

מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

לשרת ראש הממשלה

מסוד

המשק בתיק מס' 4

לשכת ראש הממשלה - אורח

5/1985

המשק בתיק מס' 6

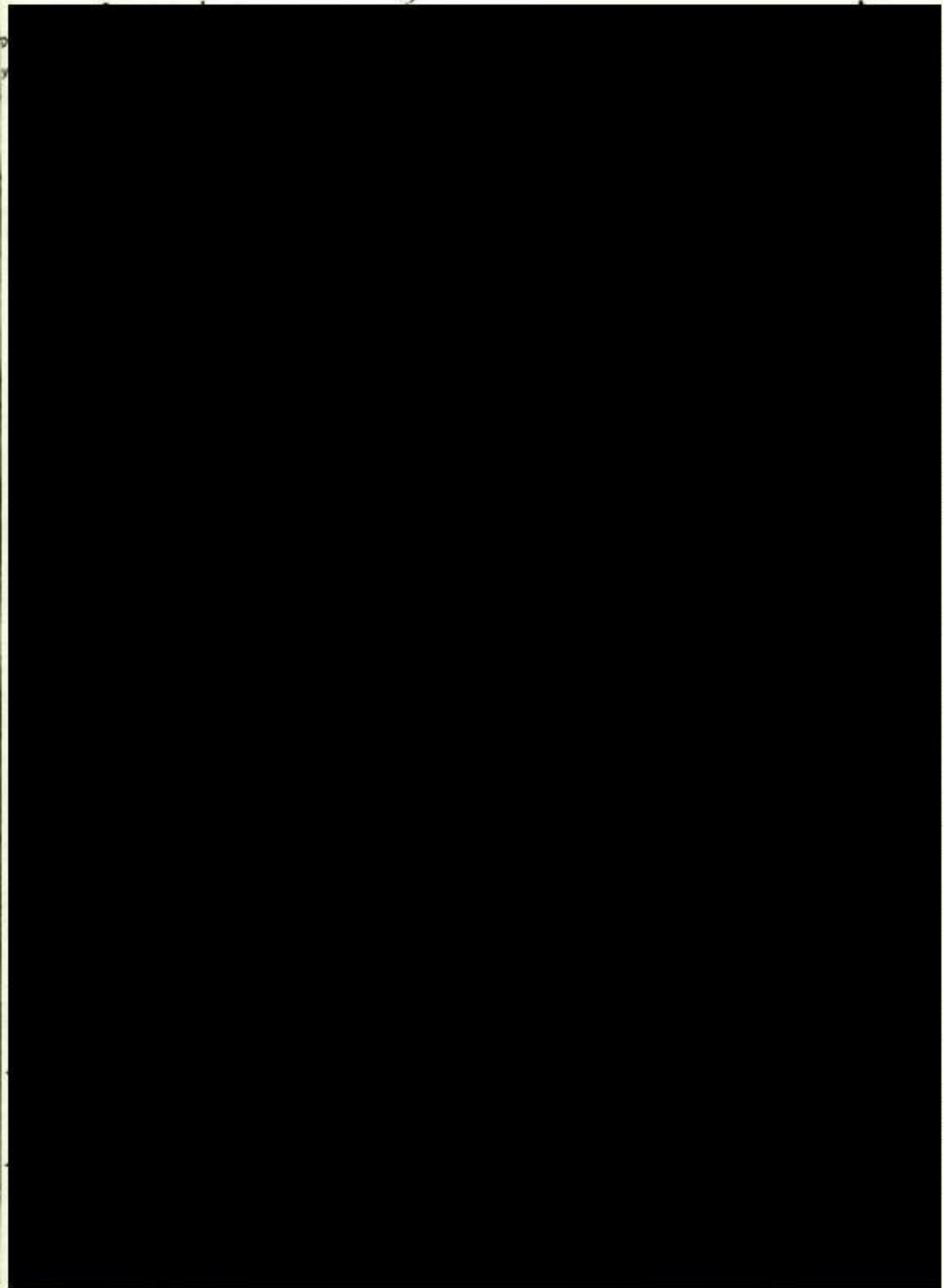
	
שם	לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס - אר
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מזהה פנימי	43.4/3 - 179
מזהה לוגי	02-111-01-07-09
מס פריט	1734770
כתובת	15/08/2010

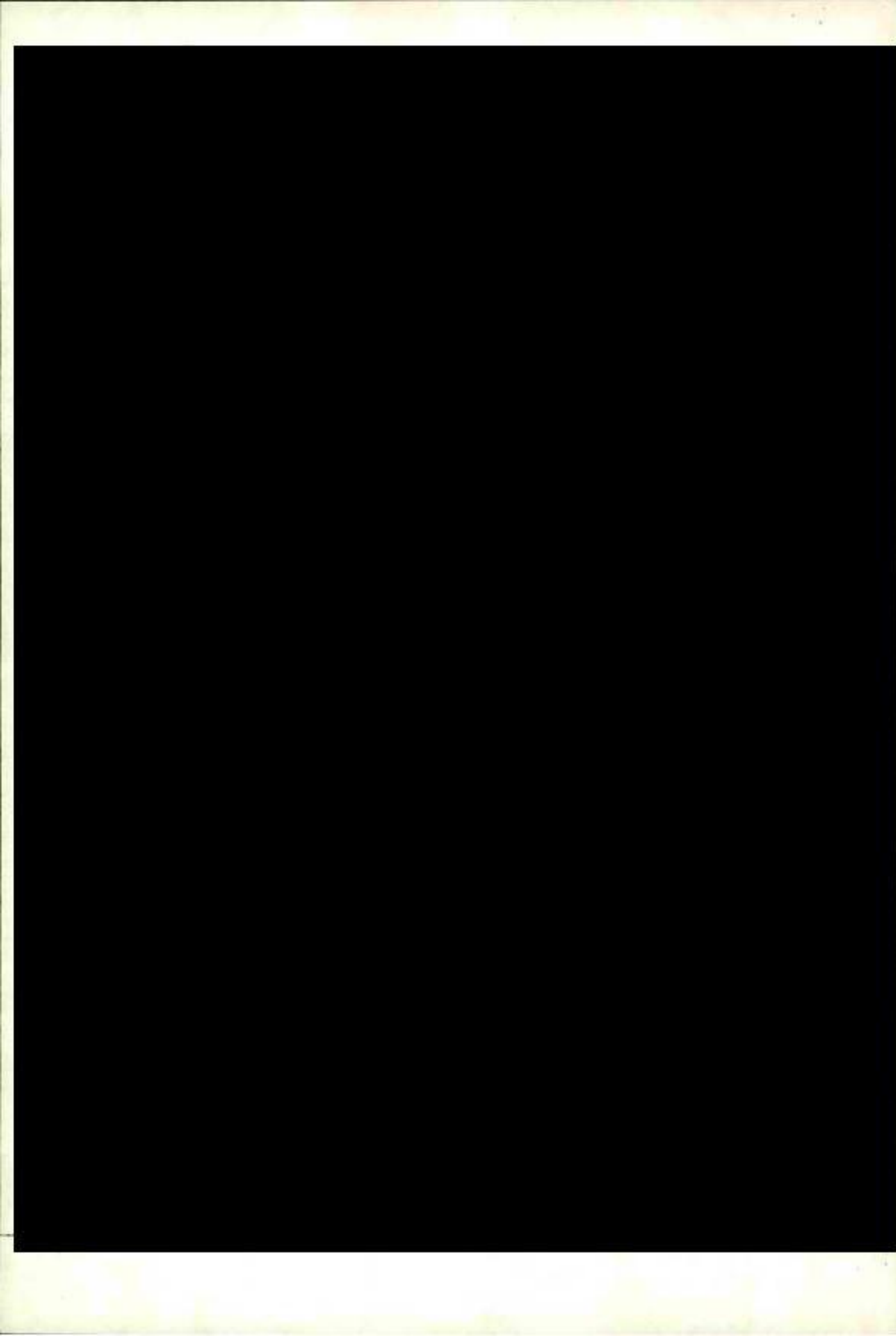
מחלקה

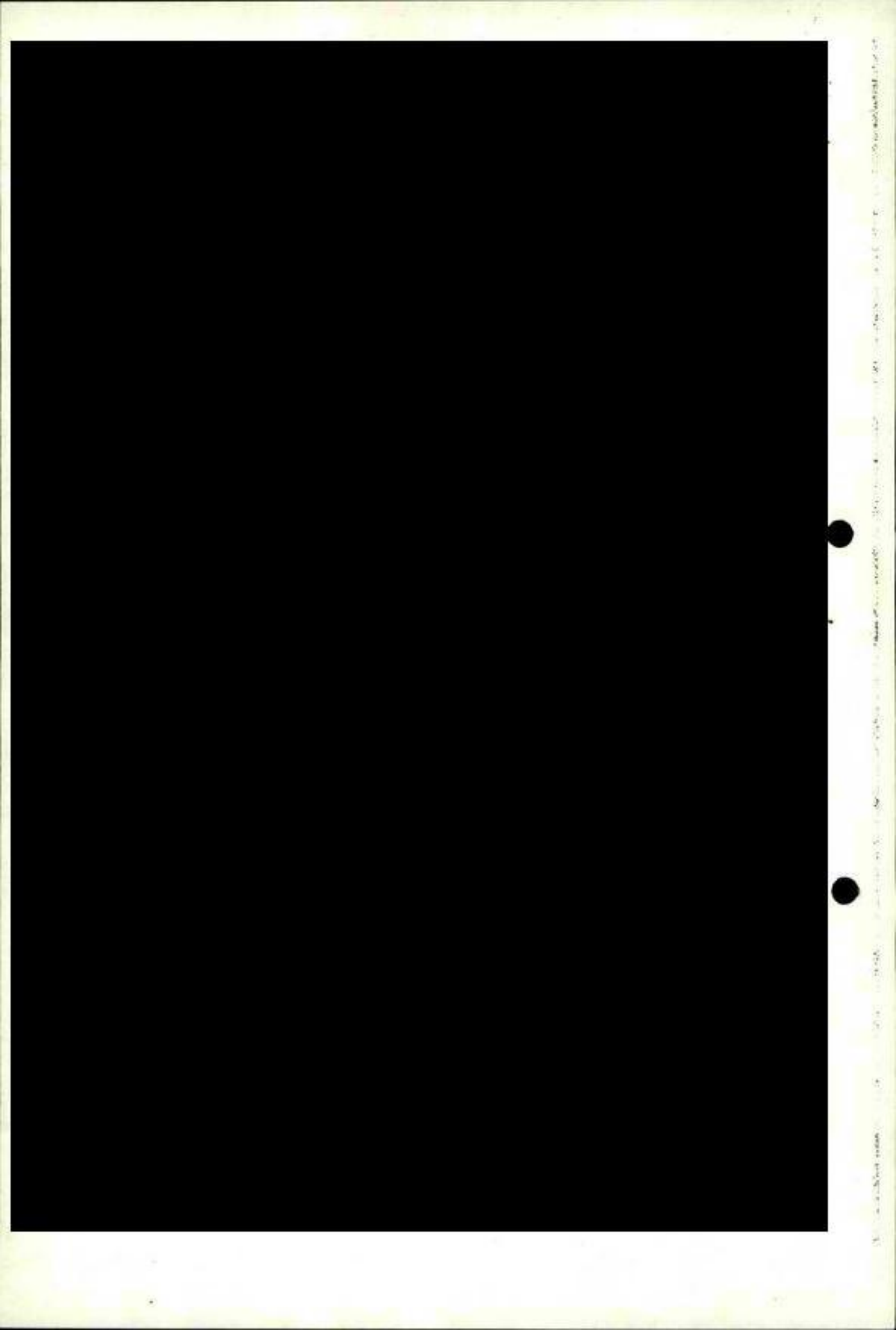
מס. תיק מקורי

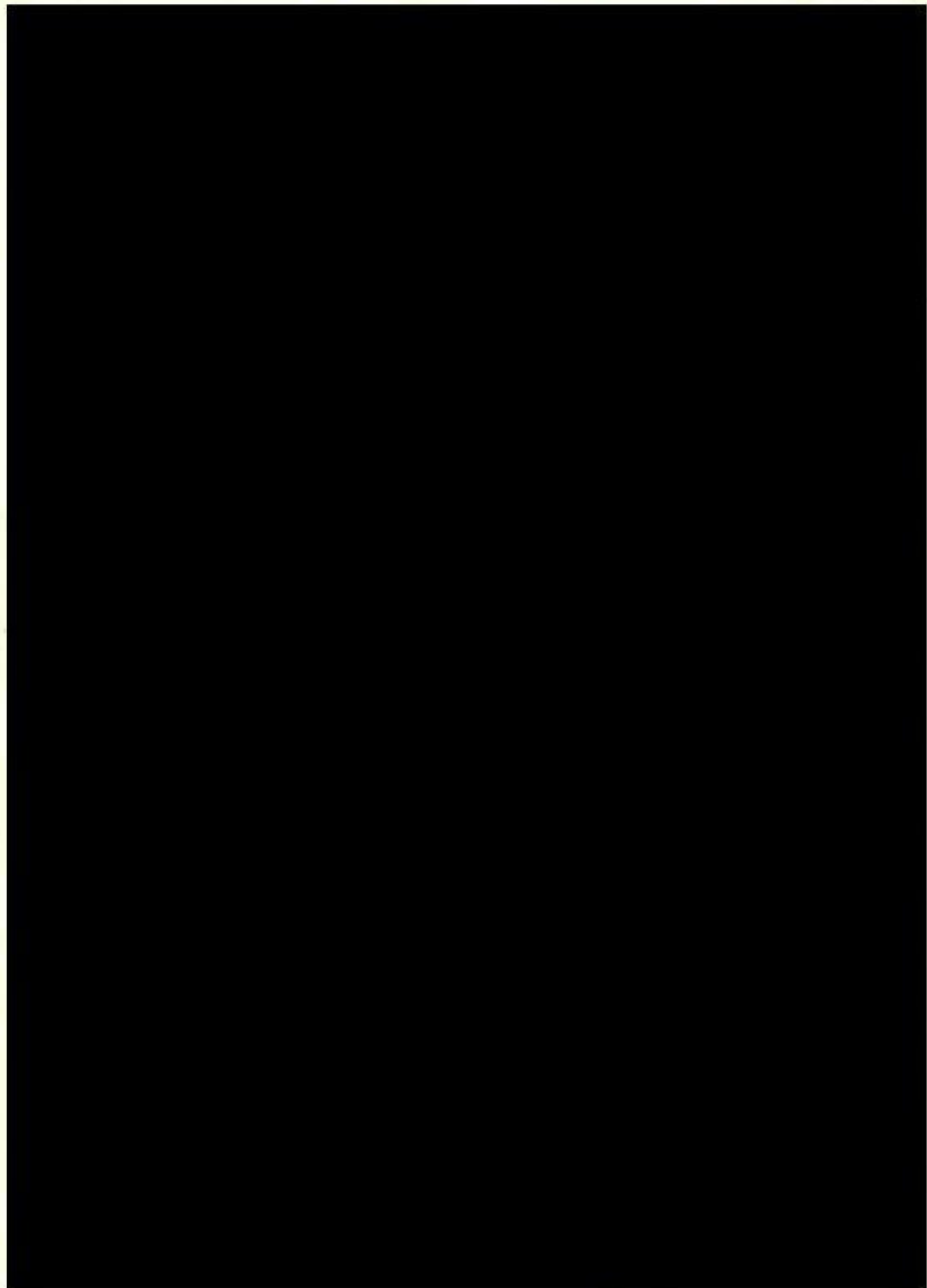
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6/13











COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

Charles S. Robb
Governor

Office of the Governor
Richmond 23219

May 10, 1985

Mr. Boaz Appelbaum, Chief of Staff
Office of the Prime Minister
Jerusalem
Israel

Dear Mr. Appelbaum:

I wanted to let you know how much I appreciated all of your efforts on my behalf and on behalf of the Virginia delegation which made my recent trip to Israel such a memorable one.

The genuinely warm hospitality and the courtesies extended to me and the delegation during our visit will never be forgotten. I am convinced that the dialogue that was initiated will have many positive long-term benefits for Virginia and for the State of Israel.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Chuck Robb".

Charles S. Robb

CSR:rmf

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

1657

נכנס

סודי ביותר

מחוך 2
מחוך 16

דף 1

עוזק 7

האל: המשרד, נד: 233, מ: 111
דח: ב, סג: מ, תא: 090585, זח: 1030

סודי ביותר/נהול להעתיק.....

עבור במחוך נד: 161

האל: ממנכל

דח: ממנכל, משהבט, ממנכל, ואה

מסגים, שלך חורם 574

ההתקדמות עם וילקוקס ושאלתי לפרטי חשש הדליפה. אמר כי מרם
היה פרסום, אך מן הנידוויק בארץ הפנו שאלה אל השגרירות
ואו הקונסוליה בירושלים, ודבר זה מדאיג להתשובה שניתנה היתה
ששין יודעים על כך.

ב. משרד המשפטים האמריקני מסר הבוקר למחמד' כי הסוער להגשת
כתב האישום מרם נקבע, אך בגלל אפשרות הדליפה יש סיכוי
עיוש, אף כי מרם החליטו על כך.

ג. טומדים לאוחם שמנו בירושלים ובאן על הסיכונים האפשריים אם
אכן יתפרסם הדבר. הצד הציבורים מדאיג מאוד נהעדה: גם
תחושתנו.

ד. משום כך היו שמחים אילו יכלו לוטר כי יש שחוף פעולה מלא
בין הממשלות בנושא.

ה. בהקשר זה אמר כי נציגת המכס אכן לא היתה מרוצה, כיוון
שנציג' הממשלה הטבירה אל החברה בה מדובר, אך לא הגישה

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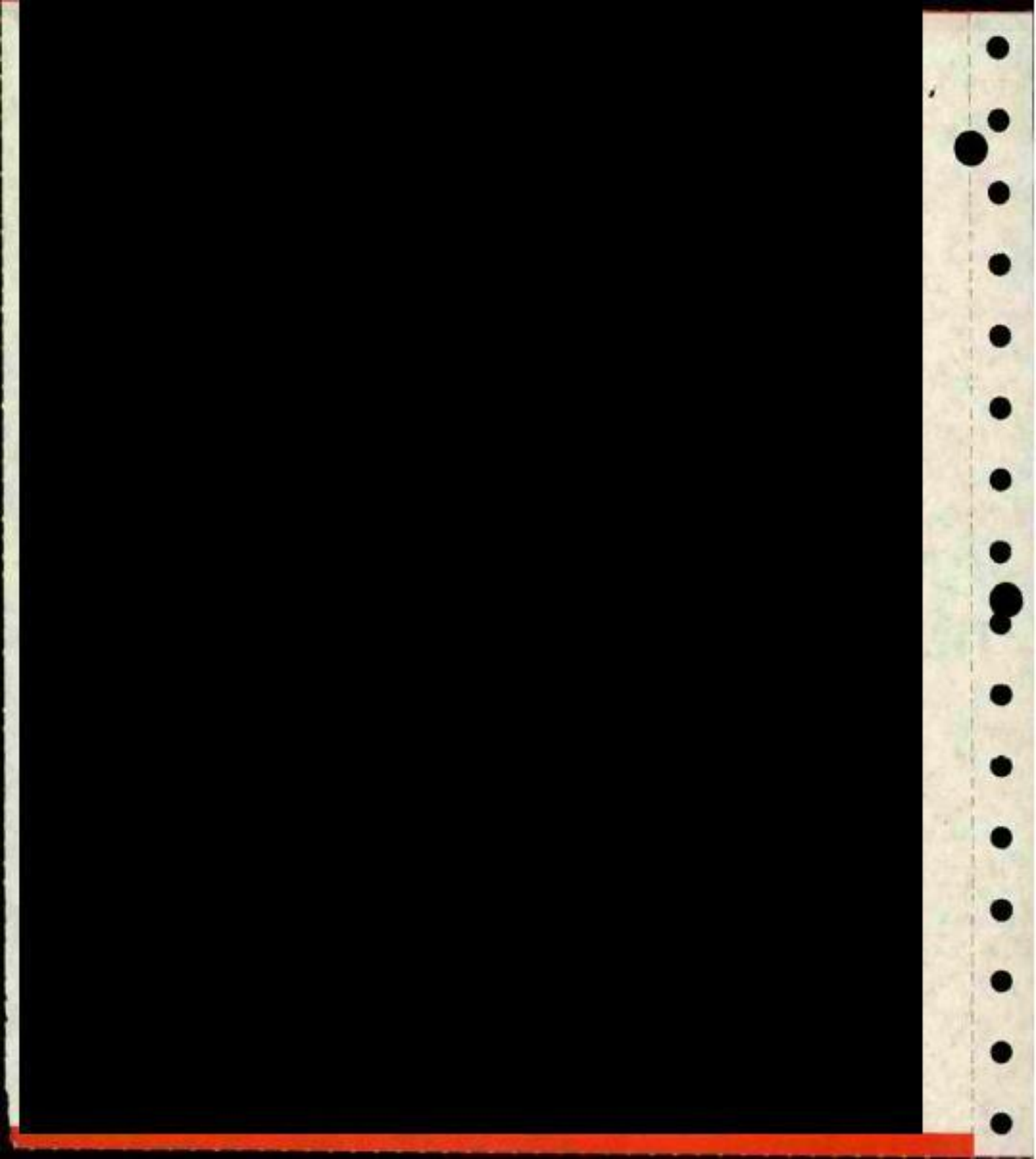
מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

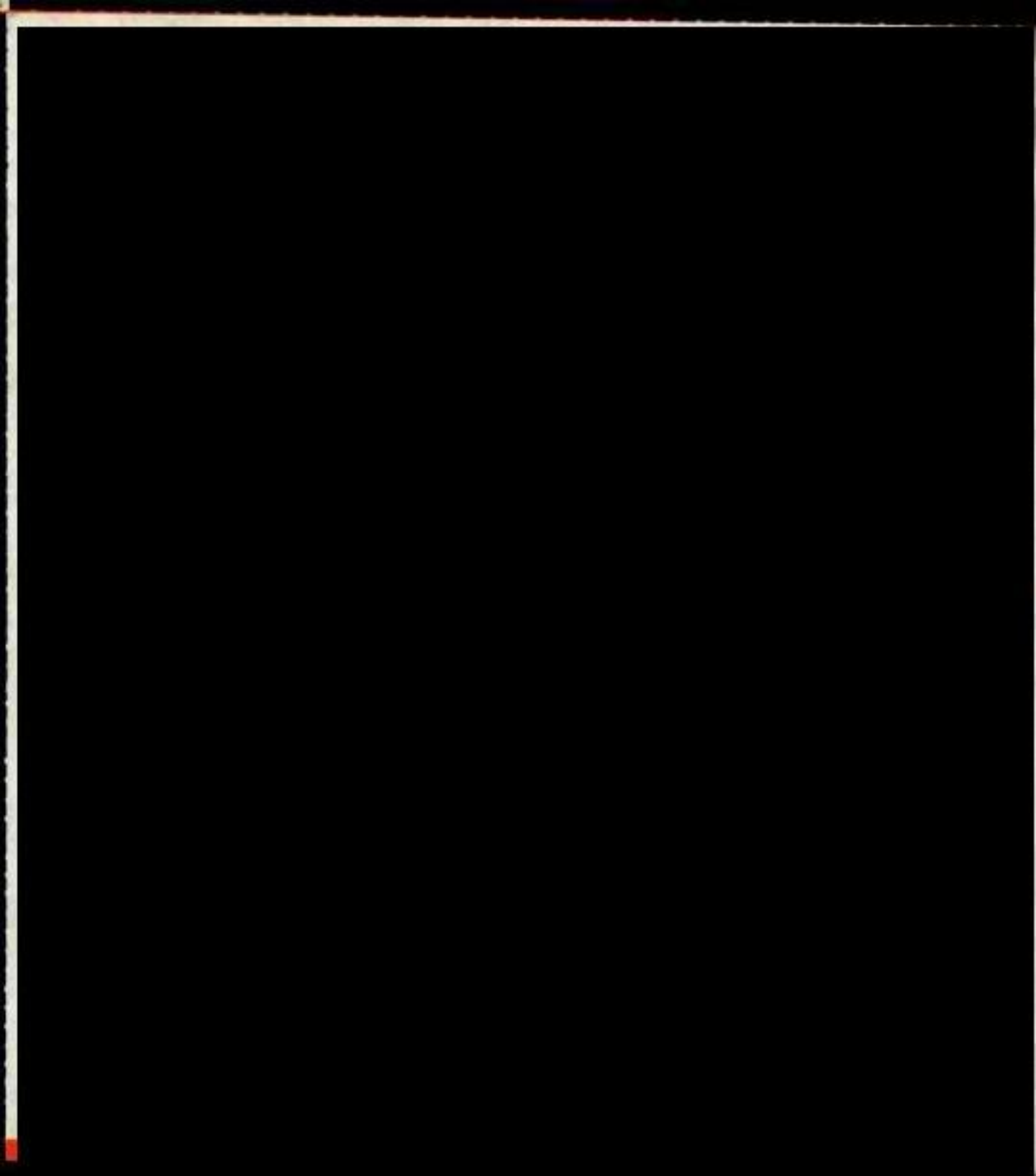
27	2	מחור	2
עופק	7	מחור	16
סודי	ביומר		

**להדברות עמה בהעדרו של האנהל.
**הורתי במובן של הנכונות לשפ

1995年12月17日

*** 90 : מהת, דהם, מנכל, ממנכל, 179, 199





טופס מברק גלוי

תחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

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מחוד

97

המברק, כע"ח, לש' כפנכ"ל, יועץ רוח"ם לתקשורת, מצפ"א,

אל:

סיווג בטחוני:

לש' יגד.

