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תיקים אישיים

קונגרס

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ז'אנר ראיות

נפתח: 1.77 ~~1976~~

נסגר: 3.1979

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

שמור

15 בנובמבר 1978

א ל: מצפ"א

מאת: צבי רפיח, וושינגטון

הנדון: הבחירות לקונגרס ה - 96

א. התוצאות

1. הסינט

בסינט החדש יהיו 59 דמוקרטים ו-41 רפובליקנים (לעומת 62 דמוקרטים ו-38 רפובליקנים בסינט היוצא). הרפובליקנים הגדילו, איפוא, כוחם ב-3 סנטורים.

עשרים מתוך 35 הסנטורים שנבחרו הינם פנים חדשות בסינט. מרביתם הינם אף פנים חדשות בוושינגטון. (רק שבעה סנטורים שרתו בעבר בביה"נ).

מתוך עשרים הסנטורים החדשים - שניים הינם יהודים: Carl Levin (דמוקרט, מישיגן). סה"כ הסנטורים היהודים בסינט - שבעה. אחוז היהודים מכלל אוכלוסית ארה"ב - הוא כ-2.7. אחוז הסנטורים היהודים מכלל הסינט - 7. Rudy Boschwits (רפובליקני, מינסוטה)

רבים מהסנטורים החדשים הינם צעירים בשנות השלושים שלהם. הגיל הממוצע של הסנטורים הוא עתה 43.

2. בית-הנבחרים

בבית-הנבחרים החדש 276 דמוקרטים ו-159 רפובליקנים. (בבית-הנבחרים היוצא היו 288 דמוקרטים, 147 רפובליקנים). מספר הרפובליקנים בבית-הנבחרים גדל ב-12.

77 (כ-18 אחוז) מתוך חברי בית-הנבחרים הינם נציגים חדשים, המתחילים עתה כהונתם הראשונה בביה"נ.

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למעלה ממחצית חברי המושב החדש של בית-הנבחרים יהיו בעלי ותק של לא יותר מארבע שנים, דהיינו נבחרו ב-1974, 1976 או 1978.

רבים מהנבחרים החדשים הם צעירים. הגיל הממוצע של כלל חברי ביה"נ יהא עתה - 40.

מתוך 435 חברי ביה"נ יכהנו במושב הבא 23 יהודים (למעלה מ-5 אחוז). מספר היהודים גדל אפוא ב-1 (לעומת 22 במושב הקודם). נוספו צירים יהודים ממדינות שלא היו מיוצגות בעבר ע"י יהודים - קולורדו, מישיגן וטקסס.

ב. מערכת הבחירות

בין המאפיינים את הבחירות:

1. האחוז הנמוך ביותר (מאז מלחה"ע השנייה) של בעלי זכות בחירה - קצת למעלה משליש - השתתפו בהצבעה.

2. הון עתק, בממדים לא תקדים, הוצא במערכות הבחירות ע"י המועמדים ומטות הבחירות שלהם, במיוחד בסינט. לשיא הגיע הסנטור הרפובליקני הלמס מצפון-קרוליינה שהוציא למעלה מ-6 מליון דולר, ואחריו ג'ון טאואר, רפובליקני מטקסס, שהשקיע 3,5 מיליון. לפחות 13 מועמדים לסינט הוציא יותר ממליון דולר כל אחד, ולא מעטים מתוך אלו אף הוציאו שני מליון דולר. (בבחירות לסינט ב-1976 שבר היינץ - רפובליקני מפנסלבניה - את השיא דאז - 3 מליון דולר.)

3. הנושאים העיקריים שהועלו במערכת הבחירות היו פנים אמריקניים - כלכליים: האינפלציה, קיצוץ בתקציב ובהוצאות הממשלה הפדרלית, קיצוץ במיסוי. נושאי מדיניות חוץ - כמו המזה"ת וסאל"ט - לא תפסו מקום של ממש במערכות הבחירות. זאת - פרט לאותן מדינות ואזורי בחירה - בהם יש ריכוז גדול ומכריע של יהודים - ניו-יורק, קליפורניה, אילינוי, פלורידה, מסצ'וסטס, פנסילבניה, מרילנד, ניו-ג'רסי - בהן היה הנושא המזהה"י והישראלי אחד הנושאים במערכת הבחירות.

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אפיינית להתענינות הבוחר האמריקני בנושאי פנים כלכליים היתה העובדה כי ב-17 מדינות ברחבי ארה"ב הועמדו למשאל - עם ישיר - תוך עקיפת תהליך הבחירות הייצוגי המקובל - מצעות הקשורות בקיצוץ תקציבים, והפחתת המיסוי (סה"כ משאלי-עם בנושאים אלו ואחרים - נערכו ב-38 מדינות).

4. תופעה שבלטה במערכת הבחירות והראוייה לציון מיוחד היא הגידול שחל במספרם, בפעילותם ובהשפעתם (כולל ממון) של קבוצות הלחץ המייצגות והפועלות למען אינטרס מסויים ונקראות - Single Interest Group או Special Interest Group. בנוסף לקבוצות הידועות של אילי הנפט, התעשייה וכו' בלטו עתה בכוחן קבוצות כמו נגד הפלה מלאכותית (Anti Abortion), למען שווי זכויות לנשים (E.R.A.)וכד'. לדוגמא - את כשלונו של סנטור דיק קלארק בבחירות באיווה מייחסים - במידה רבה - לתעמולה האפקטיבית שניהלה נגדו הליגה למניעת הפלות. פושטת והולכת התופעה שהבוחר איננו מתענין ומצביע בהסתמך על עמדותיו של המועמד בנושאים כלל - ארציים והשקפותיו הלאומיות, אלא אך ורק לפי עמדתו בנושא ספציפי כמו הפלות, או נושא מקומי אחר שאין לו כל משמעות מעבר לאזור הבחירה.

ג. משמעות ומסקנות

1. כללי

מוסכם על הכל כי הקונגרס החדש יהא יותר שמרני מקודמו. זאת לא רק משום שחמישה סנטורים דמוקרטים ליברלים ידועים הובסו (קלארק מאיווה, הטקל מקולורדו, מקאינטייר מניו המפשייר, אנדרסון ממינסוטה והתאויי ממיין) וכמוהם גם צירים בביה"נ, ובמקומם נבחרו שמרנים, ולא רק משום שגדל מספר הרפובליקנים, אלא גם משום שאותם צירים שהיו ידועים כליברלים ונבחרו מחדש, או כאלו העומדים לבחירה ב-1980, למדו את הלקח ויקפידו מעתה להצניע את ליברליותם. למשל, סנטור פרסי - שוב לא יהיה אותו פרסי שנבחר ב-1966 וב-1972. יש להניח כי גם סנטור ג'ון קאלוור, דמוקרט מאיווה, העומד לבחירה מחדש ב-1980, ילמד את לקח כשלון עמיתו סנטור קלארק וישתדל להימנע ככל האפשר מנקיטת עמדות שתיראינה ליברליות ואשר עלולות להוביל

לכשלונו גם הוא.

מחד יש בכך יתרון לנשיא. מקונגרס שמרני יותר מצפים שיסייע לנשיא במאמציו להביא להפחתת הגרעון התקציבי הלאומי, לאיזון התקציב ולקיצוץ בתכניות אינפלציוניות.

מאידך, קונגרס - ובעיקר סינט - שמרני יותר יעורר קשיים רבים יותר, אם וכאשר יובא הסכם סאל"ט חדש לאישרור הסינט.

בכל הצלחותיו בקונגרס עד כה נעזר הנשיא, כידוע, בתמיכת המיעוט הרפובליקני. בלעדי תמיכה זו לא היה הנשיא מצליח להביא לאישרור הסכם תעלת פנמה, לאישור עסקות המטוסים ולבטל (ע"י וטו) חוקים ותכניות בנושאי פנים שאושרו תחילה ע"י הקונגרס. עתה יהא הנשיא תלוי במיעוט רפובליקני שצבר כוח רב יותר.

התגברות כוחם של הרפובליקנים בסינט ובביה"נ והתגברות המגמה השמרנית הכללית בקונגרס, וכן ההישגים הרפובליקנים החשובים במאבק על בתי המחוקקים המקומיים ומשרות המושלים, עשויים להפוך את הרפובליקנים לאופוזיציה פעילה יותר המבליטה יותר את ייחודה ומוכנה פחות ללכת בתלם הנשיא.

עקב הגידול בכוחם בשני בתי הקונגרס עשויים הרפובליקנים לתבוע יתר ייצוג בועדות השונות, ובמיוחד בחשובות שבהן, כולל ועדת-חוץ.

עם זאת, הרוב הדמוקרטי המוחלט בשני הבתים לא התערער והדמוקרטים - כנהוג - ימשיכו להחזיק בכל משרות יושבי-ראש הוועדות ותת-הוועדות בשני הבתים.

בסינט מתחלפים יושבי-ראש של שלוש ועדות חשובות - בועדת-החוץ פרש היו"ר ספרקמן ובמקומו יתמנה ליו"ר הסנטור הידידותי צ'רצ'. בוועדת ההקצבות נפטר היו"ר הבלתי-ידידותי מקלאלן. היו"ר שהחליפו - מגנוסון ממדינת וושינגטון הינו ידידותי הרבה יותר. יו"ר ועדת החוקה איסטלנד פרש ובמקומו יתמנה קנדי.

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בוועדת החוץ של הסינט יתחלפו ששה סנטורים: קייס, גריפין ופירסון, הרפובליקנים וכן ספרקמן, גב' המפרי וקלארק הדמוקרטים. בוועדת-ההקצבות של הסינט יתחלפו שני סנטורים - קייס וברוק.

2. המשמעות לגבי ישראל

למרות הילופי הגברי נשאר מעמדנו בשני בתי-הנבחרים טוב כשהיה. "איבדנו" ידידים ו"זכינו" בידידים. "נפטרנו" ממתנגדים ועויינים ו"קיבלנו" אחרים במקומם. להלן הערכת האישים היוצאים והבאים בסינט:

(א). ידידים הבאים במקום ידידים

בושביץ מחליף את אנדרסון (מינסוטה).
ביל כהן מחליף את התאווי (מיין).
בראדלי מחליף את קייס (ניו-ג'רסי).
צונגאס את ברוק (מסצ'וסטס).
דירנברגר את המפרי (מינסוטה).

הערה: כמובן שבראדלי עדיין אינו יכול להתעלות לרמת ידידותו, השפעתו ומעמדו של קייס והוא הדין לגבי צונגאס ביחס לברוק. ברור, כמו-כן, שאין תחליף ליוברט המפרי.

(ב). ידידים או ניתנים להשפעה ידידותית במקום בלתי-ידידותיים או מסוייגים

הפלין במקום ספרקמן (אלבמה).
סטוארט במקום אלן (אלבמה).
פראיור במקום מקלאלן (שנפטר) (ארקנסו).
לוין במקום גריפין (מישיגן).
בוקוס במקום הטפילד (מונטנה).

הערה: עוזרו של בוקוס השתתף אשתקד בסמינר ון-ליר.

אקסון במקום קרטיס (נבראסקה).

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בורן במקום ברטלט (אוקלהומה)
פרסלר במקום אבו-רזק (דרום דקוטה).
סימפסון במקום הנסן (וואיומינג).
וורנר (או מילר) במקום סקוט (וירג'יניה).

(ג). בלתי-ידידותיים במקום ידידים

ג'פסן במקום קלארק (איווה)
המפרי (!) במקום מקאינטייר (ניו-המפשייר)
ארמסטרונג במקום הסקל (קולורדו).

(ד). לא אוהד במקום לא אוהד

גב' קסבאום במקום פירסון (קנזאס).

(ה). לא ברור

קוקראן במקום איסטלנד (מיסיסיפי).

מתוך עשרים הסנטורים שפרשו, או נכשלו בבחירות:

12 הצביעו נגד החלטת הסינט לבטל עסקת המטוסים.
4 הצביעו נגד הסיוע המיוחד לישראל של 2,2 מליארד דולר בעקבות מלחמת יום הכפורים.
9 לא חתמו על מכתב - 76 הסנטורים לנשיא ב-1975.
9 התנגדו לחוק סיוע-חוץ.

להתגברות האפי השמרני של הקונגרס, והנטייה הגוברת לצמצום תקציבים והוצאות יש השלכה ממשית על חוק סיוע החוץ . החוק לשת"א 1979 אושר ברוב זעום ביותר. בדיון שהתקיים בביה"נ על אישור נוסח הקונפרנס של החוק - ימים ספורים לפני סיום מושב הקונגרס היוצא - טען אחד הצירים - מדוע הנשיא מטיל וטו על Water Projects בארה"ב ומאשר סיוע לתכניות דומות בארצות חוץ. טענה אפיינית זו נשמעה בעבר ותישמע ביתר תוקף בקונגרס החדש. אנו צופים קשיים רבים יותר באישור חוק סיוע החוץ הבא וחוששים מנטייה לקצץ בו.

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

שמור/7

לשני בתי הקונגרס נוספו נציגים חדשים "שלא ידעו את יוסף". "הסנטור הממוצע" (גיל 43) נולד ב-1935 "והקונגרסמן הממוצע" (גיל 40) נולד ב-1938. כשאלו הגיעו לגיל 13 היו מלחה"ע השניה, השואה, הנאצ'זם, פרל הרבור, מינכן מאחוריהם. כשהם ייקראו לקבל החלטה בנושאי חוץ הם לא יזכרו את מינכן אלא אם כן קראו על כך בספרים או נמצא מי שידע ללמדם על כך. לכך יש משמעות רבה לגבינו. עלינו, על הארגונים היהודים ובמיוחד הקהילות היהודיות יהא לדאוג לכך שהם יהיו מודעים להסטוריה היהודית, לשואה ולתולדות עם ישראל במולדתו. אחת הדרכים היעילות ביותר לתרום להכרה זו היא - להביאם לביקור בן כמה ימים לפחות בישראל, ובכך יהא עלינו להשקיע מאמץ מיוחד.

כל האמור לעיל יעמוד למבחן ראשון כאשר תובא לאישור הקונגרס בקשת הסיוע המיוחד לישראל ומצרים, אשר אם כי גדלו טרם נקבע חזקה עליו שמפאת היותו משותף לשתי הארצות - יתבטא בסכומים נכבדים ביותר. כאן תבוא למבחן שמרנותו התקציבית של הקונגרס מול החמיכה בישראל, במצרים ובשלום.

מבחן אחר יגיע לכשיתפתח משבר בינינו לבין ארה"ב בנושא הגדמ"ע, עזה וירושלים. כבמקרים דומים בעבר נזדקק לרצון הטוב והתמיכה של הקונגרס, במיוחד שעה שידידים כהמפרי וקייס שוב לא יהיו בקפיטול.

ולבסוף הערה לגבי משקל הכוח היהודי:

היהודים מהוים כ-2.7 אחוזים מכלל אוכלוסיית ארה"ב. בסינט יש 7 יהודים ובביה"נ - 23.

השחורים מהוים 10 אחוזים מכלל אוכלוסית ארה"ב. בסינט אין להם עתה אף סנטור אחד, ובביה"נ רק 16 צירים.

בברכה

צבי רפיח

העתקים:
לשכת שה"ח
המנכ"ל
המרכז
השגרירן, היועץ, מזכיר הסברה, כאן

Sen. Cannon 10/11/78 Pays tribute to Saudi King Khalid currently in US undergoing surgery. Says he "has exercised wisdom in the enlightened appreciation of his country of the importance of Mideast peace." Notes Khalid's great support for US & Saudi role in keeping oil crisis "within manageable limits." S 18162

Sen. Griffin 10/11/78 Wishes Saudi King Khalid a speedy recovery from recent surgery in US. Notes Khalid has been friend of US, is "voice of moderation in the Arab world, & has been a stabilizing influence in the volatile politics of the Mideast." Assured Khalid will play major role in efforts to achieve Mideast peace. S 18162

Sen. Jackson 10/11/78 Pays tribute to Saudi King Khalid currently in US recovering from major surgery. Notes Saudi's "vital role...in the stabilization & defense" of Mideast. Says Saudi moderating factor in OPEC, "acting as a restraining influence on other members" who sought to escalate oil prices even further. Notes now opportunity for SArabia to join peace process. S 18162

Sen. McGovern 10/11/78 Introduces resolution to allow Lebanese refugees into US. S 18258

Sen. Dole 10/1178 Introduces resolution with Sen. McGovern (D-SD) to allow Lebanese refugees into US. S 18258

Sen. Thurmond 10/10/78 Notes support for bill which makes clear US not haven for Nazi war criminals. Says 1978 "year of the reawakening to holocaust endured" by strong people against all odds. S 18118

Sen. Brooke 10/10/78 Expresses extremely cautious optimism for Mideast peace. Says "far too many difficult issues left unresolved & far too much leeway for radical elements in the Arab world" to undercut Camp David to justify anything more. Says most sombering is Syrian attempts to crush Lebanese Christian community. Says "what once was once conceived to be a mission to keep the peace has taken on the characteristics of a vendetta against the Christians." Appalled by "indiscriminate Syrians attacks on civilian areas" on Christian community. Warns "attacks are an ominous portent of future violence" in Mideast. Says "even more sinister is the possibility that the Syrians, encouraged by other Arab radicals...saw the attack on the Christians as a means of short-circuitting the peace negotiations between Israel & Egypt." Says Syria might try to provoke Israel reaction - commendable Israeli defense of Lebanese Christian community - to pressure Sadat to refuse to finalize Camp David agreements. Suggests Syria may assume US will prevent Israel from intervening & may believe it has free hand in Syria. Encouraged US to take action before UN. Notes lack of concensus on status of Jerusalem, continued difficulty in achieving secure defensible borders for Israel "imperative if Israel is truly to find peace." Notes controversy over future of WBank settlements. Dismayed at "lack of any substantive evidence that Jordan & SArabia are preparted to give positive support to the Camp David accords." Notes potential for disruption of peace efforts by PLO, radical Arab states & USSR not part of Camp David accords. Says as we continue efforts for peace "even greater need for strong US support of Israel & for those in Arab world willing" to take steps in direction of peace. S 18123-4

Rep. Lagomarsino 10/10/78 Inserts Dial Torgerson article on prospects for peace in Mideast resulting from 1973 Yom Kippur War, "Yom Kippur's Legacy: An Open Road to Peace." E 5515

Rep. Spellman 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Lydia Nisanova denied permission to emigrate to Israel. E 5875

Rep. Sarasin 10/14/78 Notes if present would have voted against motion to recommit Foreign Asst. Appropriations Conference Rpt. to conference & for final passage of Conference Report. E 5887-8

Rep. Wolff 10/14/78 Deplores Syrian involvement in Lebanon. Warns situation jeopardizes chances for Mideast peace. Notes Lebanon was intellectual center of Arab world. Notes Syrian forces seeking to make Lebanon part of "Greater Syria". Notes letter to President sent with Gilman(R-NY), Kazen (D-Tex) & Abdnor(R-SDak) containing resolution on Lebanon. Inserts resolution & 223 signatories. Notes House vote to eliminate $90m in aid to Syria. Says "cosponsoring this resolution would tell the administration the depth of the concern in Congress about this situation." Inserts Wall Street Journal 10/11/78 editorial, "Turning Point in Lebanon." E 5891-3

Rep. John Burton 10/17/78 Letter to MAmitay & KWollack in response to thank you for positive vote on Foreign Assistance Appropriations Conference Report. Says substantial military & economic assistance to Israel, essential part of peace process "the only reason for my vote".

Sen. Griffin 10/16/78 PRESS RELEASE: Notes signed Moynihan(D-NY) letter to President Carter calling for a cutoff of US funding of UN Special Unit on Palestinian Rights. Says "these appalling anti-semitic activities must be stopped...UN supposed to be promoting peace, not fostering hatred." Says "if this nation is serious in its efforts to seek a lasting peace...then we must use every lever at our disposal to help achieve that end."

Pres. Carter 9/17/78 Remarks on Camp David accords. Notes significant achievements of Camp David meetings - warns of obstacles remaining. Outlines terms of agreements reached between Israel & Egypt-Israeli forces will remain in specified locations on WBank & Gaza during 5 year transitional period, Palestinians will have right to participate in determination of own future & in negotiations which will resolve final status of WBank & Gaza. Notes agreement provides Israel may live within secure & recognized borders. Says agreements with accompanying letters "provide basis for progress & peace throughout the Middle East." Notes agreement provides Egyptian sovereignty over Sinai & establishment of normal, peaceful relations between Israel & Egypt. Notes Knesset will decide on issue of settlements. Salutes Sadat & Begin for keeping talks going. (9/25/78 Pres. Documents)

Pres. Carter 9/18/78 Signs resolution designating 4/28-29 "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust". Quotes resolution, the Holocaust remains "not only a shocking symbol of Nazi brutality inherent in tyranny, the pernicious quality of bigotry, & the human capacity to be cruel." Says fact resolution passed unanimously "reflects...wholehearted conviction that the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten." (9/25/78 Pres. Documents)

Rep. Frey 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Boris Tsitilonok refused permission to emigrate. E 5543-4

Rep. Waxman 10/14/78 Notes Martyr's Memorial erected by Jewish Federation of Greater Los Angeles in remembrance of Jews who died in Holocaust. E 5564

Rep. Oakar 10/14/78 Criticizes approach to Mideast peace for not being dealt with in comprehensive manner. Condemns lack of concern for Lebanon. Inserts letter to President Carter calling on him to "use the same energies...which he has demonstrated" in other areas of region. Says "all are responsible" for crisis in Lebanon. Letter implores Pres. to take immediate action to stop bloodshed. Notes US not include aid for Lebanon in foreign aid bill. E 5571

Rep. Brodhead 10/14/78 Criticizes US funding of UN special unit on Palestinian rights. Says "PLO has the distinction of not only being the sole terrorist organization...to be represented in the UN. It also is the only such body to have a major part of its advertising budget paid for by American taxpayers." Notes public relations campaign by unit, film "Palestinians Do Have Rights" with Yasser Arafat attempting"to portray PLO terrorism as justified & PLO goals as moderate." Says "the auspices of the UN, supposedly dedicated to peace, will be used to promote an organization which condones murder of innocent civilians, rejects peace negotiations & ignores the rights of UN member states & allies of this country." Says UN overstepped its bounds & "has chosen bias over objectivity & is now promoting the causes of certain factions instead of reconciling the differences between t[illegible]." Letter notes US contribution to UN contained in Foreign Relations Authorization. Letter says "because the US contributes 1/4 of the UN's budget, American tax dollars are being used to actively promote PLO interests. I believe this situation is intolerable." Notes Congressional amendment to Foreign Relations Authorization Act calls for US ambassador to UN to take action to terminate unit. E 5580

Rep. Gore 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Daniel & Sara Fradkin denied permission to emigrate. E 5581

Rep. Waxman 10/14/78 Pays tribute to Robert & Robin Gerber, honored by Los Angeles Committee for Israel Bonds. E 5585

Rep. Murphy (Ill) 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Boris Chernobilsky detained & accused of "hooliganism". E 5592

Rep. Brown (Ohio) 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Emanuel & Alla Smeliansky denied permission to emigrate & imprisoned. E 5593

Rep. Frenzel 10/14/78 Particpates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Eitan & Alexandra Finkelstein refused permission to emigrate. E 5597

Rep. Moffett 10/14/78 Notes plight of USSR Jew , Issac Shkolnik refused permission to emigrate. Urges everyone adopt prisoner of conscience. E 5603

Rep. Harris 10/14/78 Notes plight of Vina Belkina & Yakov Rachlenki,USSR Jews denied permission to emigrate. E 5610

Rep. Thone 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for Soviet Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Amner Zavurov refused permission to emigrate. E 5618

Rep. Santini 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for Soviet Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Edouard Rynsky refused permission to emigrate. E 5618

Rep. O'Brien 10/14/78 Criticizes administration inaction on Lebanese crisis. Warns Syrian aggression against Lebanese Christians threatens fragile Mideast peace. Inserts resolution adopted by National Republican Heritage Groups Council demanding Carter intercede & demand withdrawal of Syrian troops & calls for humanitarian aid to Lebanon. E 5619

Rep. Carr 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Leonid Skrynick denied permission to emigrate. E 5635

Rep. Armstrong 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Galina Golzman Michelson denied permission to emigrate. E 5650

Rep. Markey 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Leib Khnokh denied permission to emigrate. E 5651-2

Rep. Gilman 10/14/78 Says as long as Syrian forces remain in Lebanon, threat of renewed violence ever-present. Condemns Syrian attempts to establish control over Lebanon & Syrian human rights violations. Warns "if present conditions in Lebanon persist, the current Camp David peace efforts will remain in great jeopardy. The longer these deplorable conditions exist, the more likely that Syrian peacekeeping forces become an Arab army of occupation with all that implies for Israel's security." Notes letter to President sent with Wolff(D-NY), Kazan(D-Tex) & Abdnor(R-SDak) containing resolution on Lebanon. Inserts text of resolution & recent newspaper articles on Lebanon. E 5652-3

Rep. Tsongas 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Iosef Mendelevich denied permission to emigrate. E 5675

Rep. Solarz 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Gennady & Natasha Khassin denied permission to emigrate to Israel. E 5677-8

Rep. Heftel 10/14/78 Explains nay vote on foreign aid appropriations bill for fiscal year 1979 - objects to funding of IMF. E 5685

Rep. Green 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Semyon Gluzman denied permission to emigrate to Israel. E 5696

Rep. Symms 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Saadia Igilovitch Shamuilov denied permission to emigrate. E 5700-1

Rep. Blanchard 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Yakov Rakhlenko Karmanitsky denied permission to emigrate to Israel. E 5701

Rep. Brodhead 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Jewish dissidents imprisoned for their campaigns against Soviet human rights violations. E 5740-1

Rep. Lehman 10/14/78 Notes increased PLO terrorism following Camp David accords. Says "PLO is determined to undermine Camp David peace momentum-both by increasing terrorism against innocent civilians & by its dirty work in Lebanon." Says cannot recognize "PLO terrorists as the true representatives of the Palestinian people." Inserts interview from Jerusalem Post with Steve Hilmes, US bomb disposal expert working with Israeli police fatally wounded during bombing incident, "Fumbles Are Fatal". E 5751-2

Rep. Scheuer 10/14/78 Participates in "Vigil for Freedom" for USSR Jewry to protest USSR restrictive emigration policies. Notes plight of Ida Nudel imprisoned by Soviets for "malicious Hooliganism". E 5764

Rep. Conte 10/14/78 Inserts letter to Israeli Knesset in praise of decision to endorse Camp David summit agreements sent by 41 members of Members of Congress for Peace through Law. E 5791- 2

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

י"ז באלול תשל"ח
19 בספט' 1978

א ל : מצפ"א
מאת : צ. רפיח, וושינגטון

הנדון: תגובות בקונגרס להסכמי קמפ-דיויד

כידוע לכם היו התגובות בקונגרס להסכמי קמפ-דיויד חיוביות מאד. הדבר בא לביטוי בתרועות (תופעה מאד יוצאת דופן) ובתשואות של שני בתי הקונגרס בעת נאום הנשיא בפניהם ב-18 דנא, וכן בתגובות שפרסמו סנטורים שונים. יוצא דופן הוא אבו-רזק.

מצ"ב לעיונכם לקט תגובות של סנטורים.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

צבי רפיח

העתק : לשכת שה"ח
לשכת המנכ"ל
המרכז, משה"ח
תעוד, משה"ח

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון
EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON D.C.

ד"ר יעקב ברנע
ת"ד 1 בפברואר 1976

מר ד. בן-אהרן
מנכ"ל ד.ז. בנק, פרנקפורט

הנדון: מכתבו מיום 29-בינואר 1976

בתשובה לפנייתך מיום 29-בינואר אודות הנדון לעיל, הרינו מודיעים לך כי אין לנו מידע (מעבר לנאמר בעיתון הארץ) לגבי מה שאירע לאחר הפגיעה בבנק ד.ז. בנק בפרנקפורט ביום 18-בינואר, לפי שמדובר בעניין פנימי בלבד. אנא הודיענו אם אפשר לעזור בדבר.

בברכה מעמקי הלב מאיר מ' בסרפד.

