



East Jerusalem: Developments and Trends

(January 1, 2006 - November 15, 2011)

Executive Summary

- During the last year of Olmert's government, after the Annapolis conference in November 2008, there was a surge in the pace and intensity of East Jerusalem settlement construction unprecedented since the massive construction under Golda Meir in the early 1970s.
- During Netanyahu's first year in office, the same high levels of East Jerusalem settlement construction that characterized Olmert's last year as Prime Minister continued unabated.
- After the Biden visit in March 2010, when the announcement of the large Ramat Shlomo settlement scheme angered Washington, all measurable indicators show that Netanyahu put in place a **de facto** freeze on East Jerusalem settlement construction, lasting until October 31, 2010.
- Even during this seven month **de facto** freeze on settlement construction in East Jerusalem, the Netanyahu government engaged in accelerated settler-related activities in and around the Old City of Jerusalem, and events in these areas, like Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah, careened out of control. These activities continue, at a similar accelerated intensity, today.
- Since November 1, 2010, and even more intensely since July 2011, settlement expansion in East Jerusalem, has, according to almost all empirical indicators, significantly surpasses the previously high levels in all categories save one (the publication of tenders, which are at lower levels than those in 2008-2009), while settler related activities – like excavations, arrest of political activists, etc. – proceed apace.

The Methodology

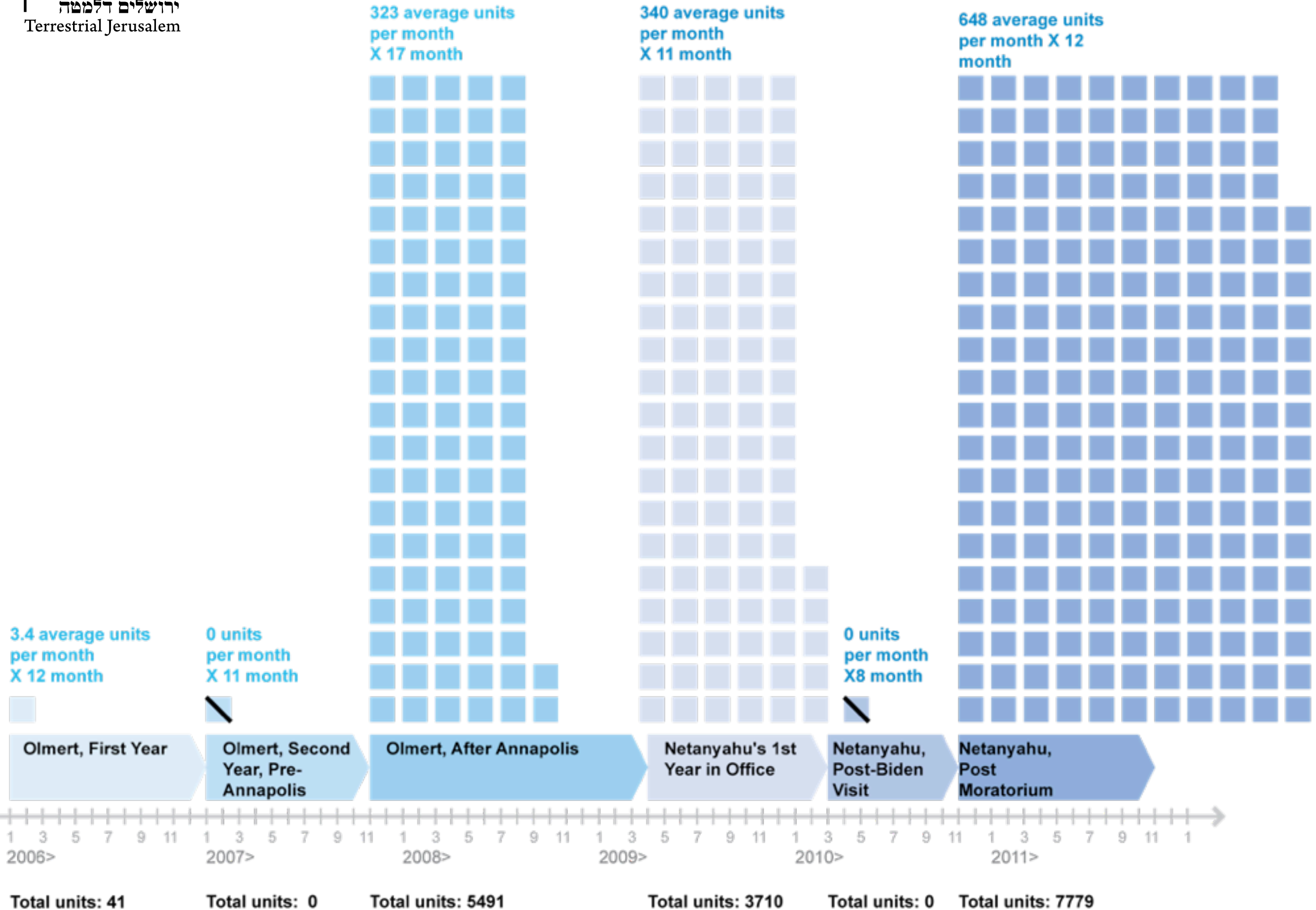
The level of government-sponsored settlement activity in East Jerusalem can be measured by examining four key and empirically verifiable benchmarks: **plans deposited for public review, plans approved, tenders published and commencement of construction in existing Palestinian neighborhoods**. Each of these is a public event, a significant step toward implementation and invariably covered by the press. Each invariably requires a response by the Palestinians:

	2006	2007 until Annapolis, Nov. 2007	Post-Annapolis to end of Olmert's Gov't Nov. 2008-March 2009	Netanyahu's First Year March 2009 - Biden Visit, March 2010	Post-Biden Visit to Post-Moratorium March 2010 - October 2010	Post-Moratorium November 2010 - November 2011
Statutory Plans Deposited for Public Review						
Statutory Plans Approved						
Tenders Issued						
Settlements in Existing Palestinian Neighborhoods						

Plans Deposited for Public Review

(January 1, 2006 - November 15, 2011)

Plans Deposited for Public Review: Average Units Per Month

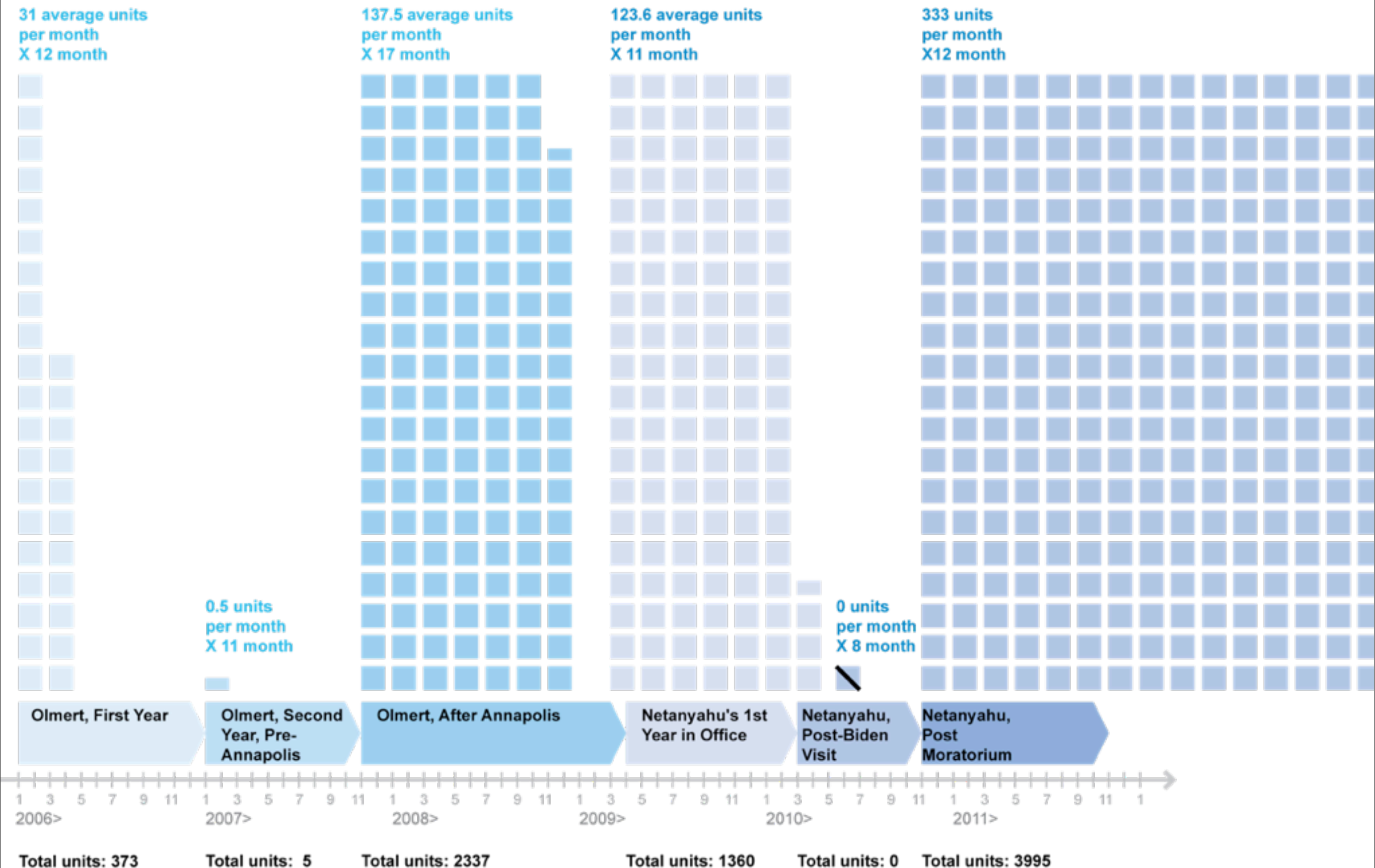


Plans Approved (for Residential Construction)

(January 1, 2006 - November 15, 2011)

Plans Approved for Residential Construction

Average Units per month



Tenders Issued

(January 1, 2006 - November 15, 2011)

