutor accuses me of inciting the protesters to throw stones at the soldiers. This is not true. What incites protesters to throw stones is the sound of bullets, the occupation's bulldozers as they destroy the land, the smell of tear gas, and the smoke coming from burnt houses. I did not incite anyone to throw stones, but I am not responsible for the security of your soldiers who invade my village and attack my people with all the weapons of death and the equipment of terror.

These demonstrations that I organize have had a positive influence over my beliefs; they allowed me to see people from the other side who believe in peace and share my struggle for freedom. Those freedom fighters have rid their [conscience] from the occupation and put their hands in ours in peaceful demonstrations against our common enemy, the occupation. They have become friends, sisters, and brothers. We fight together for a better future for our children and theirs.

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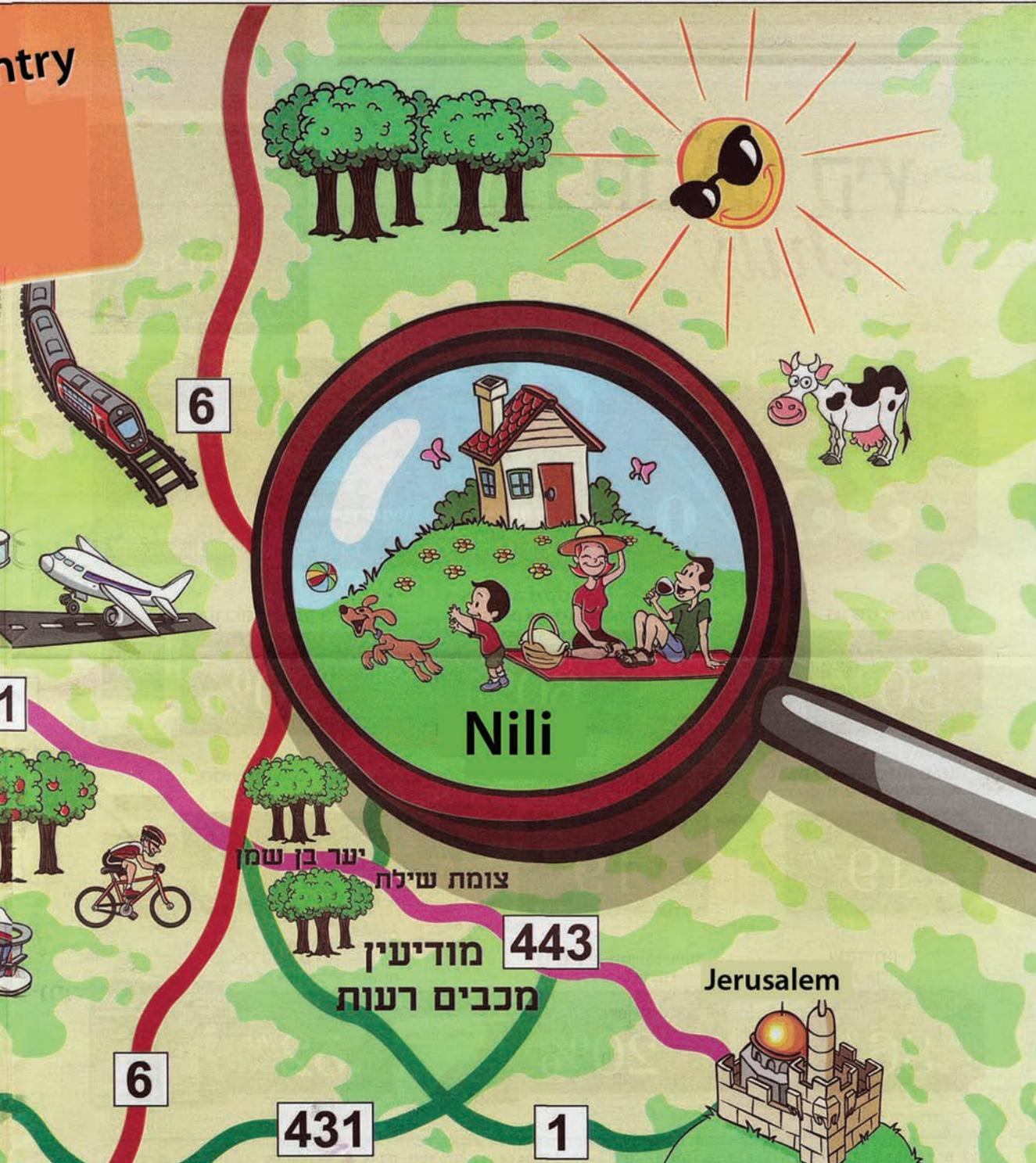
The education system in Nili is organized and developed by the community and includes day care, kindergarten and a school. There is a community center and theater, clubs, youth groups, a swimming pool, library and more.