בכבוד,

יעקב ברנע

העתק: מר מנחם בגין
מר מרדכי גור
מר מאיר, מנכ"ל
מר אבי, מנכ"ל

Z

JSD 12/6

מעריב

אל: מרכז

אבוראזק יועץ לחומייני

הסנטור האמריקני לשעבר ג'יימס אבוראזק, שהוא מ־מוצא לבנוני, אמר אתמול כי נתבקש לשמש יועץ לממשלה המוסלמית החדשה של איראן.

אבוראזק אמר כי כבר פעל למענם של אנשי חומייני ב־וואשינגטון.

Abourezk / news release

Senator James Abourezk (D. - S. Dak.)
Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

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For Immediate Release: Tuesday, September 19, 1978

ABOUREZK CALLS MIDDLE EAST SUMMIT AGREEMENT

A "WARMED-OVER" VERSION OF THE BEGIN PROPOSAL OF NOVEMBER 1977

Washington, D.C. -- The following is the text of the statement on the Middle East Summit Agreement which Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota delivered on the floor of the U.S. Senate today.

Mr. President:

Amidst the euphoria of the moment, and in the face of the substantial media hype underway on the Middle East summit agreement, it is difficult to offer any analysis or conclusions on the agreement that differs from what seems to be a developing bandwagon in its favor.

I can recall the same sort of self-deluding congratulations at the time of the Sinai II agreement signing in 1975, when some of us expressed the fear that even that minimal, but separate, agreement would tear apart the Arab world with tragic consequences for everyone involved.

Now we are presented with, and are asked to support, the final, separate peace agreement between Israel and Egypt that contains, in my view, the seeds of destruction of untold numbers of people in the Middle East, and the suffering of untold millions more.

I will try to outline the major points of the two agreements, both as I understand them from a reading, and from responses to questions directed to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance during their briefings of the Congress on Monday.

First of all, if the Knesset agrees to withdrawal of the settlements from the Sinai, a separate peace agreement between Israel and Egypt will become formalized.

The second agreement, which purportedly sets out a framework for peace in the Middle East, outlines how the future of the West Bank and Gaza is to be determined. The terms of that document provide for withdrawal of Israel's military forces in unspecified numbers from the West Bank, with part of that military force to remain within the West Bank area in "cantonments." Again, this redeployment has no specific numbers. The agreement states that, immediately upon the election of the "Administrative Council" of the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn.

The agreements stand by themselves. In other words, the separate treaty between Egypt and Israel does not rise or fall, depending on the establishment of a final agreement regarding the Palestinians. Thus, if nothing more were to happen vis-à-vis the West Bank, the agreement between Egypt and Israel would remain in place.

With respect to settlements on the West Bank, while President Carter has said there is a freeze during the period of negotiation on new settlements, he has also said there

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is no prohibition on the expansion of existing West Bank settlements, a practice which, in fact, Israel has undertaken in the past to avoid the appearance of new settlements being established.

The agreement itself is silent on the question of the settlements, so we must assume that Mr. Begin has unilaterally agreed to maintain the freeze. In any event, the new arrangements spelled out in the summit agreement are in total contradiction to our previous position on settlements and, in fact, are in total violation of the Geneva Civilians Convention of 1949, a treaty which the United States and all the parties at the recent summit have ratified long ago.

Article 49, paragraph 6, of that convention specifically states that "the occupying power shall not deport or transfer part of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

Article 47 of the same convention states that protected persons in the occupied territories cannot be deprived of the benefits of the convention by any change introduced, as a result of the occupation of a territory, into the institutions or government of the territory, nor by annexation, as in the case of Jerusalem, nor by any agreement between the authorities of the occupied territories, for example, a Quisling government, and the occupying power. We have always claimed the settlements were illegal, based on that convention, that is, until now.

The key point, however, is the concept of self-determination, or the lack of it, provided to the Palestinians in this agreement. The words of significance which run all the way through the document are the words, "by agreement of all the parties." "All the parties" refers primarily to Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian "Administrative Council."

Thus it is provided that all the parties must agree on the procedures for establishing the so-called self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel is given the right to veto those procedures. Israel is also given the right of veto over a number of other actions, such as:

1. which Palestinians other than those from the West Bank and Gaza may be included in the Egyptian and Jordanian delegations.

2. the nature of the so-called "self-governing authority" to be exercised in the West Bank and Gaza.

3. which refugees displaced by the 1967 war can return to the West Bank and Gaza.

4. any decision made by the Palestinians on the grounds of security for Israel, which provision eliminates what little was left of the label "self-rule."

5. the final status, following the five year interim period, of the West Bank and Gaza. Specifically, and this is the most important point, Israel can veto a Palestinian decision establishing an independent Palestinian State.

This interpretation was confirmed to me by Secretary Vance, who told me that Israel not only could veto such a state, but, he said, Israel very likely would exercise such a veto to prevent a Palestinian State from coming into existence.

So, Mr. President, the dreaded hour has finally arrived, the separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, which President Sadat swore would not come from him, and for which Israel has hoped for so long a time. It is a revival of the "Begin Plan" of last November which was rejected out of hand by President Sadat. It is the exchange of a great deal of sand in the Sinai for the elimination of Egypt as any kind of negotiating threat. It is the ratification of the expansionist dreams of Israel.

Now, with the inclusion of President Carter, what was reprehensible last year has now become a "great victory." The continued denial of self-determination for the Palestinians is given a sheen and a gloss designed to cover over what it really is -- an Israeli occupation under a different name, but this time with a Quisling government to make legal what was previously illegal. What other name can honestly be given to such an arrangement, conceived by the occupying power, Israel, and approved by the United States and Egypt, the only two powers who might have prevented it?

This action not only denies the right of self-determination to the Palestinians, but its result can only be large-scale disruption throughout the Arab world. Without Egypt, the military balance will be tipped overwhelmingly in favor of Israel. Too weak militarily to threaten, or even to negotiate on an equal basis, the remaining members

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of the Arab bloc will, in all probability, suffer deep divisions amongst themselves. Radicalism, and all that comes with it, will be greatly encouraged, since it is the only real alternative left to people who have been denied a normal political outlet. The upheavals will reverberate throughout the Middle East, and the cost in human suffering in that part of the world simply to raise President Carter's popularity rating here at home will not, I think, be worth it.

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

שמור

18 במאי , 1978

ציק קונגרס
אדון רצק.

אל: מר יעקב ברכה, השג' פנמה
מאת:צ. רפיח, וושינגטון

הנדון: סנטור אבורזק
למכתב שג' פנמה 191 מ-25/4/78

סנטור ג'ימס אבורזק, דמוקרט מדרום דקוטה, נולד בדרום דקוטה ב-1931. אביו הגר לארה"ב מלבנון ב-1895. עורך דין במקצועו. ב - 1970 נבחר לביה"נ. כיהן בוועדת הפנים והחקיקה. בתקופת כהונתו בביה"נ לא התבטא בנושא המזה"י. ב-1972 נבחר לסינט ארה"ב. מכהן בוועדות התקציב, משפטים ואנרגיה. בראשית השנה הודיע כי לא יציג מועמדותו לתקופת כהונה נוספת. אי לכך בסוף השנה הנוכחית יפרוש מהסינט. נמסר שהוא עומד לעבוד כ"לובייסט בוושינגטון" עבור גורמים ערביים.

כאשר היה מועמד לסינט ב-1972 זכה אבורזק לתמיכתם של יהודים , זאת לאור הבטחותיו שיהיה אוביקטיבי בגישתו למזה"ת ויפעל ללא התחשבות ברקעו הלבנוני.

עם כניסתו לסינט נהפך אבורזק לנושא דגל העמדה הערבית. הוא התנגד לסיוע לישראל בדבריו ובהצבעותיו. את התו הפרו-ערבי שלו סיפח בעיקר במשור הכלל-ארצי. הקהילות הערביות תומכות בו כספית. בזמנו נאמר כי הערבים שלמו לאבורזק 60 אלף דולר לכיסוי הגרעון שנוצר במסע הבחירות שלו ב-1972. כמו כן, נפוץ בקונגרס הסיפור שהציע לסעודים לעבוד למענם תמורת כסף. בשנת 1973 מסר אבורזק כי קבל כ-49 אלף דולר עבור הרצאותיו באותה שנה. מרבית הסכום נתקבל מאמריקאים ממוצא ערבי.

בלוטה - פרסום הודעה מטעמו שהופצה בראשית 1974, והמצביעה על עמדתו העויינת לנו. בפרסום "פאנטהוז" מפברואר 1978 הוזר אבורזק על

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
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שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

שמור/2

עמדותיו אלה ובמשנה מרץ. כמו כן, מצ"ב צטט מאלאחבאר הלבנוני מ-24 בינואר ש.ז. הקושר את אבורזק עם לוב ועירק.

ב-17 וב-18 באוקטובר 1977 קיים אבורזק הירינגס בנושא "הקולוניזציה של הגדה על ישראל". הפרסום הלוסה מצביע על גישתו החד-צדדית של אבורזק ועל עויונותו לנו.

ב-6 בפברואר ש.ז. הגיש אבורזק לסינט הצעת החלטה המגנה פעולת צה"ל בדרום לבנון. בלוסה - נוסח ההחלטה. עקב חוסר תמיכה בהחלטה - לא זכה אבורזק להעביר בסינט החלטתו זו.

אבורזק תומך באופן עקבי ותקיף בעמדות אש"פ. ב-1975 הצביע נגד הצבת הטכנאים בסיני, חרף פניית השגריר המצרי אליו.

בברכה

צבי רפיח

העתקים:

מר י. שר, מנהל הסברה
מר א. בר-נר, כאן
מר נ. גל, ס/מ/הסברה
אמל"ט 1
מצפ"א
ממ"ד

95TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. RES. 420

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 21 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 6), 1978

Mr. ABOUREZK submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Senate with respect to United Nations Security Council Resolution 425, relating to the Lebanese crisis.

Whereas innocent lives are being lost hourly in southern Lebanon;

Whereas the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon is a direct threat to the prospects of peace in the Middle East;

Whereas it is in the highest national interest of the United States and all parties to the Middle East conflict that an equitable, just, and durable peace be negotiated: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved,* That the United Nations Security Council
2 Resolution 425 relating to the Lebanese crisis, adopted on
3 March 19, 1978, be implemented immediately and that all

1 parties concerned comply fully with provisions of such reso-
2 lution.

3 SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a
4 copy of this resolution to the Secretary General of the United
5 Nations.

95TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. RES. 420

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Senate with respect to United Nations Security Council Resolution 425, relating to the Lebanese crisis.

By Mr. ABOUREZK

MARCH 21 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 6), 1978
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

ADVISE & DISSENT

OPINION

BY SEN. JAMES ABOUREZK

The author has represented South Dakota in the Senate since 1972. He is not seeking reelection this year because, he says, "nothing ever really changes. It's the system itself."

THE RELENTLESS ISRAELI PROPAGANDA MACHINE

The periodic flare-up of the Arab-Israeli conflict is a matter of no small consequence to the United States. To those people who have an emotional or political interest in the Middle East, the struggle there takes on the dimensions of an Armageddon. To the majority of the American people, what appears to be modern tribal warfare serves only as a minor irritant each time the shooting begins. Why, it is asked, are the Arabs and Israelis fighting over purely desert land? How can Israel, a nation of some 3 million people, hold military superiority over some 100 million very unfriendly neighbors?

The struggle in the Middle East is of greater significance to Americans than most realize. What happens there will determine for us the shape of our own future—whether or not we will be embroiled in war or confrontation with the Soviet Union, whether or not the price and supply of oil will bankrupt the Western powers, including the United States, and whether or not we can maintain our moral position against one nation's taking another's territory by force of arms.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EASTERN CONFLICT

In 1894 the Arab world was in the final 20 years of what was to have been 400 years of military occupation by the Ottoman Turkish Empire. The Arabs, who had contributed so much to art, medicine, and science during Europe's Dark Age, were themselves experiencing a dark age under the stern heel of Turkish rule. The year 1894 was the year an Austrian Jew, Theodor Herzl, first gave expression to the theory of Zionism, the hope that Jews would find a homeland, ending the historical abuses against them by host countries throughout the world. The Zionist movement grew, considered a variety of different locations for the homeland, then eventually agreed on Palestine. Palestine had been the center of the Jewish tribes 1,800 years earlier and seemed the logical location to the Zionist leaders. One major problem existed. Palestine was populated with Arabs who had lived there virtually from the beginning. However, Zionist leaders totally ignored the Arab presence there and moved with total and single-minded concentration toward the establishment of an exclusive Jewish state.

At the outset of World War I, British and Arab leaders agreed that if the Arabs rose up against the Turks (then allied with Germany), the Arabs would be granted their independence after the war. This was the period of the new "Arab Awakening," and the alliance was readily agreed to by Arab leaders. The exploits of Lawrence of Arabia provided some interesting stories resulting from this alliance.

But at the same time the British promised independence to the Arabs, they were making other deals inconsistent with these promises. In 1916 a secret British-French agreement was made to divide up the postwar Middle East between Britain and France. Political connivance did not stop there. In the next year British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour promised the Zionist movement that Palestine would become a "homeland for the Jews," provided that the rights of the Arabs living there were not adversely affected. In 1917, of those living in Palestine, 96 percent were Arabs and 4 percent were Jews.

The Zionist movement used the Balfour Declaration as a basis for the immigration of Jews into Arab Palestine following

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> Israel's critics are always accused of anti-Semitism, a charge that serves to silence even the mildest questioning of that country's policies.

the war. When the Arabs saw the full effects of their betrayal by the British and the obvious intentions of the Zionists, they protested, often violently, but without noticeable effect. In 1922 the Balfour Declaration was written into the League of Nations mandate, and continued Jewish immigration into Palestine became official British policy. Immigration and protest led to riots and killings until 1939, when Britain, threatened by war with Germany, became anxious to ease the pressure building in Palestine and reversed itself. Although under limited quotas after 1939, Jewish immigration continued, especially during the war years, when Jews were attempting to escape Europe and Hitler's genocidal policies. Jewish terrorist groups, most notably Menachem Begin's Irgun, and the Stern gang, formed to retaliate against Arabs, now turned their terrorism against the British, the goal being eventually to drive the British out of Palestine. After World War II an exhausted Britain had had enough of the conflict raging in Palestine and announced that on May 15, 1948, it would withdraw its forces and end its mandate over the area.

