

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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NEWS

As 1993 drew to a close, the Rabin government's settlement construction program in and around Jerusalem led to the Clinton administration's first official protest.

Articles on pages 5 and 7 offer important details about Israel's settlement budget. Prime Minister Rabin's expansive plans for new construction in East Jerusalem and its environs are caused in part by his desire to "create facts" before negotiations with the PLO on the territory's final status begin in three years.

The current negotiations for Palestinian self-help rule have focused on three principal issues, two of which relate to settlements: the territorial borders of self-help rule in Jericho and the division of the Gaza Strip into Israeli and Palestinian-controlled zones. The maps in pages 4 and 5 profile the anticipated agreement.

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This issue of the *Settlement Report* includes a cumulative index to the eighteen issues published during 1991, 1992, and 1993.

RECENT VIOLENCE AGAIN PROVES SETTLEMENTS IMPEDE PEACE

The growing violence in the occupied territories has served notice that the respite from a confrontation over settlements which both Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) thought they had won in the Declaration of Principles was an illusion.

The recent cycle of confrontation engaging Palestinians and Israeli settlers opposed to the agreement has robbed Chairman Yasir Arafat and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of much needed public enthusiasm for their rapprochement. Palestinian attacks upon settlers have angered an Israeli public that was told the agreement would enhance its

security. Settlers have taken advantage of the violence to escalate tensions with the Israeli army and Palestinians.

The Declaration of Principles initiated by Israel and the Palestinians in Washington in September 1993 established the framework for negotiations between the two parties for the next five years. The centerpiece of the document is the creation of a five-year interim period, during which Israel has committed itself to disengage progressively from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip in preparation for a final resolution of its military occupation.

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RABIN WILL HAVE TO CLARIFY SETTLEMENT PREFERENCES

by Geoffrey Aronson

In the first round of negotiations with the PLO on the implementation of the Declaration of Principles, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin secured settlements and settlers from any measure of Palestinian control during the interim period. No party to the negotiations, however, and certainly not those who oppose them, is content with the formulae agreed upon by negotiators.

Rabin long ago created a hierarchy of settlements based on ideological and political considerations that awards relatively more of his support to some outposts and less to others. A Palestinian negotiating strategy aimed at forcing

Rabin to sharpen this hierarchy holds the potential for some gains (the further isolation of Likud-era settlements), as well as certain costs, such as forcing Rabin into a more aggressive posture toward East and greater Jerusalem.

Palestinian negotiators prefer that the 20 settlements housing 4,000 settlers in the Gaza Strip should be dismantled in the interim period. In recent weeks, the Peace Now organization has made a similar recommendation. Settlement leaders, on the other hand, warn that Rabin's adoption of such a policy would bring down his government.

The Rabin government favors and

RABIN, *continued on page 6*

TO OUR READERS

The ascent of the Rabin government to power has made our work at the *Settlement Report* more interesting—and more difficult. Likud governments made no secret of their intention to patronize continuing settlement, and their manner drew the almost unanimous opposition of the international community, including, at least during the Bush administration, the United States.

As the article on page 7 points out, Rabin has adopted a more sophisticated strategy, which assures continued economic and material support for settlers but which the most militant settlers oppose vociferously and, increasingly, with violence.

The Clinton administration's reaction to Rabin's efforts is most unfortunate. For the

first time since 1967, a U.S. administration has conceded that Israel's concept of the "natural growth" of settlements is acceptable. It also maintains its refusal to exact from Israel any costs for the ongoing expansion of settlements in and around annexed East Jerusalem.

No one would suggest that the United States believes that settlements contribute to an Israeli-Palestinian peace. Now more than ever, Washington needs to reconsider its continuing submission to Israel on the central issue of settlements.



In Place of a Trailer, Take an Apartment in the Settlements

In July, Minister of Housing and Construction Benjamin Ben Eliezer decided to close down trailer camps used to house new immigrants on an emergency basis. Located throughout Israel, 14 such sites house about 5,000 families. The following article appeared on November 21 in the newspaper, Hadashot.

The Minister of Housing and Construction prefers that his new policy for closing trailer parks for new immigrants be kept secret. In the last month, it has become known that the ministry transferred residents of one such trailer site to empty apartments on the other side of the Green Line.