דח"פוח:

97: וועט'נסטון

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דפוס מברק:

מאח: קמנונה

News Summary May 9, 1985

Editorials

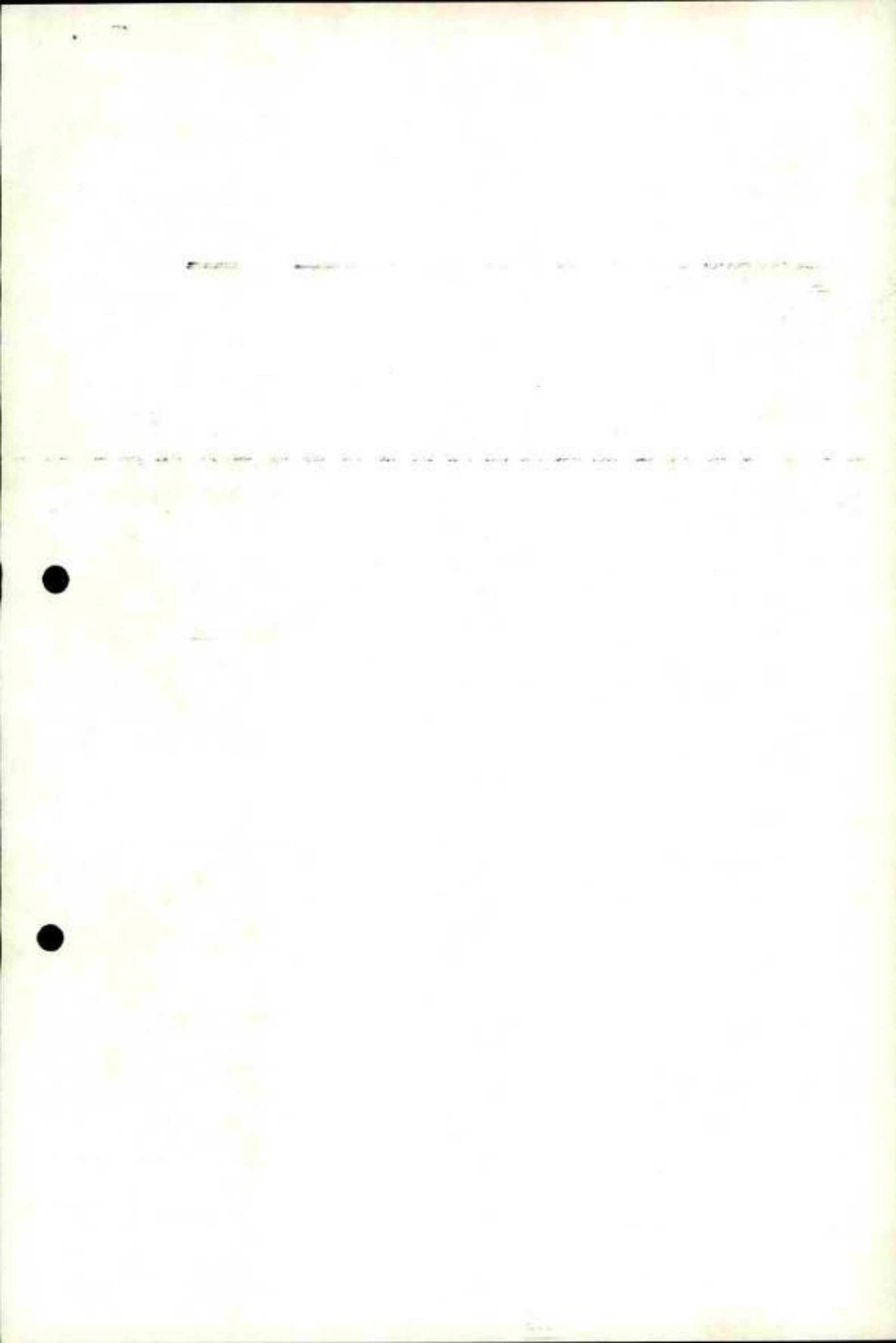
DN-"Better Left Unsaid" Koch said he could see no blacks at Sunday's rally in support of Soviet Jewry. NYC has also been a city of many hues. That diversity has been a source of more richness than conflict. The law and the best traditions here are color-blind. Dignity and decency insist politicians be too.

Amsterdam News 5/11 "A Ceremony in Dachau" Reagan, against all logic, sensitivity and wisdom layed a wreath at Bitburg where SS are buried. The simply "followed orders" and killed 12 million, 6 million of those murdered were Jews. The ed of the AN, Bill Tatum went to protest the visit with the AJC. It is possible that the Holocaust can be started up again. Bitburg made it clear that political power looms far greater in importance than the sentiment of the caring world. Bitburg gave comfort to the US and German right. Black Americans had to be there in order to speak up for the Jews, for if the time ever comes for the Black Americans to be spoken up for, who will be there. The 10,000 Jews in Munich refused to participate in anti-Bitburg ceremonies. They preferred not to stir the waters. They have not learned their history.

Columns

NYT-Anthony Lewis "The One-track Mind" The essence of Ronald Reagan was exposed at Bitburg. He spoke with narrow ideology and a distorted sense of history. His "I am a Jew" speech was brilliant rhetoric but think about the message. Every victim Reagan mentioned after Jews was a victim of communism. Not a thought for those who died at the hands of Pinochet, for the Bahai's in Iran, for South Africans. To Reagan, "azism was the work of one man. But millions voted for him and killed with him.

DN-Buckley "Bitburg Again: The Other Side of the Argument" While the American people were divided on Bitburg, Congress was all but unanimous and the Congress was unanimous. Why? Opposition to the visit was primarily voiced through the Jewish community. It would be inconceivable that not a single senator sympathized with Reagan's position without affecting German politics. Any future campaign would include references to a Senator that voted for the trip. Do we count for nothing the strengthened hand of the Christian Democratic Party in Germany? Reagan did the right thing.



דף 2 מתוך 3

סיווג בטחוני:

דחיות:

תאריך חידוש: 213/66
מס. מברק:

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NYP-Evans & Novak "They're Out to Get Buchanan" Buchanan is being victimized by leaks. His critics are spreading rumors about him alluding to the fact that he is anti-Semitic when in fact he is a pro-Israel stalwart. But it is Buchanan's policy of not being accommodating towards the Communists, like Shultz and McFarlane that is really his problem. His foes wish to remove him from the White House but it will not be easy.

Press Reports

PLO Rebuffs US

NYT-Miller (Tunis) Three key PLO officials said that only declared PLO members chosen by the group's leadership would be able to meet with US officials to explore possibilities for peace with Israel. Ahmed Rahman, Saleh Khalef and Farouk Kaddoumi, ruled out any meeting without PLO members. The Reagan administration was considering meeting with members of the PNC. The rejection of such an American-Palestinian meeting reflects growing tensions within the PLO over the Hussein-Arafat agreement. Khalef believes that the agreement has weakened Arafat. He said that there is another leadership waiting to take over in Damascus and that the US is making a mistake because none of them wants peace.

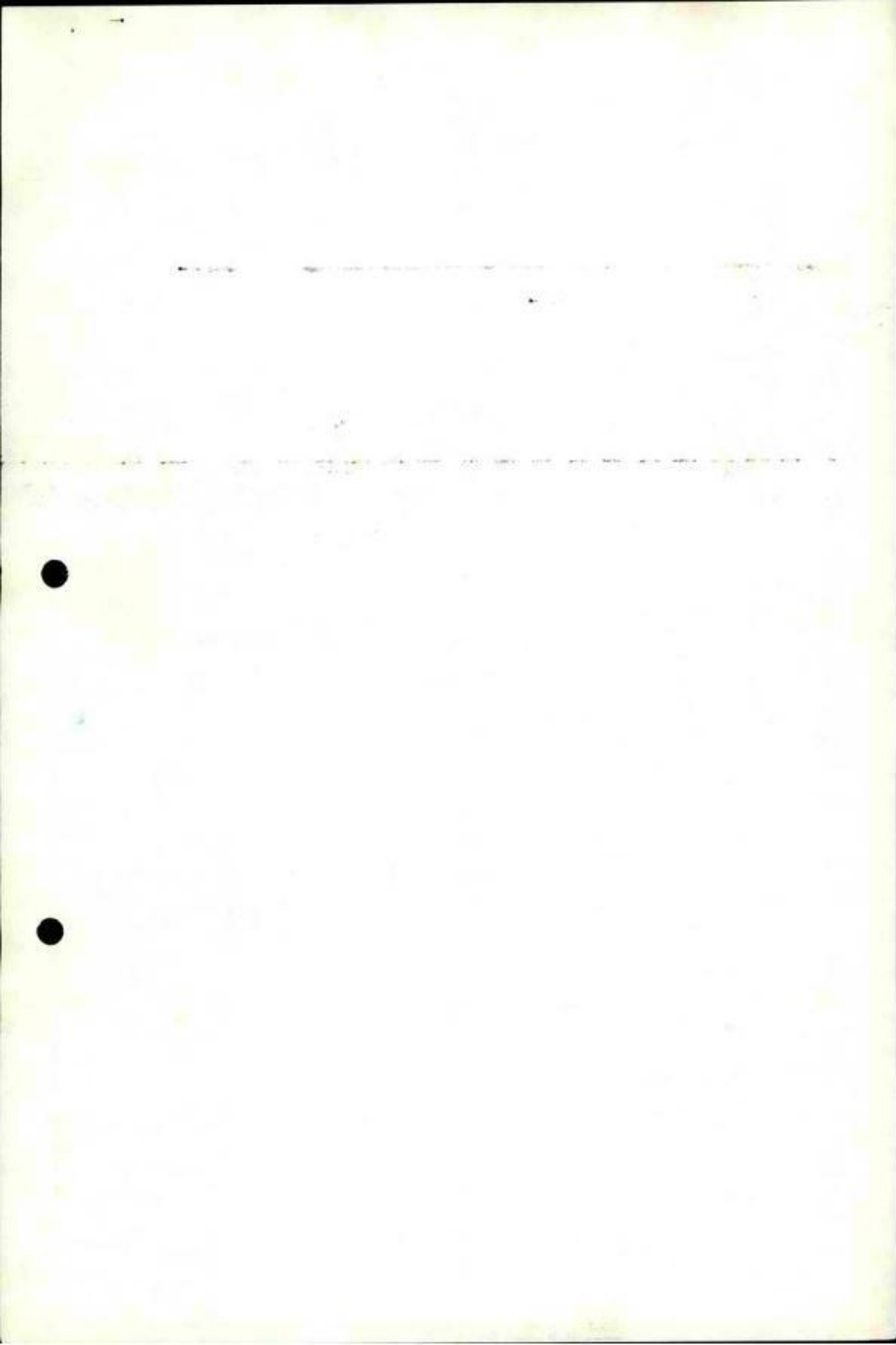
NYT-Hijazi Five PLO leaders met with Lebanese officials in Beirut to discuss Lebanese-Palestinian cooperation after Israel completes its withdrawal. The delegation represents a Syrian-backed PLO faction. 400,000 Palestinians reside in Lebanon. Southern Lebanese leaders said they would never allow a reestablishment of PLO bases. Clashes between Amal and PLO fighters has occurred in Tyre recently.

Israelis Kill 5 Guerrillas

NYP-Reuters Five Palestinian guerrillas were killed Tuesday when the Israeli Navy sank a rubber dinghy off the coast of Tyre. The small boat was on its way to Israel when it was spotted.

Interpol Aid Sought in Search of Mengele

NYT-special Israel asked for help from Interpol in its efforts to find Mengele.



טופס מברק גלוי

מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

דפים 3 3 מחור 3

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סיווג בשחוני:

דחיות:

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הקשר

מאמ:

Speech by German President

NYT-Markham-In West Germany, the anniversary of the war's end was marked by a grave, unflinching speech to Parliament by President Weizacker who said that under the Third Reich Germans were in a position to know the Nazis' extermination of the Jews. It is believed to be the first time that a senior West German official had publicly challenged the widely heard justification that ordinary Germans were unaware of the Holocaust. (see transcrip of speech)

Dachau

Amsterdam News-full page of photos of Dachau and memorial to Jewish dead.

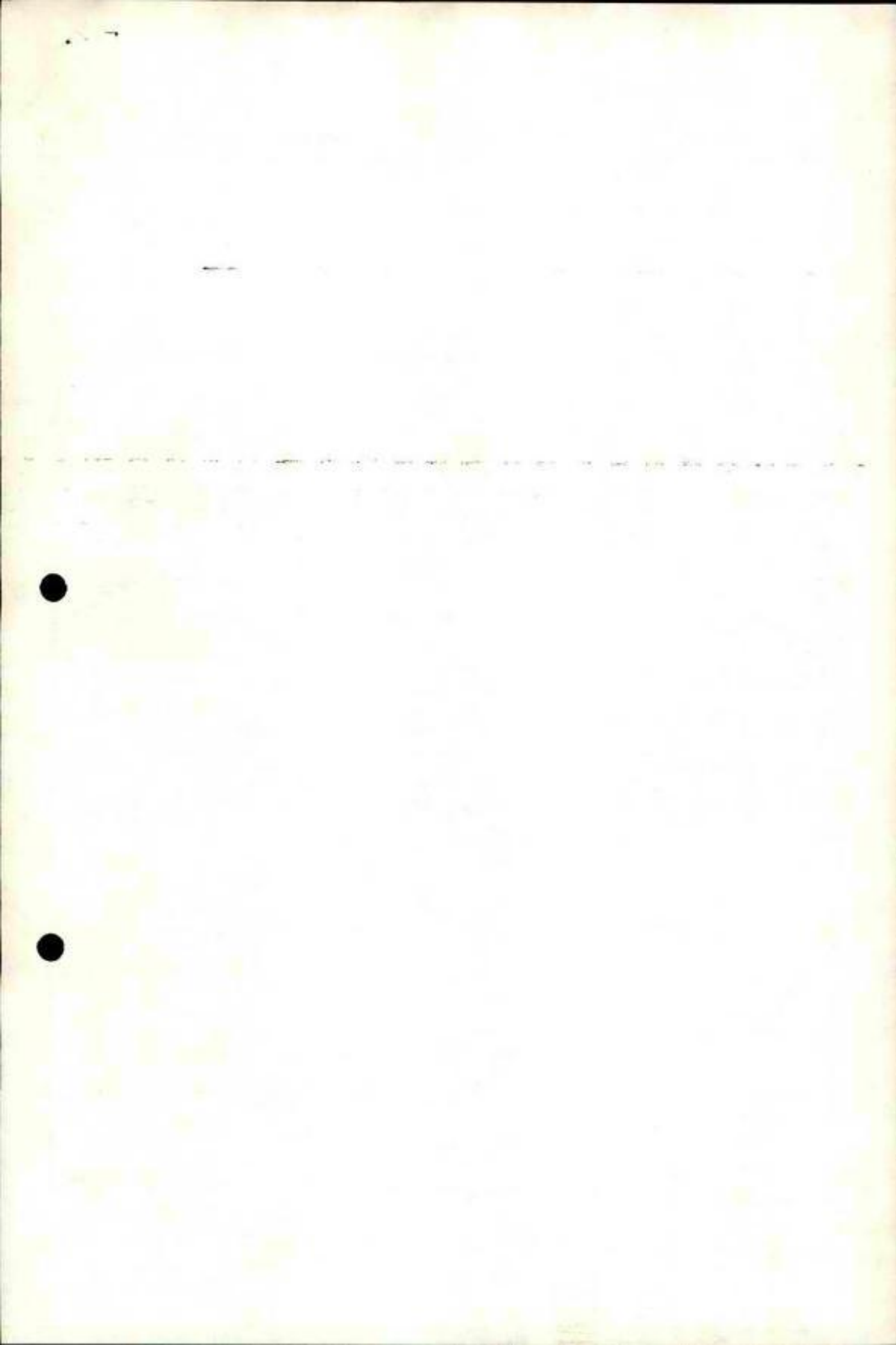
Nazi War Crimes-Reagan

Village Voice-Conason-The OSI is looking for Nazi war criminals among the Eastern European ethnic communities--where ultra-conservatism and support for Reagan are overwhelming. It is not surprising that these communities are trying to destroy the OSI, prevent the deportation of its targets, and have found an ally in Pat Buchanan. The emigre rightists are in fact well connected to the White House and not only through Buchanan. They have a pro-Pentagon lobby and its intellectuals and political leaders have won patronage jobs.

ITONUT

213/66 תאריך ח"ח: מס. מברק: } יו-סיס
מל
הקשר

תאריך: 9.5.85 השולח: אלון דזאיסור מנהל המחלקה: חת"מה:



המשרד

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דף...!...
...מסור
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...וידי
...מסר

ממחקה עם בוגוסיאן מנהל מח' מזרח אפריקה במחמ"ד ב-5.9.

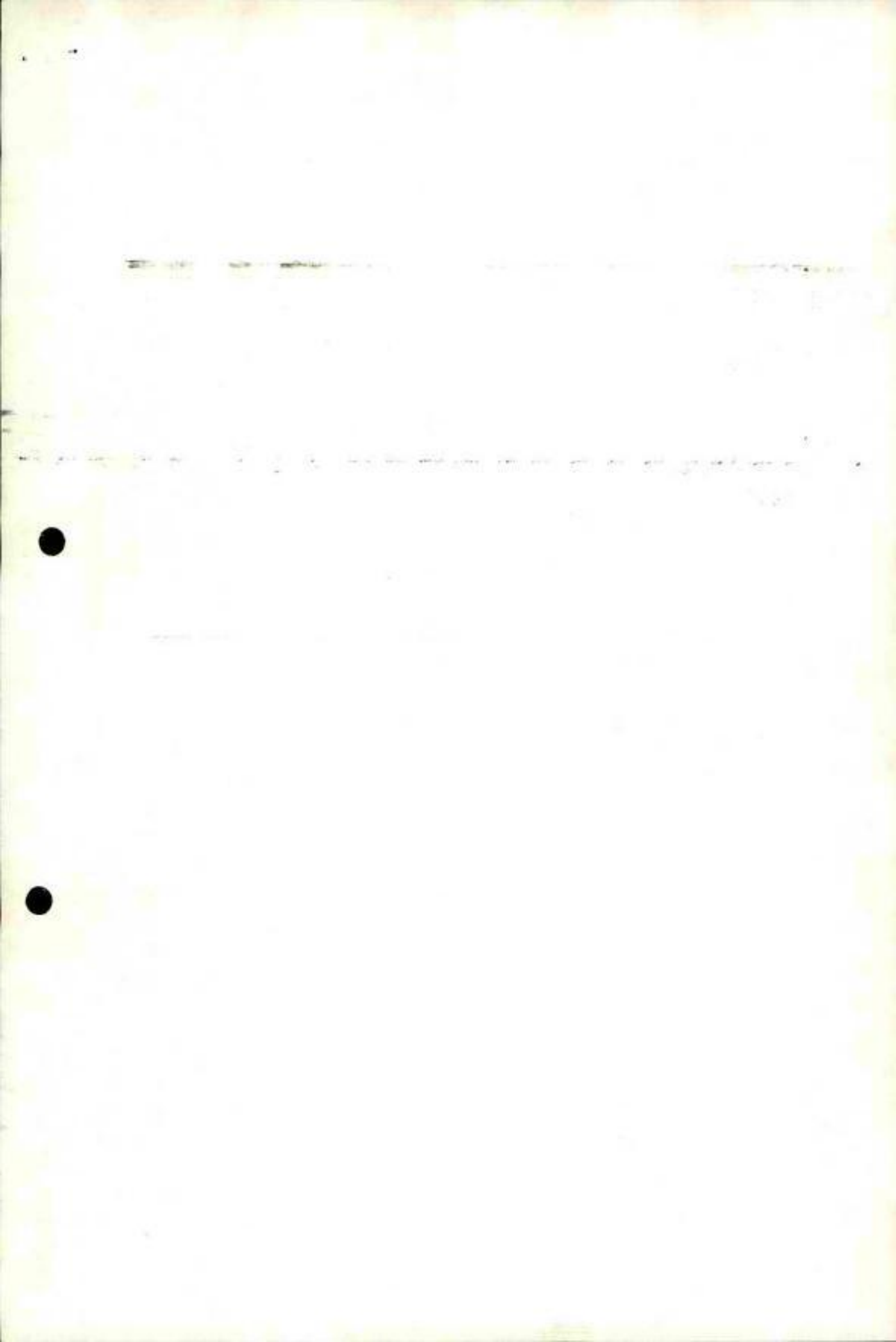
1. שלוש החברות ב- EAC מגלות דבקות בארגון. אין מדובר כמובן באיחוד אך הקשר בין ראשי הקהילה במישור האישי וכן בחילופי דעות פוליטיות הוא שוטף. אין גם מחשבה ליצור שוק משותף". כלכלי, הבעיות הם שונות ממקום למקום אך יש חילופי אינפורמציה שוטפת. ביחוד בין אוגנדה וטנזניה. בשתיהן, צפויות בחירות לנשיאות לקראת סוף השנה. אין צופים שינויים מוחותיים.

2. טנזניה. טרם נפלה הכרעה בין 3 המועמדים לנשיאות - סלים, מיוואני וקאוואת איש מהם אינו משכמו ומעלה בבחינת "יורש טבעי". בשלושתן קיים איזון בין מעלותיהם וחסרונותיהם לתפקיד. חסרונם הגדול של איש מהם טרם הובטחה תמיכת הצבא ההכרחית בסופו של דבר יהיה זה ניירות ש"שים את ידו על שכמו" של המועמד שיבחר. בוגוסיאן נוטה להצביע על סלים כבעל סיכויים טובים יותר יחסית. הוא בעל נסיון כולל בזירה הבינ"ל עבד בסמוך לניירה שיכול להיות בטוח שסלים ימשיך במדיניותו ולא יכניס רפורמות חריפות מדי. כוחו של קאוואה הוא במפלגה והוא נחשב לאידיאולוג שלה. מיוואני העומד בראש זנזיבר ידוע כפוליטיקאי המושך בחוטים. היותו זנזיברי - חפרון. בסופו של דבר בוגוסיאן אינו מצפה לתפנית פנימית דרמטית בטנזניה עם עזיבתו של ניירה. היותו "בקרב מקום" (המפלגה) מבשרת שימשוך בחוטים גם משם. לשאלתי לני, שאין להם העדפה לגבי המועמדים, אם כי מכירים יותר את סלים כשהאחרים אינם בבחינת "ספר חתום" עבורם.

3. בוגוסיאן מבחין שם בהתפתחות חיובית. התערבות המשטרה וכוחות הבטחון בחיי תיוס יום, הצטמצמה מאד, מצב זכויות האדם השתפר ויש נסיון להתמודד עם המצב הכלכלי.

4. מילטון אבוטה מקיים דו שיח כלשהו עם קשת גורמי הכח הפוליטי במטרה לעבור את מהלכי הבחירות בשלום.

5. המצב יציב ולכאורה אף מסתמך שיפור במצב הכלכלי לאור עליית מחירי התה והקפה בשוק העולמי. יש בכך אמנם הקלה קניוקטורלית שאינה מסנה את גילויי החולשה הבסיסית של המסך שם. לאמריקאים קשה להצביע על נושאים בעייתיים אולם עפ"י דיווחי אנשיהם יש "הצטברות של משקעים קטנים", כאמור אין בכך כדי לגרוע מתמונת היציבות הכללית.



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מדינת וזים

סומליה

6. האמריקאים חוששים שזיאר ברה עשוי, במידה רבה, להפוך למהדורה חדשה על המלך חסן במוקו. חידוש יחסיו עם לוב וכן קשריו, עם כי המצומצמים עדיין, עם הסובייטים - מדאגים. בצפון המדינה, בחלק משלט ע"י בריטניה הולכת ונוצרת אופוזיציה חזקה בראשות ג'והאני - קצין צבא חדור שאיפות שלטוניות, המלבה שם יצרי התנתקות, ורגשי לאומנות.

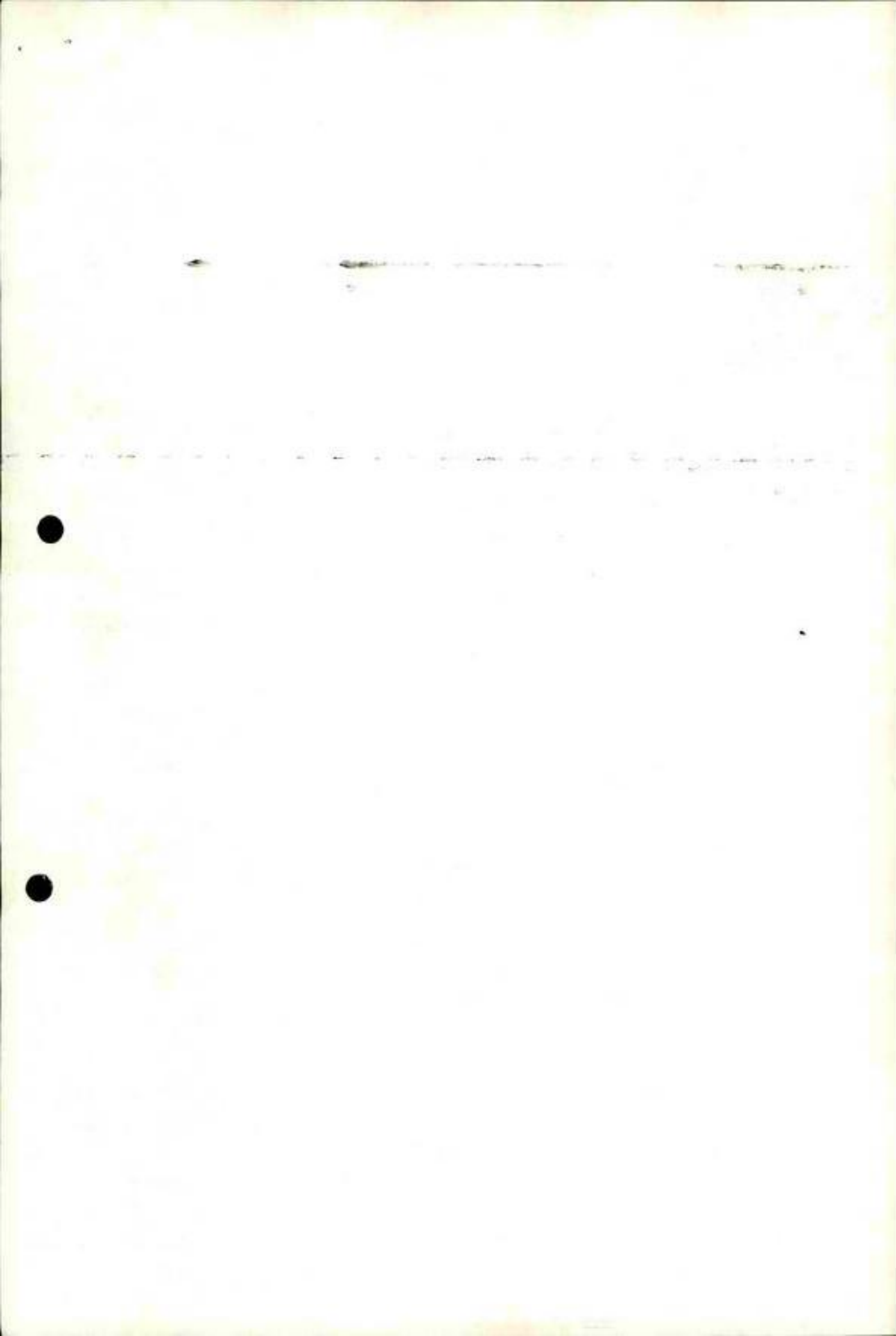
7. ארה"ב, כך הדגיש, החליטה ללכת עם זיאר ברה בקרי בכל הנוגע לקשריו עם קדיאפי. הצרה היא שכל טענותיה שהנ"ל ידוע כמי שאינו ממלא יותר חוזים וכמי שמבטיח ולא מקיים בנושא הסיוע. נופלות על ארזניים ערלות וזוכות לחגובה סטנדרטית מצד הסומלים "אנו נדע איך לספל בו", ארה"ב כלל לא משוכנעת בכך.

סודאן

8. ארה"ב ממשיכה לקבל אישורים ובטחונות בע"פ מהמסטר החדש שמעוניין בסיוע אמריקאי ושלא יחול שינוי ביחסי וושינגטון - חירטום. במציאות המצב שונה קצת. יש למעשה 2 קבוצות לאו דווקא מתואמות השולטות בסודאן. המועצה - בה משתתפים גופים אזרחיים לצד צבאיים והממשלה. בוגוסיאן הדגיש שהדבר המסריד שנוצר מעין "דבר זהיפוכו". מחד כל "אנשי נמיירי" לכאורה סולקו והיורשים טוענים לניקיון כפיחם, במציאות הדבר שונה במקצת שכן לפחות אנשי הצבא, אינם בבחינת פנים חדשות. מאידך, הדבר המאפיין את המסטר החדש הוא חוסר נסיון מדהים בטיפול ב-3 בעיות יסוד, תאום ומנהל בין גופי השלטון, המרד בדרום והנושא הכלכלי.

9. האמריקאים בראיה לטווח ארוך רואים את הפתרון לבעית השלטון הפנימי בחקמת קואליציה בין שלוש קבוצות פוליטיות, החיטמיה האנצאר ותדרום. הם מקיימים מגעים עם 2 הקבוצות הראשונות בנסיון להגיע לקביעת עמדה במספר נושאים כולל היחסים עם מצרים. מסתבר שבטעה שחטמיה חומכים בקטר הדוק עם קהיר נגשים אנשי "האנצאר" לסוגיית בראיה לאומנית, וכן הלאה.

10. גארנג והמרד בדרום מחזות בעיה בפני עצמה, קשה לקבוע לאן פניו מועדות. הדעות עליו נחלקות: (א) יש חטוענים שצפה"כ הוא מגלה קו עקבי מתנגד למשטר הצבאי, רבים מ"אנשי נומיירי" לפחות אנשי הצבא עדיין בתפקידים ממלכתיים, מכאן שלא ישבת יחסו כל זמן שהתנאים בצפון לא ישתנו. (ב) אחרים אומרים שחקו הנוקשה שבגאנג מגלה מקורו בעמדת מתיחה נוקשה למו"מ ופעצם העלאת תנאים מלמדת שמתנהל מו"מ דת מאקטו בין אם בסודאן



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מחיר וזיה

מחיר... 258

או באחיוסיה. לאמריקאים אין מידע מה טיב המגעים בין המשטר החדש למורדים היכן מחקיימיט ומה חלקן של לוב ואחיוסיה בכך. (ג) לא נעדרים כאלה שמוכנים להסבץ סגאונג "איבד את הצפון" (מסבץ לשון דומה שמענו גם בלשכתו של קרוקר - א.א.) בוגוסיאן נוסה להצביע על חסריט ב' כראלי יותר. הדגיש של אמריקאים אין גישת יסירה לגאונג אלא באמצעות צד שלישי.

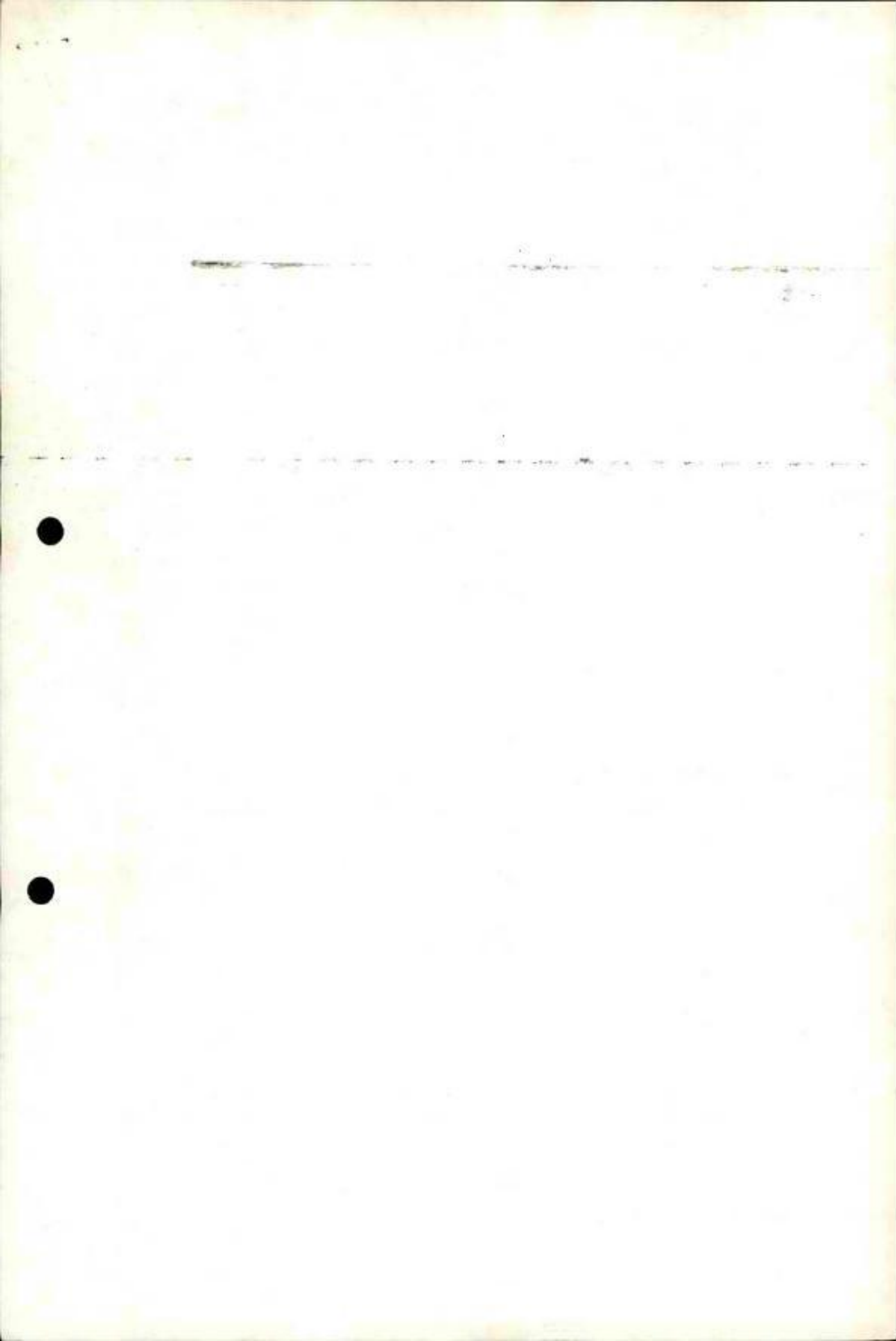
11. האמריקאים הבהירו למשטר החדש שב-3 תחומים לא יעברו לסד"ה. (א) פלאשים (ב) פליטים (ג) העברת מזון. התשובה ל-א היא שהמשטר איבד פוטל עצם המעשה אלא ה"פסע" של נומיירי שהתיר מעבר יסיר לישראל זה, כך נאמר לאמריקאים, בבחינת "בגידה" בוגוסיאן בהקשר זה שחלק גדול מהתנהגות אנשי המשטר החדש מונעת מרדיפת ה"נומייריזם". אנו עשויים עוד לעמוד בפני משטר בעל מדיניות נומיירית ללא נומיירי. בוגוסיאן מעריך שבמשפט הצפוי לאנשי המשטר הישן עשוי גם לצוף הנושא שלנו. מניח שכתב האישום נגד יטאייב יעסוק בכך. לא ידוע מהם התכניות המצריות לגבי נומיירי השזחה בקהיר.

לוב

12. מסקירתו של בוגוסיאן עולה בברור שכוחה של לוב באזור זה נמצא בעליה. צ'אד-עתה ברור לכלם שקדאפי "שם לצחוק" את מיטראן בעניין סיכוי הכוחות משם. סומליה וסודאן - "מחזור" אחרי קדאפי. אחיוסיה - משתפת פעולה. בעצם זה הנושא המדאיג ביותר את ארה"ב (ומצרים).

אלי אבידן

למה רבה נפלה אש מחנה מחנה מחנה
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מחנכ"ל, מצפ"א, מע"ח, רמ"ח קט"ח.

תדור דובר מחמ"ד ליום - Thursday - May 9

Q Can you confirm that the Omani government has presented a request for two squadrons of F-16s and if so, how far is the administration willing to go with pushing for that arm sales, especially since there is a review underway and with Congress probably expected to shoot it down?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, we have been saying for several years that we are prepared to sell advanced fighter aircraft to Oman. However, Oman has made no formal request to purchase the F-16 or any other advanced U.S. fighter. I can't really go beyond that.

Q It has not requested?

MR. DJEREJIAN: We have no formal request to purchase F-16s or any other advanced fighter.

Q Do you have any facilities or bases in Oman?

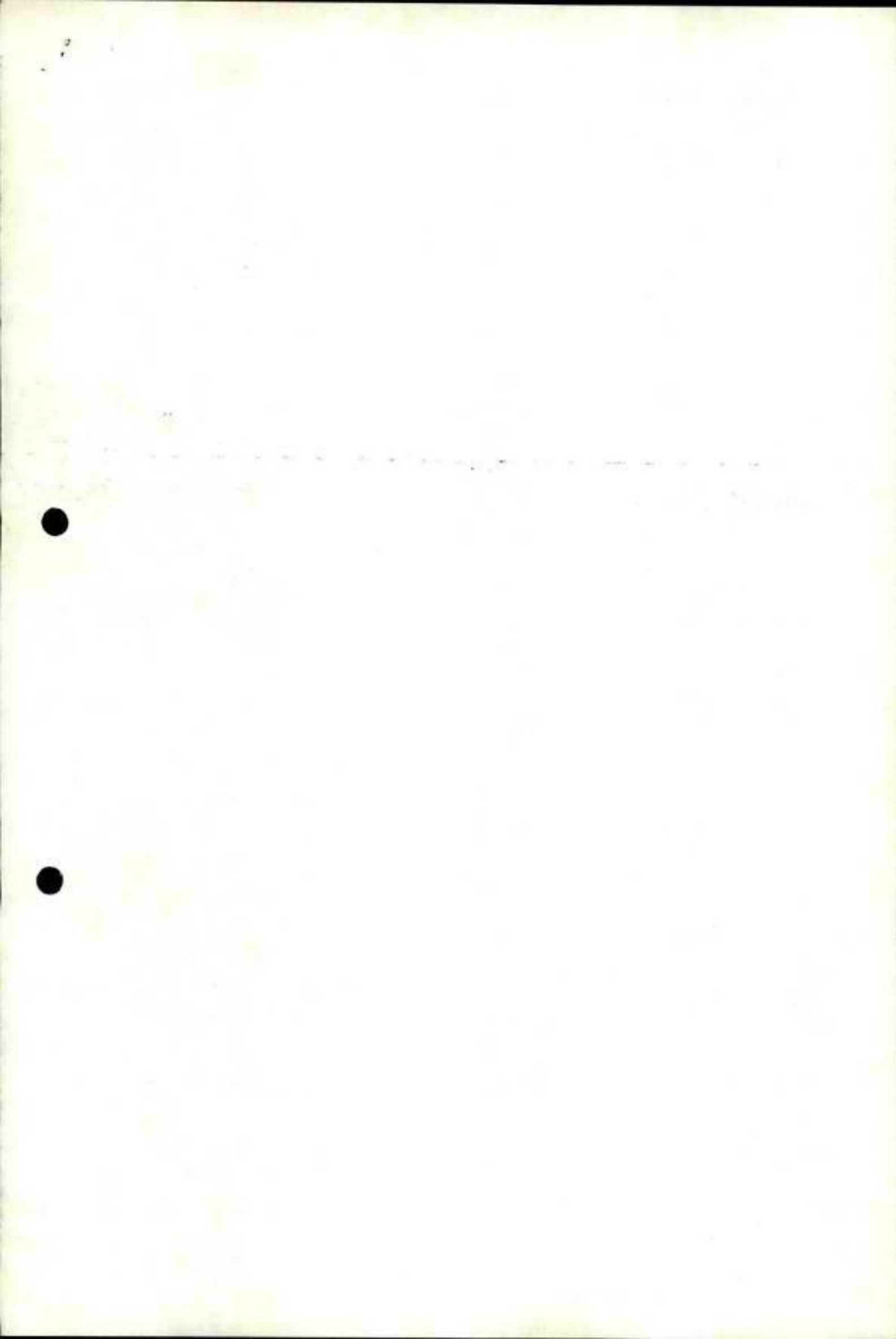
MR. DJEREJIAN: We have guidance on that which is available in the press office of, I think, last week or the last 10 days. There is guidance on that available.

Q Do you have any comment on reports coming from one of the UAE newspapers that President Gemayel of Lebanon is about to resign?

MR. DJEREJIAN: We have nothing to confirm these reports. The United States continues to support the central government of Lebanon and its efforts to achieve stability. We believe that the needs and interests of all Lebanese are best served when constitutional and political issues are treated through political dialogue among Lebanon's communities and leaders.

Q When you say "central government of Lebanon," do you mean Gemayel's government or whoever is the head of the government?

MR. DJEREJIAN: We continue to support the central government of Lebanon and let me leave my remarks right there. I don't want to get into.



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Q If I may notice, a few months ago you used to use this term, "Gemayel government." Now you are saying "central government."

MR. DJEREJIAN: We have always used the term "central government" and "central authorities" in Lebanon.

Q Who heads this government in Lebanon?

MR. DJEREJIAN: President Gemayel is the constitutionally-elected leader of Lebanon. I think that's a well known fact.

Q Ed, on Southern Lebanon, there are reports that Israel is going to be supplying more arms or resupplying arms and money to the South Lebanon Army and probably repositioning itself in a way so as to have a stronger voice or presence in South Lebanon. Do you have anything on that at all, any comment?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, as we have repeatedly said, the United States favors the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon and the extension of Lebanese authority over all Lebanese territory and security for the Israel-Lebanon border, preferably through mutually agreed security arrangements.

Q But this mutually agreed security arrangement is through the South Lebanon Army, which is anathema to a good many people in the area.

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, our position is as I have stated it. I'm not going to go beyond that.

Q Secretary Shultz will be tomorrow in Israel and then in the Arab countries. Do you expect him to discuss the Lebanese problem, what other items do you expect him to be discussing and what do you expect the results could be of this important tour to the Arab countries?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, I'm not going to really get into the Secretary's agenda on his trip to the Middle East. I think we have addressed basically the major issues that we can expect to come up both in a bilateral sense in his meetings with Israeli, Egyptian and Jordanian leaders and also in terms of the peace process and a general situation in the region. But I have no specific agenda, quite frankly, to give you.



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מגירות ישראל - 11010101

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Q Another area. The Brazilian Congress has voted that the next elections will be by direct vote and possibly as early as 1987. Have you a comment on that?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, I have no comment on that.

Q Thailand, do you have anything on the Vietnamese attacks in Thailand?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, nothing on that, no.

Q Anything on Poland, our response to the four tourists?

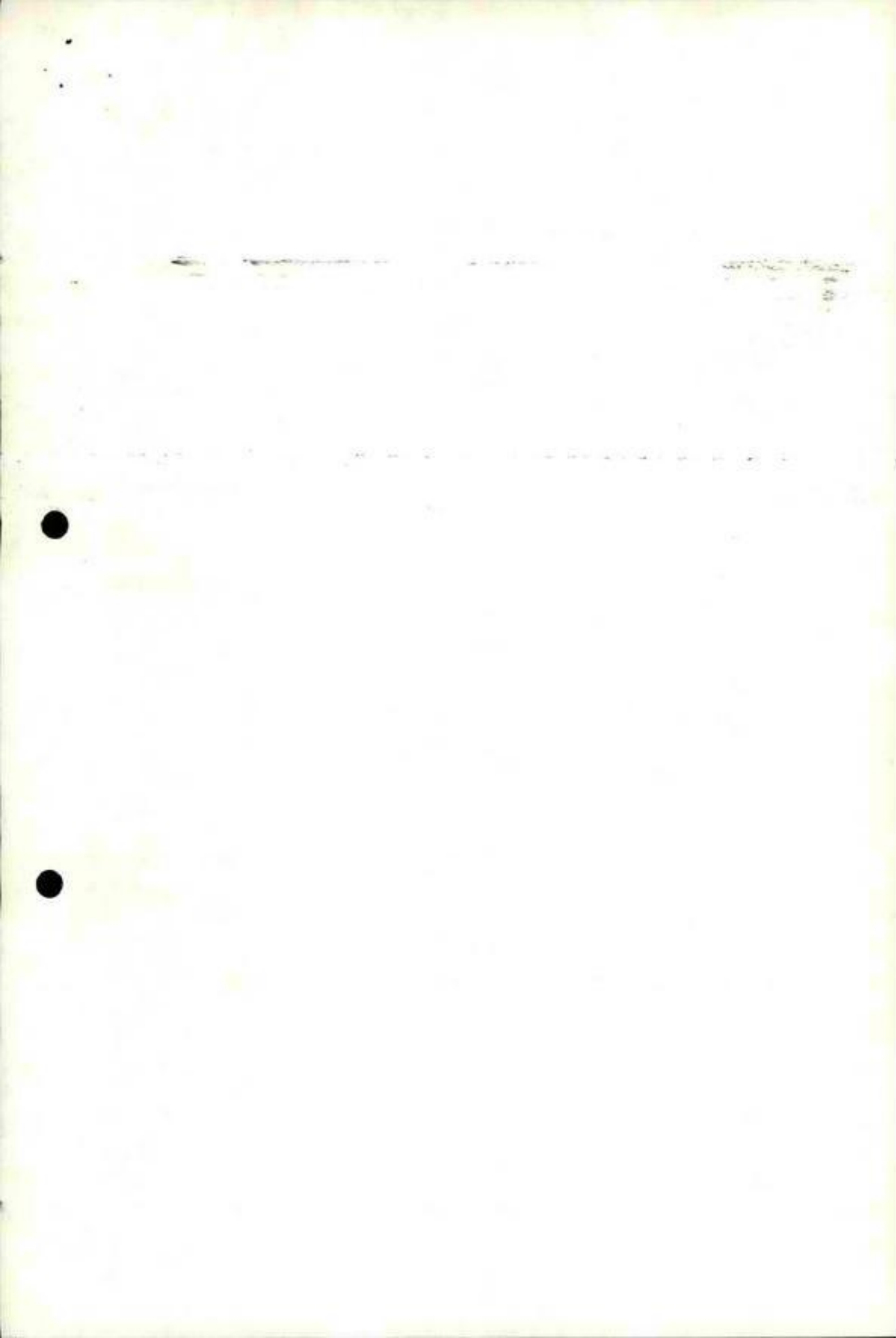
MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you yet on that.

Q Anything on the PLO statement that a meeting PNC members would not be acceptable?

MR. DJEREJIAN: (Refers to guidance book.) I thought I had something for you on that. If you're referring specifically to the remarks of PLO leaders such as Kadoumi Ensales (?) that there is no agreement with Jordan on the joint delegation. Is this what you are referring to, specifically?

Q Yes.

MR. DJEREJIAN: We are hearing many different voices from the Middle East on this issue and we're not going to comment on every report. Assistant Secretary Murphy has been in the region recently and held discussions with various parties to explore the possibilities of moving the peace process forward. We are now on the eve of the Secretary's trip to the Middle East, where the Secretary will be meeting with leaders in Israel, Egypt and Jordan to discuss inter alia the peace process. Beyond that, I'm not going to go.



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85 May 9, 1985

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ניו-יורק

מערק

המערק

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אל: הסברה, מעיית, מצפ"א, ממנכ"ל, יגר, לש' רוה"מ, דובר צה"ל. דע: ניו-יורק.
רמ"ח, קש"ח

NEWS SUMMARY - May 9, 1985

COLUMNS

*****WASH. TIMES- Joseph Sobran-"The Pat Buchanan Smear"** Mr. Kalb's report on May 8 in regard to Mr. Buchanan writing the words "succumbing to pressure of the Jews" was meant to suggest that this note was possible evidence of anti-Semitism. The irony is that the phrase was written at a meeting with Jewish leaders who shared Buchanan's concern that if the President changed his plans for his Bitburg visit, he might indeed appear to be succumbing to Jewish pressure. A further irony is that Buchanan was helping to play down the extent of Jewish power in Washington. Mr. Kalb has inadvertently helped to reveal it. The Jewish lobbies themselves, act as if their power were a sort of guilty secret, instead of an emblem of acceptance, success, organization and intensity. (This article was cabled in full this morning.)

THE PRESS REPORTS

Israel Resupplying Lebanese Allies To Defend Christian City

WASH. POST-Walsh-Israel has increased its flow of ammunition and other military supplies to the South Lebanon Army in an attempt to buttress that force's defense of the Lebanese Christian town of Jezzín and its credibility as Israel's principal ally in southern Lebanon. The stepped up supply effort was said to involve mostly ammunition for light arms, tanks and artillery to replenish the stocks of the force's units that are deployed and around Jezzín.

Israelis Sink Dinghy, Killing Five Guerrillas

WASH. POST-(Reuter)-Five Palestinian guerrillas were killed last night when their rubber dinghy was sunk by the Israeli Navy off the coast of Tyre, Lebanon. It was spotted heading for the Israeli shore and was fired upon when the Palestinians tried to escape.

Shaky Cease-Fire In Beirut

WASH. POST-(Wires)-Christian and Moslem militiamen fought scattered gunbattles in downtown Beirut, with four people reported wounded, but a cease-fire appeared largely to be taking hold after 11 days of fighting in which at least 77 people were killed.

Shultz Visit To Mideast May Crack, Not Break Talks Wall

*****WASH. TIMES-Borowicz-**Shultz's visit to Israel is expected to produce "movement but no breakthrough" in the running feud between Israel and the Arab world.

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07.02...97

מגידות ישראל - 11021011

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242/177/63

Some diplomats do not exclude the possibility of intensified contacts between Israel and moderate Arab states as a result of the Shultz trip. The Israelis politely agree that "every peace opportunity should be exploited" and this is what they will tell Mr. Shultz, according to Israeli sources.

PLO Hard Liners Deny Reaching Accord With Jordan

***CHRISTIAN SCI. MON.-Curtius-Key hard-line PLO leaders have denied that the PLO has reached an agreement with Jordan on who should represent Palestinians in a joint peace delegation. The denials come as the State Dept. announced that the US is considering a list of Palestinian names for such a delegation. Farouk Kaddoumi and Salah Khalaf both say that a compromise formula favored by the Jordanians was unacceptable to the PLO.

Jews Killed By Nazis Now Israeli Citizens

WASH. TIMES-(Wires)-Israel yesterday granted posthumous citizenship to the 6 million Jews who perished in the Nazi Holocaust. Education Minister Yitzhak Navon signed a proclamation granting the posthumous honor and also awarding honorary citizenship to non-Jews who helped Jews flee and hide from German soldiers.

Oman In Market For Small Fleet Of US F-16 Fighter Jets

WASH. TIMES-Neff-Oman is talking to Washington about buying as many as two squadrons of American F-16 jets. While the number of fighter planes involved - around 40 - is small compared to major air forces, the planes would provide a needed boost to Oman's tiny defense forces, according to the sources.

Soviets Say Sakharov's in Gorky

WASH. TIMES-(Wires)-The Soviet minister for public health said yesterday that dissident physicist Sakharov is in Gorky and has access to good medical facilities.

242/177/63

242/177/63
 242/177/63

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המסר

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רובינשטיין

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על הנהיגה 2018/19

שגרירות ישראל - ודשינגטון

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סוג בטחוני...שמו

דחיות...רגיל

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מס' מברק

אל: ה מ ט ר ד

ממ"ד. מצרים.

טנקים למצרים

מציב ההודעה של הממשל בדבר מכירת 94 טנקים מדגם M 60 A-3. שימו לב לכך שבנייר הנימוקים מדובר מפורשות בכך שהמכירה מהווה סטיה מההחלטה שלא להכנס לתחייבויות חדשות כל עוד נמשכת בדיקת נושא מכירות הנשק למזה"ת.

קני-סל
א.א.

למה זהא שיהא מנהל מנהל מנהל מנהל
מאן

Committee on Foreign Affairs

May 3, 1985

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TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FROM: John J. Brady, Jr., Chief of Staff
SUBJECT: Notification Pursuant to Section 36(b) of Arms Export Control Act

238

Pursuant to Section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act, the Committee on Foreign Affairs has received notification that the United States proposes to sell defense articles to EGYPT.

