

# OSLO PROCESS

20 YEARS OF OSLO

1991-2013

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## [ 1. ] Twenty Years Since Oslo: From a Peace Process to a Colonization Process



Twenty years have passed since the celebrated Arafat-Rabin handshake on the White House lawn. Twenty years have passed since the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. Twenty years have passed since the formal start of the peace process. This year marks twenty years of shattered hopes and unfulfilled obligations, of promises betrayed and an illegal colonization process that not only continues to intensify, but has inched us ever closer towards permanently ending any hope for a peacefully negotiated two-state solution.

On September 13th, 1993 the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements between Israel and the PLO ("Oslo I") was signed. However, Israeli bulldozers kept bulldozing, and with every illegally placed stone, the hope for peace faded. Since 1993, Israeli settlers have tripled in number, their settlements choking and separating East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank and fragmenting the West Bank itself into loosely connected cantons. The basic premise of Israel's policy is Palestinian demographic containment and Israeli demographic expansion, rendering peace implausible if not impossible.

To maintain the security of these settlements and to feed their large appetite for Palestinian land, Israel built an intricate system of control and subjugation: hundreds of checkpoints were placed and dotted across the West Bank, segregated bypass roads were constructed for settler use only, separate legal systems for settlers and Palestinians were maintained, and an annexation wall was built, eating-up a further 9% of West Bank. This publication spells out how the Oslo process metamorphosed into a process of colonization, taking us ever further from a just and lasting solution to this conflict.





## 2. Palestine Timeline [1917-1993]



1917

### Balfour Declaration

“His Majesty’s government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.” - *United Kingdom’s Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour, 2 November 1917 (Letter to Walter Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community, for transmission to the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland).*



1936

### Palestine’s Revolt

Palestine witnessed a large revolt between 1936 and 1939 against British colonial rule and the mass Jewish Zionist immigration. The revolt started with the establishment of a national committee that called for a general strike throughout Palestine, lasting six months. Shortly after, the strike spread throughout all Palestinian villages and cities. The second phase of this revolt was a peasant-led resistance movement that targeted British forces and Zionist gangs. In return, the British army was brutally repressive and eventually succeeded in ending the revolt by the beginning of World War II.



1948

### Nakba (Catastrophe)

In May of 1948, as Britain withdrew its forces and ended its 28 year old imperial rule over Palestine, the Zionists declared their independent state on the land of Palestine. As a result, a war between the Arab armies and the Zionist militias started: the Arabs were defeated, 78% of Palestine was occupied and the State of Israel was born. During this war, more than 15,000 Palestinians were killed, 50 massacres were committed, 418 Palestinian villages were destroyed and 750,000 Palestinians became refugees. One form of colonial rule was suddenly replaced with another.



1967

### Naksa

On June 5<sup>th</sup> 1967, Israel occupied the remaining 22% of historical Palestine and imposed a system of military rule on the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Israel also occupied parts of Egypt’s Sinai and the Golan Heights of Syria. On November 22<sup>nd</sup> 1967, the Security Council of the United Nations adopted resolution 242 that required the “Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict”.



1987

### The First Intifada

The Palestinian population of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip spontaneously and collectively rose up against Israel’s oppressive occupation. The first *intifada* was characterized by mass civil disobedience, general strikes, boycotts and refusal to pay taxes. It was a defining event which allowed the Palestinian people to affirm their national identity and exposed the brutality of Israel’s occupation to the world. More than 1,100 Palestinians were killed and tens of thousands were injured and arrested.



1988

### Palestine’s Declaration of Independence

On November 15<sup>th</sup> 1988, Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in line with relevant United Nations resolutions (242, 388), declared the independence of the State of Palestine on the territory Israel occupied in 1967. The announcement was made following the 19<sup>th</sup> session of the Palestinian National Council, which was held in Algiers. It was the first time in Palestinian history that Palestine recognized Israel unconditionally and accepted its existence on 78% of historical Palestine. The PLO hereafter called for an international peace conference under the flagship of the United Nations.



1991

### Madrid Peace Conference

Madrid was the first attempt to start a peace process between the Palestinians, Israel and its neighboring Arab countries. The conference was hosted by Spain and co-sponsored by the USSR and the USA. Israel refused to meet the PLO and so the Palestinian delegation was composed of individuals from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The conference reaffirmed the Palestinian position towards reaching a peaceful settlement to end Israel’s occupation of Palestine.



1993

### Oslo Declaration of Principles (DOP)

## 3.

## Oslo Explained



A few days prior to the signing the Declaration of Principles (DOP), Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin exchanged letters in which the PLO took the courageous step of recognizing the “right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security,” for the sake of peace. Arafat also committed the PLO to resolving final status issues through peaceful means and negotiations, renouncing the use of violence and accepting United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. In response to the six-page Palestinian letter and to the numerous historic and difficult compromises, Prime Minister Rabin sent a letter of six sentences agreeing to “recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations within the Middle East peace process”. These letters provide an important illustration of the inequity and asymmetrical nature of the accords; an asymmetry which has defined the peace process ever since.