This newfound concern for trailer park residents—especially new immigrants from Ethiopia and Russia—stems from the need to populate empty apartments in the Ma'ale Ephriam settlement, located in the Jordan Valley. In recent weeks, 19 representatives of the housing ministry, acting as real estate agents, have been touring the trailer sites trying to interest new immigrants in buying an apartment over the Green Line.

"The hour is approaching and the minister of housing is committed to evacuating the trailer camps," explained one senior housing ministry official. "The minister is committed to stand behind his promise [to evacuate the trailer sites], but it is being done too hastily, and the immigrants are

being evacuated beyond the Green Line. The idea is to show that the trailer camps are being evacuated, and it's not important to where."

Immigrants are told that a three-room apartment in Ma'ale Ephriam that not long ago sold for \$46,000, will now cost them only \$23,000. "The immigrants may find themselves in a very short time working in agriculture [on Israeli settlements] in the Jordan Valley in place of Arabs," notes the senior official. "I already see farmers coming in the morning to Ma'ale Ephriam for immigrants from Ethiopia, who receive \$16 for a day's work. Aside from agricultural labor, it's not clear what else the new residents of Ma'ale Ephriam can do there."

Haim Aviv, head of the Ma'ale Ephriam local council, confirms that, "we welcome the arrival of new immigrants in order to interest them in the purchase of the 49 apartments owned by the ministry."

Residents of the Jordan Valley, who last month raised the specter of revolt against any Israeli withdrawal from the Jordan Valley, can relax. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Yossi Beilin, who hinted of a possible withdrawal from the Valley, will discover that the ministry of housing, this time under the leadership of Benjamin ben Eliezer, continues to create facts on the ground. ♦

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EXPANDING JERUSALEM'S BORDERS TO THE OUTSKIRTS OF JERICHO

An interministerial committee appointed by the Rabin government has recently approved a large-scale development and settlement plan for a significant portion of the West Bank between East Jerusalem and Jericho.

The approval of this plan for the creation of the Adumim Bloc—anchored by the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim (population 18,000)—was reported on November 11 by the *Jerusalem Post*.

Officials at the Housing Ministry denied knowledge of both the plan, whose origins date from the early 1980s, and the interministerial committee.

The mayor of Ma'ale Adumim, Benny Kashriel, told the *Post* that he had discussed the proposal with Minister of Housing Benjamin ben Eliezer himself, who he believed favored the plan.

Kashriel supports the scheme, which forecasts the creation of a continuous band of housing for 70,000 Israelis between the East Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev and Ma'ale Adumim, for "strategic and developmental reasons."

The creation of a distinct Adumim bloc of settlements gives physical expression to the de facto expansion of Jerusalem's borders as far as the Jericho enclave created for the Palestinians under the Declaration of Principles, initialed between Israel and the PLO in September 1993.

"This plan makes sense especially today," noted Kashriel.

According to the *Post* report, the plan has yet to be formally endorsed by the government, "but the committee's approval was an indication of backing from the ministries represented on the committee." ♦