Tenders Published: Average Units Per Month

52.5 average units
per month
X 12 month



Olmert, First Year

1 3 5 7 9 11
2006>

Total units: 630

4.2 average units
per month
X 11 month

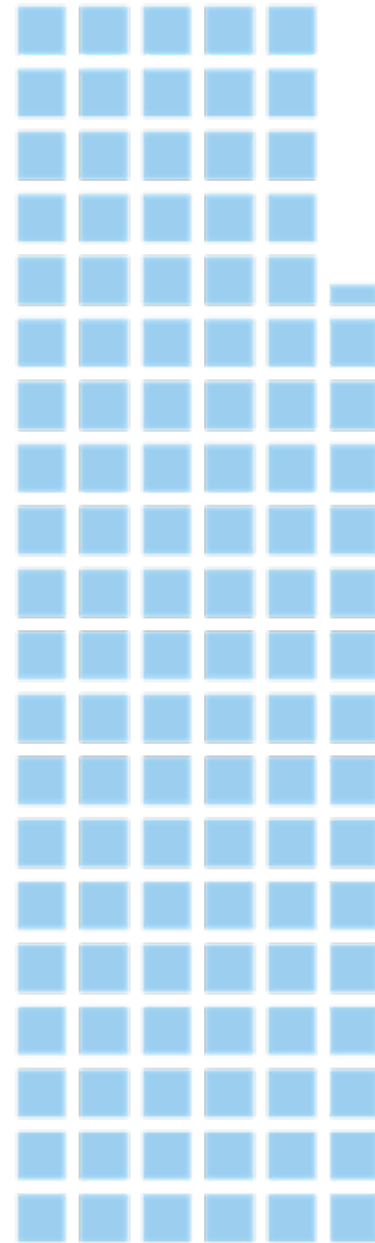


Olmert, Second
Year, Pre-
Annapolis

1 3 5 7 9 11
2007>

Total units: 46

115.4 average units
per month
X 17 month

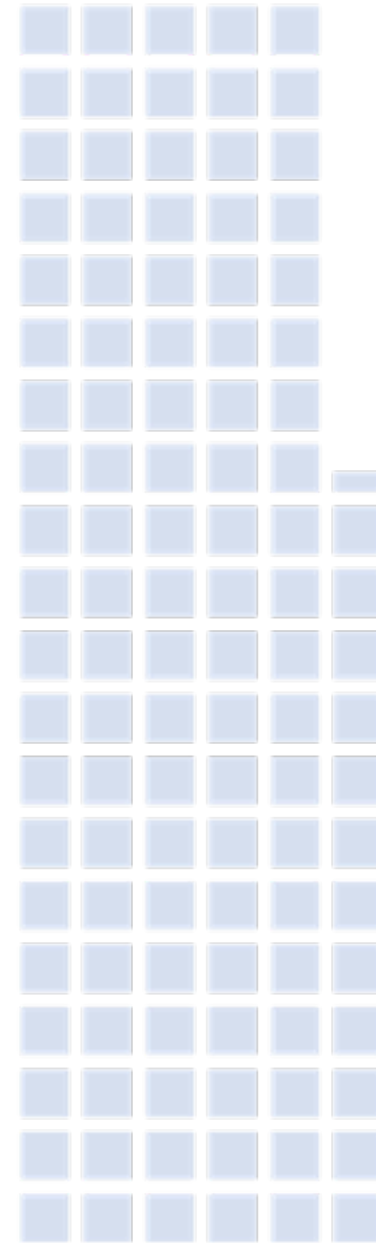


Olmert, After Annapolis

1 3 5 7 9 11
2008>

Total units: 1961

112.4 average units
per month
X 11 month



Netanyahu's 1st
Year in Office

1 3 5 7 9 11
2009>

Total units: 1236

0 units
per month
X 8 month

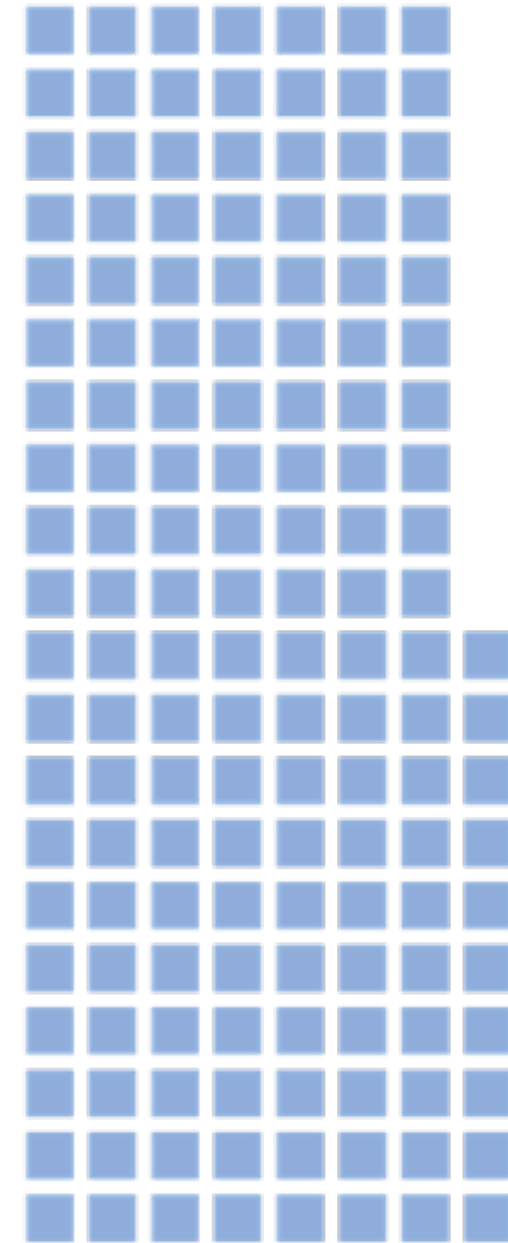


Netanyahu,
Post-Biden
Visit

1 3 5 7 9 11
2010>

Total units: 0

149.6 average units
per month X 12
month



Netanyahu,
Post
Moratorium

1 3 5 7 9 11
2011>

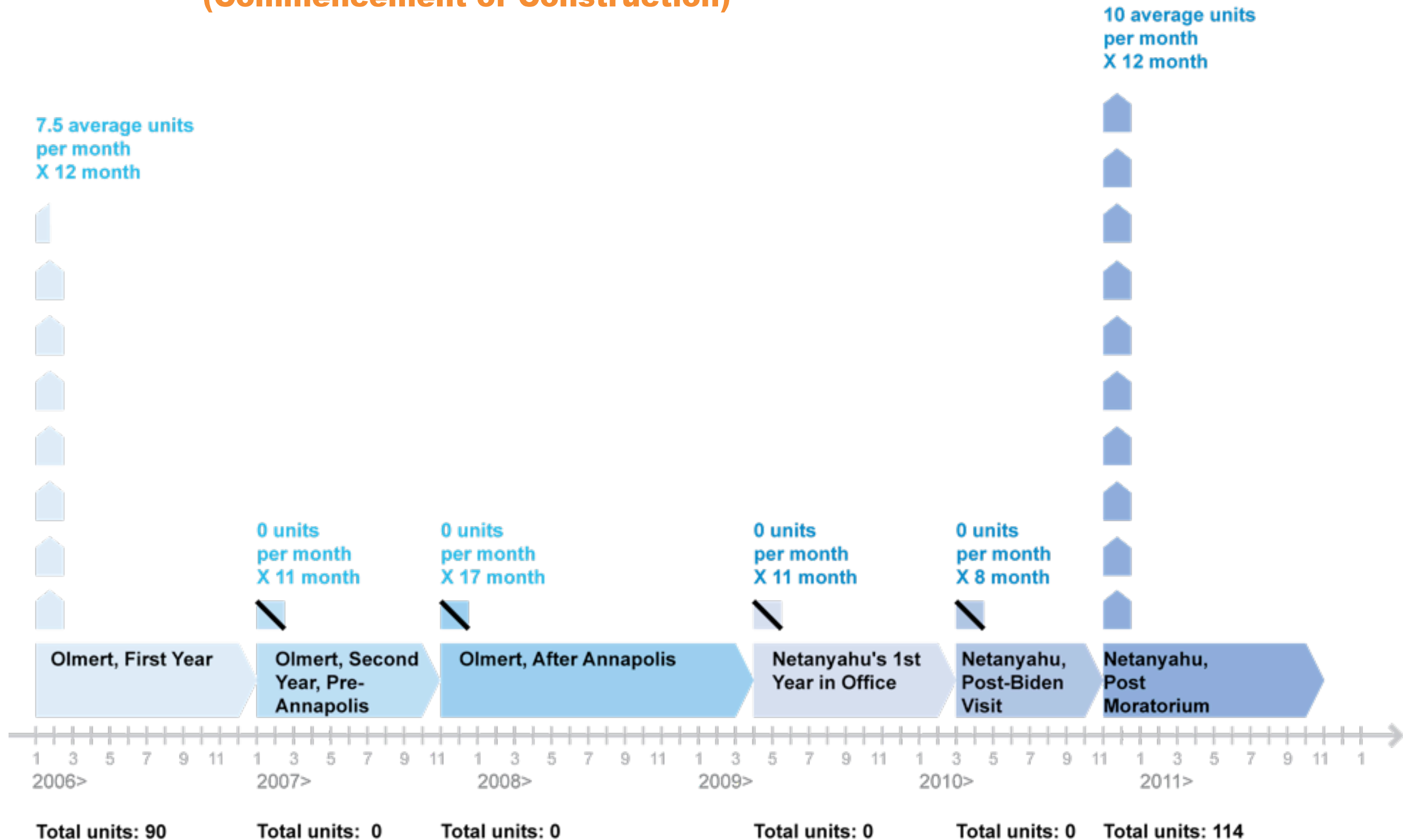
Total units: 1795

Settlement Construction in Existing Palestinian Neighborhoods

(January 1, 2006 - November 15, 2011)

Settlements in Existing Palestinian Neighborhoods

Average Units Per Month (Commencement of Construction)



Settlement Related Activities

(January 1, 2006 - January 15, 2011)

Olmert, after Annapolis (November 2007- March 2009)

- Construction in Sawahra – 66 Units
- Old City Basin Project
- Tunneling under Muslim Quarter
- Tunneling under Silwan
- Commencement of construction stage 2 of Ras el Amud/Ma'leh Zeitim

Netanyahu (April 2009 - November 2011)

- Old City Basin Project
- Opening of Silwan-Old City Tunnel
- Appointment of settler activists to head Israel Lands Authority/Nature and Parks Authority
- Issuance of permits, beginning of construction at Shepherd's Hotel, Beit Orot and Ras el Amud Police Station
- Issuance a building permit for Mughrabi Ramp
- Approval of Beit Strauss, Western Wall Plaza
- Municipal approval of Silwan Bustan and Beit Yehonatan plans
- Approval of 1400 hotel rooms in East Talpiyot
- Displacement of families in Sheikh Jarrah
- Deposit of Abu Tor Peace Forest Plan
- Deposit of wholesale market municipal hotel plan
- Municipal approval of Mt. Scopus National Park Plan
- Massive detentions of minors in Silwan
- Arrests and indictment of Silwan activists
- Deportation of Silwan activist Adnan Gheith
- Failure to evacuate and seal Beit Yehonatan
- Municipal allocation for Silwan Museum
- Implementation of Silwan infrastructures project
- Continued tunneling under Silwan, Muslim Quarter
- Renovations of Ras el Amud Police Station
- Occupancy of stage 2 of Ras el Amud Ma'leh Zeitim
- New settler enclaves in A Tur, Jabl Makaber

