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Settlement Monitor

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SETTLEMENT MONITOR

EDITED BY GEOFFREY ARONSON

This section covers items—reprinted articles, statistics, and maps—pertaining to Israeli settlement activities in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights. Unless otherwise stated, the items in this section have been written by Geoffrey Aronson directly for this section or drawn from material written by him for Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories (hereinafter Settlement Report), a Washington-based bimonthly newsletter published by the Foundation for Middle East Peace. JPS is grateful to the Foundation for permission to draw on its material. Major documents relating to settlements appear in the Documents and Source Material section.

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NETANYAHU PRESENTS HIS “ALLON PLUS” FINAL STATUS MAP

From Settlement Report, July–August 1997.

Publication of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s “secret” map for the division of the West Bank between Israel and the Palestinians clearly establishes Netanyahu’s preferences as he pushes the Oslo process into addressing the core problems of Jerusalem, settlements, water, and refugees. The map says nothing about the hapless Gaza Strip, where Israel remains in control of 30% of the territory.

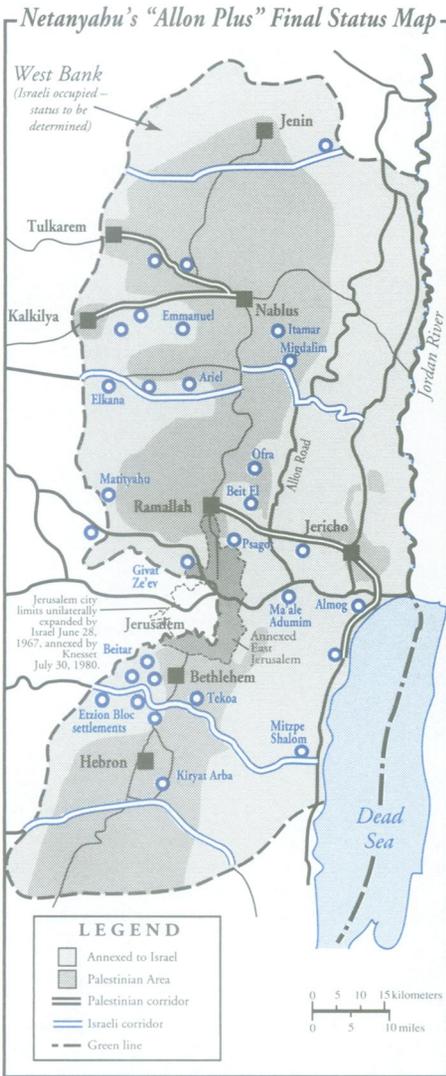
There are two ways of analyzing the publication of the so-called secret map at this time—assessing the meaning of its publication in the context of current diplomacy, and assessing the Israeli preferences that the map reflects. Whatever the map’s details, its appearance now is additional proof that the Oslo process has moved irrevocably away from the framework of the “interim period” reconfirmed by Israel, the United States, and the Palestinians as recently as the Hebron agreement earlier this year.

Netanyahu is implementing his long-held intention to refashion a process inherited from his predecessors one year ago. He is now focusing on developing proposals for final status issues, directing the momentum

of diplomacy, and moving the agenda away from “further redeployment” and toward Jerusalem, the settlements, and his “Allon Plus” plan for territorial compromise on the West Bank. If settlement construction at Jabal Abu Ghunaym/Har Homa was described by Netanyahu as “the beginning of the battle for Jerusalem,” a battle he had no intention of losing, this map signals the beginning of the battle over the borders of “Greater Israel.”

Netanyahu’s map maintains fidelity to a number of long-standing Israeli geostrategic principles outlined in the Allon Plan; Ariel Sharon’s “A Vision of Israel at Century’s End,” published in 1977; and the “Peace Map” of the Third Way party issued last year. According to the principles, “defensible borders” for Israel and its strategic superiority throughout the territory require these factors:

- Israeli sovereignty in a 15-km.-wide belt, including the Jordan Valley and its western mountain ridge, and in the Judean Desert running west from the Dead Sea (except for a small area running north of Ayn Fashka).
- Expansion of the territorial bridge between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean coast by widening Israeli sovereignty northwest of the city to the settlement of Beyt Horon and south to the Etzion Bloc.
- Expansion of metropolitan Jerusalem by the annexation of territory north to the settlements of Givat Ze’ev and Beyt El, east to



The proposed map acknowledges that while most of Israel's 140-odd settlements (not including the Jerusalem municipality), with their population of 160,000, will be annexed to Israel, some settlements—and settlers—will find themselves in Palestinian territory. These include fewer than 20 isolated and sparsely populated outposts near Nablus and Jenin. Curiously, Netanyahu's map also appears to exclude the settlements of Kiryat Arba, with its population of 5,000, and Hebron from annexation by Israel. According to *Ha'Aretz* defense editor Ze'ev Schiff, however, Netanyahu is proposing functional solutions for holy places such as Jerusalem's Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount and Hebron's al-Ibrahimi Mosque/Machpela Cave that will preserve Islamic and Jewish rights respectively. Netanyahu, Schiff says, also holds out the prospect of increasing the percentage allocated to the Palestinian entity over time or reducing it in order to accommodate settler demands.

