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## SETTLEMENT MONITOR

*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. Major documents relating to the settlements appear in the Documents and Source Material section. JPS is grateful to the trustees of the Foundation for Middle East Peace for permission to reprint material from its bimonthly Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories as well as to the publication's editor.*

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### ISRAELI POLICY AFFECTING SETTLERS

**Geoffrey Aronson, "Israel's Policy of Arming Israeli Settlers Endangers Palestinians in the Territories," *Settlement Report*, May 1994.**

Israeli settlers have been authorized to carry weapons from their earliest days in the occupied territories. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) issued Uzi and M-16 machine guns to early settlers. As the settlement enterprise became more firmly established and the

numbers of settlers grew, their institutionalized security role has been expanded by the IDF.

Less than a week before the massacre in Hebron, Minister of Police Moshe Shahal announced the formation of civil guard units in all major settlements in the occupied territories. The first of the units was established in the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim, east of Jerusalem, in December 1993. Composed of settler-residents, the units have been granted authority to detain Arabs, but operate within settlement confines only. Settlers have been armed in the following manner:

- Under the District Defense Regulations established in 1973, settlers are required to perform their annual reserve duty in the area in which they live. This regulation has resulted in armed, militant settlers like Meir Kahane, the founder of the recently banned Kach political party, patrolling the streets of Ramallah during their annual reserve assignments and participating at checkpoints and with patrols.
- Military Order 898 of March 1981 expanded the settlers' powers by permitting them to require Palestinians suspected of violating any military order to produce identification cards; to arrest Palestinian suspects without warrant; and to participate in the "Regional Defense Network," formed by settlers residing in the string of small Gush Emunim settlements throughout the West Bank heartland.

This security innovation was endorsed by Raphael Eitan during his tenure as chief of staff in the early 1980s. The system of territorial defense organized these settlers in "organic military units stationed in their own areas under their own command." Weapons, training, and equipment were provided as part of a program aimed at increasing the participation of settlers in the conduct of military security operations.

In June 1988, soon after the outbreak of the Palestinian intifada increased the confrontation between settlers and Palestinians, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin authorized "civilians living in the territories who see Arabs holding petrol bombs . . . to shoot at them." He was also reported to have said that civilians may shoot in response to other, unspecified "imminent dangers."

Given the security-related powers formally granted to settlers, it is often difficult to determine which settler actions have been undertaken as a function of that authority and which of them belong to the category of vigilante or underground operations. The rules of engagement regulating settler enforcement of security responsibilities, are, in practice, less strict than those governing regular forces.

One settler said, for example, "We go into a village, shoot a little bit at the windows, we scare the villagers, and go home to our settlement. We do not kidnap people, but sometimes we grab a kid for throwing stones and take him to the settlement, rough him up a little, and then hand him over to the army so that they can finish the job."

Military authorities, out of sympathy with settler objectives and mindful of the power that settlers exercise at the political level, have traditionally supported their formal and infor-

mal security functions.

The Karp commission, established in April 1981 by the Israeli government to inquire into settler violence against Palestinians, reported that allegations of settler misconduct were not investigated because settlers "are not perceived by the police as offenders in the usual sense. . . . The [Inquiry] Team formed the impression that the police investigations in the sphere of our interest were carried out in an ambivalent manner, as is evident from the results of our investigations." . . .

Attempts to subject settlers to the rule of law are hobbled by the peculiar legal status of settlers as well as the officially sanctioned coddling.

According to an article in *Davar* by Israeli reporter Yoram Levi on December 12, 1993, "investigations of [settler] violations of law face formidable obstacles if undertaken by the police. The religious settlers refuse to cooperate and deliberately sabotage any investigation by hiding the weapons used in any shootings so as to prevent ballistic tests and by coordinating testimony with each other in order to manufacture alibis and other tricks. . . ."

Avigdore Feldman, an Israeli attorney, contends that no special law permits settlers, even those who have not done IDF service, to carry weapons at all times. The army allows them to do so as part of their duties in the territorial defense system. . . . Seldom is a Jewish settler seen walking around unarmed. Nobody has so far explained to me by what criteria those weapons are distributed. Who is entitled to get an Uzi, who gets an M-16, and from which age? And what about those who have not served in the army?"

