

Distancing the Two State Solution: The Ministry of Housing's Plans and Construction – Exposed

Settlement Watch, Peace Now, December 2015

Summary and Main Findings:

In November 2013, following international pressure, Prime Minister Netanyahu cancelled three tenders issued by the Ministry of Housing (MOH) calling for architects to bid for contracts to plan tens of thousands of housing units in settlements, including in E1. One year later, far from the public eye (without any public tender), the MOH hired architects to plan many of those plans. This planning, which contradicts any possible commitment to a two-state solution, continues through the present day.

In July 2013 Peace Now contacted the MOH, asking that it disclose its list of projects in the settlements since 2012, pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. Only after Peace Now petitioned to the court, requesting that it compel the MOH to disclose the information, did the MOH reveal partial information: 200 pages with tables containing over 1,000 lines of data. This data, together with other sources, reveal that the MOH is working on projects in settlement valued at over 330 million NIS.

The main elements of this planning are as follows:

- The MOH is working on plans for **55,548 units in West Bank settlements**, in different phases of planning:
 - About half of this planning is for construction east of the Separation Barrier.
 - The plans include more than 8,372 units in the E1 area.
 - The plans include two brand-new settlements: Givat Eitam (aka, E2, or A-Nahla, located south of Bethlehem), and Bitronot/Brosh, in the northern Jordan Valley.
 - The plans include the post-facto legalization/approval of at least six illegal outposts.
 - The plans include construction to transform a number of small settlements into bigger towns.

- In addition, the MOH is working today on plans for **immediate implementation** of construction of 3,786 units, 64% of them east of the Separation Barrier.
- In addition, the MOH is already funding infrastructure work for the construction of 4,054 units, 70% of them east of the Separation Barrier.
- In addition, it appears the MOH has funded a number of illegal projects in settlements.
- In addition, the MOH gave at least 1.8 million NIS to local authorities in settlements for campaigns encouraging Israelis to move to settlements.
- In addition, the MOH funded the expansion of the Beit Romano settlement in the heart of Hebron (1 million NIS), and gave another 350,000 NIS for the renovation of the settlers' "Beitar Club" in Hebron.
- In addition, the Ministry of Housing of Housing (MOH) is planning for settlement expansion in East Jerusalem:
 - The MOH is planning a new neighborhood in Atarot (10,000 units) between Beit Hanina and Ramallah
 - The MOH is planning for the expansion of Har Homa to the west (2,000 units)
 - The MOH is planning for 21 units in the heart of the Muslim Quarter, near Herod's Gate.

A. The MOH Plans in The Settlements

1. **Plans for future construction** - The Ministry of Housing is preparing new plans for 55,548 new residential units in settlements. 11,543 (21%) of them at the area of Maale Adumim and E1; 25,282 (46%) east of the Barrier; and 18,723 units (33%) west of the Barrier.

Those plans include framing plans which are preliminary, general plans used for future planning, and Urban Construction Plans (UCPs) which are detailed construction plans. In order for the plans to be implemented they must be approved by the Minister of Defense and then go through the approval process of the planning authority, which for West Bank settlements is the Higher Council for Planning at the Civil Administration. This process may take several years.

2. Plans for immediate construction - Upon obtaining a valid Urban Construction Plan (and sometimes in parallel to the UCP approval process) the MOH is also preparing in some of the settlements an execution plan in order to prepare construction tenders, build the infrastructures, etc. These plans show where the Ministry is planning to invest and build in the near future.

The data obtained by Peace Now show that the MOH is preparing execution plans for 3,786 housing units in settlements; 2,423 of them (64%) are east of the Barrier and 1,363 (36%) are west of the Barrier. See appendix for the full list and the map of plans.

3. Construction Funding – the MOH participates in the funding of infrastructure and public structures throughout Israel and the settlements. Between 2012 and 2015, the MOH participated in the funding of at least 4,054 housing units; 2,799 (70%) of them east of the Barrier and 1,255 (30%) west of the Barrier. Most of the projects are done in order to prepare the grounds for the construction of houses, and in some cases the project is to complete infrastructure after the houses are built.