\*Nili is a settlement in the West Bank, west of the planned separation barrier.  
 Source: Kol Ha'Ir, July 1, 2011.



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## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

**March 27** Zvi Struck, a 28-year-old settler from Shilo, is sentenced to 18 months in prison and fined \$14,300 for the kidnapping, assault, and battery of a 15-year-old Palestinian boy. In July 2007, Struck and another assailant, kidnapped the boy near the Esh Kodesh outpost, assaulted him, and left him naked and bound in a field. At the sentencing, Jerusalem District Court judge Amnon Cohen says, "I cannot avoid expressing disgust, [and] deep shock over the signs of trauma the minor suffered." The convicted settler's mother says in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* that the court's sentence rewards, "the lies of the Arabs, who are fighting a nationalist battle against the Jewish farmers in Judea and Samaria." The human rights group Yesh Din, which took part in the case, says that this is a rare instance of violence against a Palestinian leading to a conviction, citing data illustrating that about 90 percent of Palestinian complaints of physical abuse or property damage by Israelis fail to result even in indictments. (Ma'an News)

**March 28** Settlers from Betar Illit uproot 32 fruit trees belonging to a Palestinian farmer in Husan. (Ma'an News)

More than one-third of Knesset members, mostly from right-wing and religious parties, request that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu facilitate the construction of permanent structures for education in the settlement of Itamar. (Israel Radio)

**March 29** Nine settlers are arrested at the Givat Ronen settlement outpost during clashes with Israeli police. (Israel Radio)

*Ha'aretz* reports that plans to build 1,600 housing units in the East Jerusalem settlements of Har Homa and Pisgat Ze'ev were being reconsidered by Israel's Committee for Planning and Construction. The project had been on hold.

**April 1** *Kol Ha'Ir* reports on an Israeli construction company's announcement of its plan to build 77 housing units, at a starting price of about \$476,500, in the Har Homa settlement within the next four months. The second phase of the See Jerusalem project in the East Jerusalem settlement of Gilo is also reported to have begun, with 27 apartments selling for between \$548,700 and \$750,800.

**April 3** A judge rules that the Jerusalem Police must pay four activists of the Sheikh

Jarrah Solidarity Movement \$7,200 for arresting them in February in East Jerusalem without just cause during a demonstration against settlement plans for Sheikh Jarrah. (YNet)

**April 4** Israeli defense minister Ehud Barak approves master plans for the settlements of Eshkolot, Hemdat, Nofim, and Rotem. His office releases a statement indicating that although the settlements were built on state land and are legal (under Israeli law), they had not received authorization for urban construction prior to his approval. (Israel Radio)

The Jerusalem municipality approves the construction of 942 new housing units in the East Jerusalem settlement of Gilo. (Arutz 7)

**April 11** Settlers from Rotem, accompanied by Israel Defense Forces (IDF) soldiers, plant trees on Palestinian lands in the Khilet Hamad area, in the northern Jordan valley. (Ma'an News)

*Ha'aretz* reports Israeli interior minister Eli Yishai's cancellation of meetings to finalize plans for the construction of 1,600 housing units in the East Jerusalem settlements of Har Homa and Pisgat Ze'ev following pressure from Prime Minister Netanyahu.

**April 21** Israeli minister of housing and construction Ariel Atias announces that his ministry will promote plans for 800 new housing units in lands adjacent to the settlement of Givat Ze'ev. The construction could potentially link the settlement with Jerusalem. (Israeli Army Radio)

**April 26** Palestinian police officers shoot at a group of ultra-Orthodox Jews attempting to visit Joseph's Tomb, killing one, and seriously injuring two others. The group had entered the site without coordination with the Palestinian Authority, as required, and ignored police orders to stop their vehicles. (*Ma'ariv*)

**May 2** Under IDF security, a large group of people that included members of the Livnat family and their supporters, enter Nablus to pray at Joseph's Tomb. Following this authorized visit, several dozen unauthorized visitors enter and barricade themselves inside the site. Soldiers and border police forcibly remove and arrest 45 individuals. (*Israel HaYom*)