Kahane was assigned to do army reserve duty in Ramallah during the spring of 1982 despite a court order forbidding his entry into the city. Convicted members of the Jewish underground responsible for car bomb attacks against the mayors of Ramallah, Nablus, and El Bireh in June 1981 were reintegrated into their regional defense units after receiving presidential pardons. . . .

The admitted failure of the Israel Defense Forces to anticipate settler violence against Palestinians, revealed to the commission of inquiry established after the Hebron massacre, masks a deeper, more deliberate, and dangerous policy assumption. In view of that incident, and countless examples of unprovoked settler violence against Palestinians undertaken during Israel's 27-year-rule in the occupied territories, one can only conclude that the IDF, *as a matter of policy*, has chosen to permit such actions.

**Danny Rubinstein, "The Real Masters of the West Bank and Gaza Strip," *Ha'Aretz*, 16 March 1994 (excerpts).\***

The government will find it hard to do anything against a small minority of extremist settlers in the Territories even if it tries to. This is because the settlers long ago became the real masters of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. . . .

This state of affairs was brought about by the settlers who have gradually managed to effectively penetrate the entire Security System in the Territories. In so doing, the settlers have achieved a status equivalent to the soldiers. Like the latter, they are provided by the army not only with weapons but also with regular briefings and instructions. The army also passes on to them all recent intelligence and lets them freely enter every security command post in the Territories. No wonder the settlers nowadays prefer to serve their reserve stints in the army bases in the Territories. . . .

In many respects the settlers have . . . succeeded in turning the Israeli army into a tool defending them, not only from the Arab enemy, but also from any Jew whom they suspect of abetting that enemy, from the so-called "hostile Hebrew media" and the Israeli left. Even the Civil Administration, which is supposed to serve the interests of the Arabs, is quite often forced to obey the settlers demands.

This is why both senior and junior officers who displease the settlers by occasionally ignoring their demands are instantly slandered as dangerous leftists to the applause of the entire right wing. Pressures against such officers prove to be sufficiently irresistible to preclude their further service in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This happened to the Commander of the Central Command [responsible for the West Bank] General (reserves) Mitzna who once dared to denounce the religious settlers who had gone on a shooting spree into Arab houses in the Dahaysha refugee camp. After the leaders of the settlers firmly and persistently demanded his dismissal, he ran into some political troubles as a result of which he was dismissed. And he lost any chances of ever becoming Chief of Staff.

But no Israeli army commander in the Territories has as yet had his career adversely affected by any action, no matter how drastic, he takes against the Arabs or the Israeli left.

\* This article was translated and reprinted in Israel Shahak's April 1994 *From the Hebrew Press*.

. . . Nothing in this respect has changed under the Labor-Meretz government, even after the peace process has been supposedly in progress.

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## THE RELIGIOUS SETTLER MOVEMENT

**Geoffrey Aronson, "Massacre in Hebron Puts Extremism of Religious Settlers in Spotlight," *Settlement Report*, March 1994.**

In death as in life, Baruch Goldstein, who killed 30 or more Palestinians in Hebron, enjoyed the admiration and acclaim of his friends and neighbors. At his funeral procession in Jerusalem, and his burial later in the settlement of Qiryat Arba on the outskirts of Hebron, hundreds of his comrades and ideological soulmates shouted "Death to the Arabs." They praised him and his final, bloody actions. . . .

Goldstein was a member of Kach, an anti-Arab group of Jewish fanatics, numbering a few hundred and centered in the West Bank settlements of Qiryat Arba and Tapuach, 15 miles south of Jerusalem.

But the ideological antipathy toward Arabs and the complementary belief in the divine nature of Jewish settlement in the territories is shared by 30,000 religious settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, a vocal minority among the 130,000 settler population. Since the conquest of the territories in June 1967, these religious settlers have been the main source propelling both the consolidation of a political coalition supporting colonization of the occupied territories as well as the expansion of the Jewish settler presence.