The world Zionist movement had by then shifted its political focus to the United States, the new world power, a strategy that was to produce excellent results. In November 1947 the U.N. General Assembly voted to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews. To understand the extent of political chicanery used by the Zionist movement to achieve its ends, and the anger of the Arabs, one must consider the proposal voted on by the United Nations. Although Jews constituted only 30 percent of the population, much of it by illegal settlement, the U.N. plan proposed for them a 56 percent slice of Palestine. Arabs, who made up 70 percent of the population, were to get only 44 percent of their own homeland. In 1947 outright Jewish ownership of land was no more than 5 percent.

The General Assembly vote so outraged the Arabs that riots broke out as far away as the southern tip of Aden. As a result of Arab protests, the U.N. Security Council never got around to voting on ratification of the partition plan, and the United States delegate began working on a U.N. trusteeship plan for Palestine. But unknown even to him, the issue of a Jewish state was being plunged into American politics. Harry Truman was in deep political trouble as he approached the 1948 presidential elections. He could not afford to lose the support of American Jews, because of both votes and money. Thomas Dewey, the Republican candidate for president, was making much of the establishment of a Jewish state, threatening to strip Truman and the Democrats of their traditional Jewish electoral support. As terrorism by the Irgun and the Stern groups escalated in Palestine, in Washington, D.C., Truman made preparations to support the creation of Israel.

On May 14, one day before the announced British withdrawal from Palestine, Israel declared itself to be an exclusive Jewish state. Eleven minutes later, against the counsel of his foreign-policy advisers, President Truman extended U.S. recognition to Israel. Thus, thirty-one years after British promises of independence for Palestine, the Arabs witnessed the ultimate betrayal—the establishment, in their midst, of a new colony by the world's big powers, controlled, not by Middle Eastern natives, but by Europeans. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs who had lived in peace on their own land were destined never to see their homeland again. What had begun as the Zionist movement's clever manipulation of American and British politicians ended as a mechanism for the death and suffering of countless numbers of human beings in the Middle East.

Although Israel's claim was that of a socialist democracy implanted amidst the monarchies and dictatorships of the Arab world, no public expression was given to the question of how such a democracy could also be an exclusive Jewish state while the Arabs held a numerical majority within the new boundaries. The question was soon resolved without debate and without the necessity of a vote.

The genesis of that resolution began in April 1948, in a small Palestinian Arab village called Deir Yassin. Amid general fighting between Arabs and Jews, the terrorists of the Irgun and Stern groups decided to attack Deir Yassin. It is claimed today by Israeli historians that the attack was only intended to put the villagers to flight. Whatever the intent, the action changed the entire demography of the Middle East, resulting in the status existing today. As the terrorist attack began and Arab defenders of the village returned fire, the Jewish terrorists moved from house to house, blindly spraying the interiors with automatic-weapons fire. Then dynamite was thrown into the houses, with Irgun and Stern gunmen shooting down anyone who escaped the dynamite. No one was spared, whether defender or women and children. Any Arab who moved was shot, even those who had already surrendered. The terrorists then tried to burn the bodies. They stuffed some bodies into a well in an effort to hide them from the International Red Cross representatives, who came on the scene the next day. Later 250 bodies were buried, and a few dazed survivors were loaded into a truck and unceremoniously dumped in Jerusalem.

Word of the Deir Yassin massacre spread like wildfire throughout Palestine, and as the fighting continued through 1948, the fear engendered by the words "Deir Yassin" and a general fear of being caught in the fighting eventually drove more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs out of Palestine. After that, Jewish terrorists had only to repeat the name of the village to drive out the Arabs.

By the end of 1948, Israel had a Jewish majority. The ill-equipped and poorly trained Arab armies, both regulars and irregulars, had lost. Three quarters of a million Palestinians, who had once had their own homes on their land in Palestine, found themselves homeless, living in the inhumane squalor of refugee camps. Israel has never allowed them to return.

Thus were the seeds of eventual world conflict sown. Barely three years after the big powers had formed the United Nations—for the purpose, they said, of putting an end to war and the taking of territory by war—they became openly committed to supporting, in the case of Israel, an exception to their rule. In searching for reasons for their action, one cannot dismiss the feelings of guilt held by the big powers because they had refused to provide a haven for Jews attempting to escape from Hitler. But the question asked to this day by the Arabs is: Why should they be made to pay for someone else's sins? Although both guilt and sympathy played a part in the events leading up to the establishment of Israel, political

"American Jews want desperately to help Israel; so they rely on the Israeli lobby to tell them how. The lobby takes its orders from Israel and then lays down the party line to them."

chicanery provided the grease for the skids on which Israel rode to its creation.

Israel proved that, under certain circumstances, crime pays! And with the precedent established in 1948, Israel has continued to rob the Arabs of their lands, with both the approval and the active support of the U.S. government.

ISRAEL'S LOBBY IN WASHINGTON

One well-known axiom in political circles is that the noisiest wheel gets the most grease. That old saw is especially true when it refers to Washington's attitude toward the Middle East. U.S. policy on the Mideast is virtually directed by Tel Aviv. So long as the public ignores U.S. government actions in the Middle East, Israel will continue to dictate our policies there. When a politician gets no message from his constituents on a particular issue, he is completely free to vote and act as he chooses. Thus the only real pressure on politicians concerning the Middle Eastern question comes from the Israeli lobby. Always capable of raising money for political campaigns, the lobby enlists the active aid of American Jews in every state of the Union. It takes its orders from Israel and then lays down the party line to the American Jewish community in a variety of ways—newsletters, community newspapers, and synagogue speeches. American Jews want desperately to help Israel; so they rely on the Israeli lobby to tell them how. Highly organized, smart, and constantly alert, the Israeli lobby uses political intimidation if everything else fails.

If a member of Congress should be so foolish as to withhold his support from an issue desired by the lobby, telegrams and phone calls immediately start pouring in from contributors, campaign workers, and others expressing their concern. Few politicians can hold out for long under such pressure. Liberals are made to feel guilty about not supporting the needs of a "small nation surrounded by hostile Arabs." The worst kind of intellectual terrorism is reserved for those politicians who dare to question Israel on its policies. Israel has so wrapped itself in its state religion, Judaism, that any criticism of its politics is immediately branded as criticism of its religion. Thus the critic is accused of anti-Semitism, a charge that has served to silence even the mildest questioning of Israel's policies. In fact, it has become much easier for American politicians to criticize their own government than to criticize Israel or its policies.

The Israeli lobby has neither qualms nor scruples when the objective is to silence an effective critic. It has used direct threats of political reprisal on recalcitrants. It has contacted Jewish contributors, warning them that the politician in question does not deserve the support of American Jews. It generates hate mail to target politicians, and even bomb threats have been used to prevent speeches critical of Israel from being given.

Politicians ordinarily courageous on such issues as the Vietnam War, busing, abortion, or what have you are reduced to meek puppets in the face of a threat from the Israeli lobby. Many of the seventy-six senators who signed the lobby's letter to President Ford in 1975 privately complain about the tactics to obtain their signatures on the letter. Such private grumbling has changed nothing publicly, however, since those same senators have renewed their public support for Israel.

THE UNDERDOG IMAGE AND THE AMERICAN PRESS

The notion advanced by some that American Jews own the press is a racist canard and should be rejected as an argument. But it is clear that for various reasons, a great many members of the press are sympathetic to Israel, providing the ease with which propagandists for Israel are able to maintain their point of view, exclusive of all others.

It has been fashionable from the beginning to write stories favorable to Israel and unfavorable to the Arabs. Israel was depicted at the outset as an underdog, and Americans will by nature side with that particular role. With exceptions, journalists will write only what is fashionable, fearing that different concepts boldly stated will subject them to ridicule. Author Timothy Crouse has described this phenomenon as "pack journalism," and former Sen. Eugene McCarthy has likened most American journalists to a flock of blackbirds sitting on a fence. When one flies away, the rest will follow. Although times are changing, stories about a "good" Israel are still in vogue, and those who write anything to the contrary are suspect.

Thus the optic through which Americans view the Middle Eastern struggle is almost exclusively Israeli. That overly one-sided point of view would not be possible without the generous help of the American media—newspapers, television, radio, and the movie industry. Some of the most glaring examples will demonstrate the distortions that exist and the subsequent ease with which the history of the struggle has been revised to make Israeli aggression appear to be self-defense.

If we are to realize how consistently the drums of Israeli propaganda have beat into our consciousness, the comparison must be made between our image of the Middle Eastern conflict and its reality. The propaganda foundation upon which Israel's house of cards has been built is that the United Nations created Israel. When that lie is repeated again and again and eventually accepted as truth, apologists for Israel can successfully appear righteous, especially with the generous cooperation given to Israeli propagandists by the American press.

The fact is that the U.N. vote in 1947 was nonbinding. The fact is that Israel created itself while sighting down the barrel of the gun. But the myth of U.N. creation has been repeated so often that even high-school textbooks have picked it up and repeated it. This "big lie" technique has been used very effectively to stand the truth on its head, making the Arabs look like agressors and Israel beleaguered defender.

THE AMERICAN PRESS HAS FAILED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Americans, I am convinced, are the most fair-minded people in the world. Given both sides of any story, they will almost always make a fair and just decision. But the American people have heard only one side of the Middle Eastern story. The result has been to make it easier for American politicians to support Israel's objective of expanding deeper and deeper into Arab territory. The critical importance of American political, military and financial support is not lost on Israeli propagandists.

Incredibly, once it was made to appear that the 1948 war was only the fruit of Arab aggression, continued land grabbing became no problem. Consider the familiar Israeli argument that the Golan Heights is "vital" to Israel's security. Following the truce in 1948, the Huleh Valley, just below the Golan Heights, became neutral territory, awarded to neither side in either the fighting or the truce agreement that followed. It was populated with Arab farmers. Unable to defend themselves, they became immediate targets of Israel's expansionism. Israeli military forces removed the Arab farmers from the land and replaced them with Israeli farmers. Syria reacted to the provocation by periodically shelling the valley from the Golan Heights. Few Americans heard about the land grab; however, all of us have been led to believe that because of the so-called barbarity of the Syrians, the Israelis were justified in conquering and holding the Golan Heights.

It is understandable that Americans would not object too strenuously to the furnishing of arms to Israel, since the Ameri-

• The Israeli lobby uses threats of political reprisal. It generates hate mail to target politicians, and even bomb threats are used to prevent speeches critical of Israel from being given. •

can press has led us to believe that such arms are only for self-defense. But if you happened to live anywhere near Israel and happened to have something Israel wants, such as land or water, your feelings about arms for Israel might change.

Following rejection of a U.S. plan for delivering water from Lebanon to Israel, in 1965 the Lebanese began construction of a dam to irrigate farms in arid southern Lebanon. Israel's air force summarily bombed the construction units, preventing the building of the irrigation project. No mention was ever made in the American press of this clear act of aggression.

Although Americans were treated to week-long newspaper headlines and lead stories, on the network news, of each Palestinian terrorist raid into Israel, the national shame of the news media was its total blackout of coverage of Israel's five-year-long campaign of terror bombing in the south of Lebanon. The networks occasionally treated us to the reading of verbatim Israeli military press releases issued following a raid, but real news coverage was nonexistent. From 1970 to 1975, U.S. jets with Israeli Air Force markings dropped napalm, phosphorous, and antipersonnel fragmentation bombs, the most destructive explosives, on civilian villages and Palestinian refugee camps throughout southern Lebanon. Hundreds of innocent men, women, and children were killed, and each time the American press reported the raids as "a search for terrorists." Some 400,000 Lebanese civilians moved into camps surrounding Beirut to escape the bombing. In fact, this campaign terror served as the major catalyst for the Lebanese civil war, which took 55,000 lives.

News coverage of acts by Palestinians has been delivered into American homes with deadly efficiency. Without exception, we all have been sickened at the sight of Israeli deaths. But where was the coverage of the destruction rained on Lebanese peasant villages and on refugee camps overflowing with innocent women and children? The clear implication carries the most vicious racist overtones—that the life of an Israeli child is far more valuable than the life of an Arab child.

In 1975 author Noam Chomsky nominated the people of southern Lebanon as "non-people" of the year, a grim accolade arising from the total lack of press and government interest in their slaughter. Sadly, many of the same Americans who marched in the streets and who went to jail to protest identical American bombing in Vietnam cheered each time they learned of Israel's destructive raids. But the bombing of southern Lebanon was not all. During that same period of time, Israel's commandos destroyed all the civilian aircraft they could find on the runway at Beirut airport; sent an assassination team into Beirut and murdered four Palestinian intellectuals; shot down "by mistake" a Libyan civilian airliner, killing all 104 persons aboard; and, again "by mistake," assassinated a diplomat in Stockholm. All of this committed in the name of democracy and self-defense? If you read only the American press, of course, you would believe it.

And if you have oil within reach of Israel, your luck will most likely run out. The press cooperated by remaining silent when Israeli gun boats prevented Egypt, in 1976, from drilling for offshore oil in Egypt's own territory in the Red Sea. Even the U.S. State Department's mild protest of such an open violation of international law was barely reported in our press.

One of the most outrageous recent examples of press malfeasance was the *Washington Post*'s story of CIA payments secretly made to King Hussein of Jordan. The story caught on nationally and led the news for nearly a week. But the fact is that while Jordan was receiving less than $10 million over a twenty-year period, *Israel was given some $80 million by the CIA.* Of all the press coverage reporting Jordan's payments, only the *Wall Street Journal* carried a small item reporting the payments to Israel. The *Washington Post* admitted that it knew of the payments to Israel, but the excuse for not reporting the story was that they "seemed to be under different circumstances."

The *Washington Post* had a different reason for totally blacking out the massive *London Sunday Times* investigation and report of Israel's torture of West Bank Arabs. On inquiry, the *Post*'s foreign editor said that the story had been done by another newspaper, and it was not the practice of the *Post* to use stories from other papers.

A majority of the U.S. press has not only blacked out the reports of torture but also virtually ignored Israel's beatings, imprisonment without charges, forced relocations, and deportation of Arabs in the occupied territories.

The U.S. government might bring itself to protest the establishment of Israeli settlements on the West Bank, but the protests ring hollow when we, at the same time, deliver yet another shipment of sophisticated weapons to Israel.

CAN OUR MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY CHANGE?

Only the United States has enough leverage on Israel to bring a halt to its territorial expansion, a prerequisite to bringing peace to the area. The Arabs are now willing to concede to Israel all the territory taken from them prior to 1967, but national pride and the question of a homeland for the displaced Palestinians require that the territories taken by Israel in 1967 be returned. There is something to be said as well for adherence to the U.N. principle against the taking of territory by force.

Americans should examine more closely just what it is we are supporting when we send billions of tax dollars to Israel. By doing so, we give our stamp of approval to a nation that arrogantly acquires land from other nations by force, steals water resources and oil resources, has consigned hundreds of thousands of refugees to a subhuman existence in squalid camps throughout the Middle East, kills by bombing or assassination anyone whom it thinks stands in its way, and sells armaments to such nations as South Africa, Bolivia, and Iran. Is this the standard of human rights the people of the United States should adhere to? Obviously not.

The Middle Eastern conflict began with the Palestinian refugees and must end with them. In view of his own history as a terrorist, Israel's Prime Minister Begin must find it difficult to hold a straight face when he refuses to deal with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) on the grounds that its members are "terrorists." But, again, Mr. Begin's self-righteous lectures have been faithfully repeated in the American press, with hardly a questioning tone.

With virtually the entire U.S. press corps acting as Israel's propaganda machine in America, U.S. government policy is not likely to change much in the future. With its continued U.S. military, financial, and political support, no matter how much America's interests are endangered, Israel will continue its grab for territory.

If and when the day comes that our oil supplies are shut off or we find ourselves in nuclear confrontation with Russia or we are forced to send American troops to the Middle East, it will be difficult for the public to find who was responsible for a generation of foreign-policy mistakes. The press will, of course, disclaim responsibility for itself. The politicians will, as always, point their fingers elsewhere. But this is one crisis Americans can avoid before it happens. The American public can easily influence the direction of our foreign policy in the Middle East. It can do so by demanding that Washington use the leverage it has to bring about a settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict. The decision must be based on what is in the interest of the United States, not on what is good for Israel. But nothing will change unless the public demands it.

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עראק-לוב-אר"ב

42. אישים אמריקניים ממרצא ערבי קשורים בעסקות כספיות גדולות עם עראק ולוב

המקור: "אלאח'באר", לבנון, 24 ינו' 78 (עמ' 1, טור 5)

מקורות דיפלומטיים בילו שמסעות הסחירה וההונאה של הסנטור ג'ימס אבו רזק והעו"ד ריק שראק באר"ב נגד הבעיה הלבנונית נובעות מעסקות כספיות גדולות שאותן ערכו השניים עם לוב ועראק. השניים הפכו באחרונה לסוכני חברות לוביות ועראקיות העוסקות בבעיות פטרוכימיות בהיקף של 12 מיליון דולר.

מפרץ-אר"ב

43. משלחת מטעם הקונגרס האמריקני [illegible]

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ABOUREZK-MIDEAST
BY HUBERT J. ORR

WASHINGTON (AP) - U.S. SENATOR JAMES ABOUREZK PRAISED PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER FRIDAY FOR WHAT HE CALLED HIS STANDING UP TO THE ISRAELI LOBBY IN THE UNITED STATES.

''HE (THE PRESIDENT) WANTS TO DO WHAT'S IN THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY,'' ABOUREZK SAID, ''BUT BOY, IS HE CATCHING IT. THEY'RE REALLY GOING TO LAY IT ON HIM.'' THE SENATOR DID NOT ELABORATE ON THIS.

ABOUREZK, A SOUTH DAKOTA DEMOCRAT, IS THE ONLY AMERICAN OF LEBANESE EXTRACTION EVER TO BE ELECTED TO THE SENATE. HE IS THE SON OF LEBANESE IMMIGRANT PARENTS.

HIS INTEREST IN MIDEASTERN AFFAIRS, ABOUREZK SAID, STEMS FROM VISITS TO ISRAEL AS WELL AS TO THE ARAB STATES.

MORE AND MORE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES, HE SAID, ARE BECOMING INTERESTED IN THE ARAB POINT OF VIEW IN THE ARABS' QUARREL WITH THE ISRAELIS.

MORE

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WASHINGTON - ABOUREZK-MIDEAST 2
THE SENATOR SAID IT IS HIS VIEW THAT THE ISRAELIS MUST WITHDRAW FROM THE ARAB LANDS THEY HAVE ACQUIRED BY FORCE. IN AN INTERVIEW, HE SAID THAT WHAT HE CALLED ISRAELI INTRANSIGENCE FEEDS ARAB RESISTANCE AND INTENSIFIES PALESTINIAN DETERMINATION TO PURSUE WHAT THEY CONSIDER A JUST CAUSE.
ABOUREZK CALLED THE ISRAELI MOVE INTO LEBANON ARROGANT AND CYNICAL. HE SAID THE ISRAELI ARMY CANNOT STOP PALESTINIAN RAIDERS FROM CROSSING THE FRONTIER BUT IT WANTS LEBANON TO DRIVE THE PALESTINIANS OUT.
''WHAT THEY REALLY WANT,'' HE SAID, ''IS TO DRIVE THE PALESTINIANS INTO THE SEA.''
ABOUREZK SAID THAT ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER MENACHEM BEGIN PERSONIFIES WHAT THE SENATOR CALLED ISRAELI DUPLICITY AS BEGIN CHARGES THE PALESTINIANS ARE TERRORISTS WHO COMMIT DEPLORABLE ACTS BUT THAT THE ISRAELI LEADER HISELF SET AN EXAMPLE FOR TERRORISM WHILE LEADING THE JEWISH IRGUN BAND.
''IT WAS THE ISRAELIS THEMSELVES WHO SHOWED THE PALESTINIANS HOW TO GET A STATE THROUGH TERRORISM,'' ABOUREZK SAID.
END

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USIS FOR PAO'S: HEREWITH NEWS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR JAMES ABOUREZK (DEM.-S.D.) ON CLUSTER BOMBS.
(BEGIN RELEASE)
ABOUREZK DENOUNCES USE OF CLUSTER BOMB UNITS AGAINST CIVILIANS IN LEBANON

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- SENATOR JAMES ABOUREZK (D.S.D.) TODAY DENOUNCED THE WANTON ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON AND THE ISRAELIS' INDISCRIMINATE USE OF CLUSTER BOMB UNITS AND OTHER AMERICAN-MADE WEAPONS TO KILL AND MAIM INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

IN A SPEECH ON THE SENATE FLOOR ONLY HOURS BEFORE PRIME MINISTER MENACHEM BEGIN OF ISRAEL MET WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND THEN LUNCHED WITH MEMBERS OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, ABOUREZK SAID THAT, AS SO OFTEN IN THE PAST, THE ISRAELI MEDIA LOBBYING EFFORTS IN THE UNITED STATES HAD SUCCEEDED IN DEHUMANIZING PALESTINIANS, LEBANESE AND ARABS IN AMERICAN EYES, THUS MAKING IT EASIER FOR THE ISRAELI WAR MACHINE TO ENGAGE WITH IMPUNITY IN THE SLAUGHTER OF INNONCENT CIVILIANS. HE STATED THAT THE CURRENT ISRAELI INVASION IS "A TRAGIC LESSON IN RACISM COMMITTED BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUFFERED THE MOST THROUGHOUT HISTORY FROM RACISM." BY WAY OF COMPARISON, HE NOTED THAT "WE COULD HARDLY EXPECT THE SOVIET UNION TO INVADE ISRAEL THE NEXT TIME A SOVIET JEW HIJACKED A SOVIET AIRLINER."

ABOUREZK ALSO WARNED HIS SENATE COLLEAGUES THAT THE REAL MOTIVES FOR THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON MIGHT WELL BE THE DESIRE FOR ADDITIONAL WATER SOURCES IN THE LITANI RIVER BASIN. THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED IF ISRAEL WERE ALLOWED TO ESTABLISH A DE FACTO MANDATE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON.

ABOUREZK CONCLUDED BY URGING THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS TO TAKE PROMPT AND FIRM ACTION AGAINST THIS LATEST ISRAELI ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY FORCE.
UNLESS SUCH ACTION IS TAKEN, THEN "NOBODY WHO SUPPORTS ISRAEL'S AGGRESSION, ITS BARBARIC KILLING OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS CAN, WITH A STRAIGHT FACE, SPEAK OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION OF ANY OTHER NATION."
(END RELEASE)
ITEM
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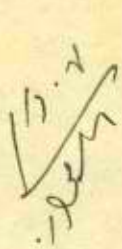
ירושלים שבת נסים תשל"ז

17 אפריל (197)

אלעזר מרדכי, מנחל מלכיאל

לאחיו מיכאל דוד



בינינו: הרפואה המקורית אבודה אצל כולנו (כולנו)

(לאחר שלא הבינו אותה בעלי אנשלם מ-4.6 ובמה אי.ג'.אל מ 29.3)

VISIT TO ISRAEL

OF

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS

accompanied by

MR. PETER LAKELAND

and

MR. DON KELLERMAN

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

20-23 April 1976

אל: מר מ. רביב, מנהל מלכ"ר
מעלה מירבל דן

ירושלים כ"ז ניסן תש"ל
17 אפריל 1977

הנדון: הופעת פנטר אבו-הילל בצנור (בולגריה)
(מה של א.י.ג.ל מ-29.3.77 - מצורפת בזה)

1. המפלגה הדמוקרטית של בולגריה אירגנה ב 26.3 בצנור את סלונם הבהרים השנתי של שם גפרסון ג'קסון. הזמין הפנטר אבו-הילל לשאת את נאומו בסלונה.

2. שם הילדה שם הגלום מתאים הין מחאות רבות בעולם. אין שום רבים ובינהם לא יהודים מתו בגנב הופעת הפנטר היבשר בעמדותיהן הפרו-ערביות מעל המפלגה. הין בדעות לבטל את האירוע. הלא שופיע נאום נגד פרו-ישראלי אך לבסוף נשאר אבו-הילל בנאום יחיד.

3. הפנטר שקשה הבלתי אמור היה להיות על "הפיסות האחרון הדמוקרטיה" - נאום נגד אנטי ישראלי חריף, תקף את הליכוד, הפרו-ישראלי בוושינגטון, ותקף את הבלגות בדרום לבנון בידי ישראל, ובתרומה הכספי ממנו בארון הלרון של הפנטר.

4. בעקבות הנאום הין מחאות רבות של יהודים ובלבדים שבדשה ליבלה. כמו כן, הין מחאות מצד המפלגה הדמוקרטית של בולגריה שהיתה מחאות לאחרונה.

5. בעקבות המצרים (מחבר הדפה כ יכם) נשלח הבמה שלוי באירה בולגרי ומאורגנות הברות כלה ילדות בתמיכת ישראל.

בברכה: מבקר דן

List of Members of the

House of Representatives'

Judiciary Committee

VISIT TO ISRAEL

11 November - 16 November 1976

1.	Congressman and Mrs. James R. Mann	(D) South Carolina
2.	Congressman and Mrs. Walter Flowers	(D) Alabama
3.	Congressman and Mrs. Charles E. Wiggins	(R) California
4.	Congressman and Mrs. George E. Danielson	(D) California
5.	Congressman and Mrs. Edward Hutchinson	(R) Michigan
6.	Congressman and Mrs. Edward Mezvinsky	(D) Iowa
7.	Congressman and Mrs. Herman Badillo	(D) New York
8.	Congressman and Mrs. William J. Hughes	(D) New Jersey
9.	Congressman and Mrs. Tom Railsback	(R) Illinois
10.	Congressman and Mrs. Jamilton Fish, Jr.	(R) New York
11.	Congressman and Mrs. Carlos J. Moorhead	(R) California
12.	Congressman and Mrs. John M. Ashbrook	(R) Ohio
13.	Congressman and Mrs. Henry J. Hyde	(R) Illinois

- - -

1. Mr. Garner J. Cline, Staff Director
2. Mr. William P. Shattuck, Counsel
3. Mr. Arthur P. Endres, Jr. Counsel

הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בלוס־אנג'לס

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES

SUITE 1700
6380 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90048

(213) 658-7945

6 באפריל 1977

אל : צבי רפיח, שגרירות, וושינגטון

מאת: מלכה בן יוסף.

הנדון: הופעת סנטור אבוראזק.

מצ"ב דו"ח מפורט של שלדון שטיינהאוזר על המקרה.

אשתדל לשוחח עם עוד שני תושבי דנבר על הענין ואם יהיה עוד מה שהוא נוסף לדווח אעשה זאת. כל התקרית השאירה משקע לא נעים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

מלכה בן יוסף

העתק: מנהל מצפ"א, ירושלים.
מנהל הסברה, ירושלים.

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Malka Ben-Yosef

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMO TO: Irwin Suall

FROM: Sheldon Steinhauser

DATE: March 29, 1977

Enclosed find local press clippings which will give you a chronological account of the Abourezk fiasco which has left the Colorado Democratic Party in deep disarray and much angry feeling in the community.

To recap the events in this debacle and related comments:

1. The State Democratic Party had an extremely difficult time getting a speaker for the annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner scheduled for March 26th. In fact, things were running so late that there was a feeling that it might be necessary to cancel the dinner altogether. Apparently the State Democratic Chairman, Monte Pascoe, called around to the congressional and senatorial offices and Tom Hoag, Aide to Senator Gary Hart in Washington made some contacts from a list of names and finally received a commitment from Senator Abourezk. It has been assumed by everyone involved that the "choice" of Abourezk (after many other prospects had indicated their unavailability) was done casually and inadvertently by Hoag with no realization, at that point, of the dimensions of the problem. However, it is also clear that people locally quickly realized they had a "tiger by the tail" in that those in the know were sworn to secrecy about the selection for a week until it was made public. That cloak of secrecy effectively prevented any possibility of reconsideration at a time when the matter was not a public issue.

2. As soon as it became public there were protests from many persons within the State Democratic Party including many non-Jews. In fact some of the first and loudest protests came from organized labour. Some individuals within the Party who are Jewish also began to make their feelings known. At that point - as someone said - the Party "went bananas". There were a series of emergency meetings held.

more...

Mountain States Regional Office
300 South Dahlia St., Suite 202
Denver, Colorado 80222
(303) 321-7177

2. (continued)

Efforts were made by some of the non-Jewish leaders to abort the entire affair because it was so clearly headed towards a disaster in terms of the traditional concept of unity, harmony and faithfulness to the Party platform which tend to characterize these annual events.

3. As the issue broke publicly Jewish organizations took a low public profile recognizing the potential for a real donnybrook. The Director of the Colorado Zionist Federation, Arnie Zaler, who is active in the Democratic Party, consulted with us and for the most part his public statements were restrained. There were some goofs such as a statement attributed to him that he "approved" the final decision to have Abourezk speak alone and to go ahead with the dinner -- and another item in a story on the dinner which indicated that he was planning to meet with Abourezk immediately following the dinner. Nevertheless, overall considering the circumstances, it was probably handled as well as could be expected.

4. On or about March 21st, because of the expressed feelings of a number of individual leaders, who couldn't see having Abourezk as the speaker a resolution was introduced to cancel the dinner altogether, or to "disinvite" Abourezk -- the exact substance is not quite clear. In any event, the resolution was delayed until a meeting on March 23rd at which the committee voted to get a speaker on the other side to be there along with Abourezk or cancel the dinner. Everyone in a leadership role in the Jewish community thought the idea of a debate format on the Middle East, at a Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, was a dreadful one(not to mention the unlikelyhood of getting a person of sufficient stature at that last minute). Be that as it may, we are told - and this is not verified - that when it was impossible to get such a speaker the State Chairman took it upon himself to override the committee decision and to go ahead with the dinner. I have heard that there was a rumor that if the dinner were cancelled the Washington Post was prepared to come in and do a major story on what had occurred.

5. Once the opposition to Abourezk began to surface the media ate it up. The Rocky Mountain News drummed up a steady barrage of escalating stories. When I was interviewed and made clear our position that holding or cancelling the dinner was not a decision for the Jewish community to make the reporter said - almost angrily - "oh, come now" - seeming almost to want to bait me into becoming one of the "~~doubles~~ devils". The News published a miserable "free speach" editorial* and a shocking cartoon on March 25th. Around the same time the news director of our local ABC outlet openly encouraged a wide attendance at the dinner in his commentary. The Denver Post tended to be less inflamatory in its reporting.

*March 24th

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6. The dinner itself was extremely well attended with persons being turned away at the door. There had been a heavy effort to drum up attendance and the controversy may have helped in no small way. There were about 30 Arabs in attendance,we are told,and they were extremely noisy in cheering and applauding wildly Abourezk's every anti-Israel statement. Senators Haskell and Hart participated in the program with Haskell making a number of people upset and uncomfortable with what was considered a "some of my best friends" comment linking Abourezk with Senator Abe Ribicoff. Senator Hart made one comment at the end of his remarks saying something to the effect that he was proud to be in a party that included persons all the way from Abe Ribicoff to Abourezk.

7. According to my sources 40% of those attending sat on their hands during the "standing ovation" for Abourezk at the end of his talk. There was one heckler who was asked to leave when he began to shout at Abourezk. Apart from the Arabs, who applauded almost everything, I am told it was the comments on free speech that received a great deal of universal applause. There were pieces of the speech, particularly those that involved Israel that the Arabs applauded and noone else did.

8. I will not recap Abourezk's speech except to say it was apparently even more anti-Israel than was reported in the media. Apart from that it included a parody on the week and some "humor". The burden of much of it was that our government is too much influenced by the pro-Israel lobby and that anyone who criticizes Israel is perceived as an anti-Semite. It also included references to the bombing by Israelis of the village in Lebanon where Abourezk's parents came from, the "issue" abrogating peoples rights to speak etc.

9. Individuals made varying choices with respect to attendance at the dinner. Some went so that they could be on hand to make critical comments to others while making clear they were not unwilling to "hear the other side". Some paid for their tickets but indicated they would not attend the dinner as a result of the program. Still others refused to make contributions altogether.

10. The new officers of the State Democratic Party met on March 27th (the Party was in the process of changing administrations while all this had been happening, leaving an apparent decision-making void). They talked about making some sort of statement but decided that whatever they said they would get clobbered. (Incidentally, two of the new state officers are constituents.) They are interested in meeting with us and discussing what can be done at this point. Reportedly they are all extremely regretful about the entire episode.

11. Meanwhile, there is much anger being expressed towards the State Democratic Party in our community. I was at four different functions over the week-end alone -- and people expressed rage and a desire to do something. One of the Rabbis urged withdrawal of his congregants from support for the Party at services. Individuals apparently are choosing to let the Party know of their concern by a variety of actions. We have made it clear that individuals are always free to engage in acts

more...

11. (continued)

of conscience.

12. Tomorrow the members of our inter-agency staff committee will meet in our office to assess the situation and consider where we go from here.

Some additional information and insights:

(1) A gross insensitivity has occurred in this State. One which will haunt the State Democratic Party for some time to come.

(2) The decision as to a Jefferson-Jackson Day program was clearly a matter for the Democratic Party to decide. The Jewish community had nothing to do with that decision or with abrogating anyones right of free expression. Once the issue became a public one involving "free speech" it was doomed to be a loser.

(3) It was made very clear by Jewish and non-Jewish party members and supporters that the issue was in no way a matter of "free speech" but whether the individual speaker represented faithfulness to the Party's platform and to the spirit of unity and harmony which normally characterizes this function. It was up to the Party and its supporters to determine how they would handle it and remain faithful to that platform and sensitive to the most cherished feelings of party supporters.

(4) Those who are expert in public relations believe that the Jewish community handled this the very best it could under the circumstances. It is believed that any further statements on the event at this time would only give fuel to false charges that there are groups which, in fact, exert a controlling influence on the Party and do seek to limit "free expression".

(5) The Party has suffered a definite setback in a State which went Republican in 1977. Whether this is only temporary or has long lasting effects will be dependent upon what happens in the coming weeks and months.

(6) There will, undoubtedly, be a number of opportunities for the Party and its office holders to make clear their position of support for Israel as a Jewish State in faithfulness to the platform -- if they choose to do so. It is true that some of the office holders made it a point of visiting the table where CZF members were seated at the dinner as a display of sensitivity. The big loser may well have been Senator Haskell whose "some of my best friends" were clearly upsetting and anger-producing to many.

more...

(7) There are questions relating to the Rocky Mountain News whose operating management no longer includes Michael Howard, a strong supporter of Americas relationship to Israel as part of this Country's vital national interest. This may have been only a temporary problem or, in fact, it may portend others in the future which will have to be addressed in building a relationship with the operating management.

(8) There is an additional key question as to what extent the climate of support for Israel may be changing in this State - and possibly in this Country. One astute observer feels that there has been a loss of the original position of seeing Israel as in the U.S. national interest. This observer points out that many no longer feel this or at least no longer remember. When Middle East issues seem to revolve around the U.S. versus Russia there was a greater degree of recognition of that interest; now that the Arabs are perceived as having thrown out the Russians these same arguments do not come off as well. Indifference, lack of knowledge and lack of feeling seem to be much more common. In those circumstances, it may be that the Jewish community is viewing Middle East issues in terms of American public opinion from a different set of facts and, of course, different conclusions.

Many non-Jews, says this observer, who do not remember or are indifferent to the background of the conflict actually believe that there should be a Palestinian State, wish the problem of the Middle East and the conflict between Arabs and Israelis would go away and may even believe, to some extent, that the only reason the U.S. is providing the measure of support that it does, is because of internal pressures.

While this is an, admittedly, pessimistic view the whole question of the mood and climate of the country at this point in time - the public opinion polls notwithstanding - deserves more careful analysis and assessment far beyond the analysis of the Abourezk fiasco here.

We will keep you advised of any further developments and the outcome of discussions among the several agencies.

Warm regards.

SS/ea

cc: Justin Finger
Zev Furst
Mort Kass
David Brody
Jerry Bakst
Robert Kohler
David Lehrer

Sen. Abourezk wins Democratic ovation

By PETER BLAKE
News Staff

Sen. James Abourezk, attacking the "Israeli lobby" and urging tolerance for minority views on the Middle East, won a generally favorable response from 700 Colorado Democrats attending the annual Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner Saturday night at the Denver Hilton.

The South Dakota Democrat, whose selection as speaker divided the party all last week, won a standing ovation after his address, although there were pockets of people who sat on their hands.

A single heckler in the back of the room interrupted his speech in the middle, but there was no walkout.

Abourezk began in a light vein, suggesting the whole dispute had been staged in order to sell more tickets. That may not have been the motive, but that was the result. Party spokesmen said about 150 more people purchased the $15 tickets this year than last.

The freshman senator said he felt "somewhat like Elizabeth Taylor's seventh husband – I know what I've been called on to do, but I don't know how to make it interesting."

That turned out not to be a problem. He gave a jocular review of the past week, during which he was invited to the dinner, almost uninvited because of his pro-Arab views (he's of Lebanese ancestry), then told he would have to debate a pro-Israel speaker, and finally assured he could speak alone after all.

Sen. Gary Hart's office should have been more suspicious when it issued the invitation, he said. "Not many U.S. senators carry a ski mask around in their suit pockets."

After a few more one-liners, Abourezk launched into his text which, as he warned it would at a press conference Friday, varied from the usual party boosterism typical of fund-raising dinners.

"Is this then the party of Jefferson and Jackson that would first invite, then seek to disinvite a Democratic U.S. senator to a Democratic function because it disagrees with his alleged position on matters of national interest?" he asked.

He said it was "very strange" that at least one Colorado Democrat opposed his appearance on grounds he wasn't sufficiently pro-Israel.

"I gave an oath to support the United States, but I am not willing to swear my allegiance to Israel or any foreign government," he said to applause.

His most outspoken critic during the past week, Arnie Zaler of the local branch of the Zionist Federation, was scheduled to meet with Abourezk after his speech.

The senator repeated his statement Friday that Palestinians should be entitled to a "national entity" in the Middle East similar to the one "of which they were deprived when they were driven out of Israel in 1948 to make room for the creation of Israel."

Those who denounce Arab terrorism "pointedly ignore the terrorism committed by the Israeli government in its bombing of civilian villages and Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon," he said.

Abourezk noted he has been skeptical for years of the "extraordinary influence" wielded by the "Israeli lobby" in the United States. "Its ability to accomplish virtually any legislative feat involving military or economic assistance to Israel is legend," he said.

Although an ally, Israel is still a foreign power with its own interests, he continued. "For it to have the enormous legislative influence in the U.S. Congress that it does is extremely dangerous" because the U.S. could become "a captive of its client state."

Allowing Israel to "isolate" the nation from other Middle Eastern countries would serve its interests but not ours, the senator continued.

It's easier for Americans to criticize their own government than Israel's, he claimed, because critics are fearful of being characterized as anti-Semitic.

"Just as we have seen U.S. presidents wrap themselves in the American flag, in efforts to stifle criticism of their policies, so do we see a foreign country wrapping itself in its state religion, so that criticism of the state or its policies is perceived as a form of racism," Abourezk said.

He conceded his speech was "very heavy material" for a fund-raising dinner but said it was important that "the free exchange of ideas" continue.

The party cleared about $3,000 from the dinner, or about 5 per cent of its annual budget. Abourezk's remuneration consisted of round-trip tickets from Washington for him and his wife, plus hotel costs. Outgoing state chairman Monte Pascoe said the party's expenses on Abourezk totaled $544.

Pascoe issued a statement before the dinner noting that the Colorado Democratic party has "never required speakers at its events to agree with every position the party has taken, and it should not."

But he pointed out that the Democratic state assembly last June adopted a position consistent with the national platform: "The Democratic party continues its support of efforts to guarantee the survival of Israel as a nation."

515/BJC

Abourezk to give Dems 'new speech'

By AL KAMEN
News Staff

Sen. James Abourezk arrived in Denver Friday with a "new speech" to give Colorado Democrats at their annual Jefferson-Jackson dinner.

Abourezk, a liberal Democrat from South Dakota, said he had planned to give a traditional party-boosting address but changed his mind in light of recent controversy over his selection as keynote speaker for the fund-raiser.

Abourezk's invitation, extended by state Democrats about three weeks ago, sparked an uproar among pro-Israel Democrats who threatened to stay away from the dinner unless the invitation was withdrawn.

They said the senator's pro-Arab positions were contrary to the party's platform, making him an unacceptable choice for an event promoting party unity.

In response to the criticism, the committee in charge of the event first voted either to find a pro-Israel speaker to join Abourezk or to cancel the event. On Wednesday, the committee reversed itself and decided to stand by the original plan to have Abourezk as the only speaker.

At a press conference shortly after his arrival, Abourezk said the speech he had planned to give was "out of date." Although he refused to reveal the specific contents of his new address, it appeared the speech might include statements chastizing those who opposed his invitation.

He said the speech would focus on "some concepts of freedom and democracy . . . on certain foreign policy aspects and on the role of dissent in a democracy."

He acknowledged that he would "talk briefly" about the Mideast and the controversy raised by his invitation.

"I hope the party and the public will find my remarks interesting," he added, perhaps a bit ominously.

Abourezk said he was surprised and "somewhat puzzled" by the "vigorous mini-protest against my appearance."

He said criticism over his invitation because he was not "pro-Israel" was "something new."

"As a U.S. senator, I had sworn to uphold the government of the United States, but I had not dreamed that I would be required to swear allegiance to any other government."

Abourezk said could recall only two occasions where the prospect of his presence as a speaker sparked significant protest. Once, an invitation to speak at a fund-raiser at Yeshiva University (a Jewish college in New York) was withdrawn. And last November, his appearance before a Lebanese group in Rochester, N.Y., sparked "25 phone calls to the dinner committee and the police" by persons threatening to blow up the auditorium.

He said he never "seriously entertained the thought of not coming" to Denver, although he might have decided not to come "had it (the protest) not become public." Once the public became aware of the controversy, he said the "lines were drawn."

"The burden of ending the controversy to save someone else a measure of embarrassment fell on my shoulders," Abourezk said, adding that the burden was "more than I was prepared to deal with."

Abourezk said he was looking forward to a successful dinner, and joked that the controversy was perhaps a "Machiavellian ploy to increase the size of the crowd."

NEWS PHOTO

U.S. Sen. James Abourezk
Democrats to hear "interesting remarks."

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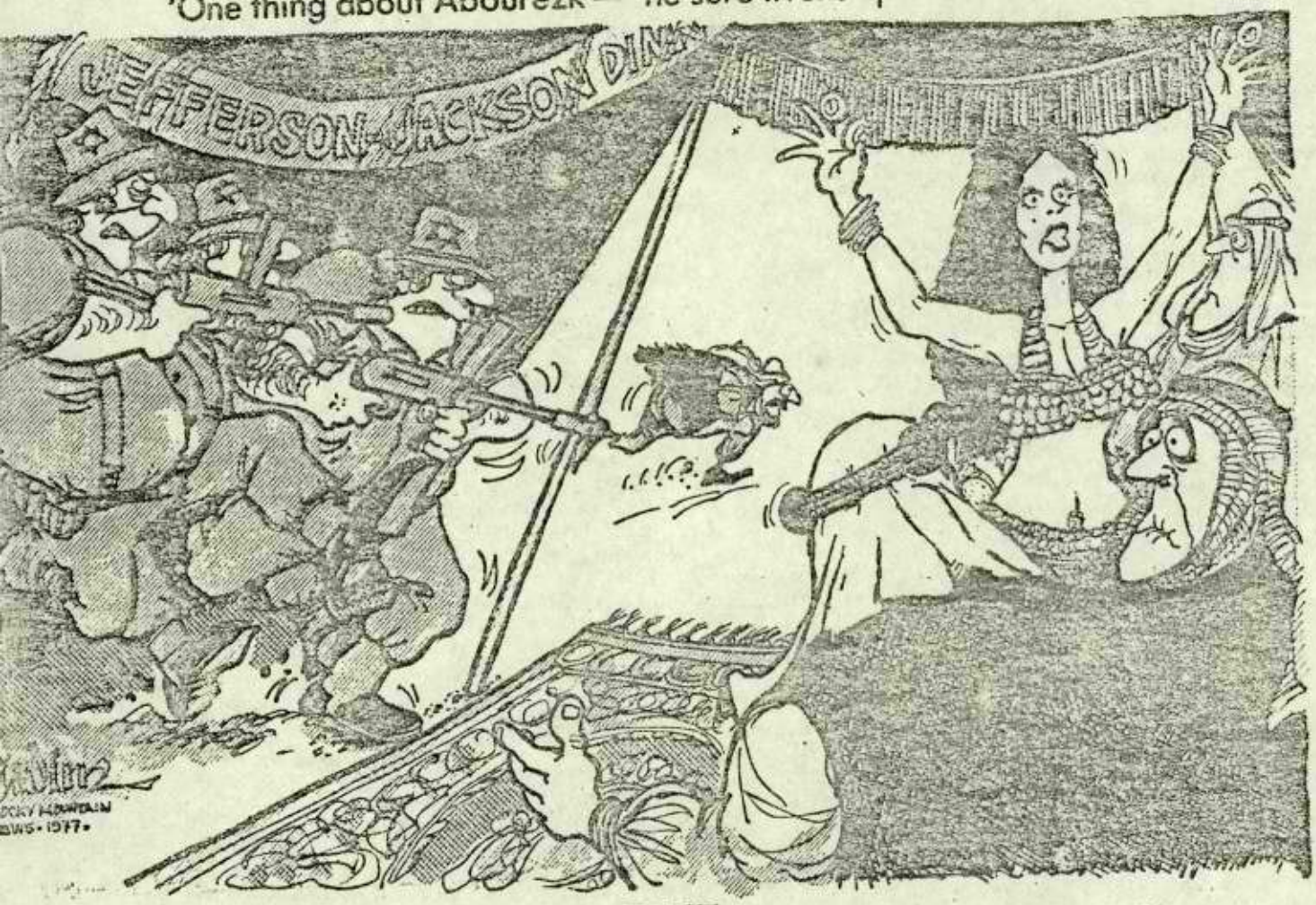
rt chipping away

it our own districts and states and start
ing at problems on a regional basis."

'One thing about Abourezk — he sure livens up a dinner!'



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"Give light and the people will find their own way."

The Abourezk fiasco

THE CHORTLES YOU hear are from local Republicans delighted with the mess Colorado Democrats have made from the seemingly simple task of inviting a speaker to their annual fund-raising bash.

The Dems had hoped to land Vice President Walter Mondale for the dinner affair and when he couldn't make it the scramble was on for a replacement.

That chore fell primarily to Monte Pascoe, state Democratic chairman, and Elizabeth Richardson, dinner committee co-chairman. With the help of Sen. Gary Hart's office, a number of senators were asked to speak. Eventually, Sen. James Abourezk, D-S.D., accepted the invitation.

Abourezk is one of the Senate's most outspoken liberals. He is the leading spokesman in Congress for the rights of American Indians. He has high ratings from organized labor and is a strong advocate of the divestiture of major oil companies.

Excellent credentials for a speaker at a gathering of the Democratic faithful. Except, apparently, for one thing. Abourezk is of Lebanese descent and probably the only senator perceived as favoring the Arabs in the Middle East dispute.

He recognizes the independence of Israel, but has hobnobbed with Yasir Arafat of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and voted against the Sinai Agreement.

This is heresy to some local, pro-Israeli Democrats who threatened to stay away from the dinner unless Abourezk's invitation to speak was withdrawn.

That is a peculiarly provincial position for members of a political party which has long been prideful of tolerating the clash of wildly divergent viewpoints.

Of course, anyone has a perfect right not to spend $15 a ticket to hear someone who symbolizes a point of view repugnant to him.

But, we find it incredible that organizers of the dinner would succumb – albeit temporarily – to pressure to dump Abourezk from the program.

The dinner committee voted Tuesday against actually disinviting Abourezk. Instead, they decided to find a pro-Israeli speaker to debate him. Failing that, the event was to be canceled.

The tortured reasoning behind this action is boggling. Abourezk was not even scheduled to talk about the Middle East. But he was to be forced to discuss his views on the subject or not speak at all.

Presumably, those who objected to Abourezk's appearance would let bygones be bygones if the senator was roundly rejoined on a topic he never planned to talk about in the first place.

Abourezk said he would be willing to debate his Middle East views, but added that "it's absolutely amazing to me that a small group is holding the state party hostage."

IT IS AMAZING to us also. And fortunately, not entirely correct. Unable Wednesday to find a suitable pro-Israeli speaker, Pascoe, Richardson and the dinner committee decided to do what they should have done from the beginning – proceed as originally planned with Abourezk speaking alone.

Perhaps the party coffers will be slighted if a sizable number of people stay away from the dinner in protest. And perhaps Abourezk's appearance will damage party harmony.

But this is small price to pay for honoring the simple democratic principle that it is wrong to discriminate against a man because his foreign policy views are unpopular.

James Abourezk is not a fanatic screaming for the blood of Israel. His record in defense of human rights is unassailable.

Colorado Democratic leaders should be proud to have him as their speaker. He is perhaps better than they deserve.

Senate Business Affairs and Labor Committee which defeated move to kill the bill. (STORIES ON PAGES 4, 22)

Dems Decide on Dinner—With Abourezk

By TODD PHIPERS
Denver Post Political Writer

Officials of the Colorado Democratic party reverted to their original plan Wednesday and decided that they will have a Jefferson-Jackson dinner in Denver Saturday with South Dakota Sen. James Abourezk as the speaker.

The decision, announced Wednesday afternoon by State Chairman Monte Pascoe, apparently brings to an end a weeklong dilemma for the party over the choice of the controversial South Dakota Democrat.

Abourezk is alleged to be sympathetic to Arab nations in the Middle East controversy and was the target of protests by Israel supporters among Colorado Democrats.

THEIR OBJECTIONS set off a chain of events and attempted solutions, which included possible cancellation of the dinner, rescinding Abourezk's invitation, coupling him with a pro-Israel speaker or retaining the status quo.

The program committee for the dinner instructed Pascoe and Elizabeth Richardson, committee cochairman, to find a speaker to appear with Abourezk or to cancel the event.

Pascoe said he and Ms. Richardson tried to find a second speaker, with Abourezk's approval, but weren't able to do so. They decided it would be contrary to the interests of the party to scrap the dinner entirely.

So, with the verbal approval of at least some committee members, they returned to the original plan.

"IT WAS MY collective sense, after talking with a large number of people, that this was the proper thing to do," Pascoe said.

The biggest factor in the decision not to cancel the dinner was "that a great number of people realized" that such an action "wasn't consistent with the great principles of the party or the organizations" which questioned the choice of Abourezk, Pascoe added.

He said the South Dakota senator was informed of the decision "and he's very pleased."

Abourezk is prepared to give "a rousing speech, and he has some good Republican jokes," Pascoe said. "It should be a pleasant evening."

THE STATE chairman said he talked to a "broad range of people" before reaching the decision and found them "uniformly in favor of going ahead. They are not interested in denying the podium to anyone."

Local pro-Arab and pro-Israel groups applauded the resolution of the matter Wednesday.

Rob Prince, chairman of the Palestine Solidarity Committee of Colorado, said at a press conference that retention of Abourezk as the speaker was "a correct decision." Efforts to block his appearance were "a cheap slap in the face to the senator and Arab-Americans," Prince said.

ARNOLD ZALER OF the Colorado Zionist Federation said his organization never was in favor of having the dinner called off.

Zaler said he thought the choice of Abourezk was "symbolically bad for the party," but he added that "in no way at any time have we been for disinviting him or cancelling the whole thing."

Zaler said he thought the controversy had been blown out of proportion. He said his main concern was that the well-intentioned protests of an "insensitive" choice by the party might have been interpreted as efforts to deny free speech.

Ms. Richardson said she is hopeful the dinner, 7 p.m. Saturday at the Denver Hilton, will attract more than the 525 persons who attended the event last year.

Pascoe said he thinks that is likely. "We've had more than the usual publicity this year," he said with a smile.

Dems decide to let Abourezk talk alone

By AL KAMEN
News Staff

Colorado Democrats changed their minds Wednesday and decided to stand by their original decision to invite a pro-Arab U.S. senator to speak at their annual Jefferson-Jackson dinner.

The decision reversed one made Tuesday by the committee in charge of the event. The committee had voted to have state chairman Monte Pascoe and dinner co-chairman Elizabeth Richardson arrange for a pro-Israel speaker to join Sen. James Abourezk, D-S.D., at the dinner or cancel it.

Pascoe said he had been unable to "work out a program" for a second speaker but decided it was best not to cancel the event.

He said the majority of the dinner committee members polled Wednesday accepted his position.

ABOUREZK'S INVITATION caused an uproar among pro-Israel Democrats who threatened to stay away from the dinner unless the invitation was withdrawn.

They said Abourezk's pro-Arab positions were contrary to state and national party platforms, making him an unacceptable choice to address a fund raiser that emphasized party unity.

Pascoe said he had "gotten a broad range of phone calls uniformly in favor of going ahead with the dinner and not denying the podium to anyone."

Pascoe's decision was praised by members of both Zionist and Palestinian groups.

Bob Prince, chairman of the Palestine Solidarity Committee in Colorado, said he was "pleased with the decision." He commended the party for "not buckling under" to pressure from pro-Israel members.

And Arnold Zaler, director of the Colorado Zionist Federation, said he thought the party was "doing the right thing."

Zaler said his organization never favored "not inviting him, although we felt the decision was insensitive to the feelings" of members of the Jewish community and pro-Israel Democrats.

ZALER SAID JUDGING FROM the scores of phone calls, free speech wasn't the central issue. "Party activists seemed more upset than Jewish . . . members and most wanted to know why they were asked to pay to attend a fund raiser when the speaker didn't reflect the views of the party and was retiring from the Senate anyway," Zaler said.

The committee had been engaged for three days in debate over whether it would be better to retain Abourezk or deny him the right to speak.

Mrs. Richardson noted that withdrawing the invitation would leave the party open to a "charge that we are denying free speech."

Pascoe said from the calls he received, he was "satisfied now that we're going to have a good dinner.

"I would hope that the full and complete discussion we've had" would ensure that no one "would take it (Abourezk's Invitation) as an affront."

Both Pascoe and Mrs. Richardson said they weren't aware of Abourezk's Mideast views when they extended the invitation.

Mrs. Richardson said about 450 tickets had been sold to the $15-a-plate affair by Tuesday and she expected the final count to equal or exceed last year's attendance of 525.

(Continued on page 37)

Abourezk to address Dems

(Continued from page 6)

PASCOE SAID HE FELT the controversy over the invitation wouldn't damage party unity, but some observers weren't sure.

Some said the latest decision indicated pro-Israel members had "backed down," but labor leaders denied that was the case.

"We had given the Democratic party the names of two people who could provide or would be speakers themselves," said John Mrozek, head of the Denver Area Labor Federation. "As far as I know, Pascoe didn't contact them because they weren't in the political arena," Mrozek said.

"How can they talk about free speech?" Mrozek said. "The Democratic party disagreed with the Colorado Democrat (a weekly paper now called the Colorado Statesman) and went all out to kill it," he said, calling those expressing concerns over freedom of speech hypocrits.

ANOTHER LABOR SPOKESMAN, Rep. Chuck DeMoulin, D-Denver, said Abourezk "was a poor choice to start with" and the decision to invite him was an "affront to a group within the party."

Mrozek and DeMoulin said they didn't plan to attend the dinner, and DeMoulin said he thought it likely demonstrators will protest Abourezk's peresence.

Pascoe said he didn't expect any need for extra security and he wasn't worried about adverse reactions from the audience. "These are people of goodwill."

Pascoe said Abourezk was "planning on giving a rousing Democratic speech. My impression is he won't be talking about it (the Middle East) although there might be a reference to it."

Should Abourezk touch on his Mideast views, Pascoe said he "would have no problem issuing a statemant" clarifying the party's position on Israel and the Palestinians.

celo, 9, and Edwin, 2, Tuesday as trio takes advantage of early spring warmth to play kickball in Burns Park.

ISRAEL ADVOCATE HUNTED

Dem Dinner a Mideast Crisis

By TODD PHIPERS
Denver Post Political Writer

The Colorado Democratic party's Jefferson-Jackson dinner Saturday will feature a two-sided discussion of the Middle East—if there is a dinner.

That was the status of the event Wednesday as party leaders attempted to resolve a controversy resulting from the selection of South Dakota Sen. James Abourezk as featured speaker for the dinner.

The choice of Abourezk was denounced by pro-Israel Democrats, who charged that the South Dakota senator has been an opponent of the Jewish state and therefore was an inappropriate speaker for a function sponsored by the Colorado party, which supports Israel in its platform.

A COMMITTEE in charge of the program attempted to resolve the problem Tuesday, debating whether to rescind the invitation to Abourezk, retain him as the speaker, couple him with a speaker on the other side of the issue or cancel the whole thing.

The group whittled those options to two—either cancel the dinner or have Abourezk and a pro-Israel speaker—and put the decision in the hands of State Chairman Monte Pascoe and Elizabeth Richardson, cochairman of the program committee.

Abourezk, contacted by Pascoe later Tuesday, agreed to share the podium with a "suitable" speaker on the other side of the Mideast issue.

So, if Pascoe can find such a speaker by Wednesday, the dinner is on. If he can't, the $15-a-plate event at the Denver Hilton Hotel is off.

IN EITHER CASE, the original intent of the dinner is gone. The event traditionally has served as a unity rally of sorts for the party, designed to bolster Democratic spirits and coffers for the campaign ahead.

"I want to have a happy evening or no evening at all," Pascoe told the committee Tuesday.

Whether that is possible with a discussion of an issue as volatile as the Middle East situation remains to be seen.

The matter of intent, however, has been submerged in the identity crisis which has resulted from the controversy.

Committee members debated Tuesday whether the party would be less faithful to itself by having the controversial Abourezk as speaker or denying him the right to speak.

"WE UNKNOWINGLY caused a problem," Ms. Richardson said of the invitation to Abourezk. "It was a mistake and we are all cognizant of it." But by rescinding the invitation, she added, "We are leaving ourselves open to a charge that we are denying free speech."

State Sen. Dick Soash, D-Steamboat Springs, committee cochairman, suggested that it would be "utmost folly" to retain Abourezk as the only speaker for the dinner. "It doesn't make a damn bit of sense."

Another committee member, Betty Crist, called the choice of Abourezk "a sad but very grave error on the part of everyone. Let's publicly admit it," but not compound the error by keeping him as speaker, she suggested.

Ms. Crist moved that the invitation be rescinded, but the motion was defeated on a voice vote. Soash followed with his successful motion to have Pascoe and Ms. Richardson settle the matter.

SENATOR CALLED ANTI-ISRAEL

*THE DENVER POST
38 Tues., Mar. 22, 1977

Abourezk Vows to Speak at Dinner Despite Protests

By TODD PHIPERS
Denver Post Political Writer

U.S. Sen. James Abourezk, D-S.D., said Tuesday he will speak at a Democratic party dinner in Denver Friday, despite some complaints that he is anti-Israel, unless his invitation is withdrawn.

Abourezk's scheduled appearance at the state party's Jefferson-Jackson dinner Friday at the Denver Hilton has brought protests from Jewish groups and other supporters of Israel, who claim he has been pro-Arab and agaisnt the Jewish state.

The South Dakota senator said in a telephone interview he was aware of the protests but said he would'nt withdraw from the Denver speech unless his invitation was revoked.

"I THINK IT is very unfortunate that a very small number of people are trying to hold the Colorado Democratic party hostage in this situation," Abourezk said.

"It is a vindictive action on the part of those undertaking the protest. and it leaves the party kind of helpless in the situation."

Abourezk defended his position on Middle East matters, saying that he has "proper United States interests" in mind, rather than being pro-Israel or pro-Arab. "That position does not happen to agree with that of the Israeli lobby."

Although he said he originally intended to limit his Denver speech "to the kinds of things you say at Democratic dinners," the senator, who is of Lebanese heritage, said he might alter that plan if his appearance isn't canceled.

ABOUREZK SAID he is considering discussing the Middle East "not only to clarify my position but also to let people know what the problem is in the Middle East."

The outspoken senator charged that "people who call themselves supporters of Israel are afraid to debate." The controversy that has arisen over his Denver speech "is a symptom of the fear on the part of Israel's supporters to allow a debate on the situation," he said.

Monte Pascoe, state Democratic chairman, said Tuesday that Abourezk's appearance at the Denver dinner probably would be decided later in the day.

THE COMMITTEE organizing the dinner met to discuss the problem Monday night but delayed action on a motion by one member, Betty Crist, to withdraw Abourezk's invitation. That motion was to be considered at another meeting of the committee Tuesday.

"We're trying to determine what the proper thing is to do," Pascoe said.

The state chairman said some concern about Abourezk's appearance was expressed last week and opposition "kind of snowballed" over the weekend and Monday.

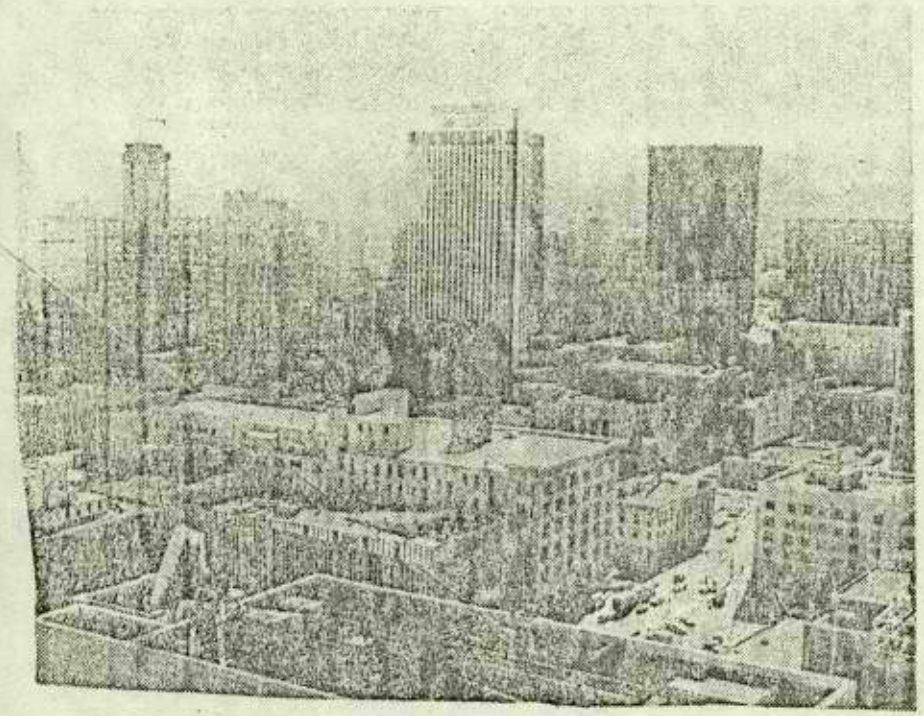
Pascoe said he had been in touch with Abourezk and had informed him of the problem.

ONE OF THOSE who expressed concern, Pascoe said, was Arnold Zaler, director of the Colorado Zionist Federation, who was "disappointed" by the choice of the speaker. Pascoe said he has and "very constructive conversations" with Zaler and that they had talked about the possible conflict between Abourezk's alleged stance and the Democratic party platform.

Zaler and others "were concerned about this and the symbolism of it," Pascoe said.

Abourezk said he doesn't think he is in conflict with that part of the platform which supports the continuation of Israel as a state.

He added that "one of the basic tenets of the Democratic party is freedom of speech. I certainly support that," he said.



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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

יד' שבט תשל"ז
2 פברו' 77

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אל: מצפ"א
מאת: צבי רפיח, וושינגטון

הנדון: אבו-רזק

שתי סיבות מציינים בגבעה לפרישתו של אבו-רזק מהסינט בסוף 1978:

א. פופולריותו בדרום-דקוטה ירדה מאד והוא רצה להימנע הן מהוצאות רבות ומיותרות והן מהתבזות פומבית.

ב. יש הסבורים שלאחר פרישתו יעבוד בשרות הערבים. ההבדל הוא בכך שעד עתה היה מקבל, כנראה, תשלומים "מתחת לשולחן" (ידוע, הרי, בוודאות שהיה מציע שרותיו לשליטים ערביים תמורת סיוע כספי) ואילו לאחר פרישתו יוכל לקבל סכומים גדולים הרבה יותר ובגלוי, כמו משרדי לובי אחרים בעיר.

תום בריידן פירסם ב"וושינגטון פוסט" מאמר המבע צער על פרישתו של אבו-רזק. הצער, לדבריו, נובע מכך שעד כה היה לערבים ולפלשתינאים דובר "אחד ויחיד" בסינט ולאחר פרישתו גם דובר אחד לא יהא להם.

ב ר כ ה,

צ. רפיח

העתק: המשנה למנכ"ל

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON D.C.

ט"ו/אב תשל"ד
17 יולי 1974

לכבוד:
מר יעקב אבן, מנכ"ל

אל: מר אבא אבן
מאת: מר יוסף, ראש המשלחת

נושא: אל-עין

אני מבין כתבתו מ-22 ביוני בנושא של אל-עין מאוגוסט
1973 ענה:

1. שמדיניות מרכז-מזרח אינה מן הראוי לנקוט
עד שנגיע לפתרון לבעיות הגדולות יותר.

2. שהמבוקש מאתנו הוא הסכם מקצר בעיות אחדות.
מאחר ולא, כפי שכבר אמר מר אבן, מדובר
"בחמה קרחת" (ביטוי, אגב, שבמקרה אינו מדויק
ביותר, כאשר מדובר בחמה אחת ולא בחמה קרחת) ואין
אנו מדברים רק בבעיה אחת, אלא בבעיות רבות
ומגוונות, כפי שהיה ברור מראש.

הנ"ל מדגיש מדוע כ"ל מבקש מאד מאד שלא
לא יגיעו אל אל-עין. מאחר, לדבריו, ברור שכל מה
שיהיה בהסכם ראשוני זה "חמה קרחת" בלבד
ושאר הבעיות לא יגיעו אותו לא בזמן הזה.

בברכה,

יוסף

נפצ: מר מאיר בר-אל

אלי: מצפה

בברכת

שגרירות ישראל

בושינגטון

ישראל -
דקיס לפרס.ס של
יום שה"ו החל
ב 1/29

מיר שם

כל יום

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JAMES ABOUREZK

SIOUX FALLS, RAPID CITY, SOUTH DAKOTA - MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 1977

I am announcing today that I will not be a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate in 1978. I have spent long, sometimes painful hours discussing this decision with my family and my staff. But in the end it was a decision which had to be made, and could only be made, by my wife and me together.

I have been active in politics since 1968. When I ran for the House of Representatives in 1970, and again for the Senate in 1972, I made only one promise -- I promised that I would work as hard as I knew how to represent the people of South Dakota. I believe I have fulfilled that promise.

But I have fulfilled it at great cost.

During the time I have served our State I have had, to my sorrow, to watch my children grow up from a distance. I have seen my wife and my children endure, in silence, while my work has kept me from fulfilling my responsibilities to my family.

While I consider it the public duty and responsibility of every citizen to work for the benefit of others within our society, I have another duty -- a duty which I have neglected -- and that duty is to my family.

Together, Mary and I have decided to live more normally as a family, to put our children through college, and to try to know our grandchildren better. We have decided, after eight years of truly fulfilling, but personally draining public service, that it is time to meet our responsibilities to one another, and to our children. These are the responsibilities I will assume when my term in the United States Senate ends two years from now.

Some have told me that I could spend much less time on my Senate duties, more time at home, and still remain in the Senate. I do not believe this. I have always given a total commitment to this job. I could not, and would not, give it anything less.

Others have suggested that I should wait until next year to announce my decision not to seek re-election. But I believe this would be dishonest. My Party, the Democratic Party, has a great many capable men and women, people who are willing to offer their talents to the citizens of this State. They deserve the opportunity to prepare themselves for public service free of uncertainty about my own future intentions.

I have considered the time I have spent in public service to be a contribution to my State, to my country, and to its people. I came into politics with the idea that I had a contribution to make. I never had the idea that I should perpetuate myself in office. I realize that it has become normal procedure for those successfully elected to office to run for term after term. The temptation is great, and few are able to resist it. But I've never believed that I am indispensable.

I have sought especially to help those citizens without the wealth or power to easily secure the good things in life for themselves. But I believe others can provide that help as I did.

What troubles me most about the decision I announce today is not some exaggerated view of my own worth. It is rather the hundreds of truly good friends and supporters whose encouragement has sustained me in this job, and whose disappointment I feel so heavily. To them, and to the dedicated staff that has worked so capably for me and for the people of South Dakota, I can only say that I know they will understand. This has been a difficult decision, a very personal decision, a decision I had to make and one which I can only hope my friends will understand.

I have been honored to serve as a colleague with one of the greatest leaders of our State and country, George McGovern. I am proud to have represented the people of South Dakota.

Finally, I want to emphasize, and emphasize strongly, that my term in the United States Senate does not end until January 3, 1979. When I assumed this office I promised to fight just as hard as I knew how for the people of South Dakota. I intend to keep that promise each and every day I am a United States Senator.

I leave today for three days of public meetings across the State on the subjects of drought relief, water resources and agriculture. I hope that South Dakotans will join with me at these meetings so that we can develop together the kinds of legislation you want me to seek for you in the U.S. Senate.

That kind of partnership with you is what my job has always been about, and that is what it will remain until the day I leave office in 1979.

Thank you very much.

# # # # #

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס

בלתי מסווג

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נשלח:241730 יבו 77

אל:המשרד

מאת:וושינגטון

מצפא.

סנטור אבורזק תודיע חיום במסיבת עיתונאים כי יפרוש מחסינט בחום כחונתו בסוף 1978 . הבימוקים שהביא הסנטור היו משפחתיים - פרטיים .

רפיה

שתח ריתמ מנכל ממנכל סמנכל מצפא חקר רט

צג/תמ

HIP HIP HURRAH!

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