

Confidential

Developing Negotiating Frameworks: The Colonies

Scope of Paper

This is the first of a series of analytical studies designed to develop criteria and withdrawal options of the colonies. This paper focuses on the identification and evaluation of blocks of colonies given certain criteria. This analysis is a first pass, and will be refined as more information is obtained and priorities, nevertheless this provides the first step.

The analysis uses three categories of criteria that represent the foundation of an independent and sustainable state:

- ▶ Impact on Palestinian Population measures the well-being of the people by seeing how many are directly influenced by the colonies,
- ▶ Impact on Economic Development measures the degree to which the colonies act as barriers to Palestinian development
- ▶ Impact on Geographical Unity identifies which colonies pose the greatest threat of dividing Palestinian lands and/or risk altering the 1967 border.

(See Annex 1 for detail on the criteria)

When viewed together, the criteria identify the colonies and blocks that represent the greatest threat to a successful state. This information plus the direction given by the Negotiating Team allow for various withdrawal strategies to be developed and tested.

This paper looks first at defining geographically the different blocks of colonies, the impact on the three criteria and preliminary observations. It should be stressed that the proxies for evaluating criteria are still being developed and this paper presents only a partial analysis.

One word of caution, this first pass looks at blocks of colonies that are defined by grouping colonies based on geographical closeness. For a more complete analysis, this needs to be complemented by a similar analysis of the colonies in the major Palestinian urban areas (e.g. Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah/al Bire).

Determining Blocks (Map 1)

Israeli policies have created concentrations, "blocks", of colonies in specific geographical areas. The colonies within these blocks tend to be linked by:

- ▶ similar economic functions (e.g. commuter communities to urban areas, agricultural),
- ▶ infrastructure such as bypass roads,
- ▶ religious or political ideologies,
- ▶ larger national goals such as security.

From a negotiation perspective, the Israelis will probably treat these blocks as units.

From a Palestinian perspective, negotiating on blocks of colonies could be useful as well – in that block negotiation strategies can generally be more efficient than a colony-by-colony basis. Further, a geographical grouping of the colonies makes them someone similar in characteristics. Nevertheless, the actual definitions of the blocks will almost certainly differ between the two parties; and indeed defining the blocks from the two perspectives will be an issue in the negotiations.

As a first pass in this analysis, ten blocks have been defined, primarily on the basis of their geographical continuity – as defined by their closeness to each other and linking bypass roads. These blocks are as follows:

Table 1: Blocks of Israeli Colonies

Block Name	Number of Colonies	Settler Population (1997)	Total Built-Up Area (sq. km.)*	Total Area in Block (sq. km.)
Um Rihan	4	904	1.2	19.4
Ari'el	42	47,415	18.8	296.8
Ari'el, North Ext.	9	1,322	1.7	34.5
Ari'el, South Ext.	9	3,144	2.9	56.3
Beit Sira	18	18,712	13.0	128.2
Jordan Valley	22	3,921	13.0	509.9
Jerusalem, Metro.	51	195,285**	30.8	275.0
Gush Etzion	12	20,246	6.6	61.3
Gush Etzion, East	8	697	2.2	26.0
Southern	12	2,438	3.0	124.2
Total Blocks				
Total West Bank	175			

* based on American map, date 1995/97

** of which 157,028 in E. Jerusalem

While settler population is overwhelming located in the Jerusalem area, the remaining settler population is located mainly in Ari'el (40% of WB outside Jerusalem), Gush Etzion (17%) and Beit Sira (16%).

Impact on Palestinian Population

The degree of colony impact on the Palestinian population is measured by how many people are within colony's area of influence¹. The affected population can be divided into two groups: 1) people within the area of influence of the colonies and 2) people within the de facto boundaries of the blocks. While the negative impact of living near the colonies may be same for both groups, the second group is more threatened.

In examining the blocks defined above the Impact on Palestinian Population is as follows:

¹ Defined in this study as 0.5 Km from the colony built-up area.

Table 2 : Colony Blocks and Impact on Palestinian Population

Block Name	Settler Population (1997)	Palestinian Pop. Within 3 Km. of Block	Palestinian Pop. within Block
Um Rihan	904	22,160	1,404
Ari'el	47,415	162,694	102,115
Ari'el, North Ext.	1,322	157,298	12,421
Ari'el, South Ext.	3,144	43,875	19,335
Beit Sira	18,712	90,510	17,451
Jordan Valley	3,921	16,474	9,184
Jerusalem, Metro.	195,285**	267,379	141,113
Gush Etzion	20,246	97,627	38,582
Gush Etzion, East	697	58,383	12,236
Southern	2,438	80,042	39,233

Excluding Jerusalem, the Ari'el block has by far the greatest impact on Palestinian population – both in terms of number influenced and those effectively surrounded. If Ari'el North is included (which impacts Nablus), this block's impact on population is huge – approximately 25% of the Palestinian population in the West Bank. Ariel South also has wide impact.

Both the Gush Etzion and Southern blocks have considerable influence.

Impact on Economic Development (Map 2)

In this first pass, the only indicator available for economic development is urban development, as defined by the center structure in the Physical Plan. Using this as a proxy, the table below shows which blocks present the greatest obstacles.

Table 3: Colony Blocks and Impact on Center Structure

Block Name	Regional Centers Impacted	Urban Centers Impacted	Local Centers Impacted
Um Rihan	None	None	None
Ari'el	None	1	1
Ari'el, North Ext.	1	None	None
Ari'el, South Ext.	None	None	None
Beit Sira	None	None	1
Jordan Valley	None	None	1
Jerusalem, Metro.	1	3	1
Gush Etzion	1	1	None
Gush Etzion, East	1	None	None
Southern	None	None	None

The Jerusalem block is the greatest obstacle in that it impact the regional center of Jerusalem as well as the urban center development of Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Bethlehem.

The Ari'el block impact the regional center of Qualqilya and one local center. Ari'el North impacts the regional development of Nablus.

Both Gush Etzion blocks interfere with the regional development of Jerusalem, and the main block interferes with the urban development of Bethlehem.

40 WB
40 FJ
2,136
100,000
moving units
times 600,000
Palestinians
in Palestine
shaded

Economic Development
→ employment in colonies
→ land structure
→ physical planning
Natural Resources
→ what is used in the water is
collected and
impact of it is
release

→ set physical planning
copy from Pehin

It should be stressed that analyzing only the blocks understates the impact of the colonies on urban development. The urban colonies that do not form parts of a block strongly impact the urban development of Hebron, Nablus, Ramallah, and to some extent Jenin.

Impact on Geographical Unity (Map 3)

Geographical unity is threatened in two ways – dividing the West Bank and extending Israel's borders past the Green Line. The map shows the areas that present the greatest threat to these areas.

Table 4: Colony Blocks and Impact on Geographical Unity

Block Name	Potential to Alter the 1967 Borders	Potential to Divide West Bank
Um Rihan	High	None
Ari'el	High	High in Combination with Ariel North or South
Ari'el, North Ext.	None	High in Combination with Ari'el
Ari'el, South Ext.	None	High in Combination with Ariel
Beit Sira	High	Moderate, Could connect via Ari'el South
Jordan Valley	High (Eastern Border)	Moderate, Could limit access to Jordan
Jerusalem, Metro.	High	High, Published Master Plan for Maale Adumin
Gush Etzion	High	High, in combination with Gush Etzion East
Gush Etzion, East Southern	None High, Israeli already claims some of this area	High in combination with Gush Etzion None

Again the Jerusalem Block presents the greatest threat. Indeed the Master Plan for Ma'ale Adumin shows the intention to link Jerusalem to Jericho.

After Jerusalem, the Ari'el blocks are the most threatening. The main Ari'el block presents a major threat to altering the Green Line, and together with the either of the extensions, can cut off free access to the northern West Bank.

Both Beit Sira and Gush Etzion can serve to alter the Green Line both north and south of Jerusalem. Further the linking of the two Gush Etzion blocks would effectively isolate the southern West Bank.

The Southern block poses a direct threat to the lower border of the West Bank. Already two of the sites which are identified as Palestinian on MOPIC's maps are identified by Israeli as being within their territory.