The requirements reflected in the Netanyahu map demonstrate the time-tested strategic considerations shared by the vast majority of Israelis. Sharon has noted that "the details may vary but, in principle, the essence [of the Netanyahu map] is very much the same" as one he proposed in 1977.

Netanyahu presented a similar map devised by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to President Bill Clinton during a White House meeting on 13 February. According to a report by Schiff, Clinton neither supported nor opposed the map, which proposes Israel's annexation of more than 50% of the West Bank for security reasons. Netanyahu, for his part, did not specify exact borders, nor did Clinton repeat the historical U.S. position regarding changes in the pre-1967 War borders. Less than one week after this meeting, Netanyahu's foreign policy adviser at the time, Dore Gold, noted that the United States no longer insists on a withdrawal to the June 1967 borders.

The Netanyahu map is also better understood for what it suggests about the nature and the extent of the territorial demands that Israel is now presenting to Arafat. Much has been made of the map's reflection of an Israeli demand for 60% of the West Bank—about 10% more than the plan presented to King Hussein by Yigal Allon more than two decades ago. Perhaps more important than the actual percentage of territory claimed by Israel, however, are the principles underlying those claims. It is far easier for Netanyahu to

- Ma'ale Adumim, and south to the Etzion Bloc.
- Disruption of the territorial continuity of the Palestinian entity in the West Bank by the placement of Israeli settlements under Israeli sovereignty and the creation of four transport "corridors" of indeterminable width running in an east-west direction, connecting Israel to the Jordan Valley.
- Disruption of the territorial continuity between the Palestinian populations straddling the Green Line border between the western slopes of the West Bank Samarian plateau and the Israeli region between Kfar Kasm and Um al-Fahm by expanding Israeli sovereignty east from the Green Line.

offer 10% or even 20% more or less of the West Bank than to repudiate the principles on which these offers are made.

Yet Netanyahu has distinguished himself by his inability to act strategically. For him, everything—including this map—is a work in progress. His weakness as a leader and his susceptibility to pressure have not been exploited as effectively by his Palestinian antagonists as they have by his fellow Israeli politicians. So while Palestinians certainly can find much to oppose in the map, they can find some comfort in the fact that it is Netanyahu's map and not one of his predecessors.

ISRAEL'S "GREATER JERUSALEM" ENGULFS THE WEST BANK'S CORE

The following special report, published by the Foundation for Middle East Peace in the summer of 1997, was written by Jan de Jong, a researcher for the Palestine Geographic Research and Information Center in Jerusalem.

In 1995, an Israeli interministerial committee finalized a new large-scale development plan for a region covering 40% of the West Bank and an equal percentage of its Palestinian residents. The "Metropolitan Jerusalem Plan" significantly enlarges the scale of previous Israeli planning efforts for the Jerusalem region. Promulgated by the government of Yitzhak Rabin two years after the signing of the Declaration of Principles with the PLO established a framework for resolving competing claims over the occupied territories, the plan contemplates little territorial compromise with the Palestinians across a large swath of the West Bank. If implemented, this plan will irrevocably compromise the last remaining prospects for the socioeconomic rehabilitation of the Palestinian territories in the crucial core area of Jerusalem and preclude a meaningful degree of Palestinian sovereignty in Jerusalem and its environs.

Although not yet formally endorsed, the plan formulated guidelines that are followed in a series of local and regional land-use schemes for the area. As an instructive guide to Israeli intentions, the plan offers Israel's comprehensive developmental vision of Jerusalem and its hinterland, enabling the alignment and adjustment of all separately designed proposals for housing, industries, roads, and tourist and recreational facilities.

The implementation of the Israeli plan will drastically alter the landscape and livelihoods of the West Bank's core area and its Palestinian and Israeli inhabitants. The scale

of settlement building and road construction achieved during the past three decades within the unilaterally extended city limits of Jerusalem—most notably the settlement of more than 160,000 Israelis in annexed parts of the city—may be repeated in half that time and on a scale twice as large in terms of settler population and three times as large in terms of area.

