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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 LEARNS TO BUILD QUIETLY

EXPANDING SETTLEMENTS AS DIPLOMACY FALTERS

From Settlement Report, *March–April 1998 and May–June 1998.*

The explosion in building starts throughout the occupied territories beginning in the last half of 1997 demonstrates the Netanyahu government's growing appreciation for the advantages of building "quietly." Indeed, new construction has been observed at 93 of the 130 settlements in the West Bank, in settlements close to Jerusalem as well as isolated posts in the West Bank heartland—a graphic illustration of the breadth of the effort now under way by the Netanyahu government and settlement groups.

Because of their distance from existing facilities, at least thirteen of the construction sites could be characterized as new settlements despite Israel's claim that they are part of existing ones. The 4,000–5,000 housing starts reported during 1997 will be enough to increase the settler population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip by more than 10 percent.

In all, some 10,500 units are reported to be in various stages of construction in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This figure includes approximately 4,000 units under way when Netanyahu assumed power in mid-1996 and an additional 6,500 begun during Netanyahu's eighteen-month tenure, most of which were approved by the Rabin-Peres governments.

Significantly, while less than 30 percent of these—just 3,000—are in the larger urban settlements such as Ma'ale Adumim, the majority—some 7,500—are in the scores of smaller West Bank settlements. This ratio suggests that earlier policies concentrating construction in the larger, more popular settlements closer to Israel have now been replaced by a policy favoring smaller settlements located throughout the West Bank.

In another demonstration of the government's effort to "create facts" in anticipation of further redeployment of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and final status talks with the Palestinians, one well-informed source reports that government-financed infrastructure work is proceeding at between 80 and 90 of the 120 settlements in the West Bank. In most cases, this work is being undertaken on lands for which there are no currently approved construction plans.

Preliminary figures for the first ten months of 1997 show double-digit popula-

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tion increases in settlements in the Nablus region (11.2 percent), the Ramallah region (10.2 percent), and Gaza (10 percent). The Nablus and Gaza increases are occurring mainly in smaller settlements, while most of the increase in the Ramallah area is due to the expansion of Kiryat Sefer (Mod'in Ilit) and Givat Ze'ev.

The growth of the settler population in the occupied territories, excluding East Jerusalem, to almost 170,000 in 45,000 units built in 150-odd settlements raises questions about the accuracy of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's May 1997 report estimating a vacancy rate of 26 percent in West Bank settlements. The 8 percent West Bank settlement vacancy rate estimated by Peace Now later in the year appears to be more realistic. The discrepancy between the evaluations could have resulted from CIA estimates taken just before Israeli families took possession of new homes in the weeks before the beginning of the school year in September.

The surge in settlement expansion in the last part of 1997 came just as the Clinton administration was expressing the need for some measure of restraint in the Netanyahu government's expansion policies and at a time when Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu himself was giving assurances that "there won't be any substantial expansion of settlements and no substantial confiscation [of land]." As stated by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in a speech before the National Press Club on 6 August 1997, U.S. diplomatic efforts have focused on the need for a halt in "unhelpful unilateral acts . . . that prejudge issues reserved for final status negotiations." This formulation was later reconstituted as a "time-out" in settlement expansion and most recently explained as an effort to restrict settlement expansion to already built-up areas—approximately 3 percent of the West Bank.

Close to 80 percent of the 4,000 to 5,000 dwelling units on which construction began in 1997 have been sold, according to numbers compiled by the Prime Minister's Office.

This surprising level of demand, in contrast to the slowdown in the Israeli housing market, is attributed to the less expensive housing prices in settlements compared with costs in Israel itself. For example, a detached home of 150 sq.m. in the small settlement of Nokdim, southeast of Bethlehem, sells for $110,000—the price of a two-room flat in Jerusalem.

The lower housing prices in the settlements is the product of a number of factors: the classification of settlements as Development Area A that entitles them to the highest level of public subsidy, including 50 percent of the land costs; the low profit margins accepted by Amana, the construction arm of the settlement movement Gush Emunim, and by settlement-based contractors; and less stringent building codes than apply in Israel. Construction costs of $500 to $600 per square meter result in selling costs of only $700 per square meter, far less than similar charges in central Israel.

