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THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

C0001-07

DATE RECEIVED: NOVEMBER 16, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. ISSA NAKHLEH

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE
ADMINISTRATION POLICY AS REGARDS THE MIDDLE
EAST

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
SICHAN SIV		ORG	89/11/16		C 89/11/17
DPL JEAVONS	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	89/11/17		C 89/11/20
NSC SCOW	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	89/11/22		C 89/12/04
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COMMENTS: SEE ID 088968

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

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*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*OF SIGNER	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*CODE = A	*
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S. Sir

THE PALESTINE ARAB DELEGATION

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

November 14, 1989

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

Dear Mr. President,

The United States has been a champion of the right of self-determination of all peoples. It promoted and defended human, civil and religious rights. It promoted the rule of law in international affairs and advocated justice, freedom and democracy for all peoples. It opposed conquest, aggression and usurpation of any territory by conquest. The Middle East policy of your predecessor violated all and each one of these principles. It denied the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. It condoned the occupation by Israel of 80% of Palestine since 1948 and the occupation of the remaining 20%, namely the West Bank and Gaza, since 1967. It aided and abetted the Israeli war criminals by giving them more than three billion dollars in military and economic assistance annually. It made the Israeli war criminals a "strategic ally" of the United States, when in fact they are the "strategic enemies" of the United States. They spied on the United States. They stole military secrets from the United States and gave them to the Soviet Union. They gave United States technology to South Africa. They stole United States enriched uranium and nuclear technology to manufacture nuclear weapons. Israeli agents have given technical assistance and trained the thugs of the drug lords in Colombia. They supplied United States and Japanese technology for Noriega's protection. Israeli Mossad agents initiated and played an important role in the Iran Contra Affair which greatly embarrassed the United States President, engaged the Congress for more than eighteen months, and is still being prosecuted in United States Courts. They have disturbed United States relations with the Arab and Muslim countries. They have severely tarnished the international credibility of the United States. They permanently interfere in internal United States politics through their

control of the powerful Israeli lobby, which dominates the United States Congress. Your predecessor had to appeal to Thomas Dine to obtain for him a few votes in the United States Senate. This, Mr. President, demeans the stature of the United States throughout the world. The Israeli lobby threatens United States politicians. They spread the myth that no politician can be elected to public office unless they place the yarmulke on his head and he becomes 100% subservient to the will of Israel. This myth has been exploded, Mr. President, by your election. The majority of the Jewish votes went to Governor Dukakis, hoping to place a Jewish first Lady in the White House. The United States has been using the veto in the Security Council and opposing all resolutions in the General Assembly which displease the Israeli war criminals.

We have hoped, Mr. President, that with your vast knowledge of foreign affairs, with your high moral and personal integrity, and with your wisdom and experience as a statesman, you will reverse this policy which is contrary to the international consensus, including the positions of your allies in NATO, as well as the positions of all America's friends around the world. The veto by the United States on November 7th, when fourteen members of the Security Council supported the resolution condemning Israeli practices and policies in the West Bank and Gaza is demeaning to the prestige of the United States as a champion of the rule of law and human rights.

We regret to say, Mr. President, that the Middle East policy of your administration has been a great disappointment to the Arab peoples. You, Mr. President, know very well the history of the Palestine problem:

* The United States promoted and worked hard for the adoption of the Partition Resolution in 1947, establishing an Arab state, a Jewish state and an international enclave in the Jerusalem area.

* When it appeared that partition could not be implemented except by force, the United States submitted, in May, 1948, a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly to place Palestine under a United Nations Trusteeship for five years until a solution is found for the Palestine Problem.

* The United States sponsored Resolution 194 (III) which was adopted on December 11, 1948, which inter alia, stated:

"Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible;

"Instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the Director of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees and, through him, with the appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations."

* Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, which was supported by the United States has been relied upon by the United States for any settlement of the Palestine problem. That Resolution emphasized the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" and affirmed that the fulfillment 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 Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict."

The official interpretation of the said Resolution by the United States was declared by Secretary of State William P. Rogers on December 9, 1969, as follows:

"Withdrawal and Territory

"The Security Council resolution endorses the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by war and calls for withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 war. We support this part of the resolution, including withdrawal, just as we do its other elements.

"The boundaries from which the 1967 war began were established in the 1949 armistice agreements and have defined the areas of national jurisdiction in the Middle East for 20 years. Those boundaries were armistice lines, not final political borders. The rights, claims, and positions of the parties in an ultimate peaceful settlement were reserved by the armistice agreements.

"The Security Council resolution neither endorses nor precludes these armistice lines as the definitive political boundaries. However, it calls for withdrawal from occupied territories, the nonacquisition of territory by war, and the establishment of secure and recognized boundaries.

"We believe that while recognized political boundaries must be established and agreed upon by the parties, any changes in the preexisting lines should not reflect the weight of conquest and should be confined to insubstantial alterations required for mutual security. We do not support expansionism. We believe troops must be withdrawn as the resolution provides. We support Israel's security and the security of the Arab states as well. We are for a lasting peace that requires security for both.

Issues of Refugees and Jerusalem

"By emphasizing the key issues of peace, security, withdrawal, and territory, I do not want to leave the impression that other issues are not equally important. Two in particular deserve special mention: the questions of refugees and of Jerusalem.

"There can be no lasting peace without a just settlement of the problem of those Palestinians whom the wars of 1948 and 1967 have made homeless. This human dimension of the Arab-Israeli conflict has been of special concern to the United States for over 20 years. During this period the United States has contributed about \$500 million for the support and education of the Palestinian refugees. We are prepared to contribute generously along with others to solve this problem. We believe its just settlement must take into account the desires and aspirations of the refugees and the legitimate concerns of the governments in the area.

"The problem posed by the refugees will become increasingly serious if their future is not resolved. There is a new consciousness among the young Palestinians who have grown up since 1948 which needs to be channeled away from bitterness and frustration toward hope and justice.

"The question of the future status of Jerusalem, because it touches deep emotional, historical, and religious wellsprings, is particularly complicated. We have made clear repeatedly in the past two and a half

years that we cannot accept unilateral actions by any party to decide the final status of the city. We believe its status can be determined only through the agreement of the parties concerned, which in practical terms means primarily the Governments of Israel and Jordan, taking into account the interests of other countries in the area and the international community. We do, however, support certain principles which we believe would provide an equitable framework for a Jerusalem settlement."

These are the basic principles on which United States policy has been based since 1947 and 1967.

We regret to say, Mr. President, that the peace efforts of your Secretary of State, a man of great intelligence, moral integrity, and wisdom, are misguided by his Zionist advisers in the Department of State. The idea of an election in the West Bank and Gaza put forth by Yitshak Shamir is a gimmick to avoid facing the real and basic issues of the problem. The Palestinians already have a National Council composed of 450 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza and Palestinians in the diaspora. The Palestine Liberation Organization was elected by this Council. Recently the said Council declared a Palestine State and elected Yassir Arafat as its President. What is the meaning of holding elections in the West Bank and Gaza under Israeli occupation? Unfortunately, Secretary Baker bought this idea in order to begin the process of negotiation. But Shamir and his Likud extremists put conditions and are asking for United States assurances that will render this peace process useless. No Palestinian in the West Bank and Gaza, or in the diaspora, will negotiate with Shamir unless he is recognized as a representative of the Palestine State declared by the Palestine National Council.

We regret to say that the efforts of Secretary of State Baker will fail because they do not courageously face the crux of the Palestinian-Israeli Problem on the above-mentioned principles established by Resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council from 1947 to 1989. These Resolutions are the minimum which any Palestinian or any Arab will accept for the solution of the Palestine Problem.

I am sure, Mr. President, that the Department of State is well-informed about the position and plans of Mr. Shamir and his Likud Bloc which control Israeli politics in alliance with the extremist Yitshak Rabin. They are working for the following solution:

1. Suppression of the Intifada, and if they are unable to suppress it, and an escalation of violence takes place, they will use the Intifada as an excuse for committing massacres and implementing the well-studied "Plan of Transfer," namely the expulsion of the Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli Chief of Staff General Dan Shomron stated recently at the Economics Club in Askalan:

"Everyone who wants the intifada eliminated must understand that there are only three ways to do this: by transfer, starvation, or physical elimination, that is -- genocide."

2. If Shamir and Likud succeed in suppressing the Intifada, they will only offer the colonial scheme of "self-rule" for the Palestinians, namely keeping the Palestinians under Israeli denomination, expanding and establishing Jewish settlements, settling more Jews in the West Bank and Gaza, and finally annexing them as part of Greater Israel.

3. The gimmick of the elections in the West Bank and Gaza put forth originally by Shamir is only the first step in this annexation process.

Secretary of State Baker's five-point plan will also lead nowhere. Shamir will request assurances and conditions which will block the Palestine Liberation Organization from entering the peace process on the lines of Kissinger's assurances in 1975, which froze the peace process for the last fourteen years. This is what Shamir would like to achieve when he will meet you, Mr. President, on November 15. I hope, Mr. President, that you will see and realize how fanatic Shamir is and how ridiculous his suggestions are.

Mr. President, in order to succeed in finding a solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, you and Secretary of State Baker should be guided only by the above-mentioned principles stated by former Secretary of State Rogers and the Resolutions which the United States sponsored in the United Nations.

If you are unable, Mr. President, for internal political or other considerations to do so, it would be more honorable that the United States will declare that it has abandoned the unilateral efforts for peace in the Middle East. It would then be advisable to convene a Summit Conference of the five Permanent Members of the Security Council to discuss ways and means of how United Nations Resolutions from 1947 until 1989 can be implemented in solving the Israeli-Palestinian

problem through the United Nations process. As a first step for these efforts the United States can join other members of the Security Council in adopting a Resolution calling upon Israel to withdraw its forces from the West Bank and Gaza and to replace them by United Nations Forces to keep peace and to protect all the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. If the United Nations is unable to finance this peace-keeping force, I am sure that the Arab and Muslim states will contribute the necessary funds.

The withdrawal of Israeli forces and replacing them by United Nations Forces will have the following advantages:

1. It will stop bloodshed and the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed daily in the West Bank and Gaza.
2. It will create a better atmosphere in the Middle East for peace negotiations, based upon the above-mentioned principles adopted by the United Nations. It will take five to ten years for a final, permanent, peaceful and just solution to be found. It took the Israelis and the Egyptians five years to settle the Taba dispute. How many years do we need to settle the complex Palestine-Israeli conflict which may contain fifty items in the agenda?
3. It will avoid implementing the Israeli "Plan of Transfer," namely, the expulsion of the Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, and will avoid a Middle East War should this expulsion take place. Any future Middle East War will involve the use of chemical and nuclear weapons, and will be a great tragedy to the peoples of the Middle East and the entire world.

Mr. President, we appeal to you to face Shamir with firmness and to use your high office and prestige to tell him that you support a real, just and permanent solution of this problem on the above-mentioned principles and not on "gimmicks," and that Mr. Shamir and his colleagues should face the facts and stop dreaming. The United States cannot continue to be an accessory to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide in the Middle East.

Mr. President, Palestine is holy for Christians, Muslims and Jews throughout the world. Since 1947, it has been defiled by massacres, bloodshed and violation of human, civil and religious rights. It has become an armed camp. It may be the center of chemical and nuclear warfare during the next few years. The solution we strongly recommend is

that Palestine should become a democratic Holy Land State for Christians, Muslims and Jews. All Palestinians and Israelis should become its citizens. It shall contain Arab and Jewish cantons on the Swiss model. It shall have no army, air force or navy, but only a police force. It should be dedicated for pilgrimage and tourism.

Palestine has the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. It has the Jordan River and Lake Tiberias. It has the mountains, the plains and the Jordan Valley. It has hot and cold springs. It has the most beautiful countryside, weather and blue skies. The industrial states and the Arab oil states must contribute \$50 billion to make it a haven for pilgrims and tourists and should invest in it \$5 billion dollars annually, not for buying weapons but for preserving it as a Holy Land for pilgrimage and religious devotion.

We may be idealists, Mr. President, but surely we are not materialists or warmongers. In the long run, our idealism and faith will prevail over fanaticism and the instruments of war. We are the indigenous people of the Holy Land, and we want to preserve it as a united, not fragmented and defiled, Holy Land.

Respectfully yours,

Issa Nakhleh

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

cc: Vice President Dan Quayle
Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley
Secretary of State James Baker III
Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney
Senator George Mitchell, Senate Majority Leader
Senator Robert Dole, Senate Minority Leader
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of the House of Representatives
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Committee on Foreign Affairs
Hon. John Sununu, White House Chief of Staff
Gen. Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor
Hon. Thomas R. Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to the UN