

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

ID# 021851

C0 001-07

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 30, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. ISSA NAKHLEH

SUBJECT: SUGGESTS IMMEDIATE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF
THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AS FIRST STEP IN THE
MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

8910229

'89 MAY-06 9:28 AM

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
LORNA GLADSTONE		ORG	89/03/30	E	C 89/4/13
NSC - Phil Hulse	REFERRAL NOTE: DOS	A	89/05/01	TR	C 89/5/30
✓ DOS	REFERRAL NOTE: (for Co Horvath)	R	89/05/24	TR	C 89/05/31
C. Horvath	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	89/05/31		C 89/06/02
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COMMENTS: no response necessary per instructions from DOS.

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

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(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8910229

Date May 30, 1989

For: Mr. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President George Bush From: Mr. Issa Nakhleh

Date: March 28, 1989 Subject: Middle East Peace

"The Palestine Arab Delegation"

Referral Dated: May 5, 1989 ID# 021851
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

 A draft reply is attached.

 A draft reply will be forwarded.

 A translation is attached.

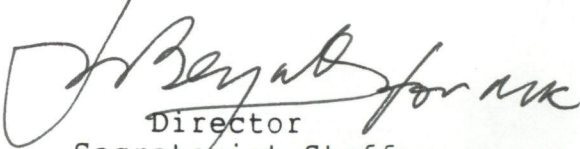
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

XXXXX We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.

 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.

 Other (see remarks).

Remarks: The proposal contains tendentious arguments and extreme
assumptions which we do not believe merit a response.


Director
Secretariat Staff

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8910229

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE '89 MAY-06 9:28 AM

REFERRAL

MAY 5, 1989

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 021851

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 28, 1989

TO: PRESIDENT BUSH

FROM: MR. ISSA NAKHLEH
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ARAB HIGHER
COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE, CHAIRMAN
PALESTINE ARAB DELEGATION
POST OFFICE BOX 608
GRAND CENTRAL STATION
NEW YORK NY 10163

SUBJECT: SUGGESTS IMMEDIATE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF
THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AS FIRST STEP IN THE
MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

21851

THE PALESTINE ARAB DELEGATION

P.O. Box 608
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10163

8910229

'89 MAY-06 9:29 AM
March 28, 1989

Loma Gladstone

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The United States is the greatest and mightiest nation in the world. It has always been a champion of the right of self-determination and freedom of all peoples. It is a champion of human rights. It has strongly upheld the rule of law in international affairs. It entered two world wars with a great sacrifice in men and wealth for the cause of freedom. The United States and the world, Mr. President, are fortunate that you have been elected President of the United States to uphold the abovementioned principles and traditions. With your experience as an Ambassador in the United Nations and as a high official in several administrations, and with your intelligence, high moral standards, integrity, wisdom, statesmanship and leadership, the world will be a safer place in which to live under your stewardship as a leader of the Free World.

Mr. President, the immediate solution of the problem of the West Bank and Gaza as the first step in the Middle East peace process is humanitarian, legal and practical. It will stop the brutal, repressive practices of the Israeli Army against the Palestinians which constitute War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity. It will stop the suffering, anguish and hatred. It will stop the bloodshed of both Palestinians and Israelis. It will defuse the present explosive situation and ease tension in the Middle East. It will materially contribute to progress towards the peace process by opening the way for other steps that might consequently be taken to resolve the Palestine problem and the Middle East problem, whether through an International Peace Conference, direct negotiations between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israeli leaders, or through the United Nations or any other process. It is the most important and the only feasible step that can be taken right away in the present circumstances.

Since 1975 United States efforts to solve the Palestine problem and other Middle East problems have been hampered by the agreement between Henry Kissinger and Yigal Allon to bar the Palestine Liberation Organization from the peace process. All efforts to convene an International Peace Conference or achieve direct negotiations between the proper and legitimate parties to this dispute have been frustrated because of the Kissinger-Allon agreement, and because extremist leaders of the Likud and other Israeli parties have no intention to make peace but to annex the West Bank and Gaza as a part of "Great Israel." They are stalling these negotiations in the peace process to obtain more time to establish a fait accompli by building more settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. They are preparing to expel the majority of the inhabitants of these territories as a prelude to their annexation.

