

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

C0074

DATE RECEIVED: FEBRUARY 27, 1991

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: JAMES E. MADIGAN

SUBJECT: FORWARDS REPORT FROM LATIN BISHOP OF
JERUSALEM REGARDING CONDITION IN THE HOLY
LAND

ROUTE TO:		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
LISA BATTAGLIA		ORG	91/02/27		C 91/04/02
REFERRAL NOTE:					
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COMMENTS:

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.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9106035

Date April 18, 1991

FOR: Mr. William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Bush

From: James E. Madigan

Date: February 21, 1991

Subject: Forwards report from Latin Bishop of Jerusalem
regarding condition in the Holy Land

WH Referral Dated: April 8, 1991

NSCS ID# (if any): 216143

_____ 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.
- X-X _____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- _____ 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:


Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

James E. Madigan, KGCHS
Lieutenant
Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem
2627 North Nicolet Drive
Green Bay, Wisconsin 54311

Dear Mr. Madigan:

I have been asked to respond to your letter of February 21 to President Bush regarding the situation in the occupied territories and the Middle East Peace Process.

Thank you for forwarding the CCINGO report on conditions in the occupied territories you received from Bishop Sabbah. We have closely monitored the situation in the occupied territories in recent months, and are aware of the dire economic plight of the Palestinian residents. The United States has made a special contribution of five million dollars to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) to support the distribution of emergency food supplies in the West Bank and Gaza. We are also urging Israel to take immediate steps to improve economic and social conditions in the territories.

We had also seen the suggestions for a peace plan developed by Shmuel Toledano. This is a thoughtful proposal that has received wide attention in Israel.

President Bush has said it is time to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. We continue to believe the best way to achieve a comprehensive settlement is through a negotiating process among the parties. The President has stated that a comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, and the principle of territory for peace. This principle, he said, must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition, and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights.

We believe that current circumstances in the region provide a window of opportunity for moving towards negotiations. Secretary Baker has been intensively involved in discussions with the parties in order to search for common ground and ideas as to how to proceed, and we remain committed to assisting the parties to bring about negotiations leading to a comprehensive settlement.

Sincerely,

William R. Brew
Director
Office of Israel and
Arab-Israeli Affairs

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

APRIL 8, 1991

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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7106085

'91 APR-05 10:41 PM

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 216143

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED FEBRUARY 21, 1991

TO: PRESIDENT BUSH

FROM: JAMES E. MADIGAN
LIEUTENANT
EQUESTRIAN ORDER OF THE HOLY
SEPULCHRE OF JERUSALEM
2627 NORTH NICOLET DRIVE
GREEN BAY WI 54311

SUBJECT: FORWARDS REPORT FROM LATIN BISHOP OF
JERUSALEM REGARDING CONDITION IN THE HOLY
LAND

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

8

216143

Lisa Battaglia



9106085

'91 APR-05 10:41 PM

EQUESTRIAN ORDER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE OF JERUSALEM

North Central Lieutenancy of the United States

JAMES E. MADIGAN, KGCHS
LIEUTENANT

2627 N. NICOLET DRIVE
GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN 54311

February 21, 1991

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. President:

I enclose a copy of a report from the Latin Bishop of Jerusalem, Bishop Michel Sabbah, regarding conditions in the Holy Land.

The Order of the Holy Sepulchre is an order of men and women dedicated to the preservation of a living Christian presence in the Holy Land not just shrines in Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

The Christians who have been there 2000 years are Arab Palestinians and Palestine has been, is, and should remain their home.

One brief example of how a peace with homelands for both Israel and Palestine can be achieved is enclosed.

God Bless you.

Very respectfully yours,

EQUESTRIAN ORDER OF THE HOLY
SEPULCHRE OF JERUSALEM

James E. Madigan
James E. Madigan, KGCHS
Honorary Lieutenant

JEM:cjl

Encl: The "Peace in Stages" Plan
CCINGO (JERUSALEM) Co-ordinating Committee of
International NGOs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ORM OPTICAL DISK NETWORK

ID# 216143

☒ 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.

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☐ No incoming letter attached.

☐ Only tracking sheet scanned.

☐ Photo(s) not scanned.

☐ Bill not scanned.

Comments:

2-15-81

CCINGO (Jerusalem)

Telephone: 287076/7

Co-ordinating Committee of International NGOs

Fax: 287070

The purpose of this press conference is to introduce the work of the Coordinating Committee of International Non-governmental Organisations (CCINGO) and to discuss the plight of the Palestinian population under the current curfew. CCINGO is an ad hoc committee of international NGOs working with local Palestinian organisations in the occupied territories. CCINGO recently came together in order to monitor the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the Gulf war.

The information we will be presenting today was current as of last night, January 23rd. At the end of the conference, we encourage the press to contact members of the panel and CCINGO representatives for further information and documentation regarding the issues we present.

The curfew imposed on the Palestinian population in the occupied territories by the Israeli authorities has become a serious obstacle that endangers the life and livelihood of over 1.7 million Palestinians. All Palestinians in the occupied territories have been under a strict 24-hour curfew since January 17th, and some for even longer. For seven days now, men, women and children in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been under what is, in effect, house arrest. Palestinians found outside their homes face severe penalties, including the possibility of arrest and excessive fines. On January 22nd, the maximum fine for breaking curfew was raised to 30,000 shekels and the maximum prison sentence to five years. The entire occupied territories, excluding parts of East Jerusalem, are designated closed military zones. Access is prohibited to all outsiders, including members of the press. To date, the curfew has been lifted only for brief periods in selected locations.

Our purpose today is to draw your attention to three critical problems relating to the extended curfew: inaccessibility to medical facilities, damage to the Palestinian economy, and the escalation of human rights violations.

① Inaccessibility to medical facilities:

As a result of the curfew the majority of the Palestinian population has limited access to first aid and health care facilities. Of equal concern, the transport of patients requiring emergency treatment is frequently obstructed by the Israeli authorities. The absence of regular medical care is placing both children and adults in life-threatening situations.

② Damage to the Palestinian economy:

The curfew is causing severe economic hardship to the Palestinian population. Since its imposition, a significant portion of those Palestinians dependent upon daily wages have been unable to reach their jobs; as a consequence, their disposable income has dramatically decreased. Should the curfew continue, a large segment of the population will be unable to purchase the essentials necessary for subsistence.

CCINGO is an ad hoc committee of international NGOs working with local Palestinian organisations in the occupied territories and reflecting NGO concerns in the current emergency.

The curfew has already caused extensive damage and continues to threaten the viability of the agricultural sector, the most productive sector of the Palestinian economy. Palestinian farmers are prevented from irrigating, spraying, harvesting and marketing their crops. If the situation persists, this season's harvest will be completely lost.

In addition, the entire livestock population is at risk. Unless animal feed is allowed into the occupied territories from Israel, these animals face starvation.

During the extended curfew, there has been a breakdown in the distribution system of staple goods, especially bread and milk. Even during the brief periods when the curfew is lifted, supplies in local stores are inadequate to meet the needs of the population.

③ Escalation of human rights violations:

International organisations in the occupied territories have been alerted to the following violations of human rights: opening fire without warning, widespread beatings, frequent teargassing including the shooting of tear gas canisters into homes under curfew, arbitrary arrests and exorbitant fines. Our information suggests that there has been an alarming rise in the degree and number of human rights violations during the curfew. Again, this is a rigidly enforced curfew. Palestinians have been warned that anyone who leaves his home "does so at his own risk."

It is unreasonable to argue any longer, as the Israeli authorities do, that public order must be maintained in the occupied territories by prolonging the curfew. This curfew has been imposed on a defenseless civilian population who are not at war and who are not provided with any means of protection against war.

We call attention once again, as we did in our appeal of January 18th, to the inadequate provision and distribution of gas masks and the absence of any warning system for incoming missiles. The Israeli authorities are clearly discriminating between the population living inside the Green Line and the Palestinians who live in the occupied territories. Justice Aharon Barak of the Israeli High Court, in his opinion ordering the distribution of gas masks to the Palestinian population, said, and I quote: "The obligation of the military commander to treat equally all residents of the area does not cease when the security tension rises." Living side by side with Israelis and in equal danger, Palestinians are being denied comparable protection. In the interests of upholding international standards for the protection of human rights, we call on the international community to demand that the Israeli authorities immediately lift the curfew in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The "Peace in Stages" Plan

By Shmuel Toledano

For the first time in the history of the long conflict between Israelis and Palestinians a possible solution to the conflict has received wide support from both Israelis and Arabs. The proposed solution is called the "Peace in stages" Plan. A nation-wide poll has shown it to be the first proposed peace plan acceptable to a majority of Israeli Jews.

I. Background

In December 1988 the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies of Tel Aviv University published a report called *The West Bank and Gaza: Israel's Options for Peace* (see *New Outlook*, May 1989). The report was prepared by a study group headed by General (Res) Aharon Yariv, formerly Chief of Army Intelligence, with the help of a large forum of Orientalists, military and security professionals, economists, jurists, and other experts.