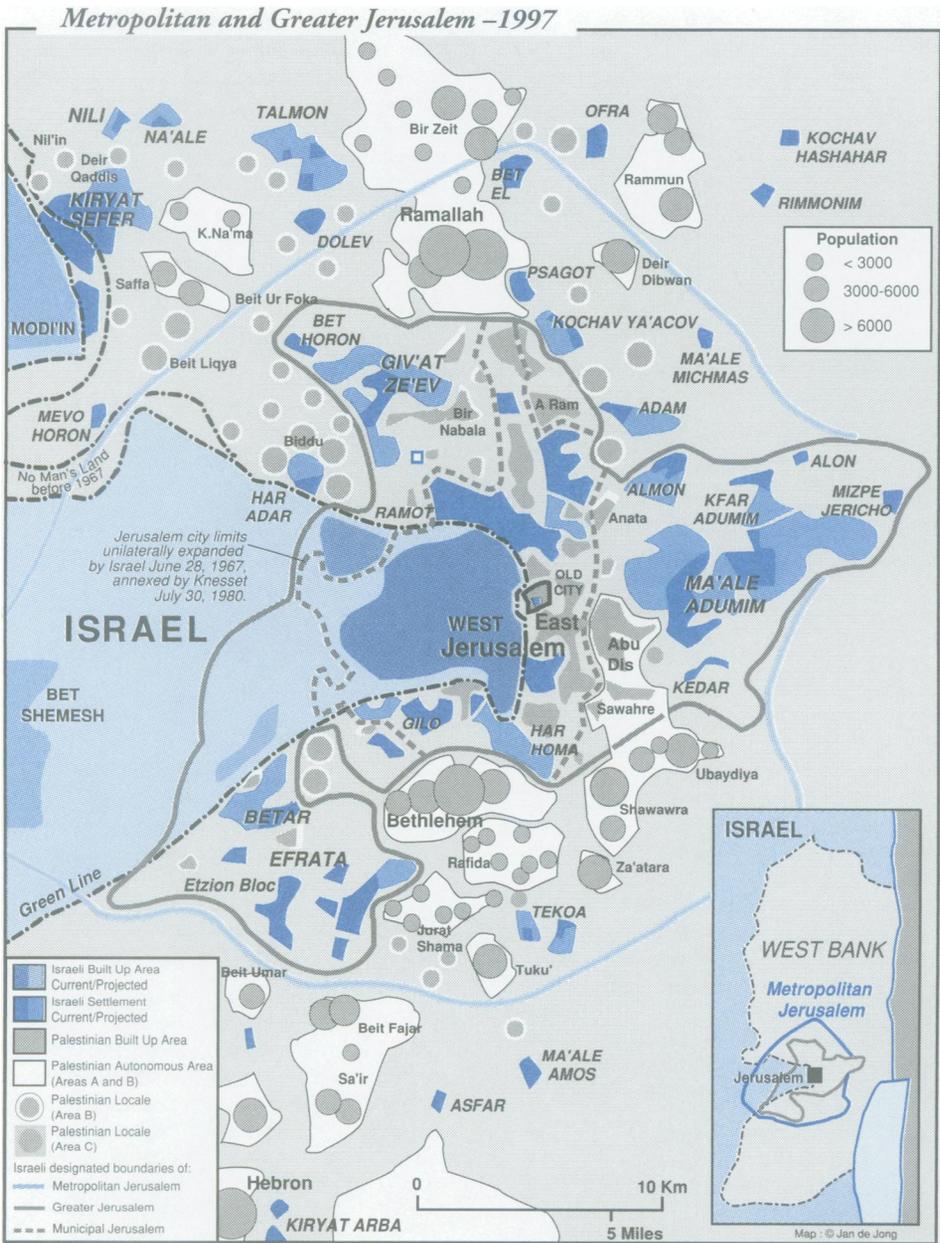
As the Metropolitan and Greater Jerusalem map illustrates, the central planning area has been designated by Israel as "Metropolitan Jerusalem," where the Israeli and Palestinian populations are in rough parity. Metropolitan Jerusalem measures 950 sq. km., only 30% of which is within pre-1967 Israel. A sense of the scale of Israel's planning effort can be noted by the inclusion of the Palestinian cities of Ramallah and Bethlehem in the Israeli planning area.

