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WHORM Category Name:	Peace

Document Number:	054411
Alpha File Name:	

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

PC

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 18, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MS. HODA S. ELEMARY

SUBJECT: REQUESTS TAKING ACTION ON THE ENCLOSED PEACE
PLAN WHILE THERE IS STILL A CHANCE FOR A
PEACEFUL OUTCOME IN THE TROUBLED MIDDLE EAST

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO:		ACT	DATE	TYPE	C COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	CODE	YY/MM/DD	RESP	D YY/MM/DD
BRENT SCOWCROFT		ORG	89/07/18		C 89/07/21
REFERRAL NOTE:					
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TR

COMMENTS: THE SADAT PEACE FOUNDATION IS AN
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO
CONTINUE PRES. SADAT'S UNFINISHED AGENDA
ORIG TO GEORGE VAN ERON

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI 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

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8917256

Date July 31, 1989

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

Reference:

To: THE PRESIDENT From: HODA ELEMARY, SADAT PEACE
FOUNDATION
Date: JULY 5, 1989 Subject: FOUNDATION'S PEACE PLAN

Referral Dated: JULY 25, 1989 ID# 054411
(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.
- x 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: We answered an identical letter to the Secretary of
State. A copy of our response is attached.

W. Smith Jr
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 21, 1989

Hoda S. Elemery, Executive Director
Sadat Peace Foundation, Inc.
227 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Ms. Elemery,

I have been asked to respond to your letter of July 5. Thank you for enclosing a copy of "A Peace Plan for a Comprehensive Settlement in the Middle East."

We believe that the Israeli government's May 14 elections proposal offers a serious prospect for progress in the peace process. There is a need for dialogue between Israel and Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to structure elections and launch negotiations. We have undertaken a vigorous diplomatic effort with the Palestinians, the Arab states, our European allies, and the Soviet Union to persuade them to say yes to peace by agreeing to dialogue, elections and negotiations.

I sincerely hope that we can count on your support as we continue to push ahead in our search for peace in the Middle East.

Sincerely,

Daniel C. Kurtzer
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern and
South Asian Affairs

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

REFERRAL

JULY 25, 1989

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 054411

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JULY 5, 1989

TO: PRESIDENT BUSH

FROM: MS. HODA S. ELEMARY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SADAT PEACE FOUNDATION, INC.
227 EAST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK NY 10022

SUBJECT: REQUESTS TAKING ACTION ON THE ENCLOSED PEACE
PLAN WHILE THERE IS STILL A CHANCE FOR A
PEACEFUL OUTCOME IN THE TROUBLED MIDDLE EAST

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

8E
NSC
SADAT PEACE FOUNDATION, INC.

54411
HEADQUARTERS:
227 EAST 56th STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022
(212) 737-1313

July 5, 1989

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush:

A peace plan for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East has been forwarded to the Heads of State of the Member Governments of the United Nation's Security Council, Israel, Egypt, Jordan - Chairman Yasir Arafat and indigenous Palestinian leaders.

Bowing to pressure from political rivals in his own party, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir agreed on July 5, 1989, to be bound by their hardline conditions for conducting peace negotiations with the Palestinians. The Labor Party Leader, Shimon Peres, stated that Prime Minister Shamir's move violated the coalition government agreement and made it unlikely that any negotiations will occur.

In the past two years, the Sadat Peace Foundation's delegations met extensively with U.S., European and Middle East leaders, including the entire Israeli Cabinet to propose holding Elections on West Bank and Gaza. The Foundation's campaign, designed to place elections at the center of the Middle East negotiations, was enhanced when Prime Minister Shamir notified the Sadat Peace Foundation in a letter dated February 26, 1989 that he is willing to facilitate Elections on the West Bank and Gaza two months before the Prime Minister presented an Election Proposal to President Bush. Meanwhile, the Sadat Peace Foundation anticipated that Israeli hardliners would prevail with their agenda to impede progress on the peace process. To that end, the Foundation forwarded its Peace Plan to the entire Israeli Cabinet to help neutralize the hardliner's impact on the political process by calling attention to Anwar Sadat's November 20, 1977 appeal to the Knesset to overcome political hurdles on the road to peace - "Peace is not a game of calling for peace to defend certain whims or hide certain ambitions, peace in its essence is a dire struggle against all and every ambition and whim. It is useless to create obstacles, otherwise, the march of peace will be impeded or peace will be blown up. Peace cannot be worth its name unless it is based on justice and not on the occupation of the land of others. It would not be right for you to demand for yourselves what you deny others."