Rabbi Israel Ariel, a prominent spiritual leader among the religious settlers, who along with black-garbed followers of one or another Hasidic rabbi form the core of the fanatic right-wing settler movement, called Goldstein a holy man, a righteous man who redeemed the "People of Israel."

Rabbi Moshe Levinger articulated the thoughts of many settlers who believe that killing a Gentile is acceptable, and indeed welcome, in order to promote a Jewish renaissance in the land God promised to Abraham. Levinger, asked to comment on the loss of life in the Ibrahimi Mosque, noted that he was sorry about the death of any living thing. The sorrow he felt toward those Arabs killed, he said, was the same sorrow he felt toward a fly swatted against a wall.

The world inhabited by Goldstein, Ariel, and Levinger revolves around a moral code born of what is interpreted by leading rabbis

as the divinely ordained process of Redemption of the Jewish People in the "Land of Israel."

"It was not [Theodore] Herzl or [David] Ben-Gurion who established our state," Rabbi Shlomo Aviner has written, "not the political or practical Zionists that did it, but God Almighty."

The Rabin government has caused a crisis in the ranks of the faithful. Rabin's election suddenly placed the question of a diminution of Jewish authority in the occupied territories on the political agenda. His Labor-left coalition, which depended on the support of Arab parliamentarians, is essentially secular. It is "spiritually rotten," in the words of Rabbi Benny Allon. Rabin, these settlers believe, is intent upon destroying all that they have built in the territories, both physically and spiritually, thus putting the entire Zionist enterprise at risk.

The age of redemption is said to have begun with the return of the Jewish people to Zion after long exile. And since Israel's victory in 1967, God's will has been to see a Jewish kingdom that includes the West Bank—Judea and Samaria—and a third temple to be constructed on the ruins of Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock—hallowed Islamic shrines.

Jewish settlements throughout the territories captured in 1967 are viewed as vital, temporal expressions of God's will. The settlement movement Gush Emunim—the Bloc of the Faithful—was born out of the crisis in Israeli confidence caused by the October 1973 war. Its mission was to revitalize the core value of the Zionist enterprise—settlement—in the heartland of Jewish history, in Judea and Samaria. Hebron, Sebastia, Betar, and Bet El were the territorial signposts on which Jewish redemption was to be written.

Gush Emunim zealots see the Gentile world as a whole—but most particularly the Arabs who live in land they believe God promised to the Jews—standing in the way of their sacred vision. Rabbi Israel Hess cited the Old Testament books of Samuel, Genesis, and Deuteronomy for his belief that these modern-day sons of Amalek (descendants of Esau) deserve to be annihilated as were their forefathers.

This blend of religious obscurantism, racism, and political elitism is not unique to these sons of Abraham. Its power in Middle East history unfolding today is no less significant than those who claim other forms of divine inspiration.

The rabbis of the Committee of Rabbis of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District are the

spiritual, and thus the political, guides to action for the majority of religious settlers who consult them on matters large and small. They, in turn, look to the writings of Rabbi Abraham Yitzhak Kook and his son, Rabbi Yehuda Tzvi Kook, for guidance.

At a 1992 symposium on how Jews should relate to "resident aliens [Arabs] in the Holy Land," Rabbi Zalman Melamed, chairman of the Committee of Rabbis of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District, explained that "there can be no dispute that it would be ideal if the entire Land of Israel could be settled exclusively by Jews. Every dunam of its land is destined to be worked on by Jews alone."

More than a year before the Oslo agreement, the Committee of Rabbis of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District issued an appeal which read: "It has already been ruled by our rabbi, Tzvi Yehuda Kook of blessed memory, that any decision, Jewish or non-Jewish, to rob us of any part of our land can have no validity because the Will of God will prevail." Any expectation of making peace with Palestinians, who were referred to as "animals in human shape," is "a delusion inspired by Satan."

Despite what Prime Minister Rabin has said, the actions of Baruch Goldstein were, in the world of religious settlers, those of a rational man. In their community little value is accorded to an Arab life. . . .