The plan's target area is "Greater Jerusalem"—the inner metropolitan core around Jerusalem beyond the Green Line. Greater Jerusalem comprises an area of 440 sq. km., of which less than a quarter is within pre-1967 Israel. This area is characterized by a majority Palestinian population in its West Bank and East Jerusalem dimensions, where 300,000 Palestinians and 200,000 Israelis reside, but it is increasingly dominated territorially by rapidly growing Israeli settlements. Roughly one-quarter of the Israelis live in 20 settlements beyond the municipal borders of Jerusalem. The urban sprawl evident in the new Israeli neighborhoods and settlements built within the municipal boundary of East Jerusalem since 1967 provides a yardstick to measure Israel's intention to maintain its exclusive sovereign hold over Jerusalem. The projections of the metropolitan plan indicate a similar determination, but this time focused far beyond the city itself to the area around Jerusalem, strategically positioned between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River.

JERUSALEM BEFORE AND AFTER 1967

The map of Jerusalem before and after 1967 shows the major rupture in the city's metropolitan status occasioned by Israeli decisions in the wake of the June 1967 war. Depicted in the map are both the Arab city scheme before 1967 and the city borders fixed by Israel.

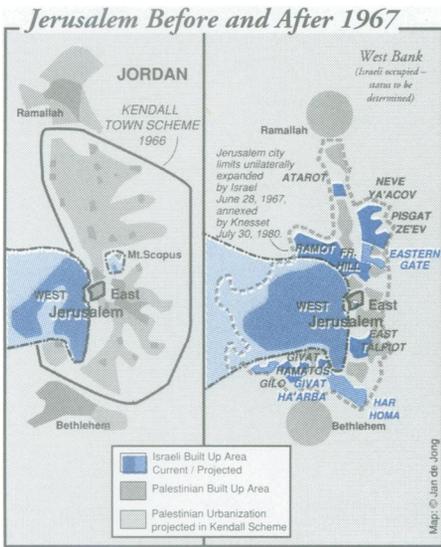
The Kendall Town Scheme, commissioned by Jordan in 1966, envisioned the urgently needed consolidation of an Arab city in and around Jerusalem proper by linking all scattered Palestinian residential areas



within one integrated planning area. Had it been implemented, the scheme—named for Henry Kendall, a city planner who had been working in Palestine since the time of the British Mandate—would have created space for industrial and commercial areas and thousands of new dwellings. It also would have provided for the crucial conditions necessary to reinvigorate not only East Jerusa-

lem, but also the surrounding rural Palestinian countryside.

The map also illustrates the direction taken by Israeli development in the city after 1967. Instead of consolidating East Jerusalem as one contiguous city and upgrading its indigenous housing and socioeconomical capacity as projected in the Kendall Town Scheme, Israel's extension and annexation of



East Jerusalem excluded half of East Jerusalem's suburbs from Jerusalem, and its expropriation of land deprived Jerusalem's Palestinian citizens of approximately 30 sq. km. of territory capable of supporting at least 30,000 new dwellings, as well as vital commercial and industrial areas.

The 30,000 dwellings envisioned by the Kendall scheme have been built—for Israelis—in the years since 1967, along with another 20,000 in adjacent areas zoned on the Kendall plan for purposes such as agriculture or public institutions. In addition, 2.5 sq. km. of industrial space in five separate areas in Arab Jerusalem were similarly removed from Palestinian development. Four of these areas are today the sites of the Israeli settlements of Gilo-East, Atarot-South, Pisgat Ze'ev-Central, and Rekhes Shuafat-South.

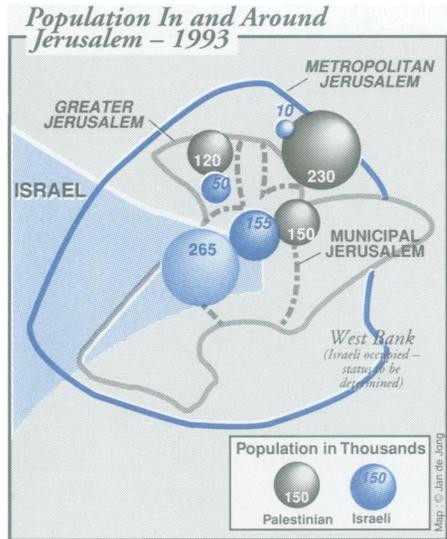
METROPOLITAN JERUSALEM

The map of Metropolitan and Greater Jerusalem illustrates the dramatic increase of Israeli settlement construction projected by the latest metropolitan plan. The city-settlements established in East Jerusalem after 1967 serve as a springboard for large-scale expansion of similar Israeli suburbs in a second ring around all of East Jerusalem. These settlements are depicted on the map according to the metropolitan plan's recommendations in combination with the settlement's proposed local plan schemes.

Within the confines of Greater Jerusalem, the neighborhood schemes for the Palestinian localities are illustrated according to their

future dwelling capacity. The illustration enables an illuminating comparison with proposed Israeli settlement expansion in Greater Jerusalem.

