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2nd FOIA Number:

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WHORM Category Code: CO001-07
WHORM Category Name: Middle East

Document Number: 236047 to 244367 **Entire Category Processed**
Alpha File Name:

EF

236047
00001-07

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1991

Dear Mr. Mayor:

John Sununu passed on your thoughtful letter and asked that I respond. Let me simply say two things. First, basic to the concept of "territory for peace" that informs UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 is the notion of reciprocity. Israel can only be expected to return land occupied since 1967 if its real security requirements are met. I should add that, in my view, these concerns can be met through a variety of means, and that the details of these arrangements are best determined through direct negotiations.

Second, it has long been U.S. policy that Israel should refrain from any settlement activity, something that not only prejudices final status arrangements but works against building the confidence needed to negotiate peace. We have also called for an end to the Arab boycott and to other policies, be they those of Israel, the Arab states, or Palestinians, that detract from peace prospects. We will continue to advance these positions in the hope that they persuade the parties most affected by this long-lasting conflict to take the risks and make the compromises that real peace will require.

Thank you again for taking the time to share your thinking with us. All the best.

Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

Edward I. Koch
Robinson, Silverman,
Pearce, Aronsohn and Berman
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10104

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3568

May 13, 1991

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: RICHARD N. HAASS

SUBJECT: Letter to Ed Koch

Ed Koch wrote John Sununu on May 3 (Tab II), voicing his concerns on the Arab Israeli dispute. I have drafted a response for your signature.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Ed Koch at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Ed Koch
Tab II Letter from Ed Koch

236047
3568

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SHERRY WAKSBAUM
SUSAN STOLL ZEDECK
MICHAEL R. ZIENTS

WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

May 3, 1991

The Hon. John Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

I really enjoyed our lunch and our conversation. It was good of you to conclude my visit by bringing me into the Oval Office to meet with President Bush. I think he knows and I hope you know that I really admire and like him.

We have a history of having served together in Congress and continued our friendship when he became Director of the CIA. I think he will go down in history as a seminal figure because of his courage in marshaling the world and the United States in support of a military strike against Iraq, and I have said so in my columns.

I am pursuing my efforts to assist the administration in defeating H.R.1. I am convinced we will prevail.

On your advice, I will also be pursuing with Brent Skowcraft my suggestion on the United States strategy in settling the Arab-Israeli disputes. I would like to reiterate those suggestions here and ask if you think it appropriate that you convey them to the President. I thought it would be an abuse on my part to raise them when you gave me the opportunity to meet with him yesterday. If you do bring my comments to his attention, I would be grateful.

RECEIVED

91 MAY 13 P 4: 52

The position of Israeli strategists like General Ariel Sharon, now Minister in the Israeli cabinet, is that Israel should retain the West Bank not for religious reasons or the Covenant with God referred to in the Bible but because of its military strategic importance. Minister Sharon has said to me that Israel needs to have under its control the road from Tel Aviv to the Jordan River with Israeli settlements protecting both sides of that road on the high ground, in order to defend against invasion of Israel itself. From a military point of view, it is difficult to dispute his analysis.

Israel's giving up the Arab-occupied parts of the West Bank makes sense only if Israel can be certain that once that occurs it will not find itself at war with the Arab states, and without the security of the 70-mile defensive area which the West Bank represents. However, I believe it would be reasonable for the United States to propose a quid pro quo arrangement between the Arabs and the Israelis: If an action is taken on the part of one side in advance of a permanent peace settlement, there would have to be a simultaneous action on the part of the other side.

The United States did not accept unilateral disarmament vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, which was advocated by some, and I always supported President Reagan's hardline on that issue. He was right. He, along with then Vice President Bush, must be given credit for the ultimate break up of the Soviet empire. It would not have happened had there been unilateral disarmament on our part.

Therefore, I think it fair to propose that Secretary of State Jim Baker publicly advocate that the United States favors the following measures: That Israel pending a final peace settlement give up creating new settlements on the West Bank because they constitute an obstacle to peace. Parenthetically, let me reiterate that it has been and I hope still is the policy of the United States that settlements on the West Bank by Israel are not illegal but are perceived to be obstacles to peace. Simultaneously, the Arab states would end their boycott of the state of Israel, preferably the total boycott but at the very least the secondary boycott.

If that were the United States' public policy -- and you conveyed to me that, in fact, it had been a position privately proposed by Secretary of State Baker -- I believe that most Israelis and supporters of Israel in the United States, irrespective of Prime Minister Shamir's position, would think that was fair and should be supported.