**Dov Elbaum, "Israel Awaits a Rabbi," *Yerushahyim*, 7 January 1994 (excerpts).\***

In the past several weeks—years after the spiritual leaders of national religious Zionism, the wearers of knitted skullcaps, lost their hegemony to the politicians of Gush Emunim and the Judea and Samaria Council—control over the settlements' public returned to the rabbis organized in the Association of Judea and Samaria Rabbis. Although many settlers are not too happy about the signing of the peace agreement with the PLO, the settlement rabbis and Yeshiva heads grasped the fact that for the first time since the mid-1970s the political power had totally returned to them. None of them is willing to miss the opportunity and, one after the other, the Judea and Samaria rabbis are turning out new and recycled religious decrees for the benefit of individuals and the public.

The Association of Judea and Samaria Rabbis was established only two years ago, in

\* This article was translated and reprinted in Israel Shahak's April 1994 *From the Hebrew Press*.

December 1991 [a month after the Madrid Conference], at the home of the person who later became the organization's chairman, Rabbi Zalman Melamed, the head of the Beit-El yeshiva. On that day no one spoke yet about an official and hierarchic organization which would conduct the struggle against autonomy. The meeting was an emergency one and was attended by prominent intellectuals and rabbis in the settlements. Those were the days when the Judea and Samaria Council was in shock and the religious settlers were demanding, "Where is the leadership? Give us a king!"

But the basis for the erosion of the Gush Emunim and Judea and Samaria Council's organized bodies, consisting of the heads of the local councils in Judea and Samaria, had been already laid at the beginning of the Intifada. The then Minister of Religious Affairs, Zevulun Hammer, decided to buttress the settlements by paying local rabbis in response to pressure to establish a supreme body of rabbis to rule on issues concerning Jewish settling.

All that happened after the residents had learned that the Judea and Samaria Council was in the grip of Intifada-paralysis, even greater than the shock that the Israeli security forces felt at the time. The settlement rabbis who continued to trust the Divine promise rushed into the vacuum of leadership that had been created and consolidated their position. The rabbis were quickly recognized by the Israeli government and began holding routine and direct contacts with the Israeli military authorities and the local brigade commanders and even tried to settle the differences between them. . . . [According to] Ehud Sprinzak, who researches the extreme right wing at the Hebrew University, "The Association of Judea and Samaria Rabbis is the strongest and most central source of Jewish leadership in the Territories. The importance of the rabbis is very great since it is they who control the religious settlers and, beyond that, it is they who rule the masses of the graduates of the many yeshivas they manage."

As already mentioned and contrary to popular belief, the Judea and Samaria Rabbis were not satisfied with wielding only spiritual power. At a certain stage, they even began developing their own widespread intelligence network, based on gathering information from religious or sympathetic officers in the army's high command. . . .

The heads of the secular Judea and Samaria Council . . . are still consoling themselves with their longtime connections with the various government agencies. Rabin, who is in-

terested in reaching a dialogue with the religious settlers above everything else, still summons the Judea and Samaria Council members to his presence for intimate talks. But that is only because the rabbis consider lobbying, especially when addressed to a sinner, to be demeaning. They also know that, in any case, the Council members would not dare make an important decision without first obtaining their blessing.

On the other hand, all government agencies have started to recognize the importance of the rabbis. At the organization's founding rally, the rabbis made three decisions, which are valid to this day—to take the settlers into the streets for protest demonstrations whenever there is a terrorist action, to block all the main roads wherever there is a terrorist action, and to publish the newsletter of the Judea and Samaria Rabbis which would contain the religious decrees that the public is obliged to obey. Following that decision the Prime Minister's Adviser on Terrorism, Yigal Presler, [himself religious] came humbly to the home of Rabbi Shapira and asked him to cancel the rabbis' decree, but Rabbi Shapira absolutely refused to alter the position.

The three supreme leaders of the organization are Rabbi Zvi Ta'u, the head of Merkaz Ha'rav Yeshiva; Rabbi Shaul Yisraeli, the head of Bne'i Akiva yeshiva; and Rabbi Avraham Shapira, the former Chief Rabbi of Israel and acting head of Merkaz Ha'rav Yeshiva. Together, these three rabbis currently head the settlers' struggle against the government, raising serious questions regarding Halacha. The cooperation between the three rabbis exists despite a past of internal disputes and severe disagreements. The controversy is mainly rooted in differences of approach between Rabbi Ta'u and Rabbi Shapira concerning this question of principle: what should be the attitude of a religious Jew toward a secular Jewish government and the sinful laws which it makes? According to Rabbi Ta'u, the sanctity of the State of Israel and of its laws should be maintained at any cost, since the Jews are obliged "to die for the sanctity of the State of Israel." . . . Rabbi Shapira, who until recently served as Israel's Chief Rabbi is, in contrast, pushing for a line of resistance to the government even to the point of disobeying the law. . . . This controversy will become even more crucial when the time approaches of the supreme test of a visible Palestinian self-rule or of evacuating a settlement. . . .

There is an additional interim level between the supreme rabbinical hierarchy. It includes the three elderly yeshiva heads and

the lower operational body of the Association of Judea and Samaria Rabbis, which includes Rabbi Shlomo Aviner and Rabbi Zalman Melamed, the father of the organization's secretary, Rabbi Eliezer Melamed. There appear to be disputes among the latter as well. The Melamed family rabbis have no difficulty in characterizing the Israeli government and the army as being really "a government [comprised] of foreigners of a mixed blood" ["*erev rav*"], a term taken from the Biblical definition of Gentiles of all kinds who mixed with the Israelites at the time of the Exodus from Egypt. . . . In the view of the rabbis, Melamed, influenced by Rabbi Shapira, a government obviously comprised of such foreigners has no authority over the real Jews. Also, the religious commandments obliging pious Jews to love other Jews do not apply to government ministers who cannot be real Jews. Most important is the ruling that in certain circumstances it is permitted to fight such seemingly Jewish government using any means for the purpose. Rabbi Aviner, in contrast, insists that the present [Israeli] government and the soldiers of the army are comprised of bona fide Jewish brothers and thus it is absolutely prohibited to harm them.

The last and broadest level in the power pyramid recently created in Judea and Samaria comprises about 50 settlements' rabbis and heads of yeshivot in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip. The organization is headed by Rabbi Zalman Melamed and his son, Rabbi Eliezer Melamed, appointed the organization's secretary at its founding. Like any party, the rabbis established an executive, called the secretariat of the Judea and Samaria Rabbis, comprising three to six rabbis who are regional representatives. The directors and the decisionmakers rule on the less important questions they receive daily from residents or from the Judea and Samaria Council. The secretariat consists of rabbis with mutually opposing views, a situation which may lead to indecision. Then the question is transferred to the supreme rabbinical forum of Rabbis Shapira, Ta'u, and Yisraeli, whose decisions are credited with infallibility.

Rabbi Eliezer Melamed, the secretary, claims that the Judea and Samaria Rabbis are a moderating factor. "We are daily forced to deal with demands for revenge and we calm them. We oppose harming Arabs merely for the sake of personal revenge." In reality, the Judea and Samaria Rabbis' militant line which Rabbi Melamed tries to impose, in contrast to the relatively moderate line of his father Zalman, causes a situation in which the rabbis who are not willing to bow to popular

demands for more violence and extremism and for escalating the struggle against the army and the government are likely to lose their jobs. A recent example is that of Rabbi Yonatan Elran from Kochav Ha'shachar settlement, who was forced to leave the local rabbinate for this reason. The greatest extremism comes from Rabbi Daniel Shilo, usually a moderate. Due to the pressure exerted on him by the other rabbis, he now makes some especially extreme rabbinical rulings.

—Is it permissible to damage the property and persons of Arab residents in the Territories?

Rabbi Shilo: "If there is a long-term justification for that, meaning that those things will deter the Arabs, then I am willing to approve doing such harm post facto. There exists [in Judaism] a concept called Zeal for God's sake, it means that actions which a rabbi will not permit if consulted in advance, he will yet not denounce post facto the Jews who perpetrated them, provided he considers that the perpetrators acted purely out of a religious zeal. An example of such an act is when a Jew kills a member of an Arab terrorist gang, even though that Arab is not threatening that Jew at the moment, and without the Arab being granted a trial. This is an example of a religiously permissible zeal. I would not order a Jew to do such a thing, but I will absolve him afterwards. Those are the issues on which we, the rabbis, do not rule explicitly, but we permit them when we approve the spirit in which they were carried out."