**May 3** Settlers set fire to the prayer hall of

a school in the Palestinian town of Huwara, south of Nablus. (Ma'an News)

**May 6** Israeli border police and IDF soldiers evict several settlers from the site of the evacuated Homesh settlement, in the northern West Bank. The action took place after sundown on a Friday. Responding to the eviction MK Zeev Elkin says, "It seems . . . that the struggle against the settlers is one of the IDF's primary goals—even at the price of desecrating the Sabbath." (*Makor Rishon-Hatzofé*)

**May 7** IDF soldiers fire tear gas at residents of Iraq Burin, north of Nablus, as they march in protest toward an area slated for settlement construction. (Ma'an News)

**May 10** *Yediot Aharonot* reports on the decision by Deutsche Bahn, the German national railway company, to withdraw from work on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem train line because it passes through the West Bank. The action follows mounting pressure from German groups headed by the Coalition of Women for Peace.

**May 11** Israeli Army Radio reports that construction of the final 25 miles of the separation barrier in the Etzion bloc has been suspended until the end of 2012 due to budgetary issues.

Chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat, responding to a *Ha'aretz* report that approximately 140,000 West Bank Palestinians were stripped of their residency rights between 1967 and 1994, says, "This report confirms our claims that Israel is engaging in a systematic policy of displacement in order to gain land for the expansion of more settlement-colonies and to change the demographic composition of the occupied Palestinian territories. . . . This policy should not only be seen as a war crime, as it is under international law; it also has a humanitarian dimension: we are talking about people who left Palestine to study or work temporarily but who could not return to resume their lives in their country with their families." (PLO Negotiations Affairs Department)

The Jerusalem District Court rules that Palestinian homes in the al-Bustan neighborhood must not be demolished until construction plans are finalized and approved for the site. Jerusalem mayor Nir Barkat is promoting plans for the King's Garden, a park that will require the demolition of 22

## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

homes belonging to Palestinians that he claims were built illegally. The plan would allow for displaced residents to relocate and receive permits to build on the other side of the neighborhood at their own expense. In addition, 66 other Palestinian-owned homes considered illegal would be retroactively legalized. Palestinian residents of al-Bustan are proposing their own construction plans to improve the infrastructure in the area. (YNet)

**May 13** A settler from Beit Yehonatan opens fire on a group of unarmed Palestinian youths clashing with police in Silwan, killing one 16-year-old and wounding several other people. (*Ma'ariv*)

Israel Radio reports on Palestinians commemorating the Nakba in a central ceremony held in Ramallah and the PA has announced that it will not allow marches and rallies to be held near IDF positions.

Settlers organize against Palestinian commemoration of the Nakba. The Samaria regional council distributes thousands of Israeli flags to settlers throughout the area. Council chairman Gershon Mesika calls Palestinians' recognition of the Nakba "propaganda" and "completely meaningless." (*Ma'ariv*)

*Yediot Yerushalaim* reports on the approval of 204 housing units in the East Jerusalem settlement of French Hill and the purchase of a building in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah by Jewish investors. Four Palestinian families residing in the Sheikh Jarrah building receive evacuation orders.

**May 18** West Bank mayors urge Palestinians to cooperate with the You and Your Conscience campaign, part of an ongoing effort by the PA to boycott settlement products. (Ma'an News)

*Ha'aretz* reports on the approval of plans to pave a new road to the new town of Rawabi. The project had been stalled for a year and a half.

**May 19** The Israeli Interior Ministry's Committee for Construction and Planning approves plans for 1,550 new housing units in the East Jerusalem settlements of Har Homa (930) and Pisgat Ze'ev (620). Committee member Yair Gabai describes the decision as a signal to the world that, "Jerusalem is not up for negotiations and will remain united." (YNet)

Israeli ministers inaugurate a new settlement, Ma'aleh Hazeitim, in East Jerusalem. Construction on another settlement, Ma'aleh David, will begin at a later date. Once the two settlements are linked, Ras al-Amud, a neighborhood of 14,000 Palestinian residents, will have 1,000 settlers at its center. The location of the settlements will complicate the establishment of a corridor linking Palestinians in the Old City and the West Bank, a point discussed in past negotiations. (*Ha'aretz*)

