THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK TERRITORY BEFORE AND AFTER THE PEACE PROCESS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS
IN THE WEST BANK TERRITORY
BEFORE AND AFTER THE PEACE PROCESS

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This thesis analyzes the development of the settlement policies of Israel in the West Bank territory by focusing on the incentives of them with factors of change and continuity before and after the peace process.

The Six-Day War of 1967 which initiated a new phase in the region with the Israeli occupation of territories in Jordan, Syria and Egypt became an important milestone in Middle East history. Although some of these territories were returned through bilateral talks, the main territory of the Palestinian people remained under occupation, being subjected to Jewish settlement activities.

The settlement activities on the West Bank were expanded by all Israeli governments with different incentives until the peace process. The peace process which began in 1993 aimed to form an independent Palestinian state. Among the vital issues related to the final status talks the moratorium on future building of settlements and the Israeli withdrawal from the settlements were delayed. The Camp David Summit in 2000 was overshadowed by the ongoing activities of settlement. In addition to settlement activities, increasing security arrangements following the emergence of *Al-Aqsa Intifada* brought about the fragmentation of West Bank territories.

This study aims to analyze the results of the settlement activities in the West Bank before and after the peace process in terms of an eroding factor for the mutual confidence between the Israelis and Palestinians. The settlement activities will be examined from the pre-state period of Israel within the framework of its unilateral policies until the end of 2005.

Keywords: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Israeli Settlements, Occupation, Peace Process, West Bank Territory.

ÖZ

BARIŞ ANTLAŞMALARI ÖNCESİ VE SONRASINDA
BATI ŞERİA BÖLGESİNDEKİ
İSRAİL YERLEŞİMLERİ

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Bu tez İsrail'in Batı Şeria Bölgesi'ne yönelik yerleşim politikalarının gelişimini bu politikaların Barış Süreci öncesi ve sonrasındaki değişiklik ve sürekliliklerini esas alarak incelemektedir.

1967 Altı Gün Savaşları İsrail'in Ürdün Suriye ve Mısır'ın topraklarını işgali ile Ortadoğu tarihinde önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Bu topraklardan bazıları ikili görüşmelerle iade edilse de Filistin halkının ana bölgesi işgal altında kalarak Yahudi yerleşimlerine maruz kalmıştır.

Batı Şeria'daki yerleşim faaliyetleri çeşitli nedenlerle tüm hükümetler tarafından Barış Süreci'ne kadar genişletilmiştir. 1993'de başlayan Barış Süreci ise bağımsız bir Filistin devletinin kurulmasını amaçlamıştır. Nihai duruma ilişkin hayati konuların yanında yeni yerleşimlerin inşasının dondurulması ve buralardan İsrail'in geri çekilmesi konusu da ertelenmiştir. 2000 yılındaki Camp David Zirvesi ise süregelen yerleşim faaliyetleri ile gölgelenmiştir. El-Aksa İntifadası'nın ortaya çıkışı sonrasında, yerleşim faaliyetlerine ek olarak artan güvenlik düzenlemeleri eşlik etmiş, Batı Şeria Bölgesi'nin parçalanmasına neden olmuştur.

Bu çalışma Batı Şeria'nın değişik bölgelerindeki yerleşim faaliyetlerinin sonuçlarını barış süreci ve sonrasında İsrailli ve Filistinli taraflar arasında güveni aşındıran bir unsur olması bağlamında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yerleşim faaliyetleri İsrail'in devlet öncesi döneminden 2005 yılı sonuna kadar tek taraflı politikaları çerçevesinde incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İsrail Filistin Anlaşmazlığı, İsrail Yerleşimleri, İşgal, Barış Süreci, Batı Şeria Bölgesi.

To the Olive-Eyed Children of Palestine

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ACRONYMS

DOP : Declaration of Principles

Histadrut : General Federation of Laborers in the Land of Israel (Hebrew)

IDF : Israeli Defense Forces

JNF : The Jewish National Fund

Irgun : National Military Organization (Hebrew)

Lehi : Fighters for the Freedom of Israel (Hebrew)

Mafdal : National Religious Party (Hebrew) also the NRP

Nahal : Pioneer Fighting Youth (Hebrew)

PA : Palestinian Authority

PLO : Palestinian Liberation Organization

TIPH : The Temporary International Presence in Hebron

UN : The United Nations

UNSCOP : The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine

US : United States

WZO : World Zionist Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims at analyzing the creation and progress of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank between 1967 and 2005. The immigration of the Jewish population to Palestine before and after the British Mandate between 1917 and 1948 resulted in the emergence of a Jewish national state (*Eretz Israel*) in 1948. The 1967 Six-Day War between Israel and the Arab states of Syria, Jordan and Egypt and the subsequent occupation of the Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip had great consequences for both the West Bank and Gaza Strip territories. As the situation was the same as before the Jewish settlement activities in British Mandate period, the new settlements in the occupied territories caused much friction and many problems between the Jewish settlers and the people who were then residing in the land- the Palestinians.

The main aim of this thesis is to analyze the role of settlement activities in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This thesis argues that the West Bank settlements have a lot of dimensions before and after the peace process in the sense of an occupier state's important apparatus over occupied territories. Also it shows the role of the settlements in the state-building and nation-building process of Israel in terms of changes and continuities.

This study attempts to expose the complexity of the settlements in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The settlements became intersections of all the major issues. These issues are the status of Jerusalem, the final borders of a future Palestinian state and return of Palestinian refugees. Each subject may be evaluated in its own limit but the settlement issue has a broad scope that covers these all major subjects. The disagreement over status of Jerusalem is needed to be resolved by reconciliation of religious and nationalist understanding of the parties but the wide-scattered settlement enterprise around it undermines this agreement. On the other hand, the settlements in different parts of the West Bank territory are regarded as primary obstacles on contestation over finalizing borders. The return of Palestinian refugees to the West Bank will constitute an incompatibility between the settlers

and the returnees. Important of all, the settlements refer to the demographic and economic faces of the conflict for a sustainable peace and a viable Palestinian state. Since the beginning of the settlements, it was used a balancing factor to the Arab population so demographic threat of Palestinians were perceived by Israel to be directly connected with the settlement issue. In this study it was put forward that, settlement activities in the West Bank regarded as security agents and demographic balancing power by Israel at first. However, during the peace process the settlements issue was delayed to final negotiations. This situation served as an undermining factor for a lasting solution for peace.

Before analyzing the issue of the settlements, it is necessary to note the reason for the selection of the West Bank as the focus of the study at the expense of excluding other occupied territories of 1967 including the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai. The West Bank harbors the main body of the Palestinian population and constitutes a political center which can serve as the capital of a future Palestinian state. West Bank was geographically positioned on a 5,860 km^2 surface on the west side of the Jordan River reaching the northwest quarter of the Dead Sea. Indeed, it represents a non-historic parcel of the Palestinian lands drawn by the 1949 Rhodes Armistice Line, generally known as the Green Line. Although it was annexed by Jordan after 1948 and held in Jordan's possession, this land seizure was a unilateral act which was not recognized by the international community. Since 1967, the West Bank has been under the occupation of Israel. The status of the West Bank changed to a disputed territory concept during the post-Oslo process period but in *de facto* terms, it has remained under Israeli sovereignty.

On the other side, Jerusalem, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip and Sinai which were occupied by Israel in 1967 differ from West Bank by some features. The Sinai lands, which had been opened for settlement in the aftermath of the war, were returned to Egypt as a result of the Camp David Agreement of September 1978. After then the Jewish settlements on this land were eradicated. Although, Jerusalem is regarded as the center of West Bank, this study does not focus on the settlements in extended municipal borders, which were defined and annexed by the Jerusalem Law passed by the Knesset in July 1980. The West Bank differs from the Golan Heights because they were annexed to Israeli-proper in December 1981 by The Golan Heights Law. Although Gaza Strip shares the same path of occupation with the West Bank, it remained a large refugee camp, which was evacuated in 2005. So

Gaza Strip is not a suitable subject for a research on settlement polices in terms of centrality and broader context.

In this respect, this thesis explains why and how the settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank were established. Questions addressed include: What was the logic behind initiating settlement enterprise in those lands? Was the reasoning just a continuity of a settler state understanding in a colonialist perspective? Were these civil settlements an outcome of a vision aiming to enhance Israel's security in a hostile environment? To what extent did the settlements affect the political structures and tendencies in Israeli politics? Which groups had a prominent role in dealing with the issue? What was the meaning of the peace process for the settlement initiative? What were the outcomes of the policies after the collapse of bilateral talks? Did the settlements gain success to balance the Arab population?

This study emphasizes the policies of different Israeli governments because the presence of the legal representative of Palestinians, the Palestinian Authority, is still limited due to its institutional incapacity. A considerable achievement of the Israeli settlements realized in the West Bank before the peace process in which the Palestinians were not a recognized party before 1993. This makes the Palestinians a relatively inactive subject against an active occupier the Israeli state and institutions. One of main theme of this thesis is the examination on the policies of the Israeli governments with local reactions and international developments on the settlement issue.

This study discusses three interrelated conceptual frameworks. Firstly, the colonialism and colonization will be discussed in relation to the exceptional foundations of the Israeli state as a settler enterprise which began with individual efforts and later organized under quasi-state institutions under the British Mandate. Early characteristics of the settlements will be discussed to have a better understanding for West Bank settlements.

Secondly, the thesis shows how the settler society imagination shaped the construction of a state in geographical terms from the time of Israel's independence. As Israel has unique characteristics in terms of producing new models according to the new political environments and threats, the settlements are not the exceptions that were modified during the historical sequence. The study tries to analyze the distinction between the earlier nation-building dynamics of the settlements and

subsequent West Bank settlement forms in the framework of a mother country with an exploitation periphery. The government decisions under security, demographic and economic motives were challenged by ideological groups. As a result the settlements were flourished with religious incentives in the territories of the West Bank. The unilateral settlement policies of Israel were discussed in terms of these incentives.

Thirdly, this work examines the period of settlement-centered enclavisation that led to the fragmentation and isolation of Palestinian cities and towns. How the unity of West Bank disrupted as a result of the Oslo agreements will be questioned during both unilateralism and international negotiation periods. How the settlements evolved to new instruments of control system will be examined in terms of insufficient decolonization effort from the territories forming a segregation model.

This study has not given much consideration to intensive jurisprudence analysis of settlements and chronological events of settlements. Since the thesis includes data related to the settlements on a limited scale, final situation of the settlement maps and population statistics in the historical sequence will be given in appendices comprehension for the growth of the enterprise in the time-line.

The thesis consists of five chapters. The second chapter offers a brief historical background of the settlements in the early years of 1880 and the evolution of the Zionist idea on a settlement plan in Palestine, highlighting specific references to the organizational efforts. These introductory explanations will provide a description of the previous model of settlements. These early models inspired the subsequent patterns and set an example for further settlement activities. In this chapter, the period of the British Mandate and transformation of the settlements under the mandate plans will be discussed. Early frictions between the Palestinian-Jewish communities despite the mandate administration constraints on the Jewish immigration will be explained in terms of absorptive capacity of the land.

The inter-war period during the Mandate era in which settlement activities accelerated is also scrutinized in that chapter. The significant milestone after the Second World War in the frame of mass immigration of Jewish community due to the *Holocaust* and rising tensions in Europe is evaluated as well. The formation of Israel will be addressed in the scope of the developments from 1948, the year of the Israeli State's founding, until Six-Day War of 1967. It reveals the settlement activities in the context of their evolution to established cores.

In the third chapter, the outcomes of the Six-Day War of 1967 are noted. The creation of the settlements in the early years is analyzed in three parts. In the first section, early arguments and initiatives of the Labor government will be put forth together with the reasons for formation of settler groups. This is followed by an assessment of the institutionalization of the settlements under the Likud government and Camp David Accords. Finally, the implications of the settlements throughout the *intifada* process will be analyzed before and after 1987 until the bilateral talks for the peace process of 1993.

Fourth chapter tries to explain the role of the settlements in the peace process in its historical context. The interim agreements are analyzed to reveal the further consequences. Also, the rising settler violence against the redeployment arrangements until the end of the Rabin-Peres administration is discussed on the course of the agreements. The settlement policies of the Netenyahu government are analyzed along with the new agreements in the fragile environment of the period. The subsequent Barak administration, the final status negotiations of the Camp David Summit and following developments are discussed together with the second uprising of the Palestinians in 2000. Finally, the collapses of the interim regulations and results on the West Bank settlements are considered under the new conflict environment. Supplementary efforts of the Sharon government which were intended to ensure the permanency of the settlements in the West Bank and the evacuation of the Gaza settlements will be explained.

This thesis' author visited the West Bank between October 2006 and July 2007 as Assistant Coordinator on behalf of Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TİKA) to execute official aid programs. Although he was not a researcher of this thesis topic, field observations and visits were carried out in different parts of the territory. As a result, the widely scattered settlements in the West Bank were attracted his attention. By seeing first hand conditions of the settlement enterprise, this visit inspired the fundamental pillars of the thesis. This study offers opportunity for observing and comparing a variety of secondary resources addressing the West Bank settlements to form meaningful answers to the research questions as a result of field trips, investigation of the territories. The thesis relies on historical sequence of Israel's settlement policy from early statehood, with special emphasis on the years from 1967 to 2005. It is primarily based on secondary sources, such as books and articles, mainly dealing with Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

CHAPTER 2

KEY CONCEPTS AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (1882-1967)

2.1. Introduction

The geopolitical location of Palestine in the intersection of three continents and in the center of the Fertile Crescent has given it commercial and cultural importance to many populations for millennia.[1] The Jewish community, like other nations having different features of nationalism, saw colonizer settlements as something which would constitute the basis of their statehood in these lands at the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

This section provides key concepts about settlements inside the historical background until the 1967 Six-Day War to reveal the historical continuity, distinctions and evolutions between the previous patterns of early settlements and West Bank settlements. The focus is on settlements in terms of their impact on the nation-building process of Israel and on the creation of Israeli identity. Firstly, definitions of different forms of settlements are given, explained from a historical perspective.

The settlement activities in Palestine needed to be surveyed in terms of space/territory, ideological motives and economic transformation that shaped each other interactively in the course of developments on the international scene. Territory and land served as a strong base for agricultural production and security-based military activities. How the Jewish settlement began? How the settler society shaped the settlement patterns and what are the changes and continuities of these settlements? Why the characteristics of the settlements were changed after the independence? Which political approach gave shape to the settlements in this period? And mainly what are the similarities and differences between the early settlements and our main theme West Bank settlements will be questioned in this chapter.

[1] Aharon Kellerman, *Society and Settlement: Jewish Land of Israel in the Twentieth Century*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), p.11.

Later analyzed are the immigrations - the *aliyahs*, institutions supporting settlement activities and the Zionist national identity, which explain and describe land based nationalism in terms of the settlement issue with reference to colonization and colonialism. There are mainly five *aliyahs* (Jewish migration waves) beginning in 1882 by philanthropist supports discussed below. Second and third *aliyahs* gave socialist ideals combined with the Eastern European and Russian Jewish community on the ground in accordance with organizational settlement plans. Fourth and fifth *aliyahs* occurred between the inter-war period brought new expansion with larger middle class Jewish immigrants from Europe and Russia gave the latest characteristics. Then a discussion follows relating how these Jewish immigrations accelerated in the British Mandate period and early frictions emerged with the Arab community.

This study begins with the birth of the settlement idea in the Zionist thought from 1882 until 1917 - the British Mandate period. During that time there are two synchronous activities of nation-building and forming Israeli identity around settlements. How the settlements evolved the cores of the nation-state discussed in this part.

In the second part, the settlement activities conducted under the protectorate of the British forces until the declaration of the Israeli state in 1948 will be explored. Also the main differences between the political groups were revealed during that time by territorial maximalism and transfer of Arab community to other Arab countries and a relative conciliation idea around partition of historical lands after the revolt of Arab community. Internationalization of the problem and intensive settlement efforts were discussed with the post-Second World War conditions.

Finally, in the third section, the consolidation of the existing settlements in the newly emerged state between 1948 and 1967 before passing through the West Bank settlement activities is analyzed with reference to internal colonialism in which utilizing sovereignty rights over the Arab population and containment of them by economic and political terms to finalize the Jewish settlement.

It is noteworthy to clarify picture by following the tracks of three political mainstreams discussed in this chapter and following parts. Practical Zionism combined with Labor groups and later Labour Party is the first political group initiated and inspired the settlements in Palestine. Later it was challenged by

Revisionist Zionism which defends the historical rights of the Jewish people on Palestine under territorial maximalism idea. Last group is the Messianic Religious Zionism that see the settlements as a divine mission that widely discussed in the next chapter. In this early period, despite the rivalry with Revisionists, the socialist idea constituted the core of the settlement ideology with an egalitarian discourse, stipulating that liberation reside in combining Zionism with social justice and in building the Jewish national home in Palestine based on socialist principles. This also was an effort to eliminate the negative aspects of the Jewish colonization. However, the settlements evolved to colonialist codes as it will be discussed in the next chapters.

2.2. Zionism, Colonialism, Colonization, and Early Settlement Patterns (1882-1917)

The emergence of a new model of a colony-state in America in 1776 and the rapid increase in the reputation of nationalism during the French revolution in 1789 inspired many nations to establish their own states. Parallel to this development, Jewish people, who were dispersed among the different parts of the world, especially in Russia and Eastern Europe, and exposed to anti-semitic movements, desired to establish a unique state for all Jewry, giving way to the birth of Zionism[2]. For the Jews, *Eretz Israel*, their sacred land, had been their stimulus for a homeland throughout the eighteen centuries of dispersion, dispossession and persecution, its fate representing the realization of their dream of statehood.[3]

It is noteworthy here to make a distinction between colonization and colonialism, although both derived from the same linguistic roots. Colonization refers to a geographic phenomenon based on immigration and the establishment of settlements in a new land, while colonialism has a political and economic sense

[2] For the literature on the birth of Zionism, see Pinsker, Leon, *Auto-Emancipation -Mahnruf an seine Stammgenossen, von einem russischen Jude* (in German, *Warning to His Fellow People, from a Russian Jew*), 1882, and Herzl, Theodor, *Der Judenstaat* (German, *The Jewish State*) 1896, also for Zionism, see Vital, David, *The Origins of Zionism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), Sachar, Howard, *A History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), Laquer, Walter, *A History of Zionism*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), Martin Sicker, *Judaism, Nationalism and the Land of Israel*, (Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press, 1992).

[3] T. J.Fraser, *Arab –Israeli Conflict*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) p.1.

described by the action of a state's coercive dominion and exploitation of all kinds of resources beyond its own borders with negative meaning.[4] During the pre-state period the colonization term is much more suitable to clarify the situation of the Jewish settlement due to a presence of another authority until the British colonial administration. However, reference to "planter colonies" which were established by the motives of philanthropist efforts and socialist utopia may be used to describe the complex characteristics of these migrations in the nascent phase of the Zionism.

On the other hand, as it will be discussed in the next chapter, occupation and annexation terms can not be applied in that period because there is not a sovereign Jewish state. Occupation is generally described as the possession of a defeated state's territory by the winning state in the course of war or conflict. Annexation refers to a legal act in which a state declares its supreme power over territory outside its sovereignty.[5]

We define the status of the settlements inside colonization term until 1948 because colonialism refers to an occupied territory which is administered by another remote nation and is strongly tied to a mother country, which is not the case here. Golan claimed that early Zionist settlements seemed to fit with the definition of non-formal colonialism.

> Zionism was a *diaspora national movement* that aspired to promote its interests in the destined homeland through becoming a collaborator of imperial powers. Regarding the inherent contradiction between Jewish nationalism and European imperialism, the adoption of Zionists as a collaborator group by the European powers, especially during the period of formal imperialism, was rather reluctant. Consequently, throughout the period of European imperialist dominance in Palestine, Zionism remained a form of non-formal colonialism.[6]

Although some authors see the events as non-formal colonialism here the term colonization will be employed for defining the developments until 1948. For Avneri, Zionism aimed to construct a new system:

> The means employed by the Zionist movement were the antithesis of colonialism. The economic aims of colonialism (not to mention its strategic

[4] Ran Aaronsohn, "Settlement in Eretz Israel - A Colonialist Enterprise? "Critical" Scholarship and Historical Geography," *Israel Studies*, Volume 1, Number 2 (1996), p.217.

[5] Elisha Efrat, *The West Bank and Gaza Strip: A Geography of Occupation and Disengagement*, (London, NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), p.4.

[6] Arnon Golan, "European Imperialism and the Development of Modern Palestine: Was Zionism a Form of Colonialism?" *Space & Polity*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (2001), p.141.

> goals) were to seize control of the resources of the conquered country, of its best agricultural land, of its water resources, and of its mineral wealth. Colonialism sought to exploit these resources by using cheap native labor and funneling the profits to homeland. […] Those who embodied the Zionist ideal sought to create a new type of society and of a national economy, where Jews would engage in all types of labor, from the meanest to the most exalted, without exploiting anyone.[7]

To attain this aim, the Palestinian land was selected as the target territory to make the goal more concrete. This Jewish effort of finding a territory was closely related to establishing a nation as pointed out by one scholar in explaining the functional definition of nation-states:

> The nation-state relies for its legitimacy on the intensity of its meaningful presence in a continuous body of bounded territory. It works by policing its borders, producing its people, constructing its citizens, defining its capitals, monuments, cities, waters and soils, by constructing its locales of memory and commemoration, such as graveyards and cenotaphs, mausoleums and museums.[8]

As a political thought, Zionism initiated the decisive action to form a nation-state through two separate movements, one led by the Russian Jewry and the second developed by the Jews in continental Europe. Tessler argues that the modern political Zionism searched for the establishment in Palestine of an independent and self- sufficient Jewish colony and the political Zionism was shaped around the idea of returning to the Holy Land.

> […]what made the Jews remain Jews was, it seems their absolute conviction that the Diaspora was but a preliminary expiation of communal sin, a preparation for the coming of the messiah and return to a transfigured Holy Land-even though after the final collapse of the Jewish state they usually thought of that consummation as a belonging to a remote and indefinite future. [9]

Among the different paths to the statehood, Jewish immigration to Palestine was distinguished by its strong political content. As Shafir argues, unlike other

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[7] Aryeh L. Avneri, *The Claim of Dispossession: Jewish Land-Settlement and the Arabs, 1878-1948*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1984), p.280.

[8] Arjun Appadurai., *Moderntiy at Large: Cultural Dimensions Of Globalization* (Minneapolis. MN: University of Minnesota Press. 1996). p. 189 cited in Elia Zureik, "Constructing Palestine through Surveillance Practices"**,** *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2. (Nov., 2001), p. 205.

[9] Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), p.19.

settlements, Zionism emerged in the form of other models of nationalism, including that of searching for political legitimacy and ensuring that ethnic boundaries would not cross political limits. Shafir emphasizes that the Jewish settlement was different from British colonization in Australia and New Zealand and the French and Italian colonies in Algeria since it included the idea of returning to a homeland.[10] The Jewish settlement also did not fit the types of colonization perfectly. The exploitation colony used the natives for labor-intensive fields like agriculture. The settlement colonies such as European settlements in the new world excluded natives and maintained a privilege based system. In the contested settlement colonies, the rebellion of natives resulted with national independence and settlers left the colonies.[11] In the case of Israel, are relevant for understanding the historical process.

Zionism was shaped by two main streams, one in Russia and the other in Europe. Jewish followed by the assassination of Tsar II Alexander resulted with emigration from Russia named . Most of the Jews immigrated to America and made a *yerida* a "descent." There was small group which prefers to make *aliyah* an "ascent" which included a sense of returning to the homeland. The main difference between *aliyah* and *yerida* is the admired act of migration to Palestine. This terminology demonstrates the priority of the Palestinian lands for a national homeland. This immigration constituted the *First Aliyah* (1882-1904) to the Palestinian lands.

In these critical years, the *Hovevi Zion* (Lovers of Zion) had formed the core for the proto-nationalist movement a few decades before Theodor Herzl's appearance in Europe.[12] Herzl wrote the book titled *Der Judenstat* (The Jewish State) to formulate guidance for the Jewry in the tense atmosphere of politics. By the First World Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897, under the auspices of *Hovevi Zion* and with the philanthropist help of *Baron Edmond de Rothschild*, the first *aliyah* had founded the first settlements in the coastal line of Palestine, in Hadera and Rehovot: "Rishon Le Zion (First to Zion), Zichron Yaacov (Yaacov's

[10]Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.8-9.

[11] R. Reuveny, "Fundamentalist Colonialism: the Geopolitics of Israeli–Palestinian Conflict", *Political Geography*, Vol.22, (2003), p.351.

[12] Pappe Ilan, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*, (Port Hope: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.38.

Memorial), Rosh Pina (Cornerstone), Petach Tikva (Ray of Hope)".[13] Between 1882 and 1900, Rothschild followed model of French agricultural colonization modeled in Algeria and Tunisia, which was based on the development of privately owned monocultural agriculture.[14] As referred by Troen, the early investigations for a model of agricultural expertise demonstrated the success of the American model based on free enterprise characteristics, which motivated earlier colonization systems; however, from the beginning, collectivist colonization became preferable.[15]

To understand the land tenure and Jewish settlement in this period, it is useful to examine the changes in the Land Code, which was enacted by the Ottoman administration in 1858 as a result of reformist regulations. This code altered the manner of land tenure abruptly in favor of large land owners. While the local notables, *ayaans,* were the main source of the land purchases, the peasants, *fellaheen,* had very limited land. Most of the land was purchased from large land owners, most of whom obtained their land after that law and put it up for sale. For example, non-Palestinian Ottoman notables from Beirut were the major source of early land purchases.[16]

In that earlier period of planter colonies, first and second *aliyahs* resulted in the rise of a moderate Israeli nationalism in connection with creating a labor strategy. Disputes between the Arabs and Jews were generally about filling the job opportunities. Hebrew Labor, or labor strategy, was created in the Palestinian conditions and supported a struggle against Palestinian Arab workers.[17] Formed and inspired by philanthropist funds and executed in the market circle, the difference in the wages and the capacity of the workers benefited Arab peasants in that era. To end this preferential treatment, Yemenite Jews were transferred to Palestine. Yemenite Jews were perfect tools to serve both nationalist and capitalist interests because they were Jewish workers who were to be paid Arab wages.[18] However,

[13] *ibid.,* p.39.

[14] Shafir, *op.cit.,* p.10.

[15] S. Ilan Troen, *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement*, (New Haven, CT, USA: Yale University Press, 2003), p 33.

[16] Shafir, *op.cit.,* p. 41.

[17] *ibid.,* p. 81.

[18] *ibid.,* p. 99.

this attempt failed in stabilizing the market against Arabs and, instead, caused frictions in the interior level between *Ashkenazi* (European) and *Mizrachim* (Eastern) Jews. Although the Yemenite Jews were integrated to the *yishuv* - the Jewish community in Palestine, the ideological rivalry that guided the Israel's destiny emerged in that period in the form of socialist and nationalist approaches.

2.2.1. The Organized Settlement Activities

The executive bodies established inside and outside Palestine constituted the models of settlements and colonizing strategies before the mandate period. Before mentioning the main institutions, it is necessary to examine the settlement types and their impact on state and nation-building. While settlements progressed as other types of colonies, Zionism needed land for its settlers and vice versa. Therefore, in the course of time, pioneering settlers functioned as guards of their communities.

i. The Birth of *Kibbutz* and *Moshav*

The second *aliyah* was a consequence of Russian pogroms that unsuccessful attempts for a socialist revolution in Russia led to new expectations for socialist ideals in the lands of Palestine. In cultural and moral aspects, the immigrations were seen as a revival from the intimidated life of the Diaspora.[19] Many of the young immigrants found their way inside Zionism and in the Palestinian lands as a result of the failure of the 1905 socialist revolution attempt in Russia, joining the socialist Zionist movement.

The first *kibbutz, Degania,* was built in 1904 and was maturated in the form of *Ein Herod* later in 1922. *Kibbutz* was the vital organizational innovation created the infrastructure for effective Jewish colonization, which later determined the method of Israeli state-formation, and set the criteria for the center of the Israeli people. Thus, the *kibbutz* emerged.[20] There were two major features of the *kibbutz* movement. Firstly, it had an irredentist expansionist motive to form a broad political and social system; secondly, it had broad tasks in a national and collectivist mode.

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[19] Henry Near, *The Kibbutz Movement: A History;* (Washington DC: Oxford University Press, 1992), Volume I, p.10.

[20] Shafir, *op.cit.*, p.146.

Settlement patterns changed during the initial phase with three major incentives: redemption of land, gathering exiles or immigrants and ensuring the security of the state. Yet, the lack of sovereignty in the pre-mandate era led to precautious attitude among the upper echelon of Zionist leaders. Since its early works in Palestine, the Zionist movement had avoided to any harm to individual Arabs and their property. This approach was believed to convince the Arabs that Zionist projects could benefit them, too. As Kellerman points; "The need to cope with the Arab internal challenge, which was being posed at an ever-expanding geographical scale, added to the importance of kibbutizm as a preferred settlement form."[21]

In the early period, land purchases seemed to be solely land activities. There was both compatibility and contradiction between the territory and population that justified the immigrants to settle on the land. As such, new areas were needed the *kibbutz* was used as a mobilizing factor to attain a swift settlement form. It provides a wide meaning for labor society that "It required a volunteered consent for collective ownership and sharing in all spheres of life, including production, consumption, and decision making."[22]

In the formation period, the settlement process had a multifaceted character. Hebrew frontier settlement was characterized by economic sufficiency, voluntarism and self-defense. The functional aim of the *kibbutz* in connection with creating a state was to create a foundation: land had to be repossessed, new immigrants had to be encouraged and borders had to be guarded. Troen put forward that "They also invoked the ideal of the pioneer engaged through the 'conquest of labor' in 'redeeming the land' and 'making the desert bloom'. Their rhetoric depicted them as virtuous settlers engaged in a heroic and moral enterprise."[23]

On the other hand, according to Mittelberg, the birth of the *kibbutz* movement was seen by its forefathers not as a narrow minded form of communal socialism, but as part of a wider revolution the dream of all socialist youth in the context of the spirit of that times embedded with a Jewish claim for sovereignty.[24] The *kibbutzes* as

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[21] Kellerman, *op.cit.*, p.27.

[22] *ibid.*, p.51.

[23] Troen, *op.cit.*, p 43.

[24] David Mittelberg, *Strangers in Paradise: The Israeli Kibbutz Experience*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988), p.2.

collectivist colonizing communities were the historical vanguard of Socialist-Zionism in Palestine. These later became a major foundation of Israel's public and private sectors.[25] In the course of establishment of the first settlement, the *kibbutz* became not only a visionary idea, but a living institution.[26] One of the main founder ideologies of Israel was shaped inside the *kibbutz* and the strategy to produce a position for Jewish labor was initiated under the "conquest of labor" idea. It had inspired most of the organizational forms under its aegis and mobilized human resources from the non-*kibbutz* society in Israel and throughout the world uninterruptedly.

On the other hand another form of settlement is *moshav*. A *moshav* was different from *kibbutz*, which was nationally owned and publicly controlled, in terms of private ownership including sale and inheritance. A *moshav* is a village based on family units with no institutionalized cooperation and a rural residential community organized in response to the functions of a settlement. It combines corporation and individualism in the village form. In contrast to the *kibbutz*, individual farms operate under the aegis of *Keren Kayamet*, The Jewish National Fund. The establishment of *Petach Tikva* represented a movement of reform among orthodox Jews. Living in Jerusalem, they tried to change the Jew into a productive person who lives by his own work and does not rely on charity.[27]

As it will be seen later, *moshavs* had constituted the core of many towns and suburban centers of the big cities and also agricultural institutions. Petach Tikva appears in the historical records of modern Jewish settlement as the first *moshav*, but it came before the purchase of *The Motza Tract* and the setting up of the first agricultural school at *Mikve-Israel*.[28]

ii. World Zionist Organization (WZO), *Histadrut* and The Jewish National Fund (JNF)

As referred before WZO was the first organized institution for inspiring all the Jewish community to settle in Palestine. Although many features of the Jewish

[25]Paula Rayman, *The Kibbutz Community and Nation Building*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), p.9.

[26] Muky Tsur, *What is Kibbutz?*, (Tel-Aviv: Federation of Kibbutzim, 1972), p.20

[27] D Weintraub., M. Lissak, and Y. Azmon, *Moshava, Kibbutz, and Moshav; Patterns of Jewish Rural Settlement and Development in Palestine*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), p.64.

[28]Avneri, *op.cit.*, p.79.

settlement attained its principal goals under the British Mandate WZO organized Jewish National Fund to implement plans for forming new settlements. On the other hand the Jewish Labor organized inside the *yishuv-The Jewish Community in Palestine* to defend their rights. *Histadrut* was shaped on the basis of the *kibbutz* structure . The *Histadrut* was founded in 1920 with an aim to transform the middle class Jewish immigrants into an organized working class.[29] The *Histadrut,* an acronym for General Federation of Laborers in the Land of Israel, and The Jewish National Fund (JNF) operating in the labor and land market, constituted the main pillars of the Jewish state formation. Producing a state antecedent, the *Histadrut* improved employment opportunities and set up its own economic bodies required for absorption of new immigrants.[30] Jewish immigrants found a sense of liberation under these organizations after long-term expulsion and insult of diaspora life. JNF was established in 1901 at the Fifth Congress of the World Zionist Organization for the purpose of purchasing and developing land in Palestine a long time ago before the British Mandate.

> At the same time, the WZO founded a land-purchasing and development company. It was incorporated in England as the *Palestine Land Deuelopment Company Limited,* with a capital of 50,000 in £1 shares. The Company was to serve private individuals as well as the JNF as a central land-purchasing agency. By this means it was hoped to check speculation and to avoid random and unsystematic purchases of small and/or scattered parcels of land unsuitable for large-scale colonization. The Company made its first purchases in 1909 and in time became the principal purchasing agent for the JNF.[31]

From the beginning, it was the aim of the Jewish national institutions to make the *yishuv* as independent as possible of both the Arab community and the authorities, first Ottoman and later British. During the period of the British Mandate administration, a sizeable immigration ignited the confrontation with the Arab population.

> Bifurcated development, calling for the creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine offered perhaps, a less grim alternative; but it certainly could not have avoided confrontation with the Palestinians who, themselves evolving a radical nationalism, were not willing to give up any part of

[29] Rayman, *op.cit,*, p.25.

[30] Shafir, *op.cit.,*p. 195.

[31] Lehn Walter, "The Jewish National Fund"**,** *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4. (Summer, 1974), p.83.

> Palestine. Separatism is a strategy for managing conflict but not for eliminating it.[32]

The JNF, functioning under the political guidance of the Jewish Agency, was the land trust of the Zionist movement. On the one hand, the Zionist agencies with an international character were determined to construct a national home in Palestine on behalf of the Jewish people as a whole; on the other hand, domestic institutions were created for the management of political life inside the *yishuv* simultaneously.[33]

The functions of settler organizations can be considered in three main areas: the organizational requirements, adjustments, and ambitions of the founders, which gave the impetus for the establishment of the movement and influenced their attributes; the features of the movement frameworks and their development; and the potential of the organizations to unify and grow, and their performance and success.

The vision of the Zionists was to create a western type society and economic system harmonized that with the world system and differentiated from the Arabs' social structure. Initially, Arab labor was used under the argument that Arabs and Jews would develop the area together. However, the organizational success of the social organizations brought higher wages for Jews in 1914 and then attained "the conquer of labor strategy", which excluded Arab workers in 1917.The power of the Zionist worldwide organizations was essentially based on the fact that it was they, through their very large number of supporters, especially in the United States, that financed the *yishuv*.

Also the local organizations, especially The *Histadrut*, transformed themselves into a wide body that controlled the local Zionist policy and achieved the exclusion of Arab workers from Jewish-owned enterprises and the fulfillment of favors for Jewish workers in government jobs and contracts.[34] *Histadrut* in a short time gained effective control over the lands. Different methods of strikes may be

[32] Shafir, *op.cit.*, p.219.

[33] Tessler, *op.cit.*, p. 190.

[34] Weldon C. Matthews, *Confronting an Empire, Constructing a Nation: Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p.202.

Source: www.passia.org/maps

Figure 2.1 Major Arab Towns and Jewish Settlements in Palestine, 1881-1914.

seen as part of the political and economic strengthening of the *yishuv* and its attempts at a further territorial partition.[35]

During the pre-mandate era, these organizations played an initial role of providing a base for settlements, but they could not produce an extensional success until the British Mandate. The organizational form of the first settlement groups were supposed to be very fragile for there was not enough technical assistance from any central agency. But these institutions improved the capacity of the *yishuv* with their quasi-state functionaries long before the establishment of the state and provided recognized status in front of the British Authorities followed in the next part.

2.3. Jewish Settlements under the British Mandate (1917-1948)

Before outlining the developments in this period, it is necessary to mention two ideological groups that shaped the nation-building process of Israel. The first group may be defined as practical Zionists or Labor Zionism which prioritized reconciliation with the Mandate authorities and local notables and land purchases. Their main strategy was based on combining these territorial gains as a foundation for statehood. On the other hand, Revisionist Zionism was based on Jabotinsky's *"iron wall"* principle. According to this view, Jewish colonization must be imposed in opposition of the consent of native population by using force and military apparatuses. These debates gained impetus with the second *aliyah;* hence, the members were heavily influenced by revolutionary socialism and were strengthened by political activists and intellectuals. As important figures, like Jabotinsky, the leader of Revisionist Zionism, and Weizman, the leader of practical Zionists, debated the settlement strategy in terms of "unilateralism." Weizman preferred to rely on the British mandate and a compromise with the Arab community, but Revisionist Zionists believed that gaining the understanding of Arabs was impossible and undesirable. With the encouragement of Zionist organizations, the *yishuv* became an autonomous and self-sufficient community, which could survive on its own labor and production. An earlier debate emerged under two different understanding since the beginning of British Mandate.

[35] Steven A. Glazer, "Picketing for Hebrew Labor: A Window on Histadrut Tactics and Strategy," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4. (Summer, 2001), p.51.

> Jabotinsky's Revisionist Party, the nationalist forebear of Israel's Likud, rejected partition outright, claiming Jewish proprietorship over all Palestine. Labor was ambivalent, but (aside from the radical left) against anything less than full sovereignty in at least part of Palestine. Aware of the Yishuv's strategic advantage, its principal internal architect and now Zionism's chief policymaker, David Ben Gurion, argued that partition did not preclude the ultimate quest for a [Greater Israel].[36]

Although the Balfour Declaration[37] promised a home for both Arabs and Jews, Jewish settlement structures accelerated during the Mandate era. An important aspect of the Mandate's structure for the development of the *kibbutz* was its support for the Balfour Declaration and its remark to the native majority population as citizens entitled to minority rights.[38]

It might be appropriate to divide the Mandate era in two periods: The first being the British-supported incubation inter-war period, and the second being the period of ups and downs in the realization of settlement and independence plans irrespective of the British administration.

2.3.1. Settlement Era during the Inter-war Period (1917-1939)

The main characteristics of this period are the increasing need for security of the settlements and foundation of military institutions to defend the yishuv. Also as part of different steps each wave of immigrants changed the structure of the Jewish community and the relationship between the local Arabs. The third *aliyah* occurred in the first years of the Mandate between 1919 and 1923, which led to the expansion and maturation of the *yishuv* in Palestine. The arrival of skilled Jews from Poland and Russia changed the face of the community. The third *aliyah* gave a rise to a more modern and secular part of the Jewish community in Palestine, that was named as the *"new yishuv"* because it was different from the traditional Jewish community that existed in Palestine before the birth of modern Zionism.[39]

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[36] Artan, Scott, "The Surrogate Colonization of Palestine, 1917-1939," *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 16, No. 4. (Nov., 1989), p.735.

[37]"Balfour Declaration (Nov. 2, 1917) is statement of British support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." It was made in a letter from Arthur James Balfour, the British foreign secretary, to Lionel Walter Rothschild, 2nd Baron Rothschild (of Tring), a leader of British Jewry." Encyclopedia Britannica,www.britannica.com.

[38] Rayman,*op.cit.,* p.20.

[39] Tessler, *op.cit.,* p.185.

The Jewish Agency was formed as an instrument with reference to the Balfour Declaration that called for cooperation with an appropriate Jewish agency, and it was recognized by the British authorities. Also, as a part of *yishuv*, *Knesset Israel* was formed and recognized by the King's Order in the Council of 1921 that granted Jews a self-autonomy in their internal affairs.[40]

Both institutions acted as a quasi-state functionary and constituted a framework for political parties and directed the settlement strategy. Meanwhile, religious political views became effective in shaping the settlement activities. Seen in the next chapter, modern political Zionism was nourished with religious figures and movements. The first religious leader of the Jewry in Palestine, *Rabbi Hacohen Kook*, believed that the immigration of Jews signaled the new era of the Messianic age and a turning point in the history of Jewish people. His successors later organized under the *Gush Emunim* (The Block of Believers) Movement for the settlement in the West Bank for messianic motives which are detailed in the next chapter. The Revisionist program included territorial and political goals in addition to a discipline calling for military readiness in support of these goals.[41]

In the formation period, the settlement process had a multifaceted character. This opened the way for a contradiction between urban concentration on the one side and rural cooperative mode of life and territorial expansion on the other.[42]

The third *aliyah* had created the first Labor Battalion that contributed to a military character. The fourth *aliyah* (1924-1929) changed the general status of the *yishuv*. The primary components of this wave of immigrants were merchants and artisans, most of whom held small capital and came with their families. The majority came from Poland, where the government had implemented restrictions that adversely affected the Jewish minority.[43]

However, it had also produced intensive reactions in 1933 and later in 1936-1939. Despite the immense efforts of colonization in rural areas, Jews came to Palestine as an urban community and mainly remained so. During that time, intensive debate revolved around the urban and rural characteristics of Jewish settlements. Jewish institutions objected to the urbanization by mainly supporting

[40] *ibid.*, p. 195.

[41] *ibid.*, p.202-206.

[42] Kellerman, *op.cit.*, p.268.

[43] Weintraub, *op.cit.*, p.15.

agrarian communities, but they failed to absorb large numbers of newcomers in smaller scale of *moshavs* and *kibbutzes*. They objected building metropolis like Tel Aviv. For them, it constituted a threat for the logic of the Zionist colonization. Tel Aviv, however, began to emerge as a well-designed industrious city, attracting prosperous dwellers and artisans. Private contractors and individuals had an unrestricted area on which they can plan and build their favored designs. In the course of time, Tel Aviv developed through *"bourgeois metropolis"* along with *"proletarian utopian experimentation"*.[44] Haifa was clearly transformed into a major international center and port city which bounded with British Mandate's colonial understanding for the Middle East in accordance with a large Jewish presence in the city.[45] Tel Aviv and Haifa were emerging as Jewish cities and the Arab population was concerned about this development.

The expulsion of the *Wadi al-Hawarith* Arabs near Tulkarem, which symbolized the increasing loss of land to the Zionist movement and Jewish private bodies, resulted in a general rebellion in the summer and autumn of 1933.[46] The 1933 demonstrations represented the apex of the discontent of the Arab people which had accumulated over the years. The Arabs were fearful of specifically the extensive Jewish immigration that had taken place in 1934 and 1935, spreading out nearly all parts of Palestine.[47] The rebellion intensified in the Haifa region and Jezzrel Valley where many of the *moshavs* and *kibbutzes* existed and the Jewish settlement expanded through the plains. With the new wave of immigrants, the irreversible process of settlements had been launched in the Palestinian lands.

After the general riots and revolt of the Arab community in 1936, known as the "Great Arab Revolt," Zionist institutions initiated a territorialization process due to the limits of the Mandate to assure local integrity between the settlements and to provide a basis for further partition plans. Although there was a flow of Arab labor to the major cities and natural population growth, the rise of the Jewish population in major cities in terms of "conquest of labor" strategy was a driving force of Labor Zionism. This only led to a high level of polarization. Rural Palestinian Arabs tried

[44] Troen, *op.cit.,* p.95- 101.

[45] *ibid.,* p 119.

[46] Matthews, *op.cit.,* p.198.

[47] Tessler, *op.cit.,* p.239.

to find jobs in the urban labor markets, mainly in the port cities. Yet, they noticed the accumulation of Jewish immigrants who competed for jobs with them.[48]

The Mandate administration did not know how to meet the two contending demands. It was bewildered by staying under the pressure of Jews that demanded immigration and settlement rights in the Balfour Declaration and facing the strict rejection of Arabs who felt that this conduct undermined their rights mainly in economic sectors:

> Many of the immigrants were artisans from Eastern Europe and until the mid-1930s the typical industrial enterprise was small hand-craft firm. But from the mid-1930s the with increasing immigration from central Europe by wealthy capitalists much larger industrial enterprises developed…In short Jewish settlers had created a partially autonomous and dynamic, though still small, settler economy by the mid 1930s, when the Arab revolt put most things on hold.[49]

The fifth *aliyah*, which took place between 1932 and 1939, was much larger than the previous *aliyahs*. This *aliyah* was stimulated by the rising tensions in Europe particularly the rise of National Socialism or Nazism with an anti-Semitic rhetoric. This *aliyah* had changed the population balance in Palestine against the Arab residents. Hence, it caused frictions and fed the defense aspect of the settlements. The self-defense strategy was shaped during the revolts. During the consolidation of the previous settlements, sometimes the evacuation of unsafe areas had been deemed to be necessary and Jews had tried to obtain the consent of the authorities. After the events of 1936-1939, the *Haganah*[50] and the *kibbutz* movement developed a strategy of defense against the lasting and joint attacks in many areas and improved the communication line between them.[51]

The clash mainly stemmed from the scarcity of resources. The Arabs were claiming the insufficiency of resources in Palestine, despite the Jews arguing that

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[48] Matthews, *op.cit.*, p.229.

[49] David Kenneth Fieldhouse, *Western Imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.177.

[50] "*Haganah* means [defense] in Hebrew and it was a Zionist military organization representing the majority of the Jews in Palestine from 1920 to 1948. Organized to combat the revolts of Palestinian Arabs against the Jewish settlement of Palestine, it early came under the influence of the *Histadrut* [General Federation of Labour]. Although it was outlawed by the British Mandatory authorities and was poorly armed, it managed effectively to defend Jewish settlements." Encyclopedia Britannica,www.britannica.com.

[51] Near, *op.cit.*,V.I. p.309.

there would be developed additional possibilities on the land. For many Jews, Palestine could absorb an additional population of half a million if the industrial development was achieved. In their eyes, industrial development was not actually related to the proximity to raw materials during that time.[52]

Until the end of this first phase, two main arguments emerged around the settlements and were shaped and widely discussed in the Zionist organizations. One side gave precedence to the partition plans and aimed to bring settlements together while the other side, which was concerned with maximalism, expressed the transfer idea. For example, Jabotinsky argued that millions of Jewish settlers would need the area on both sides of the Jordan River for the future Jewish state.[53] These two mainstream Zionists were determined to bring more Jews to Palestine. Both *Ahdut Ha-avoda* (the ideological predecessor of Labor) and the Revisionist groups prioritized the concept of Zionist activism, which stressed a steadfast endeavour for a large *aliyah* and the rapid building of the country.[54] The following quote sheds light on the inner thoughts of these groups:

> The support of the leadership for the partition principle in 1937 was motivated by the numerous advantages that sovereignty would confer once a Jewish state had emerged as a result of partition […] It was assumed that partition and loss of territory would not detract from the absorptive capacity, because the political and economic advantages obtained by sovereignty would compensate for the curtailment of territorial size.[55]

The Jewish Executive interpreted the Balfour Declaration as requiring an open immigration policy; otherwise the *"promise"* would lose its meaning. Transferring Arabs was a seriously discussed option which ebbed and flowed during the mandate period. But what to do with Arab population became the main issue in the days. Although there are contending approaches to the "land without

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[52] Shalom Reichman, Yossi Katz, and Yair Paz, "The Absorptive Capacity of Palestine, 1882-1948," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 33:2, (1997), p.348.

[53] Colin Shindler, *Israel, Likud and the Zionist Dream: Power, Politics, and Ideology from Begin to Netanyahu*, (London, New York: Tauris 1995), p.21.

[54] Yaacov N. Goldstein, "Labour and Likud: Roots of Their Ideological-Political Struggle for Hegemony over Zionism 1925-35," *Israel Affairs*, (2002), 8:1, p.82.

[55] Yosef Katz, *Partner to Partition: The Jewish Agency's Partition Plan in the Mandate Era*, (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 1998), p.18.

people and people without land" concept,[56] it seems that Jews preferred a less Arab populated parcel of land in their future state.

During the course of 1936 and onwards, the idea of transferring Arabs was brought about on the occasions of the consultations of the executive in different platforms, including preparations before the Royal Commission. The Jewish Agency examined that possibility and debated the Turkish-Greek case as a model. It was important for the Zionist Committee to make use of this precedent for its own political purposes. The Committee visited the region and the results of the visit were debated. It was believed that its most important advantage would be to contribute to the homogenization process of the population which would promote the stability and would turn rivalry and enmity to cooperation. Throughout the year 1938, the settlement bodies of the WZO established fifteen new settlements in Palestine. Two-thirds of them were in the Galilee and in the areas that were included in the boundaries of Jewish State according to the plan of the executive rather than the partition boundaries of the Royal Commission.[57]

British authorities were still anxious to curb the immigration waves, but the Zionist executive insisted on it as a right which was created by the promise of a national home. For the Jews, two issues (immigration and national home) were the same and the right to a Jewish homeland could not be developed without free immigration.[58]

Transferring the Arab population from the future Jewish state required making the land they retained available for Jewish settlement. Yet, the compulsory transfer option was not accepted and, therefore, Jewish organizations turned to the option of attracting people through economic benefits. In order to obtain voluntary transfer, they tried to camouflage transfer idea in the guise of a broad agrarian reform program in the states that bordered the proposed Jewish state. For this purpose, they made secret negotiations during the 1930s and, beyond those

[56] For the literature on the concept see; Masalha Nur, *A Land Without a People: Israel, Transfer and the Palestinians, 1949-1996* (London: Farber and Farber, 1997), and Lassner Jacob, Troen Selwyn Ilan, *Jews and Muslims in the Arab World: Haunted by Pasts Real and Imagined* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).

[57] Katz, *op.cit.*, p.172.

[58] Naomi Wiener Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism, 1897-1948*, (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, published by University Press of New England, 2003), p.137.

initiatives, the Jewish Agency encouraged transfer schemes in their talks with Emir Abdallah of the Transjordan, Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and Iraqi politicians.[59] To realize these plans, *Irgun*[60] and later *Lehi*[61] (also called *Stern*) were created in accordance with the ideological continuity of Revisionist Zionism known for its "maximalist, uncompromising position in contrast to the pragmatic, gradualist and flexible approach of the dominant Labor Zionism."[62] Doubtlessly the transfer concept was connected entirely to the partition idea which was at the center of Zionist lobbying efforts.[63]

2.3.2. Armed Conflict around Settlements (1939-1948)

The Second World War led to irreversible change for the settlements. Zionists believed that Jewish people must have a country of their own. Among other Jews, the tragedy prior to World War II and during the war brought new reassured support for the Zionist goal of a national home in Palestine. By May 1939, when the British Government's White Paper on Palestine[64] was published, Arab attacks on Jews had almost ceased. Since this document envisaged an independent Arab-controlled Palestine within ten years, it seemed superfluous for Arabs to fight for aims which had in effect been achieved. The Arab revolt was deemed over.

The White Paper envisioned a bi-national state by giving both parties equal interests and benefits from the land. Land transfer arrangements were presented in

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[59] Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*, (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), p.21.

[60]"*Irgun*, an acronym in Hebrew for *National Military Organization is* a Jewish right-wing underground movement in Palestine, founded in 1931. At first supported by many non-Socialist Zionist parties, in opposition to the *Haganah*, it became in 1936 an instrument of the Revisionist Party, an extreme nationalist group that had seceded from the World Zionist Organization and whose policies called for use of force, if necessary, to establish a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River." Encyclopedia Britannica,www.britannica.com.

[61]"*Lehi*, an acronym in Hebrew for "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel" is a Zionist extremist organization in Palestine, founded in 1940 by Avraham Stern (1907-42) after a split in the right-wing underground movement, *Irgun*." Encyclopedia Britannica,www.britannica.com.

[62] *ibid.*, p.28.

[63] *ibid.*, p.58.

[64] "The British government issued a White Paper, which essentially yielded to Arab demands. It stated that the Jewish national home should be established within an independent Palestinian state. During the next five years 75,000 Jews would be allowed into the country; thereafter Jewish immigration would be subject to Arab "acquiescence." Land transfer to Jews would be allowed only in certain areas in Palestine, and an independent Palestinian state would be considered within 10 years." Encyclopedia Britannica,www.britannica.com.

February 1940. They divided the country into three zones and permitted the Jews to buy land without restriction with limitation in only one of them: the coastal plain between *Zikhron Yaakov and Rehevot.*[65]

On the other hand, the British Labor Party discussed the transfer of Palestinian people to another Arab country with compensation to open the way for absorbing the Jewish immigration resulted by Nazi plans in Europe. The last phase of diplomatic activity aimed to untie the Palestinian impasse began with the formation of an Anglo-American committee of inquiry in November 1945.[66] With the rising tensions and intensified conflict, the settlers focused much more on their military presence and enlarged their military organizations, *Haganah* and *Irgun*.

Revisionist Zionism challenged moderate Zionist understanding and turned to military solutions to gain more concessions from the mandate. From that point, two important figures of Israeli politics separated from each other. While these two military organizations targeted the Mandate bodies and officials, Menachem Begin defended a unilateralist approach based on the Jewish power, David Ben Gurion was dependent on diplomacy to attain British and rising the United States (US) support.

After the White Paper was announced and British policy endangered the Zionist dream of a single Jewish state, Zionists turned their face to the new emerging superpower in the aftermath of the Second World War. The US became the main center of Zionism as a result of the Biltmore Program of 1942.[67] The commitments to a Jewish state in Palestine had become a main point for the politics of the US Jewry, which neither Roosevelt nor his successor Truman could disregard for their political future.[68]

Palestine was exceptional in one respect: the settlers and the inhabitants were from the beginning determined that there should be no accommodation and neither of them, before 1948, was able to establish dominance over the other.

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[65] Tessler, *op.cit.,* p.246.

[66] *ibid.*, p.257.

[67]"In May 1942, David Ben-Gurion, representing the Jewish Agency at a Zionist conference at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City, gained support for a program, later termed the Biltmore Resolution, demanding unrestricted Jewish immigration to Palestine, the creation of a Jewish army, and the establishment of Palestine as Jewish commonwealth." Encyclopedia Britannica, www.britannica.com

[68] Fieldhouse, *op.cit.,* p.203.

After the Biltmore Program, the settlement efforts turned to the Negev area. These cautious beginnings of settlement in the desert area, south of *Be'er Sheva*, were initiated in 1943 as part of the general revival of settlement operations in that year.[69] The settlement plans included both economic and military objectives in conformity with the continuity of the process. Agriculture-based settlement had been given priority because it stipulated self sustainability in a short time. In terms of practice, agricultural settlement had its own peculiarity because it required less investment in natural and human capital and required a shorter growth period than the manufacturing industry did, in addition to establishing a state on a territorial basis in Palestine.[70]

While negotiations on the diplomatic front were going on, the Jewish delegation urged the Jewish Authority to establish new settlements in the northern Negev in order to attain a strong position in a possible partition scheme. Before the problem was internationalized by the UN platforms through the decision made by Britain to solve the problematic issue by its own, the Jewish Executive tried to produce many *de facto* positions and tried to handle the land concentration:

> There were four principal components in the process that led to concentration: a) The seizure of the land of the once independent fellaheen by moneylenders; b) the takeover of the land by violent or ostensibly peaceful means; c) the concentration of land in the hands of the authorities and the Government; d) the sale and granting of state lands to friends and supporters of the Government.[71]

The Arabs accused the Jews of making land purchases for political intentions in order to control the country. White Paper agreed with this, and offered that Jewish aspirations for new settlement be met by lands already in the ownership of the Jews. The inquiry commissions insisted that sufficient cultivable lands were needed for new immigrants, but Zionists claimed that more cultivable lands could be created by draining swamps and clearing land. The Jewish Executive demanded state land and uncultivated lands, asserting that this would not lead to the dispossession of the Arabs, but would provide a development space for new settlers and the existing population which needed to improve its standard of living.

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[69] Near, *op.cit.*,p.56.

[70] Jacob Metzer, "Economic Structure and National Goals-The Jewish National Home in Interwar Palestine," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 38, No. 1, (Mar., 1978), p.108.

[71] Avneri, *op.cit.,* p.64.

During the Second World War, Zionist strategy shifted to establishing a strong position over the lands. Between the period from 1936 to 1947, three factors defined Zionist land-purchasing policy: First, establishing territorial continuity between settlements and regions, which necessitated minimal defense measures; second, a wide action to annul the limitations of the White Paper on purchasing land and third, adopting a policy that would provide territorial continuity within expected boundaries of the future Jewish state.[72]

To challenge the Jewish movement, the Arabs intensified their own lobbying in Washington. As the British authorities did in Palestine, Arabs still suspected that the US, under pressure from the Jews, would press Britain to hold a pro-Jewish settlement position. Zionist lobbying groups were aware of the changes and after the Biltmore Conference, their efforts yielded confident and assertive positions in accordance with the developments on the ground with wide scope settlement activities. The Biltmore program had called for a Jewish commonwealth. Despite the limitations dictated by shortages of the general economic stagnation, the efforts were still aimed at continuing the rate of colonization after the conference that brought about communal unity for Zionism and Israel. Major national organizations were united in the US to assist the policymaking of Israel in terms of their interests:

> Within a very short time, the Zionist drive for American Jewish solidarity on behalf of Jewish survival *by means of a Jewish state* became at least as important as the need for complete identification with America. The era of Palestianism drew to a close, and American Zionism with all Americanized features reverted to a Herzlian goal of Jewish statehood.[73]

Holocaust survivors from Europe mainly from Germany and Poland had flown to Palestine contrary to the Mandate arrangement, but it explicitly appeared that the Jews were destined to build up a state within definite borders. Ben Gurion and Weizmann believed that the partition proposal would provide two vital advantages for the future: a Jewish sovereignty, though it would be over a limited area of Palestine and full control over the immigration which was essential for the European Jewry.[74]

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[72] *ibid.*,p.184.

[73] Cohen, *op.cit*,, p.164.

[74] Near, *op.cit.*,V.I, p.303.

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was investigating suitable arrangements for the future of the Mandate. These arrangements which were inclined to pave the way for partition, now led to an unending struggle between maximalist and minimalist attentions inside Zionist groups. For the Zionists, the possible partition plan meant a second victory after the 1917 Balfour Declaration, yet, for the Revisionists and other radicals, it was less than the biblical Zion they demanded.

From August 1945 to the end of 1947, fifty three new Jewish settlements were founded, nearly two per month, as compared with one and half per month in the previous years.[75] Moreover, the Jewish settlement produced its space through rehabilitation methods such swamp draining, blocking channels which caused flooding, afforesting of bare hills, clearing rocky soil and treatment of salty soil to attain fertile landscapes in that period.

New arrivers gave a new momentum to settlement efforts. This wave differed from the previous ones in its larger scope and shifted the urban population balance of Tel Aviv Haifa and Jerusalem. The activity of the JNF in the sphere of land purchases in Jerusalem reflected the partition map of the Jewish Agency Executive, which divided Jerusalem and incorporated New Jerusalem into the areas of the Jewish State.[76] Haifa also had a strong position in the urban settlement due to its importance stemming from having a large port to receive immigrants.

Towards the end of the negotiations with UNSCOP, Zionist groups intensified their attacks against the UN and British mandate organs as well as the Arab community. For Tessler, the Jewish forces implemented the Dalet Plan or Plan D[77] to force the Arab people leave their properties and to gain control of the allocated borders. In accordance with Plan D, the *Hagana*'s master plan was accepted in March 1948 and Jewish forces initiated campaigns to take control of some of the areas that the UN allocated for an Arab state.[78] The results of the war provided Israel with much more control of boundaries than it had received from the

[75] Near, *op.cit.*,V.II, p.102.

[76] Katz, *op.cit.*, p.173.

[77] See for the Plan: "Text of Plan Dalet: Operational Orders to the Brigades," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Special Issue: Palestine 1948 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 34-37.

[78] Tessler, *op.cit.*, p.263.

UN decision of 1947, allowing for the recognition of the Executive's map of 1938, which had annexed the Negev area.[79]

As an outcome of that, the settlements were linked to each other and constituted powerful cores in the Tel-Aviv Jerusalem line, in the Haifa region and in the south expanding to Negev. Kellerman points out that Jewish settlement expanded in accordance with the "domino theory," leading to a strong master plan based on the idea that if one of them collapsed, it would cause a total decline.[80] In the course of the war, the *kibbutz* and *moshav* settlements in the rural areas had proven their vitality in security and defense that was emphasized by Zionist leaders. For example, Ben Gurion believed that the settlements saved them more than they saved the settlements.[81]

By the end of the 1948 Independence war, the Zionists had succeeded in reaching most of their goals. Although the new state was not a homogenously Jewish, they had an independent state in which the Arab community was reduced to a controllable minority.[82] From now on settlements were perceived as an *internal issue* because of the sovereignty rights be used to implement the replacement of the Arab community or to reduce them to minimal levels after 1948 settlement process.

[79] Katz, *op.cit.*, p.186.

[80] Kellerman, *op.cit.*,p.52.

[81] Near, *op.cit.*,V.II, p.155.

[82] Masalha, *op.cit.*, p.207.

Source: www.passia.org/maps

Figure 2.2. United Nations Partition Plan UN Resolution 181 in 1947 and Rhodes Armistice Line in 1949

2.4. 1948 Independence and Afterwards

After gaining independence with the strength of sovereignty rights, the Israeli state implemented wider projects. A new framework of settlement was created: the development towns for absorbing newcomers. During the 1948-1956 period, both villages and development towns were flourishing in the form of reinforcement processes. Zionist movements emphasized the Law of Return[83] and the productivity in settlements, so the agricultural sector was prioritized for a certain period to increase economic development.[84]

Here the term of *"internal colonialism"* may be used to clarify the situation after independence. Due to the lack of sovereignty rights in the previous period, Israel now turned to implementing new settlement plans by subordinating the remaining Arab population. As it will be discussed the legal arrangements were focused on the containment of the Arab population in both political and economic terms:

> Through a system of political domination used initially by the colonial power (under the mandate of the League of Nations), the Israeli Jews subject the country's Arab population to various political controls, and treat it as culturally distinct. Israeli Arabs are excluded from certain sociopolitical positions and activities, they experience other discriminatory policies, their land is exposed to appropriation, and they form the largest component of the lowest socioeconomic sections of Israeli society.[85]

The Arabs were suppressed by the military law, which was in force until 1966. The appropriation of Palestinian lands by the government continued from the 1950s onwards with the help of Zionist organizations. Meanwhile, the urban population was doubled with the development of the private sector in big cities. This brought about the transition from a socialist to a capitalist understanding in the economic system based on land settlement. To provide a basis for the economic system they initiated a plan:

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[83]"During the early years of statehood, Israel had to absorb a major influx of immigrants, including several hundred thousand nearly destitute Holocaust survivors and a large influx of Sephardic Jews from Arab states, who felt increasingly insecure in their home countries following the Arab defeat in 1948. As a result, the Knesset passed the Law of Return in 1950, granting Jews immediate citizenship." Encyclopedia Britannica, www.britannica.com.

[84] Kellerman, *op.cit.*,p.12.

[85] Robert J. Hind, "The Internal Colonial Concept," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Jul., 1984), p.550.

> The first level was national introduced in August 1948 by an Israeli governmental decision to destroy all the evicted villages and transform them into new Jewish settlements or [natural] forests. The second level was diplomatic, whereby strenuous efforts were made to avert the growing international pressure on Israel to allow the return of the refugees [...] There was a third anti-repatriation effort, and that was to control the demographic distribution of Palestinians both within the villages that had not been cleansed and in the previously mixed towns of Palestine, at that point already totally [de-Arabised]. [86]

The distribution of land was the responsibility of the JNF. After 1948, other organs were given similar authority; one of them was the Custodian Authority. In 1950, the Knesset passed the law for Absentee Property while the Custodian Authority introduced some regulations on the lands remaining from the Arabs, sharing the responsibility with the JNF.[87] The thinking at the time on this matter was rather clear cut:

> The bottom line of this almost two-decade long bureaucratic process (1949-1967) was the legislation regarding the JNF barring the selling, leasing and subletting of land to non Jews, was put into effect for most of the state lands[…]The primary objective of this legislation was to prevent Palestinians in Israel from regaining ownership, through purchase, of their own land or that of their people.[88]

In relation with the concept of the nation-state, the new Israeli state tried to imbue to the lands with symbolic monuments, national parks and other complementary institutions built on the previous Arab settlements. Renaming towns and villages was a fundamental part of the Zionist colonization. Names of nearly 300 cities, towns, and villages were changed with new or recovered Hebrew names, preferably the original Biblical ones, before and after the establishment of Israel.[89] In accordance with the mission of changing the face of the new settlements, the JNF and other institutions attempted to cover the visible remnants of Palestine not only by building national parks, but also by producing narratives to reject the existence of Palestinians.[90]

The major agents which were influential in the nation-building process also played a role in the shaping main issues. By the end of the war, agricultural

[86] Pappe Ilan, *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, (Oxford: One Word Press, 2006), p.188.

[87] *ibid.*, p.221.

[88] *ibid.*, p.222.

[89] Troen, *op.cit.*, p 149-151.

[90] Pappe Ilan, *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, p.228.

development had gained priority. New *kibbutzes* were formed by the Diaspora. Facing a population boom after the independence, Israel utilized rural settlement forms to distribute the immigration waves and expected economic, security and ideological outputs. To accelerate the effective usage of the resources, the new state invented new concepts of settlements in accordance with attaching compulsory services. As such, agrarian cooperative methods were intensified to absorb new immigrants. Compulsory military service and agriculture were synthesized inside a military unit, *Nahal* (an acronym for Pioneer Fighting Youth). These units were utilized to integrate new immigrants, especially young urban citizens, into the nation-building process.

One of the most urgent matters was to settle the immigrants after independence. Hundreds of new agricultural settlements were set up to distribute the population to the areas where the Jewish population had been inadequate.[91] The Jewish refugees were absorbed by Israeli-built villages and towns. They found job opportunities in commerce, agriculture, industry and unskilled professions in the entire spectrum of the economy of the State of Israel.[92] It seemed that there was enough space for absorbing new immigrants and also to provide a strong point for agricultural production and security.

The Master Plan of 1950 mainly reflected the practical means for new immigrants under the harsh circumstances of the post war atmosphere to meet their urgent needs. Plans were made on broader models of development to demonstrate that Palestine could absorb large numbers of immigrants.[93] In 1950, Israel formed the Custodian to handle absentee-owner properties aiming to transfer them for state aims, especially to produce new settlements and towns. In 1953, The Land Acquisition Law was passed to define the mission of the Custodian, but led to the requisition of all the lands including non-absentee owner ands. This situation was criticized by eminent Jewish scholars. This also illustrates the different attitudes held by the Jewish public:

[91] Yaacov Lozowick, *Right to Exist: A Moral Defense of Israel's Wars*, (New York: Doubleday, 2003), p.117.

[92] Avneri, *op.cit.*, p.277.

[93] Troen, *op.cit.*, p.168.

> We know well however that in numerous cases land is expropriated not on grounds of security, but for other reasons, such as expansion of settlements, etc. These grounds do not justify a Jewish legislative body in placing the seizure of land under the protection of law.[94]

Yet, in reality, the right of the refugees was violated. In principle, the Arab ownership of their property in the occupied areas was recognized and, after 1949, there were long negotiations over compensation. However, in practice, the Jews maintained what they conquered.[95]

The problem of the inclusion of the Jewish immigrants from Arab countries into Israeli society was to be met after the independence by settling them on border regions.

> Many of the Jewish immigrants sent by the central government in the 1950s to new settlements on the border came from Arab countries. Locating them on the border, often in the ruins of deserted Palestinian villages, served several purposes. It provided an easy solution for problems of accommodation and land. It also stretched the Judaization of Palestine into geographical areas it had been unable to reach during the mandate.[96]

This policy together with the exclusion of the indigenous population was executed by Ben Gurion's advisers on Arab affairs, who were in favor of expelling as many Palestinians as possible and confining the rest within well-guarded enclaves. It was in the 1950s and 1960s that the *moshav* was further developed and new immigrants from the Middle Eastern countries founded the looser cooperative form of the *moshav* linking them to the tight communal structure of *kibbutz*. The practices of the Israeli state caused an armed resistance on the side of Palestinian Arabs. The infiltrators, the *fedayeen* groups, mostly comprised of displaced Palestinian farmers, launched attacks on the border areas, requiring the renewal of the notion of security. *Nahal* structures played a distinctive role in these areas both providing security and settlement. The reason for the support given by the government to it stemmed from the worsening political and military situation in the

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[94] Martin Buber, *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs*, Paul R. Mendes ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p.262.

[95] Fieldhouse, *op.cit.,* p.193.

[96] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine,* p.145.

mid-1950s.[97] As will be noted later, the border security required a thick belt of Jewish settlements; the Israeli state chose to move in this direction.

The major religious kibbutz movement had been badly damaged by the *War of Independence* and the *Etzion Bloc* near the area between Jerusalem and Bethlehem had been destroyed. From that period, many of the *Etzion Bloc* members became part of the *Gush Emunim* movement, which will be discussed in next chapter in detail. This movement acted as catalyst for the Jewish settlement in the West Bank. During Israel's first decade of statehood, the new and veteran *moshavs* fulfilled essential functions in nation-building. The new *moshavs* absorbed large numbers of new immigrants and attempted to subject them to a far-reaching social transformation, making them farmers and pioneers. *Moshav* and *kibbutz* became the center of the country's national revival.[98]

Until 1967, the settlement efforts were concentrated inside the armistice lines. As mentioned before, the "transfer" was widely brought into force and seemed to be normalized before the 1967 War. However, the concept of "transfer" continued to remain on the agenda until after the creation of the state of Israel in different plans. As argued by Masalha, 200,000 Palestinian were driven across the Jordan River in the post war period mainly to the neighbouring Arab countries and other parts of the world.[99]

[97] Near, *op.cit.*, V.II, p.231.

[98] Moshe Schwartz, *Rural Cooperatives in Socialist Utopia: ThirtyYears of Moshav Development in Israel*, Lees Susan, and Gideon M. Kressel, ed. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995), p.11.

[99] Masalha, *op.cit.*, p.208-209.

Source: www.passia.org/maps

Figure 2.3. Palestinian Villages Depopulated in 1948 and 1967 by Israel

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, early settlement forms in the Israeli statehood were analyzed. A settlement centered nation statehood described through the political differences between the ideological groups. Indeed after the each immigration wave the Jewish community reshaped its characteristics. During the British colonial period Zionists leaned against the British policies for a while until the end of Second World War, then initiated their own strategies fort he settlements. The importance of the idea of *"motherland"* in the Israeli context stemmed from the long physical separation between the Jewish people and their land. The Palestinian territory served as a vital tool for the Jewish people in building their modern nation.[100]

The Zionist settlements began to appear since 1882 and eventually formed a structure for providing a strong base for the Zionist state. Over the time, embedded with transfer of Arabs and partition of Palestinian land ideals, the Jewish state owed its presence to the settlement organizations and their initial cores of *kibbutzes* and *moshavs*. The structures of *kibbutzes* and *moshavs* which prioritized to establish a homeland matched with the colonization instead of colonialism until 1948. However, a systematic plan initiated after 1948 changed this case to internal colonialism in terms of de-Arabisation of the lands and subordination of the Arab population inside Israel. While competition and debates emerged between socialist views that focused on coexistence and the revisionist maximalist opinion, the sides reached a consensus over an independent state.

> The socialist majority strove to realize the Zionist dream by Realpolitik while the revisionist minority occupied themselves with utopian visions of past grandeur, employing an extremist rhetoric about the need to create a future kingdom of Israel stretching as far as the eastern border of Transjordan.[101]

In relation to the above discussion, most of the incentives of the settlement were shaped around agricultural production. "It not only settled Jews in Palestine and restored the country's agriculture, but it also aimed to transform the social structure of the Jewish people and to revive the Judaism as a way of life rooted in

[100] Kellerman, *op.cit.*, p.14.

[101] Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p.108.

soil."[102] Later on, the high industrialization in cities had precedence over rural forms and inspired new forms of settlements this will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Inspired by the American style settler society to some extent, Jewish settlements synthesized the return to homeland idea with the socialist ideals which were aroused in Russia. The process of colonization in Palestine was projected from the European models and inspired the socialist forms of settlement, prioritizing "individual and collective self-sacrifice" rather than the "individual self improvement" of the American settlement and other settlement models under national institutions. Although the main motive, which inspired early settlements, was somehow related to realizing a divine mission, mainly the secular national Zionist leadership shaped the designs and tendencies in that period.[103]

Lastly, the major factor of the guarding and defensive attitude towards land settlement evolved into an aggressive movement. It was backed with messianic-religious influence to enlarge the concept of "promised lands" which will be discussed in the next section. This conduct combined with military and strategic needs paved the way for the control of West Bank, Sinai, Golan and the Gaza Strip in the 1967 War. From that point, the progress of Jewish settlement activities caused open-ended conflicts which continue to the present.

[102] Gavron, *op.cit.*, p.4.

[103] Ilan S. Troen, "Frontier Myths and Their Applications in America and Israel: A Transnational Perspective," *Israel Studies*, Volume 5, Number 1, (2000), p.302-305.

CHAPTER 3

THE ENLARGEMENT OF ISRAEL IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (1967-1993)

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the settlement efforts in the occupied territories in the aftermath of the 1967 War will be analyzed with a focus on the West Bank territories. The notion of the "West Bank"[1] is not rooted in a long-term historical process, but only recently appeared after the Rhodes Armistice Agreement after 1949 with the West Bank being demarcated by Green Line. As discussed in the previous chapter, the partition plans on Palestine considered an Arab state in the territories of the east and west bank of the Jordan River. During the 1967 War, the western part of the territory was conquered by the Israeli forces along with the Syrian Golan Heights, Egyptian Sinai and the Gaza Strip.

The nature of the state of Israel, which emerged in 1948, has changed since the 1967 war due to the founding of settlements in the occupied territories. The Camp David Accords in 1978 and the evacuation of relatively small settlements in return for peace did not bring a halt to the enlargement of Israel in other territories; on the contrary, settlement efforts intensified in the West Bank and Gaza. These settlement policies shaped the domestic and international policies of Israel, thus changing its character. The plan for the settlements was initiated by secular pragmatists and religious fanatics in the course of Israeli politics. Yet, as the map of Israel changed, its goals were reshaped and applied within the new boundaries, being considered as irreversible facts and sustained even during the *intifada* period.

[1] "The West Bank is the area of the former British-mandated (1920–47) territory of Palestine west of the Jordan River, claimed from 1949 to 1988 as part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan but occupied from 1967 by Israel. The territory, excluding East Jerusalem, is also known within Israel by its biblical names, Judea and Samaria. The approximately 2,270-square-mile (5,900-square-km) area is the centre of contending and Israeli aspirations in Palestine. Within its present boundaries, it represents the portion of the former mandate retained in 1948 by the Arab forces." Encyclopedia Britannica, www.britannica.com.

This chapter also addresses the domestic political groups and parties and their attitudes towards the settlement issue. The rightist radical movement first exploited the settlement matter and later became a policy maker in the Likud coalitions. From this aspect, the harsher policies related to the settlement activities played an important role in igniting *intifada* in 1987. Furthermore, the settlers became active opponents of the native rebels along with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) who converted the settlements to military headquarters. The early debates concerned with *transfer* idea in which argued to transfer Palestinians to other Arab countries and *messianic motives* that Jewish settling on Palestine would led to arrival of Messiah discussed in the previous chapter gained priority again in the political agenda of Israel. The unification of Jerusalem, which is not the central point of this study, was also realized by constructing the largest settlement blocs around it in the territories of the West Bank.

Before explaining developments in the period, it is useful to describe the status of West Bank in terms of occupation and annexation, which were given in the previous chapter. Although Jerusalem is regarded as a part of the West Bank, the focus here centers on policies of an occupier state, Israel in "occupied" or later referred in agreements as "disputed" territories of Palestine the West Bank and Gaza Strip which were not annexed officially. The Golan Heights and Jerusalem as seen in the next, were annexed officially though this act was not recognized by the international community. The chapter will also explicate the geographical meaning of the settlement issue by describing the occupiers' policies in terms of influencing its people, its environment and landscape.

Occupation also refers to the entire action of the occupier, which may include the destruction and exploitation of the present infrastructure for its own particular ambitions. Therefore, the occupation process requires organization and devices to capture lands in addition to military actions. Civilian settlements, in that respect, are regarded as a sustainable apparatus of occupation policies, having artificial characteristics to continue occupation. These policies generally result in severe exploitative effects on local habitants and sometimes cause irreversible influences on occupied territories such as deficiencies in the fields of agriculture, economy and communication along with dramatic politic outcomes.[2]

[2] Elisha Efrat, *The West Bank and Gaza Strip: A Geography of Occupation and Disengagement*, (London, NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), p.7.

In the light of these facts, the settlement issue is examined here in the context of occupation and evolving colonialism. Israel refrained to annex the West Bank and the Gaza Strip due to different reasons which were discussed in the next chapter in contrast to other conquered territories of Golan and Jerusalem. The experience of colonization in the previous forms such as the *kibbutz* and the *moshav* mainly transformed to the settlements in which the military characteristics and outposts of the Jewish centers prevailed instead of self-sufficient productive communities.

This strategic shift in the traditional settlement forms which was discussed in the previous chapter yields a new orientation towards the military characteristics merging both defensive and offensive strategies in the settlement establishment. Moreover, strategic and defensive concerns played a decisive role in the location of settlements in accordance with strong religious fundamentalist priorities of the interest groups. As such, the resulting new concepts also will be analyzed throughout this chapter.

3.2. The Six Day War of 1967 and Early Settlement Initiatives (1967-1977)

In June 1967, Israel launched a preemptive attack on Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq. Israel's victory in the Six-Day War represented the triumph of the state of Israel which yielded unplanned conquests, creating an "accidental empire."[3] The June 1967 war led to a regional shake up in the Middle East in that Israel transformed from a country controlling a small amount of territory into virtually a "mini empire."[4]

This war revived the interest of the radical groups and desire for land of biblical Israel. For many Israelis the historical lands of Israel included the West Bank territories. After this military success, the expansionist and settlers character of the Israeli society was strengthened and supported with historical claims. This victory was also underlined by "overlapping between the borders of the Israeli

[3] Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire : Israel and the Birth of Settlements, 1967-1977,* (New York: Times Books, 2006) p.5.

[4] Nur, Masalha, *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion*, (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p.15.

control system and theological Land of Israel."[5] The territorial boundaries of Israel now include the territories which were occupied in 1967 together with 1948 lands. Without the settlements, the sovereignty of Israel could not have been achieved. Thus, Israel regarded the settlements' role in the West Bank to be that of delineating future borders.[6]

The Labor Government inherited settlement issue after the war. The Labor period can be divided into following parts: with the initiation of settlements in authorized areas between 1967-1969, the consolidation of the settlements between 1970 and 1973, and lastly the expansion of settlements in the unauthorized areas by the radical groups which lasted until the end of the Labor government. The *Gush Emunim* (the Block of Believers) which we referred before appeared as the pioneer.

Contrary to the case in the 1948 war in which a large number of Palestinians (almost 200,000) left the territories during and in the immediate aftermath of the 1948 war, in 1968 most of the inhabitants of the territories largely remained in their places[7]. What to do with the Arab population of these lands also became a question after the Israeli victory. In contrast to the large population outflows in the 1948 war, the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza territories preferred to remain. But on the other hand, as Abu-Lughod argued, Golan was well adjusted to the "*land without the people*" concept. After the 1967 conquest ninety three percent of the nearly 100.000 people left the fertile lands of the Golan, with only a small minority of Druze remaining.[8] The first settlement initiated in Golan with the agricultural settlements prepared the justification for later annexation which was set in motion in December 1981 by the "Golan Law."

The 1967 conquest demonstrated that the maximalist desires might be realized; therefore, radicalism, militarism and neo-religious views were propagated among the Jews. The idea that Jewish settlers could solve the Arab demographic problem had been prominent during the debates of 1948. The promotion of an Arab

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[5] Baruch Kimmerling, "Boundaries and Frontiers of the Israeli Control System: Analytical Conclusions" in *The Israeli State and Society: Boundaries and Frontiers*, Baruch Kimmerling ed., (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York, 1988), p.277.

[6] Yael Yishai, *Land or Peace : Whither Israel?* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1987), p.30.

[7] Masalha, *op.cit.,* p. 21.

[8] Janet Abu-Lughod, "Israeli Settlements in Occupied Arab Lands: Conquest to Colony," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (Winter, 1982), p.18.

emigration coupled with new Jewish *aliyahs* would help to transform the demographic situation in favor of the Jewry. During this period and afterwards, *Whole Land of Israel Movement,* a bloc consisting of right wing parties would be influential in strengthening the ideas of settlement in occupied territories, but, in the first phase, the Labor government perceived the situation as a critical advantage in the peace negotiations.

During the 1967-1977 period, Israel became more successful in preventing Arab infiltrations compared to the previous times, tried to appease the Arab minority and intended to start a peace process with minimum settlements. The conquest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip led to United Nations Security Council Resolution 242[9], underlining the principle of return of territories conquered by Israel in that war in return for the Arab recognition of Israel and peace.[10]

The Khartoum Summit of the Arab League in August 1967 resulted in declaration of the famous "three rejections" which could be summarized by no peace, no negotiation and no recognition of Israel. These attitudes would be the guiding principle of Arab countries' international politics towards Israel which gave Israel the excuse to decide to remain permanently in the occupied lands. Yet, Israeli policy in the West Bank was a mixture of different factors including ideological and historical ones in addition to the short term demands of political groups.[11] The Zionist territorial ambition of expanding into the so called *"Whole Land of Israel"* - the *Judea* and *Samaria* was greatly influenced by the outcome of wars and military campaigns. From this time after the conquest, it was apparent that Israel was determined to construct settlements and alter the character of the West Bank, seriously jeopardizing the possibility of a just peace in the region.[12]

According to Sandler, Israel's victory in 1967 was not planned in advance. As a result, the policies applied to the occupied territories were not determined by an extensive master plan, but, on the contrary *ad hoc* reactions to immediate needs.

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[9] "The UN Security Council responded by passing Resolution 242 in November, demanding that Israel withdraw from "occupied territories" and that all parties in the dispute recognize the right of residents of each state to live within "secure and recognized borders." Encyclopedia Britannica, www.britannica.com.

[10] Merle Thorpe, *Prescription for Conflict: Israel's West Bank Settlement Policy*, (Washington, D.C.:, Foundation for Middle East Peace, 1984), p.33.

[11] Gregory S. Mahler, *Israel: Government and Politics in a Maturing State*, (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), p.237.

[12] Thorpe, *op.cit.,* p.150.

Yet, the policies were developed in accordance with the idea that emphasized preservation of the pre-1967 Arab social structure, with Israel's strategic and economic plans. For Sandler, the absorption of Arabs by Israel could change the state's demographic structure. Yet, it must be kept in mind that with the responsibilities of an occupier, Israel was responsible for law and order over a heavily populated Arab area that was detached from its previous sovereign center the Jordan.[13] In this context, it can be concluded that Israel's initial reaction to the West Bank territories was selective based on the unpopulated areas eliminating the demographic threat which can be summarized as the population balance against the Jewish majority in the Israeli state.

The Israeli armed occupations resulted in a temporary control system. Therefore, Israel needed a wide range of control mechanisms to integrate or assimilate new territories and to produce some kinds of loyalties or create a common identity in the region. The annexation of the occupied territories with their population could have difficulties and could have changed the Israeli policy. Large scale deportations might bring about wide range guerilla warfare whereas providing full civil rights might alter the character of the Jewish state to the extent that the *status quo* option might have to remain. An option defended by Moshe Dayan, "invisible occupation" was emerged. According to Dayan, the logic of the "invisible occupation" was in the functions of the military governments "that an Arab resident of the area might be born in the hospital, receive his birth certificate, grow up and receive his education, be married and raise his children and grandchildren to a ripe old age- all this without the help of an Israeli government employee or clerk, and without even setting eyes on him."[14] depicted in his own words.

After the 1967 conquest, the public debate in Israel was between two groups. In the first sphere, which is the functionalist positions suggesting reconciliation referred to a flexible attitude envisioning a peaceful or at least transitional period for arrangements with Arab states. On the other side, the territorialist views

[13] Shmuel Sandler, "Israel and the West Bank Palestinians," *Bicommunal Societies and Polities,* Vol. 18, No. 2, (Spring, 1988), p.49-50.

[14] Coordinator of Government Operations in the Administered Territories, *Three Years of Military Government, 1967–1970* (Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1970), p. 4, cited in Neve Gordon, "Of Dowries and Brides: A Structural Analysis of Israel's Occupation," *New Political Science*, Vol. 29 Number 4, (2007), p.467.

defending annexations of the occupied territories searched for the optimum solution to expand in landscape and to encourage the settlements.[15]

Five important points were important in the first decade of the settlement activity during 1967-1977: determining the future borders, using the issue for bargaining, preparing a ground for Israeli-Palestinian coexistence, not tying Israel's hands in the future by launching an irreversible act such as settlements and installing institutional bodies in accordance with an administrative and organizational approach.[16] Yet, factional differences, individual competition within governments and conflicting tendencies between the parties prevented taking steps for peace in foreign policy making.[17]

Israel's victory had an effect on the Jewish Diaspora and led to preparations for immigration to Israel. However, the number of immigrants was not enough to fill the conquered territories. So the messianic motives well fit to fill this gap. The reinterpretation of this victory transformed the messianic Jewish groups to the Messianic Age's Zealots. As put forward by Gorenberg, "For many people it amplified the proportions of victory to miraculous."[18] Their understanding of a stagnation period until the arrival of the Messiah, along with the "Greater Israel" mission, resulted in the settlement activities that will be discussed following. Under the influence of these factors, Labor Government's political blueprint of settlement, the Allon Plan, was designated with the advice of the Jewish Agency's settlement division to hold the territory.

3.2.1. The Allon Plan

Under the new policy, Jewish settlements were arranged in a plan proposed by Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon, but the plan was never officially declared due to divisions within the government.[19] The Labor government led the creation

[15] Hassan A. Barrari, *Israeli Politics and the Middle East Peace Process 1988-2002*, (London: Routledge, Curzon, 2004), p.16-19.

[16] Shlomo Gazit, *Trapped Fools: Thirty Years of Israeli Policy in the Territories*, (London: Frank Cass, 2003), p.242-243.

[17] Barrari, *op.cit.*, p.20.

[18] Gorenberg, *op.cit.*, p.84.

[19] Don Peretz, *The West Bank: History, Politics, Society and Economy*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), p.46.

of military oriented settlements along the zones in accordance with the Allon plan. The plan was in essence based on a united Jerusalem with the reduction of Jordanian areas in the valley constituting a barrier between Israel and Jordan, which was linked by corridor routes to the West Bank. The plan also mentioned the historical right to settle on the land and stressed maintaining the Jewish character of the state. Shafir, referring to the backgrounds of military generation in the early statehood, defines Yigal Allon's plan the first comprehensive settlement plan related to the concept of "military frontier" prioritizing security:

> The main elements of the blueprint were: (1) setting up the Jordan River as Israel's security border, by constructing in its rift a chain of settlements, 6-10 miles in width: (2) retaining the Jordan Rift under Israeli sovereignty; (3) opposing the colonization of the mountainous region, which constituted the heartland of the West Bank and in which is concentrated the majority of the Arab population; and (4) offering to negotiate for a peace treaty, in return for the non-colonized areas of the West Bank.[20]

After the beginning of settlement initiative once, setting up road network system, military stations would be indispensable and Israeli commercial activities would be regulated according to the emerging needs.[21] Allon believed that it would be meaningless to hold a territory without settling it.

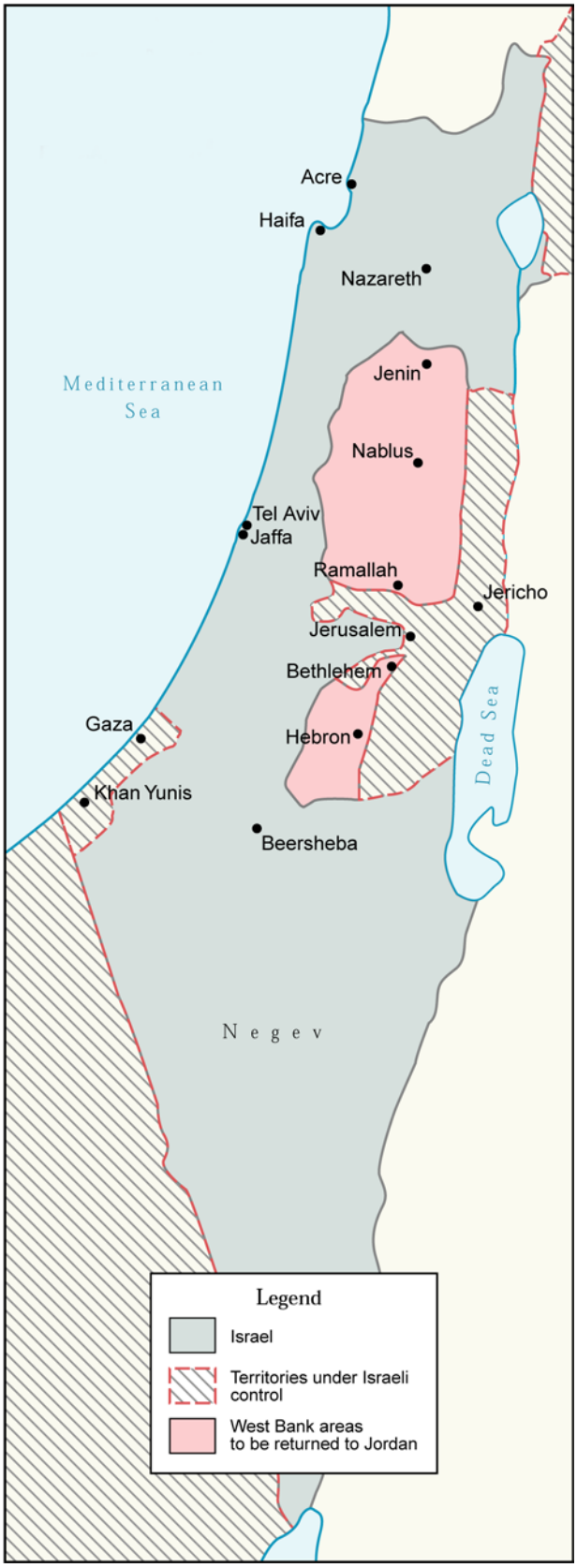
> I am referring to the arid zone that lies between the Jordan River to the east, and the eastern chain of the Samarian and Judean mountains to the west—from Mt. Gilhoa in the north through the Judean desert, until it joins the Negev desert. The area of this desert zone is only about 700 square miles and it is almost devoid of population. Thus this type of solution would leave almost all of the Palestinian Arab population of the West Bank under Arab rule.[22]

The idea of unification served for large-scale confiscations and constructions and created *a fait accompli* settlement in that sense. There was a scarcity of wide-range pioneers as were in the past to fulfill this settlement need along with the settler movements; therefore, the army formed new units. Israel utilized the *Nahal* units, as

[20] Gershon Shafir "Changing Nationalism and Israel's 'Open Frontier' on the West Bank," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 6 (Nov., 1984), p.810.

[21] Don Peretz, *op.cit.*, p.47.

[22] Yigal Allon, "Israel: The Case for Defensible Borders," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1976, Vol. 55 Issue 1, p.47.



Source:www.passia.org/maps

Figure 3.1. The Allon Plan

given before, to merge the military duties in the outposts with agricultural experiments, thereby constituting the first cores of the new settlements.[23]

In addition to these views, according to Dayan's conception, Israel should build five large army bases on the Jordan Valley and around Jerusalem. Each would be connected by roads to Israel proper and, next to each base; a civilian settlement would be built in the West Bank. Two nations would live side by side having links to different countries, with no border between them, and Israel would retain control. As a part of the strategy, redeemed or liberated territories were used for occupied territories and the name of the West Bank was changed to the biblical terminology of *Judea* and *Samaria* in the government maps.

Although the founders of Israel had based the pillars of the state on a national liberation, there was a dilemma that Israel found itself in the position of colonial ruler at the end of colonialism:

> The essence of colonialism is the imposition of alien rule upon an indigenous population. It may range in character from brutal to benign, but there are few if any recorded instances in which the native population have come to like it. The West Bank Palestinians are no exception: although the Israeli occupation has been comparatively mild as military occupations go, the West Bank Palestinians still do not wish to be ruled by foreign intruders in their ancestral homeland.[24]

Of the land under the Israeli rule, the Green Line was erased from the map and started to be blurred in daily life. The concept of "digesting the West Bank" meant that Israel would establish settlements there by dividing the territory, thus making a future independence impossible. Also Israeli residents would have the same legal status as those living west of the Green Line, but Arabs were subordinated and would be the subjects of Israeli rule without citizenship. Israel's new territorial depth was regarded as the best means to convince the Arabs that they could not win a full scale war against Israel. [25]

As it was stated, this was not the official strategy of Israel, but it might be seen as a concept underlining Israel's future ambitions to sustain stability through settlements from a security perspective. On the other hand, this theoretical military

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[23] Gorenberg, *op.cit.,* p.67.

[24] Seth Tillman, "The West Bank Hearings: Israel's Colonization of Occupied Territory," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 7, No. 2, (Winter, 1978), p.82.

[25] Gorenberg, *op.cit.,* p.173.

perspective eroded with other ambitions, and it was changed to accommodate the practical facts of the ground. Both urban and rural Jewish settlements were designed to interrupt the territorial continuity with the concentration of Arab population mainly around Jerusalem and its hinterland, between Gaza and Egypt so that the geo-strategic concentration of Israel would be secured.[26]

3.2.2. Security, Religious, Economic Arguments on Early Settlements

The vital issue of security emerged after the Six-Day War. When the *de facto* annexation of the newly conquered areas without granting citizenship to their inhabitants was chosen as the main strategy, the settlements became an influential factor harmonious with that strategic approach. The security concern defined in military terms had been the motivating factor for Israeli policy making since the beginning. This concern was behind the perceptions and attitudes that were adopted in the occupied territories.[27]

The first civilian settlement was established in Golan Heights, as given above, one month after the war due to agricultural needs. The efforts to hook up the electrical and water supply in addition to building a network of roads coincided with the effort of binding occupied territories close to Israel. The first settlements in the West Bank included the previously evacuated settlements of *Etzion Bloc* near Bethlehem and *Beit Ha'arava* in the Dead Sea. Moreover, many holy places were filled with settlements camouflaged as military outposts. The *Nahal* units given in the previous chapter used these settlements as a trial; if they proved viable, they would be turned into permanent settlements. Many settlements created during the first phase were initiated by zealous settlers who retroactively acquired official approval.[28] Labeling military outposts as settlements of the *Etzion Bloc* and *Beit Ha'arava* would legalize the settlements in both the international and domestic arenas. Aimed to compress the Arab population between settlement zones, the Allon plan was designed just after the war from the military perspective.

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[26] Geoffrey Aronson,, *Israel, Palestinians, and the Intifada: Creating Facts on the West Bank*, (New York: Kegan Paul International Institute, 1990), p.15.

[27] Geoffrey Aronson, "Israel's Policy of Military Occupation," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, (Summer, 1978), p.98.

[28] Yishai, *op.cit.*, p.195.

The most important government agency in the settlement process was the military administration imposed on the occupied territories. The various ministries often worked in the West Bank through the subdivisions of the military administration to expedite settlement and *de facto* annexation. Military orders' for closing areas for security purposes were used to reserve land for current and future settlement. Larger settlements were the responsibility of the Housing and Construction Ministry. The Jewish National Fund cooperated with the Land Settlement Department in the preparation of sites, paving roads to settlements and establishing infrastructure through *Hemnuta Company*, fully owned by JNF. During the Labor era, the settlement concept led to giving priority to pioneer type outposts and tended toward agriculture, necessitating land for cultivation.[29] The settlements received incredible financial support from government departments and the Jewish Agency. Most of them were spent for road networks, electricity lines, water pipes, wells, underground irrigation systems, and for both private and public housing.[30]

The debate in Israel on settlement was not focused on whether to settle, but rather on the extent of Jewish expansion. However, debates on labor division and conquest of labor emerged again as they were perceived as a threat by some Jews. Nearly 70,000 Palestinians were employed in the Tel Aviv area in 1977, many of whom were working as unrecorded, meaning they were unprotected by the official employment offices.[31] The territories also opened way to private Jewish investment, subsidized at the same preferential rates applied to favored areas within Israel.[32] In addition, the occupation gave the Israeli government a chance to fulfill the Zionist aim by binding the underdeveloped Arab market to a great extent to an advanced and developed Israeli industrial sector.[33]

The Galili Protocol of 1973 marked the institutionalization of a permanency in terms of settlement process. The government pursued a policy stipulating that new settlements would be established and they would be the integral part of the country ensuring the territorial continuity. During the first decade of the Israeli rule,

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[29] Peretz, *op.cit.*, p.61-67.

[30] Ann Mosely Lesch, "Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-1977," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (Autumn, 1977), p.28.

[31] Aronson, *Israel, Palestinians, and the Intifada*, p.26.

[32] *ibid*, p.30.

[33] Abdullah Abu-Ayyash, "Israeli Regional Planning Policy in the Occupied Territories," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3/4, (Spring - Summer, 1976), p.95.

large-scale land confiscations had been affected in the environs of Jerusalem, Hebron, Ramallah and Jericho where Jewish settlements were either in the initial stages of construction or had already been established.[34] The administrative bodies of the Israeli Land Administration along with WZO's Settlement Department provided many benefits including tax exemption, favorable loans and even grants for moving expenses.

The establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, which started in July 1967, initiated the policy of "creeping annexation," which characterized the years between the wars 1967 and 1973.[35] But the Yom Kippur War again revealed the debate between maximalists and minimalists. Minimalist approaches argued that the war had vindicated Israel's refusal to return territories while maximalist followers insisted that the concept of secure borders in the absence of peace was a necessity that the war justified.

3.2.3. The Yom Kimpur War of 1973

Jewish immigrants settled in the occupied territories for ideological, religious and economic reasons because of the lack of enough incentives for a rapid settlement activity as was the case in the pre-state colonization period and after the 1948 positioning on the settlements period. The settlement decision inside the occupied territories has many implications. The most considerable and conflictual incentive for settlement discussed here is the Radical Settler movements inspired through the reinterpretation of Orthodox Judaism.

After the Yom Kimpur War, the political direction of Israel turned to the right wing and settlements became the central issue in political debates. "The war of 1967 which had transformed people's fears of a new holocaust into a brilliant victory, and the 1973 war, which had highlighted Israel's isolation, had led many to believe that the time of the Messiah had come."[36] The Labor Zionism thus created a new Jewish national identity, characterized by its pioneers. The image was never

[34] Aronson, *op.cit.*, p.36.

[35] Michael Adams, "Israel's Treatment of the Arabs in the Occupied Territories", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, (Winter, 1977), p.40.

[36] Raphael Mergui, *Israel's Ayatollahs: Meir Kahane and the Far Right in Israel*, (Lausanne: Pierre, 1987), p.126.

fully absorbed by the majority, but it constituted the ideal, whose features were projected onto the elite. What is more, with the conquest of 1967 the newly introduced *"Zionism"* was clearly associated with the New Zionism of *Gush Emunim*.[37]

Yeshiva study is an ideal in Orthodox Judaism, but, in 1967, nearly all of Israel's *yeshivot* - the institutions of religious studies of Judaism, kept their distance from Zionism. Because the members of Orthodox Judaism believed that the Israeli state is a *profane*, man-made to some extent, state that fundamentally differentiated from the ultimate state that would be created by the *Messiah*. Yet the *Merkaz Harav, Poratz School*, was the exception. Its late founder, Rabbi Avraham Kook transformed Zionism into a theology by using secular rebellion in religious meaning.[38]

The main characters, spiritual leaders and heads of groups put forward religious arguments to justify actions regarding settlements. For Kook, the Jews' role was to bring the divine idea into the world, with the world's redemption dependent on the Jews living in the Land of Israel and the return of Jews to their homeland. One of the important figures who led the building of the *Elon Moreh* settlement, Moshe Levinger, believed that he was in the right in ignoring the political consequences of the settlements, because it was God who guided him in his effort for to colonize the West Bank.[39]

Factionalism inside the political parties of Israel challenged the policies of party leaderships. The political factions exerted influence via three main mechanisms: organization, penetration and ideological persuasion.[40] The political groups such as the *Whole Land of Israel* and *Gush Emunim*, which was a religiously-oriented expansionist movement, emerged in the settlements and initiated the trend of illegal settlements. The fragile Israeli coalitions held a protective approach toward these movements and opened the way for ideological settlements. The first illegal settlements initiated in *Elon Moreh* near Nablus and in the old city of Hebron were created on religious grounds.

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[37] Lilly Weissbrod, "Labour Zionism to New Zionism: Ideological Change in Israel" *Theory and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 6, (Nov., 1981), p.795.

[38] Gorenberg, *op.cit*., p.21.

[39] Mergui, *op.cit*., p.123.

[40] Yishai, *op.cit*., p.98.

The important initial settlement founded in Hebron on religious motives, which would be the center of the conflicts during the following years, was contrary to the *invisible occupation* idea maintained during the Labor government by Moshe Dayan. "The theological implication was that settling in Hebron had cosmic significance, even beyond settling elsewhere: David's kingdom was a model for the messianic kingdom, David began in Hebron, so settling in Hebron would lead to final redemption."[41] The first settlement created in Hebron was an urban settlement connected with Jerusalem and Beersheba, which removed the need for pioneering settlements in rural areas. There were different sentiments towards the settlement plans among moderate and militant groups. In the end, the settlement issue appeared to be a dominant factor used in both domestic and international politics as a reaction to developments.[42] This contradiction signaled a discrepancy in the characteristics of settlement activities which were outlined by the *Allon Plan* based on security and prioritizing geo-strategic concerns.

According to Naor, after the *Yom Kimppur* War, the debates turned to two views. The first argument put forward that there would be inevitable war with the Arabs and it was vital for Israel to remain in the territories. The second argument emphasized the theory which held if there were enough settlements, it would be a deterrent for the enemies for maintaining the national independence.[43] Although there were basic distinctions between the strategic-security considerations and claim of historical rights on the settlement of territories, both sides reached an agreement on the vitality of the enhancing settlements for Israel's future.

3.2.4.*Gush Emunim* and The Settler Movement

The new *Zionist* stream represented by *Gush Emunim* reconciled settler colonialist codes by dismissing democratic values and reinterpreting Jabotinsky's expansionist understanding. The messianist groups took direct actions having political implications. It was at that point that a group of religious Zionists, under

[41] Gorenberg, *op.cit.*, p.151.

[42] Yaniv Avner, Fabian Pascal, "Doves, Hawks, and Other Birds of a Feather: The Distribution of Israeli Parliamentary Opinion on the Future of the Occupied Territories, 1967-1977," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol.10, No. 2, (Apr., 1980), p.260.

[43] Arye Naor, "The Security Argument in the Territorial Debate in Israel: Rhetoric and Policy", *Israel Studies*, Volume 4, Number 2, (1999), p.160.

the leadership of Rabbi Zvi Yehudah Kook, organized *Gush Emunim* and, in absence of government policy, undertook the establishment of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, legitimizing their actions under the dictates of messianism.[44] Rabbi Tzvi Yehuda Kook's teachings were turned into a fundamentalist expansionist ideology. *Gush Emunim* having the character of the above mentioned political parties and extremist groups managed to create a precedent that represented a breakthrough in the settlement policy. In the spring of 1974, the *Elon Moreh* group had initiated a speed settlement activity, *a fait accompli* that the government later had been forced to accept their presence.[45] For this radical minority, land expropriation meant the return of territory to the rightful historical owner.

Meanwhile, the successor of Allon, Yisrael Galili, envisioned a document stipulating unification for Jerusalem, mobilizing religious groups in that direction. In August 1974, Yisrael Galili wanted to build *Ma'aleh Adumim,* a large settlement near Jerusalem, to encircle the metropolis with settlements by considering the possibility of the delinieation of borders so that they would not be next to the city.[46] The Galili Document promised that new settlements would be built and the population would be increased without annexation. In that period, *Gush Emunim* aimed to nullify the Allon Plan by establishing settlement without government permission.

Young Orthodox Jews preferred to live in the settlements in small communities together with people like themselves, turning them into sectarian, isolated and comfortable colonies. The founders of *Gush Emunim* were young (mid-twenties), mostly male, religious, and orthodox people born in Israel to parents of European origin.[47] The Gush Settlers' strategy was shaped around historical Judea and Samaria. "There were eight features of this strategy that contributed to its success: persistence, insistence, good timing, consciousness, concreteness, pragmatism, vocation and expansion."[48] Given that interest groups usually attempt to force policymakers to pursue or terminate a certain policy in exchange for their

[44] Chaim I. Waxman, "Messianism, Zionism, and the State of Israel" *Modern Judaism*, Oxford University Press, Vol. 7, No. 2, (May, 1987), p.184.

[45] Gorenberg, *op.cit.,* p.282.

[46] *ibid.,* p.297.

[47] Yishai, *op.cit.,* p.112.

[48] *ibid.,* p.116.

support, *Gush Emunim* was a unique interest group, in that it was only interested in implementing its policies and requested that the authorities not to intervene in or halt its process.

Gush Emunim asserted that the "Promised Land" was God's gift to Jewish people; it belonged not only to the present generation, but aslo to future generations. By having the cooperation of many right wing groups, *Gush Emunim* emerged as a center of organized territorial maximalism idea and Jewish fundamentalism from the mid-1970s. *Gush Emunim* became a magnet for people who wanted to settle in occupied territory, but these settlements differed from what the members of the Labor Party expected that need to be collective farming communities and did not comply with government maps.[49] The Radical groups emphasized the holiness of the land and perceived settlements to fulfill a religious duty instead of carrying out of agricultural activities or any kind of production promoting self-sufficiency. This time, the target for settlement was not a zone legitimized by the government, but a densely populated Arab area not authoritatively chosen for Jewish settlement. During the years 1974-76, settlers homesteaded the area despite opposition within the Labor government. *Gush Emunim* achieved growth by attracting members of the *kibbutzes* and *moshavs*, who wanted to participate in the settlement of "Greater Israel" though they did not share in all of the religious ideas. In contrast to the previous years, the expansion of Israel's role in the West Bank from 1967 to 1977 was marked by indecision and divisiveness among key political figures and the exploitation of these weaknesses by a determined annexionist minority, *Gush Emunim*.[50]

> The Gush settlers were not part of the ideological cooperative tradition and felt no need to become part of the traditional settlement sector. The area in question has no unused agricultural tracts of land but even were it to have, it is unlikely that this would be attractive to many of these settlers[…].Briefly, the Gush were at first interested in settling anywhere, providing it had a religio-historical significance, regardless of the actual suitability of the topographic conditions.[51]

[49] Gorenberg, *op.cit.,* p.300.

[50] Peretz, *op.cit.*, p.51.

[51] David Newman, "Gush Emunim and Settlement-Type in the West Bank" in *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies),* Vol. 8, No. 1, (1981), p. 34-37.

Gush Emunim's attitude toward all governments had been to pursue a policy of *established facts*. It established settlements which were illegal, but it received for them the government's blessing and financial support and it emboldened its power and economic strength during the Labor era.[52] Gush Emunim had the political support of all the groups on the extreme right, *Tehiya, Morasha* and *Kach* which will be later discussed, and the support of the rightist Likud in the next period without having any official ties. Along with ideological settlements represented by *Gush*, it was noteworthy that self-interest mostly attracted many settlers due to financial reasons. Thus, after the establishment of the settlements once, it was largely a pragmatic decision to settle in West Bank with financial government promotions.

3.3. The Likud Government and the Extensive Settlement Era (1977-1984)

The Likud Party was a right wing bloc consists of many factions and an ideological successor of Revisionist Zionism tradition formed a new government after elections of 1977. For Masalha, Labor Zionism was overtaken by the followers of Jabotinsky, who took the power and remained effectively in governments for fifteen years from May 1977 to 1992.[53] When Likud came to power, the military justifications declined in importance and arguments on historical rights over biblical Israel had been given preference. There had been clear long-term visions for the West Bank that included maintaining the *status quo*, integrating the economy by using the territories as a pillar of open bridges policy and establishing settlements as security outposts. Settlements had been designed for as a type of insurance for the long-term presence in the occupied territories. Likud was less pragmatic and ideologically committed to the issue of the future of settlements. Prime Minister Begin's party in the Likud Bloc was *Herut.* According to Gorenberg, having a radical national character, the *Herut* party favored for the integrity of the Jewish homeland and shared the romantic vision of a biblical past.[54]

[52] Mergui, *op.cit.,* p.130.

[53] Masalha, *op.cit.,* p.73.

[54] Gorenberg, *op.cit.,* p.13.

There were two plans that explained the Likud's stance: The *Drobles* and *Sharon* Plans. The Drobles Plan intended to scatter the settlements among Arab towns to disrupt the homogeneous inhabited areas and a possible core of an independent Palestinian state. Although the Allon Plan pursued a selective settlement strategy envisaging territorial concessions to Jordan, the Drobles Plan initiated intensive settlement in the entire West Bank and the Sharon Plan concentrated on suburban areas of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. According to Abu-Lughod, the Drobles and Sharon Plans served as a form of internal colonialism under the cover of economic integration in accordance with the settlement schemes.[55] The demographic threat perceived by Israel was based on the assumption that the absorption of the West Bank population may alter the structure of the Jewish state. As put forward by Kimmerling:

> The state was neither able nor willing to make a declaration of annexation, nor was it able to enact a general law covering the territories conquered in 1967, since this would have opened a Pandora's box and given rise to the demand for civic and political rights on the part of the Palestinian population of the territories, and to a more subtle and sophisticated struggle for the entire land.[56]

In this period, two major international developments significantly affected the course of settlements. The Camp David Accords, the return of Sinai and the removal of settlements had a chaotic impact on radical settlement groups, but the government turned to the West Bank as a practical measure to calm the dissatisfactions over the evacuation that will be discussed later. Meanwhile, the Israeli intervention in Lebanon in 1982 led to catastrophic outcomes in the following process with the *intifada*. As it will be discussed in the next section, the settlements had been reinforced and strategically positioned in line with the government and with the Likud party politics.

3.3.1. Settlement as a State Policy

When the Likud came to power, a dramatic change occurred on the settlement issue and previously unauthorized settlements were expanded. Strategist

[55] Abu-Lughod, *op.cit.*, p.35.

[56] Baruch Kimmerling "State Building, State Autonomy and the Identity of Society: The Case of the Israeli State," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 6, No. 4, (December 1993), p.418.

and pragmatist understandings of previous Labor government dealt with the frontier problem in terms of defendable borders in the Allon Plan and Dayan prioritized practical solutions and policies in them management of the territories. But the followers of "Greater Israel" saw the issue in terms of Israel's historical borders.[57] When sufficient numbers of people were settled in the West Bank, a "critical mass" would be established, making Jews presence inreversable. A new dimension of the Likud policy was to subsidize investment and residence in the West Bank. An analysis of government expenditures in 1980 reveals that between nine and thirteen percent of Israel's entire development budget was allocated for settlements in the occupied territories.[58]

Instead of the policies of the Labor Government which was based on selective settlement, Likud pursued the policy of *de facto* "creeping integration," which would allow Israel to settle the land, while restricting the Palestinians to ever diminishing enclaves or *Bantustans* and at the same time finding formulas to remove the part of the population.[59] Matti Drobles, one of the politicians of the Likud settlement era, saw nothing wrong with these settlements being dormitory suburbs whose residents would commute to work in Israel's urban centers.[60] The settlements now changed considerably compared to the early Zionist objectives which anticipated the revival of the soil with the settlers of early *kibbutz* settlers and the military stipulations of the Labor settlement plans.

When Begin became prime minister in June 1977, there were 4.200 settlers in 36 West Bank settlements. By the beginning of the second Begin government in June 1981, the number had increased to over 30.000 settlers in over 100 settlements.[61] The idea which defends transfer of Arabs was mostly discussed in this period and had been a major motive for the settlements. According to this view, land confiscations would led to economic disabilities that were expected to create migration to Arab countries. "Dayan once the architect of occupation policy for Labor now found the Likud to be a more hospitable environment for the logical

[57] Mergui, *op.cit.,* p.135.

[58] Peretz, *op.cit.,* p.53.

[59] Masalha, *op.cit.,* p.77.

[60] Gazit, *op.cit.,* p.268.

[61] Peretz, *op.cit.,*p.59.

evolution and implementation of his policies."[62] "Open Bridges" that constituted the political axis of Dayan was denying the exercise of Palestinian rights inside the West Bank but allow the Palestinians to have rights in Jordan. Although Dayan was as effective as the foreign minister, he could not survive and his *invisible occupation* in the West Bank and Gaza was replaced by maximalist politicians who broadened the settlements in every part, even in the heart of the Arab city centers.

Sharon Plan played a key role in this period. Sharon's new settlement plan, named "A Vision of Israel at Century's End," was declared in September 1977, envisioning the settlement of two millions of Jews in the occupied territories, meaning a breakthrough in Zionist colonialism.[63]The Likud plan for settlement included a radical shift of traditional settlement in the coastal plain to the inland highly populated Arab zones from Umm al-Fahem to Kafr-Qasem, from Tulkarem to Qalqilya and Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah line. Throughout the 1980s, General Ariel Sharon was among the most powerful "higher ups" who assisted in the public debate for a transfer solution within the structure of Greater Israel.[64] Sharon intended to achieve two purposes with his plan by mobilizing *Gush Emunim* settler movement: First to surround the basic Arab centers and second to distort the fabric of the West Bank demography in an irreversible way to make it impossible for a partition agreement with Jordan or the Palestinians.[65] By this way he intended to nullify a possible autonomy alternative which was promised at Camp David which will be discussed later. Sharon, furthermore, was the architect of the encirclement of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) control. His changing position to Ministry of Defense meant broadening the struggle from the West Bank to Lebanon. Sharon's goal was plain: to settle enough Jews to change the political geography and demography; to force Palestinian cities from Jenin to Hebron to become small, disconnected vulnerable, isolated pockets in the Jewish sphere and to erase the Green Line by building settlement towns along the north-south line.[66]

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[62] Aronson, *op.cit.,* p.64.

[63] Aronson, *op.cit.,* p.70.

[64] Masalha, *op.cit.,* p.86.

[65] Sandler, *op.cit,* p.56.

[66] Glenn Frankel, *Beyond the Promised Land: Jews and Arabs on the Hard Road to a New Israel*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), p.295.

The Likud government used legal instruments to actualize the settlement plans. It turned to privately owned lands to implement the settlement policy, but landowners applied to the High Court in the civilian settlement in *Elon Moreh*. The court canceled the government's decision in favor of the private settlement. The court's decision shook the foundations of territorial policy, but Begin's policies circumvented the legal restrictions placed by the Supreme Court on Jewish settlement and land acquisition in the West Bank through various administrative tricks.[67] After the High Court of Justice decision on an annulment of the settlement for the *Elon Moreh* issue, Sharon acted to legalize the problem to prevent further cancellations on the private lands. By utilizing the *Israel Land Administration* and the *Custodian Authority,* which was created by military order after 1967, Minister Sharon applied his plans towards the uncultivated and unregistered lands benefiting the ambiguous vacuums in the Ottoman and Jordanian Land Laws.[68]

From a legal standpoint, Israel utilized old legal practices such as the Ottoman Law of 1855 which gave the uncultivated unregistered lands to the state for settlements and, during the military administration; "public interest" was used as a basis for the same act. In 1979, Palestinian land owners petitioned to the Israel High Court for other settlements. Yet, the court rejected the issue and "accepted the claim that civilian settlements were an integral part of the IDF's security posture."[69]

After the resignation of Begin, he was replaced by Yitzak Shamir and Ariel Sharon then became the Minister of Housing and Construction in 1984. It is clear in retrospect that Shamir knew and approved of most of Sharon's plans for the settlement boom. Many things changed after Likud policies which implemented an extensive settlement program, including land seizures and water restrictions in accordance with the Benvenisti's *West Bank Data Project* during that phase. Most of the policy visions were quite exaggerated in this period. For instance, Sharon's main contribution was to build the foundation for a future vision that allowed for the settlement of more than two million people in the West Bank by 2001.[70]

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[67] Peretz, p.52.

[68] Ian Lustick, "Israel and the West Bank After Elon Moreh: The Mechanics of De Facto Annexation", *Middle East Journal*, 35:4 (1981:Autumn) pp.557-577, p.567-568.

[69] Aronson, *op.cit.,* p.109.

[70] Gazit, *op.cit.*, p.271.

IDF's view on previous land acquisition experiments proved that settlements would block enemy penetration. The expropriation of private Arab property for security needs became a valuable tool over the years in the seizure and transfer of land. By 1984, citizenship had been extended to all West Bank settlers and brought them under the Israeli jurisdiction, however excluding the Palestinians, relegating them to the status of second class citizens, and denying them their civil rights. The logic of the period can be summarized as the following:

> The fact that Israel's policy implementation centers are so deeply penetrated by supporters of a vigorous settlement policy is hardly an accident or an aberration. It reflects the existence of a fertile normative ground which neither is confined to any specific political current nor is significantly challenged in Israel.[71]

For Lustick, by using administrative techniques to weaken the outcomes of the High Court decisions, the government helped the ultranationalist camp to sustain its *de facto* annexation policies irreversibly.[72]

3.3.2. The Camp David Accords of 1978 and 1982 Lebanon War

New tendencies appeared after the Camp David process in 1978 under the auspices of the US. Egyptian President Sadat's historical visit to Jerusalem greatly altered Israeli foreign policy, including the settlement issue. With Egypt's recognition of Israel, the signing of a peace treaty, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and Egypt, an important psychological frontier had been crossed.[73] For the first time, peace in return for land was achieved and it suited the strategy of the West Bank settlement speeding up.

The difference in party policies, with Labor being more moderate, more conciliatory and less extreme than Likud was a theme that regularly had been highly visible in Israel's relations with its neighbors.[74] Although, following the 1967 conquest, neither Likud nor Labor advocated outright and legal annexation of the

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[71] Avner Yaniv and Yael Yishai "Israeli Settlements in the West Bank: The Politics of Intransigence," *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 43, No. 4, (Nov., 1981), p. 1122.

[72] Lustick, *op.cit.*, p.577.

[73] Herbert C Kelman., "Creating the Conditions for Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 26, No. 1, (Mar., 1982), p. 39.

[74] Mahler, *op.cit.*, p.241.

West Bank and Gaza, both parties were opposed to Palestinian nationalists and eliminated Palestinian self-determination and statehood in the West Bank and Gaza. Millions of Palestinians were portrayed as harmful and detrimental to the nature of the state.[75]

While the main issues of the Camp David were the recognition of Israel in exchange for occupied Egyptian territories and the issue of settlements, the autonomy of Palestinians was not discussed. The withdrawal from the occupied territories also constituted the framework of the Camp David talks. Yet, as it was seen in the partition talks, Israel tried to create *de facto* settlements and tried to impede evacuations while Sharon continued to establish new colonies inside the West Bank. Moreover, counterfeit settlements appeared in Sinai as a bargaining card for the peace negotiations. At Camp David in September 1978, Israel essentially gave away the Sinai in exchange for a free hand in the West Bank. A short time after the Camp David Accord, the First Master Plan for Development of Settlement in Judea and Samaria appeared in 1979 in a systemic manner with the pledged autonomy framework.

The peace process with Egypt had a dual effect: it accelerated the construction of civil and military installations to show the determination on occupied territories and, there was an inclination to freeze and dismantle the existing ones.[76] An examination of the text of the Camp David Agreement would show that Israel had made no serious commitment regarding the eventual withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza, but Israeli negotiators mentioned orally during negotiations through mediators, the US politicians, that withdrawal would be performed in connection with autonomy. At the end, Israel succeded to remove Egypt from the military conflict and strengthened its bargaining position vis-a-vis Jordan, Syria and the Palestinians.[77]

Abstaining from promising anything about or at least referring anything about the West Bank settlements Israel palliated the problem under the cover of autonomy talks. Under the close subtitled *West Bank and Gaza* it was agreed that:

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[75] Masalha, *op.cit.*, p.75.

[76] Yishai, *op.cit.*, p.54.

[77] William B.Quandt, *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1986), p.331.

> Egypt and Israel agree that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government.[78]

Israel had earned a free hand with the issue of West Bank settlements and gone no further than a short-term freeze on settlement development. Sadat's diplomatic initiative, in fact, transformed Israel's status in the West Bank and Gaza from occupier to a legitimate and recognized authority in "*disputed territories"*. Arab criticism of Sadat rose when Israel later permitted more settlements in the West Bank. The autonomy promise given at Camp David was not realistic because it excluded East Jerusalem from the negotiations, did not ban further Jewish settlements and legitimized Israel's presence in the West Bank.

In 1980, the Knesset declared Jerusalem as the eternal capital of Israel and annexed the Golan territory in 1981.[79] The symbolic importance of Jerusalem bolstered by the Jerusalem Law of 1980 as the complete and eternal capital severed Israel's relations with the international entities. The annexation of the Golan territory was not a coincidence in the schemes of expansion in December 1981 as evidenced by the "Golan Law."

During 1982, Israel's government continued its territorial policy through declarations and actions. All the settlements in Sinai were evacuated in accordance with the Camp David Accords, but the settlement activity in other territories continued uninterruptedly. Camp David autonomy promises led Israeli rulers to turn to an alternative strategy embodied in the Arab *Village Leagues*, Israeli-oriented rural organizations to consolidate the colonialism. But the hypothesis that villagers formed the "silent majority" and were less militant than their urban counterparts was unwise. The loss of land and the "proletarianization" of Palestinians in the black labor market of Israel radicalized the village youth.[80] In

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[78] The Camp David Agreements for Middle East Peace (Source File), *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Winter, 1979), pp. 205-214, p.207.

[79] Thomas G Mitchell, *Native vs. Settler: Ethnic Conflict in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland, and South Africa*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000), p.24.

[80] Aronson, *op.cit.*, p.252.

reality, the settlement campaign carried out to Judaize the West Bank challenged all Palestinians. By 1982, Israel had been controlling between thirty and forty percent of the land in the West Bank and almost a third of the land in the Gaza Strip with sixty four civilian sites and the population of 12,500 excluding the military posts.[81]

One of the most important settlements founded in the *Sinai* in the aftermath of the 1967 conquest was *Yamit*. It was designed to be the center of the new capital of the Sinai Province. In the midst of the harsh confrontations, it had to be evacuated according to the commitments included in the Camp David Accords. For the first time in Israeli history, a settlement was removed in the midst of painful confrontations between the settlers and the IDF soldiers. Agitating acts of the settlers who leaved there with "yellow stars on the chests" traumatized on the memory of the Israeli right. Although there was a consensus on the evacuation, there was renewed dedication to the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. "At Yamit the far Right confronted the power of the elected representatives of the people-albeit a right wing government- and challenged its credentials."[82] The incident was a clear symbol of the fact that political practices of the government might sometimes contradict the desire of pro-settlement circles for unlimited settlement.

Colonialism continued with the creation of separate legal and administrative institutions for Jewish communities, which would not comply with the autonomy framework. Settlers were rewarded with deeds to their homes, access to Israeli administrative and judicial institutions and full integration into the political institutions governing Israeli national life in addition to the security system equipped with weapons. Throughout 1979, the harsh policy of the government intended to legalize private land purchases and aimed to change the tenure of the land. The expropriations undertaken in the pre-election months were based on the "state land" rationale. Settlements were integrated into the legal and governmental structure of Israel though they lay outside its internationally recognized territory.[83]

The results of the 1981 elections were in conformity with the popular inclination of the parties committed to the settlement of the West Bank, Golan

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[81] *ibid.*, p.268.

[82] Colin Shindler, *Israel, Likud and the Zionist Dream: Power, Politics, and Ideology from Begin to Netanyahu* , (London: Tauris, 1995), p.31.

[83] Gorenberg, *op.cit.*, p.365.

Heights and Gaza Strip. Both Labor and Likud emerged stronger, largely at the expense of factions on the liberal left.[84] Begin's popularity ascended after the campaigns in Lebanon and Iraq, carried out in accordance with his stress on national security.

On 6 June 1982 "Operation Peace for Galilee" was initiated by Israeli army with the invasion of Lebanon to prevent the violent acts of the PLO. The infiltrators who were the members of the PLO, entered to the lands of Israel successively which transferred its headquarter to Lebanon after the "Black September" incident in which the Jordanian Army had driven the PLO force in bloody confrontations from mainly the refugee camps in the Israel border in 1970. According to Shafir this implies other motives:

> The Lebanon War in 1982 displayed a willingness to exploit the existentialist threat to justify a war that was clearly initiated to secure colonial control of the West Bank. Expanding colonization in the West Bank in the wake of the Six Day War seemed both unnecessary and counterproductive, and led to the use of the colonial metaphor among its opponents for the first time.[85]

International developments affected the settlement process on the eve of the Lebanon invasion and the rising casualties during the operation increased the cost of ruling the West Bank with a settlement strategy for Israel. International isolation, changing relationship with the US, unclear future relations with Egypt, and economic burden of defense and settlement programs forced Israel to take critical decisions. Although Lebanon was not a territory on the map of *Historical Israel*, political developments brought about the long-term Israeli invasion without any settlement plan. At that point, the importance of West Bank was proven to be a permanent living site in the plans of Jewish state. But, at the same time, a kind of normalization appeared in the form of renouncing the claim for both banks of the Jordan. *Herut* leaders emphasised loyalty to Judea and Samaria by reinterpreting the notion "the wholeness of the land" to refer to only the area west of Jordan.[86]

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[84] Aronson, *op.cit.*, p.223.

[85] Gershon Shafir, "Israeli Society: A Counterview," *Israel Studies*, Volume 1, Number 2, (Spring,1996), p.208.

[86] Nadav G. Shelef, "From 'Both Banks of the Jordan' to the 'Whole Land of Israel': Ideological Change in Revisionist Zionism", *Israel Studies*, Volume 9, Number 1, (Spring 2004), p.138.

The strengthening of the far-right since Yom Kippur War was ideologically encouraged by the Revisionist Zionism and the atmosphere existing after Camp David. The curtailment of Arab autonomy shaped the settlement groups strategies.

> From 1977 until 1984 the Likud government demonstrated that it had abandoned its own earlier theory of state-building, which emphasized the crucial role of military conquest, legal declarations, and international sanction, in favor of the 'practical Zionist' model for constructing a 'state-on the-way' as it was known in the 1930s and 1940s[…] During its seven years in office the Likud committed what in Israeli terms was a truly gigantic proportion of the country's resources toward the annexationist effort.[87]

Although the Likud government encouraged the settler groups, these groups became much more radicalized in implementing their strategies prioritizing their own agenda. For them, Jewish settlement was an action envisioned as a permanent presence in the occupied territories.

3.3.3. The Settler Movements

At the beginning of the Begin era, settlements began to constitute a considerable factor. In 1978, the settlement polices were formulated in cooperation with *Gush Emunim* and the government provided financial help via the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department. New settler groups were assisted in establishing numerous settlements throughout the West Bank in accordance with settlement blueprints prepared jointly by *Gush Emunim* and the settlement department of WZO under its new co-chairman, Likud appointee *Mattiahu Drobells*.[88] *Gush Emunim* had prompted an internal *aliyah* to the West Bank territories. The government had created industrial parks in the major new West Bank Jewish urban settlements and initiated subsidizes in private industry and in rural settlements, but more than half of them were still connected with the Israeli metropolitan area.[89] In fact, the government perceived that with tiny settlements in the West Bank they could not turn the demographic and geographic balance against the heavily populated Arab

[87] Ian Lustick, "Israeli State-Building in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: Theory and Practice" *International Organization*, Vol. 41, No. 1. (Winter, 1987), p.157.

[88] Masalha, *op.cit.*, p.120.

[89] Rubin Trudy "The Dream of a Jewish West Bank," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, (Autumn, 1983), p.217.

presence. It tried to persuade the Palestinian opinion that the withdrawal was impossible after the wide range settlement activities.

By prioritizing the "Greater Israel" ideology, the right wing parties proliferated, with attribution to the occupied territories viewed as a sacred meaning based on the indivisibility of the Lands. *Tehiyah*[90] , *Tsomet*[91], *Moledet*[92] and, *Mafdal*[93] (The NRP) were the main representatives of this movement during 1980s actively.[94]

Gush Emunim tried to build a new kind of community altogether, not a *kibbutz* or *moshav*, but a *yishuv* known as a community settlement differing from the previous forms to another settlement concept.[95] The main difference was the previous forms were self-sufficient rural communities. But new settlement concept excluded this aspect and prioritized religious and political factors. Exchanging views with *Gush Emunim*, Sharon applied his plans in the Gaza Strip to the West Bank in a similar logic that "settlements would control the high ground, separate Palestinian towns, and fragment occupied territory to prevent the creation of a Palestinian state."[96] Here one can be conclude that the settlements evolved from productive agricultural or developmental colonies in the valleys, such as the classic patterns of *kibbutzes* and *moshavs* to the military-oriented outpost colonies of the hilltops.

To fulfill its settlement and colonialist goals, the Likud government rapidly increased the number of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and many

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[90] "The Tehiya was established in 1979, following the Camp David accords. The party, led by Professor Yual Ne'eman, was a coalition of various groups, both secular and religious, that decided to fight against the peace process with Egypt and to promote the 'Greater Israel' Agenda." cited in Ami Pedahzur, "Supporting Conditions for the Survival of Extreme Right-wing Parties in Israel," *Mediterranean Politics*, Number:5:3, (2000), p.27.

[91] "Tsomet was established in late 1983 by Rafael Eitan, Israel's former chief of staff. The party's agenda was very close to the Tehiya's, yet it consisted mostly of secular activists and advocated an anti-religious agenda." *ibid.*,p.27.

[92] "Moledet, the most extreme right-wing party in Israel's parliament since 1988, was founded by former General Rehavaam Ze'evi. The party advocates the voluntary transfer of the Palestinians from the territories occupied in the Six Day War." *ibid.*,p.27.

[93] "The Mafdal is a religious Zionist party, with roots that go back to the early days of Zionism. Since the 1980s it has adopted extreme hawkish views, and has been an advocate of the 'Greater Israel' ideology." *ibid.*,p.27.

[94]*ibid.*, p.3.

[95] Nisan Modechei, "Gush Emunim: A Rational Perspective" in *The Conflict with the Arabs in Israeli Politics and Society*, Ian Lustick, ed., (New York: Garland , 1994), p.196.

[96] Gorenberg, *op.cit* p.368.

settlements were built in accordance with *Gush Emunim* to utilize economic, military and religious elements. In contrast to the Labor government settlement plans based on building of *kibbutzes* and *moshavs*, the Likud and their settlement vanguard, *Gush Emunim*, emphasized the urban settlement, "the dormitories for Jerusalem and Tel Aviv."[97]

Gush Emunim always attempted to retain its own initiative and was not directed by any party, but sometimes found it advantageous to cooperate with the opposition.[98] It had close personal ties with the ruling elite of Likud and The NRP (*Mafdal*), aiming to direct the early incomplete process of pioneering Zionism. However, the traumatic evacuation from *Yamit* caused a radical break in relations with the Likud government. The inclination towards hardliner policies evolved together with cooperation among rightist groups. "The Likud, the NRP, *Tehiya* and even *Agudat Israel* viewed the new centers of Jewish population in the West Bank as reservoirs of electoral support."[99]

Perhaps the most important asset of the Israeli radical right was the strategic location of the West Bank and the settlements there. Many *Gush Emunim* leaders participated in founding the *Tehiya* (Renaissance) Party due to their discontent with the *Herut* and NRP policies on settlements.[100] Tehiya certainly would demand a commitment that a larger portion of the national budget be redirected to the West Bank, particularly to increase the Jewish economic presence.[101]

Meanwhile, another unorganized settler movement, which might be classified as economic settlers, began to move suburban settlements around the cities. These kinds of settlers were far from representing zealots in the territories, diluting the ideological side of the *Biblical Israel*. For them, "settling on West Bank was clearly secondary to owning their own apartment."[102]

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[97] David Richardson and Meron Benvenisti, "Annexation and Colonization," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, (Winter, 1983), pp.182-187, p.185.

[98] Marcia Drezon-Tepler, *Interest Groups and Political Change in Israel***,** (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), p.222.

[99] Aronson, *op.cit.*, p.271.

[100] Don Will, "Ideology and Strategy of the Settlements Movement," *MERIP Reports, Middle East Research and Information Project*, No. 92, Israel's Uncertain Future, (Nov. - Dec., 1980), p.12

[101] D. Aaron Rosenbaum, "Tehiya as a Permanent Nationalist Phenomenon," in *Israeli National Security Policy: Political Actors and Perspectives*, , Reich Bernard and Gershon R. Kieval, ed., (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), p.215.

[102] Mahler, *op.cit.*, p.243.

3.4. The Likud-Labor Coalition (1984-1992)

Israeli institutions remained responsive to Jewish public opinion. As the developments demonstrated, the emboldened Jewish presence gained its power through the various strata of the public. In the 1984 elections, two blocs gained equal representation in the Knesset and formed a national unity government. The agenda of those who supported *de facto* annexation might have been repudiated if the dynamics of intolerance and extremism were to be diffused. Yet, Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai colonies demonstrated that popular political support directed to the West Bank territories sustained the policy of territorial expansion.[103]

The economic burden of the Lebanon campaign halted the impetus of the settlements. The 1984-1985 economic shortages slowed the pace of settlement during the national unity government. Although the coalition government between Labor and Likud called for the establishment of new settlements, it could not be realized under the shadow of the economic depression. Under the virtual freeze of the national unity government, the number of the settlers increased during the reinforcement process of the settlements. "The Israelis began an operation to double the Jewish population of the occupied territories within four years."[104]

At the end of the period, Sharon recovered his position in the cabinet as the Housing and Construction Minister when he lost his Ministry of Defence in 1982 after *Sabra and Shatila Massacre* in the Lebanon War as a result of the *Kahan Comission* report which was responsible for the investigation of the incident. Sharon proceeded rapidly toward the realization of his own settlement plan. He had always objected to Allon's Plan, which in one form or another had guided the Labor governments. Sharon intended to get the control of all the dominant roads in the West Bank with settlement zones.

Israeli citizens transported the Israeli system with them to their settlements in the territories while the Arab population perceived themselves to being subjected to subordination and discrimination by remaining outside the system. The areas reserved for the sole use of Jewish settlers were "a patchwork of gray spots spread over the entire West Bank."[105] The plans for surrounding and separating the areas inhabited by Palestinians ignited the *intifada*.

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[103] Aronson, *op.cit.*, p.346.

[104] Meron Benvenisti, *Intimate Enemies: Jews and Arabs in a Shared Land*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p.142.

[105] *ibid.*, p.195.

3.4.1. The Role of Settlements in Road to the Intifada

The Zionist experience between 1967 and 1987 resulted in the occupied territories colonialism and military expansionism. During that period, the Israeli governments justified their policies by arguing that a future Palestinian state would constitute a threat for national security. The option of Palestinian autonomy promised by the Camp David Accord was also blocked by radical movements. Especially a racist radical group, the *Kach Movement*, which defended settlements in the occupied territories, perpetuated many provocative acts. "The real issue is not a paper Judean state. The real issue is what type of Resistance Kach and more militant fringe of Gush Emunim will be able to master in the face of the start of an implementation of Palestinian autonomy."[106]

The assassination attempts by settlers and advocating the expulsion of Arabs by violent actions was a reminder of the plans for transferring Arabs to other countries which were never erased from the political life of Israel. As discussed by Mitchell that smaller settler colony meant more restrictions on the rights of the natives derived of vulnerability and fear.[107] Thus, settlers extended their violence and the government provided more military protection for settlers. Making the Palestinians in the occupied territories victims of creeping expansionism and expropriation it created another danger for Palestinians. As Donald argues; "They must anticipate the possibility that the Gush Emunim and its rightist allies will through illegal and fascistic methods precipitate a conflict which will be used as a cover for forcible expulsion of Palestinians from the occupied territories."[108]

According to Aronson, Palestinians were facing a Kafkaesque dilemma: "settlers were now not only increasingly brutal antagonists, but they were also guardians of law."[109] As put forward by one of the major general of IDF Shlomo Gazit, the violence turned towards the prominent figures in the West Bank. Bassam Shaka, the mayor of Nablus, lost his legs; Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah

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[106] Stewart Reiser, *The Politics of Leverage: The National Religious Party of Israel and Its Influence on Foreign Policy,* (Harvard University: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1984), p.92.

[107] Mitchell, *op.cit.,* p.151.

[108] S. Will Donald, "Zionist Settlement Ideology and Its Ramifications for the Palestinian People," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, (Spring, 1982), p.57.

[109] Aronson, *op.cit.,* p.198.

lost his left foot; and Ibrahim Tawil, the mayor of Al-Bireh, was saved by the military government in June 1980 from attacks by settler gangs. In that incident, a Jewish underground group having close ties with settler movements and the extremist *Kach Movement* forced the government to investigate further clashes in the occupied territories.[110] According to Pedahzur *The Kach Movement* is "obsessive" with the Arabs unlike other maximalist right wing groups. Labeling them as racists he defines their rhetoric with heavy xenophobia overtones. After these provocative events Meir Kahan's *Kach Party* was banned in 1988.[111] Shamir was a firm believer in "Greater Israel," but he also feared that Jewish terrorism would spread all over the country. He decided to permit the *Shin Bet,* the General Security Service of Israel investigate. With the eradication of the Jewish underground by *Shin Bet,* the main form of the settler hostility toward Arabs became vigilante action in the type of shooting Arab stone throwers, breaking the windows of Arab cars and homes and beating Arabs.[112] The increasing insecurity and frictions between the settlers and Arab people were a product of the attitude of the Israeli government. According to Sprinzak, despite the heavy presence of the army in the West Bank, the armed and well-organized settlers could, at their discretion, turn the occupied territories into bloody confrontations.[113] Thus, the militant characteristics of the settlers played an important role in intensifying tensions.

> Before 1977 the ideological nature of the settlers and the physical location of settlements were such that they were controllable. They could be isolated in terms of future political settlements. This is exactly what happened in Sinai, when the settlers were ready to give up the land for significant amounts of compensation. The ideological commitment of the present Jewish settler movement in the West Bank is such that these people are likely to fight against any territorial deal.[114]

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[110] Gazit, *op.cit.*, p.94-96.

[111] Ami Pedahzur, "The Transformation of Israel's Extreme Right", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, No:24, (2001), p.29.

[112] Mitchell, *op.cit.*, p.171.

[113] Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.15.

[114] Salim Tamari, "What the Uprising Means," *Middle East Report, No. 152, The Uprising,* (May - Jun., 1988), p.26.

The visible occupation and its most apparent means, settlements and settlers, led to tensions and clashes between settlers and demonstrators, consequently contributing to the eruption of *intifada*. The *intifada* would strengthen the idea of "deepening" settlements in an ironic way and would abolish the idea of coexistence amongst Arabs and Jews.

3.4.2. Settlement Policies during the *Intifada*

The settlements were a central issue during the *"intifada"* period. It literally means "shaking off" in Arabic but it refers a process as differently described by various authors. According to Mahler, the *intifada* arouse basically as an armed resistance, but continued as mass demonstrations attracting the Israeli military attention.[115] According to Aronson, it was a synchronized event realized in both the West Bank and Gaza. The intifada represented the political rise of the occupation generation against the *status quo* in the streets and in the diplomatic arena.[116]

The Jewish underground activities against Palestinians and holy sites ignited the provocation during the period. The disrupted relations between the military and Arab inhabitants of the West Bank had often been exacerbated by activities of Jewish settlers. The *Beita Incident* of April 1988 was the typical of the serious complications that resulted from settler attitudes and actions.[117] In the *Beita Incident,* The settlers invaded Nablus and the bloody confrontations in occupied territories strained the political agenda of Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The success of the settlement program stimulated the Palestinian reaction. In their villages and cities, Palestinians could see that the *status quo* was far from static. Each year brought an influx of thousands of settlers who forced Palestinians to a new level of realization and desperation. The land was not being held in trust pending the end of the Israeli occupation; it was instead being removed from under the Arab feet.[118] If sufficient Jewish settlements could be established and sufficient land was seized, the Palestinians would wake up one day to discover that they had lost their country.

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[115] Mahler, *op.cit.*, p.233.

[116] Aronson, *op.cit.*, p.328.

[117] Don Peretz, *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), p.69.

[118] Frankel, *op.cit.*, p.40.

As settlements transformed Palestinians, the *intifada* transformed the settlers. *Intifada* made the settlers more frightened, less conciliatory and forced them to think about the political implications of living in the West Bank: Why were they there? Did staying there mean? The *intifada* isolated the settlers from most other Israelis who stopped traveling to the West Bank and Gaza and caused bitter confrontations between the settlers and the army.[119] During the *intifada*, the fragile character of economic settlers who were inspired to prioritize economic advantages was deeply harmed. "Most are young urban dwellers attracted by a combination of [greed and need]: relatively cheap housing and economic incentives such as tax deductions, combined with the crowded conditions, noise and pollution of greater Tel-Aviv."[120]

Furthermore, the wave of immigrants from the Soviet bloc brought about important changes for both sides. For Israel, it was a great historical occasion to overcome the Palestinian population boom with the Russian immigration. For the Palestinians, the intensive immigration of Russian Jews in 1990-1991, which was translated by the Likud government into "creating facts on the ground" in the form of settlements, aroused another fear of a new 1948 expulsion the catastrophic memory of the *"Nakbah"* which means calamity.

> Rather, the master plans for Judea and Samaria have continually enlarged their projections, the 1981 Master Plan for the Settlement of Judea and Samaria, for example, is based on a projection of 1.3 million Jews together with 1.8 million Arabs within 30 years or by 2010. It is probable that the massive influx of Soviet Jewry will contribute to its realization.[121]

The national unity government had located these immigrants and encouraged them to settle in the West Bank. Yet the government could not persuade them; only a minority of 800.000 new Russian immigrants chose to live in the West Bank, mostly in Jerusalem suburban towns such as *Ma'ale Adumim*. Despite economic subventions encouraging them to live in greater Jerusalem, many of them

[119] Sprinzak, *op.cit.*, p.162.

[120] Peter Demant, "Israeli Settlement Policy Today," *MERIP Reports, No. 116, Israel's Strategy of Occupation*, (Jul. - Aug., 1983), p.9.

[121] S. Ilan Troen, "Spearheads of the Zionist frontier: Historical perspectives on Post-1967 Settlement Planning in Judea and Samaria," *Planning Perspectives*, Vol.7:1, (1992), p.97.

preferred to live in Mediterranean towns due to less violent and suitable circumstances.

3.4.3. The Search for Conciliation in the Occupied Territories

Upon coming to power with narrow majority in June 1990, Yitzak Shamir's right wing government pledged to place the internal *aliyah* at the top of its agenda.[122] Whatever the motives for the Israeli transformation of the West Bank were, the changes clearly did not fit in the US policy, which defined settlements as illegal according to international conventions.[123] The Bush administration regarded settlements as an obstacle to a conciliation and, therefore, it put a ten billion dollar loan promise on the table in return for a freeze on settlements in the occupied territories, being aware of Israel's need for a loan to absorb Russian immigrants. Two central Zionist values were in conflict: consolidating Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and successfully absorbing the Russian immigrants. Shamir claimed that the government could accomplish both of them but the Bush administration forced it to choose one of them.[124]

Meanwhile, discussions in the Israeli public on the annexation of the West Bank underlined four important factors: the desire to adhere to international agreements, especially The Camp David Accords; the lack of conformity that afflicted all layers of the Israeli public; the reluctant inclination towards granting citizenship to Palestinians; and a fear of an uproar in the uprising.[125] The assumption of the hawkish policymakers that Arabs would be willing to make peace on the "created facts" demonstrated a kind of wishful thinking. During the *intifada* period, the number of courageous zealots decreased abruptly. "One assertion was that the state of Israel had already significantly exhausted its 'reservoir of fanatics' who were willing to move into the territories. The second was that the *intifada* had destroyed the material appeal to the non-ideological or non fanatical-secularists."[126]

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[122] Frankel, *op.cit.,* p.176.

[123] William Claiborne and Edward Cody, *The West Bank: Hostage of History*, (Washington, D.C.: Foundation for Middle East Peace, 1980), p.5.

[124] Frankel, *op.cit.,* p.180.

[125] Gazit, *op.cit.,* p.281.

[126] Reise Stewart, "The Religious Parties as a Support System for the Settler Movement," in *Israeli National Security Policy : Political Actors and Perspectives*, p.87.

Since the security apparatus had a central decisive role in all elections the peace-centered security emphasised by the Labor Party had not attracted public support in the 1988 elections. Yet, the territory-based security of the maximalist hawkish trend, which could be effective for the short term, lost its credibility and a long-term promise of sustainable peace prevailed in the 1992 elections. However, there would be intense bargaining over the issue for the next decade. When The Rabin Government came to power in 1992, the settlement enterprise had been established on the ground, encompassing 137 settlements (excluding military outposts and East Jerusalem) which were home to some 110.000 people.[127]

3.5. Conclusion

During the initial period of settlements in the occupied territories, the Israeli administration developed a security vision centered on settlement belts along the Jordan Valley the Judean Samarian hilltops and around the Jerusalem Basin. The tolerance towards settler movements later evolved to self-initiative agents surpassing the strategy of the Labor government. The traumatic Yom Kippur War emboldened the settler movements along with radical rightist views and led them to view the settlements as guarantees for existence in biblical Israel. The invisible occupation strategy invented by the Labor Government to prevent further conflicts was based on many strategies ranging from “open bridges to Jordan” to “improvement of economic conditions”. Among the strategies, the one for the settlement in remote lands was abolished with the foundation of ideological settlements in the heart of Arab populated areas.

Although the Likud government achieved diplomatic success and attained an important gain in the Middle East with the Camp David process, it also exacerbated the settlement issue in the West Bank. The government’s cooperation with *Gush Emunim* and other settler organizations resulted in new settlement zones in the heavily populated Arab areas. Later, the evacuation of the Sinai settlements ended this strategic partnership and radicalized these movements, directing them to the far-right parties. Here, Israel exhibited the viability of land concessions, whatever their costs were, in the public sphere. However, this opportunity was utilized for the support of the realistic view of “Greater Israel”.

[127]Meron, Benvenisti, *op.cit.*, p.61.

Meanwhile, expansionist policies led to an irreversible process that started to guide international and domestic policies. The political parties became captives of the electorate both in the settlements and inside Israel. Moreover, the settlements became the center for political violence and produced tensions with the local Palestinian population as a result of *free-lance* activities such as shooting and beating Palestinian villagers. Furthermore, land confiscations and especially the perception of psychological encirclement of the Arab population. The mutual relationship between the settlements and violence had a significant role in the eruption of the *intifada*.

During the *intifada*, the Israeli administration attempted to counter the revolt with military means. However, it also perceived the *intifada* as an impasse, which necessitated the launch of diplomatic efforts to create conciliation with the recognized Arab partners, though it still rejected the identity and rights of the Palestinian people over the lands. The issue of settlements had significantly transformative effects in this period and had the potential to affect Israeli politics, inter-communal relations and the peace negotiations which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS DURING THE PEACE PROCESS (1993-2005)

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter the focus will be on the settlement issue during the peace process from 1993 to 2005. In view of changing international balance of power after the Cold War, the continuing military campaign of Israel in Lebanon until 2000 and immigration waves to Israel from former Soviet countries that we mentioned shortly before, brought new perspectives to the territories. Israel during the *intifada* years needed to reconcile with the Palestinians under the mediation of international actors, mainly the US. Therefore, together with these important developments including the debated decolonization in Israeli politics and the at the end of the peace process the decision to adopt separation policy based on existing settlements of the West Bank and Gaza will be examined throughout the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* period.

This chapter addresses how the settlements gained significance during interim arrangements inside the ambiguities of the articles. Although the Israel gave verbal promises on a moratorium of settlements, why they grew rapidly and how they acted as a central role in the collapse of the peace process will be the main theme. Both the Likud and Labor-led governments carried out signing interim accords with aforementioned promises on the one hand and on the other hand were opening new spaces for the settlement enterprise in the territories. The reasons for this seemingly contradictory situation will be analyzed in the historical scheme up until the time of the Gaza disengagement in 2005, which will be the final theme of this thesis whereby ramifications for the future on the issue are put forth.

The major theme of this chapter is trying to analyze the demographic threat that was perceived deeply by Israel. To encounter Palestinian population settlement measures adopted to balance the Jewish majority. The colonialist characteristics of the settlements sustained but changed track to segregation based establishment.

Another discussion is the unilateralist approach of Israeli policies on the issue. Although Israel recognized Palestinians as a negotiation partner officially,

interpreted the arrangements and implemented policies according to domestic priorities and future projections. As analyzed in the previous chapters, the expansion of settlements achieved success by receiving aid from different Israeli state branches in cooperation with the legal institutions. Thanks to close ties between settlers and military bodies, the settlements flourished without any retreat from the development of settlement plans. In the course of the peace process, the settlements had boomed at an unprecedented rate to strengthen the position of Israel during the interim period until the discussion of the substantial issues in which the settlements may be the most complex point.

The settlements issue increased its influence on borders, the status of Jerusalem, the character and structure of a viable Palestinian state. One of the most complex issues, the Palestinian refugees' problem, was discussed in terms of the exchange of settlement lands for returnees inside the West Bank. All these problems were delayed to final status talks. Settlements issue was curtained and it had progressed towards insoluble knots woven through the heartland of a future Palestinian state.

On the other hand the interest groups determined the fate of the process on both sides. Radical groups intervened the peace process by their violent acts and send messages from settlement issue. The settlements and its settlers radicalized the political scene beginning with the Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs the *Ibrahimi Mosque incident* to assassination to Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin. The radicalized settler groups and their acts greatly influenced the policies of the Israeli cabinets afterwards. The "radical settlers" problem continued on before and during the peace talks.

After the elections of 1996 the change in the Israeli cabinet to Likud party slowed the pace of the process and settlements lived a boom in terms of quantity. Likud government reshaped settlement plans according to geo-strategic and demographic projections. The freeze of interim status negotiations due to the *Har Homa* settlement issue during the Benjamin Netenyahu period will be discussed to give the growing role of the settlements in the process.

The 1999 elections and the new Labor government under Ehud Barak animated the expectations about the future of the peace process but settlements became the main obstacles with the final status issues. The collapse of the peace

process after Camp David Summit in 2000 as a result of Palestinian rejecting Ehud Barak's offer for annexation of settlement blocs is presented in this context.

The settlements fortified their positions after the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* under the plans of Ariel Sharon. But as an interesting dilemma, on the other hand Ariel Sharon, one of the most crucial designers or founding fathers of the settlements, was highly protested against by the settlers for his evacuation plan for the Gaza settlements. This matter will be discussed at the end of the chapter. Yet, primarily after the collapse of the peace process, there was a radical shift from the previous polices to "separation" but sustaining its colonial character which will be analyzed.

4.2. Rabin-Peres Period (1992-1996)

The earlier phase of the peace process began with Madrid negotiations and resulted with Declaration of Principles (DOP) during Yitzak Rabin cabinet. During the Madrid talks the issue of the Russian Jewish emigrants was interested for the Israeli side together with international attention. As said before, a ten billion USD loan promise from the US was attractive for Israeli governments. After US Secretary of State Baker's journey to the territories, the loan was tied to condition of a freeze of the settlements. After these developments, Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin promised to construct new settlements that would be initiated by private endeavors.[1] Yet, previously approved large scale projects remained untouched, permitted by the previous Minister of Housing and Construction Ariel Sharon.

After the fruitless Madrid process due to lack of face to face negotiations and insistence of both parts not to recognize each other continued in the other track. Norway hosted direct negotiations between the parties and Oslo process resulted in a series of arrangements that will be discussed in the next section. The 1991-96 peace process may be analyzed through four different stages in the Labor period: from the Israeli elections of June 1992 to the signing of the Oslo Accords in September 1993; from 1993 to the signing of the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty in October 1994; from

[1] Idith Zertal, and Akiva Eldar, *The Lords of the Land: The War Over Israel's Settlement in the Occupied Territories*, (New York,USA: Nation Books, 2007), p.117.

1994 to Rabin's assassination in November 1995; and from 1995 to the Israeli elections of May 1996.[2]

Here it is necessary to discuss the nature of Oslo arrangements and some basic principles that provided both successes and deficiencies. In Oslo, for the first time, direct negotiations between the two groups started without taking into account that one side represented a sovereign state on the other side, the PLO was only a liberation movement. According to Newman, the territorial separation and segregation of ethnic groups would lead to "mutual antagonism." Although this separation may have necessitated an urgent territory-centered conflict resolution, it could not produce normalization in the long run.[3] In this respect, after the *intifada* years and before it, the deep rooted Arab-Israeli conflict came to a turning point in the Oslo process' search for conciliation. On the other hand, these agreements differ from the previous Camp David Agreement by their nature. As discussed by Oren Barak, the Palestinian Israeli conflict is differentiated from "inter-state" conflicts such as the dispute with Algeria and France and also the Egyptian-Israeli conflict, for the Palestinian-Israeli problem has been an "inter-group" conflict by its nature from the beginning with the identity, security, and economy connections.[4]

There are radical tendencies on both sides to block the process. The opponents of the PLO, even inside the factions of it, and in Israeli side Jewish radicals appeared with violent acts during this period. But in the Israeli side Jewish radical groups had an influential veto power which perceived the process as a threat for the *raison d'etat* of Israel and the Jewish people.[5] The radical groups aligned the settlements in the middle of their claims. The settlement-centered radicalism later broadened magnitude in the Israeli society.

The main motive of the Palestinian side, namely the PLO was to obtain international recognition through negotiations. For Shafir, the Israeli-Palestinian accords achieved a peacemaking initiative between enemies that have de-legitimized each other and their respective historiographies. The Oslo Agreement of September

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[2] Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs, 1948-2003,* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), p.40.

[3] David Newman, "The Geopolitics of Peacemaking in Israel-Palestine," *Political Geography,* Issue 21 (2002), p.632.

[4] Oren Barak, "The Failure of the Israeli–Palestinian Peace Process, 1993–2000," *Journal of Peace Research,* Issue:42 (2005), p. 722.

[5] *ibid,* p.723.

1993 and subsequent arrangements changed the nature of the conflict by "inverting its confrontational dynamic." [6]

Before examining the details of the agreements it is noteworthy to emphasize the main characteristics of these arrangements. According to Kittrie, there are two methodological pillars of the Oslo process. The first one is "open-ended gradualism" and the second one is "constructive ambiguity."[7] As will be discussed gradualism relies upon an explanation of "constructive ambiguity." In this respect, the constructive ambiguity can be defined in using a vague language in the early agreements with an expectation of allowing for a progress in the future negotiations. Pehar argues:

> If two parties have strong and contradictory interests, and if it seems that neither side is ready to concede a part of its maximum demand, and/or if the negotiations are running short of time and the parties can not discuss such concessions in more detail, then the issue of conflicting interests can be resolved by, so to speak, simulating a compromise in a very rudimentary form.[8]

From this point of view, the Oslo Accords were initiated with this ambiguity but the many blanks and gaps, especially in terms of the settlements were filled with the Israeli political maneuvers to gain strong bargaining cards and as irreversible facts on the ground. After the symbolic DOP arrangements, the interim rule in the West Bank and Gaza began with The Gaza Jericho agreement and PLO promoted another status in the name of Palestinian Authority (PA).

4.2.1. The Gaza-Jericho Agreement 1994 and Reflections on the West Bank

After the DOP the Gaza Jericho Agreement, also known as Cairo Agreement was an application agreement of the principles into the territories. In that agreement the Israeli side agreed to transfer control of nearly 13 percent of the West Bank to the PA in May 1994. The Gaza-Jericho agreement was based on the self autonomy model established by the Camp David Accords in 1978. Palestinian self-rule in the

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[6] Gershon Shafir, "Israeli Decolonization and Critical Sociology," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, (Spring, 1996), p. 30.

[7] Orde F. Kittrie, "More Process than Peace: Legitimacy, Compliance, and the Oslo Accords," *Michigan Law Review*, Vol.101 Issue 6 (2003), p.1663.

[8] Drazen Pehar, "Use of Ambiguities in Peace Agreements," in *Language and Diplomacy*, edited by Jovan Kurbalija and Hannah Slavik, (DiploProjects, 2001), p.167.

first stage would be developed in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for a transitional period of five years. To begin with the implementation of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank was a more complex and difficult matter than in Gaza, which is a more compact area where the number of Israeli settlements and settlers is smaller.[9] The Gaza first option curtailed the priority of the settlements in the West Bank.

There had been exchange of letters of Palestinian-Israeli sides. As these letters demonstrated the Oslo Agreement was more than an agreement between the two sides. The agreement was criticized that it was understanding between an *occupying power* and *occupied people*. The DOP allowed for the withdrawal of military forces from Gaza and Jericho and the transfer of authority for secondary responsibilities such as education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism to an Arab Council which would constitute the legislation body of the Palestinian Authority or the future Palestinian State.[10]

Although DOP, achieved official recognition from the two sides the process brought ambiguities to the main issues such as the status of Jerusalem, final borders and refugees that determined the fate of the peace. The Oslo process was seen even by its proponents as a premature compromise on a very fragile political equilibrium which may be interrupted or ended as a result of deadlock in negotiations over key issues. Thus, it was regarded as a political framework rather than a legal collection.[11] However, to assist the process, both sides prioritized a kind of pragmatism to attain their goals. As argued by Kelman:

> To understand the significance of the Oslo Accord, it helps to note that there were in effect two processes going on at Oslo simultaneously and that the agreement reflects the effect of both: a process of distributive bargaining between two parties with unequal power and an initial, rudimentary stage of a process of reconciliation.[12]

The Oslo process thus became an important aspect in the decolonization approach which demonstrates a considerable shift in the Zionist policies of the

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[9] Rabinovich, *op.cit.*, p.63.

[10] Douglas J Feith, "Land For No Peace" in *The Mideast Peace Process :An Autopsy* edited by Neal Kozodoy, (San Francisco, California: Encounter Books, 2002), p.23.

[11] Ian S, Lustick, "The Oslo Agreement as an Obstacle to Peace," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, (Autumn, 1997), p.61-62.

[12] Herbert C., Kelman, "Building a Sustainable Peace: The Limits of Pragmatism in the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (Autumn, 1998), p.37.

settlement schemes. In this regard, the security understanding had altered abruptly after the *intifada* and the global economic developments in the post-industrial period changed the notion of the settlement-based economic infrastructure. Therefore, the Oslo process was seen as a launching beginning stage of decolonization but turned to be irreversible in some aspects by recognizing the existence right of Palestinians.[13]

The change of the Israeli administration affected the priorities towards the settlements. In contrast to other periods, such as the 1978 peace with Egypt, the DOP came at a time when Israel's identity was being challenged by post-Zionism. Also this peace process affected the mission of the settlement in "Greater Israel" expressed by *Gush Emunim* and previously approved by the Likud governments. For the religious right, withdrawal from Greater Israel would undermine Zionism and in turn undermine the Jewish future. For the left, withdrawal was the means for Zionism, in its secular, universal form to liberate itself from the corrupting influence of the military occupation.[14]

It is regarded that the land is sacred for the Likud Party and also security for the Labor Party. This statement does not mean that the Likud is insensitive to security or Labor opposes the "Greater Israel" idea, but rather serves to emphasize their respective worldviews.[15] From this view, arrangements were seen as security building regulations. Yet, the argument that the PLO is the representative of the Palestinians may be misleading. Though PLO has an important and leading factor it did not have a monopoly over the Palestinians or in terms of a classic meaning it lacked any function as a government. On the other side the decisions of the Israeli government were challenged by the powerful settler lobby not only in party politics but actively on the ground. In view of this plurality, it is necessary to take into consideration the "ambiguity" and "inter-group" features. From the aspect of inter-group conflict, both sides used ambiguity for their domestic political purposes without giving promises in critical issues.

> Hence, the opaque nature of the Oslo process, which effectively left all options open for the final settlement, served the needs of the negotiators

[13] Shafir, *op.cit.*, p.33-34.

[14] Ben Moshe, Danny Director, "The Oslo Peace Process and Two Views on Judaism and Zionism, 1992-1996," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32:1, (2005), p.21.

[15] Avi Shlaim, "Israeli Politics and Middle East Peacemaking," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, (Summer, 1995), p.21.

> and their political bosses by enabling the parties to achieve a breakthrough without, at the same time, relinquishing strongly held positions as to the nature of the final settlement.[16]

This ambiguity served the interests of the signatories Yaser Arafat and Yitzak Rabin. Rabin was portraying the redeployments and Palestinian autonomy as interim regulations rather than permanent Israeli disengagement and an independent Palestinian state. On the other hand, Arafat was giving the message to the Palestinians that their concessions were temporary during the establishment of the core of a future independent Palestinian state in political military and economic infrastructure. Thus the "opaque nature" of the process provided for both sides a wishful interpretation of the agreements.[17]

Rabin's announcement for the moratorium on building new political settlements in the territories could have been considered as indefinite in the scope of the developments. The DOP, far from having an overall understanding and designating clear principles for the further negotiations, blurred the important subjects that shaped the core of the conflict over a long-term period. The ambiguities about the settlements can be noted as the first of these points. The Labor government inherited crippling settlement activity from the Likud government and these complicated issues were easily accepted by the Israeli public refraining from dismantling any settlements in the Gaza-Ericho deal.[18]

As put forward by Shlaim:

> The myth of a settlement freeze in the West Bank was exposed when the government argued that the freeze did not apply to private buildings or to projects deemed necessary for security reasons By conniving in the expansion of existing settlements an approving confiscation of more Arab land Rabin and his colleagues violated the spirit, if not the letter of the Oslo accord.[19]

The pressure from the *Gush Emunim* and other settler organizations signaled opposition to the process from the very beginning. *The YESHA Council* in representing settler interests adopted a unified settler strategy to confront the Oslo

[16] Nadav Morag, "Unambiguous Ambiguity: The Opacity of the Oslo Peace Process," *Israel Affairs*, Volume 6 Issue 3 (2000), p.201.

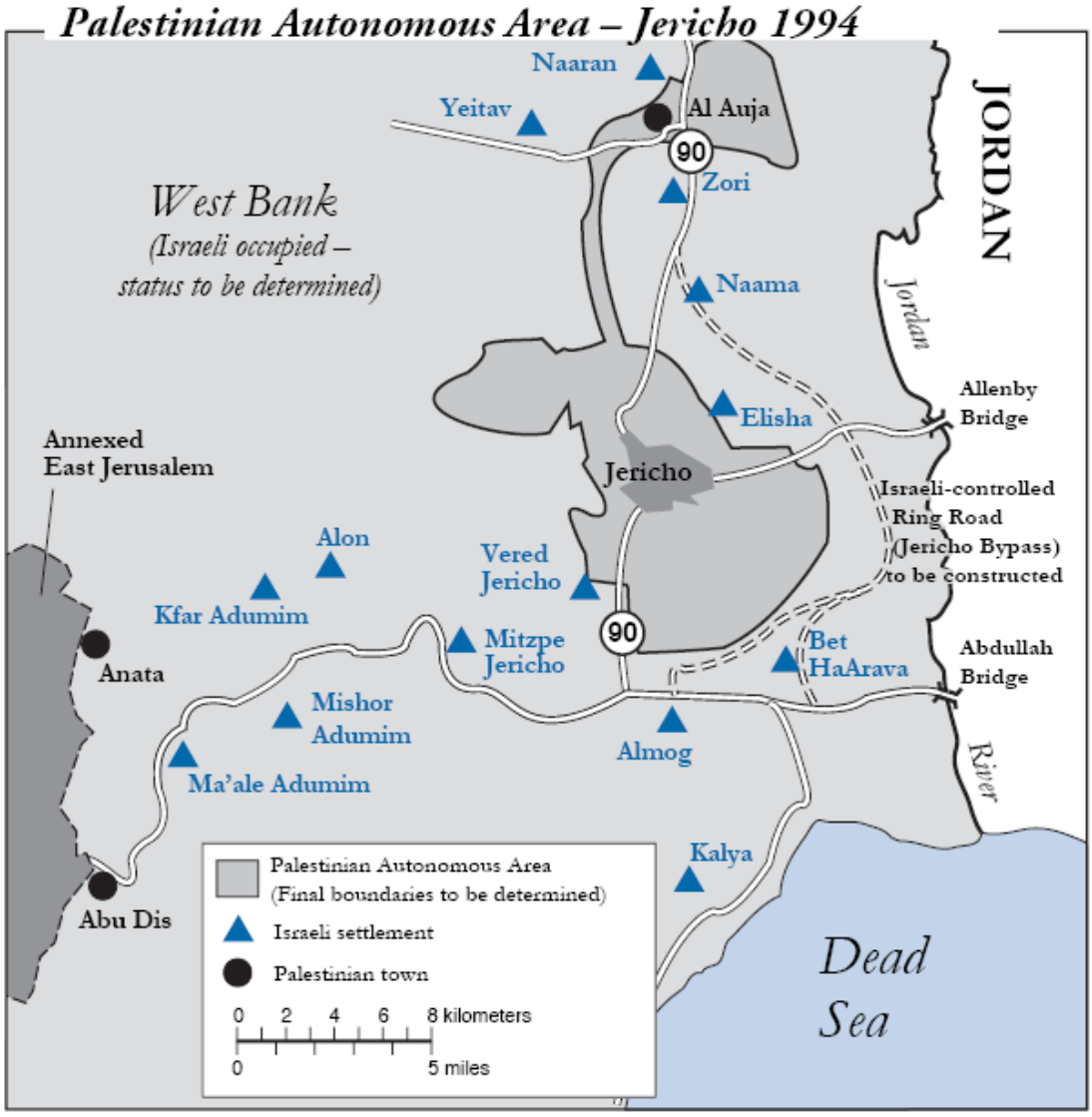
[17] *ibid.*, p.208.

[18] Shlaim, *op.cit.*, p.24.

[19] *ibid.*, p.31.

regulations. The settlers gathered after the declaration in Jerusalem with mass protests following.[20]

Furthermore, the settlers launched a program of intimidation in the West Bank. Settler anger after the DOP had widely spread with spontaneous events such as the murder of a settler; at the end of October 1993, a new wave of retaliatory acts against Palestinians in the West Bank led to greater tensions. Angry settlers announced a *"Jewish intifada."*[21] The inflammatory declarations of the settlers reached the peak point with the Hebron *Ibrahimi Mosque incident* detailed below.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.1. The Palestinian Autonomous Area in the West Bank

[20] Peter Shaw-Smith, "The Israeli Settler Movement Post-Oslo," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (Spring, 1994), p.100.

[21] *ibid.*, p.103.

Among other issues the "facts on the ground" - the settlements determined the continuity of the negotiations in the shadow of demands of territorial continuity of a Palestinian self-government in the territories. However, ongoing settlement activities including road construction connecting existing roads jeopardized the implementation of UN Resolution 242 that was regarded as a legal standpoint from the Palestinian side.[22] The general framework of the agreements and relatively feeble Palestinian side could not achieve a bargaining ground on the settlements issue as Egypt on Sinai evacuation. Sabet argues that:

> The tragedy is that the PA seems to be following the same pattern of concessions, but without assets and leverage that Egypt possessed. For Egypt as the most powerful Arab country, could offer the Israeli side the strategic concession of dropping out of the conflict equation and in return could be rewarded with territorial gains.[23]

Khalidi demonstrates the approach of the Israeli side to the process that influenced the comprehension of the actual reality.

> It has been observed that the Israelis too often present 'peace' as if it were a unilateral gesture, a generous act with supposedly 'painful concessions' on their part for which the Arabs generally and the Palestinians particularly should be both appreciative and grateful.[24]

In the period of Prime Minister Rabin's election in July 1992, the settler population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip increased by 28,000 - from 112,000 to 140,000, while that of East Jerusalem grew by 22,000- from 148,000 to 170,000. This was an increase of nearly 50,000, or 20 percent in two years.[25] Aronson emphasizes the "invisible" risks of the arrangements:

> First, in order for Israeli forces to fulfill their tasks as specified in the DOP [security for Israelis and settlements, and defense against external threats- see Article Vll], they must be able to reach almost any part of the West Bank at relatively short notice. In other words, 'redeployment' may require such a pervasive Israeli military presence on Palestinian territory as to

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[22] Camile Mansour, "The Palestinian-Israeli Peace Negotiations: An Overview and Assessment," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, (Spring, 1993), p.29-30.

[23] Amr G. E. Sabet, "The Peace Process and the Politics of Conflict Resolution," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4, (Summer, 1998), p.13.

[24]Ahmad S. Khalidi, "The Palestinians: Current Dilemmas, Future Challenges," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, (Winter, 1995), p.13.

[25]Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, (Winter, 1995), p.99.

> render any rearrangement of this presence both operationally and politically insignificant. Second, any attempt to form large self contained blocs of settlements to which Israeli forces could 'redeploy' along the lines of Gaza would pose a serious threat to the territorial and political integrity of the Palestinian Authority. From a Palestinian perspective, these would appear as precedental and prejudicial to the final-status negotiations, particularly in view of the Labor Party's declared aim of partial annexation under the guise of 'territorial compromise'.[26]

As stated by Aronson, during this time more than 11,000 dwellings were completely inherited from the Likud government, which were approved for completion in mid-1992. Since Rabin's election, most of the dwellings had been constructed by private sectors. These homes, part of the "build your own house" scheme, were approved by the settlement's own local or regional planning body composed of settlers themselves They were built according to the planning boundaries of "state lands" already allocated for settlement by earlier governments.[27]

The Oslo Agreement, and later the Cairo Agreement, moved Israel's civilian settlement in the West Bank and Gaza and their population to "final status" negotiations. Although both sides perceived the vitality of demographics and final borders, the agreements did not refer to them. At the same time the settlements was at the core of these two important subjects.

As noted by Morag, in this opacity with regard to the settlement issue the Israelis could not imagine a retreat from their positions through any comprehensive dismantling of the settlements. There are three predictions for the future of the settlements. First the majority view proposes annexation of all the settlements and the settlers would be citizens under Israeli sovereignty. The second version called for the settlers to remain in Palestinian lands but retaining their Israeli citizenship by using the Israeli extraterritorial rights. However, this was opposed by the settlers because they did not trust the PA in the absence of Israeli forces. In the last option, the settlers would become the citizens of the Palestinian state thus becoming *a minority* of the Palestinians. It was totally rejected due to its contradiction with Zionism that they came to Zion for their "national home."[28] During the interim

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[26] *ibid.*, p.100.

[27]Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, (Spring, 1995), p.123.

[28] Nadav Morag, "Unambiguous Ambiguity: The Opacity of the Oslo Peace Process," *Israel Affairs*, Volume 6, Issue 3, (2000), p.214.

period established by the Oslo Accord, the settlements and settlers were to remain under Israeli security, jurisdiction, and control to respond to this ambiguity.

In 1994, the Palestinian opposition to the expansion of the *Efrat* settlement south of Bethlehem was followed by Palestinian protests throughout the West Bank, particularly in regions where settlers were capturing additional lands claimed by Palestinians or where a new road system was being established for Israeli settlers. The persistence of the ongoing settlement plans for the new by-pass road system became the new guise for the expansion of settlements. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres explained that new lands being confiscated were for two purposes only: to create the infrastructure of water and sewerage system and to initiate the construction of "by-pass roads" between settlements and Palestinian centers. [29]

Israel initiated the development of roads throughout the West Bank which would cost millions of dollars with this expansion Israel aimed to connect modern roads in the region to Israel's existing transportation network and to promote the movement of settlers between settlements and Israel. As a result, Palestinians were restricted to an out-of date road network that had not been improved since 1967.[30] The Rabin government's future vision was indeed a growing and self-sufficient Israeli settlement, protected by the IDF, surviving in the midst of the West Bank cities. By planning 400 kilometers of these roads (nearly one million dollars per kilometer), Israel aimed to preserve the settler community and its security.[31]

Rabin's final vision was realized through emphasizing the "interim meaning" of agreements so that Israel would claim the territories around Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley and its western highlands, and the June 1967 border region that was the main center for the settlements. The Israeli control of the West Bank roads and strategic heights along these areas led to fragmentation of territory.

Meanwhile, a major hindrance to the peace process was perpetuated by a settler among these developments. The withdrawal process was halted by the Hebron incident that was carried out by an American-born settler in one of the most populated Arab cities. On 25 February 1994, Baruch Goldstein from *Qiryat Arba*, a nearby settlement to Hebron, killed some thirty worshippers as they prayed during

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[29] *ibid.*, p.126

[30] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, (Summer, 1995), p.133.

[31] *ibid.*, p.136.

the holy month of Ramadan at the Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs also named *Ibrahimi Mosque*.

For Sprinzak, Goldstein was a personal student of Kahane the leader of the *Kach Movement* who may be regarded as a methodical person. According to the disciples of Kahane, he believed that the redemption of the land was inevitable but that it could only come about two ways: the first was easy and without obstacles; the second was a hard and catastrophic way. With this act of murder it was obvious that he preferred the second one and expected to halt the process.[32]

Although the moderate settlers distanced themselves from the incident, this inflicted damage on the peace process. Arafat responded this incident by demanding withdrawal of the settlers in the city and disarmament of the settlers in addition to a UN presence in the city.[33]

This incident became a flash point in the ongoing settlement process during the Rabin and Peres era. Rabin, while always declaring evacuation, he missed an opportunity to remove the Hebron settlers after the massacre, when there was support for such a move in his cabinet.[34] After the massacre, the evacuation of the settlers inside Hebron came to the agenda but after confusion of Rabin on whether or not to evacuate, the action was delayed. Thus, none of the Hebron settlers had been evacuated, while a generous surrounding at the heart of the city due to settlers' violence and harassment against the old city residents gradually, removed their original inhabitants of Palestinians.[35]

The calls by the Palestinians for a freeze on bilateral talks due to this action did not produce any concrete measures to stop the violent acts of the settlers, only an observer unit of international community. The *Temporary International Presence in Hebron* (TIPH) was set up after this incident to report on the problems of civilian life in the city.

Instead of ending the process entirely, Goldstein left an important inheritance to the settlers in Hebron, a small Jewish canton in the heart of the city. For the Arabs

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[32] Ehud Sprinzak, "Extremism and Violence in Israeli Democracy," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Volume 12, Number 3, (2000), p.227.

[33] Thomas G. Mitchell, *Native vs. Settler: Ethnic Conflict in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland & South Africa (*Westport, CT, USA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), p.172 .

[34] Herbert C Kelman, "Building a Sustainable Peace: The Limits of Pragmatism in the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (Autumn, 1998), p.39.

[35]Idith and Eldar, *op.cit.*, p.127.

in the city, the ever-lasting tension, and suffering would be a part of daily life. Goldstein's action greatly exaggerated the disorder in Hebron.

4.2.2. Oslo II Agreement and Settlement Arrangements

On 28 September 1995, the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement, known as Oslo II, was signed in the US. It was still a transitional concept but meaning of it in the path to the final status, was far more important than the Oslo I Agreement, both in terms of the nature of autonomy of the new administration the PA and the amount of territory to be included.[36] Oslo II agreement was a continuation of the previous commitments which included military withdrawal from major Arab towns and their gradual transfer to the Palestinian Authority. Also it designated an election process for the new Palestinian Administration.

Similar to both the DOP and Gaza-Jericho Agreement, the Oslo II agreements did not mention any explicit restrictions for the settlement drive, with the exception of Article IX that regulates "Land Issues": "The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit the integrity and status of which will be preserved during the interim period."[37] The main feature of the agreement was the provision for the division of the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem) into three zones, each with a different mix of Israeli and Palestinian responsibility. Area A, consists of the seven major Palestinian cities Janin, Qalqiliyya, Tulkarm, Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem, and Hebron. In Hebron, however, excluded was the old city area inhabited by four hundred Israeli settlers and twenty thousand Palestinians, which would remain under complete Israeli control. There were clauses for protection of the settlements and calling for the settlement web to be under unrevealed consent of the PA. One of the other areas invented by these arrangements was Area B mainly comprised of refugee camps and constituting a larger part when compared with Area A. In this section, civil affairs would be conducted by the PA but in terms of security arrangements, there would be joint control of the PA and

[36] Tamar Hermann and David Newman, "A Path Strewn with Thorns: Along the Difficult Road of Israeli? Palestinian Peacemaking" in *Management of Peace Processes*, edited by John Darby, Roger MacGinty, (New York, USA: Palgrave Publishers, 2000), p.115.

[37] The Peace Process, (Special Document File), *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (Winter, 1996), p.127.

IDF. Area C defined as the largest part of the West Bank was totally under the responsibility of Israel.

For Usher, there had been many vague points in Oslo II. Among them, there were two "mutually exclusive" possibilities. The first one was the PA's limited and separated autonomy over about fifty eight percent of the Gaza Strip and twenty seven percent of the West Bank. By refraining from putting an open timeline for further transfers, the situation remained very indefinite until final borders became clear. This blank could have been easily filled by an Israeli decision. Secondly, the transfers were tied to the success of PA in cooperating on the "personal security" of some 160,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.[38] If the PA failed to deliver on security, Oslo II's second possibility would come into effect. Israel has the power to enter, mobilize and be present anywhere in the West Bank and Gaza to provide security, including inside the eight "autonomous areas" where the PA performs jurisdiction. This security would be maintained not only by the 130 Jewish settlements, but also by Israel's ongoing construction of twenty six new by-pass roads that would link settlements and the establishment of sixty two new Israeli army bases on the peripheries of the Palestinian enclaves.[39]

At the same time, Oslo II sheltered risks for the final status negotiations in the complexity of its arrangements. The main obstacle was the implementation of by-pass roads system which was provided for the settler community. This situation led territorial separation inside the areas. According to Newman, Oslo II was an intersection with the *Allon Plan* by creating Israeli security belts within the Area B and C around the Palestinian areas with territorial corridor to Jordan.[40] Referring to the same ambiguity in the Oslo II map he underlines:

> In an effort to please everybody the negotiators on both sides have ended up pleasing nobody. They have created a situation which can easily be breached by either of the extreme groups opposing the peace process. It requires just one case of straying into the 'wrong' territory, or driving along the 'wrong' road and refusing to acknowledge the policing authority of the 'other' for a major incident to occur.[41]

[38] Graham Usher, *Dispatches from Palestine: The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process.* (London, GBR: Pluto Press, 1999), p.102.

[39] *ibid.*, p.103.

[40] David Newman, "Territorial Discontunity and Palestinian Autonomy: Implementing the Oslo II Agreement," *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin,* (Winter 1995-1996), p.78.

[41] *ibid,* p.81.

Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.2. The Palestinian Autonomous Area defined in Oslo II Agreement in the West Bank

For Aronson, according to the agreement, no settlement would be evacuated during the five-year interim period scheduled to end in May 1999; exclusion of settlements, settlers vital arteries (main roads, water pipelines, electrical and telephone lines), and water resources from any Palestinian jurisdiction, interference, or control, the creation of blocs of settlements, with territorial continuity between them assured; extensive and complex arrangements for security cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian military, police, and internal security forces; limitation on the size, armaments, and jurisdiction of Palestinian security forces; continuing Israeli supervision over the use and registration of all lands; limitation on Palestinian land use near settlement areas and continuing Israeli control over Palestinian zoning and land use decisions.[42]

4.2.3. Disturbances of the Oslo Process

As discussed before, the peace process seemed to be very fragile in a variety of ways. The ratification process illuminated the disunity amongst the Jewish public signaling the disturbances of the settler groups. For example, in Oslo I voting in the Knesset only sixty one voted to ratify, fifty against, eight abstained. In the Oslo II process, it was also passed by sixty one votes, with fifty nine votes against, just barely passing due to support of the non-Zionist and Arab members of the Knesset.[43] Many radical parties along with the Likud Party opposed these arrangements but mainly the Oslo II for the practical and foreseeable impact on the ground.

As in the Hebron incident, these concessions were enough to ignite the sentiments of the settlers and radical right, although Israel retained all the rights over the territories. Many radicals from among the religious parties and affiliated groups continue to believe that no Israeli government, with or without a parliamentary majority, had the right to give up parts of the God-given Land of Israel.[44] Many extremists began to discuss the Rabin's *"betrayal"* in terms of Jewish Law inside some extreme *yeshivas* the religious schools. Sprinzak provides two principles, which the extremists tried to apply to Rabin:

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[42] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (Winter, 1996), p.118.

[43] Dov Waxman, "From Controversy to Consensus: Cultural Conflict and the Israeli Debate Over Territorial Withdrawal," *Israel Studies*, Volume 13, Number 2, (Summer 2008), p.77.

[44] Benny Morris, "After Rabin," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (Winter, 1996), p.82.

> A *Moser* and a *Rodef* according to the Halakha (Orthodox Jewish Law), are among the worst kind of Jews. They betray the community through acts that may result in the loss of innocent Jewish life. A *Moser* is a Jew suspected of providing the Gentiles with information about Jews or of illegally giving them Jewish property. Since the Halakha refers to the Land of Israel as a sacred property of the Jewish people, Jews are obliged to kill the *Moser*. A *Rodef is* a person about to commit, or facilitate the commitment of, murder. The purpose of his immediate execution is to save innocent Jewish life. This rule does not apply to a killer caught after the murder, who has to go on trial. *Din Rodef is* the only case in which the *Halakha* allows a Jew to be killed without trial.[45]

Among those who believed that Rabin was a *Rodef* there was a young student named Yigal Amir. He was persuaded himself that by killing Rabin he would save the land and Jewish people. He was very obsessed with the thought that this idea was God's will which was recognized by many believers who were too indecisive to carry out the actual deed.[46]

Rabin and other leaders failed to comprehend the transformation that was sliding to the more extreme opposition. Reports regarding extreme acts began circulating in early September about increased security measures to protect Rabin from extremists, but these changes were ignored. Rabin, like most Israelis, continued to view the extremists issue as a political, not a security or a legal, problem.[47] He was assassinated by Yigal Amir on 4 November 1995 at a peace rally in Tel-Aviv. Amir was a student in the national religious school system the *Kerem Da Yavne Yeshiva* and *Bar-Ilan University* that is a center of the Greater Israel settler movement, *Gush Emunim*.[48]

The assassination of Rabin altered the pace of the peace process based on opposition for further redeployments and land concessions. This assassination also signaled a message that withdrawal from settlements could easily turn to be a bloody confrontation. As stated by Hertzberg, this murder turned the attention of society towards the attitude of the supporters of the religious extremists. The risk which was posed by armed settlers and extremists would remain in the political life of Israel.[49]

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[45] Ehud Sprinzak, *op.cit.*, p.229.

[46] *ibid.*, p.230.

[47] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (Winter, 1996), pp. 114-122, p. 116.

[48] Morris, *op.cit.*, p.84.

[49] Arthur Hertzberg, "The End of the Dream of the Undivided Land of Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (Winter, 1996), pp. 35-45, p.44.

According to Waxman, after the assassination, national unity became the major concern of the Israeli public which had traumatic effects. For him, the conciliation within the Israeli society overcame the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and the Oslo process suffered at the end.[50] As such, the Oslo process had suffered since the Hebron incident at the beginning of the peace efforts.

After Rabin's assassination the Labor Party led by Shimon Peres. The party tried to show its determination in the continuation of the process. Yet, the disturbances on the Palestinian side also seriously hindered progress. Suicide bombings came to the agenda of the Israeli society in those days. After the decision of Peres to the assassinate Palestinian militants, the Palestinian retaliatory acts of violence struck the Israeli cities with suicide bombings in the Spring of 1996. The Palestinian attacks on Israel after the assassination of senior members of Palestinian groups were manipulated and successfully used by the right-wing Likud Party during the campaign for the upcoming Knesset elections, focusing on the Labor Party's impotence in security issues. This was demonstrated by Netanyahu in his campaign and in statements concerning the peace process on his coming to power.[51] The Knesset election was scheduled in this political atmosphere. Along with the Israeli intervention in South Lebanon the Israeli electorate turned to Benjamin Netenyahu the leader of the Likud Party instead of Peres.[52]

After the decision for elections, the political atmosphere turned in favor of the settler groups, too. For Aronson, during the election campaign, the Labor and Likud parties were aiming to get the critical swing votes. The Likud Party, meanwhile, led by Netanyahu, emphasized its ideological commitment to the settlement throughout "Greater Israel" while giving credence to the political facts created by the Labor Party. Among the election promises, generous favors were offered by both parties on the issues of Jewish settlements, security areas, water resources and state land. According to these promises, the security of the by pass- roads and road intersections in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip were to remain under full Israeli control in the further agreements. Israel would keep its vital water resources in Judea and Samaria.

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[50] Dov Waxman, "Israel's Dilemma: Unity or Peace?" *Israel Affairs*, Vol.12, No.2, (April 2006), pp.200-220, p.200.

[51] Tamar and Newman, *op.cit.*, p.127-128.

[52] Jerome Slater, "What Went Wrong? The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," *Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. 116, No. 2, (Summer, 2001), p.178.

There was to be no transgression of Israel's use of its water resources. In the meantime, Likud Party's commitments were more attractive to the settlers. Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu promised that the Likud would set up more and more new settlements in the West Bank. According to him this was a fundamental part of the Zionist settlement process of the people of Israel in its land. [53]

The settlement activities were of great importance in this period. Most of the land was taken through seizure orders in the post-Oslo period under Labor administration, by a confiscation issued by Israel for a modern road network designed for settlers and the preliminary step so as to exclude the local population permanently from those roads. At the end of the term Israel's settler population in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip (excluding annexed East Jerusalem) grew by four percent to 133,000 during 1995, according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).[54]

Meanwhile, there were very harsh criticisms against the process from the Palestinian side. For example, among these opponents, Edward Said perceived the Oslo Process to have produced a kind of subordination for Palestinians. He referred to both the American-Indian model based on seizure of the lands by the whites and the French-British South African model based on making natives day laborers and pre-modern farmers and harshly criticized the Palestinian side for paving the way for an irreversible process:

> […] Second is the division of lands [reservations] into non-continuous Bantustans in which an apartheid policy gave special privileges to white 'today's Israeli' settlers, while letting the natives live in their own run-down ghettos; there they would be responsible for their municipal affairs, yet subject to white 'again Israel' security control. This is the South African model. Finally the need to give these measures some degree of local acceptability required a native 'chief' to sign on the dotted line.[…]This was the French and British model for nineteenth-century Africa. Arafat is the late-twentieth century equivalent of the African 'chief'.[55]

[53] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4, (Summer, 1996), p.127.

[54] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, (Spring, 1996), p.136.

[55] Edward W. Said, *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), p.110.

As we emphasized above in terms of the characteristics of inter-group conflict the peace process was questioned by powerful opposition on the two sides. Acknowledging the plurality of both sides in *maximalist* and *minimalist* positions led to the overall process being postponed and the most disputed issues tabled until final status talks. As a result, it seems that in the nature of inter-group conflict many of the issues became "taboos" that could not be dealt with easily.[56]

In reality, the earlier predictions for trust building through the ambiguities in the agreements turned to distortions embodied in wishfully interpretations. As underlined by Morag:

> Not only has the focus of efforts on both the Israeli and Palestinian sides been on effecting changes outside the Oslo process - and often with the aim of undermining it - but Oslo did not even provide the vaguest framework as to the nature of a final settlement between the two sides. Since they did not do so, and since the changes that they did effect were still technically non-binding, the Oslo Accords were unable to force the parties to accept a mutual agenda for the future. […] Sketching the future outlines of the process would have established important - and binding - precedents that could have served to guide the process through its intermittent stages to a final settlement rather than leaving the field open to unilateral moves on the part of each side.[57]

It is noteworthy to point out another important factor here. The demographic threat both in terms of quantity and its evolving Islamic extremism appeared to threaten Israeli society. According to Home, it became evident that in the period of post-colonialism, Israel could not provide security and freedom without a violence cycle with rising suicide bombings and another "biological bomb" that existed with three percent annual population growth of the Palestinian people approaching 5.8 million Palestinians. This constituted a reservoir for further bombers under a perception of Jewish colonist and colonized Palestinian people in the lack of concrete solutions.[58]

The nature of the settlements still preserves its colonial character but now under a new structure after these arrangements. As also mentioned in the previous discussions, according to Gordon, Israel used a colonial principle by using legal

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[56] Oren Barak, "The Failure of the Israeli–Palestinian Peace Process, 1993–2000," *Journal of Peace Research*, Issue:42, (2005), p.728.

[57] Nadav Morag, "Unambiguous Ambiguity: The Opacity of the Oslo Peace Process", *Israel Affairs*, Volume 6, Issue 3, (2000), pp.200-220, p.219.

[58] Robert Home "An `Irreversible Conquest'? Colonial and Postcolonial Land Law in Israel/Palestine," *Social Legal Studies* Number: 12, (2003), pp.291-310, p.306.

frameworks, exploiting multiple legal procedures to fill the gaps, to control the inhabitants.[59] After initiating the negotiations with Palestinian partners, Israel sustained this principle under the ambiguous milieu of the agreements now not by modifying the legal system for the sake of settlements and settlers but by interpreting the agreements wishfully and using PA. Again he verifies this argument:

> Instead of reaching a settlement about the withdrawal of Israeli power, the Oslo agreements actually stipulated, in unambiguous language, how Israel's power would be re organised in three distinct spheres—the civil institutions, the economy and law enforcement. In exchange for providing Israel an array of services, Israel offered the fledgling PA some sort of truncated sovereignty over the occupied people, while it, in turn, continued to control most of the occupied land. The overarching logic informing the different agreements is straightforward: transfer all responsibilities relating to the management of the population to the Palestinians themselves while preserving control of Palestinian space.[60]

4.3. Consolidation of Settlements: The Netenyahu Period (1996-1999)

After the elections the "peace camp" was defeated by the right wing parties. The Likud Party could not get the majority but constituted a coalition government with other right parties under prime ministry of Netenyahu. According to Sprinzak, Netenyahu depended on a coalition composed of three factions that of the nationalist, radical and soft right. The new soft right was a mixture of ultra-Orthodox Jews and immigrants from the former Soviet Union provide new political ground for him.[61] At the same time, according to Mahler, it was the first coalition government in which the orthodox religious parties had twenty three seats in the Knesset, making them a significant element in the coalition.[62]

Before the elections, for the Likud-led opposition, internal closure was the only preventative measure of Oslo they could live with. Even before the suicide bombings, Likud leader Netanyahu said that the Likud government would not "tear up" the Oslo agreements, but it would not tolerate the establishment of a Palestinian

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[59] Neve Gordon, "From Colonization to Separation: Exploring the Structure of Israel's Occupation," *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 29 Issue1, (2008) pp.25- 44, p.32.

[60] *ibid.*, p.35.

[61] Ehud Sprinzak "Netanyahu's Safety Belt," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 77, No.4, (July August 1998), p.19.

[62] Gregory S.Mahler, "The Forming of the Netanyahu Government: Coalition Formation in a Quasi-Parliamentary Setting," *Israel Affairs*, Number 3, (1997), p.22.

state and would restrict the Palestinian Authority to "self-rule" areas.[63] After the elections, now in execution, the new government gave priority to the settlements due to Netenyahu's policy influenced by the nature of the coalition he had put together. The new government's guidelines were shaped around the right wing religious parties and this led Netenyahu further to the right on the issue of the expansion of settlements. Also, the representation of the extreme right in the cabinet handicapped the implementation of interim agreements.[64] The government decided to allocate an important budget and gave incentives for expanding settlements to make the issue *irrelevant* in the final status negotiations. Meanwhile, to respond to the needs of Tel-Aviv in terms of industrial development and demographic density, less populated areas of the West Bank particularly the *Salfit* area were selected for new settlement expansion.[65]

The policies announced by the Netanyahu government foresaw an increase of the Israeli population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (excluding East Jerusalem) by 50,000 people, to reach 200,000 during the next four years. This increase is little different from the expansion recorded under the previous Labor government.[66]It became apparent that Netenyahu would sustain the peace process through his understanding, but at the same time, would pursue the timetable of the previous arrangements challenged his policies.

4.3.1. Hebron Redeployment

During the interim period, the Palestinian side could not produce effective arrangements for the removal of the radical settlers inside Hebron. Israel, on the other hand, benefited from the vacuum in the DOP and intensified its settlement activity inside the city with Jewish zealots. Although there were transfers of the main city centers, Hebron remained in IDF control for a long postponement of redeployment, after the elections, Netenyahu showed his commitment to the previous accords but gained an important concession and a model for further arrangements by

[63] Usher, *op.cit.*, p.105.

[64] Khalil Shikaki, "The Future of the Peace Process and Palestinian Strategies," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, (Autumn, 1996), p.84.

[65] *ibid*, p.85.

[66] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor: Quarterly Update on Developments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, (Autumn, 1996), p.129.

securing the settlement presence in the old city. In return for a partial redeployment, Israel saw its control over the old part of Hebron sanctioned and its jurisdiction over settlements and settlers legitimized.[67]

After this partial redeployment by favoring the settlers, the process was questioned by Palestinians again. Under these circumstances, the possibility of implementing UN Resolution 242 was weakened by fragmenting the negotiating process, taking it out of a continuous basis that resulted in the physical fragmentation of the West Bank and Gaza by the sectioning to three zones and *de facto* recognition of the existence of Israel settlements.[68] The vagueness of the accords may have secured the initial Israeli and Palestinian agreement, but these ambiguities had also enabled Israel to claim more concessions and eradicate the international law.[69] It was widely criticized by due to constituting a dispersed "Palestinian Archipelago" that left both the West Bank and Gaza divided into lots of little parts without territorial continuity.[70]

This situation was again criticized harshly by Said:

> The present situation could not last. Due to many inequalities and injustices at the hearth of Palestinian life, and in the Israeli scene, with its mad settlers, religious fanatics, simmering angry army brass, inept government, and frustrated well intentioned civilians who are tired of tension and frustration, is too volatile for another Hebron style negotiation not to produce more violence, more suffering more incoherence. Who is preparing for the next phase? [71]

According to Khalidi, now it was more apparent that the regulations turned to complicated knots over the future of the process. Most of the Area C domain fastened the infrastructure of the Palestinian life. Area C lying between towns and cities was regarded as a breathing space for Areas A and B of the Palestinian population areas. On the other hand, Israeli retention of large blocs of Area C was contrary to the provisions in Oslo and Oslo II. At first preservation of territorial

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[67] Lamis Andoni, "Redefining Oslo: Negotiating the Hebron Protocol," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, (Spring, 1997), p.17.

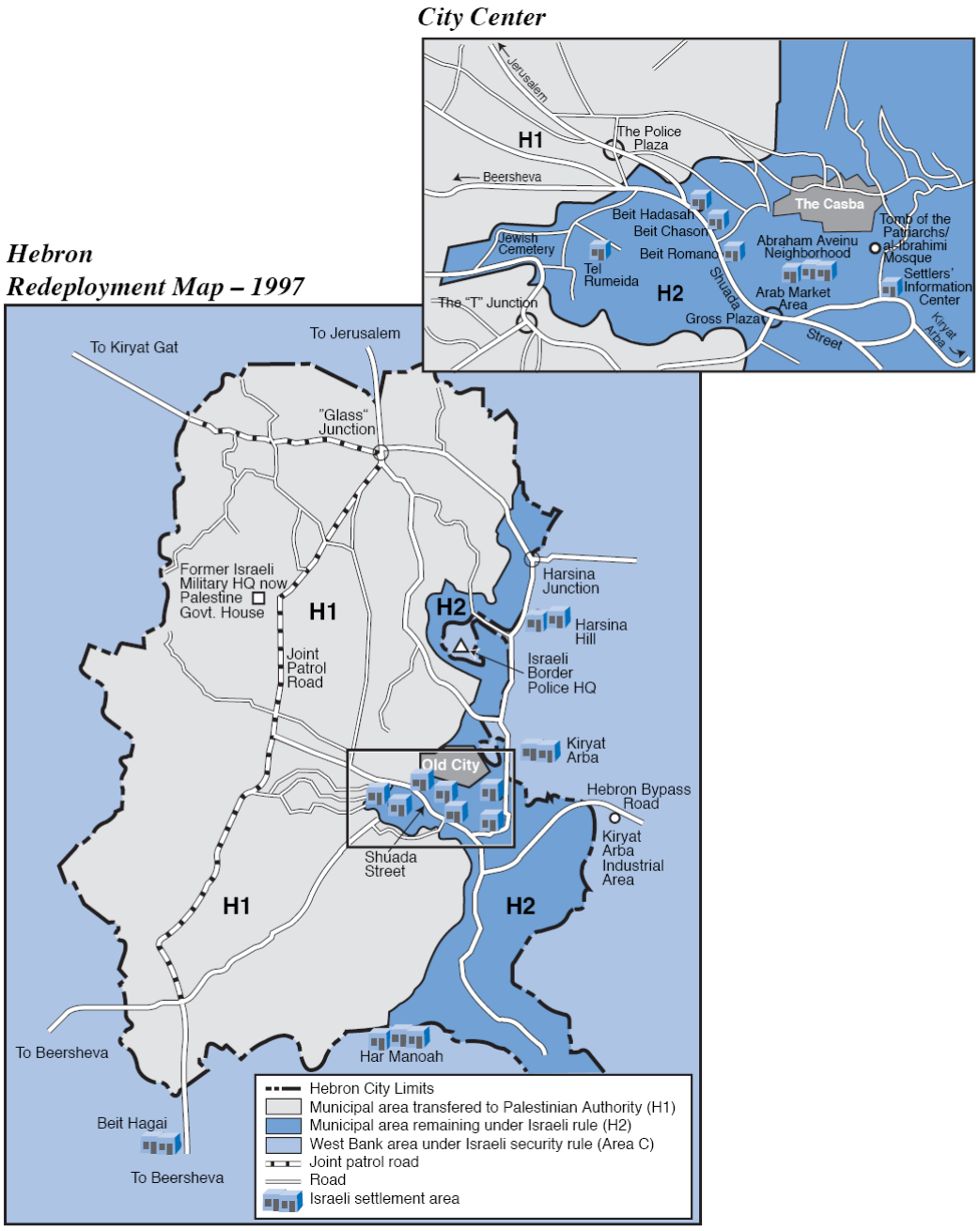
[68] *ibid*, p.30.

[69] Kathleen Cavanaugh, "The Cost of Peace: Assessing the Palestinian-Israeli Accords," *Middle East Report*, No. 211, (Summer, 1999), p.12.

[70] Edward W Said. "The Real Meaning of the Hebron Agreement," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, (Spring, 1997), p.32.

[71] *ibid*, p.36,

integrity of the West Bank and Gaza was based on Palestinians self-rule in Bethlehem, Hebron, Jenin, Nablus, Qalqilya, Ramallah, Tulkarm, and some 450 villages but this unity could not realized.[72]



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.3. The Palestinian Autonomous Area defined in Hebron Redeployment

[72] Walid Khalidi, "IPS Forum, Hebron and the Redeployments," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4, (Summer, 1997), p.103.

Related with the election promises given above, economic privileges for the settlements began to be distributed. As discussed by Aronson, the restoration of monetary incentives such as grants and soft loans increased attractiveness of settlement housing in all areas of the West Bank during 1997 and settlers were encouraged by Foreign Minister Sharon for building new settlements on the "hilltops" which resulted in the new settlements. The confiscation of agricultural lands and transfer to settlements resulted in the loss of agricultural income and employment, although this has never been quantified beyond unreliable reporting.[73]

4.3.2. The *Har Homa* Issue and Freeze on Bilateral Talks

At the end of February 1997 the decision of the Netenyahu government to build 6,500 units in the renamed district of *Har Homa*, *Jabal Abu Ghunaim* led to the halt of negotiations between the two parties. This incident was the starting point of the settlement issue in the frontlines of the negotiations. *Har Homa* issue had a significant meaning for the expansion of settlements. According to this settlement plan nearly 6,500 Jewish families would be brought to the district by the end of the project. In the framework of the plan this settlement would not remain isolated. The lands in the west of *Har Homa* would be expropriated and connected with another Jewish settlement of *Gilo*.[74]

The new policy of Netenyahu allowing Jews to establish settlements in the West Bank, was selective. His views about settlement would be in accordance with the economic infrastructure of urban centers. In that sense, *Har Homa* was quite suitable because it spans a wide area from Bethlehem to Jerusalem. Settlement construction at *Har Homa* was described by Netanyahu as "the beginning of the battle for Jerusalem", this settlement signals the beginning of the battle over the borders of "Greater Israel". As Israel perceived the demographic threat in different forms, this threat was relevant for the Jerusalem issue. The Palestinians initiated a

[73] Geoffrey, Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (Autumn, 1998), p.134.

[74] Sarah Kaminker, "For Arabs Only: Building Restrictions in East Jerusalem," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4, (Summer, 1997), p.15.

national consciousness and attempted to develop their institutions which would require their capital to be in the East Jerusalem eventually.[75]

Thus, it can be concluded that to hamper this center from being further developed settlements around Jerusalem aimed to undermine the Palestinian's attempt symbolically and physically for the benefit of Israel. The model of this understanding brought about E-1 plan for "Greater Jerusalem." The E-1 plan was devised for the containment of Jerusalem. This plan for the area between East Jerusalem and *Ma'ale Adumim* supported Israel's extensive master plan for metropolitan Jerusalem, including the West Bank's central part extending from Ramallah to Bethlehem and from Latrun to Jericho.[76]

In this context, *Har Homa* had a significance beyond that of a mere settlement in the West Bank, as argued by Aronson:

> Far more than construction at Har Homa, Israel's implementation of the E-l plan, scheduled to begin around the turn of the century, will present the Palestinians with a dramatic narrowing of options for Arab Jerusalem. If not challenged effectively, Arab Jerusalem's current condition as a disconnected sprawl of predominantly squalid neighborhoods will become permanent, rendering it an essentially symbolic remnant of an Arab urban community.[77]

Netanyahu asserted that:

> *Gush Etzion* is an integral part of the State of Israel. It's an inseparable part of Greater Jerusalem. It's an essential and vital part, which we'll build and support. We're going to build more both in *Efrat* and around it.[…] The Land of Israel is being built in front of our eyes, and that's a good thing.[78]

This act concluded that settlement expansion sustained a unilateral characteristic aimed at determining in advance the final status of the occupied territories. After this act in accordance with the wider settlement plans embodied in Allon Plus Plan the negotiations with the PA came to a halt.

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[75] Menachem Klein, "Jerusalem as an Israeli Problem-A Review of Forty Years of Israeli Rule Over Arab Jerusalem," *Israel Studies,* Volume 13, Number 2, (Summer 2008), p.64.

[76] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4, (Summer, 1998), p.142.

[77] *ibid.,* p.144

[78] *Ha'aretz,* 26 September 1997, cited in Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor", *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 27, No. 2, (Winter, 1998), p.134.

Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.4. The Metropolitan Greater Jerusalem Projection in 1997

4.3.3. Allon Plus Plan

The "Allon Plus Plan", announced on 29 May 1997, was prepared by the planning division of the Israeli army and supported by the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netenyahu, as a definition of Israeli interests. Netenyahu's vision was based on two basic arguments for peace: first a demilitarized Palestinian entity and second a peaceful neighborhood with Jordan. Among these two assumptions Israel also had to annex the Jordan Valley including settlements as highlighted in the Allon Plan with a permanent IDF presence; settlements along the Green Line to Ben Gurion Airport axes and encircling the Jerusalem-Gush Etzion area also would be annexed.[79] Netanyahu believed that settlements were central factors in determining Israel's borders and in limiting Palestinian control in the occupied territories. He opposed independent Palestinian statehood, although he is more willing to concede symbolic responsibilities to the PA in Gaza than in the West Bank.[80]

That plan envisaged division of the Palestinian area in four enclaves and sixty percent of the West Bank would be annexed by Israel. He claimed large parts of Area C (the seventy percent of the West Bank where military installations and settlements are located) by defining the security areas. He envisioned that new settlements would be established in these regions.[81]

At the same time, he appointed Ariel Sharon to head up the direction of the infrastructure and Israel Lands Administration. In his term the settlements were encouraged to use state lands for forestation or industrial areas for reducing as much as possible the amount of state land to be transferred to the PA. Under a new prime minister, Sharon was heading the newly created Ministry of National Infrastructures. His policy intended to expand Israel's civilian presence in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Netenyahu's vision of the settlements was widely based on a modified Allon Plan. In that there would be transfer of some settlements in return for major settlement blocks and strategic areas of Jerusalem. The issue was overshadowed by

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[79] Neill Lochery, *The Difficult Road to Peace: Netanyahu, Israel and the Middle East Peace Process* (Reading,UK: Ithaca Press), p.44-45.

[80] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2, (Winter, 1997), p.135.

[81] *ibid.*, p.136.

security problems and was understood or reflected in that sense. The Palestinian side failed to voice its position on the settlement issue for a viable contiguous Palestinian state.[82]

Netenyahu personally encouraged speculation about the plan which was regarded as a restatement of the original intention to exclude Palestinians but absorb Palestinian land to Israel. In the 1997 version of the plan Palestinian self-rule area was significantly diminished, while the annexed territory was increased hence the "plus." In this way, Israel would have achieved to exclude densely populated areas, while retaining over sight of the developmental infrastructural and strategic areas. This situation led comprehensive consequences. First it deprived the Palestinians of very important areas which were comprised of highly productive cultivable land, and suitable space for construction.[83]

The expansion and consolidation of settlements weakened the belief for an independent state among the Palestinians. Not only was this settlement bloc seen as an infringement upon the peace process, it also was the expansion of civilian settlements which reduced the limited amount of land available for a future Palestinian state.

After the debates on the modifications of the plan several maps appeared. The first map before the final status talks emerged from different sources such as Ariel Sharon's option, Prime Minister Netanyahu's own "Allon Plus" map, and a "Security Interests" map devised by the IDF. All of the maps were devised in an unauthorized detailed fashion, with inconsistencies and much speculation about border-settlement issues. None of these maps was close to meeting the minimum expectations of the Palestinians. In that respect, the Oslo Process, seemed a less fruitful dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians than a domestic Israeli debate about how much territory and authority would be transferred to the Palestinians.[84]

It seems that territorial continuity would be disrupted by the strategic placement of Israeli settlements under Israeli sovereignty and the creation of four "transport corridors" running in an east-west direction between Israel and the Jordan

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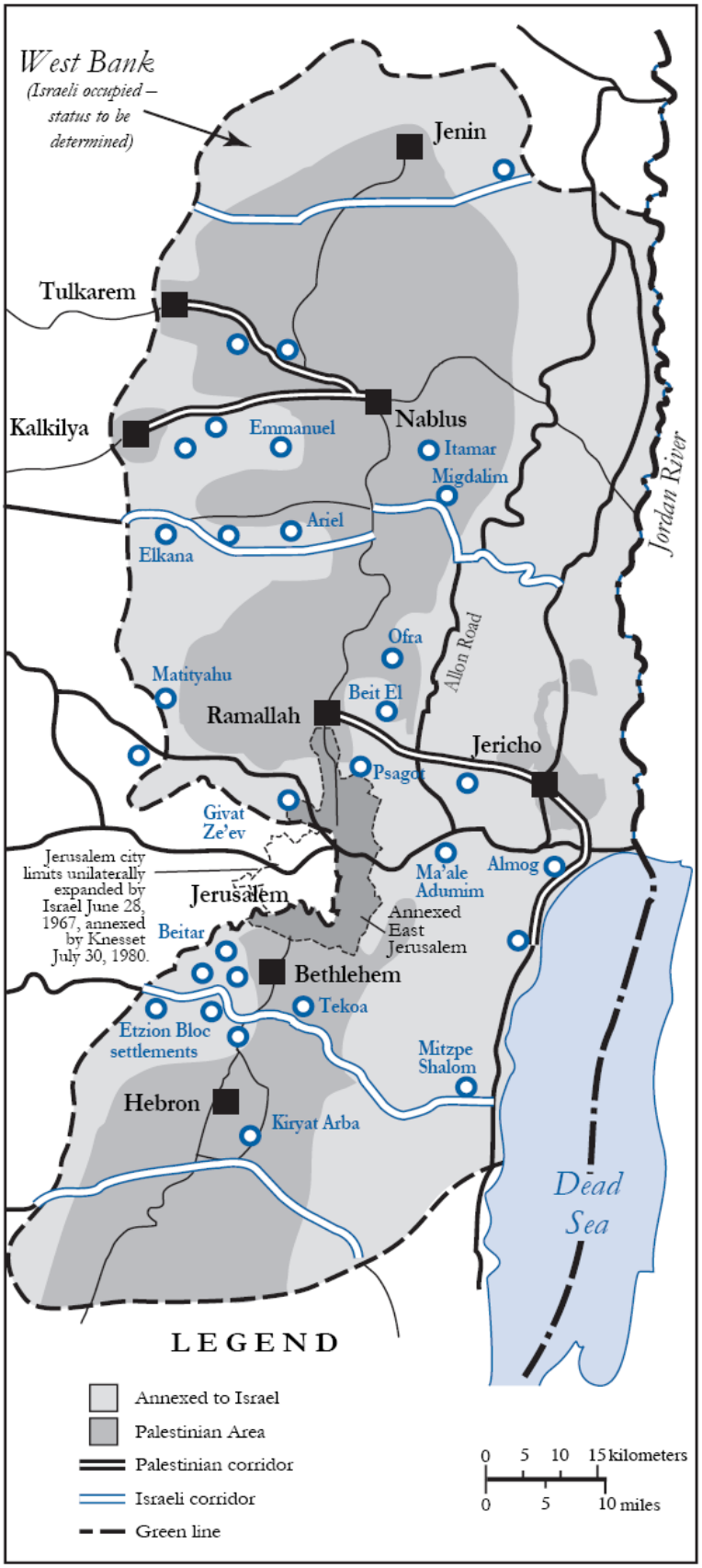
[82] Gerorge Gieaceman, "The Geography of Politics: Israel's Settlement Drive After Oslo", in *After Oslo: New Realities, Old Problems* George Giacaman and Dag Jorund Lonning ed., (London, Chicago: Pluto Press, 1998), p.97.

[83] *ibid,* p.104.

[84] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 27, No.3, (Spring, 1998), p.137-138.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.5. Netenyahu's Allon Plus Plan

Valley. Even the most generous option for the Palestinians, the IDF Security Interests map, which left fifty three percent of the West Bank for Palestinian self-rule, was far from the minimum expectations.[85]

4.3.4. The Wye-River Memorandum of 1998

After *Har Homa* issue , there had been a stagnation period of nearly took 18 months. Then the US promoted negotiations was resumed to maintain the pace process. In October 1998, ten days of direct intensive negotiations between Israeli and Palestinian leaders were held at the *Wye Plantation* in the US. The Netanyahu Cabinet continued its refusal to present a concrete redeployment plan for consideration by the US or the Palestinians before the negotiations. This greatly affected the general framework of the Wye Memorandum and made it open for the settlement issue.

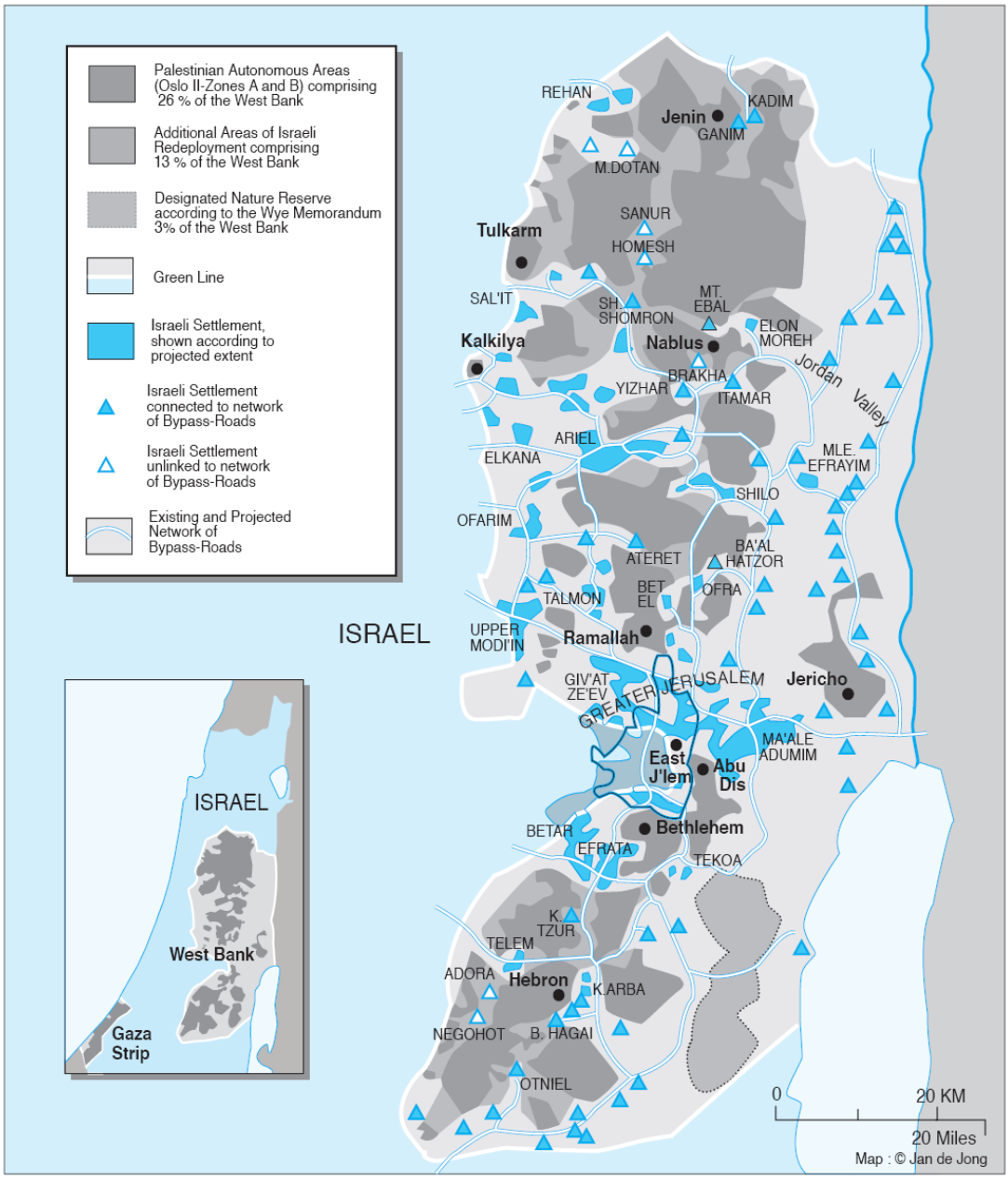
From a practical perspective, Wye Memorandum was the form of implementing Israeli redeployment of envisaged interim arrangements, but was much more important at the legal and political levels. The Wye Memorandum cancelled Palestinian rights by outlawing the opposition to these agreements in an irreversible interpretation. It appeared in the long articles of security arrangements that PA was held to strict deadlines by joint Palestinian-Israeli observing committees and strong commitments. Yet, there was not an explicit text for settlement issue.

According to Aruri, the Wye Memorandum offered a new kind of "massive asymmetry" in its overall conception. It was based on the concept that the deadlock in the process was the total responsibility of the Palestinians and their negligence without any reference to Israeli actions.[86]

As given above, the Memorandum brought many binding measurements in terms of struggle with terrorism accompanied by deadlines but it abstained in the same manner from offering a solution on the issue of settlements. Under the Article V of the heading "Unilateral Actions", was the only text that referred to the settlements again but in a veiled style: "Recognizing the necessity to create a positive environment for the negotiations, neither side shall initiate or take any step that will

[85] *ibid.,* p.139.

[86] Naseer H. Aruri, "The Wye Memorandum: Netanyahu's Oslo and Unreciprocal Reciprocity," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 2, (Winter, 1999), p.22.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.6. Current and Projected Israeli Redeployment According to the Wye River Memorandum 1998

change the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in accordance with the interim agreement."[87]

The Palestinians already had made some concessions in the interim agreements with regards to land in the West Bank. For example, the Oslo II recognizes the right of Israel to state or absentee owner land located under the jurisdiction of the Palestinians. Israel already had classified anywhere from 50% to 70% of the West Bank in this category. The agreement also called for the continuation and expansion of settlements, even if they fell under Palestinian control. It was likely that the Palestinians would concede to Israel's annexation of some settlements.[88] The Memorandum was shaped mostly for the reservations of the many settlement leaders, and some cabinet members who were opposed to any agreement resulting in an increase in Palestinian territorial control of the West Bank.[89]

In the shadow of settlement expansion, a downturn in economic activity as a result of closures, and the imposition of police rule, the overall security was felt by many Palestinians to have decreased significantly in the five years after beginning the peace process.[90] The new system of roads on the West Bank will connect all the settlements to each other, thus making it impossible for Palestinians to rule their own territory and resulting in a series of cantons in the West Bank. For Aronson nothing had changed since the beginning of the process:

> The current program "to grab and settle" however, was born more than one year ago, prompted by concerns over Netanyahu's agreement to undertake "further redeployments" from West Bank territory as outlined in the Oslo II and Hebron accords. The movement's main instrument was the quiet implantation of "agricultural farms" on strategically located hilltops, declared by Israel as "state land" as precursors to new settlement or far-flung neighborhoods of existing outsides.[91]

With the cooperation of the Ministries of Defense, Housing, and Finance, which mostly turned a blind eye to the illegal construction and land claiming

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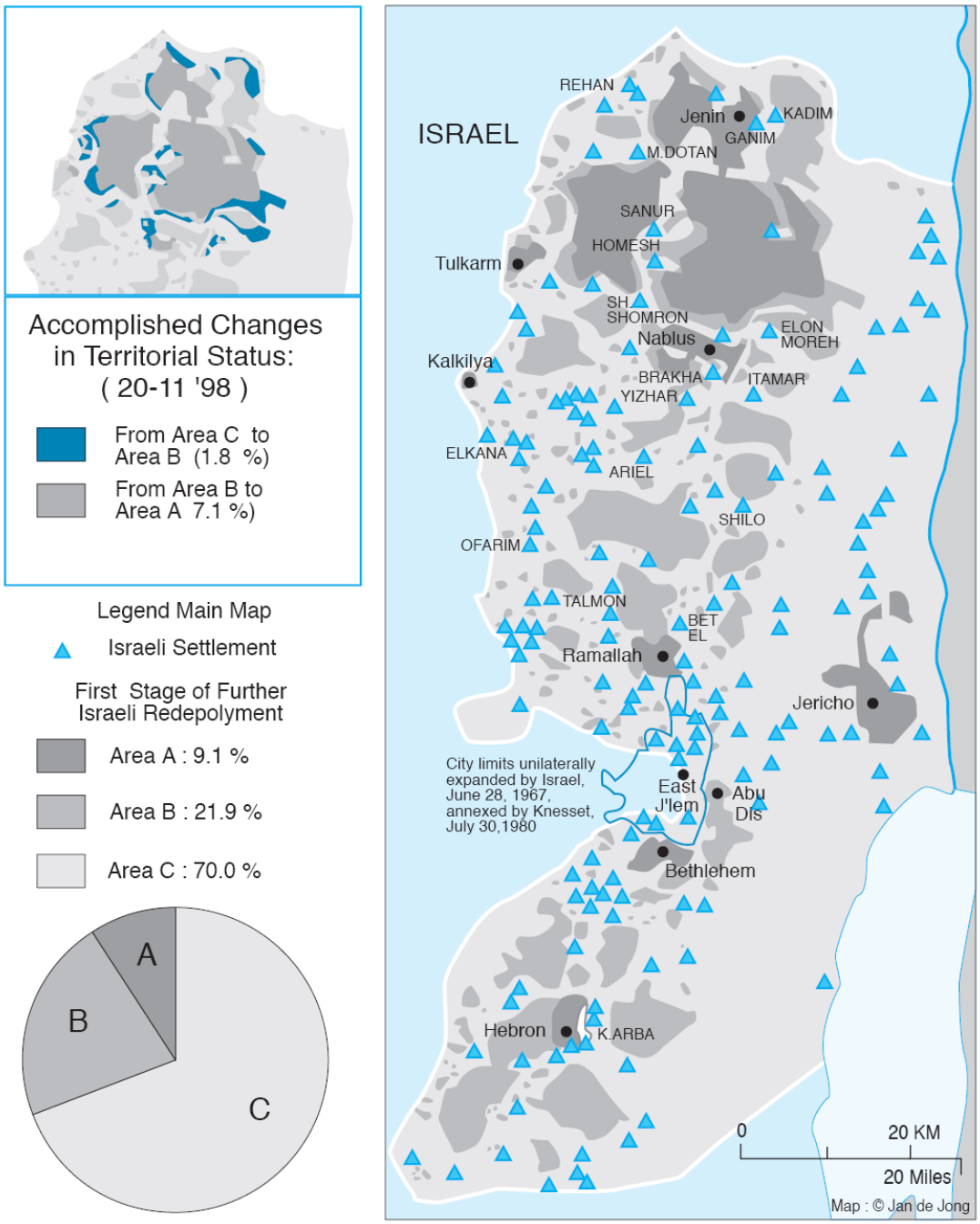
[87] "The Wye River Memorandum and Related Documents," (Source File), *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Winter, 1999), p.138.

[88]George Tansa Massoud, "Fair Division, Adjusted Winner Procedure (AW), and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 44, No. 3, (Jun., 2000), p.339.

[89] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Winter, 1999), p.128-129.

[90] Tamar and Newman, *op.cit.*,p. 142.

[91] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, (Spring, 1999), p.129.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.7. The West Bank After the First Stage of Israeli Redeployment According to the Wye Memorandum, November 1998

activities of the settlers, this plan was implemented. Israel's budget for 1999 included approximately 400 million USD in direct or indirect spending for settlement-related activities. Prime Minister Netanyahu's settlement record during his nearly three-year tenure was considerable. He presided over the growth of the settler population from 150,000 to nearly 180,000, an increase of 20 percent.[92]

By the end of Netenyahu's coalition, Wye River's understandings and goals remained unimplemented. Whereas the separation of West Bank territories into three areas led to a swift land grab in Area C, which constituted more than 60 percent of the total area, the aim to takeover lands was intended to strengthen Israeli presence and to create territorial continuity in advance of a gaining ground for final status negotiations. Many settlements were built and granted new lands for agricultural purposes according to the "cell division" plan that was envisaged, doubling the existing settlements. During 1996-1999, 170 sites were occupied by both temporary and permanent structures. [93]

4.4. The Failure of the Peace Process: Barak Period (1999-2001)

During the 1999 election campaign both the Likud and Labor parties focused on the settlement issue and assured the settlers for that no settlement evacuation would occur. Ehud Barak's victory against Netanyahu in May 1999 signified a change in Israel's policy, that a government would lead Israel into the new millennium with possible new agreements with Syria and the Palestinians. Netenyahu showed his unwillingness to the process as it was evidenced in the slowed actions of redeployments. Barak's guiding ideology was overriding attention on maximizing Israel's security both regionally and internationally by signing agreements; as a result it was thought that Israel would benefit from good relations with the international community.[94]

However, the post-Oslo period raised questions about the future of the agreed upon framework for the resolution of the conflict for final status negotiations. As the pressure mounted on both sides, passing the scheduled time for final status talks, the

[92] *ibid.*, p.132.

[93] Zertal and Eldar, *op.cit.*, p.162-163.

[94] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4, (Summer, 1999), p.135.

division of land remained at the heart of further accords. The settlement expansion was provided by both the growth of existing settlements and the creation of new ones. In addition to the transformation of the geography in an irreversible way by expanding by-pass roads, had played a key role in sabotaging Palestinian expectations. The election of Ehud Barak opened a new chapter in Israel's approach toward settlement expansion and implementation of the Oslo and Wye Accords reached by his predecessors. Barak differed from Rabin, whose confrontations with *Gush Emunim* and other settler groups created a permanent rivalry that resulted in his assassination. For Barak, many settlers were inclined toward conciliation except for a small radical minority settled in the hilltops. An overwhelming majority of people shared the political background of the Labor Party and with an extended corridor between large blocs according to the modified Allon Plan now seen as guideline for the basis for permanent status negotiations. Barak refrained from drawing borders in the beginning and again delayed discussing the settlements in favor of other issues. [95]

According to figures released by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics there was a major increase in settlement expansion during 1998; the 1998 figure of 3,900 construction starts marks a more than 100 percent increase above the 1997 figure of 1,630.[96] Barak inherited thousands of houses under construction: More than 10,000 housing units were ready for occupancy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip settlements, enough to increase the settler population in these areas by 40,000, or twenty percent. Many of the already completed units were expected to be occupied during the summer of 1999.[97]

Again, the legacy of settlements appeared to direct the pace of the process, but now in a very different environment: A totally new map comprised of a blurred Green Line with three different A, B, C Areas drawn and at the same time splitting Palestine into cantonal blocs.

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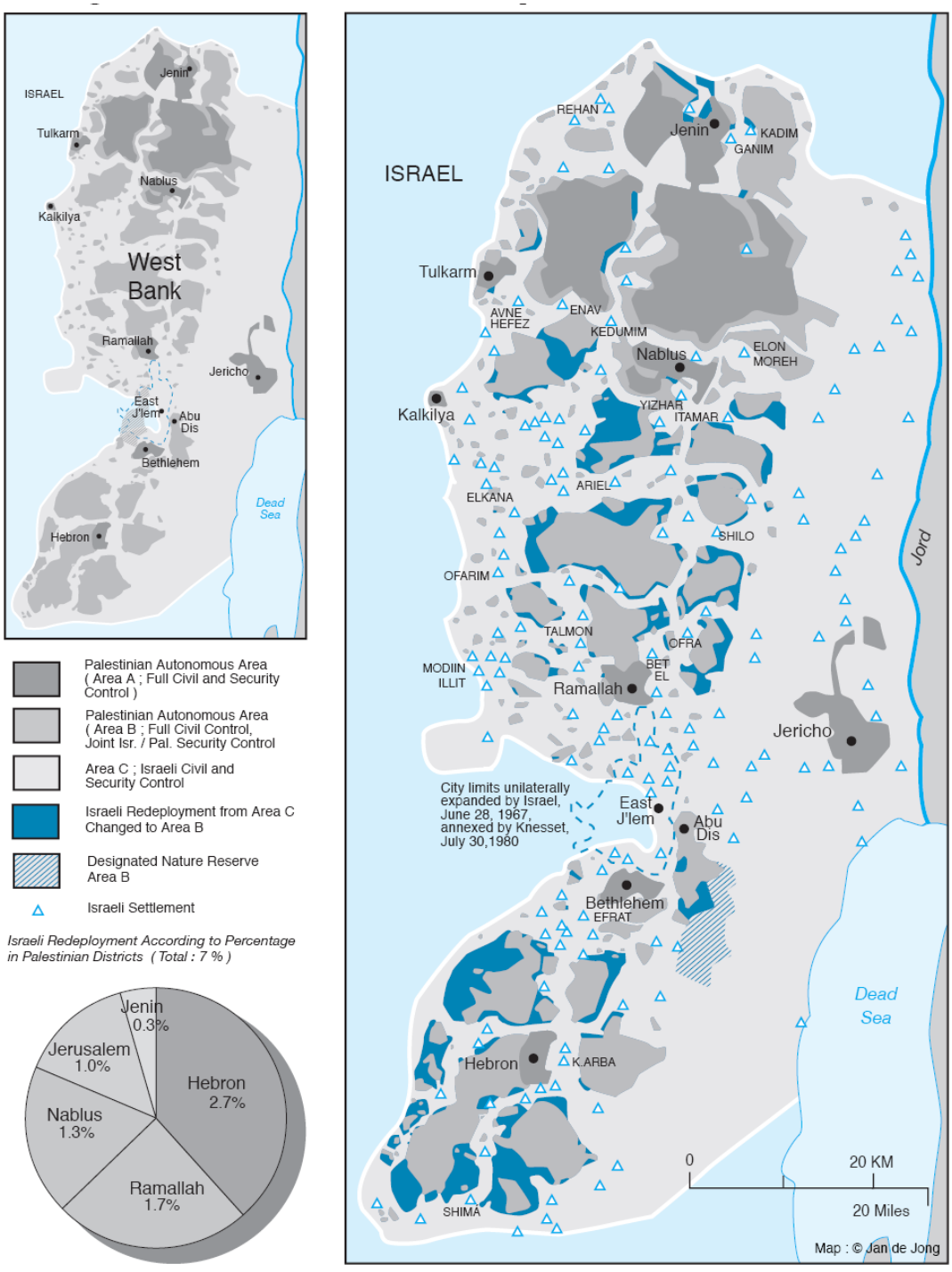
[95] *ibid.*, p.137-138.

[96] *ibid.*, p.143.

[97] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, (Autumn, 1999), p.123.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.8. The West Bank after the First Israeli Redeployment According to the Sharm al-Sheikh Memorandum - September 1999.

4.4.1. Sharm al-Shaykh Agreement of 1999

The Sharm al-Shaykh Agreement came in accordance with the timetable of the Oslo Peace Process. It was the first agreement after the Wye River Agreement and it was signed by Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat in Sharm al-Shaykh, Egypt in September 1999. It has numerous clauses relating to all outstanding issues between Israel and the PA. However, land and territory remained the focus of Israeli-Palestinian relations.

In Sharm al-Shaykh, it was agreed upon by the two sides that there would be a three-phased transfer of lands: on September 5, 1999 to relocate 7 percent from Area C to Area B and on November 15 1999 to transfer 2 percent Area B to Area A and 3 percent from Area C to Area B and lastly on January 20, 2000 to transfer 1 percent from Area A and 5.1 percent from Area B to Area A. As it was envisaged and practiced during the interim period, miniscule land transfers only constituted a trust-building measure. A more important point, however was the agreement article that: "Permanent Status negotiations will resume after the implementation of the first and second further Redeployments not later than September 13, 1999." [98]

The fundamental change in Israeli views toward the Palestinians during that period in the form of Palestinian self-determination was considered essential if Israel was to maintain its existing political institutions and Jewish majority. Even *YESHA Council*, consisting of the leaders of the settlements, began to acknowledge that Israeli rule over the entire West Bank was unrealistic. Yet their goal was to preserve Israel's long-standing security and settlement-related demands in the West Bank. Among these considerations, there were: a united Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty and rejection of any foreign army west of the Jordan River, with permanent arrangements for the West Bank settlers to remain under Israeli sovereignty. These principles had prepared Barak's vision and offer for permanent status negotiations.[99]

Yet, both parties were not satisfied with the interim status established by the Oslo agreements. Both the sentiments and preferences of Israeli and Palestinian policy makers could not realize a goal. Since the formation of the Barak government,

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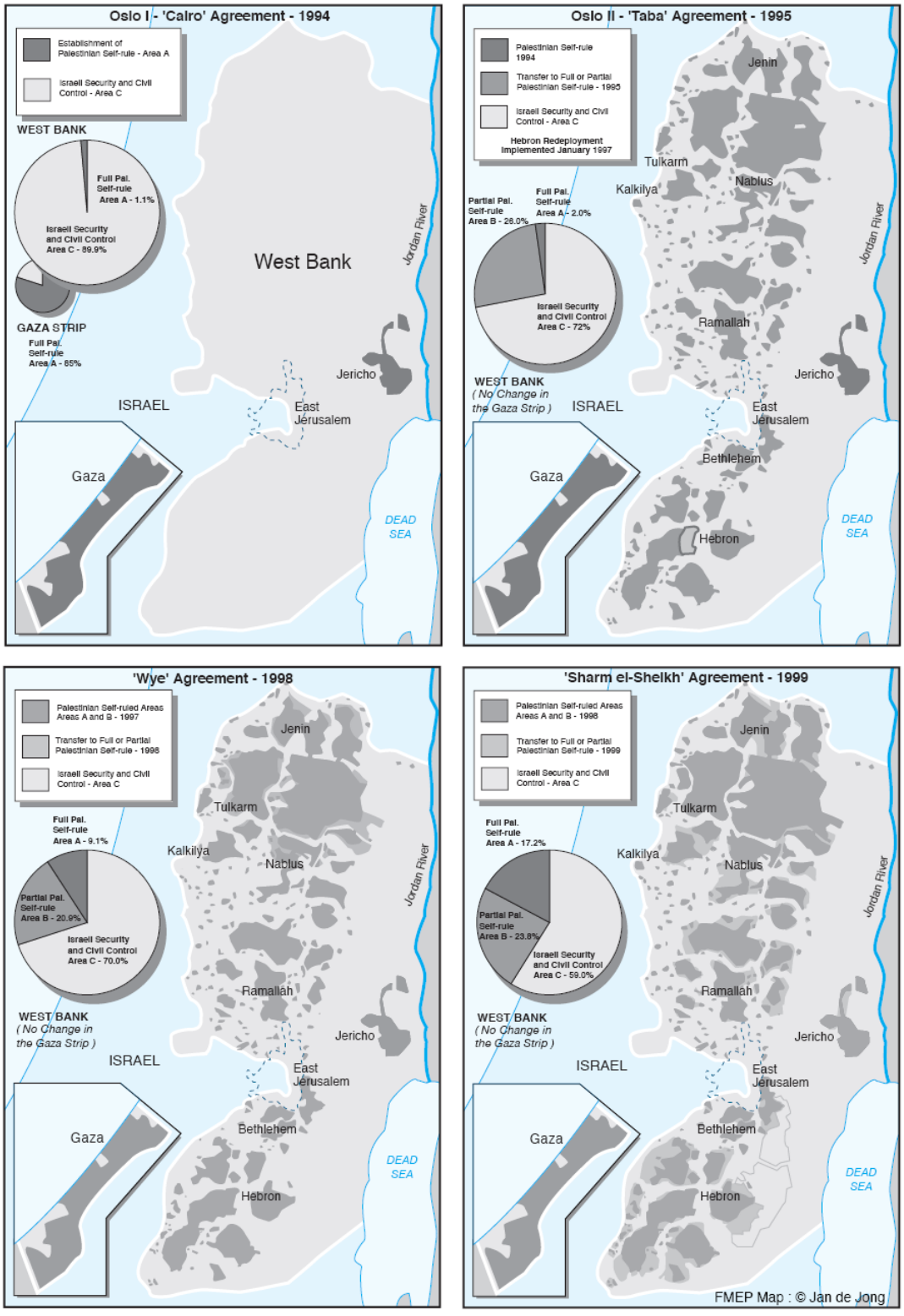
[98] The Sharm al-Shaykh Memorandum (Wye II) and Related Documents, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, (Winter, 2000), p.143.

[99] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4, (Autumn, 2000), p.139.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.9. Staged Israeli Transfers of West Bank Territory to Palestinian Self-Rule during the Interim Period, 1994 - 2000

the Palestinians emphasized the continuation of settlements and tried to shift US attention to the issue but, Barak himself bolstered efforts on expansion of settlements and put the growth of settlements first on their agenda.[100]

Since Oslo I, for the Labor and Likud administrations establishing settlements can not be considered of violating peace process. Until the permanent status talks, any warning was ignorable for the governments. As it was the Barak government used the term for freezing settlements in a distorted way. As emphasized by Chomsky, the Israeli politicians made use of freezing to increase settlement activities with economic incentives for the secular settlers, automatic donations for ultra religious settlers, and other privileges given to them after popular protests.[101]

4.4.2. Final Status Talks of Camp David

In March 2000, after the failure of the Syrian track in the peace talks, Barak accelerated the Palestinian negotiations instituting a deadline for an agreement, as Barak feared paying the price in an election for any Israeli concessions that were placed on the negotiation table without any concrete concessions from the Palestinian side. The Palestinians meanwhile started the process of building their state, began to lose their faith in the negotiation process as land transfers were routinely delayed while bearing witnesses to the cutting of their homeland into slices by Israeli by-pass roads and expansion of Jewish settlements.[102]

Indeed, at both Oslo and Camp David, Arafat went too far in accepting Israeli-created facts on the ground. By accepting at Oslo the postponement of the Jewish settlements in Gaza, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem, Arafat allowed Rabin, Peres, Netanyahu, and Barak to claim that the continued Israeli expansion did not violate the Oslo agreements.[103] Even while Barak was negotiating the final status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip at Camp David in July 2000, settlements were

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[100] Clayton E. Swisher, *The Truth About Camp David : The Untold Story About the Collapse of the Middle East Peace Process*, (New York: Nation Books, 2004), p.144-145.

[101] Noam Chomsky, *Middle East Illusions :Including Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2004), p.222.

[102] Robert Malley and Hussein Agha, "The Palestinian-Israeli Camp David Negotiations and Beyond," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, (Autumn, 2001), p.79.

[103] Jerome Slater, *op.cit*., p.188

continuing on the ground. From 1993 to 2000, the number of settlers in the West Bank increased by at least sixty five percent.[104]

Final Status negotiations were conceptually different from the framework resulting from the DOP. Unlike previous agreements which centered on creating an interim regime, regulating interaction between Israel and the PA, the Final Status talks aimed to a much broader extent at the permanent resolution for all outstanding issues. Israel, unlike the Palestinians, wanted acknowledgment of the special status of settlements and settlers established during the interim period as precedents for the final status. Barak, like his predecessors, strove for strategic depth provided by the settlements. He cast the perceived threat as a country (Israel) surrounded by Arab states with an asymmetry in geographic and demographic terms, mainly focusing on previous wars. While admitting an independent Palestinian presence, Barak also wanted Israel to retain the presence of most settlers and settlements, to guarantee Israeli sovereignty and territorial control.[105] Israel insisted on keeping large settlement blocs and on holding on to the Jordan Valley for twenty years. Nothing was formally agreed upon, but the Israeli negotiators felt that Palestinians understood the need for Israel to keep the large settlement blocs and for flexible security arrangements. According to Pappe, in these negotiations, the mainstream Zionist view was aimed to translate its views to realistic articles in the Oslo regulations or to make interpretations of the oblique notions of the agreements. Although Israel agreed that pre-1967 borders were a non-negotiable subject with the return of refugees, the Palestinian side could not agree to an absolute freeze of the settlements in return for those issues.[106]

In July 2000, during Camp David negotiations, Barak's widely known "generous offer" made to the Palestinians which included continued Israeli settlements, early warning stations, and military bases for a period of six-twelve years on the Jordan River Valley and nearby mountain tops was to be assessed later. His "offer" also proposed annexation of the Jerusalem metropolitan area, which had been expanded to include almost one-fifth of the entire West Bank. Also according to

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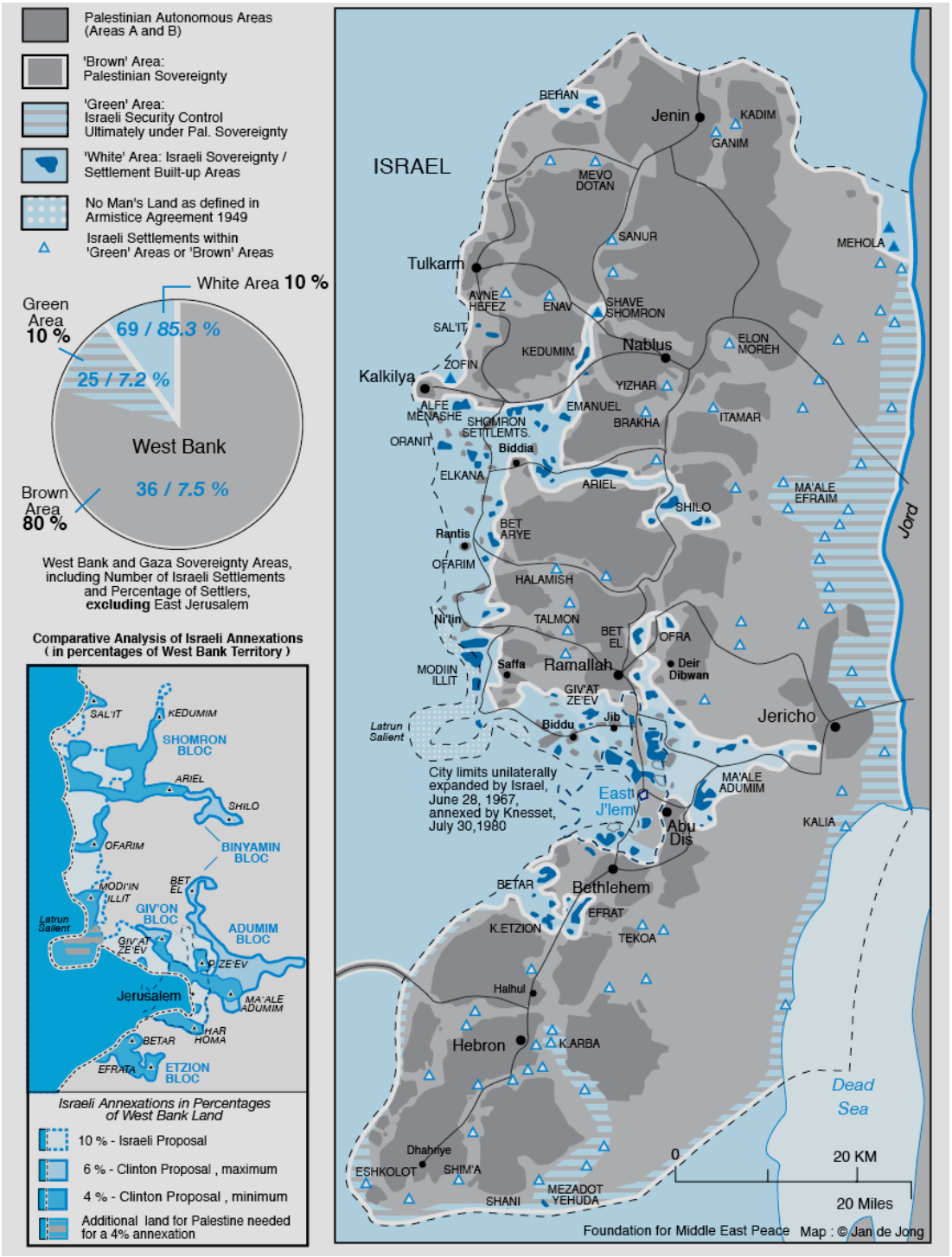
[104] Camile Mansour, "Israel's Colonial Impasse," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 30, No.4, (Summer, 2001), p.86.

[105] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3, (Spring, 2000), p. 131.

[106] Ilan Pappe, "Israel at a Crossroads Between Civic Democracy and Jewish Zealotocracy," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3, (Spring, 2000), p.35.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.10. Projection of the Final Status Map Presented by Israel - December 2000 (Based on a 10 % - West Bank Territorial Transfer to Israel)

this offer the new boundary would extend from Jericho of the post-Oslo settlements and blocs of settlements in the north of the West Bank, along the Green Line. This area was approximately ten times the area of Tel-Aviv and contained Palestinian villages whose population of some 120,000 was actually greater than the settlers' population. The land that Barak proposed to give to the Palestinian state in a territorial exchange was only about 10 percent of what Israel was taking from the Palestinians on an empty desert in south near Gaza. On the other hand, the land that would be annexed was fertile agricultural land; what is it contained most of the West Bank's underground water aquifers. This was the reason why the settlements had been put there in the first place.[107]

At the same time, the US President Clinton, active mediator on the negotiations, dropped all pressures and ignored expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, with other actions that undermined the hope that the Oslo process could bring a fair long term settlement.[108] He wanted both sides to reach an agreement anyway, before the end of his presidential term. Together with these developments on the diplomatic front, the unrest of the Palestinians was signaling early evidence of another popular rebellion. There had been reaction to both PA and Israel:

> The Palestinian Authority (PA) presides over a 'peace process' which, after seven years, has left them and the population they rule penned into disconnected fragments of the Occupied Territories, encircled by ever growing settlement […] More important is how the political leaderships who signed the agreements understood them, and whether, over time, various Israeli governments actually changed their meaning.[109]

Twelve years after the first *intifada*, settlements expanded into the Palestinian urban centers, and settlers dramatically increased, as did their attacks on Palestinian civilians in Area C. Both sides understood settlements to be cornerstone of Israel's ability to hold on to areas of the West Bank and Gaza beyond the Final Status Talks and to sustain its military presence in the region indefinitely.[110] After

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[107] Slater, *op.cit.,* p.182-185.

[108] *ibid*, p.198.

[109] Rema Hammami and Salim Tamari, "Anatomy of Another Rebellion," *Middle East Report*, No. 217, (Beyond Oslo: The New Uprising), (Winter, 2000), p.3.

[110] *ibid.,* p.9.

more than thirty six years of occupation, instead of returning to the normal civilian life post-Oslo map permanently changed the landscape with many new signs of military control, watchtowers, barbed wires, concrete barriers, twisting tracks, forced by-pass roads, flying checkpoints, etc.

Since the beginning of the Oslo process, there had never been any significant negotiation with the Palestinians on this critical settlement issue until the presentation of Barak's map. Barak mainly retained Netanyahu's map in that most of Israel's 150 West Bank settlements, with almost 200,000 settlers, would be annexed to Israel, some settlements and settlers would remain in Palestinian territory, opening new fronts of confrontation with undetermined status.[111] Barak's "take it or leave it" offer aimed to obtain a strong position in negotiations.

> The purpose of the presentation of Barak's map was twofold; first, to set the diplomatic agenda at the outset of serious discussions on a framework agreement for the final status and, second, to highlight rather than to specify Israel's territorial concerns.[112]

On the other hand, as underlined by Waxman, these offers also aimed to win the support of the electorate:

> According to Barak, by quickly attempting to reach a comprehensive final settlement with the Palestinians, he would either succeed in making peace or else, if he failed due to Palestinian intransigence, he would succeed in re-establishing the national consensus, as the hostile intentions of the Palestinian leadership would be exposed. For Barak, it appeared to be a 'win–win' scenario-if not peace, national unity; if not national unity, peace.[113]

How and why all of these expectations came to an end after the developments in the territories and political changes in Israel will be discussed in the next section.

4.4.3. Failure of the Camp David Talks: *Al-Aqsa Intifada* of 2000

In the course of the ongoing negotiations at Camp David, the settlers pressured the Barak government against making concessions and large evacuations

[111] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1, (Autumn, 2000), p.136.

[112] *ibid.*, p.137.

[113] Waxman, *op.cit.*, p.211.

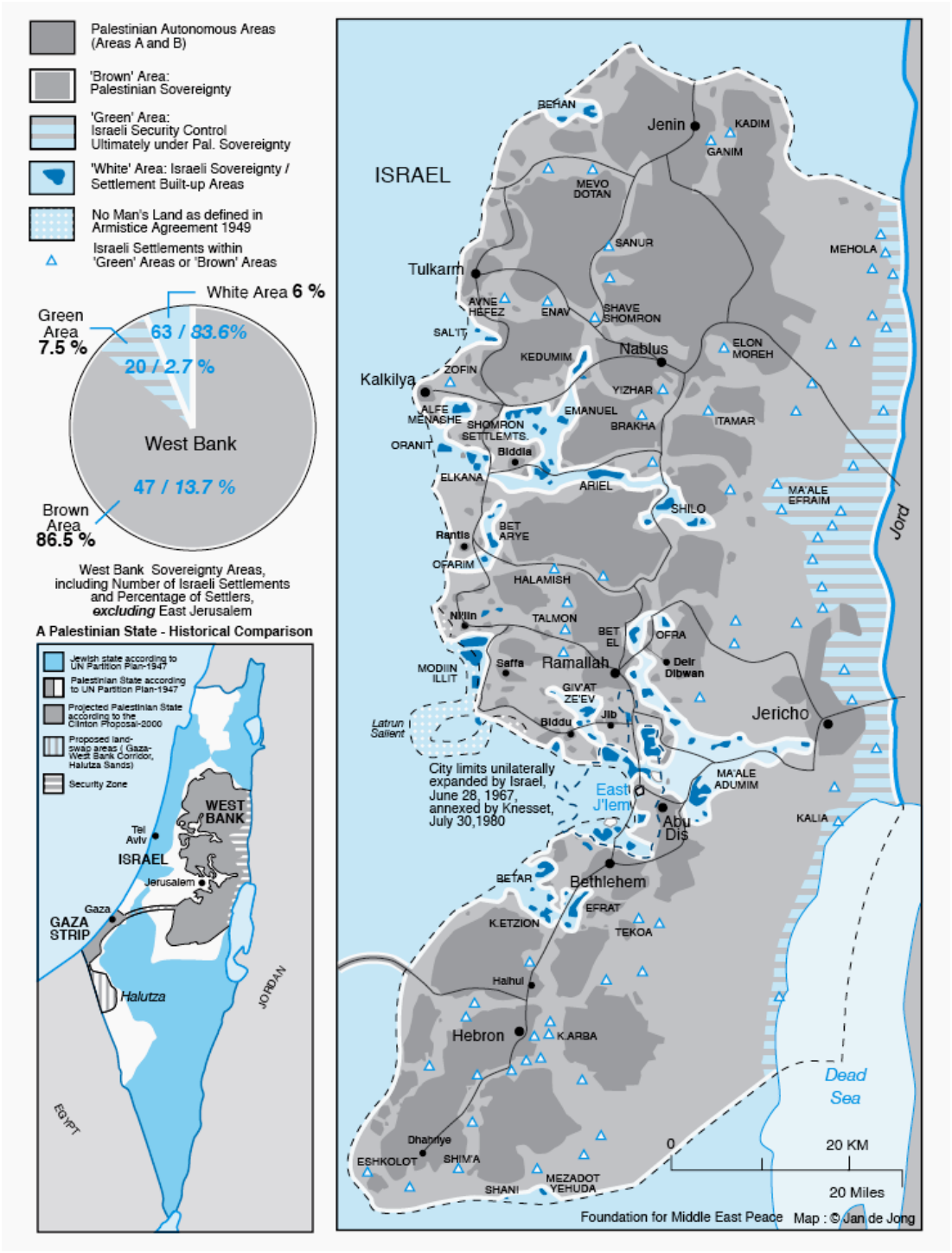
for the final status arrangements. Ironically, the settlements and the settlers were the agents that determined more than any other element the opinion of the state of Israel in the first official negotiations on permanent borders.[114]

As a result, the division of the areas into three categories, Israel had increased the burden of protecting settlements in Area C although there were redeployments in the city centers. Over the years, the hilltops in the various parts of the West Bank territories became important milestones in transforming illegal settlements into permanent legal ones, as demonstrated by the incident of the *Nahal* units hereby many settlements were built with IDF facilities. Strategic settlement expansion and bypass roads effectively divided the West Bank into north and south zones, and removed metropolitan Jerusalem from the Palestinian map.

The Jewish settlements caused extensive damage to the Palestinians right of national self-determination, including statehood and a central role in the halt of the process. Camp David's breakdown was result of two competing understandings: Israel expected continuation of Palestinian "flexibility" in return for more land area, while the PA felt it had lost too much in the transitional stage for much submission on the final status. The PA could not bear the calls from the ground that at the end of this dramatic pace it may lose its legitimacy in the Palestinian society. Palestinians were aware that there could not be self-determination based solely on recognition by the international community or trying to establish their national institutions, but there also was the need for uninterrupted unified lands especially, in the West Bank.

In this regard, this issue was important for the nature of the "inter-group" conflict. As this was valid for Israel it was much more vital for the Palestinians to meet their minimum demands on the land which was reconciled with 1967 Green Line from "Historic Palestine" which covers the entire area from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. As this minimalist view embodied in the PLO making it a negotiation partner for Israel, there had been factions mainly consisting of local young Palestinians of the *intifada* generation inside the PLO which initiated criticism against the veteran members. They voiced their criticism along with many Palestinians that veteran members, the representatives of Arafat who came from Tunisia with him, were far from conceiving the situation in the territories. The balance of power between the settlers and Palestinians had changed much since

[114] Zertal and Eldar, *op.cit.*, p.178.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.11. Projection of the Clinton Proposal - December 2000 (Based on a 6 % - West Bank Territorial Transfer to Israel)

1967. Therefore, the Tunisians were not sensitive enough the dreadful outcomes of the problem for the future and conceded their insistence on absolute arrangements since the very beginning.[115] These factions later gained priority in Palestinian politics in the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* as will be discussed in the following pages.

Since the beginning of the peace process, settlers continued their violent activities against the native population. In the same context, settler groups tried to increase their positions in politics as well as on the ground. As referred to in the previous chapter, instead of respecting the laws, the decisions protected and tolerated settlers' often illegal activities in the fragile environment. The High Court decisions especially helped them to continue their activities. As underlined by Zertal and Eldar: "In so doing the court helped to turn the entire territory into a legal twilight zone in which everything is permitted and where the demarcation line between enforcers of security and law and violators of security and law was irreparably blurred."[116]

In this regard, the developments in the Israeli election campaign of February 2001, the Likud Party would deeply affect the process. Netenyahu was not defeated in the Knesset elections of 1999, but also he lost his leadership in the party to Ariel Sharon. As the leader of Likud party, Sharon made a provocative visit to *Al-Aqsa Mosque* which was regarded as the third holiest mosque of Islam as well as a national symbol of Palestinians in September 2000. His provocative visit not only achieved the instigation of a wide rebellion, *Al-Aqsa Intifada*, in the territories but also provided an important opportunity in his election for Prime Minister for implementation of unilateral plans, which will be discussed later.

Negotiations established a range of Israeli withdrawals from between eighty to ninety six percent of the West Bank, including security zones. Sharon, who appeared to be headed for victory over Prime Minister Ehud Barak in the elections scheduled for February intended to oppose the offers. *Al-Aqsa Intifada* that began in September 2000 shattered Israeli assumptions about the viability of settlements located outside areas to be annexed by Israel. Nevertheless, the status of these areas and their inhabitants has yet to be addressed in any detail by negotiators.[117]

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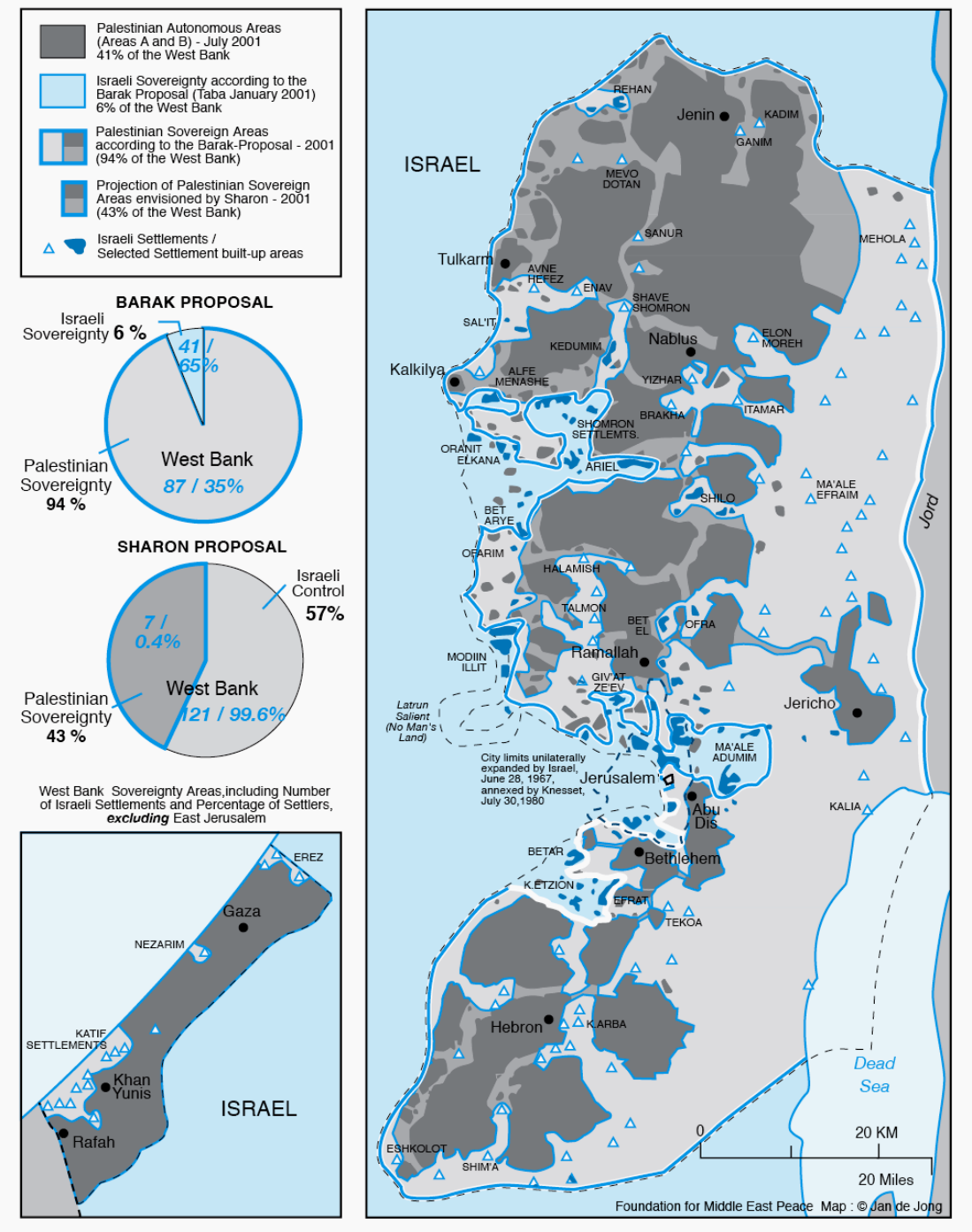
[115] *ibid.,* p. 140.

[116] *ibid.,* p.355.

[117] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Spring, 2001), p.141.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.12. Palestinian Sovereign Areas According to the Barak / Sharon Proposals - 2001

Both versions of maps, one presented by Israel at discussions in Washington in December 2000 and the other presented by the US President Bill Clinton had met three strategic objectives on advancement of Israel: more than eighty percent of settlers would live on lands to be annexed to Israel, security zones controlled by Israel was entitled to be Israel's east borders and territorial continuity of both the annexed and the security areas with Israel would be established.[118] In this context, the Palestinian side rejected the use of "settlement blocs" as a guiding principle in both proposals. This position subordinated Palestinian interests in the framework of viability of their state and control over their natural resources. Until then, Israeli interests related with "proximity of settlements," were recognized as illegal by the international community.

The map created by the post-Oslo period and shaped in Camp David Talks almost coincided with Sharon's long-term cantonization plan, which envisaged noncontiguous Palestinian cantons in the West Bank surrounded by Israeli settlements and roads. The idea of building a separation or security barrier came to the agenda during Barak administration after breakdown of the Camp David Talks with the rising suicide bombing attacks. Although it was opposed by Sharon himself due to its *de facto* meaning for permanent borders it would be implemented during his administration unilaterally.

Usher argues that the relative progress achieved at the Taba Talks on many issues including settlements to some extent compared to the Camp David, during the strained atmosphere of the rebellion. Yet, Barak viewed Taba as compensation to win back the electorate that was lost due to the new *intifada*; however the peace camp was broken because of rising violence and the Palestinian minority in Israel was against for him for the death of thirteen Arab citizens caused by Israeli police fire during the Palestinian uprising of October 2000.[119] The resumed negotiations were overshadowed by both violence and the election of the Likud Party in the leadership of Sharon which again frustrated the expectations for a viable peace.

[118] *ibid.*, p.145.

[119] Graham Usher, "Facing Defeat: The Intifada Two Years," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Winter, 2003), p.26.

4.5. Fragmented West Bank Territory: Sharon Period (2001-2005)

Ariel Sharon was elected as Prime Minister in February 2001. As a continuation of previous peace efforts, the Mitchell Commission was created at the October 2000 Sharm al-Shaykh conference, which was a continuation of the Camp David Talks aimed to investigate the outbreak of *Al-Aqsa Intifada*. This commission issued a report which called for a certain freeze in settlement including natural growth and suggested for Israel to consider the evacuation of some settlements for security reasons.[120] The failure of the final status talks that resulted in the defeat of Barak at the hands of Ariel Sharon, and the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* had created a vacuum in the diplomatic framework in that the calls for a settlement freeze became worthless. From the beginning of the Sharon administration, Israel's effort transformed the landscapes and, of course, the settlements for ideological and military strategy.[121]

The military operations aimed to provide security for settlers, especially since the Palestinian factions targeted settlements particularly. As given by Aronson, Marwan Barghouti the leader of *Tanzim* (an important faction inside the PLO given the name of Young-Guards) explained that Palestinians achieved success in making the lives of the settlers difficult and branded the settlements as "military bunkers" rather than "homes". He explained the aim of the new *intifada* to be that of removing the settlers, as long as they continued to occupy Palestinian territories they would not have a sense of security until full disengagement.[122]

In this term, three main developments shaped the settlement issue: first, the collapse of the interim regulations after the military operations; second the Gaza evacuation plan formed in the second term of Sharon; and lastly, related with the previous issue, construction of a barrier around the West Bank. All of these points discussed in turn. The Oslo map of the West Bank no longer existed at the end of Sharon administration. Areas A and B, where the PA once nominally ruled, were removed under the control of IDF without Palestinian interference.

The distinction between Areas A, B and C collapsed in the West Bank after "Operation Defensive Shield" attacks in 2002. This resulted in the Palestinians'

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[120] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 30, No. 4 (Summer, 2001), p.131.

[121]Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 31, No. 1 (Autumn, 2001), p.126-127.

[122] *ibid.,* p.128.

abandonment of their all hope about the end of Israel's domination on the territories. Also *Al-Aqsa Intifada* became the driving force in the settlement issue after the failure of the peace process. Some of the former concepts recalled "The Iron Wall" doctrine but this time, not all Arabs to Palestinians only, emerged in the discussions of the construction of a "security" or "separation" barrier. In a possible containment of the West Bank, citizens of the settlement movement feared possible evacuations and this led to a confrontation between settlers and the government. This dilemma will be discussed in the following section.

Meanwhile, after the Camp David Process "The Quartet" emerged with members of the EU, the UN, Russia and the US a new "Road Map" aimed at filling the diplomatic vacuum after the policies of Sharon government. The framework of the Quartet Declaration based on the foresights of Mitchell Report, called on Israel to immediately dismantle settlement outposts erected since March 2001, including natural growth of settlements and again scheduled a calendar for an independent Palestinian state:

> Convened by Quartet, in consultation with the parties, at the beginning of 2004 reached an agreement on an independent Palestinian state with provisional borders and formally to launch a process with the active, sustained, and operational support of the Quartet, leading to a final, permanent status resolution in 2005, including on borders, Jerusalem, refugees, settlements […][123]

However, the continuation of mutual rejection could not solve the diplomatic paralysis. Again as seen in the previous efforts, The Quartet missed an opportunity to address the settlements at the center of the issue, once more subordinating it to secondary matters. Now more than opening living or breathing spaces for the urban cities, the settlements turned to military considerations. Hilltop outposts based on military needs proliferated during Sharon's endorsement. There were almost 200 settlements where nearly 400,000 Israelis residing. Quartet repeated the necessity to a complete freeze. From then on the *freeze* term remained a poor and unworkable equivalent for settlement evacuation, which was a key requirement of any workable solution.[124]

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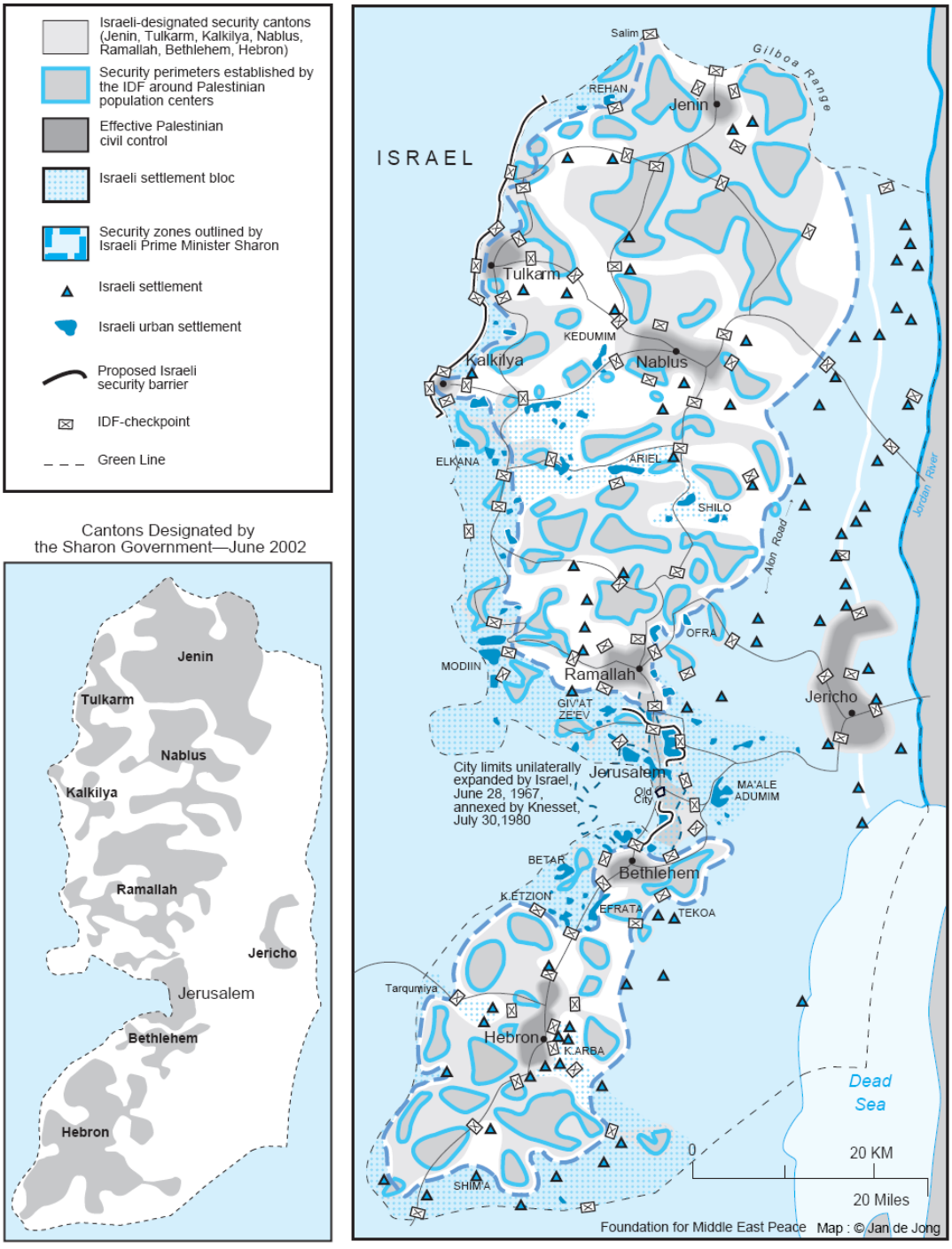
[123] "The Road Map" (Source File), *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 4, (Summer, 2003), p.94.

[124] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Winter, 2003), p.142-143.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.13. The West Bank After Oslo: Control and Separation— June 2002

The Palestinian Authority approved the Road Map, But Israel, in its response to the proposal's provisions on settlements, rejected the call for settlement freeze, referring to the traditional *"natural growth"* and also opposed any removal of the new settlement "outposts" established since March 2001, prioritizing the basic guidelines of the government that gave precedence to the policy of settlement expansion. While a Palestinian failure in terms of the Road Map resulted in a continuation of occupation, the Road Map did not specify any penalty to be suffered by Israel for a lack of evacuation and freeze in settlements. At the end of the term, both an independent state vision and settlement evacuation except for Gaza and partially the northern West Bank could not be realized.

4.5.1. Collapse of Interim Regulations and Rising Violence

Instead of using both diplomacy and military action, as had been Barak's approach, Israel under Sharon preferred to combat the rebellion solely by force. In 2002, this approach resulted in two major Israeli campaigns in the West Bank to defeat Palestinian militants. In March 2002, after the death of thirty Israelis in a suicide bombing attack in Netanya, Israel launched "Operation Defensive Shield" which lasted until early May 2002. After June 2002 a second IDF attack, "Operation Determined Path" Israel occupied the areas given to the PA authorization during the Oslo and consequent agreements in both Area A and Area B. In the former one Palestinians were exercising full control over civil affairs and local security.[125]

In here, it is noteworthy to discuss this changing ground. Since the 1990s for Israeli society, two contending approaches of "Land for Peace" and "Greater Israel" came to end after the violent acts of the *Al-Aqsa Intifada*. The majority of the Israeli public rejected the both understanding for their failure to produce a solution for security and demographic threat by supporting Sharon. Waxman underlines this process very meaningfully:

> "The peace it promised them in return for withdrawing from the territories was a fantasy, many believed. The Palestinians would never allow them to live in peace, or at least not in the foreseeable future. Hence, the future Israel—normal, secular, liberal, and Western-oriented—optimistically envisioned by advocates of 'Land for Peace' seemed, at best, to be a distant

[125] Jeremy Pressman, "Israeli Unilateralism and Israeli-Palestinian Relations 2001–2006," *International Studies Perspectives*, No:7, (2006), p.362.

> prospect. Peace and 'normality', therefore, were off the public agenda in Israel. Just as the Left's vision of 'Land for Peace' appeared unrealistic to most Israelis, so too did the Right's vision of a 'Greater Israel' stretching from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River, and including Judea and Samaria.[…] Whatever the appeal of 'Greater Israel', it could not match the desperate need of Israelis for security. For Israelis, security came first, and if 'Greater Israel' threatened this, as Israelis increasingly believed, then it must be abandoned. While relentless Palestinian terrorism undoubtedly eroded Israeli support for the vision of 'Greater Israel', it was the demographic time bomb, not human bombs, which did the most to persuade Israelis that occupying the territories was untenable. According to well-publicized demographic predictions, by 2010 there would be more Palestinians than Jews in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza combined [due to the much higher Palestinian birth rate].This demographic trend seriously called into question Israel's ability to remain a Jewish and democratic state. With a majority of non-Jews under its control, Israel could be Jewish or democratic, but not both"[126]

In the bankruptcy of these two rhetorics, the Jewish majority turned to optimize their personal security in a Jewish and democratic state in addition to absence of a Palestinian partner. In this regard, the "unilateral separation" option provided a meaningful answer to the problem by withdrawing some of the territories and constructing a separation barrier.[127] Under these circumstances, military options facilitated through the serial suicide bombings to provide the security of Israeli citizens. In the largest call-up of Israeli reservists since 1967, all of the major West Bank towns except Hebron and Jericho, as well as many towns and villages, were invaded. The fierce attitude of the invasion was to deeply destroy the premature structure of the PA. Three main towns, Ramallah, Nablus and Jenin, experienced huge devastation. In Nablus and Jenin the IDF targeted the militants in the refugee camps. In Ramallah, the main target was openly the agencies of the PA.[128] To some extent, Sharon failed to remove Arafat through operations but he had erased the last remnants of the *"sacredness"* of Area A, the areas fully transferred to PA control by the Oslo process. Through this new phenomenon, Palestinian communities became "the settlements" in the Israeli West Bank. After that collapse the situation twisted to that of an enforcement of *cantonization.* Many roads that Palestinians had used were blocked and centers squeezed as a result of road blocks and check points.[129]

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[126] Waxman, "From Controversy to Consensus," p.85.

[127] *ibid.*, p.86.

[128] Rema Hammami, "Interregnum: Palestine after Operation Defensive Shield," *Middle East Report*, No. 223, (Summer, 2002), p.19.

[129] *ibid.*, p.22.

Prolonged curfews on the population in the cities and main centers prompted another collapse. As a result, town sieges turned into a virtual "house arrest" for nearly 750,000 Palestinians turning economic depression into economic paralysis.[130] After rising violence acts, Israel initiated an implementation of a permanent separation policy by preventing the entry of tens of thousands of Palestinian workers instead of temporary arrangements. With the changing characteristics of the post-industry period, the Israeli economy became less dependent on the Palestinian workers when compared to the labor-intensive period of the first *intifada*. Now the period of *Al-Aqsa Intifada* Israel replaced the Palestinian labor with foreign ones to strengthen its separation understanding.[131]

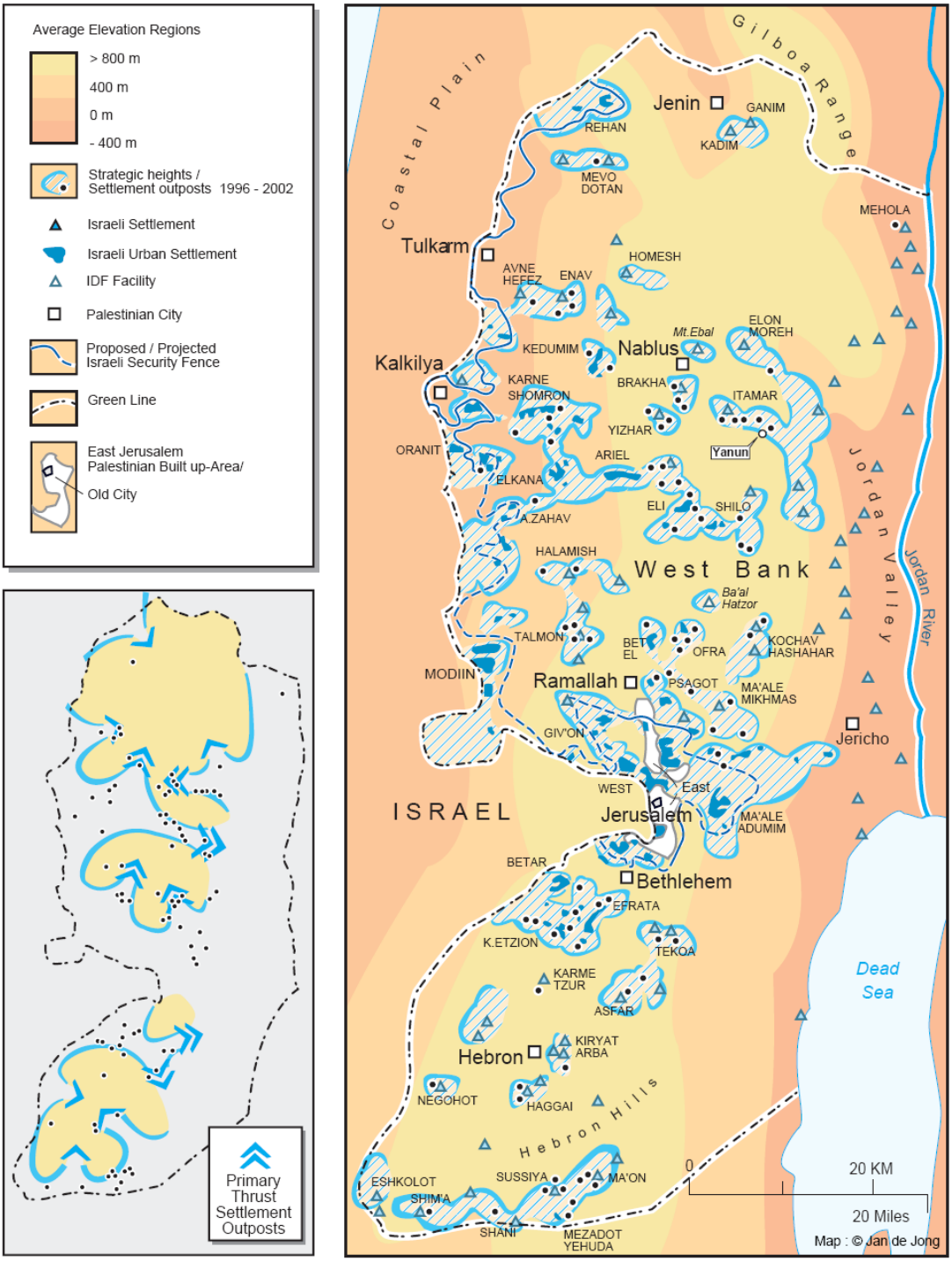
Under these developments, it can be argued that as an unsuccessful decolonization effort, the peace process failed. From this moment onwards, with the policies of Sharon the tendency went from a colonialist perspective to that of separation. This became evident after the second i*ntifada* period with the suspension of law in the territories. Instead of a situation in which Israel tried to legalize *fait accompli* policies under interim arrangements with a Palestinian partner or utilizing its own legislation to preserve Israeli presence in the territories, Israel annulled all of the arrangements of the peace process through military operations. This situation points to both a unilateralist policy and an indispensable need for the future of the Jewish state although there are some contradictions described by Gordon:

> The cruel irony is that, even though the separation principle presents itself as separating Palestinians and Israelis, the primary contradiction (ie the attempt to separate the Palestinians from their land) has, with slight alterations, remained intact. Israel has not withdrawn its power from the Occupied Territories, but rather continues to control Palestinian space, both through forms of violence applied by remote control (surveillance aircraft, fighter jets, missiles, etc) and through the hermetic ghetto, as well as through economic sanctions.[132]

[130] Salem Ajluni, "The Palestinian Economy and the Second Intifada," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3, (Spring, 2003), p.66.

[131] Yuval Elizur, "Israel Banks on Fence," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, Issue 2, (Mar/Apr2003), p.4.

[132] Gordon, *op.cit.,* p.40.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.14. "Capturing the Hilltops" Israeli Settlement Outposts 1996 - 2002

4.5.2. Gaza Disengagement - Separation Plan in the West Bank

In Fall 2003, Sharon invited the Labor Party to join his government and after that declared his disengagement plan from Gaza and his separation provision for the West Bank. In response to this development, the extreme right parties left the government. As a reminder of the anti-Oslo campaigns, ironically, many settlers protested, marched in the streets, and boycotted now one of the founding fathers of settlements: Ariel Sharon.[133]

In his statement Sharon declared that there would be no Israeli settlement in the Gaza Strip. He emphasized that some areas would remain part of the State of Israel, Judea and Samaria, with military zones except the settlements of northern Samaria *Ganim, Qadim, Homesh, and Sanur*.[134] He declared:

> Disengagement will allow us to build the security fence on a route that will encompass a maximum number of Israeli settlements, shortening the defensive lines of the country, reducing the ability of the terror gangs to hit inside Israel, and help the IDF and security forces to foil attacks. That's the immediate security gain from moving those settlements, which do not contribute anything to Israeli security.[135]

Like his predecessors, Sharon accepted the fact that sometimes it was necessary to make "concessions" in order to consolidate Israel's presence in the territories. As mentioned above, at the Camp David Agreements, Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai and all of its settlements had provided Israel a considerable diplomatic success. Sharon's pragmatism to secure Israel's hold on the occupied territories required the evacuation of Gaza settlements, aimed to establish the minimal option for the creation of a Palestinian state.[136] According to Aronson, although this plan was perceived by Sharon as a "mortal blow" to Palestinian aspirations for a viable state, Palestinians differed from this thought believing in their success in the rebellion. According to them by the description of *Tanzim* leader Marwan Barghouti, this evacuation is "the most important achievement of the Palestinians in the *intifada*

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[133] Rafael Reuveny, "The Last Colonialist: Israel in the Occupied Territories since 1967," *The Independent Review,* Vol XII, No:3, (Winter 2008), p.349.

[134] The Sharon Unilateral Disengagement Plan, (Source File), *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 4, (Summer, 2004), p.92.

[135] *ibid.*,p.99.

[136] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3, Special Issue in Honor of Edward W. Said, (Spring, 2004), p.151.

after ten years of Oslo did not move a single mobile home and during those years the settlements [population] doubled."[137]

On the other hand, Israel would continue its control over land and sea borders and preventing any seaports and airports more restrictive than the Oslo period. Also Israel maintained the right to reoccupy in case of rising violence. This new understanding also affected the US policy towards the West Bank settlements that viewed all settlement activity as illegal.[138]

Ariel Sharon declared by the end of 2005 that not one Jew would remain in the Gaza Strip in his decision to evacuate all 7,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip and a symbolic evacuation of nearly 1,000 settlers from four settlements in the northern West Bank. In order to fulfill this plan about one billion USD was allocated: 1,500 settler families to be evacuated from Gaza would receive compensation averaging 330,000 USD per family and 550 million USD in all. Military costs related to the evacuation were estimated at 450 million USD.[139] The Bush administration of the US had a contradiction on one side abiding by the Roadmap's principles, mainly envisaging bilateral negotiations, and on the other side supporting Israel's unilateral disengagement from Gaza.[140] As it will be discussed in the next, Israel's construction of the West Bank barrier and its disengagement from Gaza were both unilateral, which undermined the consent of the Palestinian side.

The plan for disengagement from Gaza meant a complete control of the Gaza-Egypt border, reminder that Sharon's Gaza plan had similarities with Ehud Barak's more recent retreat from South Lebanon rather than mutual agreements. However, Sharon confronted by critics of retreat, preferred an alternative in which Israel's interests could be maximized by withdrawal rather than by occupation; but this was not applicable to the settlements in the West Bank. Sharon intended to leave these areas for the inefficient exercise of Palestinian Authority. Thus, only redeployment

[137]Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 4 (Summer, 2004), p.167.

[138] *ibid.,* p.168.

[139] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 34, No. 1 (Autumn, 2004), p.143.

[140] Pressman, *op.cit.,* p.373-375.

would occur according to the separation barrier map. Most important of all, Israel viewed the costs of ongoing presence in the West Bank as manageable for a while.[141]

As a result of the disengagement, it can be concluded that "facts on the ground" were not permanent and the Israeli majority supported the evacuation of the Gaza settlements. This brought about a shift in the traditional belief of the security enhancement based on the settlements. During the time of rise of *Gush Emunim*, the settler lobby decreased in lobby making and that evacuation raised questions for possible withdrawals for the other settlements in the territories.[142] With disengagement, it was proven that the politicians' much feared settler lobby lacked popular support and had no room for determining decisions. But on the other hand, there was a perception that Ariel Sharon achieved with his plans- which also means a diplomatic maneuver- that the conflict stemmed from Palestinian terrorism and inconsistent rejection in the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* period concealing the destructive and provocative effects of the occupation that aroused *intifadas.*

As a repercussion on the organizational side, a faction under the leadership of Netenyahu strictly objected to the disengagement plans. Sharon left the Likud party and took many members with him to form a new party, the "Kadima Party" in November 2005. Although it was a right wing party main reason of its birth was the opposition to the Gaza retreat inside the Likud Party. The Kadima Party differed from the traditional belief of the sacredness of the whole Israeli land and implemented pragmatic actions such as leaving some of the occupied territories. But it sustained the unilateral characteristics of the Israeli policy.[143] Many Israelis expected that withdrawal from these territories was associated with bloodshed and violations due to the nature of the religious ideology that equated withdrawal with murder or apostasy. However, when withdrawal took place, these predictions of violence did not come true. The withdrawal took only seven days; nearly eight thousand people were removed. There was passive resistance to the Israeli security forces more than physical confrontation.[144] The term *"normative balance"* that

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[141] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 35, No. 1 (Autumn, 2005), p.163.

[142] *ibid.,* p.168.

[143] Pressman *op.cit,* p.369.

[144]David Weisburd, and Hagit Lernau, "What Prevented Violence in Jewish Settlements in the Withdrawal from the Gaza Strip: Toward a Perspective of Normative Balance" *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution* Vol. 22, No:1, (2006), p.40.

provided a peaceful withdrawal from Gaza was less applicable to the West Bank in terms of widespread population allover the territory that raised the confrontational side of the settlers.[145]

In sum, the consequences of the unilateral disengagement resulted in a siege of Gaza in the land by the "Philadelphia Corridor" which is the narrow piece of land along Gaza's Egyptian border, and a complete containment from the sea side. The lack of a third party mandate such as UN forces and the absence of a *quasi-state* functionary of the PA after the military campaigns that targeted it directly, made the political status and future of the territory ambiguous even after a complete withdrawal.

4.5.3. Supplementary Efforts for Separation and Fortifying Settlements

Most of the barrier construction plan declared in March 2003 in accordance with Gaza disengagement, consisted of nearly 490 km of fence planned to be installed over a two-year period, consolidating Israeli control over the West Bank. The wall would deprive Palestinians access to water, roads, and their agricultural land and allocate arable land to Israeli settlements. The Gaza disengagement helped Israel to deepen the occupation in the West Bank on large settlement blocs. While giving up some of the isolated settlements in the West Bank, Israel strengthened the control of large settlement blocs such as *Ariel, Maale Adumim* and the *Etzion Bloc.*

Since the implementation of the Oslo regulations by-pass roads abruptly changed the nature of the infrastructure of the West Bank including many check points. After the outbreak of the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* this system was fortified with barbed wire fences, trenches, earth mounds, and concrete barriers around villages and towns, cutting main arteries in the West Bank.[146] The building of the fence strengthened the transformation of the West Bank into an Israeli landscape irreversibly. As underlined by Lagerquist: "Yet beyond physical displacement, the fence also effects a different kind of transfer; the visual and spatial erasure of the occupied population in an un-variegated colonial dreamscape."[147]

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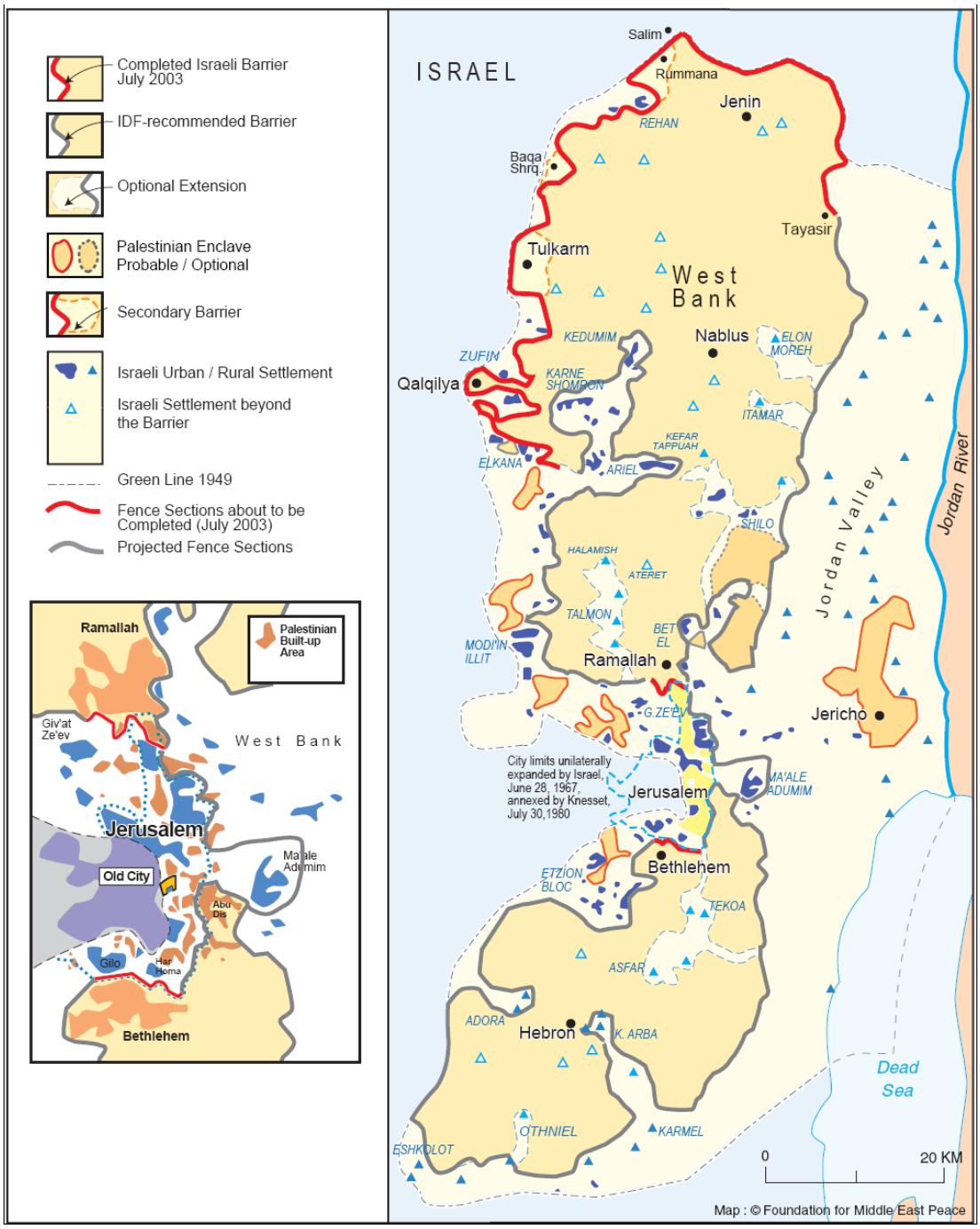
[145] *ibid.,* p.79.

[146]Peter Lagerquist, "Fencing the Last Sky: Excavating Palestine after Israel's Separation Wall," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 2, (Winter, 2004), p.7.

[147] *ibid.,* p.21.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.15. Israeli Separation Options for the West Bank-July 2003.

A unilateralist approach for defining future borders by the building of the wall in the West Bank had some modifications after the Israeli Higher Court decisions for some routes of the wall. The government made some changes and these reduced nearly fifteen percent of West Bank territory from falling to the western side of the barrier. Yet, nearly ten percent of the territory would *de facto* annexed by the Israeli settlements in the end.[1]

Since the implementation of closure arrangements day by day the Palestinians' ability to struggle with closure policy paralyzed. Israel extended its sovereignty from the river to the sea by infrastructure, laws, taxation on electricity grids, water and telephone networks, also carefully planned by-pass roads. In disconnected enclaves people began to live in a different space deprived of fundamental needs for individuals or community. As put forward by Hass, Palestinian leadership failed or underestimated the challenge of separation policy due to the personal advantages for which the Oslo regulations provided. The lack of planned strategy of civil disobedience focused on the closure might have drawn the attention to that policy and may have changed its direction during the negotiations but time ran out for this issue.[2] As she underlines:

> Closure, far from helping to crush the defiance, is now adding fuel to the fire of the frustration and wrath. Palestinians increasingly are resorting to individual acts of killing and suicide attacks, backed by the great majority of an embittered, caged population.[3]

On the other hand, as put forward by Usher, "the consecration of the wall – and the failure of the negotiated solution it signified – marked a posthumous victory for the 'iron wall' revisionism of Zeev Jabotinsky."[4]

In terms of demographic struggle it was predicted parity with the two populations by 2012, and in 2025, Palestinians will be the majority. For a state based on supremacy of Jewish majority, this means a real existential threat. It had brought a radical response by Sharon to block the possible demographic flow of Palestinians.[5]

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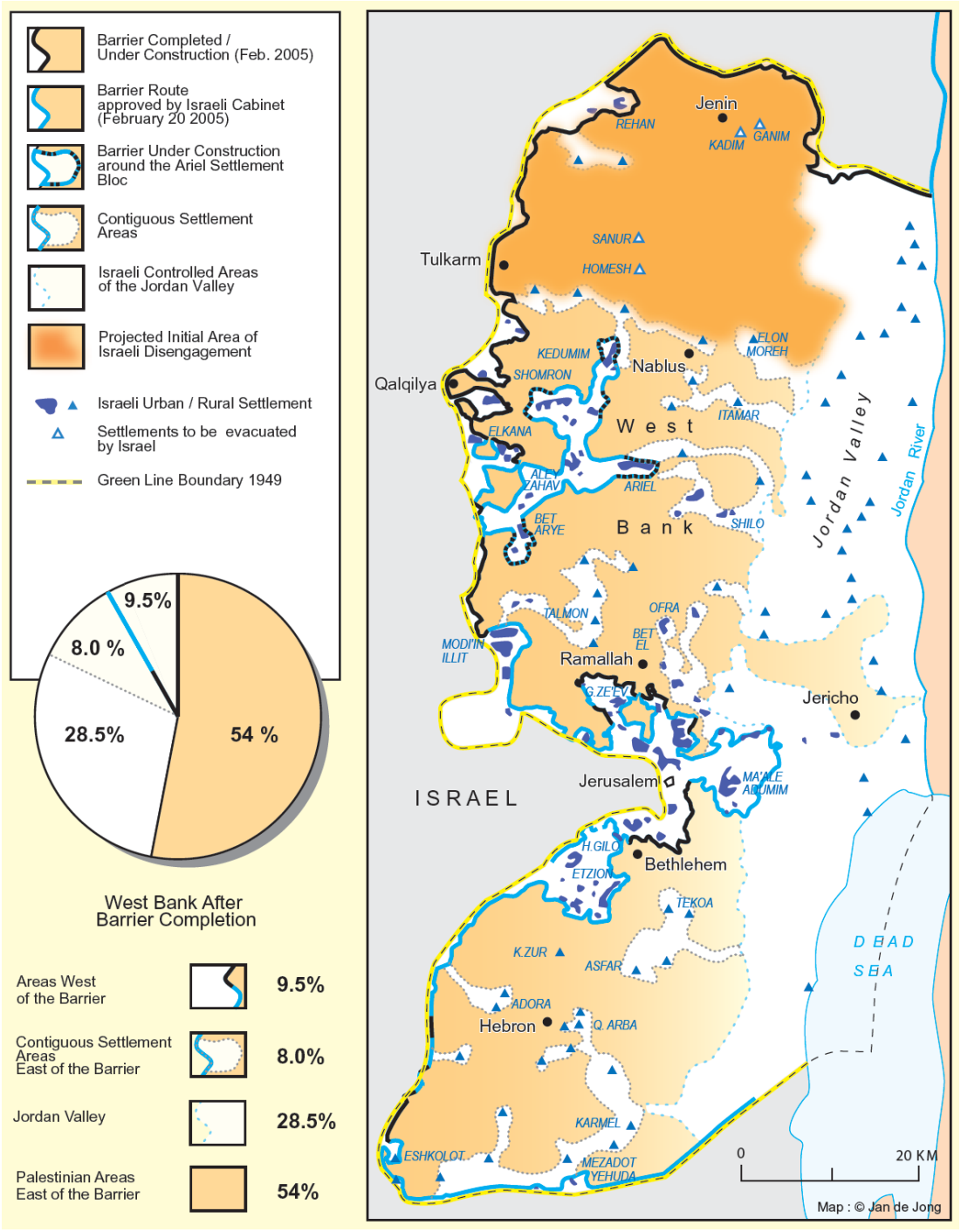
[1] Pressman, *op.cit.,* p.363.

[2]Amira Hass, "Israel's Closure Policy: An Ineffective Strategy of Containment and Repression," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 31, No. 3, (Spring, 2002), p.19.

[3] *ibid,* p.20

[4]Graham Usher, "The Wall and the Dismemberment of Palestine" *Race Class* Vol. 47/3, (2006), p.18.

[5]*ibid,* p.20.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.16. Israeli Disengagement Options - February 2005.

As for continuity in the settlement policies, the drive to maintain Jewish dominance in historical Palestine the ratio that is usually cited is an eighty percent Jewish majority against twenty percent Arab ratio which had been maintained since 1948. When any changes occur, Israeli policymakers move to attract new immigrants, as was the case with post-Soviet immigrants to Israel in the 1990s.[6] Now deprived of new immigrant waves, Sharon turned to the strategy of separation, meaning eventual expulsion of the Palestinians from the territories, and aimed for a twofold solution: first giving the Palestinians a fragmented state option in non-contiguous areas of the West Bank and Gaza, second a natural gradual transfer of Palestinians from the West Bank to neighboring Arab countries under heavy circumstances of political and economic siege.[7]

The strategy of producing enclaves inside the West Bank resulted with a closed territory on the separation map. As a consequence, it became totally different from the examples of enclave of Lesotho inside South Africa or the enclave of San Marino in Italy. Both of them have single contiguous land masses with internal circulation and their own transport routes under their sovereignty.[8] Also in the West Bank both exit and entry is dependent on Israeli permission.

Sharon was convinced that the only way to quell the rebellion would be when Palestinians surrendered completely. In the meantime, he was determined to realize the separation barrier simultaneously with the Gaza disengagement. His ambition was to establish the territorial and political parameters for the long-term interim agreement unilaterally. Pragmatic elements in the settlement movement could not change that decision and shifted to change the route in accordance with *de facto* annexation summarized by a maximum Jewish population, with minimum Arab population, over a maximum area.[9]

Together with other supplementary apparatuses such as road blocks, bolstered check points and watch towers the security of the settlements was enhanced but daily

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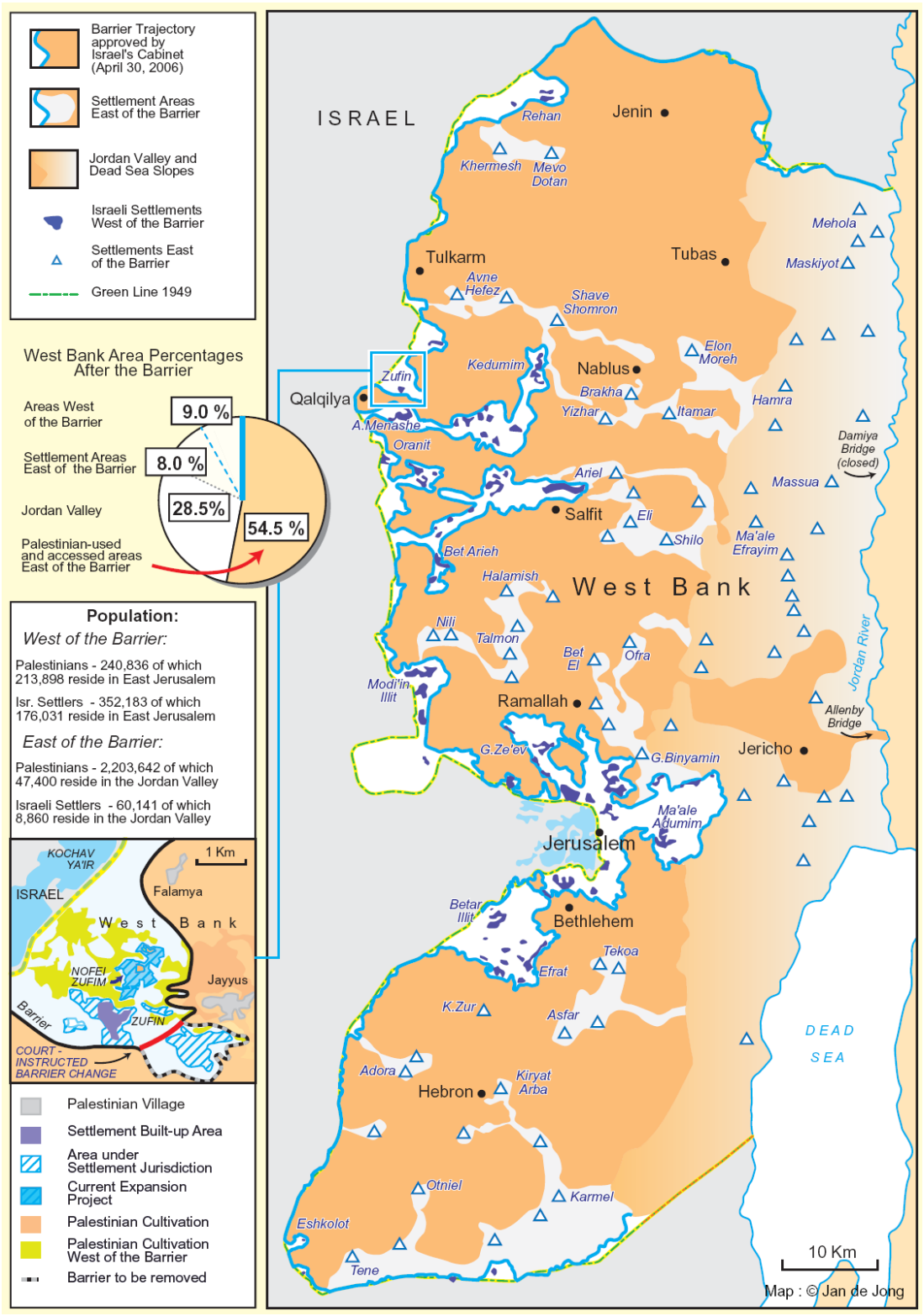
[6] Elia Zureik, "Demography and Transfer: Israel's Road to Nowhere," *Third World Quarterly*, 24:4, (2003), p.620.

[7] *ibid.*, p.628.

[8] Ghazi Walid Falah, "The Geopolitics of 'Enclavisation' and the Demise of a Two-State Solution to the Israeli - Palestinian Conflict," *Third World Quarterly*, 26:8, (2005), p.1345.

[9] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 33, No.1 (Autumn, 2003), p.140.



Source: www.fmep.org/maps

Figure 4.17. West Bank Separation Barrier - July 2006

life in the West Bank was paralyzed. Especially road blocks as a part of the barrier strategy led to a total collapse of the daily life in the West Bank territories for roadblocks aggravated the daily life of Palestinians, making their transportation in their land into a severe, continual disaster and revealed in the face of the occupation and its moral humiliation.[10]

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's policy was far from being inclined with Palestinian policy and the Oslo framework. This unilateralism was a central feature of Israel's policies in the occupied territories but for the first time revealed in that term. Also the evacuation of four settlements and army bases in the northern part of the West Bank in reality was not a retreat but just changing of their status in these areas to Area C that which indicated Israel's lack of interest in the territorial framework of the Oslo period.[11]

While Israel was building a separation barrier, the settler population increased by six percent during 2004 to 250,179 excluding 180,000 in East Jerusalem with almost 4,000 new settlement units under construction. A settler-led campaign aimed to block implementation of any possible disengagement plan triggered a new wave of settlement boom.[12] The size of the land and number new units added to settlements significantly surpassed any natural growth of settlers. For example, in some settlements while thousands of housing units were being built, dozens of apartments remained vacant.[13] Building settlements and by-pass roads and finally the erection of separation wall led to segregation and control over political and economic order resulting in cantonization of the territories.

As said before, some optimists interpreted Sharon's decision of withdrawal from all of the Gaza Strip and four West Bank settlements as the beginning of the end of settlement enterprise. Yet, the route of the separation barrier, accompanied with rapid expansion of settlements west of the barrier, proved that Sharon's plan could be deemed as a tactical move. In the long-term, Sharon regarded settlers as agents in the execution of a geo-strategic vision of Palestinian national demands on

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[10] Zertal and Eldar, *op.cit.,* p. 419.

[11] Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor,"*Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 35, No. 2 (Winter, 2005), p.169.

[12]Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 34, No. 3 (Spring, 2005), p.151.

[13] Asad Ghanem, "Israel and the Danger of Demography" in *Where now for Palestine?: The Demise of the Two-state Solution* Jamil Hilal ed., (London: Zed Books, 2007), p.60.

the West Bank.[14] As underlined by Aronson, the settlements seem to preserve their importance as a state policy during the separation phase:

> Settlement expansion during the last 15 years has proceeded at a pace remarkable in its regularity and predictability. There is little correlation between the party in power and the rate of expansion, if only because the settlement process routinely spans years and the frequent changes in national political leadership Israel has experienced during the last two decades. This legacy is no accident. Israel's settlement expansion is first and foremost a national enterprise, promoted and supported in everyday practice by all major political parties and political leaders.[15]

In sum, the synthesis of the previous debates resulted in a general agreement on the unilateral separation at the expense of the bifurcation of the Israeli Right. According to Waxman, although separation served the Israeli interests for protecting the priorities and values of the Jewish state, the unilateralist approach can not be sustained in the long-term. For Waxman, after a long debate, Israel came to a consensus on withdrawal from some territories but to achieve a long-term stability, Israel needed to search for a conciliation with the Palestinians who recognized Israel's right to exist and a Palestinian state in West Bank and Gaza instead of Palestinian *maximalists* who seek an Islamic state in all the "Historic Palestine".[16]

4.6. Conclusion

Since the signing of the DOP, it was expected that an equal solution for settlements together with other fundamental issues would be brought about. However, the process as analyzed from 1993 to 2005 failed to generate a resolution; rather it increased the complexity of the problem. Even after the disengagement from Gaza, which was a turning point for the settlement enterprise in Israeli history, it seemed less applicable to the West Bank in view of the evacuation of Gaza.

Since the occupation in 1967, the West Bank territory remained a single form until segregation of this territory in three areas as decreed by the Oslo arrangements.

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[14]Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Monitor," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Vol. 34, No. 4 (Summer, 2005), p.169.

[15] *ibid.,* p.171.

[16] Waxman, *op.cit.,* p.91.

Although the settlement blocks emerged, all the residents -the settlers and Palestinians- shared the main arteries that bind the leading commercial and population centers to the hubs such as Jerusalem and the main ports such as Haifa. Designation of the areas and establishing by-pass roads culminated in the fragmentation of the territory. Aside from the optimistic evaluations based on construction of a Palestinian state in the West Bank core, many cities remained under the siege of the settlements.

Another important point, the settler violence, presented a serious obstacle to the peace process. The actions of the settlers and affiliated group members had aggravated the situation in the early times as in the incident of *Hebron Ibrahimi Mosque*. The politicians although condemning the action failed to mobilize an evacuation and instead strengthened the presence of the IDF and settlers in the city. Also, another historical focal point was the assassination of the Prime Minister Rabin after he signaled for a compromise in return for the evacuation of the settlements. Radical groups inclined to the sacred Greater Israel ideology severely weakened the process in committing such violent acts.

The ongoing violence by the opponent militant groups on the Palestinian side and vicious circle of retaliatory acts again gave rise to the Likud Party and right-wing political parties in the initial phase of the process. The settlement policies under Netenyahu and for the first time prioritized by the PA led to suspension of talks after *Har Homa* issue. Although the negotiations resumed the *Allon Plus Plan* was mostly drawn by the Minister of National Infrastructures Ariel Sharon and revealed the territorial ambitions of the Israeli government signaled the final status offers. Any possible retreat from this plan, even on favor of the government, was highly criticized by the religious settler groups.

The election of Ehud Barak was a turning point in the scheduled final status talks. Although the declaration of an independent Palestinian state in 1999, which was determined in Oslo Agreements was tabled due to lack of preparations and enough negotiations, the two sides agreed on beginning the final status negotiations after signing Sharm al-Shaykh Agreement. During the talks at Camp David, the offer of annexation of settlement blocks along the Green Line and the Jerusalem environs in addition to the control of Jordan Valley with existing settlements obstructed the self-sufficiency of a viable state. *Al-Aqsa Intifada* phase after the provocative visit of

Sharon resulted in the *de facto* annulment of the peace agreements and post-Oslo regulations by the new Likud government under a unilateralist separation policy.

After Operation Defensive Shield many of the limited powers exercised by the Palestinian Authority ended and many cities remained under political and economic siege due to the security of settlements and by-pass road system. Two important unilateral decisions abruptly changed the future of the settlements. The first one was the Gaza Disengagement Plan completed in 2005, which resulted in the evacuation of nearly 7,000 settlers. The party referendum on the plan, in May 2004 resulted in the rejection in a poll of the Likud Party leading to the creation of the Kadima Party. Under the leadership of Sharon, The Kadima Party politicized the basic concepts of the "biblical symbolism" and "centrality of the God-given land" defended by *Gush Emunim* and affiliated settler ideology on behalf of security and future demographic threats. Contrary to expectations of bloody defense by settlers against the retreat plan, it was successfully implemented a second time after Sinai evacuation. At the expense of the bifurcation of the traditional right establishment, the Likud Party, also there had been heavy economic costs due to the compensations and relocation of the settlers. From this view a full disengagement from West Bank seemed less applicable like Gaza in terms of a widely scattered settlement enterprise in the territories.

To sum up, the Oslo Process and *Al-Aqsa Intifada* left a legacy of isolation and fragmentation of the West Bank due to the arrangements preserving the settlements. Covering roughly sixty percent of the West Bank defined in Area C settlements presented a fundamental obstacle in the effective and sovereign management of Palestinian daily life. This remnant of isolated and disconnected Palestinian territories designed to protect Israel's settlement infrastructure aimed at maximizing Israel's territorial interests and dictating the policies to sustain it.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The most significant factor that determined the fate of a viable Palestinian state and surely the feasibility of a lasting peace in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was the widely scattered Jewish settlements and related facilities in the West Bank territory. The main reason for the confrontation was a deep distrust that had built up between the two parties. One of the principal issues fueling this conflict which emerged after 1967 and evolved to impede the final status issues that were outlined since the beginning of the Oslo process, was the insistence by the Israelis that there not be an concessions made over the territories.

The Jews established their state in settlement-based activity through a revival of the "returning to the promised lands" idea of Zionism. When Zionism developed this notion for a homeland after long discussions there had been an agreement for this homeland on the Palestinian territories. Since the end of the 19th century up to the 1948 independence, civilian settlement forms of *kibbutzes* and *moshavs* provided the foundations for the future Israeli state functioning as a founding identity. As discussed earlier, the settlement enterprise in that period differed from the traditional colonialist understanding in terms of the absence of a mother country and a strong sense of returning to the chosen land while the state-building process mostly excluded the exploitation of others' resources. The attachment of Israel to a wider concept of "Greater Israel" sustained its existence in the political agenda after the 1948 founding of the Israeli state in terms of the settlements.

This study has presented the genesis of these settlements by discussing its role in both the nation and state-building process as well as its role in the conflict. This thesis argues that the settlements triggered the clash between the occupier and occupied population since the 1967 war. The complex structure of the settlements evolved in over time to have a central role for causing mass rebellions such as the *intifadas*. The settlements also undermined the peace process by directly affecting vital subjects such as Jerusalem, final borders and even the refugees. Since 1967, West Bank residents was disconnected from the counterparts living on the other side

of the boundaries. As a result, the geography of the West Bank has been abruptly changed and isolated from its natural environs mainly Jordan and Egypt as well as Syria and Lebanon.

As explained throughout the thesis, Israel instrumentalized settlements in its security and demographic perceptions by utilizing created/imagined historical function to mobilize internal and external *aliyahs* to extend its territories. These policies led the creation of settlements again on the basis of homeland building application in the West Bank territories.

However, if considering the previous activities both before and after the British Mandate, the "facts" were dramatically changed after the 1967 settlement phase. In the first case, Jewish migrations resulted by the pogroms in Russia in the late 1880s promised a Jewish settling in the region that supported a coexistence with local residents by mainly peaceful means such as land purchases. When the tensions arose in the early years of the First World War, the British Mandate became the responsible authority in Palestine and the statement of "a national home for the Jews" expressed in the Balfour Declaration, which delegitimized the sole Arab sovereignty over Palestine. The Jewish presence in Palestine evolved from a deputy position of the mandate colonization to a conflicting attitude towards the state-building process defending partition by condensing settlement activities in a scheme that drew the future borders of the state. After 1948, settlements appeared as institutionalizing apparatuses in the positioning of a new state. From 1967 onwards, Israel applied to the West Bank settlement incentives excluding the annexation alternative which was deemed by the Israeli politicians detrimental for the nature of the Jewish state.

During the initial stage of the settlements, the Labor government determined the priorities of the settlements in accordance with the Allon Plan. Yet, after the *Yom Kippur* War, the rise of the right movements and extreme rightist *Gush Emunim* organization spearheading the creeping settlement policy in the West Bank, there began biblical-historical claims on the lands of the West Bank. After 1977 the Likud governments broadened the land claiming schemes all over the territories instead of solely in the security belts defined in the Allon Plan until the eruption of the 1987 rebellion. In that context, settlements functioned as military bases both to sustain the areas and to suppress the *intifada.* This erosive process for both sides led to searching for conciliation in turn. After the indirect talks between the two parties

beginning in Madrid failed but the secret negotiations in Oslo resulted with the recognition of the two sides but lacked a comprehensive vision for addressing vital subjects initiated with inadequate confidence-building arrangements during the peace process.

Due to the fact that Israel and the Palestinians have been in unequal positions in terms of the "inter-group" notion, the process produced a dysfunctional Palestinian Administration with limited authority. This is valid for the settlements as well as in the other issues. Merged with the ambiguity and opacity of the regulations many agenda items were delayed to the final status talks, but at the same time unilateral policies of Israel by using its advantage as a state with sanctionary power gained an imposer position. By dividing lands into three distinct areas and providing the major space for full Israeli control under Area C that mostly consisted of more than sixty percent of the whole West Bank, Israel sustained settlement enlargement policies with "natural growth" or other named strategies. This factor relegated the Palestinian side to the position of passive object in the limited regulations of the process.

During the progress of the settlement-centered conflict, peace process can be considered as a main turning point for Israel. The settler groups had a central role that transformed into a powerful pressure group which influenced the state policies effectively. Two such seminal examples where the settler groups achieved to influence the Israeli politics with mass demonstrations and protests were the Sinai and Gaza settlement evacuations. It should be noted that the settler violence remained a constant factor before and during the peace process. The *Hebron Ibrahimi Mosque* incident and Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin's assassination shows how extreme fractions in the settler ideology could change major dynamics in Israeli politics. They also proved that they were able to nearly trigger the derailment of the peace process itself.

In terms of the political change of Israel, settlements led to alignment of two major political parties during the course of events. The Labor governments, the catalyst for the settlements in the occupied territories, envisioned a security concept around the settlements but failed to control the settler groups in the context of their arrangements of quasi-military settlements in the less populated areas of the West Bank. On the other hand, the Likud governments, by giving up concessions since the Camp David Peace Agreement transformed the Revisionist idea claiming "historical

rights on the both sides of the Jordan River" to a position that debated the possible evacuations in some parts of the West Bank in return for security arrangements and following permanent settlement structures after the Gaza evacuation. Although the Likud governments promoted the settlements in different periods, they could not retreat from the fierce reactions of the settler groups. As a result the Likud Party was divided and the Kadima Party was created due to the discontent for the future of the settlements along with other disagreements inside the party factions.

Post-1967 governments shared some common points and utilized the settlement enterprise in the West Bank to ensure Israel's political future and internal stability. For instance, perceiving a hostile environment by neighbouring countries in addition to narrow borders led Israel to the devising of supplementary mechanisms such as military bases and settlements. Also, the Arab majority in the northern side of the country along with the densely populated Jewish presence opened the way for settlements. Ongoing migrations made the West Bank an attractive place for newcomers, especially for receiving the immigrant wave after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The West Bank was also regarded as an opening space for further economic development. As a result of such factors, Israel's settlement policy stemmed from dispersal of the present population to support the security and territorial sovereignty. From this point of view, it was argued in the thesis that a possible West Bank evacuation is far from a comparison between Sinai and Gaza evacuations in terms of serious politic and economic concessions. A partial or entire evacuation projection of the West Bank settlements may constitute another matter of a research.

West Bank settlement policy fluctuated in view of both the domestic and international developments in that on one side the policy served the aforementioned interests, but on the other undermined the stability of the region and changed the economic and political balance of the territories against itself in the long-run. The notion of "natural growth" was widely exploited toward the end of the final status negotiations in order to bolster the Jewish presence in Area C which undermined the unity of the West Bank continuously until the Camp David Summit. Moreover, all the Israeli governments remained "captive" to the settlements and settler groups in terms of electoral ambitions, thus prompting the governments to abstain from implementing resolute policies on the settlements.

The contribution of the settlements to the Israeli economy appeared as an important factor. Agricultural production as well as industrial districts in the West Bank settlements provided considerable inputs to the Israel. Though this thesis is a limited study which emphasized the political sequence of events, the political economy analysis of the West Bank settlements may be an important theme of another study.

In terms of the geographical viability of a future Palestinian state, settlements and supplementary factors such as by-pass roads removed the compactness which deemed as a crucial for defense and other vital functions of the state. In widely scattered enclaves, settlements defamed many cities and towns from their territorial and economic hinterlands. With the completion of the separation barrier outside and the flourishing of by-pass roads and other blockages inside, the West Bank was filled with numerous "cantons" that consists of Palestinian centers and Jewish settlements but fully dependent on Israeli decisions. On the other hand, Israel tries to erode expectations of Palestinians for a viable, sovereign state and balance demographic threat in its favor by utilizing settlements inside the West Bank. Also by this way, Israel enforces voluntary abandonment of Palestinians for their lands in this desperate situation.

The settlement issue, considered in the long-turn led to various irregularities for Israeli politics: In terms of demography Israel could not realize the capturing of the West Bank by a creating a critical demographic mass of Jews with less than 270,000 people when compared to nearly two and half million Palestinians. Furthermore, the dispersal policy could not penetrate the entire West Bank condensed on the main strips along the Green Line and the Jordan Valley with the Jerusalem environs. The demographics of the West Bank settlements with their political tendencies in the local level appeared an important output of the study. This issue needs to be analyzed as a central theme of further researches.

The construction of outposts and buffer zones was employed as a pretext for future annexations. Israel was so self-assured during the peace process that Palestinians would agree to the annexations of the many settlement blocks and Jerusalem would be united through the encircling settlements. Yet, this all failed in the shadow of *Al-Aqsa Intifada*. In the course of the continuing policies, Israel turned to use military means to end the security threats and relied on disrupting the PA's infrastructure through these operations.

Another policy arose after the Gaza evacuation. By this act, Israel considered blocking any demands for further evacuations and a final decision to remain on the West Bank with the expectation of volunteered abandonment of the West Bank Palestinians in the paralyzed environment after Sharon's policies. However, in the scope of violations of Palestinian rights, restrictions on land usage, lack of freedom of movement and the restraint of self-determination due to purposely fragmenting the geography of the West Bank would have long-term ramifications. Together with the financially, legally promoted settlement community supplied with additional civil rights even surpassing ordinary Israeli citizens, it forms an unlawful situation that threatens a possible peace. In terms of future projection for the West Bank settlements a possible evacuation may cost Israeli governments in astronomical numbers. The huge investments made since 1967 and high compensation rates such as those given to the Gaza settlers exacerbated economic and political problems. Along with compensations to the settler families, reconstruction of the sites and re-arrangement of infrastructure it may exceed billions of USD. The most important of all, it seems unrealistic for a Israeli government to venture such a project under the previous assassinations and violent acts as long as they are captives of the electorate in these settlements.

Under these facts, finally it can be concluded that the preferential treatment of settlements and settlers in the West Bank undermined the peace process and seems to threaten a solution in the future. Israel failed to produce a self sustaining settlement pattern in the West Bank instead of an optimized model of settlement as was the forms of pre-state *kibbutzes* and *moshavs*, much more producing provocative units. In the scope of violations of Palestinian rights, restrictions on land usage, lack of freedom of movement and the restraint of self-determination, in the long run, Israel may face with new mass rebellions. And that will be a wide confrontation instead of spontaneous suicide bombings under perception of a desperate and caged population in a colonial environment until giving equal rights to the residents of the same territory.

It is possible to say that, as analyzed in this thesis, in terms of the settlements in the West Bank a deliberate delay occurred when attempting to discuss them during the peace process. The settlements were transformed to more problematic phenomenon and a complex matter among the vital issues such as Jerusalem, final

borders and refugees. Any freeze of settlement would be meaningless as long as the widely scattered web of settlement enterprise dominated the region.

To conclude, the main issue to be taken into consideration is the preferential treatment for Jewish settlements, which prompted a situation of unequal negotiation grounds between Palestinians and Israelis in the peace process. Unilateral separation and disengagement plans may have provided short-term security advantages such as a decrease in spontaneous suicide bombings, but resulted in not more than a postponement until new mass rebellions. Until a full, permanent and comprehensive agreement is reached Israel's practice will be perceived as a "colonial practice". As history has shown that type of colonial exercise was followed by independence demands and this ultimately led to decolonization. As an unsuccessful attempt of decolonization, during the vague and gradual peace process, Israel confronted a decision between the alternatives of first-world democracy based on equal rights and third-world colonialism which had nearly expired at the end of the 20th century.

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APPENDIX A

SELECTED SETTLEMENT STATISTICS

This section is derived from the Foundation of Middle East Peace website by a selection of important statistics mainly about West Bank. Also names and population of the West Bank Settlements by region is attached.
(www.fmep.org/ settlement_info)

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1. Comprehensive Settlement Population 1972-2006

Year	West Bank	Gaza Strip	East Jerusalem	Golan Heights	Total
1972	1,182	700	8,649	77	10,608
1983	22,800	900	76,095	6,800	106,595
1985	44,100	1,900	103,900*	8,700	158,700
1989	69,800	3,000	117,100	10,000	199,900
1990	78,600	3,300	135,000	10,600	227,500
1991	90,300	3,800	137,300	11,600	243,000
1992	101,100	4,300	141,000	12,000	258,400
1993	111,600	4,800	152,800	12,600	281,800
1995	133,200	5,300	157,300	13,400	309,200
1996	142,700	5,600	160,400	13,800	322,500
1997	154,400	5,700	161,416	14,300	335,816
1998	163,300	6,100	165,967	14,900	350,267
1999	177,411	6,337	170,123	15,313	369,184
2000	192,976	6,678	172,250	15,955	387,859
2002	214,722	7,277	175,617	16,503	414,119
2003	224,669	7,556	178,601	16,791	427,617
2004	234,487	7,826	181,587	17,265	441,828
2005	258,988	0	184,057	17,793	460,838
2006	268,400	0	N/A	18,105	N/A
2007	282,000	0	N/A	N/A	N/A

*1986 data

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1992-2006 and *List of Localities, the Populations, and Symbols,* 1995-2005. *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1991-2004.

2. Jordan Valley Settlement Population, 1983-2004

Name	2004	2000	1995	1983
Almog	142	167	107	57
Argaman	166	164	157	100
Bet HaArava	69	55	27	N/A
Beqa'ot	152	144	143	150
Gilgal	164	180	172	118
Gittit	161	100	128	113
Hamra	125	147	146	177
Hemdat	120	N/A	N/A	N/A
Kalya	260	260	252	102
Ma'ale Efraim	1,456	1,480	1,296	909
Massu'a	140	148	143	160
Mehola	360	113	252	293
Mekhora	119	306	112	133
Netiv haGedud	132	139	149	155
Niran	53	56	63	99
No'omi	127	121	158	23
Peza'el	215	224	N/A	N/A
Ro'i	115	141	141	102
Rotem	24*	N/A	N/A	N/A
Shadmot Mehola	517	399	309	N/A
Tomer	296	308	303	153
Vered Yericho	161	164	139	151
Yafit	101	125	87	75
Yitav	141	114	77	37
Total	**5,292**	**5,055**	**4,361**	**3,107**

*2003 data

3. Population in Israel and West Bank Settlements*, 1995-2005

Year	Population: Israel	Settler Population: West Bank	Population Growth: Israel (%)	Population Growth: West Bank (%)
2005	6,987,000	246,100	1.8	5.1
2004	6,869,500	235,100	1.79	4.86
2003	6,748,400	224,200	1.77	4.41
2002	6,631,100	214,722	1.88	8.15
2001	6,508,800	198,535	2.19	2.88
2000	6,369,300	192,976	2.58	8.77
1999	6,209,100	177,411	2.78	8.64
1998	6,041,400	163,300	2.4	5.76
1997	5,900,000	154,400	2.47	8.2
1996	5,757,900	142,700	2.59	10.45
1995	5,612,300	129,200	N/A	N/A

*Excluding East Jerusalem

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel "Localities and Populations, by District, Sub-district, Religion and Population Growth" Statistical Abstract of Israel, 2005, Table 2.7. "The Population of Israel, by Selected Years, Religion and Population Group."

4.Ten Most Populous West Bank Settlements, 1994–2004

Name	Population		Population Change	
	1994	2004	Number	%
Ma'ale Adumim	18,400	28,923	10,523	57
Modi'in Illit	6,150[a]	27,386	21,236	345
Betar Illit	4,880	24,895	20,015	410
Ariel	12,800	16,414	3,614	28
Giv'at Ze'ev	6,750	10,635	3,885	58
Efrata	4,650	7,273	2,623	56
Qiryat Arba	5,120	6,651	1,531	30
Qarne Shomron	4,820	6,170	1,350	28
Oranit	3,380	5,458	2,078	61
Alfe Menashe	2,710	5,433	2,723	100
Total	69,660	139,238	69,578	100
West Bank Total	**122,700**	**234,487**	**111,787**	**91**

a.1996.

Source: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, "Population in Localities, 1994, Demographic Characteristics, by Geographical Divisions (S.P.1026)" Israel in Numbers 2004.

The largest and most popular settlements, most of which are located in the metropolitan Jerusalem region, have doubled in population over the last decade. The ten largest settlements house 59 percent of the total West Bank settler population of 234,487. Almost half—46 percent—of the settler population live in the five largest settlements. Ariel, at one time the second most populous settlement, has grown far less than the average -- 28 percent compared to 91 percent -- and has now been eclipsed by larger and faster growing settlements catering to the ultra-Orthodox community.

5.Ten Least Populous West Bank Settlements, 1994–2004

Name	Population		Population Change	
	1994	2004	Number	%
Niran	67[a]	53	-14	-21
Bet HaArava	26[b]	69	43	165
Yafit	124	101	-23	-19
Ro'i	158	115	-43	-27
Mekhora	135	119	-16	-12
Hemdat	74[c]	120	46	62
Hamra	168	125	-43	-26
No'omi	122	127	5	4
Netiv HaGedud	201	132	-69	-34
Negohot	85[d]	135	50	59
Total	**1,160**	**1,096**	**-64**	**-6**

a. 1996.

b.2001.

c.2002.

Source: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, "Population in Localities, 1994, Demographic Characteristics, by Geographical Divisions (S.P.1026);" "Israel in Numbers 2004."

6.Ten Fastest Growing West Bank Settlements, 1994–2004

Name	Population		Population Change	
	1994	2004	Number	%
Modi'in Illit	6,150[a]	27,386	21,236	345
Betar Illit	4,880	24,895	20,015	410
Ma'ale Adumim	18,400	28,923	10,523	57
Giv'at Ze'ev	6,750	10,635	3,885	58
Kokhav Ya'aqov	663	4,389	3,726	562
Ariel	12,800	16,414	3,614	28
Bet El	1,230	4,763	3,533	287
Alfe Menashe	2,710	5,433	2,723	100
Efrata	4,650	7,273	2,623	56
Oranit	3,380	5,458	2,078	61
Total	**61,613**	**135,569**	**73,956**	**120**

a.1996.

Source: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, “Population in Localities, 1994, Demographic Characteristics, by Geographical Divisions (S.P.1026);” “Israel in Numbers 2004.”

The fastest growing settlements are mostly a mixture of rapidly increasing ultra-Orthodox populations - Beitar Illit, Modi’in Illit, Kochav Ya’acov - smaller, ideological settlements in the West Bank heartland - Bet El, Talmon, and Pene Hever - and established settlements close to the metropolitan areas of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv - Efrata, Oranit, Alfe Menashe, and Ariel.

7.Top Ten West Bank Settlements (Percent Growth), 1994–2004

Name	Population		Population Change	
	1994	2004	Number	%
Revava	108	738	630	583
Kochav Ya'acov	663	4,389	3,726	562
Gev'a Binyamin	361	2,032	1,671	463
Betar Illit	4,880	24,895	20,015	410
Avne Hefetz	214	1,038	824	385
Modi'in Illit	6,150a	27,386	21,236	345
Talmon	439	1,760	1,321	301
Bet El	1,230	4,763	3,533	287
Pene Hever	98	377	279	285
Qedar	198	658	460	232
Total	**8,191**	**68,036**	**53,695**	**655**

a. 1996.

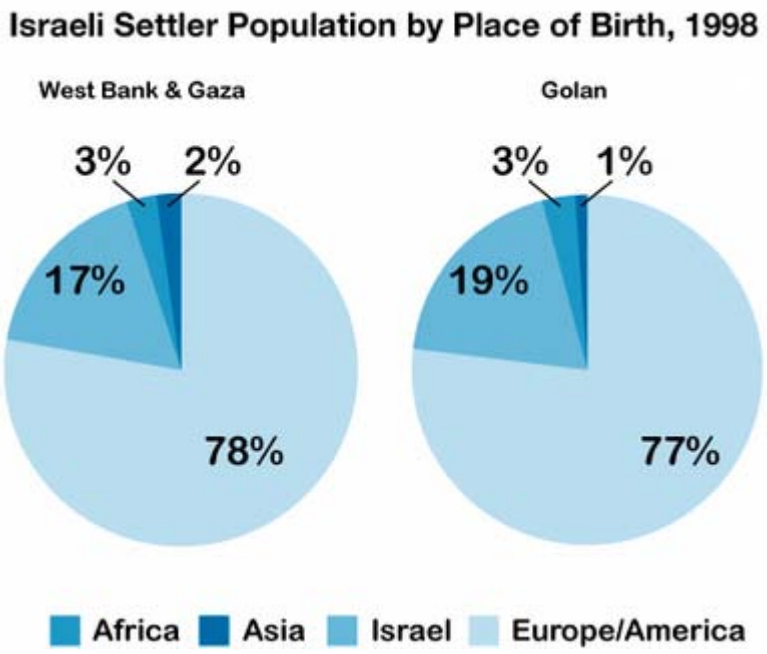
Source: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, “Population in Localities, 1994, Demographic Characteristics, by Geographical Divisions (S.P.1026);” “Israel in Numbers 2004.”

8. Settlement Localities and Population, 2001 - 2003

Settlement Type	2003		2001	
	Number of Settlements (West Bank and Gaza Strip)	Population	Number of Settlements (West Bank and Gaza Strip)	Population
Rural	9	9,200	10	9,700
Rural Communal	68	44,100	69	41,700
Rural Kibbutzim	9	1,800	9	1,800
Rural Moshavim	32	9,300	32	8,800
Total Rural Population	120	64,400	120	62,000
Urban 2,000-9,999	17	65,500	14	57,500
Urban 10,000-19,999	2	27,300	4	63,000
Urban 20,000-49,999	3	74,500	1	25,800
Total Urban Population	22	167,300	19	146,300
Grand Total	142	231,700	139	208,300

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 2004, Table 2.9; *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 2002, Table 2.9.

9. Israeli Settler Population by Place of Birth, 1998



10. Settlements in the West Bank

Name	Population								Date Established	Region
	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999		
Adora	220	206	186	191	205	253	271	291	1983	Mount Hebron
Alei Zahav	723	684	429	424	414	408	391	355	1982	Samaria
Alfei Menashe	5,826	5,541	5,433	5,347	5,250	5,000	4,580	4,410	1983	Samaria
Allon Shevut	3,300	3,291	3,229	3,146	3,030	2,880	2,680	2,230	1970	Etzion Bloc
Almog	192	159	142	141	155	159	167	156	1977	Jordan Valley
Almon	808	762	739	726	721	706	698	672	1982	Benjamin
Argaman	166	166	166	169	167	160	164	155	1968	Jordan Valley
Ariel	16,432	16,520	16,414	16,503	16,300	16,000	15,600	15,100	1978	Samaria
Asfar (Metzad)	257	258	275	232	218	308	361	356	1984	Mount Hebron
Ateret	406	373	350	349	320	307	302	287	1981	Benjamin
Avnei Hefetz	1,247	1,127	1,038	964	891	838	785	695	N/A	Samaria
Barkan	1,257	1,231	1,215	1,217	1,200	1,160	1,150	1,080	1981	Samaria
Bat Ayin	866	804	796	767	685	665	610	572	1989	Samaria
Beit Arye	3,502	3,457	3,446	2,522	2,480	2,410	2,380	2,330	1981	Samaria
Beit El	5,163	4,967	4,763	4,627	4,410	4,240	4,120	3,800	1977	Benjamin
Beit ha'Arava	87	83	69	54	52	59	55	45	1980	Jordan Valley
Beit Horon	900	848	825	822	826	822	772	720	1977	Benjamin
Benjamin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Beqa'ot	177	156	152	145	147	153	144	144	1972	Jordan Valley
Betar 'Illit	29,126	26,996	24,895	22,926	20,200	17,300	15,800	12,700	1985	Etzion Bloc
Bitronot (Nahal)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1984	Jordan Valley
Bracha	1,182	1,094	-	880	817	783	752	714	1982	Samaria
Dolev	1,100	1,034	963	973	909	907	880	850	1983	Benjamin
Doran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1982	Mount Hebron

Name	Population								Date Established	Region
	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999		
Efrat	7,714	7,428	7,273	7,037	6,810	6,500	6,430	6,230	1980	Etzion Bloc
El'azar	1,314	1,131	993	882	796	789	784	747	1975	Etzion Bloc
Eli	2,530	2,420	2,308	2,058	1,960	1,830	1,900	1,730	1984	Samaria
Elisha (Nahal)	-	-	-	-	-	-	753	N/A	1983	Jordan Valley
Elkana	2,968	2,963	2,983	3,050	3,030	3,030	2,990	2,940	1977	Samaria
Elon Moreh	1,314	1,212	1,152	1,097	1,060	1,030	1,060	1,050	1979	Samaria
Emmanuel	2,678	2,583	2,585	2,455	2,350	2,700	3,040	3,150	1982	Samaria
En Hogla	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1982	Jordan Valley
Enav	571	538	468	473	492	498	500	504	1981	Samaria
Eshkolot	225	225	231	220	220	209	171	148	1982	Mount Hebron
Etz Efrayim	679	642	627	617	606	575	525	500	1985	Samaria
Gannim	0	0	147	139	147	152	158	149	1983	Samaria
Geva Binyamin (Adam)	3,183	2,436	2,032	1,801	1,570	1,300	1,020	707	1983	Benjamin
Geva'ot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1984	Etzion Bloc
Gilgal	162	164	164	162	161	171	180	164	1970	Jordan Valley
Gittit	214	191	161	119	95	102	100	109	1973	Jordan Valley
Giv'at Ze'ev	10,796	10,656	10,635	10,790	10,600	10,500	10,300	10,000	1982	Benjamin
Giv'on haHadasha	1,181	1,147	1,179	1,224	1,220	1,220	1,190	1,180	1980	Benjamin
Hagai	477	452	429	388	374	396	406	405	1984	Mount Hebron
Hallamish	975	941	931	915	895	894	922	1,100	1977	Benjamin
Hamra	132	132	125	131	136	143	147	149	1971	Jordan Valley
Har Adar (Giv'at HaRadar)	2,438	2,260	2,074	1,839	1,730	1,570	1,420	1,380	1986	Benjamin
Har Gilo	415	381	371	365	357	364	369	363	1972	Etzion Bloc
Hashmona'im	2,359	2,225	2,235	2,097	1,950	-	1,830	1,770	1985	Benjamin
Hebron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1980	
Hemdat (Nahal)	147	140	120	107	92	74	-	N/A	1980	Jordan Valley

Name	Population								Date Established	Region
	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999		
Hermesh	202	212	229	229	246	256	279	272	1982	Samaria
Hinnanit	779	760	707	669	639	591	481	432	1981	Samaria
Homesh	0	0	181	156	153	136	159	163	1980	Samaria
Itamar	698	651	600	557	534	562	541	511	1984	Samaria
Kaddim	0	0	142	128	125	133	148	138	1983	Samaria
Kalya	266	271	260	260	257	264	260	262	1968	Jordan Valley
Karmei Zur	696	713	665	623	579	504	481	422	1984	Etzion Bloc
Karmel	357	330	319	321	301	280	246	252	1981	Mount Hebron
Karne Shomron	6,333	6,280	6,170	6,093	6,100	6,040	5,890	5,590	1978	Samaria
Kedar	782	728	658	624	585	538	447	393	1984	Benjamin
Kedumim	3,208	3,087	3,010	2,934	2,800	2,700	2,660	2,540	1975	Samaria
Kfar Adummim	2,312	2,127	2,006	1,866	1,790	1,750	1,690	1,590	1979	Benjamin
Kfar Etzion	448	422	416	404	408	402	427	421	1967	Etzion Bloc
Kfar Tapuah	721	648	593	523	446	387	347	352	1978	Samaria
Kiryat Arba'	6,958	6,819	6,651	6,605	6,580	6,400	6,380	6,240	1972	Mount Hebron
Kiryat Netafim	472	438	419	384	344	306	249	240	1982	Samaria
Kokhav haShahar	1,530	1,449	1,365	1,367	1,300	1,250	1,150	1,080	1977	Benjamin
Kokhav Ya'acov (Abir Ya'acov)	5,268	4,919	4,389	3,819	3,250	2,410	1,640	1,260	1984	Benjamin
Lapid	2,265	2,300	2,200	2,176	2,110	-	-	-	N/A	Benjamin
Ma'ale Adummim	31,754	30,162	28,923	27,259	26,500	25,800	24,900	23,800	1975	Benjamin
Ma'ale Amos	344	340	319	299	258	300	336	342	1981	Etzion Bloc
Ma'ale Efrayim	1,384	1,423	1,456	1,443	1,430	1,390	1,480	1,460	1970	Jordan Valley
Ma'ale Levona	556	545	514	497	462	442	445	447	1983	Benjamin
Ma'ale Mikhmas	1,184	1,126	1,055	980	945	905	826	753	1981	Benjamin
Ma'ale Shomron	570	574	549	533	527	504	527	486	1980	Samaria
Mahane Giv'on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1977	Benjamin

Name	Population								Date Established	Region
	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999		
Ma'on	370	347	308	327	320	300	283	265	1981	Mount Hebron
Maskiyyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	507	N/A	1987	Jordan Valley
Massu'a	142	136	140	145	142	143	148	140	1970	Jordan Valley
Mattityahu	1,355	1,353	1,347	1,365	1,380	1,370	1,380	1,410	1981	Benjamin
Mehola	351	362	360	327	311	342	306	315	1968	Jordan Valley
Mekhora	114	120	119	125	119	119	113	120	1973	Jordan Valley
Menora	1,917	1,804	1,610	1,409	1,240	971	768	332	1998	Jordan Valley
Mevo Dotan	311	303	287	289	279	295	310	314	1978	Samaria
Mevo Horon	1,037	950	827	712	599	537	497	494	1970	Benjamin
Mezadot Yehuda	462	431	425	412	420	417	422	412	1980	Mount Hebron
Migdal Oz	345	334	313	298	268	282	289	280	1977	Etzion Bloc
Migdalim	142	150	151	152	143	153	154	150	1984	Samaria
Mizpe Shalem	169	180	192	193	191	207	210	208	1971	Megilot
Mizpe Yeriho	1,641	1,536	1,469	1,430	1,370	1,310	1,210	1,160	1978	Benjamin
Modi'in Ilit	34,482	30,484	27,386	24,290	22,000	19,200	16,400	13,000	1981	
Na'aleh	655	623	600	556	492	334	137	105	Appr./1981+	Benjamin
Nahli'el	278	264	282	248	231	221	244	230	1984	Benjamin
Negohot	172	150	135	134	85	-	409	N/A	1982	Mount Hebron
Netiv HaGedud	125	127	132	120	132	133	139	143	1976	Jordan Valley
Neve Daniyyel	1,609	1,467	1,225	1,073	1,020	977	933	868	1982	Etzion Bloc
Nili	886	852	829	806	769	754	721	666	1981	Benjamin
Niran	52	49	53	52	56	58	56	45	1977	Jordan Valley
Nofim	409	400	414	398	402	338	385	362	b.s.up	Samaria
Nokdim	782	729	674	646	615	618	611	526	1982	Etzion Bloc
No'omi	129	130	127	123	129	133	121	133	1982	Jordan Valley
Ofarim	-	-	-	870	810	763	686	623	1989	Benjamin

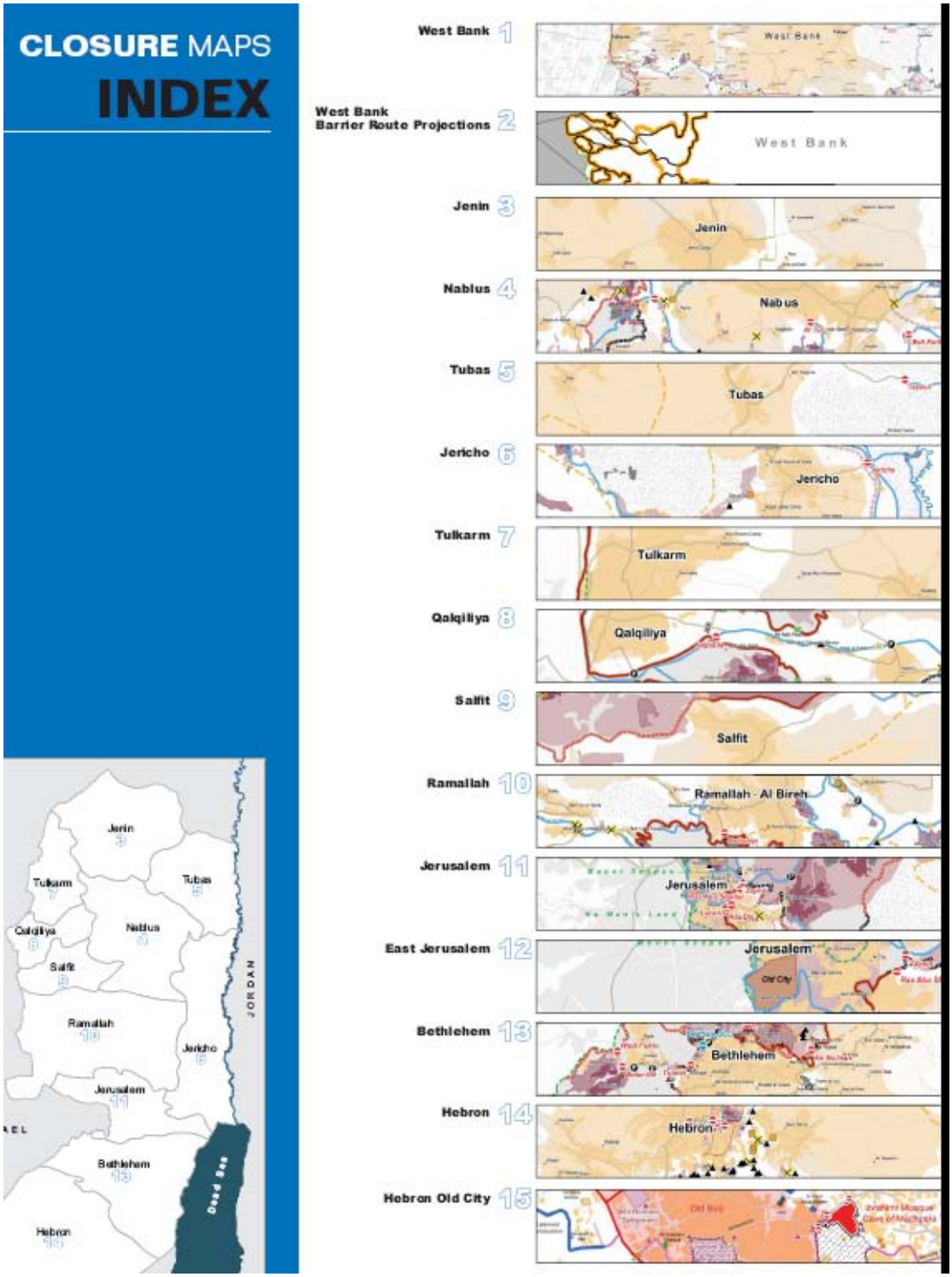
Name	Population								Date Established	Region
	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999		
Ofra	2,531	2,384	2,264	2,214	2,060	2,020	1,880	1,870	1975	Benjamin
Oranit	5,782	5,585	5,458	5,316	5,190	5,150	5,070	4,780	1984	Samaria
Otni'el	752	747	692	698	619	571	560	553	1983	Mount Hebron
Pedu'el	1,116	1,113	1,219	1,088	1,010	899	885	834	1984	Samaria
Pene Hever (Ma'ale Hever)	392	375	377	376	355	339	304	266	1982	Mount Hebron
Pesagot	1,489	1,464	1,388	1,278	1,180	1,070	1,090	1,030	1981	Benjamin
Peza'el	214	215	215	213	216	220	224	228	1975	Jordan Valley
Rehan	153	150	148	129	131	125	120	100	1977	Samaria
Revava	909	827	738	703	633	552	504	389	1991	Samaria
Rimmonim	565	561	536	512	509	510	499	474	1977	Benjamin
Ro'i	128	117	115	118	122	131	141	133	1976	Jordan Valley
Rosh Zurim	422	364	298	263	247	244	265	290	1969	Etzion Bloc
Rotem (Nahal)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1984	
Sa Nur	0	0	112	55	43	54	52	54	1982	Samaria
Sal'it	429	447	443	441	439	425	410	377	1977	Samaria
Sha'are Tikva	3,773	3,709	3,685	3,692	3,650	3,500	3,380	3,220	1982	Samaria
Shadmot Mehola	536	516	517	507	487	449	399	400	1978	
Shaked	536	527	509	524	539	522	497	468	1981	Samaria
Shani	416	424	443	438	430	-	483	490	1989	Mount Hebron
Shavei Shomron	631	606	539	604	563	525	573	569	1977	Samaria
Shilo	2,068	1,945	1,825	1,810	1,710	1,620	1,580	1,490	1979	Benjamin
Shim'a	368	349	344	357	340	336	296	263	1985	Mount Hebron
Shvot Rachel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	
Susiya	737	700	663	643	585	525	482	468	1983	Mount Hebron
Talmon	2,135	1,964	1,760	1,618	1,510	1,350	1,250	1,150	1989	Benjamin
Tekoa	1,343	1,243	1,179	1,116	1,040	998	980	948	1977	Etzion Bloc

Name	Population								Date Established	Region
	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999		
Telem	167	152	141	127	76	93	97	101	1981	Mount Hebron
Tene (Ma'ale Omarim)	650	532	538	563	525	534	561	580	1983	Mount Hebron
Tomer	282	281	296	298	303	303	308	307	1978	Jordan Valley
Tzurif	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1984	Etzion Bloc
Vered Jericho	180	156	161	161	157	157	164	155	1980	Benjamin
Ya'arit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	Samaria
Yafit	104	99	101	95	102	122	125	118	1980	Jordan Valley
Yakir	1025	984	960	932	862	834	822	765	1981	Samaria
Yitav	175	156	141	136	139	133	114	107	1970	Jordan Valley
Yizhar	673	590	534	440	398	342	329	328	1983	Samaria
Zufin	1,082	1,043	1,048	1,040	997	890	857	794	N/A	Samaria
Total:	**263,837**	**249,477**	**237,987**	**225,957**	**214,722**	**198,535**	**192,976**	**177,411**		

Source: List of Localities: Their Population and Codes. Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999-2004.
Source: http://www.cbs.gov.il/population/localities/localbycode2004.xls

APPENDIX B.

SETTLEMENT AND CLOSURE MAPS BY DISTRICTS OF WEST BANK



Source: www.ochaopt.org/maps

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures

October 2006

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Forty-one of the seventy-nine Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier

- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier - path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of September 2006.

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas

- Israeli military base
  Access is prohibited
- Israeli closed military area
  Access is prohibited
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier
  Access is limited to permit holders

Israeli Settlements

- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas

- Built-up

Roads

- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Oslo Agreement

- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

Closed and Restricted Areas for Palestinians

West Bank Barrier - May 2006 to September 2006

The Barrier in numbers
(as of Sep 2006)

Total Length:	703 km
Completed:	406 km
Under Construction:	65 km
Planned:	232 km
Constructed since July 2005	44 km
Closed Area:	575 km² / 10.1 % of the West Bank

Closure Summary by Governorate

Governorate	Check-point	Partial check-point	Road gate	Road-block	Earth-mound	Earth-wall Count	Earth-wall Length [m]	Trench Count	Trench Length [m]	Road barrier Count	Road barrier Length [m]	Total
Bethlehem	9	1	3	8	11	2	2,100	-	-	5	2,500	39
Hebron	15	5	23	16	105	4	2,000	-	-	35	37,700	203
Jenin	4	-	5	-	7	-	-	1	2,100	-	-	17
Jericho	3	1	1	3	3	-	-	1	19,000	-	-	12
Jerusalem	15	-	4	4	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Nablus	10	2	16	4	32	4	3,400	6	6,856	4	4,800	78
Qalqilya	3	-	3	3	7	1	200	-	-	-	-	16
Ramallah	6	2	14	17	15	1	400	1	1,100	6	16,300	62
Salfit	3	-	8	3	8	-	-	1	200	7	6,200	30
Tubas	2	-	3	-	-	1	1,800	2	6,600	-	-	8
Tulkarm	4	-	1	3	10	2	1,000	-	-	2	1,800	22
Total	**73**	**11**	**81**	**61**	**211**	**15**		**12**		**59**		**523**

OCHA

This update includes data up to October 2006. Access and closure data is collected by OCHA field staff and is subject to change. Access mapping is a work in progress. Maps will be updated regularly.
Cartography: OCHA Information Management Unit
Map Produced: October 2006
Base data and statistics: OCHA, PA MoP
For comments contact <ochaopt@un.org> or tel +972 (0)2 582-9662 - www.ochaopt.org

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The West Bank Barrier

A complex series of concrete walls, electronic fences, observation towers, trenches, patrol roads and razor wire, used to control Palestinian pedestrian and vehicular movement.

Concrete Barrier

Electronic Fence Barrier

BARRIER GATE - Allows restricted movement through the West Bank Barrier to Palestinian lands and to Israel. Permits are required for Palestinians to pass through a gate.

Closure

A policy of physical barriers and permit requirements used to control Palestinian pedestrian and vehicular movement.

CHECKPOINT - A barrier manned by IDF and/or Border Police with observation towers and other physcal blocks used to control pedestrian and vehicular access.

PARTIAL CHECKPOINT - An established checkpoint operating periodically.

OBSERVATION TOWER - An elevated military tower to monitor/control Palestinian pedestrian and vehicular access.

EARTH MOUND - A mound of rubble, dirt and/or rocks used to obstruct vehicle access.

TUNNEL - Passage under road restricted for Palestinian use.

ROADBLOCK - A series of 1 metre concrete blocks used to obstruct vehicle access.

TRENCH - A ditch used to prevent vehicle crossing.

ROAD GATE - A metal gate, often manned by IDF, used to control movement along roads.

ROAD BARRIER: Secures the passage of Israeli settlers on restricted roads. These fences impede Palestinians from traveling over major roads leading to the main cities.

The Permit System

The permit system is complex and applied differently from region to region. A permit eases travel and reduces the risk of being turned back at a checkpoint. Permits are necessary for crossing specific checkpoints, accessing the Jordan Valley, the 'closed area' between the Green Line and the Barrier and for entering East Jerusalem.

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Barrier Update-

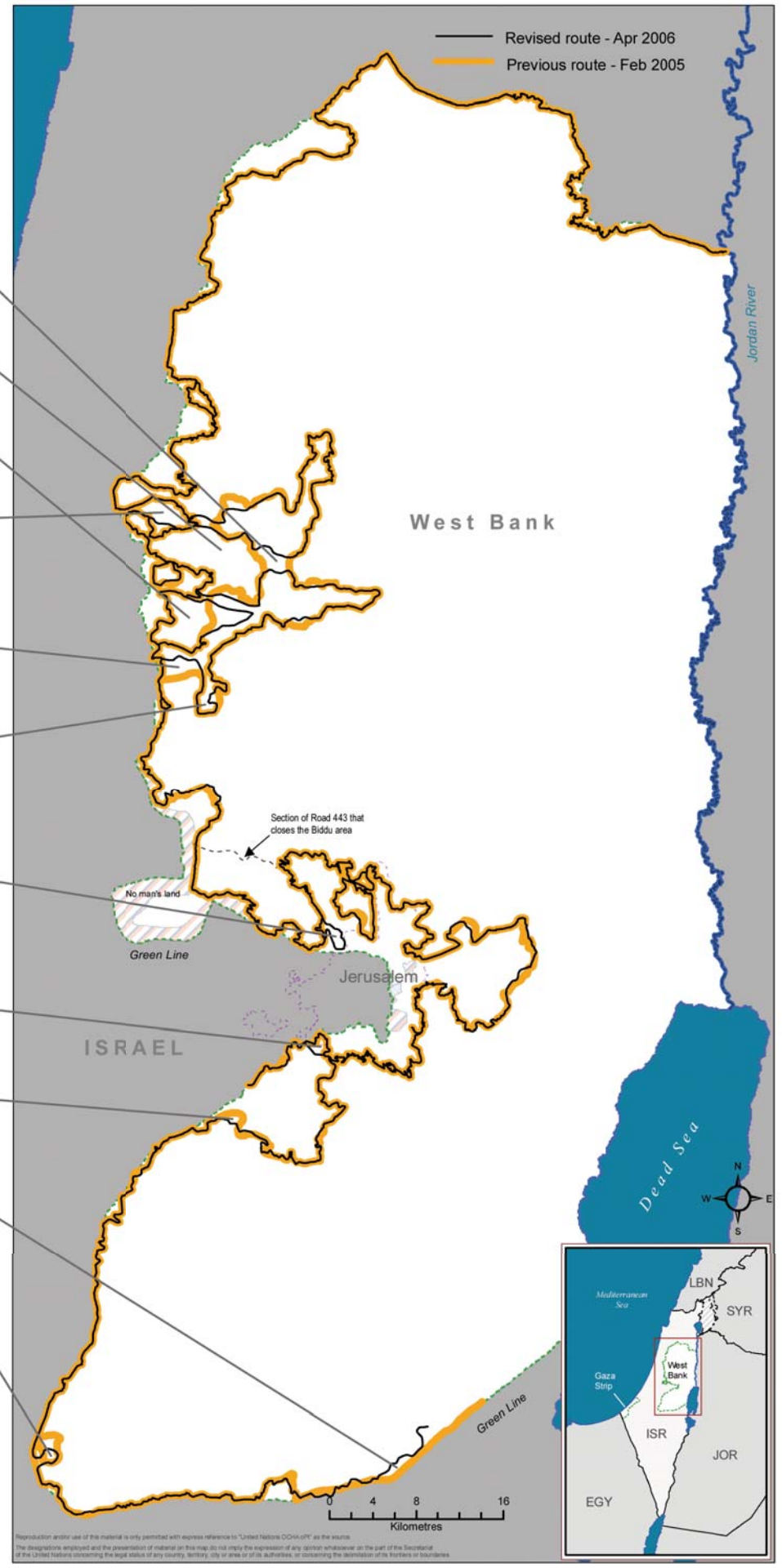
Overview of changes to the route

July 2006

On 30 April 2006, the Israeli cabinet approved a revised route of the West Bank Barrier. The previous map was issued on 20 Feb 2005.

The revisions include:

- The Emanual and Ari'el settlement groups are split into two "fingers".
- Together these "fingers" surround more than 25,000 Palestinians on three sides with one access route on the east side of the Barrier.
- The Ari'el finger encircles three villages: Deir Ballut, Rafat and Az Zawiya.
- The Alfe Menashe settlement is reduced in size.Sections of the completed Barrier will be dismantled and rebuilt placing three Palestinian villages and some of their adjacent lands on the east side of the Barrier.
- The route is moved approximately one and a half kilometres further north from Road 465 and incorporates fewer olive groves and land from Rantis village.
- The route is closer to Ofarim settlement, allowing 'Abud village residentsto remain connected to their olive groves.
- The new route removes Beit Iksa village and its surrounding lands from the Jerusalem side of the Barrier and places it within the Biddu/ Beit Surik group of West Bank villages. This area is surrounded by the Barrier on three sides and Road 443 to the north.
- Al Walaja village will be encircled by the Barrier. The route will incorporate most of all the village infrastructure, however, it will isolate the village from its farm land.
- Al Jaba' will be in the Gush Etzion settlement group.
- Several sections of the route that were planned to be on the Green Line have been moved north, inside the West Bank.
- The "bubble" created by the Barrier around Eshkolot settlement is reduced; the quarry will remain on the West Bank side of the Barrier.



Cartography and Barrier Themes: OCHA-oPt IMU
Map produced 5 July 2006
Base data: MoPIC (2000) updates OCHA (2005)

For comments contact <ochaopt@un.org>
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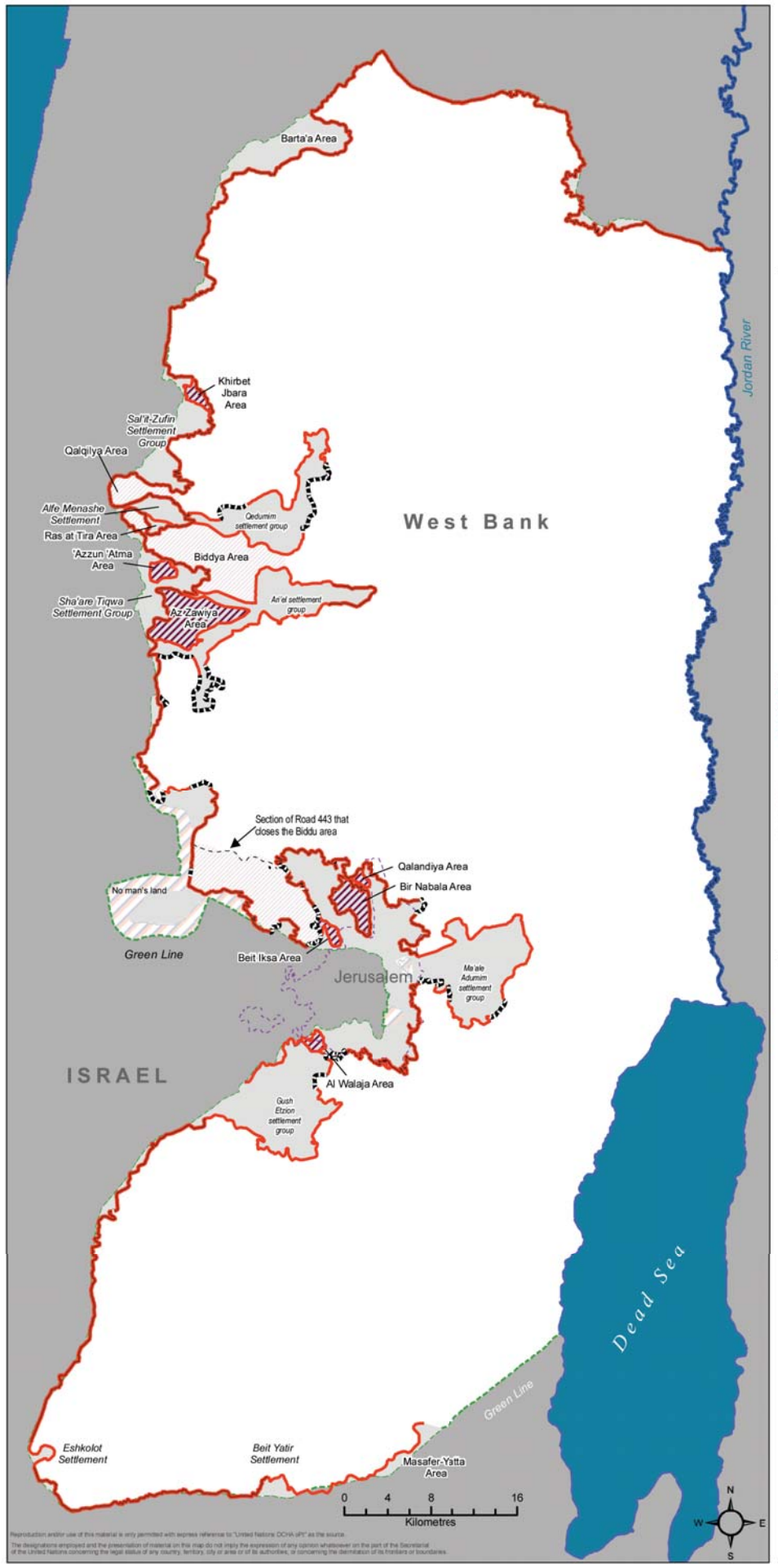
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Barrier Route Projections -

Preliminary Overview

October 2006



The Barrier's total length is 703 km, more than twice the length of the 1949 Armistice Line (Green Line) between the West Bank and Israel. Twenty percent (20%) of the Barrier's length runs along the Green Line.

Area Affected

The total area located between the Barrier and the Green Line is 10.17% of the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

(142,130 acres or 57,518 hectares)

Populations Affected

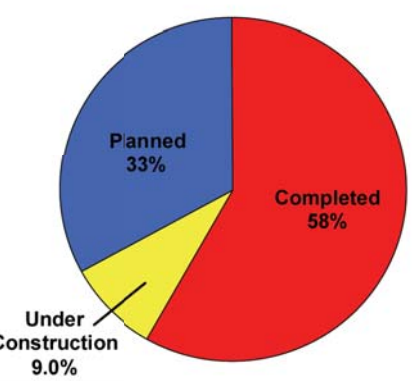
If the Barrier is completed based on the current route, 60,500 Palestinians living in 42 villages will reside in areas between the Barrier and the Green Line, not including East Jerusalem residents.

Of these, 12 villages and about 31,400 Palestinians are particularly affected as they will be completely encircled by the Barrier.

An additional, 124,300 Palestinians living in 28 villages will be located on the east side, but surrounded by the Barrier on three sides and controlled on the fourth with an associated physical structure.

Barrier Route

- Completed - 406 km
- Under construction - 65 km
- Planned - 232 km



Cartography and Barrier Themes: OCHA-oPt IMU
Map 6 October 2006
Base data: MoPIC (2000) updates OCHA (2005)

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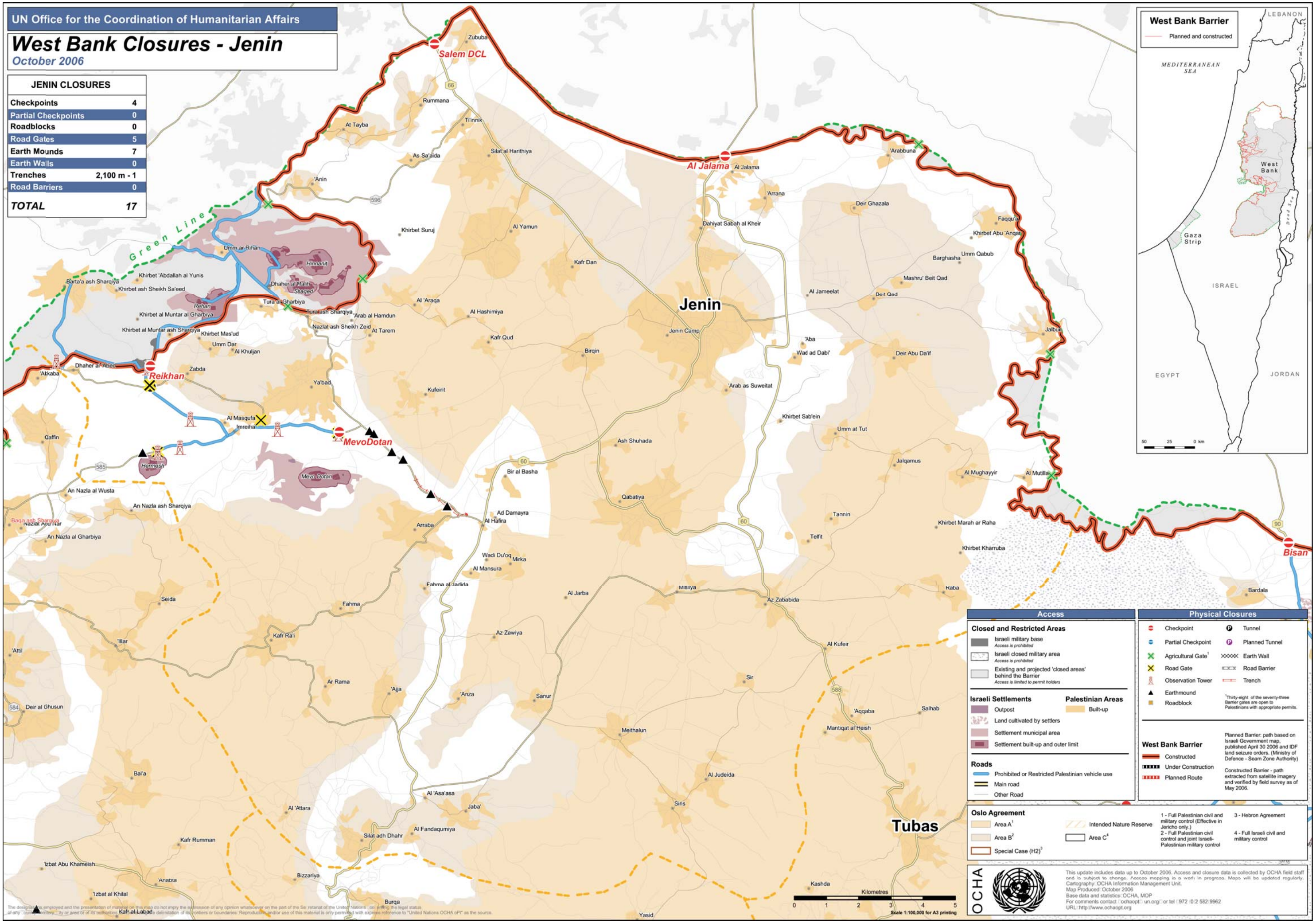
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
West Bank Closures - Jenin
October 2006
JENIN CLOSURES
Checkpoints 4
Partial Checkpoints 0
Roadblocks 0
Road Gates 5
Earth Mounds 7
Earth Walls 0
Trenches 2,100 m - 1
Road Barriers 0
TOTAL 17
Salem DCL
Al Jalama
Reikhan
MevoDotan
Bisan
Jenin
Tubas
Green Line
West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
LEBANON
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Access
Closed and Restricted Areas
Israeli military base
Access is prohibited
Israeli closed military area
Access is prohibited
Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier
Access is limited to permit holders
Israeli Settlements
Outpost
Land cultivated by settlers
Settlement municipal area
Settlement built-up and outer limit
Palestinian Areas
Built-up
Roads
Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
Main road
Other Road
Physical Closures
Checkpoint
Partial Checkpoint
Agricultural Gate
Road Gate
Observation Tower
Earthmound
Roadblock
Tunnel
Planned Tunnel
Earth Wall
Road Barrier
Trench
West Bank Barrier
Constructed
Under Construction
Planned Route
Oslo Agreement
Area A
Area B
Special Case (H2)
Intended Nature Reserve
Area C
1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control
OCHA
Kilometres
Scale 1:100,000 for A3 printing

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Nablus

October 2006

NABLUS CLOSURES	
Checkpoints	10
Partial Checkpoints	2
Roadblocks	4
Road Gates	16
Earth Mounds	32
Earth Walls	3,400 m - 4
Trenches	6,856 m - 6
Road Barriers	4,800 m - 4
TOTAL	*78*

Tubas

Nablus

Salfit

Anabta

Kafriat Tunnel

Shave Shomeron

Beit Iba

Asira ash Shamalia

Jit

Al Baddhan

At Tur

Awarta

Huwwara

Yitzhar

Beit Furik

Tayasir

Hamra

Aqraba

Ma'ale Efrayim

Za'atara

Ari'el

Ma'ale Shomeron

Immanu'el

Qedumim

Kafr Qaddum

Ma'ale Levona

Shilo

Mevo Dotan

Gittit

Rotem (Nahal)

Maskiyyot (Nahal)

Bitronot (Nahal)

Hamdat (Nahal)

Beqa'ot

Roi

Mekhora

Yafit

Dotan

Hamra

Elon Moreh

Bracha (Har Bracha)

Itamar

Yizhar

Ari'el

Rechelim

Qedumim

Ma'ale Efrayim

Ma'ale Levona

Shilo

Mevo Dotan

Dotan

Yafit

Hamra

Gittit

Roi

Beqa'ot

Hamdat (Nahal)

Bitronot (Nahal)

Maskiyyot (Nahal)

Rotem (Nahal)

Sdemot Mehola

Al Farisiya

Al Malih

Khirbet Yarza

Khirbet 'Atuf

Khirbet ar Ras al Ahmar

Khirbet Humsa

Al Hadidiya

Tayasir

Al 'Aqaba

Ath Thaghra

Tayasir

Al Judeida

Siris

Mantiqat al Heish

Meithalun

Al 'Asa'asa

Jaba'

Silat adh Dhahr

Al Fandaqumiya

Al 'Attara

Kafr Rumman

'Izbat Abu Khameish

'Anabta

'Izbat al Khilal

Kafr al Labad

Bizzariya

Burqa

Beit Imrin

Nisf Jubeil

Sabastiya

Ijnisinya

Al Mas'udiya

An Naqura

Shave Shomron

Deir Sharaf

'Asira ash Shamaliya

Ein Beit el Ma (No 1) Camp

Beit Iba

Zawata

Qusin

Beit Wazan

Kafr Qaddum

Jit

Sarra

Tell

'Iraq Burin

Kafr Qalil

Balata Camp

Rujeib

Madama

Burin

'Asira al Qibliya

Urif

Einabus

Huwwara

Odala

Beita

Zeita Jamma'in

Jamma'in

Marda

Qira

Za'tara

Kfar Tappuah

Yatma

Yasuf

Iskaka

Qabalan

Jurish

Osarin

Aqraba

Tall al Khashaba

Ad Dawa

Jafa an Nun

Ar Rajman

Khirbet Tana

Yanun

'Awarta

Beit Furik

Beit Dajan

Furush Beit Dajan

Khirbet al Marajim

Duma

Khirbet Sarra

Jalud

Qaryut

Al Lubban ash Sharqiya

Eli

'Ammuriya

Khirbet Qeis

Mazari' an Nubani

'Arura

Sinjil

Turmus'ayya

Tell

Talfit

As Sawiya

Qusra

Migdalim

Majdal Bani Fadil

Salim

Deir al Hatab

'Askar Camp

'Azmut

Ein Shibli

Shihda wa Hamlan

An Nassariya

Beit Hasan

Khirbet Tall al Ghar

Al 'Aqrabaniya

Al Badhan

Talluza

Tammun

Wadi al Far'a

Ras al Far'a

El Far'a Camp

Kashda

Yasid

Shufa

Saffarin

Beit Lid

Ar Ras

Kafr Sur

Salit

Kur

Falamya

Kafr Jammal

Kafr Zibad

Kafr 'Abbush

Baqat al Hatab

Hajja

Jayyus

Khirbet Sir

'Izbat Abu Hamada

Al Funduq

Immatin

Far'ata

Mabatat Tahseen Mansour

'Izbat at Tabib

Kafr Laqif

'Azzun

Jinsafut

'Isla

Qarne Shomron

Ma'ale Shomeron

Wadi Qana

Kafr Thulth

Nofim

Yaqir

Immanu'el

Khirbet Jubrah

Kafriat

Ramin

Enav

Al 'Aqraba

Ein Shibli

Beqa'ot

Roi

Khirbet Humsa

Khirbet 'Atuf

Khirbet ar Ras al Ahmar

Al Malih

Al Farisiya

Sdemot Mehola

Rotem (Nahal)

Maskiyyot (Nahal)

Bitronot (Nahal)

Hamdat (Nahal)

Al Hadidiya

Furush Beit Dajan

Beit Dajan

Khirbet Tana

Mekhora

Al Jiftlik

Ar Rajman

Ad Dawa

Jafa an Nun

Tall al Khashaba

Gittit

Osarin

Aqraba

Jurish

Qabalan

Yatma

Za'atara

Kfar Tappuah

Yasuf

Iskaka

Rechelim

Ari'el

Marda

Qira

Jamma'in

Zeita Jamma'in

Einabus

Huwwara

Odala

Beita

Urif

'Asira al Qibliya

Madama

Burin

'Iraq Burin

Kafr Qalil

Balata Camp

Rujeib

Tell

Sarra

Jit

Qedumim

Kafr Qaddum

Immatin

Far'ata

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Kafr Zibad

Kafr 'Abbush

Ein Beit el Ma (No 1) Camp

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Zawata

Qusin

Beit Wazan

Asira ash Shamaliya

Deir Sharaf

Shave Shomron

An Naqura

Sabastiya

Ijnisinya

Al Mas'udiya

Nisf Jubeil

Beit Imrin

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Bizzariya

'Izbat Abu Khameish

'Anabta

'Izbat al Khilal

Kafr al Labad

Kafr Rumman

Al 'Attara

Silat adh Dhahr

Al Fandaqumiya

Al 'Asa'asa

Jaba'

Siris

Al Judeida

Meithalun

Mantiqat al Heish

Tayasir

Al 'Aqaba

Ath Thaghra

Tayasir

Al Malih

Khirbet Yarza

Khirbet 'Atuf

Khirbet ar Ras al Ahmar

Khirbet Humsa

Al Hadidiya

Hamdat (Nahal)

Bitronot (Nahal)

Maskiyyot (Nahal)

Rotem (Nahal)

Sdemot Mehola

Al Farisiya

Ein Shibli

Shihda wa Hamlan

An Nassariya

Beit Hasan

Khirbet Tall al Ghar

Al 'Aqrabaniya

Al Badhan

Talluza

Tammun

Wadi al Far'a

Ras al Far'a

El Far'a Camp

Kashda

Yasid

Shufa

Saffarin

Beit Lid

Ar Ras

Kafr Sur

Salit

Kur

Falamya

Kafr Jammal

Kafr Zibad

Kafr 'Abbush

Baqat al Hatab

Hajja

Jayyus

Khirbet Sir

'Izbat Abu Hamada

Al Funduq

Immatin

Far'ata

Mabatat Tahseen Mansour

'Izbat at Tabib

Kafr Laqif

'Azzun

Jinsafut

'Isla

Qarne Shomron

Ma'ale Shomeron

Wadi Qana

Kafr Thulth

Nofim

Yaqir

Immanu'el

Khirbet Jubrah

Kafriat

Ramin

Enav

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Tubas

October 2006

TUBAS CLOSURES

Checkpoints	2
Partial Checkpoints	0
Roadblocks	0
Road Gates	3
Earth Mounds	0
Earth Walls	1,800 m - 1
Trenches	6,600 m - 2
Road Barriers	0
TOTAL	*8*

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas
- Israeli military base — *Access is prohibited*
- Israeli closed military area — *Access is prohibited*
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier — *Access is limited to permit holders*

Israeli Settlements
- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas
- Built-up

Roads
- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier
- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

Oslo Agreement
- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

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Tubas

Jordan

Green Line

Bisan

Tayasir

Hamra

West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed

LEBANON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Dead Sea
0 25 50 km

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Kilometres
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UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Jericho

October 2006

JERICHO CLOSURES	
Checkpoints	3
Partial Checkpoints	1
Roadblocks	3
Road Gates	1
Earth Mounds	3
Earth Walls	0
Trenches	19,000 m - 1
Road Barriers	0
TOTAL	*12*

Nablus

Salfit

Jericho

JORDAN

Dead Sea

Al Baddhan
At Tur
Beit Furik
'Awarta
Huwwara
Yitzhar
Za'atara
Hamra
Ma'ale Efrayim
'Agraba
Al Lubban ash Sharqiya
Ma'ale Levona
Shilo
Qalandiya
Jaba'
Al Ram
Bet' El DCO
At Tayba
Yitav
Nwemeh
Jericho
Jericho DCO
Kokhav Hashahar
Kfar Adumim
Mishor Adumim
Mizpe Jericho
Wered Jericho
Ofra
Kochav Ya'akov
Ma'ale Mikhmas
Geva Binyamin
Neve Ya'akov
Gilgad
Netiv Hagedud
Tomer
Peza'el
Rimmonim
Gittit
Migdalim
Qusra
Talfit
Mikhmas
Qaryut
Jalud
Khirbet Sarra
Duma
Khirbet al Marajim
Sinjil
Turmus'ayya
Khirbet Abu Falah
Al Mughayyir
Fasayil
Al Mazra'a ash Sharqiya
Kafr Malik
'Ein Samiya
Silwad
Yabrud
Deir Jarir
At Tayba
Badiw al Mu'arrajat
Deir Dibwan
Burqa
Beitin
Rammun
Al Ka'abina
Deir al Qilt
Aqbat Jaber Camp
Deir Hajla
Beit Haarava
An Nabi Musa
Almog
Lido Yehuda
Atraktziya Water Park
Qalya
Ein Fashkhah
Nahal En Hogla
Qedar
Ar Rajman
Ad Dawa
Jafa an Nun
Khirbet Tana
Mekhora
Al Jiftlik
Yanun
Beit Dajan
Furush Beit Dajan
Beit Furik
Rujeib
Balata Camp
Kafr Qalil
Tell
'Iraq Burin
Bracha (Har Bracha)
Madama
Burin
'Asira al Qibliya
Itamar
Yizhar
Urif
Immanu'el
Odala
'Einabus
Beita
Zeita Jamma'in
Deir Istiya
Jamma'in
Qira
Haris
Kifl Haris
Marda
Kfar Tappuah
Za'tara
Osarin
Aqraba
Tall al Khashaba
Yasuf
Iskaka
An'el
Rechelim
Qabalan
Jurish
As Sawiya
Farkha
Khirbet Qeis
'Ammuriya
Mazari' an Nubani
'Arura
'Abwein
Deir as Sudan
Jiljilya
Al Lubban ash Sharqiya
Eli
Qaryut
Jalud
Khirbet Sarra
Duma
Khirbet al Marajim
Turmus'ayya
Sinjil
Khirbet Abu Falah
Al Mughayyir
Fasayil
Tomer
Gilgad
Netiv Hagedud
Niran
Al 'Auja
Nahal Zori
Yitav
Rimmonim
Badiw al Mu'arrajat
Ma'ale Efrayim
Yafit
Peza'el
Regional Center
Massu'a
Gittit
Migdalim
Qusra
Majdal Bani Fadil
Talfit
As Sawiya
Al Hadidiya
Hemdat (Nahal)
Ro'i
Beg'a'ot
'Ein Shibli
An Nassariya
Shihda wa Hamlan
Beit Hasan
Khirbet Tall al Ghar
Al 'Aqrabaniya
Hamra
Furush Beit Dajan
Marj Na'ja
Argaman
Az Zubeidat
Marj al Ghazal
Mekhora
Khirbet Tana
Al Jiftlik
Ar Rajman
Ad Dawa
Jafa an Nun
Yanun
Beit Furik
Beit Dajan
Rujeib
Balata Camp
Kafr Qalil
'Iraq Burin
Tell
Bracha (Har Bracha)
Madama
Burin
'Asira al Qibliya
Itamar
Yizhar
Urif
Immanu'el
Odala
'Einabus
Huwwara
'Awarta
Beita
Zeita Jamma'in
Deir Istiya
Jamma'in
Qira
Haris
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Marda
Kfar Tappuah
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Yasuf
Iskaka
An'el
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Qabalan
Jurish
As Sawiya
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Khirbet Qeis
'Ammuriya
Mazari' an Nubani
'Arura
'Abwein
Deir as Sudan
Jiljilya
'Azmut
'Askar Camp
Deir al Hatab
Salim
Elon Moreh
Al Baddhan
Shilo
Ma'ale Levona
Kochav Ya'akov
Kafr 'Aqab
Mikhmas
Qalandiya Camp
Jaba'
Geva Binyamin
Neve Ya'akov
Al Ram
Dura al Qar'
'Ein Siniya
Yabrud
Silwad
Deir Jarir
Kokhav Hashahar
Ofra
'Ein Yabrud
At Tayba
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Beitin
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Deir Dibwan
Burqa
Rammun
Badiw al Mu'arrajat
Al Ka'abina
Mishor Adumim
Kfar Adumim
Mizpe Jericho
Wered Jericho
Jericho DCO
Beit Haarava
Nahal En Hogla
Deir al Qilt
Aqbat Jaber Camp
Deir Hajla
An Nabi Musa
Almog
Lido Yehuda
Atraktziya Water Park
Qalya
Ein Fashkhah
'Ein ad Duyuk al Fauqa
'Ein as Sultan Camp
Deir Quruntul
'Ein ad Duyuk at Tahta
Jericho
Nwemeh
Yitav
Ma'ale Efrayim
Yafit
Peza'el
Fasayil
Tomer
Gilgad
Netiv Hagedud
Niran
Al 'Auja
Nahal Zori
Na'omi
Rimmonim
Gittit
Migdalim
Qusra
Majdal Bani Fadil
Talfit
As Sawiya
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Aqraba
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Jiljilya
'Azmut
'Askar Camp
Deir al Hatab
Salim
Elon Moreh
Al Baddhan

West Bank Barrier

Planned and constructed

LEBANON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Dead Sea
0 25 50 km

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas

- Israeli military base — *Access is prohibited*
- Israeli closed military area — *Access is prohibited*
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier — *Access is limited to permit holders*

Israeli Settlements

- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas

- Built-up

Roads

- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier

- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

Oslo Agreement

- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

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Kilometres 0 1 2 3 4 5

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UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Tulkarm

October 2006

TULKARM CLOSURES	
Checkpoints	4
Partial Checkpoints	0
Roadblocks	3
Road Gates	1
Earth Mounds	10
Earth Walls	1,000 m - 2
Trenches	0
Road Barriers	1,800 m - 2
TOTAL	22

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas
- Israeli military base — *Access is prohibited*
- Israeli closed military area — *Access is prohibited*
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier — *Access is limited to permit holders*

Israeli Settlements
- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas
- Built-up

Roads
- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier
- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

Oslo Agreement

- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

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Khirbet al Muntar al Gharbiya
Khirbet al Muntar ash Sharqiya
Dhaher al 'Abed
'Akkaba
Reikhan
Zabda
Qaffin
Hermesh
Nazlat 'Isa
An Nazla al Wusta
An Nazla ash Sharqiya
Baqa ash Sharqiya
Nazlat Abu Nar
An Nazla al Gharbiya
Zeita
Seida
Fahma
Fahma al Jadida
'Illar
Kafr Ra'i
'Attil
Ar Rama
'Ajja
Deir al Ghusun
Al Jarushiya
Bal'a
Iktaba
Nur Shams Camp
Tulkarm Camp
Tulkarm
Kafr Rumman
Silat adh Dhahr
Al Fandaqumiya
Al 'Attara
Al 'Asa'asa
Dhinnaba
'Izbat Abu Khameish
'Anabta
Bizzariya
'Izbat al Khilal
Burqa
Khirbet at Tayyah
Kafa
Kafr al Labad
Beit Imrin
At Tayba
Al Haffasi
Far'un
Avne Hefez
Enav
Ramin
'Izbat Shufa
Kafriat
Shufa
Khirbet Ibarah
Kafriat Tunnel
Saffarin
Beit Lid
Ar Ras
Kafr Sur
Safit
Kur
Green Line
Falamya
Kafr Jammal
Kafr Zibad
Kafr 'Abbush
Kafr Qaddum
Qedumim
Jit
Baqat al Hatab
Hajja
Jayyus
Khirbet Sir
Arraba
Arraba
Kilometres
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale 1:75'000 for A3 printing

West Bank Barrier

Planned and constructed

LEBANON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
West Bank
Gaza Strip
Dead Sea
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
0 25 50 km

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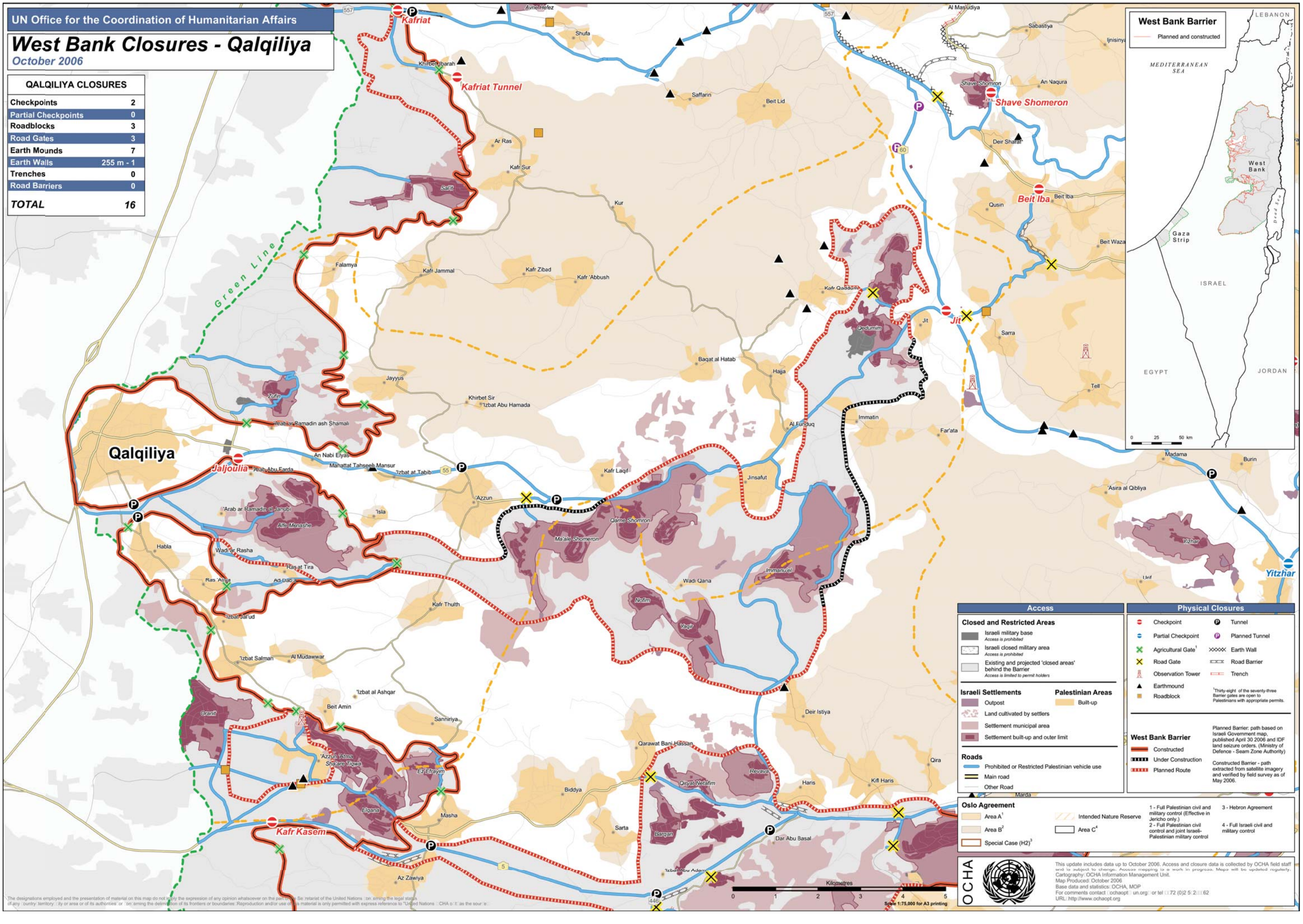
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
West Bank Closures - Qalqiliya
October 2006
QALQILIYA CLOSURES
Checkpoints 2
Partial Checkpoints 0
Roadblocks 3
Road Gates 3
Earth Mounds 7
Earth Walls 255 m - 1
Trenches 0
Road Barriers 0
TOTAL 16
Qalqiliya
Green Line
Kafriat
Kafriat Tunnel
Shave Shomeron
Beit Iba
Jit
Jaljoulia
Kafr Kasem
Yitzhar
Kafr Qaddum
Qedumim
Immanu'el
Nofim
Yaqir
Ma'ale Shomeron
Qarne Shomron
Alfe Menashe
Oranit
Ez Efrayim
Elqana
Barqan
Revava
Qiryat Netafim
Shufa
Saffarin
Beit Lid
Ar Ras
Kafr Sur
Kur
Falamya
Kafr Jammal
Kafr Zibad
Kafr 'Abbush
Jayyus
Zufin
Khirbet Sir
'Izbat Abu Hamada
Baqat al Hatab
Hajja
Al Funduq
Immatin
Far'ata
Jinsafut
Kafr Laqif
'Azzun
'Isla
Habla
Wadi ar Rasha
Ras at Tira
Ras 'Atiya
Ad Dab'a
Kafr Thulth
'Izbat Jal'ud
'Izbat Salman
Al Mudawwar
'Izbat al Ashqar
Beit Amin
Sanniriya
Biddya
Sarta
Masha
Az Zawiya
Qarawat Bani Hassan
Deir Istiya
Haris
Kifl Haris
Qira
Dar Abu Basal
'Izbat Abu Adam
Madama
Burin
'Asira al Qibliya
Urif
Sarra
Tell
Qusin
Beit Waza
Deir Sharaf
An Naqura
Sabastiya
Al Mas'udiya
Ijnisinya
Shave Shomron
Beit Lid
Khirbet Ibarah
Ar Ras
Salit
Kafr Jammal
Kafr Zibad
Kafr 'Abbush
Jayyus
Zufin
'Arab ar Ramadin ash Shamali
An Nabi Elyas
Mahattat Tahseeh Mansur
'Izbat at Tabib
'Arab Abu Farda
'Arab ar Ramadin al Janubi
Wadi ar Rasha
Ras at Tira
Ad Dab'a
'Izbat Jal'ud
'Izbat Salman
Al Mudawwar
'Izbat al Ashqar
Beit Amin
Sanniriya
'Azzun 'Atma
Shu'are Tiqwa
Ez Efrayim
Elqana
Kafr Qaddum
Qedumim
Immanu'el
Nofim
Yaqir
Ma'ale Shomeron
Qarne Shomron
Shufa
Avne Hefez
Al Mas'udiya
Sabastiya
Ijnisinya
Kilometres
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale 1:75,000 for A3 printing
West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
LEBANON
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
0 25 50 km
Access
Closed and Restricted Areas
Israeli military base
Access is prohibited
Israeli closed military area
Access is prohibited
Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier
Access is limited to permit holders
Israeli Settlements
Outpost
Land cultivated by settlers
Settlement municipal area
Settlement built-up and outer limit
Palestinian Areas
Built-up
Roads
Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
Main road
Other Road
Physical Closures
Checkpoint
Partial Checkpoint
Agricultural Gate[1]
Road Gate
Observation Tower
Earthmound
Roadblock
Tunnel
Planned Tunnel
Earth Wall
Road Barrier
Trench
[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.
West Bank Barrier
Constructed
Under Construction
Planned Route
Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)
Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.
Oslo Agreement
Area A[1]
Area B[2]
Special Case (H2)[3]
Intended Nature Reserve
Area C[4]
1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control
OCHA
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Cartography: OCHA Information Management Unit.
Map Produced: October 2006
Base data and statistics: OCHA, MOP
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URL: http://www.ochaopt.org
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UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Salfit

October 2006

SALFIT CLOSURES

Checkpoints	3
Partial Checkpoints	0
Roadblocks	3
Road Gates	8
Earth Mounds	8
Earth Walls	0
Trenches	200 m - 1
Road Barriers	6,200 m - 7
TOTAL	*30*

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas
- Israeli military base — *Access is prohibited*
- Israeli closed military area — *Access is prohibited*
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier — *Access is limited to permit holders*

Israeli Settlements
- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas
- Built-up

Roads
- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier
- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

Oslo Agreement
- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

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Salfit

Kafr Kasem

Deir Ballut

Rantis

Za'atara

Kilometres
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale 1:75,000 for A3 printing

West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed

LEBANON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Dead Sea
0 25 50 km

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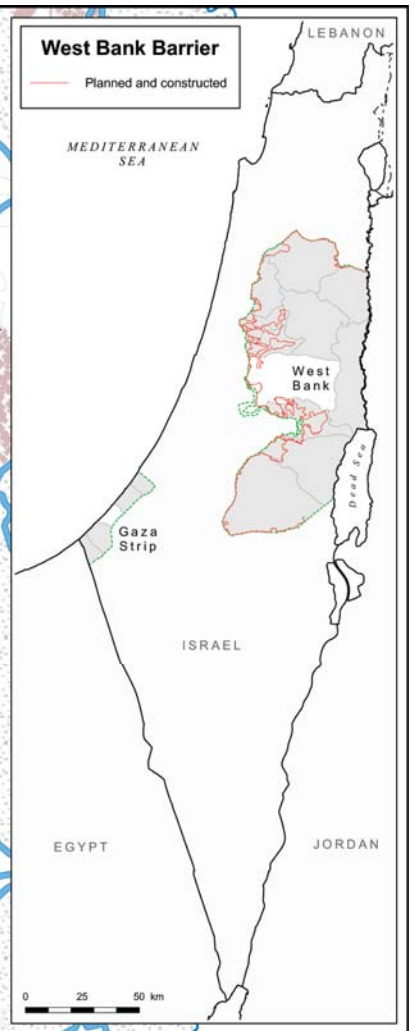
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Ramallah

October 2006

RAMALLAH CLOSURES	
Checkpoints	6
Partial Checkpoints	2
Roadblocks	17
Road Gates	14
Earth Mounds	15
Earth Walls	400 m - 1
Trenches	1,100 m - 1
Road Barriers	16,300 m - 6
TOTAL	*62*



Salfit

Ramallah - Al Bireh

Jerusalem

Za'atara

'Agraba

Ma'ale Efrayim

An Nabi Salih

'Atara

Bet'El DCO

At Tayba

Yitav

Rantis

Nilin

Makkabim

Beituniya

Rafat

Qalandiya Village

Qalandiya

'Atarot

Jaba'

Al Ram

Hizmah

Ramot

Shufat

Ras Abu Sbeitan

Zayem

Deir Ballut

Ma'ale Levona

Shilo

Ma'ale Mikhmas

Ma'ale Adummim

Mizpe Jericho

Mishor Adumim

Kfar Adumim

Al Ka'abina

Eddo Yehuda

Green Line

No Man's Land

Kilometres
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale 1:150,000 for A3 printing

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas
- Israeli military base — *Access is prohibited*
- Israeli closed military area — *Access is prohibited*
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier — *Access is limited to permit holders*

Israeli Settlements
- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas
- Built-up

Roads
- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier
- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

Oslo Agreement
- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
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3 - Hebron Agreement
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UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Jerusalem

October 2006

JERUSALEM CLOSURES	
Checkpoints	15
Partial Checkpoints	0
Roadblocks	4
Road Gates	4
Earth Mounds	13
Earth Walls	0
Trenches	0
Road Barriers	0
TOTAL	36

West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed

LEBANON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Dead Sea
0 25 50 Km

Ramallah - Al Bireh
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Jericho
No Man's Land
Green Line
Mount Scopus

'Atara
Nilin
Bet El DCO
At Tayba
Yitav
Nwemeh
Makkabim
Beituniya
Rafat
Qalandiya Village
Qalandiya
Atarot
Jaba'
Al Ram
Hizmah
Ramot
Shufat
Jericho DCO
Ras Abu Sbeitan
Zayem
Lazarus
Abu Dis
As Sawahira ash Sharidiya
Container
Ein Yallow
Gilo
Beit Jala DCO
Wadi Fukin
Betar Illit
Tunnel
An Nu'man
Settler's Efrat
Gush 'Etzion
Efrat

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas
- Israeli military base — Access is prohibited
- Israeli closed military area — Access is prohibited
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier — Access is limited to permit holders

Israeli Settlements
- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas
- Built-up

Roads
- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier
- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

Oslo Agreement
- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

OCHA

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Kilometres
0 1 2 3 4
Scale 1:150,000 for A3 printing

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - East Jerusalem

October 2006

Ramallah - Al Bireh

West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed

LEBANON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Dead Sea
0 25 50 Km

Green Line

Mount Scopus

Jerusalem

Bethlehem

Old City

Beituniya
Rafat
Qalandiya
Qalandiya Village
Atarot
Jaba'
Al Ram
Hizmah
Ramot
Shufat
Ein Yallow
Gilo
Wadi Fukin
Betar Illit
Tunnel
Beit Jala DCO
An Nu'man
Zayem
Ras Abu Sbeitan
Lazarus
Abu Dis
As Sawahira ash Shariqiya

Pesagot
Kochav Ya'akov
Giv'at Ze'ev
Har Gilo
Har Homa
Ramot Allon
Ramat Shlomo
Ramat Eshkol
French Hill
Hebrew University
Ma'alot Dafna
Giv'on HaHadasha
Har Smuel
Neve Ya'akov
Pisgat Ze'ev
East Talpiyyot
Gev'a Binyamin
Giv'at HaMatos

Al Bireh
Burqa
Al Am'ari Camp
Kafr 'Aqab
Mikhmas
Qalandiya Camp
Al Judeira
Al Jib
Bir Nabala
Ar Ram - Dahiyat al Bareed
Jaba'
Beit Iksa
Beit Surik
Biddu
Al Qubeiba
An Nabi Samwil
Beit Hanina
Beit Hanina al Balad
Hizma
Shu'fat
Shufat Camp
'Anata
Al 'Isawiya
Az Za'ayyem
Jabal al Mukabbir
As Sawahira al Gharbiya
As Sawahira ash Sharqiya
Ash Sheikh Sa'd
Sharafat
Beit Safafa
Sur Bahir
Umm Tuba
Khallet an Nu'man
Al Hujeila
Dar Salah
Wadi al 'Arayis
Al Khas
Umm al Qasseis
Juhdum
Umm 'Asla
Fakht al Jul
Ras al Wad
Bureid'a
Wadi Umm Qal'a
Artas
Ad Duheisha Camp
Khallet al Louza
Dhahrat an Nada
Al Khadr
Ad Doha
Husan
Battir
Al Walaja
Beit Jala
Beit Sahur
'Ayda Camp
Al 'Aza - Beit Jibrin Camp
Silwan
Ath Thuri
Ras al 'Amud
Abu Dis
At Tur
As Suwwana
Bab as Sahira
Ash Shayyah
Jewish Quarter

Kilometres
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale 1:60,000 for A3 printing

Access

Closed and Restricted Areas
- Israeli military base — Access is prohibited
- Israeli closed military area — Access is prohibited
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier — Access is limited to permit holders

Israeli Settlements
- Outpost
- Land cultivated by settlers
- Settlement municipal area
- Settlement built-up and outer limit

Palestinian Areas
- Built-up

Roads
- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Main road
- Other Road

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate[1]
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

[1]Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.

West Bank Barrier
- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)

Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.

Oslo Agreement

- Area A[1]
- Area B[2]
- Special Case (H2)[3]
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C[4]

1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control

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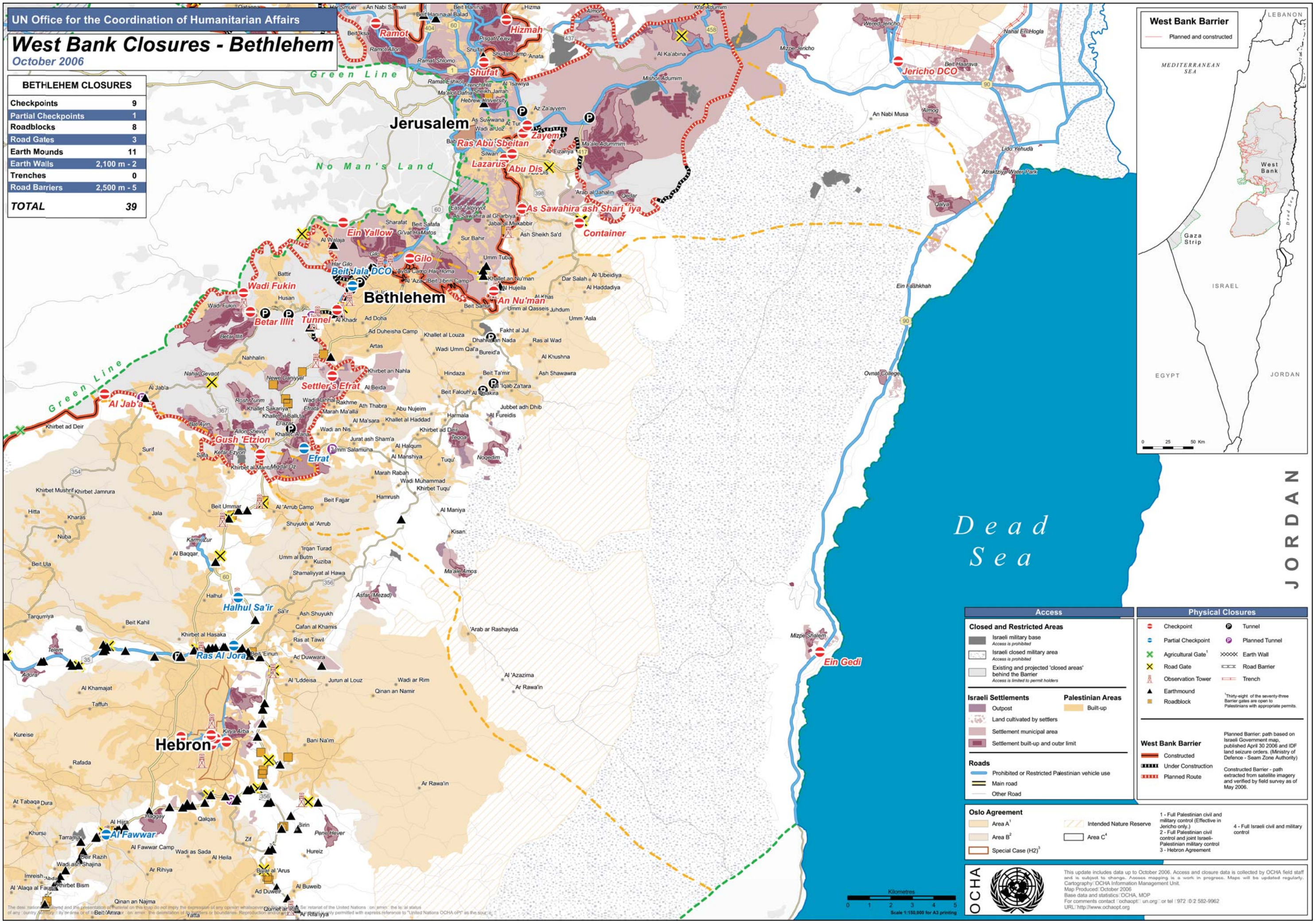
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
West Bank Closures - Bethlehem
October 2006
BETHLEHEM CLOSURES
Checkpoints 9
Partial Checkpoints 1
Roadblocks 8
Road Gates 3
Earth Mounds 11
Earth Walls 2,100 m - 2
Trenches 0
Road Barriers 2,500 m - 5
TOTAL 39
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Green Line
No Man's Land
Ramot
Hizmah
Shufat
Jericho DCO
Zayem
Ras Abu Sbeitan
Lazarus
Abu Dis
As Sawahira ash Shari'iya
Container
Ein Yallow
Gilo
Beit Jala DCO
Wadi Fukin
Betar Illit
Tunnel
An Nu'man
Settler's Efrat
Al Jab'a
Gush 'Etzion
Efrat
Halhul Sa'ir
Ras Al Jora
Al Fawwar
Ein Gedi
Dead Sea
JORDAN
West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
LEBANON
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Access
Closed and Restricted Areas
Israeli military base
Access is prohibited
Israeli closed military area
Access is prohibited
Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier
Access is limited to permit holders
Israeli Settlements
Outpost
Land cultivated by settlers
Settlement municipal area
Settlement built-up and outer limit
Palestinian Areas
Built-up
Roads
Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
Main road
Other Road
Physical Closures
Checkpoint
Partial Checkpoint
Agricultural Gate
Road Gate
Observation Tower
Earthmound
Roadblock
Tunnel
Planned Tunnel
Earth Wall
Road Barrier
Trench
West Bank Barrier
Constructed
Under Construction
Planned Route
Oslo Agreement
Area A
Area B
Special Case (H2)
Intended Nature Reserve
Area C
1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control
Kilometres
Scale 1:150,000 for A3 printing
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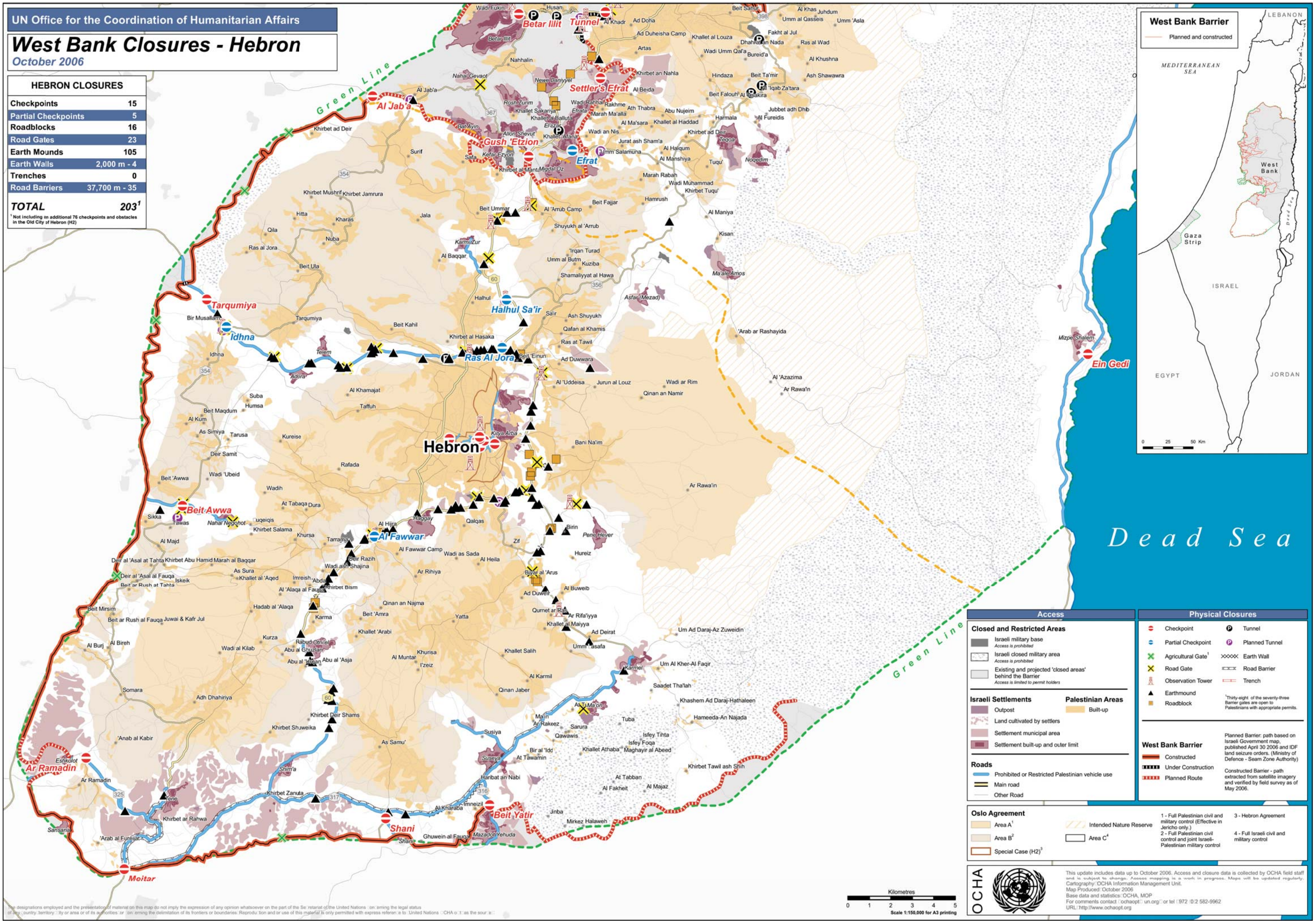
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
West Bank Closures - Hebron
October 2006
HEBRON CLOSURES
Checkpoints 15
Partial Checkpoints 5
Roadblocks 16
Road Gates 23
Earth Mounds 105
Earth Walls 2,000 m - 4
Trenches 0
Road Barriers 37,700 m - 35
TOTAL 203[1]
[1] Not including an additional 76 checkpoints and obstacles in the Old City of Hebron (H2)
Green Line
Dead Sea
Hebron
Betar Illit
Tunnel
Settler's Efrat
Al Jab'a
Gush 'Etzion
Efrat
Tarqumiya
Idhna
Halhul Sa'ir
Ras Al Jora
Beit Awwa
Al Fawwar
Ar Ramadin
Shani
Beit Yatir
Meitar
Ein Gedi
West Bank Barrier
Planned and constructed
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
LEBANON
West Bank
Gaza Strip
ISRAEL
EGYPT
JORDAN
Access
Closed and Restricted Areas
Israeli military base
Access is prohibited
Israeli closed military area
Access is prohibited
Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier
Access is limited to permit holders
Israeli Settlements
Outpost
Land cultivated by settlers
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Palestinian Areas
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Roads
Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
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Partial Checkpoint
Agricultural Gate[1]
Road Gate
Observation Tower
Earthmound
Roadblock
Tunnel
Planned Tunnel
Earth Wall
Road Barrier
Trench
[1] Thirty-eight of the seventy-three Barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.
West Bank Barrier
Constructed
Under Construction
Planned Route
Planned Barrier: path based on Israeli Government map, published April 30 2006 and IDF land seizure orders. (Ministry of Defence - Seam Zone Authority)
Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified by field survey as of May 2006.
Oslo Agreement
Area A[1]
Area B[2]
Special Case (H2)[3]
Intended Nature Reserve
Area C[4]
1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (Effective in Jericho only.)
2 - Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
3 - Hebron Agreement
4 - Full Israeli civil and military control
Kilometres
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale 1:150,000 for A3 printing
OCHA
This update includes data up to October 2006. Access and closure data is collected by OCHA field staff and is subject to change. Access mapping is a work in progress. Maps will be updated regularly.
Cartography: OCHA Information Management Unit.
Map Produced: October 2006
Base data and statistics: OCHA, MOP
For comments contact ochaopt un.org or tel 972 02 582-9962
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UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

West Bank Closures - Hebron Old City

June 2006

HEBRON OLD CITY CLOSURES	
Checkpoints	14
Iron Walls and Fences	13
Roadblocks	44
Road Gates	13
Observation Towers	5
TOTAL	*89*

N

H1

H2

Givat Ha'avot Settlement

Kiryat Arba Settlement

Hebron Governmental Hospital

Al-Atqya Mosque

Post Office

Abu Deyya School

Widaad School

Hebron Chamber of Commerce

Ali Al-Baka Mosque

Al-Adel St

Al-Malek Hussain St

Khadije Abdiin School

Bab Al-Zawiye

Al-Muhamadiyya School

Old Al-Shallalah St

Al-Yakobiyya School

New Al-Shallalah St

Al-Jazaer School

Bir Al-Saba School

Al-Sheikh Raschid School

Shajaret Al-Dur School

Al-Yakatha School

Salah Al-Din St

Khallet Hadur St

Al-Ayobiyya School

Al-Nasr St

Patriarchs' Hill St

Abd Al Khaleq School

Emm Amaar School

Asmaa School

Tomb of Othniel Ben Knaz

Al Shohada St

Beit Hadassah Settlement

Tel Rumeida Settlement

Jewish Cemetery

Cordoba School

Health Clinic

Al Waqf Soup kitchen

HRC

Ibrahimi Mosque Cave of Machpela

Prayers Rd

Al-Rayan Mosque

Jabal Al-Rahme Mosque

Al-Arba'in Mosque

Tomb of Jesse and Ruth

Road planned for construction

Abraham's Well

Beit Romano Settlement

Old Suq

Al-Harem St

Al-Qazzazin Mosque

Avraham Avinu Settlement

Security Rd

Al-Sahle St

Wholesale market

Islamic Cemetery

Al-Qarantina St

H2

H1

Al-Ibrahimiyye School

Othman Ibn Afan Mosque

Al-Fayhaa School

Abu Rish Mosque

Al-Qarantina Medical Center

H2 (under IDF control)

H1 (under PA control)

Tareq Ibn Ziad school

West Bank Barrier

Planned and constructed

LEBANON

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Hebron H1/H2

West Bank

Dead Sea

Gaza Strip

ISRAEL

EGYPT

JORDAN

0 25 50 km

Buildings

- Health Care Facility
- Jewish Religious Site
- Muslim Religious Site
- PA Government Building
- Palestinian School
- Shared Religious Site
- Jewish Settlement

Physical Closures

- Checkpoint
- Concrete Roadblock
- Iron Wall or Fence
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Closed shops and Palestinian vehicular access is not allowed
- Palestinian vehicular access in not allowed
- Closed Areas for Palestinians

H1/H2 refers to the division of the city of Hebron into an area under the control of the PA (H1 - 80%) and another under the control of the IDF (H2 - 20%) following its withdrawal in 1997.

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0 250 500
Metres

Halhul

Givat Harsina Settlement

Wadi Al Gruz

Kiryat Arba Settlement

H1

H2

Beit Khaggai Settlement

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