

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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ELECTION OBSERVATIONS

Benjamin Netanyahu will lead Israel's next government, offering the Likud Party leader the chance to become Israel's longest-serving prime minister since Israel's founder David Ben-Gurion. Under his unchallenged leadership, the Likud Party, however, emerged from the 2013 election much diminished from the 27 seats it won in 2009, when it was able to construct a stable coalition between the religious and ideological right that withstood the U.S.-led international effort to contain Israel's long-term program of settlement expansion and occupation. (See chart on page 7.)

Netanyahu's decision to run jointly with Avigdor Lieberman's Israel Beitanu enabled the newly formed Likud Beitanu list to win more combined seats (31) than its closest runner up—the new Yesh Atid (There is a Future) (19). The Likud by itself, however, won only 20 seats on the combined list, a significant decline from the 27 Likud candidates who won in 2009, not to mention the 48 mandates in the 1981 elections. The January 2013 result is nevertheless hardly comparable to the Likud's miserable showing in 2006 (12 seats) against Ehud Olmert's Kadima Party (29 seats). The Likud's smaller Knesset faction should make it easier for Netanyahu to derail contro-

“So much of what we aspire to achieve and what we need to do globally, what we need to do in the Maghreb and South Asia, South Central Asia, throughout the Gulf, all of this is tied to what can or doesn't happen with respect to Israel-Palestine.”

**Secretary of State John Kerry,
January 24, 2013**

versial Knesset initiatives related to the occupation and settlement that were so pronounced in the last Knesset.

Netanyahu's electoral strength has indeed been reduced at the ballot box—the Likud accounted for seven of the nine seats lost by the joint Likud-Israel Beitanu list. But unlike Shamir in 1992, Netanyahu remains the leader of the largest party—one that has been “purged” of its more moderate voices and will form the next government.

U.S. reservations about the policies of the outgoing Netanyahu government, particularly concerning settlements and stalled negotiations, were both less explicit than the pointed criticism expressed by the George H. W. Bush administration towards the rejectionist policies of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in his losing effort in 1992, and less effective in shaping the recent electoral outcome. In contrast to previous contests, foreign affairs generally, and the ongoing policies of occupation and settlement in particular, hardly regis-

tered in the electoral campaigns of most parties and among the public at large.

Nationalist, pro-settlement parties have been a constant feature of Israel's electoral landscape, most especially since the historic Likud victory in the 1977 elections. The Likud and the National Religious Party (NRP) have been the most popular parties reflecting this “Greater Israel” ethos. Each in its own way has been captured by these forces. The NRP, long a mainstay of every coalition since Israel's establishment, had disappeared by the 1988 election in favor of a series of short-lived messianic, settler parties. In the Likud, a primary system resulted in the election of ideologues who pushed Jabotinsky's party even further to the right in its support of settlement and annexation.

Israel's right-wing, messianic, pro-settlement forces were first energized by the NRP's Gush Emunim—the Bloc of the Faithful—a popular movement that successfully challenged the then-ruling Labor Alignment to expand settlement throughout the West Bank after 1973. When running independently from the Likud, this faction has garnered as few as 7 (in the eighteenth Knesset, 2009), and as many as 17 MKs (thirteenth Knesset, 1992), running under an ever-changing banner of parties in support of more aggressive settlement and annexationist policies. These parties have been notoriously fractious, sectarian, and politically unstable, rarely lasting for more than two election cycles. At their

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TO OUR READERS

President Obama's decision to visit Israel in March is welcome news. He will go amidst clashing domestic priorities and even before a new Israeli government is fully established because he recognizes that hopes for a two-state peace are disappearing. Israel's new government, notwithstanding the emergence of the centrist *Yesh Atid* party, will still be dominated by rightist settler and religious elements, and the Palestinians remain divided. Unless pressed by the U.S., a leadership-led move toward peace is most unlikely.

But Israeli and Palestinian politics are volatile. The U.S. should not underestimate the opportunity to shape public opinion there and ultimately official policy. Washington must convey a more persuasive and empathetic message to both dispirited societies that there is hope, and that the U.S. is committed to helping them realize peace. The President must also stress that America

has its own strategic interest in peace, that the U.S.-Israel relationship must be based on reciprocity and mutual interest, and that "shared values" becomes a hollow slogan if Israel's leaders continue to define their interests as occupation, settlement and defeat of Palestinian aspirations for statehood.

Such a policy of even-handed compassion, candor, and firm commitments to security should be linked, at the right time, to an American peace plan keyed to the basic interests of all sides. Such an approach will stir major tensions at the outset, not the least here at home, but it will also offer hope. If we stay the course, however long and tortuous, this will galvanize Israeli, Palestinian—and American—politics and change today's deadly dynamic.

Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.

SETTLEMENT POLICIES ISOLATE ISRAEL



Ha'aretz, Dec. 12, 2012

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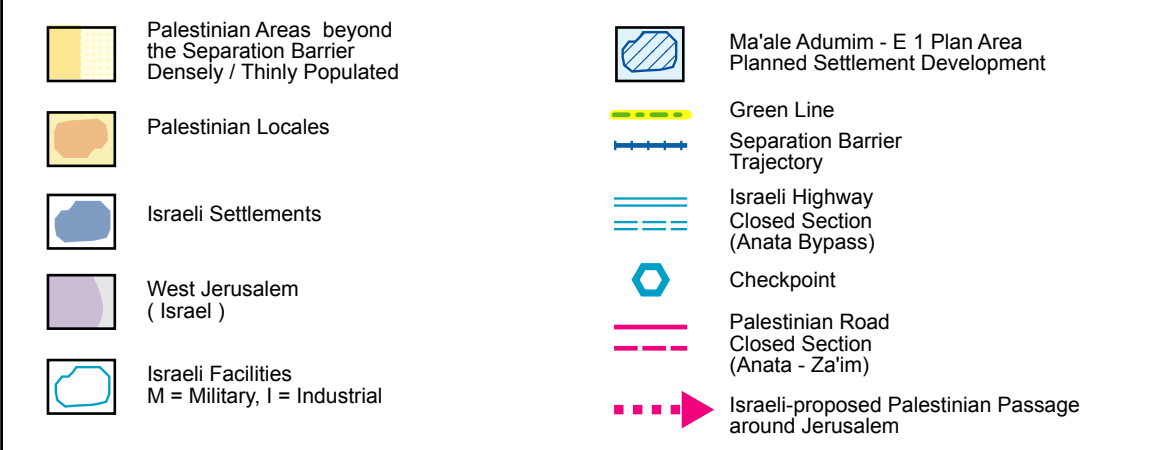
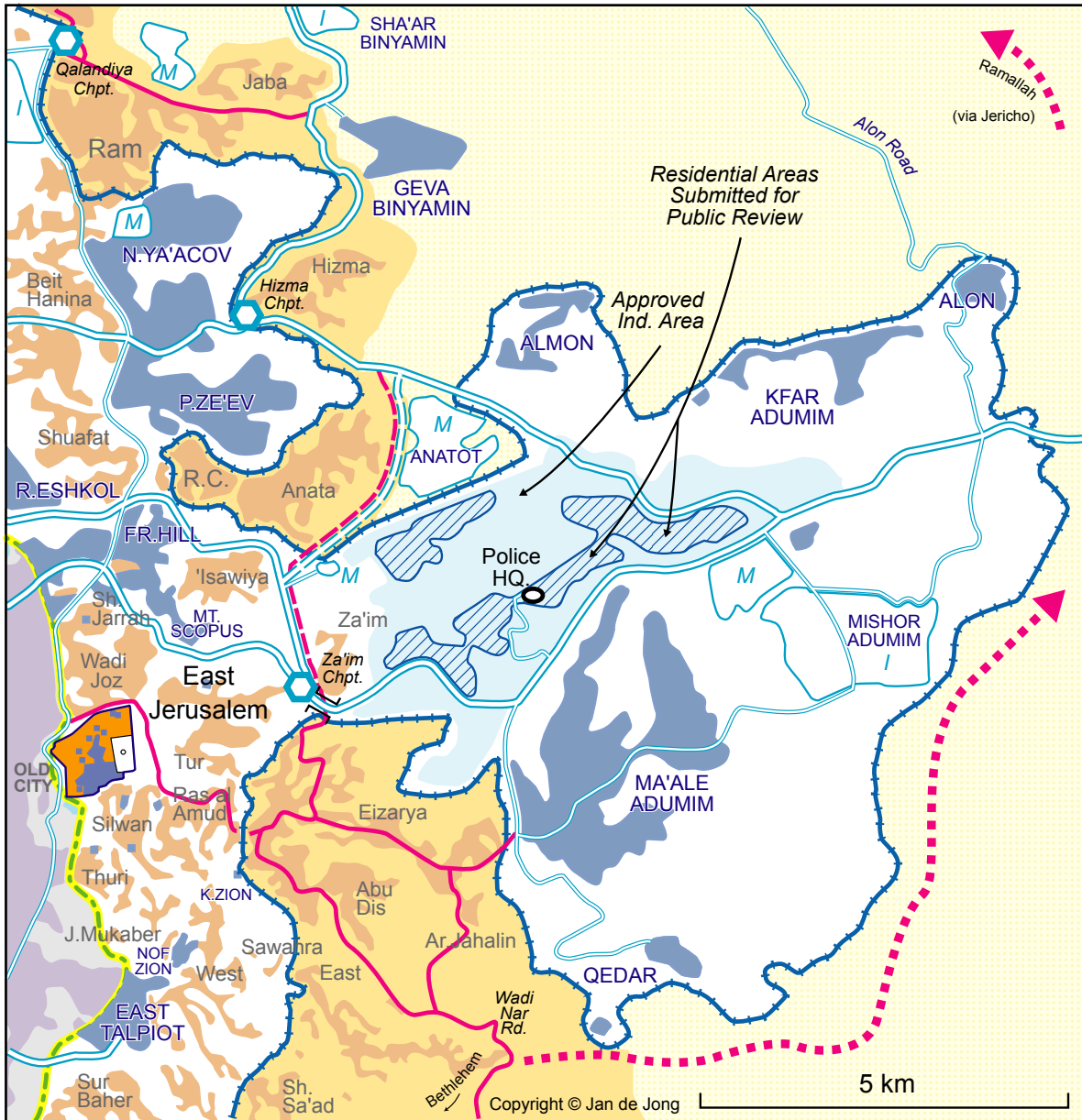
Nicholas A. Veliotis

Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.

The Foundation for Middle East Peace has prepared a presentation of maps illustrating the evolution of the conflict from the UN Partition Plan in 1947, and depicting the growth of Israel's occupation and settlement project from the 1967 War to the present. To download the presentation visit: <http://www.fmep.org/resources/publications-1/map-progression-1948-1967>.