Bearing the legacy of Anwar Sadat, the Sadat Peace Foundation - an international organization dedicated to continue President Sadat's unfinished agenda will never allow Anwar Sadat's personal sacrifice for peace to have been in vain. Accordingly, the Sadat Peace Foundation, which is endorsed by Western European and Middle East heads of state as well as the majority of

President George Bush
July 5, 1989
Page Two

the U.S. Senate (please see attachments), appeals to you to personally voice your Government's commitment to stimulate peace making efforts in the Middle East. In appreciation of Anwar Sadat's mission, which provided the only peace the Middle East has known for forty years, we respectfully request you to take a position on the attached Peace Plan while there is still a chance for a peaceful outcome in that troubled region. Your prompt response will help sustain the political process at this critical time.

With kind regards.

Respectfully,


Hoda S. Elemery
Executive Director

SADAT PEACE FOUNDATION, INC.

HEADQUARTERS:
227 EAST 56th STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022
(212) 737-1313

WORLD LEADERS ON THE FOUNDATION (Quotations from letters received)

1989

SENATOR SAM NUNN: "I believe that (your) proposal deserves careful attention and I am pleased that you have been received by officials of the Bush Administration."

SENATOR JEFF BINGAMAN: "...such an approach as the Foundation's is not only timely, it is critical."

BRITISH PRIME MINISTER: "We believe that the Sadat Peace Foundation can also contribute much (to create the measures of trust and common ground necessary if negotiations are to take place in the Middle East)."

ISRAELI MINISTER GAD YAACOBI: "The work of the Sadat Peace Foundation - Promoting peace in our region is indeed an endeavor of supreme importance."

FEDERAL CHANCELLOR - WEST GERMANY: "The promotion of economic co-operation between the countries directly involved in the Middle East conflict and Western partners - a goal to which the Sadat Peace Foundation is strongly committed - is welcomed without reserve."

PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL: "We are very interested in maintaining and developing the legacy of peace that President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin initiated together in 1977. We are keenly interested in economic cooperation and joint ventures with Egypt. Such activities would become the real bulwark of peace and the basis and guarantee of coexistence."

1988 and Prior

SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON: "The Sadat Foundation's mission is inspiring. Anwar Sadat's great dream of peace between Arabs and Israelis lives on in the Foundation's work."

SHIMON PERES: 1986 - "You have my full support for the Sadat Peace Foundation's activities on behalf of our common objectives: better understanding, greater cooperation, and peace in the Middle East." 1987 - "I fully support the Sadat Foundation's efforts to organize an International Conference on the Economics of Peace-Making in the Middle East." 1988 - "Mr. Peres is pleased at the progress achieved thus far."

(On behalf of the) PRESIDENT OF EGYPT: "Let me reiterate our appreciation for your efforts in furthering the philosophy and the message of Anwar Sadat for peace in the Middle East. Egypt under Mubarak pursues the same policy of peace and is determined to help bring about a comprehensive settlement in our area. By consequence, you can rely not only on our support for the cause mentioned, but also we will not hesitate to give advice to that effect."

FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER: "Great progress has been made. I wish you well in the good work you are doing."

(Over)

SENATOR ORRIN HATCH: "The Sadat Peace Foundation embodies the spirit of Camp David. Perhaps more importantly, its international influence can bring together the many forces that a settlement in that troubled region will require."

ISRAELI MINISTER HAIM BAR-LEV: "I have no doubt whatsoever that your initiative deserves every encouragement."

KNISSET MEMBER AMNON RUBINSTEIN: "I wholeheartedly support your Foundation's Economic Program and your endeavors to enhance Anwar Sadat's vision of peace in the Middle East."

FORMER PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN: "It is no wonder that your foundation has attracted prominent statesmen and distinguished Middle East experts who can help move the peace process forward. I also applaud your emphasis of using the private sector. You have my enthusiastic support. With warm personal regards and best wishes for the foundation's success."

(On behalf of) POPE JOHN PAUL II: "I have the honor to convey His Holiness's prayerful good wishes for your worthy efforts."