The Housing and Development Company Invites You to Catch the Heights

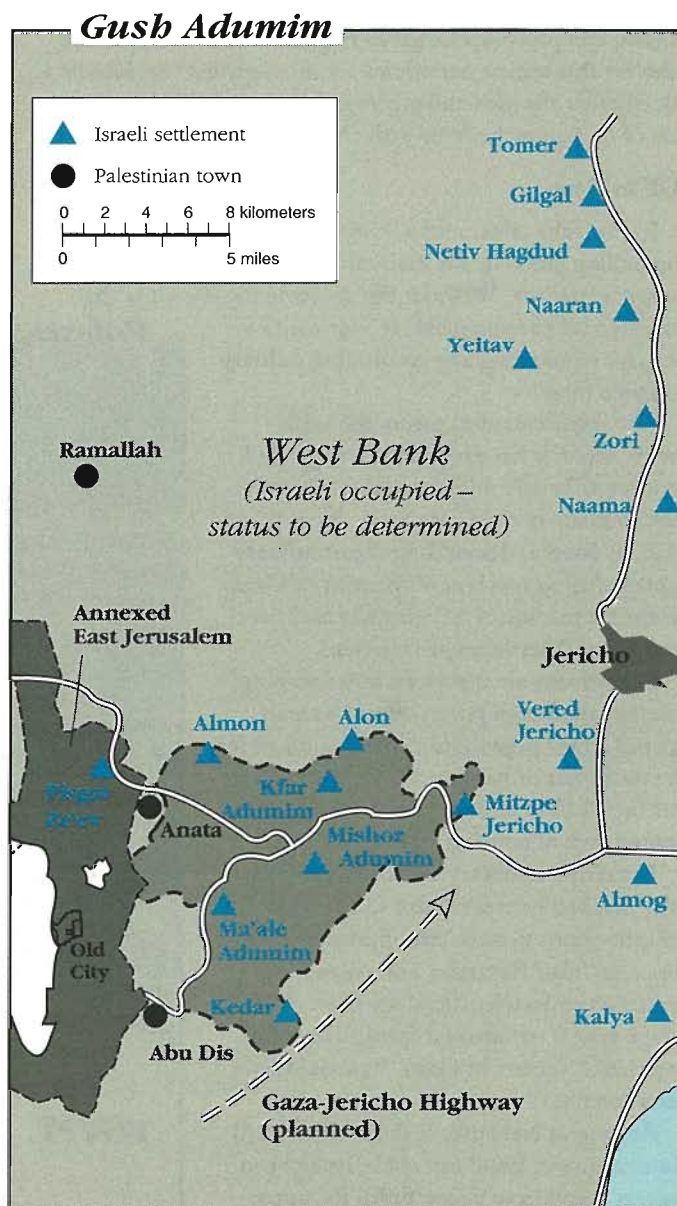


This is the time to raise your living standard in an apartment in the beautiful areas of Jerusalem and its environs. The Housing and Development Company suggests that you inspect apartments of 2-5 rooms of varying sizes. This is also a great opportunity to purchase a quality apartment on very good terms.

<p>■ Central Pisgat Ze'ev 2,3,3.5,4, and 5-room beautiful apartments in a completed neighborhood enjoying a high standard of neighborhood services. Local loan available to qualifying purchasers.</p>	<p>■ East Pisgat Ze'ev 3 and 4 room apartments in the best location, enjoying a high quality of life and neighborhood services. Local loans available to qualifying purchasers.</p>
<p>In advanced stage of construction</p> 	<p>■ Ma'ale Adumim In the "Cliff View" neighborhood, 3.5 and 4 rooms in painted houses with red-tiled roofs. Well-developed neighborhood services.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Last Apartments</p>

Details and Purchase Terms: Jerusalem, 15 Ben Hillel Street, Tel. 02-231321

This advertisement, appearing in *Kol Ha'Ir*, a Jerusalem weekly, illustrates government efforts to popularize the notion that these disputed areas are unremarkable parts of Israel. This housing forms a demographic bridge linking the settlements of annexed Jerusalem to those in the West Bank.



Source: Foundation for Middle East Peace

The interim period, first proposed in the Camp David Accords, was resurrected at Madrid as a means of assuring Palestinian agreement to a continuing Israeli presence, military and civilian, in the Palestinian homeland.

A defining characteristic of the interim period is its provision for the continuing existence of some 200 settlement locales in the occupied territories. The settlements, and the 130,000 Israelis living in them, are to remain under Israel's exclusive jurisdiction.

The Palestinians and the Israelis will pay dearly for this privilege. The issue of settlements has ostensibly been deferred until discussions on the "final status" of the territories, which is due to begin in three years. But settlements have already become a principal focus of dispute in talks held in Taba and in Cairo as well as in the streets of the territories. The escalating violence involving the army, settlers, and Palestinians, and problems raised in negotiations to establish the rules for this testing period, are increasingly leading Israelis to ask whether the idea endangers rather than facilitates the success of its rapprochement with the Palestinians.

IDF in Gaza

In the Taba talks, settlements have provided Israel with a compelling rationale for maintaining a significant military presence in Gaza. Without the settlements, it is clear that Israel would have no need, or any justification, for demanding any continuing military presence there.

The requirement to assure the settlements' security has produced an expanded concept of Israel's military and territorial requirements in the Gaza Strip. As of this writing, Israel is demanding direct military control over as much as 40 percent of Gaza, creating a patchwork of mutually exclusive Israeli and Palestinian jurisdictions.

Palestinians are not alone in wondering whether the Rabin government has truly opened a new page in its military concept for the territories or has merely decided to permit the PLO to undertake the thankless and limited task of policing its own people.

Netzarim, a solitary settlement strategically perched between Gaza City and huge refugee camps to its south, illustrates this concern. "Had Netzarim not existed," explained an Israeli official involved with the Israeli army's withdrawal from Palestinian population centers in Gaza, "it should have been invented."