Setting Priorities

While more work needs to be done prior to making definitive conclusions, certain observations can be made:

1. The Jerusalem Metropolitan Block has the greatest impact on all the criteria. This is not surprising given its size and importance. One issue to be decided is to what

degree the colonies in Jerusalem should be part of the colony or Jerusalem issue in Final Status.

2. The Ari'el complex, which can be viewed as consisting of three blocks, ranks the second highest. Its existence impacts the greatest number of Palestinians, imperils the development of Qalqilya and Nablus, and threatens to both alter the Green Line and divide the West Bank.
3. Gush Etzion can be ranked third. It impacts large numbers of Palestinians, interferes with urban development, and threatens to alter the Green Line. Together with Gush Etzion East, it can cut off the southern West Bank.
4. The Southern Block is interesting in that it appears to be part of a current Israeli effort to alter the southern boundary of Palestine. It also has considerable impact on population.
5. The Jordan Valley block has mixed rankings. Its impact on population and development is low. Also its impact on geographical unity is unclear in the fact that it affects Jordan's border, which is a somewhat different issue from the Green Line. Yet it is by far the largest block in area, and has substantial impact on agricultural production
6. Beit Sira and Um Rihan both represent primarily threats to altering the Green Line. Beit Sira, both by its size and location (and thus value of land) is the greatest obstacle.

It is again stressed that this is a first pass. The next steps should be:

- Add additional criteria – especially related to development
- Analyze the colonies outside the blocks, especially those affecting Palestinian urban areas,
- Increase and refine the data on individual colonies so as to create smaller subdivisions of the blocks. This will help develop more detailed and focused withdrawal priorities and scenarios.

→ Urban colonies have the most threat on Palestinian colonies

→ Therefore, maybe colonies not clusters.

→ therefore, maybe we should discuss rihan areas.

Annex 1: Selection and Purpose of Criteria

Impact on Palestinian Population

The colonies disrupt the development and links among the neighboring Arab communities, and represent a constant threat to the ownership and control of the surrounding lands. Even more, the settlers and the related military security present a daily annoyance and at times violent intrusion into the lives of the people. Thus the well being of the people is directly impacted their nearness to colonies.

The criterion *Impact on Palestinian Population* measures this factor by calculating how many Palestinians live in the immediate vicinity of the colony and thus identifies those with the most impact on people.

Economic Development

Economic development is a prerequisite to a successful state. The location of the colonies directly limits urban development and prevents the building of regional and local infrastructure (e.g. roads, industrial parks, water systems. Additionally the colonies use natural resources (e.g. water and agricultural lands) thereby depriving the Palestinians of their benefit.

The criterion *Impact on Economic Development* measures this factor by determining the overlap of colony areas with the regional center network.² Other factors such as impacts on industrial zones are also considered.

Control of natural resources is more complex in that colonies control more resources than that directly within the area of influence. Specifically water use affects the entire aquifer and the majority of agricultural lands lie outside the colonies' boundaries. This first pass looks only at which colonies directly overlay the water sensitive areas. An estimate is made of the agricultural lands used by the colonies.

Impact on Geography

Geographical impact of the colonies is greatest in regard to the continuity of the land area and the location of the borders. In both these cases, the colonies represent a direct threat in that the growth of "blocs" of colonies could well divide the West Bank. Other colonies also blur the location of the Green Line border and de facto extend Israeli land claims.

The criterion *Impact on Geography* identifies which blocs of colonies pose the greatest threat to geographical continuity by de facto forming a complete or near complete link across a major section of Palestinian land. Additionally the colonies located on and near the Green Line are identified and therefore can be used to alter the border are identified.

² The urban growth areas are equivalent to the regional centers in the Physical Plan.

Annex 2: Basic Facts on Israeli Controlled Areas in the West Bank

As of December 1999, the best estimate of the following data items is:

Number of Colonies:	175
Number of Outposts:	59 (Peace Now counts 41 inhabited and 4 uninhabited)
Number of Military Bases:	59

Aerial Extent of Colonies

Built-Up Areas (1995/97 data):	106.6 sq. km.
Area of Influence	638.9 sq. km
Colonies (500 meter perimeter)	575.0 sq. km.
Bypass Roads (75 and 200 meter as app.)	263.9 sq. km.
Area in Blocks*	1531.5 sq. km.






