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REFUGEES AND SETTLERS : GEOGRAPHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT 1967-1978

by

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VOLUME II

APPENDICES
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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Durham, November 1978.

APPENDICES

A P P E N D I X I

Glossary

(In Alphabetical Order)

Ahdut ha Avoda. 'Unity of Labour' Party. Split from Mapai in 1942 and from Mapam in 1954. Somewhat more socialist in orientation than Mapai. In 1968 joined with Mapai and Rafi to form the Israel Labour Party, thereafter operating as a faction within Labour.

Alignment. (Ma'arakh) Refers to the common electoral front of Mapam and the Israel Labour Party from 1969 onwards.

Artzi. See 'Ha Kibbutz ha Artzi'.

Beitar. Acronym for 'Brit Yosef Trumpeldor = Yosef Trumpeldor Association. Revisionist Zionist (Herut) youth movement (See 'Ten' uat Herut-Beitar).

Bnei Aqiva . NRP youth movement.

Displaced Persons. In the context of the 1967 West Bank out-movement this refers exclusively to native West Bankers.

Eretz Yisrael. 'The Land of Israel' - the biblical/historical territory of the Jewish people. Roughly coterminous with the area termed 'Palestine' (incorporating present-day Israel, Judea-Samaria, Gaza and much of Transjordan), though varied greatly in extent through the biblical period. In current political usage it generally refers to 'Western Eretz Yisrael', which excludes areas east of the Jordan River and is identical with the territory of the former Palestine Mandate (Israel, Judea-Samaria, Gaza).

Fatah. Reverse acronym for 'Harakat at Tahrir al Watani al Falastini' = Palestine National Liberation Movement. Principal Palestinian guerrilla organisation and headed by Yassir Arafat.

Gahal. Acronym for 'Gush Herut - Liberali' = Herut-Liberal Block. Product of 1965 alignment between the Herut and Liberal Parties.

Green Line. Israeli term for the 1949-67 armistice lines between Israel and her neighbours.

Gush. Hebrew for 'block' (of land or of people).

Gush Emunim. See P.288 in the main text.

Ha Ihud ha Haqlai. 'The Agricultural Union' Moshav Movement. Association of smallholder settlements independent of any particular political affiliation. 35 moshavim and 2 moshavim shittufiim in 1974.

Ha Kibbutz ha Artzi. 'National Kibbutz'. Currently the largest Kibbutz Movement. Main base of support for the Mapam faction. 1974-75 settlements with a combined population of 32,800. Founded in 1927.

Ha Kibbutz ha Meuhad. 'The United Kibbutz'. Settlement Movement politically oriented toward Ahdut ha Avoda. 1974-55 settlements with a combined population of 25,100. Founded in 1927.

Ha 'Oved ha Tzioni. 'Zionist Labour' Moshav Movement. Small federation linked with the Independent Liberal Party. 12 moshavim and 6 moshavim shittufiim.

Ha Po'el ha Mizrahi. 'Eastern Labour' Moshav Movement. Religious moshavim (all aspects of public life governed by the Torah) associated with the National Religious Party. 56 moshavim and 4 moshavim shittufiim in 1974.

Herut. 'Freedom' Party. The organ of revisionist Zionism after 1948 and Israel's largest right-wing political faction. Strongly attached to the idea of Israeli control over the whole of western Eretz Yisrael and favouring a less 'socialized' economy. Joined with the Liberals to form Gahal in 1965 and with other smaller parties to form Likud in 1973.

Ihud ha Kevutzot ve ha Kibbutzim. 'Union of Kibbutzim'. Settlement movement politically associated with Mapai. 1974-77 settlements with a combined population of 29,300. Founded in 1951.

Independent Liberal Party. Small centrist faction. Aligned with Liberals 1961-65. Reverted to former independence when Liberals joined Herut in Gahal. Gradually reduced from 5 Knesset seats (1966) to 1 seat (1977).

Jewish Agency. Established in 1929 as the organizing agency for Jewish activity under the British Mandatory regime in Palestine. After the establishment of the State of Israel the Jewish Agency continued as a semi-autonomous bureaucracy responsible for immigration and land settlement - the internal arm of the World Zionist Organization. Its relationship with the Government was regulated by the 1954 'covenant', setting up a co-ordinating board through which the Government effectively exercised control.

Jewish National Fund. 'Keren Keyemet le Yisrael'. Established by the Zionist Organization in 1901 to acquire land in Palestine for agricultural settlement. After the establishment of the State the National Fund became primarily concerned with land development - soil preparation, afforestation and rural road works.

Kibbutz. Collective settlement. Collective principle applies in all spheres of life. Land is worked in 'common' and families live in a communal framework, for example eating in a single dining hall. Although agriculture is the most characteristic activity many kibbutzim also engage in industrial production and service provision. Settlement populations range from c.100 to c.1500.

Knesset. The unicameral Israeli Parliament. 120 members elected every four years by universal suffrage under proportional representation.

Labour Party. Product of Mapai/Rafi/Ahdut ha Avoda union in 1968. Thereafter Israel's dominant political grouping and coalition leader up to the 1977 election.

La'am. 'For the People' (formerly known as State List). Small faction in Likud. Formed (as State List) in 1969 by Rafi members who rejected Rafi's 1968 attachment to the Labour Party.

Liberal Party. Right of centre party associated with Herut in Gahal (1965) and Likud (1973). Represents powerful business interests and primarily concerned with economic matters (as illustration see Cabinet posts occupied in 1977 Likud administration - Appendix II P.375).

Likud. 'Unity'. Right of centre alignment formed in 1973 by Gahal (Herut, Liberals), State List, Free Centre. United by hostility to 'socialism'. Emergence (on initiative of Ariel Sharon) ominous for Labour as it gave Herut greater respectability and a more moderate appearance.

Mapai. Acronym for 'Mifleget Po'alei Eretz Yisrael' = Israel Workers Party. Israel's dominant political faction up to the 1968 formation of the Labour Party. Thereafter continued as the major source of political power within Labour. Social-democratic.

Mapam. Acronym for 'Mifleget Po'alim Me'uh edet' = United Workers Party. A socialist-Zionist party to the left of Labour in Israel's political spectrum. Since 1969 has formed the 'Alignment' with the Labour Party.

Mekorot. 'Sources' - Israel's national water company. Implements and manages water supply projects.

Meuhad. See 'Ha Kibbutz ha Meuhad'.

Moshav. Co-operative agricultural village, generally comprising 60-100 families. Land is held individually (though not privately owned), members have private incomes and families live separately from one-another. Members only come together for marketing, bulk purchasing and the operation of central facilities and services.

Moshav Shittufi (Co-operative Moshav). Intermediate between co-operative (moshav) and communal (kibbutz) organization. 1) Land is worked in 'common' with income being equally divided between members but 2) families live separately and arrange their household budgets individually.

Nahal. Acronym for 'No'ar Halutzi Lohem' = Fighting Pioneering Youth. Military-agricultural settlement corps of Tzahal. Soldiers serving in Nahal spend a large portion of their compulsory military training period (three years) in establishing and maintaining agricultural outpost settlements in frontier areas. Since 1967 Nahal has been used as a spear-head for a considerable portion of the occupied territory colonization and it operates in close collaboration with the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency and with Settlement Movements. Nahal (paramilitary) settlements can move through three phases :

1) Ma'ahaz. Small outpost with no extra-military activity, but intended to evolve into a settlement.

2) He'ahazut. Still paramilitary but members of the unit also engage in non-military activity, usually but not necessarily agricultural.

3) Hitnahalut. Settlement becomes civilian. Can happen when an original Nahal unit completes its military service and remains as a civilian nucleus or when an entirely different civilian group moves into a site prepared by a Nahal unit. It is generally only at this stage that permanent accommodation is built and that population rises over c.60 - the Ma'ahaz and He'ahazut stages use tents, prefabricated huts and derelict buildings.
It should of course be noted that many occupied territory settlements have never gone through a Nahal period (having been civilian from the outset) and that Nahal outposts do not necessarily ever become permanent civilian villages.

National Religious Party (Mafdal - Miflaga Datit Leumit). Israel's largest political faction with an orthodox religious base. Founded in 1956 by union of Mizrahi (orthodox Zionist group) with its labour arm, Ha Po'el ha Mizrahi. Regular partner in governing coalitions. Until 1974 the main tendency of the NRP was 'moderate', but between 1974 and 1977 it became increasingly influenced by the mystical religious fundamentalism of Gush Emunim. 1978 saw the party severely split between 'moderate' and 'millenial' wings.

National Water Carrier. Canal and pipe system transferring water from Lake Tiberias to the northern Negev.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Executive of the guerrilla organizations. Since 1969 dominated by Fatah.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) Palestine guerrilla organization. More radical than Fatah. Founded by George Habash.

Rafi. Acronym for 'Reshimat Po'alei Yisrael' = Israel Workers List. Split from Mapai in 1965 - headed by Ben Gurion, Dayan, Peres. Stood to the right of the central tendency in Mapai and, despite Ben Gurion's personal opposition to major boundary adjustments after the June 1967 War, it became identified as a proponent of large-scale territorial expansion by the early 1970's (through Dayan and Peres). In 1968 merged with Mapai and Ahdut ha Avoda to form the Labour Party, therafter operating as an internal faction. By 1975 it had largely lost its separate identity.

Settlement Movement. A settlement, whether moshav or kibbutz, tends to have a particular ideological orientation and on this basis is affiliated to a Settlement Movement (a national federation of communal/co-operative villages with similar social and political outlooks. Movements are linked to political parties, in which they often possess great influence relative to their numerical strength, owing to their prominent role during critical formative phases of Israel's political history. This especially applies to factions making up the Labour Mapam Alignment.

Sheli. 'Shalom/Shivyon le Yisrael' = Peace/Equality for Israel. Front of leftist splinter groups formed for 1977 elections. Favours near-total withdrawal from occupied territory.

Tahal, Acronym for 'Tikhnun ha Maim le Yisrael' = Water Planning for Israel. Directs planning and research for all forms of water supply and distribution.

Tenu'at ha Moshavim. 'The Moshav Movement'. Israel's largest Moshav association. Closely linked with the Histad (Federation of Labour) and politically oriented toward the Labour Party (before 1968 toward Mapai). 218 moshavim and 9 moshavim shittufiim in 1974.

Tzahal. Acronym for Tzavah Haganah le Yisrael = Israel Defence Forces (includes army, air force and navy).

Volcani Institute. Research Institute of the Ministry of Agriculture (plant biology, soil chemistry, irrigation, veterinary medicine).

Yishuv. Palestine Jewry under the British Mandate, 1920-1948.

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A P P E N D I X II

Israel : Composition of Governments and Parliaments 1967-1978.

(See Appendix I for notes on parties and factions).

1. 1966 Knesset Elections

Party/faction	No. of seats
Mapai - Ahdut ha Avoda	45
Herut - Liberals (Gahal)	26
NRP	11
Rafi	10
Mapam	8
Independent Liberals	5
Agudat Yisrael	4
Communists	4
Arab lists (affiliated to Mapai)	4
Poalei Agudat Yisrael	2
Ha-olam ha-zeh	1

2. Government Composition, June 1967

National Unity Government dominated by Labour (Mapai - Ahdut ha Avoda) Alignment

a) Coalition parties/factions

Labour Alignment	12 Cabinet positions*
NRP	3 " "
Mapam	2 " "
Rafi	1 " position
Independent Liberals	1 " "
Gahal	1 " "

* 9 Mapai, 3 Ahdut ha Avoda

b) Ministers

Levi Eshkol	(Alignment)	Prime Minister
Moshe Dayan*	(Rafi)	Defence
Yigal Allon	(Alignment)	Labour
Zalmon Aranne	(Alignment)	Education & Culture
Yisrael Barzalai	(Mapam)	Health
Mordekhai Bentov	(Mapam)	Housing
Josef Burg	(NRP)	Social Welfare
Moshe Carmel	(Alignment)	Transport
Abba Eban	(Alignment)	Foreign Affairs
Yisrael Galili	(Alignment)	Without Portfolio
Haim Givatai	(Alignment)	Agriculture
Moshe Kol	(Indep.Libs)	Development Tourism
Pinhas Sapir	(Alignment)	Finance
Eliahu Sasson	(Alignment)	Police
Zeev Sharef	(Alignment)	Commerce & Industry
Moshe Shapira	(NRP)	Interior
Ya'acoq Shimshon Shapira	(Alignment)	Justice

Zerah Wahrhaftig	(NRP)	Religious Affairs
Yisrael Yeshayahu	(Alignment)	Posts
Menahem Begin*	(Herut)	Without Portfolio

*Joined to make National Unity Govt., May 1967

3. Changes June 1967 - Dec.1969

a) Parties

21 Jan. 1968 - Mapai, Ahdut ha Avoda, Rafi merge as Israel Labour Party - Alignment with Mapam.

b) Government

1 July 1968 - Yigal Allon appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Immigrant Absorption.
Yosef Almogi (Rafi) becomes Minister of Labour.
26 July 1968 - Pinhas Sapir resigns as Finance Minister (appointed Sec.Gen. of Labour Party)
Zoev Sharef takes over finance.
17 March 1969 - following death of Levi Eshkol
Golda Meir becomes Prime Minister.

4. 1969 Knesset Elections

Party/faction	No. of seats
Labour-Mapam Alignment	56
Gahal	26
NRP	12
Independent Liberals	4
State List	4
Agudat Yisrael	4
Arab Lists (affil.to Alignment)	4
New Communist Party	3
Poalei Agudat Yisrael	2
Free Centre	2
Ha-olam ha-zeh	2
Israel Communist Party	1

5. New Government, Dec. 1969

National Unity Government dominated by Labour - Mapam Alignment (Gahal withdrawal July 1970. see 6)

a) Coalition parties/factions

Labour-Mapam Alignment	15	Cabinet positions*
Gahal	6	" "
NRP	3	" "
Independent Liberals	1	" position

* 12 Labour, 3 Mapam

b) Ministers

Golda Meir	(Lab.Mapai)	Prime Minister
Yigal Allon	(Lab.Ahdut ha Avoda)	Deputy P.M. & Education
Abba Eban	(Lab.Mapai)	Foreign Affairs
Moshe Dayan	(Lab.Rafi)	Defence
Pinhas Sapir	(Lab.Mapai)	Finance
Haim Givatai	(Lab.Mapai)	Agriculture
Yosef Almogi	(Lab.Rafi)	Labour
Ya'aqov S.Shapiro	(Lab.Mapai)	Justice
Zeev Sharef	(Lab.Mapai)	Housing
Shlomo Hillel	(Lab.Mapai)	Police
Yosef Sapir	(Gahal Liberal)	Commerce & Industry
Ezer Weitzman	(Gahal Herut)	Transport
Elimelech Rimalt	(Gahal Liberal)	Posts
Haim Landau	(Gahal Herut)	Development
Moshe Shapira	(NRP)	Interior
Yosef Burg	(NRP)	Social Welfare
Zerah Wahrhaftig	(NRP)	Religions
Moshe Kol	(Indep. Lib)	Tourism
Yisrael Galili	(Lab.Ahdut ha Avoda)	Without Portfolio
Shimon Peres	(Lab. Rafi)	
Leo Doltzin	(Gahal Lib)	
Menahem Begin	(Gahal Herut)	
Victor Shemtov	(Mapam)	
Yisrael Barzilai	(Mapam)	

Health and Emmigrant Absorption still to be appointed - reserved for Mapam.

6. Changes Dec. 1969 - Dec. 1973

a) Parties

Sept. 1973 - Likud Alignment formed - agreement between Gahal, State List (later La'am), dissident Alignment group, Free centre - altogether 32 Knesset seats.

b) Government

30 July 1970 - Gahal withdraws from Government due to Labour acceptance of 'Rogers Plan' (potential retreat from occupied territory).
5 March 1972 - Haim Bar Lev (Labour) Minister of Commerce & Industry - succession to Pinhas Sapir who held post with Finance.
30 Oct. 1973 - Shapiro resigns from Justice, no successor named.

7. 1973 Knesset Elections

Party/faction	No. of seats
Labour - Mapam Alignment	51
Likud	39
NRP	10
Torah Front (Agudat Yisrael + Poalei Agudat Yisrael)	5
Independent Liberals	4
New Communist Party	3
Civil Rights list (breakaway from Labour)	3
Arab lists (affil. to Alignment)	3
Moked	1

8. New Government, March 1974

Coalition dominated by Labour-Mapam Alignment.

a) Coalition parties/factions

Labour-Mapam	16 Cabinet positions*
NRP	3 " "
Independent Liberals	2 " "

* 14 Labour, 2 Mapam

b) Ministers

Golda Meir	(Lab.Mapai)	Prime Minister
Yigal Allon	(Lab.Ahdut ha Avoda)	Dep.P.M.& Education
Abba Eban	(Lab. Mapai)	Foreign Affairs
Moshe Dayan	(Lab. Rafi)	Defence
Haim Bar Lev	(Lab. Mapai)	Commerce,Industry,Development
Haim Givatai	(Lab. Mapai)	Agriculture
Shlomo Hillel	(Lab. Mapai)	Police
Aharon Yariv	(Lab. Mapai)	Transport
Shimon Peres	(Lab. Rafi)	Information
Haim Tzadok	(Lab. Mapai)	Justice
Yitzhak Rabin	(Lab. Mapai)	Labour
Yehoshua Rabinowitz	(Lab. Mapai)	Housing
Aharon Uzan	(Lab. Mapai)	Communications
Victor Shemtov	(Mapam)	Health
Shlomo Rosen	(Mapam)	Immigrant Absorption
Moshe Kol	(Indep.Lib)	Tourism

Yosef Burg	(NRP)	Interior
Yitzhak Raphael	(NRP)	Religious Affairs
Michael Hazani	(NRP)	Social Welfare
Yisrael Galili	(Lab. Ahdut ha Avoda)	Without Portfolio
Gideon Hausner	(Indep.Lib)	

9. New Government, May 1974

Labour-Mapam Alignment + Small parties (No NRP participation until Oct. 1974). 1 seat majority in Knesset.

a) Coaltion parties/factions

Labour-Mapam	16	Cabinet positions*
Independent Liberals	2	" "
Civil Rights List	1	" position

* 14 Labour, 2 Mapam.

b) Ministers

Yitzhak Rabin	(Lab.Mapai)	Prime Minister
Yigal Allon	(Lab.Ahdut ha Aboda)	Dep.P.M. & Foreign Affairs
Shimon Peres	(Lab.Rafi)	Defence
Yehoshua Rabinowitz	(Lab.Mapai)	Finance & Housing
Haim Bar Lev	(Lab.Mapai)	Industry
Aharon Yadlin	(Lab.Mapai)	Education
Gad Ya'covi	(Labour)	Transport
Moshe Baram	(Labour)	Labour
Shlomo Hillel	(Lab.Mapai)	Police & Interior
Aharon Uzan	(Lab.Mapai)	Agriculture
Moshe Kol	(Indep.Lib)	Tourism
Victor Shemtov	(Mapam)	Health
Shlomo Rosen	(Mapam)	Immigrant Absorption)
Avraham Ofer	(Lab.Mapai)	Communications
Aharon Yariv	(Lab.Mapai)	Information
Haim Tzadok	(Lab.Mapai)	Justice & Religions
Yisrael Galili	(Lab.Ahdut ha Avoda)	Without Portfolio
Gideon Hausner	(Indep.Lib)	
Mrs.Shulamit Aloni	(Civil Rights)	

10. Changes May 1974 - May 1977

Government

October 1974 - NRP rejoins the ruling coalition
Old portfolios returned (Yosef Burg - Interior, Yitzhak Raphael - Religious Affairs, Michael Hazani - Social Welfare)

Civil Rights list leaves coalition.
Knesset majority rises
Avraham Ofer becomes Minister of Housing
Jan 1975 Yariv resigns - Yadlin takes over Information, Uzan takes over Communications.
Nov. 1975 Zevulun Hamer (NRP) becomes Minister of Social Welfare (following death of Hazani)
Dec. 1976 NRP Ministers resign - Rabin Govt. continues as caretaker admin. until May 1977 elections.
Jan.1977 Avraham Ofer commits suicide.

11. 1977 Knesset Elections

End of Alignment rule.

Party/faction	No. of seats
Likud	43
(Herut - 19, Liberals - 15, La'am - 8, Free Centre - 1)	
Labour Mapam	32
Democratic Movement for Change	15
NRP	12
Democratic Front for Peace and Equality	5
Agudat Yisrael	4
Poalei Agudat Yisrael	1
Shlomzion	2
Shelli	2
Flatto-Sharon	1
United Arab List	1
Independent Liberals	1
Civil Rights Movement	1

12. New Government, June 1977

Likud dominated coalition (with religious parties)

a) Coalition parties/factions

Likud	9	Cabinet positions
NRP	3	" "
Independent (Dayan)	1	" position
Agudat Yisrael	)	Decline participation in Govt.
Poalei Agudat Yisrael	)	support in Knesset.

b) Ministers

Menaham Begin	(Likud-Herut)	Prime Minister
Simha Erlikh	(Likud-Liberal)	Finance
Moshe Dayan	(Independent)	Foreign Affairs

Ezer Weitzman	(Likud-Herut)	Defence
Ariel Sharon	(Likud-Shlomzion)	Agriculture
Yigal Horowitz	(Likud-La'am)	Commerce,Industry, Tourism)
Zevulun Hamer	(NRP)	Education & Culture
Yosef Burg	(NRP)	Interior & Police
Aharon Abu Hatzeira	(NRP)	Religious Affairs
David Levi	(Likud-Herut)	Immigrant Absorption
Yitzhak Moda'i	(Likud-Liberal)	Energy & Infrastructur
Gideon Patt	(Likud-Liberal)	Construction
Eliezer Shostak	(Likud-La'am)	Health

13. Changes,June 1977 - June 1978

Government

Oct. 1977 Democratic Movement for Change joins coalition. Portfolios : Yigael Yadin - Deputy P.M., Shmuel Tamir - Justice, Meir Amit - Transport and Communications, Yisrael Katz - Labour & Social Betterment.
Jan. 1978 Likud additions to Cabinet : Haim Landau (Herut) and Moshe Nissim (Liberal) - Ministers Without Portfolio.

14. Knesset vote on Camp David accords and disbandment of Sinai settlements, 28-9-78 (from Ha-aretz 29-9-78 P.2)

Party/faction	For	Against	Abstain
Likud			
Herut	12	4	5
Liberals	15	-	-
La'am	1	3	4
Ahdut	1	-	-
NRP	5	3	4
Democratic Movement for Change	7	-	-
Dayan	1	-	-
Agudat Yisrael	4	-	-
Poalei Agudat Yisrael	-	1	-
COALITION TOTAL	46	11	13
Alignment			
Labour	19	4	3
Mapam	5	-	-
Shai	7	-	-
Democratic front for Peace and Equality	-	4	1
Minor factions	7	-	-
OPPOSITION TOTAL	38	8	4

A P P E N D I X III

The Refugees

a) The Impact of the June 1967 War on Villages in the Ramallah and Jerusalem Districts - A 39 Village Survey.

b) Accuracy of UNRWA Refugee Statistics - Extracts from UNRWA Reports.

III (a) Ramallah-Jerusalem village survey undertaken for UNRWA by Antranik Bakerjan (Ramallah area officer) to assess the impact of the June 1967 hostilities - June/July 1967 (on his own initiative).

Source - Antranik Bakerjan file, UNRWA, Ramallah

N.B. 'outside' = outside Jordan (included in pre-war village populations). left = fled.

Abu Qash

Prewar pop. 700, all remained. One house burnt because of war action. 5 families reported in immediate need - lists will be provided.

Abu Shukheidem

Prewar pop. 600-200 left - War did not touch village - Red Crescent Society have assisted 150 persons in village.

Abwein

Prewar pop. 1500 - some left - 300 villagers understood to be working outside - olives and olive oil main sources of livelihood - 100 reported in immediate need.

Ain Arik

Prewar pop. 1300. Approximately 150 people fled - some 1000 stayed - war did not touch village. 3 searches of willage were made and considerable looting of houses and shops has been reported. Is said that village was stopping point for people evicted from Imwas, Beit Nuba, Yalu - this caused considerable damage to the groves of the village. Estimated 30 people from the village are employed outside.

Atara

Prewar pop. 1500 - 200 left, 1300 stayed - 30 villagers reported employed outside - village not touched by war - equivalent of 62 rations given to village council to be distributed to most needy.

Beit Duqqu

Prewar pop. 750. 450 stayed - 300 fled - War did not touch village - searches for arms made - no looting of houses or shops reported - 50 villagers employed outside - Livelihood depends mainly on grapes and plums - on whole village can manage self for 3-4 months. Immediate assistance given to 10 families.

Beit Illu

Prewar pop. 950 - 250 fled, 700 stayed - village searched - 1 house demolished - 85 villagers reported to be outside in employment. Most other employables worked in area's stone quarries - 26 families (88 persons) reported in immediate need - ½ rations issued to them.

Beitin

Prewar pop. 1200 - 250 left, 950 remained - 200 in Americas and support their families - War did not touch village. Many of its houses which were occupied by Arab Army personnel stationed in vicinity now used by I.D.F.(Tzahal). These houses reported to have suffered considerable internal damage.

Beitounia

Prewar pop. 2500 - very few left - 1 house demolished - reported that there are 1,000 who live, work abroad and send money to relatives - some 120 persons reported in extreme need - 125 rations extended to Mayor.

Beit 'Ur Fauqa

Prewar pop. 700-250 left and 450 remained - 37 villagers reported to work outside - War did not touch village - though all vacated for several days and returned. But no looting reported. Fruits and olives main source of livelihood - 53 families (140 persons) reported in immediate need - ½ rations issued.

Beit 'Ur Tahta

Prewar pop. 1400. 1050 remained - was fighting in and around village and one woman killed. Whole population fled for safety with exception of some elderly people who stayed behind. No houses demolished. Villagers who fled returned after 4 days. Village was searched, considerable looting has been reported. Livelihood dependent mainly on agriculture. General need - 95 ½ rations given to most needy.

Bi'lin

Prewar pop. 600. 103 persons reported needy. ½ rations issued.

Bir Nabala

Prewar pop. 1000 - 700 remained - War did not touch village - searches were made, no looting reported. Livelihood of village derived mainly from immigrants outside, particularly in the Americas. General condition of village appears satisfactory, 100 persons reported in immediate need, names will be provided.

Bir Zeit

Pre-war pop. 2200 excluding the refugees. 800 reported to be outside - some shooting during war - but neither village houses nor villagers injured - need for immediate assistance - equivalent of 125 rations issued to Mayor.

Burqa

Prewar pop. 850 - 100 left, 15 employed outside - war did not touch village - olives and olive oil main source of livelihood - no immediate assistance reported.

Deir 'Ammar Village

Prewar pop. 970 - 400 left, 570 stayed. Main livelihood of village dependent on agriculture and products damaged - 38 families (81 persons) issued ½ rations.

Deir Ejreer

Prewar pop. 1965 - 496 left, 123 employed outside. War did not touch village - some need for immediate assistance exists which is under examination.

Deir Abu Mash'al

Prewar pop. 1100, 950 remained, 150 fled - War did not touch village, villagers gave up whatever arms they had - no searches and no looting - main livelihood of village derived from olive groves - 40 working outside. General need because of economic circumstances.

Deir Ibza'

Prewar pop. 700. 100 fled, 600 remained. War did not touch village. Little looting - a search was carried out. It is reported that some 40 villagers are employed outside. Livelihood mainly depends on olive trees - general need - 24 families (100 persons) most needy promised ½ rations.

Deir Qaddis

Prewar pop. 1100. 500 left - 600 stayed - much firing directed at village during war because of existence of military post (in village). Fortunately no direct hits on village itself - had to be evacuated for 3 days for safety of population - 30-40 reported working outside. Livelihood derived mainly from agriculture, olive trees. 101 (persons) reported extremely needy - ½ rations issued.

Dura El Qare'

Prewar pop. 700. 100 left - 70 are immigrants in States supporting their families. Main employment of people was in stone-crushing. Some need for immediate assistance found to exist. 70 rations issued for assistance.

El Jeeb

Prewar pop. 1200 - 1000 remained, 200 left, mostly for their employment outside. War did not touch village - said that 1 stray shell hit a house and 1 man was killed - 3 searches of village made and 1 shop looted. Livelihood of village dependent mainly on employment as stone-dressers and construction workers - 25% pop. dependent on agriculture - village has enough means to provide for pop. for a month - some 100 persons reported extremely needy - aid promised.

Im Safa

Prewar pop. 300 - 280 stayed - no damage reported - 10 families (30 persons) issued ½ rations.

Jammala

Prewar pop. 450. 50 fled, 400 stayed - main livelihood of village is agriculture - products were damaged - 23 families (44 persons) issued ½ rations.

Janiya

All roads to village passable only with difficulty - prewar pop. 550 - some 250 fled because of poverty, 300 remained. War did not touch village. Was searched - no looting reported - Livelihood dependent on olive trees and casual employment - 100 persons of the most needy assisted with ½ rations.

Jeebya

Prewar pop. 100 - all remained - war did not touch village - no need for immediate assistance.

Jifna

Prewar pop. 850 - 50 left, 300 reported to be working outside. War did not touch village - need for immediate assistance - equivalent of 60 rations allocated to village poor.

Judeira

Prewar pop. 450 - all stayed - no villagers reported working outside - most employed as stone dressers. War did not touch village - arms available handed over - Village can provide for its pop. for 2-3 months. Some 20 families reported in extreme need - further verification needed.

Kherbeth Abu Falah

Prewar pop. 1400. All people stayed. War did not touch village. No searches and no looting - main livelihood derived from agriculture - general need because of economic circumstances - 140 ½ rations promised to most needy.

Kharbata

Prewar pop. 1100 - some 600 left - 500 stayed behind - 110 villagers reported to be working outside. Villagers had to vacate for 1st 2 days of war because of danger of fighting in area - no looting reported and no damage to houses because of war - Village has enough to live on for next 1-2 months - no immediate need for assistance.

Kufr Ni'meh

Prewar pop. 1200. All stayed with exception of a few married women who escaped to join husbands working in the East Bank. War did not touch village. No searches were made and no looting reported. Livelihood of village depended on olive trees - reported that 10 villagers employed outside - general need - 200 ½ rations issued.

Nabi Saleh

Prewar pop. 350 - 100 left, 250 remained - war did not touch village - 15 villagers reported to be working outside. No immediate need for assistance.

Ni'lin

Prewar pop. 3,500 - now approx. 1500-2000 left - all villagers had to flee for 1st 2-3 days war because of danger - no damage to houses by war action reported - was some looting of valuables from village houses - village school badly ransacked - livelihood of village depended on olive trees and cactus. 20 persons reported to be working outside. Considerable need because of present economic circumstances. 300 ½ rations promised.

Rammoun

Prewar pop. 1700 - none left - 6 villagers because of war action - many who escaped from Ramallah district passed through here - No looting reported - main livelihood agriculture and money from abroad. All harvest burned because of war actions - need exists - 150 rations issued to village council.

Ras Karkar

Prewar pop. 725 - some 300 left, 425 stayed - war did not touch village - search was made, 2 houses looted - 25 villagers reported to be working outside. General need - 100 of most needy assisted with ½ rations.

Shabtin

Prewar pop. 370. 120 left, 250 remained. War did not touch village. Village was searched, no looting reported. Livelihood depended on olives and some vegetables, mainly tomatoes and potatoes. Is a very abundant supply of water in village and their condition does not appear to merit any immediate assistance.

Shuqba

Prewar pop. 1700 - some 800 reported to have fled - present pop. 900 - 200 of villagers reported to be working outside, mostly in Kuwait. War did not touch village and no looting reported. Was very substantial number of livestock around the village. General situation of village does not appear to merit immediate assistance.

Surda

Prewar pop. 650 - none left - 35 reported employed outside - most employables are labourers - village not touched by war - some need for immediate assistance reported.

Taibeh

Prewar pop. 1700 - 500 left. One house hit by war action, no injuries reported. Similarly, no looting - village again on road to Jericho and therefore the stopping point for all escapees - groves of the village and its field products are reported to have suffered considerably from the fleeing people. Village maintains there is considerable need for assistance - further examination needed.

Turmos Ayya

Prewar pop. 1500 - 100 left, 1400 stayed - 1 person killed during war, no looting reported.

III (b)

UNRWA comments on the accuracy of Agency statistics and on attempts at rectification 1961-1969.

Extracts from Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of UNRWA.

1. Report for 1 July 1960-30 June 1961 General Assembly Official Records : 16th Session Supplement No. 14 (A/4861)

Paragraph 41 - "Present registration statistics are subject to three major sources of inaccuracy : a) a backlog of false registrations which occurred with the initial inscription of refugees and which have not been eliminated in spite of repeated efforts by the Agency; b) a substantial accumulation of unreported deaths of the past eleven years; and c) persons who should be eliminated from the ration rolls on grounds of income. On present indications it is not possible to provide any dependable estimate for the categories (a) and (c). Without a general investigation into the individual circumstances of at least a large sample of the refugee community any figure for these categories could only be conjectural. The Agency has of course attempted to undertake such an investigation on several occasions in the past but has been forced to desist because hostile reactions among the refugees or untoward developments on the political plane caused the governmental authorities concerned to decide that the time was not opportune. However, it is possible to give a rough indication of the magnitude of the inaccuracy arising from unreported deaths (category (b) above). During the past

eleven years the average rate of deaths reported to the Agency has been 5 per thousand among ration recipients, their babies and children. Whatever improvement may have been brought about in the health conditions of the refugees -- the above figure is obviously unrealistic and indicates that at least 100,000 dead persons must now figure on the Agency's rolls (although it should be recognized that some of the families concerned contain entitled persons, especially children, not presently receiving rations)".

2. Report for 1 July 1965 - 30 June 1966 General Assembly Official Records : 21st Session Supplement No. 13 (A/6313)

Paragraph 22 - "In Jordan no systematic reverification (of ration rolls) has been possible since 1953 when disorders in the refugee camps caused the Government to call a halt to UNRWA's efforts to carry out a general scrutiny of ration entitlements. Subsequent attempts to deal with particular elements of the problem, such as the activities of the so-called merchants, who traffic in ration cards and rationed commodities and who have a vested interest in the existing inaccuracies in the rolls have also often failed, owing to adverse reactions among the refugees. However, towards the end of the period covered by this report the Government and the Agency were able to agree in pursuance of resolution 2052 (XX), on joint measures to verify (a) the continued presence in Jordan of persons suspected of having left the country and (b) the continued existence and presence of all families registered for rations. But shortly before the submission of this report the implementation of these

measures was temporarily deferred, at the Government's request.

3. Report for 1 July 1967 - 30 June 1968 General Assembly Official Records : 23rd Session Supplement No. 13 (A/7213)

Paragraph 9 - "In Jordan there were some 724,000 refugees registered with UNRWA before the hostilities, including persons who were temporarily resident outside the Agency's area of operations. After the exodus to east Jordan, the number of registered refugees still residing on the West Bank is estimated by the Agency at about 245, 000 and the number in east Jordan at about 455,500, plus some 38,500 registered refugees from Gaza who have entered east Jordan since the hostilities. However, the total figure of 494,000 refugees will include some unreported deaths and absences.

Paragraph 10 - At the time of writing this report the situation in east Jordan is still confused as a result of the movements of population that have continued throughout the year and the difficulty of obtaining accurate figures. In addition to the 494,000 registered refugees shown in UNRWA records as now located in east Jordan, the Government of Jordan has registered some 237,500 displaced persons from the West Bank plus about 8,500 displaced persons from Gaza, a total of 246,000 displaced persons - which, when added to the 494,000 UNRWA registered refugees would bring the total number of refugees and displaced persons living in east Jordan to 740,000 - However, there is, doubtless, some duplication between the UNRWA registrations and those of

the Government as well as within each group, and efforts are now under way to identify and eliminate these extra registrations --".

4. Report for 1 July 1968 - 30 June 1969 General Assembly Official Records : 24th Session Supplement No.14 (A/7614)

Paragraph 43 - Eligibility and Registration - "In east Jordan, Gaza and the West Bank the Agency's main effort was directed to restoring order in registration records, which had been thrown into confusion by the mass movements of population which followed the 1967 hostilities. Correlation of records of rations distributed in these three areas revealed many discrepancies, such as duplicate issue of rations and failures by whole families to collect rations, and these had to be investigated with the families concerned. To facilitate and speed-up corrections of the records, the refugees in Gaza and the West Bank were invited to declare the names of any previously unreported dead, absentees and other ineligible persons recorded on the registration cards and to nominate eligible children to receive any rations which became available as a result. The co-operation -- was most encouraging, and from the rations saved as a result of these voluntary declarations and other corrective action the Agency has been able, since July 1967 to issue 22151 rations on the West Bank and 13403 rations in Gaza to children registered with the Agency --"

Note - No mention of such corrective action in east Jordan.

A P P E N D I X IV

. Jordan : East Bank data concerning displaced person numbers, refugee camp populations and Jordan Rift hostilities during the War of Attrition.

IV a) Displaced Person Statistics

Source : Supreme Ministerial Committee
for Displaced Persons
(Amman)

N.B. Govt. = Governorate

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN EAST BANK OF JORDAN AS ON SEPTEMBER 1973.
(SHOWING ORIGINAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP)

District	Govt. of Amman		Govt. of Balqa		Govt. of Irbid		Govt. of Ma'an		Govt. of Karak		Grand Total	
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
Jerusalem	4222	26362	222	1269	106	697	24	136	4	14	4578	28460
Ramallah	3655	23104	311	1696	111	652	7	32	3	17	4078	25501
Jericho	1360	8109	1110	5739	71	416	3	21	-	-	2544	14285
Bethlehem	1622	9800	272	1599	48	273	8	40	8	42	1958	11754
Nabi Saleh	540	3340	80	457	37	223	1	1	-	-	660	4021
Beir Kaddis	1110	6384	55	283	12	62	3	20	-	-	1180	6749
Total	12509	77099	2050	11043	385	2305	46	250	15	73	14998	90770
Nablus	2653	15980	575	2974	384	2324	11	44	2	15	3625	21337
Jenin	966	5694	64	333	429	2505	4	13	-	-	1463	8545
Tulkarm	569	3580	48	257	350	1989	7	30	-	-	974	5856
Qalqilia	498	2961	44	246	92	507	12	53	-	-	646	3767
Salfit	362	2107	22	113	61	334	1	4	-	-	446	2558
Toubas	526	3244	129	684	712	3699	3	19	-	-	1370	7646
Anabta	316	1983	6	28	55	301	2	11	-	-	379	2323
Yabad	133	864	10	72	66	361	-	-	-	-	209	1297
Silet-Ad Daher	402	2267	19	98	183	1040	2	8	-	-	606	3413
Total	6425	38680	917	4805	2332	13060	42	182	2	15	9718	56742
Hebron	4280	26145	437	2304	116	937	32	159	19	111	4934	29656
Doura	577	3548	146	832	29	191	2	8	19	109	773	4688
Total	4857	29693	583	3136	145	1128	34	167	38	220	5707	34344
Gaza Strip	925	5973	47	318	2212	16918	27	149	-	-	4212	23358
Total	24715	151433	3599	19312	5074	33412	149	749	55	308	34643	205214

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN EAST BANK OF JORDAN AS ON 31-12-75

(SHOWING ORIGINAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP)

DISTRICT	Govt. of Amman		Govt. of Balqa		Govt. of Irbid		Govt. of Ma'an		Govt. of Karak		Grand Total	
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
Jerusalem	4233	26378	221	1265	99	628	20	135	4	14	4577	28420
Ramallah	3688	23168	307	1659	100	585	6	32	3	17	4084	25461
Jericho	1378	8204	1090	5510	71	416	3	21	-	-	2542	14151
Bethlehem	1624	9786	269	1588	48	273	8	40	6	30	1955	11717
Nabi Saleh	545	3348	78	453	37	223	1	1	-	-	661	4025
Beir Kaddis	1110	6385	55	284	12	63	3	21	-	-	1180	6753
Total	12558	77269	2020	10759	367	2188	41	250	13	61	14999	90527
Nablus	2641	15885	565	2964	382	2319	11	44	2	15	3601	21227
Jenin	980	5750	65	339	409	2388	4	13	-	-	1458	8490
Tulkarm	571	3586	49	266	351	1994	7	30	-	-	978	5876
Qalqilia	495	2942	46	258	92	507	9	40	-	-	642	3747
Salfit	362	2110	22	114	60	328	1	4	-	-	445	2556
Toubas	534	3275	128	675	687	3534	3	19	-	-	1347	7503
Anabta	317	1987	6	28	54	297	2	11	-	-	379	2323
Yabad	133	864	10	72	66	361	-	-	-	-	209	1297
Silet-Ad Daher	401	2266	19	98	183	1040	2	8	-	-	605	3412
Total	6434	38665	910	4814	2279	12768	39	169	2	15	9664	56431
Hebron	4279	26086	414	2137	156	864	32	159	17	103	4898	29349
Doura	581	3571	146	832	29	191	2	8	16	92	774	4694
Total	4860	29657	560	2969	185	1055	34	167	33	195	5672	34043
Gaza Strip	1152	6930	47	310	2495	12876	27	149	-	-	3761	20265
Total	25004	152521	3537	18852	5326	28887	141	735	48	271	34056	201266

IV b) UNRWA East Bank camp populations, 1971 - 1976

Source : UNRWA (Amman)

N.B. Pers. = persons

Fam. = families

Regstd. = registered

Un.r.pers. of reg.off f. = unregistered persons of registered official families

Unof. = unofficial

D.P. = displaced person

See figure 24 for camp locations (A.N.C. and Jabal Hussein both in Amman)

EMERGENCY CAMP POPULATION - JORDAN FIELD

RECORDS AS AT DECEMBER 31 1971

S. NO.	LOCATION	POPULATION REGISTERED BY UNRWA			D.P.POPULATION UNREGISTERED BY UNRWA			TOTAL		
		OFFICIAL PERS.	UNOFFICIAL PERS.	TOTAL	OFFICIAL PERS.	UNOFFICIAL PERS.	TOTAL	OFFICIAL	UNOFFICIAL	GRAN TOTA
1.	Baqa'a	31422	1784	33206	8770	113	8883	40192	1897	42089
2.	Jarash	NIL	NIL	NIL	11478	NIL	11478	11478	NIL	11478
3.	Souf	7160	227	7387	1107	64	1171	8267	291	8558
4.	Marka	15600	NIL	15600	6792	NIL	6792	22392	NIL	22392
5.	Husson	11815	NIL	11815	4530	1036	5566	16345	1036	17381*
6.	Talbiyeh	430	223	653	4550	NIL	4550	4980	223	5203
		66427	2234	68661	37227	1213	38440	103654	3447	107101

* 556 Jordanian living in Husson Camp.

POPULATION IN EAST JORDAN CAMPS AS AT 30 SEPTEMBER 1973

CAMPS	A. REFUGEES								B. DISPLACED PERSONS						C. TOTAL	
	OFFICIAL		UNOFFICIAL				TOTAL		OFFICIAL		UNOFFICIAL		TOTAL		REFUGEES AND DP's.	
	FAM.	PERS.	REGSTD FAM.	REGSTD PERS.	UN.R. PERS.of REG. OFF F.	UN.R. PERS.of REG. UNOF.F	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.
I. ESTABLISHED																
1 A.N.C.	3318	21641	1340	6918	3497	1372	4658	33428	-	-	74	479	74	479	4732	33907
2 J/Hussein	2737	15612	680	3848	4964	914	3417	25338	-	-	167	1032	167	1032	3584	26370
3 Zerka	1499	8740	281	1608	1669	192	1780	12209	-	-	141	937	141	937	1921	13146
4 Irbid	2115	14276	144	938	-	-	2259	15214	-	-	64	348	64	348	2323	15562
Sub Total	9669	60269	2445	13312	10130	2478	12114	86189	-	-	446	2796	446	2796	12560	88985
II. EMERGENCY																
1 Baqa'a	5031	35725	701	3545	1533	579	5732	41382	1515	9905	106	419	1621	10324	7353	51706
2 Jerash	96	416	11	64	202	-	107	682	1871	12405	144	520	2015	12925	2122	13607
3 Souf	1384	7633	12	76	475	8	1396	8192	187	1097	-	-	187	1097	1583	9289
4 Husson	1282	7184	25	92	922	10	1307	8208	679	4545	159	727	838	5272	2145	13480
5 Marka	2723	17276	136	817	920	29	2859	19042	949	5084	175	1363	1124	6447	3983	25489
6 Talbiyeh	47	376	34	261	127	-	81	764	649	5012	70	497	719	5509	800	
Sub Total	10563	68610	919	4855	4179	626	11482	78270	5850	38048	654	3526	6504	41574	17986	119844
TOTAL	20232	128879	3364	18167	14309	3104	23596	164459	5850	38048	1100	6322	6950	44370	30546	208829

REMARKS:
1. Shelter to shelter surveys were completed in J/Hussein, ANC, Irbid, and Husson camps during the quarter Similar surveys in the other six camps were completed earlier in the year
2. The total camp population is lower than that of the previous quarter by 3702 families, 18,259 persons
3. Appropriate Modification actions in respect to the Refugee camp inhabitants are being processed to reflect the true situation as revealed by the surveys.

POPULATION IN EAST JORDAN CAMPS AS AT 31 MARCH 1974

CAMPS	A. REFUGEES								B. DISPLACED PERSONS						C. TOTAL	
	OFFICIAL		UNOFFICIAL				TOTAL		OFFICIAL		UNOFFICIAL		TOTAL		REFUGEES AND DP's.	
			REGSTD		UN.R.PERS.of REG											
	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	OFF.F.	UNOF.F	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.
I. ESTABLISHED																
1 A.N.C.	3682	24533	984	4728	2766	1372	4666	33399	-	-	74	479	74	479	4740	33878
2 J/Husseln	2922	18035	498	1939	4843	498	3420	25315	-	-	167	1032	167	1032	3587	26347
3 Zerka	1583	9416	204	1184	1508	192	1787	12300	-	-	141	937	141	937	1928	13237
4 Irbid	2033	13916	137	923	-	-	2170	14839	-	-	63	387	63	387	2233	15226
Sub Total	10220	65900	1823	8774	9117	2062	12043	85853	-	-	445	2835	445	2835	12488	88688
II. EMERGENCY																
1 Baqa'a	5096	35825	828	4749	1120	325	5924	42019	1485	8001	133	2259	1618	10260	7542	52279
2 Jerash	46	236	69	469	64	-	115	769	1889	9822	153	3190	2042	13012	2157	13781
3 Souf	1281	7289	8	61	475	8	1289	7833	187	1097	-	-	187	1097	1476	8930
4 Husson	1237	6903	25	92	922	10	1262	7927	712	4735	126	537	838	5272	2100	13199
5 Marka	2675	17261	190	1126	745	29	2865	19161	1048	5662	76	785	1124	6447	3989	25608
6 Talbiyeh	79	607	34	261	127	-	113	995	625	4814	65	463	690	5277	803	6272
Sub Total	10414	68121	1154	6758	3453	372	11568	78704	5946	34131	553	7234	6499	41365	18067	120069
TOTAL	20634	134021	2977	15532	12570	2434	23611	164557	5946	34131	998	10069	6499	44200	30555	208757

POPULATION IN EAST JORDAN CAMPS AS AT 31 MARCH 1976

CAMPS	A. REFUGEES								B. DISPLACED PERSONS						C. TOTAL	
	OFFICIAL		UNOFFICIAL				TOTAL		OFFICIAL		UNOFFICIAL		TOTAL		REFUGEES AND DP's	
			REGSTD		UN.R.PERS.of REG.											
	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	OFF.F.	UNOF.F	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.	FAM.	PERS.
I. ESTABLISHED																
1 A.N.C.	3472	26460	948	4534	1254	1372	4420	33620	-	-	74	479	74	479	4494	34099
2 J/Husseln	2732	20903	422	1437	2449	498	3154	25287	-	-	167	1032	167	1032	3321	26319
3 Zerka	1352	10281	110	767	886	192	1462	12126	-	-	141	937	141	937	1603	13063
4 Irbid	1998	14435	138	936	-	-	2136	15371	-	-	72	451	72	451	2208	15822
Sub Total	9554	72079	1618	7674	4589	2062	11172	86404	-	-	454	2899	454	2899	11626	89303
II. EMERGENCY																
1 Baqa'a	5582	39900	585	3011	830	325	6167	44066	1508	8515	106	2085	1614	10600	7781	54666
2 Jerash	184	1343	69	469	52	-	253	1864	1766	9817	143	3126	1909	12943	2162	14807
3 Souf	1279	8314	38	211	-	-	1317	8525	105	761	2	19	107	780	1424	9305
4 Husson	1251	8041	16	109	281	8	1267	8439	622	4357	117	498	739	4855	2006	13294
5 Marka	2672	18822	212	1456	84	19	2884	20381	936	5836	65	776	1001	6612	3885	26993
6 Talbiyeh	82	607	38	273	58	-	120	938	548	4572	90	660	638	5232	758	6170
Sub Total	11050	77027	958	5529	1305	352	12008	84213	5485	33858	523	7164	6008	41022	18016	125235
TOTAL	20604	149106	2576	13203	5894	2414	23180	170617	5485	33858	977	10063	6462	43921	29642	214538

IV c) War of Attrition : Jordan Army G.H.Q. record of incidents in the Ghor as Safi region (South Dead Sea), January 1970.

See figure 26 for locations

3-1-1970	Two hours artillery shelling of Ghor as Safi area.
5-1-1970	Artillery shelling of Ghor as Safi - fires in the crops.
8-1-1970	Artillery shelling of Ghor as Safi - crops destroyed.
9-1-1970	Artillery shelling of Fifi village 1 civilian wounded and crops destroyed. Shelling all day.
10-1-1970	Artillery shelling of area to west of Ghor as Safi (abutting the border with Israel - Al Basatin). Crops destroyed.
14-1-1970	a) Artillery attack on Fifi b) Air raids on Fifi c) Artillery attack on Safi village and on police post.
15-1-1970	Artillery attack on Safi - fires in the crops and 60 camels killed.
16-1-1970	Artillery attack on Al Basatin.
17-1-1970	Artillery shelling of Safi and police post. Crops destroyed.
19-1-1970	Artillery shelling of Safi and Fifi. Fires in the crops.
20-1-1970	a) Artillery attack and air raids on Ghor as Safi area. Car destroyed and driver killed. b) 1900 hours - 2300 hours. Enemy forces (armoured vehicles) crossed cease fire line after artillery shelling - entered Safi village.
21-1-1970	Orders given to Jordan units to oblige enemy to withdraw from Safi. Battle started 0335 hours and continued to 0730 hours. Enemy compelled to withdraw. 2 killed in operation, 9 injured.
24-1-1970	Air raids on Ghor as Safi area. Rockets and napalm used. 9 civilians injured and crops destroyed. 1 Israeli aircraft shot down.
25-1-1970	Artillery firing on Safi area (Wadi el Hasa)
26-1-1970	Artillery firing on Ghor as Safi.

27-1-1970	Artillery firing - crop destruction.
28-1-1970	Machine gun firing on civilian vehicle in Wadi Khanzira. (c.20 km south of Ghor as Safi). Car destroyed.
29-1-1970	Artillery firing on police post.

A P P E N D I X V.

Sample Survey of Displaced Persons conducted in Baqa'a refugee camp, Jordan, July 1976.

Questionnaire

English Translation with Results for the full sample.

Original in Arabic

Identification of Respondent

Block Number

Shelter Number

Sex

Position in June 1967
household

Date of Interview

Name of Interviewer

Name of Supervisor

Concerning Head of Household, June 1967

(1) Sex of household head

	%
Male	74.8
Female	25.2

(2) Age of household head in June 1967

Mean	39.8
Ranging from	14.0 to 78.0
Normal Distribution	

(3) Number of family members in June 1967

Mean	6.16
Ranging from	1 to 14
Normal Distribution	

Number of family members contributing to family income

		%
0	-	9.2
1	-	82.2
2	-	7.4
3	-	1.2

Number of family members contributing to family income from outside the West Bank

0	-	84.7
1	-	14.1
2	-	0.6
3	-	0.6

(4) Household head - level of education in June 1967

	%
Elementary	23.9
Secondary	5.5
Tertiary (not University)	0.0
University	0.0
Without formal education	70.6

(5) Exact employment on West Bank in June 1967 - head of household

Categories based on 1961 Jordan Census

Professional, technical	4.3	(all military)
Administrative, managerial	1.2	
Clerical	0.6	
Sales	1.8	
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, related	32.5	

Miners, quarrymen, related	0.6
Transport	1.8
Craftsmen, production process workers miscellaneous labourers	44.2
Service, sport, recreation workers	0.6
Other (unemployed, students)	12.2

Did you work with a firm with branches on both Banks?

