RISALEM

Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies

INTRODUCTION

Since the start of the occupation in 1967, all Israeli governments have zealously pursued a policy to transform the city's Arab character and 'Judaize' East Jerusalem to create a new geopolitical reality that guarantees Israeli territorial, demographic, and religious control over the entire city. In violation of international law (especially regarding the transfer of civilians in occupied territory), Israel has expropriated huge areas of occupied East Jerusalem land and built numerous settlements, while simultaneously depriving Palestinian residents of building, housing, and infrastructure requirements.

Although the issue of Jerusalem has always been at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict, negotiations over its status were postponed during the Oslo peace process and it remains one of the most complex issues still awaiting a solution. In recent years, Israeli strategies to consolidate its exclusive "sovereignty" over Jerusalem have increased and have made the so-called 'Clinton Parameters' - "that Arab areas are Palestinian and Jewish ones are Israeli" and that "maximum contiguity for both sides" should be ensured - almost meaningless.

Settlements which form two rings around the city - the inner ring (East Jerusalem) and the outer ring (Greater Jerusalem) - reach far into the West Bank and isolate East Jerusalem with the intention of securing Israeli superiority over the entire Jerusalem region. The Master Plan 2000, unveiled in September 2004 by then-Mayor of Jerusalem, Uri Lupolianski, serves as a mandatory map for land use and a blueprint for municipal planning purposes, including the addition of 65,000 housing units to existing settlements by 2020. The plan – whose stated target is a city population made up of 70% Jews and 30% Palestinians (while current trends suggest a 60:40 ratio by 2020) - involves further confiscation of Palestinian land, ignores Palestinian development and housing demands, and fragments Palestinian suburbs.

In pursuing their policies, the Israeli government has joined forces with various settler groups: while the former has concentrated on expropriating Palestinian land and building large, 'official' settlements in East Jerusalem, the latter have focused on creating Jewish enclaves in the midst of Arab neighborhoods, as well as archaeological sites in and around the Old City.

This bulletin intends to shed light on Israel's ongoing settlement plans and policies aimed at further strengthening its grip on the city. It demonstrates the geopolitical means employed by Israel to exclude Jerusalem from any future negotiations by making sure that the city can never be divided along any lines, and hindering any Palestinian plans to develop East Jerusalem and declare it the capital of a future Palestinian state. The Netanyahu government's establishment of a Jerusalem Sub-Committee for Accelerated Construction in March 2011 and its recent approval of thousands of new housing units for settlers in the city only underline these intentions.

While the focus of this bulletin is on settlement-related topics, it should be noted that Israel's ongoing efforts at circumventing diplomacy are further aided by its discriminatory system of residency rights and housing policies, its closure and permit regime, as well as ongoing house demolitions and the construction of the separation barrier.

FACTS AT A GLANCE

- Only 13% (or 9.18 km²) of the annexed municipal area is currently zoned for Palestinian construction.
- In contrast, **35% (24.5 km²) are expropriated for settlements**, 22% (15.48 km²) are zoned for "green areas" and public infrastructure, and 20% (21.35 km²) as "unplanned areas" (B'Tselem, *Land Grab*, May 2002).
- At the end of 2009, some **497,000 Jews** (64.3% of the city's population) lived in Jerusalem, approximately **40% of them in settlements**, as well as **275,900 Palestinians** (35.7%) (Jerusalem Institute of Israel Studies, *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, 2011).
- Currently, there are some **900 settlers** (80 families and 400 yeshiva students) in **42 enclaves in the Old City** (outside of the Jewish Quarter) (Peace Now, 2011).
- Almost **2,000 settlers** live in outposts (119 buildings and sites) in the midst of Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem (Peace Now, 2011).
- An estimated **80%** of the total West Bank **settler population** now live within a **25 km radius of Jerusalem** (OCHA, *East Jerusalem Key Humanitarian Concerns*, March 2011).
- The **separation barrier** around Jerusalem measures **142 km**, of which only **4 km** lie on the **Green Line** (OCHA, July 2011).
- In August 2011 alone, Israel **expedited the construction of 5,595 settlement units**, implying an 11% increase in the total number of units built for Israelis in East Jerusalem since 1967 (Terrestrial Jerusalem, *More Jerusalem Settlement Approvals: Ramat Shlomo, Pisgat Zeev, Givat Hamatos*, 11 August 2011).

Contents:

The Old City	2
The Old City's Immediate Environs and the	
Historical Basin Area	4
The Historical Basin area beyond the Old City	10
Overview Map	12
Building and Expansion of Settlements Within the	
Municipal Boundaries	14
Settlements Beyond the Municipal Boundaries	
("Greater Jerusalem")	20
References and Further Research Material	



THE OLD CITY

Surrounding the inner core of Jerusalem with areas of Jewish settlement has been a common goal of Israeli governments since 1967. The Old City and its immediate environs in particular, are targeted by extremist settler groups such as Ateret Cohanim (focusing on the Old City and seeking to rebuild the Temple on the site of Al-Aqsa Mosque), El 'Ad (focusing on Silwan), Hay VeKayam, and Amana. Moreoever, a *Ha'aretz* investigation found that the Israel Lands Administration (ILA) has transferred properties in Silwan and the Old City to El 'Ad and Ateret Cohanim for low prices without issuing a tender as required by law (*Ha'aretz*, 5 November 2010).

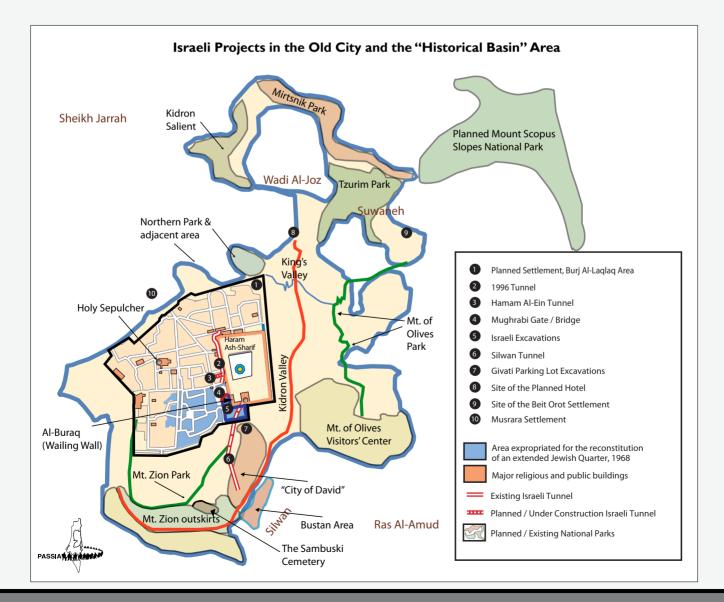
Inside the Old City's Muslim and Christian Quarters alone, Jews currently hold some 44 properties, including 19 houses (among them the St. John's Hospice, called Neot David by the settlers), seven yeshivas/religious institutes, 10 governmental buildings (six of them police stations), three archaeological sites, and five shops/restaurants. In addition, two underground sites have been seized (Western Wall tunnel and Zedekiah's Cave near Damascus Gate), plus a 200 m² rooftop area above the meat market (Meir Margalit, Seizing Control of Space in East Jerusalem, 2010).

Three further properties (Imperial Hotel and Petra Hostel near Jaffa Gate and the Zaloum family home in the Aqabat

Khalidiye area) are threatened with appropriation, and a 33-unit settler complex is planned in the Burj Al-Laqlaq area near Herod's Gate (see below for more details).

According to Peace Now, at least 900 settlers (80 families and 400 yeshiva students) are currently living in settler enclaves in the Old City's Muslim and Christian Quarters, occupying some 42 structures (Peace Now, Settlements in Palestinian Neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/settlements-palestinian-neighborhoods-east-jerusalem last updated Sept. 2011).

The Israeli government has handed de facto control of the large national park around the Old City to El 'Ad. (This took place in 2002 via the Israel Nature and Parks Authority — whose director in the Jerusalem district is Evyatar Cohen, the former director of the El 'Ad visitors' center.) In 2009, Ir Amim revealed a secret government plan - of the Jerusalem Development Authority in conjunction with settler organizations - to surround the Old City with nine parks, tourist sites and pathways. The plan is part of Decision No. 4090 ("Prioritize: Bolstering the City of Jerusalem"), which was endorsed by the Sharon cabinet in August 2005 to change the geopolitical status quo in East Jerusalem. It was allocated an overall investment of NIS 480 million (from 2006-2013) for the development of the Old City Basin and the Mount of Olives (Ir Amim, Shady Dealings in Silwan, May 2009).





Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies

In addition, excavations carried out in the existing Western Wall tunnel underneath the Haram Ash-Sharif compound have caused damage to several adjacent properties - includ-

ing the Waqf office, Ribat Al-Kurd, and the historic Uthmani and Al-Tankazi Schools. Another tunnel excavated by the Israel Antiquities Authority, leading from Silwan to the Western Wall, was completed in January 2011; according to Palestinians, it threatens to damage



Western Wall Tunnel

Al-Aqsa Mosque compound (Ha'aretz, 26 January 2011). In late October 2010, the West Jerusalem Municipality (WJM) District Planning and Construction Committee ratified a plan to expand the Western Wall Plaza, including construction of a new underground passageway that would become the main point of entry. Work also continues on a 100-m tunnel from the Hamam Al-Ein area (Muslim Quarter) towards the Al-Aqsa compound and on the Mughrabi Ramp - an historic pedestrian bridge leading from the Western Wall Plaza to the Al-Agsa compound's Mughrabi Gate, which is the main point of entry for Israeli forces and Jewish groups to the compound, but is closed to Muslims. The original ramp collapsed in early 2004 and was replaced by a temporary wooden bridge in July 2005. In January 2007, then Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert gave the green light for excavations on the pathway, which began a month later, sparking outrage among Muslims

Mughrabi Gate / Ramp
Israeli Excavations
Israeli Tunnels
Western Wall
Al-Buraq (Wailing Wall)

around the world. However, the work was halted because it lacked the necessary permits. Jerusalem's District Planning and Construction Committee approved the plan in May 2008, and on 31 October 2010, announced its final approval (Town Planning Scheme No. 12472) in a notice in *Ha'aretz*. In March 2011, the plan received formal approval from the municipality but after Jordan filed a complaint, there was official censure from UNESCO's World Heritage Committee who called on Israel to cease all renovation plans. As reported by *Ha'aretz* on 28 June 2011, Israeli police officials then recommended the building of a permanent bridge in September, anticipating that the world's attention would be focused on the Palestinian bid for statehood in the UN General Assembly.



Al-Mughrabi ramp and excavations underneath it

A further dispute in the area of the Haram Ash-Sharif erupted in early 2011 when the Jerusalem Development Authority removed scaffolding from under an arch supporting Palestinian homes in the Little Western Wall (or Kotel) plaza to make more room for Jewish prayers and other events. For years, the Waqf has warned against the removal of this arch, which was demanded by Ateret Cohanim.

GREEN AREA is an area zoned by Israeli municipal authorities for open space in which no construction is allowed. However, in the case of East Jerusalem, although none of the land designated for 'open spaces' is actually planted, "green areas" are often used strategically to block Palestinian development in the vicinity of settlements. The move restricts Palestinian construction in the city and enables land to be absorbed later for settlement expansion if needed. Good examples of green areas turned into settlements are Jabal Abu Ghneim (Har Homa) and Shu'fat (Ramot Shlomo). It is estimated that some 44% (including 6% assigned for infrastructure and services that remain under municipal control) of Palestinian land in East Jerusalem is designated by planning and zoning schemes as green and open spaces (Orient House, Jerusalem Settlement Update Report, May 2000).

Another point of contention is the Burj Al-Laqlaq (Stork's Tower, named Ma'ale HaHasidot by the settlers) area in the north-eastern corner of the Old City near Herod's Gate (Bab As-Sahira). In July 2005, the WJM approved a Town Planning Scheme for the construction of 21 housing units and a synagogue on 3.8 dunums of the site to gain another foothold within the Old City. The move violates Old City regulations, which forbid building in "green areas" and on archaeological sites, both of which apply to Burj Al-Laqlaq. So far, over ten structures have been demolished in the area.

Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies



The ILA owns 1.9 dunums of this land ('absentee property') while Himanuta Ltd., a subsidiary of the Jewish National Fund, owns 1.3 dunums, reportedly acquired privately from the White Russian Orthodox Church in 1982. The plan was first disclosed in 1990 by then Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, who intended the construction of 200 housing units on the site.

Another plan was ratified during the first tenure of Prime Minister Netanyahu, this time envisioning the construction of a religious school, two six-floor residential buildings, parking lots, and two underground tunnels. In May 1998, settlers from Ateret Cohanim - protected by Israeli soldiers - laid the cornerstone for the new settlement and moved caravans to the area. However, due to ensuing confrontations with Palestinians, the Israeli government halted the process in June 1998, but 'compensated' the settlers by allowing excavation work

to take place at the site. Somewhat ironically, the work, carried out by the Ministries of Infrastructure and Antiquities, exposed the stone walls of buildings from an Arab neighborhood dating back to the 7th Century Umayyad period.



