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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

23 October 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: See Attached Distribution

FROM:

[Redacted]

Chief, Geographic Issues Division,  
Office of Global Issues

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SUBJECT:

Israeli Settlement Activity on the Golan Heights under  
the National Unity Government [Redacted]

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1. The attached report reviews the pace at which settlements are being built and populated on the Golan Heights under Israel's National Unity Government.

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[Redacted]

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2. This report was prepared by [Redacted] our Near East-Africa Branch. Questions or comments are welcome and may be referred directly to the author or his branch chief, [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Attachment:

Golan Heights: Settlement Construction Under the National Unity Government

GI M 86-20245, October 1986, [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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SUBJECT: Israeli Settlement Activity on the Golan Heights: Settlement  
Construction Under the National Unity Government

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OGI/GD/NE/ [redacted] (23Oct86)

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Washington, D.C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

23 October 1986

Golan Heights: Settlement Construction Under  
the National Unity Government

SUMMARY

As a result of a combination of economic, political, and strategic considerations, since the National Unity Government came to power in September 1984 the pace of construction in Israel's settlements on the Golan Heights has slowed from that set during the last two years of the Likud government. Though new construction still continues, [redacted]

[redacted] Israel began work on 274 buildings in Golan settlements since September 1984 compared to 345 during the two previous years. During the same two-year period, approximately 1200 new settlers moved into the settlements compared to 1600 in the earlier period. In addition, Israel established one new settlement but dismantled two others. In our judgment, the switch of Israeli Prime Ministers that occurred in mid October will not alter the present status of settlement activities. [redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] Geographic Issues Division, Office of Global Issues. The information contained herein is updated to 1 September 1986. Comments and questions may be addressed to [redacted] Chief, Near East-Africa Branch, Geography Division, [redacted]

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Golan Heights: Settlement Construction Under  
the National Unity Government

Background

Since the end of the Six-Day War, Israel has undertaken a policy of encouraging permanent settlements in the occupied territories aimed at solidifying its claim to and control over the land. Of the 32 Israeli settlements now on the Golan Heights, the Labor government established 27 between 1967 and 1977. Although these--like others in the Jordan Valley--were generally oriented to agriculture, their establishment helped meet the Labor Party's objective of installing concentrations of Israeli settlers in strategic areas of the occupied territories to help form a more secure defensive perimeter. On coming to power in 1977 the Likud government concluded that the Golan had effectively become an integral part of Israel and subsequently annexed it in 1981. Therefore, the Likud government re-directed the bulk of the settlement drive at the more heavily populated areas of the West Bank in an attempt to make that territory indivisible from Israel. From 1977 to 1984, Israel established only five new settlements in the Golan, although construction within settlements went on at a relatively moderate pace. [redacted]

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New Settlements in the Golan Under the National Unity Government

As part of an overall political compromise worked out when Labor and Likud formed the National Unity Government in September 1984, the two parties agreed to establish only six new settlements within the coming year--all in the West Bank. The coalition government also decided to defer establishment of other settlements--some of which were planned for the Golan--that had already been approved by previous governments. Underlying this decision to curb the overall rate of settlement were economic constraints and Labor's reluctance to place many more settlements in areas that could be the subject of future peace negotiations. In addition, Likud desired to direct what limited settlement resources were available to the West Bank rather than the Golan Heights. [redacted]

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According to the April 1985 Israeli Ministry of Agriculture report, although the previous Israeli Government had approved five new Golan settlements, the new government decided to delay their establishment for at least a year. This delay continues. Instead, Israel has constructed only one new settlement in the past two years (Sela' Allon--not one of the five named in the Ministry of Agriculture report) while dismantling two (Qela and Si'on) that offered no economic justification for their existence, thereby decreasing the total number to 32 settlements.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in December 1985, Defense

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<sup>1</sup> Other sites of civilian land use that we list with the settlements are the Israeli Aircraft Industries plant, the Mt. Hermon Ski Lift, the Qazrin Industrial Center, and the transformer substation south of Ramot. [redacted]

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GI M 86-20245

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Minister Rabin announced that no new settlements would be constructed on the Heights because of the Golan's militarily sensitive nature and because of the army's increased requirements for space to deploy and train its troops following the last phase of the Israel Defense Forces' (IDF) pullout from southern Lebanon in June 1985. [redacted]