What gives the supporters of the State of Israel pause when considering Secretary of State Baker's public position is his acceptance of the Saudi Arabian government's rejection of participating in direct peace negotiations, then offering the

lame excuse that it has no common border with Israel. What do they think the Red Sea is? And haven't they financed every war against the State of Israel since its inception? Why do we allow the Saudi Arabians to make such a statement without Secretary Baker rejecting it -- out of hand -- as an obstacle to peace? He has never hesitated being critical of Israel. Why is there such hesitancy in being critical of Saudi Arabia? These are the things that give American supporters of Israel great concern.

You told me you have read only one of my books, His Eminence and Hizzoner. Only half of that book is mine! Enclosed are my three other books, Mayor, Politics and All the Best.

We also discussed crime and the President's approach. Enclosed is a copy of a speech that I delivered on the subject to judges in New York on Law Day, May 1, 1991. You will find that I support the administration's position.

We are not always going to be in accord, but I do want you to know that I have great respect for you. Let's stay in touch. I'd like to take you to a good Italian restaurant the next time you are in New York City. If that interests you, give me a call. I have no objection to your coming by military plane; I will greet you at the airport if you'd like!

All the best.

Sincerely,

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'E. Koch'.

Edward I. Koch

EIK/mgl

enclosures

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

TIME STAMP

RECEIVED

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 3568

~~01 MAY 13 PM 51~~
ACTION OFFICER: HAASS

DUE: 14 MAY

☒ Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

☐ Appropriate Action

☐ Prepare Memo For Brady

☐ Prepare Memo for Sittmann

☐ Prepare Memo _____

to _____

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 6900

Concur FYI

☐ ☐ Barth
☐ ☐ Basora
☐ ☐ Beers
☐ ☐ Broome
☐ ☐ Burns
☐ ☐ Canas
☐ ☐ Chamberlin
☒ ☐ Charles
☐ ☐ Davis
☐ ☐ Deal
☐ ☐ Dyke
☐ ☐ Frasure
☐ ☐ Fry
☐ ☐ Gordon
☐ ☐ Gompert
☐ ☐ Haass
☐ ☐ Hayden

Concur FYI

☐ ☐ Hewett
☐ ☐ Hutchings
☐ ☐ Johnson
☐ ☐ Kanter
☐ ☐ Kitchen
☐ ☐ Kuehne
☐ ☐ Lampley
☐ ☐ Laposa
☐ ☐ Lundsager
☐ ☐ Melby
☐ ☐ Menan
☐ ☐ Merchant
☐ ☐ Needles
☐ ☐ O'Leary
☐ ☐ Paal
☐ ☐ Pacelli
☐ ☐ Pavitt

Concur FYI

☐ ☐ Pilling
☐ ☐ Poneman
☐ ☐ Popadiuk
☐ ☐ Pryce
☐ ☐ Rademaker
☒ ☐ Rostow
☐ ☐ Tilley
☐ ☐ Tobey
☐ ☐ Van Eron
☐ ☐ Watson
☐ ☐ Welch
☐ ☐ Whitley
☐ ☐ Wilson
☐ ☐ Working
☐ ☒ GANTT
☐ ☐ _____
☐ ☐ _____

INFORMATION

☐ Sittmann
☐ Scowcroft (advance)

☐ Hill
☐ Gates (advance)

☐ Exec Sec Desk
☒ Secretariat

COMMENTS

URGENT

Logged By MEM

Return to Secretariat
379 OEOB

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9103568

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 HAASS
002 SCOWCROFT
003
004

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 91051317 PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT
Z 91051418 FOR SIGNATURE
X 91051516 FOR RECORD PURPOSES
X 91052415 SCOWCROFT SGD LTR

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Ltr to Ed Koch

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: JEB

LOG # 3568

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG MM A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<u>SK</u> Ken Hill	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>A</u>
Bill Sittmann	<u>2</u>	<u>W</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>		
Bill Sittmann			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>JEB 5/24</u>	<u>N</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>	<u>WEA 5/24</u>	<u>D</u>

APNSA Has Seen

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Sununu Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

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Document Originally
Attached to
Previous Page

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RECORD ID: 9103568
RECEIVED: 13 MAY 91 16

TO: KOCH, EDWARD I

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 24 MAY 91
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
ISRAEL
MP

MIDDLE EAST
WH REFERRAL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SCOWCROFT REPLY TO MAYOR KOCH OF NEW YORK RE ARAB ISRAELI DISPUTE

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 14 MAY 91

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

HAASS

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY

WEA

DATE

5/24

BY HAND

W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMJT

CLOSED BY: NSWEA

DOC

4 OF 4

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236047
CD001-07

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1991

Dear Mr. Mayor:

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Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

Edward I. Koch
Robinson, Silverman,
Pearce, Aronsohn and Berman
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10104

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Date *5-13-91*

TO: *HQASS*

NSC Secretariat has requested us to
check with you to see whether you want
the attached sent to you for staffing,
[initials]

 For Action

Handled by 3568

 Other

Ralph Bellamy

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3568

May 13, 1991

ACTION

SIGNED

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FROM: RICHARD N. HAASS

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WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

May 6, 1991

The Hon. Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear General Scowcroft:

John Sununu suggested I write to you directly on a matter that I raised with him.

The picture painted in the press is that Israel is inflexible because it declines to accede to suggestions made by Secretary of State Jim Baker in attempting to achieve a Middle East peace settlement. However, nothing is said about the inflexibility of Arab states. This causes consternation in the American Jewish community supportive of the security of Israel.

The position of Israeli strategists like General Ariel Sharon, now Minister in the Israeli cabinet, is that Israel should retain the West Bank not for religious reasons or the Covenant with God referred to in the Bible but because of its military strategic importance. Minister Sharon has said to me that Israel needs to have under its control the road from Tel Aviv to the Jordan River with Israeli settlements protecting both

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ROBINSON SILVERMAN PEARCE ARONSOHN & BERMAN

I hope you will consider the matters that I have raised in this letter and that you will pursue them affirmatively with Secretary of State Baker.

All the best.

Sincerely,


Edward I. Koch

EIK/mgl

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
ORM OPTICAL DISK NETWORK

ID# 236047

☒ Hardcopy pages are in poor condition (too light or too dark).

☐ Remainder of case not scanned.

☐ Oversize attachment not scanned.

☐ Report not scanned.

☐ Enclosure(s) not scanned.

☐ Proclamation not scanned.

☐ Incoming letters(s) not scanned.

☐ Proposal not scanned.

☐ Statement not scanned.

☐ Duplicate letters attached - not scanned.

☐ Only table of contents scanned.

☐ No incoming letter attached.

☐ Only tracking sheet scanned.

☐ Photo(s) not scanned.

☐ Bill not scanned.

Comments:

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WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

May 3, 1991

The Hon. John Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President
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1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
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Dear John:

I really enjoyed our lunch and our conversation. It was good of you to conclude my visit by bringing me into the Oval Office to meet with President Bush. I think he knows and I hope you know that I really admire and like him.

We have a history of having served together in Congress and continued our friendship when he became Director of the CIA. I think he will go down in history as a seminal figure because of his courage in marshaling the world and the United States in support of a military strike against Iraq, and I have said so in my columns.

I am pursuing my efforts to assist the administration in defeating H.R.1. I am convinced we will prevail.

On your advice, I will also be pursuing with Brent Skowcraft my suggestion on the United States strategy in settling the Arab-Israeli disputes. I would like to reiterate those suggestions here and ask if you think it appropriate that you convey them to the President. I thought it would be an abuse on my part to raise them when you gave me the opportunity to meet with him yesterday. If you do bring my comments to his attention, I would be grateful.

The position of Israeli strategists like General Ariel Sharon, now Minister in the Israeli cabinet, is that Israel should retain the West Bank not for religious reasons or the Covenant with God referred to in the Bible but because of its military strategic importance. Minister Sharon has said to me that Israel needs to have under its control the road from Tel Aviv to the Jordan River with Israeli settlements protecting both sides of that road on the high ground, in order to defend against invasion of Israel itself. From a military point of view, it is difficult to dispute his analysis.

Israel's giving up the Arab-occupied parts of the West Bank makes sense only if Israel can be certain that once that occurs it will not find itself at war with the Arab states, and without the security of the 70-mile defensive area which the West Bank represents. However, I believe it would be reasonable for the United States to propose a quid pro quo arrangement between the Arabs and the Israelis: If an action is taken on the part of one side in advance of a permanent peace settlement, there would have to be a simultaneous action on the part of the other side.

The United States did not accept unilateral disarmament vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, which was advocated by some, and I always supported President Reagan's hardline on that issue. He was right. He, along with then Vice President Bush, must be given credit for the ultimate break up of the Soviet empire. It would not have happened had there been unilateral disarmament on our part.

Therefore, I think it fair to propose that Secretary of State Jim Baker publicly advocate that the United States favors the following measures: That Israel pending a final peace settlement give up creating new settlements on the West Bank because they constitute an obstacle to peace. Parenthetically, let me reiterate that it has been and I hope still is the policy of the United States that settlements on the West Bank by Israel are not illegal but are perceived to be obstacles to peace. Simultaneously, the Arab states would end their boycott of the state of Israel, preferably the total boycott but at the very least the secondary boycott.

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lame excuse that it has no common border with Israel. What do they think the Red Sea is? And haven't they financed every war against the State of Israel since its inception? Why do we allow the Saudi Arabians to make such a statement without Secretary Baker rejecting it -- out of hand -- as an obstacle to peace? He has never hesitated being critical of Israel. Why is there such hesitancy in being critical of Saudi Arabia? These are the things that give American supporters of Israel great concern.

You told me you have read only one of my books, His Eminence and Hizzoner. Only half of that book is mine! Enclosed are my three other books, Mayor, Politics and All the Best.

We also discussed crime and the President's approach. Enclosed is a copy of a speech that I delivered on the subject to judges in New York on Law Day, May 1, 1991. You will find that I support the administration's position.

We are not always going to be in accord, but I do want you to know that I have great respect for you. Let's stay in touch. I'd like to take you to a good Italian restaurant the next time you are in New York City. If that interests you, give me a call. I have no objection to your coming by military plane; I will greet you at the airport if you'd like!

All the best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'E. Koch', written over the word 'Sincerely,'.

Edward I. Koch

EIK/mgl

enclosures

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9103548
RECEIVED: 13 MAY 91 16

TO: KOCH, EDWARD I

FROM: SCOWCROFT

DOC DATE: 24 MAY 91
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
ISRAEL
MP

MIDDLE EAST
WH REFERRAL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SCOWCROFT REPLY TO MAYOR KOCH OF NEW YORK RE ARAB ISRAELI DISPUTE

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 14 MAY 91

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

HAASS

NSC CHRON

Katie Winkeljohn

5/28

Records:

Please include
this with

236047

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY

WEA

DATE

5/24

BY HAND

W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMJT

CLOSED BY: NSWEA

DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED

lth to Ed Leck

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: JEB

LOG # 3568

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: _____

DOCLOG AM A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<u>SK</u> Ken Hill	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>A</u>
Bill Sittmann	<u>2</u>	<u>W</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>		
Bill Sittmann			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>W 5/24</u>	<u>N</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>	<u>LEA 5/24</u>	<u>D</u>

APNSA Has Seen

9. MAY 14 9. 21

A = Action = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No further Action

cc: VP Sununu Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9103568

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 HAASS
002 SCOWCROFT
003

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 91051317 PREPARE MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT
Z 91051418 FOR SIGNATURE
X 91051516 FOR RECORD PURPOSES

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NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9103568
RECEIVED: 13 MAY 91 16

TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: KOCH, EDWARD I

DOC DATE: 06 MAY 91
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRAQ
ISRAEL
MP

MIDDLE EAST
WH REFERRAL

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR FM KOCH RE US POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL & MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE DATE: 14 MAY 91

STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMJT

CLOSED BY: NSMEM

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

ID# 236047

00001-07

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 07, 1991

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE EDWARD I. KOCH

SUBJECT: SUGGESTS STRATEGY FOR SETTling THE ARAB-
ISRAELI DISPUTES
FORWARDS COPIES OF THREE BOOKS

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO:		ACT	DATE	TYPE	C COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	CODE	YY/MM/DD	RESP	D YY/MM/DD
JOHN SUNUNU		ORG	91/05/07	<u>JS</u>	<u>A 91/05/14</u> TC
REFERRAL NOTE:			/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:			/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:			/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:			/ /		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:			/ /		/ /

COMMENTS:

Copies given to POTUS and Scowcroft

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

CS 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.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1991

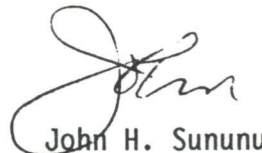
Dear Ed,

Thank you for your letter. I have given a copy to both the President and General Scowcroft so they could get your comments directly

Thank you also for the books. They'll make my plane trips more relaxing!

See you soon.

Regards,



John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

The Honorable Ed Koch
Robinson Silverman Pearce Aronsohn & Berman
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10104

226097

ROBINSON SILVERMAN PEARCE ARONSOHN & BERMAN

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SUSAN STOLL ZEDECK
MICHAEL R. ZIENTS

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MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131
(305) 374-3800
FACSIMILE: (305) 374-1156

*ALSO ADMITTED IN FLORIDA

WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

May 3, 1991

The Hon. John Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

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All the best.

Sincerely,

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'E. Koch'.

Edward I. Koch

EIK/mgl

enclosures