REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT

IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

A Bimonthly Publication of the Foundation for Middle East Peace

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HOUSING CONSTRUCTION PROCEEDS APACE IN TERRITORIES

The key to Israel's program of Jewish settlement in the territories captured in 1967 has been its evolutionary, incremental character. It has taken a generation—almost 24 years since the June 1967 War—to settle the more than 200,000 Israelis who live today in these occupied territories, lands that are home to 1.8 million Palestinians.

The construction of additional housing in the territories, with the subsequent growth in population, remains one of the Shamir government's primary national objectives.

The policy guidelines of the Shamir government, adopted in June 1990, declare:

- "The eternal right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel is not subject to question, and is intertwined with its right to security and peace.
- "Settlement in all parts of the Land of Israel is the right of our people and an integral part of national security; the government will act to strengthen settlement, to broaden and develop it."

Today, the Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and the West Bank (excluding annexed Jerusalem with its 120,000 Israelis) are home to approximately 80,000 Israelis living in 141 Jewish settlements, according to the latest Israeli government figures. But the establishment of new settlements is no

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GEORGE BUSH TO YITZHAK SHAMIR: SETTLEMENTS ARE ANNEXATION

President George Bush so strongly disagrees with Israel's Jewish settlement policy in Palestinian territory occupied by Israeli armed forces that he has written to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to express his firmly-held opposition to it and threatens to make his views known "clearly in public and at the UN" unless it is changed. Israeli settlement, President Bush told Shamir, is "an obstacle to peace." It is seen as "Israel's desire to annex" the territories and a policy that should be abandoned.

The president's views, expressed in a private letter to Shamir last June, were made public when Israel's widely respected newspaper *Ha'aretz* published excerpts from it in Hebrew. The quotes from the Bush letter republished here are translated form the text that appeared in *Ha'aretz* last December 11.

In the letter, Bush told Shamir that You well know of my strong opposition to all settlement activity. I believe that such activity constitutes an obstacle to peace in that it signifies both Israel's desire to annex the territories and its insistence to take unilateral measures in order to change the existing situation, even before negotiations begin. Settlement activity necessarily spoils the atmosphere and makes more difficult the finding of Arab partners for peace.

Bush admonished Shamir to "consider a change in the government of Israel's order of preferences because our ability to advance the peace process depends upon reaching an understanding... on the settlement issue."

The White House declines to comment on the letter, noting that it does not acknowledge the president's private communications.

The Foundation for Middle East Peace concurs in the international consensus that the peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict lies in the realization of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people in territories occupied by Israel in 1967. Jewish settlements in these territories are a principal obstacle to the achievement of this goal. This bimonthly report covers all aspects of this vital issue. The Foundation, a non-profit organization qualified under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, receives no U.S. or foreign government funds.

TO OUR READERS

We were confident we were on the right track when we inaugurated our Settlement Report, but a note from a reader reinforces our efforts to cover this issue as thoroughly as possible. In his words,

The settlements issue is an excellent topic for the following reasons:

It is current and has policy implications. Expansion of settlements will continue to be a major point of dispute regarding granting U.S. housing loan guarantees, which in turn are critical to absorption of Soviet Jewry.

It has good shelf life. The settlements issue has been and will continue to be an important point of dispute. It will be with us a long time.

It isolates Likud—from Labor, from the U.S., from American Jews. The vast majority of U.S. Jews oppose expansion of settlements and view them as obstacles to peace.

It is an issue where information can make a difference. The issue and the facts are complex and intentionally obscured by the Israeli government.

It dramatizes the larger issues.

It represents a potentially winnable issue. It is conceivable that we can win on this issue within the Jewish community. It's also conceivable that the United States could eventually prevail on this issue.

It is significant. Perhaps nothing signals Israeli malign intentions vis-à-vis the Palestinians more than expansion of settlements.

It's an issue where other organizations can make use of the information.

It's unique; nobody else is doing this work.

We appreciate this constructive response, and we hope that with the resolution of the gulf war the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can promptly be addressed. In the meantime, Israel's continuing settlement activity reflects a rejection of the principle of territorial compromise that the world community believes is essential to the settlement of that conflict.

Merle Thorpe, Jr.

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ISRAEL BUDGETS \$1 BILLION FOR NEW HOUSING

Israel will spend \$1 billion for the construction of 12,000 housing units in the occupied territories (excluding annexed Jerusalem) in the 1990-1993 period, according to Knesset members Dedi Zucker and Haim Oron. "Israel," Zucker and Oron noted in a report on February 3, "is about to embark on an unprecedented expansion of settlements in the territories with the specific intent of creating facts on the ground that will make it difficult for Israel to enter the political [negotiating] process."

Highlights of the Zucker-Oron report:

- During the four-year period from 1990 to 1993, at least 12,000 additional housing units will be completed in the West Bank, most of them in existing settlements like Ariel, Ma'ale Adumim, Betar, and Efrat.
- The new units will accommodate 50,000 new settlers, increasing the current Jewish population in the West Bank by more than 60 percent.
- There are currently 2,149 government-

funded units under construction in the territories, 4.4 percent of a national total of 45,000.

- 1,000 mobile homes will be built in the territories at a cost of \$30 million.
- There will be three new settlements in the West Bank: Ofrim, to include 2,400 units to be partially built during the 1991-93 period; Modi'in, currently on the Israeli side of the Green Line, to be expanded eastward [into the West Bank]; and at Kiryat Sefer, a settlement for ultraorthodox Jews to

be established on both sides of the Green Line in the Makabim Bloc.

Annual investment for these years will total \$250 million, including \$205 million for construction of 3,000 units at \$68,000/unit and \$45 million for infrastructure—sewerage, water, electricity, and access roads—at \$15,000/unit.

"Those here know that in reality the Palestinian problem doesn't exist anymore."

—Minister of Finance Yitzhak Mod'ai, at the West Bank settlement of Ariel, Ma'ariv, January 1, 1991

LABOR DOVES PROPOSE PALESTINIAN STATE IN GAZA

A plan for Palestinian sovereignty in the Gaza Strip was announced on Israeli television on December 10, 1990, by Labor MK [Member of Knesset] Yossi Beilin, a protégé of Shimon Peres and former director general of the Foreign Ministry and deputy finance minister under the Labor Party leader.

Labor's left wing is searching for winning policies that will distinguish Labor from the ruling Likud.

Support for Labor, which has not won an election since 1974, has dropped to an extraordinary low of 21 percent of the Jewish electorate, according to a December 1990 poll.

"No one knows how the Labor Party views the future of the territories," writes Davar columnist Daniel Ben Simon.

The Plan

Beilin's plan contains the following elements:

- Stage One: The establishment of a sovereign, demilitarized Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip, home to 750,000 Palestinians. This state would provide for "important security arrangements for Israel, and a special arrangement for the settlers.... Formally, what the arrangement [with the settlers] will be is not up to me but up to the negotiators."
- Stage Two: The signing of peace treaties between Israel and Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.
- Stage Three: A referendum in the West Bank to choose between federation with Israel or Iordan or union with the Palestinian state. "The possibility," noted Beilin in an interview with Al-Fajr, the Palestinian daily, "is for us eventually to create a kind of Benelux, a common market, composed of some Arab states and Israel."

■ The establishment of "secure borders" and the preservation of "Jerusalem's unity" under Israeli sovereignty.

"I believe that if the party adopts an idea like this," noted Beilin, "Labor will eventually be much more popular than if it was content just suggesting territorial compromise or the Allon Plan."

"We want Labor to pose a clear, unequivocal position," explained Labor MK Haim Ramon, author of a similar plan, in the January 2, 1991, Jerusalem Post. "Gaza is not and will not be part of the state of Israel. We must inform the Security Council that we're getting out of there, even unilaterally . . . just as we got out of Lebanon when staying there endangered Israel's security."

Labor Party standard bearers were "up in arms" over the proposals, which, they charge, "are alienating the already diminishing supporters of Labor."

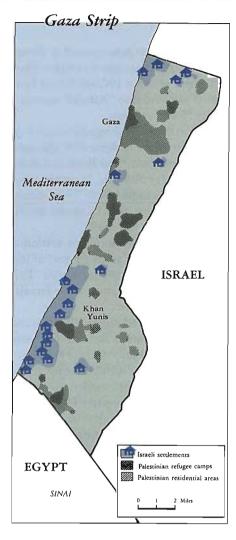
MK Michael Bar Zohar, one of David Ben Gurion's disciples, accused the doves of "driving the party ever further from the mainstream and the general consensus."

At a meeting of the hawkish mainstream faction, former Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin "stressed that the party must highlight its differences not only with the Likud, but also with the radical left and certain elements in Labor which support one-sided withdrawal from the territories," according to a report in the Jerusalem Post.

Party Secretary General Micha

Harish dismissed the initiative's supporters as a "marginal element.... These people are doing untold harm to Labor."

The refusal of Labor's Old Guard to grant legitimacy to efforts such as Beilin's was criticized in Yediot



Aharonot by Yeshayahu Ben Porat, one of Israel's leading columnists.

"Instead of understanding that a large segment of the public . . . wants to be convinced that some people are thinking about substance . . . they rise up to condemn someone who has the courage to conceive a new idea. . . . Perhaps Beilin, Burg, and their colleagues," writes Ben Porat, "really have no place in the Labor Party."

GAZA AT A GLANCE

Area: 142 square miles (26 miles by 4 miles) Land under exclusive Israeli control: 42 percent.

Israeli settler population: 4,300 in 19 settle-

Palestinian population: 750,000 (density: 9,000 per sq. mi.); 470,000 are refugees, half of whom live in 8 refugee camps.

longer the key to the future growth of Israel's population in the territories. This remains true even when the prospective settlement of some 100,000 Soviet Jews over the next five years is factored into "natural" annual increases of approximately 10,000 settlers.

Israel's decision to forego the creation of new outposts as a policy centerpiece may defuse U.S. opposition to an otherwise active settlement effort. "For Bush and Baker," writes Ha'aretz reporter Nadav Shargay, "new settlements are like a red tag titillating a raging bull. They almost take personal offense at the issue, and if one can do other things without annoying them, why not?"

Indeed, suspension of new settlement creation would not impede Israel's strategic goal of increasing the number of Jewish settlers in the territories. This objective will be met by expanding or, to use the Israeli term, "fleshing out" existing settlements.

The 17 local and regional Jewish councils representing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories (excluding areas of annexed Jerusalem) have firm plans for the construction of almost 8,000 housing units—and the addition of 36,000 new Jewish residents—by the end of the Shamir government's term in early 1993. Not included in these calculations is emergency construction made necessary in recent months by the influx of Soviet immigrants.

In Betar, south of Jerusalem, almost 1,800 newcomers will join the settlement's 1,000 residents during the next year. Elkana has a list of 1,000 families waiting to purchase housing. "The fleshing-out campaign," notes Shargay, "is meant to solve that problem."

Even in the small settlements surrounding Nablus, the heart of the *intifada*, the expansion is in full swing. For example, Elon Moreh is being expanded by 50 units; the 30 families in Tel Hayim will soon be joined by 18 more, Yitzhar's 25 families will be increased by 13. The 32 settlements in the Samaria Regional Council, home to 14,000 settlers, are growing "at a rate of dozens of percent," according to Shargay.

Soviet Housing in the West Bank

During the next four or five years, Minister of Housing Ariel Sharon says Israel will have to build 500,000 housing units for more than 1.2 million Soviet Jewish immigrants.

Most, perhaps 90 percent, will be constructed in pre-1967 Israel. However, the remainder—50,000—will be constructed in the occupied territories—mostly in annexed Jerusalem and the West Bank Jewish communities within commuting distance of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

The November 22, 1990, edition of *Hadashot*, the Israeli daily, reports that, "in contrast to the promises not to settle

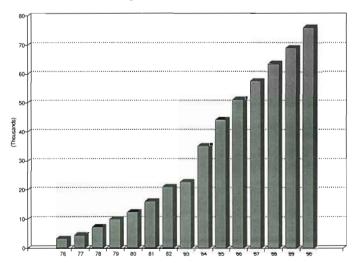
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Major Construction Plans for Israeli Settlements

Settlements in	Jewish	Planned	Estimated
the West Bank	Population	Construction	Population
and Gaza	[1990]	[housing units]	[mid-1993]
Local Councils			
Bet Arye	1,045	50	1270
Ma'ale Adumim	14,250	1,200	19,650
Kiryat Arba	5,200	450	7,225
Hebron	400	unknown	400+
Alfe Menashe	2,830	1,500	9,580
Oranit	2,225	350	3,800
Gush Etzion	5,200	_	5,200+
Betar	1,800	400	2,800
Efrat	2,650	300	4,000
Ma'ale Efriam	1,500		1,500+
Ariel	8,665	900	12,715
Immanuel	3,500	200	4,400
Elkana	3,150	70	3,465
Givat Ze'ev	5,675	250	6,800
Regional Counci			
Number of Settle		4.000	40.500
Shomron, 32	15,000	1,000	19,500
Binyamin, 26	12,027	600	14,727
Jordan Valley, 18	3,500		3,500+
Hebron, 9	1,760	100	2,210
Gaza Strip, 19	<u>4,280</u>	400	6,080
Total	94,657	7,770	128,822
1 Otal	94,037	1,770	120,02

Source: Ha'aretz, June 22, 1990.

Jewish Population in the West Bank*



• Not including areas of annexed Jerusalem. Population figures vary depending upon the source. (See, for example, the table above.) Figures for 1989 and 1990, cited by Danny Rubinstein in *Ha'aretz*, December 14, 1990, are based on data from Israel's Central Bureau Statistics.



Adapted from Shalom Ariel, Spring 1990, published by the Ariel local council.



Construction, continued from page 4

Soviet immigrants in the occupied territories that were made to the American government in exchange for the [\$400 million] housing guarantees," Housing Minister Sharon has announced the construction of 7,000 housing units, plus the transfer of 1,000 mobile homes to the West Bank as part of the annual plan for the construction of 45,000 units of Soviet immigrant housing. (See January 1991 Settlement Report.)

A U.S. consular survey undertaken in mid-December 1990 confirmed that 600 mobile homes were already in place in the West Bank, according to the December 21 edition of Kol Ha'Ir.

Labor Party opposition leader Shimon Peres has called upon the government "to stop construction in Judea and Samaria... After [the government] puts mobile homes there," he noted, "it will say 'We have no alternative, the new immigrants are homeless, so we are forced to let them live there."

"The spirit behind the mobile home operation is Ya'acov Katz," Kol Ha'Ir reported. Katz is a leader of Gush Emunim and adviser to Sharon. His job, according to the weekly, is to "evade by sophisticated maneuvering the commitments that were given to the Americans regarding settlement in the territories." •

ARAB BUILDING BARRED ON 68 PERCENT OF WEST BANK

According to B'Tselem (an Israeli human rights group) data, Palestinian building is prohibited in 68 percent of the West Bank's total territory of 1.4 million acres.

Hundreds of Arab residents in the West Bank have lost the titles to their lands over the years because they failed to produce official ownership documents, and their lands were declared state property. The planning and construction procedures in Arab townships in the territories are totally different from those in Jewish settlements. Only one out of 400 West Bank villages has contour plans, while all the Israeli settlements have deposited approved contour plans, which allow accelerated construction, with the authorities.

The various restrictions on the use of land include areas abutting settlements and planned roads, fire range areas and closed areas, nature preservations, state-owned land dating back to the Jordanian rule, lands declared as stateowned under the Israeli rule (including absentees' property), and areas appropriated for public and military needs. Part of the lands appropriated for public and military needs, as well as state-owned lands, over the years were used for the establishment of Jewish settlements and for the expansion of existing Jewish townships. •

—Yizhar Be'er, Ha'aretz, December 3, 1990.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE: A SHORT HISTORY

October 1973—United Nations Security Council resolution 338 calls for "negotiations... between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

December 1973—A peace conference is opened in Geneva, Switzerland, on December 21, 1990, and adjourned one day later. Egypt, Israel, and Jordan attend the conference, cochaired by the United States and the Soviet Union. Two public meetings and one closed meeting are held, opening the way to subsequent disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt (in January 1974 and October 1975) and Syria (May 1974) respectively.

October 1977—U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance

and Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko issue a joint communiqué calling for reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of all concerned parties including representatives of the Palestinian people "as the only right and effective way for achieving a fundamental solution to all aspects of the Middle East problem"

February 1985—The joint Jordan-PLO agreement calls for the convening of "peace negotiations...under the auspices of an international conference [with] the

five permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties to the conflict...."

July 1986—Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres meets with Moroccan King Hassan and declares Israel's agreement to a peace conference with Arab nations and Palestinians that would be given an "international accompaniment as approved by all concerned." The U.S. position, articulated by Secretary of State George Shultz, is that an international conference should serve "as a context for direct negotiations under the right circumstances."

January 1987—The United States and Israel agree on 10 principles to guide an international conference:

"The conference will convene for a brief period of time. It will not have authority to impose a solution.

It will not have authority to nullify agreements reached between the parties bilaterally.

The negotiations will be conducted directly between the parties in committees, without the participation of the plenary.

Negotiations with one delegation will not depend upon negotiations with another delegation.

The basis for negotiations will be United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

The conference will convene only after the procedural questions have been agreed upon.

Prior agreement will be reached concerning the main participants and the accompanying delegations.

The participation of the USSR depends upon its restoring relations with Israel, [and] revising its attitude to the Jews in the Soviet Union, including permission to emigrate.

Every move will be coordinated with the U.S."

February 1987—A joint communiqué issued by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Foreign Minister Peres notes the need "to reach agreement on the convocation in 1987 of an international conference that would lead to direct negotiations."

".... There is no reason why the international community should not accept the concept of a peace conference to deal with broader regional issues, including the attempt for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question. This has already been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council, and is compatible with the historical policy of the United States government"

Jimmy Carter, January 10, 1991

—The European Community issues a "Declaration of the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve Member States of the European Community on the Middle East," which notes EC support for "an international peace conference to be held under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the parties concerned The Twelve believe this conference should provide a suitable framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned."

April 1987—"The London

Document of Understanding between Jordan and Israel," reached between King Hussein and Foreign Minister Peres, records joint agreement to an international conference that "will not impose any solution and will not veto any agreement arrived at between the parties; negotiations will be conducted in bilateral committees directly; the Palestine issue will be discussed in the committee of the Jordanian-Palestinian and Israeli delegations; . . . participation in the conference will be based on acceptance of resolutions 242 and 338 by the parties and renunciation of violence and terrorism; each committee will negotiate independently.

February 1988—The "Shultz Initiative" calls for the convocation of an international conference, attended by "parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict" as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council, as an umbrella for the conduct of bilateral negotiations.

September 1990—President George Bush, when asked if the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait has created an opportunity

Peace Conference, continued on page 7

for an international conference to discuss Middle East issues, replies that "under certain circumstances the consideration of a conference of that nature would be acceptable. Indeed, it's been part of our policy from time to time."

December 1990—The president of the UN Security Council, Abdalla Saleh Al-Ashtal of Yemen, declares that members of the Security Council ". . . agree that an international conference, at an appropriate time, properly structured, should facilitate efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement and lasting peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict."

January 1991—British Prime Minister John Major declares that "after the Gulf crisis is resolved, it will be necessary to hold an international conference to address and to examine the multi-sided Palestinian issue. We have always been advocates of holding an international conference to resolve this problem, and we see that it is the ideal way."

AGGRESSIVE U.S. OPPOSITION TO SETTLEMENTS URGED

"... During a June 1990 debate in the House, Rep. David Obey (D-WI) suggested that by using aid as a political tool the Congress send a 'very friendly warning' to the Israeli government. More specifically, Obey and members of the House Appropriations Committee proposed that future budgets reduce Israel's aid by the amount it spends to build or expand settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

"Today, while the United States stipulates that aid cannot be used in the occupied territories, no accounting is required, and therefore Washington has no way of knowing where its dollars are going. The Israeli government can argue that it is not diverting the U.S. aid to the territories. However, one does not have to hold a degree in accounting to understand that the American financial infusion can, for example, release funds that could have been used to help absorb the new Soviet immigrants to build new Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza instead....

"By not following Obey's recommendation, American policymakers are channeling U.S. tax dollars to increase the power of those forces in Israel whose interests run counter to American values and goals. Cutting the aid to Israel by the amount it spends on building new Jewish settlements in the West Bank would not damage any real Israeli security interest.... Such a move could clarify the choice facing voters between supporting the settlements in the Arab territories or spending the country's limited resources on Israel's developing towns, now home to most of the country's poor.... It is now time for both Israeli and U.S. leaders to face up to their responsibilities."

"Reforming Israel—Before It's Too Late," Leon Hader, Foreign Policy, Winter 1990-91 Mr. Hader is a former Jerusalem Post correspondent.

SHORT TAKES

"No United States President has recognized Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem. And no United States President has ever sanctioned the expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

"I voted to make available to Israel the \$400 million loan guarantees. But I did not cast my votes so that Israel could disregard longstanding United States policy on the settlements and use those funds to construct housing in the occupied territories

"The time has come for the Congress... to focus attention... on a long-neglected, but festering sore in United States-Israeli relations.—Senator Robert Byrd on the Senate floor, October 19, 1990.

"The past leaders of our movement left us a clear message to keep Eretz Israel from the Sea to the [river] Jordan for future generations, for the mass aliya [immigration], and for the Jewish people, all or most of whom will be gathered into this country, Eretz Israel.... This is my dream. I believe one day it will come true."—Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir at a Tel Aviv memorial service for former Likud leaders. Jerusalem domestic radio service, November 18 and 19, 1990.

"When you come to Ariel or Ma'ale Adumim [Jewish settlements in the West Bank] you can't find an apartment. People are waiting in line to settle in these places. I think this says everything. Despite the problems, this is progress."—Minister of Defense Moshe Arens on Israeli television, as reported in the MidEast Mirror, November 15, 1990.

"Our line is very clear. We've made clear to Mr. Gorbachev that he must let the Jews go. We do say that they should not be encouraged to settle in the occupied territories and of course we, like the Americans, include East Jerusalem in that." —British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, Jerusalem Post, October 19, 1990.

"Nearly 2,500 acres of land in the [West Bank] villages of Husan, Wadi Fukin, and Nahallin [southwest of Jerusalem] have been appropriated or are in the process of being appropriated for the Betar settlement and its access roads... The villages' legal representative said that all the [Palestinian] residents' appeals against appropriation are rejected with the argument that it is done for the villages' benefit."

—Davar, December 3, 1990.

UPDATE: ISRAEL RECEIVES \$400 MILLION LOAN GUARANTEE

The United States has agreed to release \$400 million in housing guarantees to assist the settlement of Soviet immigrants in Israel. The release, announced on February 20, 1991, follows four months of still ongoing discussions between Jerusalem and Washington over the precise nature of commitments made by Foreign Minister David Levy to report to Washington on building plans for immigrant housing within Israel and on Israel's financial support for settlement activity in occupied territories. (See Settlement Report, January 1991.)

- Israel has agreed to provide Washington with its plans for settling immigrants within Israel. The Bush administration has also asked, as proof of Israel's pledge to use the guarantee money within Israel proper, for specific lists of mortgages funded and copies of construction payments for actual projects.
- Israel will report only completed settlement activity but not settlement plans in the occupied territories. The State Department apparently did not press Israel to

- provide such prospective planning information.
- There has been no resolution of the issue of reporting on settlement expenditures for annexed Jerusalem—considered by Washington to be occupied territory. Although some information on housing starts in annexed Jerusalem has been incidentally provided, the United States has not demanded, and Israel has not agreed in principle to provide, information concerning settlement activity in Jerusalem.
- No decision has been made regarding the use and availability of settlement information provided to the State Department. It is not even clear that such information will be included as part of a State Department report on Israeli expenditures in the occupied territories that Rep. David R. Obey requested last year.
- Israel's commitment not to settle Soviet Jews in the occupied territories is limited only to the use of the U.S.-guaranteed loans. Expending Israeli funds to settle Soviet immigrants in these areas, as Israel is doing, is accepted by Washington as being outside the scope of the commitments made in the Levy letter of October 2, 1990. ◆

"When this war is over, we have an obligation . . . to insist that the Arab world, Israel, our NATO allies and our own government address in a sweeping way the fundamental problems of the region

"Every Arab nation must in the end be willing to explicitly recognize Israel and her legitimate security requirements

"We also have a right to demand of Israel one very big thing—a recognition of the right and necessity of the Palestinian people to have their own homeland on a major portion of the land that constitutes the West Bank and Gaza. Israel obviously has a right to insist in return a similar unequivocal recognition of their rights by the Palestinians. Recent talk that the West Bank and Gaza can now belong to the Israelis for 50 years is dangerous nonsense and cannot be tolerated by any American government determined to see to it that the blood of its citizens will never again be shed on Middle Eastern battlefields."

Congressman David R. Obey Chairman, House Foreign Operations Subcommittee February 5, 1991

Foundation for Middle East Peace 555 - 13th Street, N.W. Suite 800 Washington, D.C. 20004-1109 Telephone: 202-637-6558

Fax: 202-637-5910