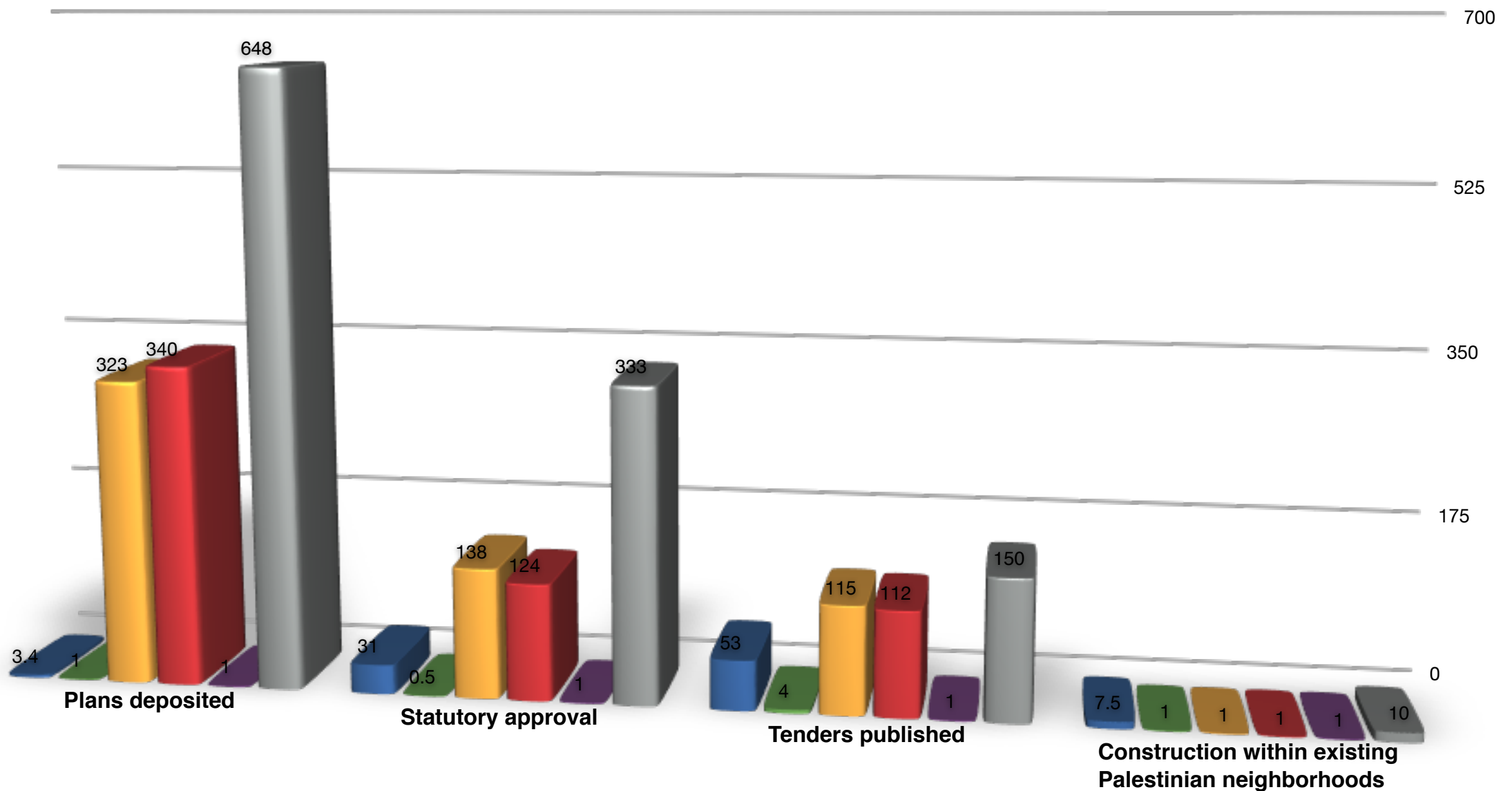
The Current East Jerusalem Settlement Surge: Scope and Impact

(November 15, 2011)

Israeli Construction and Planning in East Jerusalem

Average Unit number per month (January 1, 2006 - November 1, 2011)

- 2006 Olmert's 1st year
- 2007 Olmert's 2nd Year
- Olmert post- Annapolis November 2007-March 2009
- March 2009-March 2010 Netanyahu's 1st Year
- March 2010 – November 2010
The Post-Biden de facto moratorium
- November 2010 – October 2011 The post-moratorium surge