The distinction between planned Israeli settlement expansion and the projected living space for Palestinian locales (grey within the municipal city limits; grey and adjoining white in Greater and Metropolitan Jerusalem) is a stark feature of the metropolitan map.



Sources: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, Palestinian Health Development Information Project, selected field check by PALGRIC 1993

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BATTLE

Demographic assessments for this contested area have always been a highly controversial subject, not least because of unreliable statistical records, especially for the Palestinian sector. The demographic proportions shown on the map of population in and around Jerusalem, although based on careful inspection and weighing of available records, must be considered approximations, while in terms of pattern and proportion they are sound.

The area's population can be divided into three sections. The first concerns the population of municipal East Jerusalem within the borders established by Israel in 1967. The area of East Jerusalem contains a slight Israeli majority. When West Jerusalem is factored in, the Israeli majority increases to approximately two-thirds of the total.

The current demographic composition of the West Bank areas of Greater Jerusalem (comprising three-quarters of all of Greater Jerusalem) reveals a solid Palestinian popula-

tion majority. This majority becomes even more prominent in the outlying metropolitan sector, where populous Israeli settlements are relatively scarce.

Israeli planners soberly recognize that the high Palestinian birthrate will consolidate and even increase its distinct majority position in the metropolitan region of Jerusalem. This demographic reality will also be the case in most of Greater Jerusalem, if it is not countered by the large-scale Israeli settlement expansion envisioned in the Metropolitan Jerusalem Plan. The expansion effort is projected at key locations of the metropolitan plan—Giv'at Ze'ev in the northwest, Ma'ale Adumim in the east, and Beitar and Efrat in the southwest. These settlements have enjoyed extraordinary growth rates, achieved mainly through immigration. Immigration has been facilitated by the highly improved accessibility of the outlying settlements made possible by construction of so-called bypass roads around Palestinian locales.

SETTLER NUMBERS INCREASE

During the next 15 years, the light-blue colored expansion areas in the outer ring of settlements of Greater Jerusalem depicted on the map showing population proportions can accommodate more than 200,000 new settlers, in addition to the 50,000 currently residing there. During this period, completion of the Israeli suburban sections within Jerusalem itself (Har Homa and other locations) is expected to increase the number of East Jerusalem's 170,000 Israeli citizens to at least one-quarter million, continuing the crucial role of settlement in East Jerusalem as a means of offsetting the demographic implications of continuing Palestinian population growth. The increase in Israel's settler population will bring the total number of Israeli settlers in and around Arab East Jerusalem by the year 2015 to half a million. The Palestinian population is expected to double over the same period to one-half million within Greater Jerusalem and to one million in the metropolitan region.

When the 300,000 Israelis living in West Jerusalem are factored into this equation, a population balance of at least two-thirds Israeli Jews and one-third Palestinian Arabs for the city proper is expected to be maintained. Such a ratio has long been a cornerstone of Israel's Jerusalem policy. It now appears to be the aim of the metropolitan plan section of Greater Jerusalem as well. The creation of

a demographic revolution in the area around Jerusalem aiming at an Israeli majority, however, can only succeed by the extensive settlement expansion projected on the map and by tying Greater Jerusalem's outer settlement ring—Ma'ale Adumim, Giv'at Ze'ev, and Beitar—to the city proper through the formation of a "Metropolitan Council of Greater Jerusalem." By truncating the emerging Palestinian metropolis as envisioned by Jordanian planners before 1967, by precluding Jerusalem's prospective consolidation as one contiguous city, and by twisting its orientation away from the Arab hinterland toward that of Israel, a lasting Israeli domination of the rearranged metropolis appears ensured.

SETTLEMENT CHRONOLOGY

From Settlement Report, July–August 1997.

30 April

Plans are announced to extend the East Jerusalem settlement of Ne've Ya'akov to the West Bank settlement of Adam, which would halt continuing Arab construction between the two Jewish communities.

The IDF announces that new bypass roads are being planned: one to bypass Palestinian Authority (PA)-controlled Nablus and areas to the south; another to serve residents of the settlement of Dolev and the surrounding settlements. The plan, if it receives budgetary approval, would cost \$330 million and require expropriating Palestinian land.

1 May

The Civil Administration releases plans to expand the settlement of Efrat by 220 dunams (1 dunam = 1,000 sq. m.).

5 May

Additional housing is approved for the settlement of Barkan near Ariel. Construction on 50 of the 150 approved units is scheduled to begin soon.