	%	
Yes	0.6	Potential 'pulling' factor
No	99.4	

Were you employed by the Government?

	%	
Yes	4.9	Potential 'pulling' factor
No	95.1	

(6) Place of Residence on 1 June 1967

Name of town/village
Region (figure 12)

	%
Nablus	22.1
Ramallah	11.7
Jerusalem/Bethlehem	21.5
Hebron	13.4
West Jordan Valley	31.3

(7) Did you possess property (immovable) at your place of residence?

	%	
Yes	83.4	Index of tie to home community
No	16.6	

Type of Property

a) House

	%	
Yes	83.4	(6.7% tent)
No	16.6	

Mean number of rooms = 3.10

b) Agricultural land

	%
Yes	51.3
No	48.7

Mean holding size = 46.3 dunums

c) Business premise

	%
Yes	3.7
No	96.3
Shop	2.5
Several shops	0.6
Office + factory	0.6

Total value of property in June 1967 (in Jordanian Dinars)

Mean = J.D. 15,245 (£ 15,245)

If the 9 cases giving values of J.D. 100,000+, all except two of which are almost certainly gross distortions, are excluded the mean for the 152 remaining cases = J.D. 4847 (£4,847).

Did you possess property (immovable) outside your home region?

	%	
Yes	12.3	Potential 'pulling' factor
No	87.7	(if outside West Bank)

Type of property

			%
a)	House	Yes	1.2
		No	95.7
		Missing Value	3.1
b)	Agricultural land	Yes	7.4
		No	93.1

Mean holding size (for figures given) = 37.8 dunums

c)	Business premise	Yes	0.6
		No	99.4

Total value of property outside home region in June 1967

Mean (for figures given) = J.D. 2563 (£ 2,563)

Location of property outside home region

None	87.7
West Bank	8.0
East Bank	3.1
Outside Jordan	0.6
Missing value	0.6

(8) Date of Move

Immediately before War	3.1
During War (5 - 10 June)	85.3
After War (10 June-Dec.1967)	10.4
1968 - 1971	0.6
1972 - 1976	0.6

Thinking move temporary

Yes	93.2
No	6.8

Thinking of moving to the East Bank before the War

	%
Yes	3.1
No	96.3

(9) How did you reach the river Jordan?

Private car	1.2
taxi	8.0
bus	4.3
truck	4.9
walking	75.5
animal	1.2
military vehicle	4.9

(10) Which road did you take to reach the river?

Toubas	6.1
Nablus	22.7
Ramallah north	8.0
Ramallah south	4.9
Jerusalem	20.9
Mar Saba	4.9
from Jericho	22.7
Nabi Musa	0.6
Wadi Araba	0.0
Cross-country	6.7
Missing data	2.5

Which bridge did you cross?

Damiya	17.8
Allenby	63.2
Amir Abdullah	1.8
fording	14.7
Other	2.5

How many family members were with you at the crossing?

Mean = 5.65
Ranging from 1 to 12
Normal Distribution

(11) Did you have an East Bank destination in mind?

Yes	14.1
No	85.9

If yes - name of village/town

areas

In North Ghor	8.7
" Central Ghor	17.4
" Salt-Suweilah	8.7
" Amman	47.8

	%	
In Zerqa	4.3	
" Madaba	4.3	
Missing data	8.7	
If yes		
Did you have relatives there?		
Yes	66.6	Potential 'pulling' factor
No	33.3	
If yes		
Did you have acquaintances there?		
Yes	50.0	
No	50.0	

(12) Did you have special reason to fear the invaders?
(Potential 'pushing' factor)

Because your home region had a history of poor relations with the Jews

Yes	27.0
No	73.0

Because you were afraid of maltreatment

Yes	99.4
No	0.6

(13) Was there an attack on your home village/town before your move?

Yes	35.0
No	63.8
Missing data	1.2

Was there an enemy attack on members of your family before your move?

Yes	19.0
No	81.0

Were you attacked during your move?

Yes	84.7
No	14.1
Missing data	1.2

(14) First destination on the East Bank

Name of village/town/camp

Area summary

North Ghor	10.4)	East Jordan
Central Ghor	37.4)	Valley

	%
Irbid	0.6
Suweilah	7.3
Salt	4.9
Amman	25.8
Zerqa	3.1
Madaba	8.0
Kerak	2.4

Date of arrival

Before the war	2.5
5 - 10 June 1967	79.1
10 - 20 June 1967	9.2
20 - 30 June 1967	5.5
July - Dec. 1967	2.5
1967 - 1971	0.6
1972 - 1976	0.6

How did you arrive at this place (from the bridges)?

Private car	0.6
taxi	15.3
bus	9.2
truck	9.8
walking	62.0
animal	0.6
military vehicle	2.5

(15) Did you reside in other places on the East Bank in the year which followed the June War?

Yes	99.4
No	0.6

If Yes - Where? (Village/town/camp)

Second East Bank Destination
162 cases - 99.4% sample

North Ghor	6.7	) East Jordan
Central Ghor	27.0	) Valley
Irbid	1.8	
Jerash	4.3	
Suweilah (Baqa'a)	22.7	
Salt	3.7	
Amman	19.1	
Zerqa	7.4	
Madaba	3.0	
Kerak	3.1	
Missing data	0.6	

Date of Arrival		%	
June	1967	31.9	
July	"	17.2	
August	"	3.7	
September	"	6.7	
October	"	1.2	
November	"	0.6	
December	"	0.6	
January	1968	0.6	
February	"	4.3	
March	"	4.9	
June	"	2.5	
July	"	0.6	
After 1968		3.7	
Missing data		20.9	

Third East Bank Destination
135 cases - 82.8% sample

North Ghor	0.7	East Jordan Valley
Central Ghor	27.4	
Irbid	0.7	
Jerash	0.7	
Suweilah (Baqa'a)	54.8	
Salt	3.0	
Amman	0.7	
Zerqa	9.6	
Madaba	0.7	
Kerak	1.5	
Missing data	0.7	

Date of Arrival		
June	1967	3.0
July	"	12.6
August	"	5.2
September	"	5.2
October	"	4.4
December	"	1.5
January	1968	7.4
February	"	12.6
March	"	8.1
June	"	0.7
July	"	2.2
September	""	0.7
October	"	0.7
November	"	1.4
After 1968	"	5.9
Missing data		28.1

Fourth East Bank Destination
67 cases - 41.1% sample

Central Ghor	20.9
Suweilah (Baqa'a)	73.1
Salt	1.5
Amman	3.0
Kerak	1.5

Date of Arrival		%
August	1967	7.5
September	"	6.0
October	"	3.0
December	"	1.5
January	1968	6.0
February	"	23.9
March	"	6.0
June	"	1.5
July	"	1.5
September	"	1.5
October	"	1.5
November	"	4.5
December	"	1.5
After 1968	"	1.5
Missing data		31.3

Fifth East Bank Destination
18 cases - 11.0% sample

Central Ghor	5.6
Suweilah (Baqa'a)	94.4

Date of Arrival		
August	1967	5.6
January	1968	5.6
February	"	44.4
March	"	11.1
Missing data		33.3

Sixth East Bank Destination
1 case - 0.6% sample

Suweilah (Baqa'a) - February 1968

(16)What were the major reasons compelling you to move to the East Bank?

A P P E N D I X VI

Israel: Ministerial Initiatives regarding Settlement Policy in the Occupied Territories.

a) The July 1967 Allon Plan (territorial and settlement aspects)

b) The July 1973 Dayan Document

c) The August 1973 Galili Document

VI (a) "The chief sections and principles of the 'Allon Plan' as it was outlined behind closed doors, in support of the laying of the Plan on the Cabinet table (26 July 1967)".

(Source - Cohen Y. Tokhnit Allon Pp.171-173. Translation by W. W. Harris)

A. I propose that Israel stand on the position that her eastern border needs to be the Jordan River and a line bissecting the Dead Sea at its mid-point for its whole length, and that the mandatory border in the Arava will remain as it was before the Six Day War.

B. In order to set-up a firm defence alignment on the one hand, and to establish and assure the integrity of the land from the geostrategic point of view on the other, it is incumbent upon us to joint the following areas to the state, as an inseparable part of its sovereign territory:

1) A strip with a breadth varying between 10 and 15 kilometres (approximately) the length of the Jordan River, from the Beit Shean Valley to the north Dead Sea, containing a minimum of Arab population.

2) A strip with a breadth of several kilometres (the exact dimensions need to be inspected in the area) north of the Jerusalem-Dead Sea axis, which will join somewhere with the area north of the Atarot-Beit Horon-Latrun road, enlarging the Latrun region.

3) With regard to Mount Hebron and the Judean Wilderness there are two possibilities to be considered: incorporating Mount Hebron with its population or, at least, the Judean Wilderness from the eastern approaches of Hebron to the Dead Sea and the Negev.

4) In order to prevent the inclusion of a large Arab population it is necessary to consider the possibility of being satisfied with incorporating only the Judean Wilderness with, in addition, smaller border adjustments as at Gush Etzion and in the south of Mount Hebron.

C. In the areas I have drawn attention to above, there is a need in the near future to erect rural and urban settlement outposts and permanent military bases according to security requirements.

D. There is a need to establish housing estates populated by Jews in East Jerusalem over and above the rapid reconstruction and populating of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City.

E. It is incumbent upon us to initiate links with the leaders and people of the West Bank in order to judge thir readiness (and to encourage them) to establish an autonomous framework in the areas which will not be under Israeli sovereignty. The autonomous framework will include an association with Israel. Such a link will be expressed in the creation of a co-operative economic framework, a defence pact, technical and scientific co-operation, cultural agreements and the finding of a co-operative solution to the settlement of Gaza refugees on the West Bank.

F. It is clear that it will be incumbent on the Government to prepare on its own initiative a general (comprehensive and long-range) plan for solving the refugee problem - a painful problem and only capable of full solution on the basis of co-operative regional action with international support. Until the attaining of such combined action the Government of Israel must begin to erect a number of model refugee settlements on the West Bank and perhaps also in Sinai. This thing is necessary for two reasons : to learn from experiment and to demonstrate good intentions, as well as to express our readiness to push for a constructive solution of the problem. It is necessary both from the humanitarian and political viewpoints.

G. Israel must attach the Gaza Strip to itself, with the original inhabitants (those who were there before 1948). As regards the refugees who will not be absorbed in the Gaza Strip due to economic, social and other considerations - in my opinion, as I have said, they should be settled on the West Bank or in the El Arish region, according to their choice. The United Nations must continue to look after the refugees whereas Israel will take full responsibility for the care of the permanent population. Of course the execution of such a plan will take time and so, in the interval, the Gaza Strip will not be formally joined to the state.

H. The determination of the exact border lines will of course only be made after hearing the opinion of the Chief of Staff.

I. Likewise it is in my view necessary to create, in the near future, a supreme authority for dealing with the problems of the occupied territories and of the refugees - within the frame of the Prime Minister's Department.

VI b THE DAYAN DOCUMENT

(Source - Ha-aretz 17-8-73 P.14 Translation by W.W. Harris)

1. Refugees - Additional budget for existing camps.

Gaza - 100 million lirot a year.

Judea and Samaria : 50 million lirot for five years.

2. Development - Gaza and Judea/Samaria.

200 million lirot a year. In total (with the treatment of the refugee problem) an additional budget of 300 million a year with a further 50 million lirot on one occasion.

3. Urban and Industrial Centres

a) Jerusalem : Extension of urban population and industry south, north and east, across the green line.

b) Yamit : Planning and development of Yamit at an accelerated pace, as a regional and urban centre for the Rafiah approaches. Establishment of a deep-water port south of Gaza - without being conditional on the development of the Haifa and Ashdod ports.

d) ((c) lacks a source) Qiryat Arba' : Continuation at an accelerated rate of industrial and population development.

e) Nabi Samuel : Establishment of an urban settlement at Nabi Samuel.

f) Qalqilia - Tulkarm region : Establishment of an industrial area in Kfar Saba on Jewish absentee lands (about 1200 dunams) and opening the possibility for Jewish initiatives to erect industrial and housing projects, in a planned and controlled fashion, in the Qalqilia and

Tulkarm regions.

g) Golan Heights : Establishment of an urban-industrial centre on the Golan Heights.

4. Settlement - Founding of additional settlements as proposed by the Settlement Department; and assuring the required budget for the development of existing settlement.

5. Encouragement for the erection of industrial enterprises in the territories - as proposed in S. Gazit's letter.

6. Priorities - Priority for the territories will be examined, with the aim of strengthening urban population, village settlement and establishment of industrial enterprises in them.

7. Acquisition of Lands :

a) The Israel Lands Authority will act to acquire lands in the territories with the aim of making them available for the settlement system, public and private enterprises and land exchanges.

b) The acquisition of lands and ownership by companies and individuals will be to some extent allowed and will be done for constructive needs and within the political and security conception.

8. Employment of residents of the territories in Israel - will be controlled and inspected and the requisite measures will be taken to ensure that working conditions and wages are at the accepted Israeli levels.

9. Links with Jordan - Encouragement and strengthening of the affinity and the links between the residents of the territories and the Kingdom of Jordan.

10. Advancement of local employees - as far as possible administrative functions will be transferred - including senior functions in the government service (in civilian spheres) - to local Arabs.

VI c

THE GALILI DOCUMENT

(Source - Jerusalem Post 17-8-73)

Preamble

1) These summaries will be reflected in the Alignment election platform and be included in the overall working programme of the (next) government ---

2) After the main points of the working programme have been approved, the operational plans will be worked out in detail. The operational budgets will be incorporated in the annual governmental budgets.

3) The working programme for the territories in the next four years does not involve any change in their political standing, nor in the status of their inhabitants and refugees. UNRWA will continue with its operations.

A. Principle : The next government will continue to operate in the territories on the basis of policies adopted by the present Government.

B. The Gaza Strip - Refugee Rehabilitation and Economic Development. It is our intention to outline a working programme for the next four years and to allocate the required finances for its operation with the aim of achieving the rehabilitation of refugees and economic development. The main points of the working programme : rehousing (new housing for refugees near the camps and rehabilitation of the camps), vocational training schemes, improved educational and health services,

creation of jobs for artisans and in industry, encouragement of the inhabitant's own initiative to raise their living standards (c.f. sections 1, 2 in Dayan Document).

C. Development of Judea and Samaria. It is our intention to draw up a working programme for the next four years and ensure the necessary funds for its operation with the purpose of achieving the development of the economic infrastructure and to improve essential services (that is, building hospitals, regional and village clinics, expansion of water services, more vocational and post-elementary schools, a better electricity system, improving the road network, development of artisanry and industry as a source of livelihood for local residents, better housing for refugees, and help to local authorities.)

D. Financing for Judea and Samaria. In accordance with the arrangement between the Ministries of Finance and Defence.

E. International financing. Efforts will be made to obtain the necessary means from foreign sources for financing the refugee rehabilitation programme and development plans.

F. Encouraging Israel businessmen in the territories. All kinds of encouragements (tax relief, government loans and so forth) will be accorded to Israel businessmen in setting up industrial plants in the territories at the same rates accorded to investors in those areas given

priority in Israel (c.f. section 5, Dayan Document).

G. Encouraging local residents own initiative in Judea and Samaria. Extending aid to self-initiative of the local population in the fields of education, culture, religion, services, and in cultivating democratic patterns in social and municipal life. Senior civilian posts in the military government will be filled, whenever possible, by local inhabitants (c.f. section 10, Dayan Document).

H. The Open Bridges Policy. This policy will continue as heretofore (c.f. section 9, Dayan Document).

I. Work of Inhabitants of the Territories in Israel. Work of inhabitants of the territories in Israel will continue to be supervised and they will be ensured the same wages and working conditions as prevail in Israel (c.f. section 8, Dayan Document).

J. Outposts and Settlements. New settlements will arise and the network of outposts will be strengthened. Efforts will be made to increase the population by developing industry and tourism.

When Government budgets come to be determined, the necessary means will be allocated each year in keeping with the recommendations of the Settlement Department (Jewish Agency), and with the approval of the Ministerial Settlement Committee, with the view of setting up in the coming four years additional settlements in the Rafiah approach, the Jordan Rift and on Golan Heights. (see figure 38.).

They will include : an industrial centre on the

Golan Heights; a regional centre in the Jordan Rift; development of the north-east shore of Lake Kinneret and the north-west shore of the Dead Sea; operation of planned water schemes.

The development of the settlements in the territories will also involve non-government elements, both public and private, within the approved framework (c.f. section 4, Dayan Document).

K. The Regional Centre in the Rafiah Approach. The continued development of the regional centre of the Rafiah approach will be ensured and it will be expanded to 800 housing units by 1977-78. Encouragement will be extended to industrial development for those persons with private means wishing to settle there (c.f. section 3b. Dayan Document).

L. Concentration and Purchase of Land in the Territories.

1) Intensified concentration of land for existing and envisaged settlements.

2) The Israel Lands Authority will step in to acquire land and real estate in the territories for purposes of settlement, development and land exchanges.

3) The Lands Authority will lease land to companies and private persons for the purpose of approved development programmes.

4) The Lands Authority will acquire land by every effective means, including through companies and individuals who will buy land in coordination with the authority.

5) Acquisition of land and real estate by companies and private persons will be approved only in those cases where the Lands Authority is unable or not interested in such purchases.

6) A special Cabinet Committee will be empowered to grant permits on condition that the purchases are transacted for the purpose of constructive projects and not for speculative purposes, and within the framework of government policy.

7) The Lands Authority will also acquire land already bought by Jews.

(c.f. section 7, Dayan Document).

M. Jerusalem and Environs. The population and industrial development of the Capital and its environs will continue with the aim of consolidation beyond the original area mentioned in Administrative Order No. 1 (annexing East Jerusalem). To this end efforts will be made to buy land and government lands will be utilized within this framework, to the south and east of Jerusalem that the government has decided on enclosure.

(c.f. section 3a, Dayan Document).

N. Nabi Samuel. It is resolved to implement the government decision for the settlement of Nabi Samuel.

(c.f. section 3e, Dayan Document).

O. Deep Sea Port south of Gaza. With the intention of expediting the development of the Rafiah approach, it is resolved that within the coming two-three years there will be a thorough analysis of the basic elements of the proposal to establish a deep sea port

to the south of Gaza. This will include physical conditions, the economic viability of such a scheme and the political ramifications. After all the data has been compiled and a concrete blueprint submitted, the government will decide on the matter.
(c.f. section 3b, Dayan Document).

P. Kfar Saba Industrial Zone. All necessary conditions will be provided for setting up an industrial zone for Kfar Saba beyond the Green Line, as well as the development of Israel industries in the Qalqilia and Tulkarm areas.
(c.f. section 3e, Dayan Document).

A P P E N D I X VII

Mr. Yigal Allon on Settlement Policy :

Responses to questions posed by the author (W.W.Harris), March 1978. Transcription of tape recording.

(Yigal Allon, Deputy Prime Minister of Israel 1968 - 1977, was the chief architect of the Labour Government's overall settlement programme in the occupied territories and served as first Chairman of the Inter-Ministerial Settlement Committee).

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1. Q. When were your ideas concerning the Golan Heights first submitted to the Government?

A. My ideas as to settling the Golan Heights were submitted to the Government a few weeks after the official Allon Plan was presented to the Cabinet (July 26,1967). In fact before submitting it to the Government formally I had a number of talks about it with the late Prime Minister Mr. Levi Eshkol and he was convinced that our control of the Golan Heights was vitally important strategically.

2. Q. How powerful was the influence of the July 1967 Kibbutz Golan group in causing.a Government decision to approve settlement in the Golan?

A. The group which founded subsequently Kibbutz Golan (the official name was Kibbutz Ramat ha Golan) was next to none - it was a small number of young men and women from various Kibbutzim - highly idealistic, deeply motivated by the necessity to turn the Golan Heights from a source of danger into a source of life. They volunteered immediately after the Six Day War to carry out certain works which could be done by civilians rather than by soldiers and they were employed by the Army to collect deserted animals - cows, horses and so on. I on my part helped them officially to finance their wages through the fund which was at my disposal for the unemployed (as Minister of Labour) and after getting the approval of the Prime Minister I also asked the Department of Land Settlement of the Zionist Movement to help them until a final decision was taken by the Cabinet and once this was achieved they were recognised as potential settlers - at the beginning as an experimental venture and gradually

it has developed into a full-fledged kibbutz which is rather successful economically and socially.

3. Q. What was your own position with regard to early settlement in the Golan?

A. The Golan Heights were so important, so indispensable - therefore I not only recommended establishing settlements from immediately after the Six Day War but in fact I helped to establish them

4. Q. How did the Yom Kippur War influence Government thinking concerning the role and future of Golan settlement policy, including the geographical distribution of settlements within the area? Could you sketch the phases in the development and application of the idea of industrially-based settlements in parts of the Golan and Judea-Samaria.

A. Since the Yom Kippur War came to Israel as a surprise not only the army found itself in great difficulties but these few small settlements were not yet prepared enough by means of fortifications and anti-tank weapons and so on - and shelters. They were evacuated against their protest. They wanted to stay with the army. They were ready to evacuate only mothers and children and babies but they felt that the adults should remain and defend their settlements alongside the army. The lesson that we learned from that surprise was - and still is - that every single settlement should be fortified as if it were a military fortress. The settlers should be well organized and well trained and well equipped with modern and sophisticated means of self-defence against ground

forces. And today I can say that each individual settlement and all of them together are fortified and equipped to such an extent that they will play a role not only in day to day security needs but also in case of an all-out war.

The idea of industrially based settlement on the Golan and in parts of the Judea Samaria area, alongside the Rafiah, is that it is not enough to establish small (by nature small) settlements based mostly on agriculture --- which can help us of cuurse to locate the right settlements at the right strategic points or areas - if we are also to have a large population in these areas industrially based townlets are needed - and this encouraged us to establish one on the Golan (Qatzrin), two in Samaria and Judea; or rather very close to the Valley and the Judean desert (one is Ma'ale Efraim which is within the belt of the Allon Plan and also Ma'ale Adumim, on the main axis between the Dead Sea and Jerusalem, which is also part of my plan) I think that this is still one of the major means to attract greater masses to settle down in these vital areas. They will earn their living from industry as well as services for the scattered agricultural settlements.

5. Q. When was the idea of an Arab Ramallah-Jericho corridor incorporated into your plan?

A. When I proposed my plan in July 1967 I didn't yet think in terms of a corridor between the two Banks via Jericho and Ramallah. But a couple of months after I proposed my plan, when I studied it again, I reached the conclusion that it would be wrong not to provide those

two inter-connected territories (the East Bank and the West Bank) with an Arab controlled and even sovereign access or corridor. I found that this access (Ramallah-Jericho) was the correct geographic and strategic place.

6. Q. When did you decide to exclude the populated areas of the Hebron district from the plan?

A. I (for myself) excluded the population of Hebron rather early - weeks after July 1967 and I made it clear in my oral remarks at Cabinet sessions as well as in my talks with the Prime Minister, fellow Ministers and Members of the Knesset.

7. Q. Why did settlement in the Jordan Rift start very slowly compared to the early and rapid activity on the Golan? What was the influence on Rift Settlement policy of the War of Attrition and of the Jordanian Civil War?

A. It is hard to explain why we were a little late in establishing the first settlements in the Jordan Valley although I thought and I still think that this Rift should enjoy the top priority in our land settlement policy along the strategic boundaries. Partly there were disputes among ourselves and partly because it took a little time to prepare the ground for settlement - but the first two or three settlements started as early as the others - much earlier than in the Rafiah area - a little later than the Golan Heights.

The War of Attrition from Jordan against Israel only encouraged us to establish these settlements and the Jordanian Civil War had nothing to do with it - in my heart I was of course on the side of the legal govern-

ment of Jordan because I felt that the PLO in Jordan wanted not only to overthrow a regime but to establish such a regime as would be utterly against Israel - would create greater difficulties than the existing regime which for many years was not as friendly as people think. Nevertheless that was the choice of the least evil.

8. Q. What relationships do the western frontier adjustments proposed in your plan (Latrun - Beit Horon, etc.) have to the idea of a Jordan Rift strategic strip?

A. My idea about including the Latrun-Beit Horon axis with the Israeli controlled area is mentioned rather early in the original memo which I tabled with the Cabinet. I felt that that was vitally important to include the airstrip in Atarot as well as this important strategic road - and I don't see any problems with it. It's not so much of importance for the Jordan Rift as it is for a united Jerusalem and its outskirts.

9. Q. What was the procedure for authorizing settlements across the Green Line prior to the advent of the Inter-Ministerial Settlement Committee?

A. Before the special inter-ministerial committee for land settlement policy was established we had different forms in which we took decisions vis a vis settlements. Rather early we established a special committee headed by the Prime Minister Mr. Eshkol for the administered areas. For a while this committee was also discussing the problems of land settlement and the policy vis a vis government owned land in the administered areas and so on. But when things began to expand and the Prime Minister felt it

(land settlement) was too much to ask of this committee, which was preoccupied with the political aspects of the administered areas, we decided to establish a special committee which for the first few years was headed by me as its Chairman. In addition to this special inter-ministerial settlement committee we had two other committees which had to do with populating certain areas in the administered areas. One was the Supreme Inter-Ministerial Committee for Jerusalem of which I was the Chairman for a while and later on when I was rather too busy with a new Ministry at my hands the Minister of Justice Ya'cov Shimshon Shapira was appointed to this job. And for a few months we had an ad-hoc committee for Hebron which was headed by me as well - and therefore, because of the fact that one person was the Chairman of these three committees the co-ordination between the activities was more or less safe.

10. Q. When was the Inter-Ministerial Committee set up? What were the reasons for this step?

A. I can't remember by heart when the committee was set up rather early, when Mr. Eshkol was still alive, and I don't think it is that important because whether a special committee or another committee decides about it any decision, according to our constitution of a sub-committee of the Cabinet, is considered as a decision by the plenary session of the Cabinet - because according to the rules of the Cabinet the minutes and the decisions of sub-committees are distributed amongst the other members of the Cabinet. They can read them and any single one

can ask for a review of a decision. Therefore if within two weeks there is no comment from any other Minister a decision which is taken or adopted by a sub-committee is considered to be a decision by the entire Cabinet.

11. Q. What was the procedure in the Committee's work under the Labour government?

A. We had in fact a wide committee composed of two major contingencies. One was the Ministers from the Cabinet itself and the other half the relevant members of the Zionist executive - and everyone had a vote and any decisions which were taken by this joint committee were on behalf of the two co-operating agencies - the Government on the one hand and the Zionist executive on the other (the Zionist executive is responsible for land settlement according to the convention which was signed between the Government and the Zionist movement many years ago when Mr. Ben Gurion was still in power).

The procedures were exactly as in other committees of the Cabinet. At least a few days before a session takes place the agenda and all relevant material should be provided to the members of the committee so they will have a chance to study the problem and make up their minds on their position. Then we used to also invite our advisors, particularly the experts on land settlement, Arab affairs, security affairs -- so every aspect of land settlement policy was discussed. Sometimes we used to go to the very area to see for ourselves with our own eyes and not only to trust experts. Sometimes we had to postpone a decision for another week or two in order to

give some of the members an opportunity to study the matters a little more deeply. Only then was there a vote - an ordinary majority would be enough, in certain cases we had unanimous decisions and in certain cases big majorities. Never was such a decision taken by a small formal majority. Even here if one member of the Committee opposed the decision (to the extent that he thought it would damage the country) he would have asked for an appeal to the entire Cabinet - there were some cases of this sort. Then there was a new discussion when we discussed it again at full length with the Cabinet, and the Cabinet decided about it.

The other procedure was that we had to report every decision of this kind to the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset. So sometimes we had a parallel debate. After doing the job with the Ministers we had to go again - sometimes - to the Committee of the Knesset. One has to remember that but for a short while when we had the National Government (I never thought it was the most effective one but nevertheless we had it) there was, as it should be in a parliamentary system, a Government and opposition. In the Committees of the Cabinet and the Zionist executive we didn't have the opposition represented, but we had them on the (Knesset) Committee. So some agreed - some disagreed.

A P P E N D I X VIII

Leidata shel Qeshet (The Birth of Qeshet)

An account by Mr. Yehuda Harel, resident of Merom Golan and leading figure in the Golan Settlement Committee, of events concerning Golan settlement, October 1973 - June 1974.

English Translation of Original Hebrew

(by W. W. Harris)

I am writing these things from memory. Clearly it is necessary to do some work, inspect diaries and records, and consult comrades, but meantime from memory ---.

(i) The War and afterwards. Although the Golan settlements in general and Merom Golan in particular suffered considerable damage as a result of the war (the Merom Golan site was partially destroyed and the population uprooted) we returned home on the fourth day of the war with a feeling of determination and not with the feeling of weakness and failure which revealed itself in the state in the period after the war.

Even on the second day of the war we applied to appropriate factors in an attempt to convince them to conquer Bein Jinn in order to ensure that the Beit Jinn springs would be joined to Golan area and would assure water to the Heights. After the war we were anxious to install a pipeline from Beit Jinn : also during the war we set up a meeting with Yehial Admoni in the Merom Golan shelter and we agreed with him on a post-war work plan.

a) Doubling of the Jewish population on the Golan within a year.
b) Erection of a Golan City.
c) Settlement of the Central Golan
d) Building of an extensive defence system.

In the days after the war we succeeded in getting approval from Raful (Rafael Eitan) to begin working areas at Ain Havad, which is on the eastern side of the pre-war cease fire line. We were also anxious to excavate the Rouqad storage-pond - also partially in the "salient" area.

When Pinhas Sapir visited the Heights immediately

after the war we convinced him of the merits of our plan (all of it) and in particular of the necessity to begin constructing the Golan City. We were not alone in the feeling that the lessons of the war were that we should stand firm and not cave-in.

In those days I went with Musiq Garliq to a meeting of about twenty comrades at the home of Rabbi Haimqa Druqman. There I met Hanan (Porat) for the first time and others who were later to set up Gush Emunim. Even beforehand I felt a bond with Hanan and I wanted to get to know him as I believed that Kfar Etzion and Merom Golan opened a new period in the history of the State of Israel and even in the history of the people of Israel.

At this meeting, apparently the foundation meeting of the "Gush", there was a similar atmosphere to that evident on the Golan. We renewed the Golan Settlement Committee with the purpose of realizing the four points outlined above. We did effective work on the subjects of budgets, security and so on. The chief workers were Musiq (Ramat Magshamim), Avner (Snir), Doron (Eli'ad), Rafi (Ramot) and myself.

(ii) <u>Change for consideration</u>. In December 1973 we began to feel that we were at a turning point ; disengagement negotiations in the south, the manoeuvrings of Kissinger, Abu Rudeis families being prevented from returning home, and the general atmosphere in the country - all these gave us to understand that the general tendency in the country was in the direction of capitulation.

In December I received information from a qualified

source in Tzahal and from Yisrael Galili that it was not certain that Israel could maintain the pre-war Golan border. We got in touch with Ramat Magshamim and set up a night session in Merom Golan at which we decided on intensive activities beginning the next day. Our objective was to retain the pre-war line. In the Winter months our activities reached a peak. I list in brief some of the things we did :

a) Basic meetings with all Government Ministers.

b) Meeting with the Ma'arakh faction in the Knesset.

c) Two sessions with the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset.

d) Raising the subject and achieving resolutions in Ha Kibbutz ha Meuhad, in the Ihud, and in Regional Councils.

e) Information giving assemblies in settlements.

f) Activity in the youth movements and a public youth meeting in the cinerama.

g) Crystallization of urban activity.

h) Multitude of publicity notices in the newspapers.

i) An assembly of intellectuals in the Bnei Brit auditorium.

j) A meeting with Golda in which she assured us that there would be no moving from the pre-war line.

k) Several assemblies of Golan settlements.

l) Two assemblies of all the settlements across the green line, the first in Kfar Etzion at our initiative and the second at Neot Golan.

m) Meetings and convincing of key personalities.

Very many Merom Golan members took part in this activity and the whole settlement participated whole-heartedly.

Today we know for certain that our activity prevented

a deep withdrawal on the Golan and damage to settlements.

At the beginning of the Spring we came to understand that Quneitra would be the focus of the struggle. Accordingly we began work at full-speed to execute plans for land preparation in Quneitra. We obtained the requisite approval and began ourselves to clear the city of its houses and to prepare lands.

During the negotiations for a separation of forces on the Golan we began to consider what would be the situation if the Government did not hold firm and made concessions regarding Quneitra? ---

Then I thought - for the first time - of reacting by the speedy erection of a settlement either in Quneitra or nearby.

In those days I went round Quneitra many times with Shimshon to check out the works of demolition which we were executing there. We began to look for a suitable location for a settlement. Among the places we inspected were : the old temporary site of Merom Golan, the military police building in East Quneitra, the "front command," the "brigade building" and the hospital bunker.

(iii) <u>The Decision</u> The final period before the signing of the Disengageement Agreement was extremely difficult. We already felt (and also received information) that Quneitra would be handed-over to the Syrians. From the Chief of Staff we heard the "evaluation" that Quneitra is not important --- the war of attrition was at its peak and there were daily casualties. In the whole country there was a terrible

weariness and severe weakness (interestingly - in the whole country except for the Golan settlements).

In the settlement we spent much of the time sitting in the shelters with a feeling of extreme isolation. It was made clear to us that Ha Kibbutz ha Meuhad would not stand behind us in our struggle over Quneitra. On Saturday night (May 10) we held an assembly. The day after, Sunday, the Kibbutz ha Meuhad Secretariat had to meet in the Warsaw Ghetto Museum. Several Ramat Magshamim members also participated in our assembly. On the Friday before the assembly I was with Shimshon at Northern Command and we chatted with the officer in charge (Ya'anqle). We asked him what his opinion would be if we established a settlement in Quneitra within a week? He responded thus - "first you didn't ask and I don't know anything about the matter and second, if your settlers aren't there already it may be too late."

At the Merom Golan assembly the proposal that a group from various Golan villages should settle in Quneitra was raised, along with beginning work in Galilee settlements to get together a permanent nucleus for the new Kibbutz. Even before the assembly, a picked group agreed to take the matter upon itself. After midnight the assembly approved the proposal.

The Secretariat (Merom Golan) + some other members + some Ramat Magshamim members came together at 1.00 a.m. in our restaurant shelter to decide on the execution.

We made a "crazy" decision - to establish the settlement on Sunday morning i.e. eight hours after taking the decision ! (certainly without precedent in the history of settlement). At 1.00 a.m. we began the work and got the

team together. We started on the preparation of a vehicle, tractors, a generator, tables, beds, mattresses, weapons and so on.

We decided on the hospital bunker as a location because in those days there was a situation of uninterrupted shelling.

In the morning I left for the Kibbutz ha Meuhad Secretariat meeting in the Warsaw Ghetto Museum (Acre) and announced there the establishment of a settlement in Quneitra - without knowing for certain that the settlement had actually gone up (apparently the same day we received "in secret" a generator from the Jewishagency in Tzefat).

In one day, the bunker was cleaned, electricity installed, water brought in and work organized (on Merom Golan lands, in surveys, in preparing areas in Quneitra) - along with guard duty. In the evening Tzipqa went with the children to the settlers, taking wine and cakes. THE SETTLEMENT WAS A FACT ! Many soldiers and officers visited the site and they were impressed --- In these first days I felt a great fear - I interpreted the erection of the settlement and its fulfilment as a thing of powerful significance and great value in the consciousness of the entire people. Such an enterprise should not be permitted to descend to the level of a mere political demonstration. If it became clear that our step was nothing more than a political demonstration it would cause irreparable damage to the whole idea and status of settlement in general and especially on the Golan. It is difficult to claim that we erected the new settlement after assuring the minimal conditions (at least 5 members on the site). Had I been

irresponsible?

(iv) First Days In the first days we devoted our entire effort to ensuring that we had the required number of people from Merom Golan, Ramat Magshamim and El Rom at the new settlement. Thereafter we began to visit Galilee settlements to try to get people for a permanent Kibbutz nucleus. The tour of Galilee settlements was a failure. We didn't get a single serious candidate --- Meanwhile Dafne agreed to pass out work from its footwear enterprise and the bunker began to take on the form of a settlement.

From the first day I pressed the bunker people to decide on a name for the settlement and on each occasion they assured me that the matter would be resolved, but the selection of a name was postponed from day to day. Finally, one day when I was sitting in the bunker with several of the members (already I don't remember who was there) I announced that we wouldn't stand up until we had chosen the name. One of the members suggested "Qashtit", based on the name "Quneitra" (Quneitra in Arabic = Qeshet in Hebrew - "arch"). I said that Qashtit didn't seem suitable to me and I proposed "Qeshet". My proposal was accepted.

The tales about "Quneitra Shelanu Tamid" (Quneitra will always be ours) were created later and don't have any foundation. In those days demonstrations were held in Jerusalem against Golan withdrawal. Here "Gush Emunim" began to cystallize. People began to come direct to Queshet from demonstrations, equipped with haversacks, holy books for study --- Suddenly Queshet began to take on the form of a religious settlement. Up to this time we had assumed that

Qeshet would be a Kibbutz ha Meuhad settlement.

One evening I came to the bunker and found religious members sitting and studying in every room. I interrupted Assaf and said to him : "Listen, if you don't restrict the flow from Jerusalem there will soon be no-one here who will work and the place will be converted into a Yeshiva." Assaf answered "What's with you ! These members are the best workers. I wish more would come."

The next day Assaf had to go to meet with a particular Kibbutz ha Meuhad nucleus to convince them to come to Queshet. That night we decided (it seems to me after a talk with Uri Meir) that if we also failed with this nucleus we would give the settlement over to the religious. The next day Hanan Porat came to see me and we sat and reviewed the matter all night. At the end of the discussion he took upon himself the responsibility of creating the nucleus for Qeshet. This rescued us from a terrible failure - a rescue for which I shall never forget Hanan and especially the people who came from Jerusalem and from other places and made Queshet a settlement which one could be proud of.

In our meeting Hanan told me about Eli Sadan and asked me to travel with him and with Eli to Jerusalem for a meeting with Tzvi Yehuda Kook, because without the Rabbi's blessing Eli couldn't leave the Yeshiva. Of course I consented and went along.

I won't go into details here about our meeting with the Rabbi. It was clear to me that there was no necessity to convince the Rabbi - on the contrary it seemed that he was

trying to convince us. Since then I have met the Rabbi a number of times and have become acquainted with many of his students. But already at the first meeting I could distinguish his absolute self-confidence - free of any hesitation or doubt - confidence that small events and times (that to us seemed big and decisive) could not budge or even touch him.

The days in the bunker came back to me as the first days of the crystallization of the Qeshet nucleus. This period gave much to me. I always feel that the most important asset I can amass is getting to know people who strengthen my faith in man, and in this period I became acquainted with Hannah Tav, Rabbi Tzuqerman, Rabbi Aviner and Vardina Vali.

Above all I was impressed and influenced by the personality of Hannah Tav. I remember one day I was sitting in the eating room of the bunker and talking with Rabbi Tzuqerman, surrounded by a number of Qeshet members who were not taking a very active part in the conversation. I delicately raised the sensitive topic of what would happen when the disengagement agreement was signed and Quneitra handed over to the Syrians. I explained my view that we should struggle up to the last moment but should also start planning what would be done if we didn't succeed. I began to raise the notion of advance preparation and planning for a move to the Quneitra Valley or to the Central Golan in order to continue a struggle that would certainly go on for many more years. I felt that I had found a common language with Rabbi Tzuqerman and the discussion progressed to practicalities. During the discussion Hannah Tav stood at the sink and washed dishes. Suddenly Hannah left the sink and pressed toward the

table. She asked modestly if she could say something. In total silence Hannah said (I quote from memory) "It is forbidden to talk of the things you are discussing. If you speak of the possibility of remaining in Quneitra then it will be held, but if we all know that this cannot be then it will not be, because it cannot be." I tried to explain to Hannah that although we were fighting for the first line it was also necessary to make contingency preparation for a second line. But Hannah remained adamant : "If a man walks on a narrow plank above an abyss and thinks about what lies in wait if he falls, and looks into the abyss - then he will certainly fall." I replied with all sorts of clever and logical points and it seemed to me that I wond the debate, with Hannah remaining in a minority, and also that reality proved that I was right <u>but</u> I have never been able to forget Hannah's words and from the first moment I felt the superiority of her position over mine. This was the superiority of faith and stubbornness ---- the superiority of a deep faith in the power of the spirit to overcome the material. I have no doubt that the hard naive faith of Hannah played an inestimably greater part in the success of Qeshet than did my clever counsels. On that night when we decided, in an "irresponsible" fashion, to erect a settlement the next morning, we also acted on faith and we succeeded.

How then did the Qeshet members agree to transfer to the nursery (west of Quneitra) and how did Tzahal come to agree to that? We knew that there was no possibility of the Qeshet people leaving the bunker of their own volition so it could be handed over to the Syrians. Accordingly we became very tense

when we saw the disengagement map for the first time. The bunker was not marked on the map and the line was so thick that it was impossible to tell on which side the bunker lay. After a few days a qualified surveyor, acting on behalf of the Government, came to mark the line on the ground. The line was to be fixed and confirmed by U.N. representatives. When we saw that the line left the bunker on the wrong side we asked the surveyor if he would mcve the marker barrels and put Qeshet on our side. The surveyor was greatly offended by the request and explained that to do such a thing would hurt his honour as a "doctor of geodesy."

On the night after the completion of the survey the marker-barrels were moved to the other side of the Qeshet bunker (by residents) and there were also several small movements in other places. The next day U.N. men came and confirmed the border line.

After it had been ensured that Qeshet would remain under Israeli sovereignty movement from the bunker ceased to be a matter of principle --- several days after the signing of the disengagement agreement a delegation from Tzahal command came to Merom Golan. The delegation comprised Chief of Staff Muta Gur, Raful (Rafael Eitan), and division commander Yanush. We held a session with them in the restaurant shelter. The Chief of Staff explained that the Qeshet members must evacuate the bunker that very day. We asked if Qeshet might be accommodated in the front command building. The division commander said that he needed the building and it was then that the proposal of shifting to the nursery came up.

At first all the Army men were opposed but we took a stubborn stand and the ice was slowly broken. Then

we asked Yanush for railway carriages to ensure that there would be enough accommodation in the nursery. The next day three carriages arrived, carriages which have since made history. From the nursery they were transferred to Hushniye and from Hushniye they were taken by the Yonatan nucleus to Tel Shipun. When Tzahal didn't permit the settlement on the hill they were taken down from it, then going with the Yonatan nucleus to Tel Parag, staying there until they were transferred to Tel Abu Qatif by the Arguv nucleus. There they were confiscated by Tzahal and returned to the Army engineer stores. Recently I heard that Raful is prepared to return the carriages to the Arguv nucleus---.

(v) <u>Merom Golan and Qeshet</u> Merom Golan is a young settlement which has already been through a lot. We have had difficult hours, sad hours and great hours. The first days of Qeshet were the happiest days of Merom Golan. There were very difficult days for us.

Several of our best and most precious people fell in battle, and we lived for months in the shelters. All that we had built and all that we believed in stood in danger. We were isolated - the isolation was difficult. Even the soldiers, tired and dirty from the war and from the attrition, were saying angrily to us : "It's only because of your craziness that we can't return home." Tiredness and disillusionment ruled in the country. The coming of the Qeshet people from Jerusalem and their settling between us and the border (with children !) was almost the only hand sent to help and support us. I shall never forget this.

Only thus is it possible to understand the aid given

by Merom Golan to Qeshet, aid almost beyond computation - to understand how we opened ourselves to Qeshet, how doors were opened, how funds were opened and in chief how hearts were opened.

Today I see that the Qeshet people gave us more than we gave them, despite the fact that there were days when neither they or we understood this. Today we have returned to our homes, to our daily lives ---- I don't know whether you in Qeshet are succeeding in preserving the same spirit. I know that this is difficult and perhaps impossible.

I believe that when stormy periods come again, and they will come --- we can stand again in the confidence that life will continue and succeed, the confidence that Qeshet (the arch) gave us : "and the land was covered by cloud and a rainbow was seen in the cloud."

"Who's Who" and Glossary (in order of appearance)

Yehial Admoni	-	senior personality in the Jewish Agency.
Rafael Eitan	-	front commander on the Golan (1978 - Chief of Staff).
Salient	-	additional area captured by Israel in the October War. Returned to Syria June 1974.
Pinhas Sapir	-	Minister of Finance in the Labour Government up to 1974.
Hanan Porat	-	Kfar Etzion resident prominent in the formation of Gush Emunim (1978 - Gush Secretary-General).
Tzvi Yehuda Kook	-	Head of Merkaz Harav Yeshiva in Jerusalem and spiritual head of Gush Emunim.

APPENDIX IX

Cabinet discussion on Gush Emunim settlement at Qaddum, 5 August 1976.

As reported in Yediot Ahronot by Shlomo Makdimon, 6 August 1976 P.2.

English translation for foreign press corps, Jerusalem. See also Appendix II for Cabinet positions and Party affiliations of participating Ministers.

Further details were uncovered last night concerning the Cabinet discussion on Qaddum. Finance Minister Rabinowitz complained that the Qaddumites were making a mockery of the Government, to which Peres responded that he knew of other bodies in the state whose actions made mockery of the Government - even such as "are sitting here on the establishment of saints". Peres is believed to have been referring to those Ministers who keep on raising the eternal question : when will Qaddum be vacated? There is also reason to assume that Peres was referring, inter alia, specifically to his Mapam colleagues - since, in practically the same breath, he mentioned continued violation of the Government's decision on an issue relating to development of the Rafiah salient (Mapam is active behind the scenes to prevent the implementation of government resolutions to remove Bedouin squatters, whose presence is preventing the area's development). One way and another - facts are being established at Qaddum, which could not have been realized without variegated government assistance -- It was against this background that a debate took place at Sunday's Cabinet session; most of the following exchange is now made public for the first time.

Rabin : The Defence Ministry has helped in things which I'm not sure were a correct interpretation of the Cabinet's resolution.

Peres : Everything done there - if the reference is to the shed (for metal-working) was about a month before the Cabinet's last resolution (9 May) that no settlement would be established at Qaddum. I propose that if Qaddum is to be discussed and a decision taken - let it be a bold decision. I, as a member of The Cabinet, will fulfil my part in such a decision. But

let there be no bothering with marginal matters, with this or that shed, nor with the provision of employment for the settlers - a resolution taken when they moved from Sebastia, to which the entire Cabinet was party.

Rabinowitz : (strong opponent of Qaddum) : I think a resolution must also be taken on Qaddum, and that it should not be left unresolved.

Ofer : (claims Qaddumites are seeking confrontation with the Government) : We have already decided (that no settlement would be established there).

Rabin : (concurs with Mapam and other Qaddum opponents but wishes to avoid confrontation) : If you (Ofer) want to resolve on forceful evacuation - do so; I'll not propose such a thing.

Ofer : I'm not proposing force; I can abide with the existing situation; let it stay.

Shemtov : But we are giving them work, and creating facts there, as well as passing resolutions here - which we do not observe.

Peres : First of all, with reference to work - we provide work also for Arabs beyond the green line, and I dare anyone to suggest not providing work as well to Jews who arrived there in accordance with a certain resolution which was not clandestine, a resolution assuring their employment. As for resolutions that are not observed (Shemtov's allegation) - I know of a resolution passed here more than once on (Bedouin squatters in) the Rafiah area, and I know who the factors are that are delaying and preventing implementation

Rabin : I don't say that a decision on Qaddum must be taken here - but I also don't say that the Defence Ministry should not order things for its requirements.

Peres : I don't say that we should be sidetracked; or whether there should be a discussion of the matter or not. If you want to pass a resolution on Qaddum's removal - go ahead.

Rabin : The Cabinet is entitled to decide what it wishes.

Peres : Of course. So, if you want, propose the closing of the enterprise (the shed) and say so clearly. I don't want to be in a position of someone who is in doubt. I personally do not feel myself to be in doubt.

Raphael : Rabin spoke and said something very grave -- what is all the excitement here? These people (at Qaddum) are not sitting there in contravention of Cabinet resolutions. I know of no offer made to them to settle elsewhere, and I'm a member of the Ministerial Settlement Committee. I did not issue them a permit for a ritual bath, because that would provide permanency. But can anyone forbid them water or electricity?

Rabin : They have no problems; they don't need our help; they have a benefactor in England who will provide them with both electricity and water; you (Raphael) don't have to concern yourself about them.

Burg : I believe that any thought of laying siege and starving (Qaddum) is no less grave than employment of force against these people. If anyone wants to topple the Government - go ahead ! * Let such thinking be discussed. And I want to say that these people are there (at Qaddum) with permission, and if they want a kindergarten and school, this should be provided by law.

(It goes without saying that Hamer favoured granting the settlers all requisite privileges)

Yadlin : (outright opponent of Qaddum) : I did not and will not give them a kindergarten.

Rabin : You've done right!

Yadlin : What is called for is a discussion and passage of the previous resolutions - because I see this issue as a political time-bomb; but in no way would I lend a hand to employing Tzahal against Qaddum.

Rabin : Beware what you say, since it leaks out, and it will then emerge (from your statement) that there is a resolution that they stay there.

Kol : (Qaddum opponent) : There's no call for helping them establish themselves into permanency.

Rabinowitz : They are making a mockery of the Government.

Peres: : (see preamble)

The Prime Minister told his colleagues that the issue would be discussed (again) in the Cabinet at an appropriate time - without elaborating.

* Reference by Burg (NRP) to NRP hint that its Ministers might leave the Government.

TABLES

TABLE 2.1 THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES : OUT-MOVEMENTS OF ARAB RESIDENTS

	Pre-War Populations (1967 estimates)	Estimated Population loss June-Dec. 1967	Loss as a proportion of pre-war population
GAZA	c. 400,000	c. 70,000	c.18%
GOLAN	c.100,000	c. 93,000	c.93%
SINAI	56,017	c. 15,000	c.26%
WEST BANK HIGHLANDS	758,484	c.175,000	c.23%
WEST JORDAN VALLEY	84,779	c. 75,000	c.88%
TOTAL	1,399,280	c.428,000	c.31%

Sources - Directorate of Statistics, Damascus. Census of Population - 1960.
Census and Statistical Dept. Cairo. 1966 Census.
Department of Statistics, Amman. First Census of Population and Housing. 1961.
Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem. Census of Population - West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza Strip and Northern Sinai, Golan Heights, 1967.

TABLE 2.2 THE WEST BANK : DISTRICT POPULATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER JUNE 1967

	1952 census	1961 census*	1967 projection** (pre-war)	Sept.1967 census (post-war)
Jenin	80244	81171	81299	78295
Nablus	153237	174830	188320	152381
Tulkarm	81755	85747	87961	72229
Ramallah	110076	115424	118322	88877
Jerusalem	85550	108437	123297	93006
Jericho	49099	64870	75142	9078
Bethlehem	56677	55539	54480	49515
Hebron	125651	119432	114442	118358
TOTAL	742289	805450	843263	661739

* Scattered tent population (14,947 - given only by governorate) here distributed amongst districts in relation to district populations.
** Projection of 1952-61 change.

Source - Department of Statistics, Amman. The 1952 Census of Housing .P.1.

Department of Statistics, Amman. First Census of Population and Housing, 1961. Vol.1. Pp.6-9.

Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.Census of Population - West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza Strip and Northern Sinai, Golan Heights,1967. Vol.1.P xix.

Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem. East Jerusalem - Census of Population and Housing, 1967. Vol.1.P.xi.

TABLE 2.3

AGE-SEX PROFILES : JERUSALEM GOVERNORATE/JERICHO RURAL (1961)

		0-14 %	15-24 %	25-29 %	30-39 %	40-49 %	50-59 %	60+ %	All Ages %
Jerusalem Governorate	Male	23.1	9.6	3.5	4.7	3.1	2.7	3.8	50.5
	Female	20.1	9.6	3.5	5.5	3.5	2.9	4.2	49.3
	TOTAL	43.1	19.2	7.0	10.2	6.6	5.6	8.0	
Jericho "Remainder of District"	Male	22.1	12.4	4.7	5.1	3.1	2.4	3.7	53.5
	Female	19.4	9.8	2.9	4.6	3.5	2.8	3.4	46.4
	TOTAL	41.5	22.2	7.6	9.7	6.6	5.2	7.1	

Source - Department of Statistics, Amman. First Census of Population and Housing, 1961. Report 7. Pp.11-53.

