Infrastructures of Dispossession and Control: Transport Development in East Jerusalem

January 2021

Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 2
Integration and Dispossession ............................................................................................ 2
Sustaining a Repressive Status Quo ................................................................................. 5
Overview of Jerusalem Transport Projects ..................................................................... 6
The Tunnel Road (Route 60) Expansion .......................................................................... 6
The American Road ........................................................................................................... 7
Qalandia Grade Separation and Underpass ................................................................... 8
French Hill Grade Separation ......................................................................................... 10
Jerusalem Light Rail Expansion ...................................................................................... 10
Corporate Complicity ...................................................................................................... 12
Oron Group ....................................................................................................................... 12
Margolin Bros .................................................................................................................. 13
Electra ............................................................................................................................... 14
Denya Cebus ...................................................................................................................... 16
Housing and Construction (Shikun & Binui Group) ....................................................... 18
Y.D. Barazani ..................................................................................................................... 19
Galnor Building & Development .................................................................................... 20
Shoham Engineering and Development ......................................................................... 21
Introduction

Transport infrastructure, which regulates not only space but the movement of people and goods across space, offers a powerful organizing instrument for an occupying power. Together with the Wall and the checkpoints, Israel’s transport network in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) works to manage and control both land and population in accordance with Israeli interests.

For Israel’s illegal settlement enterprise, infrastructure development provides a lifeline, enhancing settler connectivity, supporting economic development and normalizing Israeli presence on occupied land.

For the occupied Palestinian population, these infrastructure development projects are intimately tied to the processes of dispossession and facilitate land grabs. In this way transport projects are a means of annexing land, fragmenting and isolating communities and destroying agrarian livelihoods by separating farmers from their agricultural lands.

Moreover, these are not only processes of exclusion, but also of incorporation on unequal terms. New infrastructural projects address short-term Palestinian needs in ways designed to ultimately sustain and entrench the structures of colonial occupation which create these needs in the first place. For instance, Route 4370, a recently inaugurated segregated highway, purports to enable West Bank Palestinians to more easily and rapidly circumvent Jerusalem, a need rooted in the fact that they are prohibited by the occupying power from entering the city.

This flash report focuses on five large scale transport infrastructure projects in East Jerusalem currently at various stages of development, and exposes the private corporations involved in their implementation. All companies profiled herein were contacted prior to publication. To date, no responses have been received. The projects surveyed are: (1) the expansion of the Tunnel Road, a section of Route 60 south of Jerusalem; (2) the construction of the American Road, a north-south highway that cuts through East Jerusalem’s Palestinian neighborhoods; (3) the construction of an underpass and grade separation at the Qalandia checkpoint on the outskirts of Ramallah, north of Jerusalem; (4) the construction of grade separation in the French Hill settlement neighborhood and (5) the expansion of the Jerusalem Light Rail Network.

Our research shows that although the projects themselves are carried out by Jerusalem’s municipal development arm, the Moriah Jerusalem Development Corporation (hereafter: Moriah) and located largely within municipal lines, they target not only the settlement neighborhoods of illegally annexed East Jerusalem—but also the occupied West Bank as a whole. The transport projects examined in this publication are part and parcel of a broader Israeli strategy to promote the economic and spatial integration of the West Bank in terms of dispossession, segregation and control.

Integration and Dispossession

Within occupied East Jerusalem, transport infrastructure has long played a key role in boosting settlement expansion, de-developing Palestinian communities and normalizing Israel’s unilateral annexation of East Jerusalem, never recognized by the international community. This is evident in projects such as the planned cable car to the Old City of Jerusalem (hereafter: Old City), presently in the pre-qualification tender stage,¹ a tour-

---

¹ Jerusalem Development Authority, Public Tender No. 5/20 Invitation to Participate in
ism-cum-transport infrastructure project which serves to accelerate ongoing Judaization of the city, and the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian neighborhoods of Silwan and the Old City.3

However, Jerusalem transport infrastructure development extends far beyond municipal boundaries, facilitating the integration of the settlement blocs that encircle Jerusalem that are de-facto annexed to it by the Wall, collectively forming the so-called “Greater Jerusalem.” These include the Givat Ze’ev bloc to the north, the Ma’ale Adumim bloc to the east and the Etzion bloc to the south, established by Israel as a “second, organic wall”3 to entrench its control over Jerusalem and strategically break up the West Bank into disconnected enclaves.