In addition, the MOH has financed dozens of public structures in various settlements. In Hebron, it funded the expansion of the Beit Romano settlement with 1,000,000 NIS for classrooms. It also provided 350,000 NIS in funding for Beit Beitlar, a settlers club in Hebron. See appendix for the full list and the map of projects.

[See appendix the full list of plans](#)

Methodological Comment: the information received from the MOH included several lists with different levels of details. We did our best not to count the same plan twice, whenever we could clearly conclude that it was the same plan. However, there could be some inaccuracy due to the difficulty to identify the plans in each of the lists we received.

B. The Cancelled Tenders

"Tell [Housing Minister] Uri Ariel there is no E1. I won't hear of it."

- Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

In October 2013 the [Ministry of Housing issued tenders for planning](#) of tens of thousands of housing units in West Bank settlements, including, among others, thousands of units in E1 and in E2 (Givat Eitam, south of Bethlehem). The exposure of the tenders by Peace Now was followed by international condemnation that convinced Netanyahu to [order the cancellation of the tenders](#). However, the information obtained by Peace Now shows that one year later, in November 2014, the MOH – without any public tender or announcement – hired architects to work on many of the plans that were cancelled, including in E1, "E2", Nokdim, Tkoa, Maale Amos and many others.



משרד הבינוי והשיכון

דו"ח שורות בסטטוס מ - עד

פרוגרמה: כל הפרוגרמות
 משנת פרוגרמה: 2012 עד שנת פרוגרמה: 2015
 מחוז: 5 י"ם עירוני
 יישוב: 37 מעלה אדומים
 אתר: 10 אי 1

מאתריך סטטוס: 01/01/2014
 עד תאריך סטטוס: 11/05/2015
 הסכומים כוללים מע"מ

מ סטטוס: אישור חשב - 50 ישן - 140
 עד סטטוס: צו התחלת עבודה - 160

פרוגרמה שנה	מספר חוזה	מספר חוזה	תאור חוזה/שינוי	הרשאה להתייב	סה"כ לחוזה כולל התיקויות	סה"כ תשלומים כולל התיקויות	שם הספק	ח' מדד	שנת חוזה	ח' הפעלה	ח' מדד	ח' מדד	השת %	סט' סוב %
39	1510890	0	מבשרת אדומים דרום - השלמת תכנון ספורט ל	1,500,000.00	1,500,000.00	0.00	עיריית ביולה אדומים	08/2014	2014	11/2014	08/2014	1000	0	160
39	1510908	0	מבשרת אדומים מזרח - השלמת תב"ע	1,800,000.00	1,800,000.00	0.00	עיריית ביולה אדומים	08/2014	2014	11/2014	08/2014	2000	0	160
39	1510957	0	מבשרת אדומים צפון - בדיקת היתכנות לתב"ע	300,000.00	300,000.00	0.00	עיריית ביולה אדומים	08/2014	2014	11/2014	08/2014	1000	0	160

סה"כ תקציב לאתר: 10 אי 1 3,600,000.00

פרוגרמה שנה	מספר חוזה	מספר חוזה	תאור חוזה/שינוי	הרשאה להתייב	סה"כ לחוזה כולל התיקויות	סה"כ תשלומים כולל התיקויות	שם הספק	ח' מדד	שנת חוזה	ח' הפעלה	ח' מדד	ח' מדד	השת %	סט' סוב %
39	1510999	0	איתור אזורים כתוספת בנייה מנוחה לירושלים	780,000.00	780,000.00	0.00	עיריית ביולה אדומים	08/2014	2014	11/2014	08/2014	3000	0	160
42	1520915	0	הפיקה שדרוג והחלפת מתקנים, נ.אספלט, רי	854,332.00	854,332.00	0.00	עיריית ביולה אדומים	10/2014	2014	12/2014	10/2014	0	0	160