*does not include area of isolated colonies

Palestinian Comparison Data:

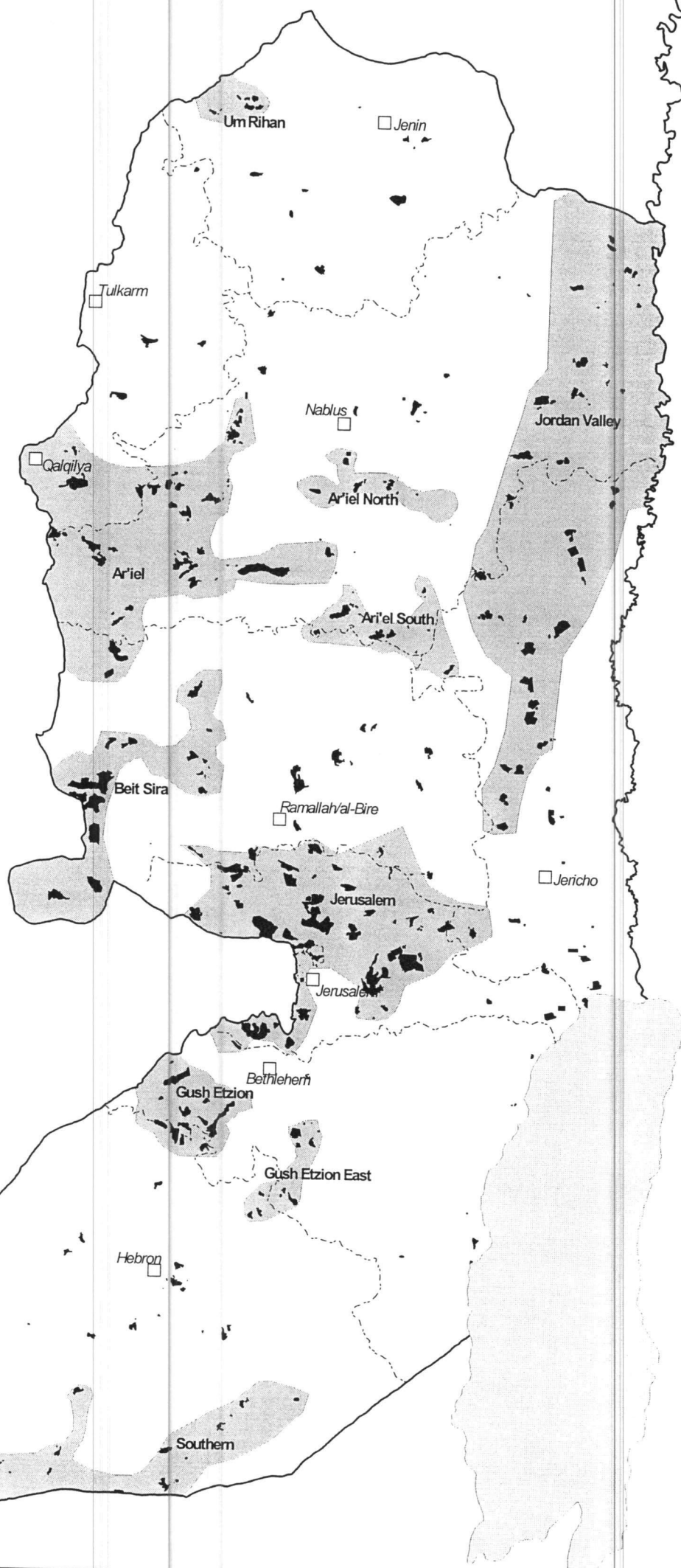
Built-Up Area	282.6 sq. km.
Total A Area	552.8 sq. km.
Total B Area	1387 sq. km.
Total West Bank minus Dead Sea	5646 sq. km.

Israeli Blocks and Colonies

Legend

-  Israeli Colony
-  Israeli Blocks
-  Governorate Border
-  Truce Line 1948
-  Main Palestinian City

+ blocks include
Palestinian area
B.



Draft, December 1999
MOPIC



5 0 5 Kilometers

Mediterranean Sea

MAP 2

Israeli Blocks and Regional Centers

Legend

Development Sub-centers :



Regional Level



Urban Level



Local Level



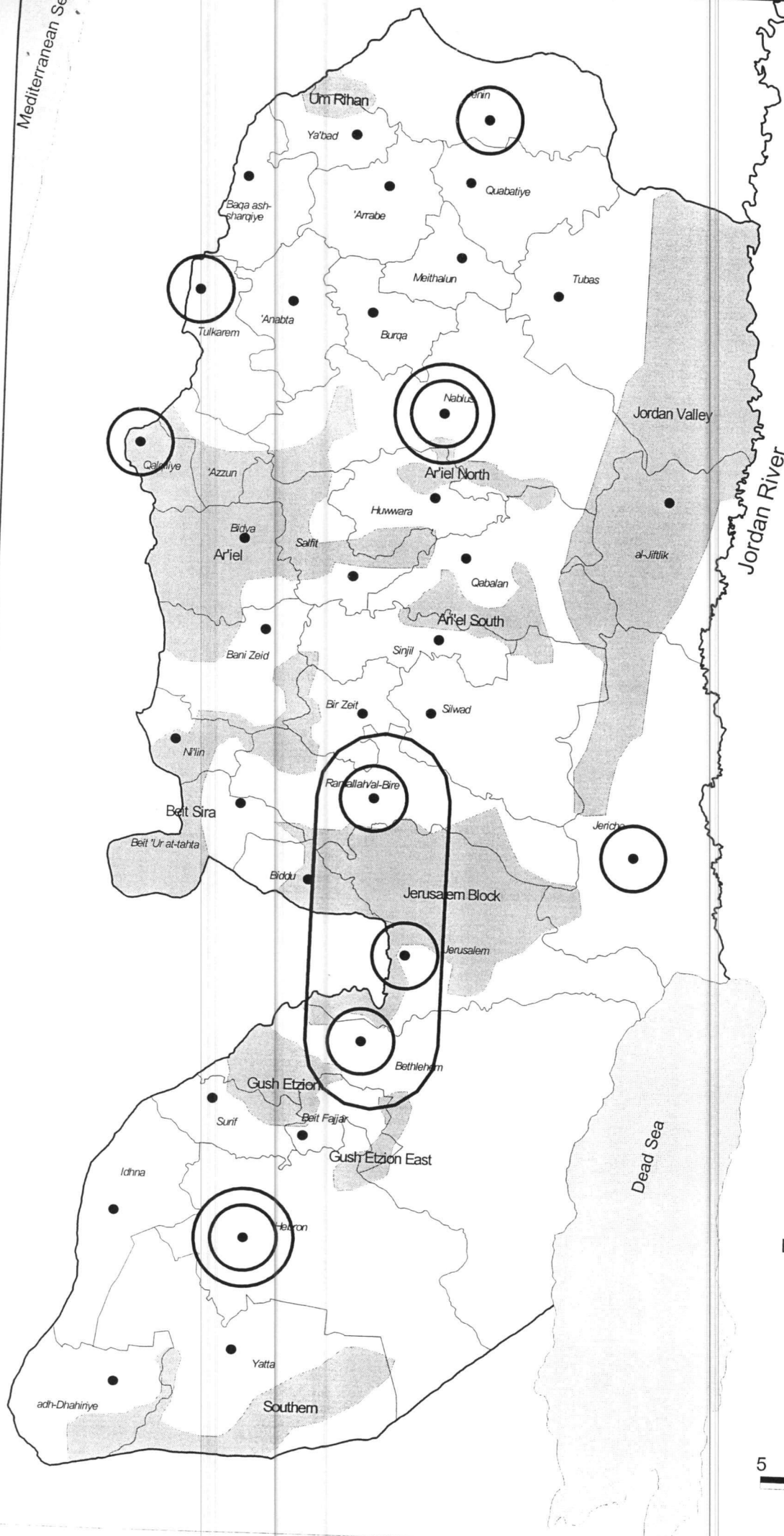
Israeli Blocks



Subregional Border



Truce Line 1948



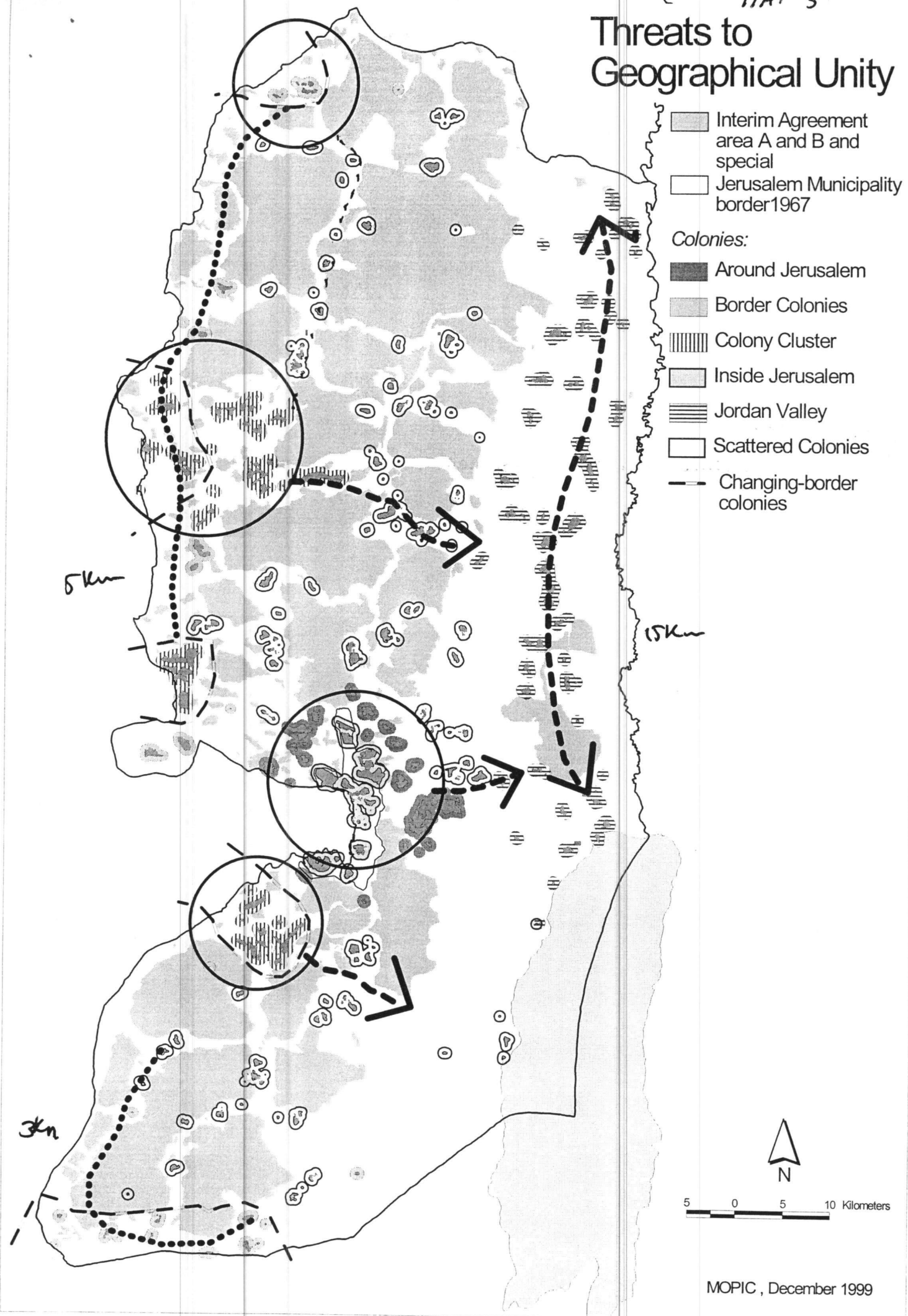
Draft, December 1999

MOPIC



5 0 5 Kilometers

Threats to Geographical Unity



Israeli Population in Colonies

Legend

Israeli Population:*

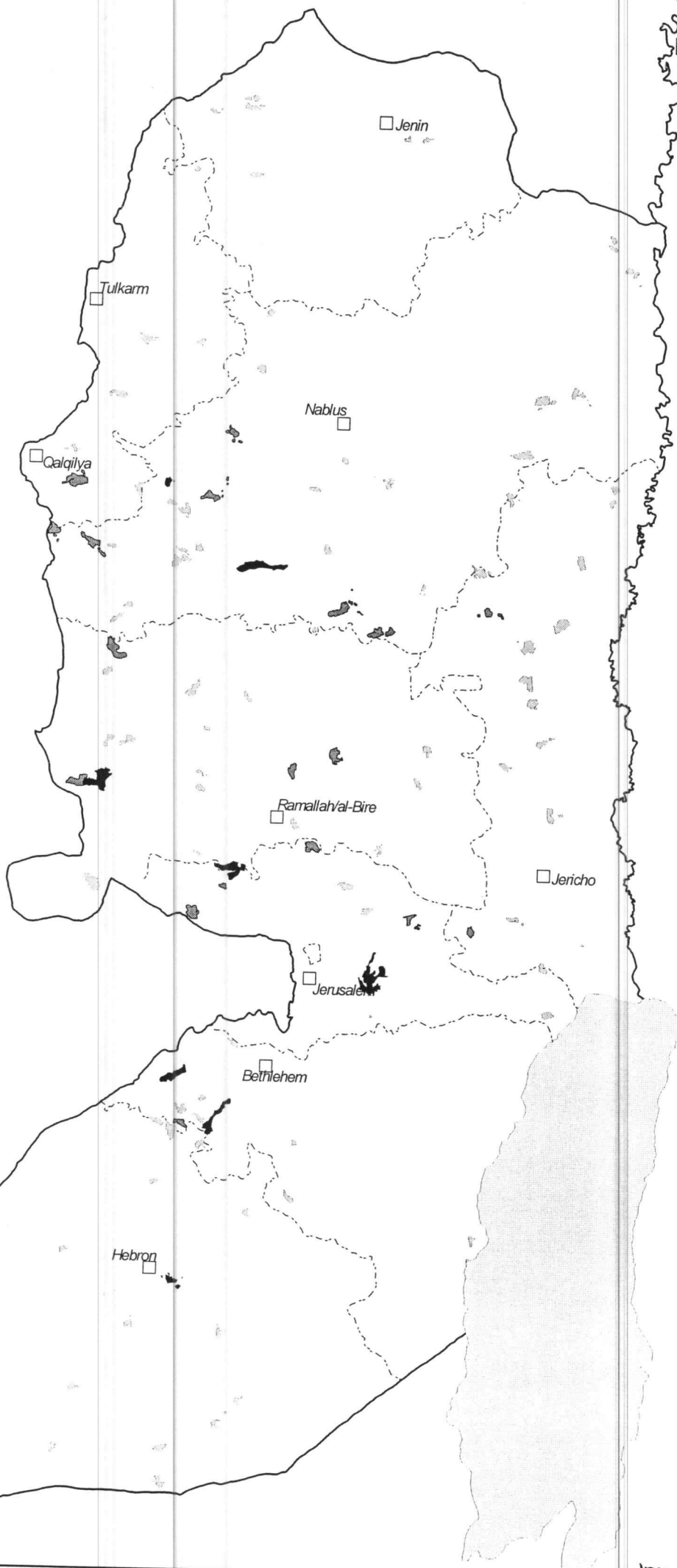
- >5000 (9, 54%)
- 1000 - 5000 (19, 26%)
- <1000 (87++, 20%)

Governorate Border

Truce Line 1948

Main Palestinian City

* Source is IPCRI and data is sufficient but not accurate. Jerusalem Colonies are excluded but most of them are above 5000.



(28 settlements have 80% of Israeli population)

Draft, December 1999
MOPIC



5 0 5 Kilometers

Joseph Alper

BAP 3-2-99