The essence of this eight-month study is that under existing and foreseen conditions none of the options currently on Israel's political agenda seems to offer a reasonable avenue for dealing with the West Bank and Gaza. The report states that unilateral options (annexation, withdrawal from Gaza) are feasible, but could prove disastrous. The options based on negotiated compromise (autonomy, a Palestinian state, a Jordanian-Palestinian federation) bear some promise of mitigating the conflict, but have been unacceptable to one or both sides. As a consequence, the study concludes that the status quo will continue; this bodes ill for Israel and may lead to another war.

The Center for Strategic Studies' main recommendations were as follows:

1. A solution to the conflict will be found only as a result of an Israeli-Palestinian agreement.
2. Because of the lack of trust between the two peoples, there must be a period of confidence-building.

3. Israel's vulnerability and ensuing security requirements dictate that the Palestinian state must be highly constrained.
4. A successful resolution of the Palestinian refugee problem is a sine qua non of any successful solution.
5. Any agreement must be approved by the Arab countries, and especially Jordan.

The plan is based on an agreement between Israelis and Palestinians. It envisions the creation of a Palestinian state which would provide Israel with special security arrangements over a 15-year period.

Another group of experts headed by myself arrived at identical conclusions. Our report, published in March 1985 stated: "For years no Arab country accepted the Labor party's plan for territorial concession. Nor did the Arab countries or the Palestinians accept the Likud's autonomy plan. Needless to say, neither the Palestinians nor the Arab countries accepted the annexationist plans of the right-wing parties. There is no reason whatsoever to believe that Arab rejection of these plans will change in the near or distant future. The only plan acceptable to the Palestinians and the Arab countries is Israel's withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This is, however, rejected by the overwhelming majority of Israelis, and there is no reason to believe that a change in their position will occur. The stalemate will therefore continue, and with it the threat of renewed war."

The "Peace in Stages" Plan

A. Basic Concepts:

- The plan is based on an agreement between Israelis and Palestinians.

- It solves the problem of mutual confidence.
- It envisions the creation of a Palestinian state which would provide Israel with special security arrangements over a 15-year period, during which time the current climate of mistrust would be replaced by confidence building. The Toledano Group went on to recommend a peace plan based on advantages for and concessions from both sides, while at the same time not impeding the development of a Palestinian state.
- The plan insists on the participation of Arab countries and especially Jordan.
- It delegates an important role to the United States and international bodies.

B. History of the Plan

During the past three years, the plan was presented to 20,000 Israelis (army and police officers and regulars, students, and intellectuals) and 5,000 Israeli Arabs and Palestinians.

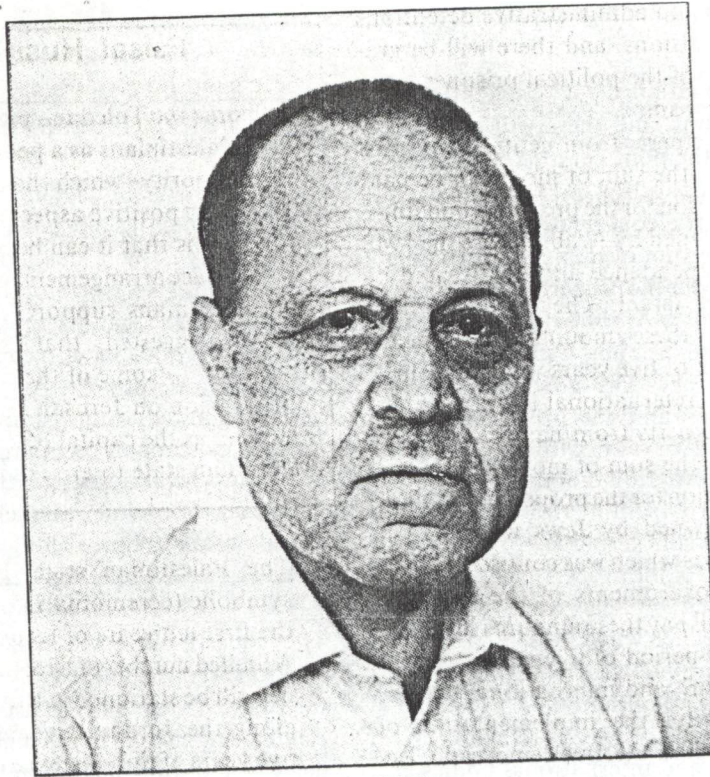
In December 1989, a public opinion poll on the plan was conducted among Israeli Jews. The result: 60% were in favor of the plan, 35% opposed it, and 5% did not respond. The most significant finding of the poll was that 51% of Likud voters in Israel support the plan. This result was repeated in a later poll.

In January 1990, the plan was presented to Israel's media. Reactions were positive. The Arab newspapers of East Jerusalem published the plan in full, gave it extensive coverage and editorials, and suggested that the plan serve as a working paper in future negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. The official PLO weekly *Falastin el-Thaura* also published the plan in full with similar recommendations. The official spokesman for the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine declared that the plan might serve as a basis for negotiations between the parties despite some reservations that they had. Faisal Husseini, a prominent Palestinian leader in the West Bank, praised the plan.

III. The Actual "Peace in Stages" Plan

The government of Israel will take the following decision:

1. After five years Israel will vacate the territories occupied in the 1967 war with minor modifications, and will not object to the creation of a Palestinian state in these territories if all the parties concerned accept and fulfill the terms specified herein. The minor modifications will include the neighborhoods built around Jerusalem since 1967.
2. The above decision will receive the approval of the Knesset. It will be transmitted to the UN with the request that it be granted the status of an international document. Necessary steps will be taken to ensure that this decision will not be cancelled or altered.
3. The Arab countries in proximity to Israel, i.e. Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Saudi Arabia will declare an end to the "state of hostilities" against Israel. This will include cessation of the boycott, recognition of the State of Israel's right to exist, no support for terrorism, and termination of the campaign to delegitimize Israel in international forums. This declaration will replace the ceasefire agreement of 1967 with Jordan, the 1982 cease-fire arrangement with Lebanon, and the 1974 separation of forces agreement with Syria.
4. Free tourism and supervised commerce will exist between Israel and these Arab countries.
5. The PLO will recognize the State of Israel.
6. The PLO will declare an end to the intifada, and the intifada will actually come to an end. (Isolated instances of disturbances will not be considered a breach of the agreement).



Shmuel Toledano

7. The PLO will declare an end to acts of terrorism against the State of Israel and against Israelis and Jews abroad, and the terrorism will cease in practice. (Isolated acts of terrorism committed by Arab extremists will not be considered a breach of the agreement.)
 8. The PLO will declare that Arabs will not have the "right of return" to the area within the Green Line (Israeli territory prior to the 1967 war, but will be entitled to compensation for property lost in the 1967 war.
 9. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. will agree to act as guarantors for the implementation of the agreement. They will also serve as arbitrators.
- IV. Stages of Implementation of the Plan**
- The government of Israel will announce its acceptance of this plan.
 - The Arab countries will declare their acceptance of the plan, and will begin fulfilling the terms included in Paragraphs 3 and 4.
 - The PLO and the main leaders of the Palestinians in the territories will declare their acceptance in principle of the plan and will begin fulfilling the terms included in Paragraphs 5,6,7,8.
 - The U.S. and U.S.S.R. will give their agreement to Paragraph 9.
 - One year after the implementation of the terms included in Paragraphs 3,4,5,6,7,8, the following will take place:
 - No new settlements will be erected.
 - Land confiscated from individual owners in the territories will be returned by the Israeli government to the original owners.
 - During the whole of the first year the Israeli army will be instructed to conduct a liberal policy. After the end of the year

— The government of Israel will announce its

there will be no administrative detentions and no expulsions, and there will be gradual release of the political prisoners held in detention camps.

- A team of experts from neutral countries will evaluate the sum of money to be paid as compensation for the property (buildings, land, etc.) owned by Arabs before the 1948 War of Independence and confiscated by the State of Israel. The government of Israel will pay these amounts in installments over a period of five years with the help of the U.S. and international bodies.
- A team of experts from neutral countries will evaluate the sum of money to be paid as compensation for the property (buildings, land, etc.) owned by Jews who lived in Arab countries which was confiscated after 1948. The governments of the countries concerned will pay these amounts in installments over a period of five years with the help of the U.S. and international bodies.
- Two years after the implementation of Paragraphs 3,4,5,6,7,8, free democratic elections will be held in the territories. The elected representatives will, in coordination with the military authorities, be in charge of municipal and internal affairs, excluding security matters.
- Subject to the fulfilment of the conditions stated above, negotiations will begin between the government of Israel, on one side, and the representatives of the Palestinians in the territories and the PLO, on the other. Separate negotiations will be held between Israel and Syria over the Golan Heights. The agreement between Israel and the Palestinian representatives must include the following conditions:
 - A. Israel will have the right to send its army into the Palestinian state in the event that a foreign military power attempts to enter that state's territory with or without its consent.
 - B. Common defense measures will be taken to prevent terrorist attacks on Israel from hostile bodies within the Palestinian state.

Faisal Hussein:

I welcome the Toledano plan's recognition of the Palestinians as a people, as opposed to a minority which has no sovereign rights. The positive aspect of the proposal for stages is that it can become part of an overall peace arrangement, a concept which the Palestinians support. As to the time periods suggested, that is an issue for discussion — some of them are very long. Our position on Jerusalem is that the city will serve as the capital of Israel and of the Palestinian state to arise alongside Israel.

- C. The Palestinian state will establish a symbolic (ceremonial) army only during the first ten years of its existence.
- D. A limited number of Israeli military personnel will be stationed at a number of points along the Jordan River during the first five years of the existence of the Palestinian state to act as an "early warning system" in case of infringement of the agreement.
- E. Israeli military planes will have the right to conduct maneuvers and reconnaissance flights in the air-space of the Palestinian state during the first five years of its existence.
- F. An economic agreement will be signed between the two countries.
- G. In Jerusalem separate municipal elections will be held, one for Western Jerusalem whose mayor will be a Jew, and one for Eastern Jerusalem whose mayor will be an Arab.
- H. The Holy Places will be managed by all three faiths, each site to be supervised by its respective faith. The sovereignty of Jerusalem will remain Israeli.
- I. The settlements will not be dismantled. The settlers in each settlement will decide whether to continue living there as Israeli citizens; to continue living there as Palestinian citizens; or to evacuate the settlements.

J. Both parties will recommend, and make every effort, that international bodies, particularly the U.S. and Japan, will take the responsibility for, and guarantee the solution of, the Arab refugee problem. Resettlement locales will not include the pre-1967 territory of the State of Israel. The Jordanian government will sign a special agreement of mutual defense with the State of Israel.

Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia will enter into a peace agreement with the State of Israel.

Both parties will recommend and make every effort that international bodies, particularly the U.S., will commit themselves to grant financial aid to help resolve the economic difficulties facing the Palestinian state.

If Syria will not be ready to fulfill the conditions included in Paragraphs 3 and 4, the above proposal will still be valid, but the Golan Heights will not be discussed until Syria accepts the proposal.

V. The Advantages of the Plan for Israel

1. Israel will enjoy five years without terrorism and the intifada, and with the reality of peace in the territories.
2. Peace treaties will be signed with the Arab countries by the end of the five-year period, and as a result Israel will enjoy a state of security in the region.

51% of Likud voters in Israel support plan.

3. For the ten years following the establishment of Palestinian statehood there will be limitations on the new state to prevent foreign armies from threatening Israel. This will give Israel the option of returning to the territories in case of breach of agreement.

VI. The Advantages of the Plan for the Palestinians

1. For the first time in their long struggle the

Palestinians will have a solid commitment for a state.

2. They will have a sovereign state within five years (which is not a long period in a nation's life), with only some limitations to protect Israel's security needs.
3. After 15 years they will have a state with no limitations.

VII. Results of Public Opinion Poll

Results of the poll conducted by Dahaf, a highly respected Israeli polling company, at the end of December 1989 are based on interviews with 1184 Israeli Jews, not including kibbutz members or settlers in the territories. An additional poll of 600 people conducted in January 1990 resulted in almost identical results.

Are You in Favor of/or Against this Plan	General Poll Total	Religious		
		Likud Voters	Labor Voters	Party Voters
Definitely in favor	21% (60%) 39%	51%	78%	33%
Against	23% (35%)			
Definitely Against	12%			
No Response	5% (5%)			

It is important to point out that before this survey, when the Jewish adult population in Israel had been polled on the question of its readiness to accept the creation of a Palestinian state — without the conditions stated in this proposal — the percentage of those who agreed was 10-15%.

Even when the question was posed as the only alternative — "If the demand for a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip poses the last obstacle to peace, should Israel agree or not agree to the creation of a Palestinian state?" — the percentage of

those agreeing to a Palestinian state was only 20%. This proposal raises the percentage of those in favor to 60%.

It can be assumed that even if there has recently been a greater readiness to consider

a Palestinian state, this alone cannot explain the huge increase. The increase is due to the fact that the "Peace in Stages" Plan incorporates new conditions which have not been raised before.

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Peace at Christmas