

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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KERRY SEARCHES FOR A FRAMEWORK FOR CONTINUING TALKS

U.S. efforts to end the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians are now focused on the presentation by Secretary of State John Kerry of a U.S.-drafted “framework for negotiations.” This will be an American document, but Kerry has said both sides may offer reservations.

Kerry told *Washington Post* columnist David Ignatius on February 7 that a framework is the only way to “be able to keep the negotiations moving.” PLO president Mahmoud Abbas has threatened to initiate action in the UN if the current bilateral talks, which Kerry announced July 20, 2013, fail to produce a comprehensive peace agreement by April 2014. This goal now seems impossible.

Some skeptics think the framework is merely a placeholder designed to prolong the talks. But Kerry has a more expansive view. He told Ignatius that the framework is also needed to “give to people a sense that there can be an end to the conflict and an end of claims, that there is a framework within which it is contained.”

If indeed the U.S. will urge a clearly defined American framework for peace, it would be a major departure for U.S. peacemaking. Since the short-lived “Clinton Parameters” of 2000, the U.S. has not offered American proposals for resolving final status issues and has relied on talks between two unequal parties to make peace. Following the collapse of the Oslo process in late 2000 and Clinton’s withdrawal of his parameters, experienced diplomats and analysts

“Any notion that Secretary Kerry failed to obtain the President’s backing for his efforts is totally false. President Obama remains fully invested in Secretary Kerry’s tireless work on behalf of peace, and those efforts are not focused on confronting the parties—they are aimed at bridging differences and developing a framework for negotiation on the core issues.”

U.S. National Security
Council spokesperson,
Ha’aretz, February 10, 2014

have argued that Washington has failed to make peace between Israelis and Palestinians, in part, because it would not offer an American plan. They make the case that such a plan would meet the fundamental needs of both peoples, require mutual compromises and offer an endgame. If this is the premise of Kerry’s framework, it could offer new hope, generate popular support for peace, and oblige leaders to react accordingly.

Such a U.S. framework would require U.S. views on preserving Israel’s security in the context of a peace agreement calling for evacuation of Israeli military forces and civilian settlers from the West Bank. Washington’s envoy General John

Allen has offered ideas and Kerry has been discussing this issue with Netanyahu and Abbas.

Land for Peace

For almost five decades, U.S. policymakers and diplomats have attempted to create the foundations for peaceful relations between Israel and its Arab enemies. When these efforts succeeded, Israel evacuated its settlers and armed forces behind secure and recognized borders, increasing the security of all parties. That remains the challenge of the current U.S. effort.

The 1978 peace agreement signed between Israel and Egypt called for the restoration of Egyptian sovereignty “down to the last centimeter” of the Israeli-occupied Sinai peninsula. Israel’s treaty with Jordan, initialed in 1994, established an international boundary between Israel and Jordan that follows the Jordan and Yarmouk Rivers, the Dead Sea, the Emek Ha’arva/Wadi Araba, and the Gulf of Aqaba. In the West Bank, an “administrative boundary” between Jordan and the West Bank was agreed upon, without prejudice to the status of that territory.

On the Syrian front, negotiations that ultimately failed nevertheless established that the principle implemented on the Egyptian front—namely, the complete evacuation of Israeli military forces and civilians to the “June 4 line”—was an agreed-upon foundation applicable to

FRAMEWORK, continued on page 7

TO OUR READERS

When Secretary of State John Kerry announced new peace talks in July 2013, the parties agreed the talks would be secret. While complex and sensitive diplomacy usually cannot be conducted in the full glare of public scrutiny, it is also true that in democratic societies the public must be engaged in debating and resolving vital issues.

Historians have observed that if Arafat and Barak had tried to mobilize public support for the Oslo peace process, the talks might have succeeded. But the two leaders lacked the skill and courage to reach out to the public and explain the need to compromise.

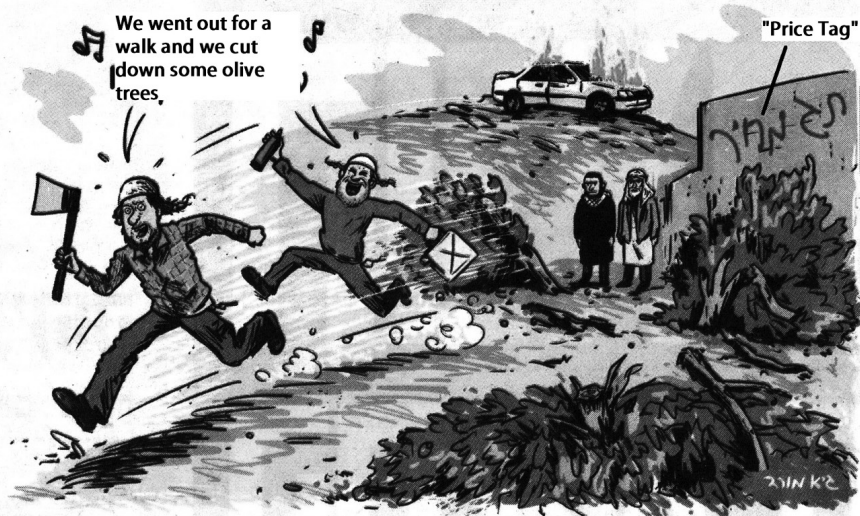
When President Clinton offered his "Parameters" for peace in November 2000 as the Oslo process was collapsing, neither leader, lacking public support, could accept them without reservations, nor could they endorse strongly the promising recommendations of the last-gasp Taba talks in January 2001.

Winning popular support for Kerry's forthcoming "Framework," assuming it will present American proposals on controversial final status issues, will be even harder, since the Netanyahu government and some PLO elements will strenuously oppose such recommendations. Thus, the U.S. must play the role of chief public advocate for a compromise peace. The challenge for such public diplomacy will be to mobilize popular majorities on both sides that will enable, or oblige, their leaders to respond or give way to other leaders.

The epic changes needed for an Israeli-Palestinian peace will require deep public support. Success cannot rely on quiet diplomacy alone. It will need engagement and approval of the Israeli and Palestinian people whose future is at stake.

Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.

Settlers Sing a Song



Yediot Aharonot, January 9, 2014

FOUNDATION FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE

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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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NEW TENDERS, 2014 (units)

Announcement Date	6-Jan	10-Jan	21-Jan	22-Jan
Efrat		227		
Nofei Prat				256
Alfe Menashe		78		
Karnei Shomron	22	86		
Ariel		40		5
Adam		75		
Betar Illit		24		
Emmanuel		102		
Elkana		169		
Ramat		600		
Pisgat Zeev		182		
Neve Yaacov		56		
Givat Zeev			381	
Ofra	250			
Subtotal	272	1,639	381	261
TOTAL	2,553			

Sources:

Al Jazeera <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middle-east/2014/01/israel-approves-more-illegal-settlement-homes-201412118492665411.html>.
 USA Today <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/01/06/israel-oks-west-bank-apartments/4341839/>
 Ma'an News <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=667486>.
 Yediot Aharonot, January 12, 2014.

SETTLEMENT-RELATED INCIDENTS IN THE WEST BANK, 2011-2013

Category	2013	2012	2011
Conflict-related Palestinian deaths	27	8	17
Conflict-related Palestinian injuries	3,881	3,175	1,647
Conflict-related Israeli deaths	4	7	11
Conflict-related Israeli injuries	151	345	122
Settler-related incidents resulting in Palestinian casualties	94	98	120
Settler-related incidents resulting in Palestinian property/land damages	306	268	291
Structures demolished:	664	604	613
– of which Area C	565	540	571
– of which East Jerusalem	99	64	42
Palestinians displaced due to demolitions or evictions:	1,103	886	1,094
– of which Area C	805	815	1,006
– of which East Jerusalem	298	71	88
Palestinian children displaced by home demolitions	558	474	618

Source: OCHA Monthly Humanitarian Monitor, January 20, 2014.

Ariel Sharon: 1928-2014



Yediot Aharonot, January 12, 2014

ALUEL – CONSTRUCTION COMPANY INC.

ALUEL offers 24 three-room dwelling units to eligible parties in the Olive Hill neighborhood in the community of Efrat

The price of a three room apartment from \$118,308 including VAT

המחיר צמוד למדד תשומות הבניה לחודש 10/2013 (139.576 נק')

המחיר למ"ר הינו שווה בכל הדירות ■ הדירות נבנות במסגרת פרויקט מחיר למשתכן שיזמו משרד הבינוי והשיכון ומנהל מקרקעי ישראל

ההרשמה לרוכשי הדירות תחל ביום א' 15.12.2013 ותמשך עד יום א' 24.1.2014 כולל דירות 3 חדרים מיועדות לזכאים בלבד

לצורך ההרשמה לפרויקט מחיר למשתכן - חובת נוכחות שני בני הזוג ויש למסור:

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- אישור השתתפות בפרויקטים במסגרת מחיר למשתכן" שיופק ע"י אחת מחברות הספק לסיוע בשכר דירה, עמידר - 6266 מתן - חן - 007-563-1599, מ.ג.ר. 301-500-1599. **אישור זה ייתן רק למי שעומדים בתנאי הסף** זכויות מרשים ובדקות ע"י משרד הבינוי והשיכון ואו"י אחת מחברות הספקים הללו.
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- עלות הנפקת תעודת הזכויות - "אישור ההשתתפות בפרויקטים במסגרת מחיר למשתכן" - 240 ₪.
- למשומת לב, הנפקת אישור ההשתתפות בחברות הספקים כרוכה עד 18 ימי עבודה. כל הגשת בקשה שאינה מתירה 18 ימי עבודה לחברה תהיה באחריות הבלעדית של מבקש הסיוע. לעומת זאת לרוכש דירה במסגרת מחיר למשתכן חוצצ להודיע לחברות אלו בהקדם.**
- תעודת זהות כולל הסכם בו רשומים הילדים.
- ההרשמה תתבצע אך ורק במשרדי המכירות של החברה, (לפי ההחלטות מסה).
- בין הורשמים לדירות תיפץ הקצאה ע"י הניקוד שבאישור ההשתתפות בסעיף 2 לעיל.
- הרוכש לא ייהר רשאי למכור את דירתו במשך 10 שנים מיום קבלת החזקה.**
- הרוכש לא ייהר רשאי להשכיר את דירתו במשך 5 שנים מיום קבלת החזקה.**
- שינוי במודע התשלומים, ואו רכישת שפורי סטודנט או חלקם יבוצעו לפי בקשת דיירים בלבד.
- ניתן להירשם לרכישת דירה ביותר מפרויקט אחד במסגרת מסלול מחיר למשתכן.
- במקרה של זכייה בדירה בשני פרויקטים יותר יחיה על הזוכים לבחור בדירה אחת בלבד.
- אותר יכנס ולותר על הזכייה בדירות האחרות.

Source: TheMarker, December 27, 2013.

חשדרי המכירות: רח' מתתיהו הכהן גבעת הית, אפרת. טלפון: 052-7642012 פקס: 02-6249195 שעות פתיחה: ימים א'-ה' 9:00-15:00, יום ו' 8:30-12:30

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

July 26 Settlers install two mobile homes at the Sedi Bar outpost, near Bethlehem. (PMG-NAD)

July 29 The Israeli cabinet declares that groups carrying out “price tag” attacks are illegal organizations. (*Ha’aretz*)

Settlers erect several tents on the site of the evacuated outpost of Tarsilya, near Jenin. (PMG-NAD)

July 31 Two Israelis are wounded during a rock attack on a bus traveling from the Neve Yaakov neighborhood to Jerusalem. (Arutz 7)

August 1 A group of 20 settlers attacks Palestinian workers building a water tank in a Nablus village. (Ma’an)

Settlers from Yitzhar attacked more than 15 Palestinian cars with glass bottles and rocks. (Ma’an)

Israeli military authorities issue demolition notices for six Palestinian homes in Tubas. (PMG-NAD)

August 5 A settler runs over a Palestinian youth in East Jerusalem. (PMG-NAD)

August 6 According to a report in *Israel HaYom* citing population registry data, the Jewish population of the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) grew by 2.12 percent during the first six months of 2013, to 367,000. Settlements in the Hebron area expanded at an even higher rate of 4.8 percent.