סה"כ תקציב לאתר: 99 אתר לא ספציפי 1,634,332.00

סה"כ תקציב ליישוב: 37 מעלה אדומים 35,369,244.19

סה"כ תקציב למחוז: 5 י"ם עירוני 35,369,244.19

סה"כ תקציב: 35,369,244.19

The report of the MOH on planning contracts in E1

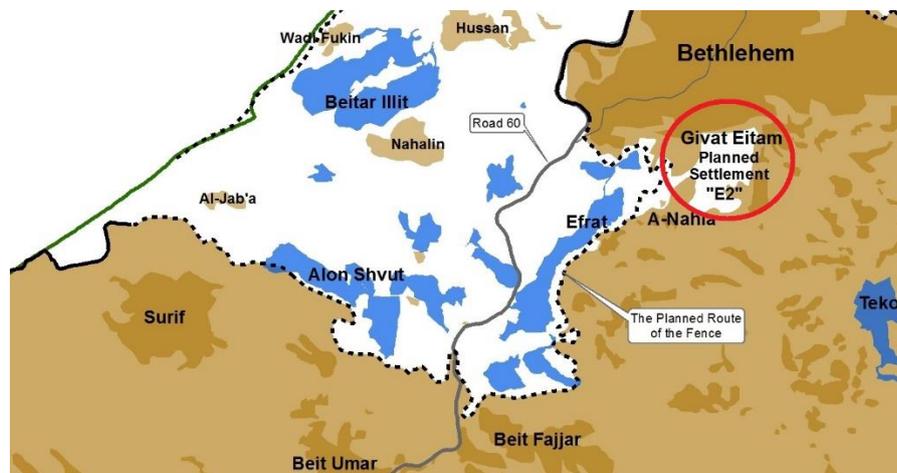
C. Strategic Plans

- **E1** – The area of Maale Adumim and E1 is one of the most sensitive areas in terms of the chances for two state solution. It is the main potential land for the development of the Palestinian metropolis between Ramallah and Bethlehem, which will be also connected to East Jerusalem. Israeli settlement in E1 will cut the West Bank in half and prevent territorial contiguity of a future Palestinian state. For these reasons, whenever an Israeli leader tries to promote the plans in E1, the international community strongly condemns them.

The MOH is quietly working on Plans for 8,372 units in E1 area, including:

- Continuing the work on the plans that were approved for deposit for public review in December 2012 (E1 South – 1,262 units; and E1 East – 2,340 units).
 - Preparing a new plan for 1,000 units in E1 North (feasibility test).
 - Preparing a new plan for 270 units in E1 West.
 - Hiring planners to locate new areas for construction of 3,500 new housing units in areas east of Jerusalem.
 - working on plans for 3,171 units in Maale Adumim: 580 units in Givat Hameyasdim; 120 units in Hagitit; 71 units in 06 neighborhood; 2,000 in 07-East and another plan with unknown number of units in 07-South.
 - In addition, in 2011 the MOH hired planners to prepare a framing plan for 1,000 units for the [Jahalin Bedouin](#) (out of which 200 units for approval and execution) in order to evict them from the area of Maale Adumim and E1 and to move them into the planned village.
- **A new settlement in [A-Nahla \(AKA "Givat Eitam" or "E2"\)](#) South of Bethlehem.** The MOH hired planners to prepare a detailed plan for the construction of 800 housing units south of Bethlehem (officially it is defined as a neighborhood of the settlement of Efrat; however, there is no real continuity between the two settlements and the Separation Barrier is planned to be built between them). In the past, the MOH prepared a framing plan for 2,500 units and now it is being promoted as the first 800 units are being planned in detail. This plan could be a crushing blow to the two state solution, because if implemented the new settlement would block Bethlehem to the south and bisect