TABLE 3.1 RAMALLAH DISPLACED PERSON STATISTICS - JORDANIAN OFFICIAL ESTIMATES AND FIGURES EXTRAPOLATED FROM THE JUNE 1967 BAKERJAN SURVEY

	Non-refugee camp population - 1967 estimate.	Displaced - person numbers Bakerjan population .	% pre-war non-refugee camp population.	Displaced person numbers - official figure.	% pre-war non-refugee camp population.
Deir Qaddis	8775	4174	47.57	6749	76.91
Nabi Saleh	17083	4547	23.77	4021	21.02
Rest Ramallah	81473	14702	16.26	25501	28.20
Ramallah Total	107331	23423	24.44	36271	30.65

Sources - Supreme Ministerial Committee for Displaced Persons, Amman.Antranik Bakerjan, UNRWA, Ramallah.

TABLE 3.2 WEST BANK AREAS : POPULATION REDUCTIONS CAUSED BY DISPLACED PERSON OUT-MOVEMENT (FROM JORDANIAN OFFICAL STATISTICS)

Areas (see fig. 10)	1961 Population (1)	1967 projection (pre-war) (3)	Non-refugee camp 1967 projection(4)	Displaced person Numbers(5)	D.P'. as % of non-camp projection
Jenin	52792	52875	44425	8545	19.2
Silet-adh-Dhahr	19500	19531	19531	3413	17.5
Ya'bad	8879	8893	8893	1297	14.6
Nablus	129219	140058	119948	21337	17.8
Toubas	21340	23130	16070	7646	47.6
Tulkarm-Anabta	65157	66839	52930	8179	15.5
Qalqilia	20590	21122	21122	3767	17.8
Salfit	24271	25132	25132	2558	10.2
Nabi Saleh	18667	19131	17083	4021	23.5
Deir Qaddis	8572	8775	8775	6749	76.9
Latrun	4949	5073	5073	5073	100.0
Ramallah	83236	85343	76400	20428	26.7
Jerusalem	108437	123297	114458	28460	24.9
Jericho	64870	75142	21497	14285	66.5
Bethlehem	55539	54480	42839	11754	27.4
Hebron	107562 (2)	103071	89662	29656	33.1
Dura	11870	11371	11371	4688	41.2

Sources : (1) Jordan Census, 1961 . Vol.1. Pp.6-27, Report 5. Pp.19-21.
(2) Not given separately in the 1961 census - calculated by adding together local village populations.
(3) Projection of 1952 - 61 inter-censal change for areas listed in table 3.2 Sub-division change assumed to be same as for these areas.
(4) 3, with subtraction of June 1967 UNRWA camp statistics
(5) Supreme Ministerial Committee for Displaced Persons, Amman

TABLE 4 : 1

COMPARATIVE RESULTS : THE BAQA'A SAMPLE AND THE 1961 JORDAN CENSUS

Data expressed as percentages

a) Education Levels	Sample house-hold heads June 1967	1961 West Bank Population
Elementary	23.9	28.8
Secondary	5.5	10.9
Tertiary (not University)	0.0	0.2
University	0.0	0.3
No formal education	70.6	59.7

Statistical Significance of difference (χ^2) P = < 0.025

b) Employment Categories (based on 1961 Census)	Sample house-hold heads June 1967	1961 West Bank Population
1. Professional, technical	4.3 (all military)	4.9
2. Administrative, managerial	1.2	0.5
3. Clerical	0.6	3.1
4. Sales	1.8	7.2
5. Farmers, fishermen, Hunters-related	32.5	37.1
6. Miners, quarrymen	0.6	2.5
7. Transport & Communications workers	1.8	4.2
8. Craftsmen, production process workers, miscellaneous labourers	44.2	29.1
9. Service, sport, recreation workers	0.6	5.7
10. Other (unemployed, student)	12.2	5.9

Statistical Significance of difference (χ^2) P = < 0.001

TABLE 4.1.

1961 Jordan Census Statistics taken from

a) Interim Report No. 5. P.60. Pp.69-74.
b) Interim Report No. 7. P.98. Pp.118-122.
c) Interim Report No. 8 P. 127. Pp.150-154.

TABLE 4:2 WEST JORDAN VALLEY : WAR INDUCED REDUCTIONS IN NATIVE POPULATION, JUNE - SEPTEMBER 1967.

	Pre-war non-refugee camp population. June 1967 estimate	Post-war non-refugee camp population. Sept 1967	Reduction June-Sept 1967	Sept.residual as a proportion of pre-war total
WEST VALLEY RURAL	19359	3500	15859	18.1%
JERICHO TOWN	11775	6900	4875	58.6%

Sources :

1. June 1967 estimate from projection of 1952 - 1961 inter-censal change (Jordan censuses) with subtraction of 1967 refugee camp residents (UNRWA statistics)

2. Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem. Census of Population - West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza Strip and Northern Sinai, Golan Heights, 1967. Vol.1.P.160.

TABLE 4:3a PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MIGRATORY BEHAVIOUR OF BAQA'A CAMP DISPLACED PERSON SAMPLES - JUNE 1967. Data expressed as percentages

Personal Characteristics		West Jordan Valley	West Bank Highlands
Percentage urban[1]	Total pre-war non-refugee camp population	37.8	43.9
	Sample	14.2	26.5
Occupation of Household Head [2]	Farmer	45.1	26.8
	Labourer (unskilled/semi-Skilled)	35.3	37.5
	Unemployed	5.9	12.5
	Domestic (includes housewives)	5.9	8.0
	Sales workers	2.0	1.8
	Transport / communications workers	2.0	1.8
	Landlord	2.0	0.0
	Student	2.0	1.8
	Military	0.0	6.3
	Managerial	0.0	0.9
	Clerical	0.0	0.9
	Miners, Quarrymen	0.0	0.9
	Service, sport, recreation workers	0.0	0.9
Education of Household Head	No formal education	74.5	68.8
Family units with 1 workers outside the West Bank		29.5	8.0
Family units with property on the East Bank		7.8	0.9
Rural Family units with no land		59.5	41.5
MIGRATORY BEHAVIOUR			
Moved during War		94.1	81.3
Attacked during Move		92.2	81.3
Home town/village attached before Move		29.4	37.5
Moved to river by	foot	90.2	68.8
" " "	military vehicle	3.9	5.4
" " "	taxi	2.0	10.7
" " "	bus	2.0	5.4
" " "	animal	2.0	0.9
" " "	truck	0.0	7.1
" " "	private car	0.0	1.8
Crossed river by	fording	17.6	13.4
Moved from river by	foot	72.5	57.1
" " "	military vehicle	0.0	1.8
" " "	taxi	11.8	17.0
" " "	bus	3.9	11.6
" " "	animal	0.0	0.0
" " "	truck	3.9	12.5
" " "	private car	2.0	0.0
First Destination in East Valley		60.8	42.0
First Destination on East Bank Plateau		39.2	58.0

1. Urban = Resident in settlements with more than 5,000 inhabitants
2. Categories based on Jordan Census,1961.

TABLE 4:3b STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF VALLEY - HIGHLAND DIFFERENCES

		$\sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$ Test	
Percentage Urban (sample)	-	P =	< 0.025
Household Head - a farmer	-	P =	< 0.025
Family Unit with Workers outside West Bank	-	P =	< 0.050
Moved during War	-	P =	< 0.050
Attacked during move	-	P =	< 0.010
Foot Travel to river	-	P =	< 0.001
Foot Travel from river	-	P =	< 0.050
Town/Village attacked before move	-	P =	NS
Rural Family Unit with no land	-	P =	< 0.050
First Destination (East Valley or East Bank Plateau)	-	P =	< 0.025

TABLE 4:4a — FIVE REGION ANALYSIS - BAQA'A SURVEY RESPONSES

Data expressed as percentages

	HEBRON	JERUSALEM	RAMALLAH	NABLUS	WEST VALLEY
Perception of poor historic relations with Jews	50.0	25.7	10.5	25.0	25.5
Family with 1+ workers outside the West Bank	0.0	8.6	21.1	8.4	29.5
Moved to river by foot	68.2	77.1	57.9	66.7	90.2
" " by military vehicle	0.0	5.7	5.3	8.3	3.9
" " by taxi	9.1	5.7	15.8	13.9	2.0
" " by bus	13.6	2.9	0.0	5.6	2.0
" " by animal	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.0
" " by truck	4.5	5.7	21.1	2.8	0.0
" " by private car	4.5	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0
Crossed river by fording	0.0	5.7	15.8	27.8	17.6
First destination in East Valley	36.3	37.2	31.6	55.5	60.8
First destination in East Bank Plateau	63.7	62.8	68.4	44.5	39.2
Amman-Zerqa as Plateau destination (% of persons arriving on Plateau)	71.4	50.0	92.3	87.5	60.0
Average value of property at place of residence (1)	J.D. 2035	J.D.4185	J.D.7194	J.D.6491	J.D.4436

(1) Excluding 9 cases giving values of J.D. 100,000+ owing to probable gross distortion.

TABLE 4:4b STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF INTER-REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

$$\sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Perception of poor historic relations with the Jews (Hebron V other districts)	P =< 0.025
Mode of travel to river (Foot V other modes)	P =< 0.025
Crossed river by fording (Nablus V other districts)	P =< 0.01
First destination (East Valley or East Bank Plateau)	P =< 0.05
Family with 1+ workers outside West Bank	P =< 0.025

TABLE 4:4c FIVE REGIONS : SUB-SAMPLE SIZES

	Number of Cases	Proportion of total %
Nablus	36	22.1
Ramallah	19	11.7
Jerusalem	35	21.5
Hebron	22	13.5
West Valley	51	31.3

TABLE 4:5 SAMPLE SIZES (NUMBER OF CASES) FOR DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

Two Regions		Five Regions	
West Valley	44	West Valley	44
Highlands	103	Nablus	33
		Ramallah	17
		Jerusalem	32
		Hebron	21

TABLE 4:6 TWO REGIONS : DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

Variables		Function I
1.	WOREXWB	-0.60797
2.	GOVT	-0.40592
3.	TOTVALB	-0.43797
4.	EBDESTM	-0.49013
5.	CONPLAC	-0.72268
6.	HOMATT	-0.57849
7.	MOVATT	0.47496

Function I Eigenvalue = 0.24207

TABLE 4:7 FIVE REGIONS ; DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

Variables	Function I	Function II	Function III	Function IV
1. GOVT	0.17689	-0.62526	0.37135	-0.17492
2. REGPRJ	0.49935	0.38716	0.29970	0.74432
3. HOMATT	0.43183	-0.43192	-0.53686	-0.93318
4. FAMATT	-0.56625	-0.18096	-0.13453	0.69806
5. MOVATT	-0.25486	0.35959	0.21461	-0.16334
6. SUPFAM	0.11232	-0.05571	0.63904	-0.45736
7. WOREXWB	0.49052	-0.16235	-0.61226	0.24609
8. LANDA	0.42726	0.49272	0.30993	-0.11479
9. TOTVALA	-0.47454	-0.71702	-0.05877	0.49160
10.TOTVALB	0.24891	-0.20059	-0.29573	0.04928
11.SEX	0.26600	-0.07828	0.45295	0.41099

EIGENVALUES

Function I	0.31953
Function II	0.19615
Function III	0.11170
Function IV	0.08751

Tables 4:6, 4:7 - Guide to Abbreviations

(All variables refer to 1967 family situations)

CONPLAC	Connections at intended East Bank destination.
EBDESTM	East Bank Destination in mind before arrival on East Bank
FAMATT	Attack on family before Move
GOVT	Family members employed with Government
HOMATT	Home village attacked before Move
LANDA	Amount of land at (West Bank) place of residence
MOVATT	Attacked during Move
REGPRJ	Perception of local history of poor relations with Jews
SEX	Sex of Household Head
SUPFAM	Number of family members supporting family
TOTVALA	Total Value of Property at place of residence
TOTVALB	Total Value of Property at other locations
WOREXWB	Family with Workers outside the West Bank

TABLE 4:8 FIVE REGIONS - PREDICTED CASE CLASSIFICATION

Actual Group	No. of Cases	Predicted Group Membership GP.1	GP.2	GP.3	GP.4	GP.5
1. NABLUS	33	8 24.2%	4 12.1%	5 15.2%	6 18.2%	10 30.3%
2. RAMALLAH	17	2 11.8%	8 47.1%	4 23.5%	0 0.0%	3 17.6%
3. JERUSALAM	32	1 3.1%	5 15.6%	9 28.1%	3 9.4%	14 43.8%
4. HEBRON	21	0 0.0%	2 9.5%	1 4.8%	13 61.9%	5 23.8%
5. WEST VALLEY	44	0 0.0%	7 15.9%	5 11.4%	4 9.1%	28 63.6%

PER CENT OF "GROUPED" CASES CORRECTLY CLASSIFIED - 44.90%

TABLE 4:9

REASON FOR MOVE

Fear factors	No. of responses	% of total
Fear of rape	115	29.2
Fear of massacre	92	23.4
Unfavourable perception of Israelis	66	16.8
Fear of ill treatment	41	10.4
General apprehension about Occupation	17	4.3
Fear of arrest	11	2.8
Fear of being involved in a military engagement	4	1.0
TOTAL	346	87.9

Event and Situational Pressures	No. of responses	% of total
Forced to move	11	2.8
Household head in Jordan Army	8	2.0
Looting	3	0.7
Property/ Family attacked	3	0.7
War-time rumours	3	0.7
Ill-treatment of member of family	2	0.5
Relatives out of West Bank (might be cut off)	2	0.5
Threats by Israelis	1	0.3
Family out of West Bank at time of war	1	0.3
Other	14	3.5
TOTAL	48	12.1

TABLE 4:10 REASON FOR MOVE - ORIGIN REGION RATIOS

	Fear of rape or massacre responses	:	Event and situational pressure responses
HEBRON	15.0	:	1
WEST VALLEY	8.9	:	1
JERUSALEM	5.0	:	1
NABLUS	2.4	:	1
RAMALLAH	2.3	:	1

TABLE 5.1. THE 1967 INFLUX - POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR REFUGEE CAMPS ON THE EAST BANK PLATEAU, JULY 1967

Emergency Camps	Populations	1948 Refugee Camps	Approximate pre-June 1967 populations	Growth June - July 1967
Souf	6,000	Amman Old Camp	26,000	c.16,000
Wadi Dleil	4,000	Jabal Hussein (Amman)	24,000	c.11,000
Marka	7,000	Zerqa Old Camp	10,000	c. 8,000
Zizzia	3,000	Irbid	13,000	c. 6,000
Kerak	500*			
		TOTAL	73,000	c.41,000
TOTAL	c.20,000			

* Mainly young men

Source - Estimates by Yousef Qinawi, Assistant Field Relief Services Officer U.NRWA (Amman).

TABLE 5.2 EAST JORDAN VALLEY REFUGEE CAMPS : POPULATION ESTIMATES, FEBRUARY - MARCH 1968

	15 Feb.	18 Feb.	26 Feb.	6 March
Emergency Camps *				
Ghor Nimrin	10,000	350	0	0
Shuna	9,270	1,200	300	50
Karameh Extension	6,800	1,500	200	0
Ghor Kabid - North	5,000	3,500	0	0
Ghor Kabid - South	3,600	1,000	0	0
Damiya	9,000	2,000	0	0
Ma'adi	5,500	2,000	500	50
Ghor al Wahadria	5,000	3,000	3,000	0
Old Refugee Camps **				
Karameh	23,000	2,000	500 ***	500***
TOTAL	77,170	16,550	4,500	600

* Include 1948 reguees displaced in 1967 from the West to the East Bank + persons newly displaced in 1967.

** Karameh camp population largely composed of 1948 refugees long resident there.

***Also about 2,000 labourers present in day-time only.

Source - UNRWA File OP/IN/120 - closed Feb. 1971 (Amman)

TABLE 5.3 SECOND STAGE EMERGENCY CAMPS ON THE EAST BANK PLATEAU, MARCH 1968

Site	March 1968 populations
Baqa'a	c. 18,000
Souf	c. 6,000
Jerash	c. 10,000 *
Marka	c. 10,000
Zizzia	c. 5,000
Husn	c. 10,000
TOTAL	c. 59,000

* Chiefly Gaza people

Source - Estimates by Yousef Qinawi, Assistant Field Services Relief Office, UNRWA (Amman).

TABLE 5.4 ATTRITION IN THE WEST JORDAN RIFT : HA-ARETZ REPORTS OF INCIDENTS INVOLVING CASUALTIES 1967 - 1970*

	Number of Incidents		
	Sept.1967-Aug.1968	Sept.1968-Aug.1969	Sept.1969-Aug.1970
Northern Sector + (Metropolitan Israel)	16	31	15
Central Sector + (Damiya area north to Metropolitan boundary)	3	12	9
Southern Sector + (Jericho - Damiya)	16	26	18

* Not necessarily a complete record

\+ Figure 26 depicts sector areas

Source - Ha-aretz Daily Newspaper

TABLE 7:1

GOLAN AGRICULTURAL PLANNING, NOV. 1967 : AREAS SELECTED FOR DEVELOPMENT

See figure (45) for map, P27-28 for quantitative data on physical conditions

Area	Perceived Natural Advantages	Proposed Agricultural Economy
NORTH GOLAN	Cool, wet climate Abundant local water sources Fertile soil pockets	1) Nut-tree orchards (hickory nuts, walnuts etc.) 2) Irrigated intensive crops (seed potatoes, cotton, industrial tomatoes) 3) Sheep and cattle 4) Field Crops.
SOUTH GOLAN	Broad expanses suitable for cultivation without special prep.	1) Extensive field cropping 2) Irrigated plantations (sub-tropical fruits, olives, loquats) 3) Viticulture. 4) Sheep and Cattle 5) Irrigated crops (cotton, industrial vegetables)
BATIHA VALLEY	Warm Winter temperatures. Lake Tiberias as water source. Fertile soil pockets	1) Winter vegetables for export (peppers, melons, eggplants, marrows, onions) 2) Sub-tropical plantations (avocados, mangos)

Source : Ramat ha Golan : Hatza'at Tokhnit Muqdemet li-Ptihut Haqlai, Nov.1967.

TABLE 7:2 REGISTER OF GOLAN JEWISH SETTLEMENTS, 1967 - 1977

Settlements (grouped by block)	Date founded	Settlement Form (1977)	Settlement Movement	Political Affiliation	Population (Jan-1975)	Population (Jan-1978)
Mevo Hamma	22.1.68.	Kibbutz	Ihud	Labour	150	240
Kfar Haruv	24.5.73.	"	"	"	97	100
Afiq	28.12.67.	"	"	"	61	140
Neat Golan	10.9.68.	Moshav Shittufi	Ha'oved ha Tzioni	Indep.Libs	81	100
Giv'at Yoav	13.3.68.	Moshav	Tnu'at ha Moshavim	Labour	133	220
Ramot	5.5.69.	"	"		124	220
Eli'ad	21.1.68.	"	"		38	60
Gamle	Jan. 1976.	"	"		-	40
Bene Yehuda	29.8.72.	Area Centre	No clear affiliation		105	350
Geshur	8.4.68.	Kibbutz	Artzi	Mapam	100	60
Avni Eitan	1977	Moshav	Ha Po'el ha Mizrahi	N.R.P.*	40**	50
Nov	July 1972	"	"	"	48	140
Ramat Magshamim	5.5.69.	Moshav Shittufi	"	"	141	240
Yonatan	28.8.75.	"	"	"	-	70
Qeshet	12.5.74.	"	"	"	80	150
Sha'al	9.1.76.	"	Tnu'at Herut	Herut	-	30
Hispin	5.10.71.	Area Centre	Ha Po'el ha Mizrahi	N.R.P	32	176
Qatzrin	Dec.1974.	Urban Centre	No clear affiliation		-	500
Ani'am	1977	Indus.Village	"		28**	54
Parag	1977	Nahal	No data		-	25
Ortal	1977	Kibbutz	Meuhad	Labour	-	55
Ain Zivan	23.1.68.	"	"	"	126	200
Merom Golan	15.7.67.	"	"	"	291	310
El Rom	13.7.71.	"	"	"	124	170
Har Odem	23.3.76.	Moshav Shittufi	Ha'Oved ha Tzioni	Indep.Libs.	-	40
Neve Ativ	13.10.71.	"	"	"	60	90
Snir	26.9.67.	Kibbutz	Artzi	Mapam	69	120
					1908	3950

* National Religious Party
** Settlement nuclei temporarily resident at another location (Avni Eitan group at Nov and Ani'am group at Ramot)

Sources : Bier, A Heahazuiot ve Hitnahaluiot, 1976. Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan,1974 (Inventory Volume)
Tour of Zionist Congress Delegates - A Review of Rural Settlement in Israel,Feb. 23, 1978.
Field Research, 1976 and 1978.

TABLE 7: 3

GOLAN JEWISH SETTLEMENTS : AGRICULTURAL AREAS AND WATER USE
1974 (areas in dunams)

Settlement	Field Crops Lands Allocated	Irrigated Crops Lands Allocated	Irrigated Crops Lands Cultivated	Plantation Lands Allocated	Deciduous Plantation Lands Cultivated	Sub-tropical Plantation Lands Cultivated	Water Consumption (cubic meters)
SOUTH GOLAN							
Mevo Hamma	3100	2000	1200	100	-	-	758000
Kfar Haruv	1400	1200	110	200	-	-	128000
Afiq	2600	1400	-	300	126	-	22000
Geshur	1400	100	80	-	-	-	38000
Giv'at Yoav	3540	1280	1700	610	-	100	555000
Neot Golan	2680	1500	550	270	198	-	259000
Eli'ad	2400	850	70	-	-	-	15000
Ramot	1440	1430	2800	630	-	100	403000
Ramat Magshamim	3450	1400	800	200	169	-	459000
Nov	2000	1100	15	200	52	-	64000
NORTH GOLAN							
Merom Golan	2375	2320	2170	325	306	-	811000
Ain Zivan,	3400	1360	900	320	277	-	498000
El Rom	2880	800	700	320	225	-	336000
OTHER							
Neve Ativ	-	-	-	200	-	-	22000
Snir	-	-	No data	270	170	100	No data
TOTAL	32665	16740	11095	3945	1523	300	4368000

Source : Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan, 1974 (Inventory Volume).

TABLE 7: 4 GOLAN JEWISH SETTLEMENTS : PASTORAL STATISTICS 1974

Settlement	Beef Cattle numbers	Sheep numbers
SOUTH GOLAN		
Mevo Hamma	580	-
Kfar Haruv	-	-
Afiq	-	-
Geshur	200	200
Giv'at Yoav	600	250
Neot Golan	550	400
Eli'ad	250	240
Ramot	100	300
Ramat Magshamim	700	-
Nov	200	-
NORTH GOLAN		
Merom Golan	850	-
Ain Zivan	100	-
El Rom	500	-
OTHER		
Neve Ativ	-	-
Snir	600	-
TOTAL	5230	1390
Add Numbers owned outside Golan	3000	

Source : Tokhnit Pituah Ha Golan, 1974 (Inventory Volume)P. 21.

TABLE 7:5 GOLAN JEWISH SETTLEMENTS : SPATIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN AGRICULTURE 1974

	SOUTH GOLAN	NORTH GOLAN
Allocated Field Crop area (dunams per inhabitant)	21.7	16.0
Cultivated Irrigated Crops (dunams per inhabitant)	6.6	7.0
Deciduous Fruit Plantations (dunams per inhabitant)	0.5	1.5
Sub-tropical fruit Plantations (dunams per inhabitant)	0.2	-
Beef Cattle (head per inhabitant)	2.9	2.7
Sheep (head per inhabitant)	1.3	-
Water Consumption (thousand cub.met.per inhabitant)	2.4	3.0

Source : Tables 7:2, 7:3, 7:4.

TABLE 7.6 GOLAN JEWISH SETTLEMENTS : EMPLOYMENT AND TURNOVER IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, 1973-74.

Branch	Number of Workers	Economic Turnover
Agriculture and Pastoralism	300	15.0 mill.lirot (£1,494,000)
Industrial enterprises	130	6.5 mill.lirot (£647,000)

Source : Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan, 1974 (Inventory Volume) P. 22,23.

TABLE 7.7 APRIL 1975 - PROPOSED RATE OF VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT ON THE CENTRAL GOLAN (see figure 53)

Population (in family units)	1975	1976	1977	1978+	
Industrial Village A	20	40	60	150	
Mixed Settlement A	30	45	60	100	
Mixed Settlement B		30	50	100	
Mixed Settlement C		25	45	100	
Mixed Settlement D			30	100	
Moshav			30	80-100	
Total (x 4 for approx.No. of people)	50	140	275	640	
Housing Units (building starts)	100	130	160	300	690
Preparation of Land (dunams)	1000	2000	2000	5000	10000
Water Source Devel. 1000 cubic metres)	500	1000	1000	2500	5000

Source: Hatza'at Tokhnit le Hityashvut ba Golan ha Tikhon (Settlement Dept., 1975) P.21

TABLE 7:8 JULY 1975 FARM PLAN FOR MOSHAV SHITTUFI QESHET

Branch	Production	Annual Labour Requirement (% of total)		Annual water requirement (1000 cub.metres)	Estimate of Investment (lirot)
		Dairy alternative	Poultry alternative		
Seed Crops	200 dunams	5.1%	5.5%	120	400
Fodder	500 dunams	2.0%	2.2%	450	1000
Deciduous fruit plantations *	200 dunams*	8.4%	9.2%	200*	1200
Sub-tropical fruit plantations	300 dunams	6.8%	7.4%	350	1500
Extensive plantations	500 dunams	5.1%	5.5%	150	2000
Beef cattle	800 head	5.1%	5.5%		2000
Dairy cattle or	500 head	16.9%	-		10000
Poultry	500 tons	-	9.2%		4000
Industry	-	37.2%	40.6%		6000
Services	-	13.5%	14.8%		6000
Living Quarters	-	-	-	80	35000
				1350	59100 (Dairy alternative)
					or 53100 (Poultry alternative)

* Outside the Central Golan Alignment.

Source: Programmah le Moshav Qeshet (Settlement Dept., 1975) Pp.3, 10, 11.

TABLE 7:9 TOTAL WATER SUPPLY ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, 1973-74.

Water Source	Amount Supplied (million cubic metres)
South Golan Project	
Lake Tiberias	1,000
Springs	1,446
Storage Ponds	350
Brekhot Ram Project	
Brekhot Ram	1,261
Bores and wells	552
Storage Pond	350
Springs	1,500
Total	6,459

Source : Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan, 1974 (Inventory Volume) P.27,28.

T A B L E 8:1

Register of Jordan Rift Jewish Settlements 1967-1977.

Settlement	Date Founded	Initial Civilian Settlement Form	1977 Settlement Form	Settlement Movement	Political Affiliation	Population (mid 1975)
VALLEY LINE						
Mehola	6.2.68.	Moshav Shittufi	Moshav Shittufi	Ha Po'el ha Mizrahi	N.R.P.	85
Argaman	20.11.68.	"	Moshav	Tnu'at Herut	Herut	85
Massua	1.1.70	Moshav	"	Ha 'Oved ha Tzioni	Indep.Libs.	c.35
Shlomit	1977	Area Centre	Area Centre	Unpopulated		-
Petzael	7.12.70*	Moshav	Moshav	Tnu'at ha Moshavim	Labour	55
Tomer	1977	"	"	"	"	-
Gilgal	15.1.70	Kibbutz	Kibbutz	Meuhad	"	30
Netiv ha Gedud	1975*	Moshav	Moshav	Tnu'at ha Moshavim	"	c.35
Mivsam	1976*	Kibbutz	Kibbutz	No data		-
Yitav (Na'aran)	22.12.70	"	"	Meuhad	Labour	c.30
Qalia B	1977	"	"	No data		-
Qalia	1.2.68.	"	"	Ihud	Labour	55
Mitzpe Shalem	17.12.70	-	Nahal	"	"	c.30
						440
MOUNTAIN LINE						
Beqa'ot	3.7.72.	Moshav Shittufi	Moshav	Ihud ha Haqlai	non-party	c.35
Ro'i	March '76	-	Nahal	"	"	-
Hamra	5.5.71.	Moshav Shittufi	Moshav	"	"	88
Mekhora	28.12.72.	Moshav	"	"	"	c.30
Gittit	24.8.72.	"	"	Tnu'at Herut	Herut	c.30
Ma'ale Efraim	1976	Regional Centre	Regional Centre	No clear affiliation		-
Giva't Adumma	Sept.'76	-	Nahal	Not determined (1977)		-
Kokhav ha Shahar	late '75.	-	"	"		-
Rimmonim	1977	-	"	"		-
Ma'ale Adumim	Nov.'74	Industrial Estate	Industrial Estate	Gush Emumim**	non-party	-
Teqoa	June '75.	-	Nahal	Bnei Aqiva	N.R.P.	-
						183
Qiryat Arba'	Sept.'70 +	Urban Estate	Urban Estate	No clear affiliation (tho' religious)		1200
					TOTAL	1823

* Initially housed in temporary quarters at some distance from their present sites : Petzael at Ma'ale Efraim 1970 - 1975, Netiv ha Gedud at Ma'ale Efraim 1975 - 1976, and Mivsam at the Jordanian army camp originally used by Qalia 1976 - 1977.

** c.60 Gush Emunim settlers arrived in late 1975 and established an unauthorized site adjacent to the proposed industrial estate.

\+ as an official project.

Sources : Bier, A.Heahazuiot ve Hitnahaluiot,1976 Biqa'at ha Yarden-Tokhnit Pituah,1975 Hebrew Press and Jerusalam Post. Tour of Zionist Congress Delegates - A Review of Rural Settlement in Israel,Feb.23.1978. Field Research,1976 and 1978.

TABLE 8:2 1975 JORDAN RIFT DEVELOPMENT PLAN : JEWISH SECTOR ECONOMY
(Monetary Values in millions lirot at April 1975 prices - £1 = IL 13.59)

a) Region North of Jericho - Existing and Projected Economic Statistics

Agriculture			
No. of workers	262	815	2025
Value of Production	11.6	84.4	375.0
Irrigated crops (dunams)	6000	11000	27900
Plantations (dunams)	800	3200	8100
Water-use (mill.cm.p.a.)	8	16	39.6
Industry			
No. of workers	20	245	620
Value of production	2.8	43.3	219.0
Tourism			
No. of workers	-	35	65
Value of production	-	1.8	4.9
Public services			
No. of workers	39	155	370
Value of production	2.1	8.8	32.6

Source : Tokhnit Pituah Aizorit Kolelet - Aizor Biqa'at ha Yarden.
(Settlement Dept., 1975).

TABLE 9:1 JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY : SITE FOUNDINGS UNDER LABOUR GOVERNMENTS
(Excluding East Jerusalem)

Region	Number of Official Sites Founded in Each Period*			
	Up to Oct.1978	Oct.1973-May 1975 (20 months)	June 1975-May 1977 (24 months)	Total
GOLAN	17	2	7	26
JORDAN RIFT	13	2	10	25
REST WEST BANK	4	0	3	7
GAZA-RAFIAH	9	3	4	16
REST SINAI	4	0	-1	3
ALL REGIONS	47	7	24	77

* i.e. excludes 3 Gush Emunim sites.

Sources : As for Tables 7:2 and 8:1

TABLE 9:2

Table 9:2

Characteristics of the Occupied Territory Jewish population

From the early 1970's, with most of the settlement sites being or becoming civilian, the character of the population tended to become increasingly typical of similar environments within metropolitan Israel, whether kibbutzim, moshavim or urban areas. Paramilitary Nahal outposts, peopled entirely by young single men and women engaged in military service, quickly became a relatively minor element. The following general observations may be made :

a) Most civilian settlements consist largely of family units rather than of single people. For example as early as 1974 20% of the population involved in the Golan structure was aged under 14 (Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan, 1974, P.16) compared with 29.9% in the nation as a whole. Post 1974 Gush Emunim foundations on the West Bank are even more family oriented. In December 1976 80 of the 150 inhabitants of the Ofra site were defined as 'children' (Ha-aretz 29-12-76 P.12). Large-sized families (5 or more children) are notable features on this and other 'religious' establishments.

b) Adult populations are heavily biased toward young people in their late teens, twenties and thirties, especially away from Jerusalem. As an indication, in January 1975 the Golan population of 1908 did not contain a single person above working age. Also, despite the general family orientation, agricultural settlements continue to have disproportionate numbers of young single people (e.g. a clear majority at El Rom on the North Golan).

c) All ethnic components of Israel's Jewish population would seem to be present in the occupied territory settlement system, though the proportions are probably quite different from the general society - 1) Oriental Jews are definitely under-represented 2) New immigrants, especially from the United States and the Soviet Union, are almost certainly over-represented.

TABLE 9:2 THE SETTLER PRESENCE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

REGIONAL POPULATION STATISTICS, 1978

Region	Number of Settlers	Settlers as % of Arab population (9)
Golan Heights	3,950 (1)	40%
Rafiah Salient		
a) Yamit	2,000 (2)	
b) Other sites	1,500	
Total	3,500 (3)	No Arab population
Rest Sinai	c.400 (4)	1%
Gaza Strip	c.200 (4)	0.1%
West Bank Highlands		
a) Gush Etzion	1,550 (5)	
b) Gush Emunim sites	2,200 (6)	
c) Other sites	c.100 (4)	
Total	3,850	0.5%
Jordan Rift*	3,300 (7)	15 % (10)
East Jerusalem*	25,000 (8)	21 %
ALL REGIONS	40,200	3 %

* As in figure 7 1

Sources : (1) Table 7:2 (Jan, 1978) (2) Ha-aretz 14-7-78 P.15 (3) Jerusalem Post 14-2-78 P.2.

(4) Observation by author (5) Tour of Zionist Congress Delegates 23-2-78

(6) Ha-aretz Musaf Shevu'i 14-7-78 P.14 (7) Chapter 8, P. 261

(8) Jerusalem Post 30-5-78. P.3.

(9) Arab Populations:

a) Golan - approx. projection from 1974 statistics in Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan (Settlement Dept.1974) P.16.

b) West Bank - Administered Territories Statistical Quarterly, Vol. VIII(Central Bureau of Statistics,1978.

c) Otherwise approx.projections from Sept.1967 census figures, assuming 3% per annum growth.

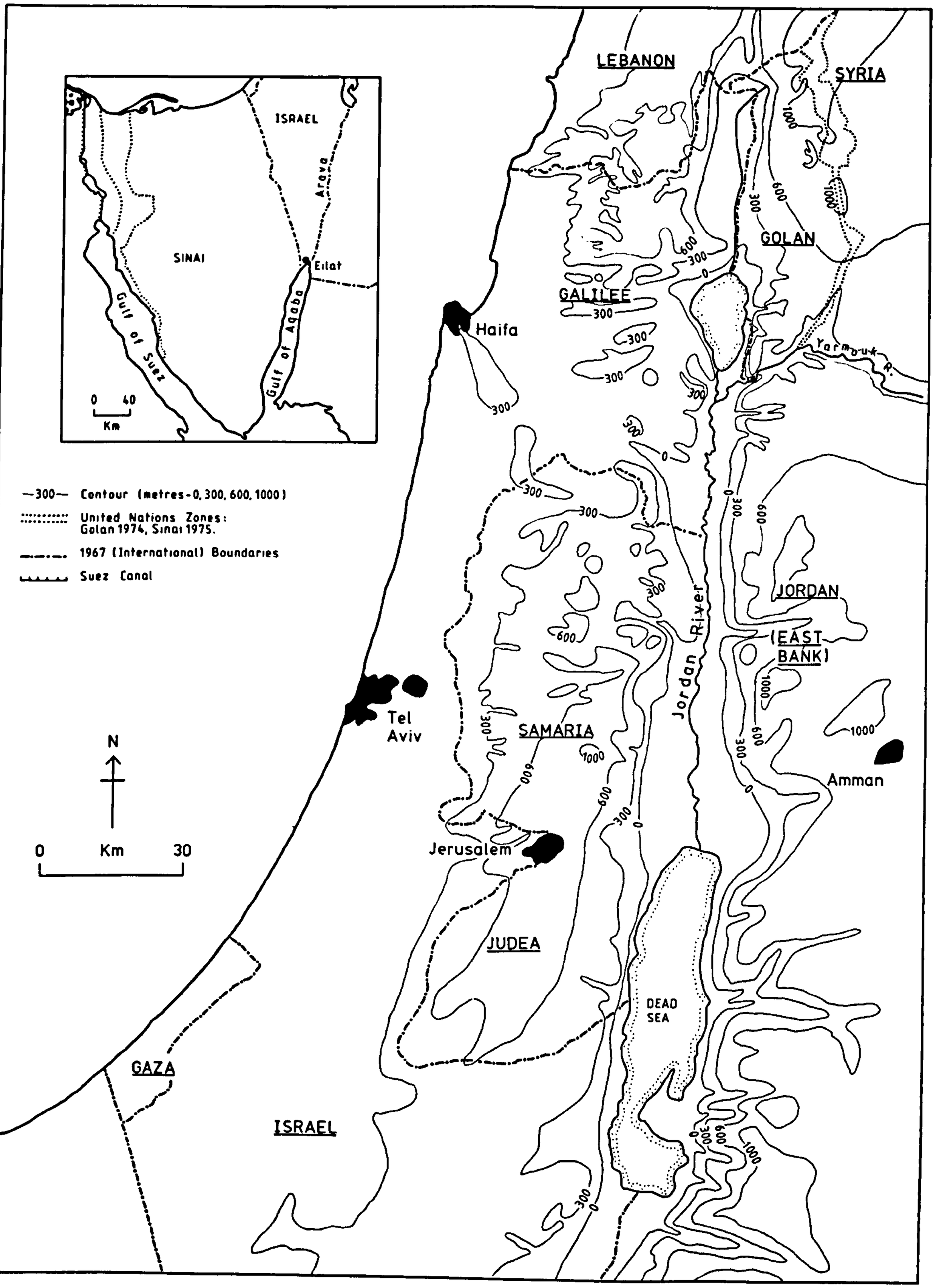
(10) Chapter 8, P. 260.

FIGURES

F I G U R E 1

Figure 1

The Study Regions : Location and Contours depicting Relief.


ISRAEL
Arava
SINAI
Eilat
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba
0 40
Km
LEBANON
SYRIA
GOLAN
GALILEE
Haifa
Yarmouk R.
JORDAN
(EAST BANK)
Jordan River
SAMARIA
Tel Aviv
Amman
Jerusalem
JUDEA
DEAD SEA
GAZA
ISRAEL
N
0 Km 30
—300— Contour (metres - 0, 300, 600, 1000)
United Nations Zones: Golan 1974, Sinai 1975.
1967 (International) Boundaries
Suez Canal

F I G U R E 2

Figure 2

The West Bank : Locations and Main Roads

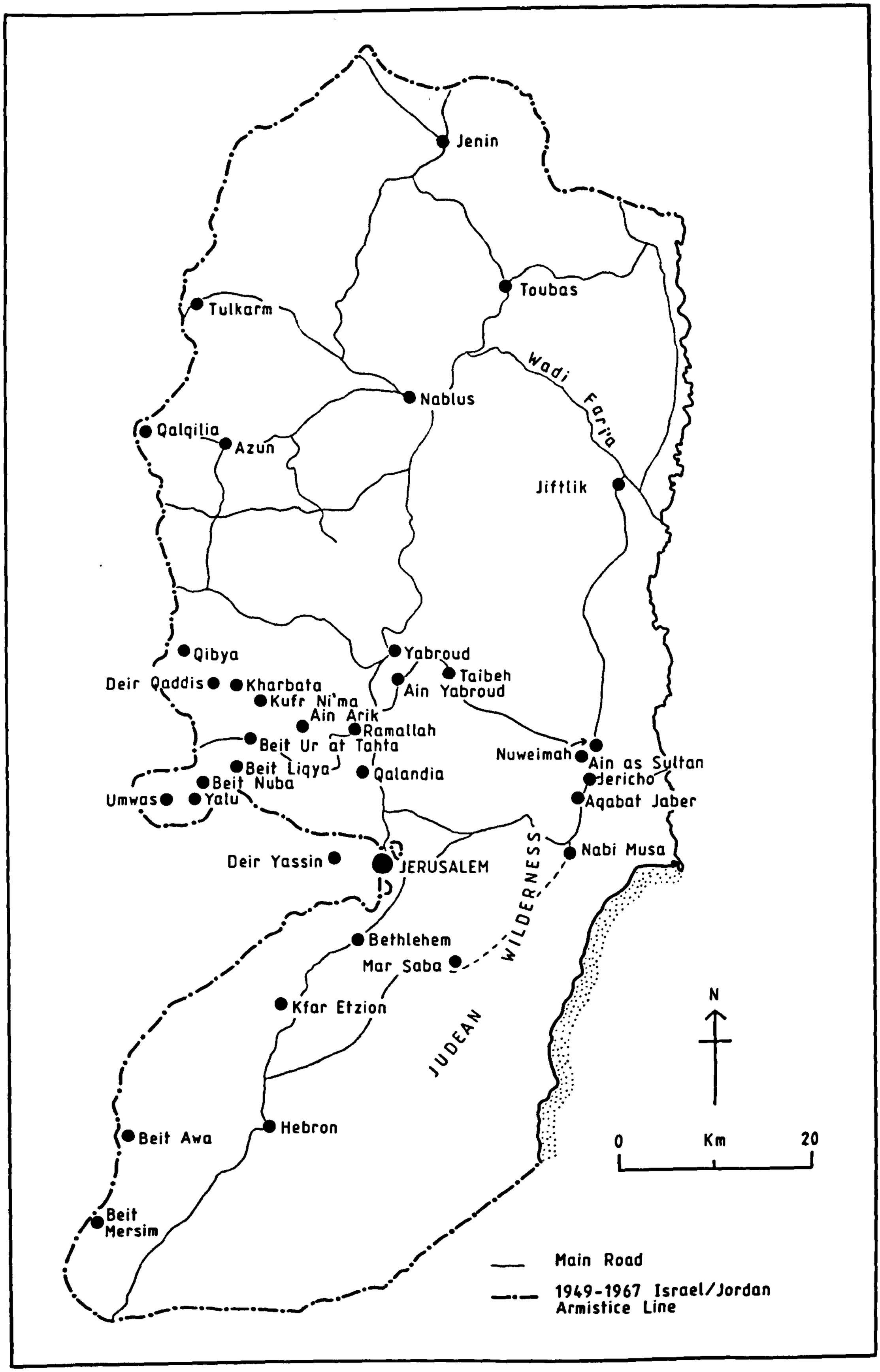

Jenin
Tulkarm
Toubas
Wadi Fari'a
Nablus
Qalqilia
Azun
Jiftlik
Qibya
Yabroud
Taibeh
Deir Qaddis
Kharbata
Kufr Ni'ma
Ain Yabroud
Ain Arik
Ramallah
Beit Ur at Tahta
Nuweimah
Ain as Sultan
Jericho
Beit Liqya
Qalandia
Beit Nuba
Umwas
Yalu
Aqabat Jaber
Nabi Musa
Deir Yassin
JERUSALEM
WILDERNESS
Bethlehem
Mar Saba
Kfar Etzion
JUDEAN
Hebron
Beit Awa
Beit Mersim
N
0
Km
20
Main Road
1949-1967 Israel/Jordan Armistice Line

FIGURE 3

Figure 3

The Golan Heights : Locations

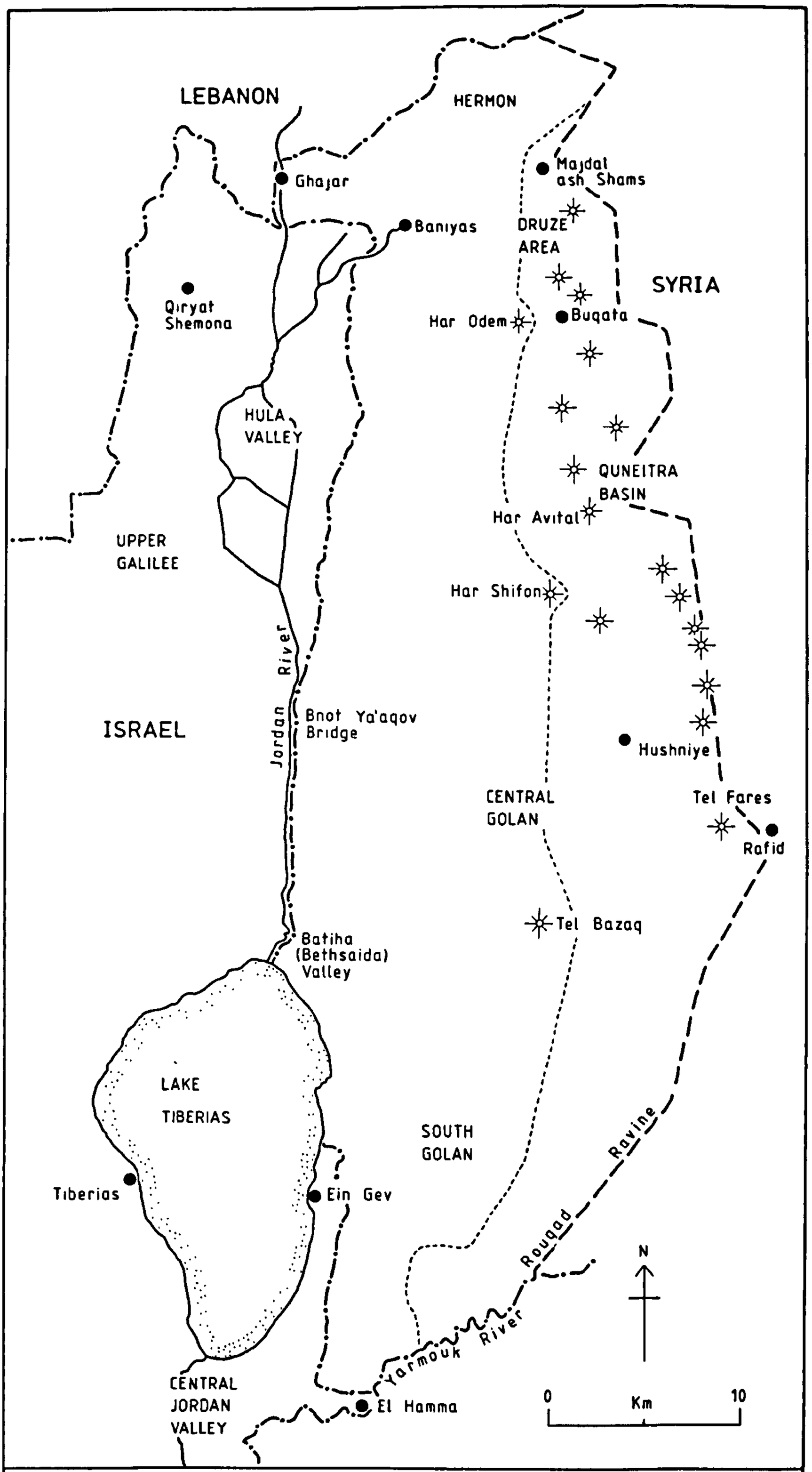

LEBANON
HERMON
Ghajar
Majdal ash Shams
Baniyas
DRUZE AREA
SYRIA
Qiryat Shemona
Har Odem
Buqata
HULA VALLEY
QUNEITRA BASIN
Har Avital
UPPER GALILEE
Har Shifon
Jordan River
ISRAEL
Bnot Ya'aqov Bridge
Hushniye
CENTRAL GOLAN
Tel Fares
Rafid
Tel Bazaq
Batiha (Bethsaida) Valley
LAKE TIBERIAS
SOUTH GOLAN
Rouqad Ravine
Tiberias
Ein Gev
Yarmouk River
CENTRAL JORDAN VALLEY
El Hamma
N
0
Km
10
Plateau hills (mainly volcanic cones)
Eastern limit of Israeli administration (1974 Disengagement Agreement)
1967 (International) Borders
Possible withdrawal line

FIGURE 4

Figure 4

Jordan Rift : Annual Rainfall Distribution

Source: From Orni, E. and Efrat, E. (1976) Geography of Israel P.145.

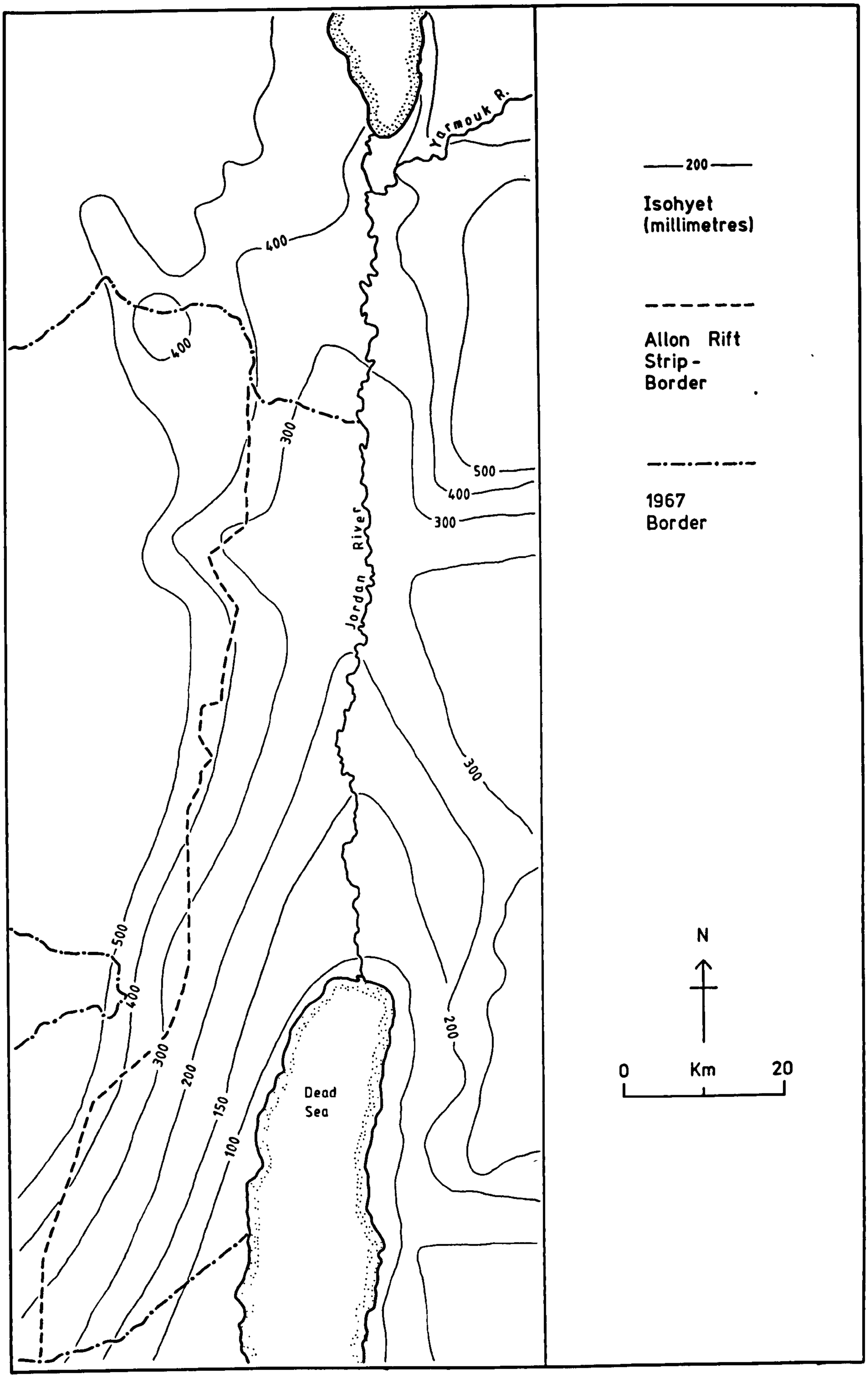

Yarmouk R.
400
400
300
300
Jordan River
500
400
300
500
400
300
200
200
150
100
Dead
Sea
200
Isohyet
(millimetres)
Allon Rift
Strip -
Border
1967
Border
N
0
Km
20

FIGURE 5

Figure 5

Jordan Rift : Soils

Sources : Orni, E. and Efrat, E. (1975) Geography of Israel P.434.

Shmueli, A. et al (1977) Yehuda ve Shomron : Pragim be Geografia Yishuvit Vol.I. P.14-15 (Dan, Y.Karka'ot Yehuda ve Shomron - Soils of Judea and Samaria)

Tokhnit Pituah Aizorit Kolelet - Aizor Biqa'at ha Yarden (Settlement Department, 1975). Figure 5.

Guide

Serozems - highly calcareous soils, deep, grey in colour, sometimes saline.

Solonchak - primary feature high salinity, other characteristics being considered of minor significance.

Rendzina - developed on chalk and marl in mountain regions, shallow, profile generally not well developed.

