

USAK policy brief

International Strategic Research Organization

Policy Brief No. 5

April 2011

Jewish Settlements: Another Name For Occupation



Osman Bahadır DİNÇER
Gamze COŞKUN



INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC RESEARCH ORGANIZATION

USAK

POLICY BRIEF

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC RESEARCH ORGANIZATION | USAK Policy Brief | No: 5, April 2011

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS: ANOTHER NAME FOR OCCUPATION

Osman Bahadır Dinçer is an expert on Middle East and Political Science with particular reference to social and political movements, political development and democratization in the Middle East at USAK Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies.

Gamze Coşkun is a researcher at USAK Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies.

"Should we be unable to find a way to honest cooperation and honest pacts with the Arabs, then we have learned absolutely nothing during our 2,000 years of suffering and deserve all that will come to us."¹

Albert Einstein, 1929

ABSTRACT

Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been one of the main issues of the Middle Eastern political agenda. The Israeli-Palestinian issue is a complex matter as it comprises of many disputed issues. The status of Jerusalem, condition of the Palestinian refugees, and Jewish settlements problems as well as many other disagreements pose an obstacle against the Peace Process which is of vital importance for the stability of the Middle East. Each of these issues needs special attention in the path going through to the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process.

Jewish Settlements stands as one of the main handicaps against an agreement between Israel and Palestine. 1967 onwards, Israeli state keeps on constructing settlements in the occupied territories and even expand its borders via this policy. In this regard, the settlement issue is more than being just a barrier to peace but a key to success in the peace negotiations in case of its resolution. However, despite the both parties to the dispute are aware of this, Israel does not seem so willing to give up settlement policy. Although it declares settlement freeze decisions from time to time, nonstop construction of outposts continues.

The article, in this respect, aims to provide a historical overview of the Jewish settlements policy and its impacts on the Palestinian and Peace Process.

Keywords: Jewish Settlements, Israel, Palestine, Peace Process, Middle East.

1 Ronald W. Clark, *Einstein: The Life and Times*, (New York: World Pub. Co., 1971), p.402.

INTRODUCTION

The biggest problem in the Middle East, the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, is also the main roadblock to the emergence of stability in the region.

Since this problem has occupied the UN agenda and has been argued for years, it is clear that there are many factors restraining and complicating a solution to the issue. One of the most basic barriers to a solution is the ambiguity surrounding the status of Jerusalem.² It is also unclear whether displaced Palestinian refugees will be able to return. Perhaps the most critical factor in this regard is the issue of Jewish settlements. The settlement issue lies at the root of all other unsolved problems. Many sticking points, including the status of East Jerusalem, the refugees, and the Wall, are directly related to Jewish settlements that have been built for years on occupied territory.



2 Bahadır Dinçer and Gamze Coşkun, “İhmal Edilmişliğin Adı: Kudüs”, *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 20 July 2010.

**Information Box-I
Jewish Settlements**

Settlements are urban constructions built by Israel in Gaza and the West Bank for the purpose of housing. Israel started to build settlements in the territories seized after the 1967 Six-Day War.

Since East Jerusalem, West Bank and Gaza are “occupied territories” under international law, Israel’s policy law; Israel sees this policy, however, as its legal right.

In 2005, all settlements in the Gaza Strip and four settlements in the West Bank were evacuated. Today, settlements continue to exist in East Jerusalem and the West Bank and this policy is still applied.

Therefore, the “settlers problem” is the toughest obstacle facing a possible agreement or compromise between Israelis and Palestinians.³ Many peace negotiations have indeed resulted in deadlock because of this very problem. In general, it is possible to claim that settlements are a component of Zionist ideology, aiming at expansion into Palestinian territory.⁴ A policy of promoting Jewish settlement was followed long before the Israeli state was established. Then, such settlements consisted merely of tents and cottages, but they formed the physical and “legal” basis for further settlement. Even if Israel was able to stimulate the growth Jewish settlements as independent colonies before a state was established, since 1967 occupation in the region has continued much more openly.⁵

The points contained in this study do not constitute the whole range of problems encountered in the region, though they can be regarded as a kind of introduction. The stories of countless Palestinians who have been struggling to live in their own homeland do not by any means fit into the span of a few pages.⁶ This study seeks to draw attention to the experiences of Palestinian people, whose freedom of movement is restricted and whose access to education and health services has been obstructed by Israel’s policies.⁷ The present work seeks to answer several basic questions: What the settlements are, why they are being built, and what kind of problems they have caused. The fact that the Jewish settlements are the biggest obstacle to peace is accepted by anyone familiar with the issue.⁸

The main objective of this article is to explain, using broad strokes, why this issue is of such importance. In this article and those that follow, the means by which Israel limits Palestinians’ basic rights are explained. Whatever explanations are made in this article, they will be no replacement to readers wishing to fully grasp the issue for actually passing through the alleys of Jerusalem’s Old City, entering the Al Aqsa Mosque under the watch of Israeli soldiers, catching sight of magnificent Church of the Holy Sculpture, hearing the voices of Jews worshipping at the Wailing Wall, passing through dozens of checkpoints on the roads of the West Bank, smelling the gunpowder of a gun pointed at you, seeing the ruined houses and the wounded of Nablus, Jenin, and Hebron, witnessing the otherness and confessions of the Jews or listening to the Arabs weighed by troubles.

3 For the full text of the report prepared in 2001 by the U.S. Special Deputy for the Middle East, George Mitchell and his team, see: Mitchell et al., *Sharm El-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee Report, Mitchell Report, April 2001*, http://eeas.europa.eu/mepp/docs/mitchell_report_2001_en.pdf.

4 Marwan Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003), p. 106.

5 *Ibid*, p.108.

6 Bahadır Dinçer, “Filistin’den Seçme Hikayeler”, *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 7 November 2006.

7 Richard Ben Cramer, *How Israel Lost?*, (İstanbul: Pegasus, 2006). A Jewish journalist with a Pulitzer Prize, Cramer, examines illegal acts such as tortures in the check points, murder of Palestinian leaders by Israeli soldiers and many more examples.

8 Bahadır Dinçer, “Barış Görüşmeleri Başlar mı?”, *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 29 April 2010.

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS⁹

Information Box-II Security Road

Security roads serve Israeli soldiers who patrol settlements. These roads also enable the settlements to enlarge as they provide immediate access to the surrounding areas.

Information Box-III Bypass Road

Bypass roads were built after Oslo Accords were signed. Connections between settlements are secured via bypass roads. Surrounding Palestinian settlements, these roads have isolated Palestinians into ghettos, isolated from the agricultural lands they once used. Israel maintains control of these roads, on which safe-conduct cannot be guaranteed. On both sides of the roads there are thus buffer zones between 50-75 meters long, in which no construction is allowed.

Jewish settlements are settlement units which have been built unlawfully on Palestinian land for Jewish people to reside in (see Information Box-I). The issue of Jewish settlements cannot be restricted to the existing structures and new buildings but must explore related issues, nor can it be restricted to the land taken up by such man-made cities. Taking into consideration the adjacent municipal areas, surrounding security roads (see Information Box-II), and bypass roads (see Information Box-III) that connect the settlements, it is clear that a vast area has been annexed.¹⁰ According to a number published by *B'tselem*, 42 percent of the West Bank is under the control of Israel.¹¹ The severity of the occupation becomes clearer if one takes into consideration the checkpoints built because of alleged security concerns or the restrictions placed on Palestinians' use of the surrounding roads.

Many settlements began as military centers at strategic points in the desert. These military and semi-military settlements have since been turned into housing for civilians but are still protected by the Israeli army. The components of a settlement include the land necessary for the construction of buildings and roads, infrastructure, agricultural activities as well as water resources for settlers' needs.

Jewish settlements have been deployed on the strategic hills from the West Bank's northernmost city, Jenin, to its southernmost, Hebron.



9 Several Israeli and Palestinian organizations follow the settlement construction, settler activities, and government policies closely. *Peace Now*, *B'tselem*, *Yesh Din*, *HaMoked*, *FMEP*, *Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI)*, *Palestine Monitor*, *Al Haq*, *Palestinian Center for Human Rights*, *Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group* and *JCSER* are only some of these non-governmental organizations. Detailed reports on settlements are available on the official web sites of these organizations.

10 Bahadır Dinçer, "İki Filistin Şehri: Cenin ve Nablus", *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 18 November 2006.

11 "Israel's Settlement Policy in West Bank", *B'tselem*, July 2010, http://www.btselem.org/English/Publications/Summaries/201007_By_Hook_and_by_Crook.asp.

THE EVOLUTION OF ISRAEL'S SETTLEMENT POLICY

The settlement issue has remained at the forefront since 1967, when it first entered Israel's political agenda. This issue will likely keep its place in the near future among the most passionately disputed arguments in both the Middle East and the whole world. Examining the evolution of Israel's settlement policy from its origins to the present day will help make the logic and objectives behind the policy more understandable.



Israel started to pursue expansionist settlement policies at the same time it seized the West Bank and Gaza as a result of its victory against Arabs in the 1967 Six-Day War. The first permanent settlement, Kfar Etzion, was built in the West Bank near Bethlehem after the war in West Bank. After that, the number of settlements and settlers rose very quickly.

In this era, various settlement plans were proposed by different officials.¹² Among these, the settlement plan prepared by Israeli Defense Minister Yigal Allon in 1967 was implemented partially in the years 1967-1977 as a first step of a comprehensive settlement policy.

The main objective of the plan was to provide security for Israel and Jews, regardless of Palestinians' rights and freedom. According to the plan, Jerusalem and Gaza were to be controlled by Israel and settlements were to be built in the Jordan Valley and the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) as a buffer region protecting regions that are open to attack.



YIGAL ALLON

¹² For the details on settlement plans, see: "Historical Political and Economic Impact of Jewish Settlements in the Occupied Territories", *IEPN*, June 2009, http://annaveeder.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/iepn_16-6-09.pdf.

Additionally, the Allon Plan¹³ warned against allowing the Arab population to reach a high density, so that the Israeli population in the neighboring regions could be protected. Under this plan, the region's eastern border became the focal point of settlement. Additionally, the settlements established in occupied Palestinian territory, around and within Palestinian cities, corresponded to a division of the West Bank into three different regions. Settlement areas have been connected to one another via bypass roads. Bypass roads connect Israel and the settlements, and also isolate Palestinian cities further ensuring greater control for Israel. The enlargement of Palestinian cities is restrained and Palestinians are exposed to abuse when they pass through checkpoints.

Israel has been building walls both around and within the invaded territory. The walls have been built in such a way that the settlements are left on the outside. Walls are also being built in Palestinian territory so that necessary lands are reserved for future settlements at the expense of a Palestinian state.



WALL

One of the reasons that Israel promotes the construction of Jewish settlements in this region is to seize water resources and create a water problem

13 For the details on Alon Plan, see: Joel Beinin and Rebecca L. Stein, *The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993-2005*, (Stanford: 2006), pp. 187, 286, 340-347; "Land Grab - Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank", B'Tselem, (2002), p.12, http://www.btselem.org/English/Publications/Summaries/200205_Land_Grab.asp.

for Palestinians.¹⁴ Most of the Jewish settlements subsist on agriculture. For this reason, Israel continues to ignore the rights of Arabs and control water resources in the occupied territories. Moreover, Palestinians cannot dig wells without the permission of Israeli officials and water provided from Arab wells is measured. On this basis, within the framework of Israeli settlement policies, government aims at keeping firm control over water resources.



SETTLEMENTS AND WALL

According to Israeli expert, Hayim Gvrtzman, Jewish settlements have a clear purpose: “To provide Israel’s absolute control over water resources in the West Bank. In this way, Israelis can use 500 million cubic meters of 600 million cubic meters of water available in a year, and this allows them to save up to 1 billion dollars and meets nearly one third of their consumption.”¹⁵

In short, the expansionist policy of Jewish settlements aims at extending territory into the region that Israel occupied in 1967 and making Palestine dependent. Israel’s continued construction and its ever-increasing economic efficiency profoundly affect a West Bank surrounded by control points. These aims of the settlements are not known very well, as religious motivations are generally the only explanations used.¹⁶

14 Tanya Reinheart, *The Road Map to Nowhere: Israel/Palestine since 2003*, (London; New York: Verso, 2006), p. 161.

15 Bishara, *Palestine/Israel: Peace or Racism*, p. 107.

16 Noam Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 210-213.

In 1977, when Menachem Begin of the Likud Party took office as prime minister, Israel began to focus on the western part of the West Bank. During this period, acceptance of the “two-state solution” began to spread and became a threat to Israel. The aim of the government at this time was thus to prevent the state from division.

For the same reason, the location of the settlements was determined in such a way so as to prevent division. Begin’s government was the most active in terms of settlement construction.¹⁷ Ariel Sharon served as Minister of Agriculture during Begin’s term and became the authority for settlements as the president of settlement issues in the cabinet.



Sharon allocated the biggest part of his time toward construction and development of Jewish settlements in the territory acquired after the Six-Day War (1967). Sharon believed that military occupation in this region would not achieve permanence and that the borders of the country would rather be drawn in accordance with the settlements and demographic dispersion.¹⁸ Over the seven years of Sharon’s term, 67 Jewish settlements were built. On the eve of Yitzhak Rabin’s election as prime minister, the number of settlements outside of East Jerusalem rose to 122 and the number of settlers rose to 109,100.¹⁹

One of the aims of the Oslo Accords, signed in 1993, was to stem the enlargement of the settlements. The Israeli authorities of that era, Yithzak Rabin, Shimon Peres, Benyamin Netanyahu, and Ehud Barak, abstained from building new settlements because of their political drawbacks. However, these politicians also condoned the increase in the number of Israeli settlers and the construction of outposts (see Information Box-IV), little

17 “Historical and Economic Impact of Jewish Settlements in the Occupied Territories”, *IEPN*, p. 5, http://annaveeder.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/iepn_16-6-09.pdf.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Israel Annual Statistical Review, 1993.

Information Box-IV Outposts

Outposts are military or civilian facilities built by Israel since 1990s in the region beyond the Ceasefire Line. These premises are not recognized by the Israeli government because of their extreme political sensitivity. They are known as Outposts, consisting of small prefabricated houses, and they can be regarded as preliminary forms of the main settlements.

After the government took the decision to cease the construction of new settlements in 1996, these unofficial settlements were classified as "illegal outposts or "unauthorized outposts by the Israeli government, which acted as if the government had thus met its political and international responsibilities.

settlements consisting of prefabricated houses, by the state-funded Settlement Department of the Zionist Federation.²⁰ Thus, officially, the Israeli government did not play a role in construction of new settlements, but it implicitly continued to support the expansion of settlement infrastructure.

In this way, Israel continued to build Jewish settlements in the occupied territories even after the 1993 peace deal. Under such circumstances, the Oslo process encountered a deadlock over finding a just resolution; it can even be said that these settlements were one of the main motivations triggering the Second Intifada.²¹



AN OUTPOST

Pier Paolo Cito

When the peace process started with the Madrid Conference in 1991, there were 75,000 total settlers in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. By the time the Oslo Accords were signed in 1993, the number of settlers had risen to nearly 95,000. In the following three years, this number rose even further to 147,000.²² Under the subsequent governments, the enlargement continued. Construction accelerated significantly during the Barak era (1999-2001). The number of settlers in 2000 was double that of the previous year. According to *Peace Now*, it was announced that 3,196 houses in 16 different settlements would be built between July-December 1999.²³ Around the same time, 3,000 new houses were allowed to be built in one of the biggest settlements, Ma'aleh Adumim, and \$17,000 in housing support was provided to each purchaser.²⁴

20 "Historical, Political and Economic Impact of Jewish Settlements in the Occupied Territories", *IEPN*, June 2009, p. 4, http://annaveeder.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/iepn_16-6-09.pdf.

21 Mitchell et al., *Mitchell Report*.

22 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 104.

23 *Ibid*, p. 104.

24 "Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories", *FMEP*, July-August, September, October 1999, <http://www.fmep.org/reports/archive/vol.-9/no.5/PDF>, <http://www.fmep.org/reports/archive/vol.-9/no.-4/PDF>.

Information Box-V



George Mitchell

George Mitchell, a democrat, served as a senator in the U.S. Senate from 1989 to 1995. He was assigned as the U.S. Special Deputy for Middle East by President Barack Obama in 2009. He became head of the fact-finding commission, initiated by President Bill Clinton in 2000, to find a solution for the Israel/Palestine issue. The Mitchell Report, the outcome of his research, was published in 2001. Mitchell still serves as the U.S. Special Deputy for the Middle East.

Again, in the report prepared by George Mitchell and his team (see Information Box-V) emphasis was placed on the fact that the population of settlers in the West Bank had doubled between 1993-2000.²⁵ It was also revealed that in that time period nearly 30 settlements were built and new houses were built in the existing settlers for newcomers.²⁶

On April 30, 2003, the UN proposed a road map for maintaining peace and security in the region (approved as Resolution 1515 of the UN Security Council, November 19, 2003).²⁷ To put an end to the conflict, the plan stipulated that both parties would bear the responsibility of establishing two separate states. Accordingly, when Ariel Sharon formed a government in 2001, he proposed a plan which for Israeli soldiers and settlers to withdraw from certain regions.²⁸ U.S. President George W. Bush also expressed approval for this plan in a letter of April 14, 2004.

In his letter, Bush supported the UN road map and the idea of founding two separate states but added that it would not be realistic to expect Israel's withdrawal to its 1949 borders, implying some support for the settlements.²⁹

Accordingly, since August 15, 2005, Israel evacuated all 21 settlements in Gaza and four settlements in the West Bank. The evacuation of the Gaza settlements was completed on September 8, 2005. However, since Sharon perceived Bush's statements as a green light for the settlements, he continued to develop his settlement policies. As a result, under the Sharon and subsequent Olmert administrations, the population of the settlements rose by another 100,000.³⁰

At the Annapolis Summit of November 2007, a revival of the 2003 plan and a stop in the construction of Israeli settlements were proposed. However, Israel's determination in following settlement policies undermined these efforts.³¹

The Israeli government claims that no new settlements have been for over ten years but accept that existing settlements are still growing. The accuracy of the claims made by Israel is here, as in so many other issues, questionable. Some authorities have even been betrayed by their own sta-

25 Mitchell et al, *Mitchell Report*.

26 *Ibid*.

27 For Resolution 1515 of the UN Security Council, see: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/sc7924.doc.htm>.

28 Abdullah Kıran, *Ortadoğu'da Su – Bir Çatışma ya da Uzlaşma Alanı*, (İstanbul: Kitap, 2005), pp. 151-152.

29 For Sharon's plan to end settlements plan as well as Bush's letter, see: *MidEast Web*, <http://www.mideastweb.org/disengagement.htm>.

30 "Historical Political and Economic Impact of Jewish Settlements in the Occupied Territories", *IEPN*, p.4, http://annaveeder.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/iepn_16-6-09.pdf.

31 "Israeli Settlements", *Palestine Monitor*, March 2010, p. 47,

<http://www.palestinemonitor.org/spip.php?article7>.

tements. In 2007, Prime Minister Olmert explicitly stated that Israel had not built new settlements for ten years, but that they supported ongoing construction within the existing settlements.



SETTLEMENTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN WEST BANK

In addition to this, he mentioned that settlers had built several dozen outposts without state permission.³² However, before negotiations with Palestinian Leader Mahmoud Abbas, Olmert told his cabinet, “From now on, any new settlement and land nationalization will not be made”.³³ Olmert’s statement reveals a contradiction with his prior statements, because it admits that settlements were built before 2007 as well. These statements by the highest authority of the time revealed the truth and left the world speechless.



**MAHMOUD
ABBAS**

**EHUD
OLMERT**

In the years between 2001 and February 2008, Israel managed to construct, tender, and plan more than 143,000 housing units in the settlements, over 98,000 of which were in Jerusalem.³⁴

32 “Abbas, Olmert last-ditch meeting leaves gaps unfilled”, *The Jordan Times*, 20 November 2007, http://www.jordantimes.com/files/pdf/2007-11-20_Main_1.pdf.

33 *Ibid.*

34 “POICA-The Israeli Settlements: Illegitimate, Illogical & an Impediment to Ever Achieving Peace”, *Monitoring Israeli Colonization Activities*, Applied Research Institute- Jerusalem, 3 March 2008, http://www.poica.org/editor/case_studies/view.php?recordID=1299.

Research conducted found that settlement construction increased by 60 percent in 2008, with construction taking place both inside and outside of the security barrier and within illegal settlement outposts.³⁵ In 2008, figures show that some 1,257 new settlements were built in the West Bank, and an additional 261 new buildings were constructed in illegal outposts within the area. Thus, the figures of this time show us the increasing aggressiveness of the settlement construction. Another factor that must not be overlooked is that over 40 percent of the new settlements constructed in 2008 were built east of the security barrier, which means they stretched even farther into the West Bank, and ultimately Palestinian territory.³⁶

Despite all of the unhindered construction in the previous years, in December of 2009 the Israeli Government, under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, implemented a ten-month settlement freeze, which was to take effect immediately. The freeze was to apply only to new construction and not those settlements already in progress.³⁷ However, with ill regard to the freeze implementation, in March of 2009, Israel announced plans to build an additional 1,600 units in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Ramat Shlomo. The announcement came during United States Vice President Joe Biden's visit to Israel, and was taken by many, the United States included, as an insult to the Peace Process and the efforts of those involved on both sides.³⁸ Technically this announcement did not violate the settlement freeze, as it did not apply to the areas within Jerusalem, however the construction led to outcry from both the Palestinians and the United States. The facts of the freeze show that it came up short in quelling the problem, as the anticipation of the announcement led to a 33% rise in new building starts in the last quarter of 2009 compared to the previous three months, and while about 3,000 housing units were under way when the freeze started, that number is now estimated at approximately 2,000. According to Peace Now, during the freeze there had been dozens of violations as outpost construction continued at an alarmingly steady pace.³⁹

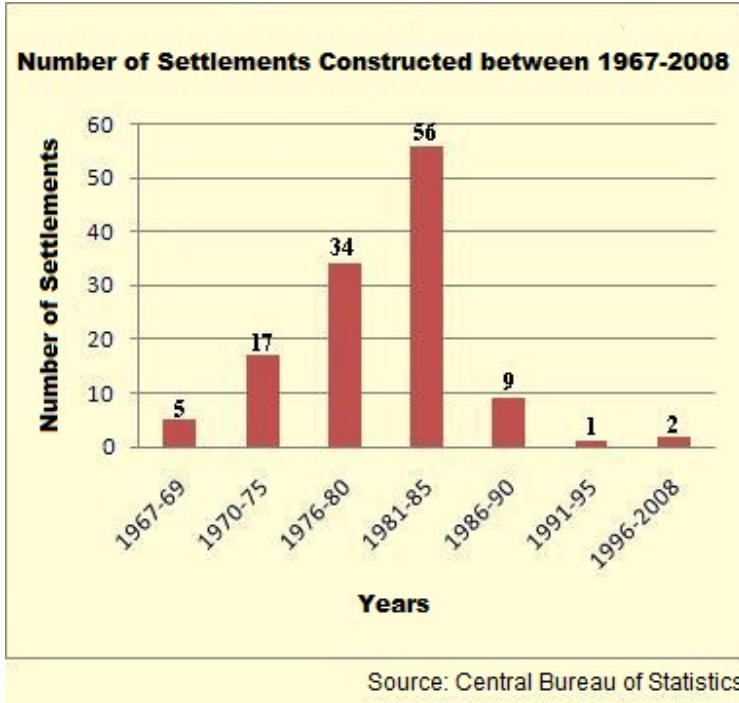
35 Daniel Luban, "Peace Recedes as Israeli Settlements Expand", *IPS Inter Press Service*, 28 January 2009, <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=45591>.

36 "Palestine Monitor Factsheet - Israeli Settlements", *Palestine Monitor Fact Sheet*, 15 March 2010, <http://www.palestinemonitor.org/spip/spip.php?article7>.

37 Barak Ravid, "Netanyahu Declares 10-month Settlement Freeze 'to Restart Peace Talks'", *Haaretz*, 25 November 2009, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/netanyahu-declares-10-month-settlement-freeze-to-restart-peace-talks-1.3435>.

38 Ethan Bronner, "As Biden Visits, Israel Unveils Plan for New Settlements", *New York Times*, 9 March 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/10/world/middleeast/10biden.html>.

39 Yolande Knell, "Hopes and Fears as Settlement Freeze Due to Expire", *BBC News*, 22 September 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11389475>.



As the freeze came to an end on the September 26th of this year, Prime Minister Netanyahu and the Israeli government refused to extend the memorandum, and almost immediately new construction plans were announced for the West Bank and Jerusalem. The Israeli Housing Ministry announced a new plan to build 240 housing units inside the Jerusalem neighborhoods of J'el, Pisgat Ze'ev and beyond the Green Line in Ramot, only days after the freeze had ended.⁴⁰ The hasty actions of the Israeli Government, and the quick construction of new settlements within the West Bank and Jerusalem continue to be ridiculed by international actors across the globe, but it has not stopped the progress of Israeli settlers moving into Palestinian territory. New reports have shown that since the freeze expired the pace at which settlements are being constructed has increased by four times their previous rate. As of November, only a month after the freeze expired, Israeli settlers have started construction on 600 new homes in the West Bank.⁴¹

While the settlement issue has many resounding consequences to the stability of the region, it also continues to undermine the Peace Process between Palestine and Israel. President Abbas, has stated that he will refuse to continue with peace negotiations until a new freeze is implemented and construction is stopped within Palestinian territories. United States to propose a plan beneficial enough for Israel to accept an extension to the memorandum.⁴² After many deliberations

40 "Israel Angers Palestinians with New Settlements", *Alarabiya*, 16 October 2010, <http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2010/10/16/122360.html>.

41 "Settlers Start 600 New Homes after Ban Ends – Report", *BBC News*, 22 October 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11596718>.

42 "Israel Ponders US Incentive Offer on Settlement Freeze", *BBC News*, 14 November 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11751713>.

with United States Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, Prime Minister Netanyahu has agreed to a deal that he will present to the Israeli Cabinet for hopeful approval. The plan would send 20 advanced U.S. fighter jets and other military aid, as well as a U.S. pledge to block Palestinian attempts to work through the United Nations or other international bodies to achieve statehood. More specifically, the United States would veto any U.N. Security Council resolution that affirmed international recognition of a Palestinian state. Furthermore, the deal would include a promise by the Obama Administration that this would be their last request for a memorandum, as it is their hope that this 90 day freeze would buy them enough time to negotiate a final peace agreement.⁴³ In all, it is clear that the settlement issue is one that must be resolved before any sustainable peace is to be realized in the region; with powerful organizations and governments across the globe calling for the immediate halting of settlements and the acceptance of peace, the future of settlement construction has a pivotal role to play in the outcome of the Peace Process, whether it is for better or worse.

In order to contribute to the Peace Process, Israel can prevent the settlers from building new outposts, which are regarded as new settlements by Palestinians; however the government has done nothing more than to reiterate the illegality of the outposts. Even as they tear down Palestinian houses, they are not equally attentive to tearing down illegal outposts. Whether by Rabin, Netanyahu, Barak, Sharon, Olmert, or other leaders, settlements have been supported by all Israeli governments.⁴⁴ Although they cancel building permits and suspend the constructions from time to time, they give up again and new permits start to be issued immediately.⁴⁵

Though some disputes have arisen within coalitions, governments have never argued against such a policy; as a matter of fact, this process has accelerated since the start of peace negotiations. Given the current political situation in Israel, it is a struggle to take concrete steps. As with other policy decisions, disputes are inevitable on the settlements issue due to the dispersion of seats in the parliament and the frequency of multiparty coalition governments.⁴⁶ For instance, when President Olmert was faced with the threat of Shas Party's withdrawal from the coalition, he became more radical on the issue of continuation of settlement construction in East Jerusalem.⁴⁷ In order to preserve fragile coalition governments, external pressure and internal opposition to suspending or diminishing settlement construction have been ignored. Even if the international environment

43 *Ibid.*

44 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 82.

45 Fikri Akkaya, "İnşaatlar Devam Edecek Görüşmeler Şimdilik Askıda", *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 28 July 2010.