Section 36(h) of the Arms Export Control Act requires the President to notify the Congress that he intends to issue a letter of offer to sell to a foreign country or international organization defense articles or services valued at \$50 million or more, or any major defense equipment for \$14 million or more, 30 calendar days before the letter of offer can be issued, and 15 calendar days in the case of letters of offer to Australia, New Zealand, Japan and NATO countries. The notifications are now accompanied by policy justifications, which are available for your review in the Full Committee office, Room 2170 Rayburn.

The text of the transmittal follows:

Transmittal No. 85-28

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer
Pursuant to Section 36(b)
of the Arms Export Control Act

- (i) Prospective Purchaser: Egypt
(ii) Total Estimated Value: Major Defense Equipment* \$138 million
Other \$ 27 million
TOTAL \$165 million
(iii) Description of Articles or Services Offered:
A quantity of 94 M60A3 tanks with Tank Thermal Sights, 7.62mm machine guns, .50 caliber machine guns, searchlights, and smoke grenade launchers. This purchase will also include spare parts, tools, test sets and a basic load of smoke grenades.
(iv) Military Department: Army (UGC)
(v) Sales Commission, Fee, etc. paid, offered or agreed to be Paid: NONE
(vi) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Articles or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold:
SEE ANNEX IN ROOM 2170 RAYBURN
(vii) Section 28 report:
INCLUDED IN REPORT FOR QUARTER ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1983,

64-200-1228
*as defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act

3/3

POLICY JUSTIFICATION

Egypt - Tanks

The Government of Egypt (GOE) has requested the purchase of a quantity of 94 M60A3 tanks with Tank Thermal Sights, 7.62mm machine guns, .50 caliber machine guns, searchlights, and smoke grenade launchers. This purchase will also include spare parts, tools, test sets and a basic load of smoke grenades. The total estimated cost of this sale is \$165 million. 238

The proposed sale supports the American foreign policy and national security objectives of assisting Egypt in its program of modernizing its armed forces so that it may provide for its own security and self-defense and contribute to regional security and stability. A strong and independent Egypt will be able to participate in the Middle East peace process and resist incursions of Soviet client states in the region. This sale is being notified as an exception to the general U.S. policy not to undertake new arms sales to the Middle East pending completion of the Middle East Arms Transfer Study. This action is required because the M60A3 tank production line is at its end, and delay in placing orders would cause price increases which are avoidable if orders are placed in the immediate future. Early notification, prior to completion of the directed study, is needed to meet these deadlines.

The Government of Egypt plans to use these tanks for force modernization. This sale would continue the ongoing program of replacing aging Soviet equipment with modern U.S. equipment.

The sale of this equipment and support will not affect the basic military balance in the region.

The prime contractor will be the General Dynamics Corporation of Warren, Michigan.

Implementation of this sale will not require the assignment of any additional U.S. Government personnel or contractor representatives to Egypt.

There will be no adverse impact on U.S. defense readiness as a result of this sale.

סגירות ישראל - ורשינגטון

אלו המשרד

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ממנכ"ל. מצפ"א.

ביקור הנשיא בביטבורג - התבטאויות בארץ

המורשה גילמן פנה אלי בבקשה לקבל הטקסט של התבטאות רה"מ פרס וחסר רבין השבוע. גילמן הביע דאגתו לנוכח ההתבטאויות שמתחו ביקורת חריפה על ריגאן. סיפר כי קיבל צלולים רבים בחגובה לדבריו של השר שרון ושמתקשה לתת הסבר מניח את הדעת לפונים אליו. גילמן מסכים כי הביקור בביטבורג היה משגה, אולם מדגיש כי אל למשגה זה לחשכה העובדה שריגאן ידידותי כלפי ישראל.

מבקשים בחוזר טקסט או חציטטות הרלבנטיות מדברי רה"מ, שהביט והשר שרון בתוספת נייר קצר עם נמוקים.

להערכתי, פנייתו של גילמן באה בעקבות התרוצצות שניכרה השבוע בבית חלבן בסוגיה זו ועל רקע החשש שמא בעקבות הביקור יפנו היהודים עורף למפלגה הרפובליקנית.

קני-טל
א.א.

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סגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

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אל:

המסד
160/231

אל: ממנכ"ל,

דע: מנכ"ל משהב"ט, נספח צה"ל - כאן

שיחה עם קפטין הצי (אלי"מ) ג'ייס סטארק, הממונה על נושאים בסחוניים למזה"מ
במועצה לבטחון לאומי.

הנ"ל חדש יחסית במפקידו (והשתתף כזכור ב-6 PM), בעל עבר פיקודי בצי.

א. כללי. מצאתיו בהחלט נעים וידידותי במישור האישי, אך בעייתי במידה מסוימת
באשר לגישתו הכללית, שהיא - כממונה על הנושא לגבי האיזון כולו - של "איזון"
בין הגישה אלינו לגישה לערבים. מבחינתנו לדעתי טעון טיפוח ותשומה של גישתנו,
וכאמור נעים לשיחה כשלעצמו.

ב. הועדה הצבאית - מדינית. 1. מסכים לדעה שיש התקרבות בין הפסדים הצבאיים.
ראשי המטות המשולבים, נטו בעבר לראות את ישראל בממדיה (גודל אוכלוסייתה) מול
העולם הערבי, והמסקנה הייתה ברורה. המגע בשנים אלה מספר את הגישה, כיוון שמחילים
להכיר את צה"ל ונוצר מגע אישי טוב בין הצבאות. כמוכי יכולים ללמוד מזה"ל, בחיל
האוויר כדוגמה. עם זאת ביקש לתזכיר (והקו בלט בשיחה) שיש יחסים טובים גם עם
צבאות ערביים שניתן ללמוד מהם בתחום לוחמה מדברית, ובעצם חציעו להם שיתוף
פעולה יותר מאשר לישראל, אלא שהם חוששים, מטעמי ריבונות וכן מטעמי ביקורת
הרדיקלים.

2. הוסיף כי יש במסד הצבאי אנשים האופטימיים יותר ממנו באשר לנכונות ישראל לפעול
למען ארה"ב. הוא סבור כי ישראל תפעל לפי האינטרס שלה בראש וראשונה. אמרתי כי
איננו מדינה שנברית פורמלית עם ארה"ב אך אנו מאמינים ודבקים בערכי העולם החופשי,
ישנו שיתוף ערכים (אמר כי אכן דבר זה הוא אלמנט בסיסי בהיותנו דמוקרטיה
יחידה באיזור) ונשתף פעולה עם ארה"ב כשם שהיא תשתף איתנו פעולה, על יסוד
אינטרס משותף, כגמולן בלא מדינה, בלא ויתר, נשקף על האיגור.

ג. בנושא SOI ("מלחמת הכוכבים") אמר שהפניה ליסודה אצל ריצ'רד פרל בפנטגון,
כוללת אותנו (אגב, במדינה יחידה שאינה בעלת ברית פורמלית) בגלל ידע טכנולוגי שיש

(9)

אלו המסרד

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מסרד ווייטא. 1630.8
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מצפ"א

דע: השגריר רוזן

סנט: חוק סיוע חוץ

1. אמש נודע על האפשרות שהחוק הנ"ל יידון במליאת הסנט כבר ביום ג' (14/5) וביום ד' (15/5). מנהיג הרוב, הסנטור דול, מקווה לטיים את טיפול הסנט בתקציב עד סוף השבוע הזה, ולפני שיתחילו לדון בחוק ההגנה, ברצונו שימנחל דיון על חוק פחות בעייתי. לכן הוא שוקל מקדמת הדיון בסיוע חוץ (טאמנס אינו פופולרי אך אינו קונטרברסיאלי כל כך). דול יודיע סופית על כוונותיו עד תום השבוע הזה.
2. הממשל עוד לא העביר את הערותיו על הצעת החוק כפי שהתקבלה בעת ה- mark-up בוועדת החוץ. עם זאת, ההנחה הכללית היא שהצעת החוק מקובלת (פחות או יותר) על הממשל, ולכן יעבור ללא בעיות רציניות לכשיידון במליאת הסנט (בנבדל מהמחצב הסבון שנוצר סביב ההצעה לחוק זה בבית הנבחרים).
3. מאידך, כן מסר הממשל הצעתו ללשון הדו"ח בדבר תוספת הסיוע לישראל, למצרים ולתכניות הפיתוח בישי"ע. כפי שתראו מהרצ"ב, הנוסח דומה מאד לזה שהוצע לאובי (שלנו 46), מלבד הסעיף השלישי שהורחב ע"מ לנמק ביתר שאת את התוספת הגדולה למצרים. גם כאן מופיעה ההצעה שתוקם וועדה דו-מפלגתית שתיעץ על ההתקדמות הכלכלית של ישראל ועל חלוקת הכספים לישראל.
4. בנרמן (מצוות העוזרים לוועדת החוץ) הודיע לממשל שחית ולא תתקבל הבקשה הפורמלית מצד הממשל בדבר התוספות לישראל ולמצרים, סביר להניח שחברי הוועדה יזומו תיקונים בנידון בעת תדיון במליאת הסנט.

למדן
הממשל לא היה מסוגל להעביר את הצעת החוק למליאת הסנט
מנסה אולי

Proposed Committee Report Language

224 2/3

This bill authorizes \$1.5 billion in ESF for assistance for Israel to be used in the furtherance of the economic reform program of the Government of Israel and to be disbursed at the discretion of the President, or his designated representative, in whole or in part at such times as he finds helpful to the stability and growth of the Israeli economy. This decision to proceed is in recognition of the progress which the Peres Government has made to date on economic reform and Prime Minister Peres' intention, recently conveyed to the Secretary of State, to further develop the GOI economic program and strengthen implementation within the context of a mutually acceptable policy framework. We view these actions as a positive first step in a continuing process in which both Israel and the United States will participate and in which both governments still have decisions to make. In this regard we believe regular, periodic discussions within the United States - Israel Joint Economic Development Group are particularly important.

The Committee commends the extensive consultation which has taken place between the U.S. and Israeli Governments on that country's efforts to work out an economic stabilization and recovery program. Supplementary assistance for Israel has been approved on the understanding that disbursement will be left to the decision of the President, or his designee, and will be based on achievement over a two year period of programmatic benchmarks mutually agreed upon by the U.S. and Israeli Governments. The Committee believes that the President might consider appointing a bipartisan committee to advise him or his designee on the Israeli program's progress and on disbursement of funds. The Administration should also be guided in its decisions by the Joint Economic Development Group whose chief role is to review economic developments in Israel and the role of US assistance in support of Israel's economic reform and longer term growth efforts.

Over the past year, Egypt has begun making a serious effort to reduce consumer subsidies and to stimulate greater economic productivity. The politically sensitive bread subsidy was reduced and utility tariffs have been increased. The price of gasoline was recently raised. More needs to be done, especially now that foreign exchange income is being squeezed by falling crude oil prices. Egypt has also reaffirmed its commitment to securing a broader peace in the Middle East through President Mubarak's constructive efforts to promote direct negotiations between Israel and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. This subsection also authorizes \$500 million in supplemental ESF assistance for

Egypt in support of an expanding peace process and in support of further Egyptian economic reform efforts. It is intended that disbursement of this supplemental assistance be at the President's discretion so as to maximize its contribution to the achievement of the above objectives.

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The \$8 million in supplemental ESF assistance to the Middle East Regional Program is to be used for development programs for the West Bank and Gaza.

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דד.....ממור.....דשים
סודי
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בהול לבוסר
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מאי 8 1700
מאריך ודית
223
מס' מס' מברק

אלו המשרד

(3)

מ/מנכ"ל, מצפ"א

דע: השגריר רוזן.

מכירות נשק לירדן

1. מקור מהימן ב- NSC אמר לאיש איפא"ק שהמזכיר שולץ, בעת ביקורו בישראל, ינסה להשיג אור ירוק מישראל למכירות נשק לירדן. בין הרעיונות שהועלו, נזכרת האפשרות שינסו לשכנע את חוסיין לתת הצהרה לפיה ירדן איננה עוד במצב של מלחמה עם ישראל (not in a state of belligency) וכחמורת, תביע ארה"ב נכונות לחתום על ברית אסטרטגית עם ירדן-וזאת בתקווה שעצם ההצהרה תאפשר לישראל להסכים למכירות הנשק לירדן.

2. חברינו באיפא"ק מקווים שממשלת ישראל לא תתן הסכמה, ולו בשתיקה, למכירות נשק כלשהן לירדן, כי הדבר "ימשוך השטיח מתחת לרגליו" של איפא"ק, וימנע ממנה כל אפשרות לפעול באופן אפקטיבי נגד מכירות לירדן (ואולי גם לסעודיה).

3. בעת מחננת איפא"ק מבצע בקונגרס (ראשיה כל, בסנט) לנועד לאותה לממשל את ההתנגדות הרחבה למכירות נשק לירדן ולסעודיה כיום. עקב ריבוי בעיותיו של הממשל בקונגרס (התקציב, סיוע לקונטרס ומרכז אמריקה בכלל, המצב לאחר ביטבורג וכו'), ולאור יעדיו המרכזיים (כגון ריפורמה במערכת המסים מבית, ופיסגה עם גורבצ'וב בעת העצרת הכללית של האו"ם בטתיו) מעריכים אנשי איפא"ק שהממשל יכלכל במשנה זהירות את צעדיו הבאים בדבר מכירות נשק למדינות ערב. אי לכך, הם סבורים שקיימים סיכויים להצלחת מבצע הנ"ל שתתבטא בדחיית הבקשה למכירות הנשק - בתנאי ששולץ לא יקבל "Go ahead" בעת ביקורו בישראל.

למדן
אולי זמנא

היה זה נסיון ראשון להשיג אישור ממשל רוסיה למכירות נשק לירדן

סגירות
דף... 2... 1...
סוג בשחמט...
דחיות...
מחיר ודחיות...
מחיר...
מחיר...

אלו

חמסד

אל: אירופה אי, מצפ"א

שיחת היכרות עם הציר הצרפתי
(לשעבר סגריר במוזמביק).

קישורים

א. צרפת - ארה"ב. הנשיא המרכזי - חברית האירופית, ואם נושא זה פועל כהלכה, כל היתר (סחר, נושאים אזוריים) מסתדר. בקשר לתכנית הצרפתית לפיתוח טכנולוגיה המוצגת מול "מלחמת תכוכבים" - הסיעון הצרפתי הוא כי, ראשית, אינם סבורים שעל אירופה להיות קבלנית - משנה, ושנית, לטווח הארוך חשוב פיתוח טכנולוגיה אירופית גם אם יש לטווח הקצר יתרונות פיננסיים. הצטרפות לתכנית האמריקנית, יחד עם זאת טען כי לא דחו כליל את התכנית, אלא אמרו שישובו וישקלו בהתאם להתפתחותה. הבריטים לעומת זאת כמנהגם יקפצו על המציאה הפיננסית לטווח הקצר. בדבריו תחושה של אי הנחת הצרפתית, במיוחד האירופית, מהדומיננטיות האמריקנית המכתיבה מהות ופרוצדורה. האמריקנים מכינים תבשיל ואח"כ מבקשים מן האחרים שיאכלוהו, וגם בקצב שהם קובעים (ודאי רמז לדרישת התשובה תוך 60 יום שהאמריקנים הציבו). עם זאת אינו מתרגש (בנושא זה כבאחרים) משנות שירות ארוכות בווינגטון למד להכיר את אופים של האמריקנים, שלאחר "רעש" קטן. מסתדרים העניינים.

ב. יחסים כלכליים עם ארה"ב. הצרפתים אינם רוצים כידוע בקביעת מועד לסיבוב שיחות הסחר שהאמריקנים הציעו, הן כיוון שפרוצדורלית הדבר טרם תואם לדבריהם עם התחייבויות אירופיות, והן מהותית כיוון שהנושא הניטרי הוא לא פחות על הפרק מאשר נושאי פרוטקציוניזם לאומי בסחר. מכל מקום, גם בזה אין קץ העולט, כמובן, והם מוכנים עקרונית גם לאיתות סחר (שוב, ניתן לחוש באי נחת על דומיננטיות הגישה האמריקנית).

ג. נושאים אזוריים. סגירות צרפת פעילה מאוד בכך (ואנו נמצאים בכל העולט) בהקשר לבנון אמר קטגורית צרפת תמשיך לרצות להישאר רשם, ומתנגדת בכל חוקף לתכניות כמו קנטוניזציה, שמטענותן האפשרית פגיעה באחדות לבנון, אף כי מבינים את הבעיות (הסברתי עמדתנו באשר לפריסת יוניפ"ל ליד הגבול הבינלאומי). לא ידוע לו על יוזמות צרפתיות כלשהן.

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ד. לוב בצ'אד. נאלצים להמשיך במגע עם קדאפי כי הוא קיים (חבל שעודו קיים), ומכאן ביקור דומא תאחרון.

ה. שאל לסדרי העדיפויות הלאומיים שלנו בין הבעיות הבוררות והסכנות.

רובינשטיין

למה היה נח נאמן? מהו נח?
למה הוא נח?

סגרירות ישראל - וויסנגסטון

אל: חם סרד

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ד...!...מתוך...דפים

סווג בסחובי סודי

דמיסנות רגיל

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מ"פ"א.

סיחת הסנטור מתיאס - טנז דיין (8/5)

1. לעיונכם, סיכום השיחה הנ"ל שהתקיימה הבוקר. תשומת לבכם במיוחד להערכת מתיאס שהממשל לא יגיש בקשה למכירות נשק למדינות ערב בעתיד הקרוב.
2. נא להתייחס לסיכום בדיסקרטיות מוחלטת.

למדן

31/10/23

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220 2/4 May 8, 1985

Memorandum

To: A. Chotin
D. Bloomfield
E. Schroyer

From: Tom Dine

I had breakfast this morning with Senator Charles Mathias in the Senate dining room. Although very warm and friendly, we clearly see the Middle East in different terms, particularly when it comes to the role of "moderate" Arabs and U.S. arms.

We covered five issues. He is most concerned that we are "settling ourselves up" for a 1973-74 kind of fall regarding energy. He believes that very few people are paying attention to our continued dependence not just on Persian Gulf oil but now Saudi petro-chemical refineries. He lamented the fact that the OMB and the Departments of Energy and Interior are trying to do away with the SPRO, tear down the Synthetics Fuel Corporation, are paying no attention to the potential of coal, and other items. He also mentioned that he recently chaired a hearing in his Senate Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on the lack of "foresighting" when it comes to energy planning for the future.

On the peace process which is his preeminent concern, he leans toward the Arab school of thought and believes the Reagan Administration has "no understanding of the nuances of the Middle East and don't care." He is hoping that the Shultz visit to Israel, Jordan and Egypt starting tomorrow will produce a "new momentum." He agreed the recent Murphy mission stopped the previous momentum. When I mentioned that there were elements in the Administration who want to "eliminate" the PLO in the hopes that this will give Hussein a free hand in directly negotiating with Jerusalem, he cringed. He called this element "animalistic." He said he believed in the policy of direct negotiations, but it is the tactics and the execution of policy which is a "failure by this crowd."

In terms of foreign aid he will vote for it, whatever the amount "it" is. When he shook hands and chatted briefly with Jennings Randolph as we left the dining room, he turned and said, "Since that guy left the Senate I probably am the biggest spender around here." He said during his career, as a member either of the Senate Appropriations or Senate Foreign Relations Committees, he has not only voted for aid but helped "shape a policy" to provide \$30-35 billion to Israel. We talked some

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of his record also including arms to Arabs, his Foreign Affairs article, and his comments in the Paul Findley book.

Mathias quizzed me about future arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. He discussed the post-Chadha situation. He believes arms are necessary, the question being only political/diplomatic timing. He would be opposed to bomb racks to Saudi Arabia because "those are offensive." The real reason for arms sales to Riyadh, he said, was the Saudi desire for an "American connection." Although the Saudis are capable of buying modern equipment from the French and may anyway, the reason they won't, he believes, is due to the desire to receive American protection through this connection. He said the Reagan Administration does not have the power that it had in the 1981-1982 period and, therefore, would not send up an arms sale in the foreseeable future. He agreed with my analysis that they could ram something through the Senate but at too great a cost. (As an aside, Mathias said historians may see the real Reagan failure to have not realized and used the powers it had in those first two years in office. For example, he believes the Administration could have imposed a budget freeze then and avoided the horrors of huge deficits now and tomorrow.)

He, like so many others, strongly supports Shimon Peres as leader of Israel. He commented, "I'm sure he makes your job easier." I pointed out that Ariel Sharon was a bigger factor in Israeli politics than most people imagine, for example, successfully needling Peres and Rabin to make extra strong statements on Sunday regarding Reagan's visit to Bitburg. He said he understood; I could see his mind thinking through the implications of arms sales and aid fights in terms of Peres' political base in Israel.

Beyond the issues we also discussed Maryland politics. I mentioned I would be in Baltimore on Tuesday at an AIPAC event and I probably would be questioned about his positions as well as his intentions for 1986. Mathias said he had a "professional poll" showing him beating both Governor Hughes and Barbara Mikulski, but the Mathias-Mikulski race is close. I told him of Mikulski's poll which shows Hughes beating him and Barbara almost. He then pointed out the recent newspaper poll showing him to be the most popular political figure in Maryland. But, he said, he wanted me to know, in order for me not to get "mouse trapped," that he would not make up his mind on what to do until this July. He nervously laughed and commented that Paul Laxalt had told him he was not going to make up his mind until August.

In terms of his relationship with the Maryland Jewish community, Mathias pointed out he had a "very good meeting" in Baltimore recently with Stanley Sollins' group. He said, too, that many leaders in the Baltimore Jewish community had come to him privately to say that they were

220 4/4

not going to treat him "as a Percy," mainly because of his outstanding record on civil liberties and civil rights. I mentioned I had had similar conversations with his constituents in Baltimore and Montgomery County.

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אל :- מצפ"א, מצרים, ממ"ד

דע :- סג' קהיר (ס' 6 ג' 6)

משיחת עם פרגל היועץ המצרי ב-8.5.

1. פתח שהתמנה לעמוד בראש לשכת רה"מ כ.ח. עלי (פרגל מסיים תפקידו כאן בסוף יוני) שבמחיצתו הקרובה עבד בתקופת המו"מ על הסכמי ק.ד. סיפר, בתשובה, שעלי שחזר לאיתנו אך לא לחלוטין נחשב במיוחד לאחד התומכים הנלהבים ביחסים עם ישראל "בין הבודדים אולי בצמרת המצרית". הבעיה היא, המשיך שאין הרבה אנשים בהנהגה המצרית שעברו את כור התיתוך של המו"מ המייגע ולא התנסו במגע קרוב ופשוט (כמותו) עם ישראלים. "אנשי טאזאת" התפזרו והדור החדש בהנהגה ניגש לישראל בצורה אקדמאית, חסרת הבטחון המלווה לעיתים, בפחד בלתי מובן, קומפלקס שאנשי ק.ד. כמובן משותפים ממנו. זה גם מטביר את הטיטואציה בלא תמיד נוחת בה כ.ח. עלי פועל בכל הקשור ליחסי שתי המדינות. עלי, הדגיש, גם נחשב כמי שתומך במפגשים רמי דרג כולל הפסגה המדוברת. זה מטביר גם את הציפיות המרובות ממפגש כזה לאחר תקופת ניתוק ממושכת. לנקודה זו יש גם היבט (מצרי) לעבר הזירה הערבית, קיים רצון, לפחות אצל אלה בקהיר התומכים ביחסים עם ישראל, להוביח לערבים ולשכנעם בתכלית שבהם, דהיינו בתוצאות החיוביות של השלום. הזכיר שלפחות בשני נושאים אכן מתקיימים התנאים הנ"ל הנסיגה מלבנון והאווירה המעט רגועה ביהוש"ע.
2. בנקודה זו שאל מה ארע להצעה למנות ראשי עיריות במקום הישראלים (הדגיש שחייב לדווח על כך חביתה) אמרתי שישראל לא תסכול זאת בתנאי שהמדובר באנשים שאינם אש"פ ולא יתפכו את המשרה קרדום פוליטי לחפור בו. העניין הוא המסכחי שחוסין להפתעתנו לא מוכן לש"פ ומושר את העניין, מסתבר שחדשתי לו בכך שכן המצרים משוכנעים שחוסין הביע הסכמתו לכך. הדגשתי שאכן כך הדבר.
3. חוסין - ערפאת. המצרים תומכים כמובן במה שהגדיר מאחצי הצדדים הנ"ל להרכיב משלחת משותפת למו"מ. הבעיה היא שהם נתקלים בקשיים : חוסין צמד למחוייבות שנטל על עצמו שלא להתקדם לבד ומחכה עדין להסכמת מוסדות אש"פ, ואילו ערפאת טרם הצליח להשיג הסכמה כזו. למצרים בשלב זה אין הרבה מה לעשות פרט מאשר לתמשיך ולהמריץ אותם. מכל מקום אין הוא מתייחס לנושא המשלחת כדבר שלא ניתן להשגה.
4. ביקור שולץ. השיחות עם בקהיר ייוודו - בחלק גדול מהדמן לטכט עצת כיצד ניתן להתגבר על הקשיים הנוכחיים. "לארתיב ומצרים יש אחריות מסויימת וחשוב שתפעלנה בעצה אחת"

החלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

טופס חברה גלו

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סמך 97
סיווג בטחוני:

אל: הסברה, בע"ח, לש' סמכ"ל, יועץ רוח"ם לחקשורת, סמכ"א, לש' יגד.

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News Summary May 8, 1985

Editorials

The Nation-5/11 "Cracks in the Teflon" Poor President Reagan. The consensus of Washington insiders is that his political radar is on the blink and his staff is letting him down. Reagan is so swaddled in TR that when he stumbles, everyone blames his attendants. One widely cited problem is that Regan is a "yes man." Another factor is Pat Buchanan, an ideologue who believes damage control is for wimps. He told the President that canceling Bitburg would be "caving in," and he was the brain behind the President's remark that SS troopers were also "victims of Nazism."