Significantly, though the three sites are referred to as settlement blocs, they are not homogeneous settler spaces; rather they encompass Palestinian communities and agricultural lands.4 Their ever-increasing integration with Jerusalem through a complex web of roads, checkpoints and the Wall forms a continual assault on Palestinian land, life and livelihoods. This is the case in a recent plan for a bypass road connecting the settlements of the Etzion bloc to Jerusalem which, if approved, would allow Israel to expropriate privately owned Palestinian land along the route

4  Ir Amim, The “Minor” Annexation of Greater Jerusalem is a Major Disaster, July 2020.
and expand the settlement of Har Gilo west of the Palestinian village of Al-Walaja. Together with the Wall, the planned settlement would complete the enclosure of the village, isolating it completely from the Bethlehem area.\(^5\)

Transport infrastructure is also intimately tied to economic development; the ever-expanding road network makes major residential and commercial projects in Jerusalem-area settlements possible. A recent example of this can be found in the planned Design City shopping complex in the Mishor Adumim settlement industrial zone, the subject of an in-depth investigation by Who Profits in an upcoming publication. Design City, which describes itself as a “revolution for the inhabitants of the Greater Jerusalem”\(^6\), promises to be a major engine of regional economic development, creating thousands of jobs. According to its website, the project is made possible “due to excellent traffic conditions and a new system of roads and interchanges.”\(^7\) Another example can be found in the stated objectives of the expansion of the Tunnel Road, explored in detail below. Among other issues, the highway expansion allows Israel to lift restrictions on the construction of new housing units in surrounding cities, including the settlement of Beitar Illit.

The transportation links between Jerusalem and its satellite settlements are also viewed as critical to the economic life of the city. In a meeting of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee’s Subcommittee on Judea and Samaria, officials expressed concern that Jerusalem would lose its position as the “center of gravity” for settlements to the Tel Aviv metropolitan area if access to the city is not improved.\(^8\) Heavy investment in public transit services to settlements and settlement neighborhoods is also intended to feed into large-scale economic projects in West Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Municipality is currently investing billions of shekels in the Jerusalem Gateway project, an enormous business district located within the Green Line which will be connected to the Jerusalem Light Rail and a greatly expanded public transit network, as well as to the Jerusalem - Tel Aviv Fast Train (A1).\(^9\)

Infrastructural development in the so-called “Greater Jerusalem” area was heavily featured in the first ever Transport Master Plan for the West Bank, presented by the Ministry of Transport to settlement authorities in November 2020.\(^10\) Tellingly, though the master plan does not include annexed East Jerusalem, its preparation was spearheaded by the Jerusalem Transportation Master Plan Team, a joint body of the Jerusalem Municipality and the Ministry of Transportation, established in 1968 to formulate strategic plans for the Jerusalem metropolitan area.\(^11\)

The master plan is the result of a multi-year consultation process with settlement authorities\(^12\) emphasizing the political and admin-

---


7 Ibid.


12 See for example Knesset Foreign Affairs
istrative integration of the West Bank into comprehensive transport planning within the Green Line, including public transport planning. It operationalizes calls made by Israel’s previous Transport Minister Bezalel Smotrich for the enactment of “sovereignty through transport” in the West Bank, “erasing the transportational Green Line” through roads and mass public transit.\(^\text{13}\) The master plan’s flagship projects include the Qalandia underpass, the expansion of Route 375 between the Green Line and the Tunnel Road, and the expansion of Route 437, part of Jerusalem’s Eastern Ring Road.\(^\text{14}\)

**Sustaining a Repressive Status Quo**

In the oPt infrastructure is primarily about control. In the words of Brigadier Ofer Hindi, head of the Rainbow of Colors\(^\text{15}\) administrative division of the Israeli Ministry of Defense (hereafter: IMOD): “priorities are not only the result of traffic and congestion, but of security needs, and the perspective must be integrative.”\(^\text{16}\)

As illustrated above, the Israeli roads system functions as an instrument of exclusion, land grabs and economic de-development vis-à-vis the occupied population. At the same time, transport projects are also instruments of (segregated) integration, normalization and pacification. Projects such as the bus-only lanes and bus terminal currently under construction at the Qalandia checkpoint operate in tandem with recent technological and infrastructural investments in the checkpoints, described as an “upgrade” by the Israeli Civil Administration (hereafter: ICA), the administrative arm of the Israeli military in the oPt.\(^\text{17}\) The so-called upgrade includes features such as: moveable connectors at pedestrian checkpoints, expanded use of facial recognition and other biometric identification technologies and significantly, terminals,
bus lanes and parking areas with the objective of “maximizing utility [...] and enabling the passage of goods with greater throughput and efficiency.”\footnote{18} Transport planning is thus incorporated into Israel’s strategic move to recast Palestinians as clients and users of the occupation. In this way short-term quality-of-life improvements work to consolidate, normalize and sustain Israel’s highly restrictive mobility regime.

**Overview of Jerusalem Transport Projects**

In this section, Who Profits examines five major transport projects in and around East Jerusalem. All five are costly, enormous and complex engineering undertakings, but their real significance lies in how they combine to reshape occupied space, life and livelihoods.

**The Tunnel Road (Route 60) Expansion**

**Status:** Under construction

**Location:** Between the Rosmarin interchange in the Gilo settlement neighborhood in East Jerusalem and Husan Junction in the West Bank

**Cost:** 908.7 million NIS\footnote{19}

**Expected completion date:** 2025

**Complicit corporations:** Oron Group, Margo-lin Bros, Housing and Construction (Shikun & Binui Group)

The Tunnel Road, a section of Route 60 on which Palestinian vehicles are prohibited from traveling, connects the southern part of the West Bank to Jerusalem, bypassing the Palestinian city of Bethlehem. The road passes directly under the Palestinian town of Beit Jala and provides access to Jerusalem without coming into view of the surrounding Palestinian villages and neighborhoods.

The Tunnel Road is emblematic of the “territorial labyrinth created by the Oslo Accords”\footnote{20}—while the tunnel and the bridge are in Area C (under full Israeli control), the valley above, through which the bridge passes is in Area B (under Israeli military control and Palestinian civil control), and the Palestinian town below the tunnel is in Area A (under full Palestinian control).

The road serves the settlements of the Etzion settlement bloc, Beitar Illit, Efrat, Kiryat Arba and Hebron, as well as Israeli towns located within the Green Line that connect to it from the west via Route 375. According to Moriah, during morning hours the road serves some 1,300 vehicles in each lane and 30 buses per hour.\footnote{21}

To enter Jerusalem via Route 60, travelers must cross the Tunnels Checkpoint, located west of the entrance to Beit Jala, staffed by the Israeli military, the Israel Border Police, and private security companies. The checkpoint is closed to Palestinians with the exception of East Jerusalem residents.

The expansion project is comprised of three main tenders— the northern section from Gilo to Beit Jala, the southern section from Beit Jala to Husan Junction and a systems tender for traffic management systems which will connect to Jerusalem’s central traffic command center. One of the project’s objectives is to facilitate the lifting of restrictions on the construction of new housing units in surrounding cities, including the Beitar Illit

---

19 Israeli Ministry of Transportation, \textit{2019 Work Plan}.
settlement. An additional tender was published by Moriah in 2020 for the expansion of Route 60 between Husan Junction and Elazar Junction south of Jerusalem estimated at 22.5 million NIS.

The project entails building two new tunnels next to the existing tunnels and constructing a new bridge between Gilo and Beit Jala. The project also includes a first-of-its-kind rotating bus-only lane that will carry passengers from the Etzion settlement bloc into Jerusalem in the morning and in the opposite direction in the afternoon. Parts of the Tunnel Road run parallel to the Wall, requiring the private contractor to work in coordination with the Israeli military and IMOD.

In September 2019, the Israeli Civil Administration (ICA) issued expropriation orders for 11 dunams of land belonging to the Palestinian villages of al-Khader and Beit Jala for the construction of the road.

The American Road

**Status:** Under construction

**Location:** Between the Zeitim interchange in northern East Jerusalem and Nahal Darga Junction in southern East Jerusalem

**Cost:** 915.2 million NIS

**Expected completion date:** 2021 for the cen-
American Road

In the north, the American Road links with Route 4370, a segregated highway divided along its entire length by an eight-meter-high concrete wall officially unveiled by Israel in January 2019. Though situated entirely outside Jerusalem’s municipal boundaries, the renovation of Route 4370 was carried out by Moriah.

Qalandia Grade Separation and Underpass

Status: Under construction

Location: Qalandia checkpoint, between Route 60 and Route 45

Cost: 94.3 million NIS

Expected completion date: 2021

The Qalandia Grade Separation and Underpass Project is part of Israel’s concerted effort to reconfigure the space of the checkpoint. The Qalandia military checkpoint, located 10 kilometers north of Jerusalem and staffed by the Israeli military and private security companies, is one of the main checkpoints for Palestinians seeking to cross into East Jerusalem or the Green Line for work, health or any other purpose. Long infamous for its inhuman and crowded conditions and human rights violations, Qalandia has recently undergone major infrastructural and technological changes, to the tune of tens of millions of dollars. Under the guise of reducing wait times and improving conditions, the renovated checkpoints

Complicit corporations: Oron Group, Denya Cebus

The American Road is part of the Eastern Ring Road, itself part of a larger Israeli transport project encircling West Jerusalem and parts of East Jerusalem which cuts off and isolates East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank while improving connectivity between the northern and southern settlement blocs.

The American Road is comprised of three sections. The central section, which follows the route of a narrow historical road was built by a US company in 1966 and runs through Palestinian neighborhoods from a-Luza to Sheikh Sa’d. However, the southern and northern sections form a Jerusalem bypass, connecting the settlement blocs of Binyamin and Ma’ale Adumim in the northeast to the Etzion bloc in the south. A fourth section will connect the road to Hebron Road and the Talpiot East industrial zone.


30 Hasson, N., New Jerusalem ‘Apartheid Road’ Opens, Separating Palestinians and Jewish Settlers, Haaretz, 10 January 2019.
31 Ibid.
33 Ben Zion, I., Israel invests in high-tech upgrades at West Bank crossings, AP News, 29 July 2019 (Hebrew).
introduce heightened forms of surveillance, including facial recognition technology.

The checkpoint upgrade plan also includes investment in transport infrastructure, such as pedestrian bridges and bus services. To this end, Moriah is currently carrying out a 32 million NIS project to build a bus-only lane and a bus terminal in the checkpoint, slated to be completed in 2020. Part of the project involved the creation of a planning corridor for a future underpass and grade separation, connecting Route 60 to Route 45 to form an uninterrupted east-west axis between the Binyamin settlement bloc northeast of Jerusalem and Route 443 and Route 50 (Begin Highway), integrating them into Jerusalem and the Green Line.

While previous projects along the Wall were executed through IMOD tenders, the Qalandia underpass is the first project in which the IMOD “takes under its umbrella a civil body [...] a subsidiary of the Jerusalem Municipality, to carry out a security project.” In ICA-controlled areas, land for the project has been expropriated using military seizure orders rather than civil procedures, a move designed to accelerate the process and limit the ability of Palestinians to object. According to Brigadier Ofer Hindi, this is because the project is treated as part of the IMOD’s “security paradigm in the Jerusalem Envelope [the area

---

37 Ibid.
annexed to Jerusalem by the Wall.”

A legal agreement between the IMOD and the Ministry of Transport and Moriah is meant to clarify the division of responsibilities between civil and military bodies around the maintenance of the road, the security arrangements and the operation of the checkpoint itself. In a 2018 meeting of the Knesset Subcommittee on Judea and Samaria, Hindi noted that a budget has not been allocated for the operation of the checkpoint, stating that from the perspective of the IMOD, the Israeli government would need to finance either its privatization or its delegation to the Israeli police.

**French Hill Grade Separation**

**Status:** Under construction

**Location:** French Hill settlement neighborhood

**Cost:** 950.3 million NIS

**Expected completion date:** 2024

**Complicit corporations:** Electra

Moriah is carrying out a major highway project in northern East Jerusalem designed to enable uninterrupted travel between the northern Dead Sea in the West Bank and Tel Aviv. The project involves the construction of four tunnels extending 4.5 kilometers under the French Hill, Kevaram and Coca Cola junctions.

Though the stated purpose of the project is to ease congestion for settlement neighborhoods in northern Jerusalem, settlers in northern East Jerusalem contend that the plan is primarily designed to benefit those travelling from the direction of Ma’ale Adumim.

**Jerusalem Light Rail Expansion**

**Status:** Under construction

**Location:** Givat Ze’ev to Neve Yaakov (Red Line extension), Gilo to Mount Scopus (Green Line)

**Cost:** 11 billion NIS

**Expected completion date:** 2026

**Complicit corporations:** Galnor Building & Development, Housing and Construction (Shi-kun & Binui Group), Shoham Engineering and Development, Y.D. Barazani

---

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Israeli Ministry of Transportation, *2019 Work Plan*.
44 The companies profiled in this report are companies carrying out infrastructure work in preparation for the laying of new tracks. For more information on the consortium building and operating the new lines see Who Profits, *Spanish multinational CAF and Israeli Shapir win tender to expand the Jerusalem light rail*, August 2019;
The Jerusalem light rail connects Israeli settlements in occupied East Jerusalem with the western part of the city, expropriating occupied Palestinian land and promoting increased territorial contiguity for settlements. Its first line—the Red Line, which runs from the settlement neighborhood of Pisgat Ze’ev through the city center to Mt. Herzl, became operational in 2011.45

In August 2019, TransJerusalem J-Net Ltd., a consortium comprised of the Spanish multinational company CAF – Construcciones y Auxiliar de Ferrocarriles and the Israeli publicly traded company Shapir Engineering and Industry, won an 11 billion NIS tender for the construction, operation and maintenance of the Green Line and of the extension of the Red Line. The consortium will also operate and maintain the existing Red Line, currently operated by the CityPass consortium.46

The planned Green Line will connect the settlement neighborhood of Gilo to the western part of the city and to Mt. Scopus in northern East Jerusalem. The extension of the Red Line will reach the settlement of Neve Yaakov. The project includes the construction of 53 new stations, the supply of 144 railroad cars and the renovation of the existing 46 cars of the Red Line. The winning consortium will also supply the communication systems for the light rail operating and maintaining the Green Line for a period of 25 years and the Red Line for a period of 15 years, with the possibility of extending the term of operation.

In November 2020 the winning consortium...
The company is marketing 64 plots in the settlement of Eshkolot in the West Bank, 40 of which are villas and 24 of which are self-builds. The company’s effective stake in the project is 80%.

In 2020, Gili and Yoel Azaria, a wholly owned subsidiary of the group, won a tender to carry out tunneling, bridge construction and paving works in the southern section of Route 60 (The Tunnel Road) in East Jerusalem for an estimated 273 million NIS.

In 2019, Pamco Engineering, a partially owned (54%) subsidiary of the company, won a tender to carry out exploration drilling for the northern section of the American Road in East Jerusalem.

**Corporate Complicity**

**Oron Group**

**Profile:** A publicly traded Israeli company active in the fields of civil engineering, infrastructure, real estate and quarrying.

The company owns and operates a quarry near the settlement of Tene Omarim in the West Bank. The company has two authorization contracts for quarrying for a total land area of 374 dunams, which were valid until 31.12.2015 and have yet to be renewed. Its quarrying license, which is renewed annually, is valid until 31.12.2020. Meitarim’s annual quarrying rate is 1.9 million tons, with maximum production capacity of 4 million tons. The company also operates a concrete plant and an asphalt plant near the quarry.

The company built a commercial project in the settlement of Ma’ale Adumim in the West Bank for an estimated 43 million NIS. The project was developed by Carasso Real Estate and completed in 2017.

