

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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ISRAEL BUDGETS \$2 BILLION FOR SETTLEMENTS THIS YEAR

Israel will spend \$2 billion in the occupied territories this year. This sum equals Israel's request for the first installment of \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees that Congress will consider early next year.

The current expenditures of \$2 billion are part of a multi-year plan for the establishment of 106,000 housing units in the West Bank. Execution of this plan, first reported in the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot* on June 28, 1991, will increase the current Israeli population of 85,000 in the West Bank by 400,000 at a cost of \$13 to \$14 billion.

Israel does not publish reliable statistics on government expenditures in the occupied territories. A March 1991 report by the State Department noted that Israel's "published budget does not contain sufficient detail to identify all expenditures on settlements." The report tabulated only \$54.5 million in "identifiable allocations for settlements in the year ending March 1991."

The largest of the publicly reported items is \$1.084 billion for construction of 19,000 new housing units (including 4,000 mobile homes) in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during Israel's 1991 fiscal year (FY) March 1991-March 1992. This figure represents 20 percent of the Housing Ministry's FY1991 budget.

In 1990, the government initiated the construction of 4,500 units in these areas. More Israeli houses in the West Bank will be built in 1991 than were constructed during the entire 1968-1984 period.

Last March, the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir officially denied plans for much less extensive con-

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ISRAELI DECEPTION CHARGED BY STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICER

The discrepancy between what Israel has been telling Washington about its settlement activities and the settlement "facts" in the occupied territories has not escaped President George Bush.

"Israel deceived us on the subject of settlements," complained Aaron Miller, one of Secretary of State James A. Baker's closest Middle East aides, in an interview with *Yediot Aharonot* on September 16. "The government of Israel gave the U.S. fraudulent figures about the creation and expansion of settlements. Actually, since the commitment between us to report regularly on building in the territories [see Levy Letter in the *Settlement Report*, January 1991], Israel has increased by 10 percent its activities in Jerusalem, in the West Bank, and in the Golan. And these figures have not been given to us."

Bush was prompted to make his September request to postpone U.S. consideration of an Israeli loan guarantee request because of the extraordinary pace of Israel's settlement program. Figures compiled by the U.S. government revealed that Israel has tripled its construction program this year to more than 27,000 units in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights.

"This is the reason that Bush decided to postpone the guarantees," reported *Yediot Aharonot* on September 11.

In a late September visit to Israel, Baker told Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that Israel would receive the guarantees only if it agreed to freeze settlements and end the flow of money to settlement activity in the occupied territories.

The Israeli press reported that Baker also called for the establishment of an apparatus that will enable the United States to examine and supervise Israeli expenditures over the Green Line to assure that funds guaranteed by the United States are not expended there. He further asked for confirmation that Israeli funds made available as a result of the loans are spent within Israel. If implemented, this regime would signify unprecedented American monitoring

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TO OUR READERS

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, past president of the American Jewish Congress and one of American Jewry's most prominent leaders, in a recent *New York Review of Books* article (10/24/91) takes issue with the Shamir government's opposition to "land for peace"—the approach to Middle East peace favored by the United States, the international community, a majority of American Jews, and a majority of Israelis. Some of Hertzberg's points are worth repeating:

- A September 13 survey of Israelis by the mass circulation daily *Yediot Aharonot* reported that 69 percent favored trading land for peace, a finding that went unreported in the American Jewish press.
- At a Jerusalem "solidarity with Israel" conference of world Jewish leaders two years ago, Prime Minister Shamir suppressed an assessment by Israel's combined intelligence services that "holding on to the entire West Bank would in fact threaten Israel's security."
- Hertzberg cited with approval the view of Dr. Walter Gross, chairman of the editorial board of Israel's leading newspaper, *Ha'aretz*, that "we must recognize that the world agreed to the creation of a Jewish state only on the condition of a partition of the land."

