

reaffirmed its integral nature to Israel, echoing a similar vow by Ehud Olmert.³¹ Demographically, the city is mixed between religious Zionists, other observant factions, and more secular Jews, many from the former Soviet Union (e.g., more than 9,000 mostly secular Russian Jews have moved to Ariel since 1990³²). Much of the bloc's recent infrastructure funding has come from evangelical Christian groups in the United States and other nations.

■ 3. Western Edge/Modiin Illit

SETTLEMENT	POPULATION
Alfe Menashe	6,900
Bet Arye–Ofraim	3,900
Elkana	3,200
Etz Efrayim	716
Hashmonaim	2,700
Kfar Haoranim	2,200
Matityahu	1,382
Mevo Horon	1,327
Modiin Illit	44,900
Naale	749
Nili	913
Oranit	6,600
Shaare Tikva	4,200
TOTAL	79,687

NUMBER OF SETTLEMENTS: 13

TOTAL POPULATION: 79,687

2009 KNESSET ELECTION: United Torah Judaism, 33.8%; (10,127 votes); Likud, 20.2% (6,050 votes).

BARRIER STATUS: Four towns lie completely within the barrier (Etz Efrayim, Elkana, Shaare Tikva, and Oranit), seven are almost completely encompassed (Alfe Menashe, Bet Arye, Modiin Illit, Hashmonaim, Kfar Haoranim, Matityahu, and Mevo Horon), and two lie outside it (Nili and Naale).

CHARACTERISTICS: Established in 1970 by the Ezra Youth Movement, Mevo Horon is one of the earliest Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Other settlements in the bloc were founded in the 1980s, including the religious kibbutz Etz Efrayim, the mixed religious and secular community of Shaare Tikva, the Oranit kibbutz, Bet Arye, Hashmonaim, Nili, Naale, Matityahu, and Kfar Haoranim (though legal issues prevented residents from actually moving into this last settlement until 1997).

Approximately half of Hashmonaim's residents are new immigrants from North America, and almost all are religious Zionists.³³ Matityahu is another religious moshav (agricultural cooperative) founded by a group of U.S. settlers.

Established in 1983, Alfe Menashe is close to both the 1967 lines and the Palestinian town of Qalqiliya. This has made its inclusion on the Israeli side of the security barrier controversial, creating a loop that isolates various Arab villages from the rest of the West Bank. In 2005, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that the barrier must be rerouted.³⁴ Construction on a new route began in 2009, with the aim of excluding various Arab villages from the Israeli side.

Modiin Illit was established in 1996 and is by far the largest Israeli settlement in the West Bank. Almost completely Haredi, it has the highest fertility rate among all Israeli communities, with an annual growth rate of 9.5%.³⁵ The city's rapid growth can also be attributed to its central location halfway between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

■ 4. Expanded Ofra/Bet El

SETTLEMENT	POPULATION
Bet El	5,600
Geva Binyamin	3,900
Kochav Yaakov	6,100
Ofra	2,800
Psagot	1,623
TOTAL	20,023

NUMBER OF SETTLEMENTS: 5

TOTAL POPULATION: 20,023

2009 KNESSET ELECTION: National Union, 42.5% (3,325 votes); Likud, 18.9% (1,481 votes).

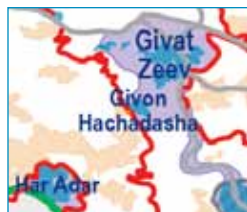


BARRIER STATUS: The bloc lies entirely outside the separation barrier.

CHARACTERISTICS: Many of the settler leaders affiliated with the religious Zionism movement live in this bloc, particularly in Psagot, Bet El, and Ofra.³⁶

■ 5. North of Jerusalem

SETTLEMENT	POPULATION
Givat Zeev	11,300
Givon Hachadasha	1,166
Har Adar	3,400
TOTAL	15,866



NUMBER OF SETTLEMENTS: 3

TOTAL POPULATION: 15,866

2009 KNESSET ELECTION: Likud, 41.4% (3,096 votes); Kadima, 19.0% (1,421 votes).

BARRIER STATUS: All settlements in this bloc lie entirely within the barrier.

CHARACTERISTICS: Har Adar, one of the bloc's larger towns, enjoys relative affluence compared to most Israeli communities.³⁷

■ 6. East Jerusalem

JEWISH NEIGHBORHOOD	POPULATION
East Talpiyot	12,186
French Hill (Givat Shapira)	7,099
Gilo	26,929
Givat Ha-Matos	284
Givat Ha-Mivtar	2,831
Har Homa	9,331
Jewish Quarter	2,485
Maalot Dafna	3,732
Mount Scopus	1,079
Neve Yaakov	20,383
Pisgat Zeev	42,115
Ramat Eshkol	3,388
Ramat Shlomo	15,123
Ramot Alon	42,246
TOTAL	189,211³⁸



NUMBER OF JEWISH NEIGHBORHOODS: 14
TOTAL POPULATION: 189,211³⁹

2009 KNESSET ELECTION: No data available on total east Jerusalem vote tally.

BARRIER STATUS: All areas of east Jerusalem lie on the Israeli side of the separation barrier.

CHARACTERISTICS: The 1967 war resulted in Israel's capture and annexation of east Jerusalem, an area previously ruled by Jordan and populated by a Palestinian majority. The international community considers housing built on this land illegal, but Israel disputes this claim, viewing the bloc's communities as neighborhoods of greater Jerusalem. Such neighborhoods tend to be well integrated into the city's infrastructure, and successive Israeli governments have asserted that east Jerusalem is an inseparable part of Israel. The United States has left the issue ambiguous, referring to east Jerusalem construction as "housing." The housing includes the following communities:

East Talpiyot. Located in southeastern Jerusalem, this neighborhood was established in 1973 during the period of rapid settlement development that followed the 1967 war. It is a mostly secular neighborhood, although it does contain fifteen synagogues. In December 2007, Israel announced plans to build 400 new units in East Talpiyot. The construction, which began in 2009, establishes Israeli housing only footsteps from the Palestinian neighborhoods of Sur Bahar and Jabal Mukabar, making any future separation more difficult.⁴⁰

French Hill (Givat Shapira). In 1969, construction began on French Hill to create a land link between west Jerusalem and the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. The current population is mostly Jewish, including a large number of immigrants from South America and the former Soviet Union. In recent years, an increasing number of Arabs have been buying apartments there due to its proximity to the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital, making it one of the most ethnically diverse neighborhoods in Jerusalem.

Gilo. Established in 1973, Gilo is a large residential neighborhood on the southwestern outskirts of

Jerusalem. Its growth over the years has created a wedge between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Although traditionally a mixed community of secular and religious Jews, it has recently been absorbing mostly Haredi families. It also has a large Russian population, absorbing 15% of the post-Soviet immigrants who have settled in Jerusalem since they began to arrive en masse in the 1990s.⁴¹ In 2009, the Jerusalem Planning Committee approved the construction of 900 new housing units in Gilo.⁴²

Givat Ha-Matos. Givat Ha-Matos is an Ethiopian caravan village in southern Jerusalem, built in 1991 to house the large influx of Ethiopian Jews airlifted to Israel. Currently, four plans have been proposed to build 3,500 additional housing units there.⁴³

Givat Ha-Mivtar. Givat Ha-Mivtar is a northern neighborhood established in 1970. It was originally planned as part of a sequence of Jewish communities called the *bariah* (hinge) neighborhoods, meant to connect west Jerusalem to Mount Scopus. In 1967, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol ordered government clerks to bypass the ordinary procedures and allow Givat Ha-Mivtar and the other hinge neighborhoods to be built as quickly as possible; the government even subsidized land to expedite the process.

Har Homa. Plans for Jewish housing on Har Homa, a neighborhood in southeast Jerusalem, were drawn up in the 1980s but were stalled for a number of years by both environmental groups and Palestinians using the Israeli court system. Construction finally began in March 1997 under the first Netanyahu administration, which viewed the process as a legitimate expansion of Jerusalem. Most current residents are young families who moved to Har Homa in search of affordable housing.⁴⁴ On November 8, 2010, to the displeasure of many in the international community, the Jerusalem municipality approved the construction of 1,345 new housing units in east Jerusalem for Jewish Israelis, primarily in Har Homa.⁴⁵

Jewish Quarter. The Jewish Quarter, populated mostly by Haredi Jews, is home to the revered Western Wall and numerous synagogues and yeshivas. As such,

it is a major pilgrimage site for the Jewish people and a top tourist attraction.

Maalot Dafna. Maalot Dafna was built in 1972 as another “hinge” neighborhood connecting west Jerusalem to Mount Scopus. Many of its secular and modern orthodox Jewish residents moved out in the 1990s; the majority of current residents are Haredi.

Mount Scopus. Located in northeast Jerusalem, Mount Scopus is the site of both the Hebrew University (founded in 1925) and Hadassah Hospital (founded in 1934). Between 1948 and 1967, it was an Israeli enclave within Jordan’s borders. It has long held strategic importance for defending Jerusalem.

Neve Yaakov. Located in northeast Jerusalem, the original village of Neve Yaakov was established in 1924. A new neighborhood was built on the site of the original following the 1967 war and populated by Jewish immigrants from Bukhara, the Soviet republic of Georgia, Latin America, North Africa, France, and Iran. A large number of Russian and Ethiopian Jews settled there in the 1990s.

Pisgat Zeev. The largest Jewish neighborhood in east Jerusalem, Pisgat Zeev was established in 1984 to create a contiguous link with Neve Yaakov, which had been isolated from other Jewish areas. It had a large homogeneous Jewish population until spring 2004, when a large number of Palestinians with Jerusalem residency moved to the neighborhood in order to remain on the Israeli side of the separation barrier.

Ramat Eshkol. Located in north Jerusalem, Ramat Eshkol was the first neighborhood built in the city after the 1967 war. Construction began in 1968, advancing the government policy of creating a contiguous link from Shmuel Hanavi to French Hill and the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus.

Ramat Shlomo. Established in 1995, Ramat Shlomo is a large, mostly Haredi housing development in north Jerusalem. On March 10, 2010, the Jerusalem

municipality approved the construction of an additional 1,600 apartments there. The announcement came during Vice President Joe Biden’s visit to Israel, drawing strong condemnation from Washington and exacerbating U.S.-Israel tensions.⁴⁶

Ramot Alon. Situated in the northwestern part of Jerusalem, Ramot Alon (often called simply Ramot) is one of the city’s largest housing developments. It was established in 1974, and construction continues today. The population is ethnically and religiously diverse, with a growing number of young orthodox and Haredi families and a large English-speaking community.

■ 7. Maale Adumim/Kfar Adumim

SETTLEMENT	POPULATION
Maale Adumim	34,600
Kfar Adumim	2,800
TOTAL	37,400



NUMBER OF SETTLEMENTS: 2

TOTAL POPULATION: 37,400

2009 KNESSET ELECTION:

Likud, 44.1% (7,106 votes).

BARRIER STATUS: The entire bloc lies outside the completed barrier (though new barrier sections are under construction on part of Maale Adumim’s western border).

CHARACTERISTICS: Maale Adumim was settled in 1976 and established as the first Israeli city in the West Bank in 1991. It is currently the third-largest Israeli settlement in the territory. Due to its growing population and proximity to Jerusalem, many Israelis have come

to view it as a suburb of that city rather than a traditional settlement. For example, it is connected to Jerusalem by various bus routes, and a 1.8-mi road was constructed in 2003 to directly link the two cities. Maale Adumim's diverse population includes native Israelis, immigrants, and religious and secular Jews.⁴⁷

Kfar Adumim was founded by ten families in 1979 as a community for both secular and religious Israelis. It remains socially, economically, and religiously diverse.⁴⁸

■ 8. Betar Illit/Gush Etzion

SETTLEMENT	POPULATION
Alon Shvut	3,400
Bat Ayin	950
Betar Illit	36,400
Efrat	8,300
Elazar	1,706
Kfar Etziyon	476
Migdal Oz	347
Neve Daniyel	1,883
Rosh Tzurim	550
TOTAL	54,012



NUMBER OF SETTLEMENTS: 9

TOTAL POPULATION: 54,012

2009 KNESSET ELECTION: United Torah Judaism, 27.4% (4,808 votes); Shas, 23.9% (4,195 votes).

BARRIER STATUS: Most of the bloc lies outside the barrier. The eastern area near Efrat is bordered by a section of the barrier.

CHARACTERISTICS: All of the Gush Etzion settlements were founded in the decades following the 1967 war. The majority are inhabited by adherents of the Gush Emunim movement; several, such as Migdal Oz, Rosh Tzurim, and Elazar, are communal agricultural communities known as kibbutzim.⁴⁹ The towns of Efrat and Betar Illit operate independently from the rest of the bloc, though they are located in the same geographical area. The latter is an ultraorthodox enclave inhabited exclusively by Haredim. It is also the second-largest town in the West Bank; its high growth rate (6.5% as of September 2009) is due to the Haredim's above-average birthrate.⁵⁰

■ 9. Southern Edge

SETTLEMENT	POPULATION
Metzadot Yehuda	469
Shani	431
TOTAL	900

NUMBER OF SETTLEMENTS: 2

TOTAL POPULATION: 900

2009 KNESSET ELECTION: National Union, 28.6% (108 votes); Likud, 21.7% (82 votes).

BARRIER STATUS: Both towns (Metzadot Yehuda and Shani) are almost completely within the barrier.



CHARACTERISTICS: Metzadot Yehuda, also known as Bet Yatir, is a moshav inhabited primarily by religious Zionist Jews.⁵¹ Part of Shani lies outside the 1967 line, and part within.

Notes

- Regarding territorial issues linked to Jerusalem, note that this report deals only with areas outside the Jerusalem municipality as defined by Israel.
- According to then foreign minister Shlomo Ben-Ami, who was present at the meeting. See Ari Shavit, "End of a Journey," *Haaretz*, September 14, 2001.
- According to Olmert (during a phone conversation with the author on December 8, 2010), there was a slight difference between the 6.3% swap that he requested and the amount of land over which Israel seemed willing to give the Palestinians sovereign control, equivalent to approximately 5.8% of the Occupied Territories. This difference is explained by the proposed land link between Gaza and the West Bank; in Olmert's view, this strip would have added 0.5% to Israel's 5.8% concession, pushing its total to 6.3% and effectively making the deal a 1:1 exchange. In a sign of further potential compromise, he also reported telling Abbas that he was willing to count the land link as 0.3% rather than the 0.5% he believed it was worth, while still maintaining a 1:1 swap. In other words, Israel would have given the same amount of total land (6.3%) but counted it as 0.2% less (6.1%). This would have allowed the Palestinians to give less land (6.1%) in return, both nominally and in reality.
- It should be noted that there are different views on whether or not the Gaza hostilities played a decisive role in the collapse of the talks. Whatever the case, the collapse prevented further discussion of swaps at the time.
- For a transcript of Olmert's speech to the Geneva Initiative group (in Hebrew), see http://www.heskem.org.il/activity_detail.asp?id=2375&meid=19.
- The current Israeli administration does not like the term "swap," believing that such wording implies a 1:1 ratio, which it has not officially endorsed. Instead, it prefers the term "mutually agreed border rectifications."
- White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Remarks by President Obama, President Mubarak, His Majesty King Abdullah, Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Abbas before Working Dinner," press release, September 1, 2010, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/09/01/remarks-president-obama-president-mubarak-his-majesty-king-abdullah-prim>.
- Associated Press, "WikiLeaks: Netanyahu Open to Land Swap Idea," November 30, 2010, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2010/11/30/world/main7103889.shtml>.
- Arabic statements originally published in the Jordanian daily *al-Ghad* on July 17, 2010; English excerpts published on al-Jazeera.net, "Abbas Wants Foreign Border Troops," July 17, 2010, <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/middleeast/2010/07/201071715237381855.html>.
- Some might argue that settlers could remain in Palestinian-run territory after territorial partition, forgoing any need for problematic displacements. For an assessment of this argument, see the "Fate of Nonbloc Settlers" section in the next chapter.
- Map 4 is merely a recreation of the 2003 "Geneva Initiative" land swap proposal and therefore adheres to principles laid out during those discussions (see the "Comparison to Geneva" section of the next chapter for more on those discussions). Maps 5 and 5a are based on Israeli foreign minister Avigdor Lieberman's "Triangle" land swap scenario (also discussed in the next chapter). Although the land proposed for Israeli annexation in that scenario matches that of map 1, the land suggested for a Palestinian state would cause the dislocation of more than 200,000 Israeli Arabs. Map 6 portrays the demographic layout of east Jerusalem neighborhoods as they stand today. As indicated previously, a separate study is needed for Jerusalem land swaps, perhaps with a different set of principles.
- Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Address by PM Benjamin Netanyahu at AIPAC Conference," March 22, 2010, http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Speeches+by+Israeli+leaders/2010/PM_Netanyahu_AIPAC_Conference_22-Mar-2010.htm.
- According to sources close to the Abbas-Olmert negotiations, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice summarized the status of the talks in July 2008 by stating, without prejudice to where the border was being drawn, that negotiations covered all areas taken in 1967, including the West Bank, east Jerusalem, the northwest quarter of the Dead Sea, and Gaza. The parties also debated the status of No Man's Land.
- According to one estimate, approximately 3,000 settlers live in outposts. See Jonathan Finer, "West Bank's Jewish 'Outposts' Dig In," *Washington Post*, January 13, 2008, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/01/12/AR2008011202409.html>.
- The figure used for east Jerusalem Jewish residents accounts only for the total number of residents in the Jewish neighborhoods highlighted in this study, using 2008 data from the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies (JIIS). A listing of these neighborhoods can be found in the appendix. The number used for the Palestinian population of east Jerusalem (relevant to calculations in maps 5 and 5a) is a JIIS figure based on 2008 data.
- Even aside from crucial factors such as Israel's demographical desire to annex the largest settlements, outlining potential scenarios that incorporate Ariel is important from a negotiating perspective. That is, the more territorial options decisionmakers have to choose from during the coming rounds of peace talks, the more flexibility they will have in crafting a territorial agreement. Previous proposals, including those proffered by the Geneva Initiative, exclude Ariel from all land swap scenarios, so including it in this study's maps helps expand the menu of options available to negotiators.
- These and other population figures were derived from Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics data (mostly from 2009, though for some smaller settlements, only 2007 or 2008 data was available; see the "Methodology" section of the previous chapter for more information).
- Of course, such a route would pose a host of traffic contiguity issues.
- Note that although the Geneva Initiative's published list of settlements to be annexed by Israel includes the town of Shani, official maps provided by the group do not. Map 4 is consistent with those official Geneva Initiative maps.
- All voting data was derived from totals reported by the Israeli Central Elections Committee in 2009. See the appendix of this study for voting breakdowns in individual settlement blocs.
- The full text of his remarks is available on the UN General Assembly Debate website (<http://gadebate.un.org/View/SpeechView/tabid/85/smid/411/ArticleID/244/refTab/234/t/Israel/Default.aspx>).
- Ronen Schnidman, "New Year Statistics: Israel's Population Hits 7.6 Million," *Jerusalem Post*, September 6, 2010.
- Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, "Jerusalem Day 2010 Figures—Brief Announcement," press release, n.d., <http://www.jiis.org/?cmd=newse.322&act=read&cid=542>.
- The number of Arabs affected could be substantially lower if one does not include Arab towns in the Galilee north of Route 65, a key Israeli military artery. Of course, roads have been rerouted in the past, but this hurdle could nevertheless complicate Lieberman's idea. Another practical limitation is the presence of an Israeli Jewish town—Katzir Charish, with a population of a few thousand—in the middle of the Triangle. Lieberman has not addressed these and other questions regarding the Triangle or Katzir Charish.
- Another ongoing demographical debate is worth noting here: scholars Bennett Zimmerman and Yoram Ettinger have disputed the West Bank population figures published by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, claiming that the actual population is significantly lower.
- All population figures for West Bank settlements were derived from Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics data (mostly from 2009, though for

- some smaller settlements, only 2007 or 2008 data was available; see the "Methodology" section of the first chapter for more information).
27. All voting data was taken from the Israeli Knesset elections website (in Hebrew; http://www.knesset.gov.il/elections18/heb/results/main_Results.aspx).
28. All information on the ever-evolving layout and status of Israel's West Bank separation barrier was provided by Dan Rothem, senior research consultant for the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace. An overview of his cartographic work is available at <http://www.centerpeace.org/maps.htm>.
29. Oren Yiftachel, "Israeli Society and Jewish-Palestinian Reconciliation: 'Ethnocracy' and Its Territorial Contradictions," *Middle East Journal* 51, no. 4 (1997), p. 515. See also the website dedicated to Karne Shomron at <http://www.ginaplus.org/kshomron.htm>.
30. See the university's website at <http://www.ariel.ac.il>. See also *Israel Today*, "Arabs Studying at 'Settler' College," January 18, 2006, <http://www.israeltoday.co.il/default.aspx?tabid=128&view=item&idx=875>.
31. Tovah Lazaroff, "PM: Ariel Is the 'Capital of Samaria,'" *Jerusalem Post*, January 29, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Article.aspx?id=167225>.
32. Eric Westervelt, "Israeli Settlement Seeks Protection," NPR, April 8, 2009, <http://www.npr.org/news/specials/2009/israelbarrier/part3.html>.
33. Nefesh B'Nefesh, "Community Guide: Hashmonaim," August 2010, <http://www.nbn.org.il/communities/template/community/13>.
34. Isabel Kershner, "Israeli Court Orders Barrier Rerouted," *New York Times*, September 5, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/05/world/middleeast/05mideast.html>.
35. Tovah Lazaroff, "Settler Population Rose 4.9% in 2009," *Jerusalem Post*, March 10, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Article.aspx?id=170595>.
36. Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire* (New York: Times Books, 2006), p. 367.
37. Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, "Local Authorities in Israel 2007, Publication #1358, Municipality Profiles: Har Adar," http://www.cbs.gov.il/publications/local_authorities2007/pdf/438_3769.pdf. http://www.cbs.gov.il/publications/local_authorities2006/pdf/308_3769.pdf.
38. All population figures for east Jerusalem neighborhoods are based on 2008 data from the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.
39. This figure includes only the sum of the residents of the Jewish neighborhoods relevant to this study. See the "Methodology" section of the first chapter for more information.
40. BBC News, "Jerusalem Settlement 'Extended,'" April 27, 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8020825.stm.
41. Jerusalem Municipality, "Jerusalem Neighborhoods: Gilo," July 7, 2010, http://www.jerusalem.muni.il/jer_sys/picture/atarim/site_form_atar_eng.asp?site_id=2246&pic_cat=4&icon_cat=6&york_cat=9&type_id=197.
42. BBC News, "Israeli Settlement Plan Denounced," November 18, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8364815.stm>.
43. Nir Hasson, "Israel Planning 50,000 Housing Units in East Jerusalem," *Haaretz*, March 11, 2010, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/israel-planning-50-000-housing-units-in-east-jerusalem-1.264620>.
44. S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace, "Fact Sheet: Har Homa," <http://www.centerpeace.org/factsheets/fact-sheet-harhoma.htm>.
45. Melanie Lidman, Hilary Leila Krieger, and Tovah Lazaroff, "U.S., Palestinians Rebuke Israel over Pisgat Ze'ev Project," *Jerusalem Post*, December 3, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=197797>.
46. Ynetnews.com, "Biden: Israel Announcement Designed to Undermine Peace Process," March 19, 2010, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3865081,00.html>.
47. Rena Rossner, "Growing to Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Report*, June 14, 2004.
48. See the "Kfar Adumim" page on the Amana Settlement Movement website, <http://www.amana.co.il/Index.asp?ArticleID=186&CategoryID=100>.
49. Gorenberg, *Accidental Empire*, pp. 266–299.
50. Lazaroff, "Settler Population Rose."
51. See the "Beit Yatir" page on the Amana Settlement Movement website, <http://www.amana.co.il/Index.asp?ArticleID=214&CategoryID=100>.

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demands while adjusting its own borders to include
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