For more information, visit the company’s website at www.oron.co.il or contact them at 6 Yehuda Hanachtom, Be’er Sheva 8424902, Israel.
In 2018-2023, the company is involved in the Lev Yehuda – al-Arroub Bypass Road, a transportation project carried out on Route 60 in the West Bank by Netivei Israel, a state-owned national transport infrastructure company for 340 million NIS. This 10 kilometers section of Route 60 bypasses the Palestinian refugee camp al-Arroub and the Palestinian village Beit Ummar. The new bypass road includes surveillance cameras, concrete walls and floodlights in the areas near the road.

Lev Yehuda is part of a transportation master plan advanced by the settlement umbrella organization Yesha Council, designed to facilitate the smooth and rapid travel of settlers between the Etzion settlement block, Mt Hebron and Kiryat Arba. In 2020, the company won a tender published by Moriah for the provision and management and supervision services for the expansion of Route 60 between Husan Junction and Elazar Junction.

2017-2023, the company is carrying out three commercial projects in Mishor Adumim settlement industrial zone in the West Bank developed by members of the Kass Group. These include Design City, a new shopping complex slated to open in 2021 and expected to include some 160 stores, the Luna Kass theme park located next to the Design City complex, and Ayalot Center K2, an event venue.

2020-2022, the company is involved in a residential project in the settlement of Givat Ze’ev in the West Bank. The 90 million NIS project involves the construction of 140 housing units on 11.5 dunams.

2019-2020, the company carried out a project in the Tower of David in the Old City in East Jerusalem for 45 million NIS.

2014-2019, the company was involved in the development of Gilo Hillsides West, a residential project in the Gilo settlement neighborhood in East Jerusalem. The 35 million USD project entails infrastructure work for a neighborhood of 800 housing units.

In 2019, the company won a tender for the provision of management services to section 21/3 of the expansion of Road 6 in the Naqab (Negev) region. Section 21 affects the Bedouin Palestinian villages of al-Masoudeyh, al-Gren, Khirbet Wtan, Ber al-Hamam, Kh’ashem Zaneh, Sween, a-Shahbi, Wadi al-Niam and Wadi al-Mashash. According to a statement by Bimkom – Planners for Planning Rights, 2,500-3,000 people reside in areas directly affected by the plan and will be displaced by the planned road.

2015-2018, the company carried out a commercial project for Rami Levy Hashikma Marketing in the Atarot settlement industrial zone for 20 million USD.

2011-2014, the company was involved in Policity, the Israeli police’s national training center. The company participated in preparing the BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) tender and was responsible for quality assurance.

In 2006, Margolin – Ariel, Engineering and Management, a partially-owned subsidiary of the company (70%), managed an infrastructure project in the settlement of Elkana for the Israel Land Authority.

2000-2004, the company oversaw the establishment of Rimonim Prison and Ofek Juvenile Prison in Hasharon Prison complex.
Additionally, the company has carried out projects for the Israeli Ministry of Defense and Air Force.

**Ownership:** The company is owned in equal parts by Shai Margolin Holdings, Eyal Hochman Projects Management, Amir Alperovitz Holdings and Haim Yisha’yahu Grestner.

**Subsidiaries:** Margolin Bros. Engineering & Consulting - Jerusalem Ltd (75%), Margolin – Ariel, Engineering and Management (70%).

**Partners:** Clients include: Carmel Agrexco; Motorola; Bloomberg; Shikun & Binui Group; Israel Natural Gas Lines; Australian Government – Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade; Israel Railways; Israeli Ministry of Defense; Israel Prison Service.

**Head office:** 7 Gush Ezion, Givat Shmuel 5403007, Israel

**Tel:** +972-35323660

**Website:** www.margolin-bros.com

**Global presence:** Czech Republic, Congo, Romania

**Electra**

**Profile:** A publicly traded Israeli company active in the fields of real estate, infrastructure development, facility management and electro-mechanical infrastructure.

In August 2020, Electra Infrastructure, a partially owned subsidiary of Electra (51%), won a 470 million NIS tender published by Moriah to build the major road infrastructure works and tunnels in the French Hill in East Jerusalem.

The company is also involved in a major waste management project developed by Hagihon Company, the Jerusalem Municipality’s water and sewage corporation. The project will carry wastewater from parts of East Jerusalem and the West Bank to the Og purification plant in the Jordan Valley where the treated wastewater will be used to irrigate agricultural settlements. A sign listing Electra Infrastructure as the executing company for the waste collection line in the Kidron Basin was documented in the Horkanya Valley in the West Bank in March 2020.

Electra Infrastructure was contracted by Israel Railways to build tunnel 3A in section D of the Tel Aviv- Jerusalem Fast Train (A1). The A1 train route crosses the Green Line into the West Bank in two areas using occupied Palestinian land—some of it privately owned, for an Israeli transportation project aimed exclusively for Israelis.

In February 2015, Electra and Electra Infrastructure won a tender for the construction and maintenance of the track and electronic systems of the A1 train. Both companies won this 160 million Euro tender as part of the Electra Bögl Group international consortium, together with the German company Max Bögl Stiftung & Co. and Swiss company Signon Schweiz. The project includes laying 46 kilometers of track, setting up electromechanical systems that support railway operation, management and integration. The maintenance services included in the contract will be provided by the consortium for a period of 10 years.