Defense Minister Barak approves a visit to Joseph's Tomb by 20 members of the Knesset, the first such visit since the PA took responsibility for the site 10 years prior. (Ma'an News)

**May 23** Settlers plan to construct three outposts in the West Bank, one of which will be built between Ma'ale Adumim and Jerusalem. Posters promoting the construction appear at synagogues and settlements with the following text, "The connection between Ma'ale Adumim and Jerusalem will constitute a connection of Jewish continuity and block the establishment of a Palestinian state in the area, cutting off the continuity from Bethlehem to Ramallah through Jerusalem." (YNet)

**May 24** The IDF installs a barbed-wire fence around the Palestinian village of Izbat al-Tabib, east of Qalqilya, to create a buffer zone for a nearby settler road. (Ma'an News)

**May 27** *TheMarker* reports the sale of 29 cottages in a housing development in the East Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev for approximately \$72 million.

**May 29** IDF soldiers escort 1,600 Jewish worshippers into Nablus for a prayer service at Joseph's Tomb. Several hundred others enter Nablus to visit the tomb without prior authorization; some of them barricade themselves inside the site. (Israel Radio)

*Ha'aretz* reports that the Ministry of Education's Committee for Budget and Planning has allocated funding for Ariel College, in the West Bank, that is three times the size of the budgets for other colleges.

**May 30** The IDF issues the findings of its inquiry into the death of Ben Yosef Livnat at Joseph's Tomb on April 26. It found that although Palestinian police officers fired on trespassers with intent to harm, there is no evidence that the shooting was premeditated. (*Makor Rishon-Hatzofè*)

## High Court of Justice Orders the Evacuation of Migron

Only one week following the campaign against the state's decision to demolish two buildings in Migron, the High Court of Justice yesterday ordered, in an unprecedented decision, that the entire community be dismantled.

It should be remembered that a [High Court] decision was made on the petition, which was filed by the left-wing organization Peace Now along with Palestinian residents, who claim that Migron is established on private Palestinian land, that Migron had to be demolished by August 2008. However, a relocation agreement worked out by the settlers council prevented the eviction until the new neighborhood, which is supposed to be inside the settlement of Adam, would be built.

That said, the High Court of Justice ruled yesterday that the relocation was not progressing sufficiently and ordered that Migron must be [evacuated] by the end of March 2012.

In their ruling yesterday the justices harshly criticized the government and described the Migron case [as] "one of the harshest and exceptional cases concerning illegal outposts to ever appear before this court." Criticism revolved, among other things, around the fact that no practical measures had been taken to lay the groundwork for the planned relocation and that the outpost continued to grow and develop. Essentially, the justices decided to untie any link between the relocation agreement and the [evacuation] of the outpost and ruled that the outpost would be demolished and its lands returned to its owners, regardless of any solution.

In practice, since the demolition of Amona's nine houses in January 2006, the state has ceased to demolish Jewish homes on a large scale. In Migron there presently live 250 settlers.

*Makor Rishon-Hatzofè,*  
August 2, 2011

*Yedioth Aharonot,*  
August 2, 2011

the event that Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy failed.

“If occupation has not ended by [2011],” Fayyad, explained, “and the nations of the world from China to Chile to Africa and to Australia are looking at us, they will say that the Palestinian people have a ready state on the ground. The only problem is the Israeli occupation that should end.”

Fayyad’s program was initially criticized by the Fateh hierarchy which viewed it as an effort by the prime minister to upstage PLO president Abbas and Fateh. Today the plan has been embraced by the very same leaders who once criticized it, and it is Fayyad, of all people, who is having second thoughts.

“It is not going to be a dramatic result,” Fayyad replied when asked in a June 28, 2011 AP interview about UN action in September. Little will actually change, even if the PA is recognized in the UN General Assembly as a new Arab country, he explained. “Unless Israel is part of that consensus, it won’t [change reality in the ground], because to me, it is about ending Israeli occupation.”

Fayyad has recently been striving to lower public expectations in anticipation of the UN action. He and others are becoming increasingly concerned with what may follow the vote. On the other hand, Fateh leaders, including the imprisoned Marwan Barghouti and Abbas himself, are calling for a Palestinian Arab Spring-like popular mobilization.

“I call on our people in the homeland and in the diaspora to go out in a peaceful, million-man march during the week of voting in the United Nations in September,” Barghouti said in a statement issued from his jail cell in Israel on July 20.