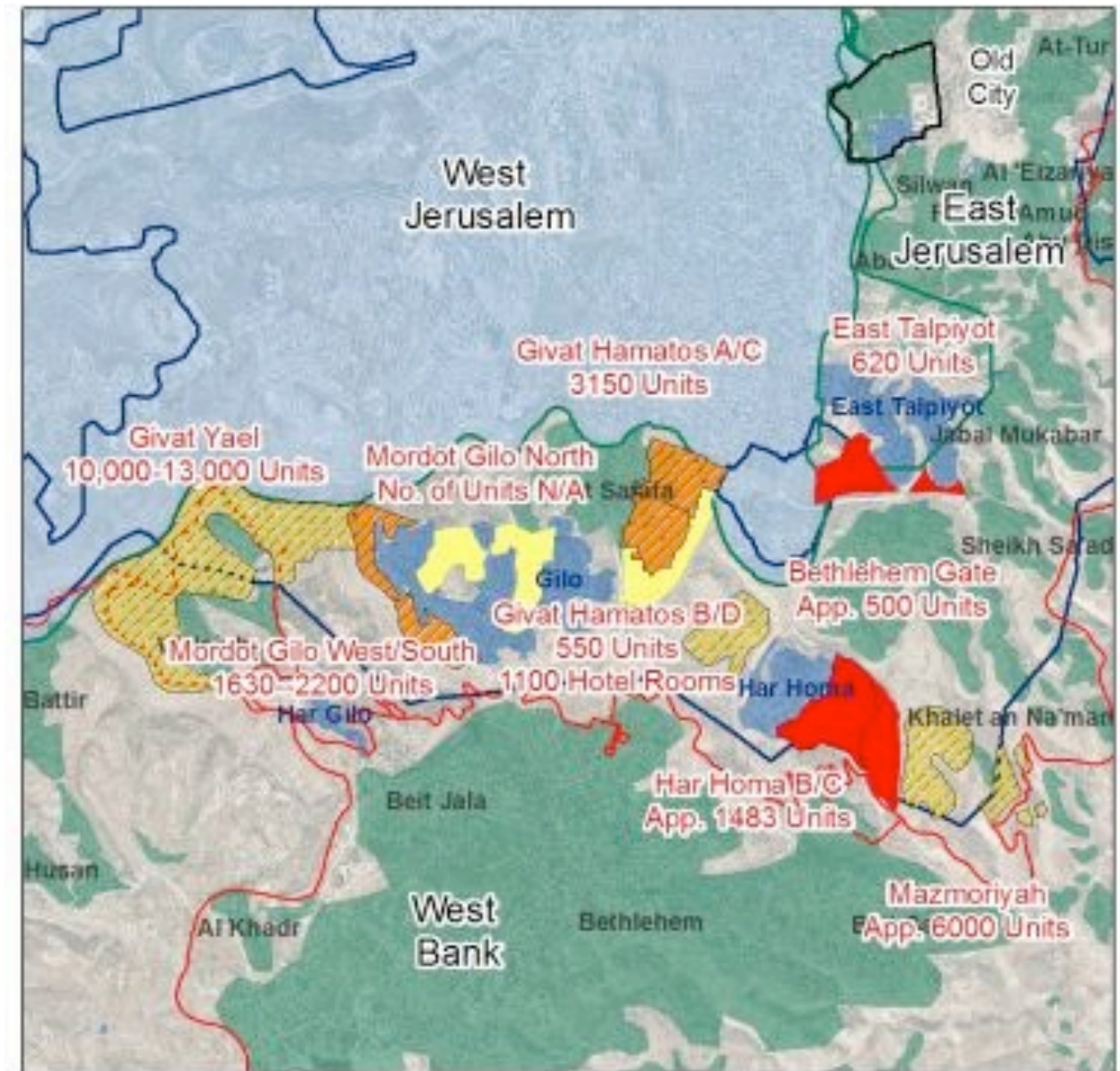


The Settlement Surge on the Southern Flank

In July-November 2011 alone, significant steps were taken towards the implementation of four plans (final approval of Givat Hamatos A and Har Homa C, with Mordot Gilo West approved by the Municipality in anticipation of hearings to approve the plan, and with Mordot Gilo South deposited for public review). These are significant steps towards starting the construction of approximately 6036 - 6486 new units.

These plans:

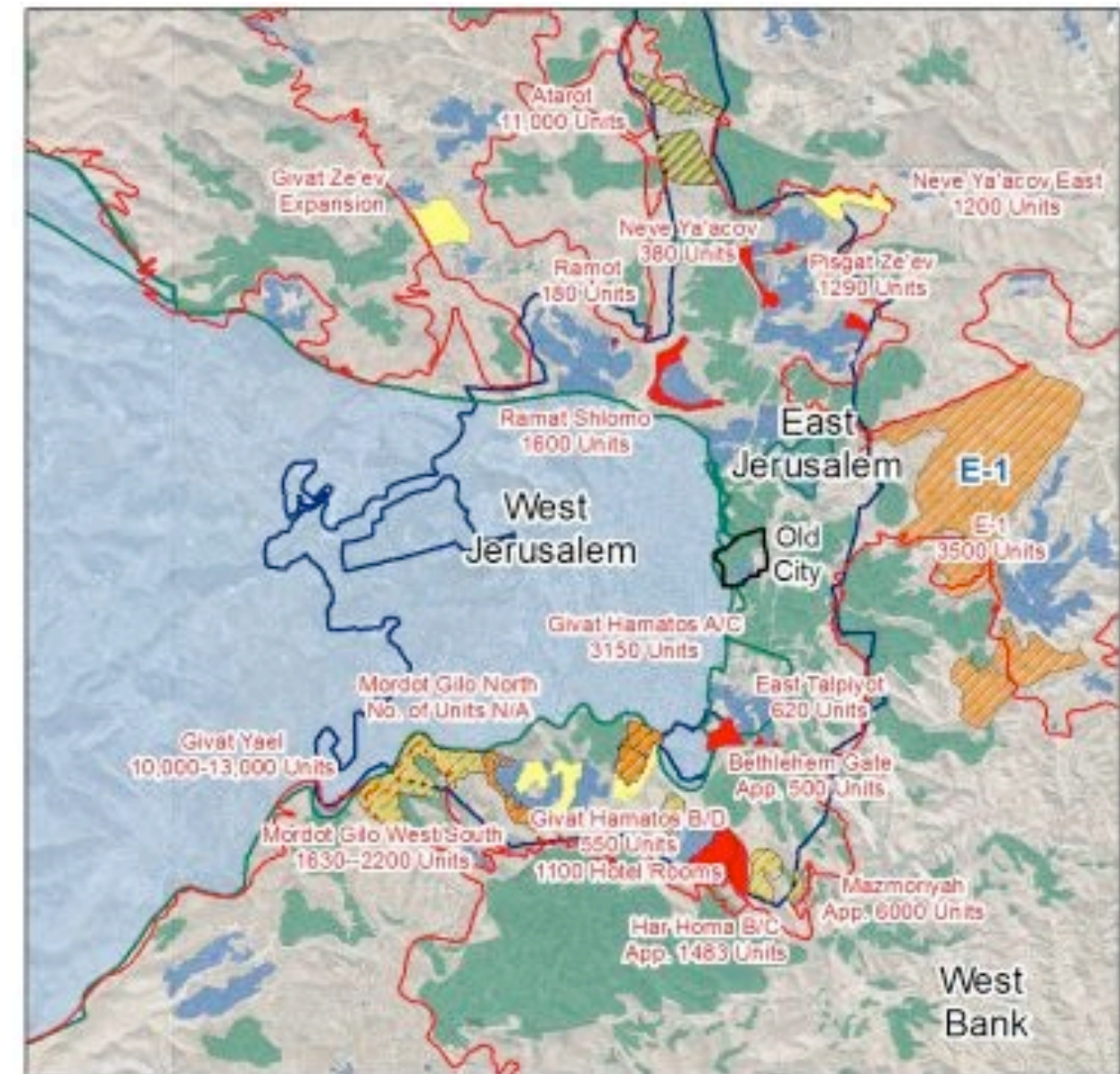
- **create a critical mass of continuous built-up settlement areas that detaches East Jerusalem from Bethlehem and its environs in the southern West Bank.**
- **almost invariably alter the potential border between Israel and Palestine.**
- **sever East Jerusalem from Bethlehem and its environs in the West Bank will likely be fatal to the two-state solution.**