Israeli authorities approve the construction of 230 housing units in the settlement of Ma’on. (PMG-NAD)

August 8 The civil administration authorizes construction of 878 housing units in the Jordan Valley, Binyamin region, and the Etzion bloc. (Arutz 7, PMG-NAD)

August 12 The Israeli Interior Ministry gives final approval to build 890 new apartments in the Gilo settlement, in Jerusalem. (*Ha’aretz*)

Israeli authorities lay a foundation stone in a ceremony marking the start of construction on 63 housing units near the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Jabal Mukabir. In addition, they approve tenders for the construction of 392 housing units in the Ma’ale Adumim, Ariel, and Betar Illit settlements. (PMG-NAD)

August 13 The Jerusalem municipality approves 942 new settlement units in Gilo. (Ma’an)

August 14 Settlers from Beit El stone Palestinian vehicles traveling between Nablus and Ramallah. (Ma’an)

August 18 An East Jerusalem Palestinian chooses to demolish his home in Sur Bahir neighborhood after being informed by the Jerusalem municipality that if he failed to do so, they would demolish his house and fine him for several times the fair cost of demolition. (Ma’an)

August 19 Najeh Abu-Ali, a Palestinian shepherd, is attacked by six settlers near Jerusalem and hospitalized. (Ma’an)

August 20 Israeli authorities demolish 10 agricultural buildings in the Jordan Valley and part of a home in Silwan belonging to Palestinians. The structures had been built without permits. (Ma’an)

August 21 Settlers from Yitzhar, driving bulldozers and accompanied by soldiers, raze private Palestinian land in preparation for expanding the settlement. In Jerusalem, Israeli soldiers bulldoze five acres of land in the al-Tur neighborhood for construction of a national park. (Ma’an)

August 26 *Ha’aretz* reports that Jerusalem municipal authorities had demolished a Palestinian home in Silwan before the courts ruled on the issue.

August 27 Construction of 66 housing units for orthodox settlers in the Neve Yaakov settlement commences. The units are priced at NIS 1.59 million (\$460,000). (*Kol Ha’Ir, Ynet*)

August 28 In the Yitzhar settlement, a confrontation erupts between Arab drivers employed by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to transport heavy machinery for a construction project and residents, who refuse to allow Arabs into the settlement. (Arutz 7)

September 1 Dozens of Palestinians protest outside a house in Hebron that had been occupied by settlers, who claim that they bought the property legally. (Ma’an)

September 2 A settler is injured by Palestinians throwing stones near the Adam settlement. (OCHA)

Israeli forces demolish Palestinian homes in Jericho and Idhna. (Ma’an)

Israel Supreme Court President Asher Grunis proposes that the Israeli government, with the help of Supreme Court Justice

Yitzhak Zamir, seek a mediated settlement, and not a court ruling, for a dispute involving more than 1,000 Palestinians threatened with removal from their West Bank homes. (*Ha’aretz*)

September 3 Settler children assault two Palestinian children with sticks while they played near their house. (OCHA)

Israeli authorities promise to demolish a synagogue and yeshiva in Givat Ze’ev, built on private Palestinian land, after it emerged that the deeds for the land had been forged. (*Ha’aretz*)

September 5 Settlers cut down ten olive trees belonging to the village of Tuwani. (OCHA)

A Palestinian father of five in East Jerusalem is forced to demolish his home after Israeli authorities fine him \$14,000 and threaten to demolish his house and fine him \$20,000 more if he fails to comply. The house had been built without a permit. (Ma’an)

September 8 Settlers damage 25 vehicles overnight in Nablus. (Ma’an)

September 9 Palestinians throw a Molotov cocktail at an Israeli bus traveling near Abud village. (OCHA)

Settlers uproot 40 olive trees in the south Hebron hills. (Ma’an)

September 10 A Palestinian working in the Tekoa settlement is attacked by a dog unleashed by settlers. (OCHA)

A Palestinian man is injured after being assaulted during clashes with a group of Israelis at the al-Aqsa Mosque compound (Temple Mount). (OCHA)

A group of settlers slash the tires on three Palestinian buses in al-Thuri and spray them with “price-tag” graffiti. (OCHA)

September 11 Israeli authorities demolish 18 structures, displacing 13 people, in the al-Zayim Bedouin community near Jerusalem due to a lack of building permits. (OCHA)

Dozens of settlers from Elon Moreh set fire to Palestinian farmland and olive groves near Nablus. (Ma’an)

Settlers burn 500 trees on farmland in the village of Dir al-Hateb. (*Ha’aretz*)

September 12 A settler is injured when Palestinians throw stones at her vehicle near Beit Ummar. (OCHA)

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

Three Palestinian-plated vehicles are damaged by settlers in two stone-throwing incidents in al-Jalazun. (OCHA)

Israeli forces uproot more than 600 trees and guava, olive, and citrus seedlings in Ras Atiya and al-Dabaa villages. (OCHA)

Violent confrontations erupt between Palestinians and Israelis when 1,400 Jewish worshippers visit Joseph's Tomb in Nablus. (Ma'an)

The Jerusalem municipality digs a ditch to separate the French Hill settlement and the Palestinian neighborhood of Issawiya, claiming it will deter violence and crime. Palestinian villagers say it causes further isolation. (*Ha'aretz*)

September 15 Settlers chop down 17 olive trees on land belonging to the village of Kafr Laqif. (*Ha'aretz*)

A group of settlers from Yitzhar torch a Palestinian home near Nablus. (Ma'an)

September 16 The IDF demolishes property built by Bedouins in Khirbet Khamlet Makhul, displacing 10 families (48 people), on the grounds that there are no building permits for Area A. (Ma'an)

September 19 Settlers physically assault a Palestinian man in Jerusalem's Old City. (OCHA)

September 21 Settlers chop down 70 trees and burn 27 others in Kafr Qaddum. (*Ha'aretz*)

September 22 An Israeli soldier is shot and killed by a sniper in Hebron's Old City, sparking two days of clashes, injuring 29 Palestinians. (OCHA)

The main access road into Hebron from the south is closed after an Israeli soldier was shot and killed by an alleged sniper. It had been reopened in July following a 12-year closure by Israeli authorities citing security for the Beit Haggai settlement. (OCHA)

Settlers level agricultural land and uproot 20 olive trees in the village of Salfit to build a road. (OCHA)

A group of settlers slash tires on six Palestinian vehicles in Sheikh Jarrah and spray them with "price-tag" graffiti. (OCHA)

September 23 Settlers assault a 13-year-old Palestinian boy in Hebron. (OCHA)

Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu

orders that steps be taken to resettle the Beit Hamachpela, in Hebron, and approves construction of 283 settlement homes in Elkana. (Arutz 7)

Settlers destroy more than 20 dunams of Palestinian land near Nablus. (Ma'an)

More than 100 Israeli right-wing activists enter the al-Aqsa compound under armed guard and perform religious rituals. (Ma'an)

Settlers in a passing vehicle spray tear gas in a Palestinian man's face at a junction in Huwwara, near Nablus. (OCHA)

Settlers damage more than 70 olive and fig trees on Palestinian-owned land near the Gil'ad Farm outpost. (OCHA)

A group of settlers set fire to Palestinian agricultural land near Sarra, Nablus, destroying 50 olive trees. (OCHA)

A settler is injured when Palestinians throw stones at his vehicle near the Rehalim settlement. (OCHA)

September 24 Israeli defense minister Moshe Ya'alon gives the go-ahead for settlers to move into the disputed Machpela House in Hebron. (Ma'an)

September 27 Three Palestinians are arrested for throwing rocks at the Damascus Gate, Rockefeller Museum, Rachel's Tomb, and elsewhere on the West Bank. (Arutz 7)

September 30 *Ha'aretz* reports comments by an Israeli Nature and Parks Authority staffer suggesting the development of the national park in Mount Scopus, East Jerusalem, is to prevent construction and expansion of Palestinian neighborhoods in the area.

October 1 Near Silwan, five cars are damaged, 15 Christian tombstones vandalized, and "price-tag" sprayed on walls. (YNet)

Settlers set fire to a Palestinian car in Burin, near Nablus. (Ma'an)

October 2 Settlers damage some 30 olive trees in the village of Jitt. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 3 Palestinians return to Homesh two weeks after the Israeli government transferred the area, from which settlers were evacuated in September 2005, to the Palestinian Authority (PA). (Arutz 7)

Settlers attack a 60-year-old man in western Salfit picking olives on his land and force him to leave at gunpoint. (Ma'an)

Ha'aretz reports increasing IDF and defense

establishment concerns regarding support by public officials, including members of the Knesset and rabbis, for law breaking by settler activists.

October 5 Settlers destroy 129 olive trees near the Shavei Shomron settlement. (*Ha'aretz*)

Two Israeli border guards sustain minor injuries near the village of Burqa, in Nablus district, during a hit-and-run by a Palestinian driver. (Ma'an)

Fifteen olive trees are chopped down and olives stolen in the village of Deir Sharaf. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 6 A nine-year-old girl is wounded by a masked gunman outside her home in the Psagot settlement. (*Los Angeles Times*)

October 7 Jerusalem police arrest 14 Jewish minors on suspicion of committing hate crimes against Palestinians. (*Times of Israel*)

Settlers from Ariel raze agricultural land in Salfit for settlement expansion. (Ma'an)

Settlers chop down 35 olive trees in the village of Farata and steal about a quarter of the olive crop. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers damage eight olive trees on land belonging to the village of Ras Karkar and about 60 trees in Jitt. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 8 Israeli soldiers wound a Palestinian man attempting to cross the security barrier near Qalqilya. (Ma'an)

Settlers set fire to about 400 olive trees in the village of Jalud. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 9 Settlers set fire to agricultural land in Nablus, destroy dozens of olive trees, attack students at a school Qaryut, and vandalize five cars. (PMG-NAD)

October 10 Saeb Erekat, a senior Palestine Liberation Organization official, condemns Israel's approval of 58 new housing units in East Jerusalem. (Ma'an)

Settlers torch three Palestinian cars and spray graffiti in the Burqa. (Ma'an)

Landowners from Zaatara village, near Bethlehem, set foot on their land for the first time in 13 years. It had been closed off by the IDF. (Ma'an)

Kol Ha'ir reports on plans for the construction of 80 expensive housing units in the

TIME LINE, continued on page 6

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

TIME LINE, *continued from page 5*

East Jerusalem settlement of Har Homa.

October 11 An Israeli reserve colonel is fatally bludgeoned in his yard in the Jordan Valley. Security forces detain five Palestinians in connection with the attack. (*New York Times*)

Kol Ha'ir reports that Israeli environment minister Amir Peretz has decided to suspend planning for the Mount Scopus national park in East Jerusalem.

October 12 Settlers attack residents from Susiya picking olives, injuring three. (Ma'an)

October 14 A group of 30 settlers attack a Palestinian-driven vehicle with sticks and stones near Nablus. (Ma'an)

Settlers throw rocks at and damage vehicles at a car dealership in Sheikh Jarrah. (PMG)

A settler stabs a Palestinian in Jerusalem. (PMG)

Olive trees and grapevines are vandalized in the village of Farata. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers stab three Palestinians in a toy store in Jerusalem. (PMG)

October 18 In Bilin, one person is wounded after being shot by a tear gas canister and dozens of Palestinians suffer from tear gas inhalation. (Ma'an)

October 19 Palestinians report that more than 100 olive trees were uprooted in the Krayot village, south of Nablus. Settlers from Eli are suspected. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers prevent residents from harvesting olives in Ein Qiniya and threw rocks at vehicles near Bet El in Ramallah. (PMG)

October 20 Settlers from Yitzhar attack Palestinian farmers who, with the help of volunteers from Rabbis for Human Rights, had been harvesting olives. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 21 Settlers steal harvested olives from Palestinian farms in different areas of the West Bank. (*Middle East Monitor*)

October 23 Israeli housing minister Uri Ariel reiterates a call to double the number of Jewish homes in Hebron. (Arutz 7)

October 25 The PA sends letters to 50 countries in launching a new campaign to promote a settlement boycott, urging a clamp down on companies doing business with the settlements. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 27 Eight Israelis and a Palestinian child are injured by assailants throwing rocks at cars near al-Fawar, south of Hebron. (*Times of Israel*)

An elderly al-Funduk village resident dies from injuries sustained after being run over by a settler. (PMG)

October 28 Settlers assault a Palestinian farmer in the Sinjil area. (Ma'an)

October 29 Settlers level 10 dunums of agricultural land in Nablus and install tents in Artas village in Bethlehem. A driver in an Israeli vehicle runs over and injures a Palestinian child in Hebron. (PMG)

October 31 Israeli authorities approve the construction of 582 settlement units: 296 in Bet El, 160 in Yakir, and 96 in Almog. (PMG)

EVOLVING VIEWS OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS, JUNE 1967

Israel's lightning defeat of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian armies in the June 1967 War, and its conquest of territories belonging to each of these states, transformed the Middle East. Intoxicated by its victory, Israel found itself in a position to redraw what Foreign Minister Abba Eban would describe as Israel's original, post-1948 "Auschwitz borders." On November 22, 1967, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, which without drawing a map, called for Israel's withdrawal to "secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

On June 19, within days of the war's end, the Pentagon's Strategic Plans and Policy staff (J-5) was tasked by the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) to provide Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara with its assessment of "the minimum territory . . . which Israel might be justified in retaining in order to permit a more effective defense against possible conventional Arab attack and terrorist raids."

One week after McNamara's request, the secret observations of the JCS's professional staff were on his desk. The map drawn is the first public example outlining a U.S. assessment of Israel's territorial requirements in the aftermath of war. (<http://www.marklangfan.com/declassifiedfullreportmarkedup.html>.)

On every front, the JCS, basing its assessment "solely on military considerations from the Israeli point of view," advised

the significant expansion of Israeli control to include territories that the IDF had conquered earlier that month. However, its recommendations implicitly accepted the principle that some measure of Israeli withdrawal, notably in Sinai and the Jordan Valley, would not disadvantage Israel.

Concerning the Gaza Strip, the JCS advised that Gaza's "retention would be to Israel's military advantage." For the West Bank, the JCS, having explicitly been instructed to ignore all non-security (i.e., demographic) considerations, advised Israeli annexation of the populated West Bank heartland east of the Armistice Line.

The JCS advised that "at a minimum," Israel needed to establish a defensive line along the mountain ridge that runs north-south from Nablus through Hebron, primarily in order to broaden Israel's narrow "waist." It did, however, add that the border could move west of Jerusalem "if Jerusalem were to be internationalized under the United Nations."

By adopting the Allon Plan and its successors, Israeli leaders rejected annexation of the populated West Bank heartland—the very region that the Pentagon had identified in June 1967 as vital for Israel's security. Today, U.S. policy favoring an independent Palestinian state has eclipsed the JCS recommendations. ♦

the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights. Israel's unilateral evacuation of settlers and permanently deployed troops from the Gaza Strip in 2005 was also undertaken by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in the expectation of increasing Israeli security.

But Not for the West Bank

In contrast, Israel has not applied this core "land for peace" security doctrine to the West Bank. Instead, it remains committed to maintaining Israel's occupation and controlling this region for historical, religious, and ideological reasons. Israel's continuing policy of massive settlement of the West Bank is an integral part of its policy of maximizing Israeli control of the West Bank and preventing the emergence of a viable and genuinely sovereign Palestinian state. Polls show there is still considerable bipartisan support in Israel for this policy, yet other frequent polls show that 75 percent of Israelis would accept a comprehensive peace agreement.

Various dissenting views from Israelis with military and security backgrounds have challenged Israel's Jordan Valley policies in recent years. Senior Israeli figures, including former Mossad chief Meir Dagan and members of the prestigious Council for Peace and Security have argued that Israeli security will not be threatened by an end to its military presence in the Jordan Valley in the context of peace. Many of these critics believe that Israel's fundamental "security problem" in the West Bank is its occupation and settlement of the area at the expense of Palestinians' freedom and national aspirations.

Netanyahu's Allon Plus Plan

Prime Minister Netanyahu's security views, however, have not changed since he announced his "Allon Plus" plan more than a decade ago. It proposed outright annexation of 13 percent of the West Bank, plus an additional 33 percent in the Jordan Valley under permanent Israeli military control. Since then, Netanyahu hardened this policy by opposing any diminution of Israel's military control in the Jordan Valley region or any commitment to withdraw its forces from this area.

Netanyahu's support for an all but permanent IDF deployment in Palestine, even in the context of a peace agreement, provoked a sharp response from PLO Chairman Abbas. On November 2, 2013, he described as "a lie" Israeli claims that it needed to remain in the Jordan Valley to protect Israel's security, and alleged that Israel's economic interests in the Jordan Valley are the main reason it demands indefinite control of the area.

Abbas continues to support an option for a land swap of 1.9 percent of the West Bank initially outlined during the Annapolis talks in mid-2008. On the security front, he favors a third-party military presence on West Bank territory evacuated by Israel.

On February 2, 2014, in an interview with the *New York Times*, Abbas reiterated his support for a NATO security role throughout a demilitarized Palestine, including the

Jordan Valley "for a long time, and wherever they want. Not only on the eastern border but also on western borders. Everywhere . . . for a long time, for the time they wish. NATO can be everywhere, why not?" NATO, he added, "can stay to reassure the Israelis, and to protect us. We will be demilitarized. . . . Do you think we have any illusion that we can have security if the Israelis do not feel they have security?"

Abbas also offered for the first time a transition period of three (most recently extended to five) years during which Israel will evacuate all its forces from the new state, along the model of Israel's previous peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan. But he rejected a "performance test," which would be "a humiliation for us. They will make a test for us and of course we will fail."

In recent remarks, in an effort to allay Palestinian suspicions of U.S. intentions, Kerry said that although "Netanyahu has made it clear he doesn't want NATO," the role of a third party "is something for the parties to work out."

Israel's quest for absolute security is reflected in its current demand for Palestinian recognition of Israel's all-but-permanent presence in and control over the Jordan Valley. Such demands would place an untenable burden not just on the future Palestine but also on the entire framework of peaceful relations between the two countries. The PLO continues to object in principle to the deployment of Israeli forces in the state of Palestine beyond a short, well-defined transition period. The historical record of agreements between Israel and Jordan and Egypt supports this view. An agreement that requires a continuing, long-term presence of Israeli forces beyond a secure and recognized border will not guarantee stability for either Israelis or Palestinians, but rather the opposite. ♦

"We need a foothold in the territory, plus security arrangements that will ensure that the territory won't be handed over to hostile elements. . . .

The reason why we're willing to reach this agreement isn't because we're denying our history, but because there are two million Palestinians and the question is what we do with them," he said. "There's a problem that the Palestinians are there, and I have no intention of removing them. It's impractical and inappropriate. I don't want a binational state, and I don't want them as either citizens or subjects. On the other hand, I don't want another Iranian state or al-Qaida state. Currently, we have no solution."

**"Netanyahu: Israel will not evacuate Hebron, Beit El as part of peace deal,"
Ha'aretz, January 6, 2014**

SHORT TAKES

During the 2013 olive harvest, OCHA recorded 32 settler attacks resulting in property damage or injuries, down from the 51 recorded during the olive harvest in 2012. However, the number of trees and saplings damaged during this year's olive harvest by settlers (1,492) increased considerably compared to 2012 (986). In addition, while the prior-coordination system alongside the deployment of additional Israeli forces in "friction areas" have reduced clashes and settler attacks on farmers while they are working, it has proven largely ineffective in preventing vandalism or theft of olive trees throughout the rest of the year. In total, during 2013, 10,142 trees were reported burned, uprooted, or otherwise vandalized, including in areas adjacent to settlements, at times when Palestinian access was restricted, compared to 8,259 trees during 2012.

Lack of adequate law enforcement vis-à-vis settler violence in general, and attacks against olive trees in particular, remains of concern. This relates to gaps in terms of preventive measures, as well as to measures aimed at holding perpetrators accountable.

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs,
Humanitarian Bulletin Monthly Report, December 2013

"Of course, the Israeli government is to blame for the attacks of settlers, and not only the settlers. In other words, all the attacks they carry out, including the burning and attacks on houses, attacks on holy places, including mosques and churches, uprooting of trees, and confiscating land—all of this happens under the very gaze of the Israeli army and government, which provides immunity and protection for all these attacks. . . . The settlers are a group of attackers on Palestinian land and Palestinian property and houses. This is why we cannot, under any circumstance, accept this Israeli policy, which ignores all the attacks that are carried out by the settlers in the West Bank. The moment the army is contacted to report an attack by the settlers, the Israeli army ignores this and protects them in their attacks on Palestinian towns and villages. This is a complete system that enjoys full immunity by the Israeli government."

Husayn al-Shaykh, Palestinian Authority minister of civil affairs and member of the Fatah Central Committee,
Al-Quds, January 18, 2014

We all have a powerful, powerful interest in resolving this conflict. Everywhere I go in the world, wherever I go, I promise you, no exaggeration, the Far East, Africa, Latin America, one of the first questions out of the mouths of the foreign minister or prime minister or president is, "Can't you guys do something to help bring an end to this conflict between Palestinians and Israelis?"

Indonesia, people care about it, because it's become either in some places an excuse or in other places an organizing principle for efforts that can be very troubling in certain places. I believe that, and you see for Israel, there's an increasing de-legitimization

campaign that has been building up. People are very sensitive to it. There are talk of boycotts and other kinds of things. Are we all going to be better with all of that?

So I'm not going to sit here and give you a measure of optimism, but I will give you a full measure of commitment. President Obama and I, and our administration are as committed to this as anything we're engaged in, because we think it can be a game-changer for the region.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry at the
Munich Security Conference, February 1, 2014

Foundation for Middle East Peace
1761 N Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
Telephone: 202-835-3650
Fax: 202-835-3651
E-mail: info@fmep.org
Internet: <http://www.fmep.org>

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