### Blavatnik School of Government Summative Assignment Coversheet

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### Summer Project Report

You are required to write a report (no longer than 4,500 words) and submit it **by 12 noon on Monday 2 September 2019**.

What is the impact of Israeli land policies and the settlement industry in the West Bank?

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Demographic engineering (DE) is the intentional alteration of a territory's demographic as a means of self-determination by ethnicity. The State of Israel continues to leverage the authority granted to its military, as the occupying power of the West Bank, to exponentially expand the Israeli civilian settlement enterprise. They institute land policies allowing for the land acquisition and planning and development that created an avenue for DE methods of economic incentivization and ethnic consolidation through the Israeli civilian settlement enterprise. To maintain the status quo of the territory, it is imperative the Israeli government issue a settlement freeze to encourage permanent peace agreement negotiations to commence, given their political salience. The PA and PLO, international state actors, international civil society organizations, and Israeli civil society organizations each have a key role to play to achieve a settlement freeze.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Glossary	4
Introduction	5
The Problem	7
1. Analysis	7
2. Addressing the problem	11
Recommendations with Feasibility Analysis	11
Conclusions	14
Annex	15

### **GLOSSARY**

DE: Demographic Engineering

IDF: Israeli Defense Forces / Israeli Military

PA: Palestinian National Authority

PLO: Palestinian Liberation Organization

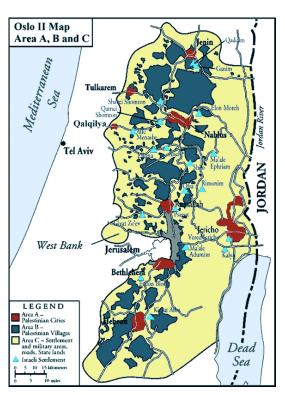
UN: United Nations WB: West Bank

### INTRODUCTION

Laws and customs of war are stipulated in international humanitarian law with the most common sources being the Hague Convention on Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague Convention) and the Fourth Geneva Convention and its Additional Protocols.

Now in its 71st year, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict remains a salient conflict in the Middle Eastern geopolitical climate. The conflict is shaped by the State of Israel's military occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalemi, Gaza, and the Golan Heights, and the Palestinian quest for self-determination via statehood. This occupation began following the 1967 Six-Day War in which Israel claimed victory, and the Israeli Military Commanderii formally assumed the temporary authority for ensuring control and security in the occupiediii regions until the adoption of a permanent peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinian peopleiv, in compliance with the referenced conventions.

In 1995 and as outlined in the Oslo Accords II, the West Bank was divided into three areas (Area A, Area B, and Area C) and the Palestinian Interim Self- Government Authority (or Palestinian National Authority; PA) was established. The PA was to control 13 governates of the Palestinian people, which were drawn based on the most Palestinian populated areas of the West Bank.<sup>1</sup> The PA was granted authority over civilian and security matters in Area A (49.1% of Palestinian population; 17.5% of land) and only civilian matters in Area B (37% of Palestinian population; 18.5% of land). The Israeli military was given authority over civilian and security matters in Area C (13.9% of Palestinian population; 61% of land) and only security matters in Area B.1 The peace agreement was temporary with a deadline to reach a permanent agreement within 5 years, honoring UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.1 The deadline



passed nearly 20 years ago, and the Israeli military continues to maintain belligerent occupation of the West Bank, despite the semi-autonomy granted to the PA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>i</sup> East Jerusalem and West Bank are treated as two different regions, given the different level of citizenship and policies Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem are subjected to, compared to the rest of the West Bank.

ii The Israeli military is formally known as the IDF, stipulated in State of Israel Basic Law: The Military (1976).

iii Per Article 42 of the Hague Convention, a 'Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army...'

iv Israeli Military Commander Order of Possession Proclamation No. 1

Applying Article 43 of the Hague Convention, the IDF is the authority of legitimate power in the West Bank. It must respect the law of the land in the occupied territory prior to occupation as the occupying power, unless it conflicts with its military needs<sup>v</sup> and/or ability to maintain public order and safety. One of the military tactics employed by the IDF, and the subject of this report, are the establishment of Israeli civilian settlements ('settlements') in the West Bank, specifically Area C.