Oslo established a framework for PLO-Israeli relations in the interim period, in which the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank would establish a self-government authority for no more than five years until a permanent status agreement was concluded, leading to the end of Israeli occupation that began in 1967 and an independent Palestinian state. On 28 September 1995, the parties signed the Palestinian-Israeli Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Interim Agreement or “Oslo II”), which stipulated further Israeli withdrawals and regulated Palestinian-Israeli relations during the interim period. Thereafter, the parties concluded a series of other agreements collectively known as the Oslo Accords.

In Oslo, the PLO was charged with the responsibility of public order and internal security for the Palestinians, while Israel maintained its jurisdiction over its own citizens i.e. settlers. The approach was not one of territorial sovereignty, but of dividing the land to various degrees of functional control. The West Bank and Gaza were divided into three areas (A, B, and C) with specific borders and rules for their administration and security. In this way, the Oslo agreement allowed Israel to control most aspects of Palestinian life.

## Israel’s Violations and non-Implementation of Oslo

By failing to implement many of its obligations under previous agreements reached with the (PLO), Israel has repeatedly undermined the Middle East peace process and progress towards a just and lasting peace. Israel’s failure to honor previous agreements not only erodes the credibility of the peace process, but it also calls into question Israel’s seriousness and commitment to negotiations and the two-state solution, and its claim to be a genuine partner for peace. What follows is a glimpse into some of the main violations Israel has committed.

### Third Redeployment

The Oslo Accords detail the mechanism for extensive Israeli withdrawals from the occupied Palestinian territory. In accordance with the 1995 Interim Agreement, three redeployments were envisioned. The third and final Israeli redeployment in the West Bank was to have been concluded within 18 months of the election of the Palestinian Legislative Council transferring the whole of Area C to Palestinian Authority control. Following the Wye River Memorandum of 1998, a limited conversion of Area C to B, and Area B to A took place, but the more important redeployments never took place. Today Israel remains in full control of over 61% of the West Bank designated as Area C, in violation of the agreements.

### Settlements

According to Article XXXI (7) of the Interim Agreement, “[n]either side shall initiate or take any step that will change the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip pending the outcome of the permanent status negotiations.” Since 1998, Israel has violated this article by continuing to build and expand settlements in the West Bank, including in and around East Jerusalem, thus altering the status of the occupied Palestinian territory, both physically and demographically. Since 1995, Israel has built

over 50,000 settlement-housing units and nearly tripled the settler population in the occupied Palestinian territory where over 550,000 settlers currently live. In building its settlements, Israel is also in breach of international law, as reflected in the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

### Economic Relations

The Paris Protocol was agreed upon in 1994 with a view to improving Palestinian economy and economic independence and consequently bring Palestine closer to independent statehood. In the years that followed, however, Israel’s interpretation and partial implementation of the Paris Protocol merely institutionalized the Israeli policies prior to the Oslo Agreement. Today, Palestinian economic dependence on Israel remains as acute as ever, and the economic independence of the Palestinian controlled areas continues to be illusive. The violations of the Paris Protocol attest to that. These include closures and restrictions on the movement of goods and people and the failure to consult or notify the Palestinian side before making any changes to Israeli import policy or rates that affect Palestinians (Article III (6), Interim Agreement). Israel has also breached its obligation to honor the PA’s full authority to implement an importation policy at the Jordan River and Gaza entry points (Article III (14)), has refused to recognize Palestinian standard certificates and conformity marks, and restricts the PNA’s right to set its own petroleum products policy, (Article III (12)).

### Movement and Access

Article I(2) of Annex I of the Interim Agreement compels both sides to “respect and preserve without obstacles, normal and smooth movement of people, vehicles and goods within the West Bank, and between the West Bank and Gaza Strip.” In both the DOP and the Interim Agreement, the parties also agree that “[they] view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, the integrity and status of which will be preserved during the interim period.”

Yet, over the years, Israel has pursued a policy of fragmentation through physical (e.g. settlements, the Wall, and checkpoints), legal and administrative barriers. Movement between Gaza and the West Bank has become increasingly difficult for foreigners, and nearly impossible for Palestinian residents. Since the early 1990s, Palestinian West Bank ID holders have not had free access to East Jerusalem and other Palestinian areas illegally annexed by Israel. Some areas west of the Wall have been declared “closed military zones” and access to the Jordan Valley is restricted to residents of the area.

### Water

In accordance with principles set out in the Interim Agreement, Israel is under the following obligations: to coordinate management of water and wastewater in accordance with specific principles with the PNA; not to increase its utilization of water resources beyond its quota under the Agreement without obtaining prior approval from the Palestinian side; to prevent deterioration of water quality; to practice sustainable water use; and to exchange data on the amount of water extracted from all three aquifers, as well as their sustainable yield. Israel has continuously violated its obligations under the agreement. Today, the net quantity of water available to Palestinians falls short of the quota allocated under the 1995 Interim Agreement, from 118 MCM per year in 1995 to 98 MCM per year today, despite the fact that the Palestinian population living in the West Bank has increased. Meanwhile, Israel overdraws, without Palestinian approval, up to 1.8 times its quota provided for under the Interim Agreement. Israel banned the development of the 70-80 additional quantities agreed for the interim period under the Interim Agreement. Moreover, the 5 MCM/year Israel committed itself, in the Interim Agreement, to provide to Gaza from the Israeli water system has never been supplied, despite the fact that Palestine fulfilled its responsibility to construct the new pipeline.

### Release of Prisoners

Section 1 of Article XVI of the Interim Agreement and Annex VII thereof (“Release of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees”) provides for the release of Palestinian political prisoners and political prisoners from Arab countries. These releases were to take place in three phases, the last of which was to occur during the permanent status negotiations. In addition, Article 3 of the 1999 Sharm Al Sheikh Agreement also called for the release of pre-Oslo prisoners. Israel again failed to carry out its obligations, and instead has held those prisoners as bargaining chips for political purposes.

### Dissolving of the Civil Administration

Israel has failed to dissolve the Israeli Civil Administration pursuant to Article VII of the DOP.



5. Years Of Violations

Table of Israeli violations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: January 2004 - end of August, 2013

EVENT	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Assassinations	49	31	44	20	19	13	3	20	11	1	211
Deaths	922	200	661	410	816	980	103	112	263	25	4492
Injuries	4269	1188	2844	1794	4231	4290	847	1011	2065	903	23442
Attacks	3862	1266	4612	3310	3284	3461	2147	2206	3612	2092	29852
Raids	7671	4685	8150	9125	10205	8324	7461	7412	6301	3718	73052
Arrests	6476	4468	5616	5449	4959	4507	3111	3181	3377	2997	44141
Home Demolition	932	547	194	92	114	299	39	37	732	108	3094
Attack on Property	966	524	1105	1128	1517	1329	1039	1543	1260	714	11125
Home Occupation	494	202	569	428	396	285	124	147	64	63	2772
Flying Checkpoints	N/A	1060	5120	4578	5433	4665	7676	9126	6098	3110	46866
Settlement Activity	115	552	155	68	51	58	67	105	93	75	1339
Settler Violence	3437	668	276	340	618	698	853	1336	782	675	9683
TOTAL	29193	15391	29346	26742	31643	28909	23470	26236	24658	14481	250069

Source: Palestinian Monitoring Group, 2013

4. Palestine Status in 1993



By 1993 Israel had developed a clear system of settlement activity aimed at annexing Palestinian land and natural resources. The West Bank and Gaza Strip were ruled by the Israeli “Civil Administration” (in reality a form of military rule) with the exception of the illegally annexed areas of East Jerusalem and Latroun, over which Israel imposed its own laws and regulations. The impunity with which Israel was allowed to conduct its policies meant that the Israeli government was able to develop a complete system of colonization all over the occupied land. One of the main issues raised by Palestinian negotiators, beginning at the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference, was an immediate end to Israeli settlement activity. By September 1993, Palestine’s landscape had already been changed by Israeli occupation policies.

Between 1967 and 1993 Israel had built 159 settlements all over the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including 39 in and around Occupied East Jerusalem. The total number of settlers by 1993, according to Israeli official sources, was 247,300 settlers, though this number has been disputed by some Palestinian estimates which suggest a number of just under 200,000. What is indisputable is that Israel deliberately increased settlement construction after the 1979 Camp David Agreement (when the US raised the issue of settlements to the Israeli government), and after 1988 with the Palestinian recognition of the two-state solution. In fact, seven new settlements were built between 1989 and 1993.

According to conservative estimates, between 1967 and 1993 Israel demolished at least 10,000 Palestinian homes. This includes approximately 6,000 that were demolished immediately after the June 1967 War, and the complete demolition of the Moroccan (Moughrabi) Quarter in Jerusalem’s Old City. Over 2000 homes in Gazan refugee camps were also demolished, as well as at least 1,700 Palestinian homes during the First *Intifada* (1987 – 1993), as a form of collective punishment.

Violence against Palestinians was mainly conducted by Israeli Occupation Forces. Settler attacks were not as widespread or common as they are twenty years later, but Zionist Terrorist organizations did target Palestinians mainly in the Occupied West Bank, which includes East Jerusalem. Examples of such attacks include the car bomb attacks of 1980 against the elected Palestinian mayors of Ramallah (Karim Khalaf) and Nablus (Bassam Shakaa), as well as attacks against Palestinian students and workers.

When the Oslo Agreement was signed, there were 12,000 Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli jails, the vast majority of them being released after the agreement was signed. An important number of them were children and administrative detainees. Others were imprisoned for refusing to pay taxes to the occupation authorities.

## 6. Facts on the Ground in 2013

### System of Control, Colonization and Displacement

All elements of Israel's machinery are part of one overarching system- a system designed to decisively annex as much Palestinian land and as many natural resources as possible. This is done by forcing people out of their homes, off their ancestral lands and away from their lives and livelihoods, through a series of direct and indirect measures.

#### Movement Restrictions

'Movement Restrictions' can refer to a number of structures which vary in size and permanence, but all of which are designed to restrict or block movement of Palestinians within Palestine- partly to control who is where and partly to encourage people to leave. There are currently more than 540 movement restrictions and hundreds of military obstacles placed throughout the occupied State of Palestine. Severely restricted access between the West Bank and Gaza remains one of most significant obstacles to Palestinian freedom of movement. The idea is to make life so uncomfortable that people ultimately move away.

#### The Annexation Wall

The Annexation Wall is the clearest physical example of Israel's system of colonization. In many places it is made of concrete and stands 6m high. For Israel, the Wall serves to impose a *de facto* border, which annexes the whole of occupied East Jerusalem into Israel, as well as land and precious natural resources. When complete, the Wall will be over 711km long, more than double the length of the 1967 border and will forcibly annex 9% of the West Bank into Israel. For the 2.5 million Palestinians on the East of the Wall it means denial of access to their family and friends on the other side, their lands and their capital city.

#### Enclaves by the Wall

In physically annexing Palestinian land using the wall, Israel has isolated 35,000 Palestinians between the Wall and the 1967 border [OCHA] - (not including the approximately 315,000 Jerusalemite Palestinians who have been *de facto* annexed along with East Jerusalem). The 35,000, a number of whom carry Israeli-issued West Bank IDs and are now on the Jerusalem side of the wall, are unable to access basic services and are therefore displaced further by being compelled to move in order to access schools, hospitals and so on. For Israel, this serves the overarching goal of removing people from their land so that they can take the land for their own population.

#### Settlement Infrastructure/ Bypass roads

Settlement infrastructure (roads, pipelines, etc) allows control of much more land around settlements. Bypass roads seize not only the land they are on, but land between the roads and settlements. Like the Wall, this prevents Palestinians from crossing between villages, from reaching their olive groves, farmland, and their places of worship. For Israel, effective infrastructure incentivizes colonization, gains further physical control of the land and displaces Palestinians by building roads through and around villages.

#### New Settlements/ Settlement Expansion

The Settlement enterprise goes hand in hand with the wall and checkpoints and reaches far beyond the question of buildings on stolen land. Settlements serve to physically seize land and natural resources, place Israel's own population in the occupied State of Palestine, and prevent Palestinian access, movement, development and use of resources. Today there are approximately 520,000 settlers living in more than 200 illegal settlements in Palestine.

#### Settler Violence

Intimidation and physical attacks on Palestinian families, livestock, agricultural lands and property, and the culture of impunity which surrounds these attacks, is one of the most effective and brutal ways of dispossessing the Palestinian people of their land. Settler violence occurs often under the watchful eye of the Israeli government and military. 91.5% of cases are closed without indictment (as compared to a 99% conviction rate for Palestinians). Between January 1st and September 8th 2013, almost 700 separate acts of settler violence have been recorded.

#### Firing Zones

Firing zones are areas of Palestine seized by Israel supposedly for military training purposes. This is done regardless of the communities living in these areas, who are forcibly evicted and displaced. 5,000 Palestinians live in areas now designated as 'firing zones'. Meanwhile the 10 Israeli settlement outposts which are located either partially or completely in firing zones remain untouched. [OCHA, 2012]

#### Home Demolitions/ Evictions

Israel uses home demolitions to directly reduce presence in Palestinian areas Israel wants to retain. Since 1967, more than 27,000 Palestinians have been evicted [IACHAD]. More than 600 hundred Palestinians have been evicted this year (up until September 2013) [OCHA], this has literally meant their belongings being thrown on the street while either their homes are demolished in front of them or Israeli settlers move in. For those in sensitive areas such as East Jerusalem and the Jordan Valley, the fear of an eviction notice is ever present.

#### Prisoners (Arrests/ Administrative Detention/ Deportation)

For Israel, arresting Palestinians is a way of keeping the Palestinian population under physical control. It is also a method of preventing political leaders from emerging and deterring Palestinian political life, particularly in East Jerusalem. As of the end of July 2013, there were 4,828 Palestinians in Israel's prisons, including minors and women. Many have no formal charges against them. If and when they are released, Palestinians from the West Bank are often deported to Gaza and denied permission to return to the West Bank. Some are deported out of Palestine altogether. Such measures constitute yet another form of displacement.





## 7. Jerusalem in Focus

In the 20 years following the signing of the Oslo agreement between the PLO and Israel, the situation on the ground has significantly changed. However, the changes have not been as envisioned under the agreement. Palestinians were under the impression that “Oslo” would be a landmark agreement that would end Israel’s occupation forever. Palestinians who lived under occupation since June 1967 saw a glimpse of freedom and independence during that time. Many expected that Israel would fulfill its obligations under the Oslo agreement through sincere implementation of its terms. However, during the past 20 years, it became ever clearer that Israel was using the “Oslo process” as a guise under which it could further implement its own process of colonization. One of the most obvious indications of this, for Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, was the restriction on their access to occupied East Jerusalem.

*Al-Quds* - East Jerusalem is the beating heart of Palestine and its national identity. The city has always been, and remains, the political, administrative and spiritual center of Palestine. Occupied East Jerusalem is the natural socio-economic and political center for the future State of Palestine, given its wealth of religious and cultural heritage sites, its commercial vitality, its historical significance, and its geographic centrality connecting the northern and southern parts of the Palestinian territory.

The entire world rejected, outright, Israel’s illegal annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967. To this day, the international community does not recognize Israel’s illegal measures in occupied East Jerusalem, a position clearly stated in a number of UN Security Council resolutions, which find their basis in international law. These resolutions consider all Israeli measures in the occupied City null and void.

All Israeli policies in occupied East Jerusalem are designed to reduce the Palestinian presence in the city either by direct force (i.e. evictions, home demolitions, residency revocations, arrests) or by indirect pressure (i.e. making Palestinian living conditions and lives so difficult that they feel compelled to leave), while at the same time destroying the Palestinian social fabric, in order to slowly erase Palestinian identity. These policies are part of an immediate aim to reduce the Muslim and Christian demographic to cement Israel’s illegal annexation of East Jerusalem. It is also consistent with the overarching process of colonization, which aims to displace the Palestinians from their land and replace them with Israel’s own population.

The following illustrates some of the Israeli policies in occupied East Jerusalem.



## Closure of Palestinian Institutions

Since 1967 more than 120<sup>1</sup> Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem have been shut down by Israel.

In 2001, the Israeli occupation authorities closed down the Orient House (the PLO Headquarters during the period of the Oslo Accords) along with more than 22 Palestinian non-governmental organizations, including kindergartens, charities, cultural, youth and service centers in Jerusalem, further depriving the people of this city already struggling under Israeli occupation.

To this day, Israel continues to renew the closure of the institutions despite assurances by the Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in 1993 that “[a]ll Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem, including the economic, social, educational and cultural, and the holy Christian and Moslem places, are performing an essential task for the Palestinian population. Needless to say, we will not hamper their activity; on the contrary, the fulfillment of this important mission is to be encouraged.”<sup>2</sup> The reopening of Palestinian institutions is also an unfulfilled commitment made by Israel as part of the 2003 Road Map.

The US’s position on this matter has long been clear. Back in 1991, Secretary of State Jim Baker spoke of the U.S.’s “firm position” that “Jerusalem must never again be a divided city and that its final status should be decided by negotiations. Thus, we do not recognize Israel’s annexation of east Jerusalem or the extension of its municipal boundaries, and we encourage all sides to avoid unilateral acts that would exacerbate local tensions...”<sup>3</sup>

The main aims of the closure are to reduce Palestinian presence and identity in Jerusalem, as well as to stifle local development in order to help achieve the overall goal of Judaizing the city. For the Christian and Muslim Palestinians of Jerusalem, this means the prevention and attempted elimination of all forms of political, cultural and social identity.

<sup>1</sup> Al-Makdisi Foundation

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Minister Johan Jorgen Holst of Norway on October 11, 1993. Peres also made a similar statement to the Israeli Knesset.

<sup>3</sup> James Baker’s Letter of Assurance to the Palestinians, October 18, 1991.



## Child Arrests in Silwan: a Brutal Tactic

Silwan is an area located south of the Old City walls and is one of Israel's most targeted areas in occupied East Jerusalem. Israel's motivation to close its grip on the town was accelerated especially after the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993.

In recent years, about twenty Palestinian homes have been occupied by an Israeli settler group with the tacit approval of the Israeli government. The ongoing construction of a new settlement at the entrance of Wadi Helwa and the plans to demolish the Bustan area in Silwan, form part of a policy to drive Palestinians out. Aside from eviction, demolition and settlement construction, Israel uses another method to pressure the Palestinians in Silwan, namely arresting members of the community, particularly minors.

An Israeli court recently sentenced a young man and three children to prison. The three minors who were sentenced by an Israeli judge are: Majdi Abbasi, for 5 years and a fine of 10 thousand NIS; and 15-year old Ayman Sameeh Abbasi and 13-year old Mohammad Sultan Abbasi, who were each sentenced for a year and a half and given a 3000 NIS fine.

Several human rights organizations have condemned Israel's excessive use of force against minors, especially in Silwan. A report issued by Defence for Child International and B'Tselem describes how the police breach Israeli law as well when they arrest juveniles in Silwan. The *"Breach of the statute is especially grave given that the statute grants minors special protections and requires special consideration of their age and circumstances of the offense."*

The report adds: *"The severe measures, in contravention of the law, that the police take against Palestinian minors in Silwan, are especially grave given the authorities' lenient treatment regarding violent offenses committed by settlers, minors and adults, which have been documented on various occasions, and by border policemen in Silwan.[...]"*

According to a letter from 60 Israeli professionals to Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Shimon Peres, Israeli police have interrogated more than 1200 children and youths under the age of 18 in East Jerusalem on suspicion of throwing rocks. Some of those arrested have been under the age of 12, the lower limit for criminal responsibility, and sentenced disproportionately.

*"We are writing to express our deep concern for the physical and emotional well-being and the proper development of children and youths in east Jerusalem in the face of police conduct during the interrogation and detention of minors in this area".*

Arrests, especially of children as young as 12, are often made arbitrarily and are intended primarily to frighten families into moving from their lands and homes to other areas. 400 Palestinians have been arrested in East Jerusalem between January and the end of August 2013, 35% of whom are minors.

## Khan Ahmar Bedouin Community - Living in Limbo

The Bedouin community in the occupied State of Palestine is struggling to survive due to Israel's systematic policy of forced displacement. On July 2013, the Israeli military forcibly displaced the entire "Khabna Community" located north of Jerusalem, razed their homes, and divided the Community between two separate locations.

A few kilometers away from the displaced Khabna Bedouin community lives the Jahalin Bedouin community near Khan Ahmar. The Jahlin Bedouin community, who lived originally in the Nagab, was driven out after 1948 towards the south of Hebron in 1951/1952. After 1967, the possibility to live as nomads slowly disappeared. Both the Khabna and Jahlin share the same difficulties. The Israeli military, which effectively controls the entire West Bank, enforces Israel's policies. This includes preventing the grazing of herds and the confiscation of animals, sometimes returning them for very high fines. Meanwhile, the residents of these communities face the constant threat of evictions and demolition of their homes, and the military prohibits the community from building new homes.

The Jahalin community recently received an eviction notice from the Israeli military forces. Israel's aim is to remove the Bedouins from this land so that the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim may be expanded.



During previous acts of displacement by Israel, a few communities in Khan Ahmar were forced out of their homes to live near a dump site in Abu Dis. A recent announcement of an alternative plan by the Israeli military authorities detailed their intentions to move the Bedouin community to an area near Nuema in the Jericho district. Twenty years after the beginning of a process supposed to lead to an independent Palestinian state, those communities in the Khan Ahmar area that have not already been dispossessed of their land, are still living under the constant threat of eviction.

## Nabi Samwel: The Extinct/ Dying Village



The village of Nabi Samwel is located on one of the highest mountains in Jerusalem. The village dates back to 800 BC. The original village used to be located on a hilltop around the mosque. In the 1967 war, 90% of the village population was displaced (majority reside in Jordan today). Few years later, Israel demolished all 46 houses around mosque and forced people to move to the houses of the refugees located on the other side of the mosque area. Village was later declared a national park area where construction is not allowed. All the houses today, except a few, were constructed before 1967. The Oslo interim agreement entirely located the village within area C, where construction is absolutely not allowed in any way shape or form. As a result, construction, including for natural expansion, is not a possibility and many of its residents have been forced to relocate to other areas especially young married couples. It is estimated that more than 20 families have been forced to leave the village in the last five years, comprising more than 100 people, leaving around 200 people still living in Nabi Samwel today.

When Israel constructed the annexation wall, it placed Nabi Samwel on the Jerusalem side of the wall and completely isolated it from its surroundings. It is almost completely isolated from the rest of the West Bank; residents have their names on a list at the nearby Al Jib checkpoint to enable them to commute between their homes and the remainder of the West Bank. Entering Jerusalem is also not a possibility for the majority of residents who hold West Bank identification cards; whoever is caught outside the area between the village and the Jib checkpoint is at risk of facing legal consequences and fines. The few families who hold Jerusalem IDs are also at risk of losing their social security benefits for living in Area C outside the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem as defined by Israel. Nabi Samwel families are thus deprived from friends and family visits and it has been impossible to hold neither a wedding nor a wake in the village. They essentially live in prisons in their houses.

Restoration of the village is prohibited. There is no sewage network. No permanent medical center. Work possibilities are extremely limited. And the village's only school is one 12 meters square room for students between 1st through 4th grades. The original school existed on the 2nd floor of the mosque but was closed following the destruction of the original village in the early 1970s. A Palestinian family, as a temporary replacement, offered the current place of the school. It has now been more than 40 years.

## "You don't live here anymore": Redrawing the borders of Palestine's occupied capital

The military closure imposed on occupied East Jerusalem and the construction of the annexation wall in the area are designed to restrict more than 4 million Palestinians from accessing their occupied capital, thereby forcibly distorting the social fabric of the Palestinian people.

In a recent speech, Nir Barkat, the 'Mayor' of the Israeli-defined "Jerusalem municipality" said, on the status of Palestinians holding Jerusalem IDs and living east of the annexation wall: *"I recommend keeping the fence [Wall] the way it is, and relinquishing parts of the municipality that are on the other side of the fence and annexing the areas confined on the Israeli side of the fence that are not under the responsibility of the municipality."*

As a result of statements like Barkat's, many fear that Israel will use the current *status quo* to further strip the access rights of Jerusalem ID holders to East Jerusalem by confiscating their ID's. According to recent reports from human right organizations, Israel has permanently stripped more than 14,500' Jerusalemites of their right to live in Jerusalem.

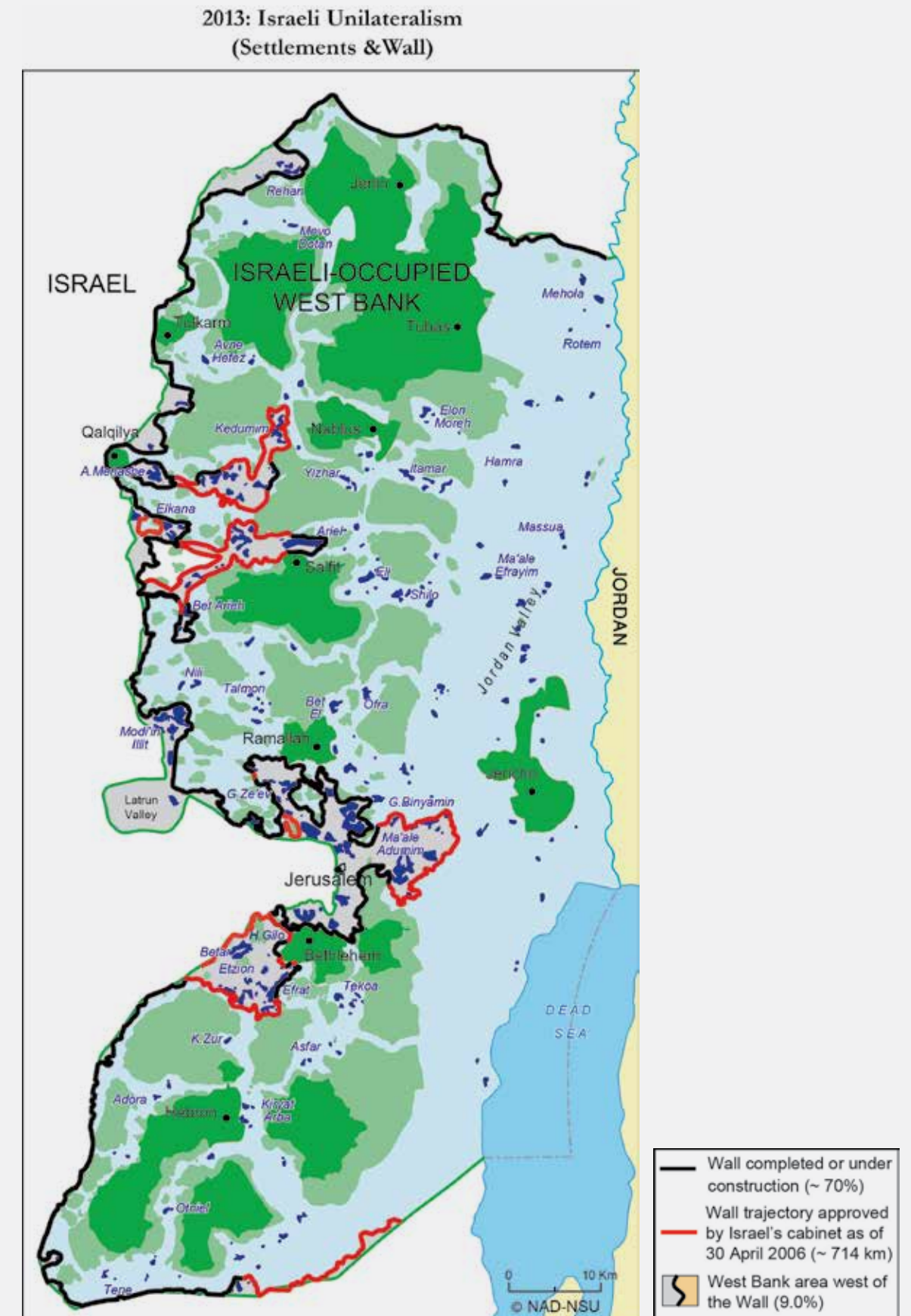
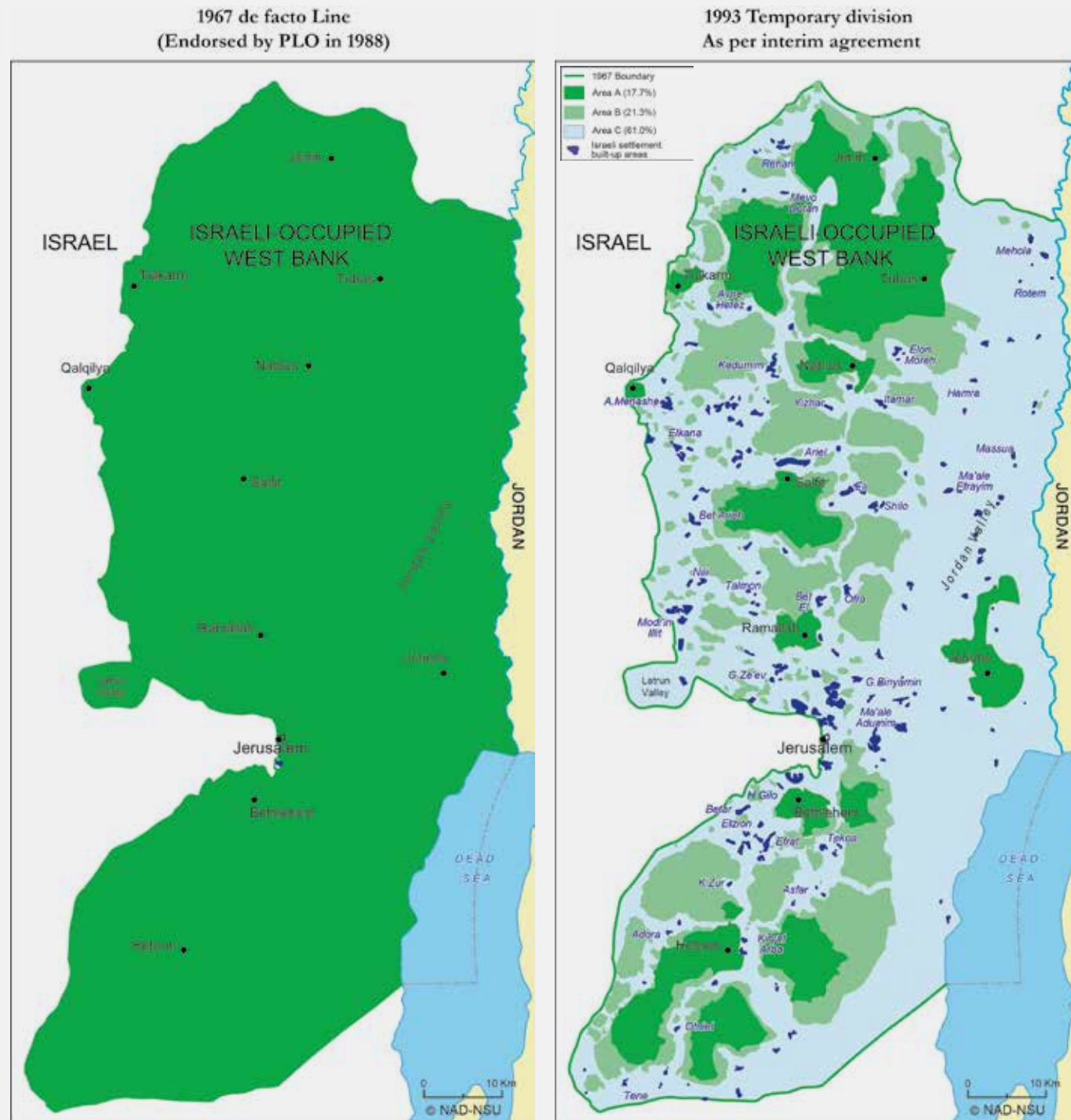


Barkat's proposal would isolate an estimated 90,000 Palestinians in the neighborhoods of Shuafat Refugee Camp, Ras Khamis, Dahiyat Asalaam, Kafr Aqab, and Samiramis. If implemented, this plan would be the largest act of deportation and de-population of the City since the beginning of the occupation forty-six years ago. This proposal is highly alarming and reflects Israel's systematic policy aimed at altering the demographic, social, and cultural reality in occupied Jerusalem, in contravention of international law.

About one year ago, the Israeli authorities sealed off RasKhamis by closing the military checkpoint, which was one of the only two entrances to the Shuafat refugee camp. The Israeli occupation authorities have enclosed the Shuafat refugee camp on three sides by the annexation Wall, even though it part of it is in the Israeli-defined Jerusalem municipal boundaries.



## 8. Maps



## 9. Peace Process Timeline [1998-2013]

Selected Key Dates





## [ 10. ] Statement

At the end of August 1993 I was accompanying Farouk Kaddoumi to a meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers in Beirut. At that time I was working on the "Washington Track" which came out of the Madrid Peace Conference, along with distinguished colleagues such as Hanan Ashrawi, Ghassan Khatib, Rashid Khalidi, Muhammad Shtayyeh, the late Faysal Hussein and the late Haidar Abdel Shafi. One day, 'Abu Lutof', as we call Mr. Kaddoumi, told me about an "Oslo track." It was difficult for me to believe that behind our efforts there was another more advanced secret track with the Israelis. The same night, while we were having dinner at the Lebanese president's residence, the Lebanese leader Elias El Hraoui asked me: "Saeb, how come are you reaching an agreement with the Israelis without telling us?" I answered: "I swear that I just found out about this today." He also couldn't believe what was happening.

A few days later I travelled to Washington for our last meeting of the Washington track. In a KLM plane departing from Amsterdam, President Arafat's close adviser, Akram Haniyeh, showed me a copy of the Declaration of Principles that had been agreed. My main attention was on two issues: It was the first time that an Israeli government recognized the Palestinian people, and the first time that an Israeli government had agreed to a solution which included the implementation of UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338, emphasizing the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war and calling upon Israel to withdraw from the territories occupied in the June 1967 war.

Within a few months we were as though in a dream. Our work was to welcome our heroes returning from exile and prepare the institutions for our independent state. Our headquarters, Orient House, stood in our capital- a symbol of the peace process and of our progress towards achieving the two state- solution. I was involved in the Electoral Commission and later I served as Minister of Local Government where I could see the difficulties we were facing, the mistakes we were committing, but also the hopes and prospects for a future to be decided by our own people in our own country. Unfortunately, twenty years later, we can't say that we succeeded.

The international community believed in any process that brought the two sides together, ignoring the huge disparity between occupier and occupied, and turning a blind eye when Israel refused to implement agreements or end its ongoing violations of international law. Somehow, with all the desire for a peace "process", the final goal- the end of Israel's occupation- was not only forgotten, but perpetuated by the desire to keep the process alive.

Today, millions still live in the Diaspora, included hundreds of refugees being killed in Syria and Iraq, vivid reminders of the urgency to reach a final status agreement with Israel. Since 1993 thousands have been displaced by Israeli policies of home demolitions, evictions and the construction of the illegal annexation Wall. Settlements and settlement infrastructure have completely distorted our country, denied us our basic rights and torn apart our social fabric, particularly in and around Occupied East Jerusalem.

A major part of Oslo's failure was Israel's impunity. Israel must stop being treated as a state above the law. The international community has the ability and the responsibility to redress the balance of power, so that we can sit eye to eye at the table. Recognizing the State of Palestine is a step in the right direction, as are all actions which reinforce the 1967 border and the use of international law. In a moment where the chances of achieving the two-state solution continue to diminish due to Israeli settlement activities, only a just agreement based on international law can provide the peace and security that Palestinians, Israelis and the rest of the region deserve.

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