Lithosol - no clear morphology, consists of imperfectly weathered rock fragments, found on steep slopes.

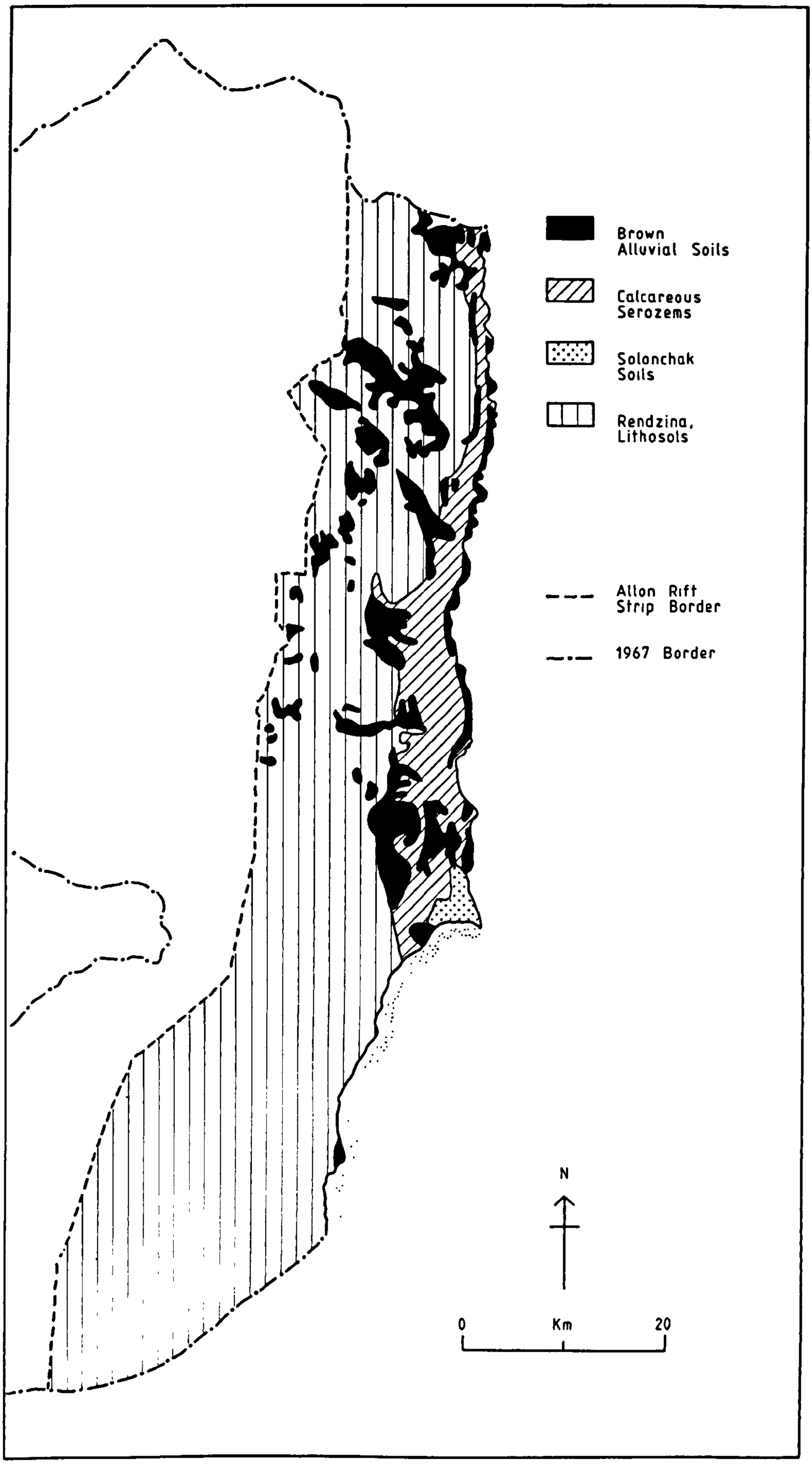

Brown
Alluvial Soils
Calcareous
Serozems
Solonchak
Soils
Rendzina,
Lithosols
Allon Rift
Strip Border
1967 Border
N
0
Km
20

FIGURE 6

Figure 6

Golan Heights : West-East Topographical Cross Sections

Vertical Exaggeration = x7

a) North Golan : Kfar Sold - Buqata
(Grid Ref. 205/289-235/289)

b) North Golan : Gonen-Quneitra
(Grid Ref. 205/280-235/280)

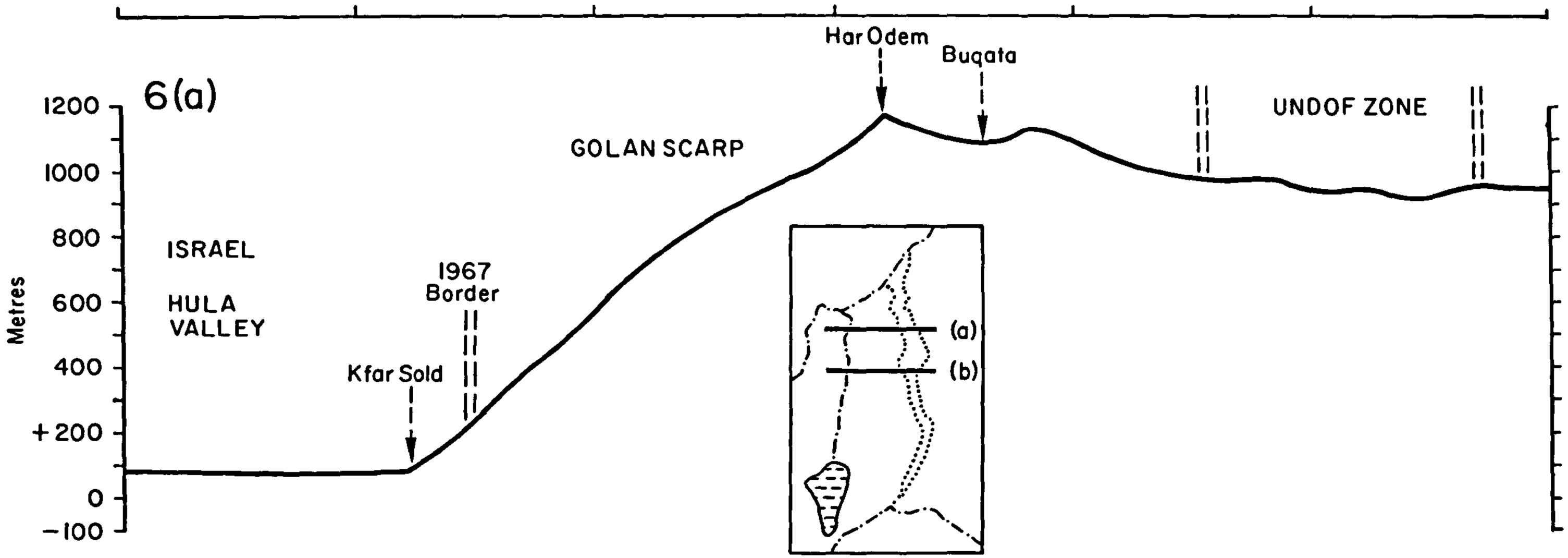
c) Central Golan : Bnot Ya'aqov - Hushniye
(Grid Ref. 205/268-235/268)

d) South Golan : Ramot - Ramat Magshamim
(Grid Ref. 205/251-235/251)

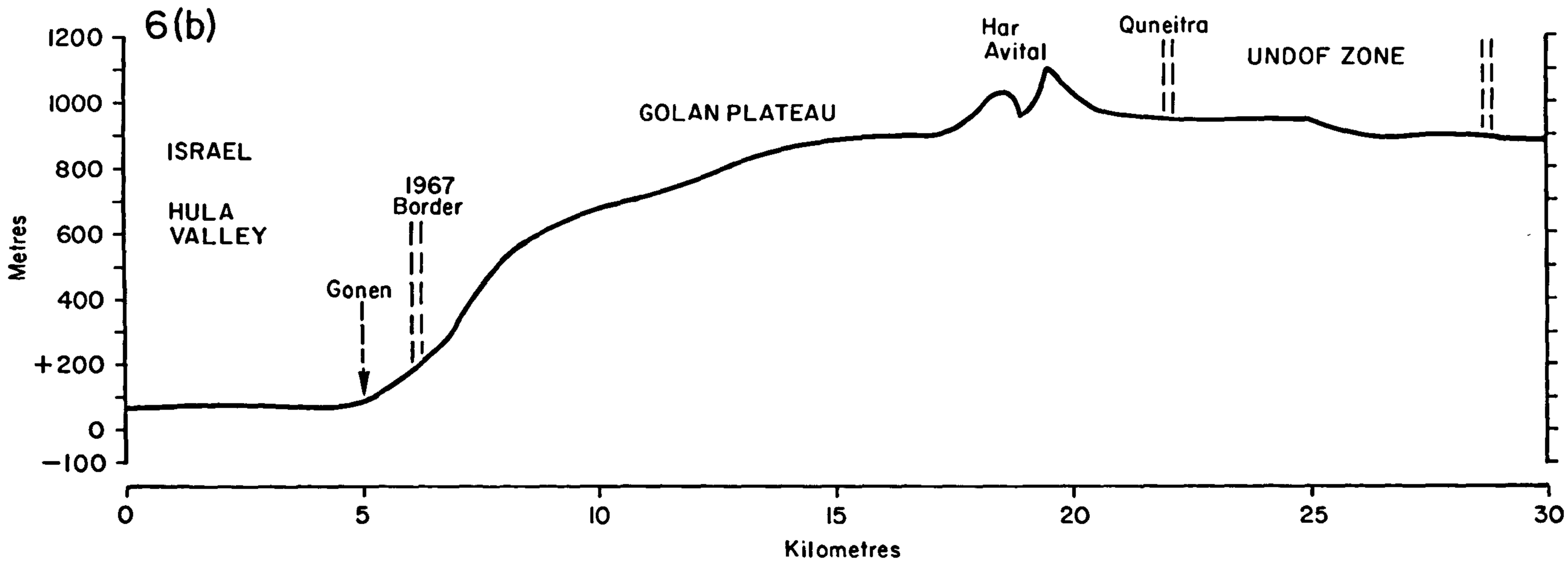
See also plates 2,3,4, 18.

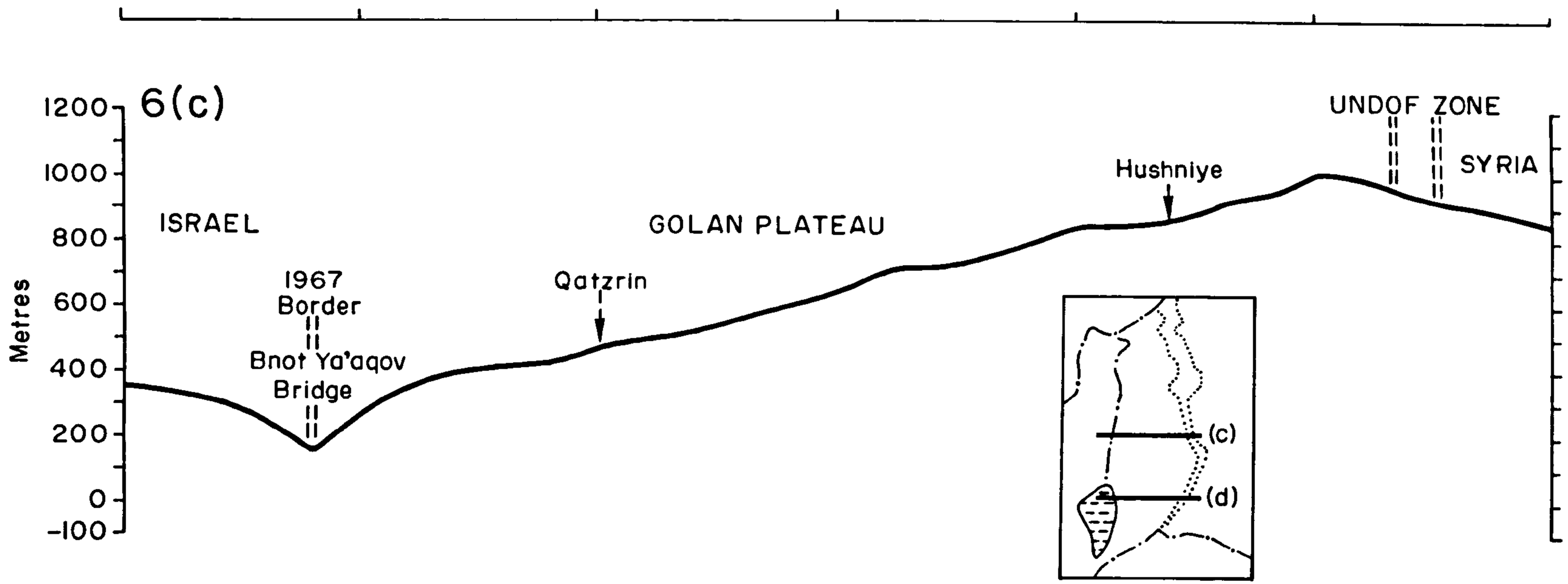
Source : Survey of Israel 1:100,000 map series Sheets 2 and 4 for 1976.

6(a)


1200
1000
800
600
400
+200
0
−100
Metres
ISRAEL
HULA VALLEY
Kfar Sold
1967 Border
GOLAN SCARP
Har Odem
Buqata
UNDOF ZONE
(a)
(b)

6(b)


1200
1000
800
600
400
+200
0
−100
Metres
ISRAEL
HULA VALLEY
Gonen
1967 Border
GOLAN PLATEAU
Har Avital
Quneitra
UNDOF ZONE
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
Kilometres


6(c)
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
-100
Metres
ISRAEL
1967
Border
Bnot Ya'aqov
Bridge
Qatzrin
GOLAN PLATEAU
Hushniye
UNDOF ZONE
SYRIA
(c)
(d)

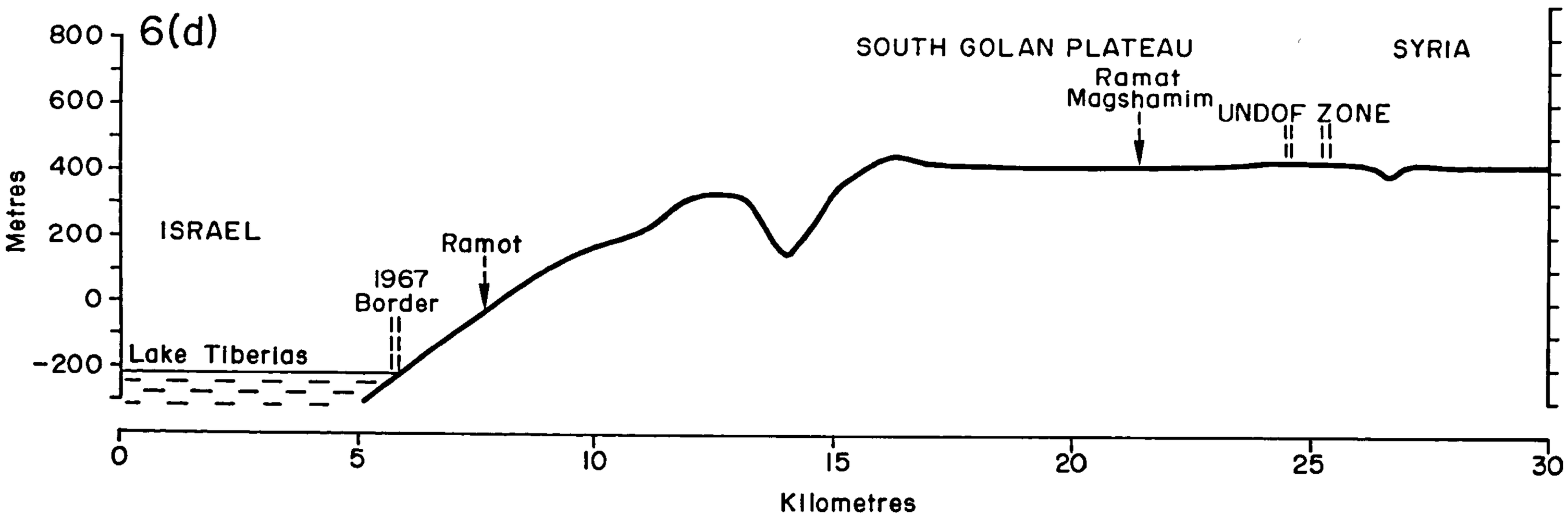

6(d)
800
600
400
200
0
-200
Metres
ISRAEL
Lake Tiberias
1967
Border
Ramot
SOUTH GOLAN PLATEAU
Ramat
Magshamim
UNDOF ZONE
SYRIA
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
Kilometres

FIGURE 7

Figure 7

Golan Heights : Annual Rainfall Distribution and Winter Snowline.

Source :

Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan-Matzai (Settlement Dept., 1974). figure 4.

Data from Syrian records for 1931 - 1960

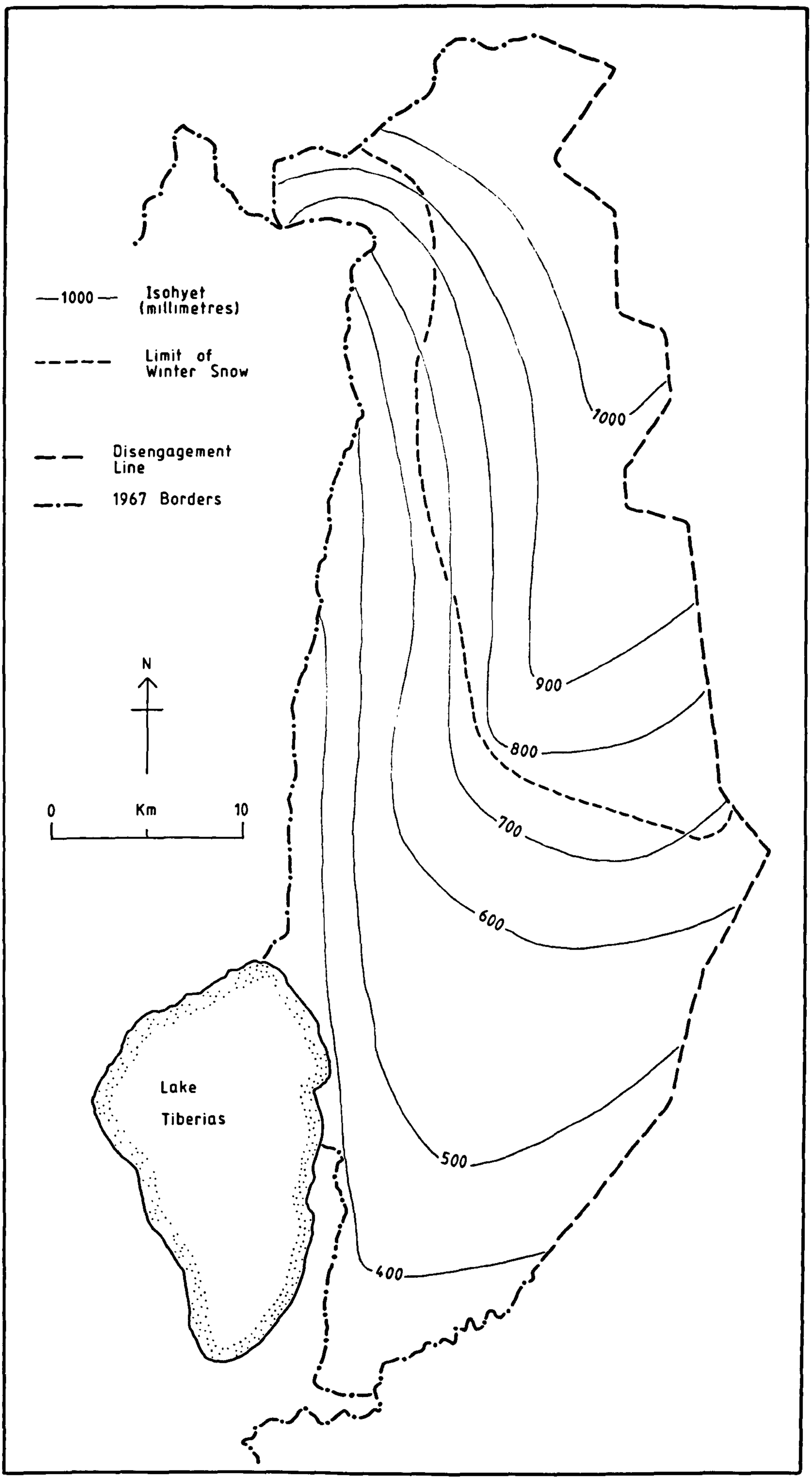

1000
Isohyet (millimetres)
Limit of Winter Snow
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
N
0
Km
10
Lake Tiberias
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400

FIGURE 8

Figure 8

Golan Heights : Soils

1. Terra Rossa/Rendzina

3. Brown-black/Brown-red Grumusols (Grumusols are dark coloured clay soils which tend to swell and shrink with wetting and drying)

2. Soils developed from Alluvium.

4. Brown Mediterranean Soils developed from volcanic deposits.

5. Thin, Stony Brown Mediterranean Soils and Lithosols.

6. Shallow or Hydromorphic Grumusols and Pale Rendzina.

Only 2,3 and 4 have intrinsic value for agriculture. For correlation with 1974 Jewish agricultural land use see figure 50. See also figure 5 notes.

Source:

Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan - Matzai (Settlement Dept., 1974). Pp. 4-6, figure 3.

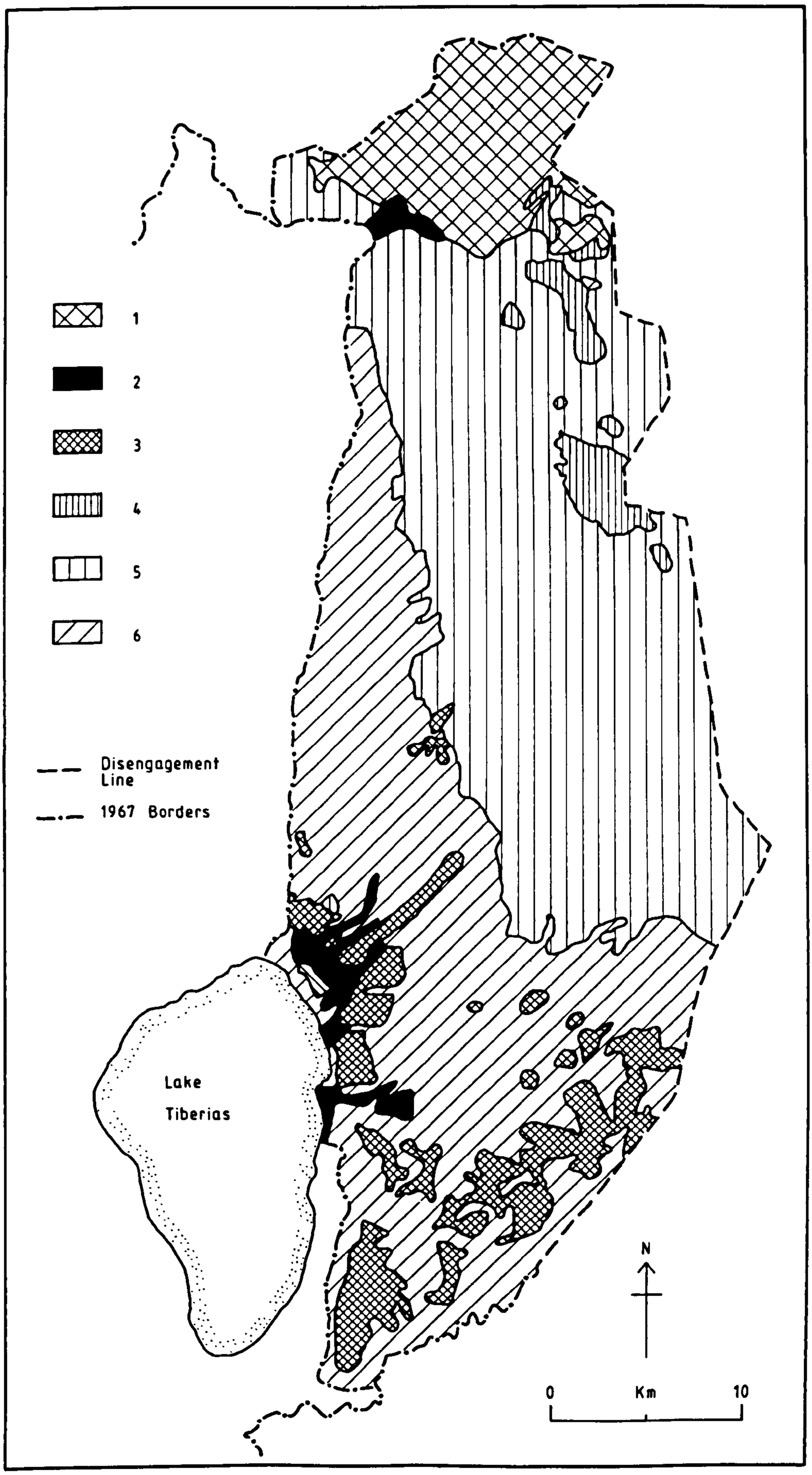

1
2
3
4
5
6
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Lake
Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

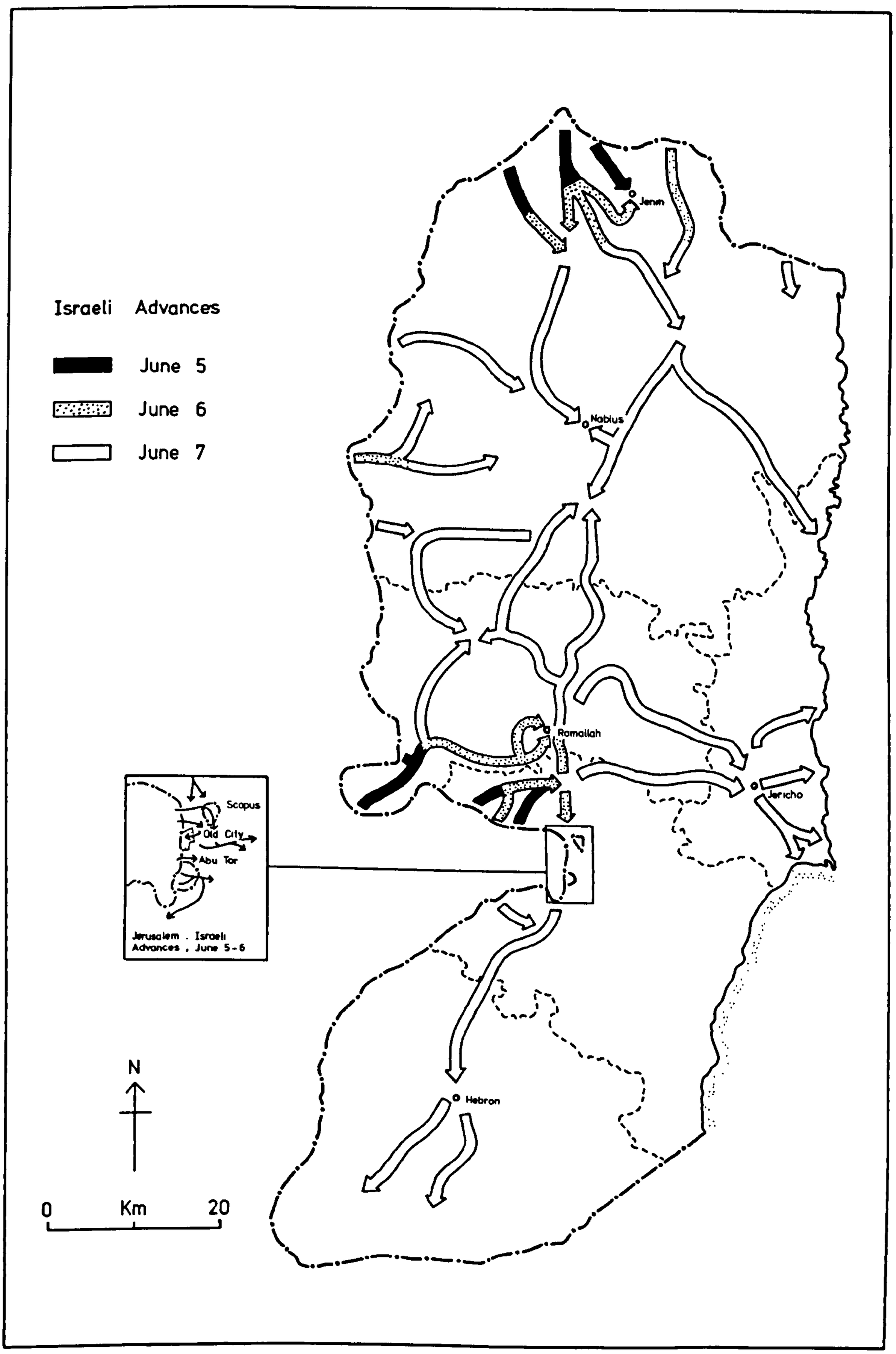
FIGURE 9

Figure 9

The West Bank : Israeli Advances in the Six Day War, June 5-10 1967

Sources : Israel Defence Forces (1968)
Shisha Yamim 5.6.67 - 10.6.67
P.137, 181.

Luttwak, E. and Horowitz, D.(1975)
The Israeli Army P.271.

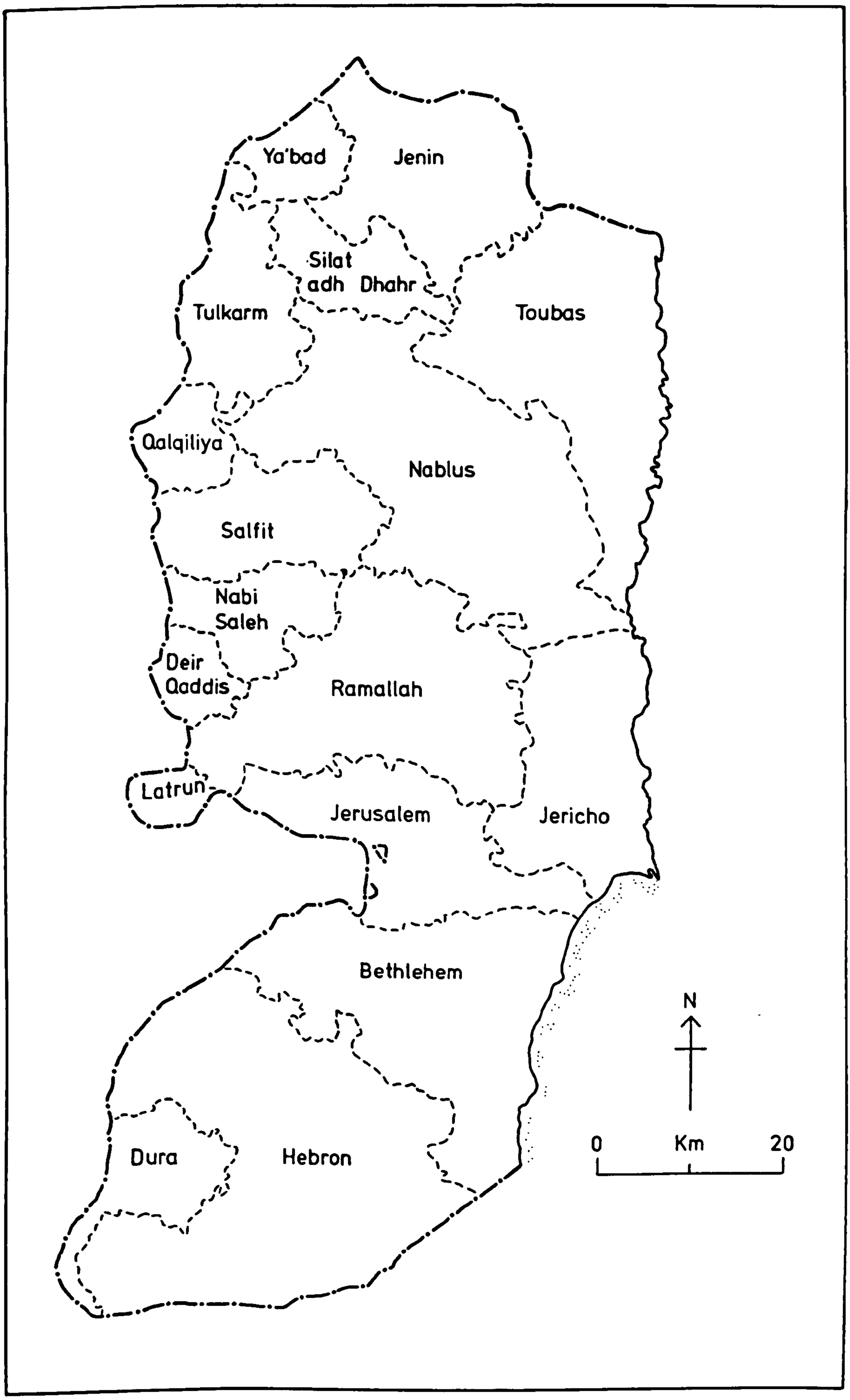

Israeli Advances
June 5
June 6
June 7
Jenin
Nablus
Ramallah
Jericho
Hebron
Scopus
Old City
Abu Tor
Jerusalem . Israeli Advances . June 5-6
N
0
Km
20

F I G U R E 10

Figure 10

The West Bank : Seventeen Region Division

Source: Jordan Lands and Survey Dept.
1 : 312,500 Villages and Settlements
Map with administrative boundaries,
1973 (depicts boundaries for all
divisions from village to governorate)


Ya'bad
Jenin
Silat
adh Dhahr
Tulkarm
Toubas
Qalqiliya
Nablus
Salfit
Nabi
Saleh
Deir
Qaddis
Ramallah
Latrun
Jerusalem
Jericho
Bethlehem
Dura
Hebron
N
0
Km
20

F I G U R E 11

Figure 11

The West Bank : Seventeen Region Division with proportionate popululation losses caused by the 1967 Displaced Person Exodus

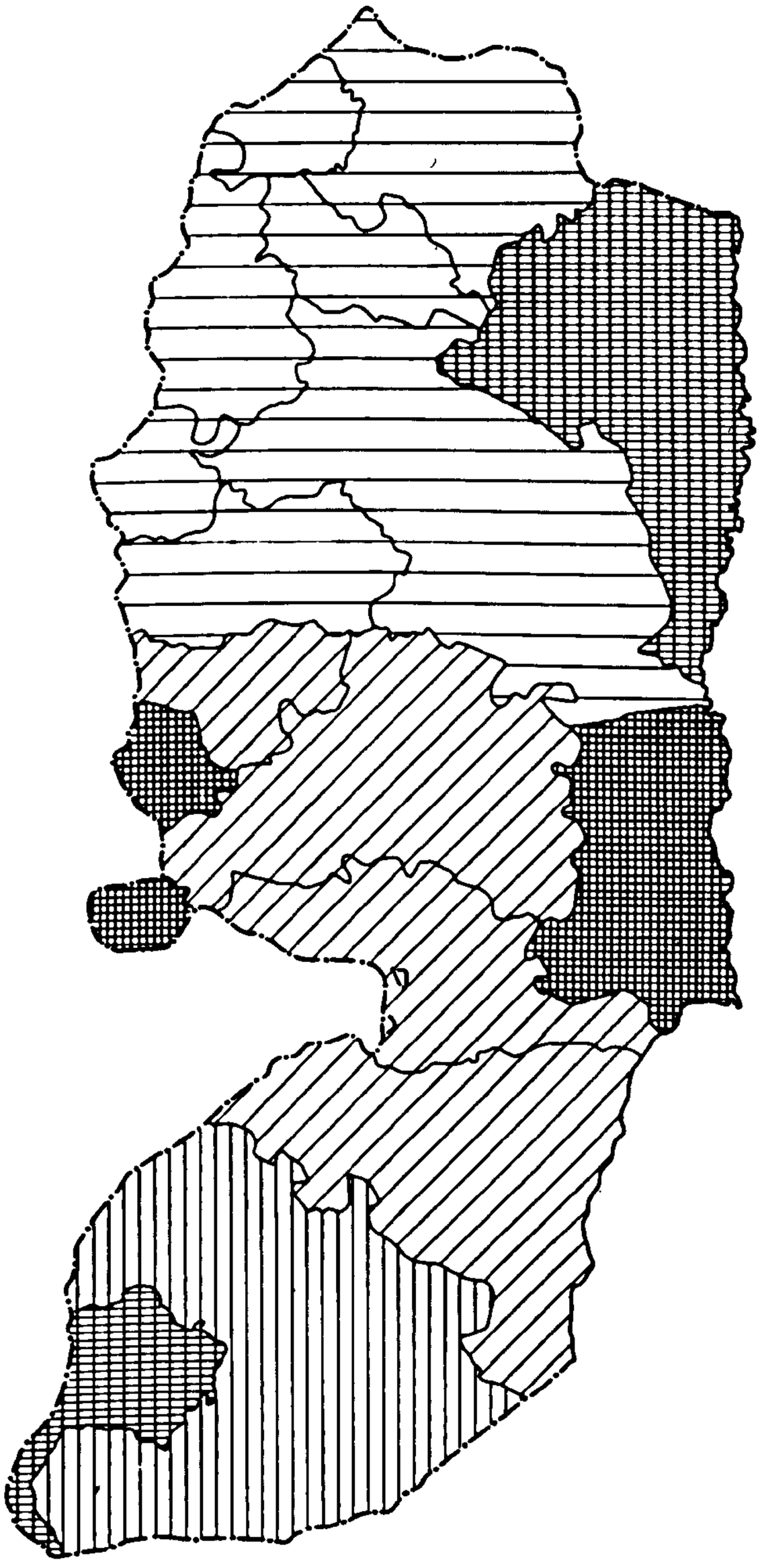
Sources: 1952 Housing Census (Amman)

1961 Jordan Census (Amman)

1967 UNRWA camp statistics (Ramallah)

1973 Displaced Person official statistics - Supreme Ministerial Committee for Relief (Amman)

See also figure 10, table 3:2 , appendix iva.



Displaced Persons as a proportion of pre-June 1967 populations, excluding refugee-camp residents

10 - 19 %

20 - 29 %

30 - 39 %

40 - 49 %

> 50 %

Areas are Jordanian administrative units (except Latrun)

N

0 Km 20

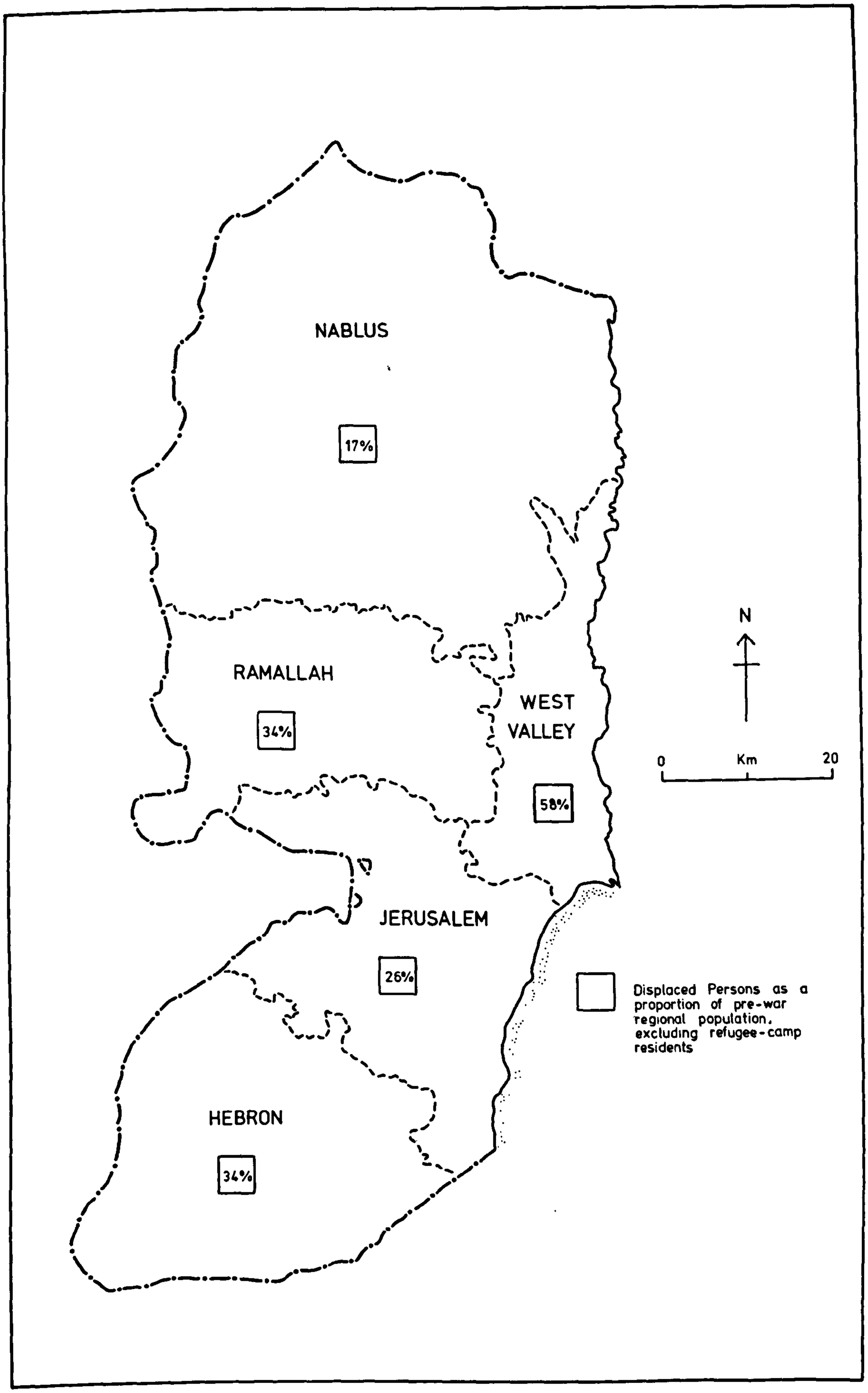
F I G U R E 12

Figure 12

The West Bank : Five Region Division with proportionate population losses caused by the 1967 Displaced Persons Exodus

Nablus + Ramallah + Jerusalem + Hebron =
West Bank Highlands.

Source : As for Figure 11.


NABLUS
17%
RAMALLAH
34%
WEST
VALLEY
58%
JERUSALEM
26%
HEBRON
34%
N
0
Km
20
Displaced Persons as a proportion of pre-war regional population, excluding refugee-camp residents

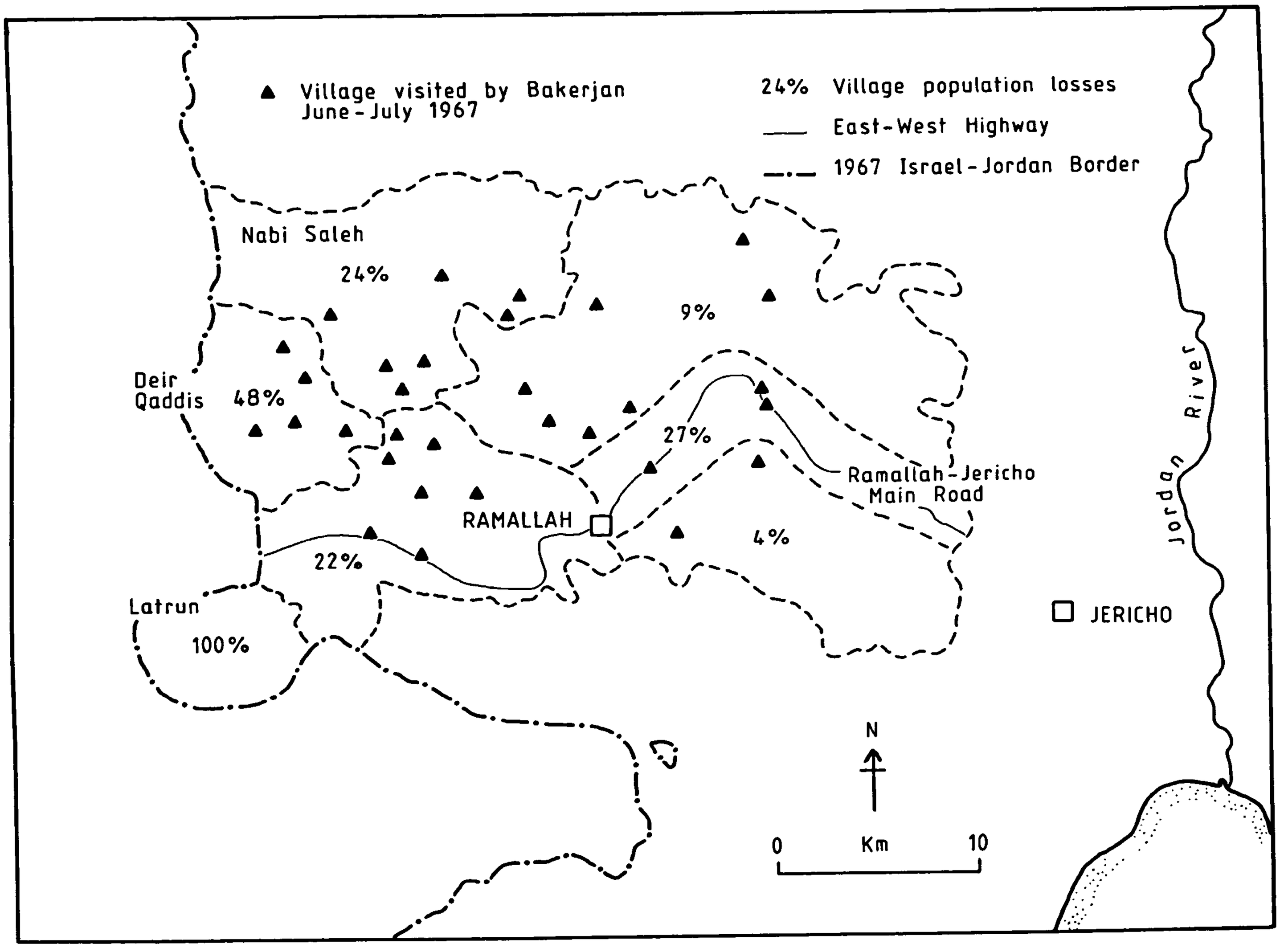
F I G U R E 13

Figure 13

Ramallah District : Spatial Differentiation in Proportionate Population Losses owing to Refugee Out-movement, June 1967.

Sources : 39 Village Survey Undertaken by Antranik Bakerjan June-July 1967 (see Appendix IIIa)

For Latrun : United Nations A/6797 and S/8158 (1967) - The Gussing Report.


Village visited by Bakerjan June-July 1967
24% Village population losses
East-West Highway
1967 Israel-Jordan Border
Nabi Saleh
24%
9%
Deir Qaddis
48%
27%
Ramallah-Jericho Main Road
RAMALLAH
4%
22%
Latrun
100%
JERICHO
Jordan River
N
0
Km
10

Missing pages

F I G U R E 15

Figure 15

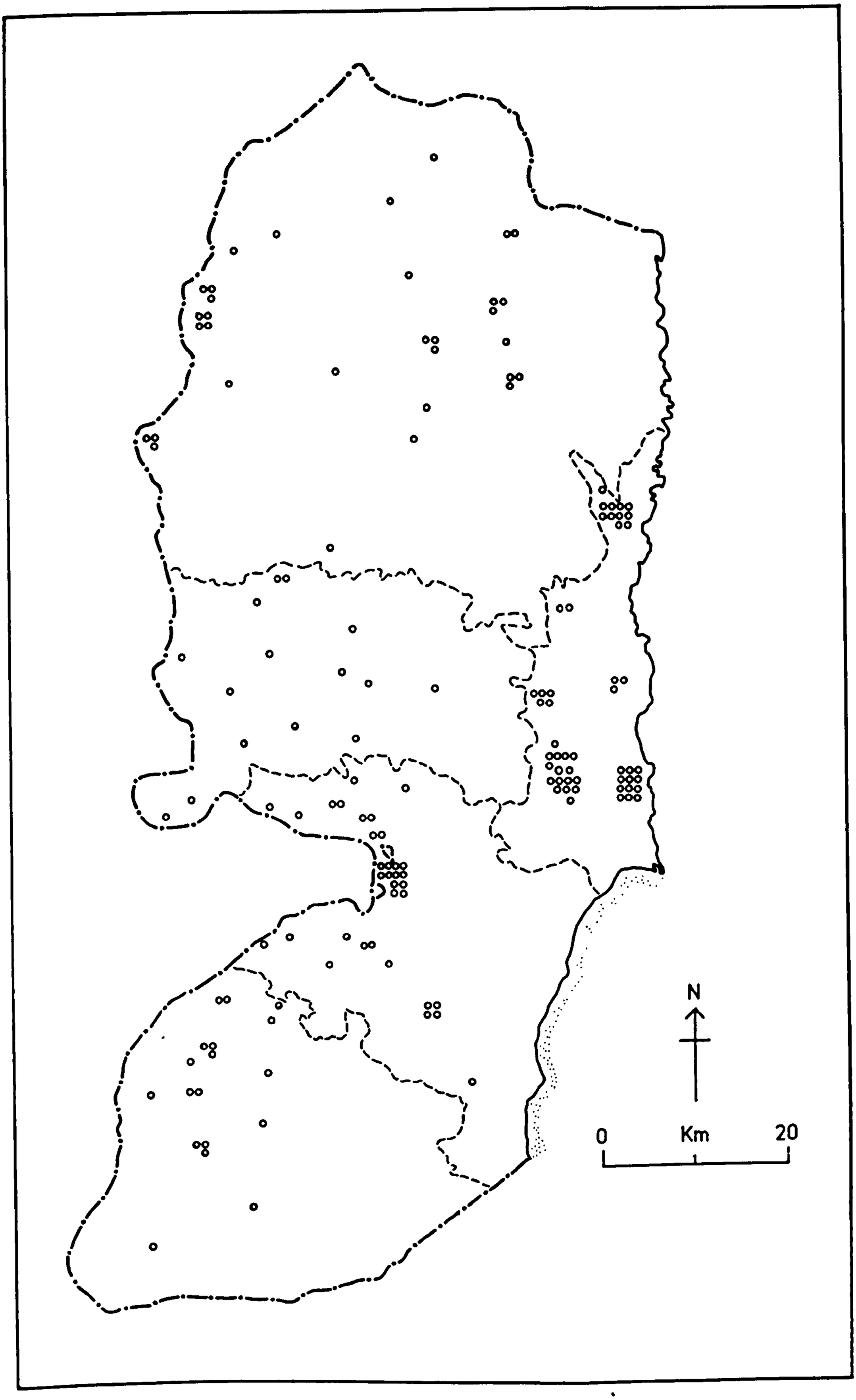
The West Bank : Origins of Baqa'a Sample Families

145 Families (precise origin points for 18 obscure)

Sources : Baqa'a Survey Data

Jordan Lands and Survey Dept. 1 : 312,500
Villages and Settlements Map with
administrative boundaries.

Survey of Israel : 100,000 map series.
Sheets 5,6,7-8,9,11-12,15-16 for 1975.

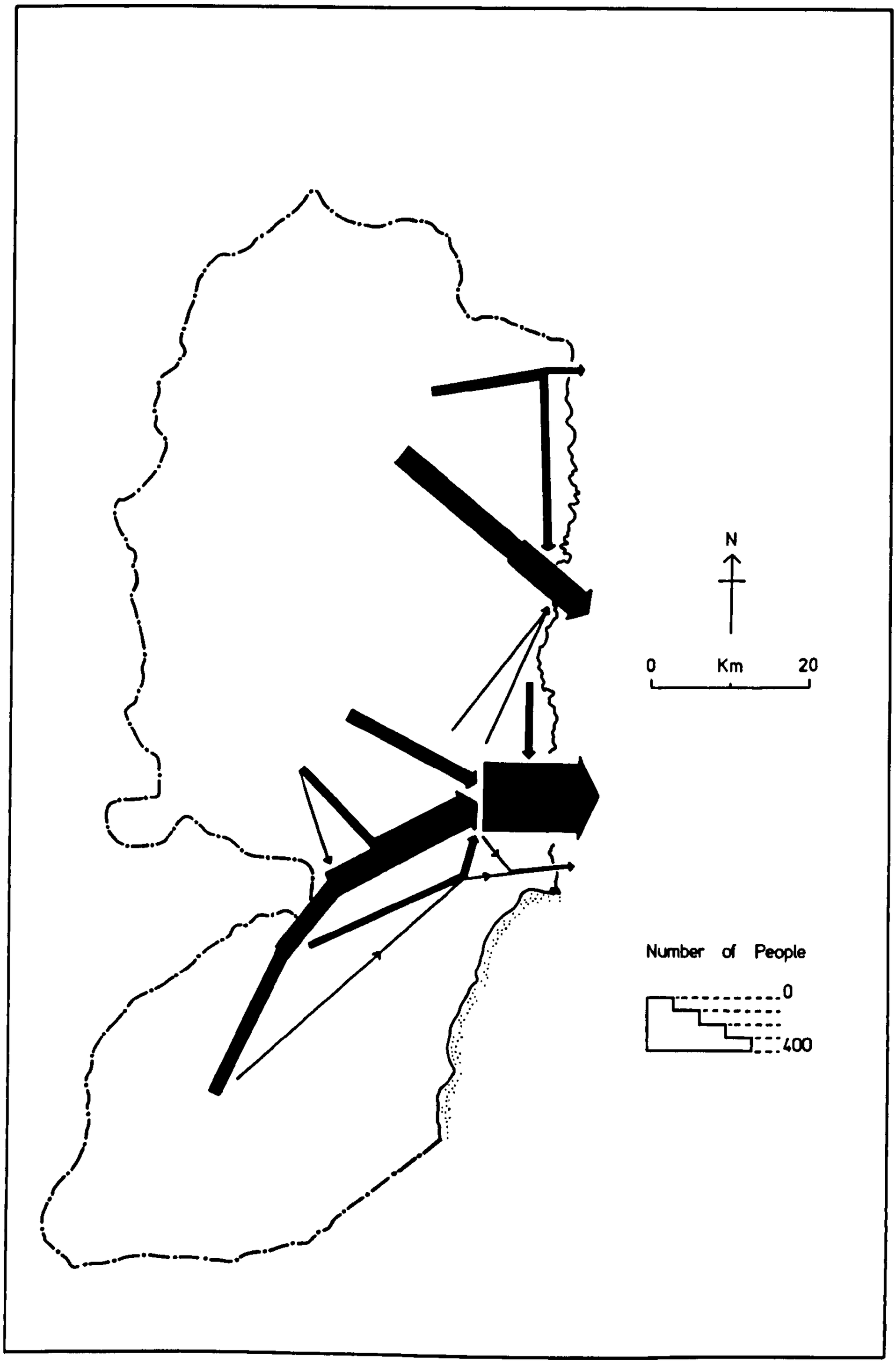

N
0
Km
20

F I G U R E 16

Figure 16

The West Bank : Out-Movement Routes for Baqa'a Sample Families, June 1967.

Source: Baqa'a Survey Data.


N
0
Km
20
Number of People
0
400

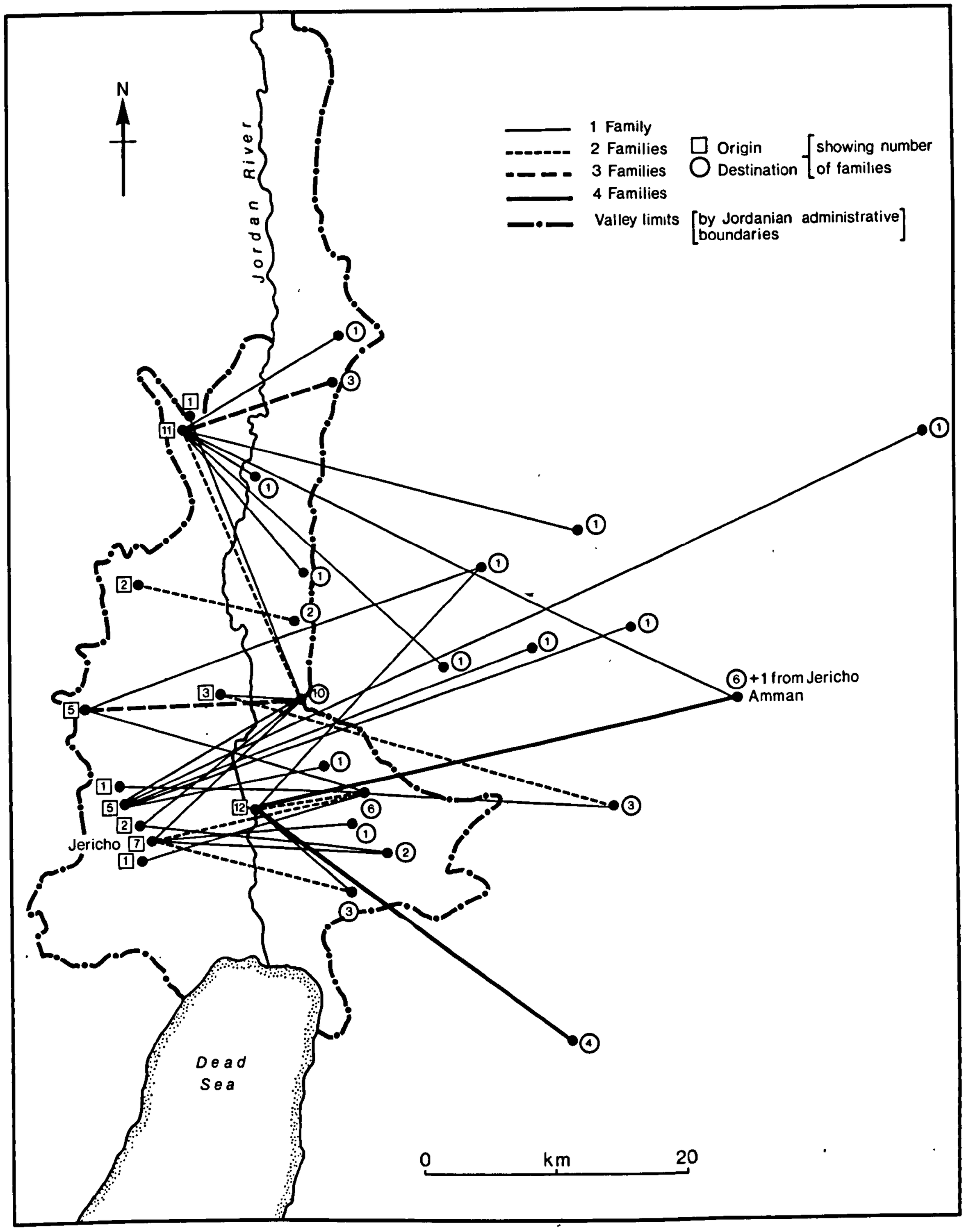
F I G U R E 17

Figure 17

The 1967 Arab Exodus from the West Jordan Valley : Origins and First Destinations of the Baqa'a Camp Sample.

Sources: Baqa'a Survey Data.

Jordan Lands and Survey Dept., 1 : 312,500 Villages and Settlements Map with administrative boundaries, 1973.

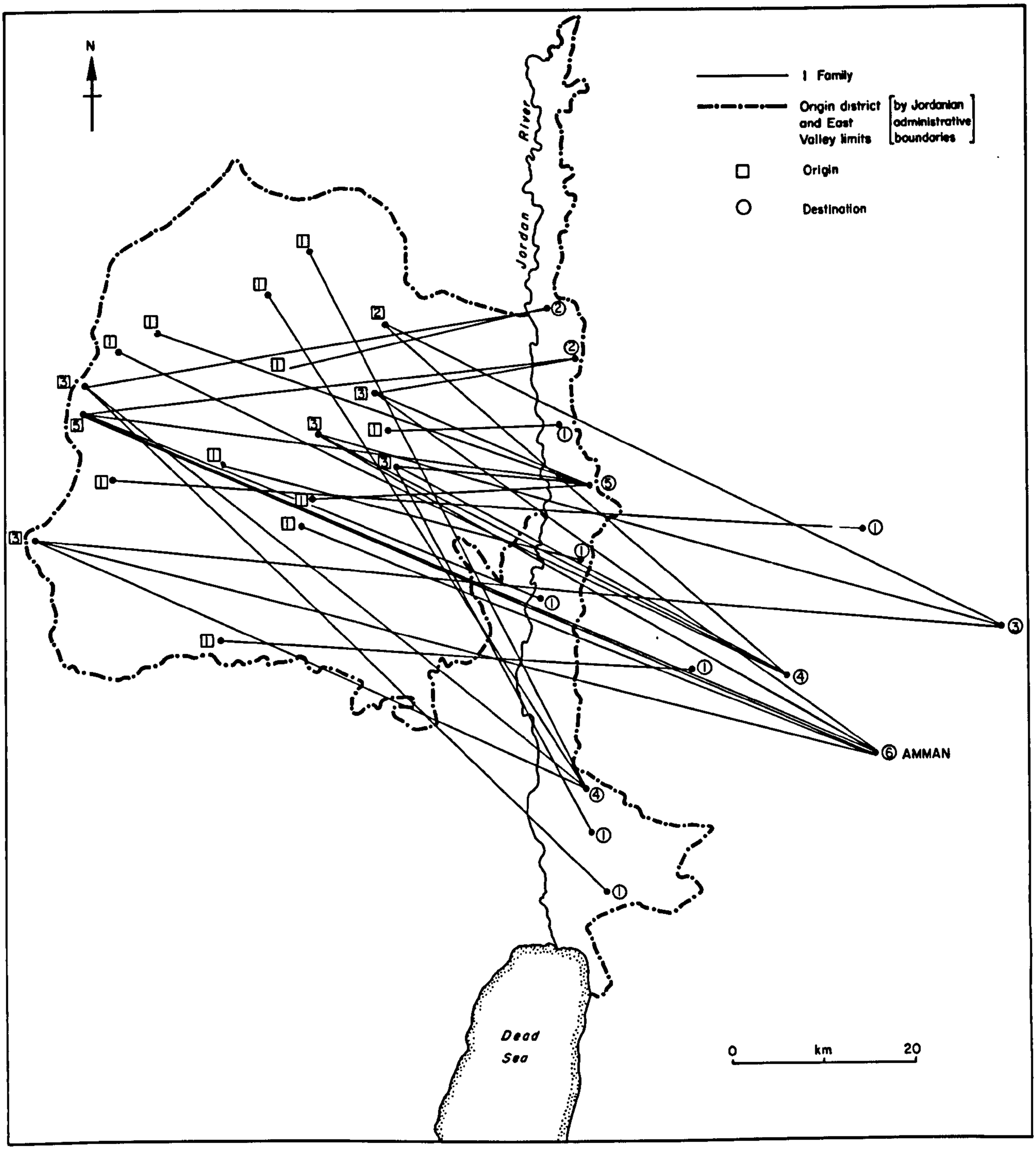

N
Jordan River
1 Family
2 Families
3 Families
4 Families
Valley limits
Origin
Destination
showing number of families
by Jordanian administrative boundaries
6 +1 from Jericho
Amman
Jericho
Dead Sea
0
km
20

F I G U R E 18

Figure 18

The 1967 Arab Exodus from Nablus District : Origins and First Destinations of the Baqa'a Camp Sample.

Sources : As for figure 17.

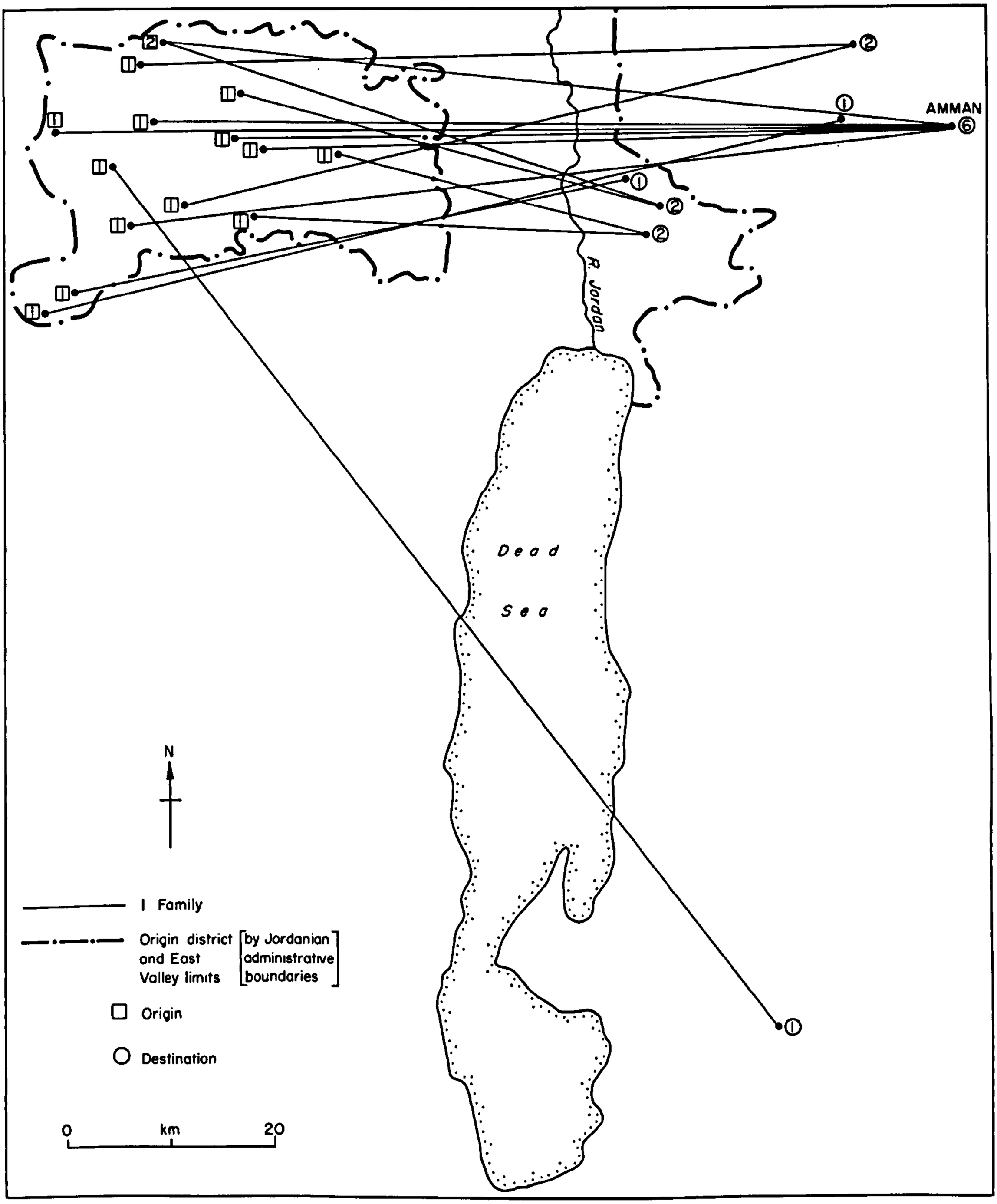

N
1 Family
Origin district and East Valley limits
by Jordanian administrative boundaries
Origin
Destination
Jordan River
⑥ AMMAN
Dead Sea
0 km 20

F I G U R E 19

Figure 19

The 1967 Arab Exodus from Ramallah District : Origins and First Destinations of the Baqa'a Camp Sample

Sources : As for figure 17.

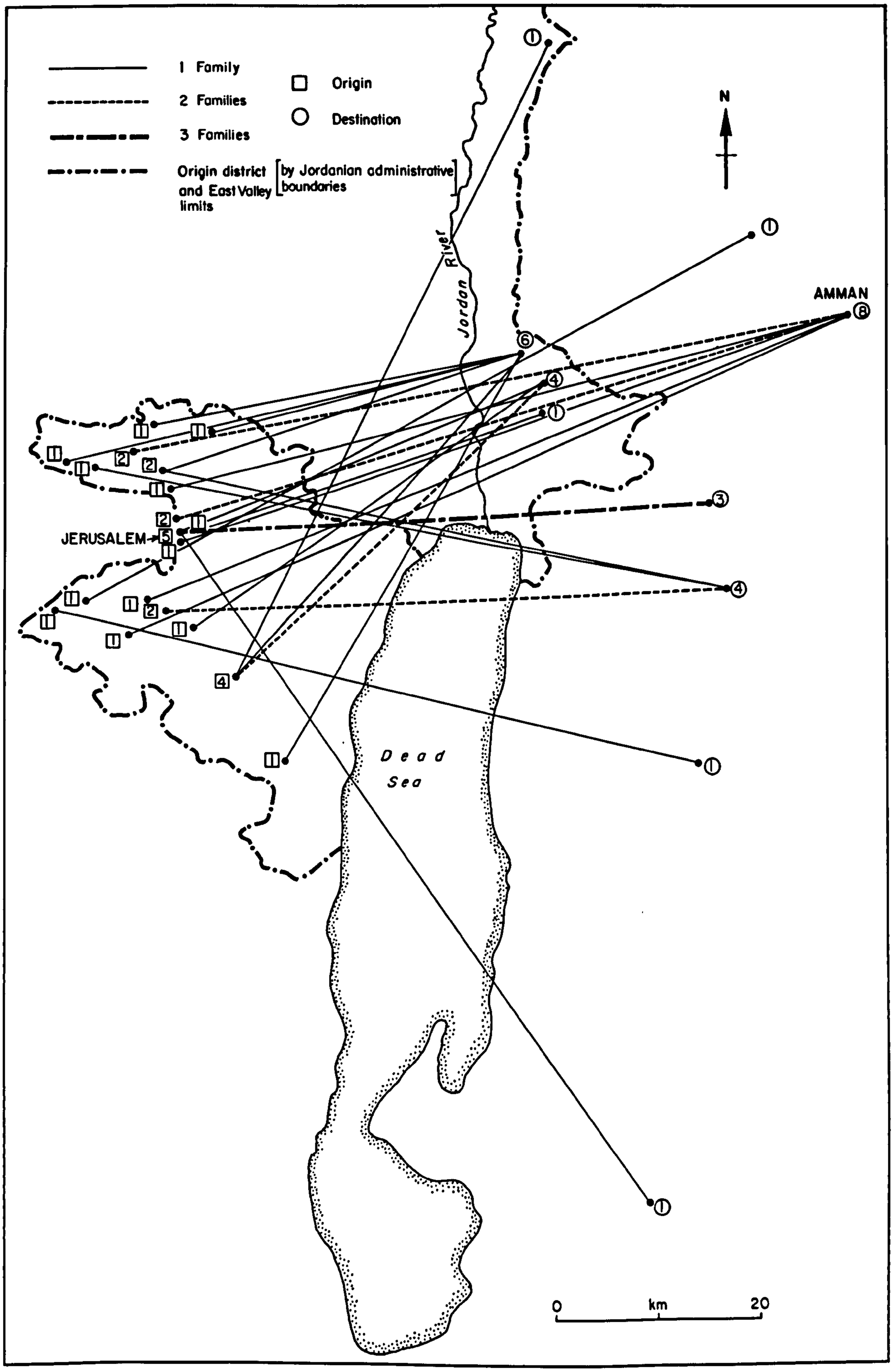

AMMAN
R. Jordan
Dead
Sea
N
I Family
Origin district and East Valley limits
by Jordanian administrative boundaries
Origin
Destination
0
km
20

F I G U R E 20

Figure 20

The 1967 Arab Exodus from Jerusalem District : Origins and First Destinations of the Baqa'a Sample.

Sources: As for figure 17.


1 Family
2 Families
3 Families
Origin district and East Valley limits
by Jordanian administrative boundaries
Origin
Destination
N
Jordan River
AMMAN
JERUSALEM
Dead Sea
0
km
20

F I G U R E 21

Figure 21

The 1967 Arab Exodus from Hebron District :
Origins and First Destinations of the
Baqa'a Camp Sample

Sources : As for figure 17.

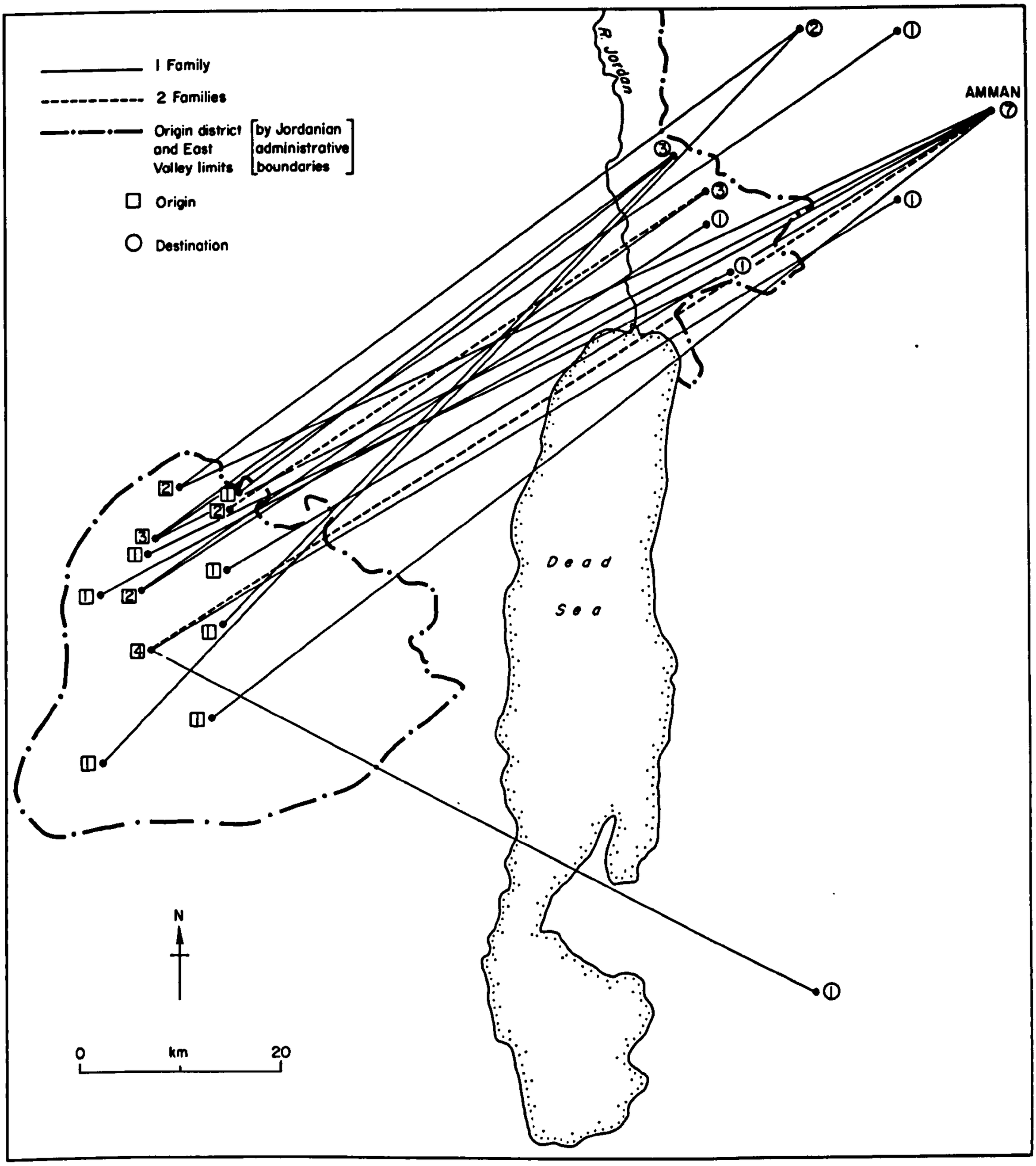

1 Family
2 Families
Origin district and East Valley limits [by Jordanian administrative boundaries]
Origin
Destination
R. Jordan
AMMAN
Dead Sea
N
0 km 20

FIGURE 22

Figure 22

Baqa'a Sample Origin Regions : Highland - West Valley Differentiation on Discriminant Function I. (Discriminant Scores of Group Centroids)

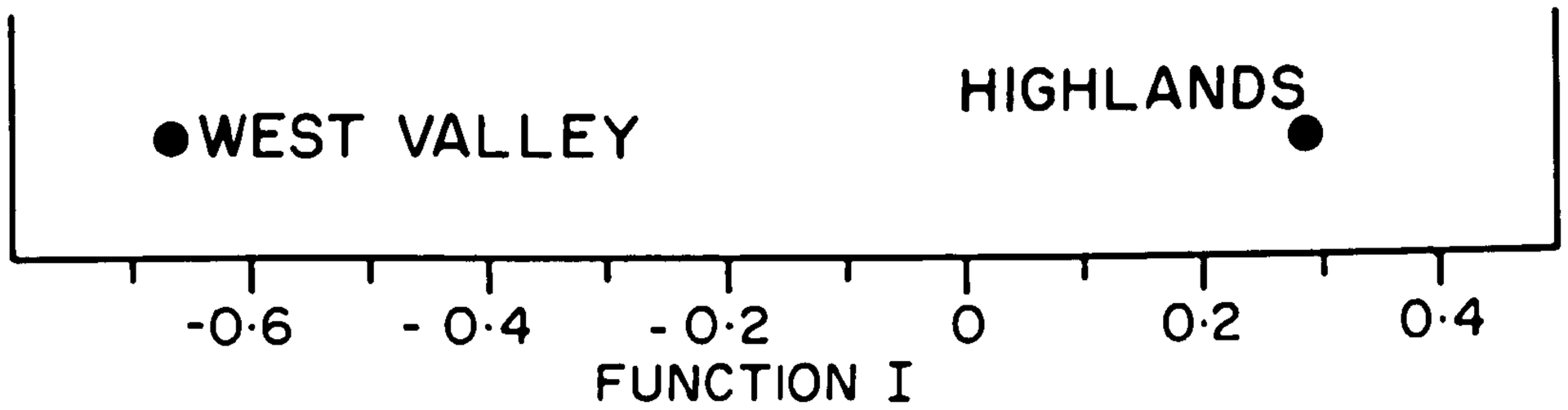
Statistical Significance of Regional Differentiation

$P = < 0.01$

Sources: Baqa'a Survey Data

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences - DISCRIMINANT Programme.

See also figure 12 (for areas)


WEST VALLEY
HIGHLANDS
-0·6
- 0·4
- 0·2
0
0·2
0·4
FUNCTION I

F I G U R E 23

Figure 23

Baqa'a Sample Origin Regions : Five Region Differentiation on Discriminant Functions I and II.
(Discriminant Scores of Group Centroids)

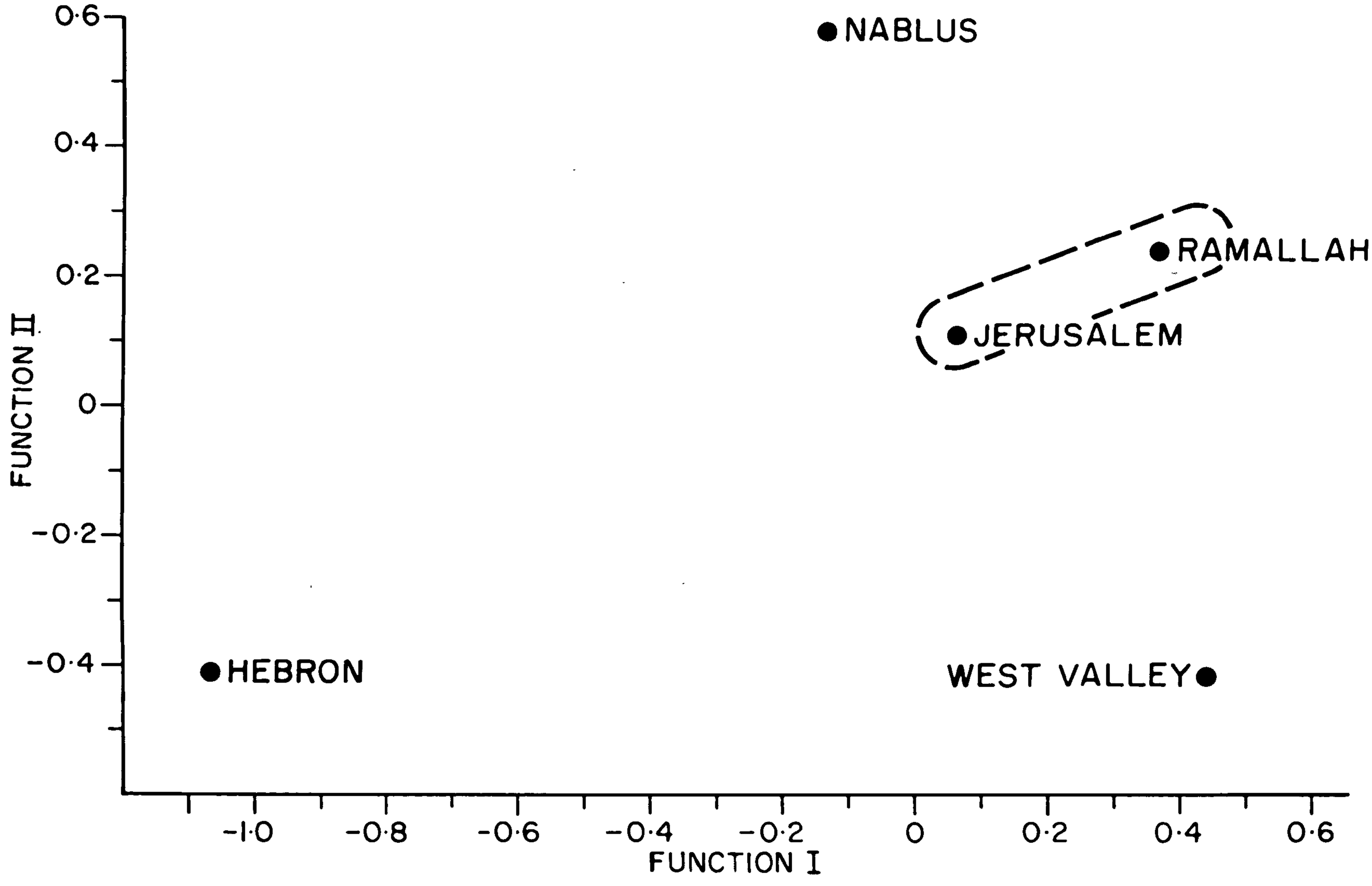
Statistical Significance of Regional Differentiation on Function I.

Hebron	-	Nablus	P	=	<	0.01
Hebron	-	Jerusalem	P	=	<	0.05
Hebron	-	Ramallah	P	=	<	0.01
Hebron	-	West Valley	P	=	<	0.01
Nablus	-	West Valley	P	=	<	0.01
Nablus	-	Jerusalem	NS			
Nablus	-	Ramallah	NS			
West Valley	-	Jerusalem	NS			
West Valley	-	Ramallah	NS			
Jerusalem	-	Ramallah	NS			

Sources : Baqa'a Survey Data

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences - DISCRIMINANT Programme

See also figure 12 (for areas)


NABLUS
RAMALLAH
JERUSALEM
HEBRON
WEST VALLEY
0·6
0·4
0·2
0
-0·2
-0·4
FUNCTION II
-1·0
-0·8
-0·6
-0·4
-0·2
0
0·2
0·4
0·6
FUNCTION I

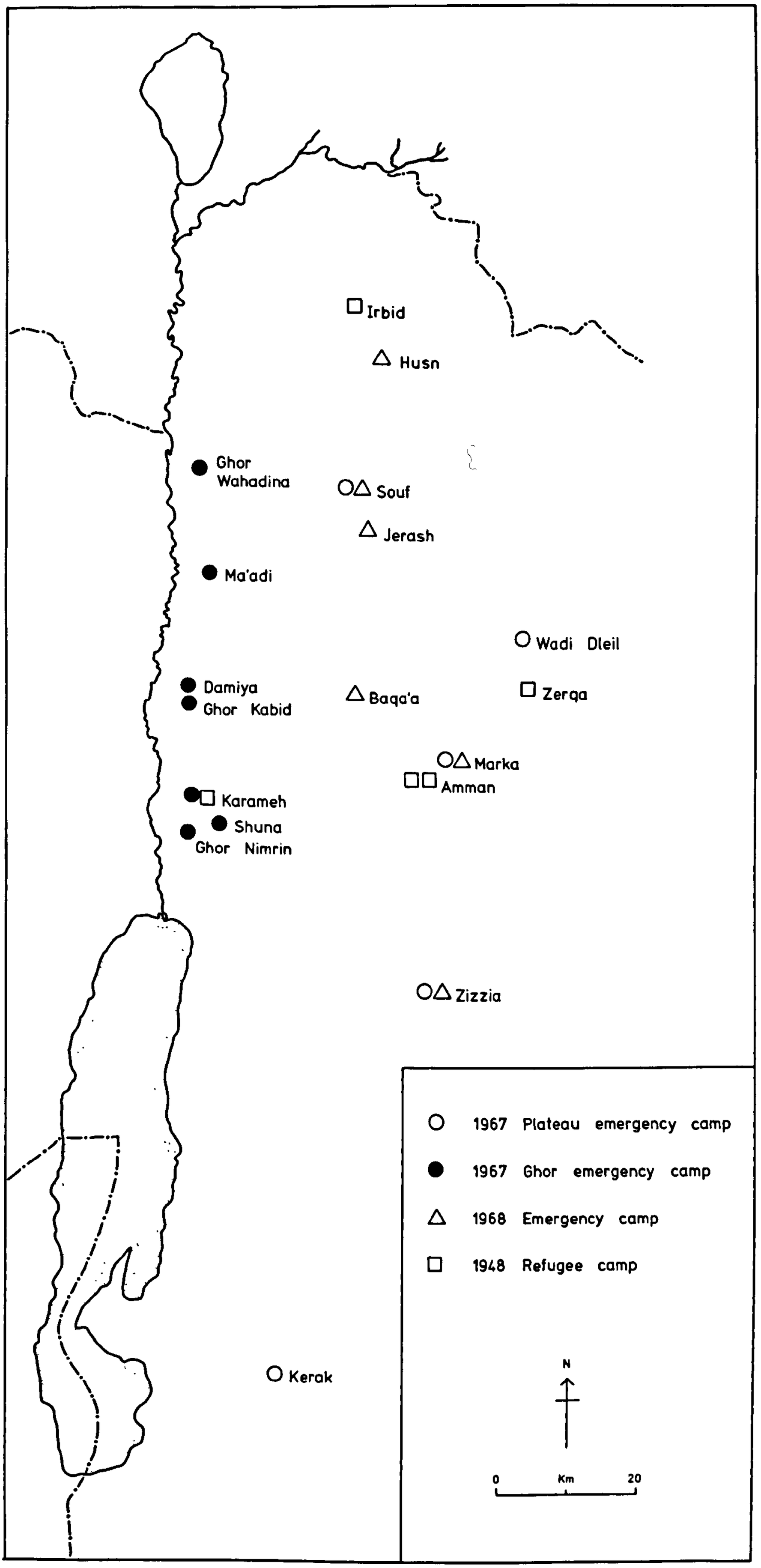
F I G U R E 24

Figure 24

The East Bank : Refugee Camp Locations

Sources : UNRWA (Amman)

Supreme Ministerial Committee for Displaced Persons (Amman)


Irbid
Husn
Ghor Wahadina
Souf
Jerash
Ma'adi
Wadi Dleil
Damiya
Ghor Kabid
Baqa'a
Zerqa
Marka
Amman
Karameh
Shuna
Ghor Nimrin
Zizzia
Kerak
1967 Plateau emergency camp
1967 Ghor emergency camp
1968 Emergency camp
1948 Refugee camp
N
0 Km 20

F I G U R E 25

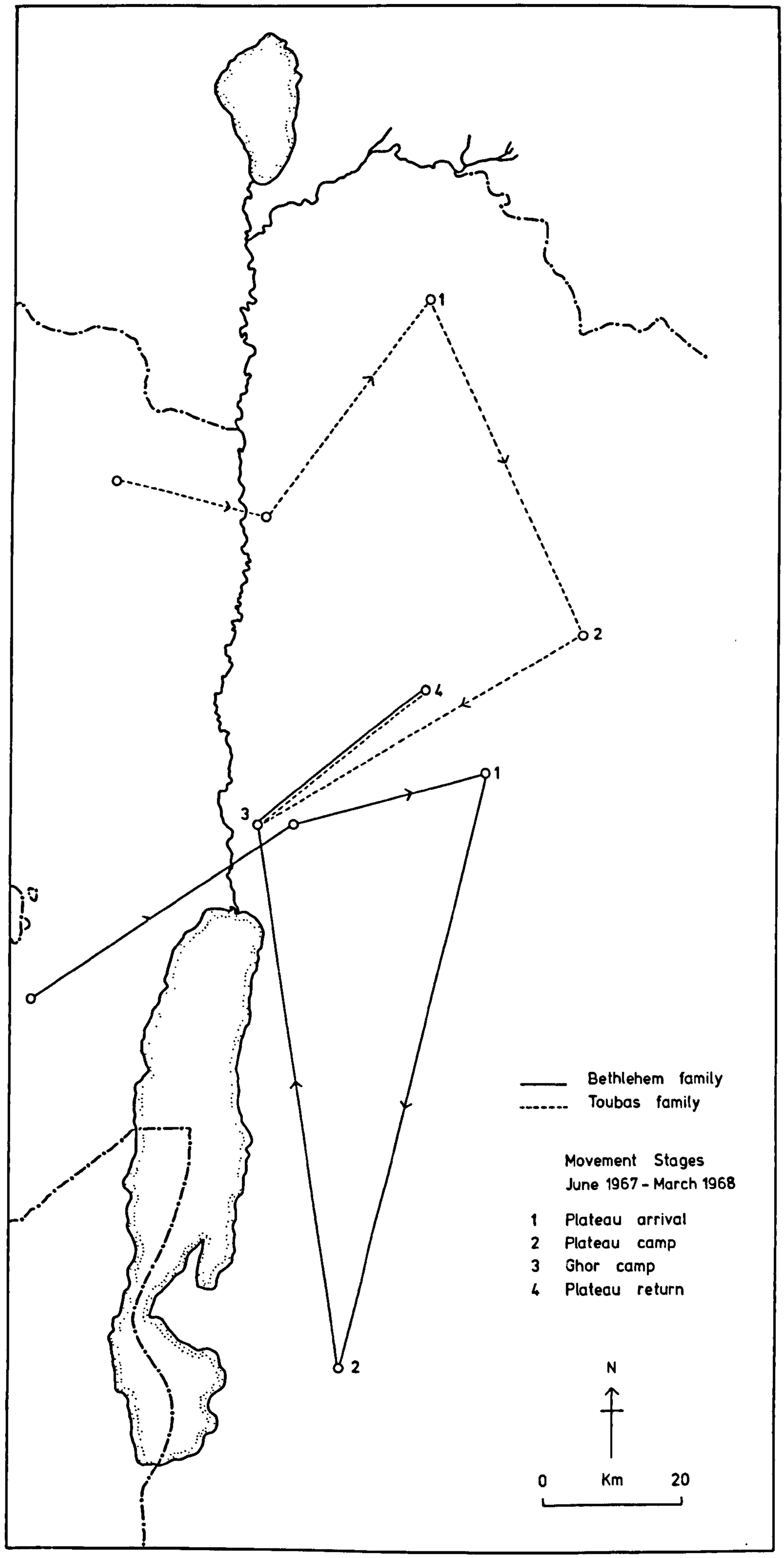
Figure 25

Refugee Movements on the East Bank, June 1967 - March 1968 : A Two-family Example

Source : Baqa'a Survey Data

Destinations and Dates of Arrival

	Bethlehem family (5 members)	Toubas family (4 members)
Origin village	Beit Ta'ma	Toubas
First Stop	Shuna Junubiya, during War	Kreimah, during War
Stage 1	Amman (school) June 1967	Irbid July 1967
Stage 2	Kerak camp July 1967	Wadi Dleil September 1967
Stage 3	Ghor Nimrim September 1967	Ghor Nimrin October 1967
Stage 4	Baqa'a February 1968	Baqa'a February 1968


1
2
3
4
1
2
3
Bethlehem family
Toubas family
Movement Stages
June 1967 - March 1968
1 Plateau arrival
2 Plateau camp
3 Ghor camp
4 Plateau return
N
0 Km 20

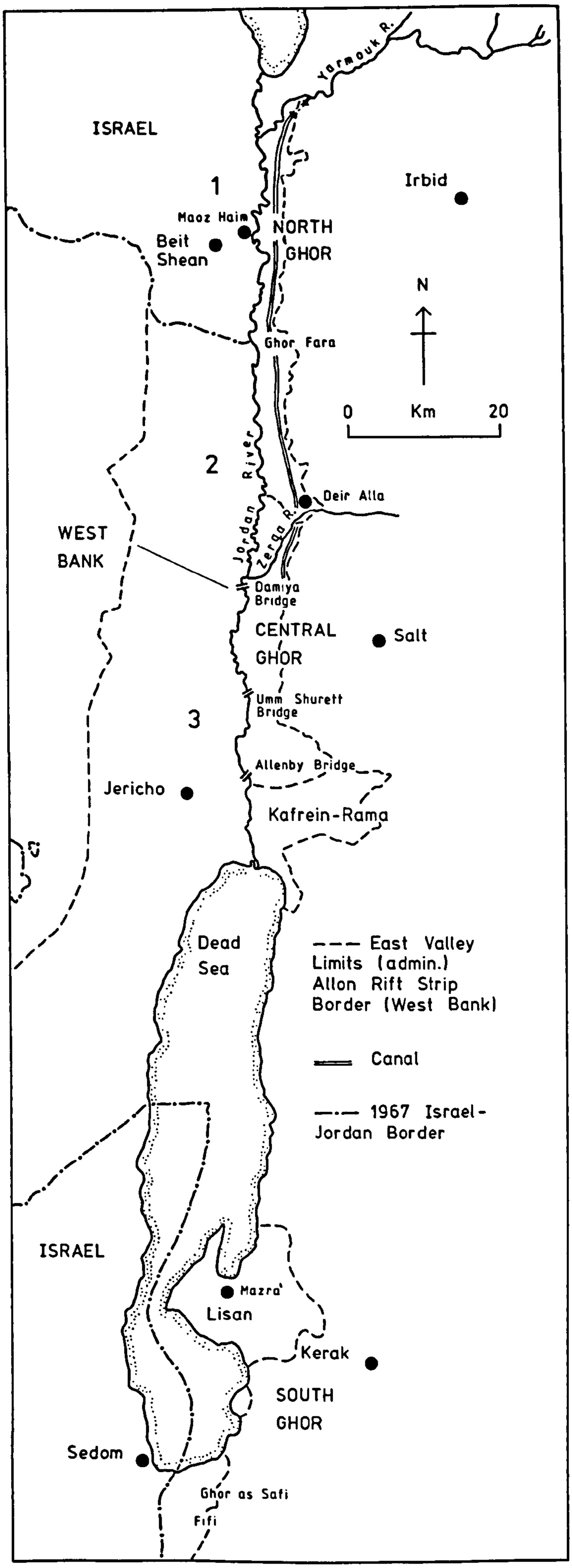
F I G U R E 26

Figure 26

The Jordan Rift : Locations

1, 2, 3 = Areas for table 5:4

See also figure 60


ISRAEL
Yarmouk R.
1
Irbid
Maoz Haim
NORTH
GHOR
Beit
Shean
N
Ghor Fara
0 Km 20
2
Jordan River
Zerqa R.
Deir Alla
WEST
BANK
Damiya
Bridge
CENTRAL
GHOR
Salt
3
Umm Shurett
Bridge
Allenby Bridge
Jericho
Kafrein-Rama
Dead
Sea
--- East Valley
Limits (admin.)
Allon Rift Strip
Border (West Bank)
Canal
—·— 1967 Israel-
Jordan Border
ISRAEL
Mazra'
Lisan
Kerak
SOUTH
GHOR
Sedom
Ghor as Safi
Fifi

F I G U R E 27

Figure 27

East Jordan Valley : Final Refugee Flight, February - March 1968.

Source: UNRWA File OP/IN/120 (Amman)

EAST BANK PLATEAU

0 thousands of people 20

O 1967 Ghor emergency camp

East Valley limits

1967 Israel - Jordan border

N

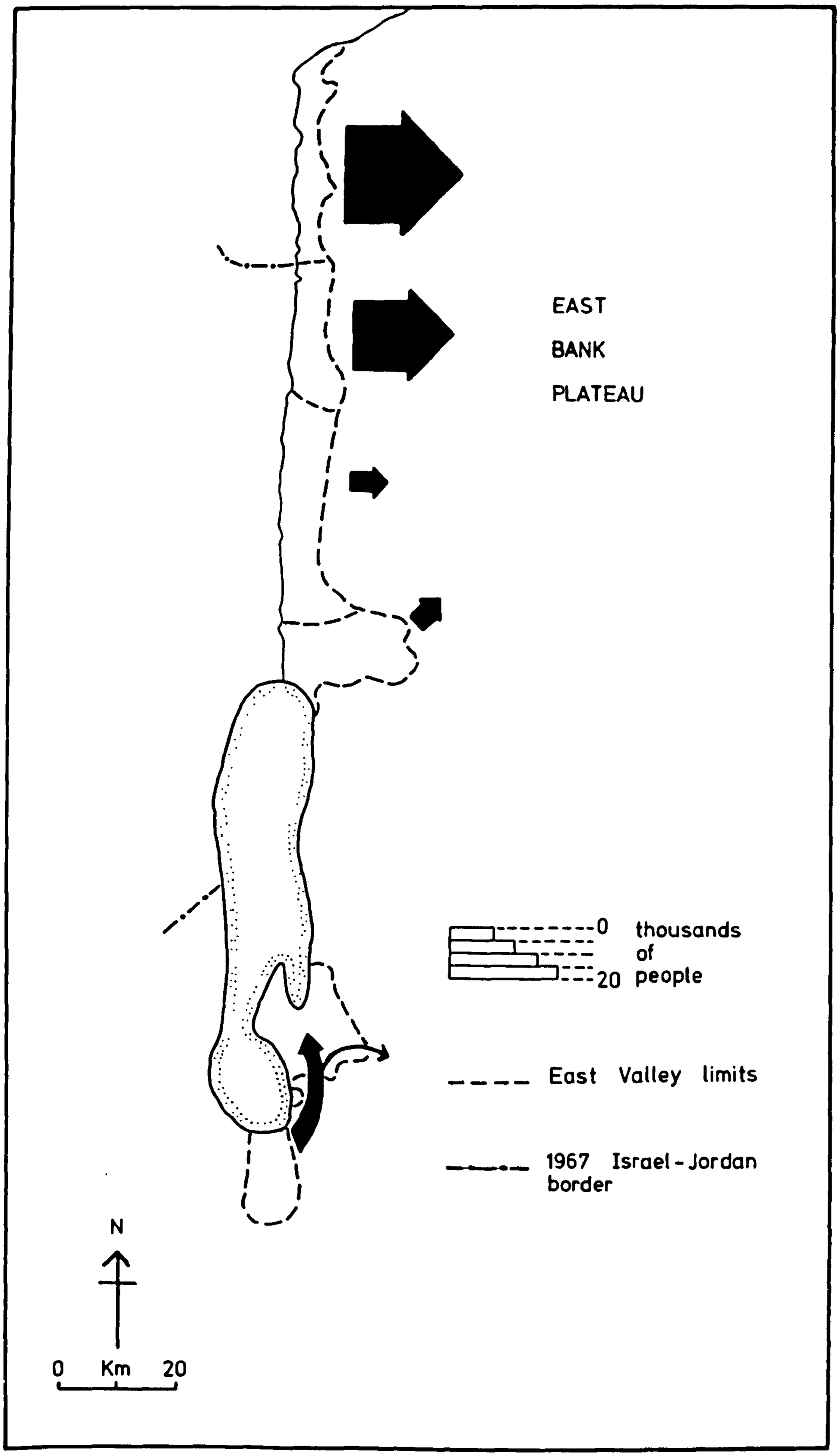
0 Km 20

F I G U R E 28

Figure 28

East Jordan Valley : Exodus of the Settled Population, 1968 - 1969.

Source : Estimates by Khalil Khayyat (National Resources Authority, Deir Alla) and Tuma Hazou (Jordan Valley Commission, Amman)

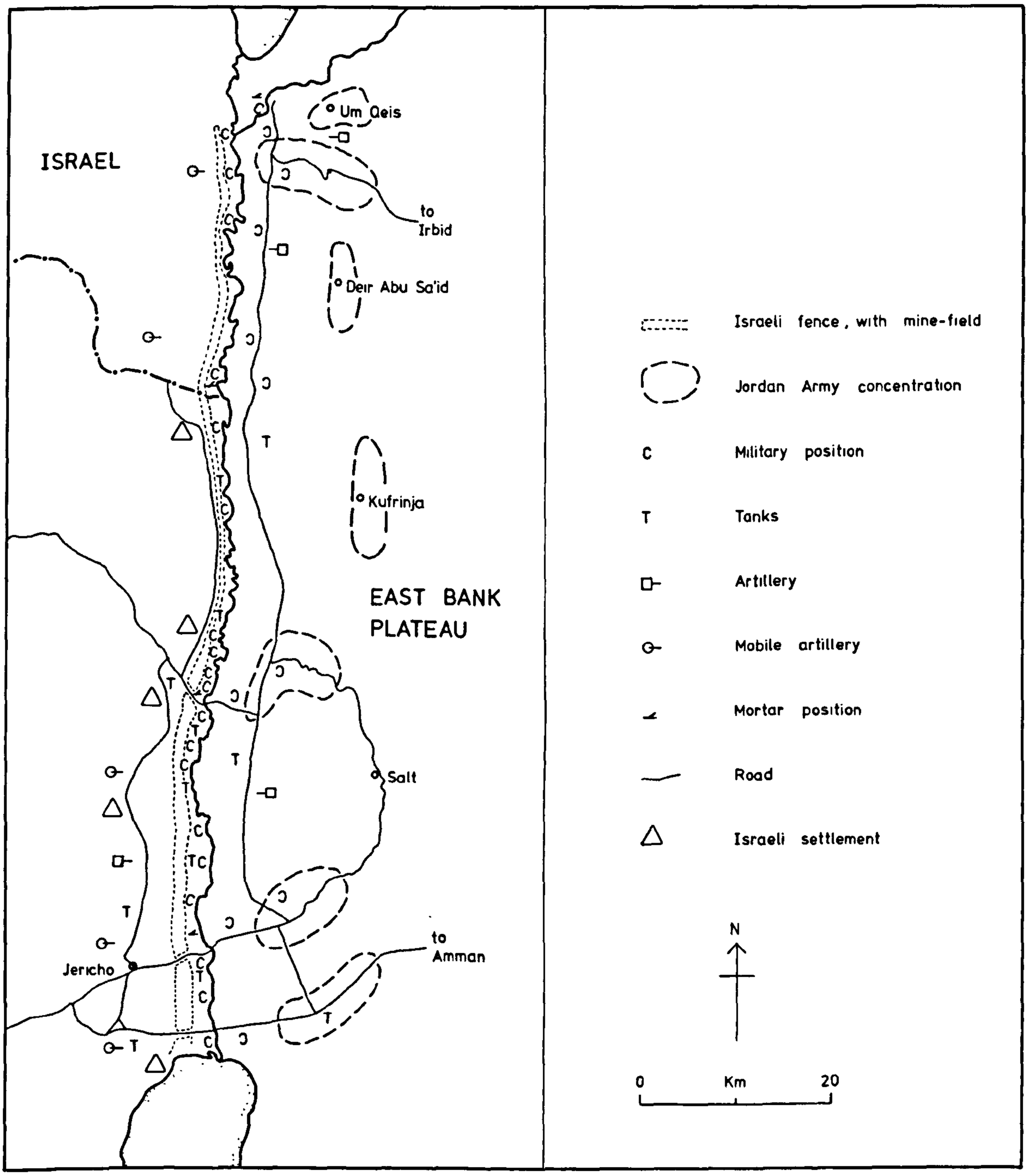

EAST
BANK
PLATEAU
0
thousands
of
people
20
East Valley limits
1967 Israel - Jordan
border
N
0 Km 20

F I G U R E 29

Figure 29

War of Attrition in the Jordan Rift : Military Alignments, early 1970.

Source : Israel Defence Forces (1971)
Elef Yamim 12.6.67 - 8.8.70
Pp.80-81.