Columns

DN-Nelson-"Ron's Final Solution to the Bitburg Problem" We learn from our mistakes but the White House thinks no mistake on Bitburg has been made. Reagan's pollster, Richard Wirthlin, reports that telephone calls to the White House has been 3:1 in Reagan's favor. The public, he said was split 50-50 on the visit. The deepest opposition confined to the Jews. "The Jewish community did not support Reagan terribly strongly in the last election. This event has created emotional tearing that will have some consequence. And the fact that Israeli leadership spoke out the way it did can only add fuel to that." He adds that rank and file vets were not outraged, only the leadership. The lessons are that Reagan and the republicans believe that opponents are isolated minorities. If they are not, describe them that way. Play to the camera lens, it has no memory. The final ironic lesson, A visit to a Nazi cemetery was a success.

Press Reports

US Bid on Palestine Talks Reported

NYT-GwertzmanThe US has offered to hold talks with a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation, provided it does not include members of the PLO, said the State Dept. Officials said such talks would enhance the prospects for peace. Jordanian officials said the PLO accepted this, "US officials said there has been no clear-cut acceptance. Arafat is in Amman and is expected to discuss names of Palestinians acceptable, before Shultz arrives.

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Israel Offers Reward for Mengele

NYT-special-Israel offered a \$1 million reward for the capture of Mengele. The offer brings to nearly \$3.4 million the total reward money put up for his seizure. Justice Minister Nissim said the matter had taken on an urgency after Reagan's recent remarks about SS members being victims. (see ND-AP)

NYT-Kamm-The principal police officer assigned to search for Mengele says Israel has fingerprints, handwriting specimens and photos tending to prove that Mengele is living in South America. 'Menachem Russe' declined to elaborate on the evidence.

Yemen's Lost Jews

*** Village Voice 5/14-Robert I. Friedman-Recent reports indicate that between 1500 and 3000 Yemini Jews still live in remote mountain villages near the Saudi border, where they practice a Jewish orthodoxy that dates back several millennia. The Republic of North Yemen has forbidden these Jews to make contact with the outside world and has blocked several journalists to communicate with them. Ironically, it has been the PLO who has helped get Jews to Yemen. The situation in Yemen highlights the precarious situation of Jewish minorities in the Mideast. About 80,000 Jews remain in Islamic Middle East. Amnon Kapeliuk, of Yediot, tells of what he found in these villages in Yemen. There is little the Israeli Gov't can do and some believe that Israeli Ashkenazim show little enthusiasm for bringing more Sephardim to Israel. A leader of Neturei Karta, Rabbi Yosef Becher, has visited these Jews, with the help of the PLO and has told them that they are better off in the Moslem lands than in the corrupt land of Israel.

Lebanon

NYT-AP- (photo p.1-of children searching through debris in bombed out house in East Beirut.) Heavy fighting continued in Beirut while cease-fires fell apart as soon as they were proclaimed.

Poll Finds US Public Split on Bitburg

*** NYT-Clymer-A NYT/CBS poll shows that the US public is equally divided over Bitburg. Of those who thought Reagan was correct, the cited the need for good relations with Germany. Only Jews were adamantly opposed to the trip, across the board. The poll suggested that the

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controversy led to some hostility toward Jewish critics of the trip. 38% of those who were polled, including 18% of those who thought the visit was wrong, agreed that "Jewish leaders in the US protested too much over his visit."

Split Is Deep Among Young and Old Germans

NYT-p.1-Markham-For the majority of Germans, the 47th anniversary of the war's end, is a reminder of their parents or grandparents war. Sociologists and pollsters in Germany believe that there is a deep generational divide between older and younger Germans. Many young Germans did not feel the need for a "gesture of reconciliation" as Kohl has pleaded for. Reagan's visit to Bitburg was viewed as an absolution of the sins of their fathers and grandfathers. Polls say that Germany is one of the most pessimistic of nations. Many young Germans are somewhat ashamed of their country and have few nationalistic feelings.

WSJ-Thurrow-Patriotism demands a major effort in West Germany. People do not sing the anthem or wave flags. Some believe that a nation without such patriotism is open to seduction. Bitburg reminded Germans that they were still different.

Reagan Wrong-Quoted Young Jewish Girl Out of Context

NYT-AP-A 13 year old Jewish girl cited by Reagan as supporting his decision to lay a wreath at Bitburg said that she actually opposed the visit. (see DM-Burton)

The Holocaust

ND-D'Antonio-3 page article on the cruelest chapter of the war. On Long Island, Jewish schools teach the lessons to be learned and special groups have begun for children of survivors. Even in America, some Jews feel isolated and wary about their security. Some move to Israel because of this.

ND-Virag-Forht in a series of personal accounts of those who lived through the war years. Victor Beriburg was 12 when he and his parents were taken from their home in Lodz to Auschwitz. He were in four camps all together. He tells of his harrowing experiences.

טופס מברק גלוי

מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

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Koch Says Blacks Failed Jews on Solidarity Sunday

DN-Arena & Lombardi-Koch criticized the lack of black participation in last Sunday's rally in support of Soviet Jews. Koch made his remarks on a WABC-TV program aimed at blacks. He said that if there had been a rally in opposition to apartheid, the crowd would have been one-half white and of the whites, 90% would be Jews. (see NYP-Seifman)

Letters-On CBS Deaths in Lebanon

WSJ-Menachem Shalev, Press Officer at the Consulate in NY, writes Cockburn was wrong in his analysis of the IDF in Lebanon. Firstly, he states that no "innocents" were killed in actions in Humin Tahta and Zrariya. Nor is there any case where any villagers were killed by an ax. Israeli soldiers do not use axes. In the "innocent" village of Zrariya, rockets, ammunition, grenades etc.. was found. Cockburn was not an eye witness and his sources are probably more interested in besmirching the name of Israel than in honest reporting. Secondly, how does Cockburn know that Leiser's arm was twisted to change his version of events in the killings of the CBS crew members? His article is a poor example of "honest reporting."

ITONUT

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תאריך: 25.5.55 השולח: אברהם קרן

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משיחה עם ארון מילר מה-Policy Planning-8.5.

2. אש"פ - ירדן = הידיעות על הסכמת "על שמות" בין ירדן ואש"פ הן מוקדמות וטרם זמן. הבעיה היא לא של שמות אלא הסכמה על עקרון הייצוג. הוא אישית סבור שערפאת הלך כבר דרך לעבר חוסטין והוא כבר בחזקת "בוגד", דהיינו יותר על רעיון המדינה העצמאית ואש"פ יהיה במעמד שווה לזה של ירדן. הוא לא יותר על עקרון הייצוג הישיר, דהיינו שאש"פ הוא אשר יבחר את נציגיו למו"מ, גם אם הללו לא יהיו אש"פ. מבחינתו הדבר צריך לא רק להעשות אלא גם להראות, דהיינו, להוודע ברבים. עפ"י הגיון זה הרעיון של מינוי פרופ' אמריקאים ממוצא ערבי ובתוקף היותם חברי מל"פ לא נראה למילר כתקף. אחרי הכל איזה קשר יש לאש"פ עם דמויות מסוגו של ח'אלדי שהתחנך באוכטפורד ועשה את מיטב שנותיו בארה"ב. אין לו ספק שהמל"פ הוא חלק בלתי נפרד Instituted מאש"פ והוא אף בבחינת יוצרו. המצאותם של גופים "בלתי תלויים" הינה קוסמטית ואינה מעלה או מורידה לצורך זה. מנקודת מוצא זו הוא רואה את ערפאת מונע מכח שני דברים : (א) נעדר תחושת דחיפות, בניגוד לחוסטין. (ב) חשיבות ה"ארגון" (אש"פ) כמוסד המעניק לו לגיטימיות עומדת מעל לכל חשבון. מילר מעלה טברה שהכנס בבגדאד של חו"ש של פתח כלל לא דן בנושא המשלחת. ערפאת שהעריך יחסי הכוחות והפועל על בסיס קונצנזוס ולא רוב ומיעוט עשוי היה להחליט שלא להעמיד זאת למבחן. ציין בתשובה שגם אין לו מידע מה היה חלקם של תעיראקים בפרשה. הגיונו מורה לו שמעבר למחשעה או לא עשו הם תבחינו בוודאי לערפאת שלא לגרום לפילוג.

3. ארה"ב. בנתחו את עמדתה, כפי שמובנת לו היא מוצאת עצמה מחמודדת עם "בעיית אש"פ";
(א) חוסין כבל עצמו לאש"פ והוא זקוק להסכמה ממנו, בין אם ע"י קבלת תנאי ארה"ב ובין אם מינוי נציגם "לא אש"פ". (ב) ישראל לא תשא ותתן עם אש"פ אך לא ברורה (לו) עמדתה בענין

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מס' חשבון

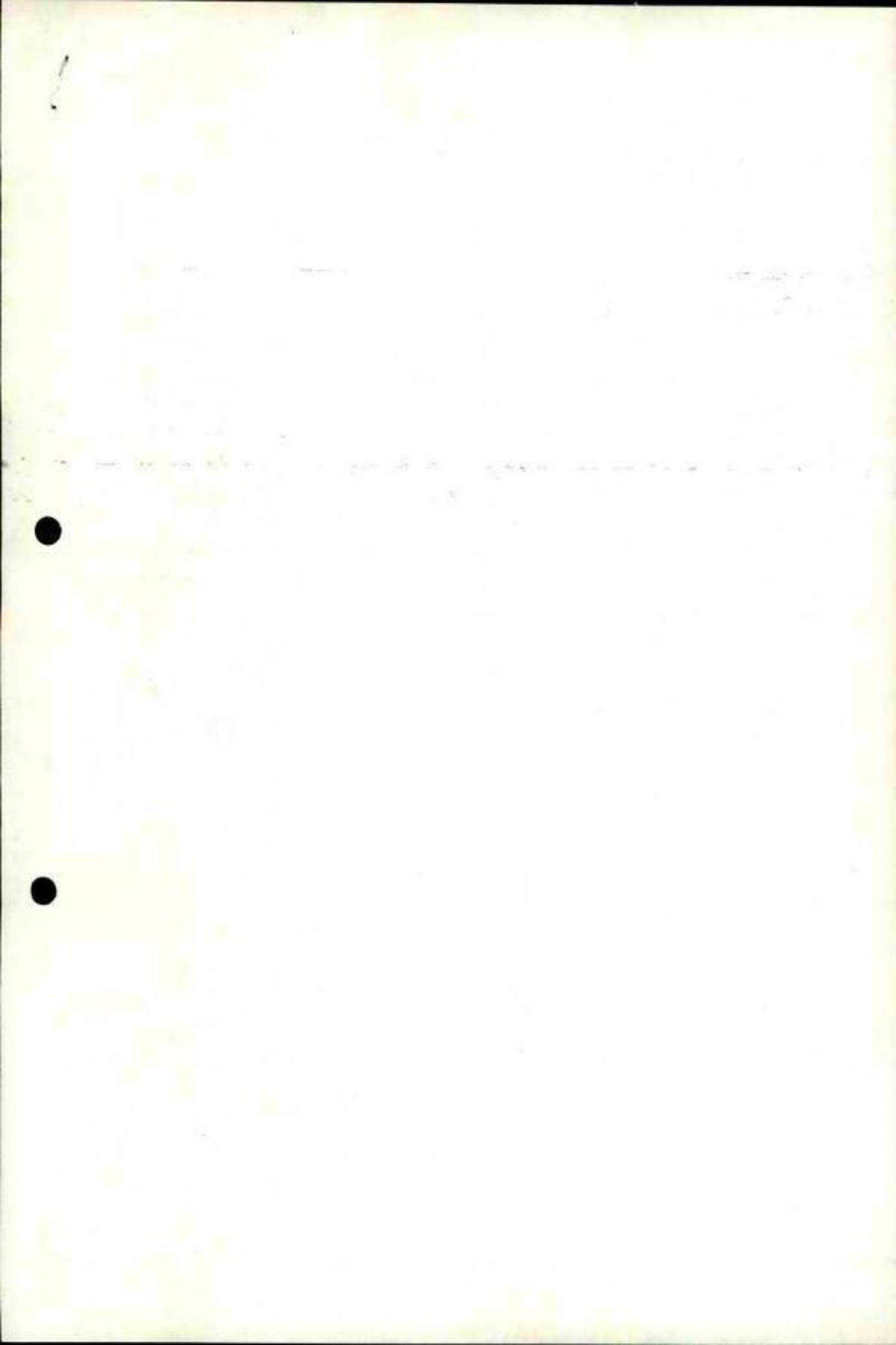
פלסטינאים שאינם אש"ם. יש גם לקחת בחשבון את יחסי הכוחות בממשלה. התוצאה היא שארה"ב מעדיפת שלא להתמודד עם סוגיה זו דהיינו למצוא עצמה מול אש"ם גם אם יקבל תגמול מהסיבה שכלל לא ברור איזו, אם בכלל, תמורה תקבל. היא מעדיפת על כך נציגים פלסטינאים כשברור לה שהם כך או אחרת יאושרו על ידו. אליה וקוץ בה. כדי שאש"ם יוותר על עקרון הייצוג הישיר הוא חייב להיות משותף (Buy-off). הוצע נוחות שמילוח הקטע עשויות להיות ע"י הכרזה מילולית מצד ארה"ב בזכות הגדרה עצמית. לדעתו זה לא יספק את אש"ם (א) זה לא יעוגן בשום החלטה מחייבת. (ב) כלל לא בטוח שישראל וירדן, כל אחת וסיבתה היא, תשמחנה לכך. ארה"ב ע"מ להבטיח את הסבך הייתה, עפ"י הבנתו, מסכימה להכיר במשלחת שנפגשת עם מרפי במזרח ירושלים כבמשלחת המשותפת.

4. מסקנתו של מילר היא שלאור הבעיות הקיימות אצל הצדדים, כשאררה"ב חייבת לשמור על האיזון ביניהם ע"מ שלא להשיג תוצאות הפוכות או בלתי רצויות, קשה אם לא בלתי אפשרי להשיג עתה התקדמות אופרטיבית ויש לדבר במונחים של חדשים ארוכים אם לא שנים.

אלי אבידן

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ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, מע"ח, רמ"ח קט"ח.

תורר דובר מחמ"ד ליום - Wednesday - May 8

Q -- an answer to the PNC question we asked you
 yesterday and you said that US officials have no direct contact

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with PNC members who have no affiliation to the PLO. But as far
 as we remember, the US and Israel always have had reservations
 against the PNC, because in the Charter of the PNC you claim that
 they call for dismantlement of Israel, as a state. So, now you
 drop this condition on PNC members?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I think I must remain with the specific
 language that we gave you yesterday on the PNC, and -- which is
 basically that US officials have long had direct contact with
 Palestinians, including PNC members who, as independents, have no
 affiliation with the PLO's constituent political organizations.
 We note that the PNC includes several hundred individuals in its
 membership, among them a number of American citizens. I am going
 to have to stay with that and not go any further.

Q And on the Charter of the PNC? You don't have any
 more? Can you look at that?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you on that.

לדבר מזהר מן המ/ג 6:40 נא נא אל 1220

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MR. SEMAAN: Back on the Middle East, please. Has the US -- or has it been submitted to the US -- a list of the suggested names to form the new Jordanian-Palestinian delegation?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Has a list been submitted?

MR. SEMAAN: Yes. Or are you in possession of such a list, or names?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I'm not going to get into that, no. Because basically I'm not going to talk about the substance of our discussions and, specifically, Assistant Secretary Murphy's trip to the area.

MR. SEMAAN: Well, was a list suggested by the US to the concerned parties?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you on that.

Q Can you just say whether Shultz is expected to deal with this issue when he arrives in the Middle East? I mean, will he be presented with a list or the possibility of a joint delegation, or will he get involved in this aspect?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, as I said yesterday, the question of the formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, its composition, and our possible meeting with such a delegation, are all questions that are currently being addressed and we do not believe public discussion from this podium at this time, is appropriate. A possible meeting between a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, and the United States, is one of the suggestions that has been proposed.

We have been evaluating this and other suggestions, weighing particularly how they would advance the parties toward direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

MR. SEMAAN: So, he's going to be raising the same issue with the Israelis as well, is he not?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Who is?

MR. SEMAAN: Secretary Shultz.

MR. DJEREJIAN: I'm not going to give you a future agenda of the Secretary's talking points on his trip, Seman.

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MR. SEMAAN: Well, it is consistent with what you're saying.

MR. DJEREJIAN: We are always consistent.

MR. SEMAAN: Really?

Q Is the Jordanian PNC member is a compromise between the PLO and other representation? I mean, can we consider the PNC member is accepted by you and the Palestinians, or not?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I'm not going to get into that characterization of that.

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Q But in principle, in principle.

MR. DJEREJIAN: -- definition. I'd have to refer you to the statement that we posted yesterday, which is our position, and our well-known position on the conditions under which we would recognize the PLO.

Q Yes, but does that mean that you accept the PNC member in the delegation or not?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you on that.

Q The Syrian Ambassador to Washington was in this building this morning. Do you have anything on the purpose of his visit, whom he met?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, I have nothing on that.

Q Are you doing anything to help defuse the fighting in Lebanon?

MR. DJEREJIAN: (Refers to guidance book.) We are deeply concerned about the recent renewal of violence in Lebanon. We deplore the fratricidal fighting that has resulted in the deaths of so many innocent people, the destruction of their homes, and the flight of thousands of families. Too much blood has been spent and too many people have been uprooted in the last 10 years of strife. Words are inadequate, however, to describe the continuing suffering of the Lebanese people. We believe that this can only come about through a people united behind a common government, and committed to resolving differences by political means.

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The central responsibility rests with Lebanon's leaders and its various militias, to act in this direction. We have continually urged all parties to support the central Lebanese government as the only means of restoring lasting peace and tranquility, and stability, to this troubled country. The United States continues to back the efforts of the central government to restore sovereignty over all Lebanese territory. We remain in close touch with President Gemayel and other Lebanese government leaders about how we might be helpful to their efforts, and we continue to consult with other governments in a position to be helpful.

Q Does this mean that you are not playing any role? You have been in close touch for so many weeks now. So far you don't know how you can be helpful?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Let me refer you to my remarks. We remain in close touch with the President of Lebanon and other Lebanese government leaders about how we can be helpful to their efforts. I am not going to be drawn further, into specifics.

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Q How do you support the efforts to regain sovereignty of the land? Verbally? Does it go beyond the words?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I think our words have meaning.

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Q THIS New twist, if I may call it, the PNC, is the US government in touch with the Israeli government? Do you have, do you know, what the Israeli government thinks about this? Or are you talking purely for the United States government? I know you're talking for the US government, but do you know what Israel thinks about this new PNC twist?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, what we have stated in our response to a question yesterday, on the PNC, is the US policy on meeting with PNC members. This is our policy. I'm not going to characterize it any further.

Q Okay, no, I am not asking for a characterization. I am asking are you in touch with Israel about this subject, or will we soon hear some screams from Israel?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I think Israel, the government of Israel, is very much aware of our position. This position was adopted in -- not "adopted" but certainly it was made public, as recently as April of 1983. So, I believe that the Israeli government is very well aware of our position on the PNC.

Q Did these members of the PNC accept Resolution 242 and Israel's existence?

MR. DJEREJIAN: You're talking about individual members of the PNC? I can't address that question. It's too diffuse.

Q The members in the Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. Did they accept it, accept Resolution 242 and Israel's existence?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you on that.

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that they do not know if the names will be ready for Shultz when he visits Amman Sunday. Officials were commenting on reports from Amman quoting Jordanian officials as saying that such a list has been chosen from the PNC. The reports said council members are being used to skirt US refusal to deal with Palestinians who belong to the PLO. The answer will not become clear until Shultz reaches Amman as to whether the Jordanian-PLO negotiations would produce agreement.

(The article was cabled in full this morning.)

House Passes U.S.-Israeli Trade Pact

*** WASH. POST-Robinson-The House yesterday passed a groundbreaking agreement under which the US and Israel would phase out all trade barriers between the two nations over the next decade. "It is a historic moment for both countries, especially for Israel," Rep. Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.) said as the House approved the measure by 402 to 0.

Israeli Army Retraining For Conventional Foe, Like Syria

WASH. TIMES-Borowiec- The Israeli military machine is now being retrained for more conventional combat contingencies. Syria is regarded as the next potential opponent and southern Lebanon - again - as the most likely battlefield. According to Israeli sources, a clash could come as soon as Syrian Pres. Assad feels his armed forces have an edge in manpower and material. And that point seems to be approaching, if one is to believe Israeli estimates of Syrian war potential. The air of superiority and confidence is missing, in light of Syria's steady military improvement. An Israeli source said, "We have to review the whole concept of training and, in fact, we are doing it fast," an Israeli source said.

*** Shultz's Mideast Trip Seen Settling Peace-Talk Priorities

WASH. TIMES-Outlaw- Shultz's visit to Israel, Egypt and Jordan later this week will involve the discussion of individuals "or types of people" who would be on a proposed Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to Mideast peace talks, a State Department official said yesterday. The official said the Reagan administration is willing to meet with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation if such a meeting would lead to direct talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Hussein May Discuss Peace With Reagan On Visit To US

CHRISTIAN SCI. MON. -(Wires)-Hussein will travel to the US later this month and may discuss the Mideast peace process with Reagan. The King will be here to attend his son's May 27 graduation, but is also expected to meet with Reagan. The trip may pave the way for a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to visit the US to begin negotiations on Mideast peace.

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Israel Ups Price For Mengele By Million

WASH. TIMES-(Wires)-Israel offered \$1 million reward yesterday for Dr. Mengele. Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, announcing the reward in Parliament, said Mengele's capture would combat "expressions of conciliation and forgiveness" toward the Nazis. It was the first time Israel put a price on the head of a Nazi war criminal and was part of a campaign to find aging Nazi fugitives.

Libya Hopes Sudan Coup Dooms Pact

WASH. TIMES (AP)-Libya's foreign minister said yesterday that he hoped the reconciliation between his country and Sudan would help Egypt "release itself" from the Camp David agreement with Israel. Mr. Treiki said "We do hope our relations with Sudan will help Egypt release itself from the agreement and come back to the Arab world."

Jewish Leaders Say Bitburg Won't Cloud Reagan's Record

WASH. TIMES-Belcher-Reagan's visit to a German military cemetery is history for American Jewish leaders, who say the incident won't obscure his good record on other issues of concern to Jews. "Bitburg happened, it's over," said Perlmutter, national director of the ADL of B'nai B'rith. Perlmutter said Jews are "very sensitive" about not judging Reagan on a single issue.

***Jews' Ire Defies Measuring, President's Pollster Says

WASH. POST-Edsall-Reagan's weekend visit created antagonisms within the Jewish community "stronger than we are able to measure in survey research" the president's pollster said yesterday. Richard B. Wirthlin, president of Decision Making Information said Reagan's visit has provoked feelings among Jews going "far beyond questions of simple political support. I think it has created an emotional tearing that will have some consequence." (The article was cabled in full this morning.)

Black, Jewish Leaders Announce Pact

WASH. POST-Hyer-A nationwide program to repair the fraying alliance of blacks and Jews was launched yesterday by leaders of the NAACP and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. "The traumas which our communities sustained in recent years are in the process of being overcome," said NAACP President Benjamin Hooks and Schindler, in a joint statement read at a press conference here. They pledged renewed cooperation "on the urgent issues which threaten civil rights and social justice in America."

Sakharov Emigration Called Possible

WASH. TIMES-Doubrava-State Dept. officials said yesterday they could not confirm rumors that Sakharov has left or will shortly be allowed to leave the Soviet Union

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מל:

but they called on authorities in Moscow to end his "isolation and inhumane treatment." Several factors - Sakharov's threat to resign from the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and the Soviets' recent announcement of amnesty for political prisoners who fought in WWII, may set the stage for their release.

Oman Seeks US Defense Contract

WASH. POST-Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta-Bowing to the wishes of the Sultan of Oman, US officials are on the verge of an apparently unprecedented move: awarding a foreign company a major contract for secret US military work. Complicating the situation is the fear of offending the Sultan, whom the Reagan administration has high hopes of converting into an American ally.

מגירות

22

ד. עלי לציין כי אינני בטוח שיש בידינו כל המידע באשר למגעים עם יורד בנושא המשלחת. חלק מן המידע קיבלנו מתוך "נדנדוד" יזום, בין השאר בגלל פרסומי תקשורת, ולא בהכרח "נדנדוד" לנו. זו אחת הסיבות להדגשה בשיחותי אתמול כי אבנל מבקשים שלא להיות מופתעים. אמנם, מזכיר המדינה אינו פועל ככל הנראה בדרך שליפתהעוות" (נקודה שכך גם יהיה הפעם).

ה. יש להניח כי אילו תלוי היה הדבר, במקדמי ומחמדי (שללא ספק השמעתם רבה כרגיל בנושאים אלה) היתה התקרבות מסוימת לחלקים באש"פ אף כי אמינותו נטיבו ידועים, וזאת בגלל לחץ חוסיין והמצריםן ומדברים הנשמעים מאנשי יו"ש ועדן) גם בנוסחה המצויה על השולחן כביכול עתה, קרי התבחנה בין אנשי מל"פ לאנשי אש"פ, שאינה מקובלת עלינו כנוסחה תקפה, היא ביטודה מאותו בית מדרש, כדי לעקוף את בעייתיות אש"פ. עם זאת יהיו האמריקנים מן הסתם זהירים בכל גישה. גם בגלל התחביונות 1975 אך בראש וראשונה כדי לא לגרום בעיות קשות עם ישראל ובתוכה פנימה, כשהערה לאחד מבני שיחי כי ישראל היא 50% מהסכסוך" אמר "לפעמים נדמה לי שהיא 80%". אגב, יתכן שיפועלה נושא "איכות התיים" המעניין אישית את שולץ.

ו. בנושא הבילטרלי ישראל - מצרים המטרה האמריקנית היא להגיע לשיפור, והואיל והמצרים בנו את טאבה כמצויה במדרגת עשרת הדברות, נוטים האמריקנים להביא למצב שבו נסכים לבוררות על טאבה, אף כי הם ערים לכך שבצד האחר של המשוואה נדרשים אנו לשלם טוב בעד סחורה שכבר שולמה במחיר סדב (קיום הסכמי הנורמליזציה).