"In contrast to the view that there is a slowdown in the construction sector," one senior official told *Ha'Aretz*, "in Judea and Samaria, there is no slowdown. In the settlement of Allon, for example, thirty-seven apartment units were sold in one night. In Talmon, forty units were placed on the market and scooped up immediately. Demand simply is exploding."

In August 1996, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai was invested with the power to approve all settlement construction. Since that time, he has given final approval for fewer than 2,500 new units. How, then, has construction begun on more than twice as many dwellings, given the widely agreed upon figure of almost 5,000 housing starts during 1997?

Many of the units begun during 1997 were approved as long ago as the government of Yitzhak Shamir but were frozen after 1992 by Yitzhak Rabin. The Rabin government itself approved more dwellings than were actually begun during Rabin's tenure. Taking a page from Labor's book, it appears that many of these units have been quietly "unfrozen" by the Netanyahu government after it was decided that construction could commence without Mordechai's formal, public approval. And since most of this construction—up to 70 percent—is occurring in smaller settlements, it has, inexplicably, not been included in government statistics on housing starts in settlements.

Almost 2,000 of the units begun in 1997 are part of the Build Your Own House program. Of these, 1,000 are being built in the settlement of Elkana, 300 in Alfe Menashe, 250 in Karnei Shomron, 150 in Kaddumim, 80 in Kiryat Netefim, and 80 in Yakir, according to figures compiled by Amana.

The Build Your Own House program is part of the government's "quiet" construction, according to one Amana official. Its popularity is due to the relative ease of marketing construction plots by the Israel Lands

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Administration and the preference of contractors to sell plots for which they hold building rights rather than to take the risk of construction in a weak market.

In response to reports of large-scale settlement expansion, the State Department has energized its intelligence and monitoring efforts. U.S. attempts to receive prompt, accurate information on Israel's construction activity in the occupied activities directly from the Netanyahu government have been stymied by the office of Defense Minister Mordechai. According to well-informed sources, a top Mordechai aide refused a request made by U.S. Ambassador Edward Walker for information on settlement housing expansion in the West Bank, noting that the release of such information would only cause problems between Israel and the United States. "Walker's jaw dropped," commented one source.

The U.S. request for information of settlement building was not repeated, just as commitments made by Prime Minister Netanyahu to President Clinton at their first meeting in June 1996 have not been alluded to. Indeed, a cable under Walker's signature is said to have been sent to Washington advising that the United States refrain from further efforts to constrain settlement expansion.

LOW PROFILE IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

From Settlement Report, *May-June 1998.*

With negotiations between Israel and Syria in the deep freeze, news about settlement expansion in the Golan Heights has been conspicuous by its low public profile. Nevertheless, the small community of almost 15,000 Israeli settlers living in thirty-two Golan settlements continues at a steady pace of development and expansion.

On 20 January 1997, construction began on 600 new units at the settlements of Hamat Ghader, Ramot, and Gamla. "In fact," noted *Ma'ariv*, "we are speaking of an 'expansion plan' according to which new settlements will be established in the Golan, under the rubric of 'expanding' existing settlements."

Three new settlements are to be established as part of the first stage of the expansion. The next stage of the expansion—including 900 new settlement units—is under review.

In June 1997, at the outset of a campaign to expand residential construction and to increase the settler population—christened "Golan 2000"—settlement leaders reported that the settler population on the Golan was

to increase by 10,000 by the year 2000 to more than 25,000.

"The Netanyahu government is a partner in this plan," explained settlement leader Yehuda Wolman. "And there is agreement to invest in infrastructure. At the moment, there is a gap between plans and their implementation, [but] not because of policy. I hope that the gap will be reduced."

Expansion today is concentrated at the settlement of Katzrin, the largest among the Golan settlements with a population of 7,000. Three hundred new units were begun in mid-1997, and formal approval from Defense

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Minister Mordechai is being awaited to begin construction of an additional 1,000 units. To make possible construction of the additional units, the municipal area of Katzrin was expanded by 1,200 dunams bordering a nature reserve.