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MA'ALE ADUMIM-E1, 2013



SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

October 1 Settlers install caravans on land belonging to the town of al-Khadr, near Bethlehem, in an attempt to establish an illegal outpost. (Palestinian Monitoring Group-Negotiating Affairs Department)

October 2 Settlers vandalize a Franciscan monastery in Jerusalem and spray paint “Price Tag” as well as anti-Christian slogans on the walls and gate. (Ma’an News, *Ha’aretz*, *Yediot Abaronot*)

Settlers stone vehicles in Ramallah and Qalqilya, occupy a Palestinian home in Hebron, and set fire to agricultural land in Nablus. (PMG-NAD)

October 3 Settlers begin building an outpost on land belonging to Palestinians from Yanun village, near Nablus. (Ma’an News)

October 4 The Civil Administration refuses to grant a permit to settlers in Hebron to purchase a contested house due to errors in the purchase agreement. The house is the fourth site this year in Hebron that has been embroiled in a legal dispute between settlers and Palestinians. (*Ha’aretz*)

A Jerusalem magistrate court judge states that police should allow Jews to pray on the Temple Mount. The court’s action violates a Supreme Court ruling asserting that the police are solely responsible for policy on the Temple Mount. (*Ha’aretz*)

Settlers assault and injure a Palestinian resident of Silwan, in East Jerusalem. (PMG-NAD)

October 5 Israeli security forces accidentally set fire to an olive orchard near Qalqilya after a stray tear-gas canister exploded when they reacted to Palestinian children throwing stones. (PMG-NAD)

October 6 Settlers destroy 100 olive trees and 60 grape vines near Bethlehem. (Ma’an News)

October 7 Settlers destroy 40 olive trees near Ramallah and assault Palestinian harvesters. (Ma’an News)

Undercover Israeli police posing as Arabs are reportedly attacked and injured by settlers. (Ynetnews)

October 9 Settlers from Eli use chainsaws to destroy 120 olive trees near Nablus. (Ma’an News)

A settler shoots at a Palestinian resident of Bethlehem, wounding him. (PMG-NAD)

October 10 Settlers destroy 250 olive trees near Ramallah. (Ma’an News)

Israeli authorities issue stop-work orders on five homes near Bethlehem. (Ma’an News)

Settlers raid the Tel al-Rumaida neighborhood, in Hebron’s Old City, stealing several tons of recently harvested olives. (PMG-NAD)

Israeli forces clash with residents of Ramallah while storming a house to serve a demolition notice. The house had reportedly been constructed without a permit. (PMG-NAD)

Ma’ariv reports that despite the uncertain status of Ariel College’s upgrade to a university, the Israeli government will allocate \$6.8 million to it for the academic year.

October 11 Settlers steal recently harvested olives in Jenin and Hebron and stone residents of Nablus harvesting olives. (PMG-NAD)

The human rights group Yesh Din publishes a report claiming that out of 162 Palestinian complaints against settlers over the vandalism of olive trees and produce during the past seven years, only one case had led to an indictment. Most were dismissed on the grounds of “felon unknown.” (Ynetnews)

Ha’aretz reports that settlers have been stealing tons of soil from private Palestinian lands cordoned off for “security purposes.”

October 12 Settlers attack Palestinian olive harvesters in central Hebron, causing one youth to be hospitalized. The human rights group B’Tselem says that it had documented five similar attacks between October 7 and October 10. (Ma’an News)

October 14 Israel begins work on a new settler road near Tubas, in the Jordan Valley. (Ma’an News)

Settlers open fire on Palestinian farmers near Nablus and steal several tons of their olive harvest. (PMG-NAD)

October 15 The Israeli Ministry of Public Diplomacy and Diaspora Affairs launches a \$250,000 advertizing campaign to “bolster the legitimacy” of West Bank settlements. (Ynetnews)

Israeli authorities approve the confiscation of 244 dunums of land near Hebron for construction of the separation barrier. (PMG-NAD)

Ha’aretz reports on plans by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to ease restrictions on freedom of movement that prevent Palestinians from traveling between the Jordan Valley and the rest of the West Bank.

October 17 Israeli authorities serve demolition notices for several homes in Bethlehem, Hebron, and East Jerusalem. (PMG-NAD)

October 18 Israeli authorities serve a demolition order for a house in Tubas, giving occupants three days to vacate the premises. (PMG-NAD)

October 19 Israel publishes a plan to build 800 new units in the settlement of Gilo, between East Jerusalem and Bethlehem. (Ma’an News)

October 21 *Ha’aretz* reports that 3,374 Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem received full Israeli citizenship between 2004 and 2010.

October 23 Ma’an News reports that settlers had torched a car and beat Palestinians in Hebron. Israeli security forces allegedly forced cameramen to delete footage of the event.

October 24 Israeli authorities destroy five wells near Jenin for allegedly being constructed without a permit. (Ma’an News)

October 25 Israeli forces confiscate 200 dunums of land near al-Khadr for settlement expansion. (PMG-NAD)

October 29 *Yediot Yerushalaim* reports on the Israel Land Administration’s approval for the release of 180 units for development of a neighborhood for retired police and IDF personnel in East Jerusalem near the Har Homa settlement.

October 31 Peace Now reports that two new illegal outposts have been established in the West Bank and have supplies of electricity and water and access to roads. (Ma’an News)

Israeli authorities demolish two Palestinian homes north of Jericho. (Ma’an News)

November 1 Israeli forces evacuate the settlement outpost of Hasruga, near Yitzhar. Following the evacuation, the army clashes with settlers. (*Ha’aretz*)

Israeli forces demolish a house in East Jerusalem, the sixth such incident in East Jerusalem in 2012. The house had previously

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

been demolished in January, but rebuilt by volunteers during the summer. Two homes in Jericho are also demolished, and eviction notices served for ten houses in Jerusalem and two in Tubas.

Israeli settlers stone vehicles in Nablus and Bethlehem. (Ma'an, PMG-NAD)

November 2 Settlers assault and seriously injure several Palestinians harvesting olives in Qalqilya and stab two Palestinians in Jerusalem. (PMG-NAD)

Kol Ha'Ir reports on a project by the Israel Land Authority and the Ministry of Construction to build 5,000 low-income housing units across Israel to reduce pressure on the housing market. Of them, 607 units would be built in the East Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev and 92 in Ma'ale Adumim.

November 3 Settlers from Alei Zahev detain for five hours Hamza Naji, a 12-year-old from Salfit, for being near the settlement fence. (PMG-NAD)

November 4 Settlers launch a price tag attack in the Shuafat refugee camp, in East Jerusalem, vandalizing six cars and spraying pro-settler graffiti. Also in East Jerusalem, a group of settlers attack residents attempting to prevent a settler from kidnapping a Palestinian child, who was later held for several hours by Israeli security forces. (Ma'an News, PMG-NAD)

During a demonstration against settler violence and land confiscation near Hebron, Israeli soldiers attack demonstrators with tear gas and stun grenades, leaving two hospitalized. (PMG-NAD)

Under the protection of IDF forces, settlers storm a village near Nablus, seriously injuring a Palestinian man. (PMG-NAD)

November 5 Settlers uproot 70 olive trees belonging to Palestinians in Hebron. Another group of settlers occupies a house in Jerusalem overlooking the al-Aqsa Mosque, forcing its inhabitants to leave the premises. (Ma'an News)

Kol Ha'Ir reports that settlers from Har Adar oppose a water reservoir to be built in the Jerusalem hills. They claim 800 trees will have to be uprooted.

November 6 Israel publishes tenders for more than 1,200 houses in East Jerusalem in the settlements of Ramot Alon and Pisgat Ze'ev. (Ma'an News)

November 7 Ma'an News reports that Israeli authorities have served eviction notices to 40 Palestinian families in Nablus in what would be one of the largest such operations to date. The land is reportedly intended for a military training camp.

Ma'ariv reports that the Migron outpost, which was evacuated in September following six years of legal battles, has been turned into a military base.

In Nablus, Israeli settlers uproot 100 olive trees belonging to Palestinians. (Ma'an News, PMG-NAD)

Israeli forces demolish two homes and a water cistern in Hebron and serve eviction notices to 28 families in Jenin. (Ma'an News, PMG-NAD)

November 8 During a home demolition in Salfit, Israeli forces clash with residents and protesters, firing rubber-coated bullets and tear-gas grenades to disperse the crowd. (PMG-NAD)

The Jerusalem municipality calls on the Housing and Construction Ministry to withdraw one of three tenders released for units in the East Jerusalem settlement of Ramot, claiming that the ministry had manipulated prices in the affordable housing tender to tailor it to the ultra-Orthodox community. (*Ha'aretz*)

November 9 *Ha'aretz* reports that since December 2009, 17 Muslim and Christian houses of worship have been set on fire or otherwise vandalized.

November 10 A young Palestinian man is hospitalized after being assaulted by Israeli settlers throwing stones in Hebron. (Ma'an News)

November 11 *Ma'ariv* reports on a project by the Jerusalem municipality to allocate names, supposedly of a Jewish biblical origin, to unnamed streets around the City of David and the East Jerusalem Palestinian neighborhood of Silwan.

Citing a call for early elections, Israel submits a request to the High Court of Justice for a delay by six months for the evacuation of the Amona outpost, scheduled for 31 December. (*Ma'ariv*)

November 12 Settlers attempt to set fire to a home in Bethlehem and spray the walls with racist graffiti. Neighbors throwing stones repelled the arsonists. (Ma'an News,

PMG-NAD)

Israeli authorities approve the construction of nearly 700 new units in the Itamar settlement as well as other areas near Nablus. (PMG-NAD)

November 19 Settlers from Yitzhar attempt to torch a mosque in Nablus and a car in Ramallah. (Ma'an News)

November 21 Settlers assault and detain three Palestinians harvesting olives near Nablus and hand them over to the IDF. (Ma'an News)

November 23 *Yediot Yerushalaim* reports on a request by settlers of French Hill, in East Jerusalem, to block access to the Palestinian village of Issawiya following an increase in violent incidents in the neighborhood.

Some 400 olive trees are uprooted by settlers near Hebron. (Ma'an News, PMG-NAD)

November 25 Arsonists slash the tires of eight vehicles in the Shuafat refugee camp and spray paint "Price Tag-Gaza" on one of the cars. (Ma'an News, PMG-NAD)

November 29 Israeli authorities level land near Hebron, uprooting 800 olive trees and destroying agricultural infrastructure. (PMG-NAD)

November 30 Following the Palestinian Authority's successful bid for non-member observer state status at the United Nations, Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu announces his government's intention to expedite the planning and construction of 3,000 housing units in the E-1 area, between Jerusalem and the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim. (Ma'an News, *Ha'aretz*, Ynetnews)

electoral peak (1992–1995), this sector nevertheless failed to prevent Knesset endorsement of the Oslo accords. Ariel Sharon's campaign to "disengage" from the Gaza Strip was successfully implemented and won a ringing popular support in 2006 despite strong popular opposition from these quarters.

In the new Knesset, Ha Bayit Ha Yehudi (Jewish Home) represents this Greater Israel constituency. The party, which first appeared in the 2009 elections and won 3 seats, has increased its representation to twelve MKs. It supports the annexation of 60 per cent of the West Bank and opposes the creation of a Palestinian state west of the Jordan River. What is notable about this party is not so much the electoral strength of Israel's pro-settlement, messianic movement but its unification under the leadership of Naftali Bennett. Bennett is a high-tech millionaire, a former elite commando and top aide to Netanyahu. He has succeeded in broadening the appeal of what is an ideological, militant, anti-democratic and chauvinist movement based in settlements and religious academies associated with them by attracting votes from the military as well as "regular" voters disaffected with the Likud and Labor, many of whom otherwise voted for Yesh Atid.

The Labor Party continues as a shadow of its historic presence during Israel's first three decades when it was Israel's largest party and head of government. Its inability to join with smaller parties and to energize the electorate has sapped its electoral strength and resulted in an extended period of opposition since being ousted by Ariel Sharon's Likud in 2003.

The electoral debut of Yesh Atid with 19 seats is the story of this election. Its surprisingly strong showing under the leadership of the telegenic Ya'ir Lapid, a popular television presenter, is the latest manifestation of the continuing effort to give electoral expression to the desire for reform, good government and a less radical and messianic policy of settlement and occupation popular among a large segment of Israel's secular and globalized electorate.

Meron Benvenisti has observed that there are two representative Israeli monuments to these Israelis—the separation barrier and the international airport. The barrier attests to the wish to make Palestinians, and the challenge they represent to Israel's future as a Jewish and democratic state, disappear while preserving the demographic and territorial achievements of settlement expansion, while the airport links them to the secular and modern West.

Lapid's Yesh Atid is not the first to mobilize these voters. Their electoral power first manifested itself on the Israeli political scene in 1977, in the wake of widespread public disillusionment with the policies of the Labor Party that led to the 1973 October war and the Likud's surprising 1977

victory under the leadership of Menachem Begin. In elections that year, the newly formed Democratic Movement for Change exploded onto the electoral map with 15 seats. Yet while posting impressive achievements at the ballot box, Dash and its successors have been political disappointments. After flashes of popular support in 1977 and 2003, these new and untested parties found themselves consistently outmaneuvered by their coalition partners in the right-wing political establishment and fell quickly into internal disarray and dissolution. Dash numbered 15 MKs as part of a governing coalition that brought Begin to power in 1977, but it had disappeared from the political map by the next election, in 1981. It reappeared as the Shinui (Change) Party in 2003 with 15 mandates, led by journalist Tommy Lapid. The party joined the Sharon government, only to disappear in the 2009 polling. Like Dash, Shinui was both uninterested and unable to exercise any real influence over Israeli occupation and settlement policies, or indeed over any aspect of government conduct.

Ya'ir Lapid, son of the Shinui leader, re-invented the Yesh Atid party in the months before the recent contest. Like its predecessors, Dash and Shinui, Yesh Atid represents a constituency that is not interested in sitting in the back benches. It is determined to join the government in order to change policies aimed at "sharing the burden"—that is, drafting the ultra-Orthodox into compulsory national service and ending policies discouraging their entry into the labor force.

Like most parties, Yesh Atid hardly addressed issues of settlement and occupation during the campaign. Its voters reflect the national consensus supporting policies of occupation and settlement that remove Palestinians and the issue of Palestine from the Israeli agenda and enable Israel to enjoy the benefits of settlement without the costs of continuing occupation. Lapid opened the party's campaign in a speech at Ariel University in the West Bank settlement of the same name. His deliberate and reassuring message of support for the "consensus" favoring "settlement blocs," the annexation of East Jerusalem, and his appeal to settlers was clear. Yesh Atid, like its predecessors, has positioned itself as the party of domestic reform and ongoing settlement at Israel's Jewish, Zionist political center.

The Yesh Atid party manifesto reaffirms its relatively moderate views. It notes that, "the fact that the current Israeli government consistently shirks the necessity of returning to the negotiating table, is in our eyes, blatant national negligence. Its only import is that we are leaving the painful, bleeding problem to our children. . . . Peace is the only prudent answer to the demographic threat and the frantic conceptions of a "country of all its citizens" and "bi-national state" that right and left extremists attempt to promote. . . . Continuation of the existing situation, in which no settlement-negotiations

"I am aiming to establish the broadest and most stable government possible so we can respond, first of all, to the security threats."

**Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu,
January 26, 2013**

take place but construction momentum continues in far-flung, isolated settlements [outside] of the outlines drawn from the permanent-arrangement viewpoint, pulls us further away each day from the likelihood of reaching a permanent solution and represents a real danger to the future and existence of the State of Israel. . . . The solution of two states for two nations—which was recognized by all the prime ministers of Israel in the last 30 years, from Yitzhak Rabin to Benjamin Netanyahu—is the only solution that can ensure existence and security for Israel.”

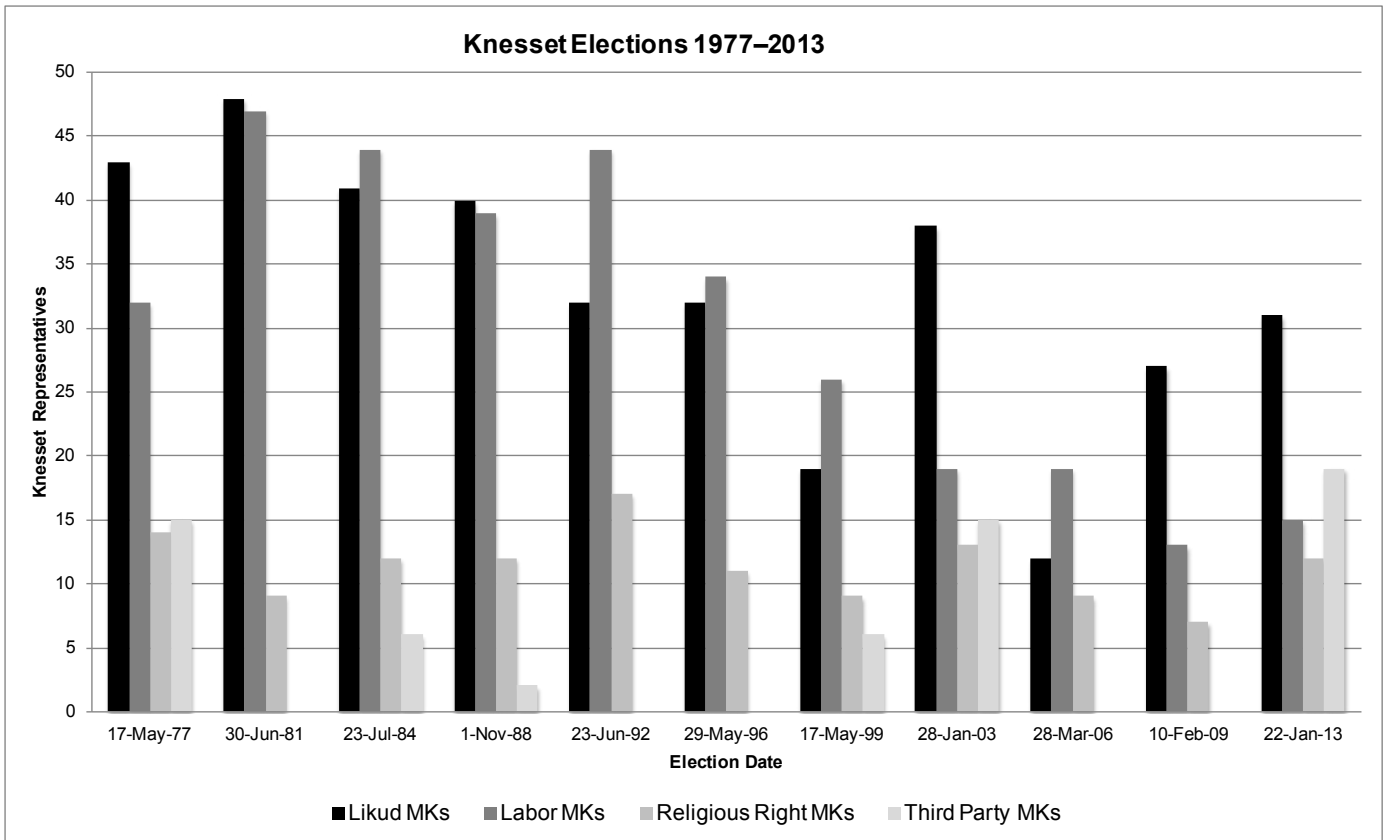
The Obama administration will be heartened by the appearance of such sentiments in the yet-to-be formed government. The White House has made clear its belief that policies of the outgoing Netanyahu government are at odds with Israel’s interest in ending occupation and the supporting creation of a Palestinian state at peace with Israel. An Israeli government that includes Yesh Atid may be better suited than the current coalition to address these concerns. Netanyahu will almost certainly be less interested in antagonizing Washington than has been the case. The Yesh Atid platform has eloquently articulated the dangers to Israel posed by continuing occupation and settlement throughout the West Bank. Yet it is also the case that the true test of a change in Israel’s policies is not