One week later, Abbas called for similar action. “Every day, we face things that drive us to carry out popular resistance on a wide scale and not in one place,” he said. “I insist on popular resistance, and I insist that it be unarmed popular resistance so that nobody misunderstands us. We are now inspired by the protests of the Arab Spring, all of which cry out ‘peaceful’, ‘peaceful.’”

Top Israeli political officials minimize the prospect of disruptive Palestinian protest. “On the ground nothing will happen,” explained former chief of staff and current deputy prime minister Moshe Ya’alon on June 27, 2011. “If it were a UN Security Council decision, we would have to contemplate unilateral steps of our own. The Palestinians aren’t thinking about a third intifada or about millions marching into Israel. That is more a case of us frightening ourselves.”

Nevertheless, the IDF and settlers themselves are readying themselves to confront the prospect of Palestinian marches on settlements and major checkpoints.

The Israeli news site *Walla!* for example reported on

Some of the residents of Yitzhar who received yesterday administrative restraining orders removing them from Judea and Samaria, on suspicion that they were involved in planning and executing the torching of mosques, were in the midst of preparations for launching a course that they called a “self-defense course,” which was intended to train the settlers to cope with Palestinian infiltration into their territory. The settlers planned to bring to Samaria [hand-to-hand combat] instructors, who would prepare the residents of Yitzhar for the events of September, the implementation of the Palestinian initiative for unilateral recognition of their independence by the UN, and the riots that are liable to break out afterwards.

Among the prominent organizers of the course is right-wing activist Akiva HaCohen, who is considered by the security establishment to be one of the leading activists in Yitzhar, and received yesterday morning a restraining order banning him from Judea and Samaria for an entire year due to his involvement in arson cases. “We have witnessed recently a shocking phenomenon in which Arabs display

resourcefulness and infiltrate unarmed into settlement outposts, set fires, cause damage and injure the residents, while the army stands by helplessly,” HaCohen said to *Walla!* “The army does not deal with this like a terror attack, and does not know how to respond to the fact that they’re unarmed.

The people in the settlement outposts are forced to call us to protect them from the new terror, and we will help. Since they have taken our guns away, the only means that remains for us to defend ourselves is with our hands. . . .”

HaCohen said that against the backdrop of the IDF’s fear of mass marches toward the settlements in September, the residents of the settlement outposts had decided to teach hand-to-hand combat for defensive purposes. “It is an elementary right to defend ourselves and our property, and regrettably we see that the IDF chooses in its training to remove the settlers rather than the Arabs, so we have to defend ourselves, and we have to learn how to do so.”

Although Abbas and Barghouti see value in mobilizing the Palestinian public to confront the symbols of occupation—settlements and checkpoints—PA security forces are meant to keep Palestinian protesters away from these points of confrontation. During Israel’s January 2009 “Operation Cast Lead” in the Gaza Strip, and more recently in May during events commemorating the Nakba, IDF and PA forces maintained effective security cooperation.

*Ha’aretz*, recently reported that “security coordination between the security system and the Palestinian forces has

**“There is perhaps a two-year shelf life on being told that you’re creating a state, when you’re not.”**  
**General Keith Dayton, former U.S. security coordinator, May 2009**

been maintained, but there is already a certain cooling in relations ahead of the crisis that may develop in September.” Large-scale demonstrations organized around the Palestinians’ UN bid for recognition may signal a new, dangerous chapter in this relationship, forcing Palestinian forces to choose between their security obligations to Israel and officially sanctioned and encouraged popular demonstrations targeting settlements and checkpoints. In this context, the counsel of the U.S. security coordinator General Keith Dayton, who until recently was responsible for training members of the Palestinian National Security Force, offers a cautionary warning.

During questions after he had delivered a speech at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Dayton was asked, “How many Palestinians see your people as collaborators?” Dayton acknowledged that Hamas and its sympathizers accuse the Palestinian battalions of being “enforcers of the Israeli occupation. With big expectations, come big risks,” he explained. “There is perhaps a two-year shelf life on being told that you’re creating a state, when you’re not.”

Dayton spoke in May 2009, just a little more than two years ago.

Source: *TheMarker*, July 1, 2011.

*Note:* Barkan is a settlement near Nablus.