Electra Infrastructure also built vehicle tunnels near a road next to the settlement of Nili.

Electra Construction, a fully owned subsidiary of Electra, built 141 housing units in the settlement neighborhood of Har Homa in East Jerusalem. Its main construction projects in Har Homa are Garden Har Homa and Har Homa Lichtenstein, two projects that consist of 69 housing units on over 19,000 square meters of Palestinian land. The company also built 52 housing units in the settlement of Ma’ale Adumim on over 7,500 square meters of Palestinian land.
In 2017, Electra Elevators, a fully owned subsidiary, won a tender to supply and maintain elevators for Ariel University.

Through another fully owned subsidiary, Ariel Properties, the company managed a shopping center in Ramot, a settlement neighborhood in East Jerusalem.

Electra Projects (formerly Electra Katzenstein), a company subsidiary liquidated due to merger, operated a factory of 4,780 square meters in the Barkan settlement industrial zone in the West Bank. The company was also chosen to install switchboards in the A1 train.

Electra and several of its subsidiaries provide services to Israel Prison Service (IPS) and to the Israeli Population and Immigration Authority. Electra Y.B., a fully owned subsidiary of Electra, is contracted by the IPS to execute and maintain a biometric project from 2016 to 2019 for NIS 1.24 million.

Electra Consumer Products, a subsidiary of Electra’s parent company Elco, installed air conditioners in public buildings in the settlements of Modi’in Ilit, Ma’ale Adumim and Givat Ze’ev in the West Bank.

Together with Minrav Group, Electra is building the Israeli military’s training campus (Bahad City) in the Naqab (Negev) region within the framework of a BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) project.

**Traded:** Public | **TASE:** ELTR

**Ownership:** The company is controlled by Elco Ltd (TASE: ELCO), which holds 48.48% of the company’s shares. Elco is controlled by Daniel and Michael Salkind through their holdings in G Salkind.

Other shareholders include: Migdal Insurance and Financial Holdings (10.81%), Clal Insurance Entreprises Holdings (9.26%) and Itamar Deutscher (0.23%).
Infrastructures of Dispossession and Control

In 1999, the company won a tender to build 72 housing units in the Har Homa settlement neighborhood in East Jerusalem. In 2004, the company won a tender to build 2,500 housing units in the Green Park neighborhood, located in Modi’in Illit settlement in the West Bank.

In October 2010, in an official letter to Who Profits, Denya Cebus’ parent company Africa Israel Investments stated: “Neither the company nor any of its subsidiaries and/or other companies controlled by the company are presently involved in or has any plans for future involvement in development, construction or building of real estate in settlements in the West Bank.” However, soon after the company received a 78 million NIS contract to construct the C-Jerusalem project in the settlement neighborhood of Gilo in East Jerusalem. Denya Cebus was the contractor for the project. The C-Jerusalem project includes 121 housing units, and its construction was completed in 2014.

In addition, the company has been involved in building the Nofei Hasela neighborhood in the settlement of Ma’ale Adumim in the West Bank. The company also built a commercial complex for Rami Levy HaShikma Marketing in the Atarot settlement industrial complex in the oPt. The complex comprises 23,000 square meters and includes a supermarket, shops and parking areas.

The company built residential dormitories for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in partnership with Minrav. The residential complex in East Jerusalem, includes 9 buildings and can accommodate 1,600 students.

In 2019, the company won a tender to carry out infrastructure and development works for the southern section of the American Road in East Jerusalem. The American Road is
part of the Eastern Ring Road, which connects the northern and southern parts of East Jerusalem. The project benefits Israeli settlers while cutting off Palestinian neighborhoods from one another.

The company is also involved in multiple projects with the IMOD and the Israeli army. Its military projects include the construction of the Israeli army’s technology and communications base in Be’er Sheva. The subsidiary, Denya-Alum is involved in conducting aluminum works in a military base in the Naqab (Negev) region.

Another company subsidiary, Geo Denya is involved in the construction of three sections of an underground wall around the besieged Gaza Strip under an IMOD contract valued at 770 million NIS.

Another subsidiary, Cebus-Rimon is involved in the construction of a military training city. This subsidiary was also involved in the construction of the Tel Aviv Jerusalem Fast Train (A1) route, which crosses into the West Bank via two sections.

In January 2020, Cebus Rimon won a tender to supply and install prefabricated transformer rooms in the settlement of Modi’in Illit in the West Bank.

Ownership: The company is owned by Africa Israel Investments, a private Israeli company jointly held by the publicly traded Lapidoth Capital (80%) and Altusher Shaham Provident and Pension (20%). Lapidoth Capital is controlled by Jacob Luxenburg (84.92%) and traded on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange under the ticker symbol LAPD.

CEO: Ronen Ginsburg

Subsidiaries: Subsidiaries include: Cebus Rimon (100%); Africa Israel Residences (56.01%); Denya Sela (50%); GEO Denya (50%); Denya Cebus International Holdins (100%); Denya Cebus Romania (100%); Denya
Infrastructures of Dispossession and Control

Partners: Company clients include: the Israeli Ministry of Defense; the Israeli President’s Office; the Israeli Population and Immigration Authority and the Israeli Ministry of Environmental Protection.

The company has joint ventures with China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC), Electra, ZMH Hammerman and Shikun & Binui Group.

Revenue: 4.41 billion NIS in 2018

Head office: Yoni Netanyahu 1c, Or Yehuda, Israel
Tel: +972-3-5383838
Website: www.denyagroup.co

Global presence: Cyprus, Poland, Russia, Romania, Thailand, US

Housing and Construction (Shikun & Binui Group)

Profile: A publicly traded Israeli corporation active in the fields of infrastructure, real estate development, water, energy and concessions. The Group has significant involvement in the construction and expansion of settlements and occupation infrastructure in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, as well as in areas surrounding the besieged Gaza Strip.

In 2017-2019, the Group’s fully owned subsidiary Housing and Construction - Solel Boneh Infrastructures was awarded three IMOD contracts valued at 1.2 billion NIS for the development and construction of an above ground and underwater technological wall armed with sensors around besieged Gaza.

In 2019, Solel Boneh won a tender issued by Moriah for infrastructure work in the Depot 25 complex of the Green Line of the Jerusalem Light Rail. That same year, the company won a second Moriah tender for infrastructure and development work on the Tunnel Road, a section of Route 60.

Further, Solel Boneh is involved the expropriation of occupied Palestinian land by carrying out construction work in the Modi’in Illit, Ariel, Ma’ale Adumim, Ramat Shlomo and Har Homa settlements. Moreover, as a leading Israeli infrastructure and construction company, it has been involved in the construction of settlement accompanying infrastructure such as Road 90, one of Israel’s central roads, which traverses the West Bank, including the Jordan Valley region.

Shikun & Binui holds a 50% stake in Policity, the consortium that won the tender to construct the Israeli police’s national training center under a PPP/PFI agreement providing financing, planning, installation, operation and maintenance of the training center for a period of 25 years. The center was built by Solel Boneh in 2014.

The Group is also heavily involved in the Israeli governmental plan for the industrialization and development of the Naqab (Negev) region. The plan aims to expand industrial production and military presence in the region, with the aim to increase the region’s Israeli-Jewish population and boost their local economy. This plan comes at the direct expense of the Naqab’s Palestinian population, particularly those living in villages that remain unrecognized by the Israeli state, thus placing them in imminent danger of forced displacement.

In the Naqab, the Group is particularly involved in the relocation of military facilities to the Naqab and the development and maintenance of solar energy fields. In 2020, the Group won a 12 billion NIS contract to finance, plan, develop, operate and maintain an Israeli military intelligence campus for 26 years.
In 2018, the Group and Africa Israel Ltd. won equal shares in a 7 billion NIS IMOD contract for the planning, construction and operation of an ICT military campus and the military’s Southern command unit. The project will be run by the companies for 25 years and includes a data center stretching over 180 dunams and some 200,000 square meters of buildings. The site is to host 5,000 permanent soldiers, including the Israeli military’s cyber units. In the same year, the Group won another IMOD contract for the renovation and expansion of the Emanuel military base in the Naqab worth 200 million NIS.

In the field of green energy, the company’s fully owned subsidiary Shikun & Binui Energy has been involved in the development, construction and maintenance of major solar farms in the Naqab. Together these farms produce over 300-MW of electricity and comprise thousands of dunams of land.

Moreover, in 2020, the company’s subsidiary Shikun & Binui Holdings Ltd. and Edletech won the Israel Electric corporation tender for the sale of the Ramat Hovav power plant which operates on natural gas. The power plant is in Ramat Hovav industrial zone, home to Israel’s most dangerous health hazards is located a few meters from the unrecognized Palestinian Bedouin village of Wadi Naam.

Traded: Public | TASE: SKBN
Ownership: Major shareholders: O.S Israel Investment Company Ltd. (46.99%); Clal Insurance Ltd. (6.68%) and the Phoenix Insurance company Ltd. (5.08%).
CEO: Tamir Cohen
Subsidiaries: Subsidiaries include: Shikun & Binui America (100%); Shikun & Binui Real Estate (100%); Shikun & Binui Solel Boneh (100%); Shikun & Binui Concessions (100%); Shikun & Binui Energy (100%); Shikun & Binui Europe (100%) and Shikun & Binui SBI Infrastructure (100%).

The company also holds 50% of shares in Negev Energy Ashalim Thermo-solar Ltd.

Partners: The company’s main clients are Israeli and international governmental bodies (including the IMOD, the Israeli police, Neteivei Israel – National Transport Infrastructure Company, the Nigerian federal government and the US federal government).

Revenue: 6.49 billion NIS in 2019
Head office: 1A Ha’yarden St., P.O.B 1133, Airport City 7010000, Israel
Tel: +972-3-6301111
Website: www.shikunbinui.com

Global presence: Azbarigan, Benin, Czech Republic, Colombia, Côte d’Ivoire, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Hungary, Kenya, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Switzerland, Togo, Tanzania, Uganda, US

Y.D. Barazani
Profile: A private Israeli construction and development company.
A full subsidiary of the company, Y.D. Barazani Real Estate and Construction, built 12 housing units in the Pisgat Ze’ev settlement neighborhood in East Jerusalem. In 2014, the company also won an Israel Land Administration tender to build 38 housing units in the settlement of Geva Binyamin (Adam) in the West Bank.

The company carried out development and infrastructure work in the settlements of Har Adar, Beit Aryeh, Har Gilo, Kalia and Efrat in the West Bank, paved roads in the settlement neighborhood of Talpiot East in East Jerusalem and built projects in the Beit El settlement and the Mishor Adumim settlement industrial zone.
Y.D. Barazani also paved a section of Route 1 between Mishor Adumim and the Mitzpe Yeriho settlement, and Route 20, which connects Route 1 to Route 443.

Through its subsidiary, Netivei Adumit, the company owns and operates a quarry and an asphalt factory next to Mishor Adumim.

Y.D. Barazani also performs infrastructure and maintenance work in East Jerusalem for the Jerusalem municipality and the Israeli Ministry of Tourism.

In June 2019, the company won a tender issued by Moriah Jerusalem Development Corporation to carry out infrastructure, construction, paving and development work in Section 16 of the Green Line of the Jerusalem Light Rail in the Gilo settlement neighborhood.

Ownership: The company is privately owned by Dayan Bar and Yosef Barazani.


Revenue: 230 million NIS in 2019

Head office: 11 Kiryat Hamada St., Jerusalem, 9777611, Israel
Tel: +972-2-9406000
Website: www.ydb.co.il

Galnor Building & Development

Profile: A private Israeli construction and development company.

The company carried out road and infrastructure development work in the settlement of Beitar Illit in the West Bank, and the settlement neighborhoods of Ramat Shlomo and Gilo in East Jerusalem.

In 2014, the company won a tender issued by Moriah Jerusalem Development Corporation to carry out a grade separation project on Route 60 (Tunnel Road) and Route 50 (Begin Highway) in Gilo.

In 2017, the company won a tender issued by Moriah for paving, systems and an inspection structure on Route 437 north of Jerusalem in the West Bank. The road is part of the Eastern Ring Road. Some 300 dunams were expropriated from the Palestinian village Hizma for the construction of Route 437.

In 2019, the company won a tender issued by Moriah for development and maintenance work for the construction of a parking lot in Mt Scopus in East Jerusalem.

Galnor was also contracted by the Antiquities Authority at the Rockefeller Museum in East Jerusalem to build tunnels under the Old City of Jerusalem.

In June 2019, the company won three tenders issued by Moriah to carry out infrastructure work for the Jerusalem Light Rail. Two tenders are part of the preparation work for the Green Line in the Gilo settlement neighborhood, and one is part of the extension of the Red Line to the settlement neighborhood of Neve Ya’akov. In February 2020 the company won a fourth tender issued by Moriah for infrastructure work for the Green Line in Mt. Scopus.

In June 2020, the company won a tender issued by Moriah to carry out infrastructure, development and construction work for a school in the Palestinian neighborhood of Beit Hanina in East Jerusalem.

Ownership: Owned by Katriel Zolty through his holdings in Zokat Investments.

Head office: 13 Knafei Nesharim, Jerusalem 9546425, Israel
Tel: +972-2-6436236
Shoham Engineering and Development

Profile: A private Israeli company specializing in civil engineering, construction and infrastructure and development work.

In February 2020, the company won a tender issued by Moriah to carry out infrastructure work for the Green Line of the Jerusalem Light Rail. The Green Line connects the Gilo settlement neighborhood in East Jerusalem to the western part of the city and to Mt Scopus in East Jerusalem.

In June 2019, the company won a tender to carry out infrastructure, development and paving work in the Jabel Mukaber neighborhood in East Jerusalem.

In November 2018, the company won a tender issued by the Israeli Ministry of Housing and Construction to carry out road infrastructure work in the Gilo settlement neighborhood.

In 2016-2017, the company carried out development work in public open spaces in the Har Homa settlement neighborhood, including the construction of playgrounds.

The company carried out infrastructure and development work in Bab Huta in the Muslim Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem.

The company carried out multiple projects for the Western Wall Heritage Foundation in the Western Wall Plaza and Tunnels. In June 1967, Israel demolished the Mughrabi (Moroccan) Quarter that was built immediately next to the Western Wall to build the plaza, bulldozing Palestinian homes and expelling their inhabitants. The company constructed a public building on an area of 1,500 sqm in the plaza and a synagogue inside the Western Wall Tunnels.

In June 2017, the company won a tender for paving and development work in Wadi al-Joz in East Jerusalem. In 2016, the company paved the Shuafat Ring Road in East Jerusalem.

In 2017, the company carried out a residential project in the settlement of Efrat in the West Bank.

Ownership: Owned by David Goldschmidt.

Partners: Company clients include: Israel Railways; Moriah Jerusalem Development Corporation; The Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter; the Western Wall Heritage Foundation and East Jerusalem Development Ltd.

Revenue: 68.5 million NIS in 2019

Head office: Technology Park, 5th Floor, Jerusalem 9695808, Israel

Tel: +972-26788112

Website: www.shoham-eng.com