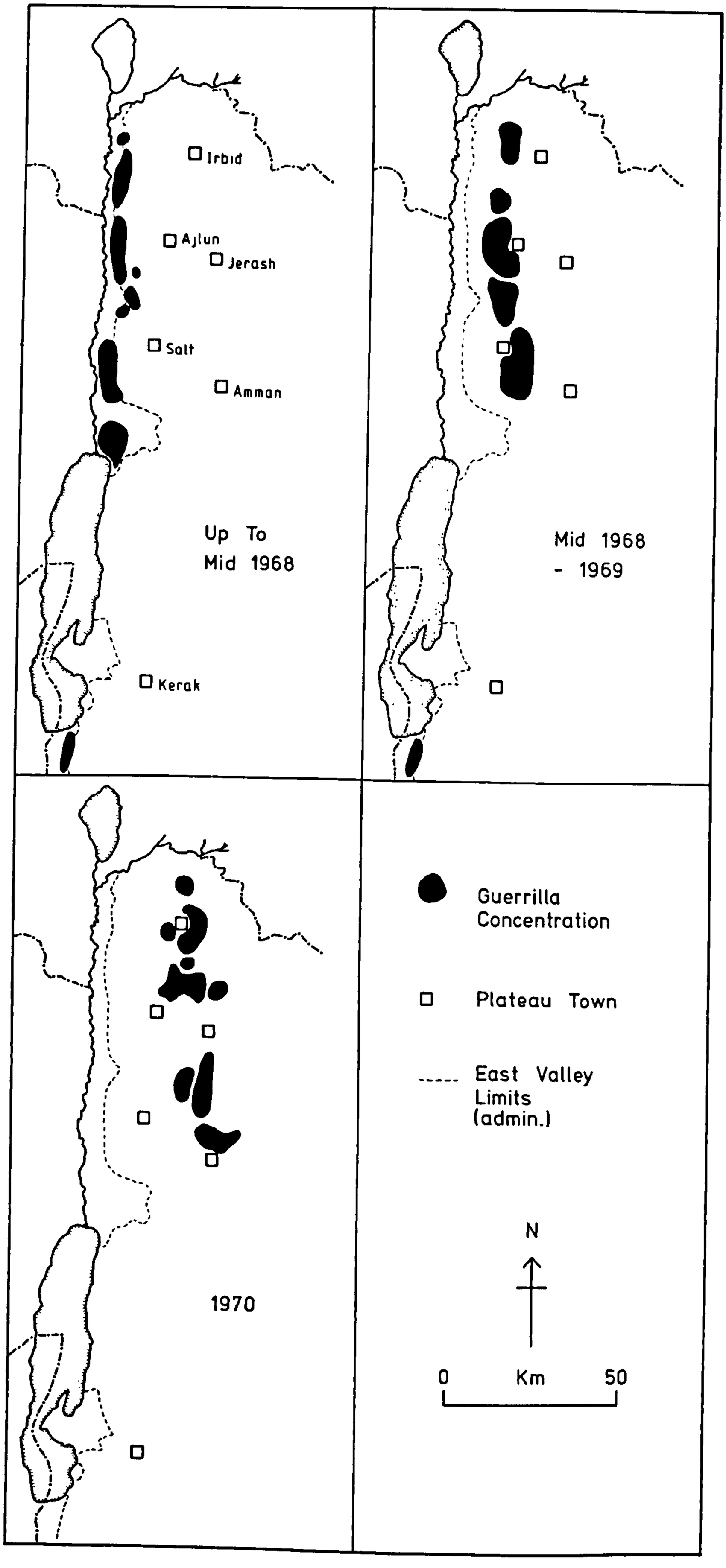

ISRAEL
Um Qeis
to Irbid
Deir Abu Sa'id
Kufrinja
EAST BANK PLATEAU
Salt
Jericho
to Amman
Israeli fence, with mine-field
Jordan Army concentration
C Military position
T Tanks
Artillery
Mobile artillery
Mortar position
Road
Israeli settlement
N
0 Km 20

F I G U R E 30

Figure 30

The East Bank : The Guerrilla Retreat from the Jordan Rift, 1968 - 1970

Source : Israel Defence Forces (1971) Elef Yamim 12.6.67. - 8.8.70 Pp. 78-79.


Irbid
Ajlun
Jerash
Salt
Amman
Kerak
Up To
Mid 1968
Mid 1968
- 1969
1970
Guerrilla
Concentration
Plateau Town
East Valley
Limits
(admin.)
N
0
Km
50

F I G U R E 31

Figure 31

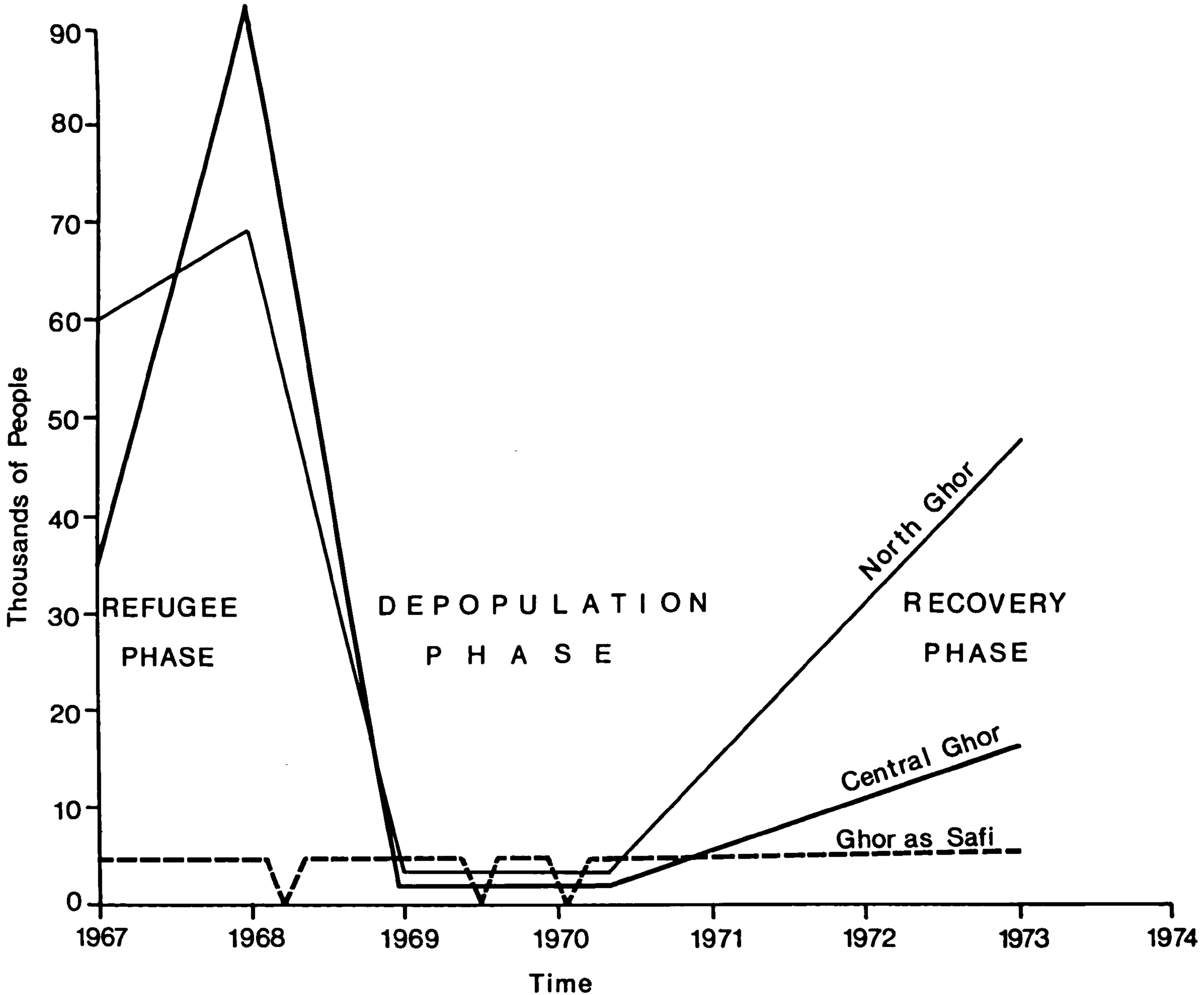
Population Change in the three sections of the East Jordan Valley, 1967 - 1973.

Sources : UNRWA File OP/IN/120 (Amman)

Jordan Valley Commission estimates

1973 Social and Economic Survey of the East Jordan Valley (Dept. of Statistics, Amman).

See also figure 26.


Thousands of People
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1967
1968
1969
1970
1971
1972
1973
1974
Time
REFUGEE PHASE
DEPOPULATION PHASE
RECOVERY PHASE
North Ghor
Central Ghor
Ghor as Safi

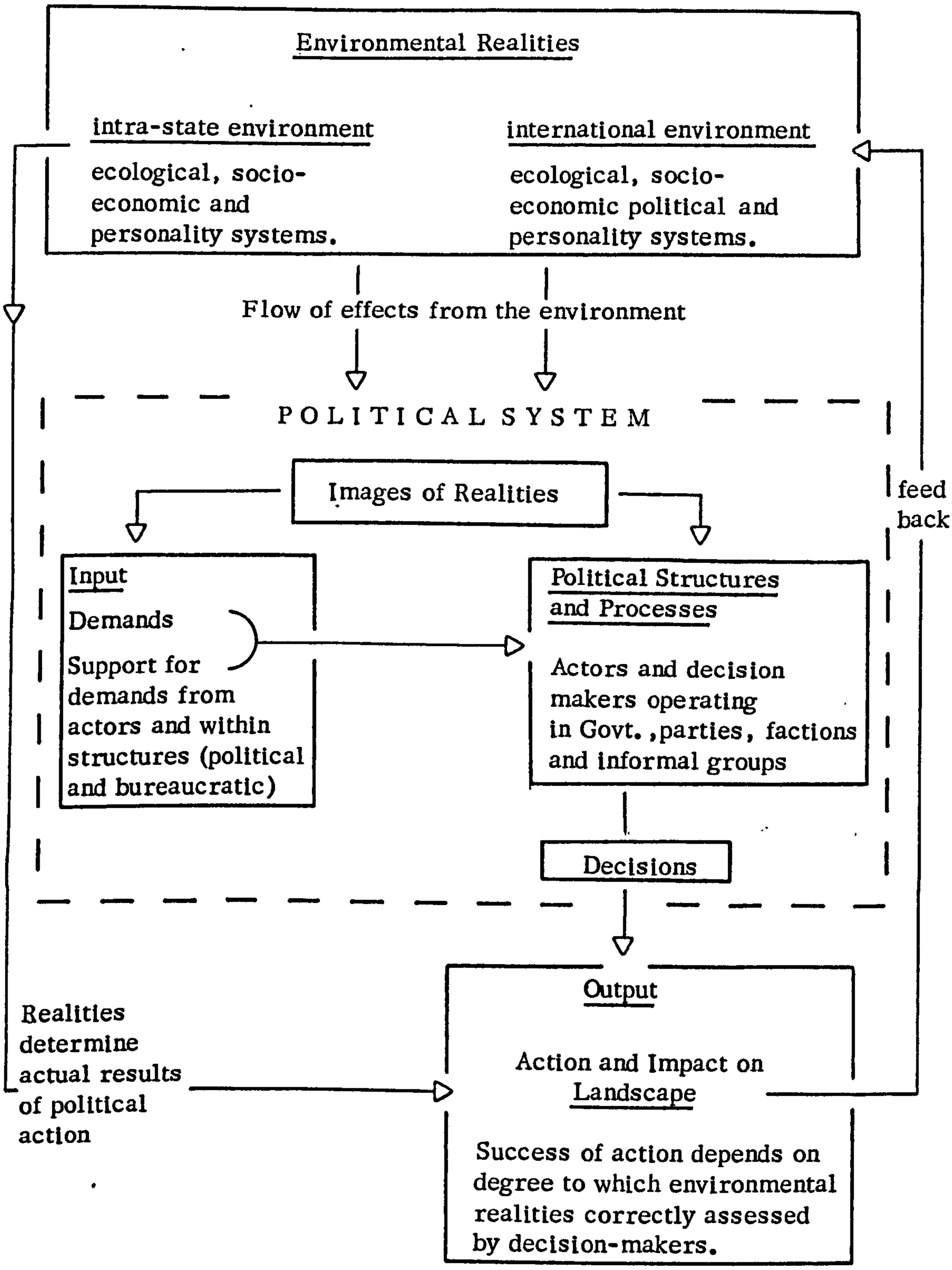


Figure 32 Political Processes behind Landscape Change: A Model based on General Systems Theory.

Sources: Adapted from Brecher, M. The Foreign Policy System of Israel p.4. Frankel J. Contemporary International Theory and the Behaviour of States p.65, Muir, R. Modern Political Geography p.242.

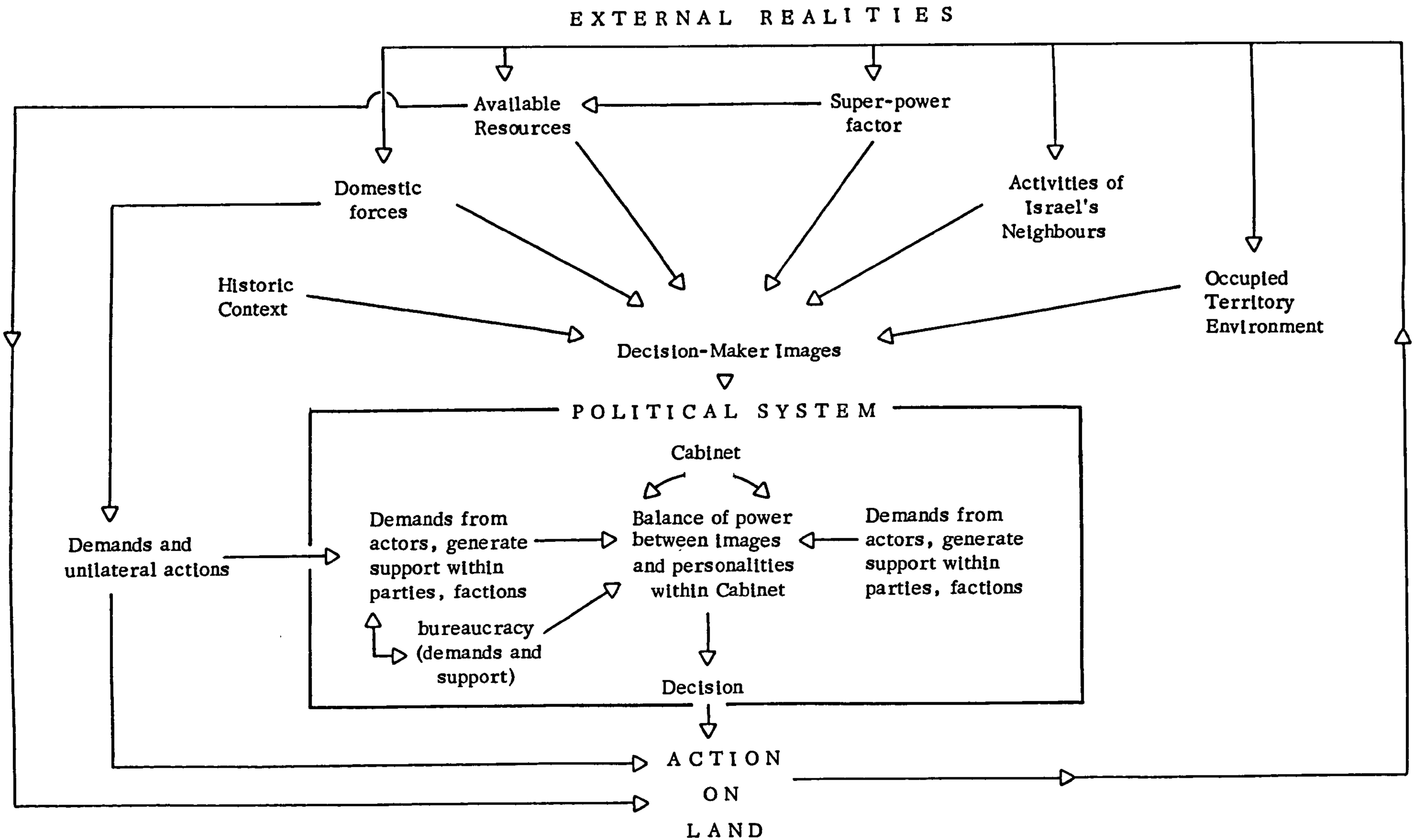


Figure 33 Model of Influences and Action in Israeli Settlement Policy in the Occupied Territories 1967-1978.

F I G U R E 34

Figure 34

Beginnings of Israeli Settlement across the pre June 1967 Borders : Pressures, Influences and Activity under the Eshkol Government, 1967-1968.

Sources:

As for Chapter 6, Pp.148-165

See also figures 32, 33.

N.B.

terr. = territory
col. = colonization

Available Resources
Upturn in economy and migration after war
▷ confident view of Israel's capacities
e.g. 1968 Golan Plan.
45000 settlers in 10 yrs.

Activities of Israel's Neighbours
Intransigence after war - 3 Khartoum No's to Israel
▷ Israeli hard-liners buttressed.

Domestic Forces
Self-confidence in wake of victory / strong expansionist strand in public opinion
▷ Whole Land of Israel Movement.

Super-power factor
Little pressure on U.S. to display consistent interest ▷ Israel left alone up to 1969.

Historic Context
Past efficacy of settlement as military/political device.
Attachment to Eretz Yisrael
Holocaust legacy ▷ psychological insecurity; siege mentality.

Occupied terr. Environment
Israel's defence position enormously improved
▷ willingness to concede diminished with time.

GOVERNMENT IMAGES

Composite

Eban/Sapir : sensitivity to Israel's limited capacities in long term & international factors. Near-total withdrawal for full peace.
Allon : Nationalism tempered by pragmatism. Territorial compromise / limited colonization
Begin : Biblical fundamentalism ▷ territorial maximalism

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Demand/Support
Substantial territorial expansion + colonization
a) Moderates : Allon outlook close to centre in range of Govt. images
b) Maximalism : dominant in Gahal, strong in NRP, Rafi

Bureaucracy
July 1967 Rift Col. Plan
Nov. 1967 Golan " "

Cabinet
National Unity Govt. : Labour factions + NRP + Gahal
Range of images too great for general decision on territory, colonization
No official commitment but by late 1967 balance favouring some 'creation of facts'. Rationalized by minimalists/ moderates as bargaining card.

Demand/Support
Territorial Minimalism/Civilian Colonization outside E. Jerusalem opposed.
Strongest single outlook in Lab. factions mid'67 (Eban/Sapir/Ben Gurion) but position slowly eroded with externalities favouring less conciliatory attitudes.

Etzion demand.
Golan demand

Kibbutz Golan Unofficial Settlement

ACTION

No general settlement activity up to early 1968 but domestic pressues + Cabinet balance tending toward harder line ▷ Govt. pulled/drifted into individual settlement decisions : Golan, Etzion. 1968-As individual decisions multiplied Allon Plan (centrist outlook) becomes de facto framework for limited colonization

F I G U R E 35

Figure 35

Israel : Decision-Making Process for Official Settlement Projects in the Occupied Territories

Sources:

Discussion with Avshalom Rokach, Deputy Head of the Settlement Dept., October 1976.

Rokach, A. Rural Settlement in Israel, 1978. Pp. 62-89.

IDEA

Settlement Movements

Bridging Committees

Interest Groups e.g. Golan Settlement * Committee

Govt. Depts. Public Bodies

Jewish Agency Settlement Dept. Rural

Ministry of Housing Urban

Govt. Depts. Public Bodies

IDEA

Political stage

IDEA

Ministerial Initiatives

Proposals to Inter-Ministerial Settlement Committee

Interest Groups

If dispute - Full Cabinet Decision

Implementation Stage

Agric. Planning Bd.

Ministry of Housing

Location Committee

Govt. Depts. Public Bodies

Consultation

Settlement Dept. / Housing Ministry Final Planning

Consultation

Govt. Depts. Public Bodies

REALITY

State/Jewish Agency

External Input

F I G U R E 36

Figure 36

The July 1967 Allon Plan for the West Bank and the September 1967 Arab Population Distribution

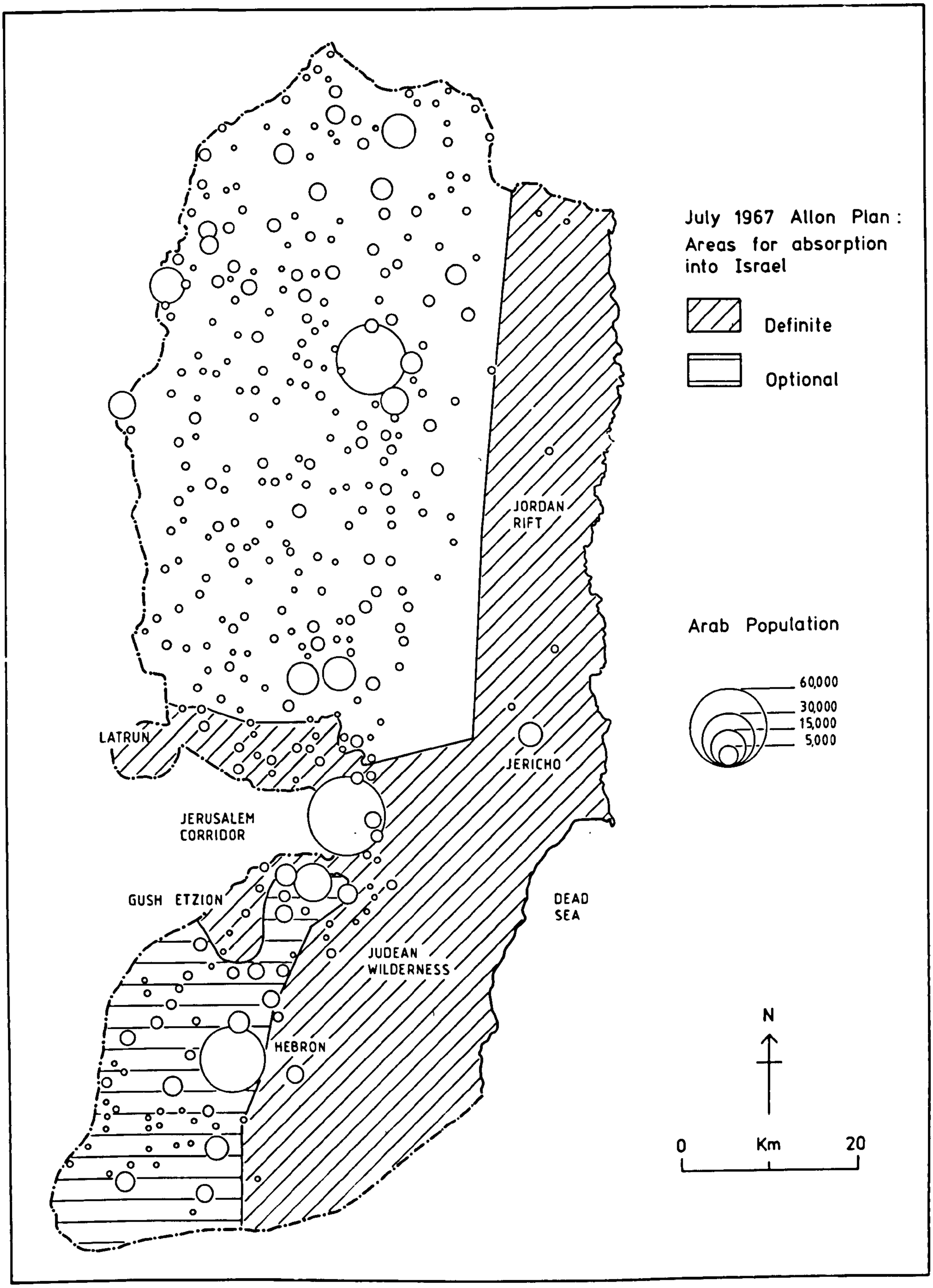
Sources:

Cohen Y. Tokhnit Allon Pp.171-189
Allon submission to Government, July 1967.
(Translation in Appendix VI)

Census of Population - West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza Strip and Northern Sinai, Golan Heights Sept. 1967 (Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem) Vol.1 P.160.

See also Appendix VII, figure 38.

Method : Circles drawn according to the Flannery procedure - compensating for visual underestimation of large circle sizes by multiplying the logarithms of the data by 0.57.


July 1967 Allon Plan :
Areas for absorption into Israel
Definite
Optional
Arab Population
60,000
30,000
15,000
5,000
JORDAN RIFT
LATRUN
JERICHO
JERUSALEM CORRIDOR
GUSH ETZION
DEAD SEA
JUDEAN WILDERNESS
HEBRON
N
0
Km
20

F I G U R E 37

Figure 37

East Jerusalem and Environs : Existing and Proposed Israeli Construction Sites, 1967-1978.

Proposed Urban Estates:

Giv'on Ma'ale Adumim Efrat	}	Housing Ministry Plan, 1975 Defence Ministry Plan, 1978
Nabi Samuel	-	Government decision, 13-9-70 Dayan Document (see Appendix VI) Galili Document (see Appendix VI)

Sources :

Cohen S.B. 'Yerushalayim ha Meuhedet - Korah Geo-politi' (A United Jerusalem - A Geo-political Necessity) in Shmueli, Grossman and Zeevy Yehuda ve Shomron, P.461.

Ha-aretz 2-10-75 P.9 and 7-7-78 P.10

Survey of Israel 1:50,000 map series
Sheet II - 11 Jerusalem (Oct. 1976)
Sheet IV - 11 Hebron (Aug. 1976)

N.B. Efrat site should be 1½ km. south-east of that shown on map (on Sheikh Abdullah hill - Ha-aretz 7-7-78 P.10)

1967 Boundary

East Jerusalem - area annexed by Israel 1967

West Jerusalem limits

Jewish Housing Estate (Existing / Under Construction)

Jewish Housing Estate (Planned)

Israeli Industrial Estate (Under Construction)

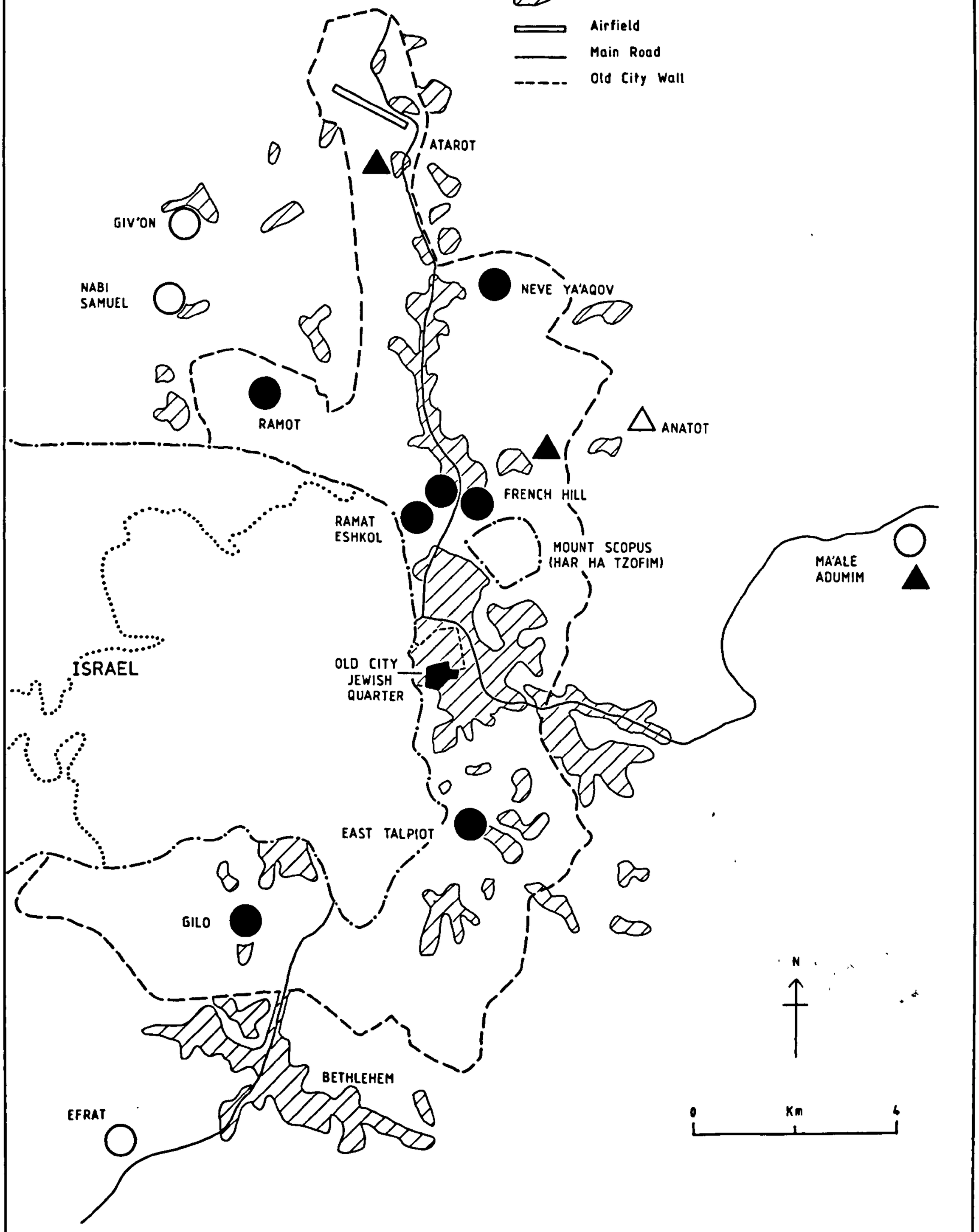
Israeli Industrial Estate (Planned)

Arab Built-up Area

Airfield

Main Road

Old City Wall



F I G U R E 38

Figure 38

The Allon Plan Security Belts in the Occupied Territories, October 1973

a) Areas proposed for absorption into Israel
b) Jewish Settlement Distribution, October 1973
c) Galili Document : Proposed new settlements 1973-1977

Sources:

Allon, Y. "Israel : The Case for Defensible Borders" (Foreign Affairs, 1976)

Cohen, Y. Tokhnit Allon Pp.76-97, 171-189.

Ha-aretz 10-6-68 P.1.

Bier, A. Heahazuiot ve Hitnahaluiot, 1976.

Field Research, 1976 and 1978.

Galili Document, J. (Appendix VI)

Allon Plan areas (approximate)

Civilian Settlement

Nahal Outpost

7 Proposed number of new settlements 1973-1977 (Galili Document)

1967 Boundaries

1967-1973 Cease-fire lines

Suez Canal

SYRIA

6

GOLAN

SAMARIA

7

JORDAN RIFT

1

JUDEA

GAZA

9

RAFIAH

ISRAEL

JORDAN

NEGEV

SINAI

N

0 Km 80

3

EGYPT

SHARM EL SHEIKH

FIGURE 39

Figure 39

The Territorial Framework of Labour Settlement Policy in the Occupied Territories, May 1977: Security Belts and Distribution of Settlements.

Sources:

As for figures 38, 48, 63, 70.

Territorial limits of Labour settlement policy - 1977 (extended Allon Plan)

- Civilian Settlement Site
- Nahal Outpost

} Official

- Unauthorized Settlement (Gush Emunim)

1967 Boundaries

Disengagement Lines (Golan, 1974 · Sinai, 1975)

Suez Canal

SYRIA

GOLAN

SAMARIA

JORDAN RIFT

JUDEA

GAZA

RAFIAH

ISRAEL

JORDAN

SINAI

EGYPT

N

0 Km 80

F I G U R E 40

Figure 40

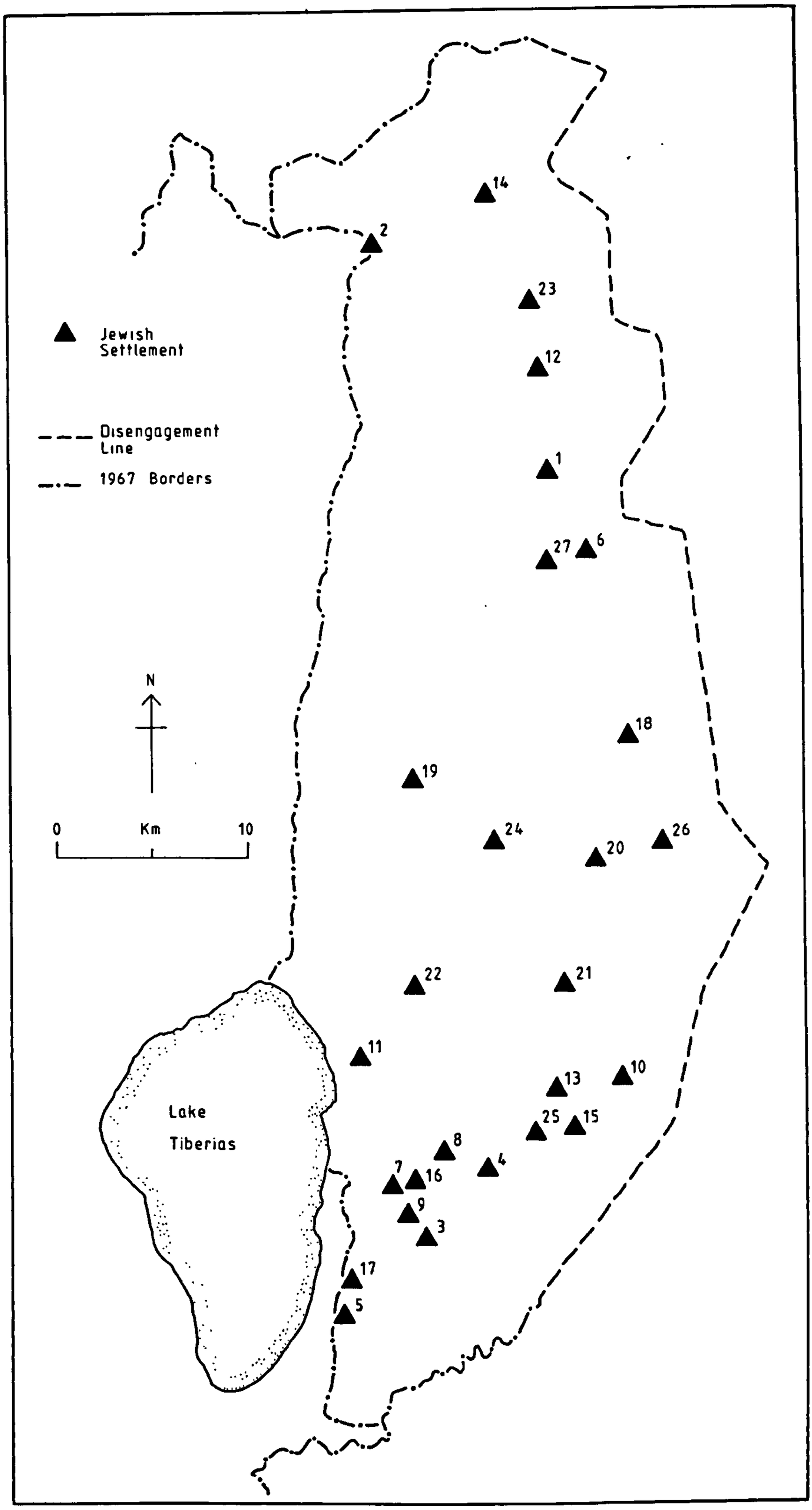
Israeli Settlements on the Golan Heights : Names and Locations, January 1978.

Settlements (in order of establishment)

1. Merom Golan
2. Snir
3. Afiq
4. Eli'ad
5. Mevo Hamma
6. Ain Zivan
7. Giv'at Yoav
8. Geshur
9. Neot Golan
10. Ramat Magshamim
11. Ramot
12. El Rom
13. Hispin
14. Neve Ativ
15. Nov
16. Bene Yehuda
17. Kfar Haruv
18. Qeshet
19. Qatzrin
20. Yonatan
21. Sha'al
22. Gamle
23. Har Odem
24. Ani'am
25. Avni Eitan
26. Parag
27. Ortal

Sources :

As for figure 48, Table 7:2


Jewish Settlement
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
N
0
Km
10
Lake Tiberias
14
2
23
12
1
27
6
18
19
24
20
26
22
21
11
13
10
25
15
8
7
16
4
9
3
17
5

F I G U R E 41

Figure 41

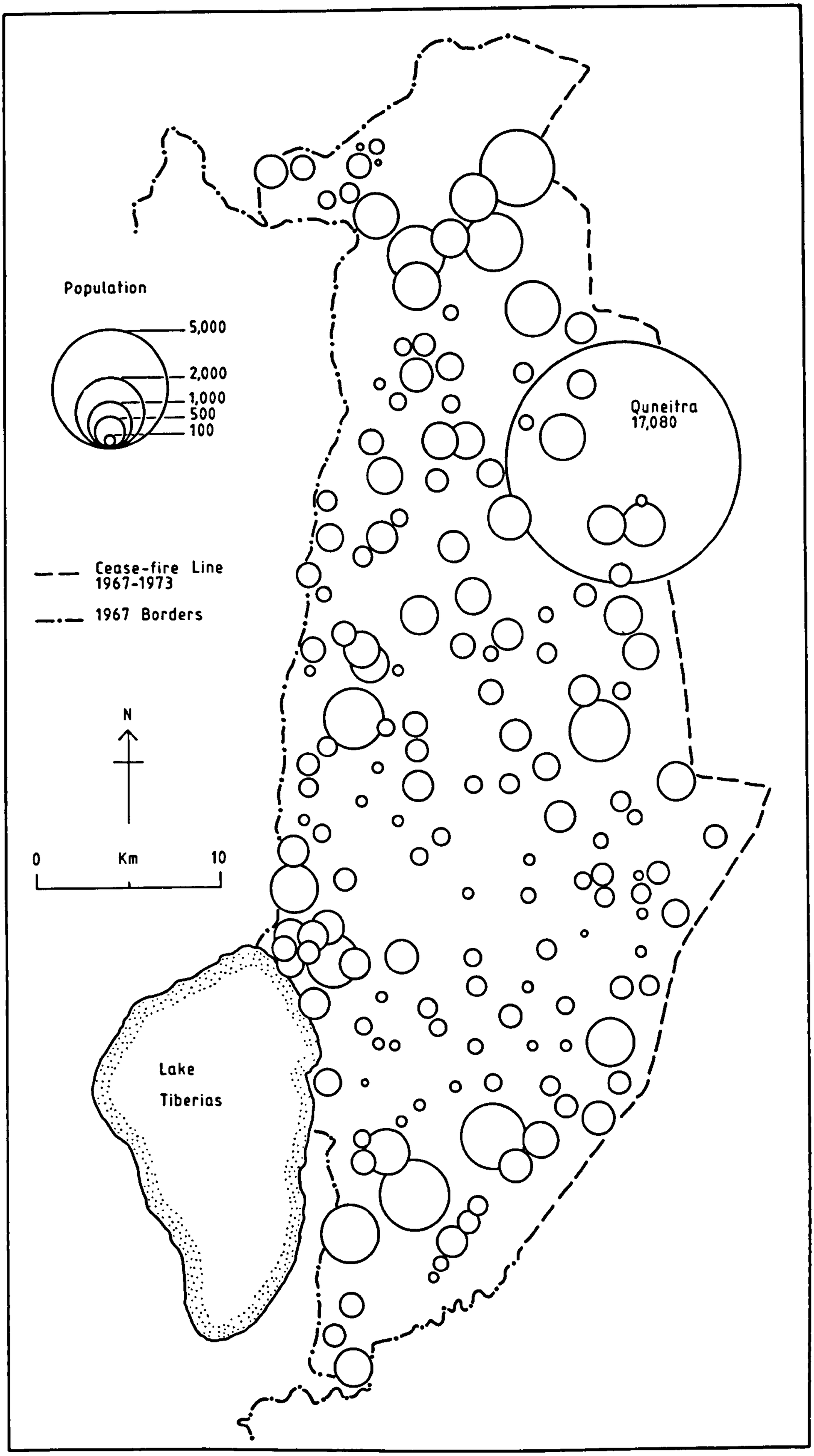
Demographic Transformation on the Golan Heights,
I : 1960 Population Distribution.

Method : Circles drawn according to the Flannery procedure - compensating for visual underestimation of large circle sizes by multiplying the logarithms of the data by 0.57.

Sources:

1960 Syria Census of Population (Damascus,1970)
Volumes for Damascus Muhafaza and Dera'a
Muhafaza. Pp.228-231/222-225.
(Provides individual village statistics)

Survey of Israel 1:100,000 map series
sheets 2 and 4 for 1975.
(Provide village sites)


Population
5,000
2,000
1,000
500
100
Cease-fire Line 1967-1973
1967 Borders
N
0
Km
10
Lake
Tiberias
Quneitra
17,080

F I G U R E 42

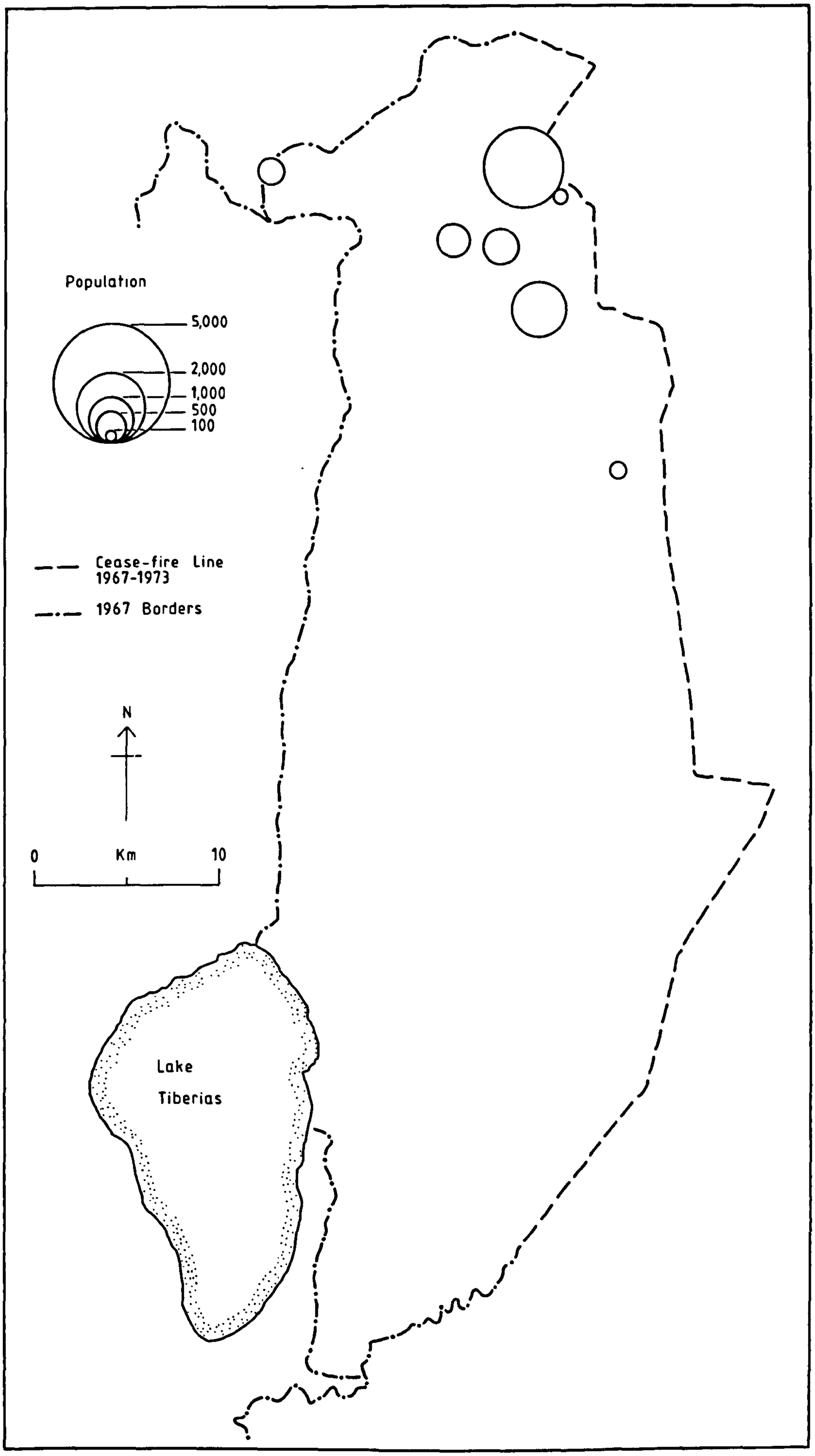
Figure 42

Demographic Transformation on the Golan Heights, II : September 1967 Population Distribution

Method : Circles drawn according to the Flannery procedure (see figure 41).

Source;

Census of Population - West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza Strip and North Sinai, Golan Heights Sept. 1967 (Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem) Pp.203-205.


Population
5,000
2,000
1,000
500
100
Cease-fire Line 1967-1973
1967 Borders
N
0
Km
10
Lake
Tiberias

F I G U R E 43

Figure 43

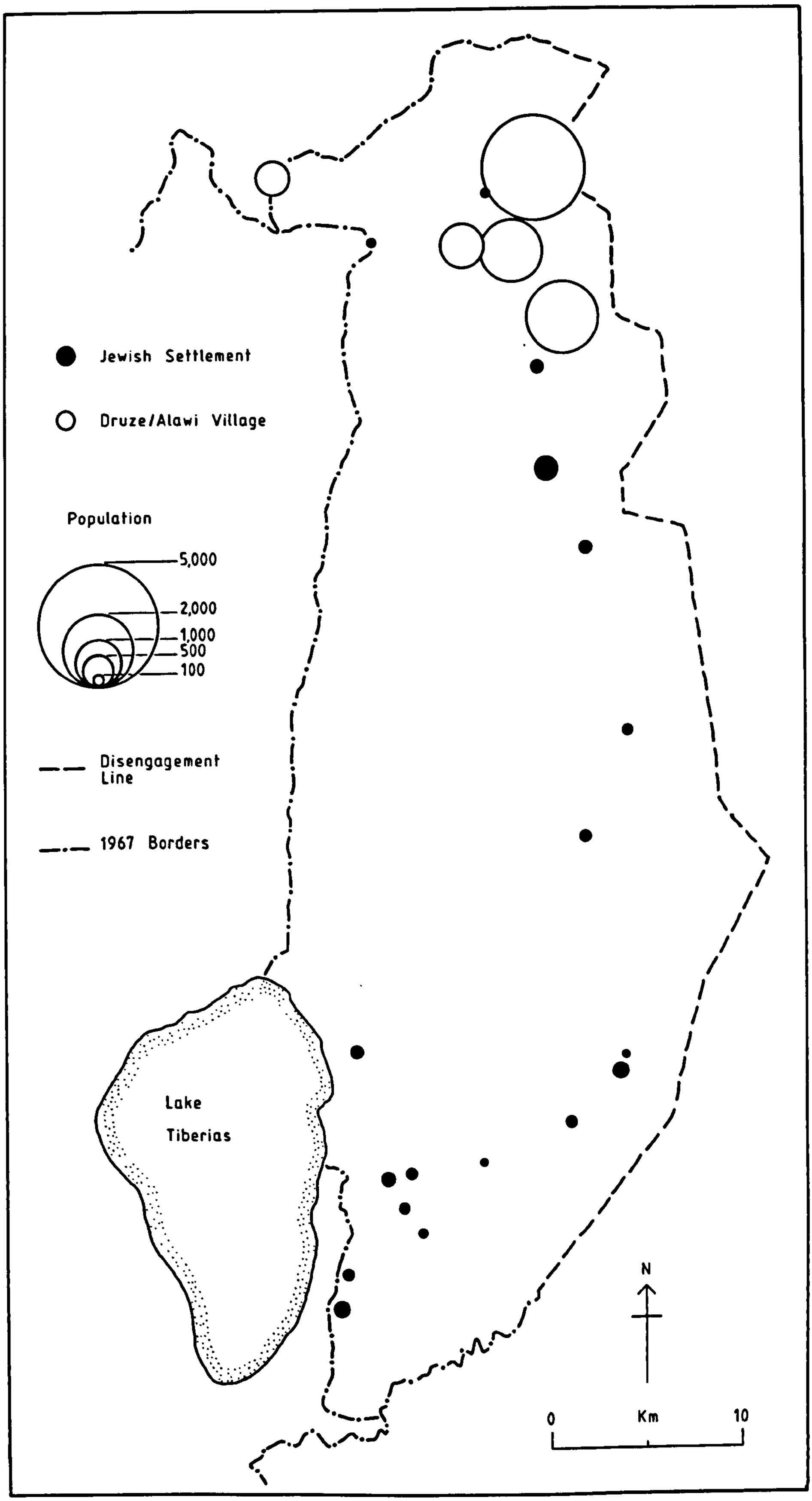
Demographic Transformation on the Golan Heights, III : January 1975 Population Distribution

Method : Circles drawn according to Flannery procedure (see figure 41).

Sources:

Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan - Natzai (Settlement Dept., 1974) P.16.
(data for both Jewish Settlements and Druze Villages)

Also see Table 7:2, figure 47.


Jewish Settlement
Druze/Alawi Village
Population
5,000
2,000
1,000
500
100
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Lake Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

F I G U R E 44

Figure 44

Demographic Transformation on the Golan Heights, IV, January 1978 Population Distribution.

Method : Circles drawn according to Flannery procedure (see figure 41).

Sources:

Tour of the Zionist Congress Delegates : A Review of Rural Settlement in Israel, Feb. 23 1978.
(Settlement Dept., 1978) P.16.
(full data for Jewish Settlements)

Davar 27-2-78, P.19 (Qatzrin)

Druze villages - assuming continuation of 1967-74 growth rate.

Also see Table 7:2, figure 48.

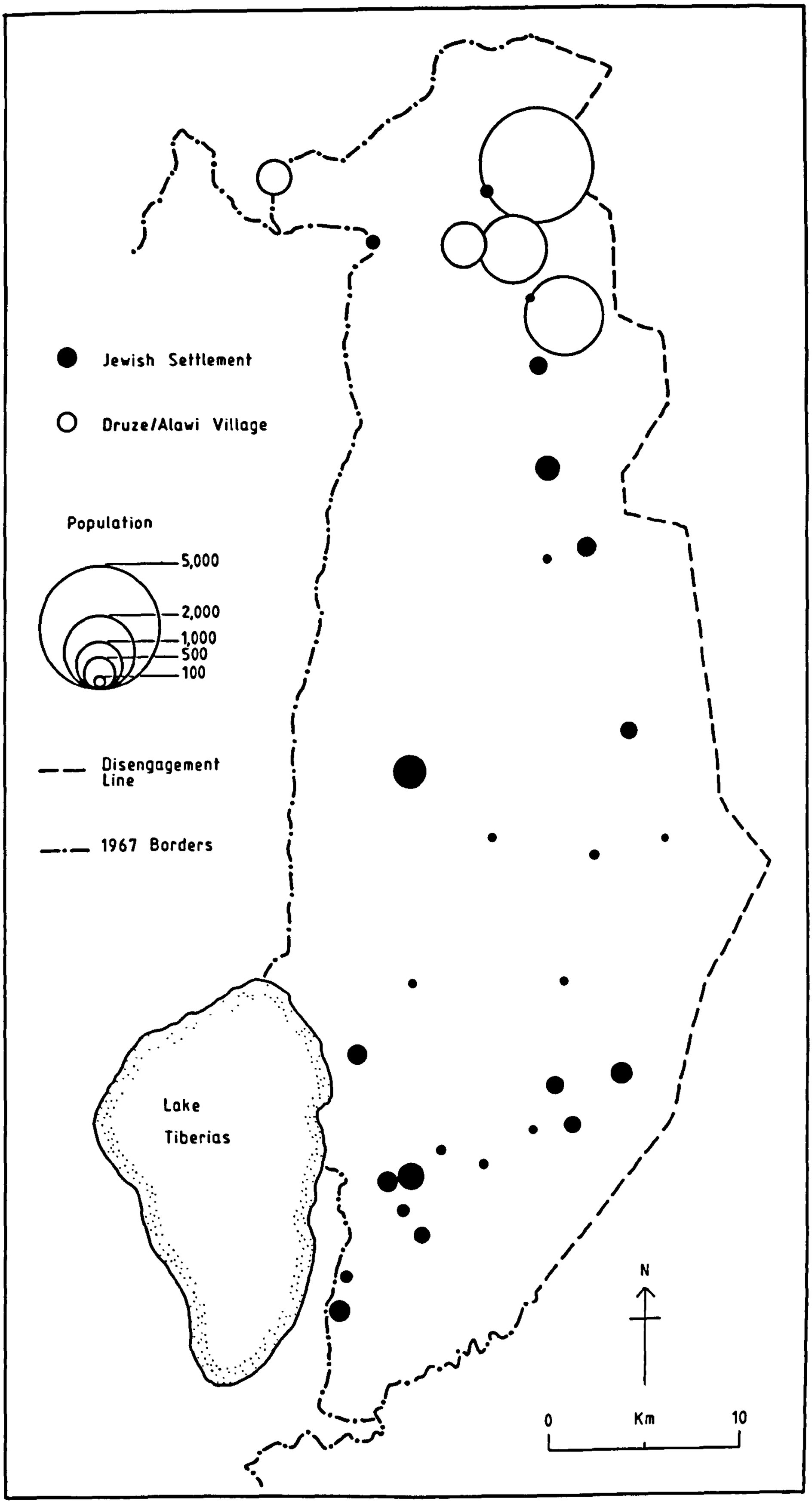

Jewish Settlement
Druze/Alawi Village
Population
5,000
2,000
1,000
500
100
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Lake Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

FIGURE 45

Figure 45

November 1967 Plan : Proposed Agricultural Settlement Structure on the Golan Heights.

Source:

Ramat ha Golan : Hatza'at Tokhnit Muqdemet le Ptihut Haqlai (Settlement Dept., 1967) P. 52-54.

NORTH GOLAN

BATIHA

SOUTH GOLAN

STAGE A
5 YEARS

STAGE B
5 YEARS

N

0 Km 15

▲ Proposed Agricultural Settlement

● Proposed Area Centre

Proposed Land Allocation

---- Cease-fire Line 1967-1973

—·— 1967 Borders

STAGE C
5 YEARS

F I G U R E 46

Figure 46

Golan Heights : Distribution of Jewish Settlements June 1970.

Sources:

As for Table 7:2

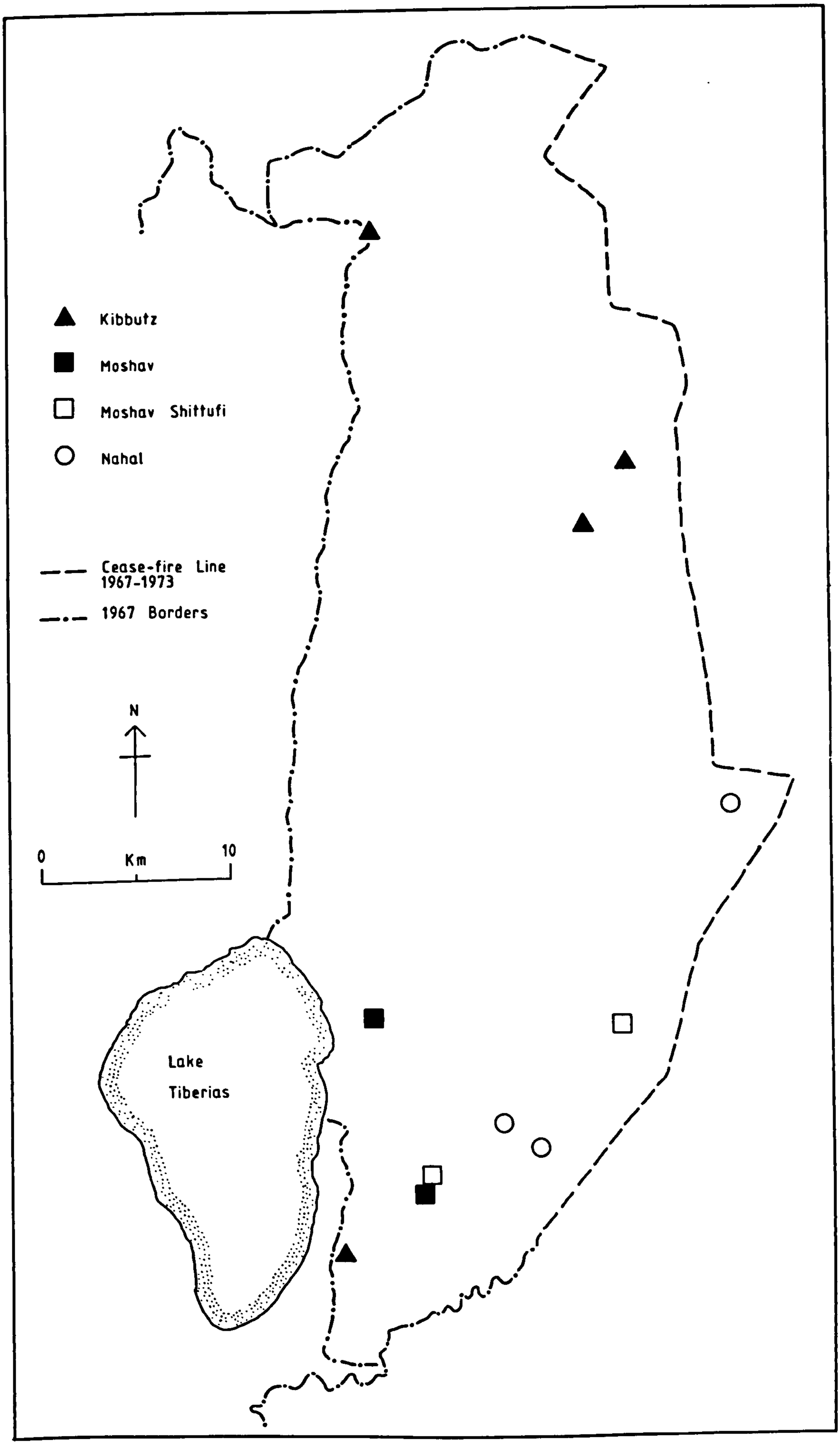

Kibbutz
Moshav
Moshav Shittufi
Nahal
Cease-fire Line 1967-1973
1967 Borders
N
0
Km
10
Lake
Tiberias

FIGURE 47

Figure 47

Golan Heights : Distribution of Jewish Settlements, June 1974.

Sources:

As for Table 7:2

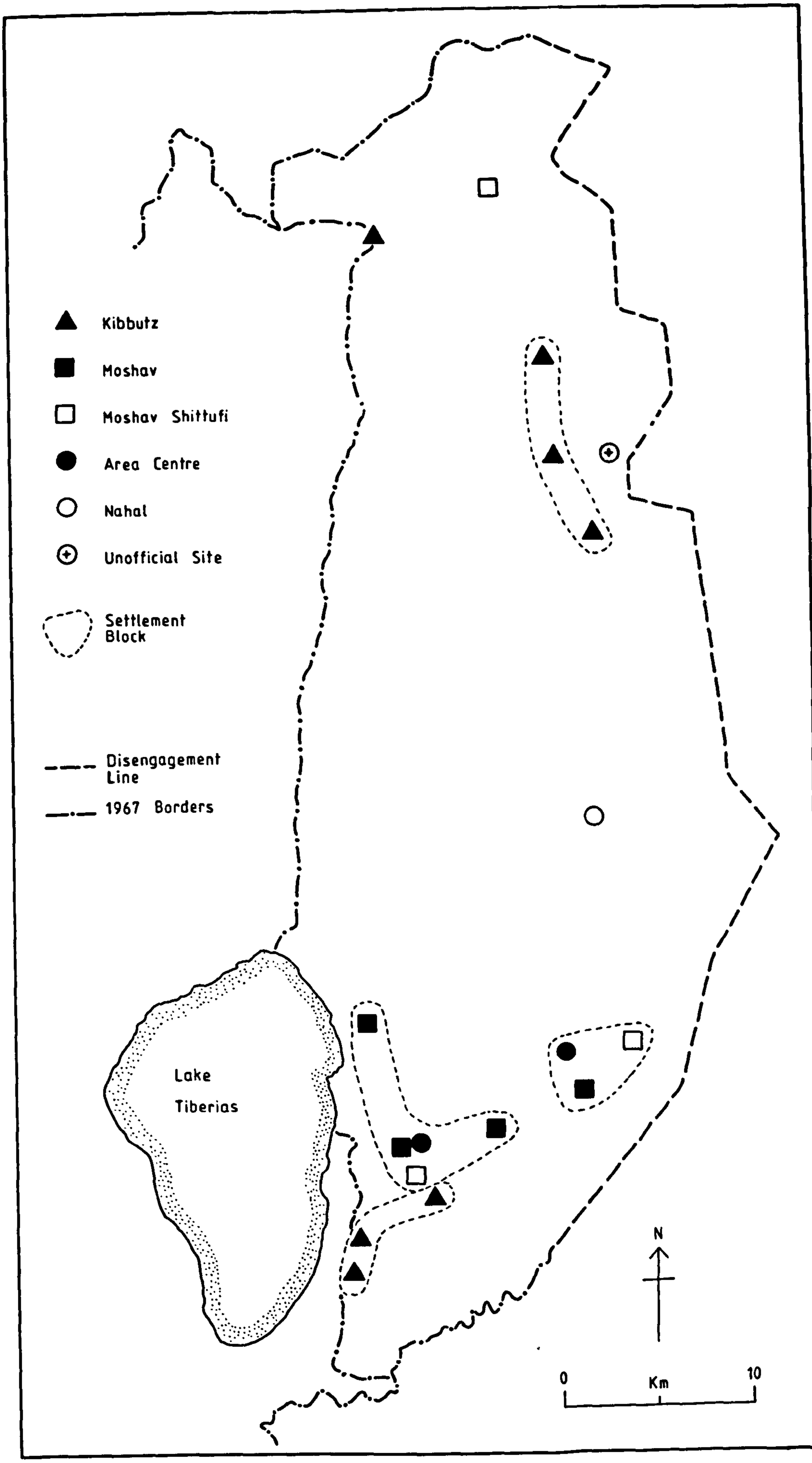

Kibbutz
Moshav
Moshav Shittufi
Area Centre
Nahal
Unofficial Site
Settlement Block
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Lake Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

FIGURE 48

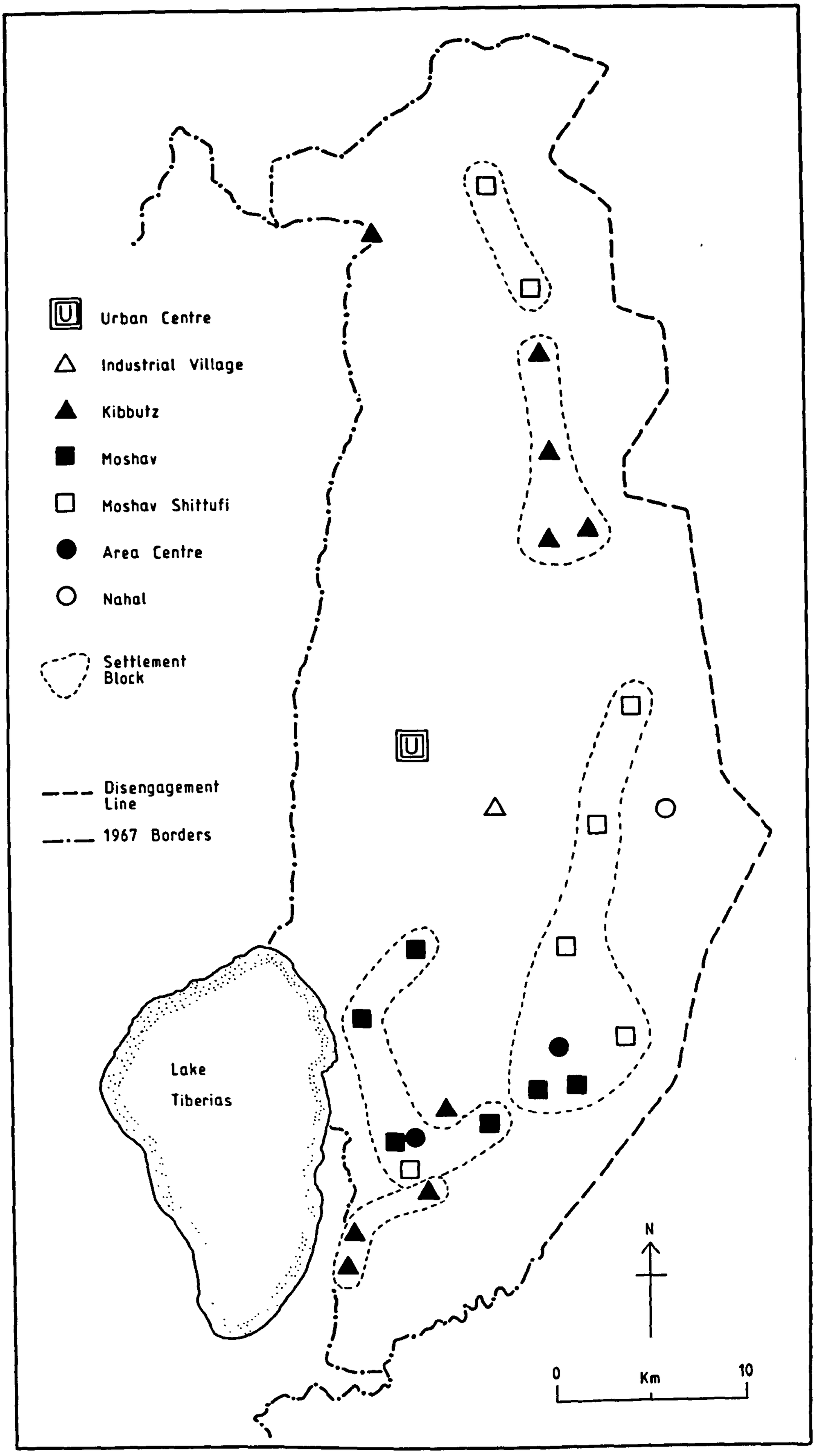
Figure 48

Golan Heights : Distribution of Jewish Settlements,
January 1978

Sources:

As for Table 7:2

Survey of Israel 1:50,000 map series
Sheet II-2 East, Merom Golan (Aug. 1977)
Sheet IV-2 East, Zivan (Nov. 1977)
Sheet II-4 East, Ramat Magshamim (Sept. 1976)


Urban Centre
Industrial Village
Kibbutz
Moshav
Moshav Shittufi
Area Centre
Nahal
Settlement Block
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Lake Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

F I G U R E 49

Figure 49

Golan Heights : Examples of Shifts in the Location of Jewish Settlements, 1967-1978.

Merom Golan

1. Alaikah, 1967
2. Quneitra, 1967
3. Permanent Site. March 1972

Qeshet

1. Quneitra, 1974
2. North of Har Avital, 1974
3. Hushniye, 1974
4. Permanent Site, Sept. 1978

Geshur

1. Tel Fares, 1968
2. Tanoriya, no data.
3. Permanent Site, 1977.

Sources:

Bier, A. Heahazuiot ve Hitnahaluiot, 1976

Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan-Matzai (Settlement Dept., 1974)

Jewish National Fund - data from Mr.Ephraim Orni.

Ha-aretz 25-9-78 P.3 (Qeshet shift 3-4)

Also see Appendix VIII (Qeshet).

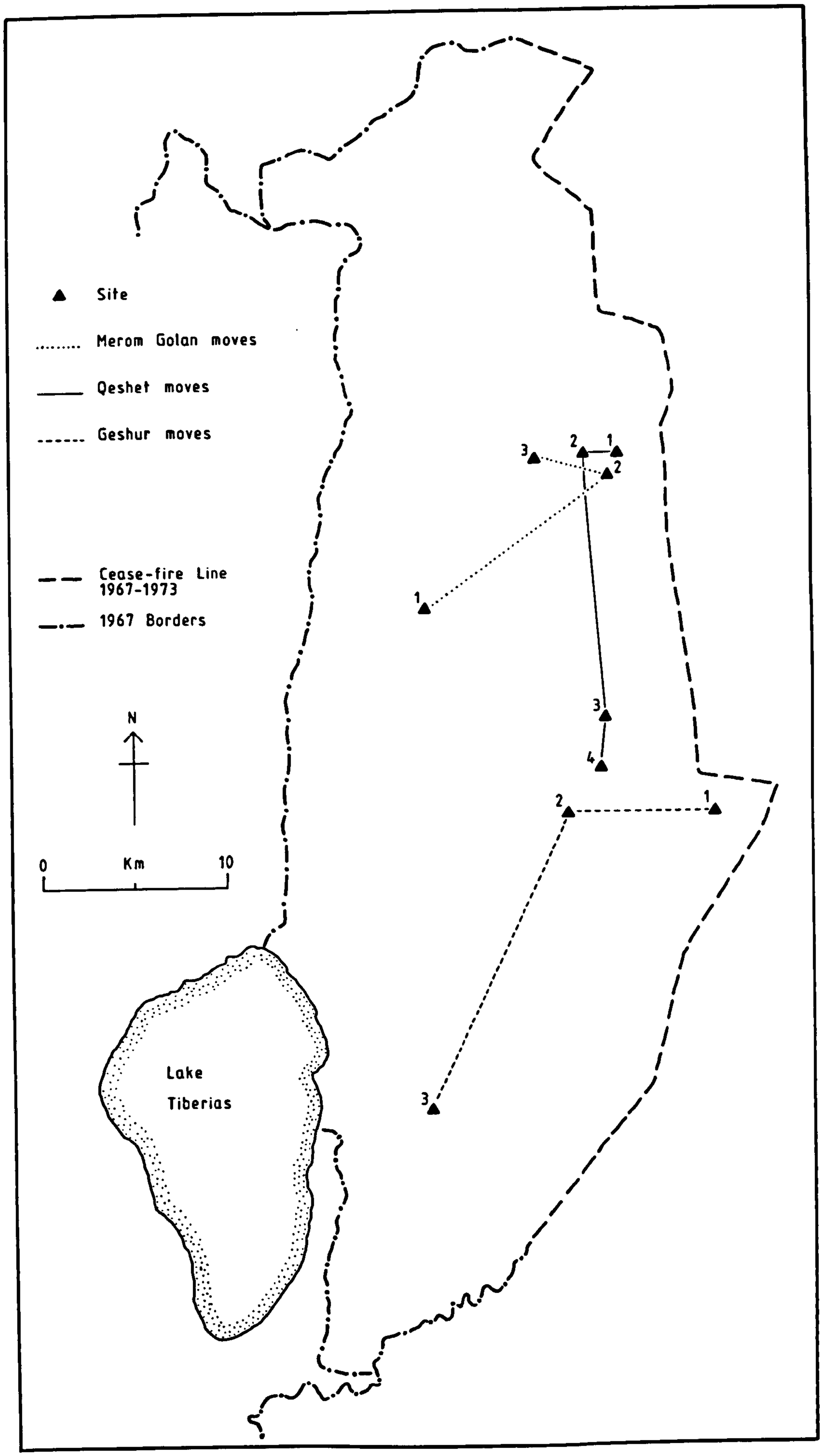

Site
Merom Golan moves
Qeshet moves
Geshur moves
Cease-fire Line 1967-1973
1967 Borders
N
0
Km
10
Lake
Tiberias
1
2
3
2
1
3
4
3
2
1

FIGURE 50

Figure 50

Jewish Settlement Structure on the Golan Heights : Agricultural Land Use, 1974.

Source:

Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan - Matzai (Settlement Dept., 1974). Figure 6.

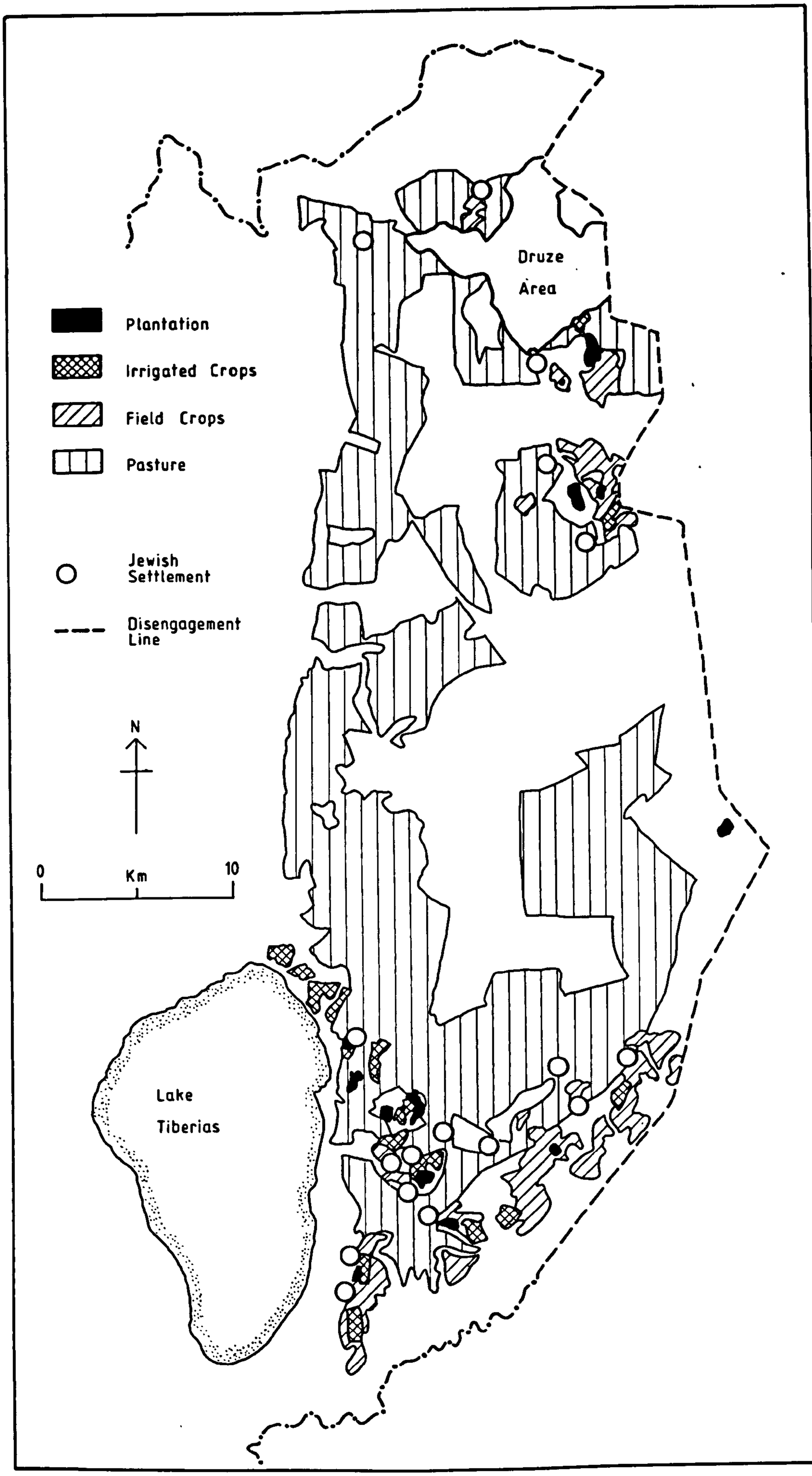

Druze
Area
Plantation
Irrigated Crops
Field Crops
Pasture
Jewish
Settlement
Disengagement
Line
N
0
Km
10
Lake
Tiberias

FIGURE 51

Figure 51

The October 1973 War on the Syrian Front : Maximum Syrian Penetration into Israeli held territory (October 6-8) and Area captured in Israeli Counter-Offensive (October 11-22).

Sources:

Herzog, H. The War of Atonement
Pp.102-103, 131.

United Nations - Report of the Secretary-General concerning the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces, S/11302 Add. 3.(New York, 1974).

Golan. Israel Ministry of Education and Culture Map-Pamphlet, 1976 (in Hebrew)

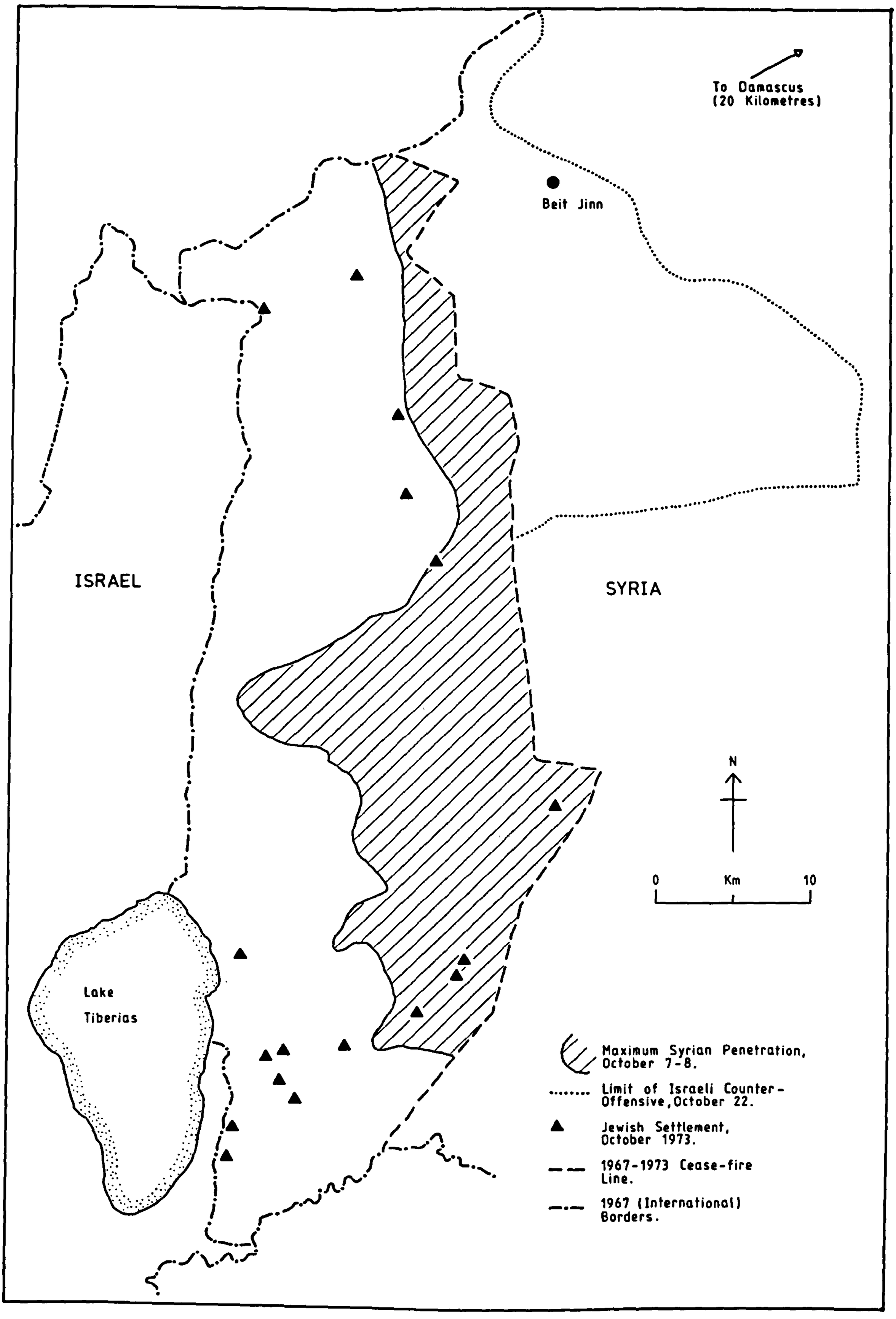

To Damascus
(20 Kilometres)
Beit Jinn
ISRAEL
SYRIA
Lake
Tiberias
N
0
Km
10
Maximum Syrian Penetration, October 7-8.
Limit of Israeli Counter-Offensive, October 22.
Jewish Settlement, October 1973.
1967-1973 Cease-fire Line.
1967 (International) Borders.

FIGURE 52

Figure 52

July 1973 Plan : Proposed settlement structure in the Central Golan, 1973-1977.

Source:

Ramat ha Golan : Tokhnit Pituah Kolelet la Tqufa 1973-1977 (Settlement Dept., 1973)

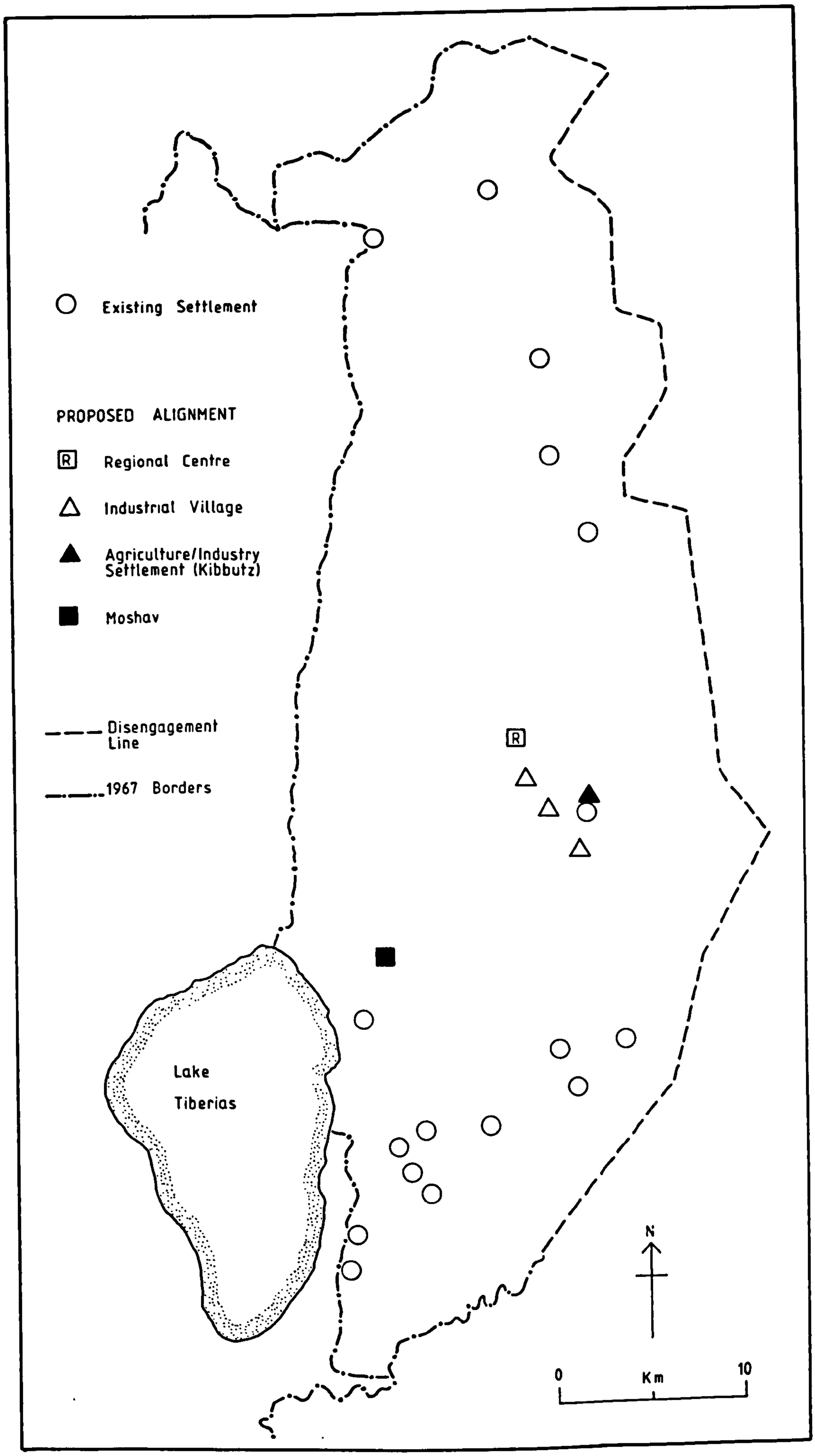

Existing Settlement
PROPOSED ALIGNMENT
R
Regional Centre
Industrial Village
Agriculture/Industry Settlement (Kibbutz)
Moshav
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Lake Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

FIGURE 53

Figure 53

April 1975 Plan : Proposed settlement structure in the Central Golan, 1975-1980.

Source:

Hatza'at Tokhnit le Hityashvut ba Golan ha Tikhon (Settlement Dept., 1975)

See also Table 7:7

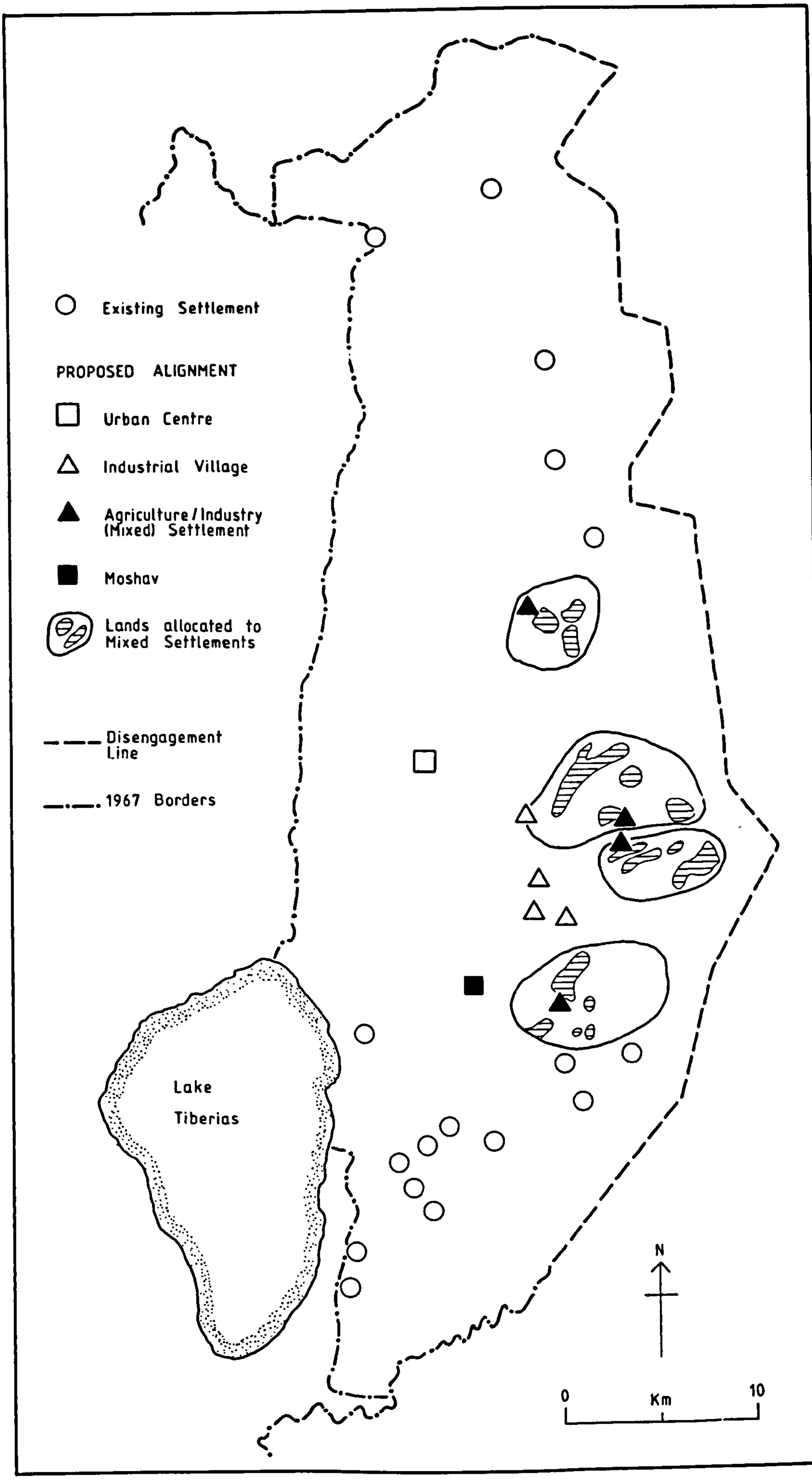

Existing Settlement
PROPOSED ALIGNMENT
Urban Centre
Industrial Village
Agriculture/Industry (Mixed) Settlement
Moshav
Lands allocated to Mixed Settlements
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Lake Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

FIGURE 54

Figure 54

Israeli Settlement Policy on the Golan Heights, 1974 : Influences and Action.

Sources:

As for Chapter 7, Pp.215-236.

See also figures 32, 33.

E X T E R N A L

R E A L I T I E S

Available Resources
Severe economic difficulties after war. Inflation/Devaluation

Activities of Israel's Neighbours
October 1973 Arab attacks, Syrian attrition war on Golan, Oil power exerted via West.

Domestic Forces

Public conflict

Settler lobby G.S.C. demonstrations and beginnings of Gush Emunim.

V

War weariness, critical questioning of pre-war policies, including settlement.

Super-power factor
Very heavy U.S. pressure to make concessions, close U.S. interest in Syrian front.

Golan Environment
Strategic importance of maintaining watershed line + volcanic hills. Presence of settlements found useful as diplomatic lever→ perceived value enhanced.

Historic Context
Israeli suspicion of outside world, legacy of European experience, reinforced after October War.

GOVERNMENT IMAGES

Intense suspicion of Syria, feeling war had demonstrated buffers, settlements, defence lines more important than ever→ determination to intensify settlement but recognition of need for breathing space, need not to offend American when wanting increased economic and military aid.

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Qeshet Unofficial settlement bid.

Hard-Line Pressures
Exerted within Govt. factions as well as from outside

(1) Maximalist opposition forces (Likud) strengthened in 1973 Knesset elections.
(2) Settler lobbies - intense effort helped preserve existing structure but insufficient political weight to push beyond this.

Cabinet

Majority of Labour leadership - belief in colonization reinforced but recognition international realities not propitious.

Minimalist influence enhanced with Ofer as Housing Minister

Balance in Cabinet favouring tactical delay in Golan settlement intensification

Pressures from Left
Exerted within Govt. factions as well as from outside

War weariness, trauma from 1st days of near-defeat. → intense questioning of old dogmas resettlements as defence lines, viability of security buffers.

ACTION

(1) Buying time - Disengagement success - Quneitra given up but all Golan strategic essentials preserved.
(2) Programme to consolidate and fortify existing settlements but new settlement projects deferred.
(3) Readiness to intensify settlement as soon as international environment easier.

FIGURE 55

Figure 55

Israeli Settlement Policy on the Golan Heights, November 1975 - January 1976 : Influences and Action.

Sources:

As for Chapter 7, Pp.215-236.

See also figures 32, 33.

EXTERNAL REALITIES

Available Resources
Economic difficulties continuing - but impact cushioned by U.S. aid input.

Activities of Israel's Neighbours
Attack from Syria on Ramat Magshamim, Syrian/Palestinian success at U.N.

Super-power factor
U.S. attention being diverted - Presidential elections, with need to pacify Jewish lobby + onset of Lebanon Civil War + withdrawal of Oil weapon reducing pressure on U.S. to act.

Domestic Forces

Hard-Line gaining

Settler lobby strengthening. 1½ years practise. Gush Emunion fully formed.

War trauma diminishing
Public opinion swinging back to territory retention + support for settlement.

Historic Context
Suspicion of outside world unchanged.

Golan Environment
Strategic factors + perceived usefulness of settlement unchanged.

GOVERNMENT IMAGES

Suspicion of Syria continued, feeling war vindicated settlement unchanged → determination to intensify settlement continued - Now with U.S. attention waning + U.S. hold lessening with completion of initial re-armament + determination not to let economy stand against colonization + Syrian provocation → chance seen to implement expansion

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Yonatan unofficial settlement bid.

Hard-Line Pressures
Growing with Labour's loss of direction under Rabin
(1) Strong criticism of lack of action re settlement from N.R.P. (within Govt.) and Likud (opposition).
(2) Settler lobbies gaining in power with increased public support, both within Govt. factions and outside.

Cabinet

Whole leadership infuriated by Syrian moves - perceived need for settlement response.

Minimalism overriden

Pressures from Left
Weakening as war receding into past.

Input from Institutions
Settlement Dept. plans for major Central Golan development at advanced stage.

Easier international environment, advanced planning available → inclination to make decisive move.

ACTION

Go-ahead for settlement intensification

(1) Determined effort at Qatzrin Jan, 1976.

(2) 4 village settlements authorized for Central Golan.

F I G U R E 56

Figure 56

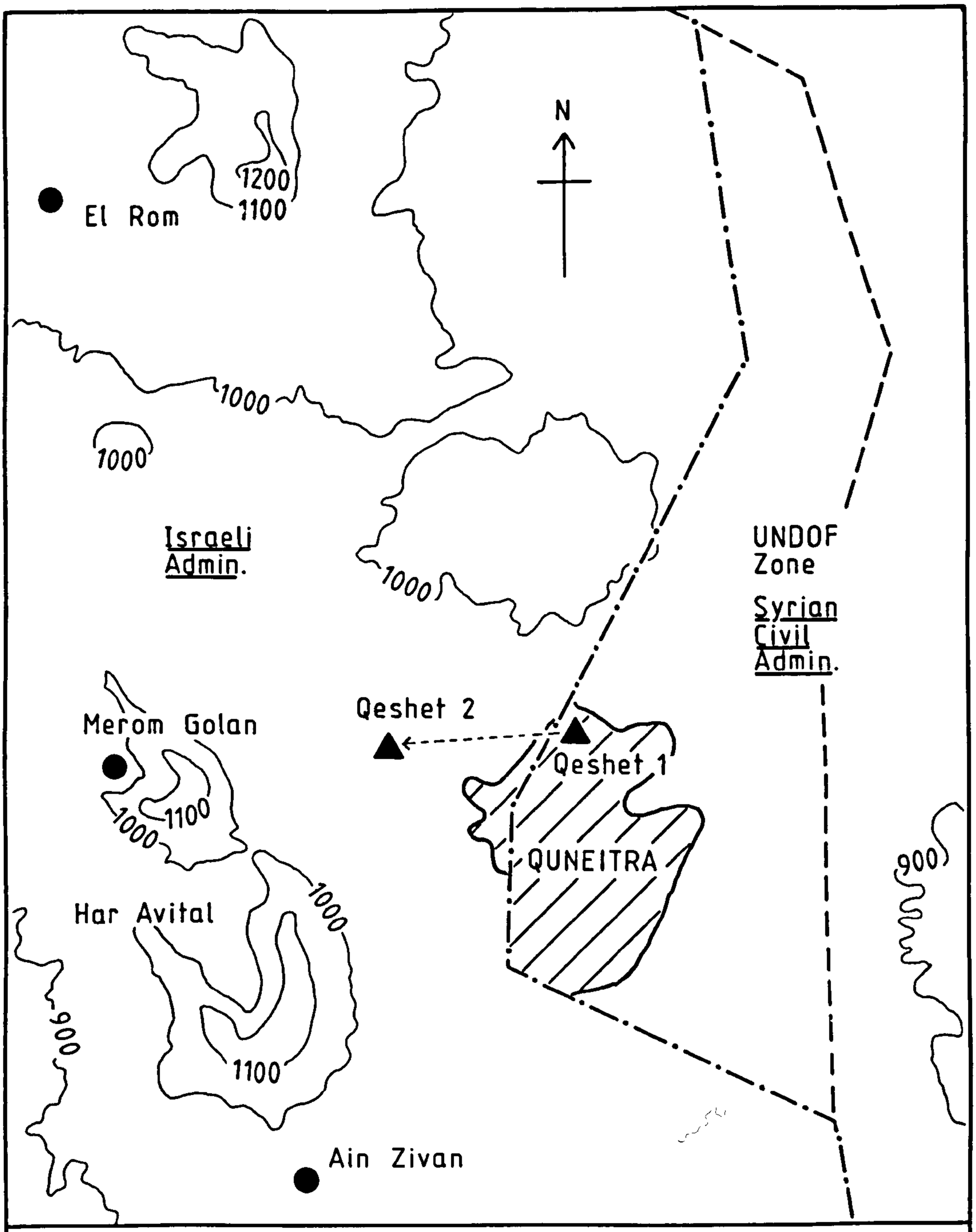
Quneitra Area : Qeshet and the Disengagement Agreement, May-June 1974.

Sources:

Survey of Israel 1:50,000 map series
Sheet II - 2 East, Merom Golan (Aug.1977)
Sheet IV - 2 East, Zivan (Nov. 1967)

United Nations - Report of the Secretary-General concerning the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces, S/11302 and Add. 1, 2, 3 (New York, 1974).

Also see Appendix VIII (Qeshet), figure 49.


El Rom
1200
1100
1000
1000
1000
Israeli Admin.
N
UNDOF Zone
Syrian Civil Admin.
Qeshet 2
Qeshet 1
Merom Golan
1000
1100
QUNEITRA
900
Har Avital
1000
1100
900
Ain Zivan
—1000— Contour (metres-100 metre intervals)
_ _ _ _ 1967-1973 Cease-fire Line
—.—.— 1974 Separation of Forces Zone Border
Jewish Settlement
Quneitra
0 Km 2

F I G U R E 57

Figure 57

Golan Heights Main Roads : Syrian Highways and Israeli Additions/Improvements, 1967-1978.

Sources:

Ramat ha Golan : Tokhnit Pituah Kolelet la Tqufa 1973-1977 (Settlement Dept., 1973) P4.

Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan-Matzai (Settlement Dept., 1974). Pp.23,25. figure 7.

Tokhnit Pituah he Golan - Tokhnit ha Pituah (Settlement Dept., 1975)

Survey of Israel 1:100,000 map series. Sheets 2 and 4 for 1966 and 1975.

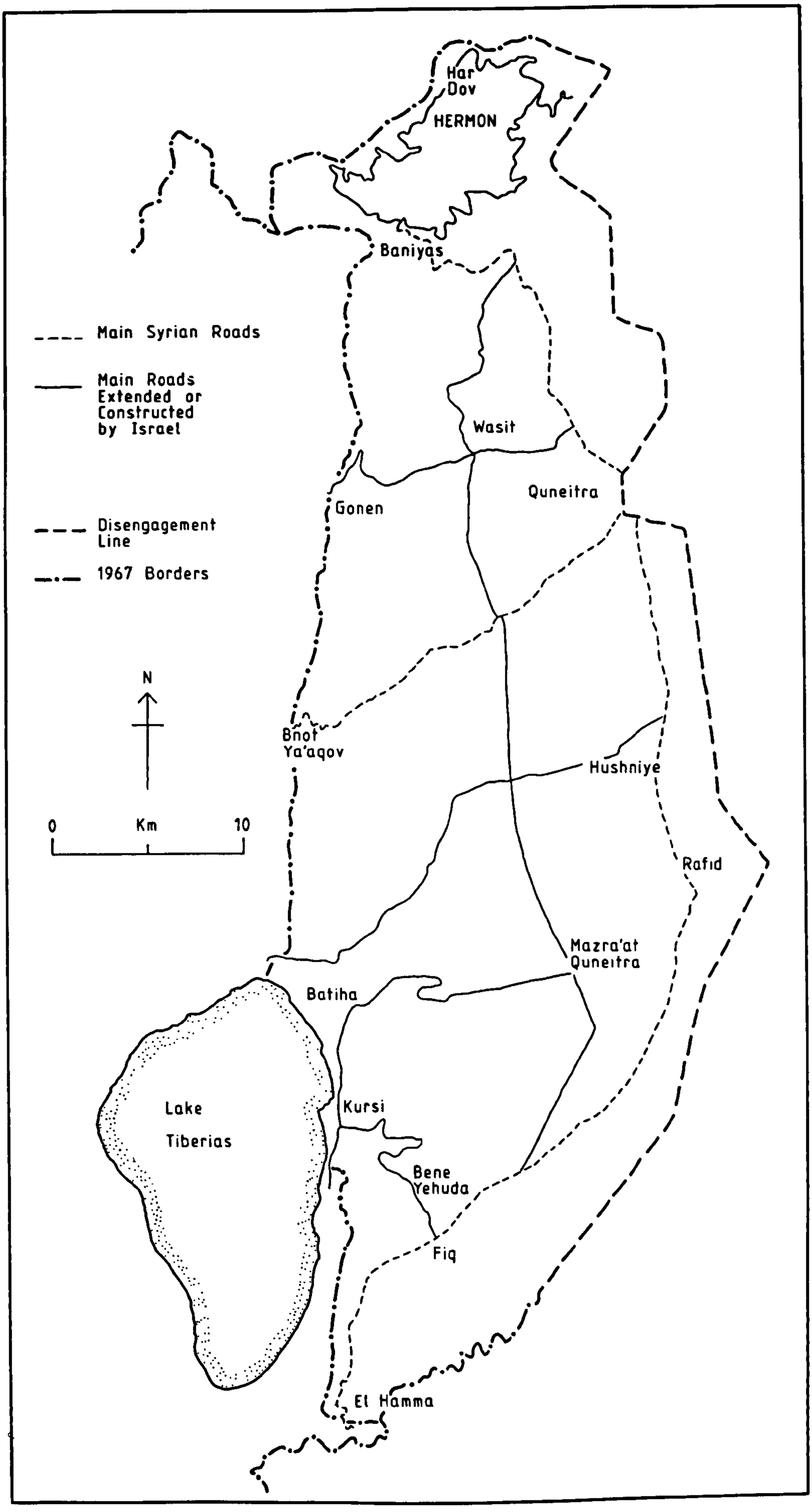

Har Dov
HERMON
Baniyas
Main Syrian Roads
Main Roads Extended or Constructed by Israel
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Wasit
Quneitra
Gonen
N
Bnot Ya'aqov
Hushniye
0 Km 10
Rafid
Mazra'at Quneitra
Batiha
Lake Tiberias
Kursi
Bene Yehuda
Fiq
El Hamma

FIGURE 58

Figure 58

Golan Heights : Expansion of the All-Weather Road Network, 1970-1975

Sources:

Survey of Israel 1:100,000 map series.
Sheets 2 and 4 for 1970, 1972 and 1975.

1970

1972

N

0 Km 15

Paved Road

Unpaved Road

Cease-fire Line
1967-1973
Disengagement
Line 1974+

1975

FIGURE 59

Figure 59

Golan Heights : Israeli Water Supply Systems, 1974

Source:

Tokhnit Pituah ha Golan-Matzai
(Settlement Dept., 1974).
Pp.25-28, figure 8.

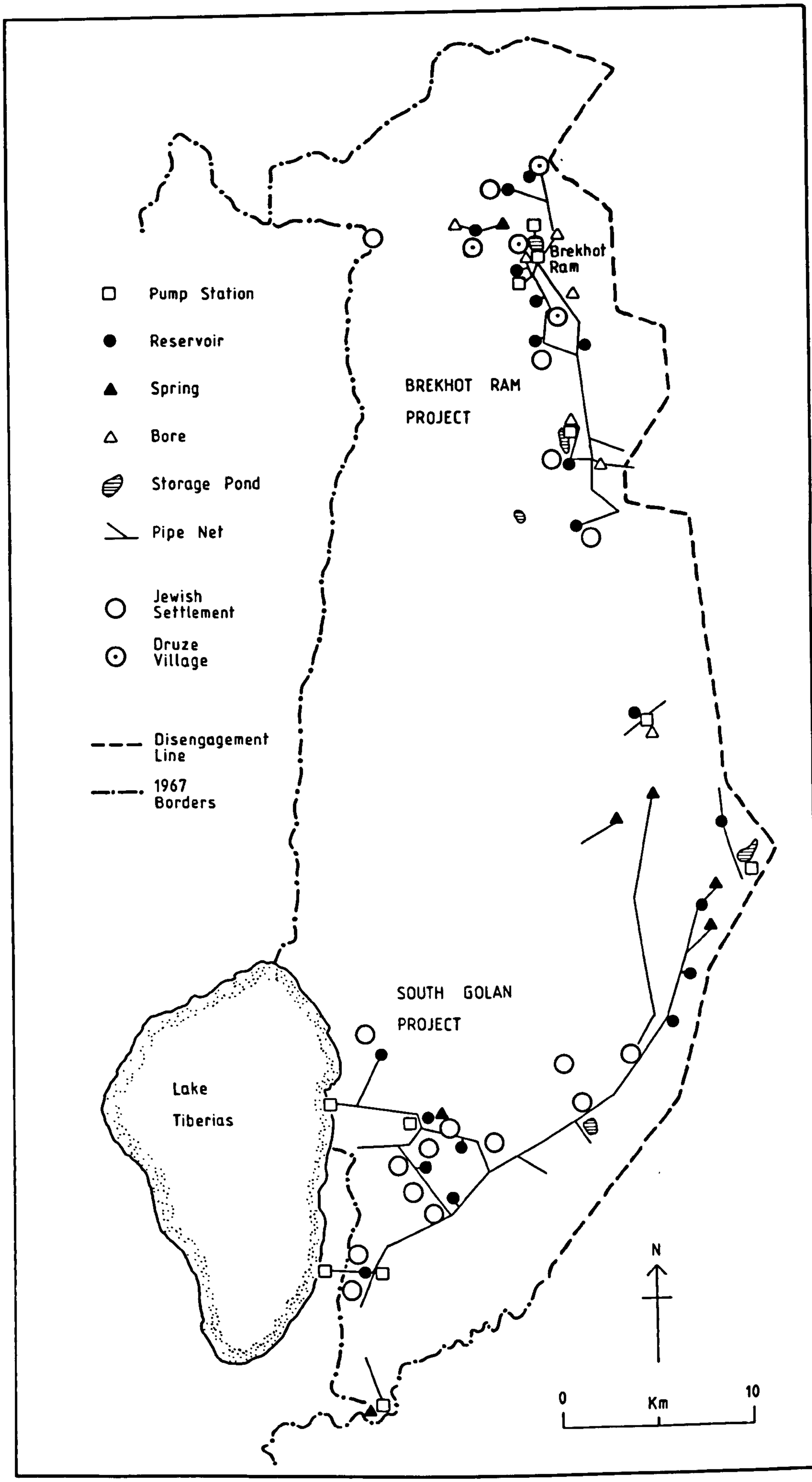

Pump Station
Reservoir
Spring
Bore
Storage Pond
Pipe Net
Jewish Settlement
Druze Village
Disengagement Line
1967 Borders
Brekhot Ram
BREKHOT RAM PROJECT
SOUTH GOLAN PROJECT
Lake Tiberias
N
0
Km
10

FIGURE 60

Figure 60

The Jordan Rift Security Strip (1975) and the Jewish Settlement Structure at the end of Labour rule (June 1977)

Settlements (ordered by date of foundation - table 8:1)

1. Qalia
2. Mehola
3. Argaman
4. Massua
5. Gilgal
6. Qiryat Arba'
7. Petzael
8. Mitzpe Shalem
9. Yitav (Na'aran)
10. Hamra
11. Beqa'ot
12. Gittit
13. Mekhora
14. Ma'ale Adumim
15. Netiv ha Gedud
16. Teqoa
17. Kokhav ha Shahar
18. Ro'i
19. Ma'ale Efraim
20. Mivsam
21. Giva't Adumma
22. Qalia B
23. Rimmonim
24. Tomer
25. Shlomit

Also showing Highland Arab villages located inside the Rift Strip and up to 5 kilometres to the west.