Ohel Yitzhak synagogue

Part of the plan includes the expansion of a nearby enclave where two Jewish families live in red-roofed bungalows adjacent to the home of the Palestinian Qara'in family, who were repeatedly denied a permit to build a second storey in order to accommodate their extended family.

Another move to strengthen the Jewish presence in the Old City was the 'reopening' of the Ohel Yitzhak synagogue some 80 meters from Al-Haram Ash-Sharif, in October 2008. The synagogue, originally built at the beginning of the 20th Century, apparently on property purchased by Hungarian lews from the Al-Khalidi family, was abandoned by the Ultra-Orthodox Shomrei Hachomot (Guardians of the Walls) in 1938 in the wake of Arab-Jewish violence. It was later blown up by the Jordanians. The complex is owned by Cherna Moskowitz, the wife of US Jewish millionaire Irving Moskowitz, who funds Israeli settler groups with proceeds from his businesses. Moskowitz purchased the building rights from Shomrei Hachomot in the early 1990s and also financed the refurbishment of the synagogue. In 2004, the Israel Antiquities Authority began excavating under Ohel Yitzhak with the aim of creating an underground passage linking it to the Western Wall tunnels.

In addition to moving into the Old City, settlers are also increasing their presence in the so-called Holy Basin area in an attempt to form a string of settlements that will eventually encircle the Haram Ash-Sharif compound. According to Peace Now estimates, as of June 2011, almost 2,000 settlers live in

illegal outposts (119 buildings and sites) in the midst of Palestinian neighborhoods in and around the Old City.

Data from the 2011-2012 Israeli state budget show that the Prime Minister's Office allocated NIS 25 million in 2011 for an item termed "Supplement to develop Old City basin in Jerusalem" (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/price-maintaining-territories-data-2011-2012-budget).

THE OLD CITY'S IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS AND THE HISTORICAL BASIN AREA

The Musrara, Sheikh Jarrah, Mount Scopus, Wadi Al-Joz, and Silwan areas have been targeted by Zionist groups since pre-1948. According to 2009 data from Ir Amim, over 2,500 Israelis live in the Holy Basin and the Old City (outside the Jewish Quarter). Apart from the settlement activities associated with the area, several official Israeli-sponsored projects have been established over the years, including construction of Israeli government buildings, the Hebrew University complex, and the French Hill settlement.

♦ Arab Musrara

One target just outside Damascus Gate is Arab Musrara - a block of houses at the end of Hanevi'im Street, east of Highway No. I, which has several Arab food stands and stores in the first row and 20-25 Palestinian homes behind it. The quarter was established in the late 19th century by Jews and Ar-

abs seeking better living conditions outside the Old City walls. The Jewish property, initiated by an Ultra-Orthodox Jew named Nissan Beck, consisted of three complexes. Neighborly relations were good until August 1929, when deadly



Musrara

violence broke out in the wake of the so-called "Western Wall Uprising" and the Jewish survivors abandoned their property. The Jordanians later (after 1948) registered it in the name of the Custodian of Enemy Property and signed protected tenancy contracts with the Palestinians who had moved in there, preventing their eviction. After the 1967 War, the property was passed to the Israeli Justice Ministry's Custodian General, who collected rent from the Palestinian tenants and traced the former Jewish owners, who either sold their property or rented it to the Palestinians, but did not want to move back. In 2002, the Homot Shalem settler association, headed by rightwing Rabbi Benny Elon, who heads the Bet Orot yeshiva, began the purchase of the properties and called for the eviction

The concept of the **HOLY BASIN** (sometimes referred to as the Historic Basin) was introduced by Israel during the Camp David summit in July 2000 and picked up at the Taba talks in early 2001. It applies to the area embracing the Old City of Jerusalem and the adjacent vicinity, where one finds places that are holy to Jews, Muslims, and Christians: the Mount of Olives (At-Tur), Mount Zion, Silwan/'City of David', Wadi Hilweh/Kidron Valley, and Sheikh Jarrah. The idea was to create a special (international) administration for the area with the task of keeping order and ensuring freedom of worship, as well as open access to holy sites. The Palestinians rejected the proposal as yet another Israeli attempt to claim sovereignty in an area that is both predominantly Palestinian and - according to international law and UN resolutions - under occupation.



of the tenants with the stated goal to "populate the entire complex with Jews, the way it was done in recent years in the Shimon Hatzadik area" (Ir Amim, A New Friction Point:Settlement in Arab Musrara, June 2011, available at http://www.ir-amim.org.il/eng/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/musrara.pdf). The settlers in the area — currently eight families — are heavily guarded and their presence has created an atmosphere of tension and intimidation. There are fears that the death of the second generation of those who signed the lease contracts with the Jordanian government will mean that the entire neighborhood will gradually fall into the hands of settlers. (The law protecting tenants does not apply to third-generation.) (Nir Hasson, "A new friction point in East Jerusalem", Ha'aretz [Hebrew ed.], 15 April 2011 available at http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/spages/1225172.html).

The north-eastern string of settler enclaves begins with the District Court and Justice Ministry on Nablus Road; continues to the Shimon Hazadik area, the Shepherd Hotel, the Kupat Holim Center, and the police headquarters in Sheikh Jarrah; then to the French Hill settlement and the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus; to the Bet Orot Yeshiva on the Mount of Olives and to the Interior Ministry, as well as the tunnel road on the northern edge of Wad Al-Joz. The south-western string stretches from Silwan (City of David) to the small settler complex in At-Tur, and to Ras Al-Amud (Ma'ale HaZeitim and Ma'ale David).

♦ Sheikh Jarrah

Sheikh Jarrah is an old residential neighborhood that houses some 2,800 Palestinians and numerous Palestinian institutions, as well as foreign missions and agencies. Several areas in its vicinity are targeted by settlers' groups.

Shepherd's Hotel / Karm Al-Mufti:

The area around the Shepherd's Hotel is known to Palestinians as Karm Al-Mufti as its belonged to Grand Mufti Haj Amin Al-



Shepherds Hotel before and after demolition

Husseini before it was seized by the Israelis in 1967 (despite the fact that the heirs of the rightful owner were still alive and long-standing legal residents of Jerusalem and the building had functioned as a hotel from 1945). The land was apparently acquired by lewish millionaire Irving Moskowitz from the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property in 1985 (Ha'aretz, 3 November 2005). It was subsequently rented to the Israeli Border Police and is now administered by Moskowitz, Ateret Cohanim and C&M Properties (a US registered company established by Moskowitz). A request to erect a new settlement at the site (based on Town Planning Scheme 2591 of 1984 for the construction of 20 housing units) was submitted to the WIM in late October 2005, followed by another application by C&M Properties to extend the existing plan by 90 additional housing units, a kindergarten, synagogue, and parking (TPS 11536). In November 2006, the Israeli Committee for the Preservation of Historic Sites recommended the demolition of the hotel on the grounds that it had no special architectural value. In November 2008, C&M Properties sought permission to commence construction, which was granted in July 2009, allowing for the demolition of the hotel and construction of two new buildings (totalling 30 housing units) on the site. On 18 March 2010, after the settlers paid the required fees, the final per-



Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies



mits were issued for the construction of 20 units. Work commenced very quietly on 27 June 2010 (Channel Ten TV News), and more seriously on 8 January 2011, when Israeli forces tore down a wing of the Hotel, which will remain in situ (Ha'aretz, 9 January 2011), giving rise to sharp international protests. A week later, work was halted by the Jerusalem District Planning and Construction Committee after the Religious Council for Muslim Affairs in Israel and others filed an emergency application for a temporary injunction based on the historical and cultural significance of the site, as well as the fact that international law prohibits the establishment of settlements on occupied territory (Ha'aretz, 17 January 2011).

Beneath the actual 30-dunum hotel compound, the Karm Al-Mufti land (also known as Mufti's Grove or, in Hebrew, as Kerem HaMufti) stretches for an additional 110 dunums downhill, mostly cultivated with olive trees, towards the site of the Israeli Ministry of Interior complex (initially earmarked to house a Palestinian girls' school) on the edges of the Wadi Al-Joz Industrial Zone. The ILA is working together with Ateret Cohanim to gain control of the land and to transfer it to

the Association without a tender, as outlined in a petition submitted in August 2007 to the High Court by the Palestinian landowners, the Arab Hotels Company. The ILA has signed a contract with Ateret Cohanim for "the agricultural cultivation" of



Karm Al-Mufti land and part of the Interior Ministry complex in the foreground

the land, even though the Association has no experience in this field. The land leased by ILA apparently does not belong to it and the Interior Ministry recognizes that the Palestinian landowners "have an interest" in it. In March 2007, 40 years after declaring its intentions to do so, the state formally expropriated the land, at the request of the ILA. Former Finance Minister Abraham Hirchson signed the plan to expropriate the property under the rubric of "acquisition for public needs" (Ha'aretz 20 August 2007), thereby reclassifying its "green area" status. A few months later, the government leased the land to Ateret Cohanim. In December 2007, responding to a petition submitted in August by the Arab Hotels Company contesting ownership of the land, the High Court of Justice set a September 2008 hearing date, which was subsequently delayed. A March 2010 Ha'aretz report on settlement developments in Jerusalem revealed that 300 housing units are planned for the Karm Al-Mufti site (Ha'aretz, 11 March 2010), but a Municipality statement denied this saying it was a "green area" and there were no plans to build there (Jerusalem Post, 11 March 2010). However, settlers are said to have initiated a process to build a new 250-unit settlement on the site.

Shimon HaTzadik

The tomb of Shimon HaTzadik (Simon the Just, a High Priest during the time of the Second Temple) and its surrounding area is said to have been purchased by Jews who settled there until 1948 when the neighborhood was evacuated. The tomb was declared a Jewish holy place by the UN in November 1947. In 1956, the UN and Jordanian government housed 28 Palestinian refugee families from the 1948 War in the area. Following the 1967 War, settlers began to claim ownership of the land and in 1972,

two Jewish foundations, a Sephardic Jewish Association (Vaad Sephardi Haredit) and the Knesset Yisrael Association, were successful in falsely claiming ownership and registering the land in their names with the Israeli land registrar. (The two organizations later sold their claim to the Nahalat Shimon settler group.)

In 1982, the alleged owners filed suits claiming property rights against the 28 Palestinian families, whose appointed lawyer, Tosya Cohen, agreed with the settlers to recognize their ownership of the land in return for granting the families the status of protected residents (requiring them to pay rent to the owners). The Sheikh Jarrah families rejected the deal and refused to pay rent, which led to the first eviction orders. A newly hired lawyer, Husni Abu Hussein, soon revealed that the settlers' associations did not own the land and asked the Land Registration Department to revoke the 1972 registration by

the settlers (which they agreed to do in 2006) and to issue an order to reinstate the rightful owner of the land (which they refused).



Shimon HaTzadik: site occupied by settlers

Under the 1996 Netanyahu government, Shimon

HaTzadik was given 'new Jewish neighborhood' status, which entitled it to huge amounts of annual funding for private security services. In October 1998, yeshiva students joined by rightwing MK Rabbi Benny Elon moved into the synagogue directly above the tomb in order to renovate it. Palestinians protested in vain and since December 1998, the synagogue has been used as a kollel (advanced Torah learning institute) and for regular Shabbat prayer services. In February 1999, the Settlers of Zion Association, led by MK Elon, illegally acquired six homes in the area and two months later, the first Jews moved in. This was part of Elon and Ariel Sharon's plan to plant settlers in Palestinian neighborhoods to make Jerusalem indivisible. In 1999, settlers seized part of the home of the Al-Kurd family, who had lived there since 1956, and the settlers then 'shared' the house, which they claimed was Jewish property, along with 27 other nearby houses (home to over 500 Palestinians). The Palestinian families concerned say the land belongs to the Suleiman Darwish Hijazi family.

In April 2000, Palestinians clashed with settlers and Israeli forces who attempted to take over another five-dunum plot of land owned by the Abu Jibna family, claiming that a cave in which Ramban/Rabbi Nahmanides used to pray is located there. A month later, the Jerusalem District Court ruled that the cave is a Jewish holy site and ordered the owners to allow Jews to pray there. In 2001, settlers began to occupy an extension of the Al-Kurd home, which had been declared an illegal construction by Israeli authorities. The Al-Kurd family went to court and an eviction order was issued against the settlers. Another court hearing in 2001 ordered several Palestinian families to leave their homes, but did not allow Nahalat Shimon to take over. A 2006 High Court ruling determined that neither Vaad Sephardi nor the Darwish family could prove ownership, that the settlers' claim was void and based on false documents, and that the expelled families should be allowed to return to their homes. However, the struggle continued.



Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies

In 2007, another court ordered the settlers to leave the Al-Kurd home because they had built without a permit but they refused and the order was not enforced. Instead, the High Court issued a judgment on 14 July 2008, ordering the expulsion of the Al-Kurd family within 24 hours. The move triggered an official complaint from the US State Department to the Israeli government, questioning the legality of the terms on which the settler group claimed to have purchased the land. Eventually, on 9 November 2008, the Al-Kurd family - and not the settlers - was forcibly expelled. On 19 March 2009, Ha'aretz reported that a document uncovered in Ottoman archives in Ankara has now confirmed that Jews never purchased the disputed land and that the Palestinians are the rightful owners. Nevertheless, two months later, the Israeli High Court of Justice ordered the evacuation of the Al-Ghawi and Hanoun family homes in Sheikh Jarrah to turn them over to Nahalat Shimon; the eviction took place on 2 August 2009.

All these moves are clearly part and parcel of the plan to establish a 200-unit settlement over 18 dunums next to the tomb, a request that was submitted by the Nahalat Shimon settler organization in 2007 (Town Plan Scheme 12705). This was shelved in 2009, then reopened by the Municipality in March 2010 to establish "a residential project in the area surrounding the Tomb of Shimon HaTzadik, Total: appx. 200 residential units, appx. 45,000 sq. meters. Demolition of existing buildings" (website of the Jerusalem Municipality - www. jerusalem.muni.il). On 26 September 2010, the rejection by the Israeli High Court of an appeal by Palestinians claiming ownership of a large plot in Sheikh Jarrah further paved the way for plans by the settlers to build in the area. (Thus, it was a surprise when on 15 June 2011, the Jerusalem Magistrates' Court rejected the request by settlers to evict the Farhan family from its home next to the burial cave of Simon the Just due to several flaws in the lawsuit.)

In February 2011, the WJM Planning and Construction Committee approved the construction of 13 apartments in two buildings on the site, involving the demolition of two buildings and the eviction several Palestinian families. There are two US-registered companies behind the project - Debril and Velpin – with well-known right-wing figure Chaim Silverstein having power of attorney rights (*Ha'aretz*, 7 February 2011).

In August 2011, Palestinian resident Kamal Obeidat received a warrant informing him of the WJM's intention to take over a four-dunum plot he owns in the Shimon HaTzadik area of Sheikh Jarrah on the grounds that the land had been abandoned for over five years and was to be used for public parking (i.e., a car park for settlers). Obeidat was given 60 days to object.

Others

Also in Sheikh Jarrah, on 20 April 2009, the WJM Planning and Construction Committee granted the final permit to the settler group Amana for the construction of its headquarters - a three-storey building to be located near the St. Joseph's Hospital, across the street from the Central Police Headquarters. The land in question was expropriated and transferred to Gush Emunim in 2005 (Peace Now, Settler Compound in East Jerusalem Receives Final Construction Permit, April 2009; Ocha, The Case of Sheikh Jarrah, October 2010).

A few meters southwest of the Shimon HaTzadik site, opposite the Olive Tree Hotel and in front of the Al-Hayat Medi-

cal Center, an empty plot is fenced off and a sign reads "The Max and Gianna Glassman Campus". Apparently the plan is to establish a "Theological Center" affiliated with the Or-Sameach Yeshiva



Site of the Glasman Campus

at the site, but discussion on the construction of the two envisaged buildings was taken off the District Committee's agenda on 29 November 2010 (http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=311&ArticleID=1003).

♦ Wadi Al-Joz

Another plan to expand the Jewish presence in East Jerusalem was approved by the WJM Planning and Construction Committee on 2 June 2009. The site in question is close to the north-eastern corner of the Old City, along the street leading to Suwaneh, overlooking the Mount of Olives and the Kid-

ron Valley. The scheme is part of the master zoning plan for the Old City and foresees the destruction of the existing vegetable/wholesale market (known locally as Al-Hisbe) and the building of a complex consisting of a nine-storey, 200-



Site of the planned hotel in Wadi Al-Joz

room hotel and a commercial center. Apparently, the current store owners will be given the opportunity to rent space in the new complex, but it is unlikely that they will be able to afford it. Implementation of the plan, which has been submitted for public comment, will also involve the demolition of a Palestinian kindergarten. The plot of land is occupied territory but is "owned" by the Jerusalem Municipality, which earmarked it as open/public space, and the implementing agency for the project is the Jerusalem Development Authority.

On 5 June 2011, the Jerusalem Municipality, in cooperation with the Ministry of Transportation and Morea Company, began "development and enhancement" work on a NIS 30 million infrastructure project in Wadi Al-Joz (from the Hebrew University junction along the Wadi Joz Rd. and Al-Maqdesi St. up to the junction above the market) which will last for two years and will primarily serve existing and planned settlement enclaves in the area (JSCER, July 2011 Newsletter).

At-Tur (Mount of Olives) and Others

The earliest Jewish effort to establish a foothold in eastern Jerusalem was Beit Orot. Situated on the northernmost ridge of the Mount of Olives beneath the Augusta Victoria Hospital compound, it was founded as a yeshiva by Rabbi Benny Elon in the early 1990s. When Elon was Minister of Tourism, he transformed the area near the yeshiva into a national park (Ein Tzurim), which is now run by El 'Ad. In 2005, the WJM approved a plan, submitted and financed by Irwin Moskowitz, providing for public buildings and housing units on a 10-dunum area. Today, over 100 yeshiva students are housed there annually and the site includes the homes of several settler families who are waiting to begin building a Jewish settlement. The first

Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies





phase of settlement began on 5 January 2010, when the WJM Planning and Construction Committee reclassified the area as "residential". On 13 December 2010, the District Committee issued permits for the construction of 24 housing units in four buildings (Plan No. 3092) (http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=3 11&ArticleID=1003>). On 31 January 2011, the cornerstone for the new settlement was laid in a ceremony attended by MKs, municipality employees, and other officials. Currently, work is underway on four buildings stretching towards the Suwaneh neighborhood.

As revealed in *Ha'aretz* in February 2011, plans are underway to construct an army base nearby that will house military colleges on 32 dunums of Mt. Scopus land (between the Mormon University and the Augusta Victoria Hospital) (*Ha'aretz*, 15 February 2011).

At the far end of the At-Tur neighborhood, near the Seven Arches Hotel, settlers succeeded in acquiring two four-storey buildings (called Choshen) in March 2006. These were bought for El 'Ad by Lowell Investments (a com-



pany set up to buy Palestinian assets on behalf of right-wing groups), apparently from their Palestinian owners, although the Abu Al-Hawa and Kiswani families insist that they had sold to Palestinian buyers who, in turn, sold the property to a Jordanian investment company. Today, some 30 settlers live there. In November 2010, settlers took over another disputed (empty) apartment in At-Tur after the Jerusalem Magistrates' Court declared Lowell Investments, which purchased it in 2005, to be the legal owner. (Tellingly, the company is represented in Israel by El 'Ad Director, David Be'eri).

Further Israeli plans in the area target the Seven Arches Hotel overlooking the Old City (Plan No. 14142). After the 1967 War, the property – belonging to the Jordanian royal family - was transferred to the Custodian of Absentee Property but no action has yet been taken, not least out of fear of tainting relations with Jordan. In May 2010, the Custodian allowed Miloslavsky Architects to begin a significant expansion of the hotel, almost doubling its size and adding 75 rooms, two conference halls, and an indoor swimming pool. Right-wing organizations with "assets" in the Holy Basin area have also showed great interest in the hotel (*Ha'aretz*, 15 December 2010, https://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=311&ArticleID=1003>).

Another 15 settlers currently live in two houses inside the Mt. of Olives cemetery – termed Har Hazeitim (Peace Now, Settlements in Palestinian Neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, June 2011).

In addition, several isolated buildings have been occupied by settlers or used as offices, including two buildings located in Ath-Thori (Abu Tor) and occupied by around 20 settlers, and on Nablus Road (opposite the US Consulate/near to the YMCA building), and in Sheikh Jarrah opposite the Mount Scopus Hotel. The sites of these settlements shows that the objective behind this policy is to create a Jewish continuum and cut the Old City and its immediate environs off from the Palestinian neighborhoods to the north, thus thwarting any chance of a future agreement based on the division of Jerusalem.

In May 2010, it was reported that the municipality had ratified a plan (No. 4832A) to build a shopping mall on a three-dunum plot behind the US Consulate belonging to Sheikh Shams Eddin Al-Yamalli, but owned by the Islamic Waqf and currently used partly as a parking lot. The Director of the ILA has handed the land's trustee orders, including eviction notices, claiming the land as government-owned rather than residential (Ma'an News, 12 May 2010).

♦ Issawiya

On 30 January 2010, in a bid to tighten the grip on Issawiya adjacent to the French Hill settlement, the Israeli authorities announced that a large area of Palestinian-owned village land would be converted into a national park. This would imply the demolition of Palestinian buildings located outside the boundaries of the municipal zoning plan. On 28 March 2010, residents were told they could no longer enter their land in eastern Issawiya unless they obtained permits through the court (JCSER, Israeli Violations of Palestinian Human Rights in Jerusalem March 2010, April 2010). On 27 April 2011, the Alternative Information Center (AIC) reported that the WJM District Committee for Planning and Construction had approved a plan (No. 11092A) according to which Issawiya's last remaining land reserves - the slope leading up to the Hebrew University campus - will be used as part of the national park around the Old City.



♦ Silwan

Silwan - stretching from the southeast corner of Jerusalem's Old City, following Wadi Hilweh (referred to on Israeli maps as the Kidron Valley) along the hillsides of the Mount of Olives and Mount Zion – has been a hotbed of confrontation for years. As summed up by Meir Margalit, Silwan represents the Arab-Israeli conflict in a nutshell: it is the struggle "between the Jewish past and the Arab present, and in the meanwhile the future of both peoples is sacrificed" and a "struggle on whose



rights take precedence: those who lived in the area 3,000 years ago or those who live in the area today" (Meir Margalit, Seizing Control of Space in East Jerusalem, 2010, p. 75). According to the so-called Clinton Parameters presented during the 2000 Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, Silwan was supposed to become part of the future Palestinian capital.

Large tracts of land in the area - which Israel seized illegally after the 1967 War - were purchased in the 1920s by Baron de Rothschild and subsequently administered by the Jewish National Fund, which has since assisted settler groups in their efforts to take control of the area. Over 55% of the land is now in the hands of El 'Ad. It should be noted here that a 1992 government investigation (Klugman Commission, named after its head, Director General of the Justice Ministry, Chaim Klugman) found that settler groups, including El 'Ad, had taken over Palestinian property by continuously using forged documents, misusing the law governing absentee property, and with tens of millions of shekels of public money transferred to them by

government agencies without oversight!

blueprints Israeli propose the development of an arvillage chaeological in place of the existing Palestinian homes in Silwan (referred to by Israelis as the City of David or Ir David). El 'Ad settlers, who occupied the first two homes to be taken over in Silwan in 1991, claim to have



already seized over 55% of the Ir David area. El 'Ad continues to expand its activities and tighten its grip on Silwan, acting as a quasi-governmental body controlling tourism in the area, as well as maintaining full authority over archaeological activities. In 2007, settlers began unsanctioned and illegal subterranean excavations to expose what appears to be a Herodian-era road. On 15 January 2008, 11 settler families, protected by Israeli troops, took over II houses in the Wadi Hilweh area. It increased the total number of seized houses in Silwan to over 40 and the number of settler families to 70. In May 2008, the WJM approved a plan submitted by El 'Ad for a new housing complex (including 10 apartments, a synagogue, kindergarten, a library, and underground parking) at the entrance to Silwan (known as the Givati site). The land in question is located 200 meters from the Old City walls in the Wadi Hilweh neighborhood and belongs to the ILA, which leased it to El 'Ad.

On 30 July 2008, and again on 26 May 2010, I July 2010, and I September 2011, the Jerusalem District Court rejected petitions by right-wing settlers and ordered them to immediately evacuate a seven-storey building named **Beit Yonatan** (sometimes also Yehonatan) in the heart of Silwan, which was built illegally by Ateret Cohanim. In late 2009, Jerusalem Mayor Nir Barkat



reached an agreement with Ateret Cohanim, offering to delay the eviction if the settler group would give up its demand to evict dozens of Palestinians from a building it owns nearby (known as Abu Nab house). In January 2011, Attorney General Yehuda Weinstein questioned the legality of the arrangement and advised Barkat to implement the court's eviction order or face criminal proceedings. However, the building has still not been evacuated or demolished.

The main focus of both the government and right-wing groups in Silwan is the entire Al-Bustan neighborhood (called Emek HaMelech or King's Valley by the Jews), where 88 houses -home to some 1,000



Silwan - Al-Bustan area

Palestinians - face demolition on the grounds that they were built illegally on land zoned as "green area". Most of the houses in Al-Bustan were built in the 1980s and 1990s, but some even before 1967. The recent threats are part of an attempt to implement the 'King's Valley National Park' (Gan HaMelech) plan in the area. The plan was shelved amid international criticism in 2005, but revived under Mayor Nir Barkat. In February 2009, the WIM District Planning and Construction Committee rejected a plan put forward by the Palestinian residents for continued urban development of the area and the Municipality issued demolition orders to the residents. To date, two of the houses have been destroyed. However, maps prepared by the Israeli Antiquities Authority show no archaeological findings in the Bustan area so the planned tourist park (meanwhile dubbed Solomon's Garden) could be built anywhere else. This is further proof that the real purpose is to expand tourism settlement in Silwan. The municipal architect in charge of the project is Arieh Rahamimov, who drafted another two plans for the settlers: Plan No. 12953 for the Aderet compound (housing and a synagogue in the midst of Wadi Hilweh) and Plan No. 13542 for the Kedem compound (tourist center on the Givati parking lot) (Hagit Ofran. Barkat's plan for Silwan is a political plan for the settlers only, Peace Now, 2 March 2010).

The core of the project, which is promoted by the Municipality and several government ministries, forms Town Plan Scheme I 1555, prepared by the office of architect Moshe Safdie and submitted to the District Planning and Construction Committee in late 2007. It plans to turn eastern Wadi Hilweh (City of David) and most of the al-Bustan area (some 548 dunums) into a Jewish archaeological park, including a promenade (from Mount Zion), a cable car, and a tunnel from Siloam Pool to near the Western Wall Tunnel. The plan requires the destruction of the Al-Bustan neighborhood (88 houses) and the eviction of over 1,000 inhabitants (HRW, Separate and Unequal, December 2010).

In May 2011, the Jerusalem Municipality refused the request of the District Court to suspend the demolition orders in the Bustan area, even though neither its plan (demolition of houses and allowing the construction of others nearby), nor that of the Palestinian residents (to legalize the illegal construction) have yet been decided and are still pending at the planning committee stage (Hagit Ofran, An Update on the Bustan, May 25, 2011).

On 9 August, the Knesset, in a preliminary reading, passed an initiative to allow privately owned corporations to manage sites of national importance, in a bid to legalize the operation of the City of David National Park by El 'Ad (http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4101011,00.html).

Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies



A few meters further up from Al-Bustan is another case of forced removal. On 5 March 2009, the WJM issued demolition orders without prior warning for two large four and six storey apartment blocs - Al-Abbasiyya buildings. The orders gave 34 families (over 250 people) 10 days to evacuate their homes under the pretext of illegal construction (because only the first three floors of each building are licensed). In February 2009, the Israeli army bulldozed four dunums of land belonging to the Abbasi family near the Al-Aqsa Mosque area to establish a parking lot for visitors to the City of David. A related Judaization strategy is the 'conversion' of street names into Jewish ones; an example of this is the changing of the name of 'Wadi Hilweh Street' to 'Ma'alot Ir David' Street.

On 13 September 2011, accompanied by massive military protection, El 'Ad officially opened its double tunnel in Wadi Hilweh as part of its City of David project. Both tunnels – one stretching underneath Silwan from Wadi Hilweh to Al-Ein Mosque, the other from beneath the Old City's Dung Gate to Al-Aqsa Mosque – threaten the structural integrity of the buildings above the ground. El 'Ad is currently active in extending the tunnels towards the Mount of Olives region.

Linked to Silwan is the case of some 400 people in **Wadi Yasul** (between Ath-Thori and Jabal Mukabber) threatened with the demolition of 55 houses on the pretext that they were built illegally in a "green area". A plan submitted by the residents in 2004 to save their neighborhood was rejected in November 2008 by the District Planning and Construction Committee on the grounds that it interferes with the Local Outline Plan for Jerusalem 2000 to retain this as a "green area". On 29 December 2010, the Wadi Silwan Information Center revealed an Israeli plan to link Wadi Yasul with the settlement in Jabal Al-Mukabber, involving the demolition of at least 41 homes.

NIS 76 million... This is the Israeli Housing Ministry's 2011 security budget to guard settlers in East Jerusalem, translating to NIS 3,160/month per settler and marking a 40% increase from the 2010 budget!

(http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/price-maintaining-territories-data-2011-2012-budget)

THE HISTORICAL BASIN AREA BEYOND THE OLD CITY

Further evidence that Israeli planning and building laws in East Jerusalem are aimed at reducing Palestinian living areas is the infiltration by settlers into the wider Holy Basin area - Ras Al-Amud, Jabal Al-Mukabber, and Abu Dis.

Ras Al-Amud

Ras Al-Amud, home to some 17,000 Palestinians, is located southeast of the Old City on a ridge overlooking Al-Haram Al-Sharif, Silwan, Abu Dis, and Al-Izzariyya.

The Ma'ale HaZeitim (or Ma'ale HaZayit - Olive Heights) settlement was established on land used by the Al-Ghoul family since 1837. The family failed to comply with 1859 Ottoman land registration regulations and it was therefore possible for two Zionist movements (Chabad and Wollin) to register the same plot - about 15 dunums - with the British Mandate au-

thorities in 1928, without even informing the Al-Ghoul family who continued to live on the land. After the War of 1948, the land - then under Jordanian rule - was registered with the Custodian of Enemy Property. Representatives of the Al-Ghoul family sued and, following court delays, their ownership of the land was finally recognized in 1962 and it was officially registered in their name. After 1967, Chabad and Wollin - using their registration decree of 1928 - succeeded in having the Israeli Central Court cancel the Jordanian registration and reclaimed the land, which they sold to US Jewish millionaire Irving Moskovitz in 1990 (Arij, Ras Al Amoud Neighborhood: A Hot Spot in Occupied East Jerusalem, June 2003). Moskowitz developed a plan for a 132-unit settlement, which was approved by the WJM Planning Committee with the agreement of then Mayor Teddy Kollek. Although then Interior Minister Haim Ramon froze the plan because of its sensitive nature, his successor, Ehud Barak, submitted it to the WJM District Planning Committee, which issued final approval on 10 December 1996.



Ma'ale HaZeitim was the first major settlement development in the inner circle of East Jerusalem aimed at creating Jewish continuity with the Mount of Olives cemetery and the Beit Orot Yeshiva to eventually pre-empt any idea of dividing Jerusalem. Construction on 14.5 dunums started in 1998 by the Kedumim 3000 Co. (which states on its website its "ideological desire to build specifically in Judea and Samaria" and to "employ only Jewish labor") and the first 50 settler families moved there in April 2003, when world attention was focused on the Iraq war. Later that year, the initial 132 units were completed and construction continued on facilities such as a commercial center, a synagogue, a kindergarten, and a clinic. Today, an estimated 250 settlers live in the six buildings comprising Ma'ale HaZeitim.

A third phase of the project (another 20 units) was delayed because the settlers faced difficulty in removing the Hamdallah family, whose house would have to be demolished in order to build the new extension. The settlers won a partial victory when a court ruling in March 2011 (after an 11-year court battle) stated that the Hamdallah family must leave one room (built "illegally" in the mid-1980s) so Jewish settlers could move in (Guardian, 10 March 2011).

Prior to 1998, the WJM refused to endorse a Master Plan for Ras Al-Amud on the grounds that part of the land belonged



to lews and that approval was conditional on Palestinian residents agreeing to the construction of a Jewish complex in the heart of their neighborhood. Despite international protests, the settlement was eventually forced on the Palestinians, who were only allowed to build on 55-65% of the total land area and no more than two floors per unit (while the settlers were allowed to build on 115% of the total area with a maximum of seven floors) (ARIJ, The Geopolitical Status of the Jerusalem Governorate, December 2006).

In a related development, the rightwing Bukharan Community Committee and the Israeli Police (through National Police Commissioner Moshe Karadi) signed an 'exchange deal' in July 2005, according to which the Committee agreed to build the new Police HQ in the E-I area and receive in return the current police building, located in Ras Al-Amud, to use for residential purposes. In this way they were able to incorporate the building into the adjacent Ma'ale HaZeitim settlement, which is expected to at least double in size. In January 2008, construction began on another 60 housing units in the settlement, and in April 2008, settlers moved into the vacated police building to mark the founding of a new neighborhood Ma'ale David - which will eventually comprise 104 housing units on 10 dunums of land. The blueprints for this were reviewed by the WJM Planning and Construction Committee in January 2010. In early March, a permit was issued for the first 14 housing units and construction began in May 2010. The planned complex will also include a swimming pool, a "country club," a library, parking spaces, a synagogue, kindergarten, a ritual purification bath, and a bridge to connect it to Ma'ale HaZeitim. Once both settlements are completed, over 1.000 people will be situated in the heart of Ras Al-Amud. In early April 2011, Peace Now reported that an Israeli landowner tried to sell plots for 30 homes in Ma'ale HaZeitim, although final planning approval was still pending. On 25 May 2011, several Israeli ministers, as well as Knesset Speaker Reuven Rivlin and Mayor Barkat, participated in the inauguration of the new settlement.

A third settler complex of 30 housing units is planned at the site of a gas station 50 meters away from Ma'ale David on the main road. The land is apparently owned by a settler from Givat Ze'ev, who reportedly still looks into bids for the land. The plan (No. 12259) was deposited for public review on 23 June 2011. Possible objections will be discussed before final approval, after which an application for a construction permit from the Municipality can be made (Hagit Ofran, A Plan for 30 Homes in Ras El-Amud Deposited for Public Review, 30 June 2011).

Jabal Mukabber

With over 18,000 inhabitants, Jabal Mukabber is a heavily populated Palestinian residential area located on a hill south of the Old City and Ath-Thori and adjacent to Sawahreh Al-Gharbiyyeh (West).

The labal Mukabber settlement project was initially approved in 1993 but subsequently postponed because of its sensitive nature and questions pertaining to land ownership. In May 2002, the Israeli Digal Investment and Holdings Co. - accompanied by Israeli forces - fenced off the area, located on a slope below the Goldman Promenade north of East Talpiot, and began to raze the land and establish military observation posts. Construction of the Nof Zion (formerly Nof Zahav or Golden View) settlement began in 2004 and was approved a year

later by the Planning and Construction Committee following the rejection of a petition by the Palestinian landowners to the Israeli High Court of Justice. The project - run by private entrepreneurs (Jacques Nasser and Abie Levy) - should cover some 115 dunums, part of which belonged to Jews, and part expropriated from several Arab landowners. It includes the construction of over 400 housing units, a five-star hotel, a synagogue, a Jewish ritual bath, a kindergarten, a school, parks, a shopping center, a country/sports club, and other amenities suited to the needs of prospective US buyers. The first of four stages of construction (91 apartments) was completed in 2008. According to a March 2010 Ha'aretz report on settlement developments in Jerusalem, 300 units were in advanced stages of approval and/or implementation in Nof Zion. In June 2010, Plan No. 4711 to build some 1,400 hotel rooms was approved.



Nof Zion

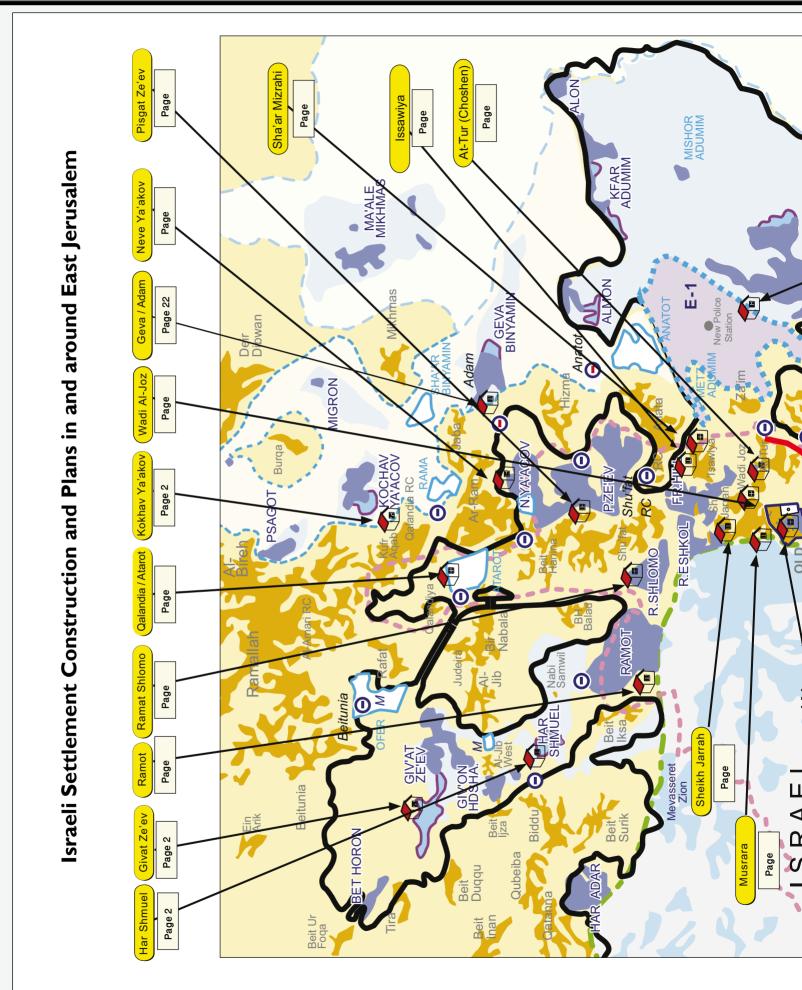
While the El 'Ad settler group claims that all the land in question was acquired legally, it is clear that at least half of the land was confiscated by the WJM from Arab landowners. The landowners subsequently appealed to the Jerusalem District Court on the grounds that the confiscation was illegal and that only Arab-owned land had been expropriated and designated as "green areas." However, the court has ruled in favor of the Municipality. The settlement's infrastructure is to be built on land confiscated from residents of Jabal Mukabber, in return for which they were promised better water, electricity, and sewage services. However, their request to be connected to Nof Zion's sewage system has been turned down and they remain without a sewage system. The site is the only space left for future urban development in the area and while Nof Zion has received permission to build five- and six-storey buildings, construction in Jabal Mukabber is limited to two storeys.

On 23 November 2010, Israel forces evacuated the Qara'in family from their home in Jabel Mukabber and settlers - from the Lowell Investments group close to El'Ad – moved in, claiming to have purchased the building. The residents of the home said that the sale was illicit since the landlord, whose name is written on the document of sale, had died and left the house to the family in his will.

In late 2010, Digal Investments had financial problems and was unable to repay its bondholders so Bank Leumi was forced to

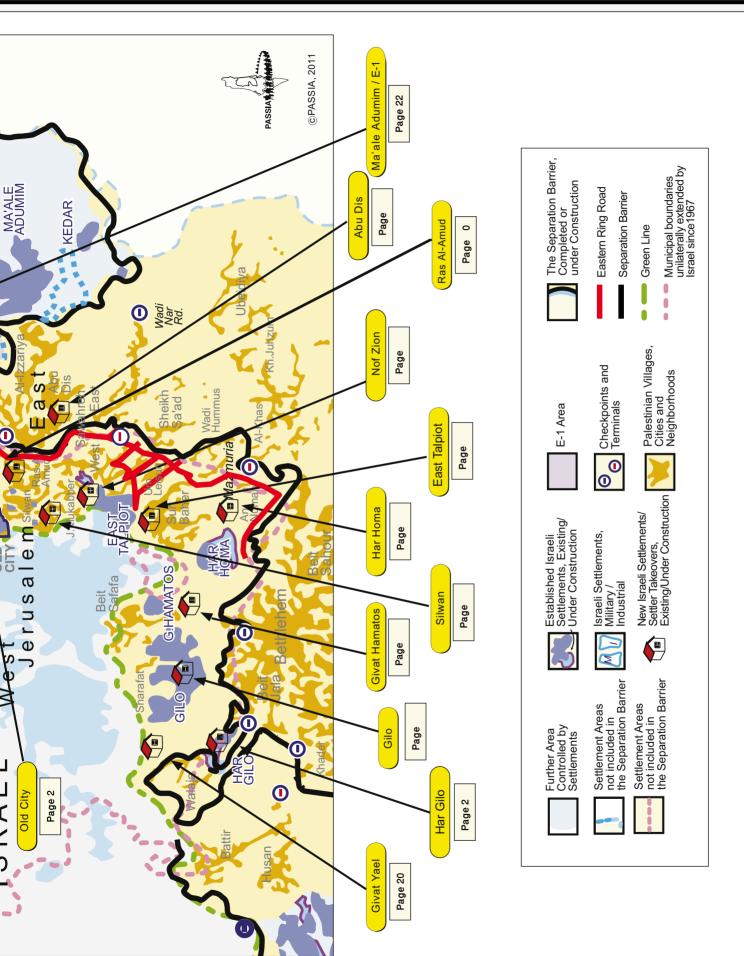








Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies



Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies



find a buyer. The two bidders were Israeli supermarket mogul Rami Levi and Palestinian-American businessman Bashar Al-Masri, who made the highest offer. However, in January 2011, the bondholders rejected Al Masri's offer in favor of a significantly lower offer from Levi and his Australian Jewish partner, Kevin Bermeister, in order to keep the project in Jewish hands.

The Jabal Mukabber settlement project is a key link in an evolving chain of settlements being built inside Arab areas to break up Arab continuity and establish Israeli domination over East Jerusalem, thus making it virtually impossible to create a viable Palestinian capital.

Abu Dis

Abu Dis is situated just east of the Jerusalem municipal border. Between 1920 and 1930, the Agudat HaDayarim Jewish Cooperative Society was created in Jerusalem in order to establish Jewish neighborhoods for its members. In 1928, the Agudat purchased 598 dunums of land in the area known today as Abu Dis - due to its proximity to the Old City - in order to build a 'garden community' (homes with agricultural fields). Despite acquiring the legal title to the area, the increasingly tense relationships between Arabs and Jews during the time of the Arab revolts in Jerusalem resulted in the initiative being abandoned.

After the 1967 War, Abu Dis came under the jurisdiction of the General Custodian of the State of Israel. When the Israeli government annexed areas of land to municipal Jerusalem, some 10% of Abu Dis territory remained inside Jerusalem proper, with the remainder located beyond the Green Line. About 60-70 dunums of that land is owned by the Agudat and designated for a settlement project.

The seizure of Abu Dis land began in June 2000, when a group of right-wing MKs and Jerusalem yeshiva students erected a barbed wire fence and planted olive tree saplings on confiscated property in Abu Dis. On 22 May 2000, the Israeli Minis-



Kidmat Zion

try of Housing endorsed plans for a new settlement in the area to house - initially - some 200 settlers. In early 2004, the WJM approved the construction of the new **Kidmat Zion** settlement - to consist, eventually, of 400 housing units, a kindergarten, a school, and a synagogue on some 64 dunums. On I May 2004, four settler families from Ateret Cohanim, equipped with generators and personal items, moved into two homes in the area (Bet Ha'Achim and Bet Sara). The land in question - most of which is said to have been purchased by Jewish American millionaire Irving Moskowitz - is located next to the separation barrier, opposite the unfinished Palestinian parliament building.

As a result of pressure from the US, construction at the site was put on hold but in March 2008, Shas Chairman Eli Yishai demanded that then Prime Minister Olmert immediately unfreeze the construction ban. As Jerusalem's new Mayor, one of Nir Barkat's first acts was to resume the construction of 230 apartments in late 2008. However, on 24 March 2009, the WJM's legal adviser, Yossi Havilio, froze the plan in response to a request by Meretz city councilman Pepe Alalo and attorney Danny Seideman of Ir Amim on the grounds that there had al-

ready been illegal construction by the settlers which could not be approved retroactively. In March 2010, Ha'aretz reported that construction of 400 new units in Kidmat Zion were in advanced stages of approval and/or implementation.

Today, an estimated 15 settlers live in the two occupied houses but it is extremely likely that Ateret Cohanim will push for the revival of the project.

In addition to the settler activities mentioned above, there is also the Israeli government's ongoing settlement policy in the wider metropolitan area of Jerusalem.

BUILDING AND EXPANSION OF SETTLEMENTS WITHIN THE MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

At least 66% of Jerusalem today is territory that was seized by force (5% being former Jordanian Municipality territory and 61% former West Bank territory). Within this area, Israel has expropriated over 23,380 dunums of mostly Palestinianowned land - over one-third of East Jerusalem - for the construction of Israeli settlements since 1967 (FMEP, Report on Israeli Settlement, May-June 1999). The settlements form two rings around the city, with the inner ring running within the municipal boundaries and the outer ring ('Greater Jerusalem') reaching far into the West Bank. The Greater Jerusalem plan is a political rather than geographical concept that follows Israel's vision of a metropolitan Jerusalem stretching from Ramallah (north) to Hebron (south), and from Jericho (east) to Bet Shemesh (west) and covering some 30% of the West Bank. The total area involved amounts to 440 km², of which less than a quarter lies within pre-1967 Israeli borders.

Contrary to Israeli obligations under international law, the Road Map, and the Annapolis Conference, settlements are being expanded, constructed, or planned at an unprecedented pace within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, where currently some 200,000 Israeli settlers live. This is part of Israel's overall plan to form a settlement belt around Palestinian East Jerusalem, create a future border demarcation with the Palestinians, and secure Israeli sovereignty over the entire region.

The following is an overview of the projects or plans currently underway in this region (clockwise from north to south, see also Map p. 12-13).

Ramat Shlomo

Ramat Shlomo- today home to 18,000 mostly Ultra-Orthodox settlers - was founded in 1995 (then known as Rekhes Shu'fat) on lands adjacent to Shu'fat. On 13 June 2008, the WJM District Planning and Construction Committee agreed on the construction of 1,300 new housing units in the settlement, all on land originally designated as a "green area" to preserve its ecological diversity. On 10 March 2010 - one day after US Vice President Joe Biden arrived in the region in a bid to resume peace talks - Israeli Interior Minister Eli Yishai approved a plan to build another 1,600 120m² housing units on 580 dunums of land.

On 7 June 2011, the Israeli Interior Ministry and the Construction and Planning Committee prepared to officially ap-



Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies

prove 4,100 units in settlements in occupied East Jerusalem, including 1,600 units in Ramat Shlomo (Plan 11085) (Saed Bannoura, Israel Prepares to Approve 4100 New



Units For Israeli Settlers In East Jerusalem, IMEMC, 7 June 2011, http://www.imemc.org/article/61391). In a related development, on 19 June 2011, the Israeli Ministry of Interior approved ten town plans (Nos. 14000 A-14000 I), each dealing with further areas of Ramat Shlomo and cumulatively allowing each of the approximately 2,200 existing units to add a room (Terrestrial Jerusalem, http://t-j.org.il/LatestDevelopments/tabid/1370/currentpage/1/articleID/277/Default.aspx).

On 11 August 2011, Interior Minister Yishai announced final approval for the 1,600 new units in Ramat Shlomo, linking the move to the protests within Israel regarding the economy and housing (http://www.nad-plo.org/etemplate.php?id=302). If implemented, the Ramat Shlomo plan will almost double the size of the existing settlement.



♦ Ramot

On 28 January 2008, a Town Planning Scheme was released for public review indicating construction plans for some 1,300 residential units, 105 of them beyond the Green Line. The aim of this plan is to fill the "gap" between Ramot and **Beit Iksa** village. According to a report by the Negotiations Affairs Department (December 2008), Town Planning Schemes for 338 units were approved in the period between the Annapolis Conference and November 2008, while 1,600 units were awaiting final approval. On 11 March 2010, *Ha'aretz* revealed that of

the 20,000 East Jerusalem settlement units currently in advanced stages of approval and implementation, 1,200 units were earmarked for Ramot. On 14 February 2011, the municipal council



approved the construction of 120 new homes in the settlement (Plan No. 8186), but in April 2011, Interior Minister Eli Yishai, pressured by Netanyahu, instructed the WJM District Planning and Construction Committee to postpone discussion

on Ramot (along with three other major housing projects). On 14 June 2011, the Jerusalem Sub-committee for Accelerated Construction convened for the first time and expedited the construction of 105 units in the **Mitzpeh Naftoah** area of Ramot (Plan No. 6885). Earlier in the year, the government had removed the site from its list of protected forested areas (Rinat, Z., "It's not easy staying green," *Ha'aretz*, 28 March 2011).

On 21 July 2011, Israeli bulldozers reportedly began to uproot olive groves in Beit Iksa, adjacent to Ramot, apparently to make way for a wall to be erected along the village's southern and western sides (The Palestinian Information Center, http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/ 22 July 2011).

♦ Atarot / Qalandia Airport

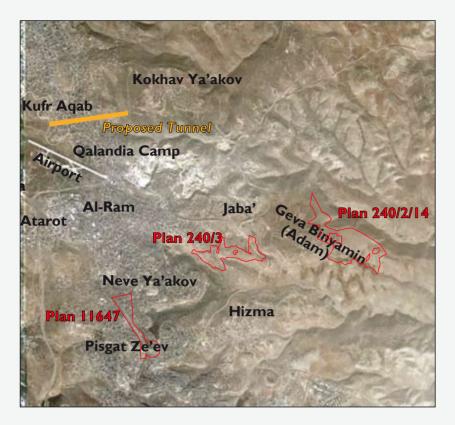
On 27 February 2007, Ha'aretz published a report on new Israeli plans to build an Ultra-Orthodox settlement with 11,000 units near Qalandia Airport and the Atarot Industrial Zone. The report also revealed plans to connect that area with Kokhav Ya'akov settlement east of Ramallah via a tunnel passing beneath Kufr Aqab and the separation barrier. In December 2007, Israeli Housing Minister Ze'ev Boim announced that his ministry "was looking into building a new Jewish neighborhood with 10,000 apartments in Atarot" see map overleaf). However, largely due to US pressure, the plan was put "under study". It was not the first time that the area made headlines as a potential site for a new settlement scheme and it is likely that efforts to implement the plan will reemerge. If approved, it would eventually ensure complete Israeli hold over Jerusalem. At the moment, the separation barrier carves out the Atarot Industrial Zone as part of Israeli Jerusalem, while Qalandia refugee camp and the areas around it, including the lerusalem neighborhoods of Kufr Agab and Semiramis, are kept within the Palestinian (West Bank) area. The Jerusalem 2000 Master Plan recommends Atarot become the main area for traditional industries in East Jerusalem, and calls for the transfer of garages, car repair and body shop businesses from the Wadi Joz to Atarot.

Jerusalem Mayor Barkat was quoted as favoring the government intention to help the city rezone Atarot to become a huge industrial and hi-tech park.

Most recently, on 12 September 2011, city council member Yair Gabai of the right-wing National Union Party suggested reviving the shelved plan for a new 10,000-unit settlement in the area and suggested changing the Jerusalem Master Plan by rezoning the area as a residential neighborhood. According to the Israeli press, the District Planning Committee, supported by Jerusalem City Hall, is seeking to push ahead with the plan (http://www.theyeshivaworld.com/article.php?p=103297).







Neve Ya'acov (see also paragraph on Geva Binyamin below)

In late 2009, the ILA and the Ministry of Construction and Housing announced tender no. 383/2009 for 309 residential and commercial units in three complexes in Neve Ya'acov. On 3 January 2010, a new plan for 393 housing units was validated, paving the way for the announced tender, which was officially published on 11 March 2010. That same day, *Ha'aretz* revealed that 450 out of some 20,000 units currently in advanced stages of approval and implementation throughout Jerusalem were intended for Neve Ya'acov.

During the Netanyahu government's 10-month partial settlement freeze (December 2009-September 2010), the Jerusalem Municipality approved, among other projects, 377 new units in Neve Ya'acov (http://english.aljazeera.net/24 January 2011).

Other settlement-related issues include the route of the separation barrier, which in the Neve Ya'acov area provides land for potential expansion, and the construction of roads. On 23 January 2011, the WJM Planning and Construction Committee approved plans for a new road connecting the Pisgat Ze'ev and Neve Ya'acov settlements with Road 443, annexing some 85 dunums of Palestinian land in Beit Hanina (The Palestinian Information Center, http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/ 23 January 2011).



♦ Pisgat Ze'ev

On 2 June 2008, the Israeli government invited three separate tenders for the construction of 668 units in Pisgat Ze'ev (one for 196, one for 220, and the third for 252 housing units). In September 2009, tenders for the construction of only 486 units were awarded, while the remaining 182 failed. Two further tenders were issued on 31 December 2009 and tenders were subsequently awarded for 126 units (3 March 2010) and another 24 units (24 June 2010). On 12 July 2010, the WJM District Planning Committee approved building permits for 32 new units in Pisgat Ze'ev, despite opposition expressed by the Obama administration. These are part of Town Plan No. 8151 for a total of 220 units, which was formally approved on 2 March 2007 and was among the tenders awarded in September 2009; the contractor subsequently applied for building permits on 10 November 2009. Work preparing the ground for infrastructure, streets, etc. began on 21 June 2010. There are currently 454 (out of the aforementioned 486) building permits pending approval (Lara Friedman and Hagit Ofran, Pisgat Zeev in

the Headlines – What Does it Mean? http://settlementwatcheastjerusalem.wordpress.com/2010/07/12/pisgat-zeev/">http://settlementwatcheastjerusalem.wordpress.com/2010/07/12/pisgat-zeev/).

In late February 2010, it was reported that the WJM District Planning Committee had approved the construction of 600 new homes in Pisgat Ze'ev settlement (reduced from an original 1,100 units after it was revealed that much of the earmarked land was owned privately by Palestinians) (Ma'an News, 26 February 2010).

In addition, plans for a total of 50,000 settlement units in Jerusalem were revealed in March 2010, some 20,000 of which were in advanced stages of approval and implementation, including 1,500 for Pisgat Ze'ev (Ha'aretz, 11 March 2010).

In December 2010, the WJM District Planning and Construction Committee announced another plan – approved in 2008 but put on hold due to faults - to build a new neighborhood of 625 housing units to be called **North Pisgat Ze'ev**. The plan was deposited for public review but due to external pressure, further discussion on it was postponed twice. However, in late March 2011, the Committee approved the construction of the 625 units (along with 983 others in Har Homa) (*Ha'aretz*, 29 March 2011). On 11 August 2011, Israeli Interior Minister Eli Yishai gave final approval for the 625 new units (Plan No. 11647) and for plans for an additional 2,700 East Jerusalem units to be announced in future, including 700 in Pisgat Ze'ev.

In addition, 32 units out of a total of 122 new settler homes approved by the West Jerusalem Municipality on 17 January 2011 were allotted to Pisgat Ze'ev (AFP, 17 January 2011). Most recently, in early October 2011, the WJM granted permits for 11 new units, originally part of a 2008 ILA/Construction Ministry tender (Plan No. 8150).

In January 2010, Israeli bulldozers began work on the second part of the bypass road in Beit Hanina to link the Neve Ya'acov and Pisgat Ze'ev settlements with bypass Road No. 443. The



land for this road was confiscated in 2001 under the pretext of "public interest" as part of the Eastern Ring Road network. Work is also underway to connect Begin 4 Road with Road No. 20 leading from Pisgat Ze'ev to Neve Ya'acov (Plan No. 13456) on 85 dunums of land confiscated from the Jaber, Amin, Suleiman, Abu Zahriyya, and Abu Libdeh families in Beit Hanina in January 2011 (http://www.arij.org/publications/January%20Monthly%20Report%202011.pdf).

If the entire Pisgat Ze'ev plan is implemented, the settlement and nearby Palestinian Beit Hanina will be merged together in such a way that it would be extremely difficult to carve out a reasonable future border in the area.



Closely connected to this scenario is adjacent **Tel el-Ful** (Hill of Beans in English, Givat Shaul, "Hill of Saul" in Hebrew), a hilltop between Shu'fat and Beit Hanina which was to become the site of a palace for King Hussein before construction was interrupted by the 1967 War; (the foundation of the building remains there today). After 1967, the land was transferred to the ILA, which claims ownership of 200 dunums of land and has called for the evacuation and destruction of existing buildings (Margalit, Meir. Seizing Control of Space in East Jerusalem, 2010).

♦ Sha'ar Mizrahi in the Shu'fat-Anata Area

In August 2008, settlers made their first attempts to establish a new outpost (Sha'ar Mizrahi or Shaare HaMizrah - Eastern Gateway) on a hill located between French Hill and Anata, near the Ras Shehadeh neighborhood of Shu'fat Refugee Camp and Bypass Road No.1 linking Ma'ale Adumim to Jerusalem. The plan included 2,000 housing units on the estimated 180 dunums, currently defined as agricultural property, and the only open space available in the area between Shu'fat Camp, Anata and Al-Issawiyya. The idea of a settlement at the site is part of the larger Ma'ale Adumin Bloc project first discussed over nine years ago. In September 2008, Israeli police evicted settlers from the site, but in mid-October Jerusalem mayoral candidate Nir Barkat, who later won the municipal elections and is an outspoken supporter of a greater Jewish presence in East Jerusalem, expressed support for the project. If realized, the plan will prevent the territorial contiguity of a future Palestinian state, while adding to the establishment of a permanent Jewish presence between Ma'ale Adumim and Jerusalem. In early February 2009, the WJM gave the green light to Aryeh King to proceed with the Plan. King - founder of the Israel Land Fund and an Ateret Cohanim member who himself lives in the Ma'ale Hazeitim enclave - represents the alleged Jewish landowner Eliyahu Cohanim, who claims he has held the title deed to the property since 1970 when he bought it from another Jew, who had purchased it from an Arab. King has also campaigned hard to have the route of the separation barrier in the area changed as the current path will leave the planned

Jewish settlement on the "Arab" side of the barrier. A Tel Aviv court is yet to make a ruling on the matter.

In March 2010, dozens of Palestinian families in the northeastern part of Anata were ordered by the Israeli authorities to evacuate the area, with eight families receiving house demolition orders in preparation for



construction of the settlement (JCSER, Israeli Violations of Palestinian Human Rights in Jerusalem March 2010, April 2010).

♦ East Talpiot (Talpiot Mizrach)

The settlement of East Talpiot was erected on some 2,000 dunums of land confiscated from the Palestinian villages of Sur Baher and Sheikh Saad. Today, some 13,000 settlers live there. In February 2009, Israel began construction - initially approved in 2000 - on over 60 new housing units in three 7-8 storey buildings for Orthodox Jews. The project was marketed as part of the development of East Talpiot, but in fact the 3.5-dunum building site is surrounded on three sides by the Palestinian neighborhood of As-Sawahreh. (It should be noted that construction for As-Sawahreh residents is restricted, if ever permitted, to three apartment structures and two floors per dunum. In addition, plans to construct a new Palestinian neighborhood of 2,500 housing units on private Sawahreh land were frozen on 23 June 2011, when it became clear that the Haredi and right-wing municipal council members were determined to obstruct the plan).

On 17 January 2011, the WJM council approved the building of another 92 settler homes in East Talpiot, all in a 12-storey building (part of Plan 7984 for a total of 180 housing units).

♦ Har Homa II on Jabal Abu Ghneim

labal Abu Ghneim was a tree-covered hill located within the southern municipal boundaries of Jerusalem that was privately owned by Palestinian families from Beit Sahour, Bethlehem, Sur Baher, and Umm Tuba. In 1968, the WJM classified it as a "green area" - restricting development in order to preserve its ecological diversity. In 1991, Israel confiscated the mountain to build a new settlement. In February 1997, the Israeli government announced that 6,500 lewish homes for some 30,000-40,000 Israelis would be constructed at the site and work began the following month. Palestinian protests led to a breakdown in the peace talks and as a result of intense international pressure, construction was frozen. A few months later, the Israeli government offered to build 3,000 new apartments and 400 government-financed housing units in the nearby Arab neighborhood of Sur Baher. In November 1998, Israel began leveling the hill and advertising for tenders. The construction of apartments began in August 1999. In November 2000, the WJM started planning for an additional 4,000 units (Har Homa B) and in January 2002, the first settlers moved into the settlement.

Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies





Jabal Abu Ghneim prior to the construction of Har Homa and today (below)



In January 2007, the Israeli Ministry of Housing and Construction approved the first 983 units for a new settlement (Har Homa C) west of Har Homa and south of the Mar Elias Monastery. In addition, a new residential area (Khirbet Mazmuria - Har Homa D) is planned southeast of Har Homa, the plan being to extend Har Homa up to the municipal border. However, it is doubtful whether the plan will actually materialize following the decision by Attorney General Menachem Mazuz in February 2005 that it is forbidden to apply the Absentee Owners Property Law within the boundaries of Jerusalem. The WJM's Master Plan Jerusalem 2000 indicates the expansion of Har Homa by 28% (some 1,410 dunums) so that it will eventually spread over 2,500 dunums of land (ARIJ, The Geopolitical Status of the Jerusalem Governorate, December 2006).

Shortly after the Annapolis Conference on 4 December 2007, Israel issued tenders for the construction of 307 new homes in Har Homa and at the end of that month, Peace Now revealed that Israel's 2008 budget included NIS 50 million for the construction of 500 new homes in the settlement. In early June 2008, Israeli Housing Minister Ze'ev Boim announced tenders for 121 housing units. On 9 July 2008 the Har Homa C plan to build 910 new homes to the south and east of the current construction line was submitted for public review. A related issue of concern is that - in direct contradiction to the Attorney General's order - large parts of the lands planned for further construction in Har Homa belong to Palestinians from the Bethlehem-Beit Sahour area who were declared "absentees" after the 1967 War.

Town Planning Schemes for 2,653 housing units were approved in the period between the Annapolis Conference and November 2008 alone (Negotiations Affairs Department, December 2008). In February 2009, the WJM approved 14 new housing units and a public structure (*Ha'aretz*, 12 Feb. 2009) and a year later, the ILA published a tender to build 117 new housing units in Har Homa. On 11 March 2010, *Ha'aretz* revealed that 20,000 (out of a total of 50,000) housing units in settlements throughout Jerusalem were in advanced stages of approval and implementation, 1,500 of them in Har Homa. On 5 November 2010, the WJM District Planning and Construction Committee approved for deposit for public review Plan No. 10310 for the construction of 983 housing units in Har Homa C, as well as Plan No. 12825 for the construction of 42 housing units in Har Homa (http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=311&ArticleID=1003).

On 14 February 2011, the Jerusalem municipal council approved the construction of 19 synagogues in Har Homa. Yet, one week later, the WJM District Planning and Construction Committee announced that it would not approve a plan to expand Har Homa settlement by almost 243 dunums with 50 housing units and a new access road (http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4031965,00.html). In late March, the WJM District Planning and Construction Committee approved the construction of 983 housing units in Har Homa (along with 625 others in Pisgat Ze'ev) (Ha'aretz, 29 March 2011). In early June, the Israeli Interior Ministry and the Construction and Planning Committee prepared the official approval for 4,100 units in East Jerusalem settlements, including 940 units in Har Homa (Saed Bannoura, Israel Prepares To Approve 4100 New Units For Israeli Settlers In East Jerusalem, IMEMC, 7 June 2011 http://www.imemc.org/article/61391).

On 4 August 2011, the WJM approved two plans for Har Homa: 983 units for Har Homa C (Plan No. 10310) and 50 units (including public buildings) in Har Homa B (Plan No. 12825). Har Homa C involves construction beyond the settlement's existing built-up area in the direction of Bethlehem/Beit Sahour and will make any future border in the area impossible (<http://t-j.org.il/LatestDevelopments/tabid/1370/articlelD/297/currentpage/1/Default.aspx>).

Data from the 2011-2012 state budget shows that the Housing Ministry allocated NIS 114 million in 2011 and NIS 124 million in 2012 for the item "Development in Har Homa", where in 2011 alone, 500 housing units were to be sold (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/price-maintaining-territories-data-2011-2012-budget).





♦ Givat Hamatos / Beit Safafa

In February 2008, the WJM's city manager, Yair Ma'ayan, revealed construction plans for Givat Hamatos, a caravan village housing Ethiopian Jews since 1991. The site in question is located northwest of the Mar Elias Monastery, south of the Talpiot industrial area and west of the Beit Safafa/Hebron Road. The issue of ownership is complex, involving Israeli, Palestinian, and church property, which has – so far - hindered implementation of the plan. However, if implemented, the Givat Hamatos plans will not only cut Beit Safafa off from other Palestinian areas and severely limit the residents' rights to utilize their land, but also render it very complicated to delineate a viable future border in the area (as it will be impossible to include Beit Safafa in the envisaged Palestinian state).



The proposed neighborhood, drawn up by the ILA, envisages high-rise buildings, a hotel, and a bypass road connecting to nearby Gilo and Har Homa settlements. Building plans for 3,150 of the total of 4,000 units were submitted for public review in March and May 2008. In July 2008, construction of 2,500 housing units was approved.

The overall project is divided into four plans: Plan 5834 A for 2,337 housing units was approved for validation in September 2008, Plan 5834 B for another 549 units was deposited in January 2010, Plan 5934 C for 813 housing units was discussed at the WJM District Planning Committee in February 2010, and Plan 5934 D for 1,100 hotel rooms has not yet been approved for deposit (http://www.ir-amim.org.il/eng/?CategoryID=313, http://www.arij.org/publications/April_Monthly_Report_2011.pdf>).

On 22 February 2010, the Planning and Construction Committee ratified plans for 549 settler units in five-six-storey buildings on a plot of 153 dunums near Beit Safafa, west of Hebron Road (<www.poica.org/editor/case_studies/view.php?recordID=2398>) and on 11 March 2010, Ha'aretz revealed that plans for 3,500 housing units in Givat Hamatos were in advanced stages of approval and implementation.

A plan to construct 1,362 housing units in Givat Hamatos was due to be discussed by the WJM District Planning and Construction Committee on 7 October 2010 but was shelved (http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=311&ArticleID=1003). On 18 April 2011, Al-Quds newspaper reported that the Municipality had approved the plan for a new 549-unit settlement on 153 dunums near Beit Safafa and on 11 August 2011, Interior Minister Eli Yishai announced final approval for 2,337 new units (Givat Hamatos Plan 5834 A) (<t-j.org.il/LatestDevelopments/tabid/1370/.../1/.../306/Default.aspx>). On 11 October 2011, Israel published a reparcelization plan (Plan No. 14295) for the area covered by the above mentioned plan 5834 A for Givat Hamatos, now calling for the construction of 2,610 units, one third of them possibly as part of an expansion of Palestinian Beit Safafa. The public now has eight weeks to submit any appeals against the plan, which will establish the first new East Jerusalem settlement in 14 years (since Har Homa 1997 during Prime Minister Netanyahu's first term).

There have also been repeated incidents of attempted settler takeovers of Palestinian houses in Beit Safafa. Recent cases include the home of the Salah family, who were forced to leave their house in May 2010 following a lengthy struggle through the Israeli courts, and the Zawahra family home, which was attacked on 22 June 2011.

♦ Gilo

Gilo was established in 1971 and currently houses over 30,000 settlers. The settlement has been expanded on a continuous basis and the planned route of the separation barrier deviates from the Green Line to incorporate the settlement, as well as nearby Har Gilo.

In March 2009, the Israeli government announced plans for a huge 2,570-unit housing project in Gilo, with 860 units to be constructed in the first stage (http://www.poica.org/editor/case_studies/view.php?recordID=2272). In October 2009, a plan for 398 units on some 624 dunums of land near Mar Elias was approved (first submitted in 2001). The creation of this new settlement (West Homat Shmuel), which Israel describes as a suburb of Har Homa, will provide a missing link between Gilo and Har Homa. On 17 November 2009, the WJM District Planning and

Construction Committee gave initial approval to Plan No. 13157, initiated by the ILA, to construct 900 housing units in Gilo (*Ha'aretz*, 18 November 2009).





Ongoing construction in Gilo settlement

units in Gilo were in advanced stages of approval and implementation. In July 2010, the ILA submitted two new Town Planning Schemes for the construction of 300 units in areas east of Gilo (Plan Nos. I 3676 and I 3677) along the Tunnel Road/Route 60 (http://www.ir-amim.org.il/eng/?CategoryID=328).

On 29 November 2010, the Israeli authorities approved a request to rezone an area in Gilo to allow the construction of 130 new housing units on a plot of land originally designated for a hotel (AFP, 29 November 2010). The plan - three large buildings adjacent to Beit Safafa (Plan No. 13290 A) was approved for deposit for public review by the District Planning Committee on 14 December 2010 (http://www.ir-amim.org.il/Eng/?CategoryID=311&ArticleID=1003).

On 4 April 2011, the WJM Planning and Construction Committee approved the construction of 942 new housing units southwest of Gilo settlement (Mordot Gilo South - Plan 13261), in addition to commercial and public buildings and roads (Jerusalem Post, 4 April 2011). Plans for another 850-900 units (Mordot Gilo West - Plan No. 13157) were published for public review (Ha'aretz, 4 April 2011). On 4 July, the latter plan was approved by the WJM and passed to the District Planning Committee for consideration. The plans – both on the western slopes of Gilo - complement the Givat Yael project (see below) to further seal Jerusalem off from the Bethlehem area and hamper the delineation of a future border. (Terrestrial Jerusalem, Jerusalem Mu-

Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies



nicipal "Approval" of Mordot Gilo Plan, 9 July 2011, available at http://www.t-j.org.il/LatestDevelopments/tabid/1370/currentpage/6/articleID/292/Default.aspx).

On 27 September 2011, the WJM District Planning Committee approved the Mordot Gilo (Gilo Slopes) Plan 13261 for public review. The move made headlines as "1,100 new units approved in Gilo" but, in fact, the exact size of the plan is unknown, ranging – according to the Committee's agenda - somewhere between 780-1380 units (https://www.t-j.org.il/LatestDevelopments/tabid/1370/articlelD/355/currentpage/1/Default.aspx).

♦ Givat Yael / Walajeh

The village of Walajeh, located in southern Jerusalem close to Bethlehem (both inside and beyond the West Jerusalem municipality border), has traditionally been associated with the cultivation of vineyards, olive trees, wheat, barley, and fruits. After the Naqba and the 1948 War, the village was handed to Israel in accordance with the terms of the Armistice Agreement signed with Jordan on 3 April 1949, which stipulated that the southern Jerusalem boundary line would run along the Jerusalem-Jaffa railway line. Walajeh was situated to the north (now the site of Jerusalem's Biblical Zoo) so the villagers left their homes and moved south of the tracks into Jordanian territory, where much of their land was located. Since they had UNRWA refugee status, many also moved into the Dheisheh or Shu'fat refugee camps.

After the 1967 War, the boundaries of the expanded East Jerusalem, annexed illegally by Israel, brought nearly the entire area of the new village within Jerusalem's city limits (the remainder

becoming part of Israel proper, located on the other side of the Green Line.) However, although the land was annexed, its



residents were not absorbed and they were consequently not included in the subsequent Israeli 1967 census. As a result, they received West Bank identity cards instead of Jerusalem residency cards to which they were legally entitled.

Today, the approximately 2,000 residents of Walajeh, although living in Jerusalem, depend on the Palestinian Authority for all their services as the Israeli Ministry of Interior still refuses to issue them with Jerusalem ID cards (permanent residency). Their village, meanwhile, is surrounded on all sides by Jewish settlements (Har Gilo and Betar Illit).

The Givat Yael (sometimes known as Nof Yael) settlement project was launched in June 2004 with the aim to provide 13,000 housing units for 45,000 settlers (as well as commercial areas, a sports club, and a park) on 4,110 dunums and to link Jerusalem and the Etzion settlement bloc. The land in question is currently zoned as 'green area' (where construction is forbidden), with half of it lying within city limits and half on the other side of the Green Line. The planned settlement is Israel's largest ever settlement project in Jerusalem with over 1.5 times the population of nearby Gilo settlement and suffocates the village from three sides. The project is promoted

by businessmen Benny and Danny Cohen, who apparently bought 2,500 dunums in the area 20 years ago, although valid ownership deeds have reportedly been produced for only two dunums to date (Ma'an, 12 May 2010).

At about the same time as the new settlement project was launched, the Walajeh checkpoint was established. (Later, on 19 Feb. 2006, it was transformed into a border passage by an Israeli military order according to which some 40 dunums of Walajeh land were confiscated to allow for the construction of a new terminal.) In addition, the revised route of the separation barrier, approved by the Israeli Cabinet on 30 April 2006, included the encirclement of Walajeh, leaving it completely fenced in with only one access road, passing through the Israeli-controlled Har Gilo terminal.

On 17 February 2009, the WJM District Planning Committee rejected a town plan (along with one for the Bustan/Silwan area) that would have legalized hundreds of illegally-built homes, in part due to its unwillingness to legitimize, en masse, "illegal" construction. In early May 2010, the Givat Yael Corporation Ltd. launched a public campaign to persuade the Israeli Defense Ministry to reroute the separation barrier in the area to enable construction of the new settlement (the current route cuts the planned area in two), but later withdrew from bringing the case to court. A month later, over 80 olive trees were uprooted in the village to make way for a section of the barrier, but on 8 November 2010, the Israeli High Court of Justice suspended work on the barrier after submissions from the lawyer for the village, the Society for the Preservation of Nature in Israel (SPNI), and the Israeli Army (Palestine Monitor, Naturalists Complicate Al Walaja's Fight Against the Wall, November 2010). On 23 August 2011, the Israeli Supreme Court rejected a petition by villagers to prevent a 700 meter southern section of the separation barrier from being erected, which would not only cut them off from their farmlands, a cemetery, and water source, but also leave the entire village encircled.

Walaja will be further affected by a planned expansion of Gilo settlement (Plan No. 13157), which was approved on 4 July 2011 (see section on Gilo above).

SETTLEMENT BEYOND THE MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES ('GREATER JERUSALEM')

Besides expanding settlements located within the municipal boundaries (with some 200,000 settlers), Israel also continues to pursues the Greater Jerusalem plan (with an additional 100,000 settlers). The plan is a political concept that follows the vision of a metropolitan Jerusalem covering some 30% of the West Bank from Ramallah (north) to Hebron (south), and from Jericho (east) to Bet Shemesh (west). The total area involved amounts to 440 km², of which less than a quarter lies within pre-1967 Israeli borders. Analysis by Peace Now demonstrates that there are construction plans that will double the size of settlements in this area, including Givat Ze'ev/Agan Ha'Ayalot, Atarot/Qalandia, Geva Binyamin (Adam), Ma'ale Adumim/E-I, and Har Gilo.

The settlement enterprise in this area is assisted by the separation barrier, which will, if completed as planned, include the metropolitan settlement on the Israel/Jerusalem side of it.



Har Adar

Founded in 1986 in an area northwest of Jerusalem, adjacent to the Green Line near Abu Ghosh, Har Adar (originally known as Hivat HaRadar) is today home to some 3,500 settlers. It is located above the Palestinian villages of Biddu, Al-Qubeibeh, Qatanna, and Beit Surik (from which thousands of dunums of land were confiscated) and forms part of the Givon settlement bloc (together with the settlements of Givat Ze'ev, Givon, Ramot, and Har Shmuel) and the Greater Jerusalem scheme.

According to Peace Now, construction on 18 units began in Har Adar in the period between October 2010 and July 2011.

A closely linked issue is the separation barrier, which, if completed, will



Har Adar settlement

run north of Har Adar at the expense of Palestinian-owned land. When a permit regime was applied to the Har Adar gate in January 2009, an estimated 600 farmers from the surrounding areas initially refused to apply and were cut off from their land. Fearing that their land behind the gate might be declared 'state land', farmers then applied for permits in November 2010 and 70 of them received three-week permits. After that, the gates remained closed until April 2011, when they opened for three days only, then reopened on 22 June, along with four other Biddu gates, three times a day for five days a week. Currently only 15 farmers possess permits issued in April (http://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ocha_opt_barrier_update_july_2011_english.pdf).

Har Shmuel

Har Shmuel has been built within the boundaries of the destroyed Arab village **Nabi Samwil** (also Nebi Samuel) and on land confiscated from Beit Surik, on the northwestern border of Jerusalem just outside Ramot settlement. Since Nabi Samwil – the site of the tomb of Prophet Samuel who is holy to both Jews and Muslims - has been defined as a 'nature reserve' by the Israeli authorities, forbidding any new construction, Har Shmuel settlement was built in the municipal jurisdiction of Givat Ze'ev. It has well organized master plans, with options for building and expansion, while the remaining Arab villagers are cut off from all services and transportation; checkpoints prevent them from driving cars in and out of their village.

The latest Peace Now figures show that construction on 23 units began in Har Shmuel during October 2010 and July 2011.



Har Shmuel settlement in the foreground

♦ Givat Ze'ev - Agan Ha'Ayalot

The Agan Ha'Avalot (Gazelle Basin) neighborhood west of Givat Ze'ev was first approved in 1999 and the ILA began selling plots for 546 housing units. Some of the 11 contractors who won tenders started construction work, but interest was low because the site was too far from Givat Ze'ev, lacked infrastructure, and was accessible only via Route 443, which, apart from being vulnerable to attacks, also led to Modi'in, which was competing for potential buyers. Coupled with this was US pressure to halt the construction and the project was frozen in 2000. Nevertheless, when Palestinians from nearby Beit Surik filed a petition in 2003, the State justified the route of the separation barrier through the area by referring to the need to protect a new settlement - Agan Ha'Ayalot. In March 2008, three months after the Annapolis Conference, the Israeli Housing Ministry announced plans for some 2,000 new housing units in settlements, including 750 in Agan Ha'Ayalot, where construction started a month later.

In August 2010, eight months into the 10-month settlement freeze, Peace Now reported violations in Givat Ze'ev, where 40 units were still being constructed (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/node/99). According to Peace Now, construction on 92 new units began in Givat Ze'ev in the period between October 2010 and July 2011 (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/ConstructionReport0911Eng).

On 21 April 2011, Israeli Army Radio reported that the Israeli Ministry of Housing had deposited plans to build a new 800-unit neighborhoodsouthofthe



Givat Ze'ev settlement expansion

settlement in a bid to link it with Jerusalem (http://www.peacenow.org.il/eng/content/interim-report-settlement-activity-end-moratorium-0).

♦ Kokhav Ya'akov

Kokhav Ya'akov, some 11 km north of Jerusalem, was founded in 1984 and today houses almost 6,000 settlers. One of its neighborhoods - Ultra-Orthodox Tel Zion, which was established in 1990 - presents itself as separate settlement and its website declares the ultimate plan to eventually become a town of over 35,000 people.

The settlement made headlines shortly after the November 2007 Annapolis Conference when plans were revealed for the construction of 11,000 housing units in Atarot near Qalandia, to be linked with Kokhav Ya'akov through a road tunnel. However, amidst international protests, the plan was dropped in December 2007 (see also map on page 16).

There are two outposts – Kokhav Ya'akov East and West – which were established in 2002 and 2003 and currently consist of one permanent house and three mobile



Kokhav Ya'akov settlement

Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies



homes. In August 2009, an unauthorized trailer neighborhood was created on privately-owned Palestinian land within the settlement of Kokhav Ya'akov.

In the first six weeks after the end of the settlement freeze in September, construction in Kokhav Ya'akov began on 27 new houses and foundations for another 18 were prepared (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/6-weeks-settlers-almost-made-10-months-settlement-freeze). Between October 2010 and July 2011, Peace Now reported the start of construction on 19 units.

♦ Geva Binyamin

The Geva Binyamin settlement (also referred to as Adam) was established in 1984, some two km north of the municipal boundary of Jerusalem and 6.5 km from the Green Line. It is situated outside (east of) the separation barrier, but a substantial part of its jurisdictional area to the west of the built-up area is included on the 'Israeli' side of the barrier. It forms a contiguous bloc with the Neve Ya'acov settlement, which lies within the municipal boundaries in East Jerusalem. Expansion of the settlement with 1,500 housing units (Plan No. 240/3) is, in effect, an expansion of Neve Ya'acov, to which the new neighborhood will be attached with the aim to connect Geva Binyamin to the east and expand Jerusalem's borders further into the West Bank. Most of the land covered by the plan has been declared State land - at the expense of land belonging to the Palestinian village of Hizma. The project was first revealed in March 2007 and one year later, the WJM announced plans to build 400 new housing units in Neve Ya'acov. According to a report by the Negotiations Affairs Department (December 2008), 393 units were submitted for public review after the Annapolis Conference and were awaiting final approval. In February 2009, Defense Minister Ehud Barak approved the establishment of a new 250-house settlement next to Adam in exchange for the evacuation of the illegal Migron outpost near Ramallah, whose 45 families would relocate to the as-yet unbuilt neighborhood. The project's first stage will include 50 houses but before construction takes place, a plan (Plan No. 240/2/14) for 1,380 housing units must be drawn up and approved. Most of the land in question belongs to residents from Jaba' village (see also map on page 16).



On 9 May 2011, the Israeli High Court of Justice rejected a petition filed by Palestinians from Jaba', Yesh Din, and Bimkom – Planners for Planning Rights against the planned neighborhood and the route of the separation barrier, which would cut the villagers off from their land.

The Migron case is still pending despite repeated court hearings. On 2 August 2011, the High Court of Justice ordered the state to evacuate the outpost by 31 March 2012 and criticised it for failing to draw up a reasonable evacuation schedule and agreement with the settlers earlier. This casts doubt on whether the eviction will be executed in the foreseeable future.

According to Peace Now, construction on 44 new units began in Geva Binyamin in the period between October 2010 and July 2011.

♦ Ma'ale Adumim and the E-I (East I) Plan

To the northeast of Jerusalem, Israel's separation barrier was constructed some 15 km into the West Bank in order to include the entire Adumim settlement bloc. Israel is pursuing plans to almost triple the current size of Ma'ale Adumim (now with over 34,000 settlers) by developing the area to its east and connect it to Jerusalem. While Ma'ale Adumim's current built-up area is some 7 km², its municipal plan covers a total area of 55 km², stretching almost to the Dead Sea and including, to the north, the contested 12 km²-E-I area (P. Rekacewicz/D. Vidal, "Jerusalem: Whose very own and golden city?" *Monde Diplomatic*, February 2007).



Ma'ale Adumim settlement

While the E-I Plan was - for the time being for political reasons - removed from the agenda, construction of the new 'Judea and Samaria District Police' HQ in the area (see also the section on Ras Al-Amud above) went ahead and was completed in 2008. It is widely seen as a strategic step in claiming the area for further Jewish development.

A 2009 Peace Now report revealed that the Israeli Housing Ministry approved detailed plans for 1,708 units in Ma'ale Adumim and prepared plans for an additional 5,700 units. Its master plan further envisioned another 6,000 housing units in order to expand the settlement for 104,000 settlers. (Peace Now, Ministry of Housing Plans for the West Bank, March 2009).

On 3 May 2009, Israeli Interior Minister Eli Yishai approved recommendations by a special ministerial committee to expand Ma'ale Adumim by 12,000 dunums and added 6,000 housing units in the south. In so doing, the nearby Kedar settlement with its roughly 1,000 settlers will be linked to Ma'ale Adumim and eventually incorporated into its municipality. This will also affect the route of the separation barrier with a single wall encircling both settlements (as opposed to the current recommendation for two separate walls).

Ha'aretz reported that in 2007-08 alone, Israel had invested almost NIS 200 million in infrastructure to prepare for the new neighborhood (Ha'aretz, "Israel plans to build up West Bank corridor on contested land", I February 2009), and a March 2009 Peace Now report revealed plans to double Ma'ale Adumim in size.

On 4 August 2010, the Israeli Ministry of Housing issued a tender for an additional access road north of Ma'ale Adumim, apparently in order to eventually connect it with the controversial E-I plan.

Ma'ale Adumim was granted exceptions to the settlement moratorium with the approval of 89 new units. In the first eight



Israeli Settlement Activities & Related Policies

E-1 PLAN - MEVASSERET ADUMIM

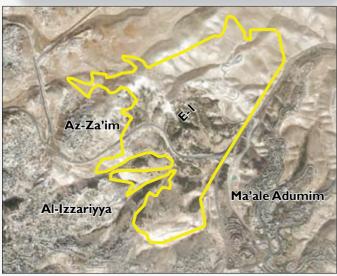
The E-1 plan - dubbed **Mevasseret Adumim** - which has yet to be implemented, envisions a large new Israeli neighborhood in the narrow undeveloped land corridor that runs east of Jerusalem and is part of the West Bank. The plan involves about 12,000 dunums (12 km²) of land, a significant part of which is privately owned Palestinian land. Most of the area was declared 'state land' by Israel in the 1980s.

In 1994, Yitzhak Rabin expanded the borders of Ma'ale Adumim to include the E-1 area but refrained from implementing any construction in accordance with an understanding with the US Administration that the fate of the area would be determined within the framework of the peace process. The Netanyahu government (1996-99) attempted to expedite the E-1 Plan but it was not formally approved. Under Prime Minister Barak, the plan was placed on the negotiating table at Taba in early 2001 but no construction was initiated.

In 2002, then Defense Minister Ben Eliezer signed the E-1 Master Plan into law, but due (primarily) to US objections, no action was taken until mid-2004, when the Sharon Administration commenced infrastructural work (clearing roads). This action was illegal since no specific town plan existed and thus no permits could be, or were, issued. In April 2005, the Israeli authorities advertised the plan: 3,500 housing units for up to 20,000 settlers, hotels, an industrial park, and commercial and entertainment buildings.

In May 2009, Netanyahu promised the US Administration that Israel would not build in the E1 area, but on 25 March 2010, Israeli Army Radio reported that then-Prime Minister-designate Netanyahu had struck a secret deal with Yisrael Beiteinu leader Avigdor Lieberman to build 3,000 new housing units in the E-1 area (though it was not included in the coalition agreement).

If implemented, the E-1 Plan will cut the West Bank into two and not only grab the last area of open land available for Palestinian development, but also make the establishment of a Palestinian state with territorial contiguity and an agreement on permanent borders practically impossible.



Location of the E-I area

months of the freeze, construction on 21 housing units started (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/node/99) and between October 2010 and July 2011, construction on 91 units began - as well as 120 in adjacent Almon, Kfar Adumim, Alon, and Kedar, all of which are part of the Adumim bloc of settlements (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/ConstructionReport0911Eng).

Since May 2011, there have also been reports of increased settler harassment, demolition, stop-building orders, and property confiscations related to the over 2,300 Bedouins living in the area. Those particularly concerned were the communities of Khan Al Ahmar and Wadi Abu Hindi, whose land near Ma'ale Adumim has been earmarked for the expansion of the settlement and the separation barrier.

Data from the 2011-2012 state budget has shown that the Housing Ministry allocated NIS 58 million in 2011 and NIS 31 million in 2012 for development in Ma'ale Adumim, where 200 housing units were scheduled to be sold in 2011 alone (http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/price-maintaining-territories-data-2011-2012-budget).

♦ Har Gilo

Har Gilo - built on Palestinian land in 1972, particularly affecting Beit Jala and Al-Walajeh, is part of the Etzion Bloc of settlements south of Jerusalem.



Har Gilo settlement expansion

In August 2004, the ILA approved plans for 200 housing units as part of phase one of an overall plan to build 1,084 new duplex apartments. Construction on 286 (not 200!) housing units began in April 2005 and was completed in 2008. Phase two - with a further 480 duplex units - is underway and expected to be completed by 2012. In July 2009, it was reported that the Defense Minister had authorized the construction of, *inter alia*, 149 housing units in Har Gilo – part of the third phase (planning another 318 duplex apartments). Moreover, due to the route of the separation barrier, which is being constructed nearby, additional land will become part of the settlement area.

According to Peace Now, construction on 109 units began in Har Gilo in the period between October 2010 and July 2011

Har Gilo breaks the territorial contiguity of a Palestinian state and its proximity to Al-Walajeh and Beit Jala will render the delineation of future final boundaries difficult.



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