As long as Netzarim is defined as a civilian settlement, Israel can claim its right to protect it and in so doing fulfill the appar-

ently continuing desire of Israel Defense Forces to maintain a military presence between Gaza City and the camps in Gaza's geographic center.

Palestinians understand that the need to secure the survival of the settlements is at the core of Israel's sweeping territorial demands in Gaza. If Gaza's 4,000 settlers can produce such expansive territorial requirements in an area so small and crowded, Palestinians are understandably wary of territorial concessions Israel will demand in the West Bank, where more than 125,000 Israeli settlers reside.

Jericho Issues

Discussions about the size of the Jericho region to be put under Palestinian control and the recent revelation of plans for a bloc of settlements anchored by Ma'ale Adumin, (see article, page 3), mark the first chapter in the dispute. The Palestinian version of the Jericho region includes 10 Israeli settlements in an area of 350 square kilometers. Israel is prepared to agree to Palestinian control over a 75-square kilometer area around the town.

Although the area includes no settlements, it will be defined on its north and south by settlements, on its east by Israeli control of the lands between the Palestinian territory and the Jordan River, and by a mountain ridge on the west.

A Palestinian adviser close to the negotiations believes that



Source: Foundation for Middle East Peace

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Arafat will agree to the territorial outlines for Gaza and Jericho put forward by Israel. He also doubts that the timetable for the expansion of Palestinian authority to the remainder of the West Bank will be met.

Here, too, Israeli settlements, and the growing disorder and riots that they generate, are at the heart of the matter. Palestinians believe that the problem can be solved simply by dismantling the settlements. Indeed, this option has been raised in the talks and immediately rejected.

In Israel, the issue is being addressed with more circumspection. Hardly a day goes by without some official suggesting that a final agreement will leave some settlements under Arab sovereignty. The Peace Now movement is considering for the first time a political campaign calling for dismantling settlements in order to promote the prospects for peace.

Such trends are warning signs that the concept of an interim period may be fatally flawed. Rather than ensure the peace between Israelis and Palestinians by providing for the protection of settlements, an interim period in which settlements flourish may endanger it. Without the settlements, the road to a final agreement is wide open. ♦

RABIN'S SETTLEMENT BUDGET

In September, the Clinton administration announced that it was deducting \$437 million from the \$2 billion in loan guarantees made available to Israel for the fiscal year beginning in October 1993. The United States imposed a \$6 million penalty for Jerusalem, bringing the total amount deducted from the loan guarantees to \$437 million.

The *Settlement Report* has received from a reliable Israeli source the complete government accounting of its expenditures in the occupied territories (excluding East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights) for the October 1992-September 1993 period used to calculate the "settlement penalty."

Settlement budget expenditures are detailed below according to two formulae: the first notes expenditures by category, the second records expenditures by each relevant Israeli ministry.

SETTLEMENT BUDGET BY CATEGORY

Cash transfers	(millions US\$)
Local government authorities	57
Income tax reductions	25
Services (maintenance, etc.)	10
Rent subsidies	<u>4</u>
Subtotal cash transfers	102 *

Investment

Housing, road construction, and guaranteed government purchases of unsold housing	220
Equipment used by settlements	40
Local government councils and other institutions	32
Loans and grants	<u>37</u>
Subtotal investment	329