46 For more detail, see: Bahadır Dinçer, "İsrail Siyasetine Genel Bakış II", *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 23 October 2008.

47 Isabel Kreshner, "Israel Tries to Placate Settlers by Allowing Some Construction Before Freeze", *The New York Times*, 7 September 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/08/world/middleeast/08mideast.html?fta=y>.

is unfavorable, coalition leaders fulfill the demands of settlers in order to keep more radical members of their coalition on board.⁴⁸

Today, there are 12 political parties with very different ideologies in the Israeli parliament (*Knesset*). In the government, there can be up to six political parties that totally disagree on particular issues. This situation is a unique opportunity for Jewish settlers. For years, there have always been at least 25-30 deputies in the *Knesset* who support Jewish settlements. If one takes into consideration that there are 120 deputies in *Knesset*, it is clear how much political power the settlers have.

Finally, settlers continue to be subsidized by the state.⁴⁹ The Israeli government has convinced many low-income families and new immigrants to live in the settlements, by providing them cheap housing and economic advantages. Sometimes, American aid is used for this purpose as well.

48 "Netanyahu İnşaat Yasağının Koalisyonu Bpzacığından Korkuyor", *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 29 July 2010.

49 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 82.

JEWISH SETTLERS

The residents of Jewish settlements can be generally divided into two groups: The first consists of Jews who prefer living in the settlements due to ideological reasons and see themselves as the real owners of the lands they call “Judea and Samaria”. Jews in this group believe that Israel has a right to settle in these lands because of historical and religious connections, current demographical structure, and security concerns.⁵⁰ They settle on “their own land” to prevent the establishment of two separate states.

The population policies of people living in the settlements are very different from those of people living in other Israeli cities. For instance, from 1993 to 2000 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the annual increase in the number of Jewish settlers was quadruple the increase in the Israeli population as a whole.⁵¹ The number of families with multiple children in the settlements is also high. Moreover, the families are financially encouraged to have more children.

The second group, the larger one, consists of Jews who prefer the settlements for their economic advantages. These people live in the settlements because of the chance of a better life, fresh air, cheap housing, and the nice view.⁵² The settlements are far cheaper compared to houses in Israel and thus offer a pragmatic alternative.

While radical groups make up a smaller proportion of the settlers⁵³, they are both more mobilized and more vocal. Settlers that want to leave the settlements or do not support violence face the threat of violence-prone settlers. Such radicalism affects other settlers living in the settlements, who, due to pragmatical concerns, have adopted a more ideological position.⁵⁴ The construction and expansion of Jewish settlements have progressed in accordance with Israeli government policy. The government has either di-

50 Robert Hunter, *Building a Successful Palestinian State: Security*, (Santa Monica: Rand Cooperation Press, 2006), pp. 33-37.

51 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 104.

52 Many groups like the Amana Settlement Movement organize programs and advertisements to settle outsider Jewish people into the settlements, putting forward above-mentioned reasons. See: <http://www.amana.co.il/Index.asp?CategoryID=101&ArticleID=166>.

53 Elisha Efrat, *The West Bank and Gaza Strip*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2006). This book handles the invasion in Gaza and West Bank thoroughly and puts an emphasis on the settlements.

54 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p.114.

rectly or indirectly supported the construction of the settlements, construction of the roads connecting settlements, annexation of territory, and the destruction of Palestinians' houses. Israel regards the implementation of such policies as a critical component of national security, rationalizing by saying that the ends justify the means, particularly when the state is at stake. Israel's noncompliance with international opinion on the settlements issue is guided by the realism of Thucydides: "While the strong do what they can,... the weak suffer what they must".

SETTLEMENTS AND DIASPORA

An umbrella organization, the Yesha Council, has been established through the association of many groups, to pave the way for the spread and autonomy of the Jewish settlements.⁵⁵ This group has been taking support from the Israeli government for years. The council, founded in 1979, aims to shape public opinion for the settlements through political lobbying activities and media outlets. It is also widely known that Yesha Council's leaders have close relations with government officials and media bosses.⁵⁶ Additionally, these groups have affiliations with Jewish groups in the diaspora, especially with those in the United States and France. The council's activities include providing information to the Jews in the diaspora as well as securing funding. AIPAC (*American Israel Public Affairs Committee*) in the United States is one of the biggest organizations to which the council is connected.⁵⁷ This type of organization creates an illusion to convince the Jewish communities living abroad that the settlers in the West Bank live in the shadows of Arab terrorism. Therefore, these organizations do not have any difficulty finding funds.⁵⁸

Organizations in the diaspora have the right to buy land and manage them in Israel. This is possible thanks to the agreements between these groups that do not feel any responsibility to Israeli state nor to those who live in Israel.⁵⁹ For example, the Jewish Agency invested on local education centers in Galilee in order to appeal Jews to settle into Palestinian lands.⁶⁰

55 Peter Shaw-Smith, "The Israeli Settler Movement Post-Oslo", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 23 (3): 99-109.

56 *Ibid.*, pp. 99-109.

57 Ghada Karmi, *Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine*, (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

58 Shaw-Smith, "The Israeli Settler Movement Post-Oslo", pp. 99-109.

59 Oren Yiftachel, "Democracy or Ethnocracy?: Territory And Settler Politics In Israel/Palestine", *Middle East Report*, 1998, 207: 8-13.

60 Gil Sedan, "Israel's New Settlement Policy: Move Jews to Arab Areas of Galilee", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 33 (1): 91-92.

LEGAL DIMENSION OF THE SETTLEMENTS

Israel pursues its settlement policy blatantly, ignoring all agreements that have been signed. Settlements not only violate international law, but also many resolutions of the UN Security Council. Israel defends that there is no other legitimate and sovereign state in Palestine. Since there is no second state in the region, the related articles of Geneva Convention cannot be binding, they argue. One example of Israel's settlement policies that violate the Geneva Convention as stated in Article 49 (6): "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies". However, Israel denies the accusation that this article has been violated. The Geneva Convention was signed by all Middle Eastern states and was accepted as compatible with the constitutions of the states. Israel also accepted this convention signing it on 6 January 1952. Thus, the Geneva Convention became binding for all the states in the region, including Israel.⁶¹

The implementation of settlements violates the UN resolutions and Geneva Convention (IV – 1949), signed by Israel, as they relate to the protection of noncombatants and prohibition the transfer of civilian populations to occupied regions. According to *B'Tselem*, all the settlements are against the Geneva Convention.⁶²

Jewish settlements also infringe on the Oslo principles. Article 31 states: "None of the parties shall make an attempt or take a decision that may change the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip until negotiations on the final status are completed."⁶³

Furthermore, on 9 July 2004, the International Court of Justice issued a judgment on Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. According to this judgment, Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories, including East Jerusalem, are not legal and hinder economic and social development. This finding clearly states that the settlements violate international law.⁶⁴

61 Türkkaya Ataöv, *Kudüs ve Devletler Hukuku*, (Ankara: Yonca, 1981), pp. 50-51.

62 *B'Tselem*, "Land Grab-Israeli's Settlement Policy in the West Bank", p. 13.

63 For Oslo Declaration of Principles, see: <http://www.mideastweb.org/meosint.htm>.

64 For ICJ's resolution, see: <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/131/1677.pdf>.

As a more concrete example, with regard to Resolution 446⁶⁵ taken on 22 March 1979, the UN created a commission to inspect the settlements in Arab territories that were occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem. Israel did not allow the commission to enter Palestine. After that, the UN made a call to Israel for cooperation with Resolution 465 taken on 1 March 1980.⁶⁶ However, Israel did not take this call seriously, either. There are many similar examples. Other UN resolutions violated by Israel are: Resolution 242 (22 November 1967), Resolution 338 (22 October 1973), Resolution 452 (20 July 1979), Resolution 1397 (12 March 2002), Resolution 1515 (19 November 2003), Resolution 1544 (19 May 2004), Resolution 1850 (16 December 2008), and a resolution of the UN General Assembly, taken on 25 January 2010 (A/RES/64/19).⁶⁷

Official assessments of the international community, including the United States, agree that the settlements have a detrimental effect on permanent peace in the region. In many statements made by the UN, the United States, and the European Union, Israeli settlements are regarded as a deterrent and threaten a peaceful solution.⁶⁸ On the other hand, it is also known that the United States provides aid to the settlements.⁶⁹

65 For the resolution 446 of the UN, see:

<http://www.daccessdds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/370/60/1/MG/NR037060.pdf?OpenElement>.

66 Türkkaya Ataöv, *Kudüs ve Devletler Hukuku*, p. 50.

67 For the details on the UN resolutions, see: UN's official web site,

www.un.org/documents/scres.htm. Also see: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/UN/sctoc.htm#1979>, for the UN's resolutions on Middle East and Israel.

68 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 103.

69 Nicola Nasser, "Who is Aiding Judaization?", *Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 27 July 2010, <http://www.turkishweekly.net/op-ed/2730/who-39-s-aiding-judaisation.html>.

SETTLEMENTS AS A MAIN REASON FOR VIOLENCE

“One of the main reasons for the conflict in the occupied territories is these settlements.”⁷⁰

As previously stated, settlements hinder negotiation and trigger conflict, thus causing more instability.⁷¹ Moreover as Lewis states “One of the main reasons for the conflict in the occupied territories is these settlements”.⁷² The condition of the Palestinians after the occupation through settlements, mistreatment, unfairness and discrimination to which they are exposed, causes violence.⁷³ Another reason for the increase in violence is the attitude of the radical settlers. According to a report published by the UN in 2009, 250,000 Palestinians face the threat of Jewish settlers.⁷⁴ This report states that settlements are dangerous especially to Palestinian villages in a fragile region. It is important as it shows the violence potential of the settlers against possible steps that may be taken by Israeli government or Palestinians.



SETTLERS ATTACKING
PALESTINIAN SHOPS

70 Anthony Lewis, “A Strangled People”, *New York Times*, 3 November 2001, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/11/03/opinion/at-home-abroad-a-strangled-peopel.html>.

71 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 103

72 Anthony Lewis, “A Strangled People”, *New York Times*, 3 November 2001, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/11/03/opinion/at-home-abroad-a-strangled-peopel.html>.

73 Sedat Laçiner, “Israeli Style in Combatting Against Terrorism”, *Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 20 July 2006.

74 Chaim Levinson, “UN warns 250,000 Palestinians ‘Vulnerable’ to Settler Violence”, *Haaretz*, 18 January 2010, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/un-warns-250-000-palestinians-vulnerable-to-settler-violence-1.261591>; Yoel Marcus, “Stop the brutalization of the State of Israel”, *Haaretz*, 4 August 2008, <http://current.com/11dbm4c>; http://current.com/groups/peace-in-the-middle-east/90602363_israel-society-brutal-violent-and-corrupt.htm.

Settlers have increased their acts of violence since the late 1970s. These settlers are fully armed, especially in the outskirts of the region.⁷⁵ They established their own armed groups with the support of the army and they assault Palestinians and their properties without hesitation. For instance, in the 1980s, a settler group targeted Palestinian mayors in the West Bank.⁷⁶ To give a well-known example, a settler in the Hebron region, Baruh Goldstein, killed 29 Palestinians that were praying in Al Ibrahimi Mosque, just a few months after the peace process started.⁷⁷



Not only have Palestinians suffered, but international activists have also been victims of the settlers' wrath. A 19-year-old Swedish activist is only one of those that were assaulted in this ongoing conflict.⁷⁸



Recently, a wave of violence has hit the activists again. Attacks organized in Jenin and Hebron have targeted peace and stability once more.⁷⁹

75 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 112; "Israeli Settler Attack A Palestinian Old Woman And Her Grandson In Jerusalem", *IMEMC*, 19 May 2010, <http://www.imwmc.org/article/58715>.

76 *Ibid.*, p.103.

77 Patrick Müller, *Occupation in Hebron*, (Jerusalem: The Alternative Information Center, 2004). This book handles settlement problem in Hebron. It examines thoroughly the settlers in the city and touches upon the privileges of the settlers and their relations with the government.

78 "Swedish Human Rights Worker Viciously Attacked by Israeli Extremists in Hebron", *International Solidarity Movement*, 18 November 2006, <http://palsolidarity.org/2006/11/1726/>.

79 For more detail, see: "Hebron Report: Military Violently Repress Protests, Following Heightened Wave of Settler Violence", *International Solidarity Movement*, 26 July 2010, <http://palsolidarity.org/2010/07/13224/>; "Settlers riot in Burin, shooting and setting fire to olive trees", 27 July 2010, *International Solidarity Movement*, <http://palsolidarity.org/2010/07/13270/>; "Jewish Settlers Took Over a Palestinian Building Inside the Old City", *JCSER*, 29 July 2010, http://www.jcsr.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=573:jewish-settlers-took-over-a-palestinian-building-inside-the-old-city&catid=34:news.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE OCCUPATION

Marwan Bishara depicted the geographical placement of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank as gruyere cheese. According to Bishara, the little black gaps and holes on the cheese can be viewed as the Palestinian regions, also referred to as autonomous regions. The yellow cheese surrounding these holes represents the lands of the Jewish settlements.⁸⁰ One can see from the photo and map below that this description fits the situation well.



For years, nearly 2,000,000 Palestinians have been kept away from Jewish settlements in the occupied territory because of security concerns and arbitrary implementations. Palestinians are even prohibited from entering the vicinity of the settlements. While settlers enjoy complete freedom of travel in the occupied lands, Palestinians must obtain permission in order to travel.



Although the distance between Palestinian cities in the West Bank is very short, the restrictions and controls in place lengthen travel time considerably. For example, you can be regarded as lucky if you are able to go from Jerusalem to Bethlehem (10 km) in 30 minutes by car.

80 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 112.

In addition to social and economic discrimination, Palestinian lands are also exposed to environmental discrimination by Israel. Both the settlers and Israel use Palestinian lands to dispose of their solid waste.⁸¹ One of the most striking examples is Abu Dis, a town near Jerusalem, which has been turned into the landfill of West Jerusalem.⁸²

Israeli companies producing chemicals have been disposing of their waste in certain areas of the West Bank for years. Factories that are polluting the environment and prohibited from producing, have been moved from Israel to the West Bank or to the regions bordering the West Bank.⁸³

81 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

82 "Solid Waste Management Policy in the Jerusalem District", *The Jerusalem Policy Forum*, September 2008, p.4, <http://www.pdf-palestine.org/wast.pdf>.

83 Bishara also draws attention to these issues in his book. *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p.111; For more detail, see: Jad Isaac, "The Environment Impact of the Israeli Occupation", *Palestine Center*, 14 March 2000, <http://www.thejerusalemfund.org/ht/display/ContentDetails/i/2156/pid/2254>.

CONCLUSION

“If the Palestinian state is established under current circumstances, it will merely be a piece of land, riddled by Israeli cities and towns and surrounded by Israeli roads and security forces. This small piece of land will not have internal unity and there will not be any space for the rapidly-increasing population and for the Palestinians in diaspora to return. The economic potential of Palestine will be very limitless, as its connection with Jordan will be cut and it will be dependent to Israel for water and electricity.”⁸⁴

Don Peretz, 1999

Israel’s policies negatively affect the lives of Palestinians in the West Bank. The lives of Palestinians, who are forced to face many problems, are a great contrast to those of Jews living in the settlements connected with bypass roads and protected by safety lines.

Ever-increasing pressure and humiliation trigger a desire for revenge, and prevent any attempt at compromise.⁸⁵ As Bishara emphasized, if it continues this way and the settlers confiscate new lands, the tension will continue to grow. This violence and cruelty will only culminate in more violence. Political parties strongly against the removal of settlements, such as the National Unity Party, the National Religious Party and the Israel Our Home Party will more fervently express their proposal for the transfer of Arabs to neighboring countries in this tense environment.⁸⁶

Today, millions of Israelis and Palestinians live in fear and doubt because of the settlements.⁸⁷ Settlement policy aggravates the conflict in Palestine and the Middle East.

Many related issues are brought to the forefront when considering the Palestine issue. The debate surrounding Palestine includes a discussion of unlawful detainer, settlements, the wall that has been built since 2002, as well as over 500 check points present in every corner of the West Bank.

84 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, pp. 105-106, (Original source: Don Peretz, *The 1998 Wye River Memorandum: An Update, Summary*, (Washington: Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine.), 29 July 1999.

85 Alon Ben-Meir, *The Last Option*, (NewYork: The New Press, 2003), p. 15.

86 Bishara, *Filistin/İsrail: Barış veya Irkçılık*, p. 116.

87 Bahadır Dinçer, “Korkuyla Yaşamının Adı İsrail”, *USAK Stratejik Gündem*, 3 November 2006.

STATISTICAL DATA ON JEWISH SETTLEMENTS

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS	
Number of Settlements	120 (official number of settlements in West Bank; does not include East Jerusalem)
Area of Settlements	52,609 hectares / 9.3% of West Bank
Population of Jewish Settlers	289,600 / 10% of West Bank's population
Source: <i>Peace Now</i>	

OUTPOSTS	
Number of Outposts	99 (West Bank)
Number of Settlers in Outposts	4,000
Buildings in the Outposts	1,600 prefabricated houses; 270 landed estates.
Source: <i>Peace Now</i>	

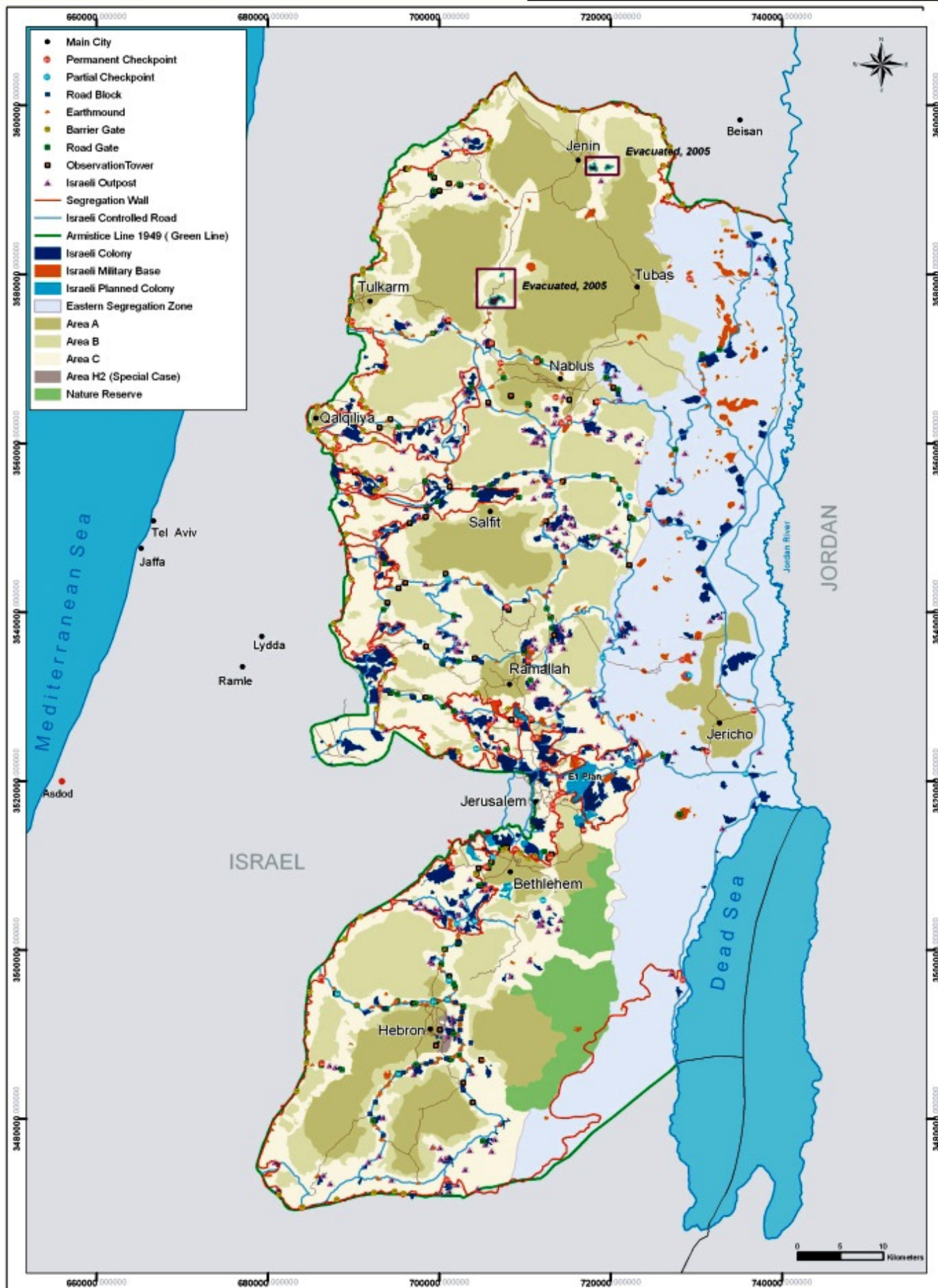
DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLERS BY MOTIVATION		
Type of settlement	Number Of Settlers (2007)	Rate
Ideological	107,549	% 38,96
Extremely Ideological	2,399	% 0,87
Non- Ideological	85,832	% 31,09
Ultra-Orthodox	80,265	% 29,08
Source: <i>Peace Now</i>		

POPULATION OF SOME SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK

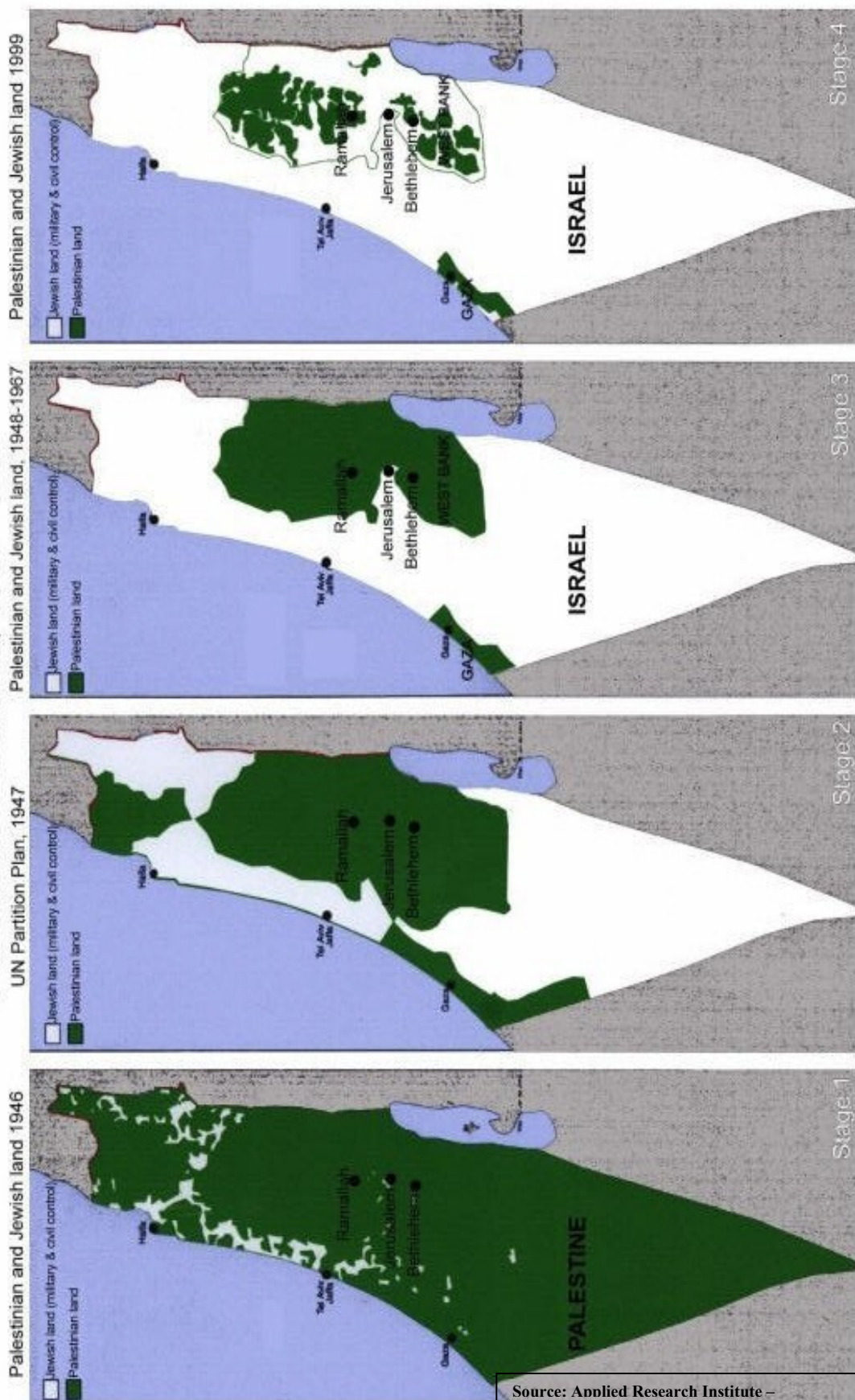
Name of Settlement	Region	Year of construction	Population
Alfei Menashe	Tulkarem	1983	6.633
Allon Shevut	Beytüllahim	1970	3.298
Ariel	Tulkarem	1978	16.716
Betar 'Illit	Beytüllahim	1985	34.829
Efrat	Beytüllahim	1980	8.167
Binyamin	Ramallah	1983	3.731
Giv'at Ze'ev	Ramallah	1982	11.063
Karnei Shomron	Tulkarem	1978	6.559
Ma'ale Adummim	Beytüllahim	1975	33.821
Modi'in Illit	Ramallah	1981	41.869
Oranit	Tulkarem	1984	6.328
Sha'arei Tikva	Tulkarem	1982	3.773
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Peace Now			

POPULATION OF JEWISH SETTLEMENTS

Year	East Jerusalem	West Bank and East Jerusalem
2000	172.250	387.859
2002	175.617	414.119
2003	178.601	427.617
2004	181.587	441.828
2005	184.057	460.838
2006	186.857	473.362
2007	189.708	484.862
2008	193.091	507.554



Palestinian loss of land, 1946 - 1999





ULUSLARARASI STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR KURUMU

Established in 2004, the International Strategic Research Organization (USAK) has gained wide recognition as Turkey's foremost source of independent and balanced information and research on a broad range of issues affecting Turkey and its region.

Focusing particularly on issues of security and cooperation, USAK is one of Turkey and the world's leading organizations for the analysis of global issues, satisfying a need in Turkey, its region and the world for a body of informed opinion on these issues.

USAK works to stimulate debate and research on international relations and security issues through a dynamic program of seminars, conferences, workshops, publications, educational activities and media relations. The organization aims to encourage greater public awareness of national and international developments and to help individuals and organizations to understand an ever-changing and increasingly complex world. USAK enhances the basis for informed choice by the Turkish public and its leaders and serves as one of the focal points for research in Turkey.

The organization welcomes visitor applications from academics at other national or international institutions, advanced doctoral research students, and those with a professional or academic interest in international relations.

A non-partisan, non-profit and non-governmental research organization (NGO), USAK is not intended to be a forum for single-issue advocacy or lobbying.

The Director of USAK is Ambassador (R) Özdem Sanberk

Core Research Areas

- * Area Studies (Middle East, Central Asia, Caucasus, Balkans, etc.)
- * Ethnic Studies
- * European Studies
- * Integration Studies
- * International Law
- * International Politics
- * Political Economy
- * Religion and Politics
- * Security Studies (Domestic and International)
- * Sociology
- * Terrorism
- * Turkish Studies (Domestic and International)

Contact Information

Address: Ayten Sokak, No: 21, Mebusevleri, Tandoğan, Ankara, Turkey.

Phone: 0090 312 212 28 86-87

E-mail: merkez.usak@gmail.com

Fax: 0090-312 212 25 84

b-sites: www.usak.org.tr, www.turkishweekly.net, www.usakgundem.com

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC RESEARCH ORGANIZATION

Address: Ayten Sokak, No: 21, Mebusevleri, Tandogan, Ankara, Turkey.

Phone: 0090 312 212 28 86-87

E-mail: merkez.usak@gmail.com

Fax: 0090-312 212 25 84

b-sites: www.usak.org.tr, www.turkishweekly.net, www.usakgundem.com