ז. נושא לבנון עשוי לעלות. גישה אנשי הממשל בדרגי העבודה היא ככל הנראה אי נחת מהעדר הסדר ממוסד באיזור הגבול, עם ממשלת לבנון או יוניפ"ל, אך הם מחססים לומר לנו דבר מה משמעותי מתוך נסיונם. עם לבנון ומתוך ידיעת הבעיות. התרשמותי היא כי הם צופים במטימיות לעבר העתיד בהעדר הסדר ממוסד, וחוששים מאסקלציה שתיווצר ע"י הגובות שלנו למעטי טרור. עלינו להנחיל את גישתנו גם לקראת מה שעלול לקרות בעתיד.

(ג' 1975/א/ב)

ח. נושא מכירות נשק לערבים כנראה לא יעלו האמריקנים אצלנו מצדם, אף כי הוא עומד להיות על הפרק בקרוב, עם השלמת דו"ח הועדה העוסקת במכירות נשק לאיזור. כשפרק המסקנות טרם נכתב סופית אך הוא יהיה בראש וראשונה לפי הנחיה פוליטית.

232

המ' מנר

14. כמובן יעלה נושא הכלכלה, ואין צורך להכביר מילים באשר לצרכינו ולציפיות האמריקניות.

ט. מצדנו יועלה נושא יהודי בריה"מ והאמריקנים מצפים לכך לרבות ההצעה בענין מעבר דרך רומניה, אף כי איך תשובתם החיובית לגביה מובטחת, מה שאין כן המכלול של יהודי בריה"מ ששולץ רואה מחויבות מוסרית לגביו. כמובן חשיבות הענין ברורה נוכח מפגש שולץ - גרומיקו ב-14.5, מיד אחר תביקור באיזור.

י. יתכן שיש מקום, מצדנו, לאזכור שביעות הרצון הבסיסית מהתקדמות שיתוף הפעולה במסגרת הועדה הצבאית - מדינית.

י"א. ביטבורג. אינני סבור כי המזכיר עצמו היה מאושר מן הביקור. הדבר ניכר מהגובותיו המאופקות. אם יעלה הנושא יש לדעת צורך לחזור על עמדתנו כי היה כאן מטרה עמוק; והגובותינו הן רק ביטוי טבעי לכאב, איננו בוצים להיכנס למסלוקת עם הנשיא הידידותי לנו-ויש לצפות לקראת העתיד, לחינוך לתבנת תודעת השואה, כך שתחייבות של "לא עוד" אכן תמומש.

י"ב. מוצע כי מצדנו יודגשו בין השאר: נקודות אלה (אינני מציע: סדר עדיפות בהכרח)
1. תהליך השלום. הרצון למו"מ ישיר שלנו עם ירדן במשתתפות נציגים ערביים פלסטינאים אך דחיית אש"ף בכל כשות שהיא. הטעם עמדתנו כי מלי"מ ואש"ף חד הם, מוצע לסייע לאמריקנים בתחושת כי הכדור בצד הערבי. (על האמריקנים, המצפים לשמוע בנושא לדעת בבירור).

2. מצרים. הדגשת הנדשא תבילשרלי. (המזכיר מצטה לכך; העלה זאת מיזמתו בשיחה עם חייכ אבן, המשל, התעמולה האנטישמית המצרית, שתגיעה לשיאים איומים השבוע בהקשר לביטבורג, רצוי שתועלה.

3. לבנון. הסבר עמדתנו באשר למח שיארע בסביבת הגבול פנינלאומי לאחר הנסיגה (יש דאגה, כאמור, אצל האמריקנים בנקודות האחרות - ראה לעיל לפי הצורך.

רובינשטיין

232

1A. כמובן יעלה נושא הכלכלה. ואין צורך להכביר מילים באשר לצרכינו ולציפיות האמריקניות.

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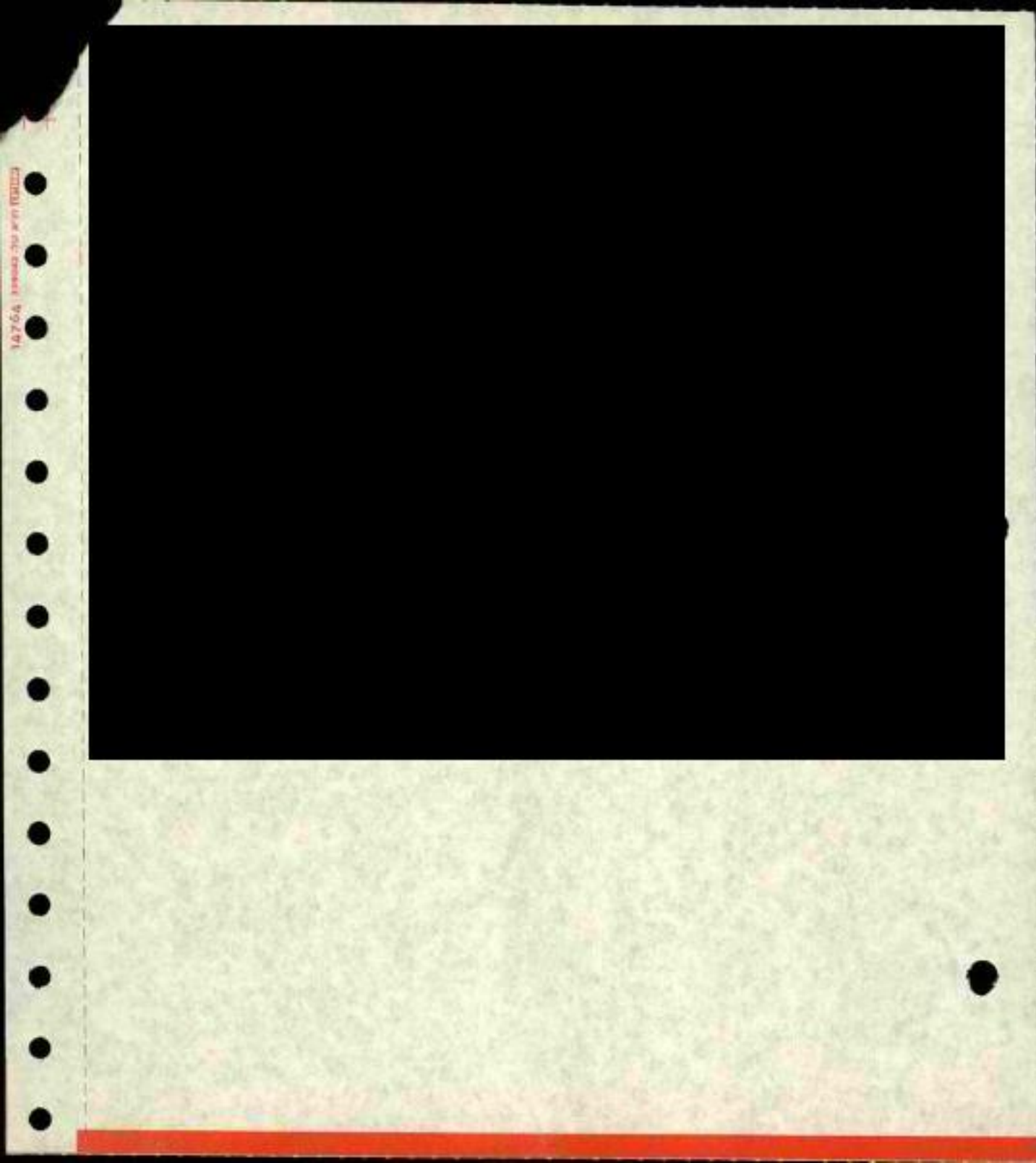
2. מצרים. הדגשת הנצחא חבילשרלי. (המזכיר מצטה לכך; העלה זאת מיזמתו בשיחה עם חייכ אבן, המעמולת האנטישמית המצרית, שתגיעה לשיאים איומים השבוע בהקשר לביטבורג, רצוי שתועלה.

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רובינשטיין

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החומר	מל:
חוק מס'	מסמ:
2.5	דיווח:

רפ"א . ח"א

מקום פוסט רפ"א -

3/6 קול - ר. פ. . ניו-וורק-לונדון

אלב - 8.5 - 11.5 -

(אם אפשר - 9.5)

235641 - ארץ ארם

764906 - בית

May 8, 1985

His Excellency
Shimon Peres
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Assistant Secretary Murphy has described to me his recent conversations in the region, particularly those he had with you and Foreign Minister Shamir.

I share your goal of improving the Egypt-Israel relationship and certainly support the efforts of your Government to achieve this objective as a priority matter. As you know, we see this relationship as the cornerstone of the Middle East peace process and shall do whatever we can to see that it achieves its full promise. During my forthcoming visit to the Middle East I shall have this high on my agenda.

It is clear from our discussions with key Middle East leaders that 1985 represents a year of opportunity in which the opening of direct negotiations between an Israeli delegation and a delegation representing Jordan and the Palestinians can be achieved. I look forward to discussing with you and Foreign Minister Shamir, and with Jordanian and Egyptian leaders, how we might realistically work together toward that goal.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
George P. Shultz

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

טופס מברק צפוי

דפים 2 1 סתוד 9

אל

סיווג בטחוני: סודי

נושנגטון

דחיפות:

072000
230

תאריך וזמן רישום

לשימוש
מח
הקשר

מס. מברק

תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא ע"י השולח)

לידיעת: הממונה

1. רצ"ב אגרת רה"מ לשולץ. אנא מסרוה על מנת שתועבר אליו.
2. במקביל תמסר האגרת ללואיס כאן.
3. בדיפ נשלח המקור.

לשכת המנהל

לה"מ רה"מ
למ/א
אלפי

1

השולח: 7.5.85

א. שוקת 812

אישור לשכת המנהל:

אישור מנהל המחלקה:

[לציון תאריך וזמן העברה לקשר]

2/2

230

ראש הממשלה
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem

May 5, 1985.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

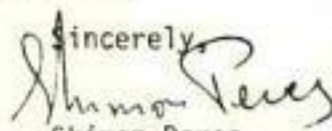
Thank you for your letter of May 2, 1985. In both content and spirit it represents a new era of close partnership between our two countries and governments.

We are encouraged by, and grateful for, the 'vote of confidence' in our economic policy manifested in President Reagan's decision to recommend to Congress the supplemental assistance appropriation.

Such support cannot but reinforce our already firm resolve to undertake appropriate measures in order to deal with our economic difficulties. This resolve originates in a deep conviction of the urgency of such measures on the one hand, and the need for 'fine-tune' implementation to the unique Israeli socio-economic setting. Your support will enable us to carry out our responsibilities adequately in both contexts.

I would also like to welcome your timely suggestion that the June JEDG meeting will, inter alia, provide the opportunity for a more concrete discussion on the requisites and potential instruments for encouraging investment in Israel. As you noted, our joint efforts in this endeavour -- in fulfilment of President Reagan's other generous promise made during my October visit to Washington -- will help demonstrate to our people the 'ray of hope' that is in sight at the end of the 'tunnel' of coming hardships.

May I take this opportunity to express my personal thanks for your warm greetings on the occasion of Israel's 37th. Independence Day. In reflecting on the role played by the U.S. in supporting the idea of Jewish Statehood, in reviewing four decades of American contribution to our efforts to overcome challenges too awesome to be tackled alone, and while observing the unfolding of this new phase of partnership, the foundations of the bonds which unite us seem unshakable. I am convinced that it is the contribution of President Reagan's leadership and your own that make this course toward ever-more meaningful partnership irreversible.

Sincerely,

Shimon Peres

The Honorable
George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
WASHINGTON

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

אל

נושינגטון

(2)

טופס מברק צפון

דף 1 סתוד 2 דפים

סיווג בטחוני: סודי

דחיפות:

072000
230

תאריך וזמן רישום

מס. מברק:

לשימוש
מח
הקשר

תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא ע"י השולח)

ליריעת: הממונה

1. רצ"ב אגרת רה"מ לשולץ. אנא מסרות על מנת שתועבר אלינו.
 2. במקביל תמסר האגרת ללואיס כאן.
 3. בדיף נשלח המקור.
- לשכת המסמך *לדפוס*

*לה"מ רה"מ
לדפוס
לדפוס*

✓

השוכה: 7.5.85

אישור מנהל המחלקה:

א. שוקת 812

אישור לשכת המסמך:

(לציין תאריך וזמן האברה לפשר)

2/2

230

ראש הממשלה
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem

May 5, 1985.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

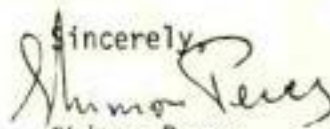
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Sincerely

Shimon Peres

The Honorable
George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
WASHINGTON

באיגרת תשובה לשולץ על התלטת הסיוע:

פרס: צעדינו הכלכליים — בהתאם למצב החברתי

מאת עקיבא אלדר
ספרד המדיני
של "הארץ"

ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס שיגר אתמול איגרת לסר החוץ האמריקאי ג'ורג' שולץ במענה לאיגרת שבישרה על התלטת ה'נשיא' המליץ לפני הקונגרס על סיוע התורום לישראל. באיגרת כותב ראש הממשלה:

"אני מודה לך על מכתבך מ-10.5.85 המבטא בתוכנו וב'רוחו את השתתפות התרומה בין שתי המדינות והמשלוח. אנו מעריכים מהצבחה האמון במ'דיניות הכלכלית — אמן תבא לידי ביטוי בהחלטת הנשיא ל'המליץ בפני הקונגרס על הענ'קת הסיוע. תמיכה כזו אינה

יכולה אלא לחזק את כחיות רעוננו לנקוט באמצעים באחרים לטפל בבשיותינו הכלכליות. נ' חיות רעוננו ו', מקרה כהרה עמוקה של חיות האמצעים מצד אחד והעורך בהתאמת ל' מצב החברתי בישראל. הכרחם מצב זה והמיתכסם תאפשר לו לשאת באחריותנו בשני ההקט'רים.

ביצוני גם לקדם במרה את הצעתן שקבוצות העבודה המ' שהופתו לנשא העמיתה 'הכנסו בתורם יוני'. הישיבה תאפשר בין היתר דיון קונקרטי יותר על הצרכים ועל הסלים הפוטנציאליים לעידוד השקעת בארץ. כ' מ' שצינת, מאמצינו המשותפים וקדם הבטחותי הנדיבות של

הנשיא רייגן בעת ביקורי כ' והאשינגטון בתורם אוקטובר א' שתקד ישיבתו להוכיח לעמי את קרן התקווה הנראית בקצה ה' מגירה של הקשיים שבפנינו.

יורשה לי בהזדמנות זו להוד' דות לך על ברכותיך החמות ל' רגל יום עצמאותנו ה'85. בהבי' טנו שוב על חלקה של ארתי' בתמיכה ברעיון הקמת מדינה יהודית ועל 40 שנות תרומה מ' מייקאית למאמצינו להתגבר על אתגרים כבדים ובראותנו תהפ' תוצות של תקווה ורשה של ש' תפוח וקשירת יסודות מאחדים ובלתי ניתנים לזעזוע. אני מסו' כנע שתרומת הנשיא ותרומתך הן שיעשו את ההזדמנות הזו ל' משמעותית ובלתי מעורערת."

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

ט ו פ ס ס כ ר ק
דף.....מתוך.....דפים
סוג בטחוני. מסור
דחיות. לגיל
תאריך וז"ח. מאי 8 1200
202
מס' מברק

ממנכ"ל. מצפ"א.

תוספת טיוע לישראל

מאגף הקשר לקונגרס במחמ"ד מסרו כי מצפים כי עבודת הניירה לגבי התקון התקציבי של ה- Supplemental תסתיים כנראה עד 16/5 ותחודעה תימסר לקונגרס בשבוע הבא לפני ה- mark-up בועדת התקצבות ולפני הדיון במליאת בית הנבחרים בחוק ההרשאה (authorization).

קני-סל

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סיווג בסחור:

אל: הסברה, כע"ח, לש' סמנכ"ל, יועץ רוח"ם לחקשורה, סנכ"א, לש' יגר.

רחיבות:

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האריך חיד:

ס.פ. מברק:

מאח: קחונות

News Summary May 7, 1985

Editorials

NYT "The Qaddafi Connection" Farrakhan is getting a handout from the world's biggest bankroller of terrorists, who hardly wishes the US well. Farrakhan says he turned down Qaddafi's offer of arms. But that alone should have alerted him to the kind of return his patron expects from foreign investments.

DN "Bitburg Remembered: From Horror, Wisdom?" Reagan made a serious mistake in going to Bitburg. His efforts to recover did not succeed. They couldn't. The most dangerous damage is the one of potential: Other men at other times, openly or in private, may feel that it is acceptable to forgive. The Holocaust demands eternal outrage. No one believes Reagan did this out of viciousness. He is a decent man. Perhaps he learned from this, millions throughout the world have.

NYP "The Need to Remember" Reagan condemned the crimes of the SS. Perhaps everyone can learn from this painful episode.

ND "Mitigating the Bitburg Blunder" Reagan was wrong to go to Bitburg. He did manage to mitigate somewhat the damage. His trip did precisely what it should have tried to do all along: It vividly imprinted the images of Nazi barbarism on the minds of those too young to remember, while reminding everyone how far Germany has traveled since the Nazi nightmare.

Columns

NYP-Podhoretz "Victimization and Responsibility" In no sense can the soldiers who died fighting for Hitler be morally equated with the innocents massacred by Hitler. Jews are right to be appalled. A great moral prestige is attached to being a victim in the US.

NYP-Fallon "The Crucial Lesson of Bitburg" As Reagan said "We do not believe in collective guilt," he is correct. Americans generally believe in individual guilt and responsibility. But the evils of Nazism were not solely the work of one man. It was the work of thousands. Or silence over protest. Or safety over humanity. The searing lesson of Belsen is that once denial happens, anything can happen. The lesson of Bitburg is of the horror that "we" are capable of." Nancy Reagan is said to have opposed the visit to Bergen-Belsen, but she went, because of so much criticism...to see.

דפים 4 מתוך 2

:לא

שיווי בטחוני:

דחיפות:

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תאריך חידוש: 135/48
מס. מברק: 135/48

:DND

Press Reports

Israelis Denounce Reagan

NYT-p.1-Friedman-Israeli leaders across the political spectrum expressed anger and bitterness over Reagan's trip to Bitburg. Officials used language rarely heard here before in reference to a US President. Rabin used harsh words, criticizing Reagan for "equating murderers with their victims." The Knesset held a special session to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis. All the speakers sharply criticized Reagan, including PM Peres. Up until the moment that Reagan went to Bitburg, the reaction of Israeli leaders had been firm but restrained. There is a great reluctance to criticize Reagan in Israel particularly in light of his decision to approve emergency economic aid. But now that Reagan went, comments reveal a nation deeply upset about the long-term implications of the visit. Begin, Saron, Sarid and Hillel are quoted.

TV Coverage of Bitburg and Bergen Belsen

ND-Kitman-American viewers saw little of the SS graves, as if they weren't there. ABC was most straight-forward in its coverage. TV is blamed for making Bitburg news. Maybe the Holocaust would never have happened if there was TV to pay too much attention.

DN- CBS was surprisingly low keyed in its coverage of Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen. CBS limited its coverage to 30 minutes without Dan Rather while ABC and NBC had their top correspondents reporting for 90 minutes. CBS Executives refused to comment.

NYT-Shepard-"Frontline" will present "Memory of the Camps," a program that portrays the horror of the moment. The show consists of a record of what the allies found when they went into the camps. The show is the story itself.

Kohl's Debt After Bitburg-News Analysis

NYT-Markham-Kohl is now deeply indebted to Reagan and momentarily estranged from Mitterand. Reagan's popularity has sharply risen in West Germany.

Will Congress Still Harbor Ill Will?

WSJ-Thurrow-The last month has been trying for US-German relations. But some West German officials are worried about the price they will have

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דפים סדר

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to pay. One German diplomat wondered if the US legislators will remember Bitburg when something like the Nunn amendment comes up.

Secret Service Leaves Trail of Resentment: Jews Angered

NYT-Tagliabue-The sun had barely risen when West German policemen surrounded 35 French Jews who were camped outside Bergen-Belsen. They were dragged to a bus and escorted from the site. The police said they were acting under orders. But it was the US who ordered them to do so. Jewish leaders said the German police acted with remarkable restraint.

Reagan Speaks at Hambach Castle

NYT-Excerpts of Reagan's speech. He says that "No country in the world has been more creative than Germany."

Lebanon

NYT-Hijazi-Gemayel met with senior army officials as the fighting in Beirut turned into a full scale battle. It was decided that the army should be kept out of the factional fighting. Fighting also continues in the south.

Kuwait

NYT-Reuters-Kuwait named its Islamic Affairs Minister to replace Justice Minister al-Dabah.

Iran

NYT-Reuters-Khomeini acknowledged a split within Iran's Moslem clergy over whether life was better under the regime of the Shah. He also rejected calls for Iran to make peace with Iraq. To do so would be against reason and Islamic and human values, he said.

Gloves Used to Capture Eichmann Donated to Museum

NYP-Dan & Fettman-The gloves used to capture Eichmann by Eli Mann are being donated to the Holocaust Museum in Israel. Mann has been prohibited from discussing the capture of Eichmann until now.

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דפים סה"כ

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135/48 תאריך ח"ח: מס. מברק:

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Jerusalem Book Fair

NYT-special-The 12th annual Jerusalem Book Fair opened with more than 1000 publishers from 40 countries participating. The Jerusalem Prize for Literature went to Milan Kundera, a Czech. Egyptian books are on display but no Egyptians were present.

Book Review-Weizman

NYT-Gross reviews "Chaim Weizman: The Making of a Zionist Leader" by Jehuda Reinharz. In the first of what will be two volumes, Reinharz traces the story of Weizman from WW I, when he was 40, down to his childhood. The account of Weizman's personality is well rounded.

Paid Ad-Response to Media re Bitburg

NYT-The Otto Gerdau Co., Allan Gerdau, Dir, asks the media some questions. Should he not go to the cemetery where his parents are buried because criminals are also buried there? Gerdau thanks Reagan for being a strong man and not being pressured by the media.

Letters

ND-David Salwen discusses Kenneth Gross' article regarding the alleged refusal of a rabbi to officiate at a funeral for his nephew. He says the articles were disturbing and untrue. Gross implies that the Jewish community of Columbia S.C. was attempting to extort money from the grieving family by compelling it to join the synagogue before the rabbi would officiate. But the members of the synagogue pay only what they feel they could afford. (Two other letters are printed. One agrees with Gross, the other says the article was irresponsible.)

NYP-While most of us are in an uproar about Reagan's visit to Bitburg, our Congress gleefully votes down aid to anti-Communists in Nicaragua. In reality we are ignoring the past.

Cartoons

NYP-Rigby-Reagan says "Never Again" at Bergen Belsen, and thinks "Will I make such an idiotic political blunder!!"

Ad-Gabe Pressman in Israel

NYP & DN-Three-quarters page ad on "Pressman on the promised land."

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אל:

המשרד

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אל: ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א

שיחה עם ג'ימס קובי מן המועצה לבטחון לאומי (שהיה במשלחת מרפי והמתלווה לביקור המזכיר עתה), השיחה ביוזמתי.

קצת

א. תהליך השלום: 1. פתחתי על הכתבה מעמאן ב"כריסטיאן סייאנס מוניטור" מהיזם (מברק בנפרד נר 167) לפיה הסכימו ירדן ואש"פ על רשימת של מי שאינם חברי אש"פ, המיוחסת לפקיד ירדני בכיר. קובי אמר כי המדובר ב-*overstatement* של הירדנים, אך מדבריו הבינותי כי הנושא מורכב יותר. אכן, כפי שכבר שמענו בעבר, אישר קובי את ההבחנה שעושים האמריקנים בין חברי תמל"פ לבין חברי אש"פ. כלומר, מבלי להיכנס לשאלה אם המל"פ ואש"פ חד הם מבחינה ארגונית, הרי מקובל על האמריקנים שישנם חברים במל"פ שאינם בהכרח, אש"פ (וביניהם כאלה מתושבי יו"ש ועזה שישראל משותחת אתם תדיר). מנחינה זו אישר את נכונות הקטע במאמר בעתון המדבר על ההבחנה האמריקנית מצדי חזרתי על עמדתנו הרואה אותם כגוף אחד, והטברתי התנגדות להבחנות סמנטיות שעלולה לתוליד מצב בו האמריקנים אומרים שהנציגים אינם אנשי אש"פ, אך אש"פ עצמו טען כי הם אש"פ. הזכרתי את האמור בקטע דיויד באשר לנציגות הערבים הפלשתינאים. קובי אמר כי כדאי לעקוב אחר המהפצות מהירדני, כי הירדנים "נפתחים" עתה זמתיילים לתדרך.

2. קובי הוסיף כי לא יאמר אמת אם יאמר שלא הוזכרו שמות, אך אין עדיין רשימה (העדיף שלא לומר מי השמות). אמנם בבגדאד לא נחקבלה החלטה (שנתבססה) כי יאפשרו למי שאינם אש"פ להשתתף, אך גם לא החליטו בשלילה, אלא "שברו" את הפגישה לפני סיומה. כאמור אין פרוש הדבר שלא הוזכרו שמות, אך כרגע העניין עדיין מצוי במסגרת הברור העקרוני, דהיינו מה מנסים להשיג ומה יהיה בהמשך. ישנן שלוש בעיות:

א. בעיית חוסין, הטוען שאש"פ הוא הכרחי; ב. בעיית ארמ"ב וגישתה לאש"פ; ג. היחס בין אלה לתהליך השלום, באשר גם אם יתקיימו ההגאים, כיצד אפשר לתבטח הדברות ישראל עם אש"פ, אם המדובר ב"שנת התבטחה 1985" שהירדנים מדברים עליה, ולא בטרנספורמציה כלשהי בעתיד בלתי ידוע. השאלה איפוא היא היכן במשלחת זו התרומה לתהליך, וזאת עוד לפני שמגיעים לשמות. כלומר, גם אם ידחפו הירדנים את ארמ"ב עד לקצה גבול יכולתה בנושא, האם לא יווצרו בעיות כת קשות בישראל שכל העניין לא יצלח. האם מזרע שנזרע בקתיר ע"י מובארכ יש לו סיכוי לגדול - לא ברור.