The population of most East Jerusalem settlement neighborhoods is stagnating. Over the last decade, the population of these Jewish neighborhoods has increased by less than 20,000—to 191,960—a rate of increase far lower than that for West Bank settlements during this period, and of Israel nationally. In contrast, Palestinians have increased their share of the city’s population of 789,000, from 204,000, or 29 percent, in 2004, to 245,000, or 36 percent, today.

**Settler Population in East Jerusalem, 2005–2009**

	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005
East Talpiot	13,727	12,186	12,241	12,078	12,158
French Hill (Givat Shapira)	8,998	7,099	6,897	6,724	6,589
Gilo	28,980	26,929	27,087	27,173	27,258
Giv'at HaMatos, Har Homa	11,877	9,615	7,545	6,040	4,604
Giv'at HaMivtar, Ramat Eshkol (east)	2,897	2,831	2,860	2,901	2,912
Ma'alot Dafna, Kiryat Arye	2,610	3,732	3,735	3,765	3,675
Neve Ya'akov	18,605	20,383	20,230	20,149	20,156
Jewish Quarter (Old City)	2,481	2,485	2,555	2,546	2,476
Pisgat Ze'ev	39,748	42,115	41,882	41,653	41,208
Ramot Allon	40,395	42,246	41,448	40,837	40,367
Ramat Eshkol (west)	3,404	3,388	3,316	3,299	3,252
Ramat Shlomo	14,245	15,123	14,911	14,658	14,318
Sanhedriyya HaMurhevot, Har HaHozvim (industrial zone)	3,993	4,959	5,001	5,034	5,084
<b>Total</b>	<b>191,960</b>	<b>193,091</b>	<b>189,708</b>	<b>186,857</b>	<b>184,057</b>

**Source:** Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem, 2000–2010*.

\*Numbers do not include settlers in Sheikh Jarrah, Silwan, the Old City Muslim Quarter.

## SETTLEMENT FREEZE UPDATE

The Israeli government implemented a temporary ten-month settlement “moratorium” in 2010 that ended on September 26, 2010. Data from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics make clear that new settlement construction continued in the West Bank during this period, albeit at a reduced

rate, and that the effects of the moratorium were temporary and limited. There were 630 housing starts in 2010, compared to 1,958 in 2009, when a spurt of construction starts was undertaken in anticipation of the moratorium.

**West Bank Settlement Freeze, 2009–2010**

	2009				2010			
	Jan-Mar	Apr-Jun	Jul-Sep	Oct-Dec	Jan-Mar	Apr-Jun	Jul-Sep	Oct-Dec
Housing starts	342	327	442	762	33	35	104	458
Housing completions	437	469	592	572	414	553	381	318
Housing under construction	3,066	2,936	2,790	2,955	2,862	2,328	2,051	2,215

The [Palestinian Authority] believed its own claims. Now it does not wish to believe the facts that have belied these claims. It believed that the path of building institutions and proving its capability would lead to the end of the occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state. But when it announced that the state’s institutions have been completed, the state did not come into being. We had a financial crisis, instead.

Signs of an even greater crisis are looming on the horizon as a result of ignoring the main facts—namely that Palestine is under occupation; that the people, the PA [Palestinian Authority], and the PA’s leadership are all hostage to it; and that the PA’s fate depends on the occupation and U.S. satisfaction with it.

The progress achieved by the PA so far came at an extreme cost. In return, the PA had to contribute to a political program based on fulfilling its obligations to the [2003] roadmap unilaterally—especially its security-related commitments; an end to a resistance which now had to be fought; and the restriction of its activities to improving living conditions under the occupation until God decides

otherwise. This contributed to the inter-Palestinian split, its longevity, and its exacerbation.

Responsibility for the above does not fall on the government and its PM alone, but also on the PA’s leadership, on the PA’s president, and on the PA and PLO’s legal institutions.

Do we now have state institutions? And does the establishment of good institutions lead to the establishment of the state? Or can the state only be established by ending the occupation? And can this be achieved other than by adopting a political program that is able to end the occupation?

Southern Sudan obtained its state because it achieved victory on the ground, without having institutions. As for us, we have institutions which have been declared to be ideal, but we are no nearer to having a state despite the fact that the date for its establishment is drawing near in accordance with the Palestinian government’s [2009 two-year] plan and Obama’s promise [of a Palestinian state in 2011].

Hani al-Masri, Palestine Media, Research and Studies Centre–Badael, [www.badael.ps](http://www.badael.ps), July 13, 2011

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