- He cites another *Ha'aretz* editorial warning that incorporating the occupied territories and their Palestinian population into Israel "means the founding of a binational state in place of a Jewish state, Israel."
- Minister of Housing Ariel Sharon and his associates, who plan to double the Jewish population on the West Bank to 200,000 people in two years, have not hidden their purpose: "to make the 'administered territories' non-negotiable."
- Hertzberg closed by quoting Haim Hefer, the widely read Israeli columnist, who calls "on Jews in America not to listen to the Shamir government which is 'abusing their love' for Israel."

American Jewish leaders are increasingly heeding Rabbi Hertzberg's plea. A former AIPAC head and a former chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations have recently called for a freeze on settlements.

It remains only for the Congress to put principle and its regard for Israel above politics and insist that Israel choose between settlements and American aid.



IS THERE A GREEN LINE?

An October 2, 1990 letter from Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy to U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III cleared the way for the Bush administration's agreement in early 1991 to provide \$400 million in loan guarantees to assist Israel in the assimilation of Soviet immigrants.

In the letter, the Israeli foreign minister declared that Israel has no policy "to direct or settle Soviet Jews beyond the Green Line" [the pre-1967 war border] and that "no special incentives exist to encourage Soviet Jewish immigrants to

settle beyond the Green Line . . ."

At the dedication of the Israeli settlement of Tzur Yig'al on September 24, 1991, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir declared:

For those who initiated the establishment of this settlement [on the Israeli side of the Israeli-West Bank border], the term Green Line means nothing. . . . A green line that indicates some restricted zone in the Land of Israel does not exist. ♦

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MAJOR U.S. NEWSPAPERS OPPOSE SETTLEMENTS

The following editorial comments opposing Israel's settlement policy have appeared recently in The New York Times, The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, and Los Angeles Times.

The President is Right on Israel

The showdown [on the U.S. loan guarantees] is really about the Shamir Government's policy of rapidly and provocatively expanding Jewish settlement in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights. This policy directly compromises both the atmosphere of the conference and the geographic possibilities for trading land for peace.

A succession of U.S. administrations has opposed Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. And a succession of Israeli governments has built them anyway. But Mr. Shamir's present government, the most right-wing in Israeli history, has been particularly zealous on the settlements issue. The Bush administration believes that Israel violated, at least in spirit, past pledges not to use U.S. loan guarantees to finance settlements. And almost every time Secretary of State James Baker travels to Israel, he has been greeted by a new crop of settlers. . . .

The United States will need to lean on Arabs and Israelis alike to reach compromises. Further Israeli settlements would prejudice the possibility of such compromises. Financing them with U.S. dollars would prejudice America's peacemaking role. . . .

The New York Times, September 17, 1991

Settling the Settlements Issue

. . . West Bank settlements menace not just the launching but the conduct and conclusion of a peace conference The problem of the West Bank settlements cannot be put aside any longer. For years successive American administrations have rightly been urging Israel to curtail those settlements, pronouncing them illegal, subversive of peace or both. But particularly since 1977, when the right-wing Likud came to power, Israel has been expanding them, contemptuous of the pleas of Americans and others to save the issue for an Arab-Israeli negotiation.

Now such a negotiation is in prospect. As it happens, it is also a moment when Israel is seeking \$10 billion in loan guarantees to resettle Soviet immigrants, in addition to the usual \$3 billion or more a year in direct aid. Even if not a penny of those loans goes to work in the West Bank, they release Israel's own funds for that purpose. This is what led the Bush administration to ask Israel to hold up its request for the loan guarantees. It wants the settlements issue resolved once and for all.

For his pains in trying to get Israel to take American

interests seriously, President Bush is now patronized and accused of being obsessed with the settlements. But it is Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and his colleagues who are obsessed with the settlements—who put land above peace and trifle with the foreign resources that Israel needs for the historic mission of rescuing a million Soviet Jews.

The relief of these immigrants is a large and worthy humanitarian cause in which the United States has proudly joined. But the direct use of these refugees, or the indirect use of funds made available to help them, to nail down possession of an occupied foreign territory is a political ambition in which the United States should have no part.