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#### SETTLER POPULATION FIGURES

**Geoffrey Aronson, "Settler Population Grew by 10 Percent in 1993," *Settlement Report*, May 1994.**

Israel's settler population in the occupied West Bank (excluding annexed East Jerusalem) and Gaza Strip grew 9.3 percent to 115,000, an increase of 10,000 in 1993, according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics—a growth rate higher than for any region in Israel.

According to the Council of Jewish Settlements in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip (YESHA), the settler population in the West Bank and Gaza now numbers 136,415. The figure represents an increase of 11,280, or 9 percent, over the YESHA's October 1992 estimate and a 136 percent increase since the outbreak of the Palestinian intifada in late 1987.

All settler population numbers are necessarily approximations, reflecting informed estimates as well as the political bias of the reporting organization. Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics reports the official estimate of the settler population of the West Bank and Gaza—115,000. YESHA's figures, which are based on local tax records, are usually higher than those of the Bureau of Statistics or the Peace Now organization. But it is noteworthy that for the first time YESHA is reporting that some of the regional councils into which all settlements are grouped have experienced a loss of population.

For example, Qiryat Arba, a settlement adjoining Hebron and the scene of some of the most violent opposition to the Declaration of Principles, suffered a loss of 17 percent, or 1,200 people in the last year. Ariel, near Nablus, whose Likud mayor has been in the forefront of opposition to the Rabin government's settlement construction cutbacks in some areas of the West Bank, lost 100 people.

Since the agreement with the PLO, however, housing demand has revived in the city of Ariel. Purchasers hope that they will make a profit if the settlement is dismantled in the context of a peace agreement. Apartment prices in Ariel are also relatively low. It is possible to purchase a two-family cottage with a private garden for \$80,000.

The transfer of military government offices from Nablus to Ariel has also brought military forces and a large number of state employees who work for the military government to purchase apartments in the settlement. Another reason for the renewed interest in the settlement is the promise of a return of all benefits attending Ariel's designation as a development town—a result of the success of its mayor, Ron Nachman, in a Supreme Court case against the state.

Most regional councils in the territories reported population increases. Perhaps the most surprising is in the Gaza settlements, whose numbers increased by 20 percent—from 4,905 to 5,900—as housing completed by the Rabin government came onto the market.

Settlements in the area of greater Jerusalem also continued to record above-average population growth. The Benjamin region, north of Jerusalem, increased by 25 percent—from 16,004 to 20,430; the city of Ma'ale Adumim, adjoining Jerusalem, expanded by 18 percent, and, with a population of 19,870, continued to be the largest West Bank settlement. The bedroom community of Efrat, south of Bethlehem, grew by 34 percent from 3,807 to 5,100. The religious settlement of

Betar near Bethlehem increased by 56 percent—from 3,524 to 5,540.

"Givat Ze'ev, Mevaseret Zion, and Ma'ale Adumim are the bedroom communities of the capital. Even without the peace that is ripening, they are booming, and the talk of autonomy only pushes [apartment] prices higher," noted an article in the newspaper *Yediot Aharanot*. "A three-room apartment costs \$110,000 in Givat Ze'ev, \$135,000 in Mevaseret Zion [an Israeli suburb of Jerusalem]. In Ma'ale Adumim it's all but impossible to find an apartment, not to mention a house."

A recent poll by the Ministry of Housing and Construction and the Ministry of the Interior revealed that the West Bank boasts 15 of the top 100 places where Israelis live in terms of income, education, and employment.