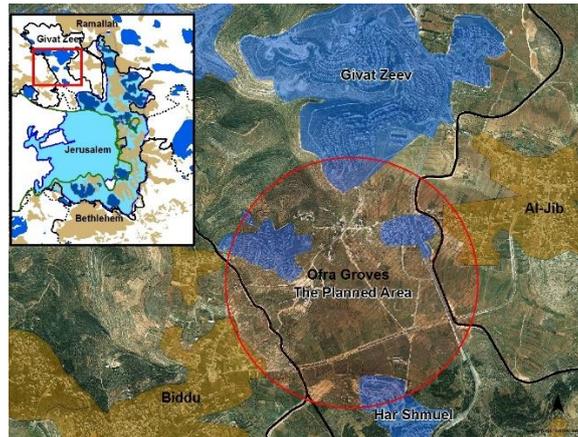
the main highway that connects the southern West Bank to Bethlehem. [See more here.](#)



- **A new settlement of 100 housing units – “Bitronot”/“Brosh”** – the MOH is planning a new settlement in the northern Jordan Valley, to be built on land formerly used for the “Brosh” Nahal (military) settlement, where an illegal outpost was established on 2013.
- **Legalization of illegal outposts and their turning into new settlements** – Some of the MOH plans are meant to retroactively legalize illegal outposts and make them into big formal settlements with 2,600 housing units, such as: Zayit Ra'anan (450 units) and Nahalei Tal (250 units) – west of Ramallah; Givat Salit (100 units), Bitronot / Brosh (100 units) – in the Jordan Valley, Mizpe Danny (200 units) and Bnei Adam (1,500 units) east of Ramallah, and Ibei Hanahal (300 units) south east of Bethlehem.

D. Other Strategic Settlement Activities

- **Givat Zeev** ("Ofra Groves") – a plan for 800 units between The Palestinian localities of Al-Jib and Biddu (as well as between the settlements of Givat Zeev and Har Shmuel) which is meant to create urban continuity between Jerusalem and Givat Zeev and to prevent a potential Palestinian West to East corridor.



- **Geva Binyamin (Adam)** – the 1,000 unit settlement of Adam is located south east of Ramallah and east of the Separation Barrier. The MOH is planning to multiply it by 6 with plans for additional 4,900 new units. One of the plans is meant to legalize the illegal outpost of Bnei Adam which is located 2 km east of the settlement, and to build 1,500 units in it. In addition the MOH is planning 1,300 units on the Western side of the Barrier, a neighborhoods that would practically be the expansion of Jerusalem further into the West Bank.
- **Hermesh North** – the MOH is investing 850,000 NIS to plan 300 units in this small isolated settlement west of Jenin, which many of its settlers moved out of it in recent years.
- **Maale Amos** – the isolated settlement of Maale Amos, southeast of Bethlehem, a small ultra-orthodox settlement abandoned by many of its residents in recent years, is now being promoted by the MOH. The MOH is currently preparing an execution plan for 108 units to be built in the near future. Not only that but the MOH is also planning a new neighborhood of 300 units that would legalize the outpost of Ibei Hanachal as well as a plan for 1,000 units and a framing plan for 5,000 units – all of which will make the settlement into a much larger town, east of the barrier. The potential for the development of Maale Amos comes from the construction of the [Lieberman Road](#) that was built a decade ago and made the drive from Jerusalem to the settlement much shorter. [See more about the Lieberman Road and the impact of infrastructure on settlement development.](#)
- **Ariel** – in Ariel there are plans for 3 new neighborhoods. One of them, Ariel West, for 699 units, is meant to expand the settlement westward, beyond any major road serving the multiple cities, onto a hill that was never included in the built-up

area of Ariel. This plan is already approved and the MOH is preparing its implementation.



- **Bat Ayin** – In addition to two plans for 220 and 3000 units, the MOH is working on a framing plan for 6,000 units that will make the settlement into a larger town.