The Washington Post, September 18, 1991

Shamir and the Art of Intransigence

Since at least 1978, when the Camp David accords were concluded, the United States has opposed Jewish settlement in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Since the accords provide for eventual autonomy for those territories, the thinking goes, settlements are an obstacle to autonomy and, thus, to Middle East peace.

The Bush administration underscored that opposition last year, when, in return for \$400 million in loan guarantees for Israeli housing for Soviet emigres, it extracted what it thought was an Israeli government commitment to curtail settlement activity.

So there is nothing new in the administration's demand this year that Israel agree to halt settlements in return for another \$10 billion in loan guarantees. . . .

Chicago Tribune, September 11, 1991

For Israel, It's Time to Choose

. . . Israel is ready to welcome all who would settle there. That enterprise deserves to be helped.

But that help should not be provided unconditionally and without reference to other aspects of policy, both Israeli and American. For nearly 20 years the view of successive U.S. governments has been that settlements in the occupied territories are an impediment to hopes for peace based on territorial compromise. . . .

Washington is under no obligation to tacitly support and indirectly subsidize a settlement policy that it has for so long regarded as inimical to long-term American policy goals in the Middle East. The United States must do everything within its power to facilitate the movement of Soviet Jews to Israel and their efficient absorption. It has every right, in pursuit of its own interests, to insist that its aid for this effort be tied to a freeze on settlement activity. ♦

Los Angeles Times, June 25, 1991

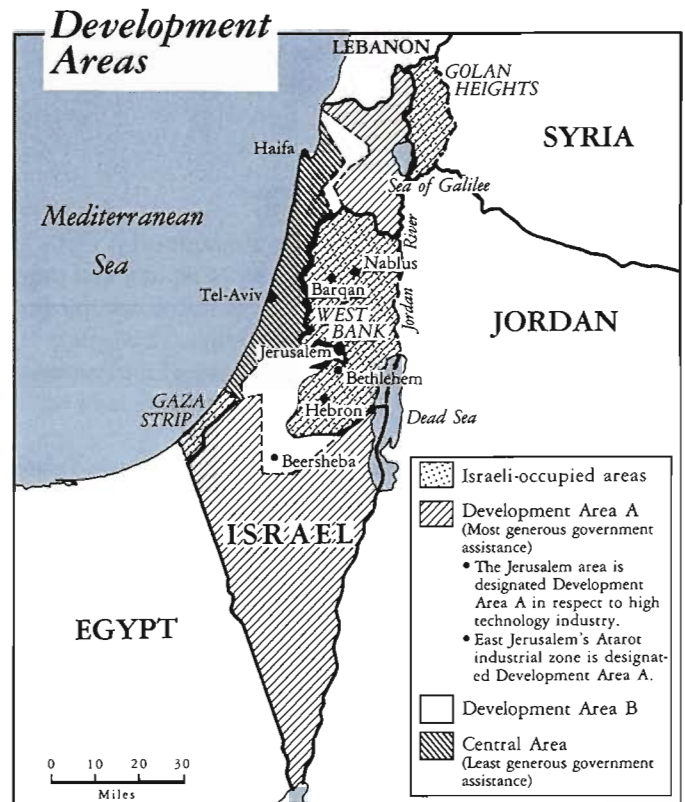
PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SUPPORT INCREASE IN TERRITORIES

Israeli and foreign industrial investment in the West Bank and Gaza Strip reached almost \$50 million during the first six months of 1991, triple the investment for the comparable period in 1990. During this period, almost 50 percent of all Israeli investments in tourism, 22 percent in textiles, and 37 percent in machine and transport equipment were located in these occupied areas.

The Israeli government reports that during the 1986-1990 period \$146.3 million was invested in the West Bank—including \$84 million for industrial projects and \$55 million for industrial construction.

The creation of an Israeli economic base in the West Bank is a key element in Israel's overall settlement strategy. By expanding opportunities for economic investment and employment in the occupied territories, Israel intends to create an economic base for its growing civilian settlement population, which now numbers close to 100,000.

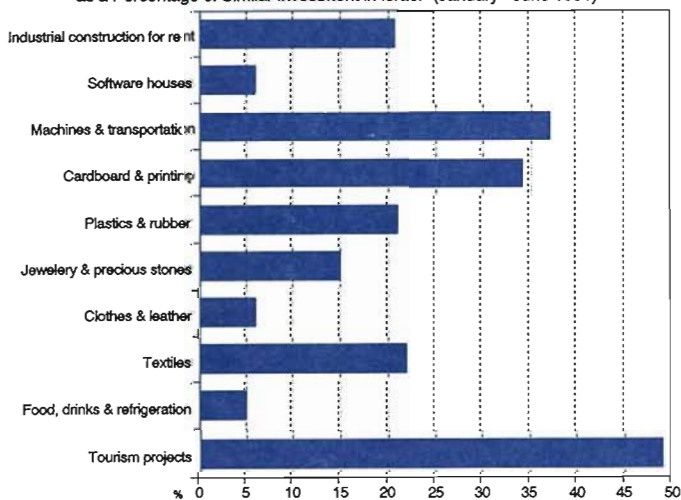
Barqan, the fastest growing Israeli industrial park in the occupied territories, is located four miles from the West Bank Israeli settlement of Ariel. Situated on a newly constructed road connecting the Jewish settlements of the central West Bank to Tel Aviv less than 20 miles distant, the Barqan site currently employs 2,000 workers who annually produce \$300 million of goods, 45 percent of which are exported. It has been planned as the employment anchor for Ariel (population 10,000), Elkana (population 3,000), and Sha'arei Tikva (population 2,000).



Source: Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry

Investment in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

as a Percentage of Similar Investment in Israel* (January - June 1991)



*Including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights
Source: Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry

Investment projects approved by the Ministry of Trade and Industry before December 31, 1992 are eligible for a program of grants, tax reductions, and state guarantees more generous than is generally available in Israel proper. The West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and industrial areas in East Jerusalem are eligible for the highest rate of government support for industrial and tourism projects and hotels.

Government incentives for industrial projects include these choices:

1. **Grants** amounting to 38 percent of fixed assets. In Israel's FY1991 budget, these direct government subsidies totaled \$10.5 million. In the first half of 1991 alone, grants reached \$17 million.
2. **Full exemption** of income and company taxes for 10 years and guarantees equaling two-thirds of the approved enterprise but not less than \$75,000. Guarantees extend to all investment items, including buildings, machinery, working capital, and advertising and marketing expenses.

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“It’s impossible to tell a new immigrant, if he wants to come to live in Ariel for example, ‘don’t come,’ because everything is open. Aside from that, for how long is an immigrant an immigrant, when does he begin to be an Israeli, for whom it is permitted to settle wherever he wants? No government has ever said not to build in Judea and Samaria. The Americans aren’t happy with it; so what!”
—Ron Nachman, mayor of Ariel, *Ma’ariv*, April 19, 1991

“These [settlements] are facts which no government or any other body will be able to change.”—Mattityahu Drobles, head of World Zionist Organization settlement department, *The Jerusalem Post*, July 3, 1991.

“If there isn’t a settlement freeze there will not be a peace process, there will be war.”—Member of Knesset Yossi Sarid, *Ha’aretz*, April 16, 1991

“... We see no meaning to the peace process as long as the settlement activity continues.”—Palestinian representative Faisal Hussein, *Al Hayat*, October 9, 1991. ♦

INVESTMENT, continued from page 4

The occupied territories attract a small but significant percentage of total government-approved investment. Investment in the territories comprised 10 percent of the total amount and 14 percent of the number of enterprises during the first half of 1991. If the industrial areas located in annexed East Jerusalem are included in the total, the share of government approved industrial development in the occupied territories increases.

One-quarter of all investment in the territories is for “industrial construction for rent,” which when completed will provide the infrastructure for future industrial expansion and employment.

During the first half of 1991, 25 investments at Barqan, more than at any other single location in Israel or the occupied territories, received government approval. These investments alone totaled \$30 million.

“This demand,” noted a Peace Now report, “is due to the special grants and benefits that enterprises receive over the Green Line. Most of the enterprises that move to or start in Barqan would have had to search for other development towns in Israel which are geographically much more remote from the center, had they wished to retain most of the benefits. Because of the additional government support to settlements,” the report concludes, “the choice is very clear.” ♦

struction. At that time, a letter sent by Dennis Ross, director of the State Department’s policy planning staff, to Israel’s ambassador in Washington, Zalman Shoval, noted, “You know that we were very unhappy when we heard about the plan to build more than 12,000 apartment units [over a three-year period] in the territories.

“You know what our position is on this. But we received an assurance from the prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, that Israel has no such plan, and on that basis we are giving our guarantee [for \$400 million in loans for Soviet immigrants].”

Additional expenditures include these items:

- \$300 million for associated infrastructure costs, including electricity, water, and public buildings.
- \$400 million for construction of 8,000 homes in East Jerusalem. According to Housing Ministry Director General Ayre Barr, at least 21,000 units will be constructed in this area from mid-1990 through 1992.
- \$60 million for the construction of 1,200 homes in the Golan Heights.
- \$15 million for road construction.
- \$20 million for new settlements constructed by the Ministry of Agriculture.
- \$3 million budgeted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs for distribution to Jewish religious institutions.
- \$10 million allocated by the Ministry of Absorption.
- \$500,000 in grants provided by the Ministry of Tourism to hotels.
- \$500,000 absorbed by the Ministry of Energy for connection to the main electrical grid.
- \$35 million budgeted by the Ministry of Education.
- \$20 million provided to settlement municipalities by the Ministry of Interior.
- \$20 million for mortgage incentives of approximately \$17,000 per housing unit over the 20-year life of an average mortgage. (The figure is based on 24,000 units in the territories at \$1,000 per unit annually.)
- \$32 million paid for the grant portion of government mortgages in the territories. After 5 to 7 years, 40 percent of government mortgages (average amount \$40,000) becomes a grant.
- \$30 million in direct grant aid to private sector investment projects approved by the Ministry of Industry and Trade’s Investment Center.

Private sector investments and expenditures are not included in these estimates. Israeli planners estimate that the private sector contributes 40 percent of total expenditures. When private investments are included, Israeli expenditures in the occupied territories will total more than \$3 billion in 1991. ♦

ISRAEL'S CHOICES: SETTLEMENTS OR IMMIGRATION AND PEACE

The following letter was sent by prominent Israelis to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and published as an advertisement in Ha'aretz on September 16, 1991.

Dear Prime Minister,

In the last two years we have all participated in the great historic enterprise of the immigration of thousands of Jews from the Soviet Union to this country. The absorption of these immigrants is the most important priority of both Zionism and the state, along with the subject of peace.

In the last months we were hopeful that the United States would not postpone assistance for absorption because of the settlements. Even so, we warned the government that continuation of the settlements endangers the absorption of immigrants, as it endangers peace.

It was not the United States that made the linkage between settlements and absorption of immigrants. The policies of the government in the occupied territories, your declaration that "a big immigration requires a big Land of Israel," and the provocations of Minister Sharon—they are what produced the linkage.

The friendship of the United States has been one of Israel's principal assets since its founding. In your militant fanaticism you are endangering this asset. It is absolutely clear that the peace process and the settlement process are contradictory: if there is settlement there will not be peace, and if there will be peace there will not be settlement. Negotiations will not be able to begin, and if they develop they will not progress, as long as settlements are created and thickened. It is impossible to negotiate and to settle at the same time, because if we continue to settle there is nothing to talk about.

For immigration and peace we call upon you to cease immediately the establishment of new settlements and thickening of existing ones. If you don't, the failure of absorption-immigration and the peace process will be on your head.

The people have pardoned you and your government for many failures. This time we are speaking of two subjects at the heart of Zionism. The souring of this historic opportunity for peace and the failure of immigration will not be forgotten or excused!