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Decreased New Construction

The rate of construction within existing settlements also slowed after September 1984, falling 21 percent below that for the previous two-year period. [redacted]

[redacted] since September 1984:

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- ° 158 housing units were started, of which 143 were completed. This compares with 247 units started between September 1982 and September 1984, of which 160 were completed.
- ° Population capacity in the Golan Heights settlements increased by more than 1200 people, to 13,920, compared to an increase of about 1600 people between September 1982 and September 1984.
- ° 116 additional, nonresidential, buildings were started, of which 44 serve agricultural purposes. This compares with 98 nonresidential buildings begun during the previous two-year period.

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All in all, since the United States' September 1982 peace initiative that proposed a freeze on Israeli settlement construction, Israel has begun 405 new residential units in the Golan Heights, and increased population capacity there by 4885 people. [redacted]

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The chief difference in Golan Heights settlement construction between the two-year periods preceeding and following September 1984 has been the sharp decline in new construction in Qazrin--the most populous settlement on the Heights. From September 1982 to September 1984, new residential units begun in Qazrin accounted for 60 percent of the Golan's housing construction. Although most of these 148 units are now complete, many of them, as well as others begun earlier, are unoccupied. In our judgment, workers constructed only two new townhouses in Qazrin since September 1984 because of lack of both funds and demand to fill existing apartments. [redacted]

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In contrast to construction in Qazrin, construction in Golan agricultural settlements (particularly those associated with the Labor Party) has fared relatively better under the Labor-headed National Unity Government--and this despite the financially-strapped situation in which most agricultural settlements find themselves. If construction in Qazrin is excluded, construction of new residential units in Golan Heights settlements during the past two years actually increased by 58 percent over that of the previous two-year period. From September 1984 to September 1986 Golan agricultural settlements accounted for 96 percent of new unit construction, while settlements associated with Labor accounted for 82 percent. In addition, the number of new agricultural buildings increased from 14 built during the former period to 44--including four poultry sheds and nine cattle sheds--in the latter period. [redacted]

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Population

Today, we estimate that 9205 Jewish settlers live in Golan Heights settlements, an increase of about 1220 people since September 1984 and of about 2880 since September 1982.<sup>2</sup> More than 40 percent of the population increase during the past two years occurred in two settlements--Qazrin and the regional center of Haspin--where more than 500 people moved into dwelling units begun before September 1984 and recently completed. In addition, some of the population growth resulted from the high birth rate among the religious settler population, which tends toward larger families. About 21 percent of Golan settlers now live in settlements sponsored by the National Religious Party and, together with the religious settlers of Qazrin, comprise about 30 percent of the population.

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The settler population increasingly complains about its perceived neglect--particularly economic neglect--by the Israeli Government. To protest their worsening financial condition (collective debt had risen to \$70 million), settlers closed the bridges leading into the Golan in November 1985 and demanded that the government reduce the burden of loan repayment on their debts. In July 1986, the Knesset Finance Committee moved to alleviate some of the pressure by allocating \$18 million to Golan Heights and Jordan Valley settlements.

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Prospects for Growth

In our judgment, the pace of construction in Golan settlements witnessed during the past four years will not change appreciably under a Likud-headed National Unity Government. Economic and political constraints probably will continue to cap establishment of new settlements as well as major construction within existing settlements. Although Likud will head the National Unity Government, it most likely will not be able to increase settlement funding to the degree some of its members want without obtaining Labor support. Such support will be hard to get, especially considering that Rabin, whose attitude toward additional Golan settlements is not favorable, will remain as Defense Minister following the switch of Prime Ministers. Should Likud press too hard for substantially increased settlement construction, Labor is apt to use the issue as a means to scuttle the coalition--an act that Likud and especially future Prime Minister Shamir do not want.

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<sup>2</sup> To estimate settler population, we use [redacted] US Embassy Tel Aviv reports, Israeli press reports, and field work, to determine the number of each settlement's occupied dwelling units. We then multiply each such unit by the settlement's average family size: 4.0 for secular settlements; 5.0 for religious settlements. We do not include seasonal agricultural laborers in our population count, although dwellings reserved for transients are included in our population capacity figures.

