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Settlement Monitor

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SETTLEMENT MONITOR

EDITED BY GEOFFREY ARONSON

This section covers items—reprinted articles, statistics, and maps—pertaining to Israeli settlement activities in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights. Unless otherwise stated, the items in this section have been written by Geoffrey Aronson directly for this section or drawn from material written by him for Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories (hereinafter Settlement Report), a Washington-based bimonthly newsletter published by the Foundation for Middle East Peace. JPS is grateful to the Foundation for permission to draw on its material. Major documents relating to settlements appear in the Documents and Source Material section.

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THE WYE MEMORANDUM AND SETTLEMENTS

From Settlement Report, November–December 1998.

Israel and the Palestinian Authority (PA) have agreed in the Wye memorandum to a revised timetable for the phased implementation of the first and second “further redeployments” (FRD) of Israeli military forces outlined in the Oslo II accords signed in September 1995.

The first of three redeployments was initially scheduled to begin in October 1996. The third redeployment was to have been completed, according to the Oslo II timetable, by October 1997. The Wye memorandum, signed on 23 October 1998, makes no mention of a date for the third redeployment called for in Oslo II.

The official text of the memorandum curiously omits any map detailing the areas to be transferred by Israel to Palestinian control. This is the first redeployment accord in which such a map has not formed part of the official agreement.

After implementation of the Wye memorandum, the PA will control, in whole or in part, 40 percent of the West Bank (see chart). Palestinians expect U.S. intelligence satellites to confirm the extent of Israel's deployments.

Redeployment Map

Palestinians have pieced together a rather detailed understanding of what areas Israel intends to transfer, although no final Israeli redeployment map has ever been formally presented, even at the Wye talks.

Indeed, in the days after the Wye talks, it became clear that the redeployment map remained a work in progress. Numerous accompanying documents to the Wye agreement appeared in the press, but no realistic map was leaked.

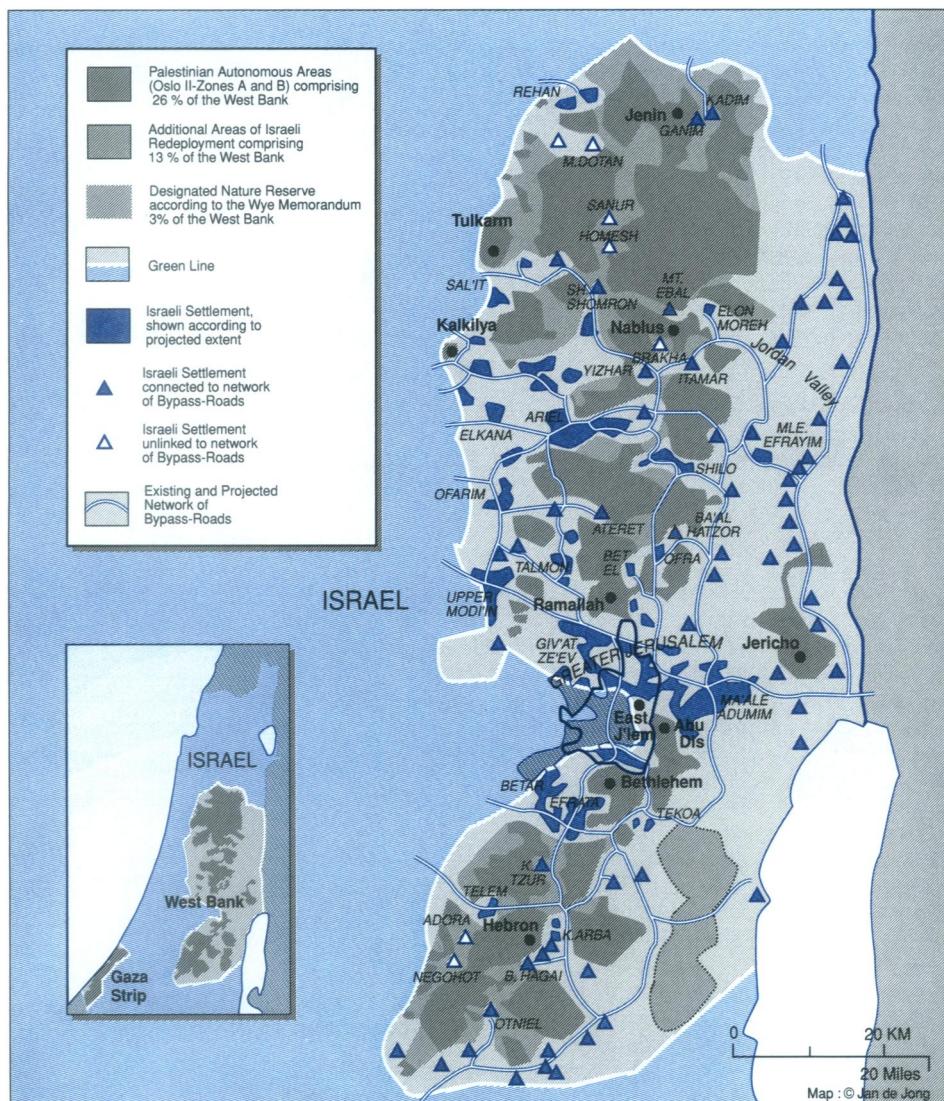
At a cabinet meeting on 5 November convened to debate the agreement, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu presented a map and offered to create a ministerial committee, advised by “experts and settler representatives,” to review it. The committee, he said, would be allowed to make “justified changes” in the proposed map.

Many settlement leaders, and some cabinet members, remain opposed to any agreement resulting in an increase in Palestinian territorial control of the West Bank. Netanyahu would like to reduce this disagreement in principle to a debate over which parts of the West Bank should be excluded from Palestinian control.

Despite the absence of an authorized redeployment map, some assumptions can be made about the regions to be transferred (see map). In general, the Netanyahu government considers the areas around Jenin in

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Current and Projected Israeli Redeployment According to the Wye Memorandum 1998



the north, and southwest and northeast of Hebron best suited for transfer to some degree of Palestinian control. By including two separate desert-like areas in the hilly region northeast of Hebron as "nature reserves," the government has avoided the need to reduce the Israeli presence near the Ramallah-area settlements of Ateret, Bet El, and Ofra.

Israel will remove a number of military camps, including Bezek, Fahme, Majnounei, Nahal Ginat, and Sanur. Far more new bases will be constructed, however, according to a report in *Yedi'ot Aharanot*, although each will be smaller in size than those they replace. "The small bases will be established throughout the West Bank," noted the newspaper on 25 October, "particularly next to isolated settlements. The intention is not to leave isolated settlements in the heart of Palestinian areas without an army base nearby. The camps to be established, therefore, will separate the territory under Palestinian control from the settlements."

Affected Settlements

Settlement leaders have presented a list of eighteen settlements that they claim will be one-half kilometer from Palestinian-controlled area A sectors after implementation of the Wye memorandum: Ganim, Homesh, Kadim, Mevo Dotan, Sanur, and Shavei Shomron, north of Nablus; Brakha, Itamar, and Yitzhar, south of Nablus; Ateret, Bet El, and Ofra near Ramallah; and Adora, Bet HaGai, Karmei Tzur, Neguchot, Otniel, and Telem, near Hebron.

Such a standard, however, does not necessarily consign these settlements to a position of isolation from Israel or envelopment by areas under Palestinian control. Proximity to Palestinian-controlled areas, in and of itself, is not the most salient issue for gauging the effect of redeployment on settlements. All, for example, with the exception of Brakha, Homesh, and Sanur, will be connected by bypass roads, either existing or planned, leading to principal transport routes to Israel. Ten new roads, in fact, are in various stages of planning and construction. In no case will settlements be isolated in the sense of being physically surrounded by Palestinian areas A and B.

Some settlements, however, will undoubtedly suffer from the added burdens imposed by the agreement. Sanur, for example, is already almost empty, and it is not likely to survive as a civilian settlement, even under present conditions. Others, including Ateret, Bet El, Itamar, Ofra, Shavei Shomron, and

Yitzhar, according to well-informed Palestinians, will not be directly affected by implementation of the agreement.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF THE WEST BANK ACCORDING TO THE WYE MEMORANDUM

	Area A Full PA Control	Area B Joint Control*	Area C Full Israeli Control
Redeployments in 1995-96 under the Oslo II agreement	3.0%	24.0%	73.0%
First and second FRDs according to the Wye memorandum			
<i>Stage I</i> 11/16/98	10.1%	18.9%	71.0%
<i>Stage II</i> 11/16/98-12/21/98	10.1%	23.9%	66.0%
<i>Stage III</i> 12/14/98-1/31/99	18.2%**	21.8%	60.0%

* Under joint control, the PA controls civilian affairs, Israel controls security.

** Includes 3% "nature reserves."

POPULATION GROWTH IN THE JUDEA REGION [SOUTHERN WEST BANK], 1992-96

Settlement	Population					1992-96 Increase	% Increase
	1992	1994	1995	1996			
Betar	1,603	4,878	5,500	7,500	5,897	370%	
Efrat	3,181	4,606	5,300	5,700	2,519	79%	
Hebron	345	502	400	400	55	16%	
Kiryat Arba	4,765	5,044	5,200	5,300	535	11%	
Ma'ale Adumim	13,968	17,745	19,300	20,200	6,232	45%	
Regional Council							
Etzion Bloc	5,220	6,507	7,100	7,500	2,280	44%	
Hebron Hills	1,923	2,216	2,700	2,900	977	51%	
Total	31,005	41,498	45,500	49,500	18,495	60%	

Source: *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1997; *Judea Magazine*, November-December 1995.

WATER ALLOCATION ON THE WEST BANK FAVORS SETTLERS

From Settlement Report, November-December 1998.

On 24 August this year, a PA official announced measures aimed at relieving the water shortage in PA-controlled areas of the West Bank. Israel would provide several large water tanks for areas without running water; there would be joint supervision of the quantity of water supplied by Israel to the Palestinians; and joint measures would

be taken against the unauthorized diversion of water.

Fadel Quawash, deputy director of the Palestinian water authority, reports that Israel has approved six of forty requests to drill new wells. Quawash charged that the amount of water supplied by Israel to the Bethlehem-Hebron region has decreased from 33,000 cubic meters (m^3) a day to 20,000 m^3 a day in order to meet settler needs. Israel's coordinator of government activities in the occupied territories replied that Israel is supplying the Hebron region with 23,000 m^3 a day, more than the 17,500 stipulated in the Oslo II agreement. Shortages were also attributed to PA administrative shortcomings.

According to the Oslo II agreement, of the 601 million cubic meters of water available annually in the three main West Bank aquifers:

- 340 m^3 (56.6 percent) is earmarked for use in Israel;
- 143 m^3 (23.8 percent) for use by the 170,000 West Bank settlers (excluding those residing in East Jerusalem); and
- 118 m^3 (19.6 percent) for the 1.2 million Palestinians living on the West Bank.

COMPARISON OF WATER ALLOCATION

	Kiryat Arba (Settlers)	Hebron (Palestinians)
Population in December 1997	5,800	119,230
Household water supply in 1997	765,120 m^3	3,170,952 m^3
Allocation in February 1997	45,100 m^3	254,660 m^3
July 1997	98,530 m^3	216,230 m^3
Daily per capita usage July 1997	547 liters/day	58 liters/day
July 1998	N/A	45 liters/day

Source: Data on water is from the Palestinian Water Authority.

Information appeared in *Ha'aretz*, 31 July 1998.

ISRAELIS QUERIED ON SETTLEMENTS

The following results of a survey of 501 representative adult Israelis conducted by the Dahaf organization in late August 1998 were reproduced in Yedi'ot Aharanot on 28 August 1998.

1. In the context of a permanent agreement, is it necessary to leave all settlements intact or to agree to their removal?

Leave all settlements intact	46%
Remove settlements located in the heart of Palestinian populated areas	17%
Remove all settlements	18%
Remove most settlements	13%

2. Is it necessary to remove immediately or to leave intact the isolated settlements in the heart of Hebron?

Remove	52%
Leave intact	43%

3. Do settlements contribute to security or are they a security burden?

	Hebron Settlements	All Settlements
Burden	55%	45%
Contribution	25%	33%
Neither	18%	21%

SETTLEMENT CHRONOLOGY

19 August

The Netanyahu government unveils a plan to almost double the settler population on the Golan Heights by constructing 4,500 new dwellings, including 2,500 vacation homes.

20 August

Ha'aretz reports that Palestinians are supplied with 50–85 liters of water per day; settlers consume 280–300 liters per day.

A settler rabbi is killed in his home in Tal Rumayda settlement in Hebron. The IDF imposes a curfew on Israeli-controlled Hebron.

Under an agreement between Israeli and Palestinian security forces, settlers are allowed to remain overnight at Joseph's Tomb in Nablus until the beginning of September, after which overnight stays will be allowed only in coordination with the PA.

23 August

The Netanyahu cabinet decides to replace "as soon as possible" the seven mobile homes housing settlers at the Tal Rumayda site in Hebron (see 20 August) with permanent structures at a cost of approximately \$3 million.

Settlers from Yitzhar threaten to shoot IDF officers, police, and three Palestinian landowners attempting to approach an olive grove belonging to one of the Palestinians. Armed settlers have prevented access to the site for months.

General Moshe Ya'alon, head of the IDF Central Command, tells settlers that "the army and the settlers see eye to eye. Soldiers have clear orders: protect the settlers." He

also tries to win settler approval for a "protection package" for settlements that includes erecting perimeter fences around twenty settlements, extending patrols, and reinforcing reservist patrols with enlisted troops.

24 August

A PA official announces measures aimed at relieving the water shortage in PA-controlled areas of the West Bank: Israel would provide large water tanks for areas currently without running water, there would be joint supervision of the quantity of water supplied by Israel to the Palestinians, and joint measures would be taken against unauthorized diversion of water.

26 August

Reuters reports that according to the Israeli Housing Min., 25% of the 3,905 dwellings built directly by the government in settlements from 1989 to 1992 remain unoccupied as part of a government policy to increase supply and depress housing prices.

27 August

Israel's Jerusalem municipal authorities approve plan initiated by U.S. millionaire Irving Moskowitz to build housing for 132 Jewish families in the Palestinian neighborhood of Ras al-Amud in East Jerusalem. Netanyahu advisers say chance of Israeli government approval are slim.

The IDF mobilizes 2,000 troops in Hebron to prevent violence as 1,000 settlers gather to mark end of 7-day mourning period for rabbi killed 8/20.

28 August

Al-Quds [Internet edition] reports the expansion of Migdalim settlement near Nablus, including placement of new mobile homes, construction of a leather factory and new roads, and confiscation of Palestinian-owned lands.

30 August

Newspapers report warnings that right-wing Israeli elements may be planning to attack the PM, other government officials, and sensitive sites, such as the Haram al-Sharif if a 13% FRD is implemented.

Israeli security establishment warns that "extreme actions such as those of Baruch Goldstein are not entirely impossible" in the near future.

1 September

The Israeli National Planning and Construction Council, discussing implementation

of stage 2 of the National Master Plan for 2020, is surprised when a Defense Min. representative notes that the plan must aim to have 1 million settlers in the West Bank by 2020, instead of the current plan for 310,000, a number reached by calculating natural growth. Council members do not believe 1 million to be a realistic objective.

Settlers decry a Defense Min. plan to erect security fences around 21 West Bank settlements, including Ma'ale Adumim and Givat Ze'ev, in response to the murder of three settlers in August.

A report by the Temporary International Presence in Hebron, created after the killings at the Tomb of the Patriarchs/al-Ibrahimi Mosque in 3/94, notes a sharp increase in the number of cases of harassment of Palestinians by settlers. IDF officers confirm the assessment, noting that it represents "the ongoing reality of hurting Arabs in Hebron."

2 September

New rules governing the treatment of settlers give primary responsibility to the Israeli police, rather than the IDF or Shabak, for enforcing the law. The regulations note that special vigilance should be exercised at settlements located next to Palestinian communities, isolated villages where settlers have executed "retaliatory" or "warning" raids, holy sites, public lands claimed by settlers, and IDF bases.

3 September

Israeli authorities begin construction of new housing units to expand the West Bank settlement of Mihula onto confiscated Palestinian land.

4 September

It is reported that Israeli police in Hebron have opened 143 files against the 450 settlers living in the city from January to July 1998. Eighty-two cases remain under investigation, 24 are awaiting action by the state attorney, and 37 were closed after the suspects could not be located.

Qol Ha'ir reports that Israel's Jerusalem municipality has renewed its plan for the construction of 250 dwellings in the Palestinian neighborhood of Abu Dis. PM Netanyahu supports construction only after the beginning of the FRD.

7 September

Israeli Interior Ministry reports that as of 6/30, 169,339 Jewish settlers were living in the occupied territories (163,173 in the West Bank, 6,166 in Gaza). Overall the number of

settlers increased by 12.4% between 12/31/96 and 6/30/98; half of this was as a result of natural growth, half because of new residents moving in. 86,202 of all settlers live in nine of the official 144 settlements; 88,900 live in the Greater Jerusalem area or along the Green Line.

9 September

Construction begins on 180 new housing units in the West Bank settlement of Beit El near Ramallah.

10 September

Israeli Wire reports the expansion of Shilo settlement, between Ramallah and Nablus, to a site several kilometers from the existing settlement.

16 September

The YESHA settlers council meets to discuss "the damage that radical Jewish sources in the territories are causing settlers." For the first time, a representative of the Hebron settlers is awarded membership on the council.

17 September

A settler from Dolev, north of Jerusalem, opens fire on Palestinian stonethrowers, killing a 17-year-old Palestinian, wounding another. In subsequent days, settlers demand the suspect's release from jail. He is transferred to house arrest at a Jerusalem youth hostel 9/19.

Israeli police evict 25 members of the Beitar youth movement, connected with PM Netanyahu's Likud party, from an encampment that they set up at Har Homa/Jabal Abu Ghunaym in East Jerusalem to demand immediate construction at the site.

18 September

Yedi'ot Aharonot reports that plans have been filed by the civil administration for construction of 600 houses in Yitzhar, a settlement of 60 families near Nablus where two residents were killed 8/5. PM Netanyahu explains "I urge the settlers to start building, because that is another of my answers to the perpetrators of terrorism."

30 September

Thirteen Israeli soldiers and 11 Palestinians are injured in a Hebron grenade attack on an Israeli patrol.

1 October

Israeli troops block the main road connecting the Palestinian sector of Hebron (H1) with the Israeli-controlled sector (H2).

4 October

Residents of Ma'ate Hever settlement near Hebron move their boundary fences to enclose another 7 acres of Palestinian land.

6 October

PM Netanyahu announces approval of the construction of permanent structures to replace trailers at Tal Rumayda in Hebron but postpones groundbreaking until archaeological work can be completed.

PM Netanyahu attends celebration marking Ariel settlement's new city status. Ariel officials say they plan to add 3,000 additional housing units.

8 October

In a ceremony attended by Israeli mayor of Jerusalem Ehud Olmert and 50 members of the Ateret Cohanim settler group, three Jewish settler families move into a home in East Jerusalem. Israel also announces that 150 new housing units will be added to Ma'ale Mikhmas settlement near Ramallah.

10 October

The Jerusalem Report [International edition] relates Israeli Transportation Min. plans for an eight-spur light railway in Jerusalem. The first route would link Pisgat Ze'ev settlement with East Jerusalem and Kiryat Menahem. Other routes would link Ramot, Neve Ya'acov, Har Nof, and Gilo settlements with East Jerusalem.

14 October

Construction of 1,200 new houses for Alei Zahav settlement begins at site over a mile away. Alei Zahav has 330 residents (90 families).

15 October

Thirty Jewish settlers led by a Molodet party MK occupy a vacant Palestinian home in East Jerusalem, sparking fights between settlers and Palestinians. Some 100 Israeli policemen are brought in to quell the disturbance.

25 October

Jewish settlers hold demonstrations, block roads, burn tires across the West Bank to protest the Wye agreement, which was signed 10/23.

The Israeli Housing Min. reports that 12,000 settlement units have been added to the West Bank and Gaza in the past two years.

26 October

PM Netanyahu claims that Israel made no agreements at Wye to halt settlement con-

struction or expansion, land confiscation, or house demolitions. The U.S. repeats its warning against unilateral actions by either party that would jeopardize the process.

An Israeli settler is murdered in Hebron in an apparent attack by Palestinians. Hours later, a Palestinian is found dead outside Itamar settlement near Nablus. An anonymous caller claims the Palestinian was killed to avenge the settler's death.

In Jerusalem, 200 Jewish settlers hold rally outside PM Netanyahu's to protest the Wye accord.

27 October

Israel begins construction of water reservoir for Almon settlement and Anatot IDF camp near Ramallah that is expected to require confiscation of 100s of dunams of Palestinian land.

Near Hebron, settlers place three trailers on 100 dunams of confiscated land for establishment of new Yatta settlement.

29 October

In Gaza, an IDF escort jeep prevents a Palestinian driving an explosive-laden car from crashing into a school bus carrying children from Kfar Darom settlement to nearby Atzmona settlement. Hamas claims responsibility.

30 October

The Israeli cabinet allocates funds for building bypass roads and protection of West Bank settlements.

1 November

PM Netanyahu approves construction of 200 housing units in Kiryat Arba, one of the most radical Jewish settlements located near Hebron.

IDF confirms reports that settlers are setting up agricultural farms outside the boundaries of existing settlements in order to create facts on the ground before an FRD.

Under Israeli police protection and with PM Netanyahu's approval, settlers erect barbed-wire fence around the area of Ras al-Amud in East Jerusalem, begin bulldozing land for construction of new settlement.

Settlers place trailers on a hill north of Ramallah.

3 November

Jewish settlers place 10 trailers on a West Bank hill, another 3 trailers appear on a hill near the existing Ma'ale Mikhmas settlement.

5 November

Netanyahu presents his cabinet with FRD maps for the first time. Ministers complain that 9 settlements would become islands in PA territory after the FRD. Israeli defense officials share the maps with settler leaders, who demand 50 amendments.

10 November

Israeli DM Mordechai approves plan to fortify 33 West Bank settlements that will be near Palestinian-controlled area A after the FRD.

Peace Now reports that since the Wye accord was signed, settlers have established at least 5 new West Bank settlements.

11 November

15,000 Jewish settlers hold rally in Tel Aviv to protest Wye agreement.

12 November

Israel begins accepting bids for settlement construction at Har Homa/Jabal Abu Ghunaym in East Jerusalem. PM Netanyahu vows to complete 6,000 units by 2000.

13 November

Israel authorizes paving of 13 roads to Jewish settlements in the West Bank, which will require the confiscation of large tracts of Palestinian land.