The Settlement Surge Throughout East Jerusalem

The recent surge on Jerusalem's southern flank has been the most prominent but not unique. The situation at Jerusalem's northern and eastern flanks is no different:

- This non-exhaustive mapping of settlement schemes shows that in these areas, there are pending plans for the construction of approximately 8000 new units, and, in addition, approximately 11,000 unit the plans of which are in the pre-statutory stage.
- With these plans as well, there has been a recent surge in activity. The now-infamous Ramat Shlomo/Biden plan, with its 1600 units, was recently published for public review, and a Pisgat Ze'ev plan was approved, now allowing for publication of tenders to construct 625 units.
- **These plans have significant impact on pre-judging the borders between Israel and Palestine, and in undermining the very possibility of the two-state solution.**

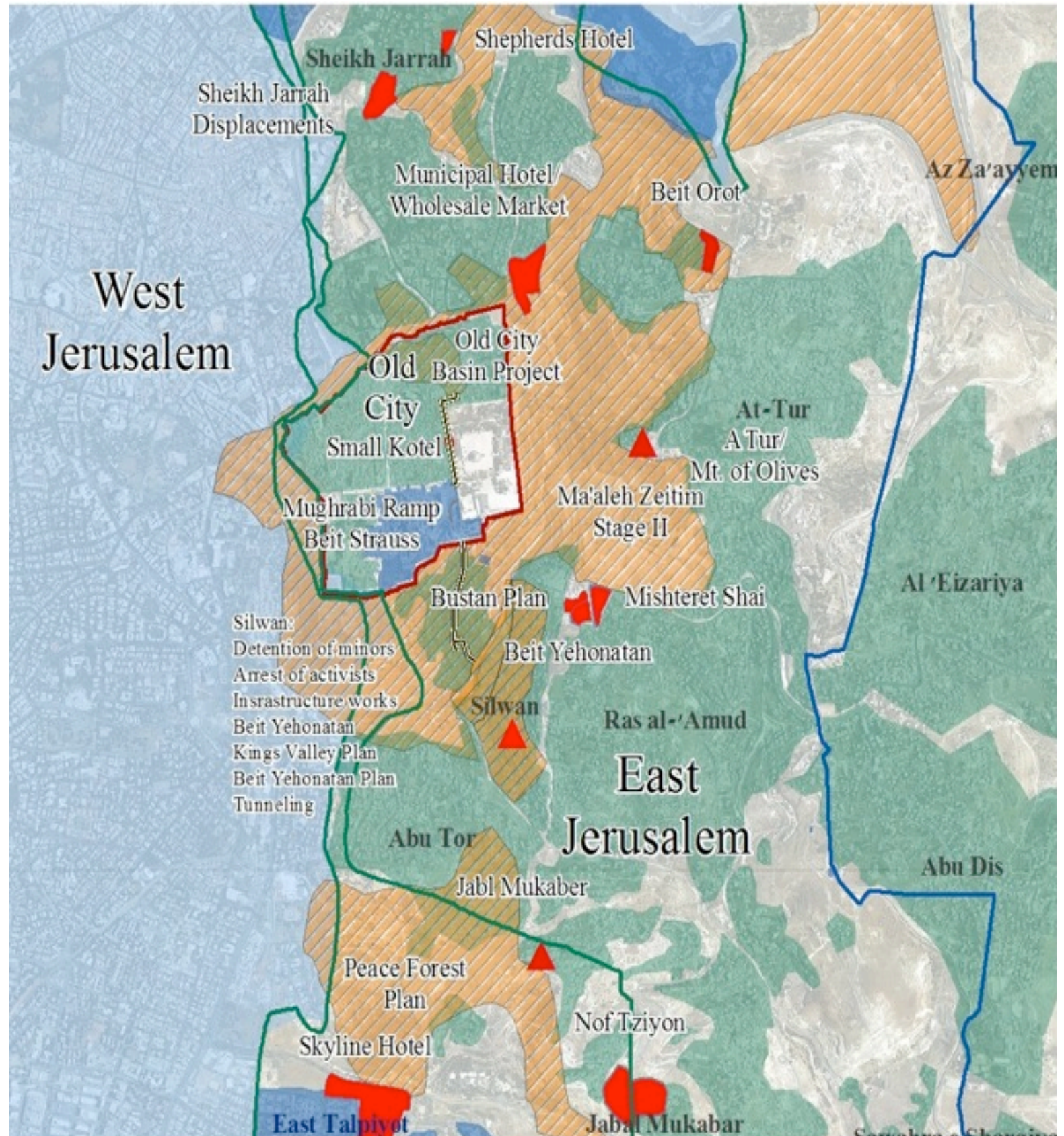
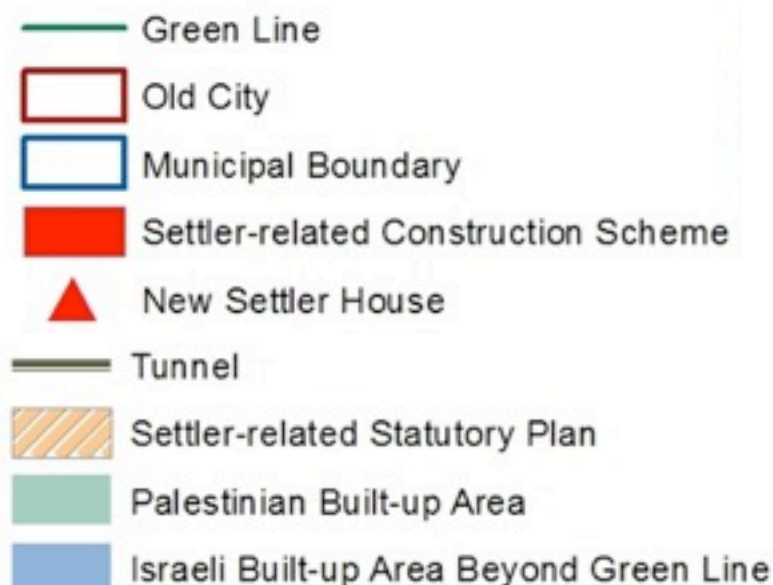