For the first time since the beginning of Israeli settlement on the Golan, a private-sector contractor, as opposed to government companies, undertook this residential construction project. The 300 cottages being built at Katzrin sell for $95,000 to $110,000. The state provides subsidized grants, benefits, and loans comprising 90 percent of this amount.

Since October 1997, thirty-five building plots have been marketed in Katzrin as part of the popular Build Your Own House program. The one-half dunam plots were offered at no cost. Buyers were required to pay $10,000 toward development costs, one-half the actual investment by the state. By mid-December, more than one hundred prospective buyers had signed up for the thirty-five available lots.

The easing of Israel's internal debate on the future of the Golan after Benjamin Netanyahu's electoral victory in May 1996 enabled the habitation of 300 empty units throughout the region and an increase in demand for additional construction, one settlement leader explained. Unlike past efforts, new construction is focusing on attracting settlers involved in areas other than agriculture. In another new development, Israelis, taking advantage of government purchase incentives and relatively inexpensive prices, are buying dwellings on the Golan Heights as vacation units.

SETTLER POPULATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, 1997

West Bank: 161,000

Gaza Strip: 5,500

Golan Heights: 15,000

East Jerusalem: 180,000

WEST BANK SETTLEMENT (EXCLUDING EAST JERUSALEM) DATA, 1997

Land confiscations (January–May): 30,000 dunams

New housing starts: 4,000–5,000

New housing completions: 4,000

Number of housing units in various stages of construction: 10,500

New housing units sold: 1,560

SETTLEMENT CHRONOLOGY

16 February

Israeli military authorities, backed by riot police and bulldozers, destroy fifty tents and evict 137 Jahalin bedouin from their traditional encampment near the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim to make way for its expansion. Military authorities state that they are preparing to evict the remaining several hundred bedouin.

17 February

Minister of Tourism Moshe Katzav, on a visit to the Golan Heights, promises to finance $3 million in tourism development for the area.

21 February

Three explosions occur in the Doboya settlement enclave in Hebron. No suspects are arrested.

22 February

An Israeli court halts the relocation of the Jahalin bedouin from a contested site east of the West Bank settlement of Ma'ale Adumim.

24 February

Ha'Aretz reports that three Israeli settlers and one soldier were injured by rocks thrown by Palestinians. Settlers report a "several fold" increase in the number of similar incidents on West Bank roads in recent weeks, connected with rising tensions in the Gulf.

26 February

A tender is published for the construction of seventy-two units in the settlement of Alfe Menashe.

1 March

U.S. businessman Irving Moskowitz, the financier behind the Ras al-Amud settlement plan, reportedly buys more land near Silwan, also in East Jerusalem and close to the Ras al-Amud site. Infrastructures Minister Ariel Sharon reportedly helped set up the deal.

6 March

Yerushalim reports that an electrified fence has been constructed around the settlement of Psagot near al-Bireh. Other nearby settlements were planning to construct similar fences.

9 March

Ha'Aretz reports the placement of twelve mobile homes on a hill near Eli, a settlement of 1,000 homes. The Ministry of Defense has approved the construction of 2,500 additional units.

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10 March

Three Palestinians are killed by Israeli troops at the Tarkumiya checkpoint close to the settlements of Telem and Adura, near the Hebron-area village of Dura. A settler is held for questioning after opening fire on Palestinians near Ramallah after his car was hit with stones.

Ma'ariv reports the head of Israel's domestic intelligence service—Shabak—as saying that the number of violent incidents in the Hebron area rose by 200 percent in 1997 compared with 1996.

The Israeli cabinet approves the continuation of the "Stars" plan for constructing new Israeli towns along the Green Line border between Jerusalem and Beersheva.

11 March

Confrontations between Palestinians and Israeli troops erupt in various West Bank locations.

12 March

A settler shoots a seventeen-year-old Palestinian near the village of Dura after his car is stoned by Palestinians blockading a road to nearby settlements. Clashes continue throughout the West Bank. Hatzofe reports Molotov cocktails thrown by Palestinians in Hebron. Israeli students are evacuated from the seminary at Joseph's Tomb in Nablus.