CHARLES BRONFMAN: "I find the aims of the Sadat Peace Foundation to be exemplary."

SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR: "I want to commend you and the Sadat Peace Foundation for your efforts to create some fresh thinking about the Middle East peace process."

SENATOR DENNIS DeCONCINI: "These types of ambitious aims and efforts advocate the continuation of a potentially promising peace process."

SENATOR CARL LEVIN: "Please let me know how I can be of assistance, perhaps in seeking with you from the joint U.S. Arab-Jewish Community funding for joint Arab-Israeli ventures."

DAVID PACKARD: "I am pleased to support your worthy cause."

HENRY A. KISSINGER: "The Sadat Peace Foundation is a worthy undertaking and can be helpful in achieving peace with justice."

SENATOR PAUL SIMON: "I especially commend you for the initiatives you have taken to stimulate serious thinking about how to achieve a peaceful resolution of conflict in the area..."

SENATOR J. JAMES EXON: "Anwar Sadat should indeed inspire each of us as we work for peace in the Middle East. The initiatives of your foundation are invaluable in promoting the ideals and hopes of this great man."

CONGRESSMAN LEE HAMILTON: "This is a good proposal and one which should be promoted. The Foundation frankly needs higher visibility and needs to speak out more on where we should be going from here in the Middle East...I also applaud your efforts to energize the private sector to promote and expand peace between Israel and Egypt and hope that you will stay in touch with the Subcommittee as your special effort in this regard proceeds."

SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.: "The Sadat Peace Foundation's work at building upon the basis of the understanding established at Camp David is a great tribute to the foundation's revered namesake -- Anwar Sadat."

A PEACE PLAN FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Presented
by the
SADAT PEACE FOUNDATION

July 1, 1989

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PEACE PLAN FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Presented by the Sadat Peace Foundation

I

INTRODUCTION

Building on a two year campaign designed to place Elections on the West Bank and Gaza at the center of the Middle East negotiations, the Sadat Peace Foundation, on July 1, 1989, forwarded a peace plan for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East (aimed at narrowing the differences between the Israelis and the Palestinians on the election issue) to the heads of state of the member Governments of the United Nations' Security Council, Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Mr. Yasir Arafat, and a select group of indigenous Palestinian leaders.

The fundamental objective of this peace plan is to stimulate an electoral process that will lead to a political compromise over the occupied territories. A Peace Task Force will pursue the objective of the peace plan by traveling to the Middle East, Moscow, and Washington, appealing to key leaders to display decisive courage today, as Anwar Sadat demonstrated when he embarked on his peace mission to Jerusalem in 1977, and thus, set the pace for the peace process in the Middle East.

II

BACKGROUND

Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan were involved in the founding of the Sadat Peace Foundation - the leading U.S. private sector initiative dedicated to completing President Sadat's unfinished agenda for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Prominent Western European and Middle eastern leaders, together with the key U.S. Senators and Congressmen have expressed considerable interest in the work of the Foundation.

Prime Minister Shamir, pursuant to the formation of the new Israeli coalition government, advised the Sadat Peace Foundation on February 26, 1989, in response to an earlier request, of his intentions to propose elections in the occupied territories.

The basic principles of the Sadat Foundation peace plan for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, listed below, have been approved by the Board of Directors (Winthrop Rockefeller, Rustum Bastuni, Camelia Sadat, Diane Meyer Simon, Hoda Elemery, Jordan Baruch, and James George). Directors Carl Pohlad and Hollis Chenery abstained.

The Sadat Peace Foundation's peace plan is elucidated through a carefully prepared set of questions aimed at clarifying the positions of the conflicting parties. These questions are addressed to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and the Israeli coalition government, President George Bush and the U.S. Senate, Chairman Yassir Arafat and indigenous Palestinian leaders. The questions addressed to Israel and the Palestinians are especially poignant and factual to elicit clear responses.

REQUESTS FOR CLARIFICATION FROM PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR
AND THE ISRAELI COALITION GOVERNMENT

Question No. 1

Anwar Sadat sacrificed his life to achieve peace with the people of Israel, whom he trusted. On April 9, 1989, you stated on "This Week With David Brinkley," "We are committed, as you know, to the Camp David Agreements. We have signed this agreement, and Israel has a tradition to keep commitments...the future status of these territories has to be determined by negotiations between the parties...and the Israeli representatives will, for instance, propose Israeli sovereignty, and the Arab representatives will propose Arab sovereignty. Then the parties will have to continue the negotiations until they find a solution acceptable to both parties."

Yet, almost two weeks later, on April 21, 1989, you told Italian journalists, "We will not withdraw from these territories, which we believe belong to us." And on April 27, 1989, the Washington Post reported, "On Monday, Shamir told Jewish settlers at Susia on the West Bank that he had (paid nothing) to enhance Israel's image during his recent visit to the United States." To the Jewish nationalists, worried that his election plan could lead to Palestinian independence in territory where they have settled, Shamir said to "watch what he does rather than what he says," the report said.

Is there not a contradiction between your statement to the American public on "This Week with David Brinkley," and what you told Italian reporters and Jewish settlers at Susia - two weeks later? Which position do you stand behind? Does the coalition government which you head endorse the morality of your statement to Jewish settlers at Susia - to "watch what you do rather than what you say?" Do you and the other members of your coalition government realize that such contradictions are claimed by the Palestinians to be the reason for their hesitation in response to your election proposal, and provide a serious psychological hurdle to the peace process? Your peace initiative which was approved by the government of Israel on May 14, 1989 states, "The initiative is founded upon the assumption that there is a national consensus for it." Is the interest of the national consensus for peace in Israel today being served by the above-mentioned contradiction?

Question No. 2

On May 22, 1989, Secretary of State James A. Baker, III, urged Israel to renounce its claim to territory that it has seized in wars with neighboring Arab nations. "For Israel, now is the time to lay aside, once and for all, the unrealistic vision of a greater Israel. Foreswear annexation and stop settlement activity." On May 23, 1989, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens criticized Secretary Baker for daring to define which aspirations are realistic for Israel and which are not. "These are our dreams, we are speaking about our country and we have proven that we fulfill our dreams."

In view of the special relationship that was established between Anwar Sadat and Israel, does Mr. Moshe Arens endorse the following passage from Anwar Sadat's speech to the Knesset of November 20, 1977: "Peace cannot be worth its name unless it is based on justice and not on the occupation of the land of

others. It would not be right for you to demand for yourselves what you deny to others. With all frankness and in the spirit that has prompted me to come to you today, I tell you you have to give up once and for all the dreams of conquest and give up the belief that force is the best method for dealing with the Arabs." To that end, the Sadat Peace Foundation respectfully requests the Israeli Coalition Government to seriously consider the need to refrain from forcing the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories to accept the Israeli election initiative by tightening economic restrictions, particularly on the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip. Isn't it incongruent with the principles of democracy for Israel to pressure the Palestinians to hold "free and democratic elections" against their own will?

Question No. 3

In a joint letter from President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin to President Carter dated March 26, 1979, it is stated, "This letter confirms that Israel and Egypt have agreed as follows:

"The two Governments agree to negotiate continuously and in good faith to conclude these negotiations at the earliest possible date. They also agree that the objective of the negotiations is the establishment of the self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza in order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants.

Israel and Egypt set for themselves the goal of completing the negotiations within one year so that elections will be held as expeditiously as possible after agreement has been reached between the parties. The self-governing authority referred to in the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" will be established and inaugurated within one month after it has been elected, at which time the transitional period of five years will begin. The Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn, to be replaced by the self-governing authority, as specified in the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East." A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will then take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations."

It is evident that negotiations between Israel and Egypt did not progress as anticipated. Meanwhile, the peace initiative approved by the government of Israel on May 14th, states, "Israel yearns for peace and the continuation of the political process by means of direct negotiations based upon the principles of the Camp David Accords." Can the government indicate whether Israel would be willing to renegotiate the time periods in which specific stages of the Israeli Government Peace Plan could be implemented in accordance with today's reality. Would Israel be willing to consider a different transitional time period than stated in its current initiative?

Question No. 4

In the current Israeli Peace Initiative of May 14th, it is stated, "In order to advance the political negotiation process leading to peace, Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza districts." The Palestinian-Arab inhabitants like any other people, will need to listen first to their candidates debate and campaign

on relevant issues without restrictions or fear of reprisals. To that end, the Sadat Peace Foundation strongly urges the coalition government of Israel to demonstrate its commitment to hold free and democratic elections by permitting the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants their democratic right to have a choice of candidates. Will Israel permit individual selected large municipal buildings and their adjacent grounds (and limited areas) within Palestinian centers of population to be supervised by the United Nation Forces in which the Palestinians can gather to hear their candidates campaign. Will Israel subsequently allow the elections to be held under the auspices of the United Nations in the same selected municipal buildings and adjacent grounds and limited areas in centers of population on the West Bank and Gaza Strip?

Question No. 5

Since true democracy applies to all the people, is it not therefore incongruous for Israel to extend the rights of free and democratic elections to some Palestinian-Arab inhabitants, but not to those Arab inhabitants who reside in East Jerusalem. Unlike the Arab inhabitants of Haifa who are Israeli citizens, the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem have as much right to enjoy free and democratic elections as their compatriots in Nablus and Gaza. Will the government of Israel, in the spirit of fair play, allow the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem the right to exercise their choice in "free and democratic elections?"

Question No. 6

It is encouraging that Israel has declared, on May 14th in your peace initiative: "Israel proposes free and democratic elections among Palestinian-Arab inhabitants." In other democracies, elected officials have the right to choose their own delegates to negotiate on their behalf. Meanwhile, to expedite movement in the peace process, the Sadat Peace Foundation is urging all the Palestinians to agree, in principle, that the elected Palestinian officials would negotiate directly with Israel on "the transitional period," as called for in your peace initiative, provided the Israeli government would give a signal of its intent to compromise in the future by granting the elected Palestinian officials their democratic rights to choose their own delegation to negotiate a permanent solution. Assuming the Palestinians agree to this quid pro quo, will the Israeli Coalition Government state at that time its intent to compromise by allowing the Palestinians to choose their own delegates to negotiate the second stage of your peace proposal? This question is intended as a suggestion to Israel without presuming to tell the Israeli Government what steps to undertake to promote the peace process. The Sadat Peace Foundation's Board of Directors (Hollis Chenery and Carl Pohland abstaining) believe that a way must be found to enable the Palestinians in the Diaspora to participate in the negotiations for a permanent solution.

Question No. 7

Would the Israeli Coalition Government agree to negotiate the terms of the elections in Geneva with Palestinian Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, Egyptian and Jordanian officials in a consultation jointly sponsored by the U.S. and U.S.S.R.? Or would Israel agree to such negotiations under the auspices of the United States alone in Washington?

IV

REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION FROM CHAIRMAN YASIR ARAFAT AND THE PALESTINIAN LEADERS ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

Question No. 1

The Arab world condemned Anwar Sadat for being the first Arab leader to recognize Israel. However, as the second Arab leader to recognize Israel, you have won the political and financial support of your fellow Arab leaders at the Arab League Summit in Casablanca, May 25, 1989. The Summit endorsed the uprising and your peace efforts, including your recognition of Israel, and renunciation of terrorism. It is evident that the Israelis do not believe you. They contend that your sole purpose remains the destruction of Israel and that you are using your peace gesture as a ploy to disguise your real intentions of pushing Israel into the sea. On the other hand, many Arab leaders have stated the Shamir peace plan is a complete non-starter, that the transparent purpose of the Shamir plan is to counter the growing sympathy the Palestinian cause is winning in Western countries, to get rid of the Intifada and then to try and impose local leaders in an attempt by the Zionist leadership to reduce the PLO's influence in the territories.

Since fear, mistrust and suspicion can delay movement on the road to peace indefinitely, would you therefore be willing, in an effort to expedite progress on the Middle East peace process, to give a token of your sincere commitment to peace by delegating to elected Palestinian officials on the West Bank and Gaza the authority to represent you in the negotiations of a "transitional period," provided Israel concedes that negotiation on a "permanent solution" will be conducted with Palestinian delegates living on and outside the occupied territories and chosen by the elected Palestinian officials?

Question No. 2

Has the Intifada put pressure on the PLO to come up with a realistic peace plan to capitalize on the sympathy the Palestinians have received in the past year and a half?

Question No. 3

As is so often the case in the Middle East, fear is a major factor, in this instance, fear that as the intifada turns more violent, a historic opportunity for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict will be lost. If that happens, many Palestinians believe "that the pendulum will swing back to the radicals," and another Middle East war could soon be expected to take place. Since you have committed yourself to pursue a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict, would you, in consideration of the need to act in a timely fashion, review the attached proposal entitled "A Peace Initiative by the Government of Israel" under date of May 14, 1989, and make as few changes as possible to render this peace initiative acceptable to the Palestinians?

Question No. 4

Prime Minister Shamir and the Israeli Coalition Government were requested by the Sadat Peace Foundation to consider the following:

"The Sadat Peace Foundation strongly urges the Government of Israel to demonstrate its commitment to hold free and democratic elections permitting the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants their democratic rights to have a choice of candidates. Will Israel, therefore, permit individual selected, large municipal buildings and adjacent grounds (areas) in the centers of population to be supervised by the United Nations forces in which the Palestinians can gather to hear their candidates campaign for a true "free and democratic elections?" Will Israel subsequently allow the elections to be held under the auspices of the United Nations in the same selected municipal buildings and adjacent grounds in centers of populations?"

Would you give your approval to the above proposal provided Israel would do the same? How would you like to see the elections proposal implemented?

Question No. 5

Prime Minister Shamir has stated, "I cannot imagine that elections would be possible under the pressure of violence. You cannot have in the same time violent manifestations and free democratic elections."

Is it not sensible to assume that free and democratic elections cannot be held in a violent environment? When the package deal which you spoke of, including the elections, has been worked out, would you at that time be willing to use your influence to calm down the uprising in the occupied territories?

Question No. 6

The Israeli Coalition Government declared on May 14, 1989, that it will never negotiate with the PLO. Prime Minister Shamir stated his reasons in the following terms, "For me, it's clear. I know the PLO since the establishment of this organization. From here, it's clear they have not changed their aims, they have not changed their philosophy."

What measures, if any, can you undertake to convince the Israeli leaders that you are no longer intent on the destruction of Israel? Will the PLO be willing to change some of its Charter? Will you accept to have an international team of observers to guarantee that other senior PLO officials are equally determined, as you indicate that you are, to pursue a political process to end the conflict in the Middle East?

Question No. 7

Israeli military experts fear that United Nations' forces stationed in a neighboring Palestinian state could neither stop arms smuggling by radical Palestinian factions nor will they be able to repel an invasion of a future Palestinian State by another Arab country, e.g., Syria's invasion of Lebanon.

Are you in a position to provide Israel with waterproof security guarantees? Can you state in detail your proposed security guarantees to satisfy Israel's understandable concern over this issue? Would you be willing to accept Israeli protection for a future Palestinian State against the potential of an Arab invasion?

REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION FROM PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Question No. 1

When Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir came to Washington on April 6, 1989, he brought a new idea - to have elections on the West Bank and Gaza to choose representatives to negotiate with Israel. At that time you stated, "I can't say I am elated but in the Middle East, a little step sometimes can be proved to be fruitful." Three days prior to your meeting with Prime Minister Shamir, President Hosni Mubarak told reporters after meeting you in Washington, "Neither you nor anybody will be able to stop the Intifada. Let us be realistic and practical." In the past five months your administration has been patient with both the Palestinians and the Israelis. However, the stakes are high for the United States, especially if the current momentum for peace is lost. Do you foresee, in the near future, the possibility of the higher levels of the U.S. Government becoming more directly involved in the Middle East?

Question No. 2

Anwar Sadat tilted the balance of power in the Middle East in favor of United States' interests through his peace initiative which led to the signing of the Camp David Accords. At that time the U.S. Agreed to become an equal partner in the search for peace in the Middle East. To that end, the Secretary of State, James A. Baker, III, on May 22, 1989 called on Israel to renounce its claim to the territory that it has seized in war with neighboring Arab nations. "For Israel, now is the time to lay aside, once and for all, the unrealistic vision of a greater Israel. Israeli interests in the West Bank and Gaza - security and otherwise - can be accommodated in a settlement," that would involve trading land for peace. The Secretary of State urged Israel to "fore swear annexation, stop settlement activity by Jews in the West Bank. Allow schools to reopen. Reach out to the Palestinians as neighbors who deserve political rights."

Secretary Baker acknowledged that it would be difficult for Israel "to enter a negotiating process whose successful outcome will in all probability involve territorial withdrawal - that the continuation of the status quo will lead to increasing violence and worsening prospects for peace. It is high time for serious political dialogue (between Israel and the Palestinians)." Given that Prime Minister Shamir responded by stating that it is useless for the U.S. to talk Israel out of the West Bank and Gaza, would a visit by Secretary of State Baker to the Middle East in the near future be useful? How can the U.S. overcome this impasse on the road to peace?

Question No. 3

The Sadat Peace Foundation is encouraged that the Bush Administration has begun to focus on the Middle East, following a one-on-one meeting between you and President Hosni Mubarak, Prime Minister Shamir and King Hussein. However, your Administration has been hesitant for the past five months to get deeply involved in the Middle East peace process pending signals by the Israelis and the Palestinians indicating their serious interest to embark on political

negotiations. The Sadat Peace Foundation wishes to know the U.S. position on pursuing similar policies that have been proven successful by the Ford and Carter Administrations - namely, hosting Israeli and Palestinian leaders from the West Bank and Gaza in Washington to resolve the hurdles delaying the holding of elections in the occupied territories. Will the Bush Administration be willing to invite for consultation middle level delegations on or before October 6, 1989, representing Israel, the Palestinian-Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza (regardless of their political affiliations provided they agree to pursue a peaceful solution), Egypt and Jordan, to enter into a pre-summit dialogue to resolve differences on the issues of timing, purpose, and procedure for holding elections in the occupied territories?

Question No. 4

Indeed, it would be fruitful if the Soviet Union can agree to co-sponsor the above mentioned consultations with the U.S. in which case such consultations can take place in Geneva. However, would the U.S. agree that while it could be desirable to bring the Soviet Union into the picture, the urgency to realize progress on the Middle East peace process, at this time, may necessitate that the U.S. solely sponsor such a consultation rather than wait for the Soviet Union to take the necessary steps to enable its participation in the consultation?

Question No. 5

Following your election as President of the United States, the Sadat Peace Foundation forwarded an official request for your position on collaborating with the U.S. Congress on the Middle East peace process. On December 14, 1988, your Director of National Security Affairs at that time, Mr. Dennis Ross, responded to the Sadat Peace Foundation request as follows:

"In principle, we, of course, favor a bipartisan approach to Middle East peace. A bipartisan congressional delegation traveling to the Middle East could make sense at some point. If appropriately organized and coordinated with the Department of State's initiative in the region, such a delegation could aid American interests in the Middle East."

Do you believe that the time is right for such a bipartisan Congressional delegation to travel to the Middle East? Could such a delegation aid American interests in the Middle East?

VI

REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION FROM EGYPT, JORDAN, U.K., FRANCE, U.S.S.R., CHINA, AND THE UNITED NATIONS' SECRETARY GENERAL

The Sadat Peace Foundation respectfully requests that the above-named governments review the "peace plan for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East" for the following purposes; the first, to incorporate any part of this peace plan in their dialogue with either the Israelis or the Palestinians and second, would the above-named governments notify the Sadat Peace Foundation of their respective positions on the suggestions which are set forth in this peace plan.

VII

BASIC PRINCIPLES

SADAT PEACE FOUNDATION PEACE PLAN FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

This Peace Plan is based on the "peace initiative" approved by the Government of Israel on May 14, 1989, and the Palestinian responses to Israel's peace initiative.

1. FRAMEWORK FOR ELECTIONS

The Peace Plan for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East is premised on Israel's willingness to accept, within a period of six months, "free and democratic elections" for all the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, including the Palestinians of East Jerusalem to choose elected officials. (Negotiations on the future status of East Jerusalem will be reserved for the second stage - a permanent solution.)

- a. United Nations' forces will replace Israeli forces, three months prior to the date of the elections in selected municipal buildings and adjacent grounds in Palestinian populated areas on the West Bank and Gaza, so that Palestinian candidates can freely campaign for the elections. Such a campaign and elections can only take place in a peaceful environment, and therefore the violence of the Intifada will have to end.
- b. The elections will be held in the same selected municipal buildings and adjacent grounds under the auspices of the United Nations.
- c. All indigenous Palestinians (including those of East Jerusalem), will be eligible to run for office, regardless of their political affiliations provided they agree to pursue peaceful negotiations in reaching a comprehensive settlement.

2. NEGOTIATIONS IN TWO STAGES

This Peace Plan is based on two stages:

- a. Stage I - A transitional period for an interim agreement. The elected Palestinian officials from the West Bank and Gaza will negotiate with Israeli authorities directly on the time period, security, implementation procedures, the modalities for establishing the elected self-governing authority (administrative council), define its powers and responsibilities, and agree on other related issues.
- b. Stage II - Permanent solution - Israel will agree in advance that upon the termination of the negotiated "transitional period," the government of Israel will negotiate a permanent solution with a Palestinian delegation chosen by the elected Palestinian officials which will include indigenous Palestinian leaders; in addition, a way must be found for the Palestinians in the Diaspora to participate in the second stage of negotiations for a permanent solution. The final determination of the status of the occupied territories will be resolved during the negotiations for a permanent solution.

3. INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES

During the two stages of negotiations, special emphasis will be placed on taking into account relevant United Nations resolutions, i.e., 242 and 383, etc. The United Nations will be requested to provide the necessary International guarantees on any achieved compromise that will call for such International guarantees.

The United States, Egypt, and Jordan may agree to participate in the negotiation of both of the above stages. The U.S.S.R. will have the opportunity to join in the process following the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel.

An International Conference under the auspices of the United Nations is optional during the second stage of negotiations on a permanent solution.

4. ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND SECURITY GUARANTEES

An economic cooperation plan, including water and power sharing arrangements, and necessary Palestinian concessions to meet Israel's justifiable security needs, will be negotiated during both stages.

CONCLUSION

ESTABLISHING A PSYCHOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT FOR PEACE

Every grouping in the Middle East has had their own private nightmares. Lately, generals and statesmen of Israel have been pleading for their compatriots to awaken from fears deeply planted in their consciousness forty years ago. They argue, impressively, that Israel is now the strongest military power in the region, and its security is not dependent on retaining total control over a few miles of occupied territory that modern missiles and aircraft can traverse in seconds. Their expert testimony is that Israeli security is much better served by trading some land for real peace, internationally supervised and guaranteed by both the United States and the Soviet Union, leaving their Palestinian neighbors unarmed in whatever entity is eventually negotiated.

To continue the stalemate, even at the present level of violence, is too costly, politically and economically, for both parties. If this opportunity is missed through intransigence, then the real-life nightmare for Israel will not just be an Intifada but a jihad - a holy war. It will be led by fanatics who are being fed by present frustrations, and who will make the PLO look like genuine moderates.

It is a momentous choice, and one that is likely to be made, for better or for worse in the fairly near future. It is a choice that will affect not only Israelis and Palestinians, but all of us on this shrinking planet. It is time for all who see the danger and the opportunity to unite our voices to give peace a chance now.

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The peace plan was drafted by Hoda Elemery with the assistance of Howard Teicher and Ambassador James George.

Hoda Elemery, the daughter of former Egyptian Prime Minister A.G. Elemery, established the New York based Sadat Peace Foundation in 1984 with the assistance of Presidents Reagan and Carter. Howard Teicher, business consultant in Washington, D.C. and co-founder of the Foundation, former White House Director of Near East and South Asia Affairs during the Reagan administration. James George, a retired Canadian Ambassador to the Middle East and South Asia, is President and co-founder of the Foundation.

INFORMATION ON THE SADAT PEACE FOUNDATION

The Sadat Peace Foundation is a non-profit organization based in New York. Prior to the Intifada, the Sadat Peace Foundation launched an economic cooperative program to enhance economic ties between Israel, Egypt, Jordan, West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. On April 5-7, 1987, with the blessings of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the Sadat Peace Foundation sponsored an International Economic Conference in Bonn, West Germany, that was attended by the Allied Governments to review a multi-billion dollar fund to encourage economic cooperation in the Middle East.

In October 1987, in an effort to implement the resolution of the Foundation's International Economic Conference, the Sadat Peace Foundation urged the Shamir Government to relax economic restrictions on the West Bank and Gaza, and to permit the Palestinians to export their citrus to Europe where preferential excess to Palestinian goods was approved by the twelve foreign ministers of the EEC. Simultaneously, two months prior to the Intifada, the Sadat Peace Foundation urged Prime Minister Shamir to consider the possibility of an uprising, unless he permitted elections to take place on the West Bank and Gaza.

The Sadat Peace Foundation is shortly dispatching an economic task force to the Middle East to match business partners in Egypt and Israel.

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