(Signed by Knesset members Shulamit Aloni, Ran Cohen, Haim Oron, Lova Eliav, Yossi Beilin, Avraham Burg, Amir Peretz, Ya'ir Tzaban, Dedi Zucker, Hagai Merom, Yossi Sarid, Hasen Parez, Mordecai Vershubsky, Avraham Poruz, and twenty-three other prominent Israelis.) ♦

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of Israel's spending decisions.

"The meaning of the American demand," noted a news report in *Ha'aretz*, "is actually a complete freeze on the allocation of money for building beyond the Green Line" [the pre-1967 border].

Shamir dismissed the conditions Baker outlined for U.S. approval of the guarantees. He explained to Baker that the issue of a settlement freeze would be discussed only during negotiations on the final status of the occupied territories, which, according to Israel's timetable, will begin three years after the initiation of the autonomy talks.

Baker's response came in the form of statements delivered by a "senior U.S. official," who declared that both Baker and Bush felt "extraordinarily strongly" about stopping Israeli settlement.

Baker, later identified as the unnamed source, complained that the standard written Israeli assurances that U.S. funds are not spent in the territories—the "boiler plate language"—has no effect on the question of settlements.

"I think that what the Israelis want us to do is to agree that come January we would not ask for any conditions on this aid respecting their continued settlement practices," explained Baker. "But that's just something we're not going to agree to, if we only get one vote. . . . I think the president will be willing to go to the American people because it is their tax dollars that will be supporting settlement activity that we used to characterize as illegal and which we now moderately characterize as an obstacle to peace."

Efforts are now under way to arrange some compromise formula for provision of the loan guarantees in January 1992. Suggestions include a freeze on settlements for the duration of the peace negotiations, a reduction to 3,000-4,000 in housing starts annually in the West Bank from the current pace of more than 15,000, and a reduction in U.S. loan guarantees equal to Israel's expenditures in the occupied territories.

The latter suggestion has been raised by Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vermont) and endorsed by the American Jewish establishment as the "least worst" policy option.

The key element in this proposal is the definition and calculation of Israeli expenditures in occupied territory, which this year will total \$2 billion. The figure will be even greater if private sector expenditures are included.

"There is now no doubt," wrote the influential columnist Akiva Eldar in *Ha'aretz* on September 24, "that as long as Bush sits in the White House, nobody will manage to break the linkage between U.S. aid in all its forms—political, economic, and, God forbid, military—and Israel's occupation policy."

The debate over the loan guarantees will test the accuracy of this prediction. ♦

U.S. CHURCH GROUPS SPEAK OUT ON SETTLEMENTS

The following statements on Israeli settlement policy have been issued by mainline U.S. churches:

The National Council of Churches of Christ, representing 32 Protestant, Orthodox, and Anglican denominations with a combined membership of 42 million:

“... urges the United States administration . . . to obtain firm guarantees that any further aid to Israel will not be used for the purposes of settlement in any territories occupied after 1967.” (Governing Board, May 18, 1990)

The United States Catholic Conference, with a membership of 57 million, in an October 4, 1991 letter to President George Bush from the president of the U.S. Catholic Conference:

“The continuing policy of expanding settlements in the Occupied Territories would prejudice and threaten the peace process. . . . The United States has been clear and consistent in its insistence that our legitimate and necessary assistance to Israel not be used to foster a settlements policy which our government opposes and which could undermine prospects for peace.”

The American Friends Service Committee in a 1989 report:

“Israel’s desire for security and a long-term peace is compromised by its policy of extensive settlement in the West Bank and Gaza and the continued repressive acts taken to maintain the occupation. If continued steps to integrate the occupied territories into the political economy of Israel are taken, a future agreement with the Palestinians and Arabs may be all but foreclosed. **As part of a negotiated peace, Israel must either withdraw its settlements or negotiate terms for the settlers to live under Palestinian sovereignty.**”

“... The United States government must strengthen its opposition to land expropriation, West Bank and Gaza settlements, the seizure of water resources, deportation of civic leaders, and other repressive moves whose purpose is to ensure long-term Israeli control of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.”

The Episcopal Church, membership—2.5 million:

“... urges the President and the Congress of the United States to hold in escrow aid to Israel by an amount equal to any expenditures by the Government of Israel to expand, develop or further establish Israeli settlements in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem and only release the aid from escrow if proof is given that

settlements are not being established.” (70th General Convention, July 1991)

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, membership—5.2 million:

“request[s] that the bishop write the president and encourage members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America to write to the president, their senators, and their members of Congress asking them to oppose further housing loan guarantees to Israel unless and until the construction and expansion of settlements in the occupied territories is stopped.” (1991 Churchwide Assembly)

The Presbyterian Church (USA), membership—3 million:

“encourages the Congress of the United States to make continuation of U.S. aid to the State of Israel contingent upon an end to further settlements in the occupied territories. . . .” (General Assembly, 1990)

The Unitarian Universalist Association, membership—180,000, urges:

“Continued opposition to the creation and maintenance of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and continued commitment to the United Nations Resolution 242 under which Israel should withdraw from lands conquered in 1967 and under which its right to security within its 1967 borders should be assured.” (General Assembly, 1982)

The United Church of Christ, membership—1.6 million:

“... call[s] upon Israel to stop all construction of settlements in the Occupied Territories including East Jerusalem. We also call upon the U.S. government to continue its opposition to settlements, and to use whatever current leverage it has to see that no more settlements are built in the Occupied Territories.” (April 20, 1991 statement)

The United Methodist Church, membership—9 million:

“... call[s] upon the United States Government to oppose new settlements in the occupied territory. . . .” (General Board of Church and Society, 1988) ♦

PALESTINIANS DEMAND HALT IN ISRAELIZATION OF EAST JERUSALEM

The following letter was delivered on July 12 to Western consuls in Jerusalem and a United Nations representative by a delegation of Palestinians headed by the chairman of the Arab Journalists' Association, Radwan Abu Ayyash:

... if Israel succeeds in its blatant effort to Israelize Jerusalem beyond the possibility of reestablishing Palestinian sovereignty over East Jerusalem as the political capital of a Palestinian State, then not even the most optimistic of peacemakers can dream that peace can be brought to the Middle East.

Jerusalem, Palestine's historic religious and cultural capital, Christianity's most treasured earthly sanctum, Islam's mystical gateway to divine knowledge and union with the Creator, is the key either to peace through compromise between Jews and Arabs, or to an existential confrontation and calamity in the region. As each day goes by, Israel forcefully and unilaterally pursues a path that can only lead to the abolition of the peace process. . . .

Already, Israel has unilaterally annexed East Jerusalem, confiscated large areas of land inside it, surrounded it on all sides with a wall of settlements, filled it up with suburbs that already contain as many Jews as Arabs, nibbled and inched its way through properties inside its Arab quarters, declared it a foreign and prohibited zone to Arabs living in the rest of the occupied territories—thus depriving them from their rights in it and free access to it—denied its inhabitants urban and commercial growth, stifled its citizens with exorbitant taxes and rates, expelled its Arab mayor, changed its features in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and other international resolutions, and has earmarked it as a central focus for the absorption of Soviet immigrants, in a plan to totally overwhelm its Arab population by more than a million Jewish residents. . . .

We ask that the international community take practical steps to halt the process of Israelization of East Jerusalem. Only by upholding international law in every part of the world can the claims about a new world order be vindicated. ♦

Excerpted from
MIDEAST Mirror, July 12, 1991

The Israeli government is acting like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. On the one hand, it continues with settlements in the territories and Sharon builds tens of thousands of houses, two or three times more than in the previous year; on the other hand, Shamir, with an innocent expression on his face, demands that the United States not link the peace process to aid for immigrant absorption. . . .

The linkage between immigrant absorption aid and the peace process was not created by Bush, but by the actions of Sharon. By dragging Israel into a war of words against the U.S., our only friend, Shamir and Sharon are making the gravest historical mistake.

Editorial in the Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar*, September 13, 1991

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