**From what is happening in the settlements**

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The results of the elections for the 21st Knesset in the settlements and within the Green Line once again reflect the permanent reality that no election campaign can escape: an extremist minority that believes that only the Jewish people has the right to self-determination in the Land of Israel, is undermining the chances of an overwhelming majority of the settlers of becoming a legitimate part of sovereign Israel. The settlers know to embrace a government that is favorable to them. The fact that the outgoing government and Knesset negates the two-state solution and the resumption of negotiations with the Palestinians, and the unprecedented support that the Trump administration gives the Netanyahu government, strengthened the nationalistic and messianic elements within it, (which are afflicted with fascism and leading the process of expanding religiosity in Israel) - as the leading voices. The lawlessness in the West Bank, the huge benefits, and the huge investments have made most Israelis living in the settlements more aware that the current reality is paying off. However, a slight exploration of the data exposes the unchanging truth: the part of the settlement enterprise that constitutes an obstacle to a permanent statues agreement, is promoted by one party, which represents a very small minority of the settlers.

A comparison between the voting in the settlements in 2015 and the results of the last elections shows that the voting rate among the settlers jumped by almost 20%. The main reason for this is the increase in voter turnout among the Haredi population, which numbers about 40% of all settlers. The splitting of the "Jewish Home" party to the "unification of the right-wing parties" and "new-right" parties increased the number of voters from of both from 37,550 to 53,161, maintaining the primacy of these parties in 62 of the 127 settlements (48.8% of the settlements). This is an increase from 1.14 mandates in 2015 to 1.5 mandates in 2019. As expected, Bezalel Smotrich's party led in 48 communities, while Bennett and Shaked (new right) led only in 14. The new right party contributed 19,964 voices, accumulating to 0.6 mandates, to the trash can of the parties that did not pass the electoral threshold, and to that the "identity" part added 9,064 votes (0.28 mandates).

The Likud was strengthened and climbed from one mandate in 2015 to 1.3 mandates - the largest party in Judea and Samaria. It continued being the most popular party in the third largest city, Ma'ale Adummim, and the forth, Ariel, both of which have 60,000 residents. The same is true of the largest local council, Givat Zeev (17,000), and the smallest, Ma'ale Ephraim, as well as in 20 small settlements.

A similar climb was made by United Torah Judaism, which went from 0.8 mandates in Judea and Samaria to 1.1 and maintained absolute dominance in the two largest ultra-Orthodox cities in the settlements, Modi'in Illit and Betar Illit, with 125,000 residents - more than a quarter of the population in Judea and Samaria. This is also the case in Emanuel, Ma'aleh Amos and Little Mezad. Shas, too, doubled its strength from a quarter of a mandate to about half a mandate and took the lead in Ganei Modiin and Kochav Ya'akov, so that in the last elections, the ultra-Orthodox added to themselves about half a mandate only from Judea and Samaria.

The Union of Yesh Atid with "Resilience to Israel", which spawned "Blue and White", has raised the number of their supporters twelvefold in the settlements, from 0.04 mandates to nearly half a mandate. "Blue and White" took the lead from the Likud in the local councils on the Green Line, Oranit and Alfei Menashe, and from Labour in Har Adar (the three most well off settlements), as well as from Mekora, Tomer, Reihan, Salit and Nili. In 16 settlements, Blue and White led with the number of votes it received, compared to only one locality (Gilgal) in which Yesh Atid led in 2015.

Labor lost its lead in 12 of the 13 settlements in which it won a majority in 2015 (with the exception of Niran in the Jordan Valley). In most of the settlements in the Valley and the Dead Sea, the flagship of the Labor Party and the Allon Plan, a majority of voters supported Blue and White (Netiv Hagdud, Naama, Kalia, Almog, Mitzpeh Shalem) and the Likud (Beit Ha'arava). The rest of the settlements remained loyal to the Likud and the northern Jordan Valley to "unification of the right-wing parties".

These data point to a right-wing surge of the settlers: alongside the disappearance of the Labor Party, the right-wing parties grew and the Haredi parties were strengthened significantly. Examining the demographic and settlement data will make it possible to better understand the results of the last elections.

In 62 communities inhabited by supporters of the "unification of the right-wing parties" and "the new right" (Gush Emunim throughout the ages), live only 30% of all Israelis in the Judea and Samaria District. The vast majority of them live on the mountainous side, in isolated settlements outside the main "blocs", (with the exception of Gush Etzion) and in illegal outposts. Residents of these settlements are the population segment that deliberately prevents the establishment of Palestinian continuity necessary for the establishment of a Palestinian state.

In the communities led by the ultra-Orthodox parties, the Likud and Blue and White, 70% of the settlers live, most of them near the Green Line; and with the exception of the Jordan Valley settlements, they all live in the "settlement blocs." In other words, within the framework of a permanent agreement, in which there will be exchanges of territory of no more than 4%, 80% of the Israelis living beyond the Green Line will be able to become an integral part of the State of Israel and be under its sovereignty, in a manner recognized by the entire world. In order to realize this possibility, in which the Palestinians led by the PLO would agree to, Israel will have to contend with re-absorption within the Green Line or in the annexed "blocs" of the residents of the isolated settlements and illegal outposts populated by voters of the "unification of the right-wing parties", "the new right" an "Identity".

The spatial political map has hardly changed in the 52 years of Israel's control of the West Bank. Likud and Labor voters, who transferred their support to Blue and White, live in the settlement areas that would be annexed to Israel in government plans - the Allon Plan (1967) and the Sharon Plan (1977) - and were considered necessary for security and for economic reasons. The voters for the ultra-Orthodox parties moved to the West Bank due to the housing shortage of the ultra-Orthodox community in Jerusalem, Bnei Brak and Beit Shemesh. In contrast, the Gush Emunim settlers throughout the generations have settled in the territories deliberately and openly - contrary to government's plans and in many cases against the law - in order to establish facts on the hilltop, densely populated by Palestinians; they wanted to prevent the continuity of Palestinian territory and the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

It is sad to discover, every time, how a small minority succeeds in shackling the majority and preventing it from acting for the general interest of Israel - a separation from the Palestinians for its identity, democracy and security, its rule of law and its membership in the family of nations.