8 May

The PA Local Government Ministry and various Palestinian committees hold public assemblies to discuss Israeli expansion of Ma'ale Adumim (known as the E-1 or Eastern Gate Plan), which would involve the confiscation of more than 16,000 dunams of Palestinian land. Palestinians residing in the affected areas are urged to bring documentation to support court petitions against the confiscation.

11 May

Ha'Aretz reports that Israel's Jerusalem municipality and Interior Ministry have been working on secret plans to develop a "mega-Jerusalem Municipality." The plan would bring some West Bank settlements into a Greater Jerusalem area that Israel would annex after the permanent status of the city is determined.

18 May

Defense Ministry officials state that 500 more Palestinian homes located near settler bypass roads, Jewish settlements, or IDF installations in the West Bank have been targeted for demolition. Since Netanyahu took office in 7/96, more than 170 Palestinian homes have been demolished.

22 May

The PA Information Ministry announces that since the Oslo process began in 9/93, 325,000 dunams of Palestinian land have been taken by the Israeli government, 243 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli forces, and 1,047 ID cards have been confiscated from Palestinian Jerusalemites.

27 May

According to the 1996 Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook, the Arab population of Jerusalem has grown 163% since 1967 compared to the Jewish growth rate of 114%. In 1995, Jerusalem's population was 70% Jewish and 30% Arab: 167,000 Israelis and 181,000 Palestinians resided in annexed East Jerusalem, while 256,000 Israelis lived in West Jerusalem. Immediately after the 1967 war, the Jewish population of the city was 74.2%.

28 May

Israeli treasury officials announce plans to redirect \$16.5 million away from programs for the needy and for development of Arab-Israeli areas toward West Bank settlement expansion as part of the government's 12/13/96 decision to grant preferential development status to these areas.

29 May

The Meretz party reports that Israel has confiscated 30,000 dunams of Palestinian land in the West Bank since 1/97, including 20,000 dunams located in the Jerusalem area.

30 May

Yerushalim reports that the Netanyahu cabinet approved the establishment of a new settlement, Sansana, in the Hebron region to be populated by members of the right-wing Beitar movement.

2 June

In Gaza, confrontations between Palestinians and residents of Morag settlement begin when settlers fence off additional lands. Over the coming days, the IDF brings in reinforcements to maintain order. Palestinians block roads and uproot trees. An IDF van is struck by a bullet, and another Israeli vehicle is reportedly fired upon.

5 June

Orient House charges that the Israeli Interior Ministry continues its policy of confiscating Jerusalem IDs from Palestinians, claiming that on 5/31 and 6/1 alone, more than 45 cards were confiscated.

6 June

The Netanyahu government proposes to permit the construction of 400 to 500 apartment units for Palestinians on land in Sur Bahir, expropriated from Palestinians in 1968.

10 June

Netanyahu attends the dedication ceremony of the new College of Judea and Samaria in Ariel.

12 June

Israel's Deputy Housing Minister Meir Porush says that construction plans in the West Bank—specifically in the settlements of Ariel and Beitar Illit—are not being carried out for various reasons.

14 June

In a statement issued after an emergency meeting, Fatah asserts that Israel's "policy of settlements and land confiscation constitutes organized state terror against the Palestinian lands. The Palestinian people have a right to react to settlement terror via all means."

15 June

Road 2500, the main road linking the settlements of the Qatif Bloc in the Gaza Strip, is completed at a cost of \$800,000.

16 June

Israel's Construction Ministry publishes a tender for the construction of 74 apartment units in the settlement of Beitar. Since May, bids have been issued for construction of 1,210 units, including 545 in Beitar, 278 in Ariel, 222 in the Etzion Bloc, 110 in Karnei Shomron, and 55 in Ma'ale Efraim.

20 June

The IDF requests \$100 million to fortify settlements throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to make improvements for IDF troops serving in the areas.

Three families establish a new settlement area named "Gideonim," located 3 kilometers from the settlement of Itamar.

24 June

Israel's Trade Ministry approves a project to develop a large-scale industrial area in Emmanuel settlement. The plan calls for the construction of hundreds of residential housing units, which will triple the settlement's population, and creation of an artificial lake (already approved by the Water Authority), which will serve as a tourist attraction.

1 July

The Knesset Finance Committee endorses the Netanyahu government's 12/13/96 decision to grant "Preferred Area A" status to West Bank settlements, restoring benefits canceled by Yitzhak Rabin's government.

4 July

Qol Ha'Ir reports that regional government offices, a new mall, and apartments will be built at the settlement of Givat Ze'ev at a total cost of \$40 million. The project includes a 17-story tower, which will be the tallest building in the occupied territories.

11 July

Qol Ha'Ir reports that the Interior Ministry plans to recognize as independent settlements, some "neighborhoods" established as parts of already existing settlements by the Shamir government from 1990 to 1992. The new settlements are Alon, Nofei Prat, North Talmon, and Shvut Rachel.

14 July

Ha'Aretz reports that the European Union (EU) is examining whether Israel's milk exports to the EU originate in settlement enterprises. If so, it would raise concerns as to whether settlement-produced goods qualify for reduced or duty-free status accorded by existing trade agreements.

Ha'Aretz reports that from 1/1 to 7/3 the Housing Ministry began construction on 14,000 dwellings. The figure represents a 20% decrease from the previous year.

18 July

Yedi'ot Aharonot reports that the paramilitary outpost of Hemdat in the northern Jordan Valley has been transformed into a new civilian settlement.

Yerushalim reports that only 79 apartments in the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim were sold between 1/97 and 4/97, a dramatic decline from the previous year when more than 600 units were sold.

21 July

Israel's Housing Ministry reports that there are 2,725 apartment units for sale in the West Bank. Since the beginning of the year, 291 purchase contracts for settlement housing have been signed.

22 July

Ha'Aretz reports that the Israeli Treasury has requested \$25 million from the Finance Ministry for new residential construction in the settlements for new immigrants and young couples. The Finance Ministry proposes that the money be taken from funds allotted to immigrant absorption.

According to Israel's mayor of Jerusalem Ehud Olmert, beginning in October, land at the settlement of Har Homa will be marketed to contractors. The first construction phase of the project will require an investment of \$5 million and will involve building 2,000 apartments. Construction of 4,500 additional apartments will follow.

23 July

The Knesset Finance Committee approves \$12 million in grants and subsidies for construction of 400 dwelling units in rural West Bank settlements.

24 July

Jerusalem mayor Olmert gives immediate permission for a right-wing American Jewish developer to break ground for a new 70-unit Jewish settlement in the Palestinian neighborhood of Ras al-Amud in East Jerusalem.

28 July

Israel's Interior Ministry suspends the permit granted for construction of Jewish housing in Ras al-Amud.

1 August

Israeli DM Yitzhak Mordechai approves in principle the E-1 plan for expanding the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim and increasing its population from 28,000 to 40,000 (see 7/18).

6 August

The Israeli Defense Ministry gives Jewish settlers in Hebron permission to build nine new apartments in an existing enclave.

7 August

Peace Now petitions the IDF to cancel the decision to turn over the paramilitary settlement of Hemdat to civilians (see 7/18).

8 August

The Construction Ministry reports that from the inception of the Netanyahu government until 6/97, 804 (19%) of the 4,364 ten-

ders issued by the government were for construction in the urban settlements of the West Bank, including 500 at Ariel and 222 at Alon Shvut. No figure is given for construction in other types of settlements. From 6/97 to 8/97, an additional 600 tenders were issued for settlement housing.

Qol Ha'Ir reports that, in the event of a worsening situation in Hebron, the IDF has decided to evacuate all women and children from the Israeli settlements in the city.

15 August

Ten MKs belonging to the ruling coalition warn PM Netanyahu that they will bring down the government if he agrees to transfer any lands to PA control as part of any future IDF redeployment in the West Bank.

HOUSE DEMOLITIONS IN EAST JERUSALEM

The following article on the explosive issue of Israel's demolition of residential housing constructed without permits in Jerusalem appeared in Ha'Aretz on 17 August. The author, Daniel Zeidman, represents Palestinian plaintiffs in the Jabal Abu Ghunaym/Har Homa construction controversy and is legal adviser for the Ir Shalem organization.

On 3 August, three illegally constructed homes were demolished in East Jerusalem. Ten days later another five were added to the list. The demolitions are part of a comprehensive program: By early October, Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert is planning to hold a "demolition derby" in which dozens of illegally constructed homes in East Jerusalem will be torn down. In the meantime, he is conducting a well-polished PR campaign with government officials and the media.

In the context of this PR campaign, Olmert appeared before the Knesset's Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee on 15 July; offered the members explanations; and presented them with figures in an attempt to persuade them of the urgency of carrying out a wholesale demolition program—a program that could lead to another violent clash with the Palestinians. In view of this fact, it is vital to closely examine the data he presented to the committee:

Olmert: "Generally speaking, for all parts of this area [East Jerusalem], there are master plans."

Fact: In June 1967, Israel imposed its sovereignty over the 70 sq. km. of what is commonly referred to as East Jerusalem. Of this area, 25 sq. km. were confiscated in order to

build new Jewish neighborhoods. For 28 of the remaining 45 sq. km. there are no master construction plans, and any building requires a special permit issued only in exceptional cases. Of the 17 sq. km. for which master plans do exist, only five are earmarked for the construction of residential housing. Thus, after all is said and done, only about 8% of the total area of East Jerusalem has been allocated for the housing needs of the Palestinian population. Even in this small area, the potential for construction work is limited: only one- or two-story units may be built there. The lots set aside for residential housing are mainly located in developed areas, where the potential for new construction has already been tapped.

Olmert: "Existing master plans permit the construction of 12,250 housing units for Arab residents . . . There are master construction plans that can be used if the Arab owner of the land so desires."

Fact: In East Jerusalem, there is a potential for 3,000 units at the very most—less than a fifth of what Olmert claims. His figures are based on a document issued by the municipality's planning department that deals with the potential capacity of all the land in East Jerusalem; these figures do not reflect the much lower number of potential building permits that can be obtained. Olmert's figures include, on the one hand, thousands of housing units for which building permits cannot be obtained and, on the other, hundreds of units that have already been constructed.

Olmert: "According to the estimates of the municipality's experts, overcrowding among East Jerusalem's non-Jewish population is less acute than it is among the city's Jewish population."

Fact: As indicated by the *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook* for 1996, which was issued in close collaboration with the municipality, 2.4% of the city's Jewish residents live in housing units with a density of three or more persons per room, while 27.8% of Palestinians do. And only 13.5% of Jewish homes have more than two persons per room, as opposed to 61.5% for the Palestinians.

Olmert claims that the government does not favor Jews over Arabs in its construction projects.

Fact: Since 1967, more than 35% of East Jerusalem's land has been confiscated by the government and has been used in public

housing construction projects that provided 40,000 units solely for Jews; not one unit was built for the Palestinians living in East Jerusalem. Today, 6,500 housing units are being planned or are in the process of being built for Jews at Har Homa, while another 2,100 are being planned or are in the process of being built—again only for Jews—in the Rekhes Shuafat neighborhood. In contrast, only 400 units are planned for Arabs in Sur Bahir.

According to Olmert, there are 2,600 illegally constructed homes in all of East Jerusalem: 500 in Issawiyya, another 500 in Silwan, 500 in Kufr Akab, 350 in Bayt Hanina and Shuafat, 200 in Um Tuba and Sur Bahir, 50 in Abu Tur, and 200 in the Old City and in the central section of East Jerusalem.

Fact: Between 1 June 1995 and 1 October 1996, municipal housing inspectors identified only 571 cases of illegal construction in East Jerusalem, while, in a two-year period, they identified 2,376 cases of illegal construction in West Jerusalem (not 1,300 as reported by the municipality's spokesperson on 23 July).

In conclusion, faced with the dilemma of living under severely overcrowded conditions or leaving the city, East Jerusalem's Palestinian residents, who have a slim chance of obtaining a building permit, choose to engage in illegal construction, which is on a smaller scale than the illegal buildings erected in West Jerusalem—and punished much more severely.

STATUS OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

U.S. legislation enacted in 1992 for the provision of loan guarantees to Israel in-

structs the president to report annually to Congress on issues related to Israel's settlement policies and economic conditions. This reporting requirement continues despite the completion of the disbursement of loan guarantees in the current fiscal year. The information below, compiled for Settlement Report's July–August 1997 issue, is excerpted from annual reports on the loan guarantee to Israel's program and is current for the month of August in the indicated years.

	1994	1995	1996
Settlement population beyond Green Line	290,000	301,000	313,000
Settlement beyond the Green Line	250	250	300
Settlers in West Bank	121,000	127,600	136,000
Yearly increase of settlers in West Bank	9,400	3,500	6,000
Residential sites in West Bank	181	180	190
Israeli population in 20 neighborhoods of East Jerusalem	149,000	153,700	166,800*
Yearly increase of Israeli individuals in East Jerusalem neighborhoods	9,000	4,700	2,600
Israeli settler population of 20 settlements in Gaza Strip	4,800	5,000	5,000
Annual increase in Israeli population in Gaza Strip	300	200	0
Israeli settler population in Golan Heights	14,700	14,800	15,000
Israeli settlements in Golan Heights	36	34	36
Annual increase of Israeli population in Golan Heights	700	100	200
Israeli settlers as a percentage of the population in the occupied territories	12	11	13
Unoccupied housing units in existing Israeli settlements	15,000	15,600	17,000
Housing starts in settlements beyond the Green Line	3,700	4,100	3,100
Housing completions in settlements beyond the Green Line	2,600	3,800	3,500

Source: *Statistical Yearbook, Jerusalem, 1996