The position of the extreme Israeli leaders such as Yitshak Shamir, Moshe Arens, Ariel Sharon, Yitshak Rabin and others are contrary to the sentiments and feelings of the majority of the Israelis. Recent polls have indicated that the majority of the Israelis favor the withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank and Gaza and holding formal negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. No peace can be achieved in the Middle East without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Israeli Military Intelligence recently confirmed that in a report to Shamir, which he shamelessly denies.

Israeli newspapers have stated many times that Israel would like to get rid of the Gaza Strip. Israeli newspapers are full of statements expressing resentment by Israeli soldiers at having to carry out inhuman, repressive measures in the West Bank and Gaza. The majority of the Israelis will be very happy and relieved if Israeli forces are withdrawn from the West Bank and Gaza.

THE URGENCY OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

Since 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza, more than 300,000 Palestinian men, women, and children have been put in Israeli prisons or concentration camps. The majority of them were tortured by the most inhuman and barbaric methods. Many of them died or had their physical or mental health seriously damaged. The Israeli Government usurped 65% of the lands of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and 95% of their water resources. They established 165 Jewish settlements and illegally transferred 70,000 Jews from Israel to the West Bank and Gaza to live in these settlements. They have destroyed the economy of the West Bank and Gaza.

Since the beginning of the Intifada in December 1987, more than 550 Palestinian men, women and children were killed. About 300 pregnant Palestinian women aborted due to Israeli physical attacks or use of tear and other types of gas. More than 50,000 Palestinians were seriously injured. There are today more than 10,000 Palestinians in concentration camps being tortured by the most inhuman methods. The Israelis uprooted more than 130,000 olive and fruit trees as collective punishment. They demolished or sealed more than 750 Palestinian homes, making more than 7,000 Palestinians homeless.

All of these crimes are violations of International Law and violations of United States laws. They have shocked the conscience of the American people, but unfortunately have not yet had strong impact on the United States Congress and administration which should apply United States laws and stop all financial and military aid to Israel.

The situation in the West Bank and Gaza will turn to the worst in the next three months because the Israelis intend to take stronger and harsher measures against the Palestinians, and as a result thereof, the Palestinians will escalate their demonstrations, stone-throwing and civil disobedience.

The Israeli settlers, who are now more than 70,000 in the West Bank and Gaza, are well-armed and determined to escalate their violence against the Palestinians by killing more Palestinians and attacking more Palestinian villages. The Israeli settlers have already established a militia and will act independently of the Israeli Army. The settlers are asking Shamir to replace Yitshak Rabin as Minister of Defense with Ariel Sharon or alternatively, as The Jerusalem Post International Edition stated in its issue for the week ending February 25, 1989, that the settlers called on "Yitshak Shamir to relieve Rabin of responsibility for handling the uprising and to set up a high-level team headed by the premier to do the job."

We expect that the clashes between the Israeli settlers' militia and the Palestinians will be very bloody. Many people on both sides will be killed. If Shamir puts in Sharon as Minister of Defense or he takes charge of suppressing the Palestinians, they may implement the plan of "transfer," namely expelling more than 800,000 Palestinians from the refugee camps to Lebanon, Jordan and Sinai.

Israel is planning to attack the alleged chemical weapons plants in Egypt, Libya, Syria and Iraq, and this will cause a great disturbance and uproar in the Middle East and throughout the world. Israeli leaders are planning to wage a preemptive war against Syria in the very near future, which may lead to chemical and nuclear war in the Middle East. During this war, the Israelis plan to expel more than 800,000

Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza as a prelude to their annexation of these territories.

OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK AND
GAZA WAS THE RESULT OF A
PREMEDITATED PLANNED AGGRESSION

In the early hours of the 5th day of June, 1967, Israel launched a war of aggression against Egypt, Jordan and Syria and occupied the West Bank and Gaza. This occupation was the result of a well-planned, calculated aggression. According to the admission of senior members of the government of Israel, the political and military leaders planned the War of 1967 in order to expand their occupation of Arab territories and not as they falsely claimed that it was a pre-emptive strike to avoid annihilation.

The following quotations from Israeli leaders confirm their conspiracy of aggression:

1. Menahem Begin, Minister without Portfolio, stated: "In June 1967, we again had a choice. The Egyptian Army concentrations in the Sinai approaches do not prove that Nasser was really about to attack us. We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him." (The New York Times, August 21, 1982)

2. General Yitshak Rabin, Chief of Staff, Israeli Defence Forces, stated: "I do not believe that Nasser wanted war. The two divisions which he sent into Sinai on May 14 would not have been enough to unleash an offensive against Israel. He knew it, and we knew it." (Le Monde, Paris, February 28, 1968)

3. General Mattitiah Peled, Chief, Quartermaster-General's Branch, Israeli Defence Forces, General Staff, stated: "All those stories about the huge danger we were facing because of our small territorial size, an argument expounded once the war was over, had never been considered in our calculations prior to the unleashing of hostilities. While we proceeded towards the full mobilization of our forces, no person in his right mind could believe that all this force was necessary to our 'defense' against the Egyptian threat. To pretend that the Egyptian forces concentrated on our borders were capable of threatening Israel's existence does not only insult the intelligence of any person capable of analyzing this kind of situation, but is primarily an insult to the Israeli army." (Le Monde, Paris, June 3, 1972)

4. General Ezer Weizman, Chief of Operations, Israeli Defence Forces, General Staff, stated: "There was never a danger of extermination. This hypothesis had never been considered in any serious meeting." (Ha'aretz, March 29, 1972)

5. General Yeshayahu Gavish, Commanding General, Southern Command, stated: "The danger of Israel's extermination was hardly present before the six-day war." (Alfred M. Lilienthal, The Zionist Connection, New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1978, p. 558)

6. General Mordechai Hod, Commanding General, Israeli Air Force, stated: "Sixteen years' planning had gone into those initial eighty minutes. We lived with the plan, we slept on the plan, we ate the plan. Constantly we perfected it." (Ibid., pp. 558-559)

7. General Haim Barlev, Chief of General Staff Branch, Israeli Defence Forces, stated: "We were not threatened with genocide on the eve of the six-day war, and we had never thought of such possibility." (Ma'ariv, April 4, 1972)

8. General Chaim Herzog, Commanding General and first Military Governor, Israeli Occupied West Bank, stated: "There was no danger of annihilation. Israeli headquarters never believed in this danger." (Ma'ariv, April 4, 1972)

9. Mordechai Bentov, Minister of Housing, stated: "The entire story of the danger of extermination was invented in every detail, and exaggerated a posteriori to justify the annexation of new Arab territory." (Al-Hamishmar, April 14, 1971)

10. Yigal Allon, Minister of Labour and Member of Prime Minister Eshkol's Military Advisory Committee, stated: "Begin and I want Jerusalem." (Eitan Haber, Menahem Begin: The Legend and the Man, New York: Delacorte Press, 1978, p. 271)

11. General Meir Amit, the former head of Military Intelligence who was head of Mossad in 1967, is quoted as saying: "There is going to be a war. Our army is now fully mobilized. But we cannot remain in that condition for long. Because we have a civilian army our economy is shuddering to a stop. We don't have the manpower right now even to bring in the crops. Sugar beets are rotting in the earth. We have to make quick decisions....If we can get the first blow in our casualties will be comparatively light...." (Eisenberg, Dennis, Uri Dan and Eli Landau, The Mossad: Israel's Secret Intelligence Service, New York: New American Library, 1978, pp. 160-161)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SECURITY
COUNCIL DEPLORED THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION
OF THESE ARAB TERRITORIES SINCE JUNE 1967

In its resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, the Security Council stated:

"Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

"1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

"(i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict."

The United Nations General Assembly adopted several resolutions which contained the following paragraphs:

"The General Assembly,

"Seriously concerned that the continuation of the present grave and deteriorating situation in the Middle East constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security,

"Reaffirming that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized,

"Deploing the continued occupation of the Arab territories since 5 June 1967,

"Seriously concerned that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which was unanimously adopted and which provides for a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Middle East, has not yet been implemented,

"Having considered the item entitled, 'The situation in the Middle East',

"1. Reaffirms that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and that, consequently, territories thus occupied must be restored;

"2. Reaffirms that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of both the following principles:

"(a) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict."

Israel defied the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly by annexing the City of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, by continuing its illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and by committing War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity against the Palestinians.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK AND
GAZA IS ILLEGAL AND MUST BE TERMINATED

The continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is illegal in accordance with the principles declared by the International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion of 1971 regarding "legal consequences for states of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia (Southwest Africa), notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)." The Court stated:

"South Africa has for a long time contended that the Mandate is no longer legally in force, and that South Africa's right to administer the Territory is not derived from the Mandate but from military conquest."

The said Court stated further:

"Having reached these conclusions, the Court will now address itself to the legal consequences arising for States from the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970). A binding determination made by a competent organ of the United Nations to the effect that a situation is illegal cannot remain without consequence. Once the Court is faced with such a situation, it would be failing in the discharge of its judicial functions if it did not declare that there is an obligation, especially upon Members of the United Nations, to bring that situation to an end. As this Court has held, referring to one of its decisions declaring a situation as contrary to a rule of international law: 'This decision entails a legal consequence, namely that of putting an end to an illegal situation.'" (I.C.J. Reports 1951, p. 82)

"South Africa, being responsible for having created and maintained a situation which the Court has found to have been validly declared illegal, has the obligation to put an end to it. It is therefore under obligation to withdraw its administration from the Territory of Namibia. By maintaining the present illegal situation, and occupying the Territory without title, South Africa incurs international responsibilities arising from a continuing violation of an international obligation. It also remains accountable for any violations of its international obligations, or of the rights of the people of Namibia."

According to the aforementioned principles declared by the International Court of Justice and the principles of International Law regarding belligerent occupation, conquest and the Doctrine of Non-Recognition, Members of the United Nations, the General Assembly and the Security Council are under the legal and moral obligation to put an end to this

illegal situation in the West Bank and Gaza, and more so, because Israel has defied the United Nations and has been committing in the occupied territories War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity.

THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD
TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO END THIS ILLEGAL
OCCUPATION AND THE TRAGIC SITUATION IN THE
WEST BANK AND GAZA

A resolution should be submitted to the Security Council calling upon Israel to withdraw all its forces from the West Bank and Gaza within a period of 15 days. The Security Council should also take a resolution to form a multi-national United Nations force, or a United States and Soviet combined force, or a United States force alone, to replace Israeli forces in the West Bank and Gaza and for keeping the peace and preventing bloodshed in these territories.

A United Nations Commission should be formed for the West Bank and Gaza in order to help the Palestinians carry out elections for a Constituent Assembly for the West Bank and Gaza which shall determine the wishes of the people in these two territories whether to form a separate state or a state in confederation or federation with the Kingdom of Jordan.

In order to advance the peace process for resolving the Palestine problem and other issues between Israel, the Palestinians, Syria and Lebanon, consultations should be made between the five permanent members of the Security Council, together with the Arab States, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, to determine the next steps to be taken for achieving permanent and just peace in the Middle East in accordance with international law and justice, and United Nations Charter.

Mr. President, the United States has taken a leading role since 1947 regarding the Palestine Problem and other Middle East problems. It has sponsored at least fifty (50) resolutions in the Security Council and the General Assembly regarding these problems. The United States' efforts have been frustrated ever since the infamous Kissinger-Allon agreement of 1975. The United States should revert to its once even-handed position in order to be able to play a constructive role in resolving Middle East problems.

Instead of ending the Israeli illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, attempts are being made to convince the Palestine Liberation Organization to put an end to the Intifada.

The Intifada sprang from the anguish of the souls of every Palestinian man, woman and child. It is a lawful resistance to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity. The Palestine Liberation Organization did not start the Intifada and cannot put an end to it. I know from my personal experience and contacts the misery and suffering of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and their determination to continue the Intifada until the last Israeli soldier is withdrawn, irrespective of their human and material sacrifices. The only way, the only human, just and legal way to end the Intifada is the adoption of this plan of withdrawal of Israeli forces from the West Bank and Gaza and replacing them by United Nations forces.

We implore you, Mr. President, and members of the United States Congress, that the United States should take a leading even-handed role again, and sponsor with other countries the resolution for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the West Bank and Gaza and replacing them by United Nations multi-national forces.

Respectfully yours,

Issa Nakhleh

Issa Nakhleh
Representative of The Arab
Higher Committee for Palestine
Chairman, Palestine Arab Delegatio

cc: Vice President Dan Quayle
Speaker of the House James C. Wright, Jr.
Secretary of State James Baker III
Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney
Senator George Mitchell, Senate Majority Leader
Senator Robert Dole, Senate Minority Leader
Hon. Thomas S. Foley, MC, Majority Leader
of the House of Representatives
Hon. Robert H. Michel, MC, Minority Leader
of the House of Representatives
Senator Claiborne Pell, Chairman, Senate
Foreign Relations Committee
Hon. Dante B. Fascell, MC, Chairman, House
Committee on Foreign Affairs
Hon. John Sununu, White House Chief of Staff
Gen. Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor