Forbidden Fruit
The Israeli Wine Industry and the Occupation

April 2011
The Coalition of Women for Peace was established by bringing together ten feminist peace organizations and non-affiliated activist women in Israel. Founded soon after the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000, CWP today is a leading voice against the occupation, committed to feminist principles of organization and Jewish-Palestinian partnership, in a relentless struggle for a just peace. CWP continuously voices a critical position against militarism and advocates for radical social and political change. Its work includes direct action and public campaigning in Israel and internationally; a pioneering investigative project exposing the occupation industry; outreach to Israeli audiences and political empowerment of women across communities; and, capacity-building and support for grassroots activists and initiatives for peace and justice.

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Who Profits from the Occupation is a research project of the Coalition of Women for Peace. Initiated in response to the Palestinian call for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) on Israel, this research project is dedicated to exposing the commercial involvement of Israeli and international companies in the continuing Israeli control over Palestinian and Syrian land. The project publishes information about these companies on its website (www.whoprofits.org), produces in-depth reports and serves as an information center.

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# Table of Contents

**Introduction**  .......................................................................................................................... 5

  Methodology  .......................................................................................................................... 8

**Part I: What is settlement wine?**  ......................................................................................... 9

  1. The Israeli Wine Industry: Historical Overview  ............................................................... 9
  2. Settler vineyards in the occupied West Bank  ................................................................. 11
      2.1 Planting vineyards to take over Palestinian land  .................................................... 12
      2.2 Government support of the settlement grape industry  .......................................... 17
      2.3 Settlement wine tourism  ......................................................................................... 19
  3. Concealing grape origins in marketing Israeli wines  ..................................................... 21
      3.1 Wines of the new world  ............................................................................................ 21
      3.2 Renaming Israeli wine regions to conceal grape origins  .......................................... 22
      3.3 Obscuring the origin of the grapes by Israeli wine producers  .................................. 24

**Part II: The Wineries**  ......................................................................................................... 26

  4. The Major Israeli Wineries  ............................................................................................... 26
      4.1 Carmel Winery  ............................................................................................................. 26
      4.1.1 The case of Yatir Winery  ...................................................................................... 27
      4.1.2 Vineyards in Mevo Horon  ..................................................................................... 29
      4.2 Barkan Winery  ............................................................................................................. 30
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Golan Heights Winery</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Teperberg 1870 Winery</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Binyamina Winery</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 Tishbi Winery</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Settlement wineries in the occupied Golan Heights</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Settlement wineries in the occupied West Bank</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appendix: Responses from Wineries</strong></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This report maps the involvement of the Israeli wine industry in the occupation of the West Bank and the Syrian Golan Heights and traces some of the ways in which it masks this involvement. For this purpose, we have surveyed the Israeli wine industry, mapped the vineyards and wineries in the occupied territory and traced the connections between the main Israeli wine producers and this settlement industry.

Currently, there are 6 large wineries and dozens of medium and small wineries, totaling over 150 wineries, and about 12,000 acres of vineyards. Approximately 82% of the market is controlled by the five largest wine producers, 12% by medium producers and 6% by small/boutique wineries. 40% of the grapes are grown in the Golan Heights and Galilee regions. And 23% are grown in the central mountain chain and the Jerusalem Mountains. Our research demonstrates that all of the major Israeli wineries use grapes from occupied territory in their wines. This report provides detailed information about these wine producers and their connection to the settlement wine industry. Additionally, this report provides a survey of almost all of the settlement wineries in the Golan Heights and in the West Bank.

3 Additional information about vineyards and wineries that are in the occupied territory or are commercially connected to cultivation of grapes in settlements can be found on our website at www.whoprofits.org.
Investigating the connections of the Israeli wine industry to settler vineyards, we found that while grapes from the Golan Heights are used quite openly, the wineries that use grapes from West Bank vineyards most often use a myriad of methods to conceal their origins. The following report describes some of these methods, from those used by government export agencies to those used by individual exporters.

This report also aims to provide a comprehensive portrayal of the incentives of the Israeli wine industry to cultivate grapes and to develop wineries in occupied territory. Our research has found that in addition to the benefits that all commercial activities in settlements enjoy, including readily accessible land, tax benefits and other financial incentives provided by the Israeli government, the wine industry in the West Bank enjoys particular benefits and support from several government offices.

For instance, Israelis who cultivate vineyards on occupied territory are allocated subsidized water quotas; they receive funds from the Ministry of Agriculture for planting and building agricultural facilities, from the Ministry of Defense for paving roads and for fencing in the plots and from the Ministry of Tourism for turning the vineyards and wineries into tourist attractions.

Our research has found that developing vineyards and wineries provides additional advantages for settlers in the West
Bank. The planting of vineyards is actually a relatively easy and highly accessible means for taking over Palestinian land, due to a combination of legal and physical conditions. Additionally, settlers both in the West Bank and in the Golan Heights have found that the wine industry can be used in order to develop tourism to the settlements, for local and international visitors alike. Tourist attractions do not only serve as an additional source of income for the settlements, but, more importantly, they operate to normalize and promote the entire settlement enterprise.

This report is comprised of two parts. The first provides the background of the Israeli wine industry and its connections to the settlement enterprise. The first chapter of this portion of the report surveys the history of the Israeli wine industry, from the mid 1980’s. The second chapter explicates the different motivations for cultivating vineyards in occupied land in general, and in the West Bank in particular. This chapter details the legal means used by settlers, with the backing of the Israeli Civil Administration, to use the planting of vineyards to take over both public and private Palestinian land. Additionally, this chapter provides information about government support that these vineyards are eligible for from several government offices and explores the ways in which vineyards and wineries in settlements are used to attract tourists.

The third chapter of this section exposes the principal ways in which the origin of grapes from vineyards in occupied territory is masked or concealed. We have identified three major factors which aid in obscuring the origin of the grapes. The first relates to the characterization of wines which are categorized as new-world wines, the second is a politically motivated re-drawing of wine regions in Israel, which deliberately obscures the occupied regions, and the third traces the ways in which wine producers denote the location of their vineyards.

The second part of this report provides detailed information about the major Israeli wineries and our findings concerning their use of grapes grown in occupied territory. This part also includes detailed information about wineries in the Golan Heights and the West Bank.
Methodology

Research for this report was conducted using both desk studies and field research. The desk studies included the collection and analysis of information from various public sources, including: wine guides and maps, company records and publications, publications of state authorities, including Israel’s Ministry of Agriculture and the Israeli Export Institute. Some of these are publicly-available records and others were obtained using the Freedom of Information Act and through parliamentary queries in the Knesset.

The field research included visits to most of the areas described in the report, several tours to new West Bank vineyards, participation in wine tasting sessions at select wineries, and one occasion of tracking a truck after the grape harvest (see section 4.1.1).

Prior to publication, we have contacted all the companies and wineries mentioned in this report with requests for their comments and responses. All the responses received are included in this report.

1. The Israeli Wine Industry: Historical Overview

Despite being part of the Zionist colonization project as early as the mid-nineteenth century, the Israeli wine industry as we know it today is a fairly new development and was only established in the 1980’s. The 80’s were years of privatization, of a growth in the private sector and in tourism, and it was during these years that the local interest in wine first developed. In this, Israelis were following in the footsteps of other countries that became known, in wine parlance, as the New World: the US, Australia, New Zealand. These are also the years when the Israeli wine industry discovered the occupied territories as new ground for growth and development.

In the early 1980’s, an Israeli entrepreneur, Shimshon Wollner, coordinated a number of settlements in the Golan Heights in the combining of assets and investing in a joint winery. Wollner was following the advice of an American specialist, UC Davis-trained winemaker Peter Stern, who deemed the Golan to be the best-suited area in Israel for growing wine-grapes. By the mid 80’s, the new winery, Golan Heights Winery, was viewed as the winery responsible for changing the entire Israeli industry, forcing other wineries to professionalize, and encouraging the creation of new wineries. Since then, vineyards planted across the occupied Golan Heights have supplied grapes not only to
At the same time, some of the older and more well-established wineries moved out into the newly-built industrial zones of West Bank settlements, to take advantage of the tax benefits and cheap real-estate offered there, in order to build larger factories in a time of expanded demand. For example, the old Friedman Winery, first established in 1889 in Petah Tikva and then taken over by big retailers in the 1960’s, re-established itself as the second-largest Israeli winery, in the Barkan Industrial Zone, a settlement in the occupied West Bank, and was renamed Barkan Winery. Similarly, the Schorr Family, who had established a winery in Jerusalem, in the Old City, in 1848 and relocated to the outskirts of west Jerusalem following the 1929 riots, moved its wineries (Hacormim, Arza and Zion) into the newly-built Mishor Edomim Industrial Zone, east of the Ma’aleh Adumim settlement, deep inside the occupied West Bank.

In the 90’s, the stage of boutique wineries began, and a large number of them were founded. The dominance of Carmel Winery, originally established by the Rothschild family in the Jewish colony of Zichron Ya’akov in 1882, was replaced, and there are now six major wineries, twelve medium-sized wineries and a growing number of boutique wineries (some estimate 200). Wine production was professionalized and, for the first time, some wineries attempted to penetrate non-Jewish, general, international markets. During the first decade of the 21st century we have seen the continuation of the trend of small boutique wineries, along with the expansion of existing boutique wineries into medium sized businesses.

The region which has shown the fastest growing trend in the last decade has been that of the settlements of the occupied West Bank. There are now 29 known wineries in this area alone (listed in chapter 6 below). For the sake of comparison, the Golan Heights, with many more years of established wine industry, lists only 14 wineries. Finally, more and more vineyards have been planted in the last few years in the West Bank by Israeli settlers and grapes from these maturing vineyards are being used by the small boutique wineries, as well as by most of the bigger commercial wineries.
2. Settler Vineyards in the Occupied West Bank

During the last decade we have witnessed a substantial growth in the number of wineries in settlements in the occupied West Bank. We can now count at least 29 wineries in the West Bank, each associated with several settler vineyards. However, the expansion of the settler vineyard industry in the West Bank has been even faster. In some areas, dozens of new vineyards have sprung up, seemingly overnight. In this section we will try to describe this phenomenon and explain how it works.

Recent visits to some of these regions reveal vast areas of newly-planted vineyards. According to local residents, these areas keep expanding. Vineyards constitute an attractive choice of cultivation for settlers for a number of reasons:

- Newly-planted vineyards require only minimal manpower. If the planting is done correctly, taking into account the layout and topography of the land, it allows for the use of machinery at every stage of growth and harvest.
- As most settler wines are also directed at a religious Jewish consumer market, they require a religious
ksher stamp. This standard requires that they refrain from harvesting the new vineyards during the first four years. This lowers the cost of the first years’ investment for the new entrepreneurs.

- Various government sources of direct financial support and indirect benefits are available for nearly every stage of planting and harvesting vineyards in the settlements.

- The terrain of most of the central West Bank is mountainous and does not abound in water resources. Vineyards do not demand great quantities of water and they can thrive in hilly and rocky terrain. Consequently, like olive groves, they are well suited to the conditions in the West Bank, unlike most other types of agricultural growth.

2.1 Planting vineyards to take over Palestinian land

The growing number of vineyards and wineries in the West Bank is not entirely due to a change in taste among settlers. The planting of vineyards is a relatively easy and accessible way for settlers to take over Palestinian land.

For historical reasons, because the West Bank was never an integral part of an established state, there are no official records of ownership for most of the land. The land law which still applies in the West Bank is based on the Ottoman Land Law of 1858. According to this law, lands which are not registered as belonging to an individual, which are situated close to places of residence and are suitable for agricultural use, are defined as Miri lands.

A person may secure ownership of Miri land by holding and working the land for ten consecutive years. However, if a landowner of this type fails to cultivate the land for three consecutive years, the sovereign may take possession of the land or transfer the rights to this land to another person. The rationale behind this provision in the law was to create an incentive, ensuring that as much land as possible was farmed, yielding agricultural produce which could then be taxed. The Israeli authorities have used this law extensively to

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7 However, the majority of land owners hold various other documents, such as property tax receipts, inheritance certificates, and other documents which create a presumption of ownership.

8 More accurately, after three years the presumption of ownership shifts and the individual claiming ownership has the burden of proving that he or she has been cultivating the land. Otherwise, the sovereign may take possession of the land or transfer it to another person, who is using the land.
take over vast areas of land in the West Bank for the construction of settlements and for the benefit of settlers.9

Using various security pretexts or by mere intimidation, Palestinian farmers are prevented from accessing their lands. After three consecutive years of not being able to cultivate the land, the farmers often lose their legal claim to these lands. In the meanwhile, settlers plant vineyards on these lands to be able to claim them as their own. As mentioned above, together with olive groves, vineyards are the only other type of commercial agriculture that is suited for cultivation in most of the rocky and hilly terrain of the West Bank. These facts, together with the low requirement for manual maintenance of vineyards (which can rely on mechanical
cultivation), as well as funding and other financial incentives from the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture and The Rural Settlement Division of the Jewish Agency,10 has turned the planting of vineyards into an easy and highly accessible method for settlers to take over Palestinian land in the occupied West Bank.

In addition, both the settlers and the Civil Administration also find ways to take over land which is registered as privately owned. A major factor which has allowed the settlers to take over private Palestinian land has been the use of restrictions on the movement of Palestinians, used extensively since 2002. The construction of the Separation Wall in the West Bank, together with military checkpoints, road blocks and various other barriers, have limited Palestinian access to their lands, and settlers have been taking advantage of this fact to take over private Palestinian agricultural land.


10 See section 2.2 below.
The valley of Shilo provides one such example, where private Palestinian land was taken over by settlers for the planting of vineyards. The Shilo Valley lies east of Salfit, in the center of the West Bank. The valley’s terrain is rugged and uneven, not suited for cultivation of anything other than the traditional olives and grapes. In the midst of four settlements – Shilo, Eli, Rechlim and Ma’aleh Levonah, and dozens of small settlement outposts – lies one of the largest wine-making areas, complete with five or more boutique wineries and dozens of new vineyards. During a visit by our researchers to the area in November 2010, they documented a large number of acres of young vineyards, as well as other newly-cultivated land. The land in this area belongs to the Palestinian communities of Jalud, Karyut, Dayr Jarir, Sinjal, Turmus Aya, and Luban a-Sharqia. The settlements in this area include Shilo, Shvut Rachel, Ahiya, Esh Kodesh, Kida, and, west of Highway 60, Givat Har’el and Mitzpeh Cramim.

Picture no. 1 is a satellite image of the Shilo Valley in 2001; picture no. 2 is a satellite image of the same region in 2010. In the two photographs private Palestinian land is marked in blue, the municipal area of settlements is marked in red and vineyards planted by settlers are in yellow.
Picture no. 1 (above): An aerial photograph of the Shilo Valley in 2001, notice that there are no settler vineyards and almost no settler olive groves. Source: Peace Now and HS.

Picture no. 2 (below): An aerial photograph of the Shilo Valley in 2010, shows the expansion of olive groves and vineyards by settlers on privately-owned Palestinian land. Source: Peace Now and HS.
A comparison of the two images clearly shows changes that occurred in this area over this period. In addition to the erection of three new settlement outposts (Esh Kodesh, Kida and Alei Ayin) and the expansion of the construction in the existing settlements, the later picture shows that settlement cultivation appeared in areas which were either previously cultivated by Palestinians or were private Palestinian land not yet cultivated. As picture no. 2 clearly shows, the settlers planted mostly olive groves and vineyards in these areas. The vineyards cultivated by settlers are clearly on private Palestinian land.

The taking over of lands, either private or public, for any use other than that of the protected persons (Palestinians) is forbidden under International Law. However, the taking over of private land also contradicts domestic law. Hence, several of the land owners have appealed to the Israeli High Court of Justice to claim their property back. In a recent legal victory, the Chushia family, which owns land in Susya (in the South Mount Hebron region), together with the Israeli human rights group Rabbis for Human Rights, won a lawsuit against a settler, M. Deutsch, for trespassing and taking over their family land. Not only did Deutsch invade their property, but he illegally planted and cultivated a vineyard on their land. On November 15, 2010, the court forbade Deutsch from entering that property.

Such Palestinian victories in Israeli courts are rare, yet this case may be seen as an important legal precedent. However, prior experience has shown that for West Bank Palestinians, victories in court do not always translate into the actual return of the land to its rightful owners. The Israeli Civil Administration, which is in charge of carrying out and enforcing these judgments on settlers, is often significantly, if not indefinitely, delayed in its response, and many times these victories remain unimplemented. Thus, even land owners who have documented proof of their ownership of land most often have very little recourse to obtaining their property again. Other court cases of this sort are still pending, while in the meanwhile, the planting of vineyards is increasingly used by settlers to take over Palestinian land.

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11 Fourth Geneva Convention Art. 49(6), reiterated by UN resolutions and by the ICJ Advisory Opinion.
2.2 Government Support of the settlement grape industry

Government support for new settlement vineyards in the West Bank comes in various forms. First, new vineyard planting is eligible for direct support from the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture through planting funds and through the financing of labor-minimizing machinery and water-saving equipment.12 Moreover, government support for the wine industry is at its maximum in Israeli settlements in the Palestinian occupied territory and the Golan Heights. These settlements benefit from financial support from the government, since they are defined as National Priority Regions. Other locations inside Israel are also defined as National Priority Regions, but these are areas which are far from the big urban centers. The rationale behind these definitions is to give people incentives to live in these areas and to foster their development. The settlements of the West Bank are the only areas that are close to the big urban centers in Israel which are also defined as National Priority Regions. These financial benefits come in the form of exemptions from local and government taxes, in addition to eligibility for special government grants and the provision of subsidized loans.13

In addition to support from the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture, the vineyards are eligible for funds from the Ministry of Tourism.14 For instance, boutique wineries are eligible for funds under the

14 See section 2.3 below.
category of support for agricultural tourism. Similarly, agricultural activity in areas which are defined as National Priority Regions are eligible for grants of up to 25% of their investments in the planning and development of the area in question. These vineyards are also given budgets from the Ministry of Defense for fencing in the fields, for paving access roads and for any other security-oriented activity in that area. Additional support is available to the local councils in these areas from the Israeli Ministry of Defense and from the Jewish National Fund (JNF).

The criteria for subsidies, which are culled from the entire financial plan of the Ministry of Agriculture, highlights some of the reasons for the growth of the wine and grape industry in the occupied West Bank over the last decade. However, the actual figures of support for this settlement industry are unclear, are hidden in different budgetary articles and are, seemingly, deliberately obscured in official publications.

In a parliamentary query submitted to the Ministry of Agriculture in November 2007, Member of Knesset Yossi Beilin asked for information about the extent of aid given to agricultural projects in Judaea and Samaria. In its answer, the Ministry of Agriculture stated that the overall support through the Ministry and through the Settlement Division of the World Zionist Organization amounted to over 1.2 million shekels in 2007, and a similar sum was pending approval. The Ministry listed vineyards and olive groves as the

A scan of the response to the second query provided in 2010 by the minister of agriculture. This table includes allocations of funds for different regional councils in the West Bank for agricultural development.

16 “Planning Principles” of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Planning investment plan for the year 2010.
17 In a report submitted by Adv. Talia Sasson in 2005 (at the behest of then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon) studying the subject of “illegal outposts” built by the settlers in the occupied West Bank, Adv. Sasson addressed the issue of access to information, and noted: “The relevant information regarding the unauthorized outposts is not to be found in a single office. On the contrary, every office that supplied information to me holds partial information regarding the outposts. There is no office or body which gathers all of the relevant information concerning the matter of outposts, nor coordinates government activity regarding them.” Available online at: http://bit.ly/FXbodT
main areas receiving this support.\footnote{18} In response to a second query, which was submitted as part of the preparation of this report, the Ministry stated that in the period between 2008 and 2010, an overall sum of 21.9 million shekels was provided to agricultural projects of settlers in the West Bank. 8.6 million shekels of that was given in 2010, 61% of which (5.25 million shekels) was designated for agricultural development in the settlement blocks of Gush Etzion, Shomron and Binyamin in the West Bank, in which most of the agricultural activity is of vineyards and olive groves. A comparison of these numbers shows that there has been an apparent growth in government support for the development of vineyards by settlers in the West Bank.

2.3 Settlement wine tourism

Settlement tourism is being used as a means of legitimizing the settlements both inside Israeli society and internationally. For instance, the website of Israel Wine Tours, a company which specializes in organizing custom-made organized tours of Israel, focusing on visits to vineyards and wineries, includes visits to the vineyards of the West Bank settlements of Beit El and Psagot.\footnote{19}

On the same note, wine tourism is offered by Har Bracha Winery, in the settlement of Har Bracha, south of the Palestinian city of Nablus. This settlement offers wine tours of the area in Hebrew and in English, marketing it as “a trail of biblical scenic view… to some boutique wineries”. Additionally, it has used its winery as a center for evangelical Christian tourism.\footnote{20} Har Bracha Winery hosts pilgrims who come to see the area, buy the wine and help with the harvest, while staying...

\footnote{18 Answer to query 1619, "Investments of the Ministry of Agriculture in the occupied territories", submitted January 07, 2008, session 191 of the Israeli Knesset. \footnote{16} “Planning Principles” of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Planning investment plan for the year 2010.}
in the settlement. The Christian visitors thus participate in and contribute to the colonization effort of the occupied West Bank.

Similarly, Ben David Tours invites English-speaking Jewry to a “meaningful tour of the Jewish homeland that will change your life”. In addition to offering a visit to Rachel’s tomb, the tour offers a visit to the settlement block of Gush Etzion: “Meet the residents of this vibrant, Zionist region; taste their wine, eat their fruit, and see what they have to offer the future of the Land of Israel.”

In addition to gaining government support and as a way of bestowing legitimacy on the settlements, tourist endeavors are also used to exclude Palestinians from these areas. For instance, settlement councils take over springs, wells, ponds and water sources, fence them in and declare them part of the tourist attractions. Thus, they deny Palestinians access to these previously public spaces, and bar Palestinian farmers from making use of already scarce water supplies.
3. Concealing the Origin of Grapes from Occupied Territory

While the wine industry is known for being very meticulous in providing information about the origin of grapes that are used in the production of wine, there are several methods which are used in the Israeli wine industry to conceal information concerning the use of grapes from settler vineyards in occupied territory. The following section details some of these methods. The first is a mitigating factor which inadvertently aids in these efforts of concealment and concerns the difference between Old World and New World wines. The second is a redrawing of the map of the wine regions of Israeli wine in a way that deliberately blurs the distinctions between areas inside the State of Israel and areas that are in the occupied territory. Finally, the third section details some of the ways that Israeli manufacturers of wine conceal information concerning the exact location of the vineyards from which they receive the grapes.

3.1 Wines of the new world

Wine experts divide wines into two essential categories: Old World and New World wines. Old World wines, such as French, Italian, Spanish etc., categorize wine according to area of growth and its added characteristics (defined by the French as ‘terroir’). Thus, we know of Bordeaux (a region in the south-west of France) or Chianti (in northern Italy), or Priorat, near the city of Barcelona in Spain.

Typically, these publications will carry a detailed description of the area where the grapes are grown, the exact exposure and the details of the soil, etc. New World wineries, from the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, Chile etc., which have joined the wine trade over the last few decades, define wine by the varietals (the kind of grapes used). When using this last definition, producers could incorporate grapes from various regions in order to create their wine. This way, the winery describes the regions of growth at its own free will, and it is more committed to detailing the various grape varietals that are being used. This last system is the one used by Israeli wineries. These define their wines by the kind of grape used (merlot, chardonnay etc).

As explicated at length below, this method allows more use of grapes from the occupied West Bank to go unnoticed. Israeli wine producers mix grapes from different
regions, both inside Israel and in the occupied territory, and do not provide exact information as to the location where the grapes were grown. Thus, when drinking Israeli wine, one can never be sure that it does not contain grapes from vineyards in the occupied territory. In what follows, we specify some of the ways in which Israeli wine producers conceal the origin of the grapes.

3.2 Renaming Israeli wine regions to conceal grape origins

With the growth in the export of Israeli wines, the Israel Export Institute has divided the country into five vine-growing regions. The names of these regions appear on various national and corporate publications and have become standard names. Surprisingly, these names have very little to do with the common names used for the same area. Even more alarmingly, these names manage to completely obscure the internationally recognized borders of the State of Israel and consistently group together areas within the State and those in occupied territory.23

Here are extracts from the description of four of such regions, as they appear in a brochure published by the Israel Export Institute, used in the battle for the occupation of land and the State of Israel.

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23 The original map of The Israel Export & International Cooperation Institute is available online from the website of the institute (www.export.gov.il). Notice that in this map there is no indication of the Green Line and no separation between occupied land and the State of Israel.
Historically, the largest wine-growing regions were the Shomron and Samson coastal regions. Today, the fastest growing areas are the higher altitude, cooler climate regions of the Upper Galilee and the Judean Foothills. The Upper Galilee, Golan Heights and Judean Hills are home to Israel’s finest quality vineyards...

**Galilee**

The Galilee extends southward from the Lebanese border and covers the north of Israel. Many Israeli wineries use grapes from the Galilee for their leading wines. This area has become Israel’s premier wine region, characterized by high altitudes, cool breezes from Mount Hermon, the volcanic basalt and ‘tuff’ soil of the Golan and unique micro-climates in the Upper Galilee, where the soils are heavy and gravelly, but well drained. The northernmost vineyards of the Golan Heights are 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) above sea level, with snowfall during the winter.

**Shomron**

Shomron is Israel’s most traditional wine-growing region, benefiting from the Carmel Mountain range and close proximity to the Mediterranean Sea. The main concentration of vineyards is in the valleys surrounding the winery towns of Zichron Ya’acov and Binyamina...

**Samson**

The central coastal plain and the rolling hills of the Judean lowlands comprise this region... This area comprises the central coastal plain around Rishon Le Zion and Rehovot and the Judean Foothills on the way to Jerusalem...

**Judean Hills**

...There are small vineyard sites north and west of Jerusalem, with the region extending down to Yatir Forest, which borders on the northern Negev.²⁴
Most notably, a review of this list of regions shows that each of them combines areas inside the State of Israel and those in the occupied territory. For instance, the Upper Galilee and the Golan Heights are now clustered under just one name: ‘Galilee’. This arrangement also extends regions: The ‘Shomron’ (Samarea) area in the Israeli geopolitical classifications denotes the northern part of the occupied West Bank; in this list the ‘Shomron’ becomes a strip that extends from the river Jordan to the Mediterranean, encompassing the north of the West Bank, the Carmel mountain range and the coastal region south of Haifa.

A new region called ‘Shimshon’ (Samson) is located between the foothills of the Jerusalem Mountains and the Mediterranean coast, stretching into parts of the occupied West Bank. Nowhere other than in this wine-region map do we come across this name indicating a region in Israel. East of ‘Shimshon’ is the area now called ‘Judean Hills’, encompassing the central and southern areas of the West Bank, the Jerusalem area and what used to be called the Judean Plain. It is also where an increasing number of wineries founded by settlers and in settlements can be found.

The definitions of these regions clearly diverge from both commonplace and official designations of areas in Israel. Moreover, the division of the Israel wine industry into these areas makes no sense from a purely professional perspective, since it also does not correlate to distinct climates or wine-grape growing conditions. Thus, the drawing of these regions by the Israel Export Institute simply appears to be motivated by purely political considerations: its result is to blur the Green Line that separates the State of Israel and the occupied territory and to obscure the division between vineyards that are inside Israel proper and those which are on occupied land.

### 3.3 Obscuring the origin of the grapes by Israeli wine producers

Contrary to the Israeli Export Institution, Israeli wineries tend to sustain the distinction between the Golan Heights and the Galilee, mainly because the Golan Heights are considered the best-suited zone for growing grapes for wine. At the same time, Israeli wineries tend to make use of the denotation of regions that obscure the distinction between Israel proper and the West Bank.
Some wineries provide extensive information about the location of the vineyards in regions inside Israel but tend to use vague descriptions for regions that border on or are inside the West Bank. For instance, wines are labeled as including grapes from the ‘Judean Hills,’ a region that may stretch from the outskirts of Jerusalem, inside Israel proper and well into the West Bank, or they can claim a wine comes from the Shomron region, and not specify whether it is from the part that is inside Israel or from the occupied northern West Bank.

This is especially true in their English publications, targeting international customers. Our research has found that some wineries include detailed information on their Hebrew websites, including names of specific West Bank settlements in which the grapes are grown, but do not include this information in English.
Part II: The Wineries

4. The Major Israeli Wineries

In what follows we examine the largest wineries of the Israeli wine industry and describe their involvement in the occupation. These are the six largest Israeli producers of wine; together they constitute about 86% of all wine manufacturing in Israel. Each of these wineries produces at least a million bottles annually. In addition to these wineries, there are twelve medium-sized wineries and a growing number of boutique wineries (some estimate 200). Some of the smaller wineries also export to Europe and elsewhere, but in relatively small quantities. Unfortunately, an extensive review of these wine producers is beyond the scope of this report.

4.1 Carmel

- **Annual production:** 15 million bottles
- **Domestic market share:** 50%\(^\text{25}\)

Carmel Winery was founded in 1882 as a cooperative of vintners funded by the Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The first winery was constructed in Rishon Lezion (1882) and the second in Zichron Ya‘akov (1890). It is the largest wine producer in the country.

According to Rogov’s Guide to Israeli Wines of 2010, Carmel receives grapes from about 300 vineyards throughout the country, some owned directly by the winery, others by individual vintners or by kibbutzim and moshavim (agricultural cooperative farms). The registered corporate owners are the Vintners Coopera-

\[\text{http://www.carmelwines.co.il/en/aboutus.aspx}\]
Carmel has two major subsidiary wineries: Yatir, which was built in the year 2000 in the north-eastern Negev, and operates today under independent management, and Kayoumi, a single-wine vineyard in the Galilee, operating since 2004.

Carmel owns vineyards in three locations in the Golan Heights, which is an area occupied in 1967, previously Syria: Sha’al in the North of the Golan, Tel Fares in its center, and Aniam in the south.26 The single-wine vineyard Sha’al Gewurztraminer Late Harvest is produced from grapes harvested in Sha’al.

4.1.1 The case of Yatir Winery

Yatir is one of the subsidiary wineries that Carmel owns. It was founded by vintner-settlers from the South Mount Hebron area (from the settlements of Beit Yatir, Carmel, Ma’on and Susya and is unionized in Gadash Hevron, the cooperative of growers in the Hebron area). The winery itself is situated in the Yatir Forest, which is within the internationally recognized borders of Israel. According to the wine-critic Daniel Rogov, Yatir Winery “maintains complete autonomy under the supervision of the wine-maker Eran Goldwasser.” The winery is considered to be among the best in the country and has won many awards.

In an interview given in 2009, Yaakov Ben Dor, the CEO of the Yatir Winery, stated: “all of our vineyards are in the region of South Mount Hebron [in the West Bank]”. The reporter claims that according to Ben Dor despite the fact that their grapes are grown in the West Bank they do not get negative reactions internationally: “[this] has not become a problem, we are in the business of wine making, not politics.”27

Based on this information, we informed anti-occupation activists that are oper-

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26 http://www.carmelwines.co.il/yekavim-kramim.aspx
27 Benni Toker, “We wanted to shatter the myth that Kosher wine does not taste good”, Channel 7, September 22, 2009. Available online at: http://www.inn.co.il/News/News.aspx/194571
ating in this area of this possibility and asked them to check this out. In the early hours of August 23, 2010, a group of activists spotted a harvesting machine working in the vineyards north of the settlement of Susya. When the container filled up and left the vineyard, the activists followed it until it reached its destination in the winery of Yatir, where they unpacked the grapes. Having been spotted by the truck-drivers who were carrying the grapes the activists were chased out of the winery, but they still managed to video-tape the events and upload the video onto the internet.28

Consequently, complaint letters were sent to the Carmel winery, and Adam Montefiore, Carmel’s Wine Development Director, promised he would check into it. In reply to a number of enquiries, he acknowledged that grapes from settler vineyards were brought in to the Yatir Winery facility, but claimed that these grapes were not used in the production of wine by the company:

Yes. It was a local situation. As soon as this became known to the executive management of the winery, steps were taken to sell the grapes. They were not & will not be used in Car-

A frame from a video documenting trucks transporting grapes from a vineyard next to the settlement of Susya to the Yatir winery. Source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_leDSSDyKyE

28 The film showing the activists following the truckload of Susya grapes heading to Yatir can be seen here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_leDSSDyKyE
mel or Yatir wines. This, in fact, is our policy. You have to remember that we are harvesting 15,000 to 17,000 ton of grapes for four different wineries all over the country. It is a very large operation.

This is hardly a reasonable answer, since, in all likelihood, the grapes would have been processed immediately and could not have been extracted from the process following a retroactive decision.

At the end of August 2010, a few of our researchers attended a tour and a wine-tasting event at the Carmel Visitors’ Center in Zichron Ya’akov, where they asked the tour guide whether grapes from settlements were used in the wines of the Yatir Winery. The guide very reluctantly affirmed that grapes from settlements were used, but hurried to add that they were not allowed to mention this.

4.1.2 Vineyards in Mevo Horon

In July 2010, a few of our researchers went on a field trip to the vineyards of the Latrun Enclave, an area north-west of Jerusalem that was occupied in 1967. It is now the location of the settlement of Mevo Horon, and has extensive vineyards. The majority of the vineyards belong to Teperberg Winery (see section 4.4 below), but a number of people who work in the area told our researchers that some of the vineyards belonged to Carmel, and others were cultivated for them. The vineyards they were talking about were all in the occupied area.
Conclusion:

- Carmel Winery owns vineyards in the occupied Golan Heights and uses grapes from additional vineyards in that region.

- The CEO of Carmel’s Yatir Winery admitted in 2009 to regularly using grapes from the West Bank.

- On one occasion, grapes from a settler vineyard in the West Bank were documented as being harvested and brought to a Carmel winery.

- Our research found additional indications that the company may be using grapes from the occupied West Bank.

- Carmel denies using grapes from settler vineyards in the West Bank.

4.2 Barkan Winery

- Annual production: 7.5-9 million bottles. 

Barkan Winery, originally founded in Petach Tikva in the year 1889 under the name Friedman Winery, has had several owners and different names throughout the years. In 1988 the company rented a facility in the Barkan Industrial Zone, near the settlement of Ariel in the occupied West Bank, and moved its entire operation, storage and offices to that location. In 1990, Yair Lerner and Shmuel Boxer bought the winery, and gave it its present name – Barkan Wine Cellars. In 1994, the company floated its shares on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, selling 25% of the shares to the public. Barkan, formerly owned by the Stock Liqueur Company, continues to produce and market, under exclusive license, the internationally recognized Stock brands: Stock 84, Keglevich Vodka, and Stock Liqueurs.

In 1999 the company purchased a plot at Kibbutz Hulda, inside the interna-
tionally recognized borders of Israel and based some of its operations there. In 2005, the Tempo Beverage Company (60% owned by Tempo Beer Industries and 40% owned by the Dutch company, Heineken) entered into partnership with Barkan Wineries. Today it owns 83.16% of the company and operates as its exclusive distributor in Israel. Following this acquisition by Tempo Beer Industries, Barkan Wine Cellars started to moved its entire operation out of the West Bank. By early 2007, both the production process and the warehouses of Barkan were moved out of the West Bank and into Kibbutz Hulda, and all of the winery’s corporate activity in the Barkan Industrial Zone has completely ceased.

The company directors’ report to their stockholders stated (in the annual report of 2007):

In the past, the location of the company’s winery at the Barkan area caused a negative image and made difficult the exporting of the Barkan brands. The company is acting to change this image, especially in light of moving production activity to Kibbutz Hulda. [...] Due to severe limitation caused by the size of the Barkan location, as well as due to problems connected with operating a winery beyond the Green Line, the company decided to remove the winery from the Barkan Industrial Zone and relocate it to the Hulda site.\(^{33}\)

Today Barkan is the second largest winery in Israel. It holds, as full subsidiary since 2001, the Karmei Tzvi-Ahim Segal Winery, a producer of wines and brandies, and an importer and marketer of imported brands of alcoholic beverages and food.

Barkan Winery owns vineyards in three locations in the occupied Golan Heights – Avnei Eithan, Eliad, and Sha’al, and one location in the occupied West Bank – the settlement of Dolev, near Ramallah.\(^{34}\)


\(^{35}\) http://bit.ly/h3qAM1
Barkan Wine Cellars market their wines through an extensive network of distributors and shops throughout Europe, the Americas (North and South) and East Asia.\textsuperscript{36}

**Conclusion:**

- Barkan Winery owns vineyards in occupied regions, including the West Bank and the Golan Heights.

4.3 **Golan Heights Winery**

- **Annual production:** 5.4 million bottles.
- **Domestic market share:** 18%.
- **Export market share:** 38%\textsuperscript{.37}

The Golan Heights Winery was founded in 1983 in the settlement of Katzerin in the occupied Golan Heights and it operates there to this day. This winery is credited with leading the development of the whole wine industry in Israel to its present state.

The Golan Heights Winery is a company owned by two cooperatives – Golan Heights and Galilee Grapes, and Golan Heights Grapes Agricultural Cooperative. These two cooperatives represent four settlement kibbutzim, all on the Golan Heights, and four moshavim (agricultural cooperative farms), three of them settlements on the Golan Heights and one in the Upper Galilee, inside Israel proper. The company’s vineyards, managed by the company itself, are spread throughout the Golan Heights.\textsuperscript{38} All the wines, marketed under three labels – Yarden, Gamla and Golan – are produced from grapes grown on the Golan Heights.

The labeling of the wines of the Golan Heights Winery was at the center of a debate in Sweden. Until 2006, the com-

\textsuperscript{36} http://www.barkan-winery.com/Map/agencies.html  
\textsuperscript{37} http://www.golanwines.co.il/general_eng.asp  
\textsuperscript{38} http://www.golanwines.co.il/allVineYards_eng.asp
pany’s wines were marketed under the ‘Made in Israel’ label. In 2006, consumers complained to Systembolaget, Sweden’s state-owned monopoly alcohol retailer, that this label was misleading, since the Golan Heights are occupied territory. Systembolaget then changed their label to ‘Made in Israeli-occupied Syrian territories’. This infuriated the Israeli officials, who saw it as an attempt to “damage the sales of Israeli wines”. Consequently, the wine was relabeled. Currently, when sold in Sweden, the wine from the Golan Heights Winery does not include an indication of origin and is sold under ‘another origin’ (övrigt ursprung) label.

Conclusion:

- All of the wines that the Golan Heights Winery produces are manufactured on the Golan Heights, from grapes from vineyards in this region, which is occupied territory.

When sold in Sweden, the wine of the Golan Heights Winery does not include an indication of origin and is sold under ‘another origin’ (övrigt ursprung) label. Source: http://bit.ly/hLhGFi
4.4 **Teperberg 1870 Winery**

- **Annual production: 4-7 million bottles.**[^40]

Teperberg 1870 Winery (also known as Efrat Winery) is a family-owned winery, founded in 1870 by its owners, the Tep-
erberg family. The company plans to increase production in upcoming years, and is presently extending the winery to include a visitors’ center and other facilities.[^41]

Since 2002, the winery has been located in Tzor’a, inside the internationally recognized borders of Israel. In Israel, the winery’s vineyards extend to several areas: Emeq HaElla, Upper Galilee, Tzor’a and Dir Rafat. Additionally, the winery has vineyards in the occupied West Bank in several locations: in the Gush Etzion settlement block and in extensive plots in Mevo Horon (mostly in the area of the no man’s land of the Latrun Enclave).[^42]

Teperberg has three wine series, branded as Reserve, Terra and Silver. The origin of the grapes for each wine is not clearly marked in any of the company’s publications. Consequently, consumers cannot tell which wines include grapes which were grown in settler vineyards in the occupied territory.

Teperberg exports its wines to more than 22 countries worldwide, including the United States, Canada, France, England, Australia and more.


[^41]: Ibid

Conclusion:
- Teperberg 1870 Winery owns vineyards in the occupied West Bank
- The company does not provide information as to the origin of the grapes in each of its wines.

4.5 Binyamina Winery
- Annual production: 2.6 million bottles.

Binyamina Winery is now the fifth largest winery in Israel, producing wine under several labels. It was founded in 1952 under the name Eliaz Winery and it has been owned, since 2008, by the Hatzi Hinam marketing chain. The winery and most of its vineyards are located around the town of Binyamina, within the internationally recognized borders of Israel, but some of their vineyards are on the occupied Golan Heights. For example, the Cabernet Sauvignon-Zinfandel from the Yogevo wine series is partly produced from grapes grown in Mevo Hama in the Golan Heights, and the Aquamarine 2006 Cabernet Sauvignon from The Chosen wine series is produced from grapes grown in the settlement of Kidmat Zvi on the Golan Heights.43

Company publications state that it has vineyards in the ‘Shomron’ and ‘Judaean Hills’ regions.44 As explained at length above, these regions include extensive areas that are in the occupied territory of the West Bank. It is, therefore, plausible to conclude that the company has vineyards there, but their publication does not detail the locations of specific West Bank vineyards. Binyamina Winery exports to 16 countries in Europe, the US, South Africa, South America and Asia.45

Conclusion:

- Binyamina Winery owns vineyards in the occupied West Bank.
- The company does not provide information as to the origin of the grapes in each of its wines.
4.6 Tishbi Winery

Annual production: 1 million bottles.

Tishbi Winery is a family business, cultivating vineyards since its establishment in 1882 with the help of the Baron de Rothschild. After providing grapes to Carmel Winery for more than a century, in 1984 the company established its own winery, under the name Yikvei Habaron (“The Baron’s Wineries”), but later renamed it after their own family name: Tishbi Winery.

Tishbi is one of the owners (8%) of Gush Etzion Winery in the occupied West Bank. Tishbi Winery also uses grapes from Gush Etzion winery in the production of its own wines. Additionally, Tishbi owns vineyards in the Gush Etzion settlement block in the West Bank and in Kidmat Zvi on the occupied Golan Heights.46

In their listing of the origins of each of their wines, the company website tends to use vague language in its description and to include significant differences between the Hebrew and the English texts. They state that they have vineyards in the ‘Judean Hills’, an area which, on their maps, ranges from inside the State of Israel to include the Gush Etzion settlement block in the occupied West Bank, but fail to provide accurate information about the location of vineyards in this area.

For instance, the title of the Hebrew description of Merlot 2006 (from the Tishbi Estate series) states its origins to be in Sdeh Boker (Negev) and Kfar Yuval (Upper Galilee), two areas inside Israel, while

the text itself also indicates that the wine includes grapes from “a vineyard 800 meters high in the Judean Hills”. The English description of the same wine fails to mention this last vineyard at all. Cabernet Sauvignon 2006 (also from the Tishbi Estate series) is also stated to partly originate from the ‘Judean Hills’, and the same is true for Pinot Noir 2007.47

Interestingly, in the information the company provides concerning Chardonnay 2008 and Shiraz 2007, evident discrepancies appear when comparing the Hebrew and the English descriptions. In the Hebrew description of the origins of Chardonnay 2008 (from the Jonathan Tishbi Special Reserve series), it openly states that the grapes come from Gush Etzion in the West Bank. However, in the English description the wine appears to originate from Zichron Ya’akov, inside Israel. Similarly, in the Hebrew description of Shiraz 2007 (from the Tishbi Estate series), the title indicates that the wine originates from Kfar Yuval (Upper Galilee), but the text adds Gush Etzion (West Bank),48 while the English description omits any mention of Gush Etzion and includes only the more vague ‘Judean Hills’ area.49


A few things become apparent while examining the description of the Tishbi wine series. While the general description of the series states that the wines are “made mostly from grapes that were harvested in the family vineyards, in Zichron Yaakov”, Gewurztraminer Gush Etzion 2009, as apparent from its name, comes from Gush Etzion in the occupied West Bank. Interestingly, the Hebrew description of this wine does not mention Gush Etzion at all and, instead, refers to the ‘Judean Hills’, thus indicating that these two terms might be interchangeable in the winery’s vocabulary.

Tishbi exports wine to Canada, the USA, Western and Eastern Europe, Asia and South America.

**Conclusion:**

- Tishbi Winery owns vineyards in the occupied West Bank and on the Golan Heights.
- The company does not provide accurate information as to the origin of the grapes in each of its wines, especially in its English publications.

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52 http://bit.ly/gSn7ZI  
53 http://bit.ly/g3QrsH  
54 http://www.tishbi.com/shop.php
## 5. Settlement wineries in the occupied Golan Heights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Winery</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Annual production of bottles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assaf</td>
<td>Kidmat Tzvi</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashan</td>
<td>Avnei Eitan</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>10,000-15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazelet haGolan</td>
<td>Kidmat Tzvi</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bustan haMeshushim</td>
<td>Moshav Had Nes</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chateau Golan</td>
<td>Moshav Eliad</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ein Nashot</td>
<td>Kidmat Tzvi</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golan Heights Wineries*</td>
<td>Elrom, Ortal,</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>5.4 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ein Zivan, Gshur, Ramat Magshim-im, Yonatan, Alonei Bashan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Odem / Odem Mountain</td>
<td>Odem</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanaf Winery</td>
<td>Kanaf</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lili Winery(^{55})</td>
<td>Kidmat Tzvi</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maor</td>
<td>Ramot</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>6,000-8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelter(^{56})</td>
<td>Ein Zivan</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>Kidmat Tzvi</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra Nova</td>
<td>Kanaf</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{56}\) The official address is in Zofit, within the borders of Israel, but their winery is actually on the Golan Heights.
6. Settlement wineries in the occupied West Bank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Winery</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Annual production of bottles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anatot</td>
<td>Almon (Anatot)</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>17,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arza</td>
<td>Edmim I.Z.</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>4 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bustan</td>
<td>Sha’are Tiqwa</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beit El Winery</td>
<td>Bet El</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57 It is not clear whether they still produce their own wines.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Winery</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Annual production of bottles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domaine Ventura</td>
<td>Ofra I.Z.</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gat Shomron</td>
<td>Karnei Shomron</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Givon</td>
<td>Givon Hadasha</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gush Etzion Winery</td>
<td>Efrat</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gvaot</td>
<td>Givat Har’el</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HaCormim Winecellars</td>
<td>Mishor Edumim I.Z.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakerem</td>
<td>Bet El</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har Bracha</td>
<td>Har Bracha</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harerey Kedem</td>
<td>Yitzhar</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hashechar</td>
<td>Shilo</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hevron Heights/Noah</td>
<td>Qiryat Arba I.Z.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>150,000 (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebron Wineries / Klein’s</td>
<td>Qiryat Arba I.Z.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>110,000 (2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem Winery</td>
<td>Atarot I.Z.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavi</td>
<td>Efrata</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livni</td>
<td>Qiryat Arba</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’aleh Levona</td>
<td>Ma’aleh Levona</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negohot</td>
<td>Negohot (Western Hebron Mount)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58 Partly owned by Tishbi Winery.
59 The winery is located in the settlement outpost of Givat Har’el.
60 Founded originally in Jerusalem. Belongs to the Shore family, the owners of Arza Winery.
61 The official address is in the settlement of Kiryat Arba.
62 Owned by Menachem Livni, a former Jewish terrorist who was very active in the early 80’s in violent actions against Palestinian civilians.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Winery</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Annual production of bottles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psagot</td>
<td>Pesagot and Pisgat Ze’ev</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shilo</td>
<td>Shilo</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sraya</td>
<td>Brosh Habik’a/Tomer</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanya</td>
<td>Ofra</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teko’a</td>
<td>Theqo’a</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tura (Alias Erez)</td>
<td>Rechelim</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zion</td>
<td>Mishor Adumim I.Z.</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>2.2 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix: Response from Wineries

In preparation for this report we wrote to all of the wineries and vineyards which are mentioned in herein asking for their response.

The following are the responses that we received:

- **Carmel Winery**
  
  January 10, 2011

  1. We do not have a vineyard in Mevo Horon.

  2. The vineyards for Yatir Winery lie without exception within Yatir Forest.

  3. *Carmel & Yatir do not own or use vineyards in the West Bank. This is our policy and the reality.*

- **Ein Nashot Winery**
  
  December 21, 2010

  1. Ein Nashot is the name of an ancient Jewish village that was located very close to the new settlement we established over thirty years ago. The Talmudic village was destroyed in 470 AC and its economic foundation was wine production, just as ours is.

  2. The vineyard is located inside a Syrian bunker from the Six Day War. This bunker was used for war purposes to fire at the residents of the valley below it, and we have converted it to peaceful usage.

  3. Inside the bunker we commemorate the memory of Otiniel Shamir, an Israeli

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64 Email, January 10, 2011, on file with Who Profits.
pilot whose airplane was shut down by the Syrian soldiers from the nearby army base, during the Six Day War.

4. Here we engage in conversations about our ways of living in the Golan Heights, the pioneering efforts and the establishment of new settlements. We also discuss what will happen when a peace treaty is signed.

5. People come to visit us from every corner of the earth.

You are welcome to visit us; we are open on Fridays and Saturdays from 10 AM until the last visitor leaves.\(^{65}\)