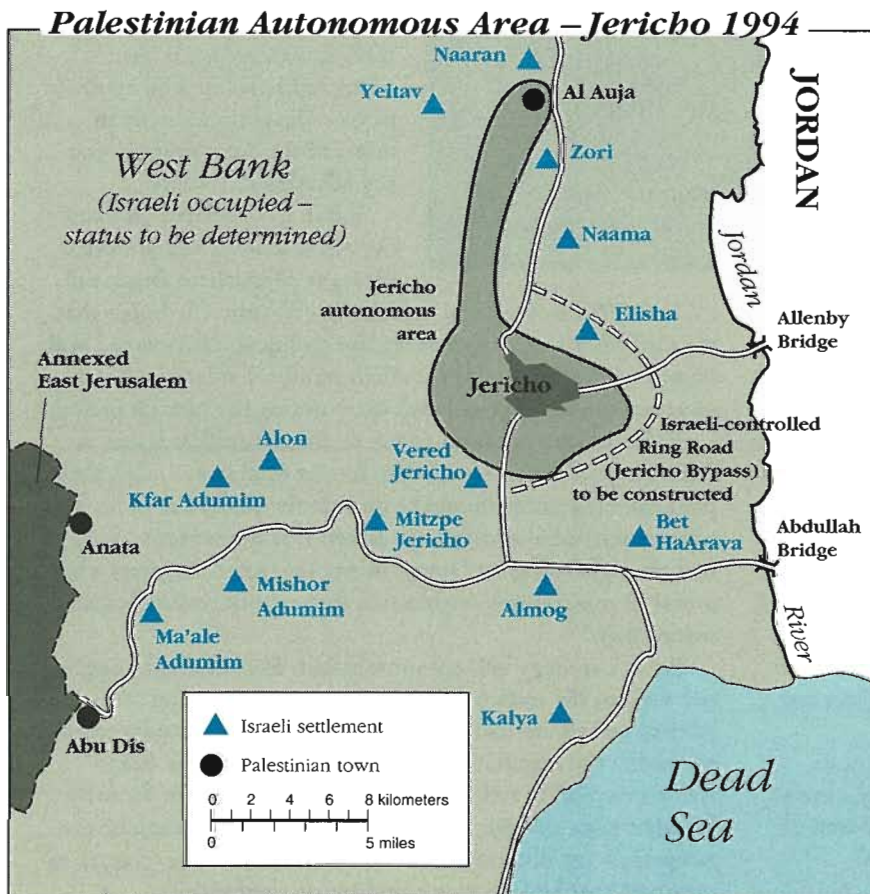
Total settlement-related expenditures \$431

* The Israeli document inexplicably used a sum of \$96 million instead of \$102 million.

SETTLEMENT BUDGET BY MINISTRY

Ministry of Housing	277
Ministry of the Interior	62
Ministry of Commerce and Industry	30
Ministry of Treasury	25
Ministry of Agriculture	23.5
Water Authority	6
Ministry of Education	5
Ministry of Tourism	1.5
Ministry of Religion	<u>1</u>

Total expenditures by ministries \$431



Source: Foundation for Middle East Peace

anticipates annexing to Israel the following settlements as part of a final agreement:

◆ *The 10 settlements of Jerusalem with a population of 160,000.* Rabin is adamant about the continuing viability of these suburbs under Israeli sovereignty.

◆ *The settlements of greater Jerusalem, including the Etzion Bloc of settlements south of Bethlehem, Ma'ale Adumim on the road to Jericho, and Givat Ze'ev, west of Ramallah.* The outposts have a population of about 40,000. In 1967, Rabin wanted to expand Jerusalem's boundaries to include much of this area. Labor governments have been responsible for the construction of most of these outposts.

Like areas of East Jerusalem already annexed, this region is within Rabin's vision of future Israeli sovereignty. It is by no means clear that Palestinian negotiators are aware that a tremendous amount of planning by Israeli civilian authorities is now under way for this area. Politically, many of these settlements are inhabited by Israelis with wide-ranging and long-standing ties to the Labor Party or its affiliates.

During the interim period, the consolidation of the outposts, including roads and housing construction, will continue, particularly the road from Jerusalem south to Efrat—a key artery that will open up the region to another Israeli suburb of Jerusalem. Rabin can be expected to maintain his low-key efforts to consolidate settlements in East Jerusalem and beyond, efforts that will inevitably distinguish the Jerusalem region from other areas in the West Bank.

◆ *The 27 Jordan Valley settlements with a population of 5,000 created by Labor in the 1967–77 period.* None is economically viable, mainly because of keen European Community competition with the settlements' exports of winter flowers and vegetables. In the context of peace, the future of these outposts is doubtful. Israel's security border is already the Jordanian frontier with Iraq.

Under the best of circumstances (which certainly no longer prevails) these settlements failed to expand. Furthermore, the settlers in the Valley are Labor Party stalwarts who, like their Golan counterparts, can be expected to be good soldiers and leave as the price for peace.

During the interim period, however, they will fight to keep their rich agricultural lands in the Jordan Valley, almost all of which were taken from refugees from the 1967 war. Restitution of these lands will be on the Palestinians' diplomatic agenda.

Settlements not favored by Rabin have been defined by him as "political" settlements—outposts founded by the opposition Likud Party and, more particularly, those championed by the religious zealots of Gush Emmunim. Rabin and these settlers go back to the settlement of Elon Moreh, near Nablus, from 1974 onward. Their success came at his personal and political expense, capped by his resignation as prime minister in 1977. He would not lose any sleep if their outposts "dried up." They number nearly 50, with a total population of less than 20,000, and are located along the central mountains north from Ramallah and a few in or near Hebron.

Impact of Violence

Unless the settlers force the issue, however, Rabin will not initiate any outright offensive against them in the interim period. Nor will he undertake any administrative measures aimed at enacting real cuts in government subsidies that affects their well-being. Instead, he hopes to conduct a winning political campaign against them through attrition.

The political dynamics in Israel in the weeks immediately following the early October Knesset debate on the Declaration of Principles certainly encouraged a policy of politically isolating these militant settlers. But the recent cycle of premeditated violence by settlers, the IDF, and Palestinians has prompted Israeli public opinion to view the accord strictly in terms of the deteriorating security afforded to settlers.

Rabin has declared on many occasions that he will not evict them, as Menachem Begin did

in April 1982 in the Sinai settlement of Yamit. He hopes that the settlers, particularly those in the "political settlements," will despair of the future and that their numbers at least will not increase—and at best will dwindle—during the interim period.

If the interim period succeeds to the extent that Rabin is forced to produce an Israeli map for the final status talks, these political settlements should be outside the perimeter of his permanent territorial additions to Israel. It is important to note that the right-wing settlement movement has no interest whatsoever in maintaining settlements that are not under "Jewish sovereignty."

Rabin's strategy will not prevent him from taking an aggressive view of the settlers' security requirements during the interim period, no matter what difficulties these requirements present to the negotiations or to Israel's army in the field. Rabin's credibility rests on his public persona as Mr. Security. Whatever his strategic objectives vis-à-vis settlements, he cannot permit any diminution in their physical security or agree to measures that he feels may compromise their viability. ◆

"Settlements, especially in the densely populated area that I used to call political settlements, were not established from any security point of view. Their whole purpose was political, to make any solution almost impossible. This was the idea of the Likud."

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin
Jerusalem Post, October 6, 1993

FROM THE ISRAELI PRESS

This article recounting important aspects of U.S.-Israeli deliberations on the loan guarantee issue appeared in Hadashot on October 29. Written by the newspaper's financial editor, Ya'ir Fidel, the article contains information about the details of the U.S.-Israeli debate that have been absent from U.S. press reports. The Settlement Report has excerpted the following portions:

August 1992, the summer house of George Bush in Maine.

One of the Prime Minister's inner circle reconstructed the meeting from memory as follows: "Immediately on reaching the subject of the guarantees Bush raised the issue of the settlements and of the immense sums of money that the Likud government spent on them. He wanted to know what Rabin intended to do. Rabin laid the cards on the table. "Mr. President," he said, "I can put a stop to the planned construction of some 7,000 housing units in the West Bank at once, but I cannot stop the construction of another 10,000 housing units which are already in various stages of construction. That will cost me a lot of money." **Bush:** "And what about private construction? Not only government-financed construction is going on there." **Rabin:** "I cannot stop the private construction. If private people construct, I have nothing to do with that." **Bush:** "But so much money is being transferred there, what about that?" **Rabin:** "I have no intention whatsoever to starve the settlements in the territories. We will continue to supply them with education, health, religion and whatever they need. What I am willing to guarantee is that we will not expand the settlements beyond those which already exist." **Bush:** "And what will happen if currently there are five classes of children in an elementary school and in two years time they will advance to a high school and you have to build high school classrooms? Are you calling this an expansion beyond what already exists or not?" **Rabin:** "I mean that I will not expand the settlements beyond the natural growth of the settlers already living there today. I will build high school classrooms." **Bush:** "Then I will take that sum out of the total of loan guarantees. According to the agreement I have with the Israeli government, dating from the Likud administration, we will cut from the loan guarantees everything that Israel invests in the territories." **Rabin:** "If you take off just what we transfer to there, we agree."

Data gathered in ministries during the preparation of this article show that the Rabin government has only slightly reduced the enormous budgets which previously were pouring into the settlements, and it is far from starving them. Declarations are one thing and reality is quite another. . . . The settlements in the territories continue to thrive and prosper through state budgets.

It is therefore interesting to examine how, and on the basis of what data, the U.S. administration cut the amounts Israel

invested beyond the Green Line from the loan guarantees. . . . The bottom line was that from the calculation of Israel's investments in the territories would be deducted all the funds that Israel would have spent even if there was not one Israeli settler there. . . . It was also decided that the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics would carry out the calculations alone without any American intervention.

This decision made it clear that the Americans were granting Rabin a significant discount. First of all, they let Israel prepare all the data. Second, they accepted the Israeli position that not all of the money Israel spent in the territories should be taken into account and that, in effect, it would be Israel which would divide the funds into the two categories. Even more significant was the Americans' silent agreement to leave open the question of Israel's investments in the parts of Jerusalem annexed in 1967.

The Americans were presented with the sum reached by the Israeli calculators: \$430 million. The Americans did not attempt to argue. . . . But it turns out that the figure which the Americans received was lower by \$270 million than the figure

"Data gathered in ministries . . . show that the Rabin government has only slightly reduced the enormous budgets which previously were pouring into the settlements. . . ."

calculated by the [Israeli] Finance Ministry when the latter did not yet know that the Americans would agree to ignore Israel's investments in East Jerusalem. At that time the Finance Ministry arrived at the sum of \$700 million per year

invested by Israel beyond the Green Line. The American bomb fell about three weeks ago. Washington announced that it was cutting \$437 million, \$7 million more than reported by Israel. The Americans defined the addition as accounting for Israel's investments in East Jerusalem. Despite the surprise, Israel remained silent. The government ministers knew that the Americans had been extremely lenient with Israel and had cut only \$7 million from the guarantees instead of the \$270 million Israel says that it actually invested in East Jerusalem. . . . A senior Israeli official explained that by such a symbolic cut the Americans managed to kill two birds with one stone. They clearly signalled to the Israeli government that it can construct in East Jerusalem without incurring any financial penalties, while granting the Palestinians what they like so much, namely symbols, by explicitly stating that East Jerusalem was considered occupied territory. . . .

From the time of the Bush-Rabin meeting in August 1992, there have been many changes in the Middle East . . . but there has been no change at all in the funds flowing to the settlements. There is even the possibility that in the coming year there will be an increase in the funds funneled to maintain the settlers' living standards, in order to bribe them to keep quiet. . . . Rabin may continue to refrain from drying out the settlements. And the Americans? They will continue to understand him. ♦

SHORT TAKES

"Through the means of the agreement called Gaza-Jericho, Israel got what it wanted from the Palestinians, without returning land or committing to return it. As a result, Israel did not commit itself to put an end to the policy of settlement in the occupied territories."

Abdullah al-Achmar, leading figure in Syria's Baath Party, *al Baath* newspaper, November 16, 1993

Minister [of Justice] David Libai notes that Ma'ale Efriam and the Jordan Valley are located, according to the Labor Party platform, within Israeli territory, and they are an important part of the security and settlement alignment."

Ha'aretz, November 17, 1993

Interviewer: Israel is using the protection of the Israeli settlements as an excuse to keep the Israeli army in the Palestinian autonomous regions. Is the Palestinian leadership fully ready to protect these settlements?

Elias Freij [Mayor of Bethlehem]: I believe that all the settlements are illegal and illegitimate. Who can force me to protect illegitimate settlements?

Interviewer: So the solution is to transfer those settlements to Israel?

Freij: Yes.

Cairo, Voice of the Arabs, November 4, 1993

"It's clear that if there is a government that is speaking of territorial compromises, there will be settlements lying outside.

"Those settlements outside the rule of Israel—we will make every effort that there will not be a need, God forbid, to destroy them, but to enable their residents to choose whether to remain there under non-Israeli rule or to choose another path, but it will be their choice."

Israel's Deputy Foreign Minister, Yossi Beilin, November 10, 1993

Interviewer: The Israeli minister of housing has spoken of the establishment of 13,000 new housing units in Jerusalem. What do you have to say about this?

Faisal Husseini: We tell the Israeli housing minister that no one in the world has the complete freedom to do what he wants. They are not the only ones who live in Jerusalem. . . . If the relationship between us is going to be based on the fact that one party can ignore the interests of the other party in this manner, we will not be moving towards the establishment of peace but to the establishment of a new base for a new war."

Interview on Radio Monte Carlo, October 24, 1993

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres explained that just as Arab settlements exist in Israel under Jewish rule, there is no reason Israeli settlements should not remain intact under Arab rule.

Ha'aretz, October 24, 1993

"The IDF protects settlers in their settlements one hundred times more than those settlements protect the state of Israel."

*Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin
Israeli Radio, December 8, 1993*

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