The settlements remain a politically salient aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and an internationally contested military tactic. The IDF insists that Israeli civilian settlements provide security value, especially in strengthening regional defense systems, and the Israeli government does not forcibly relocate Israeli citizens into the West Bank, complying with the Fourth Geneva Convention. However, the UN Security Councilvi and General Assemblyvii, PA, and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)viii maintain the Israeli civilian settlement military tactic is an enterprise supported by the Israeli government that disenfranchises Palestinians residing in the West Bank, questions the prospects of a contiguous state of Palestine, and violates the Fourth Geneva Convention given settlement permanence. Today, there are nearly 450,000 Israeli civilian settlers residing in 238 settlementsix throughout the West Bank.<sup>3</sup>

The objective of this report is to answer: what is the impact of Israeli land policies and the settlement industry in the West Bank? To answer this question, Israeli policies, as stipulated by the Israeli military, giving rise to settlement land acquisition and planning and development in the West Bank will be analyzed in an international law framework with reference to how they encourage demographic engineering (DE; intentional demographic alteration to drive ethnic self-determination interests) in the West Bank. Naturally, this will include a discussion on the impacts to Palestinian citizens.

Recommendations are aimed at pressuring the Israeli government to freeze all settlement expansion, which is implemented through building permit approved by Israeli government actors, including the Israeli Prime Minister. This will stall settlement expansion and encourage advancement of peace negotiations. The recommendations will provide specific steps key stakeholders (PA and PLO, international state actors, international civil society organizations, and Israeli civil society organizations) can implement to demand a settlement freeze. Each recommendation will be accompanied by a feasibility analysis of its political, economic, and legal attributes. It is beyond the scope of this report to provide recommendations on how constructed settlements (since 1967) and their respective impacts should be addressed/resolved in negotiations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>v</sup> Military necessity is subject to international laws of war and an effort to ensure submission with least expenditure of time, life and money for all.

vi UN Security Resolution 2234 (2016)

vii UN General Assembly resolution 67/19

viii The PLO is internationally accepted as the representative of Palestinian interests and are the Palestinian party representation in international peace negotiations. There is leadership and goal overlap between the PNA and PLO. Link: http://passia.org/publications/116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>ix</sup> This number includes both legal (132) and illegal (106; also termed 'outposts') settlements, as defined by Israeli military law.<sup>3</sup>

Additionally, it is beyond the scope of this report to analyze Israeli land policies and their implications on other Israeli military tactics, such as the separation barrier.

### THE PROBLEM

The settlement industry has exponentially expanded with now nearly 450,000 Israeli civilian settlers residing in 238 settlements in the West Bank. If the settlement industry is to continue its projected growth rate, there will be more than 1 million settlers residing in the West Bank by 2030.4 The IDF maintains the settlements are a military necessity to ensure control and security in the West Bank as an occupying power and stipulated in the Hague Convention. Though, such military necessity orders are to be temporary, that is until a permanent agreement is reached for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and should not change the 'facts on the ground.' Rather, the settlements are changing the 'facts on the ground' to the extent that Israeli government is proposing land swaps as part of future Israeli-Palestinian negotiations for large settlement blocs. This comes at grave concern for the PA and PLO as it is an attempt to annex parts of the West Bank and extend Israeli sovereignty into the occupied region. Furthermore, the Israeli government incentivizes Israeli civilians and business enterprises to migrate to settlements in the West Bank.

The authority to carry-out the Israeli settlement industry is being drawn from the IDF order system, specifically the land acquisition and planning policies, which derives its authority from international law as the occupying power of the West Bank. Therefore, rather than this being a military tactic to ensure temporary control and security until the conflict is permanently resolved, the settlement industry is a form of demographic engineering that is quickly shifting the demographics of the West Bank, creating 'bargaining chips' for the Israeli government in the negotiations, and gravely impacting Palestinians. This violates principles of international law of war.

