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OA/ID Number: 90003
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Folder Title:
NSD-16 - July 08, 1989 - Middle East Peace Process

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	National Security Directive 16 Re: Middle East Peace Process [Last page photocopied for George Bush handwriting preservation.] (5 pp.)	07/08/1989	(b)(1)	S
02a. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to POTUS Re: NSD on Middle East Peace Process (1 pp.)	07/08/1989	(b)(1)	S
02b. Memo	Richard N. Haass to Brent Scowcroft Re: Proposed NSD on Middle East Peace Process (1 pp.)	05/05/1989	(b)(1)	S

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Pinksheet Number: DJC1150
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Date Closed: 4/13/2009
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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

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The Soviet Union has the capacity either to promote or obstruct efforts to bring peace to the Middle East. The United States should test Soviet intentions to determine whether the USSR is willing to act in a constructive manner. Priorities should be to bring about Soviet policies that restrain arms sales to Libya and Syria, voice support for realistic approaches to peace-making, moderate the behavior of Syria, the PLO and Iran, and restore full diplomatic relations with Israel. (S)

The West European countries, both individually and collectively in the European Community, can act in ways that would modestly support or detract from U.S. undertakings. We should keep the Europeans informed, seek their support, and work to discourage independent initiatives that would work at cross purposes with our own efforts. (C)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 8, 1989

NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVE 16

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
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DISARMAMENT AGENCY
THE DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

SUBJECT: Middle East Peace Process (U)

The Middle East remains an area of great importance to the United States. In addition to strategic and energy-related concerns, U.S. interests stem from a long-standing stake in the security of Israel and moderate Arab governments. These interests are constantly threatened by a number of forces, most seriously the potential for war. For this reason, a peace process designed to lessen and if possible remove the sources of political discord that continue to threaten the stability of the Middle East is a major concern of the United States. (C)

It is possible to identify a number of developments consistent with our desire to bring about progress toward a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace. There is a greater recognition in the Arab world that the state of Israel is in the region to stay. The December 1988 statements by PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat--accepting U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, Israel's right to exist, and denouncing terrorism--constitute an important achievement. King Hussein's July 1988 decision to place all responsibility for the political future of the Palestinians in the hands of the PLO brings to an end the period when it might have been possible for Jordan or Egypt to represent Palestinian political interests. (C)

Changes, however, are not limited to the Arab world. The Palestinian uprising or "intifada" appears to have persuaded many in Israel to conclude that the status quo no longer serves Israel's interests. And although Israel continues to be governed

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by a coalition, the domination of Likud and above all Prime Minister Shamir may provide Israel with a strength of leadership and a capacity for decision that it has lacked since before its invasion of Lebanon. (S)

Not all developments in the region are constructive or enhance diplomatic prospects. The Palestinian uprising has emboldened some Palestinians to conclude that compromise with Israel is not necessary. The growth of Islamic fundamentalism similarly discourages compromise. Certain states -- Iran, Libya and Syria foremost among them -- as well as terrorist organizations continue to espouse and support policies that have the potential to frustrate peace-making. Within Israel, there is substantial evidence suggesting that the Likud-led government is not prepared to support a peace settlement predicated upon an exchange of territory for peace. At the same time, inventories of conventional armaments continue to increase quantitatively and improve qualitatively, while the proliferation of chemical arms along with more advanced delivery systems, together with the possibility of biological and nuclear weapons, is likely to diminish crisis stability and increase the destructiveness of conflict should deterrence break down. The result is a region characterized by two related and increasingly intense confrontations: an "intra-state" struggle between Israel and the Palestinians living under its rule, and an "inter-state" struggle between Israel and neighboring Arab states. (S)

This mixed picture argues for a deliberate level of political activity on behalf of the search for peace. A policy of neglect, would waste existing opportunities for progress. At the same time, we should eschew for now a highly ambitious approach to the problem that would address final status issues immediately. The necessary overlap of objectives and the political strength to compromise simply does not yet exist in the region. We should seek instead to promote a political process that can be sustained and that in time could create the possibility of constructive consideration of final status issues. (S)

This U.S. effort should be informed by the following principles:

Promoting progress towards a comprehensive peace in the Middle East will be a major priority of the foreign policy of this administration. The goal is to bring about a negotiated end to the Israeli occupation of territories captured in the 1967 conflict in a manner that contributes to the long-term security of Israel, the stability of the region, and the satisfaction of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people. (S)

U.S. efforts will be directed by the principle of territory for peace, as set out in U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The United States will oppose the perpetuation of the status quo in the occupied territories or unilateral acts by Israel, such as annexation of the West Bank and/or Gaza, that would make the search for peace even more difficult. The United

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States believes that U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 apply on all fronts, that is, the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, although our priority in the immediate period ahead will be to address the West Bank and Gaza. In all cases, the extent of Israeli withdrawal should be determined by the nature and quality of the security arrangements provided for by the settlement. (S)

The United States believes that direct negotiations between and among the parties to the Middle East conflict offer the best means of bringing about diplomatic progress. (C)

We will continue to support as an option the convening of a properly structured international conference at an appropriate time, i.e., when we believe that the gap between the principal parties is sufficiently small that a conference could be held with a reasonable degree of confidence that the differences could be bridged in a constructive fashion. Such a conference would be designed to facilitate direct negotiations and would not have the power to veto agreements reached by, or impose decisions on, the protagonists. We should resist pressures for convening an international conference so long as it does not appear that the necessary political conditions for success are absent. (C)

For the immediate future, the principal goal of U.S. diplomatic efforts will be to encourage dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians that might eventually lead to formal negotiations. Free and fair elections for the West Bank and Gaza offer a promising vehicle to promote such a dialogue and help create conditions in which negotiations might occur. Elections, if properly designed, could provide a mechanism for producing Palestinian representatives to negotiate directly with Israel over both interim arrangements and the final status of the territories. The United States will actively work with the relevant parties to help set the terms of reference and ground rules for elections and their relation to such negotiations. Should elections prove unworkable, we will consider alternative approaches to initiating dialogue and negotiations among Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab states. (C)

The United States will also work to encourage the parties to take steps that would reduce the level of confrontation and violence on the ground and build confidence. These can and must be reciprocal, although they need not be explicit or formal. (C)

The United States will maintain a dialogue with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. For the time being and unless otherwise directed, our ambassador in Tunis will be the sole authorized channel for these exchanges. This policy will be reviewed if there is behavior by the PLO that the United States deems to be inconsistent with the PLO's pledges of December 1988. The PLO should be encouraged to amend the PNC Charter and to take other actions indicating its readiness to live in peace with Israel. (S)

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The United States remains opposed to the creation of new settlements by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza. We will continue to make this position known to the government of Israel. Should Israel pursue new settlements, we may take concrete steps to demonstrate our disapproval. The fate of existing settlements should be determined as part of negotiations over final status arrangements. (S)

The United States will continue to express its support for the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people. While recognizing that all parties have the right to bring their own positions to negotiations, the United States, for its part, remains opposed to the creation of an independent Palestinian state or to self-determination for the Palestinians which is tantamount to an independent Palestinian state. The future shape and nature of any Palestinian political entity (and final status issues more generally) must ultimately be determined through direct negotiations involving the parties central to the dispute. (S)

The United States continues to adhere to the principle that Jerusalem should remain undivided, with its final status to be determined by negotiations. (S)

A close U.S. relationship with our ally Israel is a prerequisite for a successful peace process. The United States will maintain generous levels of aid and a level of strategic cooperation consistent with U.S. national security requirements and priorities. (S)

Moderate Arab governments, and in particular Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, also have a potentially valuable role to play in any peace process. The United States should consult closely with them as we proceed, asking them to use their influence with the Palestinians and where appropriate to take steps themselves vis-a-vis Israel that would contribute to an improved political environment. At a minimum, they (along with other Arab states) should be pressed to articulate publicly (as was the PLO) a willingness to accept Israel in the region, to support U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and to end the economic boycott of Israel. We should also be prepared to take steps required to enhance their economic stability and capacity for self-defense. (S)

Syria has the capacity to complicate the search for peace between Israel and the Arabs, both directly and through supporting terrorism and its activities in Lebanon. Syria is welcome to participate in the peace process so long as it does so on the same terms subscribed to by other parties. The United States should test Syrian intentions, making clear that Syria's interests could be served by a peace process only if it refrains from activities--in particular, supporting terrorism and threatening its neighbors--that are inconsistent with regional stability. (S)

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B) September 11, 2006

By DOZ NARA, Date 04/13/2009

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The White House**

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Brent Scowcroft	_____	_____	_____
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cc: VP Sununu Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

Goess to show to
Walfowitz for
comment. 6/26

Done

✓ 30
✓ 11
✓ 6
✓ 11

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR WEST WING DESK

FROM: RICHARD N. HAASS 

Per my meeting with General Scowcroft
on Saturday, please replace the
attached memo in package #20433.

✓ Done

Has this been
reviewed by
State +
DoD
— No Role

NOTE AT TAB I -
MEMO TO PRESIDENT -
LAST LINE "WORKED BY
PEOPLE HERE AND AT
STATE."

NOT BY DOD BECAUSE DOD
HAS NO ROLE PER
HAASS

General —

TAB A redone w/ your changes.

TAB I ready for your signature .

6/12

~~sent copy to B. Browne~~

~~Jm~~

done 6/13 (Dgr)

(Changes have been made)

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The White House**

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Philip Hughes	<u>2</u>	<u>SPB</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u> <u>for Redo</u>		
Philip Hughes	<u>5</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>6</u>	<u>CM 7/8</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			

89 MAY 8 PM 8:42

A = Action

I = Information

D = Dispatch

R = Retain

N = No further Action

cc: VP

Sununu

Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

*Proposed NSD on Middle East
Peace Process*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

20433

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT:

NSD on Middle East Peace Process

SIGNED

1989 JUL - 8 PM 2

Purpose

To provide guidance for US policy toward the Middle East peace process.

Background

As you know, we have completed our initial assessment of the Middle East and what we ought to do on behalf of the peace process. We have also hosted an initial round of high-level visits. It would thus be timely for you to issue guidance that would direct the next phase of our efforts. Such guidance could also provide the basis for a speech that you could give to help explain the policy for the American public and our allies. The text of the NSD has been worked by people here and at State and Defense.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the NSD at Tab A.

Prepared by:
Richard N. Haass

Attachment
Tab A Proposed NSD

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PER E.O. 12958,
AS AMENDED

2007-0823-MR
10/23/2009 MM

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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20433

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 5, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: RICHARD N. HAASS *RA*

SUBJECT: Proposed NSD on Middle East Peace Process

Now that we have completed our initial review of the peace process and hosted a round of visits, the time has come to issue some presidential guidance. It will provide a basis not only for the outlines of day-to-day policy but also for public statements including a presidential speech should we decide to give one.

RA Nancy Menan, *RA* Robert Blackwill, *RA* Peter Rodman, *RA* Nicholas Rostow and George Van Eron concur. *gn*

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memo to the President at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President
Tab A Proposed NSD

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