[The West Bank settlement of] Ariel has a cemetery in the industrial zone west of the city, but the family of Ariel mayor Ron Nachman did not want to bury him there out of concern that his grave would be vandalized because the cemetery is so isolated. So they decided to bury him on a hill overlooking the city.

Senior officials of the Civil Administration who attended the funeral knew it was illegal, but no one said a word. That’s what Nachman would have done—actions, not paperwork.

Ha’aretz, January 21, 2013

only the ability to describe the problem and to tally its costs, but rather to promote and implement a change in direction—supporting the withdrawal Israel’s soldiers and settlers to an agreed upon border between the states of Israel and Palestine. This is the challenge shared by the newly-re-elected governments in Washington and Jerusalem alike. ♦



MA'ALE ADUMIM: A SHORT HISTORY

In the early 1970s, Israel's Labor government considered a plan to expand the boundaries of Jerusalem eastward by establishing an industrial zone and settlement on the Jerusalem-Jericho road. In winter 1975, on the seventh night of Hanukkah, the group Gush Emmunim erected a prefabricated concrete structure and two wooden huts six kilometers east of Jerusalem. They did so without government authorization but with Defense Minister Shimon Peres's active support. The group was subsequently evicted several times from the unauthorized outpost. Shortly after Menachem Begin's 1977 election, however, Ma'ale Adumim was granted official status as a permanent settlement.

In March 1979, the settlement, with fewer than 300 residents, obtained local council status. The settlement anchors the "Adumim" bloc that today includes E-1, Mishor Adumim, Kfar Adumim, Qedar, and Allon. With a municipal area of 53,000 dunams (13,097 acres), Ma'ale Adumim is larger than Tel Aviv, although only 7,120 dunams (1,760 acres) have been developed. In contrast, the five neighboring Palestinian villages have more residents, but expropriations favoring Ma'ale Adumim have left them with an area of only 4,600 dunams (1,137 acres). Around 1,050 Palestinian Jahalin Bedouin were forcibly moved from the area in the late 1990s when land was annexed to the settlement.

By 1990, large-scale construction had boosted Ma'ale Adumim to a population of 13,500. Today, with a population exceeding 39,000, it is the third largest settlement in the West Bank and one of only four settlements classified as a "city" by the Israeli government. More than 70 percent of its residents are secular. The overwhelming majority located there not for ideological reasons, but for lower-cost housing and higher living standards than are available in Jerusalem. In 2004, 48 percent of residents were under age 18.

Ma'ale Adumim is located on a strategically important hilltop along the road linking Jerusalem and the Allenby Bridge to Jordan. Sitting at the crossroads of the West Bank, Ma'ale Adumim sits astride the route to the eastern border with Jordan, the Dead Sea in the southern West Bank, and most important, Jerusalem, where many of Ma'ale Adumim's residents commute for work.

E-1

E-1, also known as Mevasseret Adumim, is a 12,000 dunam area of Israeli-designated "state land" east of Jerusalem linking Ma'ale Adumim with East Jerusalem. It is bordered by the French Hill settlement neighborhood of Jerusalem to the west, the Palestinian village of Abu Dis to the southwest, and the settlements of Qedar to the south, Ma'ale Adumim to the east, and Almon to the north.

In 1994, Prime Minister Rabin declared that under any final status agreement a united Jerusalem would include Ma'ale Adumim. He then approved a plan to expand the borders of

the settlement to incorporate the area known as E(ast)-1 to establish an Israeli land bridge connecting Ma'ale Adumim to (East) Jerusalem.

In an October 1994 address to the Knesset, Rabin vowed that Israel would never return to the June 1967 borders. His remarks included references to "a united Jerusalem, which will include Ma'ale Adumim and Givat Ze'ev, as the capital of Israel, under Israel's sovereignty."

Although Rabin, under pressure from the U.S. government, refrained from developing E-1 and some other areas of the West Bank around Jerusalem, he never renounced Israel's territorial claim. Other areas where Rabin froze construction, notably in Efrat, have subsequently been developed. During the last decade, Israel has "built quietly" in E-1, establishing road and other infrastructure for eventual large-scale development of housing and hotels.

On August 31, 2005, after Benjamin Netanyahu quit the government of Ariel Sharon, he launched his own campaign for Likud chairman, and ultimately prime minister, on the hilltops of the E-1 corridor linking Jerusalem and Ma'ale Adumim. "Jerusalem is in danger," Netanyahu warned, as he attacked Sharon for failing to move forward with construction in the controversial zone.

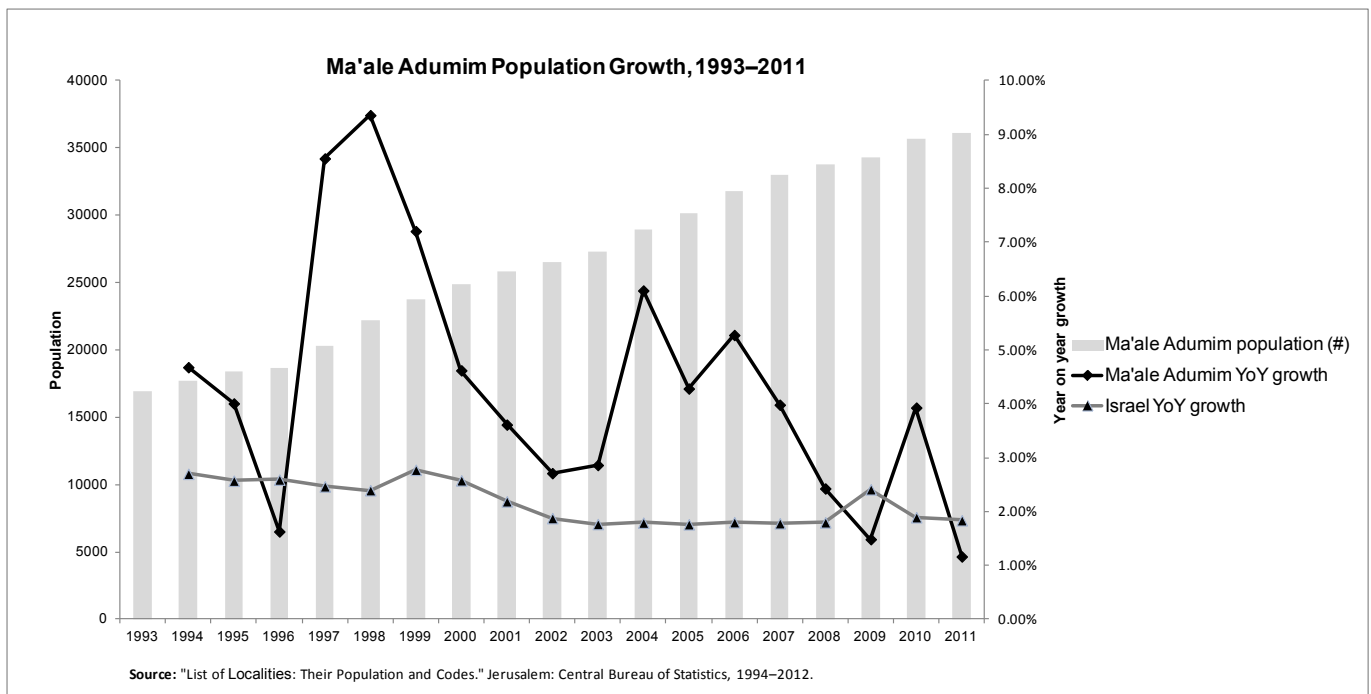
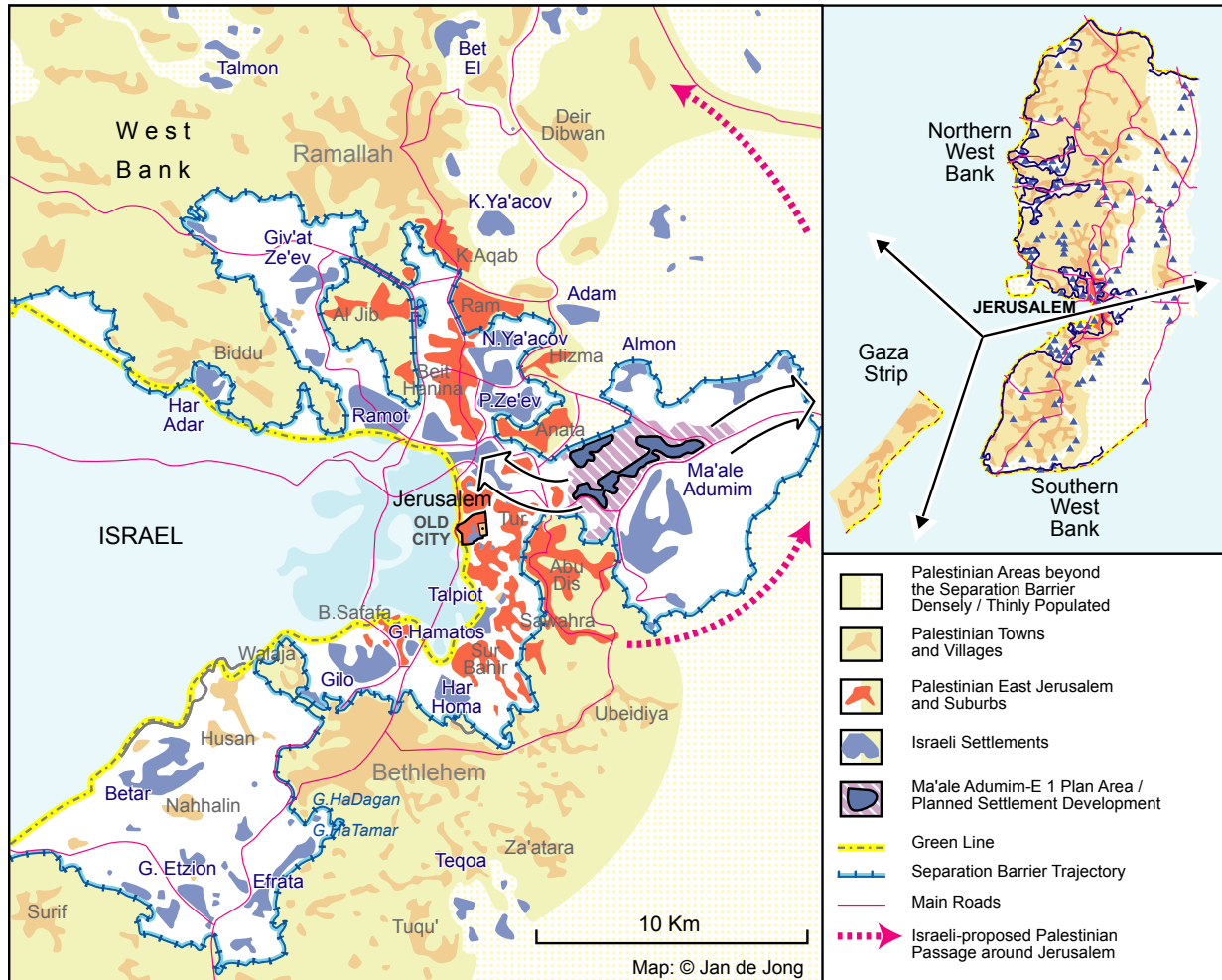
Construction of a new Judea and Samaria district police headquarters, formerly located in the Ras al-Amud neighborhood of East Jerusalem, was completed in a section of E-1 in March 2008, when Ehud Olmert was prime minister. To avoid embarrassing Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, who was then visiting Israel, the festive opening of the police station was delayed until after Rice's departure.

"For the last 20 years, the Israeli government has retained the right to build in the E-1 area," said Defense Minister Ehud Barak recently. "There never was an explicit Israeli pledge to not build in E-1. It's Israel's right and national interest, which has a broad consensus, to create continuity between Jerusalem and Ma'ale Adumim."

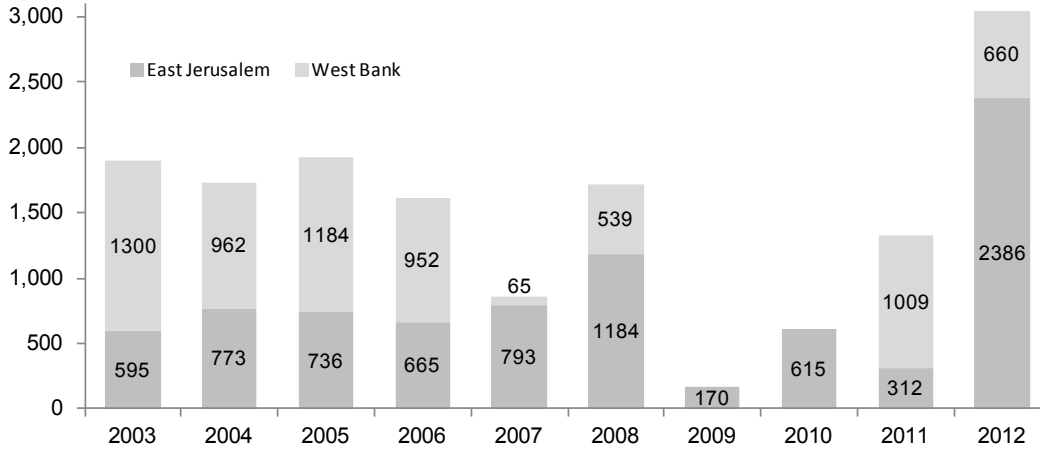
Like his predecessors, Prime Minister Netanyahu has maintained the effective ban on construction of civilian settlement dwellings in E-1. His December 2012 declaration that "the State of Israel will continue to build in Jerusalem and in all the places on the state's strategic map" is a continuation of the political tradition that views control over E-1 as a cardinal Israeli interest.

Planning for E-1 moved another step forward in December 2012, when the Higher Planning Council of the civil administration registered plans for constructing 3,426 dwelling units in the area. After a period of public comment, and the plan's approval, a number of steps remain along the road to actual construction. ♦

Ma'ale Adumim - E 1 (2013) : Another Fatal Cut through Jerusalem and Palestine



Tenders for Settlement Construction, 2003–2012 (units)



Sources: Ir Amim, "State of Affairs: Jerusalem, 2008," December 2008; *Peace Now Settlement Construction Reports, 2004–2008*, peacenow.org.il; Peace Now, "Settlements and the Netanyahu Government," January 16, 2013.

... In relation to the settlements Israel is committing serious breaches of its obligations under the right to self-determination and "certain obligations under international humanitarian law", including the obligation not to transfer its population into the OPT [Occupied Palestinian Territories]. The Rome Statute establishes the International Criminal Court's jurisdiction over the deportation or transfer, directly or indirectly, by the occupying Power of parts of its own population into the territory it occupies, or the deportation or transfer of all or parts of the population of the occupied territory within or outside this territory. Ratification of the Statute by Palestine may lead to accountability for gross violations of human rights law and serious violations of international humanitarian law and justice for victims.

105. The existence of the settlements has had a heavy toll on the rights of the Palestinians. Their rights to freedom of self-determination, non-discrimination, freedom of movement, equality, due process, fair trial, not to be arbitrarily detained, liberty and security of person, freedom of expression, freedom to access places of worship, education, water, housing, adequate standard of living, property, access to natural resources and effective remedy are being violated consistently and on a daily basis.

Report of the independent international fact-finding mission to investigate the implications of the Israeli settlements on the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of the Palestinian people throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem.

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