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דף 3...מס' 3...דף 3

סוג מס' 3

דמי פדיון

מס' 193

מס' 193

אין הוא רוצה לומר שאין מסתובבים שמות, אך לא משהו מגובש.

3. מצדי אמרתי כי הכל אצלנו מכבדים בצורה מיוחדת את המזכיר, שבנה לו מוניטין ^{מיליון} המסתמך בין השאר על אמינות. מתבקש איפוא כי לא נופתע בדברים שעלולים להתרחש בלי ידיעתנו. הדגיש כי המזכיר אינו פועל בצודה של הפתעות (להיפך, גישת חיושר והמוסריות שלו ידועה היטב לעוזריו ומכחיבה את הטיפול). כל החלטה פרוצדורלית אמריקנית אם תהיה תימסר לנו. הדגשתי בכל לשון כי "פרוצדורה" היא מהותית ביותר בתהליך השלום, וכל שינוי קל עלול להיות נושא לבעיות. הבטיח כי ככל שתלוי בו יתואמו הדברים עמנו. וכי הגישה הזהירה תואמת אופיו של המזכיר.

4. לא ידוע אם מרפי יישאר באיזור לאחר המזכיר. הדבר תלוי בתפתחויות. ברור כי משלחת אם וכאשר תרכב לא תיפגש עם המזכיר ולא בוושינגטון. טרם ברור גם אם קרצקו יישאר ^{למובן תלוי} ברצון הצדדים וביכולת לתועיל.

5. לא יכול היה לומר לי אם המפגש עם המשלחת עשוי להיות בימים הקרובים, אך חזר ואמר כי בעקרון יסבירו לירדנים שאין בדעתם לעשות פעולה שהוצאתה תהיה הפוכה מן המקווה.

ב. כאשר לסדר היום של ביקור המזכיר, הזכיר כי הביקור נובע מרצונו של המזכיר לבטא את ההזדהות עם זכר השואה, והיתה זו יזמת המזכיר ^{שא} בשעה שהחנחת היתחייבות הנשיא לא יכלול בביקורו בגרמניה סקס כזה. מטבע הדברים עלת נושא ביטבורג. הזכרתי עמדתנו וגטנחתבטאויות אתמול בדרג המדיני, וצינתי כי אנו מכבדים מאוד את הנשיא אך כאן חיה משגה. הצעתי אישית כי המזכיר בגאומו ב"יד ושם" יעמוד על החשיבות החינוכית של הנחלת תודעת השואה לדור הצעיר כאן כבישראל. אמר כי דברים דומים אמר המזכיר בגרמניה.

ג. לאחר שיזם המזכיר את הביקור כאמור, שוכנע כי כדאי להרחיב הטיפול לתהליך השלום. נושא מרכזי הוא יחסי ישראל - מצרים, וברור בהחלט לכל כי שיפורם הוא חנאי מרכזי להמשך התהליך (חזרתי על הטיעון לגבי הציבור הישראלי והצורך לשכנעו בכדאיות התמורה בעד שלום). קיוו כי לוח הזמנים יתית שונה והביקור יתקיים לאחר מפגש ועדות החכנה (אמרתי שאת הדחיה ביקשו המצרים).

אל:

המשרד

אל: מצפ"א, תפוצות

ביטבורג.

backlash

א. התקשר ריצ'רד קריגר ממחסייד וטען שהיה על הגבעה ומצא גדול אצל חברי קונגרס (במיוחד רפובליקנים, כולל בועדת החוץ) בקשר להתבטאויות בארץ כנגד ביקור ביטבורג, במיוחד של השר שרון (שכידוע פורסמו היום בהבלטה כאן), והדבר מתפתח.

ב. אמרתי כי רצוי מאוד שיובן כי בעניין מעין זה הלך רוחו של כל יהודי מובן מאליו, ובשום פנים אין לבוא בטרוניות על הנאמר (וכידוע נהגו אצלנו איפוק רב).

ג. כמובן חזרתי על כך שאין לנו כל עניין לפגוע בנשיא שאותו אנו מכבדים, אך יש להבין רגשות עזים בנושא כה כאוב.

חכמה

ד. יש להביט כלפי העתיד ולתביא לתהליך חיובי, שבו תודעת השואה מונחל גם לאלה שטרם מבינים.

רובינשטיין

למה רבה מנחם מנחם מנחם
דניאל אריא ר/מרכז PNN

ד.ד. (מסרד) ... דפים
סוג כחשבוני. 177
דמי שירות. 177
מסרד וזי. 1930. 7. מאי 85

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אל: ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, מלמד

משלחת ירדנית - פלסטינאית ועוד.

א. בקשר לפרטום בעתונות ("כריסטיאן סיאנס מוניטור") על חשכמה בין ירדן ואש"פ בנושא זה שאלתי את וילקוקס. הוא בירר עם פלטרנ ואמר כי העמון בחסד מדי, אין לפי טעה רשימה, אף כי כמובן מדברים עם הירדנים. קרצקו אישר את הנ"ל והוסיף כי האפשרות של משלחת עודה חיה אך עדיין אין דבר קובעטי בקשר להרכב. כן שמעתי כך מקובי (אך עמו הימת שיחת ספורט - ראו בנסרד). מכולם ביקשתי בכל לשון שלא יעמידונו בפני הפתעות.

ב. מסרתי לו על חידוש הלימודים בקמפוס החדש של ביר-זית (525/ח). טמח מאוד (כמובן) ושאל אם נכונה ידיעה שקרא כי תמיה מדיניות של העכשית גורמים מפריעים ולא ענישה קולקטיבית. אמרתי כי אין מדיניות של ענישה קולקטיבית, אלא חיפוש אחר אשמים, אך כשקמפוס הופך ממקום לימודים לקד חתרנות אין מנוס לעתים מסגירתו.

רובינסון

למה זה נראה אצל אנחנו מלבד ורד
שטחים ממשלתיים ואזרחיים
אנחנו

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May 7 - Tuesday - תדריך דובר מחמ"ד ליום

FEDERAL TRANSCRIPTS 202-347-1400

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about their health and situation is very difficult to verify. As far as we are aware, they remain in Gorky. We have seen recent reports that Dr. Sakharov has threatened to resign from the Soviet Academy of Science, if the Soviets do not permit his wife, Elena Bonner, to travel abroad for needed medical care. We, once again, call upon the Soviet authorities to end the isolation and inhumane treatment of one of its most distinguished citizens and allow his brave wife to travel abroad for medical treatment.

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Q What rumors are you referring to about his release?
Is that reported somewhere?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, these are, I think, in the press and media.

Q Do you have any information that would lead you to believe that, in fact, a release might be imminent for Dr. Sakharov and/or his wife?

MR. DJEREJIAN: We have no such information.

Q Do you have any comment on the statements made by Prime Minister Peres and former Prime Minister Begin on the visit by President Reagan to the cemetery of the German soldiers?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, I have no comment on that.

Q Ed, do you have any comment on the Israeli reports saying that Syrian soldiers is going back to part of South Lebanon, especially, you said that two weeks ago that you have no reason to believe that the Syrian army would return to these areas?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, I have nothing on that.

Q Also on Lebanon, anything on support for the Moslem or Druz militia fighting the Christians by the Syrians? Anything on that?

Q Can you tell us whether the US still supports the central government of Lebanon?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, I think that as we have repeatedly said, the United States deplores the violence that is taking place in Lebanon with its resulting loss of life and creation of refugees among all communities and we firmly support the efforts of the central government of Lebanon to extend its control over all Lebanese territory.

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MR. DJEREJIAN: Are you sure of your sources?

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Q I trust my source can read. (Laughs.) But unlike what Hussein said last week, apparently high level Jordanian sources were saying -- officials were saying -- that a deal had been worked out with Murphy on a delegation.

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, let me say the following to that: The question of the formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, its composition and our possible meeting with PNC members in this forum -- PNC, the Palestine National Council -- are all questions that are currently being addressed and we do not believe public discussion from this podium at this time is appropriate. As we have said, a possible meeting between a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and the United States is one of the suggestions that has been proposed. We have been evaluating this and other suggestions, weighing particularly how they would advance the parties toward direct negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis.

Q Ed, can you clarify for us what role the US has asked or may have asked Gonzalez to play in negotiations between Contras and Ortega?

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MR. DJEREJIAN: No, I have nothing on that.

Q Apparently, you are talking now on the PNC members. You never mentioned that in the last couple of months. So is that a twist from PLO member now, PNC members? What is that?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, I'm responding to a question referring to an article in the Christian Science Monitor today, which mentioned the PNC. So, therefore, this response is geared directly to the question.

Q Can you clarify more? Do you mind, I mean, do you have any rejection or any reservation on PNC members in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation? Do you have any reservation on that?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I don't want to go beyond what I've just stated.

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MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, let me look into that and see if I can get a response.

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have no comment on that.

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you on that.

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you on that.

[illegible]

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אלו

לבסוף רווחת כאן דעה - שעדיין לא מצאה את ביטוייה בכתובים - כאילו פסל
ביטבורג הנשיא "יושאר חייב ליהודים" ויתכן וח"חייב" הזה (אם הוא קיים
בכלל) יקשה על הממשל שלו לקבל החלטות העלולות לפגוע בישראל (מכירה בשק
למדינות ערב). אולי, אך ניתן לסכם ולומר כי יהודי אמריקה עברו בימים
האחרונים זעזוע קשה ובלתי צפוי שיתכן וערער במידת מה את שלוותם ובטחונם
העצמי.

הראל

The Commemorations

IT WAS NOT a satisfactory day nor an edifying one and for many it was very hurtful. Both the rhetoric and the fact of reconciliation between this country and the Federal Republic of Germany are well established; the alliance exists and is strong; the postwar West Germans are a different, democratic people; they have long since conceded their nation's crimes. There was nothing new there. What was new was costly—to just about everyone involved.

Let us start with the president. We did not think it was a distinguishing day for him. One had been hearing for a while now how Mr. Reagan could not afford to back off the trip to Bitburg because to do so would make him look weak, a man susceptible to pressures, to being pushed around. Yet oddly that is exactly how he looked at Bitburg. The Ronald Reagan who walked stiffly into the cemetery and out again with Chancellor Helmut Kohl seemed almost robot-like, led. Our president was in that eight minutes forever being cued, nudged, positioned—stage-managed—by the chancellor. He exuded not wanting to be there. It was not an image of mastery.

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Mr. Reagan, in his speeches, said some of the right things. He also resorted to many of those unexceptionable clichés people fall back on when talking about the meaning of the Holocaust, platitudes and pieties that never seem equal to the enormity of the experience nor a fitting idiom in which to discuss it. And his anecdotes struck us as being off-key. But it was, in fact, in the nature of the visit—which is why it was such a bad idea—that no American president could have said what he should have. No such visitor could have spoken raw and relevant truth concerning the systematic starving, maiming, gassing and burning of millions upon millions of defenseless human beings at the hands of the German authorities in World War II. Reconciliation, rehabilitation, ceremony, the political and diplomatic exigencies of 1985—all this would weigh against his citing the true moral.

That moral is not contained in exclamations of bewilderment at the "incomprehensible horror," but rather in facing up to the comprehensible result when a nation permits itself to go the way of the Third Reich. You do not have to believe in collective guilt to believe in social responsibility. Nazi Germany was not, as Mr. Reagan seemed to suggest, the handiwork of "one man" and his regime or even of hundreds or thousands. It remains, in the recollection and understanding of those who dare to recollect and understand, a terrifying—and endlessly instructive—monument to what can happen when a people, for the most part, let it happen. We should add: and also when the world lets it happen. Resistance when it might have made the difference was just too costly, too inconvenient for almost everybody.

It should come as no surprise that those who were prime victims of the Third Reich cannot support, let alone be enthusiastic about commemorations that necessarily so distort and degrade the terrible truths they know concerning the massive indifference and acquiescence that made their fate possible. There was something anguishing and awful in watching Jewish leaders—Eli Wiesel, Hyman Bookbinder—on television yesterday trying not to inflame, not to be spoilsports, not to be disrespectful, not to attract rage or malign attention to the people and the purpose for which they spoke. One of the gratuitous cruelties of this affair has been that it put a burden on Jews yet again to argue their own case for the meaning and magnitude of what happened to them, almost, it sometimes seemed, apologetically, wanting—it was said again and again—not to be misunderstood, not to seem vindictive, not to be at odds with the American president or the country itself. This burden could only deepen a sense of isolation, a sense, as Mr. Wiesel put it, of being "excluded."

The president who went to Bitburg on a well-meant but mistaken mission of reconciliation has much reconciling to do at home.

WASH. POST

היה זהו ענין לא נכון להעלותו
לפני הציבור. הנהגה הנכונה היא
לדבר על זה בחדר סגור.

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תמכ"ל. מצפ"א.

תהליך השלום בעקבות שליחות מרפי

להלן מפי אינדיק בעקבות שיחות עם אנשי הממשל.

1. בעקבות ניתוח תוצאות שליחות מרפי התגבשו 2 גישות בתוך דרגי העבודה העוסקים בנושא מזה"ח:

א. NEA ממליץ כי על ארה"ב "להמתיק את תגלולה" ולהכיר מפורשות בעקרון ההגדרה העצמית עבור הפלסטינים. עקרון זה אין פירושו הקמת מדינה פלסטינית עצמאית.

ב. בדיקת אפשרות שחסיין ילך לבדו ללא אש"פ. במקרה כזה יש לטפח לחוסיין תמריצים שונים שייעצבו לצרכיו. גישה זו אינה מתרשמת מעמדותיו הפומביות של חוסיין לגבי שיתוף אש"פ. הדוגלים בה מצביעים כי חוסיין לא ביקש באורח פרטי מארה"ב לעשות משהו שיתפרש כחליכה לקראת ערפאת.

2. כאמור, התמריצים לחוסיין נועדו לענות על צרכיו הספציפיים שלו. כך למשל, בודקים אפשרות ש-8 מליון דולר, הוטפת סיוע לפרוייקטים של איכות חיים בשטחים, יינתנו באמצעות ירדן במגמה לחזק האוריינטציה הפרו-ירדנית בשטחים. כמו כן, הדוגלים בתפיסה זו סבורים כי ירדן זקוקה לערובה בטחונית אמריקנית מקיפה לרבות אספקת נשק מתקדם כגון מטוסי F-16 בכדי להתמודד עם השלכות אפשריות להליכה נפרדת לתהליך המדיני.

3. אינדיק הדגיש כי הנ"ל בגדר מחשבות שנדונו ולא מדיניות מגובשת וסופית. הממשל מעדיף להתמקד בסוגיית יחסי ישראל-מצרים כבעלת עדיפות עליונה.

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האירוע המרכזי של הועידה היה איסוף כספים לשיפוץ מסל החרות בניו-יורק.
המבצע גייס כ-100,000 דולר. בניגוד לאשתקד לא פרסמו את שמות
ה-corporate sponsors, אולם מקור אישר כי הועידה מומנה באמצעות תרומות
פטורות ממס לקרן מיוחדת. החברות והגופים שנתנו חסותם כללו: סגרירות כונית
וטעודיה; התברות: בכסל, מק-דונלד-דאגלט, מוביל, הבנק האמריקני הראשון,
ג'נרל אלקטריק, חברת הנפט פיליפס וסוקל.

קני-סל

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MEMORANDUM

TO: TD, AC, SR, MI, ER, AND LEG

FROM: ADINA

RE: Jim Wright's speech before the NAAA covention

Rep Jim Wright delivered a completely apolitical speech to an audience of 150 NAAA convention attendees and 5 members of the press at the Reserve Officers Building. Rep Nick Joe Rahall introduced Wright, acknowledging Wright's commitment to Arab-Americans and noting Wright's special relationship with NAAA board member Jo Chamey. Chamey is president of a real estate investment and development company in Texas and is Wright's business associate and friend.

Describing his various journeys to the Middle East and his impressions of Arabs, Wright remained at a spiritual and personal level throughout his speech. He quoted from the Koran about the unity and oneness of man and spoke of the contributions that Arabs have made to religion, art, architecture, and the American community. The majority leader closed with a plea to stop "seeking retribution instead of reconciliation." He called for mutual acceptance and for the Israelis and Palestinians to stop "waiting for the other side to go first."

Several attendees felt insulted by the speech and walked out of the luncheon. The session closed with David Saad's presentation of an NAAA t-shirt and visor to Jim Wright. Wright thanked Saad and said, "I will wear it with pride."

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Address by the Honorable Michael H. Armacost
Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs
National Association of Arab Americans
May 4, 1985

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE MIDDLE EAST:
A PARTNERSHIP FOR THE FUTURE**

It is a pleasure to address the NAAA today. Since the beginning of large-scale immigration to the United States in the last century, the number of Americans of Arab origin has grown to well over one million. Immigrants have come from every part of the Arab world. Your fellow citizens are increasingly aware that your community has been active in all fields of political, economic, scientific, and cultural endeavor. In recent years, growing numbers of you have held elective and appointive positions in local, state, and national government. Your contributions to public life in America have won recognition, appreciation, and respect.

In the best tradition of American pluralism, the NAAA and similar organizations are working to help preserve your ethnic and cultural heritage. I am convinced that, in addition, your association and others like it are well placed to help other Americans comprehend the Middle East and help the Arab world understand America.

The Middle East, which I define here as the region comprising Israel and the Arab states from the Gulf to Morocco, is of vital concern to all Americans. Today, I want to comment briefly on the infrastructure of America's relationship with the Arab world -- that is, the bonds of sentiment and interest that link the United States with Arab nations of the Middle East -- and then address several of the political issues of current interest.

America and the Arab World: A Broad and Deep Relationship

The press of crises and conflicts all too frequently leads many of us to focus exclusively on the contentious issues in the Middle East. You, as Americans with roots in the region, are familiar with the long history of American involvement with the peoples of the region, the many dimensions of that involvement, and the bedrock of common interests and outlook on which it is built, but others tend to lose sight of it.

The United States has long-standing interests in the Middle East, and the nations of that part of the world have developed

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important interests in their relationships with us. After almost 200 years of interaction, our shared ideals, interests, and cooperation on a wide range of activities have created strong and enduring ties. Properly nurtured, these ties can provide the basis for mutually beneficial relations far into the future.

Perhaps the most significant ties that bind the American people and the nations of the Middle East derive from our common aspirations. National independence, democracy, constitutionalism, the rule of law, free enterprise, and an attachment to religious values are all ideals to which Americans and Middle Eastern peoples have aspired as we have sought to improve our lives. Marxist-Leninist and communist values, on the other hand, have been found wanting. Where such prescriptions have been tested, they have failed, and societies have resumed their quest for personal freedom, social justice, and economic development.

Economic and social development are difficult and sometimes painful processes; they have occasionally been viewed as a threat to community and religious values not only in the Islamic world, but even in the United States. Many countries around the world, however, have shown that economic and social development can proceed in a way that respects basic values, and that a commitment to political and economic freedom need not harm -- indeed, can enrich -- the traditions and values of other societies.

Beyond the resonance of American ideals and principles, our close ties with the Middle East derive from other sources, including our rich history of cooperation in educational, cultural, and humanitarian endeavors.

Beginning in the 19th century, Americans have sponsored educational institutions in the Middle East. The American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo, to name but two, are today part of a precious common patrimony. We intend to continue our support of the work being done by these two fine universities, often -- as in Beirut today -- under the most difficult circumstances. Crossing the Atlantic in the opposite direction, almost 800,000 students from every country of the Middle East have attended American universities in the last 30 years. In fact, of all Arab students studying abroad today, almost half study in the United States.

Among Americans, meanwhile, there has been a steady growth of interest in the Middle East and its cultures over recent decades. Initially fueled by commercial activities, this

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interest has now become widespread. While in 1953 only six universities in the United States offered Middle East programs, today some 120 do so. Twenty years ago, there were only four periodicals in this country devoted to current Middle East issues. In 1985, there are more than 50. The American public at large has, through public television and major exhibitions on tour, begun to look behind stereotypes. On a more intimate level, Arab-American communities in the United States have helped Americans learn more about Arab culture and customs, not least of all through the work of the many hundreds of churches and mosques they have established.

Through its support for a variety of exchange programs, the U.S. Government has helped in these efforts. The U.S. Information Agency has, in the last three years alone, hosted the American visits of over 650 Middle Easterners prominent in a variety of fields. Similarly, since the inception of the Fulbright exchange program in the late 1940's, over 2200 students from the Middle East have benefited from scholarships for study in America and over 700 American scholars have received research grants for work in the Middle East.

American citizens and government have also been actively involved in providing assistance to those in need in the region. We have contributed to the community development and relief programs of private and international organizations, including major support to the work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and other organizations involved in improving the quality of life for Palestinians on the West Bank, Gaza, and elsewhere. The Save the Children Federation and Catholic Relief Services, in particular, have been major recipients of AID funds for programs in Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia, and Israel, as well as the West Bank and Gaza. In the last four years alone, we have also provided disaster relief assistance to victims of war, earthquakes, and floods in Lebanon, Algeria, North Yemen, and Tunisia.

Our security assistance programs are another key element in our relationships with Arab states in the Middle East. We are committed to the security and integrity of our friends in the region. Their ability to defend themselves against those who would threaten stability benefits the United States. We have common goals and interests, and we move closer to their achievement through the sale of American military equipment and technology.

A third significant aspect of the strong American ties to the peoples of the Middle East has been that of our economic

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and commercial exchanges. Largely as a result of expanded oil revenues, the Arab countries of the Middle East are playing an increasingly important role in many areas of international economic activity. In a very short period, the region has become a major market for exports of American goods and services. Our firms have played the leading role in the development projects evident throughout the region -- new cities, modern industrial complexes, beautiful airports -- as well as the roads, communications networks, health care facilities, and power and water supply grids necessary for future development.

Both the United States and the countries of the region have prospered from the trade and economic progress made possible by oil revenues, and we can look forward to continued mutual benefits from cooperation, trade, and investment in the future.

Several Arab nations have become a major force in world financial markets. Arab governments and banks have become full partners with the United States and other developed countries in efforts to promote the progress of the global economy, largely through international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Finally, the United States and some of the wealthier countries of the region have developed a strong and enduring common interest in assisting the development of the less fortunate nations in the region. Long-standing U.S. assistance programs emphasize the transfer of technology, institutional development and training, and the role of the private sector and market forces. Arab assistance to many of these same countries complements our efforts, making a major contribution to economic well-being and political stability.

This is just a quick sketch of the political ideals and values that we share, the educational, cultural, and humanitarian ties that bring us together, and the economic and commercial exchanges from which we all benefit. This sketch, brief as it is, demonstrates that the underlying relationship between the United States and the Middle East is one in which we can all take pride.

Today's Political Issues

Let me, then, turn to some of the contemporary political issues.

The United States is deeply committed, as are the peoples of the region, to stability and to the search for peace in the

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Middle East. Our objective is to encourage conditions in which Israel and its Arab neighbors can live together without the constant threat of conflict and devote their attention to improving the lives of their peoples. Our commitment to peace is based in part on strategic realities. A peaceful and stable Middle East is vital to our security and that of our allies, but our concerns go beyond purely strategic considerations. The close ties we have with friendly states in the region require us to engage in the search for lasting peace. Fortunately, these close ties give us unique credentials to work for that peace.

Our cooperation with friendly states to promote peace has excited determined opposition. Extremist groups in the Middle East and elsewhere around the world have sought to blame outsiders for the ills of their societies, and have adopted the instruments of terror to express their hostility and block the path to peace.

The emergence of terrorism in its many forms around the world is unacceptable. Terrorism strikes at the ideals and values we all share. All governments have a responsibility to remain steadfast in defending their interests in the face of terrorist threats. We intend to persevere and respond appropriately wherever the scourge of terrorism strikes, be this in Europe, the Middle East, or Latin America.

The record of the past makes it clear that the search for peace in the Middle East has the best chance for success when the United States enjoys productive relations with both Israel and the Arab states. America's abiding friendship with Israel is not, as some suggest, an obstacle to progress. On the contrary, it is only by understanding and helping to meet Israel's legitimate concerns for its own security, as well as by helping friendly Arab states meet their own genuine defense needs, that we can continue our work as an honest broker.

Beyond this, stability and security are essential if Israel and the key Arab states are to have the confidence necessary to take the risks required for peace. Our substantial programs of military assistance to friendly states in the region are designed to enhance their ability to protect and defend themselves against terrorism and other forms of intimidation. Military assistance is not a favor that we do our friends; we provide such assistance because we recognize that the ability of friendly states to defend themselves against threats to their security is in our interest as well as theirs.

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Peace is crucial for the future of the region. Everyone professes to be for this noble objective, but, alas, that is not enough to bring it about. In all the major conflicts of the region -- among Arabs and Israelis, in Lebanon, between Iran and Iraq, in the Western Sahara -- each party has its own view of the content of peace and of the ways to reach it. If peace is to be achieved, each party will be required to make difficult decisions. Outside parties can neither create the environment for solving conflicts nor impose their own solutions. Outside parties can, however, help facilitate negotiations, which are necessary to reconcile the conflicting interests of the parties. In ways appropriate to each conflict, the United States is seeking to do just that.

In Lebanon, where Israeli forces are withdrawing, we continue to support the creation of satisfactory arrangements for ensuring the security of the Israeli-Lebanese border, and we are encouraging the establishment of conditions of internal security and stability through a resumption of dialogue, reconciliation, and reform. We remain committed to an independent, unified, and sovereign Lebanon governed by its legitimate central institutions, and we look forward to the day in which all foreign forces will have at last been withdrawn.

The Lebanese people, the vast majority of whom want only to live in peace, have suffered grievously from more than ten years of strife. We will continue to do what we can -- and to urge others to do what they can -- to help alleviate the suffering and bring the situation under control. As part of our own efforts to help the people and government of Lebanon, we will continue to provide economic and military assistance.

On the wider scene, a number of encouraging developments have been occurring in the efforts to bring peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. A new realism and a new desire for progress are evident. Among the most significant developments on the Arab side has been the clear espousal of the principle of a negotiated settlement contained in the February 11 agreement between Jordan and the PLO. The parties in the region have given the process a new momentum. This is a year in which progress can be made, and we intend to do what we can to help.