Settler Population 1992-93, *Settlement Report*,  
May 1994

Council Name	Settlement Population	
	Oct. 1992	Dec. 1993
Gaza	4,905	5,900
Benjamin	16,004	20,430
Shomron	12,921	11,150
Kaddumim [part of Shomron]		2,900
Mt. Hebron	3,046	2,900
Etzion Bloc	6,800	6,700
Jordan Valley	3,800	3,800
Ma'ale Adumim	16,757	19,870
Ariel	13,026	12,900
Elkana	3,331	3,400
Alfe Menache	3,525	4,005
Emmanuel	4,803	4,700
Ma'ale Efrim	1,819	2,100
Givat Ze'ev	7,100	7,200
Efrat	3,807	5,100
Bet Arie	1,757	1,950
Oranit	3,402	4,100
Qiryat Arba [incl. Hebron]	7,107	5,900
Betar	3,524	5,540
Magilot	700	900
Karnei Shomron	5,050	4,970
TOTAL	123,184	136,415

Source: YESHA, *Ha'Aretz*, 27 December 1993.

## JERUSALEM

Geoffrey Aronson, "Jerusalem's New Mayor Adopts Begin-Shamir Settlement Policies," *Settlement Report*, March 1994.

A new generation of Israelis—younger and more politically strident than their predecessors—has assumed the leadership of Jerusalem. Ehud Olmert, now in his mid-forties, was first elected to Israel's Knesset at 27. He served Yitzhak Shamir as minister of justice



and was the Likud government's principal spokesman before the international media. He was the moderate face of the expansionist Shamir government.

The 1992 victory of Yitzhak Rabin stole the scene from such Likud heirs to power as Olmert, who during municipal elections late last year set his sights on the top post in Jerusalem.

Olmert led a Likud list that in November defeated Teddy Kollek. Kollek was widely seen as having grown too old and outlived his political usefulness after almost 30 years as mayor. . . .

As Jerusalem's new mayor, Olmert had a quick, uncompromising response to Washington's December protest of a plan to build 13,000 new homes in Jerusalem and its West Bank settlement suburbs. "I never thought they [Americans] were the ones to decide the fate of Jerusalem," replied Olmert provocatively. The city's future, he added, "won't be determined by the State Department, but by what is done here. I don't lose equilibrium when I hear there is an American position on Jerusalem. It only proves we have to do more."

Olmert believes, as did Kollek, in the value of determining Jerusalem's future through the creation of settlements—"facts on the ground"—to preempt Palestinian demands to make Jerusalem the capital of their presumptive state. He describes the Labor government's agreement with the PLO as a "dark cloud over the city" and believes that as a result of the Oslo agreement, "it is almost inevitable that at the end of the day we will be pushed to terms and a timetable for the establishment of a Palestinian state."

Olmert, together with all his coalition partners on the municipal council, opposes the agreement. He favors controversial housing developments for Israelis on the Mount of Olives and Ras al-Amud.

"We will bring 100,000 more Jews to East Jerusalem, and we do not need to be afraid about it," declared Shmuel Meir, who heads the Jerusalem branch of the National Religious party. "We will work to strengthen the Jewish population there and to build thousands of new apartments."

"We must prove to the Arabs our mastery over this land," explained another of Olmert's associates.

In his first post-election meeting with Prime Minister Rabin, Olmert lobbied for approval of the planned eastern beltway—a 14-kilometer road that includes a tunnel under

the Palestinian town of Al-Azzareyeh, just east of the city on the West Bank.

According to a report of the meeting in the Jerusalem weekly *Kol Ha'ir*, Olmert "suggested to Rabin that financing for the \$200 million project come from the American [loan] guarantees, but the chances for this proposal are unclear because a large portion of the highway lies outside Jerusalem, and its northern section is even in the West Bank."

"From the Palestinians' standpoint," notes Olmert, "Jerusalem will be on the agenda as soon as agreement is reached on 'Gaza-Jericho first.' Their objective is clear—to realize their rights in this city, as they see them. Their program is to produce facts in the eastern part of the city, whose result will be Palestinian sovereignty there."

Olmert, in contrast, is basing his five-year term on the premise that he "will administer Jerusalem according to the understanding that we are speaking of a city under Israeli rule and sovereignty." Like Kollek, he is certain to issue his fair share of demolition orders for this illegal construction. But he has acknowledged that the focus of his efforts will be to continue the campaign of large-scale housing development that has already created an Israeli majority in East Jerusalem.

"I will expand Jerusalem to the east, not to the west," promised Olmert before his election. He has considered the option of expanding the city's border eastward into the occupied West Bank, in the direction of the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim, an action that planners have long considered, but have rejected for political reasons. In any case, the Rabin government's creation of "territorial continuity" between Ma'ale Adumim and Jerusalem accomplishes the same objective without the political fallout that would attend outright annexation.

Olmert also favors additional housing for Israelis all along the pre-1967 cease-fire line, which once divided the city, "to ensure that the city will remain a united city under Israeli control for eternity."

"Although I can't make political decisions on the issue of Jerusalem," he explained, "these are the responsibility of the national government—I can make things happen on the ground, like building along the old border and creating continuity of Jewish settlement in East Jerusalem. My decisions on these issues will influence the options available to the government for a political solution for Jerusalem."

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**THE GOLAN HEIGHTS**
**Geoffrey Aronson, "Settlement Construction Continues in Golan Heights," *Settlement Report*, March 1994.**

The Labor government of Yitzhak Rabin is maintaining the Likud's unprecedented pace of settlement construction in the occupied Golan Heights. Rabin is implementing his expansive Golan program with quiet determination, even as he seeks a negotiated peace with Syria.

This traditional Labor party strategy was noted in an August 20, 1993, article on the Golan in the newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* headlined, "Quiet, We're Building": "Someone opened the pipeline. Frozen budgets were freed, and permits for grants and loans were signed. . . . We're not talking about small renovations and essential expansion. Even Yehuda Wallman, head of the Golan Council, says that a building drive such as this hasn't been seen for 26 years."

Ten days before the January summit between Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad and U.S. President Bill Clinton, Israel's Minister of Housing and Construction Benjamin ben Eliezer inaugurated a new 500-unit housing development in Katzrin, the Israeli "capital" of occupied Golan. Most of the units were sold last year at subsidized prices through an oversubscribed lottery.

The new homes are part of approximately 2,000 units begun during the Likud era and completed after a temporary construction freeze instituted by the Rabin government that ended in March 1993. Not included in this figure are "build your own house" schemes and private-sector housing developments in many of the region's 32 settlements. The finished units will draw an additional 8,000 settlers to the Golan, where 12,600 Israelis now reside.

Continuing and expanding public expenditure on settlement-related infrastructure is evident in a number of sectors. Investment in new roads and improvements is estimated by

settler representatives to be \$15 million this year. The Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, in charge of housing construction in small settlements (and not towns like Katzrin, where most construction is planned), is spending \$9 million.

Last October, the United States deducted \$437 million from this year's provision of \$2 billion in loan guarantees. Expenditures for settlement construction in the Golan were not included in this amount, and no penalty was assessed for construction there.

Investment in existing and new industrial and agricultural enterprises continues under government sponsorship, despite a declaration by the minister of finance last year that the government no longer favored long-term investment in the region.

Industrial development ranges from a new chocolate factory expected to employ 100, to an eyeglass enterprise, both located in the industrial area of Katzrin. The Golan Heights Winery will double in size during the coming four years with a \$4 million investment. Forty new dairy sheds are to be built, including one larger than any in Israel. The \$5 million cost is 85 percent state-funded. On Mt. Hermon, a multimillion dollar improvement to the existing tourist and ski facility, designed by Austrian engineers and built by local Syrian Druze laborers, is being implemented.

This program is proceeding all but unnoticed—except in Damascus.

A December 23 editorial in the Syrian newspaper *Tishrin* noted, "Undoubtedly, settlements are no longer just an obstacle to peace. . . . They are also an indication that Israel continues to pursue a position that can in no way promote peace. . . ."

Golan settlers, however, are not as certain of their government's commitment to the continuing existence of Golan settlements under Israeli sovereignty. The manager of the Mt. Hermon site explained that the Rabin government is throwing money at the settlers in an effort "to keep our mouths shut" as it negotiates a Golan withdrawal.