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## Appendix A--Settlement Highlights September 1984 to September 1986

- Sometime in 1985, the moshav (cooperative settlement) of **Qela** was dismantled. Many of Qela's prefab structures later appeared in the new, nearby settlement of **Sela' Allon**. 25X1
- In March 1985, the World Zionist Organization (WZO) loaned **Neve Ativ** \$550,000 to reopen the closed and bankrupt **Mt. Hermon Ski Lift**. 25X1
- In July 1985, the first Israeli wind turbine began operating in **Allone Habashan**. Energy specialists estimate that the turbine will generate about 200,000 kilowatt hours per year--enough electricity for 70 homes. 25X1
- In October 1985, settlers held a founding ceremony for **Qidmat Zevi**--the Golan's first moshava (agricultural settlement with private ownership of land), begun in late 1983. 25X1
- In December 1985, the resort village/moshav of **Ramot** signed a contract with a leading West German travel firm, and agreed to provide lodging for 30,000 German tourists a year. Ramot, near the popular Golan Beach on the Sea of Galilee, operates 29 A-frame tourist houses and recently opened an 80-unit hotel. 25X1
- In June 1986, the IDF dismantled the northern Golan Nahal settlement of **Si'on**. The WZO and the IDF claimed that the settlement offered no economic justification for its existence. 25X1
- In July 1986, the Golan Wineries, headquartered in **Qazrin**, received three medals at an international competition in England. Wine connoisseurs believe that the cooler climate and volcanic soils of the Golan's 230 acres of vineyards produce a better grape than does the Israeli coastal plain. During the past two years, Golan wine production has proved to be of increasing benefit to the consortium of eight Golan and two Galilee grape-growing settlements, and eventually may help to pull some agricultural settlements out of debt. 25X1

## Appendix B: Israeli Settlements in the Golan Heights, August 1986.

<u>Settlements and other Civilian Land Use (Type <sup>a</sup>)</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Capacity</u>	<u>New Units Since Sept. 1984</u>	
			<u>Completed</u>	<u>Still under construction</u>
Total	<u>9,205</u>	<u>13,920</u>	<u>143</u>	<u>15</u>
1. Afiq (K)	200	520	15	0
2. Allone Habashan (M)	100	215	10	0
3. Ani'am (MS)	110	160	0	0
4. Avne Etan (M)	180	250	0	0
5. Bene Yehuda (RC)	545	570	2	0
6. Eli Al (M)	165	310	0	0
7. El Rom (K)	175	425	28	0
8. En Ziwan (K)	320	400	0	0
9. Geshur (K)	190	335	0	0
10. Giv'at Yo'av (M)	260	315	0	0
11. Haspin (RC/Y)	465	505	2	0
12. IAI Plant (I)	0	0	0	0
13. Kefar Haruv (K)	155	430	12	0
14. Ma'ale Gamla (M)	190	230	8	0
15. Merom Golan (K)	400	635	16	0
16. Mevo Hama (K)	455	650	0	0
17. Mezar (K)	50	95	0	0
18. Mt. Hermon Ski Lift (RS)	0	0	0	0
19. Natur (K)	80	130	0	12
20. Ne'ot Golan (M)	165	230	0	0
21. Neve Ativ (M)	120	210	0	0
22. Nimrod (N)	25	25	0	0
23. Nov (M)	315	350	0	0
24. Odem (MS)	100	210	0	0
25. Oretal (K)	210	355	0	0
26. Qazrin (U)	2,630	3,980	2	0
27. Qazrin Industrial Center (I)	0	0	0	0
28. Qeshet (MS)	290	380	0	0
29. Qidmat Zevi (Ma)	75	125	0	0
30. Ramat Magshinim (MS/Y)	440	515	0	0
31. Ramot (M)	340	530	0	0
32. Sela' Allon (K)	0	55	13	0
33. Senir (K)	185	335	35	3
34. Sha'al (MS)	105	165	0	0
35. Transformer Station (I)	0	0	0	0
36. Yonatan (MS)	165	280	0	0

<sup>a</sup> C-Community settlement, I-Industrial site, K-Kibbutz, M-Moshav, Ma-Moshava, MS-Moshav shitufi, N-Nahal settlement, RC-Regional Center, RS-Recreational site, U-Urban settlement, Y-Yeshiva.



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