Legend

- | | |
|---|---|
| Green Line | Advanced Planning Stage |
| Old City | Initial Planning Stage |
| Municipal Boundary | Pre-Statutory Plan |
| Route of the Barrier | Palestinian Built-up Area |
| Plans Under Construction/Awaiting Tenders | Israeli Built-up Area Beyond Green Line |

This map displays the settlement related activities unfolding in the Old City and its immediate environs.

The scope, nature and impact of these activities, which are not detected by the standard benchmarks that measure settlement activity, are also intensifying.



Summary and Conclusions

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- Should the current high pace of settlement construction continue at current levels, it within 2-3 years the geographic and demographic map of Jerusalem will be so Balkanized that the very possibility of the two-state solution will be in jeopardy. A settlement freeze in East Jerusalem - even just a **de facto** one - is, not optional, it is imperative.
- Settler-related events in and around the Old City - undertaken with the support and cooperation of the Netanyahu government and the Jerusalem municipality - are radicalizing the conflict, in a manner that threatens to transform a resolvable political conflict into a zero-sum, intractable religious war.
- The situation in Jerusalem's Old City and its environs inform, and at times define the interface between the Arab world and the West. Radicalization and tensions in this area may drive potentially moderate emerging forces in the Arab world into positions of hostility towards a political resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict.
- Netanyahu can no longer assert that he is powerless to freeze East Jerusalem settlements. The record is clear: he did so for seven months after the Ramat Shlomo debacle. This is conclusive proof that, for Netanyahu, a settlement freeze in East Jerusalem is a matter of political will, not governmental authority.

Summary and Conclusions

- Netanyahu can no longer assert that freezing East Jerusalem settlements is political suicide. During the **de facto** freeze his coalition was at the peak of its stability.
- Netanyahu continues to pursue current settlement policies, the resumption of the political process appears unlikely; were he to resume the policy of a **de facto** freeze (even in the absence of a formal declaration), and to expand these policies of self-restraint to settler-related activities in the Old City and its environs, it is possible that the negotiations could resume.
- Netanyahu did not have a change of heart after the Biden visit, nor did his ideological perceptions of the Israeli interest change. It was only the resolute engagement by President Obama, signaling that continued settlement construction in East Jerusalem undermined the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel, which led Netanyahu to freeze construction. When, at the end of the moratorium, his fear of being held accountable for settlement construction dissipated, settlement construction in East Jerusalem returned to, and often exceeded, the previously high levels.



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- **Tenders issued:** the data bases of the Israel Lands Authority (מינהל מקרקעי ישראל) and the Israel Government Advertising Agency (לשכת הפרסום הממשלתית).
- **Plans deposited for public review:** the official Public Record (ילקוט פרסומים) and the data bases of the Israel Lands Authority and the Jerusalem Municipality.
- **Plans approved:** the official Public Record (ילקוט פרסומים) and the data bases of the Israel Lands Authority and the Jerusalem Municipality.
- **Construction in existing Palestinian neighborhoods:** field observations of the authors.