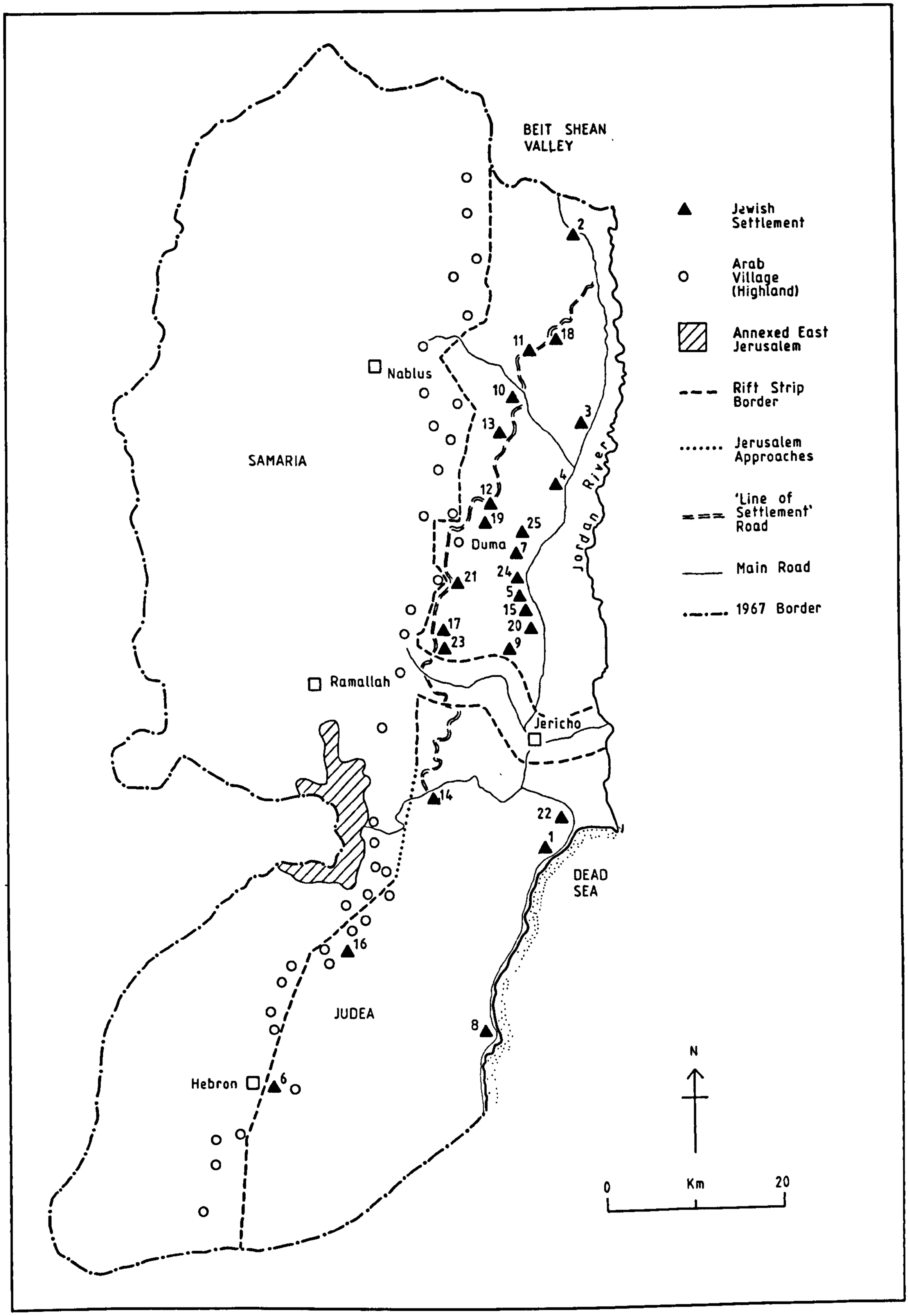
Sources:

Tokhnit Pituah Aizorit Kolelet - Aizor Biqa'at ha Yarden (Settlement Dept., 1975). Section 2:1.

Census of Population - West Bank of the Jordan, Gaza Strip and Northern Sinai, Golan Heights. Sept. 1967 (Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem). Vol.1 P.160.

Ha-aretz 10-6-68 P.1.

Also see Table 8:1, figure 38, Appendix VII.


BEIT SHEAN VALLEY
Nablus
SAMARIA
Duma
Ramallah
Jericho
JUDEA
Hebron
DEAD SEA
Jordan River
Jewish Settlement
Arab Village (Highland)
Annexed East Jerusalem
Rift Strip Border
Jerusalem Approaches
'Line of Settlement' Road
Main Road
1967 Border
N
0
Km
20

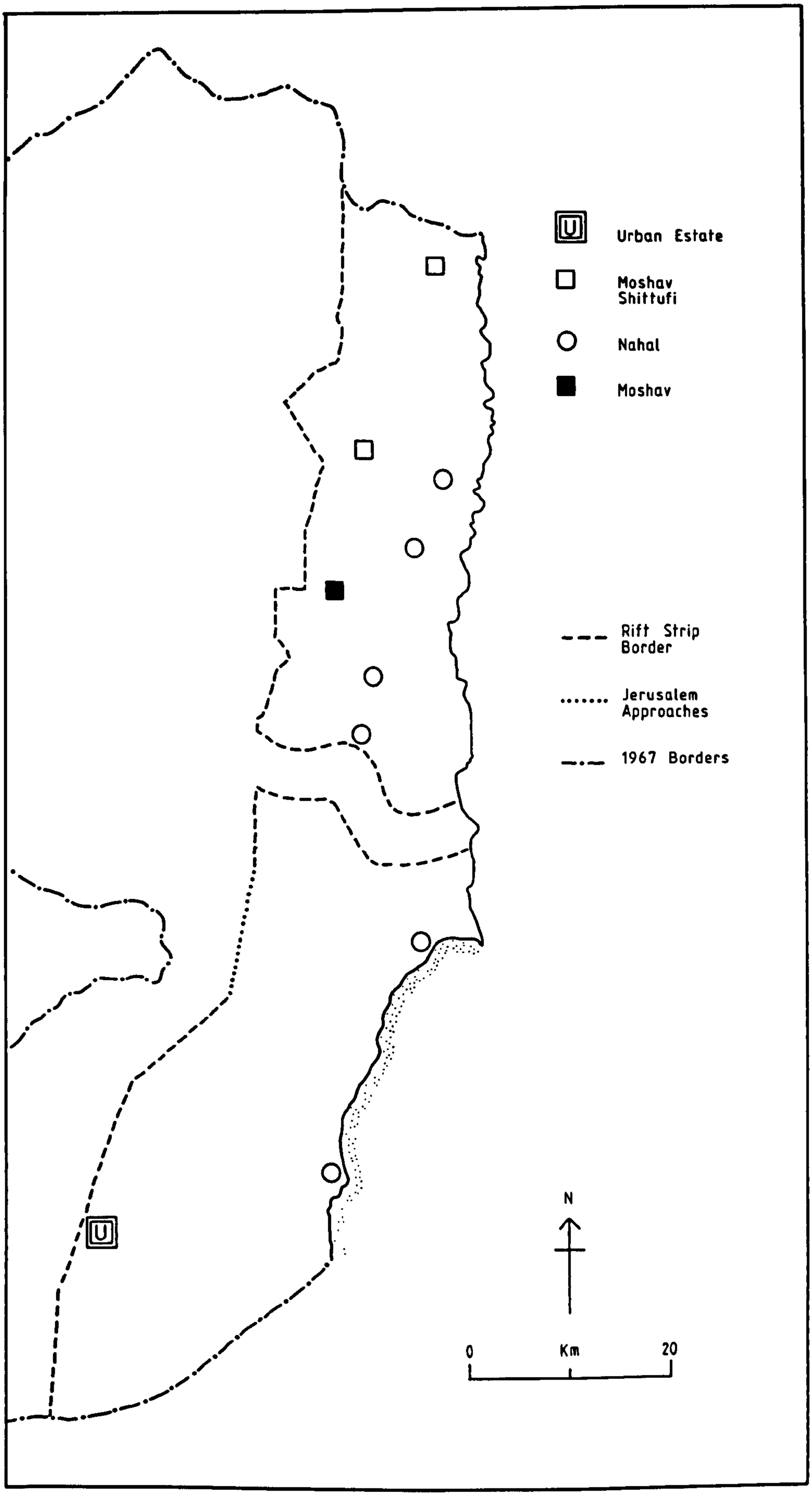
F I G U R E 61

Figure 61

Jordan Rift : Distribution of Jewish Settlements, June 1971.

Sources :

As for Table 8:1.


Urban Estate
Moshav Shittufi
Nahal
Moshav
Rift Strip Border
Jerusalem Approaches
1967 Borders
N
0
Km
20

F I G U R E 62

Figure 62

Jordan Rift : Distribution of Jewish Settlements, June 1975.

Sources:

As for Table 8:1.

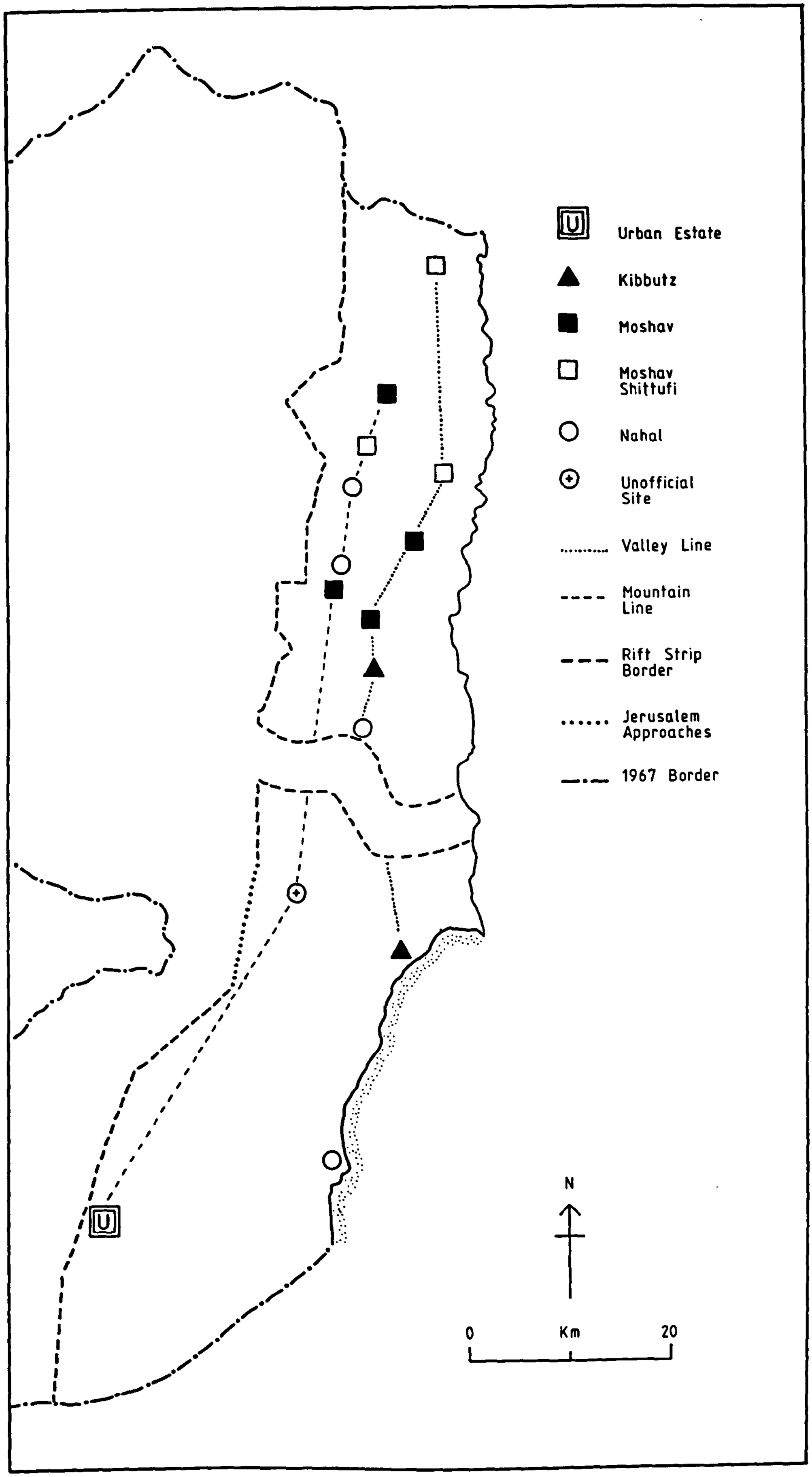

Urban Estate
Kibbutz
Moshav
Moshav Shittufi
Nahal
Unofficial Site
Valley Line
Mountain Line
Rift Strip Border
Jerusalem Approaches
1967 Border
N
0
Km
20

FIGURE 63

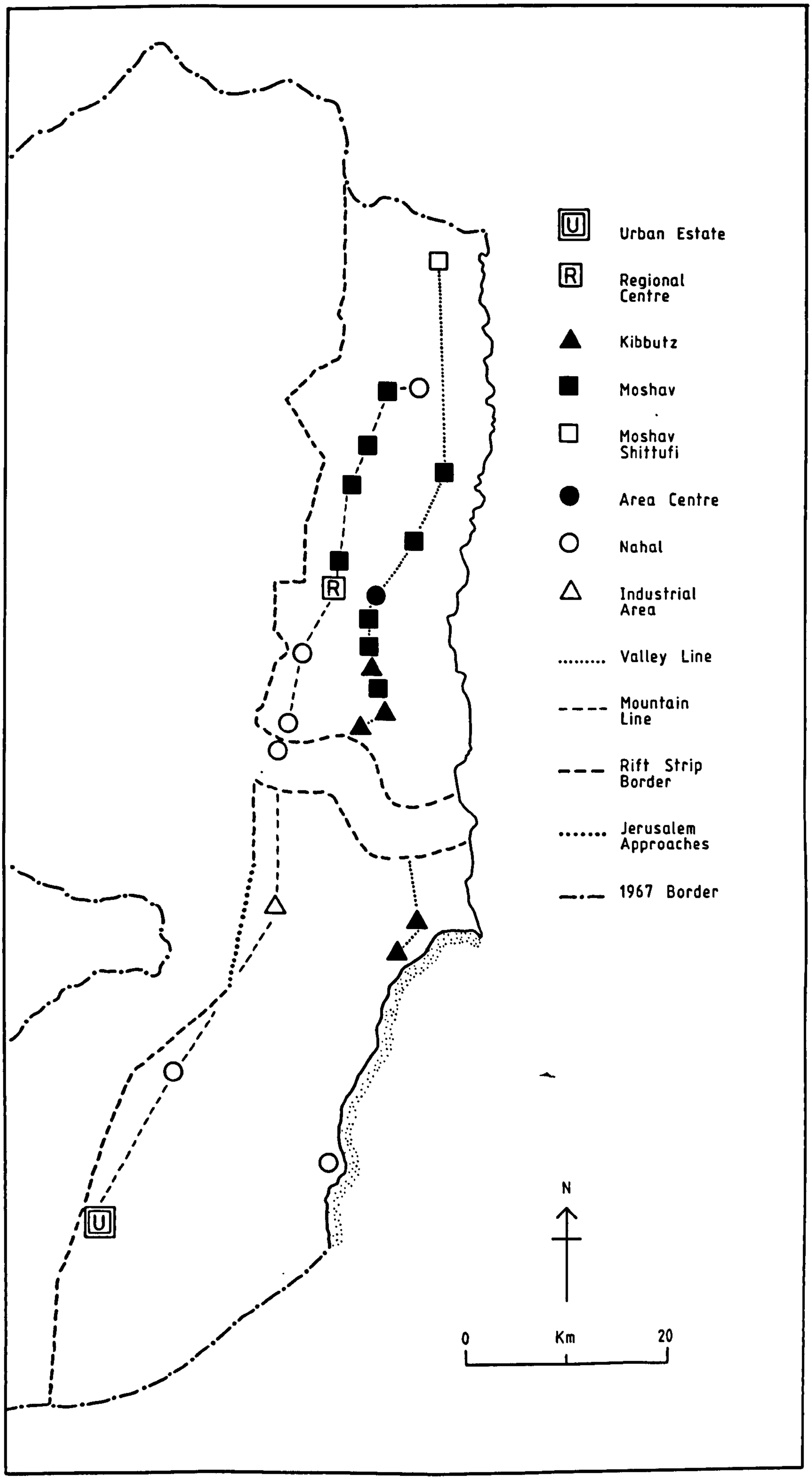
Figure 63

Jordan Rift : Distribution of Jewish Settlements, June 1977

Sources:

As for Table 8:1

Survey of Israel 1:50,000 map series
Sheets 6 III, IV. 9 I,II,III,IV.
12 I,II. Biqa'at ha Yarden
(Jordan Rift) group (November 1975
and January 1977).


U
Urban Estate
R
Regional Centre
Kibbutz
Moshav
Moshav Shittufi
Area Centre
Nahal
Industrial Area
Valley Line
Mountain Line
Rift Strip Border
Jerusalem Approaches
1967 Border
N
0
Km
20

F I G U R E 64

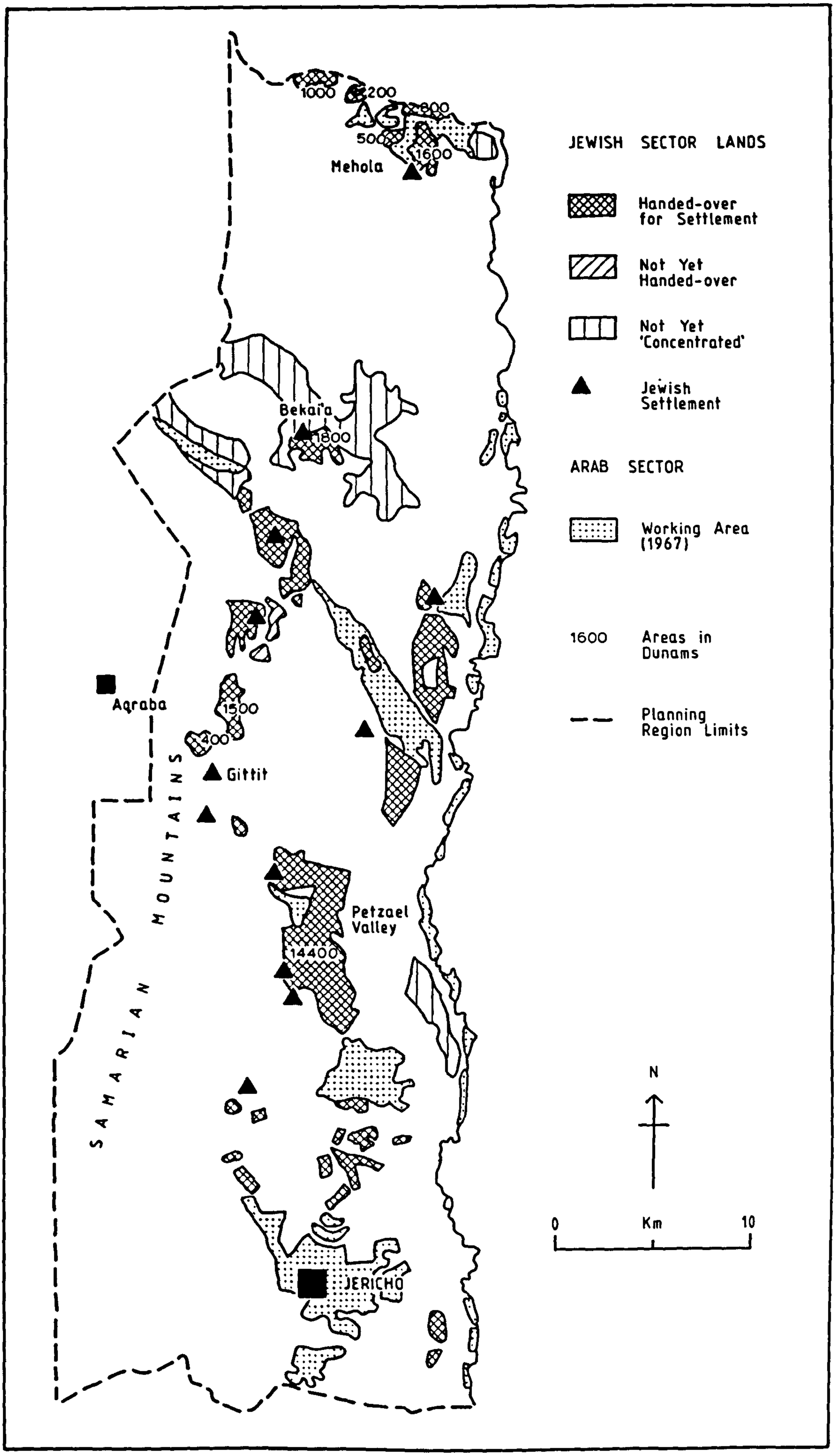
Figure 64

Land Conflict in the Jordan Rift Planning Region, Situation up to August 1975 : Lands acquired for Jewish settlement, Arab working areas (as defined by Israel), Examples of Arab private domain 'concentrated' for Jewish settlement (as mentioned in Chapter 8, P.267) with extent in dunams.

Sources :

Tokhnit Pituah Aizorit Kolelet - Aizor Biqa'at ha Yarden (Settlemant Dept., 1975). Section 2.6, table 20, figure 3.

Ha-aretz 24-1-73 P.12.


1000
200
800
500
1600
Mehola
Bekaʻa
1800
Aqraba
1500
400
Gittit
SAMARIAN MOUNTAINS
Petzael Valley
14400
JERICHO
JEWISH SECTOR LANDS
Handed-over for Settlement
Not Yet Handed-over
Not Yet 'Concentrated'
Jewish Settlement
ARAB SECTOR
Working Area (1967)
1600 Areas in Dunams
Planning Region Limits
N
0 Km 10

F I G U R E 65

Figure 65

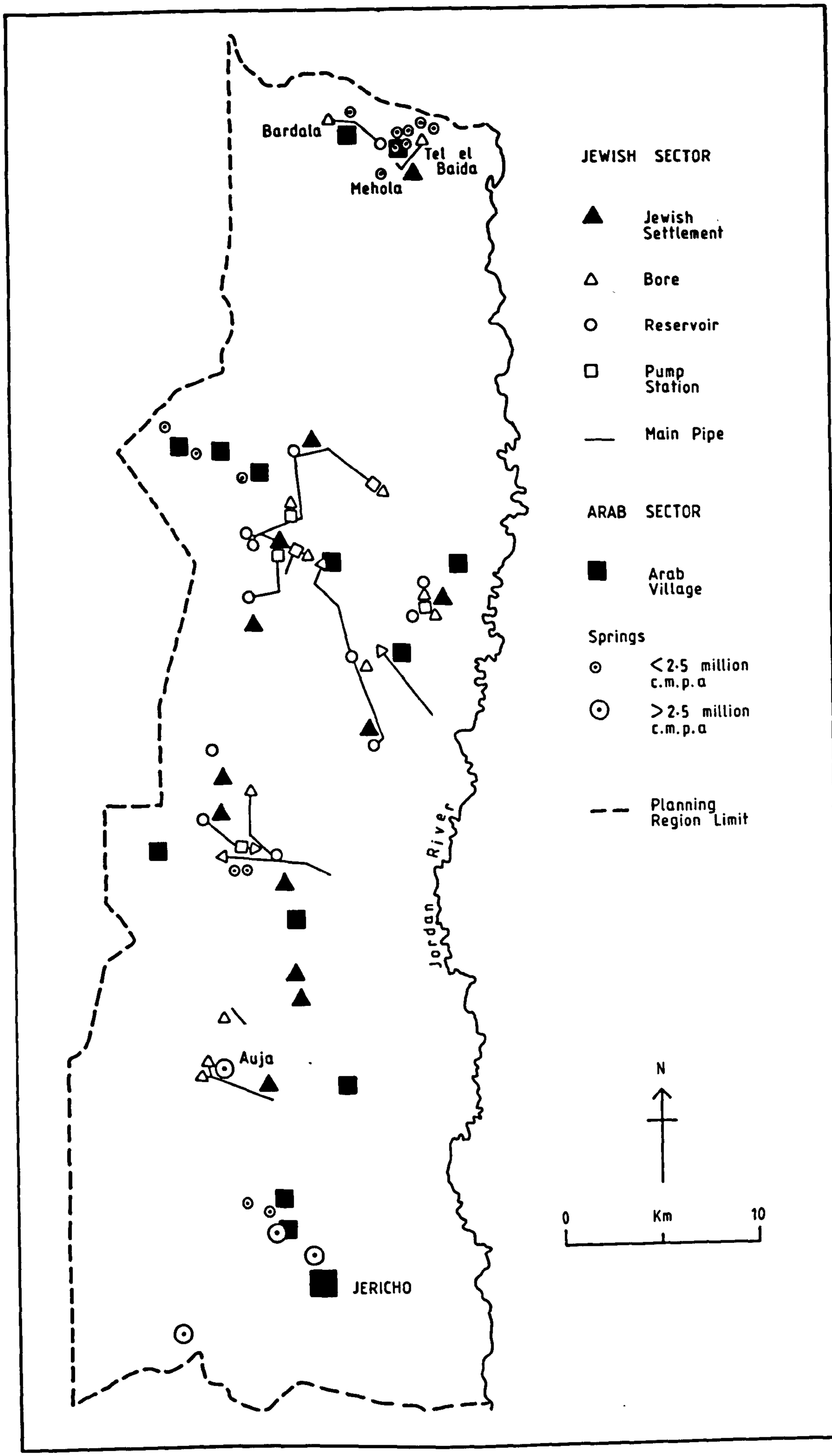
Water Supply Conflict in the Jordan Rift Planning Region, Situation in August 1975 : Supply system for Jewish settlements, Distribution of Arab springs.

Sources :

Tokhnit Pituah Aizorit Kolelet - Aizor Biqa'at ha Yarden (Settlement Dept., 1975). Figure 3.

Zamonski, E. Ha Aravim be Biqa'at ha Yarden - Yishuvim ve Haqlaut (The Arabs in the Jordan Rift - Settlements and Agriculture) in Shmueli, Grossman and Zeevy Yehuda ve Shomron, P.607.

Tokhnit Av le Haspaqat Maim ba Biqa'at ha Yarden (Shetahim Mshuhrarim) (Settlement Dept., 1974).


Bardala
Tel el Baida
Mehola
Auja
JERICHO
Jordan River
JEWISH SECTOR
Jewish Settlement
Bore
Reservoir
Pump Station
Main Pipe
ARAB SECTOR
Arab Village
Springs
< 2·5 million c.m.p.a
> 2·5 million c.m.p.a
Planning Region Limit
N
0
Km
10

F I G U R E 66

Figure 66

Jordan Rift : Economic Development Zones for Jewish Settlement, mid 1970's.

Sources:

Tokhnit Pituah Aizorit Kolelet - Aizor Biqa'at ha Yarden (Settlement Dept.,1975).

Marqovski, N. 'Ha Hityashvut ha Yehudit ba Biqa'at ha Yarden' (Jewish Settlement in the Jordan Rift) in Shmueli, Grossman and Zeevy Yehuda ve Shomron, P.631 and 633.

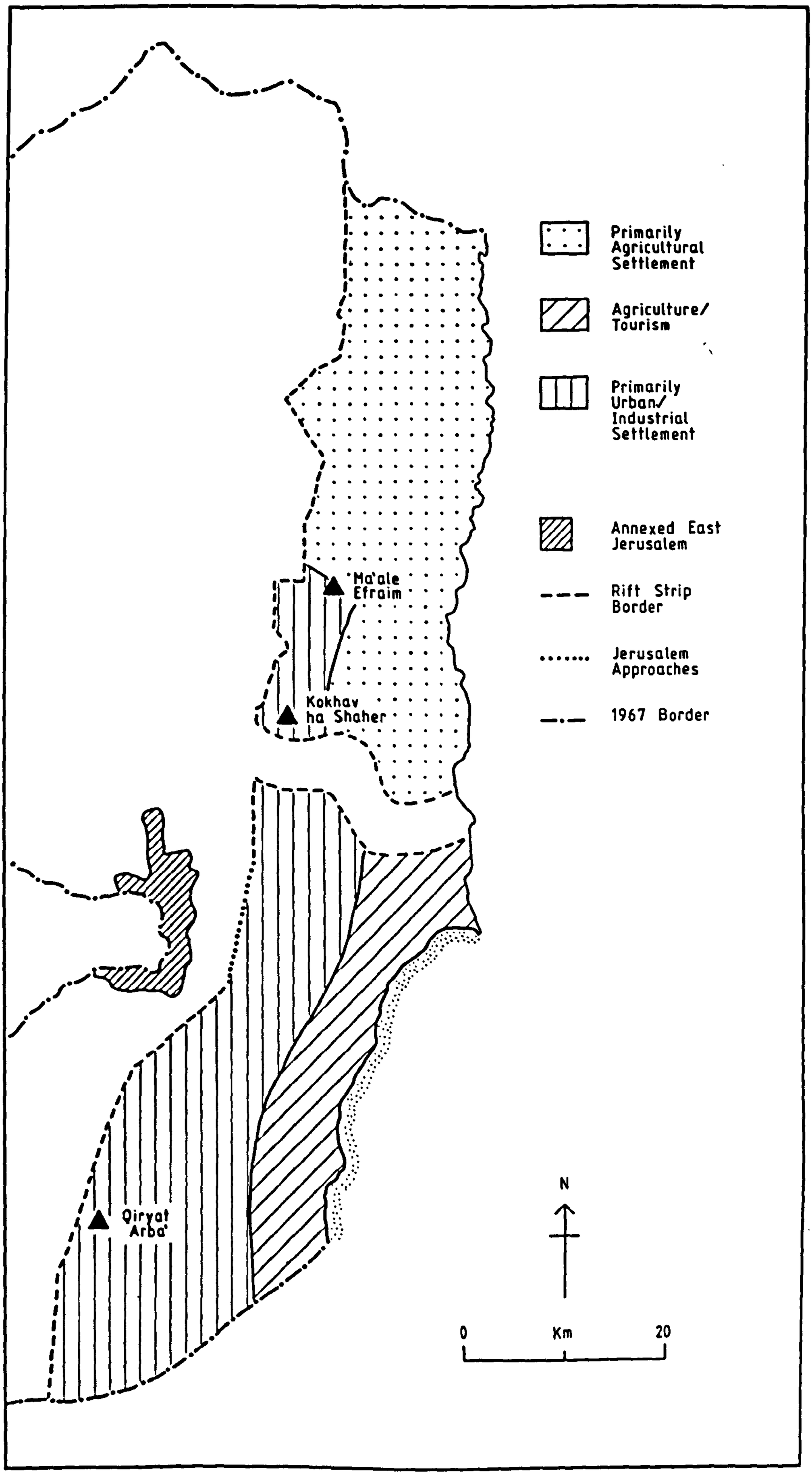

Primarily Agricultural Settlement
Agriculture/ Tourism
Primarily Urban/ Industrial Settlement
Annexed East Jerusalem
Rift Strip Border
Jerusalem Approaches
1967 Border
Ma'ale Efraim
Kokhav ha Shaher
Qiryat Arba'
N
0
Km
20

FIGURE 67

Figure 67

Rabin Government : Influences and Action in Israeli Settlement Policy, 1975-1977.

Sources :

As for Chapter 9, Pp.283-295.

See also figures 32, 33, 54, 55.

Available resources
Severely constrained. Immigration decline. Lack of people put low ceiling on realization of accelerated colonization.

Activities of Israel's Neighbours
Gains by P.L.O. at Rabat U.N. - campaign to isolate Israel.

Domestic forces
Public opinion highly receptive to hard-line. Rise of Gush Emunim → more organized domestic pressure on Govt. to accelerate settlement.

Super-power factor
August 1975 - immediate Middle East problems solved from U.S. standpoint. U.S. diverted by Pres. election campaign, other foreign policy issues.

Historic context
Holocaust legacy + distrust of outside world reinforced by October War → perception Israel's only security in own actions.

Occupied terr. environment
Importance of buffers seen confirmed in Oct. 1973. Redoubled anchoring action seen necessary in face of Arab pop. growth.

GOVERNMENT IMAGES

More militant than before Oct. War. Cabinet balance more favourable to proponents of vigorous colonization. Need for reaction to Arab diplomatic moves. U.S. restraint seen as slipping.

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Hard-Line Reinforced

(1) Govt. factions - NRP subverted by Gush Emunim, Rafi hard-line influence in Labour stronger with Peres as Defence Minister.

(2) Opposition - Likud stronger after 1973 elections.

Institutional Input
Ambitious planning from bureaucracy - urban estates around Jerusalem, Yamit upgraded.

Cabinet

Strong pressure from hard-line Allon/Galili favouring faster implementation of their ideas.

Opposition to acceleration weakening

Sapping of Minimalism

(1) Sapir, Eban leave Cabinet.

(2) Ofer's resistance overruled 1976, suicide 1977.

(3) Mapam more disposed to limited settlement.

Late 1975 - international factors no longer a constraint. Move to take advan. of available time.

Gush Emunim demonstrations, mobilization of sympathizers, unofficial settlement.

Action at
Ofra,
Qaddum
Ma'ale Adumim
Mesha

ACTION

(1) Acceleration in Official settlement in security belts, 1975 - 77. Extension to west Samaria foothills.

(2) Failure to reverse Gush Emunim penetration of Central Samaria

(3) But Resource constraints - mid 1977 structure still severely limited in size.

F I G U R E 68

Figure 68

Begin Government : Influences and Action in Israeli Settlement Policy, June 1977-October 1978.

Built up from 1977-78 newspaper extracts from:

Ha-aretz	(Tel Aviv)
Ma'ariv	(Tel Aviv)
Davar	(Tel Aviv)
Jerusalem Post	(Jerusalem)
Der Spiegel	(Hanover)
Die Welt	(Hamburg)
The Financial Times	(London)
The Times	(London)
The Sunday Times	(London)
The Guardian	(Manchester)

Main Israeli Press reports as quoted in Chapter 9 footnotes (source, date, page)

N.B.

poss. = possibility.

Domestic Forces

Contradiction :
Reaction to chance for Egypt peace - 'Peace Now' leads public surge questioning hard-line colonization V Religio-nationalist focus on Samaria strengthens with 1977 Govt. backing.

Available Resources

Severely constrained. Manpower shortage 'achilles heel' of colonization.

Activities of Israel's Neighbours

Sadat peace initiative International eye on Israel response. Brings external & domestic pressure V settlement activity.

Super-power factor

Renewed U.S. attention interacts with Sadat ▷ Camp David.
Heavy Carter pressure V settlement.

Occupied terr. environment

Strategic perception shifts in Sinai with chance of Egypt peace.
Religio-nationalist mysticism ▷ focus on West Bank

Historic Context

Perception of Arab Hostility shaken re Egypt but otherwise still distrust fed by history

GOVERNMENT IMAGES

Likud in power - Greater Israel nationalism stronger but Sadat initiative brings change, conflict within coalition factions -

Extend Colonization enthusiasts (Sharon) V Rising pragmatic outlook in response to Sadat (Weitzman) Need for caution, compromise.

Intensified Gush Emunim activism

POLITICAL SYSTEM

'Fundamentalist' Forces

P.M. - right of Jews to live anywhere in Western Eretz Yisrael. Sharon impetus for extended West Bank settlement (support by much of NRP, Herut, La'am)

Cabinet

Begin/Dayan Strategy Geog & Ideological inversion of Labour, poss. of 'selling off' Sinai (even part Golan) to cement Judea - Samaria fundamentals

'Pragmatic' Forces

(1) Dayan-Sinai/Golan settlements saleable
(2) Weitzman-West Bank 'freeze' for negotiations
(3) Liberals - Economic fears
(4) Labour Opposition - unhappy about shift security belts to bible belts.

ACTION

Two Dimensions

(1) Poss. of Syrian peace seen as zero, Golan reinforcement continued
(2) Penetration of populated Samaria strengthens

but

(3) Activity on West Bank 'stop go' with American, Sadat, Weitzman pressures
(4) Camp David - decision to abandon Sinai settlements
(5) Resource constraint - Samaria presence flimsy, inability to expand in all areas, town plans not practical

FIGURE 69

Figure 69

Gush Emunim Settlement Foundations on the West Bank 1975-1978.
Rabin Government June 1974-May 1977
Begin Government June 1977-May 1978

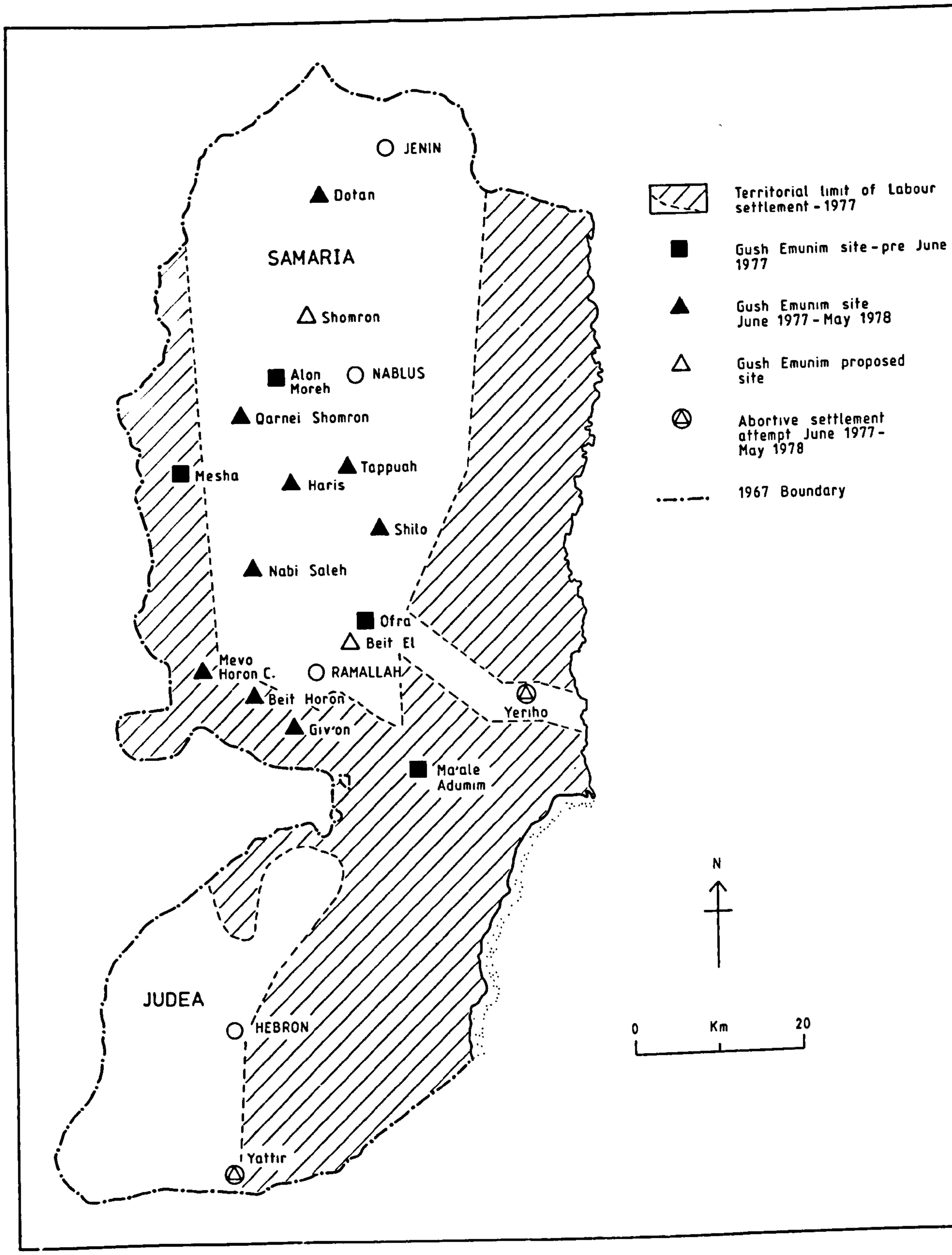
Sources :

Ha-aretz 6-12-77 P.9 Map of Gush Emunim sites
" 10-5-78 P.14 Shilo article with map

Ma'ariv 10-1-78 P.3.

Field Research, Feb. 1978

Survey of Israel 1:50,000 map series
Sheet II - 11 Jerusalem (Oct. 1976)
Sheet IV - 8 Ramallah (May 1974)
Sheet II - 8 Salfit (July 1976)
Sheet IV - 5 Shkhem (Feb. 1976)


JENIN
Dotan
SAMARIA
Shomron
Alon Moreh
NABLUS
Qarnei Shomron
Mesha
Tappuah
Haris
Shilo
Nabi Saleh
Ofra
Beit El
Mevo Horon C.
RAMALLAH
Beit Horon
Giv'on
Yeriho
Ma'ale Adumim
JUDEA
HEBRON
Yattir
Territorial limit of Labour settlement - 1977
Gush Emunim site - pre June 1977
Gush Emunim site June 1977 - May 1978
Gush Emunim proposed site
Abortive settlement attempt June 1977 - May 1978
1967 Boundary
N
0
Km
20

F I G U R E 70

Figure 70

Rafiah Approaches (North Sinai) - Gaza Strip :
Israeli Settlement Distribution, December 1977

Settlements (with year of establishment)

1.	Nahal Ntzarim	(1972)
2.	Kfar Darom	(1970)
3.	Nahal Qatif	(1973)
4.	Netzer Hazani	(1977)
5.	Qatif B.	(projected 1978)
6.	Nahal Morag	(1972)
7.	Sufa	(1974)
8.	Nahal Holit	(1977)
9.	Avshalom	(1973)
10.	Sadot	(1971)
11.	Ntiv ha-Asara	(1973)
12.	Priel	(projected 1978)
13.	Nir Avraham	(1977)
14.	Ugda	(1975)
15.	Talmei Yosef	(projected 1978)
16.	Sadot H.	
17.	Sadot J	
18.	Sadot I	
19.	Diqla	(1969)
20.	Nahal Haruvit	(1975)
21.	Neot Sinai	(1967)

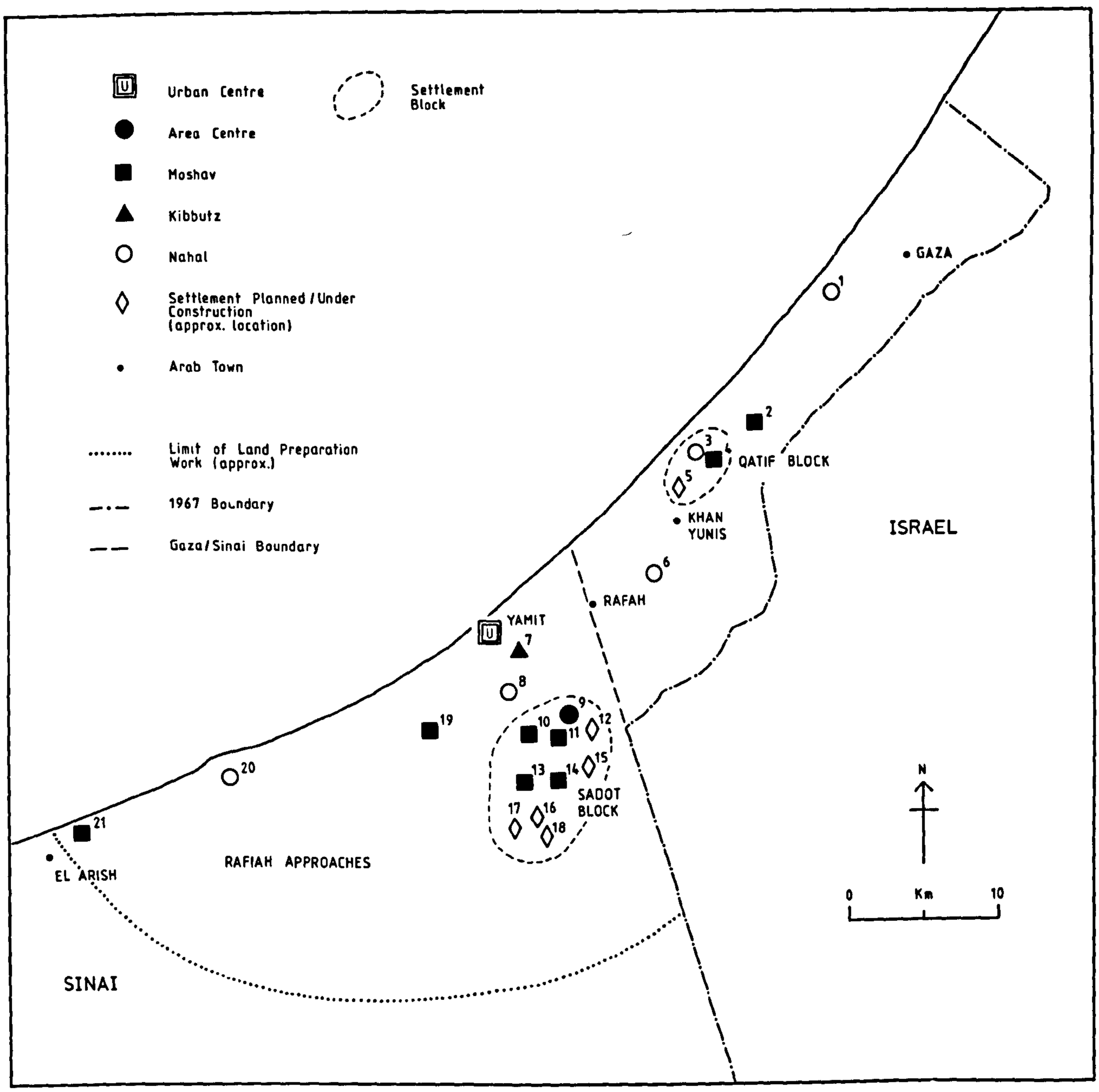
Sources :

Ma'ariv 11-1-78 P.17

Tour of the Zionist Congress Delegates, 23 Feb. 1978 (Settlement Dept., Jerusalem) Pp.47-56.

Bier, A. Heahazuiot ve Hitnahaluiot, 1976.

Survey of Israel 1:100,000 map series Sheet 13 (Yamit), 1976.


Urban Centre
Settlement Block
Area Centre
Moshav
Kibbutz
Nahal
Settlement Planned / Under Construction (approx. location)
Arab Town
Limit of Land Preparation Work (approx.)
1967 Boundary
Gaza/Sinai Boundary
GAZA
QATIF BLOCK
KHAN YUNIS
ISRAEL
RAFAH
YAMIT
SADOT BLOCK
RAFIAH APPROACHES
EL ARISH
SINAI
N
0
Km
10

F I G U R E 71

Figure 71

Implications of the June 1967 War for Settlement Patterns in the Occupied Territories : Measures of Demographic Change.

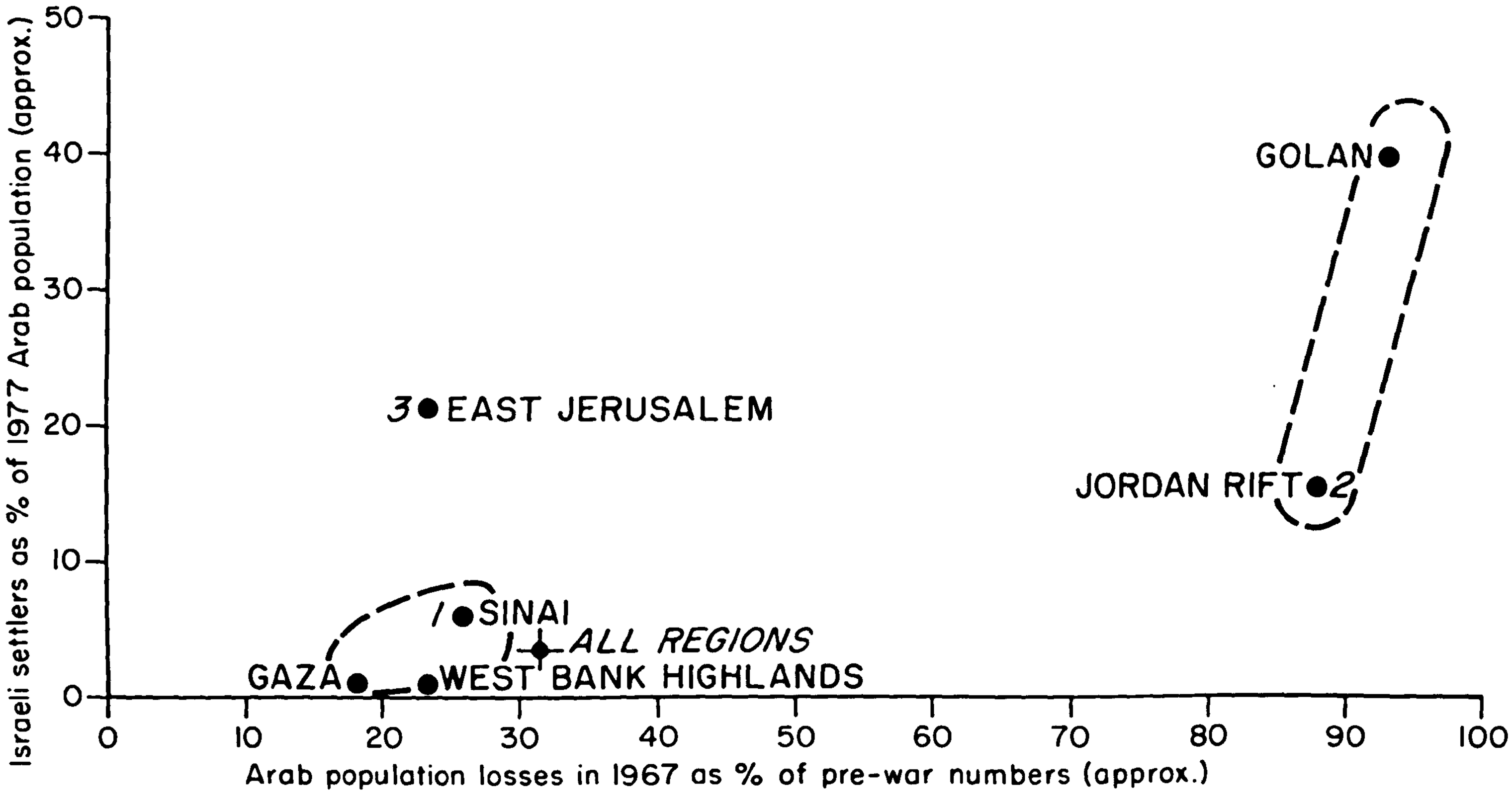
1. Includes Rafiah salient

2. Includes Qiryat Arba', Jericho

3. Annexed area

Sources:

As for Tables 2:1, 9:2


Israeli settlers as % of 1977 Arab population (approx.)
50
40
30
20
10
0
GOLAN
JORDAN RIFT 2
3 EAST JERUSALEM
1 SINAI
ALL REGIONS
GAZA
WEST BANK HIGHLANDS
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Arab population losses in 1967 as % of pre-war numbers (approx.)

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

I would like to thank Mr. Derek Hudspeth for photographic reduction of my maps and diagrams and the Drawing office of the Geography Dept., University of Durham, for the loan of equipment.