### **ANALYSIS**

The settlement enterprise lies in a dichotomy of temporary military security strategy and permanent colonial settlement. The IDF maintains settlement is an effective military tactic, enabling the military to leave military bases knowing there are civilians to prevent enemies from capturing land, traffic routes, and more.<sup>5</sup> The PA, PLO, and UN maintain settlements are not temporary, therefore, violating international law. Further, the PA and PLO believe the enterprise to be a form of permanent colonial settlement – a tactic employed by the Israeli government to secure territorial hegemony in the West Bank and eventually establish sovereignty through annexation.<sup>1</sup> This PA and PLO belief is supported by the two-tier justice system executed in the West Bank by the IDF, Israeli Jewish ideology<sup>xi</sup>, and the legal and legislative measures surrounding settlements. The main junction of contention on the legality of the Israeli civilian enterprise as a military tactic vs

<sup>\*</sup> Settlement blocs are communities of settlements. More than half of the Israeli civilian settlers reside in five settlement blocs (Ma'ale Adumim. Modiin Illit, Ariel, Gush Etzion, and Givat Ze'ev), and collectively they represent 37 communities. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-ldquo-consensus-rdquo-settlements

xi An example of the Jewish ideology as related to the settlements: '[The Jewish people have a] divine commandment to inherit the land [West Bank] given by forefathers. The two elements of sovereignty and settlement are intertwined.'5

colonial settlement lies at Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, specifically the last sentence:

The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.

The key part is 'or transfer.' The Israeli government and IDF have not forcibly deported Israeli civilians into the West Bank, but the Israeli government has incentivized voluntary movement into settlements throughout the West Bank and failed to create punitive measures<sup>xii</sup> against 'illegal' settlement establishment (commonly referred to as outposts). Rather this enterprise is engaging in demographic engineering, greatly influencing the demographics of the West Bank and creating 'facts on the ground.'

Demographic engineering (DE) is intentional alteration of demographics in a territory to gain power as there is a positive link between economic and political powers and population size and political legitimacy and population size. The emphasis of self-determination based on ethnicity underlies DE. There are six methods of DE with two applicable to the Israeli civilian enterprise: economic pressures (specifically direct economic incentives) and population transfers (specifically ethnic consolidation). These two DE methods are made possible by Israeli land policies on land acquisition and planning and development.

The State of Israel is a nation state of the Jewish People, and therefore, it is of Israeli interest to maintain a Jewish majority to secure this nation-state ethnic character. In fact, the Twentieth Knessetxiii passed the State of Israel Basic Law: Israel – the Nation State of the Jewish Peoplexiv, reaffirming the ethnic nation state character of Israel. Therefore, the self-determination of Israelis rests on securing a Jewish majority in the Land of Israel, which is believed to be the historical homeland of the Jewish People. Furthermore, the West Bank is believed to be part of the historical homeland, and in fact, the Israeli government only officially refers to its historical Jewish naming of Judea and Samaria, though the international community accepts the region as the 'West Bank.' This emphasis on self-determination based on ethnic nation state character created the foundation for the demographic engineering via the civilian settlement enterprise observed in the West Bank.

#### Land acquisition

Nearly 70% of Area C is designated for settlements, which includes community infrastructure and road systems connecting all settlements to one another and the State of Israel.<sup>8</sup> This land designation is made possible by three primary mechanisms of Israeli Military land acquisition<sup>xv</sup> for settlement needs:<sup>9</sup>

xii The Israeli Military does recognize the outposts as illegal, but there are efforts by the Knesset to retroactively approve them, though they were not created by a military order.

xiii Israel's House of Representatives (legislative body) per State of Israel Basic Law: the Knesset

xiv The constitutionality of the Basic Law is being evaluated by the High Court of Israel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>xv</sup> There is a fourth mechanism of land acquisition, but it is private property transfer between Israeli citizens and Palestinian citizens. This is outside the framework of Israeli Military initiated land acquisition.

- Military necessity: The Israeli Military exercises its authority as an occupying power to apply Hague Convention Article 52, which grants authority for the occupying military to requisite resources for military needs. Such military necessity can only be determined and demanded by the occupying military commander.
- State designated property: Applying Article 53 through Military Order Regarding Government Property (No. 59) 5727-1967, the IDF took possession of state designated property, especially land. The IDF applied Ottoman Law of 1858xvi and the Hashemite Jordanian Law to identify state land in Area C as they were identified as the law of the land in the West Bank prior to IDF occupation. Land that is not classified as state nor private is deemed survey land, which the Israeli military has appointed a committee to evaluate.
- Expropriation of land for public needs: Military Order Concerning Land Law (Acquisition for Public Purposes) (No. 321) 1969 stipulates the IDF can expropriate private Palestinian-owned land for public purposes. Compensation is to be paid to the Palestinians. Customary Humanitarian Law Article 51 requires confiscation of private property in an occupied territory to be solely military necessityxvii.

These WB land acquisitions facilitated the DE method of ethnic consolidation via population transfers. Population transfers aim to achieve numerical superiority. Ethnic consolidation aims to consolidate the presence of a desired group through selective infusion, thereby strengthening one ethnic group via population increase. Only Israeli civilians reside in settlements, and there are no non-Jewish settlements. During Israeli ethnic minority groups and Palestinian citizens do not reside in settlements. During the 2000 Camp David Summit, the Israeli Prime Minister was keen to annex the WB territory containing three settlement blocs as part of a permanent peace negotiation. Today, there are five settlement blocs the current Israeli Prime Minister is not willing to negotiate the existence of and demands land swaps in exchange for extending Israeli sovereignty into those 5 settlement blocs. There are more than 50% of the settlers residing in these 5 settlement blocs. At this rate, ethnic consolidation will continue to create 'facts on the ground' and influence future negotiations.

### Land Planning and Development

Through the Military Order Concerning the Administration of Local Councils and Military Order Concerning Administration of Regional Councils, settlements were organized (in order of increasing hierarchy) into cities, local councils, regional councils, and the overarching umbrella council for Judea and Samaria. The Regulation for Regional Councils (military implemented) grants regional councils the administrative authority of local councils and authority to legislate by-laws, collect taxes, issue licenses, and hold elections. Furthermore, the Military Order Concerning the Law for Planning Cities, Villages, and Buildings replaced Hashemite Jordanian Law to establish this legislative foundation for settlements by removing district and local planning committees and

xvi It is contested whether the Ottoman Law of 1858 can be accepted as the law of the land in the West Bank, given that the Hashemite Jordanian Law was instituted following the Ottoman Empire and British colonial rule.

xviiHigh Court of Israel Elon Moreh case

xviii Israel Central for Bureau Statistics raw data

transferring powers to High Planning council and subcommittees (both established by the military commander with no Palestinian representation). The High Planning Council has the authority, as provided by the military, to approve and issue building permits in Area C. There is a systematic disparity in the number of building permits granted to Palestinians, compared to Israeli settlers (Table 1).

Table 1. Peace Now: Civil Administration Construction Permits in West Bank		
Year	Palestinian Permits Issued	Israeli Permits Issued
2009	2	1,936
2010	4	741
2011	16	1,109
2012	8	1,247
2013	4	2,874
2014	1	1,552
2015		1,901
Mid-2016		1,376

The settlements are subjected to Israeli land policies governing planning and development that run parallel to Israeli civilian law. The application of Israeli civilian law applies only to the settlements and Israeli citizens, not to Palestinian citizens whom are subjected to military legislation. This has created enclaves (or islands) of Israeli civilian law, creating a citizenry that enjoys the same level of democratic civilian law as Israeli citizens residing in Israel. For example, Israeli civilian law areas of welfare, statistics, family, education, health, labor, agriculture, condominium, environment, consumer, trade and commerce, communication, and region also apply to the settlements. Additionally, settlers can vote in the Israeli election from place of residence in a settlement.

The extension of Israeli civilian law to settlements has streamlined the settlements into government-provided direct economic incentives. National Priority Area designation aims to '...encourage deployment of population into NPA [areas], strengthen civil-security resilience, enhance economic strength of communities, and improve quality of life.' Such designation provides ministers with discretionary authority to allocate government funding for education, housing, employment, infrastructure, and culture. In 2009, the criteria for defining a locality as an NPA was changed to include 'level of security threat,' providing more capacity to provide government subsidies to settlement via NPA classification. The discretionary authority granted to ministers has transformed NPA designation into an avenue to disproportionality allocate NPA designations. Such direct economic incentives are a form of DE given their disproportionate allocate as they serve as a pull-factor for Israeli civilians to reside in the West Bank and can trigger the microeconomic theory of fertility (decreasing the cost to raise a child can increase the demand for a child until the point of equilibrium).

The West Bank is listed as a district in the Israeli government, and this district continuously experiences a much higher migration balance and population growth rate compared

to other districts in the West Bank (Annex). Economic incentives to migrate to the West Bank are a large contributing factor, along with religious belief.

#### ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM

Despite several UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions identifying the Israeli civilian settlement enterprise as a violation of international law of war principles, the Israeli civilian settlement enterprise continues to be supported and strengthened. While a short-term solution, it is imperative the Israeli government is pressured to freeze all Israeli settlement expansion. The settlement expansion occurs through the approval of building permits aiming to achieve the complete settlement planning and development as outlined in settlement master plans. Such a freeze will encourage the advancement of Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations, especially given the pending 'Deal of the Century' to be proposed by the United States of America. The Israeli government has set a precedence of prior settlement freezes<sup>xix</sup> and dismantling<sup>xx</sup>.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS WITH FEASIBILITY ANALYSIS**

Four key stakeholders with interests in freezing Israeli settlement expansion are the PA and PLO, international civil society organizations, international state actors, and Israeli civil society organizations. The reasoning to freeze settlement expansion varies for each stakeholder, but a freeze on settlement expansion would advance their interests, collectively.

# **PA and PLO**: <u>Foster relations with international state actors to stress invoking responsibility</u> on Israel a settlement freeze to advance negotiations

The PA and PLO must leverage relations with international state actors to invoke responsibility on Israel to introduce a settlement freeze. The PA will need to show they are committed to addressing terrorism concerns. Additionally, stressing the UN to continue to monitor the settlement enterprise and be vocal in its denouncement of it will continue to set a international norm on the matter.

### Feasibility Analysis

- *Political:* A 3<sup>rd</sup> party state to the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations is the USA with its approach to the negotiations depending on the in-term presidential administration. As for the international community, it depends on the political salience of the negotiations, which is challenged by rise in humanitarian crises.
- Legal framework: As an occupied territory, the rights of the Palestinian people and the PA are outlined in the international law of war principles. The PA does hold non-member state status in the UN, meaning it is a permanent observer.<sup>13</sup>
- *Economic:* The Paris protocol designates the responsibility of collecting customs and value-added tax for the PA on Israel. These tax monies are to be paid to the

xix During the USA Obama Administration, Israeli senior officials were willing to accept a 3-6-month complete settlement freeze for Israeli-Palestinian negotiations to take place. Link: <a href="https://www.amnestyusa.org/israel-offers-a-temporary-settlement-freeze/">https://www.amnestyusa.org/israel-offers-a-temporary-settlement-freeze/</a>.

xx Israel did engage in unilateral dismantling of settlements in Gaza in the early 2000s Link: <a href="https://www.haaretz.com/twelve-powerful-images-from-the-gaza-disengagement-1.5378980">https://www.haaretz.com/twelve-powerful-images-from-the-gaza-disengagement-1.5378980</a>

PA on a monthly basis, though Israel has used it to pressure the PA from taking certain steps, including their bid to join the International Criminal Court<sup>xxi</sup>. This greatly hinders the ability of the PA to leverage international entities.

International State Actors: <u>Invoke responsibility on State of Israel to freeze settlement expansion by withholding aid and amending economic/trade agreements</u>

International state actors can and should invoke responsibility on the state of Israel to freeze settlement expansion. It is in the best interests of the global community to find a permanent solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This will be an economic approach to invoking responsibility that aims to make economic/trade agreements conditional for the State of Israel and respective international state actors. That is, international state actors must withhold a percentage of military aid equal to the percentage of settlement military expenditures and ensure trade agreements exclude trading with the settlements and its products.

### Feasibility Analysis

- *Political:* Given the stronger relationship between the United States of America and Israel, there is a potential for backlash from Israel and the USA for such actions. Though, this type of conditionality has been imposed on Israel by several international state of actors in the past, including the USA with loan guarantees.
- Legal framework: Third party states do have an obligation not to recognize nor render practices in violation of international law<sup>xxii</sup>. They do not have the responsibility to prevent such practices but can invoke responsibility on Israel to end them.
- *Economic:* It is possible to introduce conditionality in free trade agreements with Israel. The EU is one such example. Though, the larger the trading partner for Israel, the greater the extent of pressure that can be applied on Israel to freeze settlements.

International Civil Society Organizations: <u>Challenge respective domestic nonprofit</u> donations to the settlements, pressure respective governments to institute trade conditionality, and maintain active surveillance of settlements

International civil society organizations play a key role in maintain active surveillance of settlements, including analyzing military orders and settlement master plans. They also can be a reinforcer for the international state actor recommendation calling for economic discreditation of settlement products, ensuring the preceding recommendation is fulfilled. Furthermore, international civil society organization can leverage their domestic systems to challenge their respective domestic nonprofit organizations actively donating to the settlements. That is, they can question the legality of nonprofit donations contributing to a practice accepted as a violation of international law of war principles. This will provide another potential way to curb the economic investment in settlement infrastructure and expansion.

xxi https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/sheerafrenkel/palestinians-move-to-join-international-court-to-sueisrael

xxii UN Advisory Opinion.

### Feasibility Analysis

- Political: The success of these efforts' rests on the political salience of settlements in domestic and international media. With the 'Deal of the Century' expected to be released at some point in 2019, there is political salience surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, and settlements are an important aspect of those negotiations. This political salience can enable these organizations to mobilize domestic citizenry to exert pressure on respective state actors.
- Legal framework: Depending on the registered location of the organization, they might be protected by freedom of speech and right to peaceably assemble to complete the goals outlined. The challenging of respective domestic nonprofit donations to settlements means leveraging the domestic legal system to challenge whether such donations do qualify for tax-deductions or if they can be spent on an enterprise seen as violating international law.

# Israeli Civil Society Organizations: <u>Challenge inequitable Israeli government practices</u> and decisions contributing to settlement growth

Israeli civil society organizations must monitor and challenge all inequitable government practices giving preference to settlements, compared to other Israeli communities, especially minority communities. This potentially can stifle the economic growth of settlements and curb their expansion rates. One such government practice is NPA designation, and the constitutionality of NPA education subsidies was previously successfully challenged in HCJ<sup>xxiii</sup>. While this recommendation does not directly demand a settlement freeze, it showcases the preferential treatment the Israeli government continues to express for settlements, compared to Israeli communities. This recommendation can also be complemented with citizen advocacy calling for a settlement freeze, as secondary.

### Feasibility Analysis

- Political: In 2019, a pre-election survey indicated socioeconomic issues as one of the main considerations for voters during elections Israel Voice Indexxiv. It was the second consideration for Jewish Israelis and the first for Arab Israelis. This speaks to the political salience of socioeconomic issues, which are partly addressed by the Israeli government through subsidies such as the NPA designation.
- Legal framework: Israeli civil society organizations possess the right to appeal to the HCJ in Israel. Israel identifies as a democratic state and its Declaration of Independence provides interpretative ability to the judiciary to ensure equalityxxv.
- Economic: Potentially negatively influencing the level of government subsidies received by settlements will decrease the economic growth seen in settlements. This may decrease the migration of Israeli citizens to the settlements, decreasing the migration balance of the settlements.

xxiii HCJ decision (27.2.06)

xxiv Israeli Voice Index.

xxv https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/equality-religion-and-gender-in-israel

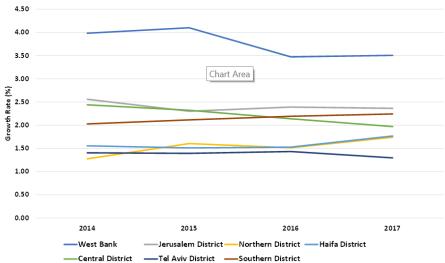
### CONCLUSIONS

The Israeli settlement enterprise is not a military tactic, but a form of DE, altering the demographics in the West Bank. It is creating 'facts on the ground,' as evident by the increase in settlement blocs and pre-negotiation condition of the Israeli government to ensure Israel's sovereignty can extend to some blocs as part of a permanent peace agreement. The Israeli land policies governing land acquisition and planning and development created the foundation for the DE methods of ethnic consolidation and economic incentives sustaining and shaping the impact of the settlement enterprise.

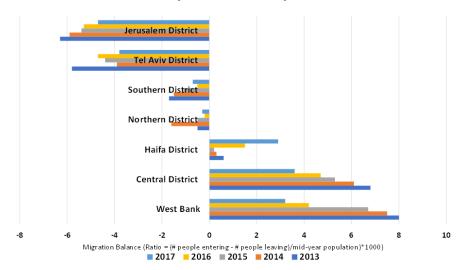
A short-term solution is a settlement freeze to start permanent peace negotiations. Mobilizing the PA and PLO to leverage international state actors, international state actors to invoke responsibility and institute trading conditionality, international civil society organizations to leverage domestic legal systems, and Israeli civil organizations to address inequalities in government subsidies are the recommended stakeholder steps to achieve a settlement freeze.

### ANNEX (data source: ICBS)





# Israel District Migration Balance (2013-2017)



### **ENDNOTES**

<sup>1</sup> Jad Isaac & Jane Hilal (2011): Palestinian landscape and the Israeli—Palestinian conflict, International Journal of Environmental Studies, 68:4, 413-429.

<sup>2</sup> Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907.

<sup>3</sup> European Union: Office of the European Union Representative (West Bank and Gaza Strip, UNRWA). Six-Month Report on Israeli Settlements in the Occupied West Bank, Including East Jerusalem, (Reporting Period July-December 2018). 04 February 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Yaakov "Ketzaleh" Katz. West Bank Jewish Population Stats. 03 January 2019.

<sup>5</sup> "ISRAEL: SUPREME COURT JUDGMENT WITH REGARD TO THE ELON MOREH SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK." International Legal Materials, vol. 19, no. 1, 1980, pp. 148–178. JSTOR, www.istor.org/stable/20692128.

<sup>6</sup> Bookman, Milica Z. "Demographic Engineering and The Struggle for Power." Journal of International Affairs, vol. 56, no. 1, 2002, pp. 25–51. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/24357882.

<sup>7</sup> The Knesset. "Basic Laws." M.knesset.gov.il, 2019, m.knesset.gov.il/EN/activity/Pages/BasicLaws.aspx.

<sup>8</sup> Human Rights Watch. "Separate and Unequal: Israel's Discriminatory Treatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories." Human Rights Watch, 19 Dec. 2010, <a href="https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/12/19/separate-and-unequal/israels-discriminatory-treatment-palestinians-occupied">www.hrw.org/report/2010/12/19/separate-and-unequal/israels-discriminatory-treatment-palestinians-occupied</a>.

<sup>9</sup> Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI). "One Rule, Two Legal Systems: Israel's Regime of Laws in the West Bank." Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), 24 Nov. 2014. https://law.acri.org.il/en/2014/11/24/twosysreport/.

<sup>10</sup> "The 'Consensus' Settlements." Jewish Virtual Library , 2018, <u>www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-Idquo-consensus-rdquo-settlements</u>.

<sup>11</sup> Peace Now. "On Israel's Decision for Palestinian Construction Permits in Area C." Peace Now, 31 July 2019, peacenow.org.il/en/on-israels-decision-for-palestinian-construction-permits-in-area-c.

<sup>12</sup> State of Israel Prime Minister Government Resolution 3738 (4/15/18).

13