A tender is published for the construction of sixty-five units in neighborhood B (east) in the settlement of Ariel. Developers will pay $520,016 for development costs and $95,000 for the land.

13 March

Four Palestinians are injured by an explosion near Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. It is unclear whether Israelis or Palestinians were responsible for the explosion.

The IDF prohibits the entry of Jews into areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority, including Jericho and the Jewish seminary at Joseph's Tomb in Nablus.

It is reported that Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert has instructed city officials to plan on the assumption that Jerusalem's Arab population will increase to 45 percent by 2020, compared with 31 percent today.

Qol Ha'Ir reports that in 1996, 95 percent of new settlers at Givat Ze'ev came from Jerusalem.

In response to shots fired at the Jewish enclave in Hebron, settlers enter the Abu Sanina neighborhood and damage property. The Committee for Safety of the Roads—thought to be an offshoot of the illegal Kach movement—takes responsibility for vandalizing Palestinian-owned vehicles.

15 March

The Israeli government announces that 200 families of just-arrived immigrants from Ethiopia will be settled in mobile homes at Airplane Hill, next to Har Homa in annexed East Jerusalem.

West Bank chief of Preventative Security Jibril Rajub warns that if settlers enter Palestinian-controlled territory and attack its residents, they "will not leave there alive."

The civil administration in the West Bank rejects a formal Palestinian objection to the E-1 development plan. (See 30 March.)

16 March

Ma'ariv reports that the Jerusalem municipality has uncovered 2,500 cases of illegal construction in the Palestinian neighborhoods of the city.

Members of the National Religious Party meet at Har Homa with approximately 100 people who have registered to purchase apartments in the prospective settlement.

17 March

British foreign secretary Robin Cook visits the site of the Israeli settlement at Jabal Abu Ghunaym (Har Homa) in annexed East Jerusalem.

The UN General Assembly votes 120 to 3 (Israel, Micronesia, United States) in favor of convening a conference on measures to enforce the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 in the occupied territories.

25 March

Seven members of the Land of Israel Front in the Knesset write to Prime Minister Netanyahu warning, "If the government agrees to undertake a further redeployment from parts of the Land of Israel, we will no longer be partners in the coalition in support of it, and we will work to topple the government."

26 March

The Israel Military Objections Committee rules against petitioners from five Palestinian villages protesting the government's proposed confiscation of 12,500 dunams of land for the expansion of Ma'ale Adumim.

27 March

Qol Ha'Ir reports that Hebron settlers are planning to build new housing next to Bet Hadasah, where eleven families now live. Six new units are reported almost complete in the nearby Abraham Avenu complex.

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28 March

Six Palestinians are injured when IDF opens fire with rubber bullets on 300 demonstrators protesting the expansion of the Yitzhar settlement southwest of Nablus.

29 March

One hundred twenty-two rabbis issue a letter declaring, "The Land of Israel in its entirety belongs to the People of Israel. It is forbidden to give to Gentiles camping in the Land. We cannot lend a hand to the continuation of the wretched [Oslo] process, which must be stopped immediately."

30 March

Science Minister Michael Eitan visits Ma'ale Adumim settlement where he expresses support for the E-1 plan to create a territorial link between Jerusalem and the settlement. The plan calls for the construction of 5,000 hotel rooms and 1,500 single-family residential units.

31 March

Hundreds of Palestinians protest outside the settlement of Ariel, burning tires and throwing stones in an area over which they claim ownership.

During a planned tour of the E-1 area outside Jerusalem, Prime Minister Netanyahu tells an audience at Ma'ale Adumim that "the greater Jerusalem area is of equal value to the city of Jerusalem. Therefore the building here will continue as it does in Jerusalem." The population of the settlement has increased from 18,000 to 23,000 since mid-1996. Netanyahu also notes that he will try to find the resources for a new road/tunnel linking the settlement with Jerusalem.

1 April

A Palestinian school is closed by the civil administration in the Gush Etzion region. The students there had repeatedly thrown stones at Israeli cars.

3 April

In the wake of the death of Hamas leader Muhieddin Sharif 3/29, the *Jerusalem Post* reports that the IDF has instructed Israeli settlers "to act with more caution and tighten their guard in the settlements."

Qol Ha'Ir reports that 350 Ethiopian immigrants will be housed in trailers in the settlement of Efrat at a site between Givat HaDekel and Givat HaGefen. Preparation of the site will cost $200,000. Settlement officials are planning to use the site within two years for the construction of new housing for young couples from the settlement. Ofra and Kaddumim were also slated to house new immigrants from Ethiopia. Plans for the housing of 4,000 new immigrants in settlements had to be scaled back after only three settlements expressed interest in participating.

4 April

Peace Now reports new construction areas at the settlements of Abir Ya'acov and Talmon near Ramallah.

6 April

Ha'Aretz reports that in the settlement of Ariel, 281 of 356 housing units (80 percent) sold to eligible purchasers under a Ministry of Housing program in 1997 were bought by new immigrants, the highest percentage of any locale in Israel and the occupied territories. In Kiryat Sefer, 59 of 492 purchasers were new immigrants. In East and West Jerusalem, 578 of 2,411 eligible buyers were new immigrants.

12 April

A ceremony is held marking thirty years of Jewish settlement in Hebron. Peace Now demonstrators en route to Hebron are intercepted by security forces. Arrests and injuries are reported.

27 April

A Labor party Knesset member of Ethiopian origin visits the settlement of Ofra to convince new Ethiopian arrivals to leave the settlement.

28 April

Ha'Aretz reports the approval of 807 new housing units at Givat HaZayit (Olive Hill) in the settlement of Efrat near Bethlehem, a number four times that approved by the Rabin government. Planning continues for new housing at Givat Tamar, where then prime minister Yitzhak Rabin canceled construction in January 1995 after Palestinian protests.

30 April

Two thousand right-wing Israelis and settlers lay symbolic cornerstone at controversial Jabal Abu Ghunaym (Har Homa) site in East Jerusalem to pressure Prime Minister Netanyahu to speed up construction there.

PREEMPTING ARAB GROWTH IN EAST JERUSALEM: THE E-1 PLAN

The following special report, excerpted here, was written by Jan de Jong, a Dutch cartographer and former researcher for the Palestine Geographic Research and Information Center in Jerusalem. It was made

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possible through a grant from the Hani Salaam Foundation and was published in its entirety in the January–February 1998 Settlement Report.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's cabinet approved the E-1 development scheme in March 1997, barely a week after the decision to begin construction of the Har Homa settlement suburb in East Jerusalem. The uproar about Har Homa, resulting in a disruption of the Oslo negotiations, left little opportunity to focus attention on the approval of the far more controversial and important E-1 plan, which includes the now-desolate area between East Jerusalem and the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim.

The plan for E-1 far exceeds that of Har Homa, both in scope and impact. It covers an area five times as large. Moreover, it has significance beyond the territorial area that it encompasses, demonstrating the degree to which settlement expansion has been seamlessly integrated into Israel's national planning framework. E-1 controls the main axis of socioeconomic development for Israel itself, as outlined in Israel's Metropolitan Master Plan, completed in 1994–95. This critical area runs along the trajectory of Road 45, which originates in Greater Tel Aviv and leads via Ben Gurion Airport—scheduled to be greatly expanded in conjunction with large industrial zones around the new city of Modi'in—to Greater Jerusalem at the West Bank settlement of Givat Ze'ev. The road continues along the recently developed archeological site next to the prophet Samuel's tomb—to be surrounded at a distance by gentrified housing estates—and passes the East Jerusalem settlement community of Ramot and the expanding industrial park of Har Hotzvim to arrive at the projected "Eastern Gate" settlement site in East Jerusalem. From here it passes to Ma'ale Adumim, with its industrial zone, also scheduled for expansion, and another residential area projected at Tibek Kuteif 9, on the heights above the Jordan Valley.

The Significance of E-1

The E-1 scheme is the first to tie directly a West Bank settlement—in this case Ma'ale Adumim, the largest and most populous—to the municipality of Jerusalem. The plan's implementation will lay the territorial and infrastructural foundations for the Israeli capital to double in size in its metamorphosis into "Greater Jerusalem." This achievement will disrupt the only prospective Palestinian passage route still capable of relinking not only the Arab city's currently scattered neighborhoods but also the discontinuous Palestinian territories of the northern and the southern West Bank. It will suffocate the Arab city and disable its prospects for comprehensive rehabilitation.

The traditional Palestinian trunk road, linking the major cities of Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, and Nablus via East Jerusalem, is being paralleled on both sides by two major highways that largely bypass these places. One is the rerouted Road 60, linking the Israeli city of Beersheva in the far south to Afula in Israel's north, via Israeli Greater Jerusalem and settlements such as Kiryat Arba and Shilo in between. The other route, Road 80, is still on the drawing board and is of paramount importance for Arab Jerusalem as the last opportunity to construct a freeway linking the principle areas of Palestinian urban life. This proposed route has the potential to link Hebron and Bethlehem to Arab Jerusalem, from where it would continue along the projected ring road to be built east of Jerusalem. Crossing Road 45, with one branch leading toward Jericho, Road 80 could permit access to Arab Jerusalem's northern suburbs and Ramallah.

Israel's metropolitan plan, however, envisages Road 80 as a means for pushing the flow of West Bank interurban traffic away from Jerusalem; as a means for contracting Palestinian urban development by nurturing large settlement sites, such as E-1, along its route; and as defining the western border of the Israeli-annexed Jordan Valley in a final status agreement.

The Plan

The approved E-1 plan for the area between East Jerusalem and Ma'ale Adumim figures prominently in Israel's overall master plan for metropolitan Jerusalem, covering the West Bank's vital core area extending from Ramallah to Bethlehem and from Latrun to Jericho.

The Metropolitan Master Plan expresses a profound consensus within the Israeli political mainstream—from Labor to Likud and including the centrist parties—about the direction of development for Jerusalem's West Bank hinterland and the requirement to create some type of unified political and municipal structure in which the range of Palestinian interests is institutionally compromised to coordinate this development.

The master plan lays claim to most of the metropolitan area, with a larger proportion of territory than usual set aside for infrastruc-

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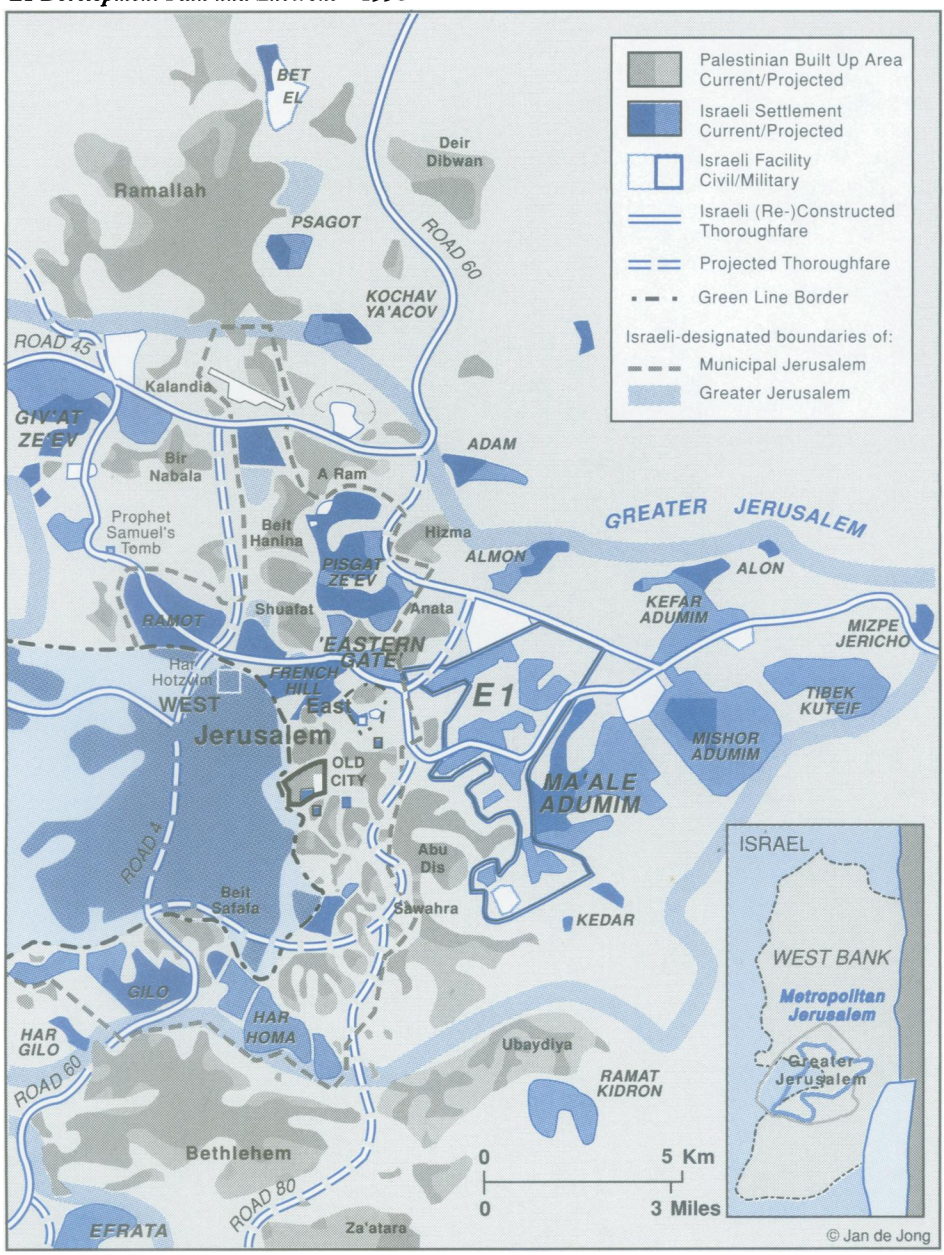
E1 Development Plan and Environs – 1998



ture, industry, tourist facilities, and nature reserves. This comprehensive approach has two related purposes: to develop Israeli Greater Jerusalem and its satellite settlement cities as an economically viable metropolis spread over the West Bank's core and integrated within Israel, and to control and contain Palestinian urbanization within the metropolis, channeling most of it toward the periphery. Among Israel's leadership, there is no longer much controversy about any particular component outlined on the metropolitan plan, be it Har Homa or the E-1 area; the only debate is about the timing of the plan's implementation, which may be of some consequence for the Oslo process.

The approved E-1 plan is less distinctive for the number of planned housing units

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(around 1,500 compared to more than 6,500 planned for Har Homa) than it is for the prominence given to infrastructure, institutions, and public facilities, including ten hotels with a total of 2,400 rooms. What stands out about this scheme is the large claim it imposes on prospective urban land (around 13 sq. km.), which will increase the size of Ma'ale Adumim (population 21,000) to 60 sq. km.—an area 20% larger than Tel Aviv (population 350,000). Most of this land is kept in reserve as an open green zone.

Eastern Gate

The territory included in the E-1 plan serves as the doorstep for another important area around the Palestinian Shuafat refugee camp in Jerusalem, between the settlement communities of French Hill and Neve Ya'acov. Known as the Eastern Gate, this development site will cement the eastern part of Israeli Greater Jerusalem (centered at the Adumim settlement bloc) to its northwestern part (between the Givat Ze'ev and Pisgat Ze'ev settlements). In so doing, it will bisect Arab Jerusalem's string of neighborhoods and surround its northern section, centered at Beit Hanina-Shuafat.

Far more than construction at Har Homa, Israel's implementation of the E-1 plan, scheduled to begin around the turn of the century, will present the Palestinians with a dramatic narrowing of options for Arab Jerusalem. If not challenged effectively, Arab Jerusalem's current condition as a disconnected sprawl of predominantly squalid neighborhoods will become permanent, rendering it an essentially symbolic remnant of an Arab urban community.

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