E. Funding Illegal Construction

The list of projects funded by the Ministry contains dozens of instances of suspected illegal construction. In other cases, the funding appears to have been approved before the plans were approved (from the information received by Peace Now, it cannot be determined whether the money was transferred before the plans' approval or after). However, there are a few plans that appear to be clearly illegal:

- Gvaot – the MOH funded 530,000 NIS for the infrastructure of a public building, while in Gvaot there is still no valid plan.
- Shvut Rachel – the Ministry paid 600,000 NIS for the construction of a public building and in the past also 1,700,000 NIS for general infrastructure. A plan for parts of Shvut Rachel was only approved in October 2015.
- Eli – The MOH paid in the past 3,714,000 for general infrastructure in the settlement that has no valid plan.
- Itamar – A contract for the construction of a public building for 2,000,000 NIS was signed in December 2013. A plan for parts of Itamar was only approved in October 2015.
- Sde Bar – funding the infrastructure of 12 housing units, probably according to plan no. 411/1/2/1 that was yet to be approved. The approved plan allows only

the construction of few housing units for the counselors of the educational institution in Sde Bar.

- Kochav Yaacov – the MOH signed an agreement to build infrastructure for Hatzabar neighborhood (47 units), with 3,000,000 NIS in October 2013. The plan was approved in June 2014.
- Tal Menashe – in 1997 the MOH approved the funding of the infrastructure at the illegal outpost of Tal Menashe. On July 2012 a contract for the infrastructure works for 80 units with 560,000 NIS was signed while the approval of the plan was only in February 2013.
- Halamish – in 2008 the MOH approved the funding of the infrastructure of 27 units at the Yishay Neighborhood built by Amana, with more than 4,000,000 NIS. The plan was approved only in November 2011.
- Shiloh – in 2008 the MOH approved the funding of the infrastructure of 40 units built by Amana, with 1,450,000 NIS. The plan was approved in November 2013.
- Following a petition to the High Court of Justice filed by Peace Now, the police opened an investigation against the illegal construction in Halamish and Shiloh. As far as we know, no one was indicted.

It is important to note that there are additional projects that are probably illegal, but since the information provided is only partial, we could not confirm that they are indeed illegal projects.

F. Planning in East Jerusalem

In addition to the projects in the settlements, the MOH is also working on plans in sensitive areas in East Jerusalem.

- **A plan for a settlement in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City** – the MOH is working on a plan for 21 units near Herod's Gate, and apparently spent 734,718 NIS for this planning in recent years. In the past, the promotion of such plan raised strong condemnation by the international community.
- **A plan for a 10,000 unit neighborhood in Atarot** – the MOH invested more than 2,000,000 NIS in planning of a new huge neighborhood in the area of Atarot/Beit Hanina. If implemented, it will be the first new neighborhood in East Jerusalem since the establishment of Har Homa by Netanyahu in 1997 and it will cut the

existing territorial and urban continuity between Palestinian East Jerusalem and Ramallah.

- **A plan for Har Homa West (2,000 units)** – the MOH is planning an expansion of Har Homa westwards in order to connect it to the planned neighborhood of Givat Hamatos and to complete the cutting off of any potential Palestinian continuity between Bethlehem and the East Jerusalem Palestinian neighborhoods of Beit Zafafa and Shurafat.
- **Additional planning in the old East Jerusalem neighborhoods** – in addition to the above, the MOH is continuing to plan more construction in Pisgat Zeev, Neve Yaacov, Gilo and Ramot, and it was involved in the planning in Givat Hamatos.

G. Financing Campaigns to Promote Settlement of the Settlements

1.8M NIS was transferred by the MOH to the settlement local authorities for advertising purposes in 2014. It is important to note that we could not find similar funding issued to local authorities in Israel.

Locality	Publication Funds (NIS)
Shomron Regional Council	300,000
Gush Etzion Regional Council	300,000
Har Hebron Regional Council	300,000
Megilot Regional Council	300,000
Karnei Shomron and Kedumim	600,000

[Sample of the information as received from the Ministry of Housing – See here](#)

Appendix

List of the Ministry of Housing's plans for future construction

Settlement	Units	Contract Date*	Sum (NIS)	Comments
Adora	150	2013	1,500,000	
Alon Shvut	1,500	Unknown		Plan for 200 units and another for 1,300 units (maybe for the Gvaot settlement)
Argaman	300	Unknown		
Ariel	800	14-אוק	2,617,207	Ariel South-East 3
Ariel	889	Unknown		Ariel South-East 2; and another plan for 50 units in Ariel North
Asfar	268	2013		
Bat Ayin	300	2014	300,000	
Bat Ayin	220	2014	240,500	
Bat Ayin	6,000	Unknown		Framing plan for 6,000 units
Beit El	300	14-אוק	531,800	at the border-police base (to be evicted)
Beit El	200	Unknown		at the Central Brigade base
Beitar Illit	245	14-נוב	719,000	neighborhood A2 (maybe the plan is for 400 units)
Beitar Illit	1,566	Unknown		three plans to expand the settlement: neighborhoods B2 (116 units), C (700 units), B3 (750 units)
Bitronot	100	2014	781,992	New settlements in the north of the Jordan Valley
Dolev	200	Unknown		
E1	1,000	14-נוב	300,000	E1-North
E1	3,500	14-נוב	780,000	Locating new lands for potential construction East of Jerusalem
E1	1,262	14-נוב	1,500,000	Completing plan E1-South that was approved for depositing in December 2012
E1	2,340	14-נוב	180,000	Completing plan E1-East that was approved for depositing in December 2012
E1	270	Unknown		E1-West
Efrat	800	14-נוב	900,000	800 units in A-Nahla/Givat Eitam (E2)
Efrat	700	14-דצמ	2,521,029	Eastern slopes of Givat Hazayit
Efrat	350	Unknown		two plans: 100 units in Givat Hadagan and 250 units in Givat Hatamar
Eli	500	2014	1,400,000	
Elkana	70	Unknown		
Enav	300	2014	1,000,000	
Geva Binyamin (Adam)	1,300	14-דצמ	800,000	The plan is west of the Separation Barrier, connected to Jerusalem. It is practically an expansion of Jerusalem into the West Bank
Geva Binyamin (Adam)	1,000	Unknown		Adam B neighborhood
Geva Binyamin (Adam)	1,100	Unknown		Geva Neighborhood
Geva Binyamin (Adam)	1,500	Unknown		Adam C - the legalization of the outpost of Bnei Adam, east of the settlement
Givat Zeev	800	14-אוק	2,388,355	The Ofra Grove neighborhood planned between the Palestinian villages of Biddu and Al-Jib to create urban connection between Givat Zeev and Har Shmuel
Givat Zeev	400	Unknown		Ayalot East
Gush Etzion	537	14-אוק	1,200,000	The exact place of the plan is unknown to us
Gvaot	1,060	Unknown		Three plans to expand the settlement
Hagai	230	2014	106,100	

Settlement	Units	Contract Date*	Sum (NIS)	Comments
Hagai	94	2014	1,000,000	
Hemdat	250	2012	141,200	
Hermesh	300	2014	850,000	Plan for "Hermesh North"
Karmel	69	2014	128,100	
Karnei Shomron	986	Unknown		Neve Menahem B
Kiryat Arba	340	14-גוב	103,000	
Kiryat Arba	200	14-טפו	728,000	Givat Hamahane
Kiryat Arba	200	Unknown		
Kochav Yaacov	1,000	Unknown		Northern Neighborhood
Maale Adumim	580	14-מצד	1,170,000	Givat Hameyasdim
Maale Adumim	Unknown	14-קא	1,170,000	Plan for neighborhood 07-South (H) - unknown number of units
Maale Adumim	2,000	14-קא	1,500,000	Framing plan for 2,000 units in 07-East
Maale Adumim	400	Unknown		Mitzpe Nevo
Maale Adumim	71	Unknown		06 neighborhood
Maale Adumim	120	Unknown		Hagitit neighborhood
Maale Amos	50	2014	90,000	
Maale Amos	300	2014	500,000	the legalization of the Ibei Hanahal outpost
Maale Amos	1,000	Unknown		
Maale Amos	5,000	Unknown		Framing Plan
Maale Efrayim	500	Unknown		Western neighborhood
Maale Michmash	200	2014	800,000	A plan for legalization of the "Mitzpe Danny" outpost
Maale Michmash	800	Unknown		
Mehola	100	2014	395,700	the legalization of the Givat Salit outpost
Metzadot Yehuda	100	2014	1,033,000	
Mitzpe Yericho	300	Unknown		
Nahliel	3,500	Unknown		Framing plan for the eastern neighborhood
Negohot	260	2014	1,500,000	
Neriya	314	2014	1,418,600	
Nili	400	2014	1,400,000	
Nokdim	167	2014	851,700	
Nokdim	500	Unknown		
Rosh Zurim	500	2014	800,000	
Rotem	200	Unknown		
Sansana	300	2012	451,300	
Shima	40	2012		
Shvut Rachel	600	2014	1,500,000	
Susya	100	2014	1,000,000	
Talmon	150	2014	600,000	Talmon A
Talmon	250	2014	800,000	Kerem Reim - the legalization of the Nahalei Tal outpost
Talmon	450	2014	1,450,000	The legalization of the Zayit Raanan outpost
Telem	200	2013	1,330,000	
Yakir	600	2014	1,400,000	Yakir South

* In some cases it is a renewal of a contract signed in the past; for some plans we don't know when and if there was a contract and whether planners were hired.

List of execution plans and infrastructure funded by the MOH

Settlement	Execution Plans (units)	Infrastructure Funding (units)
Alei Zahav		197
Almog	138	
Argaman	18	15
Ariel	699	
Asfar	50	
Ateret	26	26
Avnei Hefetz		10
Bat Ayin		120
Beit Arye		50
Beit El	150	
Beit Ha'arava	21	31
Bqa'ot	19	10
Bracha		94
Dolev	10	44
Elon More	70	12
Enav		35
Eshkolot	64	
Gitit	16	16
Haggai		17
Halamish	24	27
Hamra	20	
Hinanit		80
Immanuel		102
Itamar	59	
Kalia	202	53
Karmeit Tzur		30
Karnei Shomron		195
Kedumim	70	56
Kfar Eldad	50	49
Kiryat Arba	183	234
Kiryat Netafim		33
Kochav Ha'shachar	60	92
Kochav Ya'akov	300	547
Ma'ale Amos	108	108
Ma'ale Efraim	60	60
Ma'ale Levona		44
Ma'ale Michmash		14
Maskiyot	36	20
Masu'a		10
Mechola	23	20
Mechora	15	10
Migdal Oz	50	
Migdalim	40	12

Settlement	Execution Plans (units)	Infrastructure Funding (units)
Mitzpe Shalem	10	13
Na'ale		64
Naama	16	12
Nahliel	122	9
Nerya		64
Netiv Ha'gdud	24	20
Nili		159
Niran	20	
Nokdim	100	16
Ofarim	480	
Ofra		26
Otniel	48	
Ovnat	30	40
Pedu'el		120
Petzael	20	20
Pnei Hever		5
Psagot		24
Reihan		30
Revava		172
Ro'i	12	10
Rotem	25	
Sde Bar		12
Shadmot Mehola	24	36
Shaked		56
Shavei Shomron		24
Shilo		40
Talmon		117
Tapuach		28
Telem		20
Tko'a	214	326
Tomer	40	25
Yakir		74
Yitav	20	
Yitzhar		19