The visits of many leaders from the area -- Defense Minister Rabin of Israel, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, President Mubarak of Egypt, Foreign Minister Masri of Jordan, and President Bendjedid of Algeria -- have given us many recent opportunities to consult with friends and to reaffirm our commitment to work for peace. King Hussein of Jordan is always

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welcome here, and we hope to see him soon to continue this process. We will have yet another opportunity for such consultations when President Bourguiba of Tunisia comes in June.

Meanwhile, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, who addressed you last year, has just completed a trip to the region to explore the possibilities for progress toward direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. While his discussions were frank and beneficial, we are involved in a slow and gradual process in which no sudden breakthrough is to be expected. The Secretary of State will visit the region soon, and we expect that his meetings with key leaders will sustain movement in the right direction.

The essential next step in the search for peace is direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan with the participation of representative Palestinians. Our overall objective is a settlement in which Israel and all its Arab neighbors possess an enduring stake.

Moves toward peace require courage. Some parties are more willing than others to take the necessary risks in the near term. As the Secretary has said, we will "continue to support those who seek negotiations and peaceful solutions against those who promote violence and oppose peace." We believe that those who take risks for peace deserve special support.

Some have asserted that our approach ignores the Palestinians. On the contrary, we have reaffirmed our belief that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people must be addressed in any agreement regarding the final status of the West Bank and Gaza; that the full manner in which those rights will be exercised will become clear as the process of negotiation proceeds; that there should be Palestinian participation at every stage of the negotiating process; and that any agreement on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza should receive the prior consent of the inhabitants of those territories. On the crucial issue of governance, it is our firm view that self-government in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable, just, and lasting settlement for the West Bank and Gaza.

We believe that these positions, taken together, provide clear evidence of our appreciation for the role the Palestinians must play, both during the negotiating process and in the agreements and institutions that emerge. The Israelis, Jordanians, and Palestinians are the key parties in our current efforts, and we have been encouraging them to elaborate a formula for Palestinian participation in negotiations that is

realistic and acceptable to both the other parties. As for ourselves, we have stated repeatedly that we cannot open a dialogue with the PLO until it accepts Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and recognizes Israel's right to exist.

Some have portrayed our approach as favoring the position of one party over another. A careful reading of the central statement of our position -- the President's initiative of September 1, 1982 -- makes it clear that, in any negotiation on the future of the West Bank and Gaza, we could not support either the establishment of an independent Palestinian state or annexation or permanent control by Israel. We are unwavering in our support for the security of Israel. The issue, in the words of the President's initiative, is "how to reconcile Israel's legitimate security concerns with the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. And that answer can come only at the negotiating table."

Some have questioned our preference for direct negotiations among the parties over other procedures. This preference is based on our conviction that only through direct negotiations can the parties to a conflict acquire the stake in peace that ensures success. The delicate issues that need to be addressed, moreover, require negotiation outside the limelight. Given the positions of the respective parties at this point, it is our judgement that an international conference -- if indeed all the parties agreed to attend -- would result in nothing more than a round of political theater. Direct negotiations -- quiet negotiations to the extent possible -- offer the best chance of success.

We have been criticized for not working with the Soviet Union in the search for peace. The truth is that the Soviets have largely excluded themselves from this process by failing to maintain relations with all parties. Nor has the Soviet Union invested any political capital in the search for peace. Its role has been largely confined to procedural suggestions designed to give it a place at the table.

It is high time to put the parties' commitment to peace to the test. Hard decisions must be made in the Middle East; once they have been made, our own role as honest broker, urging each side toward accommodation, will become evident. Experience shows that negotiations work -- indeed, that negotiation is the only method that works. Efforts to pursue armed struggle or to achieve military parity are costly dead ends. Direct negotiations are the only path to progress; any other course means delay or evasion of the real issues.

Conclusion

In closing, let me summarize what I think each of us can be doing to maintain and develop the relationship between the United States and the Middle East. I have suggested that the two regions enjoy far closer, broader, and deeper ties than the daily headlines might suggest. In a very real sense, we are approaching the 21st century together.

All of us as Americans should be looking for ways to develop these ties further. We can continue to make important contributions to prosperity, development, and stability not only by pursuing the essential search for peace, but also by working carefully to deepen the many forms of interaction that exist. Those of us in government have a special responsibility to remain sensitive to the aspirations and needs of the peoples of the region and to the circumstances that leaders in both the Arab states and Israel must face.

The National Association of Arab-Americans and similar organizations have an important role to play in cementing what I would call a partnership for the future between the United States and the Middle East. First, through your work at the local, state, and national levels, you can help other Americans appreciate the Middle East. Second, through your activities in the Arab world, you can help the Arab peoples understand America and the nature of its contribution to the region. Finally, you are uniquely qualified to help us ensure that the United States contributes its talents and resources to economic and social development in the Arab world with care and sensitivity for its social and cultural values. We therefore welcome every opportunity to exchange views with members of organizations such as yours.

We must all strive to strengthen the common ground that exists between the United States and the Middle East -- in ideals and values, in educational, cultural, and humanitarian activities, and in economic and commercial exchanges. And we must remember that America's commitment to peaceful solutions to the conflicts of the area is an enduring one. I know you will continue to work for peace in the region and for closer relations between the United States and the Arab world, and I wish you every success.

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HONORABLE JACK KEMP
FOREIGN OPERATIONS -- FY 85 SUPPLEMENTAL MARKUP
MAY 1, 1985

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SUGGESTED COMMITTEE REPORT LANGUAGE

ISRAEL SUPPLEMENTAL

THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS \$1.5 BILLION IN SUPPLEMENTAL ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS FOR ISRAEL, TO REMAIN AVAILABLE UNTIL OCTOBER 1, 1986.

THE COMMITTEE HAS HEARD TESTIMONY FROM ADMINISTRATION WITNESSES AND OTHER ECONOMIC ADVISORS CONCERNING THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVES OVER ECONOMIC POLICY REFORMS. WHILE WE HAVE NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF ANY SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS REACHED AS A RESULT OF THOSE DISCUSSIONS, THE COMMITTEE IS ENCOURAGED TO LEARN THAT SOME FORM OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED, AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION ANTICIPATES FORWARDING A ISRAEL SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.

INASMUCH AS THE CONGRESS WAS NOT A PARTY TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AND HAS NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THE PARTICULARS OF ANY AGREEMENT ARISING THEREFROM, THE COMMITTEE WILL NOT EXPRESS ANY POSITION EITHER SUPPORTING OR CRITICIZING THE SPECIFIC MEASURES UNDER CONSIDERATION. INSTEAD, THE COMMITTEE WISHES TO RECORD ITS BELIEF THAT, WHATEVER ELSE MAY HAVE BEEN RESOLVED IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ISRAELI AND U.S. GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES, TWO PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND:

FIRST, OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER EXPERIMENTS WITH ECONOMIC ENGINEERING, NO MATTER HOW WELL INTENTIONED.

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AND SECOND, NO CONDITIONS ARE PREFERABLE TO CONDITIONS THAT
WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. 169

FINALLY, THE COMMITTEE EXPECTS THAT THESE FUNDS WILL BE
DISBURSED ON AN EXPEDITIOUS BASIS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE URGENCY
OF ISRAEL'S NEEDS AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ECONOMIC TARGETS. IN
THE EVENT DISBURSAL IS INORDINATELY DELAYED, THE PRESIDENT SHALL
REPORT TO CONGRESS THE REASON(S) FOR SUCH DELAY.

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HONORABLE JACK KEMP

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

FY 85 SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDS FOR ISRAEL

I STRONGLY SUPPORT THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S DECISION TO PROVIDE \$1.5 BILLION IN SUPPLEMENTAL ESF FUNDS FOR ISRAEL, TO HELP ISRAEL THROUGH ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS.

THE SUB-COMMITTEE HAS HEARD TESTIMONY BY ADMINISTRATION WITNESSES AND OTHER ECONOMIC ADVISORS CONCERNING THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVES OVER ECONOMIC POLICY REFORMS. WHILE THE CONGRESS HAS NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF THE SPECIFICS OF ANY UNDERSTANDING, IT IS VERY ENCOURAGING TO LEARN THAT THE ADMINISTRATION ANTICIPATES FORWARDING A \$1.5 BILLION ISRAEL SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.

WHATEVER ELSE MAY EMERGE FROM THESE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, I BELIEVE THAT TWO PRINCIPLES MUST BE KEPT IN MIND:

FIRST, OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER EXPERIMENTS WITH ECONOMIC ENGINEERING, NO MATTER HOW WELL INTENTIONED.

AND SECOND, NO CONDITIONS ARE PREFERABLE TO CONDITIONS THAT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

WE HAVE TO LOOK NO FURTHER THAN THE SUDAN TO SEE THE DISASTROUS RESULTS OF ELEVATING ECONOMIC ENGINEERING OVER SECURITY INTERESTS. AMONG ALL NORTH AFRICAN STATES, NINERI WAS THE MOST SUPPORTIVE OF SADAT'S PEACE WITH ISRAEL. NINERI'S ROLE IN TRANSPORTING ETHIOPIAN JEWS TO ISRAEL WAS CRUCIAL IN THIS HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. YET UP TO THE LAST DAYS OF HIS RULE, THE U.S., FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF THE IMF, WAS WITHHOLDING NEARLY ALL

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AID APPROPRIATED FOR THIS FISCAL YEAR PENDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A SERIES OF AUSTERITY MEASURES. THE CROWDS IN THE STREETS OF KHARTOUM WERE SHOUTING, "NO, NO IMF, USA" ON THE DAY THE COUP OUSTED HIM FROM POWER.

I HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED MY CONCERN THAT THE UNITED STATES IS TREATING ISRAEL LIKE THE IMF TREATS A THIRD WORLD COUNTRY. INDEED, IN HIS APRIL COMMENTARY ARTICLE, STUART EIZENSTAT CHARACTERIZED THIS VENTURE IN CONDITIONALITY AS "REPLICAT[ING] THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND." FRANKLY, I AM CONCERNED THAT THE CONDITIONS REPORTED AS A PART OF THIS AID PACKAGE BEAR TOO STRONG A RESEMBLANCE TO IMF AUSTERITY CONDITIONS -- CONDITIONS THAT OFTEN END UP BEING BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THERE HAS BEEN NO DISCUSSION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OF THE TYPES OF ECONOMIC REFORMS -- TAX CUTS, INCREASED INCENTIVES TO SAVE AND INVEST, PRIVATIZATION -- THAT HAVE BROUGHT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OUR STRONGEST RECOVERY IN A GENERATION.

INSTEAD, FROM WHAT I KNOW OF THE AGREED CONDITIONS, THEY ARE DEFICIENT IN THREE BASIC RESPECTS. FIRST, RATHER THAN NEEDED TAX REDUCTIONS, THE PACKAGE WOULD ENCOURAGE A TAX INCREASE OF \$750 MILLION. SECOND, WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS ARE BEING PERPETUATED. AND FINALLY, THE CONTEMPLATED MONETARY POLICY CHANGES ARE NOT DIRECTED AT STABILIZING THE SHEKEL, AND IN FACT MAY HELP FORCE ISRAEL INTO A RECESSION.

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT TAX REFORM IS NEEDED IN ISRAEL: THE ISRAELI PEOPLE ARE AMONG THE MOST HEAVILY TAXED IN THE WORLD.

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IN ISRAEL TODAY, INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATES RANGE FROM 25% TO 66%, WITH THE MAXIMUM RATE STARTING AT \$18,000. ON TOP OF THIS, THERE IS A 15% VALUE ADDED TAX, A PURCHASE TAX OF 5-40% ON DURABLE GOODS, AND A PROPERTY TAX AT 2.5%. CORPORATIONS AND BUSINESSES FACE A TAX RATE OF 61%. WHEN THE ENTIRE RANGE OF TAXES ARE TOTALLED UP, THEY COME TO 61% OF ISRAEL'S GNP.

IT IS NO SURPRISE, THEREFORE, THAT ISRAEL ALSO HAS ONE OF THE LARGEST UNDERGROUND ECONOMIES IN THE WORLD. I BELIEVE ENACTMENT OF TAX REFORM IN ISRAEL WOULD HELP THE COUNTRY TURN TO ITS HISTORICAL ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF 4-5%. BOTH ISRAEL AND THE U.S. WOULD BENEFIT: A RETURN TO THESE GROWTH RATES WOULD REVITALIZE THE ISRAELI ECONOMY AND RELEASE THE CONSIDERABLE ENERGY AND INDUSTRY OF ITS PEOPLE. INDEED, THE GAINS TO ISRAEL FROM A HEALTHY ECONOMY WOULD MORE THAN EQUAL THE VALUE OF U.S. AID.

SOME MAY ARGUE THAT ISRAEL CANNOT AFFORD TAX REFORM AT THIS TIME. BUT WITH INCENTIVE RATES LIKE THESE, CAN ISRAEL AFFORD NOT TO REFORM ITS TAX SYSTEM?

IN THE SHORT TERM, ISRAEL IS IMPLEMENTING A SERIES OF BUDGET CUTS -- AS WELL AS A \$750 MILLION TAX INCREASE. OF ALL THE SECTORS OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE DEFENSE MINISTRY WILL ABSORB THE GREATEST CUTS -- \$600 MILLION. MANY MILITARY EXPERTS IN ISRAEL HAVE WARNED OF THE RISK ENTAILED IN MAKING DEFENSE ABSORB THE BULK OF THE BUDGET CUTS -- NOT UNLIKE THE PROBLEMS WE FACE HERE IN THE UNITED STATES.

I HAVE HEARD SOME U.S. ADVISORS EXPRESS CONCERN THAT THE DEFENSE MINISTRY WILL BE UNABLE TO STAY WITHIN THIS AUSTERE BUDGET. IN PARTICULAR, SOME CHARGE THAT THE ISRAELI CABINET IS

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UNDERESTIMATING THE COSTS OF DISENGAGEMENT FROM LEBANON.

I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT, IF THE UNITED STATES HAD TO PAY FOR ALL OF ISRAEL'S COSTS IN DESTROYING PLO BASES AND TERRORIST TRAINING CAMPS IN LEBANON, WE WOULD HAVE GOTTEN A BARGAIN.

WE IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE SOME DIFFICULTY APPRECIATING ECONOMIC REALITIES IN ISRAEL. HERE, DEFENSE SPENDING CONSUMES LESS THAN 7% OF OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. IN ISRAEL, THAT FIGURE IS OVER 25%. AND THE HIDDEN COSTS OF ISRAEL'S DEFENSE BURDEN -- SUCH AS UNIVERSAL CONSCRIPTION -- RENDER THAT FIGURE EVEN HIGHER.

WHEN WE PROVIDE AID TO ISRAEL, WE ARE NOT EXTENDING CHARITY. WE ARE INVESTING IN AN ALLY AND CONTRIBUTING TO A DEFENSE OUTPOST FOR THE WEST.

FOR THESE REASONS, I STRONGLY SUPPORT THE COMMITTEE'S DECISION TO PROVIDE \$1.5 BILLION IN SUPPLEMENTAL ASSISTANCE FOR ISRAEL. BUT I AM CONCERNED THAT AGREED CONDITIONS BE CONSTRUCTIVE, AND THAT THEY STRENGTHEN, NOT WEAKEN, ISRAEL'S ECONOMY.

IN PARTICULAR, AS CONSULTATION PROCEEDS THROUGH THE JOINT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GROUP, I STRONGLY URGE THE JEDG TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF URGENTLY NEEDED INDIVIDUAL AND CORPORATE TAX RATE REDUCTIONS IN ISRAEL.

FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION IN PASSING THAT I FIND IT PARADOXICAL THAT SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING FOR ISRAEL IS REQUESTED AND APPROVED ONLY AFTER THE MOST RIGOROUS STUDY OF ECONOMIC POLICY AND NEEDS, WHILE \$500 MILLION SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING FOR EGYPT IS

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SUBJECT TO NO SUCH SCRUTINY. IF ANYTHING, EGYPT'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE FAR MORE EGREGIOUS THAN ISRAEL'S. THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT SHOULD EXPECT THAT MEMBERS OF OUR SUBCOMMITTEE WILL TAKE A KEEN INTEREST IN SEEING THAT WHATEVER SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDS CONGRESS APPROPRIATES ARE USED TO BEST ADVANTAGE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH SOUND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS.

MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS

I SUPPORT THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO DENY SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING FOR THE MDBS. I HAVE BEEN CONCERNED FOR SOME TIME ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY THE MULTILATERAL BANKS, AND THE PRESSURES TOWARD POLITICAL INSTABILITY THAT THESE CONDITIONS OFTEN CREATE. IT WAS THIS CONCERN, SHARED BY MEMBERS OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE, SENATOR ROBERT KASTEN, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, THAT LED TO THE ADOPTION OF THE KEMP-KASTEN AMENDMENT, WHICH STATED THAT:

"NONE OF THE FUNDS MADE AVAILABLE IN THIS ACT SHALL BE RESTRICTED FOR OBLIGATION OR DISBURSEMENT SOLELY AS A RESULT OF THE POLICIES OF ANY MULTILATERAL INSTITUTION."

IT WAS OUR HOPE THAT THIS AMENDMENT WOULD ENSURE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN DETERMINING ITS FOREIGN ASSISTANCE POLICY, AND IN SO DOING, ALLOW OUR GOVERNMENT TO EXPAND PRO-GROWTH ECONOMIC POLICIES BEYOND OUR SHORES.

OUR HOPES HAVE NOT BEEN REALIZED. IN SETTING CONDITIONS FOR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE, AND IN THE ACTIONS OF OUR EXECUTIVE

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Menechem Begin were still prime minister, "Israel would not have stuttered. He would have spoken to the Americans on this subject clearly and with determination."

Meanwhile, Begin was quoted by The Associated Press as saying in a telephone interview that Reagan's participation in the ceremony at Bitburg, which contains the graves of 49 Nazi Waffen-SS soldiers, was "one of the saddest days in the history of the Jewish people." He made a similar comment in an interview with the Israeli Army radio, United Press International reported.

Peres spoke at the opening meeting of the summer session of Israel's parliament devoted to commemorating the Jewish Holocaust and the defeat of the Nazis.

In celebrating the victory of World War II, Peres said, it was important to ask whether the "lunatic policy" of Nazism had also been eradicated and to remember that in the rise of the Nazis "a part was also played by those who failed to realize its significance, who were inclined to forgive or to ignore."

Referring to Reagan's comment that the German soldiers buried at Bitburg were victims of the Nazis as much as the Jews who died in the Holocaust, Peres said, "Gravestones haven't the power to obliterate the abyss that yawns between those who lead to murder and those who were led."

He added: "I believe that President Reagan is a true friend of the Jewish people and the state of Israel. It is precisely for this reason that we feel deep pain at the painful and grievous error of his visit to Bitburg."

"There can be reconciliation between peoples. There is no reconciliation between times. There is no reconciliation regarding the past."

Rabin spoke at Yad Vashem, the memorial here to the Holocaust victims, at a ceremony to dedicate a monument to the Jewish soldiers, partisans and guerrillas who fought Germany in World War II.

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OUTRAGED ISRAELIS DENOUNCE REAGAN

'He Will Not Be Forgiven' for Bitburg Visit, Rabin Vows

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 6 — Israeli leaders across the political spectrum expressed anger and bitterness today over President Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg.

The officials used language rarely heard here in reference to an American President.

"There is no reconciliation with Nazism, the Nazis and everything associated with them," said Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. "The historic mistake of President Reagan was in equating murderers with their victims. For this, he will not be forgiven either by enlightened humanity or by the Jewish people."

'To Forget Nothing'

Mr. Rabin's comments came at a ceremony this morning at the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem dedicating a monument to the soldiers, partisans and underground fighters who died in battle against the Nazis.

"Today," Mr. Rabin said in a speech, "the day after Bitburg, here at this place of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, let it be said that we, the members of the Jewish people, have taken an oath: 'To remember, and to forget nothing.' We have sworn that never again will there be a Holocaust."

This afternoon, Parliament held a special session to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, and all the speakers sharply criticized Mr. Reagan's trip to the cemetery. Mr. Reagan's critics included Prime Minister Shimon Peres,

who had previously spoken out on the matter.

"We are not proposing to answer hatred with hatred," Mr. Peres told the special parliamentary gathering, which included members of the diplomatic corps and Holocaust survivors from around the world.

"But even death cannot obscure the difference between those who were buried as murderers and those who were buried as murder victims. Grave-stones have not the power to obliterate the abyss that yawns between those who led to others' murders and those who were led."

"I believe that President Reagan is a true friend of the Jewish people and the state of Israel," Mr. Peres continued. "It is precisely for this reason that we feel deep pain at the terrible error of his visit to Bitburg. There can be reconciliation between peoples. There is no reconciliation between times. There is no reconciliation regarding the past. There is no legitimization for what occurred."

A Firm but Restrained Reaction

Up until the moment before Mr. Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg on Sunday, the reaction of Israeli leaders to the proposed wreath-laying ceremony had been firm but relatively restrained. Officials indicated that this was in part because they had hoped that Mr. Reagan would change his mind without their having to speak out against him.

It was also because there is great reluctance here to criticize Mr. Reagan, who is considered a great friend of Israel — particularly in light of his reported decision last week to approve in principle the Israeli request for \$1.5 billion in emergency economic aid.

A leftist member of Parliament, Yossi Sarid, told a protest rally in front of the United States Embassy in Tel Aviv on Sunday that the Israeli Government had been "overcome by silence" because of the \$1.5 billion.

Whatever the reasons for the previous restraint, now that the President has gone ahead with the visit to the Bitburg cemetery, the comments by Israeli leaders reveal a nation deeply upset about the long-term implications of Mr. Reagan's trip to the cemetery.

A Sad Day, Begin Says

The former Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, told the Reuters news agency in a brief telephone interview that Mr. Reagan's trip to the Bitburg cemetery was "one of the saddest days in the history of the Jewish people."

Industry Minister Ariel Sharon told the Israeli radio — in a critique of Mr. Peres's handling of the Israeli reaction to the Bitburg affair — that the Labor

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Party "does not know how to stand up to guys."

"If Begin were the Prime Minister today, Israel would not mumble and Begin would not mumble," Mr. Sharon said. "He would talk to the Americans on this matter in firm, clear language. As it is, people bend down — God forbid not to enrage the guy."

"Reagan is a friend of Israel and I am sure he is also a friend of the Jews, but when friends make mistakes their mistakes should be pointed out to them, out of national pride and out of a feeling of Jewish honor."

At the session of Parliament at which Prime Minister Peres spoke, Speaker Shimon Hillel summed up the popular Israeli mood after Mr. Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery and his stop at the site of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The Israeli Ambassador to West Germany, Yitzhak Ben-Ari, attended the Bergen-Belsen ceremony.

'Deep Pain and Burning Insult'

"Those attempts to blur history," Mr. Hillel said of the Bitburg visit, "cannot fail to arouse in us a feeling of deep pain and burning insult, and also an oppressive worry that they are intended to harm us, and possibly even to prepare the ground anew."

"What can be said that has not been said already about the wretched act of a pilgrimage to Bitburg to visit the graves of Wehrmacht and SS soldiers?" he asked. "The claim that it was the result of misguided advice, and the fact that the act was perpetrated by true friends of Israel and the Jewish people are not sufficient to numb the sting, and they can only be interpreted as an additional factor in the process of blurring and erasing the traces."

N.Y. Times

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NEWS SUMMARY - MAY 7, 1985

WASH. TIMES-HERALD - Officials at the Arab university bearing the name of this town in the West Bank (Birzeit) admit that "you cannot make students read Shakespeare and not talk about Jewish settlements and land expropriation." Birzeit is due to reopen tomorrow - probably not for long.

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No valid cooperation between Jew and Arab seems feasible in the face of political stalemate and military occupation.

Jordan and PLO Agree On Team To Negotiate With U.S.

***CHRISTIAN SCI. MON.-Curtius- Jordan and the PLO have agreed on a list of non-PLO members to be part of a joint peace negotiating team, according to a senior Jordanian official. "We submitted specific names to US envoy Murphy, and we are waiting for the US response to that" said the official, who spoke on condition that he not be named. The Jordanian official said he believes Shultz will approve the names during his visit to Israel May 12.

Pope Asked To Help Lebanon

WASH. TIMES-(Wires)-Cardinal Antoine Pierre Khoraihe, patriarch of Lebanon's Maronite Catholic community, asked Pope John Paul II's assistance yesterday in ending the Lebanese civil war between Christian and Moslem militias. The Vatican gave no details of their discussions.

Jews From 1 Nations Attend Protest

THE EVENING SUN-(NY Times)- Jews came from 21 countries. At the main crossroads of Bitburg, police officers with plastic anti-riot shields confronted an advancing crowd of Jews, many of them wearing the badge that accompanied their parents and grandparents to their deaths: a six-pointed yellow star bearing the word Jude.

Help My Wife Or Else, Sakharov Tells Soviets

WASH. TIMES-Outlaw- Sakharov has informed the Soviet Academy of Science he will resign from the academy May 10 unless his wife is allowed to seek medical treatment in the West, the Sakharov Institute said yesterday.

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תאריך זמן רישום:

לשימוש
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הקשר

מס. מברק:

תאריך זמן תיכור (ימולא עיי השולח)
לדיעת:

הממונה

שיחת עם פלסן.

1. פלסן העלה את נושא ניצול כספי ה FMS וכן ייצור חלקי חלבנא במפעלים השטחים וציין שארה"ב לא תוכל לחשלים עם מצב זה. הגבתי שארה"ב מעולם לא טענה שליחודים אין זכות לחיות בשטחים ואשני מכין הרגישות הרבה שהוא מפגין. פלסן חזר וחדגיש שלא יוכלו להסכים לניצול כספי ארה"ב בשטחים ושיתייחסו בחומרה לתמשך הפעילות. הוא מתכוון להעלות הנושא עם מנכ"ל משרד הבטחון.

2. שאל על מצרים, ראו בנפרד.

הפנכ"ל

תאריך: 6.5.85

השורה: 6.5.85 אישור מנהל המחלקה: 805

אישור לשכת המנכ"ל:

(לציין תאריך וזמן העברה לקשר)

לשימוש מח' הקשר בלבד

התפוצה:

הנושא: