

10

מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

משרד

זטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה
 תת חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה - לשכת ראש הממשלה
 שם תיק: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצחק שמיר - ארצות-הברית

סימול מקורי: 3 תקופת החומר: 4/1990-3/1990
 מזהה פיזי: א - 8 / 5022 13/11/2012

שם: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצחק

א - 8 / 5022

מזהה פיזי: 43.4/13 - 787 מס פריט: 2169008
 מזהה לוגי: 02-111-02-05-04 כתובת: 13/11/2012

מס' תיק מקורי

מחלקה

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 21877

26.03.90 תאריך *

* * * * * 1 דף *
מתוך 1

* * * * * יוצא ** סודי ביותר 8 מתוך 2 עותק *

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* חוזם: 3,21877 *

* אל: 77/8, מצב/2993 *

* מ-: המשרד, תא: 260390, זח: 1417, דח: מ, סג: סב *

* תח: @ גס: צפא *

* נד: @ *

* 63744 *

* סודי ביותר/מיד *

* אל: וושינגטון *

* השגריר ח.ד.ב. *

* (א) השגריר בראון הודיעני שהוא מחה אמש בפני שה'ח על דברי

* ס/שה'ח בכנסת שהגיב על דו'ח מחמ'ד = אש'ף בשימועי

* מק-ליברמן. בראון אמר שאין בכוונתם למחות או להגיב פומבית.

* (ב) ידוע לנו ממקורותינו שהשגרירות בת'א המליצה למחמ'ד על

* תגובה חריפה על דברי ס/שה'ח למחרת נשיאתם ופנתה למחמ'ד לקבל

* אישור לכך.

* בנצור *

* 17 *

* תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור *

6406 03 5376987 מלך ישראל ד"ר טל. 907 *****

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חוזם: 3,20571

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בוטחון/1190, נ"י/1126, מצב/2830, מנומת/1170

מ-: ווש, נר: 761, תא: 230390, זח: 1530, דח: 1, סג: 1, בל

חח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

בלמס/בוהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא , מעת , ממד

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם
אמן/מנמת - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, נ"ו-יורק

מאת : עתונות וושינגטון

תדרוך דובר מחמד ליום : 23/3/90

Q THE CONGRESS -- THE SENATE ACTUALLY -- PASSED
A RESOLUTION LAST NIGHT ACKNOWLEDGING OR CALLING
ON THE ADMINISTRATION TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT JERUSALEM
IS AND SHOULD REMAIN THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF
ISRAEL. HAS THAT INFLUENCED THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S
THINKING AT ALL?

MR. BOUCHER: I HADN'T NOTED THE RESOLUTION, BUT
I HAVEN'T NOTED ANY CHANGE IN OUR POLICY EITHER.

Q IT ALSO CALLS FOR TALKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND
PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES. YOU MIGHT FIND THAT
APPEALING, BUT I WONDERED ABOUT A COUNTRY'S RIGHT
TO CHOOSE ITS CAPITAL. IS IT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S
POSITION STILL THAT JERUSALEM ISN'T THE CAPITAL
OF ISRAEL?

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 COMMITTEE ON THE JERUSALEM QUESTION
 HEARING ON THE JERUSALEM QUESTION
 SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE JERUSALEM QUESTION
 WASHINGTON, D.C.

JERUSALEM
 THE CITY
 THE STATE DEPARTMENT
 THE JERUSALEM QUESTION
 THE CITY OF JERUSALEM
 THE STATE DEPARTMENT

OF THE CONGRESS -- THE SENATE ACTUALLY -- PASSED
 A RESOLUTION LAST NIGHT ACKNOWLEDGING OR CALLING
 ON THE ADMINISTRATION TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT JERUSALEM
 IS AND SHOULD REMAIN THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF
 ISRAEL. HAS THAT IMPLICATED THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S
 THINKING AT ALL?

MR. BROWDER: I HADN'T NOTED THE RESOLUTION, BUT
 I HAVEN'T NOTED ANY CHANGE IN OUR POLICY EITHER.

& IT ALSO CALLED FOR PAUSES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND
 PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES. YOU MIGHT FIND THAT
 APPEALING, BUT I WONDERED ABOUT A COUNTRY'S RIGHT
 TO CHOOSE ITS CAPITAL. IS IT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S
 POSITION THAT JERUSALEM ISN'T THE CAPITAL
 OF ISRAEL?

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

MR. BOUCHER: I WOULD RATHER NOT GET INTO THIS, AND JUST TELL YOU THAT OUR POLICY HASN'T CHANGED.

Q RICHARD, HAS THERE BEEN ANY RECENT CHANGE IN STATE DEPARTMENT VIEWS OR REGULATIONS REGARDING US CORPORATIONS TRADING WITH IRAN OR IRAQ? AREN'T THERE CERTAIN -- AREN'T THERE HEAVY RESTRICTIONS ON COMPANIES DOING BUSINESS -- US COMPANIES DOING BUSINESS WITH EITHER OF THOSE COUNTRIES?

MR. BOUCHER: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY CHANGE, BUT I DON'T KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THE RESTRICTIONS ARE SO I'D HAVE TO CHECK THAT.

Q IF A GROUP OF US COMPANIES DECIDED TO PUT TOGETHER A TRADE MISSION TO EITHER IRAQ OR IRAN, WOULD THEY HAVE TO GO THROUGH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND CLEAR IT IN SOME WAY?

MR. BOUCHER: FIRST OF ALL, I'M SURE THE SITUATIONS WITH IRAQ AND IRAN ARE DIFFERENT, SO THOSE WOULD BE DIFFERENT THINGS. AND SECOND OF ALL, IT WOULD DEPEND MORE ON TRAVEL REGULATIONS THAN TRADE REGULATIONS, BUT I CAN LOOK THAT UP FOR YOU.

Q ARE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT ECZECHOSLOVAKIANF SEMTEX BEING SENT TO ELIBYAF?

MR. BOUCHER: YES. IN OUR VIEW, IT SIMPLY SHOWS THE IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME. AT THE SAME TIME, WE DON'T HAVE AN INDEPENDENT STIMAT OF THE AMOUNT THAT WAS EXPORTED. WE DO KNOW, AS MANY OTHERS DO, THAT SEVERAL TERRORIST GROUPS POSSESS THE EXPLOSIVE, INCLUDING THE PROVISIONAL EIRISHF REPUBLICAN ARMY, FOR EXAMPLE, WHICH RECEIVED IT FROM LIBYA.

LET ME TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT THE US IS ALSO A VIGOROUS SUPPORTER OF AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO MARK PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES WITH CHEMICAL ADDITIVES SO THAT THEY CAN BE MORE EASILY DETECTED. IN FACT, NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL WILL RESUME NEXT WEEK IN MONTREAL

MR. BUCHNER: I WOULD RATHER NOT SET THE...
JUST TELL YOU THAT OUR POLICY HASN'T CHANGED.

MR. RICHARD: HAS THERE BEEN ANY RECENT CHANGE IN STATE
COMMITMENT VIEW OR A SITUATION REGARDING US
CONGRATULATIONS TRADING WITH US OR TRADE BARRIERS;
THERE CERTAIN -- AGAIN -- THERE HEAVY RESTRICTIONS
ON COMMERCE AND BUSINESS -- US COMMERCE BARRIERS
BUSINESS WITH OTHER -- FIRST COUNTRY?

MR. BUCHNER: I WOULD WANT TO SAY THAT, BUT I
DON'T KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THE RESTRICTIONS ARE SO
I HAVE A CHECK THAT.

IF A GROUP OF US COMMERCE DECIDED TO PUT TOGETHER
A TRADE MISSION TO EITHER TRADE OR LEAD, WOULD THEY
HAVE TO GO THROUGH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND CLEAR
IT IN SOME WAY?

MR. BUCHNER: FIRST OF ALL, I'M SURE THE SITUATION
WITH LEAD AND IRON ARE DIFFERENT, SO THERE WOULD
BE DIFFERENT THINGS. AND STOOD OF ALL, IT WOULD
DEPEND MORE ON TRADE REGULATION THAN TRADE REGULATIONS
I CAN TALK THAT UP FOR YOU.

WERE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT SUCH A TRADE MISSION
BEING SENT TO LIBERIA?

MR. BUCHNER: YES. IN OUR VIEW, IT SIMPLY SHOWS THE
RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME. AT THE
SAME TIME, WE DON'T HAVE AN APPROPRIATE STATE
OF THE AMOUNT THAT WAS EXPORTED, WE DON'T KNOW AS
MANY OTHERS DO, THE SEVERAL PER-CENTAGE GROUPS
REGARDS THE EXCLUSIVE, INCLUDING THE PROVISIONAL
EIGHT REGIMES AND, FOR EXAMPLE, WHICH REGIME
I FROM LIBERIA.

LET ME HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO POINT OUT THE...
IS ALSO A VIGOROUS SUPPORTER OF AN INTERNATIONAL
EFFORT TO MAKE LIBERIA EXPORTATIVE WITH LIBERIA
ADDITIONAL SO THAT THEY CAN BE EARLY DELIVERED.
IN FACT, WE'RE NOT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL...
TO BECOME A MORE VIGOROUS SUPPORTER OF THE...
LIBERIA.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION, WHICH IS A SPECIALIZED BODY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE NEW CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT IS A FULL PARTNER IN THIS EFFORT.

Q BUT THEY SAID THAT THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE THE SEMTEX. ARE YOU WORRIED ABOUT THAT?

MR. BOUCHER: THE -- SIMILAR PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES ARE MADE IN OTHER NATIONS. THE IMPORTANT THING, AND GIVEN THE FACT THAT THEY DO HAVE SOME LEGITIMATE CIVIL USES, THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THEY NOT GET INTO THE WRONG HANDS, AND THAT WE UNDERTAKE SUCH EFFORTS TO MAKE THEIR DETECTION MORE EASILY SHOULD THEY GET IN THE WRONG HANDS. AND THAT'S WHY THIS MEETING NEXT WEEK IS IMPORTANT.

Q THE PREVIOUS REGIME THAT YOU REFERRED TO AS IRRESPONSIBLE WAS IN POWER FOR ALMOST FOUR YEARS AFTER MR. GORBACHEV CAME TO POWER IN THE SOVIET UNION. TO SELL THAT LARGE OF AMOUNT, OR SHIP THAT LARGE AN AMOUNT OVERSEAS WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL OF MOSCOW AT THAT TIME SEEMS UNLIKELY. DO WE KNOW IF IN FACT THE SOVIET UNION GAVE ANY SORT OF GREENLIGHT TO THESE SALES? AND IF WE DON'T KNOW, WILL WE PURSUE IT? IS IT OF INTEREST TO US?

MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION LIKE THAT AND I WOULDN'T WANT TO SPECULATE.

Q WILL WE -- WILL WE TRY TO FIND THAT OUT? IS THAT AN INTERESTING QUESTION?

MR. BOUCHER: I AM SURE THAT THAT IS SOMETHING THAT WOULD BE OF CONCERN TO US, BUT AT THIS POINT I HAVE NO WAY OF SPECULATING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

פא

תפ: שהח, טשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, פ(אמן), בנצור,
מצפא, פרנ, רבי'ב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, דוצ-ים

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAD AGENCY FOR
ORGANIZATION, WHICH IS A SPECIALIZED BODY OF THE
UNITED NATIONS, THE NEW TECHNOLOGY CONCEPT
IS A FULL PARTNER IN THIS EFFORT.
BUT THEY SAID THAT THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE
THE CONTEXT. ARE YOU WORRIED ABOUT THAT?

MR. BOUCHER: THE -- SIMILAR PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES ARE
MADE IN OTHER NATIONS. THE IMPORTANT THING, AND
GIVEN THE FACT THAT THEY DO HAVE SOME LEGISLATION
CIVIL USES, THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THEY NOT
GET INTO THE WRONG HANDS, AND THAT WE - WE
BOUNCE EFFORTS TO HAVE THEIR REGULATION MORE EARLY.
SHOULD THEY GET IN THE WRONG HANDS, AND THAT'S
THIS MEETING NEXT WEEK IS IMPORTANT.

THE PREVIOUS REPLY THAT YOU REFERRED TO AS
RESPONSIBLE WAS IN POWER FOR ALMOST FOUR YEARS
WHEN MR. GORBACHEV CAME TO POWER IN THE SOVIET
UNION. TO SELL THAT LARGE OF AN AMOUNT, OR THIS THAT
LARGE AN AMOUNT OVERSEAS WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OR
APPROVAL OF MOSCOW AT THAT TIME SEEMS UNLIKELY.
DO WE KNOW IF IN FACT THE SOVIET UNION GAVE ANY
BOAT OR GREENLIGHT TO THESE SALES? AND IF WE DON'T
KNOW, WILL MR. BUCHER BE IN IT OF INTEREST TO US?

MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION LIKE THAT
AND I WOULD LIKE TO REPLY.

IT WILL BE -- WILL WE TRY TO FIND THAT OUT AS THAT
AN INTERESTING QUESTION?

MR. BOUCHER: I AM SURE THAT THAT IS SOMETHING THAT
WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO US, BUT AT THIS POINT I HAVE
NO WAY OF SPECULATING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

פשוט החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 15103

* תאריך : 17.05.90

* ** יוצא
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* דף 1 מתוך 1
* עותק 7 מתוך 20
* סודי ביותר ✓

* חוזם: 3,15103
* אל: ווש/617, מצב/2152
* מ-: המשורד, תא: 190390, זח: 1135, דח: מ, סג: 10
* תח: גס: צפא
* נד: &

* סודי ביותר/מידי
* צ.א. 776
* וושינגטון
* השגריר

* בשיחה עם השגריר בראון הערתי שאנו מצטערים שבפגישותיו באדיס
* לא העלה דוידסון, מנהל מא"ף במחמ"ד, שאלת יציאת יהודי
* את יופיה.

* הוספתי שאנו מבקשים שבמגעי הממשל עם ממשלת אתיופיה יעלו את
* ענין איפסוד יציאת יהודי אתיופיה כפי שעשו משך שנים בעבר
* שכן יציאת היהודים מתנהלת בקילוח דק שיש להגדילו ולהאיצו.
* בראון לא היה מודע לשיחות דוידסון באדיס. ביקש הערכותינו
* לסיבות הכבוד ממאתיופיה על תהליך היציאה ואמר שיבקש פעילות
* מחמ"דית עיקבית ונמרצת למען יהודי אתיופיה.

* בנצור
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* תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, רהמ, הדס, מאפ, בנצור, מצפא, תפוצות

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 17370

* תאריך : 21.03.90

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* דף 1 מתוך 2

* ** נכנס

* סודי ביותר

* עותק 2 מתוך 12

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* חוזם: 3,17370

* אל: המשרד

* יעדים: מצב/2389

* מ-: ווש, נר: 631, תא: 200390, זח: 1900, דח: ב, סג: 10

* תח: @ גס: צפא

* ד: @

* סודי ביותר/בהול לבוקר - ח.ר.ב.

* אל: סמנכ"ל מזא"ר

* דע: יועץ המדיני לשה"ח.

* מנכ"ל רה"מ.

* מאת: השגריר, רושינגטון

* הקפאת טיסות הצ'רטר מברז'מ דרך בוקרשט ובודפשט

* 1. הבוקר צלצל אלי שמחה דיניץ הנמצא עתה בניו יורק ומסר לי

* כי קיבל מידע על הקפאת טיסות הצ'רטר דרך בודפשט שהחלו דק

* בשבוע שעבר.

* אני מבין שההונגרים הודו שהפעולה נעשתה בלחץ מדינות ערב.

* 2. בעקבות השיחה הנ"ל פניתי מיד ללארי איגלברגר ולריצ'ארד

* האס, בבית הלבן, בבקשה שיעבירו מיד שדר למזכיר הנמצא

* בנמיביה כדי להעלות הנושא בפגישה עם שה"ח הסובייטי. נראה

* *שהשדר תלפונית עם שברנדזה.

* *הסיפור טרם התפרסם אך הוא כבר הגיע לידיעתם של מספר ראשי

* *ארגונים יהודיים.

* *ארד.

* *לבח

0406 ***** יוקר עלף ויותר בניו יורק 0406

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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מתוך 2 דף 2 *
מתוך 12 עותק 2 *

תפ: רהמ, שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, גוברין

6406

יחס יולד ושות' בכ"מ טל. 3279867 סג

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

27882 * תאריך : 31.03.90 *
 * דף 1 מתוך 3 *
 * עותק 5 מתוך 16 *
 * נכנס ** *
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 * 3,27882:מז:מ *
 * אל:המשרד *
 * יעדים:מצב/3698 *
 * מ:-ווש,נר:1011,תא:300390,זח:2000,דח:ב,סג:ב *
 * תח:ג:גט:צפא *
 * נד:ג *
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 * סודי ביותר/ בהול לבוקר *
 * אל: מנהל מצפ"א *
 * * *
 * דע: מנכ"ל האוצר, סמנכ"ל צפ"א, יועץ רה"מ לעניני *
 * כלכלה, *
 * יועץ מדיני לשה"ח *
 * * *
 * מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון *
 * * *
 * הנדון: ערבויות. *
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 * 1. בשיחה טלפונית עם אינגלדג'ר התברר שעם שובו של המזכיר *
 * מחו"ל, הטיפול בנושא הועבר לידי דניס רוט וחבר יועציו. *
 * * *
 * 2. בשיחה שקיימתי עם רוט היום מסתבר שהמלצות שהונחו על *
 * שולחן המזכיר בנושא זה כוללות התביעות דלהלן : *
 * * *
 * א. לבקש מישראל מתן התחייבות סטנדרטית הניתנת ע"י ישראל *
 * בכל שנה עם קבלת הסיוע, קרי, התחייבות לשמוש בכספים בתחומי *
 * הקו הירוק. *
 * * *
 * ב. הבהרה - כפי שנמסרה ע"י שר הקליטה בעת פגישתו עם דניס *
 * רוט (28.2.90) - לפיה הממשלה אינה מעניקה בשטחים הטבות או *
 * אתמריצים שהם עדיפים או גבוהים על פני אלו שהיא מעניקה *
 * בתחומי הקו הירוק. *
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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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 * דף 2 מתוך 3 *
 * עותק 5 מתוך 16 *
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 * ג. רשימת האתרים שבהם יבנו יחידות הדיור לעולים. *
 * * *
 * 3. השבתי כי דרישות אלה אינן יכולות להתקבל על דעתנו. רוט *
 * השיב, כי הוא לא יופתע אם הבית הלבן אף יחמיר יותר ממחמ"ד *
 * בנושא זה, וזאת על סמך הערכתו שעמדת הנשיא בנושא זה היא *
 * מחמירה עוד יותר. *
 * * *
 * ציינתי כי פעולת החקיקה בוועדות הנוגעות לענין בקונגרס *
 * ובסנאט עברה ללא קביעת מגבלות או התנייות, ולכן עמדת הממשל *
 * נראית לי נוקשה וחסרת התחשבות באתגר הגדול העומד בפני ישראל *
 * בנושא עלייה. *
 * * *
 * 4. כאמור, האמור לעייל הם בגדר המלצות שהונחו על שולחן *
 * המזכיר. מאז שובו מחו"ל נושא זה לא נדון עמו. סביר להניח *
 * שהענין יעלה לדיון בשבוע הבא. *
 * * *
 * 5. בשיחה בעת ארוחת ערב עם סנטור ליידי, אמש, התברר שהם *
 * מטילים ספק גדול ביכולת הקונגרס לסיים את פעולת החקיקה עד *
 * ה-5 באפריל כאשר הם יוצאים לפגרה. לנוכח כשלון הסנטור ברד, *
 * יו"ר וועדת ההקצבות של הסנאט להעביר התיקון שרצה בו במסגרת *
 * הדיון על חוק "CLEAN AIR" *
 * ושאמור היה להבטיח זכויות יתר של כורים שיפגעו כתוצאה *
 * ממגבלות על תעשיית הפחם. נראה שבירד יערים קשיים בדרך חקיקתו *
 * של חוק התקציב הנוסף, ולכן לא נראה שהחקיקה תסתיים לפני *
 * הפגרה. דבר זה יעניק לממשל מרחב זמן ותמרון נוספים במידה *
 * והם אכן ירצו להאבק למען תקון שיטיל על ישראל מגבלות קשות *
 * אמאלה הקיימות כעת בחוק. *
 * * *
 * ברור שמאבק כזה מצד הממשל יהיה בלתי פופולרי במיוחד על רקע *
 * התמיכה הכללית של דעת הקהל האמריקאית ביציאת יהודים *
 * אמריה"מ לישראל. אך, לעומת זאת הנשיא והממשל יקבלו תמיכה *
 * רבתי אם הדבר יוצג על ידם כמאבק עקרוני בנושא ההתנחלויות. *
 * * *
 * 5. גם אם החקיקה תעבור בנוסחה הנוכחי עדיין נתונים לנשיא *
 * סמכויות ואפשרויות לעכב בפועל דבר יישום הערבויות, כמובטח *
 * בחוק. *
 * * *
 * ארד *
 * * *
 * רש

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* * *
 * דף 3 מתוך 3 *
 * עותק 5 מתוך 16 *
 * * *
 * תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, ממנכלאוצר

סודי

נכנס

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חוזם: 3,27874

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/3693, מנמת/1493

מ-: ווש, נר: 1003, תא: 300390, זח: 2000, דח: ר, סג: סו

תח: א גס: צפא

נד: א

סודי / רגיל

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

מאת: עודד ערן

קרט - סוריה. שלך 471

בעת ביקור באטלנטה (28-29/3), שוחחתי ארוכות עם שטיין.
לדבריו, בנושא הועידה הבינלאומית, אסד דיבר על ועידה שאינה
AUTORITATIVE וצריכה רק לשמש כמטרייה. הוא, אסד, דיבר על
פרוז משני צידי הגבול ומשקיפים בינלאומיים. מעבר לכך, שטיין
התרשם שאסד מעוניין בדיאלוג עם ארה"ב גם משום השינויים
הפוליטיים הגלובליים וגם משום צרכים ממשיים בתחום אשראי
לחיטה, חלקי חילוף לצי המטוסים האזרחיים (בואינג) וכו'.
שטיין התרשם, שהמימשל נוקשה מאז בתביעותיו מאסד, גם
משיקולים ענייניים (טרור) וגם משום חששו להתעמת עם הקילה
היהודית כאן על רקע נכונותו להיכנס לדיאלוג כזה. שיקול
נוסף, שלהערכת שטיין מנחה את המימשל הוא הרצון להמנע
מלהעמיס על תהליך השלום השביר גם כך, מרכיב כה מסובך כמו
סוריה-ישראל.

ערן

רש

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0110 11:0
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מצפ"א
טל' 3244

- סודי -

ג' ניסן תש"ן
29 במרץ 1990
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הנדון: צפ"א בשבוע המסתיים ב- 29/3/90

טיסות ישירות

השגרירות פעלה נמרצות ובדרגים הגבוהים ביותר לאחר הודעת "מאלב" על הפסקת טיסות השכר מבריה"מ. סגן המזכיר איגלברגר התערב אישית בענין; שגריר הונגריה זומן לעוזרי המזכיר סייץ ושיפטר ושמע את מורת רוחה של ארה"ב מן ההחלטה.

במשור הפומבי, נרשמו התבטאויות ברורות ונחרצות ממחלקת המדינה והבית הלבן בנושא. דוברת מחמ"ד (27) קבעה כי ארה"ב שוללת כל פעולה המגבילה את זכות ההגירה. הוסיפה כי דרך פעולה נאותה היתה להעניק רמת בטחון גבוהה לטיסות וכי הלוחמה בטרור לא תקודם ע"י כניעה מבישה לאיומי טרוריסטים. חזרה על הודעת ממשלת הונגריה שגנתה את הטרור הבינ"ל, תמכה בזכות ההגירה של יהודי בריה"מ והבטיחה "למצוא פתרון למצב שנוצר". בהודעת הבית הלבן (27) - נאמר שהעליה מבריה"מ לישראל הינה מאורע הסטורי. לכן, הנשיא "מאוכזב" מארועי הימים האחרונים שהביאו לצמצום ההגירה לישראל ובמיוחד מהחלטתה של חברת התעופה "מאלב". שובים וכל הממסד היהודי. הבית הלבן משבח את ממשלת פולין לאפשר מעבר ליהודים דרך פולין ובו זמנית קורא ל"מאלב" לשקול מחדש את החלטתה ולבריה"מ לאפשר טיסות ישירות לישראל.

לפעילות בנושא התגייסו גם מספר סנטורים וחברי קונגרס חשובים וכל הממסד היהודי.

ערבונות לדיון

נמשכו הדיונים במשרד באשר לתשובה למחמ"ד ביחס לבטחונות של אי-שימוש בכספים (שיובטחו ע"י ערבונות ממשל) לבניה בשטחי יש"ע. בינתיים המשיך "חוק התקציב המשלים" שאליו הוצמדו הערבונות לעבור את שלבי החקיקה בסנט ובבית הנבחרים; בסנט אשרה אותו ועדת החוץ ובבית הנבחרים ועדת החוץ וועדת ההקצבות. בשני הנוסחים אין התייחסות מיוחדת להתנחלויות - ויתכן מאוד שכך יסתיים הענין מבלי שהממשל/מחמ"ד יתקשו בנושא. השגרירות הונחתה לפעול בהתאם אצל סגן המזכיר וסנטור ליידי.

ירושלים

השבוע שככה במקצת הפעילות בנושא, לאחר השיא שהושג ב- 22/3 כאשר 82 סנטורים הצביעו בעד הצעת החלטה (SENSE OF CONGRESS) שהוגשה ע"י סנטור מויניהאן ולפיה ירושלים הנה בירת ישראל וכי עליה להשאר עיר מאוחדת.



עמדת ישראל נתמכה והובהרה לממשל מכל החוגים האפשריים (קונגרס, יהודים) באופן הברור ביותר ויש לראות זאת כהישג. יצוין מכתב מפויס של מזכיר המדינה למורשה לויין שאמנם איננו כולל חידושים רבים בנושא ירושלים אך קובע כי יהודים ואחרים יכולים לגור היכן שחפצה נפשם במזרח ומערב העיר ושכל מאמצי ארה"ב בקידום תהליך השלום מיועדים לקידום יעד זה ולהמשך היותה של העיר מאוחדת.

אתיופיה

סנטור מצנבאום (ד. אוהיו) וחבר הקונגרס אקרמן (ד. נ"י) פנו לשגריר והביעו דאגתם מיחסים מתהדקים יתר על המידה בין ישראל לאתיופיה. הביעו גם תהיות מפורשות באשר למידת מעורבותנו הצבאית באתיופיה, למרות הכחשותינו החוזרות ונשנות. סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"ן הבהיר השבוע לשגריר ארה"ב, כי אנו אתיופיה תובהר לכל זרועות הממשל ארה"ב, מצפים שעמדתנו בנושא אתיופיה תובהר לכל זרועות הממשל בארה"ב, ושהרינונים הבלתי-מבוססים יפסקו אחת ולתמיד.

זכויות אדם

שימועים שהיו אמורים להתקיים בנושא השבוע בועדת המשנה לאירופה ומז"ת בבית הנבחרים נדחו עד להודעה חדשה.

אנטישמיות בבריה"מ

יותר מ- 100 חברי בית הנבחרים הצטרפו להצעת החלטה שיזמו המורשים לנטוס ובראון המגנה את האנטישמיות בבריה"מ וקוראת לנשיא בוש לפעול אצל עמיתו הסובייטי במטרה שזה יגנה רשמית את האנטישמיות. הדיון בועדת החוץ צפוי בשבוע הקרוב ובנתיים גם העביר הסנט החלטת פה אחד באותו נושא ביוזמת הסנטורים גור, פל, דאמטו ופרסלר.

תחנת "קול אמריקה" בערבה

בשימוע שהתקיים ב- 23/3 בועדת המשנה לפעולות בינלאומיות בראשות המורשה דיימלי, הגיש הנ"ל הצעת חוק הקוראת להקמת "ועדה נשיאותית" שתבדוק את המטרות והכיוון העתידי של BIA (הרשות לשידור בינלאומי) ו- USIA (סוכנות האינפורמציה האמריקנית). הצעת החוק קובעת בפרוש כי יש להעריך מחדש את פרויקט "קול אמריקה" בישראל.

כושם עבריים

המורשה דיימלי הצמיד תיקון להצעת חוק התקציב המשלים (שעבר השבוע בועדות החוץ וההקצבות בבית הנבחרים) לפיו יוקצו 5 מליון דולר לכושם העבריים בדימונה בכפוף להסכם בין ממשלות ישראל וארה"ב. בשלב זה מדובר בהרשאה "בלתי משוריינת" שתבוצע רק כאשר יושג הסכם על מעמדם ועבודתם של אנשי הכת ובמידה והתקציב האמריקני יאפשר זאת.

משה בר

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דחיפות: א"י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
פונ: 7006		פתיק: 2
מאג: מועדון תבור:		אל: מל"ט, פ"ר
כס' פרוק:		דע: מא"צ, מע"ה, הסברה
הפסד:		פאת: א"ח
952:		

צ"ח - צ"ח
 גזקן צ"ח מל"ט ת"ת 29.3

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING, BRIEFER: PETE WILLIAMS
 12:00 P.M. (EST), THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1990

Q The ESecretary of EnergyF Watkins broadly hinted yesterday that there could be ramifications to this building's Euclear weaponsF programs because of problems that the Energy Department's having at Rocky Flats and Savannah River. Has there been an assessment done by this building in any fashion on that and has this building been officially told by the Energy Department that it's going to have problems?

MR. WILLIAMS: No, I don't think so -- to the last part of your question, though. I think the way it works is the Department of Defense states its need to the Department of Energy and then DOE gives us a schedule on which it intends to meet those. And as far as I know, we haven't received any formal notice from DOE that

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תפוצה:

there's going to be any production problems. We provide our plutonium and tritium requirements, and then DOE production schedules that are received by DOD would indicate any supply problems to us. And they have not, so far, done that.

I think Watkins said yesterday, as well, the Department of Energy intends to restart production, and at this point does not foresee a problem. 95 2/2

So, the answer to your question, Mark, is no, we haven't received any notification that there's going to be a problem meeting the production schedules.

Q . Another subject -- how about the ELibyanF refueling?

MR. WILLIAMS: Well, we've seen the news reports on that. If they're true, it would be troubling. Obviously, it would be a matter of very serious and deep concern to the United States, given the Libyans' record in EterrorismF. But I can't comment on the press reports beyond to say that we've seen them. We can't discuss intelligence matters.

Q How about the --

Q Could I ask one more question? The report did say that it involved an American-made C-130 tanker. Do you have any idea how they would have gotten that, or is that on the open market some place?

MR. WILLIAMS: I just can't comment on the report, Suzanne.

Q I was going to ask about EIraqF deploying medium-range EmissilesF. Do you have any information on that?

MR. WILLIAMS: No, I don't have anything new on that.

Q Well, what's the assessment about Iraq's capability if it's this department's mission in life to do threat assessments? Iraq in December tested strap-on Elong-range missilesF capable of hitting American bases in that part of the world if they wanted to. And Iraq has demonstrated a tendency to use Echemical weaponsF. Well, what's this department's assessment, threat assessment, from Iraq?

MR. WILLIAMS: It sounds to be like an EintelligenceF subject, Fred. I'll take the question and see if there's anything declassified that we can discuss publicly. But I'm not aware of anything declassified that I can say on it today.

Q How about the report that EChina'sF Eselling missilesF to the EMiddle EastF again?

MR. WILLIAMS: Let's see. I do have -- that's rather a formal statement that I have on it.

We continue to monitor the situation. As you know, we can't comment on intelligence matters. But on numerous occasions the US government has expressed its concerns to senior leaders of the People's Republic of China over the dangers posed by missile proliferation. US officials have made it clear to the Chinese the risks attendant to the proliferation of missiles of any range or missile technology to regional hot spots such as the Middle East.

We will continue our efforts to dissuade both potential purchasers and suppliers, including the People's Republic of China, from engaging in the proliferation or from encouraging the proliferation of missiles and missile technologies.

חוזם: 3,26980
 אל: המשרד
 יעדים: נ"י/1463, בטחון/1475, מצב/3537, מנמח/1421
 מ-: ווש, נר: 928, תא: 290390, זח: 1525, דח: ב, סג: בל
 תח: @ גס: צפא
 נד: @

נלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד, פרו.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעט
 אמן/מנמח - ו' משמרת, דובר צהל, נ"ו-יורק.

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

הודעת הנשיא מיום: 28/3/90

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT, RELEASED BY THE OFFICE
 OF THE PRESS SECRETARY THE WHITE HOUSE/ WEDNESDAY
 MARCH 28, 1990

THE ARREST OF IRAQIS IN ELONDONF RAISES ONCE AGAIN
 THE ADMINISTRATION'S DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE ISSUE
 OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
 NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, ALONG WITH THE PROLIFERATION
 OF CHEMICAL AND EBIOLOGICAL WEAPONSF AND INTERMEDIATE
 RANGE MISSILES, CONTINUES TO POSE SERIOUS THREATS
 TO US INTERESTS, AS WELL AS THE INTERESTS OF OUR
 FRIENDS IN THE REGION. THESE PROGRAMS ONLY SERVE
 TO HEIGHTEN REGIONAL TENSIONS AND EXACERBATE REGIONAL
 PROBLEMS.

WE AGAIN CALL UPON NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS TO EXERCISE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

SPECIAL RESTRAINT IN PROVIDING MATERIALS RELATED
 TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL
 WEAPONS AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES IN THIS
 VOLATILE AREA. FURTHERMORE, WE URGE ALL STATES IN
 THE AREA TO ADHERE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.
 IRAQ IS A SIGNATORY OF THAT TREATY. IRAQI OFFICIALS
 ARE WELL AWARE OF OUR VIEWS ON NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION
 WHICH WE HAVE MADE CLEAR ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, מונכל, ממונכל, ו/מרכז, ממד, רם, @ (אמן), בונצור,
 מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, דוצ-ים

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04:11

0411 28980:0411

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04:11 : 04:11 1700:0411, 1700:0411, 1700:0411, 1700:0411
04:11-12, 04:11-12, 04:11-12, 04:11-12.

04:11 : 04:11, 04:11, 04:11.

04:11 : 04:11 1700:0411

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT, RELEASED BY THE OFFICE
OF THE PRESS SECRETARY THE WHITE HOUSE\ WEDNESDAY
MARCH 28, 1990

THE ARREST OF IRAQIS IN ELWOODNF RAISED ONCE AGAIN
THE ADMINISTRATION'S DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE ISSUE
OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, ALONG WITH THE PROLIFERATION
OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND INTERMEDIATE
RANGE MISSILES, CONTINUES TO POSE SERIOUS THREATS
TO US INTERESTS, AS WELL AS THE INTERESTS OF OUR
FRIENDS IN THE REGION. THESE PROGRAMS ONLY SERVE
TO HEIGHTEN REGIONAL TENSIONS AND EXACERBATE REGIONAL
PROBLEMS.

WE AGAIN CALL UPON NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS TO EXERCISE

SPECIAL EFFORTS IN PROVIDING MATERIALS RELATED
TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL
WEAPONS AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES IN THIS
VULNERABLE AREA. FURTHERMORE, WE URGE ALL STATES IN
THE AREA TO ADHERE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.
IRAQ IS A SIGNATORY OF THAT TREATY. IRAQI OFFICIALS
ARE WELL AWARE OF OUR VIEWS ON NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION
WHICH WE HAVE MADE CLEAR ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

04

04:11 : 04:11 1700:0411, 1700:0411, 1700:0411, 1700:0411
04:11-12, 04:11-12, 04:11-12, 04:11-12.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

27047

תאריך : 30.03.90

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,27047

אל: המשדר

יעדים: שיקגו/260, מצב/3564

מ-: בוטטון, נר: 118, תא: 290390, זח: 1600, וח: ר, סג: בל

תח: & גס: צפא

נר: &

בלמס רגיל

אל : מצפ'א,

יועץ ר' עירית י-מ,

הסבוה, זוש (נו - 5)

שיקגו-ברנר

מאת : הקונכ'ל, בוטטון.

ירושלים - החלטת סנט מסצוסטט.

1. הסנט של מונית מסצוסטט העביר הצעת החלטה הקוראת לנשיא בוש לשנות מדיניות הממשל בנושא ולתמוך בירושלים המאוחדת.

בהקדמה הקשר היהודי לירושלים במרוצת הדורות ואלמנטים אחרים ברוח תכנינו.

2. ננסה להשיג להחלטה כסוי תקשורת מקומי.

3. היוזמת חברת ארגון המחוקקים היהודים שבהקמתו היינו שותפים עוד ב-1975.

4. הטקסט המלא בפקס.

יעקב לוי.

REPORT OF

THE

COMMISSION ON

THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AND

THE

RECOMMENDATIONS

OF THE

COMMISSION ON

THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AND

THE

RECOMMENDATIONS

OF THE COMMISSION ON THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, תפוצות, רביב, מעת,
וסברה, פדון/עיריה

RE: BPP, BPPB, GBB, BICE, BICE, CICE, BZBN, BIZIN, CE, BPP,
BZBN, BZBN, BZBN

2/2



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אאאא

אל: המשרד,

מ-: בוסטון, נר: 118, תא: 290390, זח: 1600, דח: ר, סג: זבל, בגב

אל : מצפ"א, רועץ ר' עזרת י-ט, הסכרה, ווש (ג-~~ב~~) (ה/זקר) ~~תעבירונא~~ שיקגו-ברנר (ד-מ העבירונא).

נר - 5

מאת : הקונכ'ל, בוסטון.

ירושלים - החלטת סנט מסצ'וסטס.

1. הסנט של מדינת מסצ'וסטס העביר הצעת החלטה הקוראת לנשיא כוש לשנות מדיניות הממשל בנושא ולתמוך בירושלים המאוחדת. בהקדמת הקשר היהודי לירושלים במרוצת הדורות ואלמנטים אחרים ברוח תכנינו.
2. ננסה להשיג להחלטה כסוי תקשורת מקומי.
3. היוזמת חברת ארגון המחוקקים היהודים שבהקמתו היונו שנתפס עוד ב-1975.
4. הטקסט המלא בפקס.

עגב לוי.

מסמכים

- 12 -

להתח 3 סושה א'א א'א א'א
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P.2/2

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

2/2

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety

RESOLUTIONS SUPPORTING A UNITED JERUSALEM.

WHEREAS, THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT JERUSALEM HAS BEEN THE HOLIEST SITE THE SPIRITUAL CAPITAL OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE FOR THREE THOUSAND YEARS; AND

WHEREAS, JERUSALEM HAS ONCE AGAIN BECOME A UNITED CITY SINCE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN; AND

WHEREAS, PRIOR TO THAT TIME THE JEWISH PEOPLE WERE DENIED ACCESS TO HOLY PLACES; AND

WHEREAS, SINCE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN ALL PEOPLE OF ALL RELIGIONS HAVE BEEN GUARANTEED PROTECTED ACCESS TO ALL HOLY PLACES; AND

WHEREAS, NO UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION HAS EVER QUESTIONED THE RIGHTS OF JEWS TO LIVE IN JERUSALEM; AND

WHEREAS, PRESIDENT BUSH'S RECENT STATEMENT QUESTIONING THE RIGHT OF JEWS TO LIVE IN EAST JERUSALEM HAS HELPED TO BRING DOWN THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, THEREBY DELAYING THE POSSIBILITY OF PUTTING A PEACE PLAN IN PLACE; AND

WHEREAS, THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE HAS JOINED WITH PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD IN APPLAUDING THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BERLIN WALL; AND

WHEREAS, THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT OUR COUNTRY SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW WALL SEPARATING EAST JERUSALEM AND WEST JERUSALEM; NOW THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED, THAT THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE CALLS UPON PRESIDENT BUSH TO REVERSE THE POSITION OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, EXPRESS ITS STRONG SUPPORT FOR A UNITED JERUSALEM AND TAKE STEPS TO ACHIEVE THE PEACE THAT IS DESIRED BY THE ADMINISTRATION; AND BE IT FURTHER

RESOLVED, THAT A COPY OF THESE RESOLUTIONS BE TRANSMITTED FORTHWITH BY THE CLERK OF THE SENATE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PRESIDING OFFICER OF EACH BRANCH OF CONGRESS AND TO THE MEMBERS THEREOF FROM THE COMMONWEALTH.

SENATE, ADOPTED, MARCH 15, 1990.

William D. Bulger
PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

Edward B. O'Neill
CLERK OF THE SENATE

OFFERED BY:

Lois G. Pines
SENATOR LOIS G. PINES

Linda J. Melconian
SENATOR LINDA J. MELCONIAN

William R. Keating
SENATOR WILLIAM R. KEATING

Walter J. Bokorini
SENATOR WALTER J. BOKORINI



שגדירות ישראל בושינגטון
טופס מברק

דף 1 מתוך 2
דחיפות: בהול לבוקר
סוג: גלוי
תאריך, זמן: 29.3.90
מספר המברק:
המשרד:

1/2

אל : מצפ"א
: סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"ן
לשכת מנכ"ל
מאת: עתונות

950

שיחות האזרנות

רצ"ב הודעת דוברת מחמ"ד היום על השיחות האזרנות.

עתונות

~~שגדירות~~

שגדירות 2
מחמ"ד 1
מסמך 1
מסמך 1
מסמך 1
מסמך 2
מסמך 1
מסמך 1

12

[Handwritten signature]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman

For Immediate Release

March 29, 1990

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER/DEPUTY SPOKESMAN

--ON MARCH 27 AND 28, THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL HELD THEIR ANNUAL JOINT POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ISRAELI SIDE LED BY DIRECTOR GENERAL REUVEN MERHAV AND THE US SIDE BY UNDER SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS ROBERT KIMMITT.

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--THE CONSULTATIONS COVERED A BROAD RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS. THE TALKS WERE CONSTRUCTIVE AND POSITIVE, SERVING TO UNDERSCORE AND DEVELOP THE CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL.

--BOTH GOVERNMENTS LOOK FORWARD TO THE NEXT ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN ISRAEL.

✓

Drafted:NEA/LAI:GPratt
3/29/90 x75150 (0137J-9)
Cleared:NEA/LAI:JHirsch
P:MMalinowski
NEA:DKurter
NEA:JCovey

KL

99

דחיפות: בא"ס	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 1
סוג: אינפ	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 3
תאריך ושפת העבר:	אל: מל"א, ק"מ	
כס' פרוק: הפסד:	דף: אמ"צ אי"ל, הסברה, מ"ל	
159	צמ"ח, וושינגטון	פאת:

פיקס-28

מהו ~~ה~~ זכרון משכר המל"מ (28.3)

What can you tell us about the EnuclearF triggers?

MR. ERAMIAN: I will tell you what I know at this point, and if I know more during the day I will post it also.

There was an investigation initiated by the US Attorney's Office in San Diego. And that man's name is William Braniff (sp). I don't know the exact date of when the investigation started. I believe it began sometime in 1988.

Q (Off mike.)

MR. ERAMIAN: The investigation was -- involved the illegal export of military components overseas. EUS CustomsF conducted an investigation in EEnglandF along with British authorities and made some arrests yesterday.

Q Where were the arrests made, and by whom?

MR. ERAMIAN: I do know that searches were made in Surrey, England and a number of people have been arrested.

Q So all these arrests occurred in the UK?

MR. ERAMIAN: Yes.

Q Has anyone been arrested in the United States?

MR. ERAMIAN: Not that I'm aware of.

Q But aren't there sealed indictments in the Southern District of California?

MR. ERAMIAN: That I don't know. I will try to find out.

Q Customs says there are.

MR. ERAMIAN: Customs is the lead agency on this, and I refer you to them.

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including "א" and various illegible scribbles.

Q Where was the nuclear trigger from? Where did it come from?

MR. ERAMIAN: All I know is this equipment involved electrical military capacitors.

Q Well, where did that come from?

Q Who manufactured it?

MR. ERAMIAN: That information I don't have at this moment.

Q Was the electrical military capacitors from the United States?

MR. ERAMIAN: Yes.

Q Do you know where in the United States?

MR. ERAMIAN: No.

Q Were they manufactured in San Diego?

MR. ERAMIAN: That I don't know. I will try to find out more for you during the course of the day.

Q If there were sealed indictments, after the arrests were made, the indictments would be unsealed? I mean, can we get them, or can you get them then

MR. ERAMIAN: Let me find out.

Q Is an electrical military capacitor a nuclear trigger? You used the phrase and I don't know what it means, so I'm asking you to explain it.

MR. ERAMIAN: I will see if I can find out for you.

Q Do you know where these items were destined for?

MR. ERAMIAN: It's my understanding they were headed for EIraqF.

Q Really?

Q So these were Iraqis who were arrested?

MR. ERAMIAN: I don't know that for sure.

Q The wire stories say Iraq -- Iraqis.

Q How many?

MR. ERAMIAN: I don't have an exact number.

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951 3/3

פ' עובד - בן 2/3 - 29.3.90

Q Anything on the EiraqiF story?

MR. ERAMIAN: I have nothing further to say on the Iraqi story. It's possible we will later on today. If and when we do, I'll do a call-out so that you'll have plenty of time to get whatever -- or if we put anything out on it.

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אל: המשדד,

מ-: נוש, נר: 906, דח: ב, תא: 2803090, זח: 1930, סג: שמ,

בכב

1/3 906

שמור / הזול - לזוקר

אל: מנכ"ל אוצר/מצפ"א

דע: נווה - אוצר, כלכלית בי - משהייח

מאת: ק. קישור לקונגרס וציר כלכלי

1) ועדת החוץ של הסנאט אשרה היום ברוב גדול (3 נמנעו) את הנוסח המצייב באשר ל-400 מיליון דולר ערבויות.

2) תת ועדת ההקצבות לפעולות זרות של אובי אשרה את הערבויות כלא כל תשלום לממשל. תת ועדה זו היא היחידה שתחולת ההחלטה אוקטובר 1990.

3) ועדת החוץ של הקונגרס אשרה את הערבויות בעלויות הבאות : 1/4 אחוז מערכ סכ הערבויות בעת גיוס הכסף ותשלום שנתי של 150,000 דולר לאורכ חיי ההלואה.

4) מאחר ולהערכתנו הסנאט מאוחד בעמדתו בנושא זה נראה לנו שהעלות של 1/4 אחוז בעת ביצוע ההלוואות ועוד 150,000 דולר לשנה, תהיה זמירבית. סביר להניח שניתנ יהיה לרדת מעלות זו.

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the word 'אנא' and various numbers and symbols.

Section _____. HOUSING INVESTMENT GUARANTEE PROGRAM FOR
NEW IMMIGRANTS TO ISRAEL.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM.--Title III of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting after section 222A (22 U.S.C. 2181a) the following new section:

"SEC. 222B. GUARANTY PROGRAM FOR HOUSING FOR NEW
IMMIGRANTS TO ISRAEL.

"(a) AUTHORITY.--The President is authorized to issued guaranties to eligible investors (as defined in section 238(c)) assuring against losses incurred in connection with loans made for housing projects in Israel for newly arrived immigrants in that country.

"(b) LIMITATION.--The total principal amount of guaranties issued under this section that are outstanding at any one time may not exceed \$400,000,000. The limitation established by the second sentence of section 222(a) does not apply with respect to guaranties issued under this section.

"(c) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.--Guarantees hereunder shall be issued upon review solely to ascertain whether Israel's planned or actual expenditures have or will be expended for the purposes set forth in this section and to assure that guaranties will be used in a manner that increases the efficiency of the housing sector. Provided that such guaranties shall be issued only in conformity with AID policies governing assistance to Israel in effect on the date of enactment of this act.

"(d) FEES.--For each loan guaranteed under this section, the only fee to be charged pursuant to section 223(a) or otherwise shall be an initial fee of one quarter of 1 percent of the principal amount of such loan.

"(e) APPROPRIATIONS ACTION REQUIRED.--The authority of this section may be exercised only to such extent or in such amount as may be provided in advance in appropriations Acts."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.--Section 223 of that Act (22 U.S.C. 2183) is amended--

(1) in subsection (a), by striking out "or 222A" and inserting ", 222A, or 222B";

(2) in subsection (b)--

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(A) by inserting "or 222B" after "222" the first and third place it appears, and

(B) by inserting "and 222B" after "222" the second place it appears;

(3) in subsection (c), by inserting "or 222B" after "222";

(4) in subsection (d), by striking out "or 222A" and inserting ", 222A, or 222B";

(5) in subsection (f), by inserting "or 222B" after "222", and

(6) in subsection (j)--

(A) in the second sentence, by striking out "this title" and inserting in lieu there "section 222", and

(B) in the third sentence, by inserting "under section 222" after "issued" both places it appears.

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3/3



Communication department

מחלקת הקשר

פקסומיליה:
Facsimile

Date:	תאריך:
28/3/90	
No. 1121	מספר - (נר):

To: א. וויסניאקו - הלשון - 3-3, צגל סלי, קומה 3

Att: מנכ"ל משרד החוץ (א. וויסניאקו)

Sender: מנהל משרד החוץ

מספר העמודים כולל העליון: 4

Number of pages including cover: 4

המשלח: מנהל משרד החוץ
 נושא: אירבואה

Talking points

מנהל משרד החוץ

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 ש"מ ס"מ ח"מ ג"מ ג"מ ב"מ א"מ א"מ

Our com. numbers:		מספרי התקשורת שלנו:
Tel: -56	Telx:	פקסומיליה:
02-303365	English: 25224	972-2-303367
02-528842	Hebrew: 25241	Area code: 91950

14
1/4

26 March 1990

HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES FOR ISRAEL

T A L K I N G P O I N T S

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Herewith, some clarifications about the purpose of the proposed \$400 million in housing loan guarantees for Israel from the USAID Housing Guarantee Program and the use to which these guarantees will be put.

- In the first instance, the purpose of the guarantees is to help obviate possible negative effects on the economy of Israel, both in terms of inflationary pressures and as regards our balance of payments, which may result from large-scale building activities for immigrant housing.

- Assuming that in the calendar year of 1990, upwards of 100,000 Soviet and other immigrants enter Israel, the overall absorption cost will be in an order of magnitude of \$2.6 billion. Assuming too that some 25,000 housing units will initially be required for these immigrants, a total of \$650,000,000 will be needed for the average, Government subsidized component within each mortgage (\$26,000 per housing unit). Overall financing needs for these housing units will be more than double that sum, i.e. \$1.3 billion, or more than three times the size of the proposed loan guarantees.

- A significant part of the building projects will be based on imports. At present about 30% of the inputs for housing construction are imported. In the light of the anticipated increased demands on the housing market, it is expected that the level of these imports will rise appreciably. Moreover, in order to prevent housing shortages, we also anticipate importation of prefabricated and/or modular homes.

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- As stated, it is to be hoped, therefore, that the availability of \$400 million in housing guarantees will go a considerable distance to prevent inflationary pressures on the Israel economy and the aggravation of its balance of payments situation.

- It should be observed that the Government of Israel is not involved in the construction of housing facilities in Israel. Its main role is to allocate publicly-owned land for housing and to provide assistance to eligible immigrants to purchase homes at affordable prices. Assistance is provided on the basis of various criteria, mainly the size of the family and the house in question. Most of the financial aspects of housing assistance are handled through mortgage and commercial banks in Israel.

- In addition, the Government, together with the Jewish Agency, is responsible for providing temporary housing for immigrants. This service is provided either through special absorption centers for new immigrants or through the more popular method today of "direct absorption" - in hotels briefly and then in rented apartments.

- The Government does not direct or instruct immigrants where to live. They are free to make their own choice, based on their individual needs, preferences and employment opportunities. Hence, the Government's budget for housing assistance programs (including mortgages) is in essence a reflection of the anticipated assistance requirements in this sphere for the relevant financial year. The actual number of housing units built in any given year is determined by market factors - including, obviously, the number of immigrants arriving.

- Based on the above, and in accordance with past practices, the proceeds of the proposed housing loan guarantees will be used in territory which was subject to the administration of the State of Israel prior to June 1967.

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חוזם: 3,24765
 אל: וווש/998, מצב/3349
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 280390, ח: 1655, דח: מ, ס: ג
 תח: & גס: צפא
 נד: &

סודי/מידי
 אהב 103.01

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון
 דע: ציר, ציר כלכלי, קונגרס
 מנכ"ל אוצר, יועץ רה"מ לעניני כלכלה

הנדון: ערבויות

1. בהתייעצויות עם מנכ"ל אוצר ויועץ רה"מ לעניני כלכלה בשבוע שעבר נתקבל הסיכום דלהלן :

א. להמליץ שהשגריר יעלה עם איגלברגר (ולא, חוזר, לא - לקורצר) 'נקודות לשיחה' בצורת NON - PAPER (מעבירים בנפרד).

ב. לפני כן - לשיקולו - פניה לליידי ולקסטן, בכדי שיסמכו את ידם על הנייר, כך שתוכל להבהיר לאיגלברגר שהנייר מספק את יוזמי החקיקה.

2. אולם, לאור מהירות ההתפתחויות בגבעה, נראה שמתבקשת הערכה מחודשת, תוך התייחסות לנקודות הבאות :

א. האם לדעתכם יתקבל 'חוק נקי' (CLEAN BILL) בכל האינסטציות בקונגרס (רשמנו לפנינו שאצל אובי אכן התקבל חוק כזה) ?

ב. האם לנוכח התגובה הנמרצת לדברי הנשיא והממשל בנושא ירושלים יעזו הם להטיל ווטו על חוק זה גם בהעדר התחייבויות מצידנו, בהתחשב במטען הפוליטי והאמוציונאלי שבסוגיה זו

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

(עליית יהודי בריה"מ, מבצע הומניטרי וכיו"ב) ?

ג. היה ולדעתכם ידרשו התחייבויות בכל מקרה, האם יסתפקו בנייר שהוא כלכלי גרידא (דהיינו, ה'נקודות לשיחה' שהכינונו בלי הפיסקה האחרונה) או האם אין מנוס מלחזור על הנאמר בפסקה זו ?

ד. מתי המועד הרצוי לפעולה מצדנו - כבר כעת, או לאחר הטיפול הקונגרסיונאלי או רק ברגע שהממשל יביע התנגדות (ואף יאיים בווטו נשיאותי) ?

3. הברק-נא בחוזר.

מנהל מצפ"א

לש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, אוצר, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל

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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף 1 מחוד 4 דפים

סוג בטחוני שמור

דחימות בחול אסון

תאריך/ז"ח 28 מרץ 08:45

מס' מברק 887

Handwritten notes in blue and orange ink, including "1/4" and "החוק הישן".

אל : מנהל מצפ"א
דע : מנכ"ל אוצר
כלכלית - כאן
מאח : ק. לקונגרס

ערבויות דיור

א. ועדת החוץ-ביה"ב

1. אתמול לפנה"צ (27/3) בשעת התחלת ישיבת ה-MARK-UP ל-SUPPLEMENTAL הופצה הצעת החקיקה המלאה 190- אליה הוצמדה הצעת החקיקה בנושא ערבויות הדיור. למעשה, ה-MARK-UP החל כאשר לרוב חברי ועדת החוץ כלל לא היה בוסס כלשהו (של ה-SUPPLEMENTAL) בידיהם. (הצעת החקיקה הועברה אתמול בנפרד).

2. על הצעת החקיקה בנושא הערבויות, עבד מיודענו מייק ואן דוון ועורכי הדין של AID וכן עוזרו של פאסל - אינגרס, הקונגרסמנים ברמן ולארי סמית שאלו שאלות נוקבות את נציג AID שהודמן ל-MARK-UP (כאמור מבלי שניתן בידיהם להתכונן מבעוד מועד לנושא) לגבי הצרכים האדמיניסטרטיביים הנחוצים לניהול פרויקט זה, ומה החצקה לחיוב ישראל ב-1/4% תשלום UPFRONT ו-1/2% שנתי למשך 30 שנה. נציג פאסל הבהיר כי העלויות כרוכות בעיקר באבטחת החזר החובות והסיכון שארה"ב נוטלת על עצמה ל-30 שנה, וכן לצרכים אדמיניסטרטיביים וחשלום משכורות. כמו כן בעלויות אלה (FEES) מחוייבות גם מדינות אחרות הנהנות מהתכנית, חיוב ישראל ב-1/4% ולא ב-1% נובע מפטור עבור היבטי פיתוח כלכלי. לשאלת הקונגרסמנים האם בידיהם נתונים ספציפיים לצרכים אדמיניסטרטיביים, השיב נציג פאסל בשלילה.

3. בשיחה היידידים עם פאסל, הביע האחרון רוגז רב על האופן המפתיע של הצגת הצעת החקיקה וכי עוזריו לא התחלקו בנוסח מוקדם. עם זאת, הצדיק הנוסח של הצעת החוק והעלויות המתחייבות כלפי ישראל. לדברי פאסל (ואח"כ גם בפני קונגרסמנים אחרים) תשלום ה-FEES הוא בבחינת ביטוח. (INSURANCE)

the insurance company will charge you premium because you might be unhealthy.
בשלב זה גם לארי סמית חתר בפאסל והצדיק גובה ה-FEES.

4. מיד בתום ישיבת ה-MARK-UP של הבוקר נפגשתי עם ברמן לבקשתו ותזכרתיו ארוכות בנושא. סיכמנו שבמושב אה"צ הוא יעלה סידרת שאלות ויפעל בקרב עמיתיו ובמקביל יכין הצעת תיקון לגבי גובה ה-FEES. (עיקרי טיעוניהם: קצב העלייה והצרכים העצומים של ישראל, דקורד מושלם של ישראל להחזר חובות, ישראל מעולם לא נתבקשה לשלם דמי סיכון, ייקור התלוואות עלויות גבוהות, והצורך בתשלום הוצאות אדמיניסטרטיביות בלבד).

MAR 29 1990 08:18 972-2-303367

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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מס' מברק 887

לאחר פגישה זו, ועוד לפני תחילת ה-MARK-UP של אח"צ, שוחחתי ארוכות עם לארי סמית. הנ"ל כאמור הצדיק לשון החוק וטען שמדוע על ישראל להיות תמיד חריגה ושונה ממדינות אחרות, מבחינה פוליטית אי הדבר טוב לישראל. העלויות בועדו למנוע אפשרות של DEFAULT. להערה זו של עצמו השיב בקול שאכן יש מעולם לא היגיעה למצב כזה. הבהרתי לו בפירוט עמדתנו והוספתי שאין כל מקום להשוות את ישראל עם מדינות עולט שלישי הנהנות מהתכנית לא מבחינת יכולתן הכלכלית, לא מבחינה פוליטית. לא מבחינת היקף הצרכים ובודאי לא מבחינת יכולתן להחזיר חובות. ביקשתי שיתמקד אך ורק בהוצאות האדמיניסטרטיב ומשיות של AID. שיחתנו הופסקה עם תחילת ישיבת ה-MARK-UP.

5. בישיבת אח"צ לא נדון הנושא. בשלב זה, לא ברור לחברי הועדה ולעוזרים, האם פאסל "סגר" הדיון אם בתום הישיבת הקצרה של אח"צ (שעסקה שוב בפגמה וניקרגואה) קרא לי לארי סמית וביקש כי לא אדאג, הוא יטפל בנושא במיוחד לאור העובדה שיש עתה יותר זמן.

6. הבוקר נפעל בועדה כאשר המפתח הוא כמובן היור, פאסל. וכן תקונגרסמנים סמית וברמן. כן יסייעו לויין וטורלז.

7. בינתיים לא ^{ברור האם} ^{תגמיל} היום אח"צ יועדת-החוץ בסנאט את ה-MARK-UP ל-SUPPLEMENTAL. כפי שנקבע במקור.

8. אם לא בצליח לשנות את נוסח הצעת החוק בביהניב, נוכל עדיין לפעול לקראת הקונפרנס. בהנחה שיור הועדה פל יצליח להעביר הצעת החוק בועדה ולהביאה למליאה.

9. השיבות חוק ההרשאות מבחינתנו היא שאם אכן יתקבל חוק כזה תהיה לו עליונות (will govern) על פני חוק ההקצבות. לפיכך עלינו לפעול כך שהנוסח יהיה הנור ביותר מבחינתנו.

ועדת ההקצבות - ביניב

אתמול (27/3) כינס הקונגרסמן אובי את חברי ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות במשרדו והסביר להם, בהקשר לערביות, שכונתו להעביר הצעת חוק "נקייה" ללא התיחסות ל-FEES בהם מעדיף לטפל בקונפרנס. בשעות אח"צ המאוחרות התכנסה מליאת ועדת ההקצבות ודנה ב-SUPPLEMENTAL. הקונגרסמן מקיו הציג החלק ב-SUPPLEMENTAL של ועדת המשנה (אובי נכח בישיבה אולט לא יכול היה לדבר בתיוחו צרוד וחולה).

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מס' מברק 887

3/4

ציין כי ועדת אישרה 400 מיליון \$ ערבויות ליישוב עולים בישראל ו-5 מיליון \$ נוספים ל-VIA. ההצעה התקבלה פה אחד, ללא כל דיון ומאוחר בערב הוצבע כל ה-SUPPLEMENTAL פה אחד.

3. לגבי השטחים, מסר לי טרי פיל, כי בלשון הדו"ח יאמר כי הוצאת הכספים תיעשה עפ"י תקנות קיימות של AID.

לגבי ה-FEES, ביקש עוזרו של אובי, מייק מריק, להבהיר, כי העובדה שלא התייחסו אליהם עתה בלשון החוק, אין פירושה שהם מתכוונים לפתור אותנו כליל מה-FEES, אלא מעדיפים לדון בנושא בקונפרנס. הבהרתי לו עמדתנו ואמרתי שאבי מניחה שהוא מתייחס להוצאות אדמינסטרטיביות הגיוניות ולא קביעה עלות שרירותית ע"י AID. השיב כי הוא מניח שאכן כך ובנושא זה ידונו כאמור בקונפרנס.

4. עפ"י הכוונה המקורית תובא היום ^{בנוסף} 28/3 הצעה חוק זו של ועדת ההקצבות להצבעה במליאת ביה"ב. ועדת ההקצבות בסנאט, תתחיל לדון בהצעה שלה, מיד לאחר מכן.

סיכום

1. נראה שבמסלול חקיקת ההקצבות, אין לנו כרגע בעיות, ואם תעלינה בעיות כלשהן, הן תדונה בקונפרנס.

2. המסלול הבעייתי מבחינתנו הוא מסלול ההרשאות. בשלב זה "הפינה" הבעייתית היא ועדת החוץ בביה"ב. אם הנוסח של הסנאט אכן לא יהיה בעייתי, נוכל בקונפרנס (אם יתקיים) לנסות לפתור הבעיות הקיימות.

3. כרגע נראה שעיקר הבעיה מבחינתנו היא ה-FEES. בתחילה הדרך, הבעיה היתה להעביר המסר של הצורך בערבויות. לאחר מכן הבעיה עברה לאיתור האבסניה והצמדת החיקון ל-SUPPLEMENTAL. משנפתרה בעייה זו עלתה בעיית השטחים. כרגע לא נראה שמבחינת הקונגרס קיימה בעייה בנושא זה, וההנחה היא שהנושא ילובן בין ממארחיב לממישראל. לסיכך, הבעייה העיקרית, לפחות בשעה זו, היא בעיית ה-FEES.

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KESHER-WASHINGTON

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1990-03-28 15:20

סגירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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סוג בסחונני

דחיפות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק 887

4/4

4. ולסיכום, הנשיא בוש מעוניין בחעברת SUPPLEMENTAL "נקי" עד ה-5/4/90. יתכן אמנם שיצליחו להעביר, לפחות את חוק ההקצבות, עד מועד זה, אולם ה-SUPPLEMENTAL איננו "נקי" ויכול, בעיני המחמירים להתפסק כ-CHRISTMAS TREE. אין לשכוח לפיכך, שהמילה האחרונה היא עדיין בידי הנשיא.

עדכון להיום 28/3

לאחר שלארי סמית שוחח עם פאטל תחלו סמית וברמן לשאת ולתת עם AID על חיקון הנוסח הקיים. חגבשו שתי גישות: גישת לארי סמית לפיה ישראל תשלם 1/4% UP FRONT ו-1/2% FEE השנתי יופחת ל-1/4% וגישת ברמן לפיה ישראל תשלם 1/4% UP FRONT ו-125,000\$ FEE שנתית. בשיחה לארי סמית וחוארד ברמן אמר הראשון כי יתמוך בגישתו של ברמן ואם זו לא תצליח יפעל עפ"י גישתו.

לקראת הצהריים סוכם שברמן וסמית (אשר שוחחו עם נציג AID אולם טרם שוחחו עם פאטל) יגישו החיקון (עפ"י גישת ברמן) כבר היום אח"כ בתקווה שלא יגרמו בעיות נוספות.

(הערה: נציג AID ביקש ל"עדכן" את ברמן, עמו נשא ונתן, שישראל היא הנהנת הגדולה ביותר כיום של חכניות הערביות ולה 200 מליון \$ הלואות אשר עליהם היא משלמת מלוא העלויות (FEES).)

יהודה ורנאי דרנגר
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

אל : מצפ"א

מאת: יורם אטינגר, וושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף 1 מחודש דפיס

סוג בטחוני שמור

מיידי דחיסות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק 909

Handwritten notes in blue and red ink, including the word 'איוש' (Evacuation) and other illegible scribbles.

הנדון : SEQUESTER תקציב הבטחון ושתי אסטרטגי

להלן מסי הגיגים מבית מדרשו של ריצ'רד קולינס, העוזר הראשי של תת-ועדת ההקצבות לענייני בטחון בסנאט, ומקורבו של הטנזור אינווייה:-

1. ממליץ לראות ה-Sequester כהתפתחות צפויה, ולתכנן התקציב (כולל סיוע החוץ) בהתאם.
2. כל עוד תמנה עוגת תקציב ההגנה, יכלו הדמוקרטים להתמודד עם איום ה-Sequester, מכיון שקיצו בתקציב החגנה כדי להשלים את החסר ב"מגרש הדמוקרטי" (רווחה, חינוך, וכ"ו).
3. תקציב הבטחון הנוכחי אינו מאפשר תמרון 3/1, וגם דמוקרטים כמו אינווייה יאבדו נגד חגמה של "קיצוצים פרועיטי" בתקציב הבטחון.
4. קל להצביע על קיצוצים גדולים בהקצבות (Appropriation), אך קשה להשיג קיצוצים משמעותיים בהוצאות מוחשיות (outlay). קיצוץ פרויקטים המסתכמים ביותר מ-10 מליארד \$ (המחורשים ע"ס מסי שנים) מביאים לקיצוץ ממשי של פחות מליארד \$ בשנת התקציב הבאה.
5. הנטיה - בקרב הפוליטיקאים ואנשי הקונגרס, ולא בקרב ה"מקצוענים" - היא להתמקד במטרה הקלה: קיצוץ בכח אדם ומבצעים. במקום לנסות ולהתמודד עם קיצוץ פרויקטים וגבוש אסטרטגיה נטיה זו מפתחת אשליות ל"דיינדנות שלום" שאינן קימות, אך עלולה לפגוע בהיערכות הבטחונית לטווח הארוך. אמנם הקיצוץ הקל חוסך outlay מידיים, אך בהיקף מוגבל תור שיבוש מערכות.
6. קיצוץ גדול יותר בכ"א מחעלם מאי-הודאות המלווה את ההפשרה הבינגושוו. קיצוץ כזה אף ילווה בגידול משמעותי בהוצאות אחרות (פצו"י פטורין, איפטון מערכות, בטוח לאומי, חינוך מקצועי, דיור, ומחיר חברתי בלתי ידוע).
7. קשה לקצץ פרויקטים משוט שרובם המכריע בשלב מתקדם. הוצאת הקיצוץ עלולות להיות גדולות מהמשך הפרוייקט.
8. ההערכה היא שהקיצוץ המוצע בתקציב הבטחון יהיה רק 15-10 מליארד \$ מהצעת התקציב ("BASE LINE") ותוספת אינפלציונית.
9. ישנם סנטורים שיציעו שנוי/כיסול: "חק גראם-ראדמן", אך קשה להניח שדעתם תתקבל.
10. הממשל דוחף, כנראה, ל-Sequester כדי להמריץ בקונגרס לקצץ בתקציב, ולהטיל האחריות (בעיני הבוחר בשנת בחירות ו) על הרוב הדמוקרטי. Sequester, לפי שיטת הממשל, יפגע בכח אדם צבאי אחד ובפרוייקטים אזרחיים (דמוקרטים) מאידך, וישעה מאד על המועמדים הדמוקרטים בבחירות 1990. ה-Sequester אף יפגע פחות ב-outlay של בטחון (עדיפות רפובליקנית) ויותר ב-outlay אזרחי (דמוקרטי).

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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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דף 2 מחוד 7 דפים

סוג בטחוני

דחיפות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק 909

כמה!

- 11. הזרקורים מופנים לשלום ולהפשרה הבינגושית. ולא למצב ~~המציאות~~ תזוזה מ"מלחמה קרה" מסודרת לעולם בלתי צפוי ובלתי מסודר, ולכן אולי עולם מסוכן יותר.
- 12. בעולם כזה מאותה מע' אירופה כי על ארחיב לפנות הכוחות מן היבשת, וכי היקף צבאות אירופה (אולי חוץ מצרפת החוששת מגרמניה) יצומצם.
- 13. מצב חדש זה מעלה את קרנה של אוסטרליה והאזור בו היא נמצאת. מצב זה מעלה אף את קרנה האסטרטגי של ישראל. על ישראל ללמוד את ה"דגם האוסטרלי", ולנצל המצב החדש לשיפור מעמדה האסטרטגי (לדוגמא. מציק ריצ'רד, טיסות אמונים, מאגרי נשק, תמרונים משותפים וכו' יקוצצו באופן דרסטי בהקשר המעי ארופאי, ומרחיבים אופקי השתייפ עם ישראל).

יורם אטינגר.

ט פ ס מ ב ר ק

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

דף 1 מתוך 3 דפים

1/3

אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א
יועץ מדיני לשתי"ח

סוג בטחוני שמור

מאת: עודד ערן

דחיסות

תאריך/ז"ח 28.3.90 - 00:

מס' מברק 880

ירושלים

ראו בא תשובת בייקר למל לוין בענין ירושלים. יש אולי נימה חדשה, אך בכל השאר, חמכתב מאכזב לדעתי.

ערן

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שגריר, ציר אירופה

32
3THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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March 16, 1990

Dear Mel:

Thank you for your March 8 letter in which you outline your concerns about the peace process. Let me assure you that my own strong commitment to Israel and to the search for a just peace is completely unchanged. I am confident that the President fully shares this commitment.

It is precisely because we care very much to advance the cause of a Middle East peace that we have strongly supported Prime Minister Shamir's election proposal. Mel, you know what we've done to make this initiative the centerpiece of all diplomatic activity. You also know how far we've come. We are now at the threshold of an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue and once the political situation in Israel is resolved we will want to continue on the path which you, in particular, and many of your colleagues have so effectively supported.

I am also very aware of the great significance which Jerusalem has for the Jewish people as well as for people of all religions. Clearly, Jews and others can live where they want, East or West, and the city must remain undivided. Our efforts in support of the Government of Israel's initiative are not designed to divide the city. On the contrary, our efforts are designed to promote a realistic peace process, one that will move toward a comprehensive peace with a unified Jerusalem.

I know that you share our satisfaction that the Soviet Union has liberalized its emigration policies. I personally made a strong appeal to Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to allow direct flights between Moscow and Tel Aviv. The President and I are ready to

The Honorable
Mel Levine,
House of Representatives.

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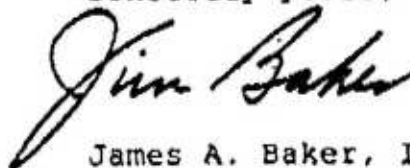
assist Soviet Jews to settle in Israel and to examine carefully the proposed legislation on a Housing Guarantee program. We feel it is reasonable to seek Israeli assurances that the guaranteed funds would not be used for housing in the territories, and that Soviet Jews will not be encouraged to resettle in the territories.

I also want to assure you that we will continue to support substantial assistance to Israel as in years past. There is no question about that. As I have so often made clear, my references to "shaving" earmarks should in no way be construed as targeting any particular country.

Finally, let me emphasize my full awareness that terrorism is a scourge that must be eradicated. We intend to hold the PLO to its commitment to renounce terrorism. We have repeatedly told PLO officials that any involvement by PLO groups in terrorism raises questions about PLO commitments. Ambassador Pelletreau has made crystal clear the PLO's responsibility to honor its commitment to renounce terrorism in deed as well as in word.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,



James A. Baker, III

TRANSMISSION REPORT

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(MAR 29 '90 08:16)

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מברק יוצא

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אל: המשרד,

מ-: וווש, נר: 911, תא: 280390, זח: 2200, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס/מידי

911

אל: מצפ'א

1/3

דע: מזא'ר, תפוצות

שירנ- כאנ

מאת: ק. קונגרס

עלית יהודים מבריה"מ ותחנות מעבר

רצ'ב הצעת תיקון ביוזמת הקונגרסמנים וולפה ולארי סמית
שהוצג והתקבל היום בוועדת החוצ.

התיקון הוכלל בחוק ההרשאות ל-91 הכולל סיוע מיוחד למזא'ר.

פרטים בנפרד.

יהודית וורנאי דרנגר

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36 + ע.י.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew at the bottom of the page, including a list of names and dates.

[MARCH 27, 1990]

AMENDMENT TO COMMITTEE PRINT #2

OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF FLORIDA

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2/3

AT THE END OF THE BILL, ADD THE FOLLOWING:

THE TRANSIT OF SOVIET EMIGRANTS FROM THE SOVIET UNION:

(A) FINDINGS

THE CONGRESS FINDS THAT--

- (1) FOR NEARLY TWO DECADES, UNITED STATES POLICY REGARDING THE EMIGRATION OF SOVIET CITIZENS FROM THE SOVIET UNION HAS FOCUSED ON ENCOURAGING AND PRESSURING THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT ITS OBLIGATIONS AS A SIGNATOR OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, AND IN PARTICULAR THE RIGHT TO FREE EMIGRATION;
- (2) THE VAST MAJORITY OF CITIZENS WHO HAVE OR WISH TO EMIGRATE FROM THE SOVIET UNION ARE MEMBERS OF ETHNIC GROUPS, INCLUDING JEWS, PENTACOSTALS, ARMENIANS, AND EVANGELICALS;
- (3) THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION IS RESPONDING POSITIVELY TO EARLIER UNITED STATES POLICY;
- (4) NUMEROUS ARAB NATIONS AND GROUPS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION TO IMPEDE OR STOP THE FLOW OF SOVIET JEWS OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION;
- (5) SOME OF THE PARTIES TO THIS CAMPAIGN HAVE EMPLOYED METHODS OF INTIMIDATION, INCLUDING THREATS OF TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE EMERGING DEMOCRATIC NATIONS, AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING THEIR OBJECTIVES;
- (6) ON MARCH 21, THE GOVERNMENT OF HUNGARY ANNOUNCED THAT IT COULD NO LONGER TRANSPORT SOVIET JEWS OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION OR TO THIRD COUNTRIES DUE TO THREATS OF VIOLENCE BY A MUSLIM TERRORIST ORGANIZATION;
- (7) IT REMAINS THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO REFUSE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO TERRORISTS;
- (8) IN THE AFTERMATH OF THIS DECISION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF HUNGARY, THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL NOT RESTRICT THE FLOW OF SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRES THROUGH ITS TERRITORY AND WILL ALLOW NEW CHARTER FLIGHTS TO CARRY THEM TO THIRD COUNTRIES;
- (9) HISTORICALLY, JEWISH CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION HAVE HAD A WELL FOUNDED FEAR OF PERSECUTION;
- (10) IN 1989, JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION ACHIEVED AN ALL TIME HIGH OF 71,196 DEPARTURES, COMPARED TO A MERE 897 DEPARTURES IN 1984;

THE CONGRESS--

- (1) COMMENDS THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND FOR ITS INTENTION TO FACILITATE THE TRANSIT OF SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRES FROM THE SOVIET UNION;
- (2) EXPRESS ITS DEEP CONCERN WITH THE DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HUNGARY TO DISCONTINUE TRANSPORTING SOVIET JEWS OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TO THIRD COUNTRIES;
- (3) DEPLORES THE ACTIONS OF THOSE COUNTRIES AND GROUPS WHICH HAVE EMPLOYED METHODS OF INTIMIDATION TO IMPEDE OR STOP THE FLOW OF SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRES FROM THE SOVIET UNION;

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NEGOTIATIONS TO FACILITATE THE TRANSIT OF SOVIET JEWS OUT OF THE
SOVIET UNION

(1) THE PRESIDENT SHALL UNDERTAKE NEGOTIATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION TO DEVISE AND IMPLEMENT A COHERENT STRATEGY TO FACILITATE THE TRANSIT OF SOVIET EMIGRANTS, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO, JEWS, PENTACOSTALS, ARMENIANS, AND EVANGELICALS.

Page 44, before line 14 and after the end of section 106, insert the following new section 107 and redesignate subsequent sections accordingly:

1 SEC. 107. COUNTRIES THAT SYSTEMATICALLY RESTRICT TRANSIT OF
2 JEWS EMIGRATING FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

3 (a) SUSPENSION OR REDUCTION OF ASSISTANCE.--Section 801
4 (22 U.S.C. 5491) is amended--

5 (1) in the section heading, by inserting "OR
6 REDUCTION" after "SUSPENSION";

7 (2) by inserting "(a) CONDITIONS FOR SUSPENSION OF
8 ASSISTANCE.--"; and

9 (3) by adding at the end the following:

10 "(b) CONDITIONS FOR SUSPENSION OR REDUCTION OF
11 ASSISTANCE.--The President ~~should~~ ^{may} suspend or reduce
12 assistance to an East European country pursuant to this Act
13 if the President determines, and reports to the Congress,
14 that that country is systematically restricting the transit
15 through that country of Jews ^{and other ethnic and religious groups} emigrating from the Soviet
16 Union."

17 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT--The table of contents in
18 section 1(b) is amended in the item relating to section 801
by inserting " reduction" after "suspension".

END

17.05

מברק יוצא

אאאא

אל: המשרד,

מ-: ווש, נר: 879, תא: 270390, זח: 2000, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל: מצפ"א

1/5 879

דע: מנכ"ל אוצר

כלכלית-כאן

מאת: ק. קונגרס

בינה'נ: ערבויות דיור

רצ'ב-:

א. נוסח החקיקה שהתקבל ועבר בהצבעה במליאת ועדת ההקצבות
היום בערב.

ב. נוסח החקיקה (הרשאות) שהוצג ונדון. היום בוועדת החוצ.

פרטים מלאים בנפרד.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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1/29/90 1371:K

Housing and Other Credit Guaranty Programs

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Notwithstanding provisions of Public Law 101-167, during the fiscal year 1990, total commitments to guarantee loans shall not exceed \$500,000,000 of contingent liability for loan principal: Provided, That of this amount \$400,000,000 in commitments to guarantee loans shall be available on or after October 1, 1990 and shall be available only for the purpose of providing housing and infrastructure in Israel for newly arrived immigrants in that country: Provided further, That such guarantees for housing and infrastructure in Israel for newly arrived immigrants shall be made available for loans made during or after fiscal year 1991, notwithstanding the limitation contained in the third sentence of section 222(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961: Provided further, That section 223(j) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2183 (j)) shall not apply to such commitments to guarantee loans for housing and infrastructure in Israel: Provided further, That section 222(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2182) is amended by striking out "\$2,158,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$2,558,000,000".

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1 expenses of obtaining and operating vehicles and other
2 transportation expenses.

3 (c) PROMOTING COOPERATION AMONG DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL
4 PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS.--Assistance under this section
5 should also promote cooperation among democratic political
6 parties and comparable organizations in South Africa that
7 meet the criteria set forth in paragraphs (1), (2), and (3)
8 of subsection (a).

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9 (d) AUTHORIZATION OF EXTENDED PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY FOR
10 OBLIGATION.--Funds appropriated pursuant to the authorization
11 of appropriations contained in this section may be made
12 available for obligation until expended.

13 SEC. 10. HOUSING INVESTMENT GUARANTEE PROGRAM FOR NEW
14 IMMIGRANTS TO ISRAEL.

15 (a) ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM.--Title III of chapter 2 of
16 part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by
17 inserting after section 222A (22 U.S.C. 2182a) the following
18 new section:

19 SEC. 222B. GUARANTY PROGRAM FOR HOUSING FOR NEW IMMIGRANTS
20 TO ISRAEL.

21 (a) AUTHORITY.--The President is authorized to issued
22 guaranties to eligible investors (as defined in section
23 238(c)) assuring against losses incurred in connection with
24 loans made for housing projects in Israel for newly arrived
25 immigrants in that country.

27

1 “(b) LIMITATION.--The total principal amount of
2 guaranties issued under this section that are outstanding at
3 any one time may not exceed \$400,000,000. The limitation
4 established by the second sentence of section 222(a) does not
5 apply with respect to guaranties issued under this section.

6 “(c) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.--The President may issue
7 regulations from time to time with regard to the terms and
8 conditions upon which such guaranties shall be issued and the
9 eligibility of lenders.

10 “(d) FEES.--For each loan guaranteed under this section,
11 the fee charged pursuant to section 223(a) shall be an
12 initial fee of one quarter of 1 percent of the principal
13 amount of such loan and an annual fee of one half of 1
14 percent of the outstanding principal balance of such loan.

15 “(e) APPROPRIATIONS ACTION REQUIRED.--The authority of
16 this section may be exercised only to such extent or in such
17 amount as may be provided in advance in appropriations
18 Acts.”.

19 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.--Section 223 of that Act (22,
20 U.S.C. 2183) is amended--

21 (1) in subsection (a), by striking out “or 222A”
22 and inserting “, 222A, or 222B”;

23 (2) in subsection (b)--

24 (A) by inserting “or 222B” after “222” the
25 first and third places it appears, and

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1 (B) by inserting ``and 222B`` after ``222`` the
2 second places it appears;

3 (3) in subsection (c), by inserting ``or 222B`` after
4 ``222``;

5 (4) in subsection (d), by striking out ``or 222A``
6 and inserting `` , 222A, or 222B``;

7 (5) in subsection (f), by inserting ``or 222B`` after
8 ``222``; and

9 (6) in subsection (j)--

10 (A) in the second sentence, by striking out
11 ``this title`` and inserting in lieu thereof
12 ``section 222``, and

13 (B) in the third sentence, by inserting ``under
14 section 222`` after ``issued`` both places it
15 appears.

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TRANSMISSION REPORT

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News from Congressman TOM LANTOS

Eleventh District, California

1707 Longworth House Office Building



San Mateo Office (415) 342-030
Washington Office (202) 225-3531

Washington, D.C. 20541

For Immediate Release -- March 27, 1990

For information contact:
Bob King -- (202) 225-3531

Over 200 Members of Congress Urge Soviet Government to Permit Direct Flights to Israel for Jewish Emigres

Congressman Tom Lantos (D-California) today delivered letter signed by over 200 Members of Congress to Soviet Ambassador in Washington Yuriy V. Dubinin which urges the Soviet Government to permit direct flights from Moscow to Israel for Soviet Jewish emigres. Soviet officials have granted exit permits to an unprecedented number of Jewish refuseniks to leave the Soviet Union, but they have not permitted direct flights to carry them to Israel. The Hungarian airline stopped carrying Jewish emigrants from Moscow to Israel via Budapest because of Arab terrorist threats, and the flow of emigrants has been substantially curtailed.

"We welcome the Soviet willingness to grant emigrant visas," said Congressman Lantos to Ambassador Dubinin, "but without direct flights from Moscow to Israel, the transportation logistics become enormously complicated. The Soviet government's obligation to permit free emigration must also include permission for flights." Mr. Lantos also noted to the Soviet Ambassador that Congressional approval of most favored-nation status for Soviet trade with the United States would surely have to consider Soviet cooperation in the transportation arrangements for Jewish emigrants to leave the USSR.

The text of the letter is as follows:

893 3/5

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Ambassador of the Soviet Union
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We were appalled and dismayed to learn that the government of the Soviet Union has rejected an appeal from President Bush and Secretary of State Baker to permit direct flights for Soviet Jews from Moscow to Israel. At a time when relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are developing in very positive directions, the decision by your government to deny the request for direct flights to Israel is a serious blow to our relationship.

The decision was reportedly made in response to heavy pressure from Arab countries. We are shocked and surprised that your government would yield to Arab pressure at a time when the Soviet Union is seeking to play a constructive and involved role in the Middle East peace process.

At a time when anti-Semitism is on the rise in the Soviet Union and Pamyat is threatening new pogroms against Soviet Jews, it is unconscionable that the Soviet government is not doing its utmost to facilitate the departure of Jews who wish to emigrate. Because of the lack of direct air links between the Soviet Union and Israel, thousands of Jews are now unable to emigrate. This attitude is totally inconsistent with and contrary to Soviet responsibilities under the Helsinki agreement to implement free emigration.

We urge that your government reconsider its position, and we ask that you convey without delay to your government and to President Gorbachev personally our very serious concern for this unresponsive and incomprehensible attitude toward Jewish emigration.

Sincerely,

893 4/5

Lawrence Coughlin
 Jim Courter
 William J. Coyne
 Larry E. Craig
 Philip M. Crane
 George (Buddy) Darden
 Tom DeLay
 Peter A. DeFazio
 Michael DeWine
 Norman D. Dicks
 Robert K. Dorman
 Chuck Douglas
 Richard J. Durbin
 Bernard J. Dwyer
 Roy Dyeon
 Eliot L. Engel
 Ben Erdreich
 Mike Espy
 Walter E. Fauntroy
 Harrie W. Fawell
 Vic Fazio
 Eni Faleomavaega
 Edward F. Feighan
 Hamilton Fish Jr.
 Thomas M. Foglietta
 Barney Frank
 Bill Frenzel
 Martin Frost
 Jaime B. Fuster
 Dean A. Gallo
 Sam Giddenson
 George W. Gekas
 Benjamin A. Gilman
 Dan Glickman
 Porter J. Goss

Jill L. Long
 Bill Lowery
 Nita Lowey
 Thomas A. Luken
 Donald E. "Buz" Lukens
 Frank McClosky
 Jim McDermott
 Raymond J. McGrath
 Matthew F. McHugh
 Michael R. McNulty
 Ronald K. Machtley
 Edward R. Madigan
 Thomas J. Manton
 Lynn Martin
 Matthew G. Martinez
 Robert T. Matsui
 Nicholas Mavroules
 Jan Meyers
 John Miller
 John Joseph Moakley
 Jim Moody
 Carlos J. Moorhead
 Constance A. Morella
 Bruce A. Morrison
 Robert J. Mrazek
 David R. Nagle
 Richard E. Neal
 Bill Nelson
 Henry J. Nowak
 David R. Obey
 Major Owens
 Wayne Owens
 Frank Pallone Jr.
 Bill Paxon
 Donald M. Payne

Denny Smith
 Lamar Smith
 Lawrence Smith
 Robert C. Smith
 Olympia Snowe
 Stephen J. Solarz
 Floyd Spence
 John M. Spratt Jr.
 Richard H. Stallings
 Louis Stokes
 Gerry E. Studds
 Don Sundquist
 Thomas J. Tauke
 Esteban Edward Torres
 Robert G. Torricelli
 Edolphus Towns
 Jolene Unsoeld
 Frederick S. Upton
 Tim Valentine
 Guy Vander Jagt
 Bruce F. Vento
 Peter J. Viciolosky
 Barbara F. Vucanovich
 James T. Walsh
 Henry Waxman
 Vin Weber
 Ted Weiss
 Curt Weldon
 Bob Wise
 Howard Wolpe
 Ron Wyden
 Sidney R. Yates
 Gus Yatron

** TOTAL PAGE.003 **

893 53

The names of those Members of Congress who signed the letter are as follows:

Tom Lantos
 Richard A. Gephardt
 Gary L. Ackerman
 Michael A. Andrews
 Frank Annunzio
 Richard K. Armey
 Chester G. Atkins
 Les AuCoin
 Cass Ballenger
 Herbert H. Bateman
 Jim Bates
 Helen Delich Bentley
 Doug Bereuter
 Howard L. Berman
 James H. Bilbray
 Michael Billrakis
 Ben Garrido Blaz
 Thomas J. Bliley
 Robert A. Borski
 Rick Boucher
 Barbara Boxer
 Wm. S. Broomfield
 Hank Brown
 John Bryant
 Jack Buechner
 Dan Burton
 Albert G. Bustamante
 Tom Campbell
 Benjamin L. Cardin
 Thomas R. Carper
 Jim Chapman
 James McClure Clarke
 Howard Coble
 Ronald D. Coleman
 Cardiss Collins
 Silvio O. Conte
 Jim Cooper

Bill Grant
 Bill Green
 Steve Gunderson
 Ralph M. Hall
 Tony P. Hall
 J. Dennis Hastert
 Charles A. Hayes
 W. G. "Bill" Hefner
 Joel Hefley
 John Hiller
 George J. Hochbrueckner
 Frank Horton
 Amo Houghton
 Duncan Hunter
 Henry J. Hyde
 James M. Inhofe
 Andrew Jacobs Jr.
 Craig T. James
 Nancy L. Johnson
 Harry Johnston
 Ben Jones
 Paul E. Kanjorski
 Joseph P. Kennedy II
 Barbara B. Kennelly
 Dale E. Kildee
 Peter Kostmeyer
 Robert J. Lagomarsino
 Jim Leach
 William Lehman
 Norman Lent
 Sander Levin
 Mel Levine
 Jerry Lewis
 Tom Lewis
 Jim Lightfoot
 Bob Livingston
 Marilyn Lloyd

Lewis F. Payne
 Donald J. Pease
 Nancy Pelosi
 Timothy J. Penny
 John Edward Porter
 David E. Price
 Carl D. Pursell
 Charles B. Rangle
 John J. Rhodes III
 Bill Richardson
 Thomas J. Ridge
 Matthew J. Rinaldo
 Don Ritter
 Tommy F. Robinson
 Robert A. Roe
 Dana Rohrabacher
 Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
 Marge Roukema
 John G. Rowland
 Patricia F. Salki
 George E. Sangmeister
 Bill Sarpallus
 Thomas C. Sawyer
 Jim Saxton
 Dan Schaefer
 James H. Scheuer
 Claudine Schneider
 Richard T. Schulze
 Charles Schumer
 Bill Schuette
 E. Clay Shaw Jr.
 Christopher Shays
 Gerry Sikorski
 Norman Sisisky
 David E. Skaggs
 Louise M. Slaughter
 Christopher H. Smith

END

יוצא

בלמס

חוזם: 3,22867
 אל: 1101/ש, 924/מ, 3142/מ, 1268/מ
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 270390, זח: 1031, דח: ר, סג: בל
 תח: @ גס: ממד
 נד: @

בלמ'ס/רגיל

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אל: וושינגטון - הציר, אמיתי

סוריה - ישראל

להלן מהשבועון הסעודי אל מג'לה (יו'ל בלונדון) 26:

בוש שלח אגרת לאסד סביב מאמצי השלום במזה'ת ובה הבטחה שארה'ב תמשיך במאמצייה למען שלום כולל וסופי באיזור. מקור אמריקני בקהיר שמסר על כך הוסיף שבוש הודיע לאסד שארה'ב ביקשה מישראל לא חוזר לא ליישב שום עולה חדש מברה'מ בגולן.

הסטטוס של הגולן יקבע במהלך מו'מ ישיר והכרחי בין כל הצדדים הנוגעים לסיכסוך במזה'ת.

ערב 4

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, @ (אמן), ממד,
 בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, גובר'ן, מזאר, תפוצות

ΣΤΑΘ

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ΣΤΑΘ

ΣΤΑΘ

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מברק יראצ

1/2

אמא

אל: המשרד,

מ-: ווש, נר: 876, תא: 270390, זח: 2000, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בבב

נר: 416

אקטון

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל:מצפ'א, מזא'ר 1,2

דע:לשכ' רוה"מ

לשכ' שה"ח

נתיב (הועבר דרכ בטחונ)

הגירת יהודי בריה"מ

רצ'ב הודעת הבית הלבנ

עתונות

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¹אמא
²אל: המשרד
¹מ-: ווש, נר: 876, תא: 270390, זח: 2000, דח: ב, סג: בל
¹בבב
¹נר: 416
²אקטון
¹בלמס/בהול לבוקר
¹אל:מצפ'א, מזא'ר 1,2
¹דע:לשכ' רוה"מ
²לשכ' שה"ח
¹נתיב (הועבר דרכ בטחונ)
¹הגירת יהודי בריה"מ
²רצ'ב הודעת הבית הלבנ
¹עתונות
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2/2

416

876

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 27, 1990

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The Emigration of Soviet Jews

The United States has long championed the right to emigrate from the Soviet Union and has welcomed Soviet decisions enabling greater numbers of Soviet citizens to choose to leave. That many Soviet Jews are going to Israel is a historic event. The President is disappointed, therefore, at the unfortunate developments of recent days which have had the effect of severely limiting the passage out of the USSR of large numbers of Soviet Jews heading to Israel via Hungary. Especially disturbing is the decision by the Hungarian airline Malev -- citing terrorist threats -- to restrict travel opportunities for Soviet Jews.

The Polish government has expressed its willingness to consider expanding transit for Soviet Jews through Poland. We applaud such a resolute approach and call upon other nations, particularly in Eastern Europe, to do the same. We urge Hungary's airline to reconsider its position. We also urge the Soviet Union once again to implement the agreement with Israel for direct flights.

#

END

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 26.03.90

22505

סודי

נכנס

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חוזם: 3,22505

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/1294, מצב/3071

מ-: נוש, נר: 798, תא: 260390, זח: 1130, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: גס: אירופה

נד: ג

סודי / מייד

אל: סמוכ'ל מזא'ר

דע: סמוכ'ל צפ'א,

דוד ברטוב - נתיב

מאת: עודד ערן

טיסות עולים.

מדניס רוס שחזר מסיוור המזכיר באפריקה, כי הוא העלה נושא טיסות המעבר עם הסובייטים (מאחר ופנייתנו הגיעה אחרי שכבר התקיימה שיחת המזכיר עם עמיתו הסובייטי).

הסובייטים ענו שהטיסות נפסקו עפ'י בקשת ההונגרים וכי פנו למוסקבה לקבל הבהרות. כמו כן אמר, שהמזכיר העלה עם שברדנדזה את נושא הטיסות הישירות והאחרון אמר 'אולי, אחרי שתקום המועצה הנשיאותית'.

ערן.

יג

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, גוברין, מזאר, תפוצות, בנצור, מצפא

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 Г:С

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** יוצא **
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סודי

חוזם: 3,21835
אל: וווש/875, מצב/2986, מנמת/1223
מ-: המשרד, תא: 260390, זח: 1411, דח: מ, סג: 10
תח: גסט: צפא
נד: 6

סודי/מיד
אל: וושינגטון השגריר, הצי

מדריכים צבאיים באתיופיה

אמתי לשגריר בראון שבאחרונה פנו אל שגרירותנו בושינגטון
עיתונאים וגורמים בקונגרס שנמסר להם ע"י זרועות המימשל
שמדריכים צבאיים ישראלים שוהים באתיופיה. הוספתי שאנו תובעים
שיואיל להבהיר חד-משמעית לכל זרועות המימשל הנוגעים בדבר,
שאין יועצים צבאיים ישראלים באתיופיה וכל תידרוך ברוח זו של
גורם מימשלי זה או אחר הינו חסר בסיס. בראון אמר שיעביר
המסר כלשונו ובמלוא תוקפו.

בנצור

לש

תפ: שוח, סשהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, פ(אמן), ממד,
בנצור, מצפא, הדס, מאפי 1

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יחסי חוץ ומשרד בי"מ 70 03-5276867

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

22506.

תאריך: 26.03.90

נכנס **
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סודי

חוזם: 3,22506

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/3073

מ-: ווש, נר: 797, תא: 260390, זח: 1130, דח: ר, סג: 10

חח: & גס: אירופה

נד: &

סודי / רגיל

אל: סמנכ"ל מזא"ר

סמנכ"ל צפ"א

מאת: עודד ערן

טיסות - הונגריה.

שיפטר מסר, כי בשיחה עם השגריר ההונגרי בשבוע שעבר דיברו הוא וסיטס (עוזר המזכיר לעניני אירופה) בלשון חריפה תוך הבעת דאגה עמוקה. השגריר ווקרוני הסכים עמם וציין כי ההחלטה היתה של חברת מאלב, שלא התייעצה עם ממהונגריה ובה בתגובה ללחצי עובדי החברה.

סיטס אמר גם לרוקרוני, שארה"ב מוכנה לסייע להונגריה ביעוץ בכל הקשור לעמידה נגד הטרור. הערכת סיטס היא, שהמשבר פרץ, בין השאר, משום שהמדובר בממשלה בהונגריה שהיא LAME - DUCK.

ערן.

יג

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, גוברין, מזאר, בנצור, מצפא, תפוצות

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

22751

תאריך : 27.03.90

** נכנס
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שמו

חוזם: 3,22751

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/1310, מצב/3099

מ-: ווש, נר: 830, תא: 260390, זח: 1900, וח: ב, סג: שמ

תח: @ גס: אירופה

נד: @

שמו/בהול לבוקר

אל : סמנכל מזאר, סמנכל צפא, יועץ מדיני לשהח דוד ברטוב

מאת: הציר וושינגטון

הונגריה - טיסות

במשך היום התקשר איגלברגר מספר פעמים ע'מ' להתעדכן בנושא. בשיחה ב-1430 אמר שלא זו האניפורמציה האחרונה שהעברתי (על סמך שיחתי מספר דקות קודם לכך עם סלי מרידור) הם ילחצו על ההונגרים להמשיך בטיסות הצ'רטר לפחות עד אשר תוקם ממשלה חדשה בבודפשט. להערכתו כל קואליציה אפשרית שם תרצה ביחסים תקינים עם ישראל ועם ארה"ב. אחה'צ' התקשר דובינס מאגף אירופה במחמד עם שגריר הונגריה כאן ולבקשת איגלברגר מסר לי דובינס שהשגריר קרא לו את הודעת ממשלת הונגריה והוועת מאלב. השגריר אמר עוד כי שוחח עם סגן שר החוץ ההונגרי שמסר לו על ניהול המו'מ' עם ישראל וכי בניגוד לדיעות השגרירות במוסקבה והקונסוליה בלנינגרד ממשיכות להנפיק אשרות מעבר. דובינס הוסיף שהוציאו הנחיה לשגרירויות בבודפשט, בוקרשט ופראג לפנות למשרדי החוץ ולעודדם לשתף פעולה עמנו.

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יוצא **
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סודי

חוזם: 3,21666
אל: וווש/871, מצב/2981
מ-: המשרד, תא: 260390, זח: 1155, דח: ר, סג: 10
תח: @ גס: צפא
נד: @

63695
סודי/רגיל

אל: וושינגטון
קונכ'ל, קשור לקונגרס

דע: דוד אפרתי, משרד הפנים

כושים עבריים

1. ב-1/3/90 נפגש השגריר בראון עם שר הפנים לדון בנושא הכושים העבריים. בדיפ' טכום השיחה.

2. בפגישה אחרת שקוימה ב-6/3 בין ברנדוט פאולו ומנכ'ל משרד הפנים וצוותו סוכם על בדיקת אפשרות להקמת ועדה משותפת למשרדי הפנים והחוץ יחו עם נציגי הקונגרס ומחמ'ד לבדוק אפשרויות לבחינת הסוגיה.

3. קבענו עם משרד הפנים לדון שוב בהחלטה זו, שכן לנו, כמשרד החוץ יש מחשבות ערעור על הצעתם להקים ועדה שכזו. לאחר סכום הוברים נבריקנס. בשיחה בלתי רשמית עם הציר בשגארה'ב, ציין מנהל מצפ'א שיש לנו השגות מלהכנס למצב של מו'מ ישיר עם גורמים קונגרסיונלים.

4. מהשגרירות האמריקאית נמסר כי דיימלי מתכוון להגיע ארצה באפריל. נודה אם תבוקו תאריך מדוייק.

לשכת סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'ן

פא

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל, משפט, תביעות, קונס,
@אפרתי/ממפנים

6406 יסוף תולף ושות' בנר'ת טל. 7987987

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תש"ן כ"ח אדר
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אל : שה"ח
ס/שה"ח
מנכ"ל וחברי הנהלה
מנהלי מחלקות
ראשי נציגויות צפ"א
מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: דף מצפ"א 62
לשבועיים המסתיימים ב - 22.3.90

1. דו"ח מחמ"ד על אש"פ

דו"ח מחמ"ד הוגש לוועדת החוץ בסנט כמתחייב מ- PLO
COMMITMENTS COMPLIANCE ACT בחוק כספי מחמ"ד - הרשאות (תיקון
מק-ליברמן). במסמך המורכב מ- 3 דוחות משנה, התייחסות לכל סעיפי
החוק.

א. חדירות לישראל : החוק התייחס לרשימת 9 חדירות במועדים
12/88-3/89. מחמ"ד קובעת כי 5 חדירות בוצעו ע"י ארגונים שאינם
חברים באש"פ ומתנגדים למדיניותו. באשר לשאר החדירות (שבוצעו ע"י
חוליות אש"פ) נאמר כי יעד ההתקפות איננו ברור דיו, למרות שישראל
גורסת שהחוליות הנזכרות היו בדרכן לישראל. אש"פ ציין בפני ארה"ב
כי המצב בלבנון גובל בתוהו ובוהו ואין באפשרותם לשלוט ביעילות
באנשיו שם. אין ארה"ב מרוצה ממצב זה ומחמ"ד מודה שבעקבותיו
מתעוררות שאלות רציניות באשר לעמידת אש"פ בהתחייבותו לפתרון שלום
של הסכסוך. בנוסף, מובעת אכזבה שאש"פ טרם מצא דרך להתנער מפעילות
בלתי מורשית של בודדים וארגונים המסונפים לשורותיו.

מסקנת דו"ח משנה זה מחדדת את עמדתה הידועה של ארה"ב: אש"פ עמד
בהתחייבותו להתנער מטרוך. נכון שישנה בעיה בפעולות ע"י DAMASCUS
BASED PLO GROUPS - אך אין לארה"ב כל הוכחה שפעילות אלה אושרו או
הורשו ע"י הוועד הפועל או ערפאת בעצמו. אין ארה"ב עוברת בשתיקה על
פעולות אלה אלא להיפך - תמשיך לעקוב אחר עמידתו של אש"פ בהן.
משתמעת מכאן הנחה שרק פעולות שלארה"ב תהא הוכחה שאכן הורשו ע"י
הוועד הפועל של אש"פ או ערפאת יוגדרו ע"י ארה"ב "כשוברות" את
התחייבות אש"פ.



ב. עמידת אש"פ בהתחייבותיו : אש"פ עומד בהתחייבותו להתנער מן הטרור. מאז דצמ' 88 היו 30 נסיונות חדירה/הפגזות, מתוכם לפחות 9 שבוצעו ע"י חוליות אש"פ. אין כל הוכחה שפעולות אלה אושרו ע"י הוועד הפועל של אש"פ או ערפאת. עם זאת, ולמרות שהפעולות הנזכרות לא בוצעו ע"י ארגונים מרכזיים באש"פ, ארה"ב רואה אותן בדאגה וכמציבות סימני שאלה רציניים על מחויבות אש"פ להתמתן.

- "כח 17" ו"כח חווארי" לא פורקו אך אין כל הוכחה להמשך עיסוקם בטרור.

- ארה"ב לא דנה עם אש"פ על פיצוי לקרבנות אמריקניים מפעולותיו.

- ארה"ב לא בקשה הסגרת אבו-עבאס. אין כתב אישום נגדו.

- ערפאת לא התנגד להסגרת מוחמד ראשיד (הכלוא ביוון) לארה"ב.

- איננתפיאדה : אש"פ לא החל את האינתיפאדה אלא משמש יותר כגורם מכוון וכסמל.

- האמנה הפלשתנאית : אש"פ מוכן לדון בשינוי רק במסגרת פתרון כולל. ארה"ב גורסת כי תיקון מספר מסעיפיה יהא ציון דרך חשוב ומועיל לאינטרס האש"פ בקידום השלום.

- הצהרות אש"פ (כללי) : הצהרות אש"פ באופן כללי תואמות את ההתחייבויות שנטל על עצמו. אכן היו גם הצהרות מנוגדות, דו-משמעיות וקיצוניות ואלה "תורמות" למרבה הצער ליצירת ספקות מחודשים באשר לכוונותיו הסופיות של אש"פ.

- הצהרות אש"פ על טרור : אש"פ מבחין בבירור בין "טרור" ל"עמות מזויין". משתמעת הבנה אמריקנית להבחנה אש"פית זו.

- אש"פ - תוכנית השלבים : ארה"ב נוטה לקבל את הסברי אש"פ שכאילו הכרתו בישראל ותמיכתו בפתרון שתי מדינות שוללות את "תוכנית השלבים".

ג. מדינות ערב ותהליך השלום : פרק זה של הדו"ח הנו בעל טון וגישה חיובית כלפי מדינות ערב, אם כי לא נעדרת גם הביקורת :

- גישת מרבית מדינות ערב כלפי ישראל התפתחה מ"שלושת הלאוים" של חרטום. עם זאת, גישה זו נשתנתה ; מצרים, ירדן וגם סוריה התאימו מדיניותן להסדרים פורמליים ואחרים עם ישראל.

- ארה"ב מאוכזבת מאי-הכרתן הפורמלית של מדינות ערב, למעט מצרים, בישראל. "אנו מפצירים בהן לעשות זאת".

- גישת הליגה הערבית התמתנה באופן ברור במשך השנים. הרטוריקה מותנה, החלטות מועבי"ט 242/338 אומצו ומדברים על שלום עם ישראל. כל אלה תרמו למחון העולם הערבי.

- מרבית העולם הערבי ממשיך בנסיונות לבודד את ישראל ברמה זו או אחרת (החרם הערבי, המערכה באו"ם), ארה"ב מתנגדת כמובן לנסיונות אלה.

1. תגובות: הסנטורים מק וליברמן ערכו מסיבת עיתונאים (20) והביעו אכזבה מן הדו"ח. שניהם קבעו כי מחמ"ד התחמקה מלדון בבעיה באופן מעמיק וכי ממצאי הדו"ח הותאמו לאינטרסים הפוליטיים; אש"פ, קבעו השניים, יכול עתה להינות משני עולמות.
איפא"ק ועידת הנשיאים ו - A.D.L פרסמו תגובות המגדירות את הדו"ח כ - WHITEWASH, ובארץ פרסם דובר המשרד הודעה ובה קבע כי " בבחירת הצהרותיו של אש"פ בחר הממשל להתעלם לחלוטין משורה ארוכה של הצהרות תוקפניות המהירות כוונותיו של הארגון. על ארה"ב, אם ברצונה להיות נאמנה למחויבותה, להכיר בכך שלא רק שאש"פ לא שינה את עורו כי אם הוא ממשיך במדיניות טרור וקיצוניות". בתגובה יחידה, אמר דובר מחמ"ד (21) כי הדו"ח מאוזן והוגן. בחר שלא להגיב לנאומו של ס/שה"ח בכנסת בנושא.

2. ירושלים

השבועיים שחלפו מתאפנים ע"י התגיסות מאסיבית למען ירושלים של הממסד היהודי וידידי ישראל בקונגרס מחד ונסיון רציני של הממשל לשכר את חמת הזעם והסערה שיצרו התבטאויות הנשיא בוש מאידך. דוברת מחמ"ד (8) חזרה על עמדתה הידועה של ארה"ב ביחס לירושלים אך הפעם טרחה להדגיש את אי-חלוקתה של העיר בכל פתרון שיושג. כל מאמציה של ארה"ב מכוונים לכך שירושלים אכן תשאר עיר מאוחדת וברור שליהודים וגם לאחרים זכות לגור בה. הדוברת הקפידה שלא לאזכר את ירושלים בנשימה אחת עם עמדת ארה"ב ביחס להתנחלויות. הנשיא עצמו, במכתב תשובה לר"ע ירושלים משבח את מנהיגותו של טדי קולק ומדגיש כי ארה"ב מעולם לא תמכה בירושלים מחולקת "טרם 1967" ובודאי שאין היא חושבת שיש לחזור למצב שכזה. במכתב אחר, לסנטור בושביץ, מוסיף הנשיא כי באף מצב של שלום אין למנוע מיהודים את הזכות לגור באזור כלשהוא בירושלים. עם זאת, טרח לציין בתשובה לשאלה (22) כי איננו חושב שהערתו בנושא תרמה לנפילת הממשלה בישראל. בכירים אחרים בממשל (סגן הנשיא, היועץ לבטחון לאומי, ראש צוות הבית הלבן) טרחו אף הם "לכבות את האש".

בקונגרס התקיים דיון מיוחד (14) בנושא ירושלים (SPECIAL ORDER) ובו הושמעו התבטאויות אוהדות ע"י 18 חברי קונגרס. דיון נוסף התקיים ב - 21 דנא.

הסנטורים בושביץ, ליברמן, מקקין, פרסלר, וילסון, דאמטו, לוין ומק כתבו לנשיא ובבית הנבחרים החרו החזיקו אחריהם חברי הקונגרס שומר, פיהאן, וובר וברטון שפתחו במבצע החתמה.

סנטור מויניהאן הגיש למליאת הסנט הצעת החלטה ל - SENSE OF CONGRESS בהצעת ההחלטה מופיעה הקביעה שירושלים הנה בירת ישראל ושעליה להשאר עיר מאוחדת. הצעת ההחלטה אושרה ע"י 81 סנטורים ללא התנגדות ב - 22 דנא. הצעה דומה הוגשה ע"י המורשה אנגל (ד.נ"י) בבית הנבחרים וחדון בימים הקרובים תצוין במיוחד התבטאותו של מנהיג הרוב בסנט סנטור מיטצ'ל אשר הביע תמיהה ואכזבה מהתיחסות מהתיחסות בוש למז' ירושלים והגדירה כ - "HEAVY HANDED BLUNDER".



הממשל היהודי התגייס כאיש אחד ולמעשה נתן לצייד כי הארגונים הלאומיים ומרבית ה - CRC בערים הגדולות פעלו נמרצות למחות על דברי הנשיא ולהדגיש תמיכת יהדות ארה"ב בירושלים מאוחדת כבירת ישראל ולגייס תמיכת סנטורים בהצעת ההחלטה של סנטור מויניאהאן.

3. התהליך המדיני

לא נרשמו התבטאויות משמעותיות מצד הממשל ביחס לתהליך המדיני, ודוברי הממשל גם נזהרו שלא להביע כל דיעה ביחס למשבר הממשלתי בישראל. דוברת מחמ"ד בחרה להדגיש את העובדה שברור שלארה"ב כי ממישראל עומדת בפני החלטות קשות ביותר, אלמלא ברור היה לארה"ב כי ישראל עומלת קשה על החלטות בנושא השלום, בודאי לא היה המזכיר עצמו טורח כה רבות בנושא. כ"כ, הודגשו מספר פעמים היחסים ההדוקים בין שתי המדינות והיותן בעלות ברית קרובות. סגן המזכיר איגלברגר התבטא בסנט (20) כי הממשל ממתין להרכבת הממשלה החדשה בישראל וישתף פעולה בקידום תהליך השלום עם כל מי שיעמוד בראשות הממשלה.

4. ערבונות לדיון

במגעים שנתקיימו עם מחמ"ד עולה כי הממשל ינסה להאיט את אישור הערבויות בקונגרס במטרה להגיע להסכמה עם ישראל על בטחונות (נוספים) שהערבויות לא ינוצלו לצורך בניה בשטחים ובמזרח ירושלים. מתנהלים בנושא דיונים בארץ וכן בווינגטון. גם סגן המזכיר איגלברגר בעדות בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות בסנט אמר כי הממשל יחמוך בערבויות "בהתבסס על ההנחה שנוכל לקבל בטחונות באשר לשימוש בכסף". סרב להכנס לדיון באשר לפרטי הבטחונות "בשלב עדין זה". מאידך, הבטיח סנטור ליהי לשגריר להמשיך ולסייע בהעברת החקיקה ובמסגרת "חוק התקציב המשלים" הנדון בימים אלה.

5. עליה/טיסות ישירות/תיקון ג'קסון-ואניק

9 סנטורים נפגשו (7) עם שגריר בריה"מ דובינין ופנו אליו בדרישה לקיים את הסכם הטיסות הישירות אל-על/אירופלוט. השגריר הבטיח להשיב בנושא, גם חבר הקונגרס לנטוס נפגש עם השגריר והגיש לו מכתב קונגרסיונאלי בנושא הטיסות הישירות שעליו חתמו 221 חברי קונגרס.

סנטור ביל ברדלי (ניו-ג'רסי) קרא בוועידת הדור הצעיר של המגביה (11) לפעול בזהירות בענין השעית תיקון ג'קסון-ואניק. עמיתו סנטור קסטן הבטיח סיועו לאישור מהיר של הערבויות לדיון בסנטו ואמר שיתנגד לכל נסיון לקשור בין התחלופות לבין עניני עליה.

בסוף השבוע (22-25/3) התגייסו מספר סנטורים ומורשים בולטים להתערב אצל שלטונות בריה"מ והונגריה לאחר היוודע החלטת "מאלב" לבטל טיסות השכר מבריה"מ לבודפשט.

6. אתיופיה

מנהל הלובי "טרנס אפריקה" ראנדל רובינסון האשים את ישראל באספקת פצצות מצרר ונשק אחר לאתיופיה. בכך, אמר, מאריכה ישראל את במלחמה באתיופיה ומוסיפה לסבל האוכלוסיה המורעבת.



V.O.A .7

- יו"ר ועדת החוץ בבית הנבחרים פאסל כתב לרוה"מ להביע תמיכתו בהקמת הממסר של "קול אמריקה" בערבה. הביע בטחונו שכל בעיות איכות הסביבה יזכו לתשומת לב ופתרון הגורמים המוסמכים בישראל. למכתב הצטרפו גם חברי הקונגרס לארי סמית ובן גילמן.

.8 ביקור הנשיא קרט

קרט, בלוית רעייתו וצוות עוזרים, ביקר בישראל במועדים 18-20/3. נפגש עם ראשי המדינה וצמרת מערכת הבטחון. כ"כ, נפגש עם ארגונים פלשתינאיים ביש"ע וארגוני זכויות אדם. התמקד בשיחותיו בתהליך המדיני וזכויות אדם, סוריה ואתיופיה.

.9 החלטת בית המחוקקים של מדינת קליפורניה

הסנט ובית הנבחרים של מדינת קליפורניה אימצו החלטה משותפת בנושא יוזמת השלום של ישראל. ההחלטה נסמכת על מאמצי קידום השלום שנעשו ע"י מדינת ישראל, החלטות האו"ם 242, 338 והסכמי קמפ-דייוויד; ההחלטה משבחת את הנשיא, מזכיר המדינה וחברי הקונגרס האמריקאיים על תמיכתם בתוכנית הבחירות ביו"ש וע"ה שיזמה ישראל.

ב ר כ ה.

משה בר

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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תאריך 25.03.90

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שמו

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נד: @

שמו/רגיל

אל: שגרירות ישראל וושינגטון.
מאת: מזכיר הממשלה.

השגריר.

בשיחה עם בראון (23.3), שבה הביע צער על הקשיים בעליה
מבריה'מ (הונגדיה), אמרתי כי על הערבים להחליט אם רצונם
קתהליך שלום או במלחמה בצפור הנפש של ישראל, העליה. שני
דברים לא יוכלו ללכת יחד בכל סיטואציה. שהיא.

רובינשטיין.

נש

מש

תפ: רהמ

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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

אל : מצפיה

מאת : ק. לקונגרס

סוג בטחוני גלוי

דחיפות מיידית

תאריך/ז"ח 23 במרץ 1990

מס' מברק 349

ביהניב : ירושלים

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1. רציב מכתב ה-dear colleague משרדו של הקונגרסמן אנגל לצורך גיוס שושבינים להצעת ההחלטה שהגיש ב-20/3 (הועבר בנפרד).

2. משרדו של אנגל נמטר לי שביום הראשון - לאחר שיגור המכתב, חיינו אתמול, אספו כבר 50 שושבינים, ולסי קצב הטלפונים מניחים ששיגו מספר גדול של תומכים. נעדכנכם בהתאם להתפתחויות.

'אלף ופנאי זינתי'
יהודית ורנאי זרנגר.

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ELIOT L. ENGEL
18TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
ARMS CONTROL,
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
AND SCIENCE
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
POLICY AND TRADE
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BRONX, NY 10478
(212) 320-2314

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

A UNIFIED JERUSALEM

March 21, 1990

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Dear Colleague:

Yesterday we introduced a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that United States foreign policy should fully support the continued unified status of Jerusalem. Since the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948, Jerusalem has been the capital of the Jewish homeland. Since 1967 Jerusalem has been a unified city, open to all peoples and religions.

Our resolution affirms the unified status of Jerusalem and expresses the sense of Congress that a unified Jerusalem is an integral part of the State of Israel. In addition, it acknowledges the special relationship between Israel and the United States and stresses that efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East must not jeopardize the legitimate security concerns of Israel or the unified status of Jerusalem.

If you would like to cosponsor this resolution or would like further information please contact either of us or Karl Rhoads at 5-2464 (Engel's office) or Gil Kapen 5-2276 (Burton's office). A copy of the resolution is reprinted on the reverse.

Sincerely,

Eliot L. Engel
Eliot L. Engel
Member of Congress

Dan Burton
Dan Burton
Member of Congress

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

20716

תאריך : 24.03.90

** נכנס
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טודי

חוזם: 3,20716
אל: המשרד
יעדים: מצב/2868, מנמח/1185
מ-: ווש, נר: 775, תא: 230390, זח: 1900, וח: מ, סג: סו
תח: 8: גס: צפא
8: נר:

טודי/מיירי

אל : מצפא

דע : כלכלית/כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

פגישת השגריר עם הסנטור ליייה

אתמול 22/3, נפגש השגריר עם הסנטור ליייה. נכח עוזרו אריק ניוסום.

מצידנו: אטינגר והח'מ'.

1. השגריר פתח וביקש להביע הערכתו ותודתו לסנטור על יוזמתו בנושא העובדות. ליייה הודה לשגריר וציין מייד כי היה זה הסנטור קסטן אשר עבר קשה על היוזמה וקידומה הוסיף הרפובליקנים והדמוקרטים. WE ARE HOLDING HANDS VERY STRONGLY כדי להשיג תמיכת

2. השגריר הביע דאגה מהדברים שהושמעו עי נציגי הממשל ובמיוחד המזכיר - בעדותו בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות בביהנ'ב (ועדתו של אובי), על הצורך בערבויות מסויימות נוספות. אנו עומדים בקשר עם הממשל, אולם כאשר אנו בוחנים לוח הזמנים הקונגרסיונאלי על רקע וברי איגלברגר, שאמר שהממשל ישא ויתן עם הממשלה החדשה בישראל, הדברים מדאיגים.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ליייה סיפר, שלקראת סוף עדותו של איגלברגר בפני ועדתו (יום ג' ה-20/3) שאלו בנוגע לערבויות. אמר לו, שאם הממשל מעוניין לכלול נוסח כלשהו בחקיקה, עליו לומר זאת מיידית, שכן אנו מעוניינים להתקדם במהירות.

אריק ניוסום שמע שועדת החוץ בסנאט מעוניינת TO AUTHORIZE את ה-SUPPLEMENTAL למרות שאין צורך בכך. (פעולה כזו עלולה לעכב את המקציבים - י.ד.).

ורנגר - גם ועדת החוץ בביהנ'ב מעוניינת בכך, אולם ככל הנראה, משתפים פעולה עם משרדו של אובי.

ליייה - רק שתדעו I INTEND TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THE SUPPLEMENTAL והבטחתי זאת לך השגריר והבטחתי זאת לשר האוצר לשעבר פרס.

השגריר הודה לליייה. חזר ומסר, שאנו עומדים בקשר עם הממשל ומבקשים להבהיר מראש דרישותיהם לערבויות.

ליייה - בכוונתו TO DOUBLE CHECK עם המזכיר ועם איגלברגר. סיפר, כי אמר לנשיא בוש אתמול בבוקר, שאין בכוונתו לעכב ה-SUPPLEMENTAL. לשאלת השגריר, מהו לוז הצפוי לדיון במליאת הסנאט, השיב ליייה כי אינו יודע, שכן ה-CLEAN AIR BILL מאד מעכב אותם. מיטצ'ל אמר לנשיא בעת פגישת המנהיגות עמו ביום ג' ה-20/3, כי אין בכוונתו לדון בכל נושא שהוא במליאה לפני שיסתיימו הדיון וההצבעה על ה-CLEAN AIR BILL. ליייה הטיל ספק באפשרות של העברת ה-SUPPLEMENTAL עד ה-5 באפריל כפי שביקש הנשיא בוש.

ליייה המליץ שנמשיך לדון בנושא עם איגלברגר. יש לעסוק בנושא בצורה שקטה מאד ולתת לזה לעבור. 'קסטן ואני נעקוב מקרוב וננסה לאתר הבעיות מבעוד מועד'.

3. השגריר העלה נושא הטיסות מבריינס: הבינונו, כי לעת עתה, אין בכוח הסובייטים ליישם הסכם הטיסות הישירות. לפיכך אנו מחפשים דרכים פרקטיות להוצאת היהודים. לפני כשבועיים, נחתם הסכם לטיסות צ'רטר ממוסקבה לבודפשט ומשם לת'א עם מאלב ואל-על. התקיימה טיסה אחת ב-14/3 ולאחריה הודיעו לנו ההונגרים שהטיסות יופסקו נוכח איומי טרור. מהלך זה עוצר למעשה את חופש ההגירה. אנו עובדים במרץ לפתרון הבעיה. פירט מגעינו עד כה. מהלך אחרון זה מהווה דאגה חמורה עבורנו.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

נעריך כל תמיכה פומבית בנושא.

ליייה - שאל האם ישנה אינדיקציה לכך שהסובייטים יאפשרו טיסות לישראל. השגריר השיב בשלילה והוסיף כי אינם ממלאים אחר ההסכם בגלל הלחץ הערבי. ברור שיש מערכה שיטתית ערבית בנושא העליה. משלחת ערבית נפגשה אתמול עם וורונצוב ומסרה לו ושימת טיעונים מדוע לא לאפשר עלייה לישראל. ואין זה בגלל השטח'ט.

אטינגר - ציטט וברי אבו מאזן מה-13/3 מאל מג'לה הסעודי לפיהם יש להמשיך במאבק נגד העלייה וכי יש לעצור עורק הדם. אבו מאזן התייחס למאבק בעלייה לישראל בגבולות של לפני '67.

ליייה - לאחר שהתעניין בענייני פנים בעקבות התפרקות ממשלת האחרות, שאל על מצב התיירות בישראל והאם התעודדה מעט. לאחר שהשגריר השיב בחיוב, אמר ליייה כי שמח לשמוע, שכן זהו מט'ח שישראל יכולה להשתמש בו.

בסוף השיחה חזר והביע רצונו לבקר בישראל אולם בשלב זה אינו יודע מתי.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

17

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, ס(אמן), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, גוברין, מזאר, תפוצות

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

20690

תאריך : 24.03.90

4

יודי

נכנס **

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חוזם: 3,20690

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/2870, מומת/1187

מ-: ווש, נר: 778, תא: 230390, ח: 1900, ד: מ, ס: ג

תח: א: סאפסוק

א: ד

יודי / מידי

אל: מא'פ, מצפ'א

דע: מנכ'ל

מאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

פגישה עם הקונגרסמן אקרמן - אתיופיה.

ב - 21/3 נפגשנו הציר והח'מ עם אקרמן לוקשתו. נכחה עוזרתו

אן ג'ייקובס.

1. אקרמן אמר כי ביקש לקיים הפגישה בנושא אתיופיה.

אתיופיה בעייתית, מעבר לנושא דרא'פ. את דרא'פ, לדבריו, ניתן לזהות כבעייה של אמריקנים שחורים. באתיופיה, לעומת זאת אינה בעייה שהשחורים מזדהים בהכרח על רקע שחורים - לבנים ובעיית גזע אלא רואים בה בעייה של רעב. הם כן מזדהים עם הבעייה של מדינה לבנה (ישראלית) התומכת בצד אחד הגורם להרג אנשים.

דעתו תמיד היתה שעל ישראל להתקשר עם ממתיופיה, עם זאת נראה לו שאין זה הזמן. תחושתו היא שמנגיסטו לא יחזיק מעמד צבאית זמן רב וימיו ספורים וככל שיחזיק מעמד יותר זמן כך יורע מצבו, במיוחד על רקע הפסקת הסיוע הצבאי.

2. הציר בתגובה, סיפר בראשית דבריו על פגישת השגריר עם

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הקוקוס השחור בנושא דרא'פ.

השגריר השאיר למשתתפים הרושם שישראל רצינית ברצונה לסיים החוזים.

3. לגבי אתיופיה: ישראל החליטה לעשות המינימום האפשרי כדי לקיים היחסים הדיפלומטיים והמטרה העיקרית היא היהודים. 3000 יהודים הגיעו לאריס מאז כינון היחסים. יש משלחת קונסולרית באדיס הכוללת דובר אמהרית וכ - 200 - 100 יהודים עוזבים בחודש את אתיופיה. המספר אינו מספק אולם התהליך פועל. האתיופים הנמיכו ההתנגדות.

יתכן אמנם שימיו של מנגיסטו ספורים אבל השאלה תמיד היא כמה ימים.

אנו עושים מעט מאד. העברנו לממשל רשימת פעילותנו ולא הובעה התנגדות. אק אקרמן שאל לגבי אספקת פצצות מצרר. הציר השיב כי באופן חד משמעי תשובתנו שלילית ואיננו מספקים זאת. לאחר שרבין מסר לבייקר ב - 17/1 כי איננו מוכרים פצצות מצרר, הממשל לא חזר אלינו לאחר בדיקה ואמר כי טענתנו איננה נכונה.

במה שנוגע לממשל, נראה כי הוא מוכן לנסות ולבחון את מנגיסטו. סיפר קסהקבדה יגיע לווינגטון (אקרמן מכירו אישית) ומישהו מהממשל יפגשו - (כהן ואולי אף משהו בכיר יותר). לשאלת אקרמן כיצד ניתן להגדיל מספר היוצאים והאם האתיופים מוכנים לגלות GOOD FAITH השיב הציר כי האמריקנים מעלים הנושא שוב ושוב. אינו יודע עם מי יפגש קסהקבדה בעת ביקורו ואולי ירצה לקיים פגישות בגבעה. הציע לאקרמן לארגן מכתב שקט לקסהקבדה בעת ביקורו. אקרמן ביקש להעביר לקסה קבדה שהוא מעוניין לראותו בווינגטון.

4. סיפר כי נפגש לפני כשבוע עם נציגי ה - EPLF שהביעו דאגתם בנוגע לאספקת פצצות מצרר. כשאמר שיבדוק הנושא השיבו לו שהם בטוחים לחלוטין בקיומם ואינם מבינים מדוע ישראל מספקת זאת לאתיופים.

בשיחה, כך אקרמן, נתנו לו להבין שהם מעוניינים בקשרים עם ישראל ולא בקשרים עם הערבים. ואינם מחפשים קשרים כאלה. הסבירו לו (באופן דיפלומטי כדבריו) שבגונדר השליטה למעשה בידיהם ולא בידי הממשלה ומעוניינים להיות ידידותיים כלפי ישראל.

הציר הגיב כי אם האתיופים השתמשו בפצצות מצרר אין הם שלנו. מישהו מהמודיעין האמריקני בדק הנושא ואמר שאין כל הוכחות

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שהפצצות הללו הן של ישראל.

לשאלת אקרמן האם מסרו של מי הפצצות השיב הציר בשלילה.

אקרמן פנה לעוזרתו וביקש שתבדוק עם זרועות המודיעין מה מקור הפצצות. הציר חזר לנושא ה - EPLF ואמר שאין זה נכון שאין להם קשרים עם הערבים. אקרמן חזר ואמר שהם הדגישו שהם מעוניינים בקשרים עם ישראל.

הציר הבטיח להעביר הדברים לירושלים. אן ג'ייקובס אמרה כי דאגתם היא שנעשית אספקת פצצות מצרר, אתם טוענים שאינכם עושים זאת ואילו ה - EPLF טוענים להיפך.

הציר הגיב כי יוכלו לחזור לנציגי ה - EPLF ולומר להם שאין אלה פצצות ישראליות. רבין בעת ביקורו האחרון אמר למזכיר בייקר בצורה חד משמעית שאיננו מוכרים זאת לאתיופיה. אקרמן וג'ייקובס אמרו שהם מאמינים אולם הבעייה היא שאחרים אינם מאמינים. אקרמן הוסיף כי ה - EPLF טוענים שישנם 10-15 מומחים צבאיים ישראלים המאמינים את 'חצרו' של מנגיסטו. הציר הכחיש הטענה ולשאלה נוספת של אקרמן האם אין ישראל כלל מומחים באתיופיה, השיב הציר כי למיטב ידיעתו, אין מומחים.

5. לאחר הפגישה, שוחחתי עם אן ג'ייקובס שהסבירה כי לפגישתנו היתה במסגרת פגישות שונות שמקיים הקונגרסמן עם אנשים יודעי דבר. ברצונו להיות ON TOP OF THE ISSUE של אתיופיה ויהודים. קיבל כבר תדרוך מאנשי ועדת המשנה לאפריקה שביקרו באתיופיה לא מכבר, כן נפגשו עם האריתראים, ואנשי השגרירות האתיופית בווינגטון וניו יורק.

6. להלן הפרטים של נציגת ה - EPLF עמה נפגש אקרמן.

ERTREAN PEOPLES LIBERATION FRONT
TESFAI GHERMAZIEN, PH.D.
DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
P.O BOX 65685
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20035 (202) 265 - 3070

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, א(אמן), ממד/ב'יני 27, הדס, מאפ, 1, בנצור, מצפא

נכנס **
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סודי

חוזר: 3,20689
אל: המשרד
יעדים: מצב/2869, מנמח/1186
מ-: וווש, נר: 777, תא: 230390, זח: 1820, ח: מ, סג: 10
תח: 6: גס: אפסוק
נר: 6

סודי / מייד

אל: מא'פ, מצפ'א

דע: מנכ'ל

מאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

פגישה עם הסנטור מצנבאום - אתיופיה.

אתמול נפגש השגריר עם הסנטור מצנבאום, לבקשתו של האחרון. נכח עוזרו קן הנדלמן ומצידנו אטינגר והח'מ.

1. בתחילת הישיבה, סיפר מצנבאום, שהסנטור דול פנה אליו והזמין להצטרף לביקור במזה'ת. מודע לכך שלא יאמרו דברים מסויימים אם יצטרף לביקור. מצנבאום אמר כי יש לו מספר בעיות משפחתיות ושאל לתגובת השגריר.

והשגריר הגיב כי אם הסנטור יוכל להסתדר עם משפחתו מבחינת חג הפסח, הוא מאד ממליץ שיצטרף לביקור. מצנבאום המשיך באומרו שקצת קשה לו ועדיין יחשוב על כך עם זאת מודע לכך ש - IT CAN SERVE A PURPOSE

השגריר עודדו להצטרף באומרו שזו יכולה להיות הזדמנות מצויינת עבור הסנטור לבקר גם במדינות ערב. היום אחה'צ נודע לנו שמצנבאום החליט להצטרף לביקור.

2. הסנטור עבר לנושא שלשמו הזמין השגריר - אתיופיה. לדבריו, וזש שפוטנציאלית, נושא קשרינו עם אתיופיה עלול להפוך לנושא אפריקני בעייתי נוסף. שומע, מאנשי צבא אמריקניים, על

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נוכחות של מומחים צבאיים ישראלים באתיופיה, שחלקם 'פלשימ' לשעבר. מודאג מהקוקוס השחור למרות שהנושא אינו משפיע עליהם ישירות. שאל 'מה אתם צריכים זאת'. מכיר את הטיעון של החשיבות האסטרטגית של אתיופיה בגלל ים סוף וכן קרא כתבת ה - N.Y.T בנדון.

3. השגריר ביקש בראשית תשובתו להתייחס לעובדות:

א. מבקש להבטיח לסנטור שאין מאות או עשרות מומחים צבאיים ישראלים באתיופיה, יודע שהפנטגון תדרך בנדון כולל עתונאי ישראלי. בעת ביקור האחרון בושינגטון מסר שהב'ט דאז רבין למזכיר בייקר שאין לישראל כוונה להיות מעורבת מסיבית באתיופיה (כגון שחרור מאות או אפילו עשרות קצינים / מומחים).

ב. היו שאלות ואישרנו שלא נספק לאתיופיה פצצות מצרר וגם לא עשינו זאת בעבר.

ג. האתיופים ביקשו אספקת מערכות נשק (MAJOR ARMS) וסירבנו. אנו כן מספקים SMALL ARMS. לשאלת מצנבאום האם מדובר בנשק SEMI - AUTOMATIC ועוזים השיב השגריר שאינו יודע בוודאות. ציין שצבא אתיופיה מבוטס על נשק סובייטי וחושב שמדובר על סוגי ציוד סובייטי עודף ישן שברשותנו. אין אספקת נשק ישראלית לאתיופיה שיכולה להיות לה השפעה מכרעת על המלחמה.

ד. הסיבה העקרית לקשירת היחסים הדיפלומטיים שלנו עם אתיופיה, מעבר לעובדת חשיבותה האסטרטגית, היא הרצון להוציא את יהודי אתיופיה הנותרים (כ - 15-12 אלף).

4. השגריר המשיך ואמר כי לא נראית לו הקביעה של נוכחות מומחים צבאיים ישראלים ממוצא אתיופי באתיופיה. מצנבאום אמר כי עוזרו שמע זאת. קן הנדלמן אמר כי שמע זאת - SECOND HAND FROM THE AMERICAN CHARGE' IN ADDIS ABABA חזר ואמר שהאתיופים ביקשו מאיתנו להקל על שיפור יחסיהם עם ארה'ב אולם לא נעשה אספקת נשק מאסיבית לאתיופיה. מצנבאום שאל את השגריר האם דיווחים שהוא מקבל הינם אמיתיים. השגריר השיב בחיוב והוסיף כי רבין אמר זאת למזכיר ולא נראה שניתן להטיל בו ספק. לא תתכן כל אספקת נשק ללא ידיעת שהב'ט. מצנבאום חזר ואמר שקן הנדלמן שמע זאת מ - 4 זרועות שונות של הממשל.

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5. הסנטור שאל כמה יהודים יוצאים כל חודש. השגריר השיב כי מגיעים עתה בין 100 ל - 200 לחודש והמספרים אינם מספקים. ישנם 3000 באדיס החיים בתנאים קשים ואנו מעוניינים ביציאתם המיידית. הם נושמים בשגרירות ובכך נוצר לחץ כלפי השלטונות. מאידך אין לו ספק שמנג'יסטו ישתמש ביהודים כ - BARGENING CHIP.

לדברי קן הנדלמן, נראה שמנג'יסטו כרגע, לאור יציאת הסובייטים, זקוק בחיפות לנשק, ו - 3000 היהודים באדיס נמצאים באיזור שתחת שליטתו לעומת גונדר שאיננה בשליטתו. אם היחסים הצבאיים כל כך NEGLIGABLE, לא נראה שיותר על 3000 היהודים. השגריר השיב כי מנג'יסטו מעוניין שנסייע לו כלפי ארה'ב. מבחינתו חשוב לשמור על אחדות אתיופיה ונרמה שגם מבחינת ארה'ב.

פירוד באתיופיה יכול להשפיע על יציבות מזרח אפריקה וים סוף ואין לנו ויכוח על כך עם הממשל.

יש טענה שימי מנג'יסטו טפורים ולכן לא נדאי לקיים יחסים דיפלומטיים. טענתנו היא שדווקא משום כך עלינו לפעול מהר. לשאלת מצנבאום האם 9000 היהודים הנמצאים באיזור שבשליטתם של האריתראים סובלים מהם, השיב השגריר כי אין לשכוח שהאריתראים נתמכים על ידי מדינות מוסלמיות וערביות. יש דאגה לבטחונם וכלכלית נפגעו מאד. יכולתנו לסייע להם היא מינימלית. קן הנדלמן, חזר לדברים ששמע מהממשל לגבי מעורבותנו הצבאית. לדבריו היכולת הצבאית הטובה של ישראל הוכיחה עצמה גם באתיופיה באימוני הצבא האתיופי. ישראל שכנעה את מנג'יסטו להשתמש בנתיבי האויר האזרחיים של אתיופיה לצורך הזזת כוחות ולוגיסטיקה.

כן הוסיף שישנם בין 250 - 200 מומחים צבאיים באתיופיה מכל זרועות צה'ל ויחידה של המוסו שאיננה כלולה במספר זה.

השיחה התקיימה באוירה מאד חמה תוך שמצנבאום מרגיש באי נוחות מסויימת מהדברים ששמע מעוזרו לעומת הדברים ששמע מאיתנו.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

לב

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

March 6, 1990

774

2/22

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Ambassador of the Soviet Union
Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
1125 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We were appalled and dismayed to learn that the government of the Soviet Union has rejected an appeal from President Bush and Secretary of State Baker to permit direct flights for Soviet Jews from Moscow to Israel. At a time when relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are developing in very positive new directions, the decision by your government to deny the request for direct flights to Israel is a serious blow to our relationship.

The decision was reportedly made in response to heavy pressure from Arab countries. We are shocked and surprised that your government would yield to Arab pressure at a time when the Soviet Union is seeking to play a constructive and involved role in the Middle East peace process.

At a time when anti-Semitism is on the rise in the Soviet Union and Pamyat is threatening new pogroms against Soviet Jews, it is unconscionable that the Soviet government is not doing its utmost to facilitate the departure of Jews who wish to emigrate. Because of the lack of direct air links between the Soviet Union and Israel, thousands of Jews are now unable to emigrate. This attitude is totally inconsistent with and contrary to Soviet responsibilities under the Helsinki agreement to implement free emigration.

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We urge that your government reconsider its position, and we ask that you convey without delay to your government and to President Gorbachev personally our very serious concern for this unresponsive and incomprehensible attitude toward Jewish emigration.

Sincerely,

Tom Lantos
Tom Lantos
Member of Congress

John Edward Porter
John Edward Porter
Member of Congress

Edward F. Feighan
Edward F. Feighan
Member of Congress

Frank Annunzio
Frank Annunzio
Member of Congress

Doug Bereuter
Doug Bereuter
Member of Congress

Howard L. Berman
Howard L. Berman
Member of Congress

James H. Bilbray
James H. Bilbray
Member of Congress

Michael Bilirakis
Michael Bilirakis
Member of Congress

Tom Bliley, Jr.
Thomas J. Bliley, Jr.
Member of Congress

Bob Borski
Robert A. Borski
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 3

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Barbara Boxer
Barbara Boxer
Member of Congress

Bill Broomfield
William Broomfield
Member of Congress

Hank Brown
Hank Brown
Member of Congress

Jack Buechner
Jack Buechner
Member of Congress

Albert G. Bustamante
Albert G. Bustamante
Member of Congress

Tom Campbell
Tom Campbell
Member of Congress

Benjamin L. Cardin
Benjamin L. Cardin
Member of Congress

Tom Carper
Thomas R. Carper
Member of Congress

James McClure Clarke
James McClure Clarke
Member of Congress

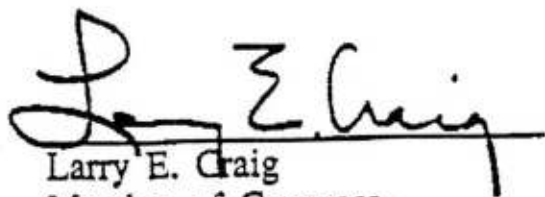
Ronald D. Coleman
Ronald D. Coleman
Member of Congress

Silvio O. Conte
Silvio O. Conte
Member of Congress


Jim Courter
Jim Courter
Member of Congress

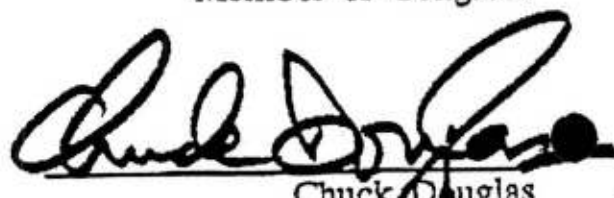
His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 4

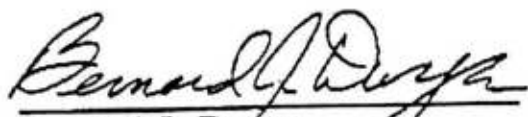
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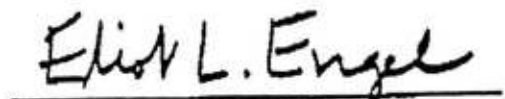

Larry E. Craig
Member of Congress



Michael DeWine
Member of Congress

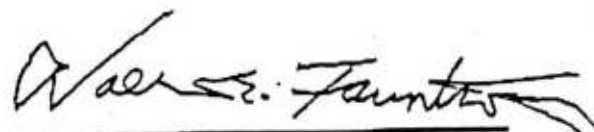

Robert K. Dorman
Member of Congress

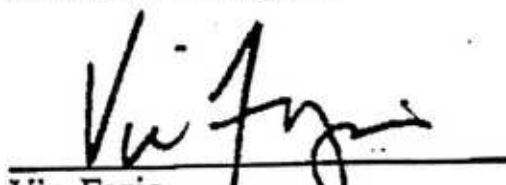

Chuck Douglas
Member of Congress

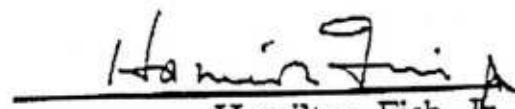

Bernard J. Dwyer
Member of Congress


Eliot L. Engel
Member of Congress


Ben Erdreich
Member of Congress


Walter E. Fauntroy
Member of Congress


Vic Fazio
Member of Congress


Hamilton Fish, Jr.
Member of Congress


Thomas M. Foglietta
Member of Congress


Barney Frank
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 5

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Mart Frost

Martin Frost
Member of Congress

Jaime B Fuster

Jaime B. Fuster
Member of Congress

Dean Gallo

Dean A. Gallo
Member of Congress

Sam Genderson

Sam Genderson
Member of Congress

Ben Gilman

Benjamin A. Gilman
Member of Congress

Bill Grant

Bill Grant
Member of Congress

Bill Green

Bill Green
Member of Congress

Ralph M. Hall

Ralph M. Hall
Member of Congress

John Hiler

John Hiler
Member of Congress

George Hochbrueckner

George J. Hochbrueckner
Member of Congress

Frank Horton


Frank Horton
Member of Congress

Henry J. Hyde


Henry J. Hyde
Member of Congress


His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 6

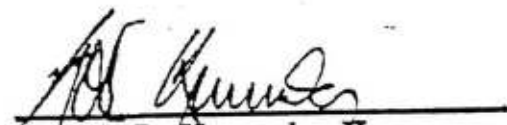
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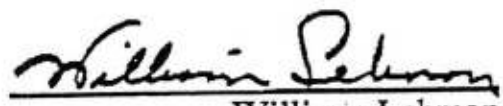

James M. Inhofe
Member of Congress



Craig T. James
Member of Congress

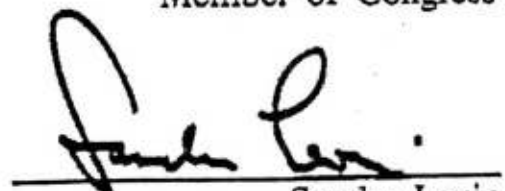

Harry Johnston
Member of Congress

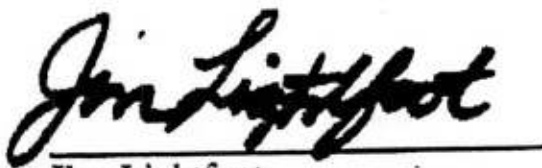

Ben Jones
Member of Congress

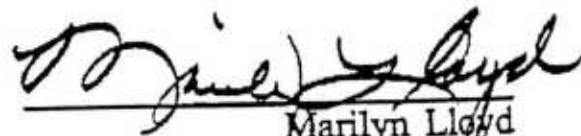

Joseph P. Kennedy II
Member of Congress


William Lehman
Member of Congress

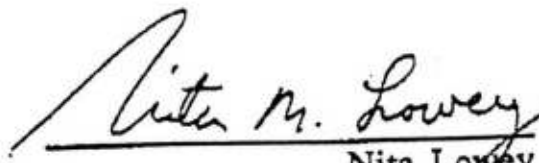

Norman Lent
Member of Congress


Sander Levin
Member of Congress


Jim Lightfoot
Member of Congress

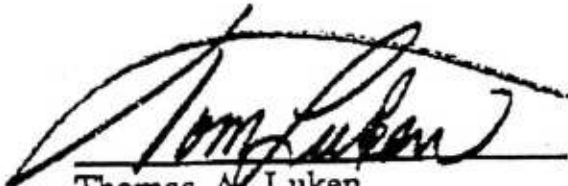

Marilyn Lloyd
Member of Congress


Bill Lowery
Member of Congress


Nita Lowery
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
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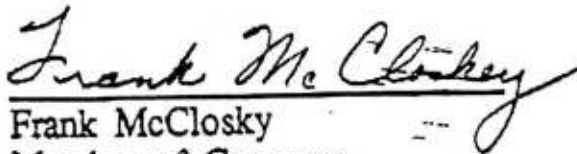
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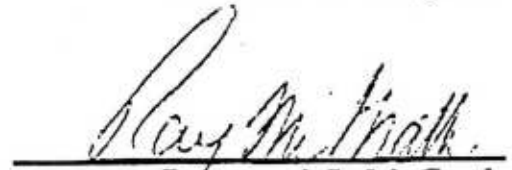
Thomas A. Luken
Member of Congress



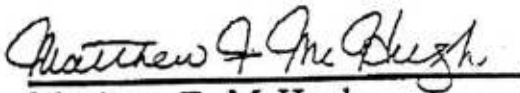
Donald E. "Bud" Lukens
Member of Congress



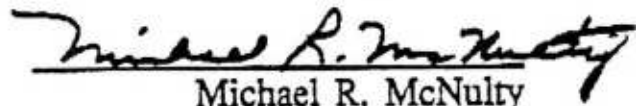
Frank McClosky
Member of Congress



Raymond J. McGrath
Member of Congress



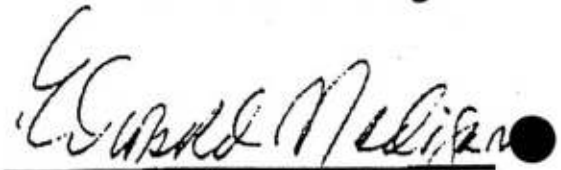
Matthew F. McHugh
Member of Congress



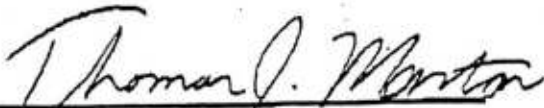
Michael R. McNulty
Member of Congress



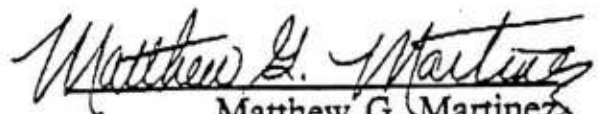
Ronald K. Machtley
Member of Congress



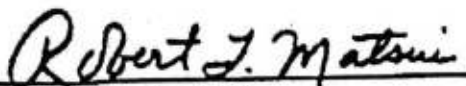
Edward R. Madigan
Member of Congress



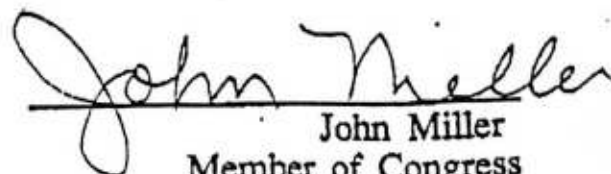
Thomas J. Manton
Member of Congress



Matthew G. Martinez
Member of Congress



Robert T. Matsui
Member of Congress



John Miller
Member of Congress

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Constance A. Morella

Constance A. Morella
Member of Congress

Robert J. Mrazek

Robert J. Mrazek
Member of Congress

Bill Nelson

Bill Nelson
Member of Congress

Major Owens

Major Owens
Member of Congress

Wayne Owens

Wayne Owens
Member of Congress

Bill Paxon

Bill Paxon
Member of Congress

Nancy Pelosi

Nancy Pelosi
Member of Congress

Timothy J. Penny

Timothy J. Penny
Member of Congress

Charles B. Rangel

Charles B. Rangel
Member of Congress

Bill Richardson

Bill Richardson
Member of Congress

Matthew J. Rinaldo

Matthew J. Rinaldo
Member of Congress

Dana Rohrabacher

Dana Rohrabacher
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
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Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Member of Congress

John G. Rowland

John G. Rowland
Member of Congress

Jim Saxton

Jim Saxton
Member of Congress

James H. Scheuer

James H. Scheuer
Member of Congress

Claudine Schneider

Claudine Schneider
Member of Congress

Charles Schumer

Charles Schumer
Member of Congress

E. Clay Shaw, Jr.

E. Clay Shaw, Jr.
Member of Congress

Gerry Sikorski

Gerry Sikorski
Member of Congress

Norman Sisisky

Norman Sisisky
Member of Congress

David E. Skaggs

David E. Skaggs
Member of Congress

Louise M. Slaughter

Louise M. Slaughter
Member of Congress

Lawrence Smith

Lawrence Smith
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
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774 " / 22

Guyuk

Jan Meyers

Paul H. Hoyer

Paul Turner

Gus Zatron

Eric Jalomavaaga

J. Paul

Ed Weiss

Yanni Amey

Howard L. Berman

Chis Smith

[Signature]

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Bry Jenkins

Dana Rohrabach

Jim Moody

James McClure Clarke

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
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Robert C. Smith
Robert C. Smith
Member of Congress

Denny Smith
Denny Smith
Member of Congress

Stephen J. Solari
Stephen J. Solari
Member of Congress

Floyd Spence
Floyd Spence
Member of Congress

John M. Spratt, Jr.
John M. Spratt, Jr.
Member of Congress

Richard H. Stallings
Richard H. Stallings
Member of Congress

Louis Stokes
Louis Stokes
Member of Congress

Thomas J. Tauke
Thomas J. Tauke
Member of Congress

Robert G. Torricelli
Robert G. Torricelli
Member of Congress

Edolphus Towns
Edolphus Towns
Member of Congress

Henry Waxman
Henry Waxman
Member of Congress

Ted Weiss
Ted Weiss
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 12

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Curt Weldon

Curt Weldon
Member of Congress

Bob Wise

Robert E. Wise, Jr.
Member of Congress

Frank R. Wolf

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

Howard Wolpe

Howard Wolpe
Member of Congress

Ron Wyden

Ron Wyden
Member of Congress

Sidney R. Yates

Sidney R. Yates
Member of Congress

Chester G. Atkins

Chester G. Atkins
Member of Congress

Cardiss Collins

Cardiss Collins
Member of Congress

David E. Price

David E. Price
Member of Congress

Mel Levine

Mel Levine
Member of Congress

Robert J. Lagomarsino

Robert J. Lagomarsino
Member of Congress

Bruce F. Vento

Bruce F. Vento
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 13

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Marge Roukema
Marge Roukema
Member of Congress

Donald J. Pease
Donald J. Pease
Member of Congress

Jolene Unsoeld
Jolene Unsoeld
Member of Congress

Les AuCoin
Les AuCoin
Member of Congress

Frank Pallone, Jr.
Frank Pallone, Jr.
Member of Congress

Roy Dyson
Roy Dyson
Member of Congress

Tom DeLay
Tom DeLay
Member of Congress

Philip M. Crane
Philip M. Crane
Member of Congress

Dan Glickman
Dan Glickman
Member of Congress

Dan Schaefer
Dan Schaefer
Member of Congress

James T. Walsh
James T. Walsh
Member of Congress

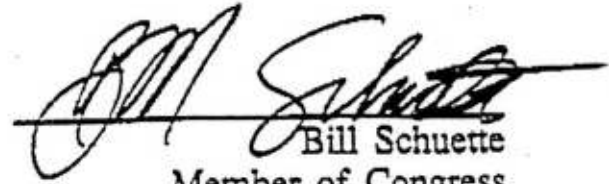
Christopher Shays
Christopher Shays
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 14

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Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress



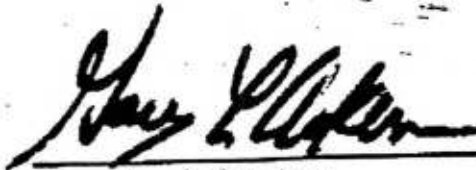
Bill Schuette
Member of Congress



Gerry E. Studds
Member of Congress



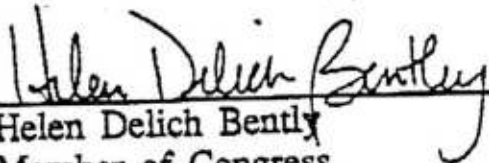
Cass Ballenger
Member of Congress



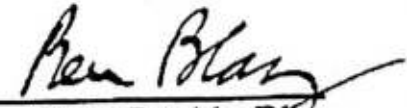
Gary L. Ackerman
Member of Congress



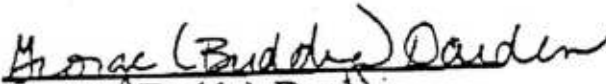
Jim Bates
Member of Congress



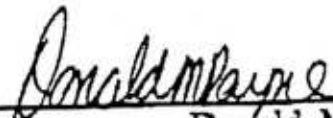
Helen Delich Bentley
Member of Congress



Ben Garrido Blaz
Member of Congress



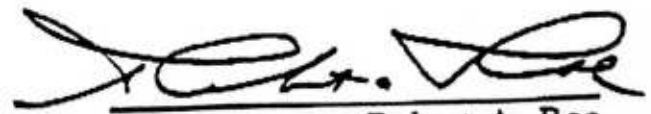
George (Buddy) Darden
Member of Congress



Donald M. Payne
Member of Congress



Jan Meyers
Member of Congress



Robert A. Roe
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 15

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Michael A. Andrews
Michael A. Andrews
Member of Congress

Richard K. Arney
Richard K. Arney
Member of Congress

Herbert H. Bateman
Herbert H. Bateman
Member of Congress

Rick Boucher
Rick Boucher
Member of Congress

John Bryant
John Bryant
Member of Congress

Dan Burton
Dan Burton
Member of Congress

Jim Chapman
Jim Chapman
Member of Congress

Jim Cooper
Jim Cooper
Member of Congress

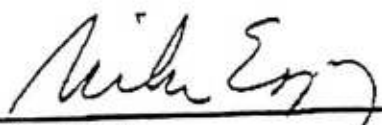
William J. Coyne
William J. Coyne
Member of Congress

Peter A. DeFazio
Peter A. DeFazio
Member of Congress

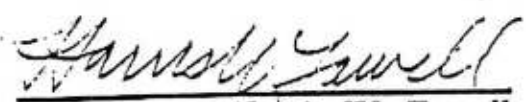
Norman D. Dicks
Norman D. Dicks
Member of Congress

Richard J. Durbin
Richard J. Durbin
Member of Congress

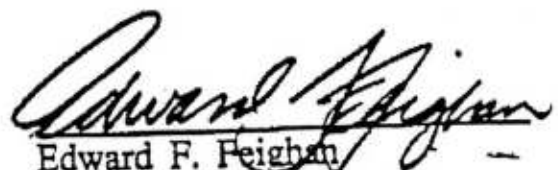
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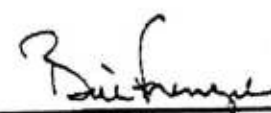
Mike Espy
Member of Congress



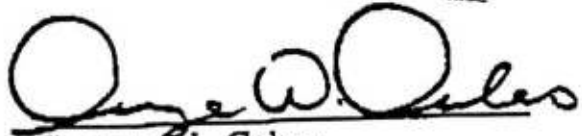
Harris W. Fawell
Member of Congress



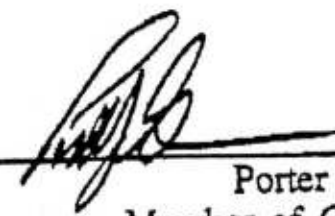
Edward F. Feighan
Member of Congress



Bill Frenzel
Member of Congress



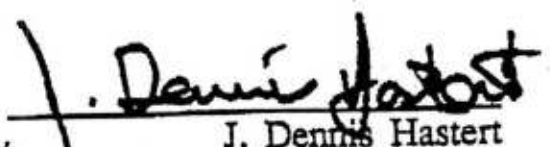
George W. Gekas
Member of Congress



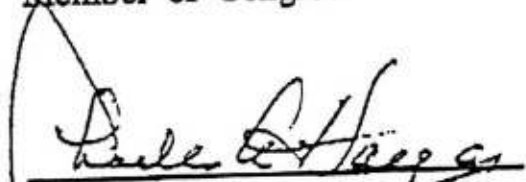
Porter J. Goss
Member of Congress



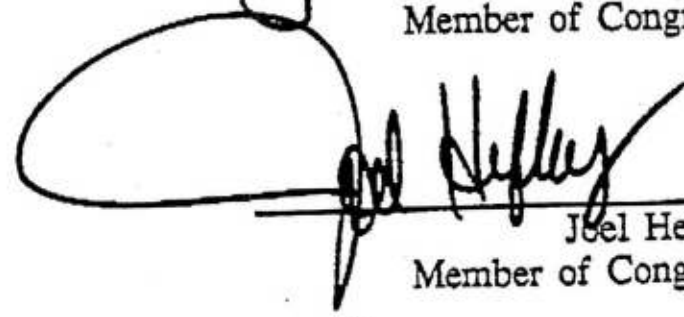
Steve Gunderson
Member of Congress



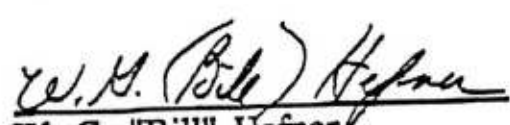
J. Dennis Hastert
Member of Congress



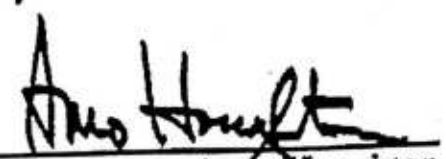
Charles A. Hayes
Member of Congress



Joel Hefley
Member of Congress



W. G. "Bill" Hefner
Member of Congress



Arno Noughton
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 17

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Duncan Hunter
Duncan Hunter
Member of Congress

Andrew Jacobs, Jr.
Andrew Jacobs, Jr.
Member of Congress

Nancy L. Johnson
Nancy L. Johnson
Member of Congress

Paul E. Kanjorski
Paul E. Kanjorski
Member of Congress

Barbara B. Kennelly
Barbara B. Kennelly
Member of Congress

Dale E. Kildee
Dale E. Kildee
Member of Congress

Jerry Lewis
Jerry Lewis
Member of Congress

Tom Lewis
Tom Lewis
Member of Congress

Bob Livingston
Bob Livingston
Member of Congress

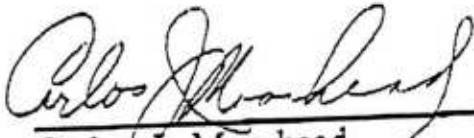
Jill V. Long
Jill V. Long
Member of Congress

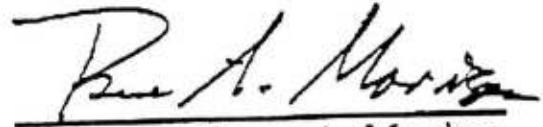
Jim McDermott
Jim McDermott
Member of Congress

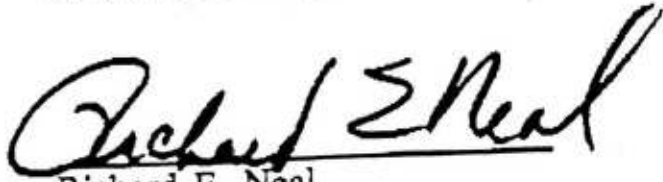
John Joseph Moakley
John Joseph Moakley
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
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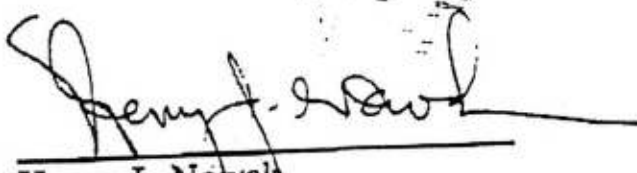
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Carlos J. Moorhead
Member of Congress


Bruce A. Morrison
Member of Congress

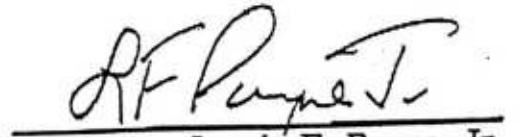

Richard E. Neal
Member of Congress



David E. Nagle
Member of Congress

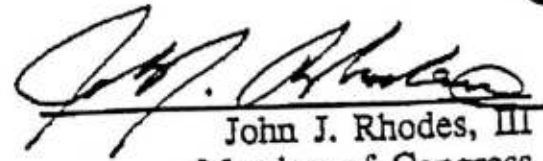

Henry J. Nowak
Member of Congress



David R. Obey
Member of Congress

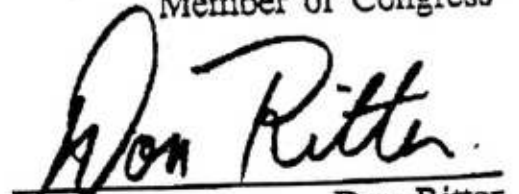
Michael G. Oxley
Member of Congress


Lewis F. Payne, Jr.
Member of Congress


Carl D. Pursell
Member of Congress

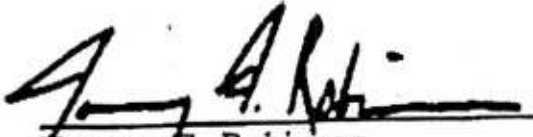

John J. Rhodes, III
Member of Congress

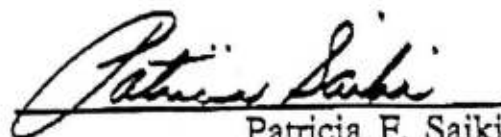

Thomas J. Ridge
Member of Congress

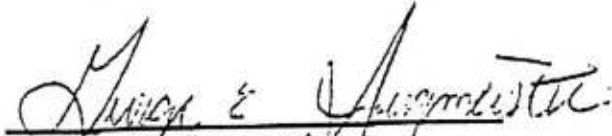

Don Ritter
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
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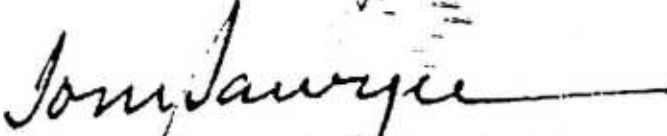
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Tommy F. Robinson
Member of Congress



Patricia F. Saiki
Member of Congress



George E. Sangmeister
Member of Congress



Bill Sarpalius
Member of Congress


Thomas C. Sawyer
Member of Congress



Richard T. Schulze
Member of Congress


Lamar Smith
Member of Congress


Don Sundquist
Member of Congress


Esteban Edward Torres
Member of Congress

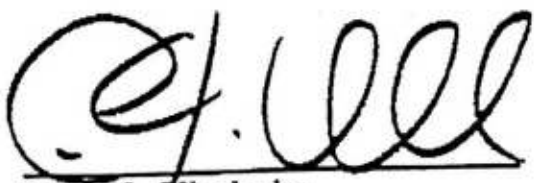

Frederick S. Upton
Member of Congress


Tim Valentine
Member of Congress

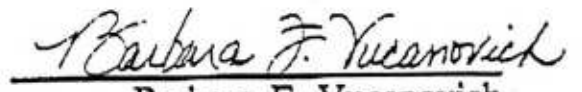

Guy Vander Jagt
Member of Congress

His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin
Page 20

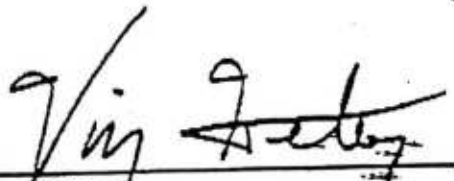
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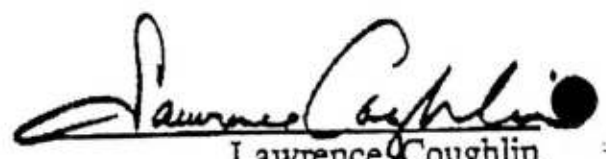
Peter J. Visclosky
Member of Congress



Barbara F. Vucanovich
Member of Congress



Vin Weber
Member of Congress



Lawrence Coughlin
Member of Congress

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 20694 תאריך: 24.03.90 *
 * דף 1 מתוך 2 *
 * עותק 6 מתוך 30 *
 * נכנס ** סודי ביותר *
 * ** *
 * ** *
 * ** *
 * חוזם: 3,20694 *
 * אל: המשרד *
 * יעדים: בטחון/1197, מצב/2863, מנמת/182 *
 * מ-: ווש, נר: 773, תא: 230390, זח: 1800, דח: ב, סג: סב *
 * תח: @ סצפא *
 * נד: @ *
 * * * * *

1. א.וי. חזינטס/2
 2. נ.נ.2

* סודי ביותר/בהול לבוקר *

* אל : סמנכל צפא *

* דע : סמנכל מזאר, יועץ מדיני לשהח, דוד ברטוב/נתיב *

* מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון *

* הפסקת טיסות לעולים דרך הונגריה *

* צלצלתי הבוקר לג'נרל סקוקרופט ופרטתי בפניו המצב שנוצר *
 * בעקבות החלטת ההונגרים להפסיק את הטיסות לעולים דרך *
 * הונגריה. *

* ציינתי כי אנו רואים הדבר בחומרה רבה מכמה טעמים:

* 1. כניעה ברורה לטרור האיסלאמי הפלסטינאי.

* 2. פגיעה חמורה באפשרויות ישום חופש ההגירה של יהודי *
 * בריהמ'. הוספתי שאמנם השגריר הסובייטי בווינגטון אמר לראשי *
 * הארגונים היהודיים שההונגרים לא נועצו בהם לפני שנקטו בצעד *
 * זה, אך אין לי ספק שהחלטה זו מטילה על הסובייטים אחריות *
 * למצוא דרך אלטרנטיבית לאפשר בפועל יציאת היהודים מבריהמ'. *
 * על רקע התפתחויות אלה בהונגריה תביעתנו ליישום ההסכם לטיסות *
 * ישירות מבריהמ' לישראל מקבלת משנה תוקף. *
 * אי לכך אנו מבקשים שהנשיא יתן בהקדם ביטוי פומבי תקיף הקורא *
 * ממשלת הונגריה לא להיכנע לאיומי הטרור הבינלאומי. כמו-כן *
 * ציינתי, שזו הזדמנות מצויינת עבור הנשיא לתת ביטוי *

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* דף 2 מתוך 2 *
 * עותק 6 מתוך 30 *
 * למדיניותו התומכת בהגירה יהודית מבריהם. שני אלמנטים אלה *
 * עולים בקנה אחד עם מדיניותו המוצהרת של הממשל, אך חיוני *
 * שהנשיא יתן להם ביטוי מחודש לנוכח התפתחויות חמורות אלה. *
 * הוספתי גם שקיים חשש שאם ארהב לא תצא בתגובה נמרצת ותקיפה *
 * מייד, מדינות אחרות במזרח שאמורות לשמש כתחנות מעבר ליהודים *
 * מבריהמ' עלולות ללכת בעקבות ההונגרים. *
 * סקוקרופט השיב שהוא מבין את חומרת הנושא וישוחח עם הנשיא *
 * וימליץ בפניו לפעול בהקדם. *
 * * * * *

* תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, גוברין, מזאר, תפוצות, *
 * ר/מרכז, רם, @ (אמן) *

6406 * * * * * יסוף ולקף ושות' כנימ טל. לפאטנטי 03 5378867

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

20706

תאריך : 24.03.90

דף 1 מתוך 2

עותק 5 מתוך 30

סודי ביותר

נכנס

**

**

**

חוזם: 3,20706

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/1199, מצב/2865, מנמת/1184

מ-: ווש, נר: 785, תא: 230390, זח: 2200, דח: 1, סג: 10

תח: @ גס: צפא

@ נד:

ו.א.ז. ר.ג.נ.ס.א.י. (בדוק)

סודי ביותר/בהול לבוקר

אל : סמנכל צפא

דע : סמנכל מזאר, יועץ מדיני לשהח,

דוד ברטוב

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

להלן מפיגשה בארוחת צהריים עם לארי איגלברגר:

1. הפסקת טיסות לעולים דרך הונגריה. העליתי בפניו עמדתנו כפי שפרטתי בפני ג'נרל סקוקרופט (שלנו 773) והוספתי כי זו הזדמנות מצויינת לנשיא להוכיח שאכן הוא מגלה רגישות ומעורבות בנושאים החיוניים לישראל ולקהילה היהודית. על רקע התבטאויותיו האחרונות הדבר מקבל משנה חשיבות.

2. איגלברגר השיב שהנשיא מוטרד מאד מההתפתחויות בליטוניה, וכי הוא אינו סבור שהנשיא ירצה להתבטא בנושא לאחר שהזהיר היום פומבית הסובייטים מפני מעשים נחפזים בליטוניה. השבתי לו שדוקא המצב החמור העלול להתפתח בבריהם בעקבות מעורבות סובייטית בוילנה מחייבת הצהרה פומבית אשר תוכל לסייע במאמצים להבטיח יציאה בלתי מופרעת של היהודים מבריהם.

נראה לי שהוא ימליץ בפני הבית הלבן שאכן תימסר הצהרה מטעם הנשיא בנושא.

3. איגלברגר מסר לי כי לאור בקשתי משלשום בנושא הוא הזמין

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 2

עותק 5 מתוך 30

להיום אחה'צ את השגריר הסובייטי לשיחה כדי להעלות עמו ענין הפסקת הטיסות דרך הונגריה והאחריות של הסובייטים להבטיח יציאה בלתי מופרעת של היהודים.

עוזר המזכיר לענייני אירופה ריימונד זייץ וריצ'ארד שיפטר הזמינו אליהם הבוקר את השגריר ההונגרי בוושנינגטון והביעו אתגובתם השלילית לנוכח פעולות ממהונגריה, ודרשו שממשלת הונגריה תעיין מחדש בהחלטת חברת התעופה ויחדשו הטיסות. הם ציינו החומרה הרבה בה הם מתייחסים לכניעתם לטרור. לדעתו של שיפטר, לנוכח קיום הבחירות בהונגריה ביום א' (25/3) ראשי השלטון שם לא מודעים עדיין לחומרה שבה התקבלה פעולתם בוושנינגטון. הממונה האמריקאי בבודפשט נתבקש להגיש 'דמרש' במשרד החוץ ולהביע דאגה ודרישה לעיון מחדש בהחלטה.

4. איגלברגר יפגש היום אחה'צ עם רה'מ' פולין המסיים ביקורו בוושנינגטון. הוא הבטיח שיעלה בפני מזוביצקי, שארהב מצפה שפולין תסייע בהעברת עולים מבריהם במידה וישראל תהיה מעוניינת בכך.

5. בנפרד ה-NON PAPER שהשארתי בידי איגלברגר בעת פגישתנו.

ארד

17

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, גוברין, מזאר, תפוצות, ר/מרכז, רם, @ (אמן)

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,19843

אל: המשרד

יעדים: נ' 1084/1, בטחון/1130, מצב/2720, מנמת/1130
מ-: ווש, נר: 698, תא: 220390, זח: 1600, זח: ב, סג: בל
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נר: @

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בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד, פרן.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם
אמן/מנמת - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק,

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

תדרוך דובר הבית הלבן ליום : 22/3/90

Q IN A DIFFERENT PART OF THE WORLD, DO YOU THINK
YOUR COMMENTS ON FEAST JERUSALEM CONTRIBUTED TO
THE COLLAPSE OF THE GOVERNMENT THERE? AND DO YOU
THINK OVER THE LONG HAUL, THAT'S GOING TO MAKE THE
PEACE PROCESS MORE DIFFICULT OR EASIER?

PRESIDENT BUSH: NO, I THINK A PRESIDENT, WHEN HE
REITERATES THE STANDING EPOLICYF OF THE UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT, IS DOING THE CORRECT THING. I DO NOT
THINK IT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT.
THAT IS A HIGHLY COMPLEX INTERNAL MATTER IN THE
STATE OF EISRAELF. THAT IS THEIR -- WHO EMERGES
THE LIKUD OR LABOR, IS THEIR PROBLEM, THEIR RIGHT.
AND I WILL NEGOTIATE AND DEAL OPENLY WITH WHOEVER
AND TALK FREELY AND OPENLY WITH WHOEVER EMERGES
AS THE LEADER. BUT I DONT BELIEVE IT MADE A CONTRIBUTION

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

BECAUSE I THINK THE -- I THINK IF YOU LOOK AT
THE ISSUES, BOTH THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND THE QUESTION
OF THE -- QUESTION OF THE PEACE TALKS, THAT THOSE
WERE THE KEY ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN. BECAUSE MOST
PEOPLE IN ISRAEL UNDERSTOOD THAT I WAS SIMPLY REITERATING
A STANDING UNITED STATES EPOLICYF, ONE THAT I
FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT.

ג'

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, @ (אמן), בנצור,
מצפא, פרן, רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, דוצ-ים

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IN A DIFFERENT PART OF THE WORLD, DO YOU THINK
 YOUR COMMENTS ON EAST JERUSALEM CONTRIBUTED TO
 THE COLLAPSE OF THE GOVERNMENT THERE? AND DO YOU
 THINK OVER THE LONG HAUL, THAT'S GOING TO MAKE THE
 PEACE PROCESS MORE DIFFICULT OR EASIER?

PRESIDENT BUSH: NO, I THINK A PRESIDENT, WHEN HE
 REITERATES THE STANDING POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES
 GOVERNMENT, IS DOING THE CORRECT THING. I DO NOT
 THINK IT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT.
 THAT IS A HIGHLY COMPLEX INTERNAL MATTER IN THE
 STATE OF ISRAEL. THAT IS THEIR -- WHO EMERGES
 THE LINGU OR LABOR, IS THEIR PROBLEM, THEIR RIGHT.
 AND I WILL NEGOTIATE AND DEAL OPENLY WITH WHOEVER
 AND TALK FREELY AND OPENLY WITH WHOEVER EMERGES
 AS THE LEADER, BUT I DON'T BELIEVE IT MADE A CONTRIBUTION

BECAUSE I THINK THE -- I THINK IF YOU LOOK AT
 THE ISSUES, BOTH THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND THE QUESTION
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 PEOPLE IN ISRAEL UNDERSTOOD THAT I WAS SIMPLY REITERATING
 A STANDING UNITED STATES POLICY, ONE THAT I
 FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT.

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כ"ה אדר תש"ן
22 במרץ 1990

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סד"י

הנדון: צפ"א בשבוע המסתיים ב-22/3/90

1. דו"ח מחמ"ד על אש"פ (מק-ליברמן)

הוגש לוועדת החוץ בסנט ב-13/3. בדו"ח 3 מסמכים המתייחסים ל:- חדירות וההפגזות על ישראל, עמידת אש"פ בהתחייבויותיו ומדיניות מדינות ערב כלפי תהליך השלום. באופן כללי, קובעת ארה"ב שאש"פ אכן עמד במילוי התחייבויותיו. אמנם אין היא מרוצה לחלוטין מהתנהגותו בשטח והצהרותיו של הארגון, אך ברור שדאגה ואי-שביעות רצון זו תוביל למחאות וללחץ לשיפור ההתנהגות ולא להשעית הדיאלוג. הסנטורים מק וליברמן הביעו אכזבה מן הדו"ח והגדירוהו כ-WHITEWASH. כך עשתה גם איפאק. ס/שה"ח התבטא באריכות בכנסת (21) והשגרירות הונחתה להמשיך ולשמור את הנושא בעדיפות גבוהה. דובר מחמ"ד מצדו (21) אמר כי הדו"ח מאוזן והוגן.

2. ירושלים

גם השבוע שחלף התאפיין ע"י התגייסות מאסיבית למען ירושלים וניתן לצייין במיוחד את זירת הקונגרס בנושא. יצויינו הפעולות הבאות:
- מכתב סנטורים לנשיא בוש (בושביץ, ליברמן, מקקין, פרסלר, וילסון, דאמטו, לוין ומק). בתשובתו לבושביץ חוזר הנשיא על מכתבו לטדי קולק ואף מוסיף כי בשום מצב של שלום אין למנוע מיהודים את הזכות לגור בכל מקום שהוא בירושלים.
- מכתב חברי קונגרס לנשיא ביוזמת חברי הקונגרס שומר, פיהאן, וובר וברטון.
- דיון מיוחד בבית הנבחרים ובו נאמו 18 חברי קונגרס. הנאומים היו חמים ביותר.
- סנטור מויניהאן הגיש הצעת החלטה (SENSE OF CONGRESS) בנושא ירושלים ב-20/3. ההחלטה קובעת בין השאר כי ירושלים היתה ותשאר בירת ישראל וקוראת לנשיא לפרסם הצהרה מפורשת בנושא. הצעת החלטה דומה הוגשה בביה"נ ע"י חבר הקונגרס אנגל.
- בארוחת הבוקר הקונגרסינאלית של מדינת נ"י, נשמעו התבטאויות חוצצות מצד מרבית המורשים שהשתתפו בעד ירושלים ונגד התבטאות בוש.
- מנהיג הרוב בסנט סנטור מיטצ'ל הביע תמיהה ואכזבה מהתייחסות בוש למזרח ירושלים והגדירה כ"משגה חמור".



3. ערבונות לדיור
במגעים שנתקיימו השבוע עם מחמ"ד (קרצר וקימט) עולה כי הממשל מנסה להאיט את תהליך החקיקה בקונגרס במטרה להגיע להסכמה עם ישראל על בטחונות נוספים שהערבונות לדיור לא ינוצלו לצורך בניה בשטחים ובמזרח ירושלים. מתנהלים בנושא דיונים בארץ וכך בווישינגטון. גם סגן המזכיר איגלברגר בעדות בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות בסנט אמר כי הממשל יתמוך בערבונות "בהתבסס על ההנחה שנוכל לקבל בטחונות באשר לשימוש בכסף". סרב להכנס לדיון באשר לפרטי הבטחונות "בשלב עדין זה".
4. התהליך המדיני
לא נרשמה התבטאות משמעותית בנושא זה השבוע. סגן המזכיר איגלברגר וכן דובר מחמ"ד אמרו כי הממשל ממתין להרכבת ממשלה חדשה בירושלים וישתף פעולה בקידום תהליך השלום עם כל מי שיבחר.
5. התנחלויות
לדברי אנשי ADL, אמר השבוע היועץ לבטחון לאומי בפגישה עמם כי ההתנהחלויות הן SMALL CONCERN AND MINOR ISSUE ביחסי ישראל-ארה"ב.
6. ביקורים
השבוע בקרו בישראל הנשיא לשעבר קרטזר ופמלייתו וכן קבוצה מכון פלורידה-ישראל.

משה בר



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 101st CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 136

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1990

No. 32

S. CON. RES. 106

Expressing the sense of the Congress concerning Jerusalem and the peace process.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 20 (legislative day, JANUARY 23), 1990

Mr. MOYNIHAN (for himself, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. DIXON, Mr. EXON, Mr. GORTON, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. PACKWOOD, Mr. WILSON, Mr. HATCH, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. BURNS, Mr. KASTEN, Mr. LOTT, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. FORD, Mr. PELL, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. SANFORD, Mr. DODD, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. KOHL, Mr. KERRY, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. COHEN, Mr. COATS, Mr. BOND, Mr. MACK, Mr. ARMSTRONG, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. FOWLER, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOREN, Mr. ROBB, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. INOUE, Mr. MIKULSKI, Mr. REID, Mr. BREAUX, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. SASSER, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DANFORTH, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. HELMS, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. WARNER, Mr. DOLE, Mr. GARN, Mr. ROTH, Mr. RUDMAN, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. GRAHAM, and Mr. SIMON) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

MARCH 22 (legislative day, JANUARY 23), 1990

Committee discharged

Whereas the State of Israel has declared Jerusalem to be its capital;

Whereas from 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths were not permitted access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;

Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;

Whereas the President and the Secretary of State have demonstrated their strong desire to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and have worked diligently toward that end;

Whereas ambiguous statements by the Government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concerns in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be redivided and access to religious sites in

Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens; and

Whereas such concerns inhibit and complicate the search for a lasting peace in the region: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress—

(1) acknowledges that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;

(2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic religious group are protected; and

(3) calls upon all parties involved in the search for peace to maintain their strong efforts to bring about negotiations between Israel and Palestinian representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 106) was agreed to.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

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WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1990

No. 32

S. CON. RES. 106

Expressing the sense of the Congress concerning Jerusalem and the peace process.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 20 (legislative day, JANUARY 23), 1990

Mr. MOYNIHAN (for himself, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. DIXON, Mr. EXON, Mr. GORTON, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. PACKWOOD, Mr. WILSON, Mr. HATCH, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. BURNS, Mr. KASTEN, Mr. LOTT, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. FORD, Mr. PELL, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. SANFORD, Mr. DODD, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. KOHL, Mr. KERRY, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. COHEN, Mr. COATS, Mr. BOND, Mr. MACK, Mr. ARMSTRONG, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. FOWLER, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOREN, Mr. ROSS, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. INOUE, Mr. MIKULSKI, Mr. REID, Mr. BREAUX, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. SASSER, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. FRYON, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DANFORTH, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. HEINE, Mr. HELMS, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. KARSEBAUM, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. WARNER, Mr. DOLE, Mr. GARN, Mr. ROTH, Mr. RUDMAN, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. GRAHAM, and Mr. SIMON) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

MARCH 22 (legislative day, JANUARY 23), 1990

Committee discharged

Whereas the State of Israel has declared Jerusalem to be its capital;

Whereas from 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths were not permitted access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;

Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;

Whereas the President and the Secretary of State have demonstrated their strong desire to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and have worked diligently toward that end;

Whereas ambiguous statements by the Government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concerns in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be redivided and access to religious sites in

Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens; and

Whereas such concerns inhibit and complicate the search for a lasting peace in the region: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress—

(1) acknowledges that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;

(2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic religious group are protected; and

(3) calls upon all parties involved in the search for peace to maintain their strong efforts to bring about negotiations between Israel and Palestinian representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 106) was agreed to.

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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

אל : מצפ"א

סווג בטחוני גלוי

מאת : ק. לקונגרס

דחיסות מייד

תאריך/ז"ח 22 במרץ, 1990

מס' מברק 679

ירושלים - הסנטור מוינהן

רצ"ב נוסח הצעת ההחלטה המתוקנת שהגיש מוינהן ב-20/3. בעת הגשת ההצעה היו לה 23 שושבנים. בינתיים עוסקים "הידידים" בגיוס תומכים נוספים ליוזמת מוינהן.

שני השינויים העיקריים הם קביעת העובדה שירושלים היא בירת ישראל והשמטת הקריאה להצהרות חד משמעיות בנדון מצד המזכיר והנשיא בוש.

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S. CON. RES.

Concerning

Expressing the sense of the Congress ^{Concerning} Jerusalem and the peace process.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Moynihan (for himself and Mr. Boschwitz, _____) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the State of Israel has declared Jerusalem to be its capital;

Whereas from 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths were not permitted access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;

Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;

Whereas the President and the Secretary of State have demonstrated their strong desire to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and have worked diligently toward that end;

Whereas ambiguous statements by the Government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concerns in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be redivided and access to religious sites in Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens; and,

Whereas such concerns inhibit and complicate the search for a lasting peace in the region: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (the House of Representatives concurring) that the Congress --

- (1) acknowledges that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;
- (2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected; and,
- (3) calls upon all parties involved in the search for peace to maintain their strong efforts to bring about negotiations between Israel and Palestinian representatives.

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ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סווג בטחוני גלוי

דחופות מייד

תאריך/ז"ח 22 במרץ, 1990

מס' מברק 649

שגרירות ישראל / נוטינגטון

אל : מצפ"א

מאת : ק. לקונגרס

ירושלים - הסנטור מוינהן

רציב נוסח הצעת ההחלטה המתוקנת שהגיש מוינהן ב-20/3. בעת הגשת ההצעה היו לה 23 שושבנים. בינתיים עוסקים "הידידים" בגיוס תומכים נוספים ליוזמת מוינהן.

שני השינויים העיקריים הם קביעת העובדה שירושלים היא בירת ישראל והשמטת הקריאה להצהרות חד משמעיות בנדון מצד המזכיר והנשיא בוש.

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S. CON. RES.

Expressing the sense of the Congress ^{concerning} Jerusalem and the peace process.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Moynihan (for himself and Mr. Boschwitz, _____) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the State of Israel has declared Jerusalem to be its capital;
 Whereas from 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths were not permitted access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;
 Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;
 Whereas the President and the Secretary of State have demonstrated their strong desire to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and have worked diligently toward that end;
 Whereas ambiguous statements by the Government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concerns in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be redivided and access to religious sites in Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens; and,
 Whereas such concerns inhibit and complicate the search for a lasting peace in the region: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (the House of Representatives concurring) that the Congress --

- (1) acknowledges that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;
- (2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected; and,
- (3) calls upon all parties involved in the search for peace to maintain their strong efforts to bring about negotiations between Israel and Palestinian representatives.

32

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף 1 מחודג דפים

אל : מצפוא

סוג בטחוני גלוי

מאת : ק. לקונגרס

דחיפות מידי

תאריך/ז"ח 23 במרץ 1990

מס' מברק 348

ירושלים - סנטור מוינהן

748

אחמול בלילה עברה הצעת ההחלטה של מוינהן במליאת הסנאט ב-Voice Vote
עם 81 שושבנים (רציב הרשימה).

P2

קונגרס.

1 סייב
 2 סייב
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 3 סייב
 4 סייב

36

~~348~~ 748 $\frac{2}{2}$

S. CON. RES. 106
Concerning Jerusalem and the Peace Process

CO-SPONSORS

DEMOCRATS

- 1) Moynihan*
- 2) Lautenberg
- 3) Dixon
- 4) Hiron
- 5) Metzenbaum
- 6) Levin
- 7) Lieberman
- 8) Graham
- 9) Simon*
- 10) Riegle
- 11) Pell*
- 12) Cranston*
- 13) Sanford*
- 14) Kerry (MA)*
- 15) Biden*
- 16) Sarbanes*
- 17) Dodd*
- 18) Harkin
- 19) Adams
- 20) Burdick
- 21) Johnston
- 22) Bentsen
- 23) Kohl
- 24) DeConcini
- 25) Kennedy
- 26) Ford
- 27) Robb*
- 28) Rockefeller
- 29) Inouye
- 30) Mikulski
- 31) Reid
- 32) Breaux
- 33) Conrad
- 34) Matsunaga
- 35) Bradley
- 36) Sasser
- 37) Baucus
- 38) Hollings
- 39) Heflin
- 40) Bryan
- 41) Pryor
- 42) Fowler

* Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

43) Bingham

44) Daschle

REPUBLICANS

- 1) Boschwitz*
- 2) D'Amato
- 3) Gorton
- 4) Packwood
- 5) Wilson
- 6) Hatch
- 7) McCain
- 8) Burns
- 9) Easton
- 10) Lott
- 11) McConnell*
- 12) Grassley
- 13) Cohen
- 14) Coats
- 15) Bond
- 16) Mack*
- 17) Armstrong
- 18) Durenberger
- 19) Danforth
- 20) Specter
- 21) Murkowski*
- 22) Domenici
- 23) Gramm
- 24) Heinz
- 25) Helms*
- 26) Humphrey*
- 27) Kassebaum*
- 28) Nickles
- 29) Pressler*
- 30) Thurmond
- 31) Warner
- Dole
- Garn
- Roth
- Rudman
- Simpson
- Stevens

32

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

שגירות ישראל / נושיונגטון

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

אל : מצפ"א

סווג בטחוני גלוי

מאת : ק. לקונגרס

דחופות מידי

תאריך/ז"ח 22 במרץ, 1990

מס' מברק 679

ירושלים - הסנטור מוינהן

רצ"ב נוסח הצעת ההחלטה המתוקנת שהגיש מוינהן ב-20/3. בעת הגשת ההצעה היו לה 23 שושבנים. בינתיים עוסקים "הידידים" בגיוס תומכים נוספים ליוזמת מוינהן.

שני השינויים העיקריים הם קביעת העובדה שירושלים היא בירת ישראל והשמטת הקריאה להצהרות חד משמעיות בנדון מצד המזכיר והנשיא בוש.

קונגרס.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew, including numbers and some illegible text, possibly a list or summary.

Handwritten mark or signature.

6/27
2/4/72
1700-2

679 2/2

S. CON. RES.

Expressing the sense of the Congress ^{concerning} Jerusalem and the peace process.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Moynihan (for himself and Mr. Boschwitz, _____) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the State of Israel has declared Jerusalem to be its capital;

Whereas from 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths were not permitted access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;

Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;

Whereas the President and the Secretary of State have demonstrated their strong desire to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and have worked diligently toward that end;

Whereas ambiguous statements by the Government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concerns in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be redivided and access to religious sites in Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens; and,

Whereas such concerns inhibit and complicate the search for a lasting peace in the region: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (the House of Representatives concurring) that the Congress --

- (1) acknowledges that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;
- (2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected; and,
- (3) calls upon all parties involved in the search for peace to maintain their strong efforts to bring about negotiations between Israel and Palestinian representatives.

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף 1 מחודג דפים

אל : מצפ"א

מאת : ק. לקונגרס

סוג בטחוני גלוי

דחיפות מייד

תאריך/ז"ח 23 במרץ 1990

מס' מברק 348

ירושלים - סנטור מוינהן

748

אחמול בלילה עברה הצעת ההחלטה של מוינהן במליאת הסנאט ב-Voice Vote עם 81 שושבנים (רציב הרשימה).

82

קונגרס.

1 א
 1 ס"ב
 2 א
 3 א
 4 א
 1 א
 1 א
 2 א
 3 א
 1 א
 1 א

36

348 748

2/2

S. CON. RES. 106
Concerning Jerusalem and the Peace Process

CO-SPONSORS

DEMOCRATS

- 1) Muzylian*
- 2) Lautenberg
- 3) Dixon
- 4) Eron
- 5) Metzenbaum
- 6) Levin
- 7) Lieberman
- 8) Graham
- 9) Simon*
- 10) Riegle
- 11) Pell*
- 12) Cranston*
- 13) Sanford*
- 14) Kerry (MA)*
- 15) Biden*
- 16) Sarbanes*
- 17) Dodd*
- 18) Harkin
- 19) Adams
- 20) Burdick
- 21) Johnston
- 22) Bennett
- 23) Kohl
- 24) DeConcini
- 25) Kennedy
- 26) Ford
- 27) Robb*
- 28) Rockefeller
- 29) Inouye
- 30) Mikulski
- 31) Reid
- 32) Breaux
- 33) Conrad
- 34) Matsunaga
- 35) Bradley
- 36) Sasser
- 37) Baucus
- 38) Hollings
- 39) Heflin
- 40) Bryan
- 41) Pryor
- 42) Fowler

* Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

43) Bingaman

44) Daschle

REPUBLICANS

- 1) Boschwitz*
- 2) D'Amato
- 3) Gorton
- 4) Packwood
- 5) Wilson
- 6) Hatch
- 7) McCain
- 8) Burns
- 9) Easton
- 10) Lott
- 11) McConnell*
- 12) Grassley
- 13) Cohen
- 14) Coats
- 15) Bond
- 16) Mack*
- 17) Armstrong
- 18) Durenberger
- 19) Danforth
- 20) Specter
- 21) Murkowski*
- 22) Domenici
- 23) Gramm
- 24) Heinz
- 25) Helms*
- 26) Humphrey*
- 27) Kassebaum*
- 28) Nickles
- 29) Pressler*
- 30) Thurmond
- 31) Warner

Dole

Garn

Roth

Rudman

Simpson

Stevens

32

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סוג בטהוני גלוי

דחיפות מייד

תאריך/ז"ח 23 במרץ 1990

מס' מברק ~~348~~

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

אל : מצפ"א
מאת : ק. לקונגרס

748

ירושלים - סנטור מוינהן

אחמול בלילה עברה הצעת ההחלטה של מוינהן במליאת הסנאט ב-Voice Vote עם 80 שושבנים (רציב הרשימה).

82

קונגרס.

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2/2

S. CON. RES. 106
Concerning Jerusalem and the Peace Process

CO-SPONSORS

DEMOCRATS

- 1) Moynihan*
- 2) Lautenberg
- 3) Dixon
- 4) Eron
- 5) Metzenbaum
- 6) Levin
- 7) Lieberman
- 8) Graham
- 9) Simon*
- 10) Riegle

- 11) Pell*
- 12) Cranston*
- 13) Sanford*
- 14) Kerry (MA)*
- 15) Biden*
- 16) Sarbanes*
- 17) Dodd*
- 18) Harkin
- 19) Adams
- 20) Burdick
- 21) Johnston
- 22) Bentsen
- 23) Kohl
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- 28) Rockefeller
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- 31) Reid
- 32) Breaux
- 33) Conrad
- 34) Matsunaga
- 35) Bradley
- 36) Sasser
- 37) Baucus
- 38) Hollings
- 39) Heflin
- 40) Bryan
- 41) Pryor
- 42) Fowler

REPUBLICANS

- 1) Boschwitz*
- 2) D'Amato
- 3) Gorton
- 4) Packwood
- 5) Wilson
- 6) Hatch
- 7) McCain
- 8) Burns
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- 10) Lott
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- 22) Domenici
- 23) Gramm
- 24) Heinz
- 25) Helms*
- 26) Humphrey*
- 27) Kassebaum*
- 28) Nickles
- 29) Pressler*
- 30) Thurmond
- 31) Warner

Dole
Garn
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens

* Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

- 43) Bingham
- 44) Daschle

משרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשר

19988

תאריך 23.03.90

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,19988

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/2743, מנמת/1139

מ-: נוש, נר: 721, תא: 220390, זח: 2300, דח: ב, סג: בל

תח: @ גס: צפא

נר: @

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

מנהל מצפ'א

ירושלים

עד ל-1930 נאספו 72 חתימות על יוזמת מוינהן. הכוונה היא להביא להצבעה ב- VOICE VOTE עוד הלילה.

ערן

17

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, @ (אמן), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל, רביב, מעת, הסברה

6406 ***** יוקר ולק תשלום כניסו נר. 03-5276967

ΕΓΧΩ

ΕΓΧΩ

ΠΙΣΩ: 88991, Ε
 ΚΑ: ΠΩΓΓ
 ΠΙΣΩ: ΑΧΑΛΕΦΑΣ, ΑΙΩΠΛΥΣΙ
 Α-: ΡΩ, Γ: ΙΣΥ, ΠΗ: ΟΡΕΘΩΣ, ΤΗ: ΟΘΕΣ, ΓΗ: Ε, ΟΧ: ΕΥ
 ΠΠ: Θ ΑΟ: ΧΕΚ
 ΕΓ: Θ

ΕΛΒΟΛΕΠΙΣ ΚΕΙΡΓ

ΑΙΕΚ ΑΧΕ'Η

ΠΙΩ'Ω

ΗΓ Γ-ΘΕΡΕ (ΚΟΒΕ ΓΥ ΠΠ'ΑΠ Π' Π'ΠΠ Α'Ε'Ε'Ε'. ΠΟΠΠ
 Π'Η ΓΠΠ'Η ΓΠΠ'ΠΠ Π- ΕΤΟΥ ΕΟΙΟΥ ΗΓ ΠΠ'Π.

ΠΠ

ΓΣ

ΠΠ: ΠΠΠ, ΠΠΠΠ, ΓΠΠ, ΠΠΠΠ, ΑΙΕΥ, ΑΧΑΙΕΥ, ΓΛΑΓΕΥ, ΓΠ, Θ(ΚΑΓ), ΑΧΓ,
 ΕΙΧΙΓ, ΑΧΕΚ, Ο'Ι'ΕΥ, ΓΕ'Ε, ΒΠΠ, ΠΟΠΠΠ

32

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף מתוך דפים

סנוג בטחוני קנ"ט

דחיפות נ"צ

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

1/11

712

אל: מצפא

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

ביהנ"ב : ירושלים

SPECIAL ORDER 1. אתמול (3-21) בערב התקיים לארי סמית שנועד לתח אפשרות לקונגרסמנים שלא יכלו לנאום בשבוע שעבר לעשות כן. אמש התבטאו לארי סמית, מרטין פרוסט, ברברה בוקסר, ג'ון מילר ווין אוונס. כך הוכללו ברקורד הודעות הקונגרסמנים מללויין ומקנולטי. (נ"צ).

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר
 יהודה ורנאי דרנגר

1. ארצות הברית
 2. ממשלת ישראל
 3. ממשלת ישראל
 4. ממשלת ישראל
 5. ממשלת ישראל
 6. ממשלת ישראל
 7. ממשלת ישראל
 8. ממשלת ישראל
 9. ממשלת ישראל

JERUSALEM

H 962

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE 2/11 7/12 March 21, 1990

rism. Among his other honors is a certificate of special achievement from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1 of only 20 awarded nationally, for his dedicated and unrelenting fight against drugs in public housing, and for his excellence in administration and management. Under his leadership, rental delinquency rates have been reduced and preventative maintenance minimized at a substantial cost savings, all contributing to making the housing complexes under his administration pleasant and desirable communities.

Mr. Speaker, Bob Hall is the epitome of a competent and excellent dedicated public servant. I praise you Bob for your continuing outstanding service to our community.

MITCH SYNDER'S TACTICS HARM HOMELESS

(Mr. DELAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I am appalled by the actions of Mitch Synder, the so-called leader of the homeless here in Washington. His deliberate action to prevent an accurate count of the homeless people in our Nation's Capital is just another one of his futile attempts to "help" the homeless. By obstructing an accurate count of the homeless here in Washington, he will actually cause more harm than good to homeless people nationwide. What is he so afraid of? Is it possible that the studies that have estimated the number of the Nation's homeless far fewer than Synder's estimates might be true? What does he fear? Does he really believe that blatant obstruction of the census, an important part of our Constitution, will help the plight of the homeless? This is a travesty. By the way, does Mitch Snyder pay taxes?

LITHUANIA DESERVES SUPPORT

(Mr. TORRICELLI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another. . . . Our history as a Nation is established on this principle. If we are to remain true to ourselves, we can no more deny it today to the people of Lithuania who seek to dissolve the bonds which have connected them to the Soviet Union than we could deny it to our own forefathers.

We all want to see Mr. Gorbachev succeed in reforming his country, but if the price of that success is the compromise of our own most basic national principles, then the price, Mr. Speaker, is very high indeed.

Fifty years ago America spoke with outrage as a Stalin and Hitler conspired to deny Lithuania her sovereignty. Two generations later the proud people of Lithuania seek to repair this terrible injustice, and they look for America's support. To remain silent at this moment is to become complicitous in stalling the start of Lithuania independence, while denying the principles that we hold most dear as Americans.

INTRODUCTION OF WETLANDS CONSERVATION RESERVE PROGRAM ACT OF 1990

(Mr. STANLEY ELAND asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STANLEY ELAND. Mr. Speaker, today several of my colleagues join me in introducing the Wetlands Conservation Reserve Program Act of 1990. The bill makes the Conservation Reserve Program more environmentally responsive by including wetlands and surrounding upland areas.

The Wetlands Conservation Reserve Program Act of 1990 would make wetlands and surrounding uplands eligible for inclusion in the Conservation Reserve Program. It would extend the Conservation Reserve Program another 5 years but would not change the existing acreage cap of 45 million. It does, however, acknowledge that at some point we may want to expand the cap and extend the Conservation Reserve Program for additional years.

My bill would target sensitive areas that have been farmed in the past as well as those likely to be farmed in the future. It's a preventive measure that builds upon public-private partnerships. We should share the costs and benefits of wetlands protection among the public at large—not solely among selected individual private property owners. It also embodies the recommendations of many—including the National Wetlands Policy Forum and environmental organizations—to establish an agricultural wetlands reserve or preservation trust.

I believe this is a workable and balanced approach to protect wetlands from future drainage, help meet the President's "no overall net loss" goal, and recognize private property owners' rights. Too often we resort to heavy-handed regulation steps when we can accomplish the same resource protection goals through other innovative measures.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to working with my colleagues on moving this legislation in the 1990 farm bill. I would note that Congresswoman SMITH and Congressman SCHULZE and others have similar proposals. I think we can all work together on specific ways to improve the CRP. In addition, I hope to introduce more comprehensive legislation on wetlands protection involving agricultural practices and

permitting programs—such as under the Clean Water Act—in the near future.

Attached is a section-by-section summary of the Wetlands Conservation Reserve Program Act of 1990.

WETLANDS CONSERVATION RESERVE PROGRAM ACT OF 1990

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1 provides the bill's short title: the Wetlands Conservation Reserve Program Act of 1990.

Section 2 expands the Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) to include "converted wetlands" and "uplands" (as those terms are defined in the 1985 Food Security Act) and upland areas surrounding such converted wetlands and uplands. These "surrounding areas" are eligible for CRP enrollment because of the many environmental benefits they often provide, such as wildlife and waterfowl habitat. Wetlands not yet converted are eligible for CRP enrollment if the Secretary of Agriculture determines such wetlands are likely to be converted based on technical feasibility, economic considerations, weather patterns, or other factors.

Section 3 extends the CRP for another 5 years (through 1995), while leaving unchanged the existing acreage limitation (45 million acres).

Section 4 requires the Secretary to report to House and Senate Agriculture Committees within two years on the need for and advisability of extending the CRP beyond 1995 and increasing the acreage limitation beyond 45 million. The Secretary must also report on the effects of increasing the cap, including the impacts on rural and national economies.

PRESIDENT REPUDIATES PARTY PLATFORM ON JERUSALEM

(Mr. McNULTY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McNULTY. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in voicing my concern about the recent statements by President Bush relating to Jerusalem. I just cannot understand his motivation.

Not only did the President repudiate his own party's 1988 platform, which calls for a "united" Jerusalem, he even repudiated his own stated position. In 1980, when the United Nations was considering a resolution opposing all settlements "including Jerusalem," then Vice Presidential candidate George Bush condemned it as an unwise policy that "undermines confidence in America's policy and purpose in the Middle East."

Mr. Speaker, this is not a partisan issue.

Most Americans believe Jerusalem should be the undivided capital of Israel.

That recognition can be found in several Democratic and Republican Party platforms.

As one who has been generally supportive of the Bush foreign policy, I urge the President to reconsider and retract his recent statements on Jerusalem. They have damaged the Israeli Government, they have damaged the

Smith, Frost, Owens, Miller, Boxer, Levine, DeWine included in special order

March 31, 1990

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

712 3/11

H 983

peace process, and they are not in the best interests of the United States.

CONGRESS IS READY FOR DEBATE

(Mr. MICHELE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. MICHELE. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's Post is an op-ed piece by the distinguished majority leader entitled "How I Dare Criticize the President?"

I'm not going to get to the difference of opinion between the majority leader and our distinguished President, but there are several lines in the article that rather intrigued me. One, "We had better discuss and debate those choices . . . refusing even to debate important policies, we are doomed to be the victims of change."

Admittedly the majority leader was talking of foreign policy issues, and I would like to pick up on the comment of the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. DOUGLAS), when he expressed the lack of seeing the day care/child bill on the floor of the House of Representatives.

I do not know how long it has been scheduled, or how long we have been talking about the need for having it debated and discussed openly on the floor of the House. There are several plans on this side, maybe several plans on that side. Some of the intricate provisions I am not fully aware of, nor do I know the implications. That is a debating society. This is where it ought to take place. Let all Members have their say. I do not know why it has to be so manufactured and so dished out to Members, in such limited form that we cannot even alter it by a free debate here in this House. My view is we have several real controversial issues, including acid rain, clean air is coming down the pike, along with campaign reform and some others. We are not doing all that much with the days off on Monday and Friday and all in between. What are we waiting for? Let Members at least get something out here on the floor of the House. I cannot predict who will win, but let Members talk them all out.

NO NEW AVIATION TAXES

(Mr. MINETA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, air travelers in the United States are being threatened today by a group of powerful pencil pushers who threaten to take us all to the cleaners.

The Office of Management and Budget has for years put up a brick wall which prevented the aviation trust fund from doing what it was intended to do: improve our airports and airways.

Now, not satisfied with the \$7 billion surplus built up in the trust fund, OMB and the White House want to

raise the tax that every passenger pays when they purchase an airline ticket.

To that I say, "Read this Democrat's lips: No new aviation taxes!"

The American people do not want to pay more money to have it only sit for years in OMB's equivalent of a Swiss bank account.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are demanding honesty and truth when it comes to spending the moneys entrusted to us. I believe we should spend every dime in the aviation trust fund to improve our airports and airways. Before raising aviation taxes, if the White House cannot live up to its end of the bargain, then I say let us live up to ours.

FOR A FREE AMERICA

(Mr. WALKER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, strategic defenses are likely to be essential for Americans to participate fully in the world of the 21st century. America as the richest, most successful, and avowedly democratic country, is likely to continue to be the chief target of ideologues and fanatics of several stripes. At the same time, the 21st century will be marked by the widespread proliferation of technologies for mass destruction across long ranges, and by extreme sophistication in the forces of our chief adversaries. This will enable precise, extraordinarily rapid, and powerful attack, in which undefended targets will have zero chance of survival. To put it plainly, they will be naked and vulnerable to attack.

Traditional deterrence of such threats based on counterthreats of retaliation against populations will have to handle attacks too fast and too effective for undefended forces to survive for retaliation; and some irrational attackers will not care if their resources are threatened offensively. Therefore, keeping the United States participating in the world, not surrendering to future coercion, must include defenses to ensure that free world leaders are able to resist and avoid pressures for quick or ineffective or life-threatening situations and reactions.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, there should be an SDI plan in our future.

CELEBRATING 75 YEARS OF AMERICAN AEROSPACE LEADERSHIP

(Mr. VALENTINE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. VALENTINE. Mr. Speaker, the first Saturday in this month marked the 75th anniversary of a little known event that profoundly enhanced America's position in the world. On March 3, 1915, President Wilson signed a naval appropriations bill that contained a \$5,000 rider establishing

the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics, and instructing the committee to:

Examine and direct the scientific study of the problems of flight, with a view to their practical solution.

From those simple, but visionary, words came 75 years of discovery and innovation which secured for our Nation a position of unquestioned pre-eminence in aviation.

In 1958, the NACA became the core of another agency that has played an extraordinary role in American life over the past 30 years. I am speaking, of course, about the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

As we reflect on those 75 years, on the legacy of the DC-3, the X-1, the P-51 Mustang and today's superb flying machines, I call on all of us to be true to the NACA heritage and to assure America's continued aerospace leadership.

A DREAM OF FREEDOM FOR LITHUANIA

(Mr. SARPALIUS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SARPALIUS. Mr. Speaker, I believe in the American dream. It is the dream to be able to bow our heads and worship our God at any time and any place we want. It is the dream to get up and say whatever we want to say, to have freedom of the press, to have the freedom to choose any occupation that we wish, and the freedom to choose to live anywhere we want to live and to raise our families. It is the dream of freedom. It is a dream of independence. It is the dream that we all want to pass on to our children.

It is the same dream that the people of Lithuania are struggling for today. It is the same dream that they want to pass on to their children. It is the same dream that some people are denying to give them, but they may have that recognition that they deserve as a free and independent country.

Mr. Speaker, I challenge the President and I challenge my colleagues to give them that recognition so that they may pass those dreams on to their children.

THE NATION'S TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM FACES NEW CHALLENGES

(Mr. EMERSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, the transportation system of our Nation currently stands at a crucial crossroad. Years of hard work have given us the most extensive and most utilized transportation configuration in the world. We are the possessors of an interstate system that alone is nearly

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will continue to be a valuable friend and reliable ally. In this regard, there is no doubt that Greece could make a vital and irreplaceable contribution to the defense of NATO's southern flank should such defense efforts ever be necessitated.

In recognition of this fact, the House of Representatives has authorized \$350 million in foreign military financing for Greece in fiscal years 1990 and 1991. Further, in an effort to continue to maintain a regional military balance that currently exists within the Eastern Mediterranean, the House of Representatives specified that no more than \$500 million in foreign military financing may be provided to Turkey in fiscal years 1990 and 1991.

These earmarks which are based upon a quantitative 7 to 10 ratio are designed to maintain the integrity of NATO's southern flank, without jeopardizing Greek security, and are intended solely for the defensive purposes of these NATO allies. These earmarks are designed to preserve Greek independence, as well as to promote a just and lasting settlement to the situation of Cyprus.

In my view, the current climate in United States-Greek relations remain warm. Clearly, these relations will continue to evolve into the future. Nevertheless, the foundations upon which these relations are based remain sound, and will serve to ensure that United States-Greek relations will continue to flourish and grow.

These foundations are based upon our mutual commitment to democratic principles and institutions, our shared willingness to take those steps that are necessary to defend those principles and institutions, and the deep cultural ties that bind our peoples and governments together. Taken together, these foundations auger well for the continued and excellent state of health in United States-Greek relations as we congratulate the Greek people on the anniversary of their independence day.

Mr. DWYER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my colleague, Congressman BILIRAKIS, for changing time today so that we might pause to commemorate Greek Independence Day.

America is a melting pot of people from diverse cultures, all of whom have made significant contributions which have enriched our Nation as a whole. The Greeks, however, have a special relationship with America because we modeled our very ideals of democracy on the constitutional form of government early Greeks were practicing over 1,000 years before our revolution.

Our country's Founding Fathers drew on the ideals expressed by Plato and Pericles when formulating the guidelines which would establish the new democracy of the United States. The freedoms which are the core of our own independence were equally precious to the Greek people centuries before there was an American Nation.

Conversely, our revolution became a model for the Greeks in the 1820s as they fought their war of independence; and our Declaration of Independence was used by them as their own. When the world went to war in 1940, the Greeks fought and died with their allies for the cause of democracy. Over 600,000 Greeks, nine percent of the entire Greek population, lost their lives during World War II. And, today, Greece continues to be a valued member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

It has been 169 years since the Greeks secured independence from the Ottoman Empire. We join in their celebration of this anniversary, and I know that their contributions to freedom and democracy will continue to be vital in the international community.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of House Joint Resolution 473 designating March 25, 1990 as Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy, I am pleased to join the gentleman from Florida [Mr. BILIRAKIS] in marking this important occasion again this year.

I think it is particularly relevant and worthwhile to commemorate democracy in this way, at a time when the democratic ideal is cherished and upheld as never before throughout the world. International events in recent months have brought stunning news of political upheaval and dramatic changes from one continent to another, in Eastern Europe, Central America and Southern Africa alike.

But the common theme of these upheavals has been democracy: millions of citizens too long deprived of their basic political rights and human freedoms, rising up in largely peaceful protests to oust tyrannical regimes and to reclaim power over their own lives through free media, free parties and free elections.

Greek contributions to the democratic ideal and practice have been fundamental, from classical times to the present, in Europe and here in America. The word democracy derives from the Greek, and liberal democratic thought owes much to the work of ancient Greek philosophers. Greece today remains a proud and thriving democracy, and its sons and daughters have carried on that tradition in their participation in the democratic system of our own country.

Mr. Speaker, as a Greek-American I am proud to hear the echo of Greek democracy today in the Soviet Union, in Poland, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, in Romania, in Panama, and in Nicaragua, to name only a few countries where democracy is now flourishing after the long night of repression. I am therefore delighted to join today in this national celebration of Greek and American democracy.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 25, 1821, the Greek people took arms against four centuries of Ottoman rule, fighting bravely and valiantly to achieve freedom from Turkish domination.

Greek Independence Day has special significance to all Americans. It is the ancient Greeks who formulated the concept of democracy which is the keystone of the American political system. Democracy is but one of the myriad contributions of the Greek people to the development of civilization. Art, philosophy, science, and law are just a few of the disciplines in which the Greek people have enriched our culture.

Mr. Speaker, the contributions of Greek-Americans to the development of our great Nation are much too numerous to mention. Our Distinguished Congressional colleagues, GUS YATRON, OLYMPIA SNOWE, PAUL SARBANES, MICHAEL BILIRAKIS, GEORGE GEXAS, and JOHN BRADENAS are just a few of the current examples of the many fields of endeavor in which Greek-Americans have excelled and contributed to our Government.

Through this special order, we have the opportunity not only to salute our own Greek-

American community for their contributions, but to commemorate the independence of the Greek people.

I commend the gentleman from Florida [Mr. BILIRAKIS] for his leadership on House Journal Resolution 473, a bill to commemorate Greek Independence Day, as well as for his calling this special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PICKETT). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SKELTON] is recognized for 60 minutes.

[Mr. SKELTON addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH] is recognized for 60 minutes.

[Mr. GINGRICH addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

FOREIGN POLICY WITH REGARD TO ISRAEL AND JERUSALEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SMITH] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it really is rather difficult and sad for me to have to take the floor, having taken out this special order, to address the question of the foreign policy of the United States in regard to Israel and especially the question of Jerusalem. It is sad because for the last number of years, up until the advent of the Bush administration, the policy of the United States was, on an even-handed basis and on a balanced approach, to try to coalesce the conflicting parties in the region of the Middle East to come to some true and lasting peace.

Now, it is so that it did not bear great fruit, but by the same token, it was an approach that perhaps over the long term was calculated to be successful. Secretary of State Schultz had a commitment in that region to finding peace. President Reagan, for all that I have criticized him over the years—and that is a great deal—I believe, wanted to find peace and, I believe, understood the plight that Israel over the years found itself in.

It was conceived or born actually in 1948. For 40 years or more it has attempted to withstand the pressures of its neighbors. It has seen four wars, many dead, significant numbers of citizens killed, enormous numbers of terrorist attacks practiced against it, and it has been isolated, very isolated, as a single small nation against many others. It has been castigated in international bodies by the very same body that created it, it has been given short shrift, and as a Jew, I can tell the Members that ultimately and the worst of all, Israel and Jews have been

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insulted by the actions of millions of people around the world who refuse to acknowledge Israel's right to exist. It is a right that stems from over 3,000 years of historical existence, and right that is not subject to the whims of some single group or a number of groups who think that a public relations campaign or a hate campaign or even a war can do what over 3,000 years of hatred was incapable of doing, and that is to wipe out the Jewish people or now to cause the existence of Israel to be diminished and snuffed out.

□ 1740

Mr. Speaker, the policy that this administration followed in the Reagan years was based upon prior administration policy, especially as it related to the question of Jerusalem.

Let me read to my colleagues, in addressing the rationale for the deliberate omission of the issue of Jerusalem from the U.N. Resolution 242, which addresses the question of territorial withdrawal by Israel and which Israel has endorsed as part of the whole peace process, then U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, Ambassador to the United Nations for the United States made the following statement:

I wanted to make clear that Jerusalem was a disassociated matter not linked to the West Bank.

United States policy prior to 1967 was a de facto acceptance that that part of Jerusalem known as East Jerusalem, because it was controlled by Jordan, and the West Jerusalem, which was in Israeli hands, was one city.

In fact, U.S. policy wanted to make it an international city. From 1969 to the present the United States has recognized territories won by Israel as occupied territories. Throughout the post-1984 history of Jerusalem successive administrations, including this one, have made statements supporting a unified Jerusalem.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, we have statements by this President which are most puzzling, made just recently, and they are most puzzling because of the policy of the United States with reference to our foreign policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. It has been our policy, at least since the mid-1970's enunciated, and even before, but enunciated significantly as a result of the Jackson-Vanik amendments, both congressional and administration policy for 15 years, that the Soviet Union should allow the release at will of any Soviet citizen that wishes to emigrate, whether Jewish, Pentecostalist, Armenian, native ethnic German, Seventh Day Adventist, anyone, whose rights, of course, are guaranteed by the constitution of the Soviet Union. For 15 years we have adhered to that policy; the Reagan administration adhered to it, and the Bush administration adhered to that policy. We raised the issue and all it is for around the world. We signed the Helsinki Final Accords,

as did the Soviet Union, talking about the right of free emigration.

And, Mr. Speaker, it began to happen. In 1979, 50,000 Jewish people came out, and then the Soviet clamped down, afraid of a brain drain, among other things, and the message that would send to others in the Soviet Union and around the world that all of a sudden the Soviet Union was not such a popular place to live, that there was people who would get out, if they had any opportunity at all.

In the last couple of years our policy has begun to work miraculously with the advent of Gorbachev a year or two after he took power. The whole question began to crystallize and coalesce, and the numbers of people leaving the Soviet Union, Jew and non-Jew alike, became larger, and larger and larger. Last year over 75,000 left the Soviet Union, many of settle in the United States and Israel, and, lo and behold, at a time when there is, in fact, almost unfettered ability to leave subject only to orderly processing more narrowed by the United States than even by the Soviets, the President of the United States decides to tell Israel, where now more of the immigrants are going than ever before, that they cannot settle in most places.

Mr. Speaker, this is while walls are falling in Berlin, and walls are falling in South America and the divisions between people are being taken down that the President, this President, builds a wall down the middle of Jerusalem and says to the Jewish people in Israel and the Jewish people in the Soviet Union: "You can't settle there. No settlements in that part of Jerusalem."

Since when? That has never been our policy.

Arthur Goldberg, the Supreme Court Justice, an ambassador to the United Nations, a professor of history, made our policy, I thought, very clear, that Jerusalem was totally disassociated with the question of occupied territories, and it is very sad to understand that this President has chosen at the height of the success of the foreign policy of the United States to destroy, to draw a distinction which no one has drawn for 3,000 years, except for the 20-year period when the Jordanians occupied what is known as the east part of Jerusalem. There has been no such distinction of East or West Jerusalem for 3,000 years, and all of a sudden somehow there becomes an East Jerusalem.

Mr. Speaker, I fail to understand how that happened, except for political purposes, because it has no basis in fact in history or in good, solid diplomatic foreign policy.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I would be happy to yield to the gentleman from Texas, my dear friend.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SMITH] for taking out this special

order today because this is a subject upon which we cannot remain silent. It is a subject that Members of Congress must continue to speak out on and speak out vigorously.

Mr. Speaker, nearly 3 weeks after the calamitous remarks of President Bush that precipitated the collapse of the Israeli coalition government the American Jewish community still waits. We are waiting for a vote of confidence from our own Government. We are waiting for President Bush to renew his conviction for peace, not peace at the expense of Soviet Jews seeking relief in Israel, and not peace at the expense of the holy city of Jerusalem, but accords achieved through honest agreements without manipulation.

Mr. Speaker, it concerns me that this administration watched the fall of the Israeli government and yesterday announced that the Palestinian Liberation Organization is adhering to their commitment of renouncing terrorism. What has happened since December 1988 when Yasser Arafat said he recognized Israel's existence and said he renounced terrorism? Repeated acts of terrorism. Palestinian groups have led almost 30 border and rocket attacks against Israel. President Bush refuses to give the Palestinians any requisites on peace. He is not willing to acknowledge that their continued hostile activities still smell strongly of terrorism. President Bush was acutely aware of the explosive nature of the Jerusalem issue, yet he chose to deliver an ultimatum to the Israelis. He deliberately thwarted the peace process and threatened the Israelis with new U.S. policy conditions for peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, on March 3 the PLO applauded President Bush when it said that East Jerusalem was not undeniably Israeli territory open to all Jews who sought sanctuary there. The PLO cheered because they believe that Jerusalem is there for the taking. Where were the President's good intentions when he spoke such harmful words?

Mr. Speaker, a new Israeli Government will be formed that will need U.S. support so the process can move on.

□ 1750

Unfortunately, the Bush administration's lack of commitment and ability to bring about peaceful talks leaves us with a vote of no confidence.

Again I want to applaud the gentleman for continuing to bring this matter to the attention of the American public. It is one of the most serious mistakes made by this administration, perhaps made by this Government since World War II.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. I want to commend him for his remarks and tell him that I could not agree more. I have never in my 8 years here seen what I consider to be as major a foreign

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policy blunder as this has been, and an attempt by the administration of the United States to meddle directly with an ally, not an enemy, not a system of government that is corrupt or a communist system or one that was an avowed enemy, but an ally, one of the strongest and closest allies this country has ever had. I have never seen an attempt made so to meddle in their internal affairs, which ultimately resulted in bringing down the government, and I commend the gentleman for his remarks.

Mr. OWENS of Utah. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Utah, who shares with me a seat on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. OWENS of Utah. It is a junior seat.

To the distinguished gentleman from Florida, in all sincerity, I commend him. He is one of the great voices in the Congress on Foreign Affairs and brings an immense background and knowledge, not to mention oratorical skills, to this task. For all of these things, I admire him.

I want to associate myself with his concerns about the ineptitude with which our President addressed the most sensitive of all the Middle Eastern issues, Jerusalem, and the concern that I have in sharing with my friend, the gentleman from Florida, that the President had impacted adversely on the political activities of our greatest ally in the Middle East, this, the only real democracy in the Middle East.

I regret sincerely that the President was not sensitive to this most delicate question of Jerusalem. I think he spoke in good faith, I do not question that he misspoke in good faith. I think he did it not understanding how sensitive the issue of Jerusalem is, for it has been American policy since 1967, as the gentleman stated, that Jews can settle in Jerusalem. Moslems can settle in Jerusalem. Christians can settle in Jerusalem. It is not to be a divided city. It is to be a city where all religions have access to their holy places, and for reasons both political and substantive, our Government has chosen not to raise the Jerusalem issue, to be very careful and in all contexts to consider that separate and apart from the occupied territories in all discussions.

The President inadvertently blundered into that foreign policy disaster, I think, precipitating at least in part not only the fall of the Israeli Government, but the difficulty in the organization of a new government. Mr. Speaker, he made a serious blunder and caused a serious problem for our allies in the Middle East in their struggle toward peace.

I was here, Mr. Speaker, in 1974 in my first incarnation in this body and voted for Jackson-Vanik. Along with others in this body and elsewhere, I have struggled for those 16 years since to try to assist in the immigration from the Soviet Union of those Soviet

Jews who decided to leave the Soviet Union. And we worked very hard to get them out.

I hope this body and the Congress will be assisting in a very material way very soon in helping to effectuate that outward migration.

When I was in Moscow 4 weeks ago, I had the opportunity of visiting the American Embassy with a number of refusnik leaders. I was impressed with the urgency of that outward migration from the Soviet Union, with the specter of pogroms, the rumors and the rise of anti-Semitism in almost all the republics of the Soviet Union. The imperative need to assist in that immigration is very real. This is an associated issue with Jerusalem.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that Soviet Jews immigrating to Israel will not settle on the West Bank and in the Gaza. But I think it ought not to be American policy to interfere with their settlement in Jerusalem.

The Jerusalem issue is the most sensitive of all and must be left until last to be settled. American interference in the political process, whether through ineptitude or bad faith, and I believe in this instance it was the former, ought to be avoided.

I commend the gentleman for his statement.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Well, I thank the gentleman. I certainly think he has made an appropriate analysis, especially historically.

The only thing I would find no fault with, but rather would take exception to, because of the facts subsequent, is the feeling that this was done on an inadvertent basis. I wish I could believe that. I wish I could truly believe that this was not a calculated design to meddle directly in the affairs of the Israeli Government, knowing they have hit one of the most sensitive and raw nerves around which most Israelis coalesce, and thereby by design actually forcing a confrontation between the opposing forces of how to get to that peace process that currently exists in Israel.

The reason I say that is because at a subsequent press conference the President refused to modify, refused to revoke, refused in any way to take back any portion of his statement. No one has really rushed to any degree at the State Department or any other agency to put any real spin control, as they normally do when the President makes an inadvertent statement.

Surely many of us are aware during all the Reagan years that spin control was No. 1 in everyone's mind because of all the inadvertent statements. My problem is that I give more credit to President Bush than I did to President Reagan with regard to avoiding inadvertent statements. I believe he knows much more about foreign policy. I believe he spent much more time in government and understands the ramifications of the words that he speaks, the strong signal that those words send.

So while I agree with the gentleman very strongly on almost everything, the issue here about whether or not this statement was inadvertent or was calculated, to me is very unclear. I would like to believe the gentleman's view that it was inadvertent. Unfortunately, I have grave difficulty overcoming my belief that this was a calculated statement.

Mr. OWENS of Utah. Mr. Speaker, and may I say to my friend, the gentleman from Florida, perhaps it is a good idea to give the President good faith credit in this matter. It is a delicate and I think a complex differentiation that I do not think he consciously made at the time. Gratefully, I think it is starting to blow over. I note that in the most recent statements from the White House, they talk now not of Jerusalem in terms of prohibiting settlement, but they talk in terms of a nondivided Jerusalem in the future, reverting I think to more of the earlier rhetoric. I think if we accept that, hopefully it will become less and less a factor in this very delicate political situation.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Well, I certainly appreciate the gentleman's remarks. I agree that it is always appropriate to allow the President of the United States latitude in the conducting of policy, foreign policy especially. By the same token, however, what strikes me as odd is that this statement was made in the context of other additional changes in policy thrust and statements made to the public with reference to the whole question of the peace process.

The gentleman is aware that I am talking about the statements made by Senator Dole which were adopted by this administration and I think sponsored by this administration with reference to cutting foreign aid, including Israel, and the statements made with reference to the peace process by Secretary Baker with reference to the possibility of using the housing loan guarantees as a hammer to obtain some kind of Israeli compliance or consent to the latest series of Baker plan initiatives on the peace process.

□ 1800

In that context and with all the other ramifications including a nonbalanced approach which I will get into shortly, that strikes me as unique, especially in light of the fact that the statement was made about an issue which had been settled long ago in foreign policy terms. That is what bothers me.

I understand the gentleman, and I believe that he has an approach that most people would like to take. I personally have a significant problem with that. I thank the gentleman for his fine comments.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

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□ 1810

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Florida for yielding and for holding this special order.

Mr. Speaker, at this special order I speak in response to the President's statement that Jews should not be allowed to settle in East Jerusalem.

As an American Jew, I was stunned by your statement, Mr. President, and I want to let you know why. Factors of religious history and fairness must be considered.

RELIGION

Jerusalem is the center of the three great faiths of the Western World. But in no faith is Jerusalem more important than in Judaism. "Next year in Jerusalem" resonates through Passover services and High Holy Days services and in Jewish marriages and funerals. To be told that for a substantial part of World Jewry there can be no next year in a major part of the Holy City comes as a shock to Jews all over the world.

HISTORY

For thousands of years Jews have settled and lived in all of Jerusalem. Today Jews form a large part of the population of East Jerusalem. It is true that during the period from 1948 to 1967 when East Jerusalem was under Jordanian occupation, Jews were prohibited from settling there. But that is the exception. Today under Israeli rule, as for most of Jerusalem's history, Jews and members of all faiths are allowed to settle in any part of the city.

FAIRNESS

Americans of all faiths oppose discrimination. We do not believe in banning people of any faith or race from any area. Yet, Mr. President, you propose that Jews—and only Jews—should not be allowed to settle in East Jerusalem. Other nations at various times in history have banned people from settling in countries or cities based on race or religion. But this should be the position of an American President.

Mr. President, the Arab-Israeli conflict has many issues and sub issues. I understand that in your effort to bring peace to the Middle East you cannot adhere to every position taken by our ally Israel. But please, Mr. President, whatever stance you take on other points in the Arab-Israeli negotiations, do not tell Jews they cannot settle in part of the world's holiest city.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman for a very, very edifying historical and current context analysis of what the President's remarks had to be placed within in order to make sense out of them.

When we do place it within those contexts, we come up with the fact that they just do not make sense.

Let me flesh out just a little bit what the gentleman has in a few moments put on the table: the historical context. The King of the Jews, the first king, David, 3,000 years ago, wrote, wrote a song of steps, and this is not made up. This is not something we just conjured up. This has been in the prayer books of Jews for 3,000 years. They cannot make this go away like some would like the Holocaust to go away, that it never happened.

He wrote:

I rejoiced when they said
"Let us go up to God's House."
Our feet would stand
Within your gates, O Jerusalem.
Jerusalem is built
Like a city that is bound together.
For it is there that the tribes ascend
The tribes of God
A testimony to Israel
To praise the name of God.
For it is there that thrones of justice are set.

Thrones of the house of David.
Seek peace for Jerusalem.
May those who love you prosper.
Peace be within your ramparts.
Prosperity in your palaces.
For the sake of my brothers and friends
I say, "Peace be within you."
For the sake of the House of the Lord our God
I will seek your good.

That God is the God that almost every religion of the world identifies as the supreme God. That God: 3,000 years ago that was written about Jerusalem, not West Jerusalem, not East Jerusalem, not Tiberius, Jerusalem.

In the era of 700 B.C.E., 2,700 years ago, in the prophecy of Isaiah, contained in the Bible in the chapters of Isaiah, he wrote:

And it shall come to pass in the end of days that the mountain of God's house shall be set over all other mountains and lifted high above the hills and all the nations shall come streaming to it.

And many peoples shall come and say: Come, let us go up to the Mountain of God to the house of the God of Jacob and He will teach us His ways and we will walk in His paths.

For out of Zion shall go forth the Torah and God's word from Jerusalem.

And He will judge between nations and decide between peoples.

And they will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation neither will they practice war any more.

Twenty-seven hundred years ago this was written by the prophet Isaiah as emanating from Jerusalem, not West Jerusalem, not East Jerusalem, but Jerusalem, for all the nations of the world.

The first temple built on what is now the Temple Mount where the dome of the rock now sits is a mosque.

That temple was built by King Solomon. It stood for 410 years in what now the President of the United States would describe as "East Jerusalem." That was not and is not "East Jerusalem." There was no Jordanian occupation for that 19 years that the gentleman so aptly described. That was Jerusalem.

That temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as is written in the Hebrew Bible and in the Christian Bibles.

And 70 years later the second temple was built in that same place by Ezra. According to tradition it stood for 420 years, until it was razed by the Roman legions under Titus, which we know was near the beginning of the Christian era.

Mr. Speaker, we are not talking about some kind of current event. Jerusalem did not spring up overnight from some unique place and have a suburb called "East Jerusalem." This is a city that stood where it is standing for at least 3,000 years or more, we know from the excavations.

From the historical context there is no question that not only Jews, but others, are entitled to live anywhere in Jerusalem that they like, and have, and nothing that the President of the United States says will make that any different. He cannot wash that away. He cannot rewrite history. Some of us will not let him.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I would be happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. I think the moving accounts that the gentleman has read illustrate a very important point here. We understand that the President can agree or disagree with this part or that part of Arab or Israeli policies in the Middle East. I think Members understand that the whole Israeli-Arab conflict over the past 40 years has been a very difficult one. There have been many issues and subissues and nuances.

However, whatever position one takes on whatever aspect of that conflict, and whatever position the President takes on whatever aspect of that conflict, the message I would give to the President is please do not take the position that Jews are not allowed to live in or settle in a part of Jerusalem.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. I would certainly join the gentleman in that message, at least as being one of the messages that the President should understand.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I would be delighted to yield to the gentlewoman from California, my dear friend of many, many, many years.

Mrs. BOXER. I thank the gentleman so much for taking this time so that we can reflect on this very serious issue and for his eloquence.

The problems of the Middle East are very difficult. There is no question about that. There are no easy answers here. Trying to solve the very legitimate security needs of our ally and the only democracy in the Middle East, Israel, trying to balance those se-

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curity needs against the needs of the Palestinians for some kind of self-determination, this is what we hope will come out of the peace talks eventually so that these people can live side by side.

It is very difficult. As history will tell us, in the beginning there was going to be a two-State solution. There was going to be the Palestinian State and the State of Israel. But the Palestinians did not accept it. People forget that. The rest is history, and it has been a very brutal and a very difficult history.

Let me state, having said the difficulties as best I can, that there was one point that I always thought in recent history, since the reunification in 1987, one thought and one reality that really wasn't ever controversial, and that was that Jerusalem would be united and part of Israel.

No American President ever said that Jews could not move freely and live freely in Jerusalem. When this President said that, it took my breath away. It did that kind of collectively from the people who watched this area of the world with great concern.

When I was in Israel, the thing that struck me more than anything else is the incredible freedom of worship that goes on in that city of Jerusalem and the way Israel runs that city. It is a model. It is a thrill.

I went there with people of every race and religion. I say to the gentleman it was a real thrill for me.

The history of that city is being preserved by Israel. Respect to all the diversity is given by Israel in this city. We must have visited every church and synagogue there was. To see people worshipping side by side, it was really a thrill.

The Arab residents of East Jerusalem are entitled to Israeli citizenship. Noncitizen residents can vote in municipal elections. So the fact is with all the controversy swirling around the Middle East, this was one thing I thought would never come up again. That is why when President Bush threw this out there, and others in the administration unfortunately backed it up, it was very disquieting.

So I am glad that the gentleman took this special order today. I do not want to go on too long. I just want to say how I feel having been there, having seen the way this magnificent city functions, the way people live side by side, the international flavor and nature of this city, indeed it is really a model for the world just the way it is.

To throw this hand grenade into, if you will, the peace process, into the dialog at this time, was not good. I hope that the dialog that we are having here tonight will be helpful. I hope it will be healing. I hope that we can move forward with this administration toward peace, a just peace in the Middle East, for all sides. I think we can do it around a united Jerusalem.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida very much for yielding me this time.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I certainly thank the gentlewoman for her comments. They were very moving. I have been in that position and seen for the first time Israelis have many Jews and non-Jews, and have been moved in the same way.

Also I thank the gentlewoman for reminding us that there is a historical context which has been related that has not been mentioned before. First, there was a two-state solution proposed back in 1947-48 that was rejected by the Arab States. When in 1948 Israel was declared by the United Nations as a State and recognized as a State, it was the fulfillment of a dream that had been 3,000 years old, and they were immediately attacked by those same groups and Arab States that had previously just a few short months ago rejected what would have been a permanent solution in that region, at least from the point of view of the United Nations at that time.

Second, the gentlewoman reminds us that we all want a just resolution to the self-determination of all the people in that region. Yet the President's remarks are interesting, because to him an avowed member of the PLO, a Palestinian, could move to East Jerusalem but a Soviet Jew whose tradition and roots may go back 3,000 years, cannot. What kind of self-determination is that?

The gentleman from Washington (Mr. MILLER) talked about the irrational logic of saying to some, "You can move there," but saying to others, whose history goes back to that very spot, "You cannot." That is not self-determination for everyone.

□ 1820

Finally, for reminding us about the administration by Israel of the city of Jerusalem. Before 1948 when it was run by others, there was freedom of the houses of worship, and some of those houses of worship fell into grave disrepair by neglect by their own people. After 1948 when the Jordanians captured that portion of the city which now people are glibly calling East Jerusalem, most of those houses of worship were closed, access was forbidden by the Jordanians, and they fell into total disrepair.

But since 1967 when people seemed to forget, but it is good to remind them, Israel was again attacked by the Arab State forces, and was triumphant to the extent that they were able to retake that portion of the city, Israel embarked on a campaign to open to everyone all these houses of worship, guaranteed access to these houses of worship, and has allowed for refurbishing and fixing, and has paid for some of that refurbishing and fixing of those houses of worship, both Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

Why is it that for some reason now Jews are the only ones who cannot

settle next to a synagogue when an Arab can come and settle next to a mosque in East Jerusalem? The logic is flawed, if we want to be kind. I thank the gentlewoman for reminding us so that we can discuss the issue in this context as well, which again leads us to the puzzling question of what could the President have been thinking when he made these statements. I would imagine that he was thinking in political terms because it is the only way you can make sense of what he said.

But if you are thinking in terms of politics, then you must also think in terms of foreign policy and fairness and balance, and there has not been any. I am not speaking of the fairness the gentleman from Washington (Mr. MILLER) talked about, about having Jews be able to live where apparently now others can but they cannot, but the innate unfairness of a foreign policy that seems to want to punish those who are there now because in reality there has been no balance in the policy of that administration for quite some time.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. Frost) talked about the issue of the Arab States, and what the rhetoric was from the chairman of the PLO, Mr. Arafat, and documented to some degree the number of terrorist attacks that have taken place. We could go on and on about that, and there are a lot of people I believe in both bodies of this Congress, the House and the Senate, who honestly believe that Mr. Arafat has not renounced terrorism at all.

But let us go beyond the PLO. Let us not talk about them, because there is always consternation. Let us talk about the other Arab States.

First of all, for a little geographic context and a little current context, there are about 100 million Arab citizens living in that area around Israel. There are a little over 3 1/2 million Israelis. With the current migration, it may go to 4 million Israelis. That means it will be 100 million Arab citizens against 4 million Jewish, Israeli citizens. Does that represent a significant threat to anyone? I do not think so. I do not think this administration ever thought so, and yet, what do we have? We have statements by Arab nations, state after state, representatives of those nations, incredibly critical of the policy of the United States as enunciated by us for many years with the Soviet Union, and no reply by the United States, not one.

A member of the Lower House of Parliament of Jordan, Tahir Al-Masir, January of this year:

The continued migration of Jews to Israel constitutes a grave danger to the Arab nations in general and the Palestinians in particular and, therefore, Arab governments must join hands to do all they can to contain such migration.

This is the policy of the United States. Has the gentlewoman heard

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the President of the United States or the Secretary of State of the United States speak out against this? This was in the Jordan Times.

Or this from Salah Khalaf (Abu-Iyad), a terrorist and a member of Fatah Central Committee:

PLO is against Soviet Jews immigration because it harms the Arab, pan-Arab security and greatly disturbs the balance of power in all aspects.

Is he kidding? It is 100 million to 3 1/2 million, or maybe it will be 100 million to 4 million, and that upsets the balance of power? That was January of this year.

Let me read another one. King Hussein of Jordan. This was in the Washington Post, January 29, 1990:

I warn of this serious impending danger. Whom will these thousands of immigrants replace, and what will happen to these replaced by these new arrivals? This is not a threat to Jordan only. It threatens the depth of the Arab world and the Palestinian people's national rights.

This is about a group of persecuted people who have been subjected to beatings, and stonings, and jailings, and mock trials, and anti-Semitism, and pogroms, and killings in the Soviet Union. And now, with our urging and at our policy urging, with our consent, they are leaving the Soviet Union, and the King of Jordan makes these irrational statements and we say nothing. There was not a blessed cry from anyone in this country, in the administration refuting what is basically a refutation of U.S. policy, not one.

Mrs. BOXER, Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield on that point?

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I am happy to yield to the gentlewoman from California.

Mrs. BOXER, Mr. Speaker, it is a supreme irony. How many speeches were made by leaders in the Reagan and Bush administrations along with so many of us in a bipartisan way to say to the Soviet Union: "You have to let those who want to leave, leave, you have to let them leave, that is what human rights is all about?" How many vigils did we all go to throughout this country, again hand in hand with Republicans, Republicans and Democrats alike?

Now, in a moment to cherish, a moment when the gates are opening, a moment when the words "next year in Jerusalem" can come true for these people, and then to hear these comments, it really is absolutely ludicrous.

I myself have worked to reunite divided spouses where we have one American spouse and one Soviet-Jewish spouse, and all these people wanted was to be together, to have a family, to reunite, to be productive members of society.

I never met one refusenik who was a threat. I never met one refusenik that wanted anything more to breathe the free air, and many of them were very elderly, and they had been trying to get out for many years.

So the gentleman is correct. Sometimes we are judged by what we do not say as much as by what we say, and I think the deafening silence emanating from this administration on this particular issue is really quite remarkable.

Let me say to the gentleman, because I must now go to a meeting in my office, how much again I appreciate the opportunity to listen to him and to engage in a dialog with him. I look forward to continuing this type of dialog as we move forward in this legislative year.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. I thank the gentlewoman for her comments. Let me say her comment about the deafening silence is extremely appropriate, especially within the foreign policy context. It is not always what we say within that diplomatic context, it is also what we do not say, and the most damning of all is that just last week the Syrian President, one of the people that this country has no respect for, principle, policies, et cetera, said that he does not care what happens, he will continue his attempt to drive Israel into the sea, to push Israel out of existence.

□ 1830

Did you hear a single soul in this administration refute the President of Syria? I did not. A man that we put on the list of international terrorists-sponsored states, and we said nothing.

I thank the gentlewoman for pointing this out to us.

Let me go further. The speaker of the Palestinian National Council, Shaykh Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih, reviewing this grave issue and noting that its toleration is tantamount to tolerating Israel and the Balfour Declaration, only 70 years old:

The total of 1 million Jews who will emigrate include experts and scientists who will support the Zionist entity, something that Israel itself had been planning.

My God, they actually let out people who think.

What a terrible grave danger to the rest of the world, people who actually are scientists are going to leave the Soviet Union, and that is a grave threat. Where has our administration been? Nowhere.

Jordan's King Hussein, on February 6 of this year, said,

The emigration of Soviet Jews to the Israeli-occupied territories presents a real danger to the Arab world.

They never tell you what danger. They just say danger.

This issue should be an incentive for us to meet at the highest level to discuss this danger in a frank and sincere manner and to adopt a suitable formula for confrontation.

That is the King of Jordan. Confrontation? Is this a declaration of war? Why does he not speak up?

In 1970 he had no problem when the Israelis moved their troops and tanks to the border between Jordan and Israel to scare the PLO and prevent them from taking over during a significant attempt on the life of that Presi-

dent Hussein and taking over Jordan itself. He has no problem with that. Oh, no.

But now, watch. You know, there may be a few more Jews in Israel and they may even be scientists. Boy, that will scare the heck out of a lot of people.

He said, Jordan's Hussein did, just a few days ago, "We should have an Arab summit to forge a unified Arab stand against the snowballing danger of Soviet Jews to Israel." He said further, "In the name of human rights," he said to the Soviet Union, to Mikhail Gorbachev, "we call on you to quickly intervene, to stop the Soviet Jewish exodus which is considered another Jewish invasion of our homeland."

Is now Jordan saying that Israel is their homeland too?

After all, in light of the fact that 70 percent of Jordan, which used to be Transjordan, and which was part of Palestine, in light of the fact that 70 percent is Palestinian, that is a rather awkward statement to make.

And so in the context of those statements with no reply by this administration at all to any of them, where is Defense, where is the balance? You want to meddle in Israel's internal affairs, do you? You want to make statements calculated to make Shamir over the edge, do you? Well, you have.

But you have also emboldened those who are our sworn opponents to our policy, U.S. policy. And it gets worse.

Following on the heels of the President's remarks about East Jerusalem, the hostage holders in Beirut issued a statement that said they were going to attack the airliners bringing Soviet Jews to Israel.

They never said that before. Emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel has been going on for 10 years. They never once threatened to blow up an airliner carrying Jews to Israel to the Soviet Union until the President made that statement.

Now I am not by any stretch accusing the President of the United States of attempting in any way—and I mean this in all sincerity—foster any kind of rhetoric like that. But the point is that by using those words impliedly he gave comfort to those who would destroy our policy, who would thwart our foreign policy goals.

That is what is wrong with what the President said. It was historically incorrect, it was incorrect from the former foreign policy views of this country held over many years by many different administrations and from the current context of foreign policy totally inappropriate, calculated only to result in an increased tension, an increased incapability to bring the peace process forward; a weakening of our ally, not a strengthening of Israel but a weakening by bringing the government down. Also a rash of irrational threats, now, against Israel and against Jews because those people

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take comfort, unfortunately, in the message that is being sent.

The President did not intend that, and I know that, and I believe that, but I would beg this President and the Secretary of State and others in this administration who seek to make policy to bring peace in the Middle East to give much more serious thought to the consequences of the statements made when dealing on this issue.

Historically peace in this region has never been present. One need only look at the issue of Lebanon to see what goes on between peoples, even of the same religion.

Mr. President, I urge you to give much greater thought to the kinds of statements you make if you truly wish peace to be achieved in your term in that region. We all want to help you. Help us help peace break out in the Middle East, bring peace to Israel.

Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in reaffirming a fundamental truth about which there must be no ambiguity: Jerusalem has been and will remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

I want especially to thank and commend my good friend from Florida, Mr. Smith, for taking out time for the special order on this vital topic and also to commend my good friend from Ohio, Mr. FEIGHAN, for his special order on the same vital subject last week.

Mr. Speaker, at a time when conflicts in other parts of the world appear to be resolving themselves, the search for peace in the Middle East remains elusive.

I have publicly supported Bush administration efforts on the Mideast peace process and especially their efforts to bring the Shamir election plan to fruition. It has been a long process but, in my view, it is the only plan with any chance of success. As I have often done before, I want to commend Secretary Baker for his persistence and patience in trying to bring the parties together.

It is precisely because those efforts at long last seemed within an eyelash of succeeding that the events of the last several weeks are so disturbing. In particular the President's regrettable remark on East Jerusalem. A Washington Post headline from last week says it best: "Bush's Remark Undercut Peace Plan."

I believe the process was finally about to move forward. My conversations with senior officials in the Israeli Government 3 weeks ago led me to conclude that the Israeli Government would likely agree to the formula for tripartite talks advanced by Secretary Baker. Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens had already accepted such a formula.

In fact, published reports out of Israel the same weekend as the President's press conference indicated that Mr. Shamir was ready to sign on. Assuming those reports were true, my understanding was that the remaining stumbling block for the Prime Minister was Jerusalem. In other words, the administration knew that Jerusalem was the key issue on which Mr. Shamir sought reassurances. And yet, the President responded by contradicting previous American policy and essentially calling East Jerusalem "occupied territory."

Such a change is as offensive as it is wrong. The administration seems not to un-

derstand the universal consensus within Israel and the Jewish community that Jerusalem will never again be divided. While the President's letter to Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek was welcome in its reassurance that the United States will not support a divided Jerusalem, the letter had two flaws: first, the damage had already been done, and; second, it demonstrated little or no historical understanding concerning Jerusalem.

For Jerusalem was divided and occupied between 1948 and 1967 by Jordan, and that brought with it barbed wire and snipers. That brought with it complete denial by Jordan of access to the Jewish holy places. That brought with it a wholesale destruction of the city's Jewish heritage. And, ultimately, it brought on Israel's recapture of East Jerusalem in a war the Arabs started. As the April 2, New Republic, points out:

If the Arabs cared so desperately to maintain Arab dominion over the city, they should not have risked a war of annihilation . . . they lost the war, and so they lost the city.

No, Mr. Speaker, Jerusalem is not Jerusalem without its eastern half. To quote again from the New Republic:

Many hearts stir for Jerusalem, but no hearts stir more than Jewish hearts. If the faith and memory of Jews have an incarnation in a place, it is this city.

And so control of that half of this holy city will never again be turned over to anyone who might repeat the dastardly deeds noted above.

Furthermore, the President simply misstated American policy, which had never considered Jerusalem in the same category as the West Bank and Gaza. Jerusalem, rightly, was accorded a special status, one which recognized the unity of the city, which left it to the end of the negotiating process, which understood—even if implicitly—that Jerusalem, East and West, would forever remain the capital of the Jewish State.

President Bush chose to do otherwise. He chose to be the first American President to imply that Jews have no right to live in certain sections of that unique city called Jerusalem. His subsequent attempts at clarification do not change the fact that he said what he said.

As a consequence, Mr. Bush's statement has derailed the peace process. Indeed, the Washington Post story mentioned earlier starts by saying:

President Bush's recent comment . . . has led Israeli and American officials to question how a promising U.S. diplomatic effort to start peace talks in the Middle East came to be undermined by the President's own words.

And, make no mistake, Israelis across the political spectrum criticize the administration for contributing to the collapse of both peace efforts and the Israeli Government—probably the one government best able to deliver on an ultimate peace settlement.

Such liberal Israeli leaders as Shimon Peres, Teddy Kollek, and Simcha Diniz have made it clear that this administration is in part responsible for the current situation. Teddy Kollek himself was recently quoted in the New York Times saying, "Why did the White House have to bring it up? Why didn't they know that by shooting their mouth off, they would bring this on? They brought this on, not us."

In addition, the administration may well have lost the support of the American pro-Israel community for its approach on Mideast peace.

Many of Israel's strongest friends in Congress and around the country wanted to see the peace process proceed. They have gone out on a limb in urging the Prime Minister to say "yes." They have even been willing to hold their fire in the face of the more questionable administration actions and statements regarding the peace process, especially concerning the PLO. They have done all these things even though many remain uneasy about the ultimate direction of this administration when it comes to the Middle East.

We now understand that our worst fears have been realized: That the Republican platform and candidate Bush say one thing, but President Bush says another.

In recent weeks, in addition to the Jerusalem faux-pas, this administration has made three separate statements whose inevitable consequence was to reawaken deep Israeli fears with regard to American policy:

First, they supported "shaving" aid to Israel. Second, they continued to question the proposed loan guarantee for housing for Soviet Jews at the same time as these Jews face unprecedented peril in the U.S.S.R.

Third, they whitewashed PLO involvement in terror.

Coming as they did at such a delicate and significant time in our negotiations with Israel, the statements undermined Israel's ability to move forward, and highlighted the Bush administration's ineptitude in dealing with the Middle East peace process.

The point is crystal clear. Israelis of the right and left understand that this administration has set back prospects for peace. This development renders unlikely any possibility that the peace process can move forward in the immediate future, given the political turmoil in Israel.

Opportunities for success are rare in this region. Mr. Speaker, an opportunity was lost, and the White House has no one but itself to blame.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, Jerusalem is the ancient capital of Israel. Its importance to the Jewish people cannot be understated. Jerusalem is the only religious and national center the Jewish people have ever had. It is a place where the ancient Jewish heritage is preserved in a modern urban setting. It is important that the United States recognize the indivisibility of Jerusalem. Jerusalem must remain wholly a part of Israel.

I am reminded, Mr. Speaker, that U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which traditionally has been the basis of our policy toward peace in the Mideast, does not mention Jerusalem. This document calls for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in return for full peace and security guarantees from the Arab States. It is silent of Jerusalem. This silence is a recognition of Jerusalem's special status. United States policy must do the same.

The Jewish people have been the most numerous residents of Jerusalem for a century. However, Jerusalem was not united under Israeli control until the 1967 Arab attack. Over 2,000 Israeli lives have been lost uniting and defending Jerusalem. The Israeli people will

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never stand for ceding any portion of their capital city.

Of course, one must remember that Jerusalem is unlike any other city in the world. It is a holy place to three of the world's major religions. Since 1967, Israel has allowed access of all peoples to their holy grounds. Prior to that time, the Jewish people were denied access to their most cherished places of worship. Today, the opposite is true; the rights of all peoples are respected and even guaranteed by the Israeli Government.

As Americans, historically we have treasured our religious freedoms. The Israeli Government has made Jerusalem a model for these values which we hold so dear. Only Israel can ensure that these freedoms will continue to be respected.

It is clear, Mr. Speaker that Jerusalem is integral to the Israeli people. In addition, Jerusalem's special status and freedoms are best guaranteed by Israel. Consequently, the United States must continue to support Israel's claim to all Jerusalem.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to differ with President Bush's recent statements on Jerusalem.

In one phrase, he broke with a 20-year policy of tacit acceptance of permanent Israeli control over the unified city. Although the United States has never officially recognized Israeli sovereignty over the city to avoid disputes with Arab governments, the United States had never before protested any Israeli residence, construction, or the unified city government in Jerusalem. In this regard, Jerusalem had always been regarded as separate from other disputed territories, until this administration.

It had long been understood in Israeli and American circles that Israel would never relinquish control over Jerusalem, and would also insist on controlling the many strategic points captured in the 1967 war for the sake of its own military security. America's long-standing support for a unified Jerusalem had been seen as tacit acceptance of the Israeli stand.

Practically all Israelis insist that unified Jerusalem is the only possible capitol of Israel—which is why Israelis of every political stripe were so offended by Bush's statement. The belief that Jewish residence should be restricted in the eternal Jewish capitol has offended Israelis and Jews around the world. No Israelis consider the Western Wall negotiable, or the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem a settlement. The Old City had Jews in continuous residence for many centuries until 1948.

On Jerusalem I must strongly disagree with President Bush, and I feel confident that I do not stand alone, since the majority of Congress has agreed with me in the past. A majority of the House cosponsored a resolution in the 98th Congress to move the United States Embassy to Jerusalem and thus recognize Israeli sovereignty over the entire city. A similar resolution was cosponsored by a majority of the Senate. (H.R. 4877 and S. 2031)

Some prominent members of this administration appear to agree with me—Vice President DAN QUAYLE cosponsored the Senate resolution, as does HUD Secretary Jack Kemp who was on the House version.

The Bush administration has recently made a freeze in new settlements in captured territories a major demand on Israel, and even threatened to withhold aid for refugee housing

without the cutoff. In one swoop, the Bush administration reignited Israeli nationalism regarding the settlements and reopened a major sticking point in the coalition regarding negotiations with Palestinians. All this despite the fact that practically no Soviet Jews are moving into such territories.

The Israeli coalition government was willing to enter negotiations if Israeli security would not be threatened by the primary Arab threats to Jerusalem and the borders needed to protect Israel. Recent administration statements have only threatened that feeling of security needed to enter negotiations.

I reject the administration threat to withhold housing aid for Soviet Jews. It is a needless threat and undercuts the historic American support for emigration rights for Soviet Jews.

The administration approach to housing aid is not only unnecessary, it is also a poor political move since it plays into the hands of anti-negotiation Israelis who fear being bullied and blackmailed by the United States once they enter negotiations.

The recent administration comments on the status of Jerusalem, making new aid conditional on a needless official freeze on new settlements, and supporting cuts in current aid levels can all be seen as trying to bully the Israeli Government to change a policy. Why shouldn't Israelis fear being bullied into insecure borders once they enter negotiations?

In closing I must ask, if the administration really wanted to start the Israeli-Palestinian talks—why has it been causing unnecessary conflicts with the Israeli Government?

Recent American statements toward Israel have been less than fully supportive—I can easily understand the reluctance of Israel to enter into major territorial negotiations without the support of its major ally.

I can only hope that the Israelis are soon reassured that their United States ally will not turn against them. Only then will they confidently enter negotiations with Palestinian representatives and take the next step toward a peace agreement.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of my special order today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PICKETT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida? There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Maryland (Mrs. BENTLEY) is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mrs. BENTLEY addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. DURBIN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHNER) is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. BOEHNER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. GONZALEZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KYL) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, this week is the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the strategic defense initiative. It was on March 23, 1983, that then-President Reagan announced to the people of the United States that this country would embark upon a bold, imaginative program to defend the United States against any kind of a missile attack—deliberate or accidental, that might be launched against us. His program was called the strategic defense initiative, or SDI.

Some people called his program star wars. But what it is, initially, is a program of research by contractors, laboratories, our services, even some foreign cooperative ventures, to determine whether or not it would be possible to build a defense that could actually protect the United States against a ballistic missile attack or an accidental launch by someone not friendly to the United States.

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This research has progressed very, very well over the past 7 years to the point that we believe the President, the Secretary of Defense, and many Members of Congress believe that it will be possible to deploy an effective defense before the end of this century.

Tonight, what I would like to do, Mr. Speaker, is to address Members on this important topic during this anniversary week of the strategic defense initiative, to talk about the progress of the program, to answer some of the critics of the program, to describe its need in a new and changing world, and hopefully, to convince some of our more skeptical colleagues that the time has come to fully support the President's program when it comes to the time to appropriate funds, and to approve next year's funding level for the strategic defense initiative.

Now, of course, many people are under the erroneous assumption that the United States does have some kind of a protection against ballistic missiles. So the first thing that it is necessary to do is to understand that the

דתימות: סדרה	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
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בדח'ב. י. קרושלים

רצ'ב העעת החלטה בעגרת "החושת הקונגרס" שחציה תורם הקונגרסטמן אנגל במליאת כיהנ'ב.

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Whereas Jerusalem is the capital and the political, spiritual, and historical center of the State of Israel;

Whereas since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, Jerusalem has been the capital of the Jewish homeland;

Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a unified city, free and open to all people and all religions;

Whereas long-standing United States policy has sought a permanently unified Jerusalem;

Whereas the continued unity of Jerusalem, and the right of all peoples to live and worship within Jerusalem, can never be compromised and are not negotiable;

Whereas recent statements by the President and other administration officials have cast doubt on the policy of the United States with regard to the status of Jerusalem;

Whereas the United States has a special and enduring relationship with the State of Israel; and

Whereas efforts to achieve peace between Israel and its neighbors must enhance, not erode, the security of Israel: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
- 2 *concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that--*
- 3 (1) the United States should fully and unequivocally
- 4 support the unified status of Jerusalem;
- 5 (2) the United States should continue to recognize

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1 that a unified Jerusalem is an integral part of the State
2 of Israel;

3 (3) all efforts of the United States Government to
4 achieve peace in the Middle East should take into account
5 the close relationship between the United States and
6 Israel as well as Israel's legitimate security needs; and

7 (4) efforts to advance the peace process must not
8 call into question the status of Jerusalem.

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*Introduced on 3/20.
with Cong. Dan Burton*

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101ST CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. _____

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. ENGEL submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on _____

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

In support of the unified status of Jerusalem.

סודי

יוצא **

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חוזם: 3,19198
 אל: ווש/756, בטחון/1093, מנמת/1089, מצב/2594
 מ-: המשד, תא: 220390, זח: 1508, דח: מ, סג: 10
 תח: גס: אירופה
 נד: 8

62175
 סודי/מיד

אל: וושינגטון

דע: אטלנטה (בדיפ'), משהב'ט המתאם, אמ'ן
 ביקור קרטור - סיכום (מברק ראשון מתוך ארבעה)
 א. כללי

1. הנשיא לשעבר ג'ימי קרטור ביקר בארץ מה-18 עד ה-20 דנא. התלוו אליו דעייתו (שרשמה תוכן שיחותיו) והפרופ' קן שטיין ממרכז קרטור.

2. לבקשתו של קרטור, תיאמנו לו שיחות עם אישים ישראלים - נפגש (לפי הסדר הבא) עם ראש עיריית ירושלים, נשיא המדינה (א'צ עם אורחי הנשיא), ס/דה'מ ושר השיכון, ח'כ שמעון פרס, ח'כ עזר וייצמן, המנכ"ל, שה'ח (א'ע עם אורחי השר ולמחרת, ב-19.3, שיחה עם השר במשרד), השרים דן מרידור ואהוד אולמרט, ר' אמ'ן ועוזרו להערכה, המתאם וקציני צה"ל בכירים העוסקים בשטחים, וח'כ יצחק רבין.

3. כ'כ ביקר במרכז הקליטה במבשרת ציון, במוזיאון ירושלים ובאוניברסיטת ת"א (א'צ עם פרופ' בן-שחר ומדענים העוסקים בדמוקרטיה בישראל וש'ת כלכלי באזור מזה'ת, ואחר כך נפגש עם ראשי מרכז דיין וסטודנטים משתלמים). כן השתתף בק'פ ('ארוחת ארבע') שערך לכבודו שג'ארה'ב עם רבים מתוך 'ותיקי ק'ד'.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4. בנוסף בילה יום שלם עם אישים פלסטינאים וגורמים פלסטינאים וישראלים העוסקים בתחום ז'א. התוכנית, שאורגנה ע"י הקונכ"ל האמריקאי בירושלים, כללה ביקורים במשרדי אל-חאק, 'בצלם' ובאגודה הפלסטינאית לעניינים בינלאומיים, א'צ עם אנשי בריאות פלסטינאים, שיחה עם אלייס פרייג', ק'ע עם נכבדים פלסטינאים בבית הקונכ"ל וא'ע עם פייצל אל-חוסייני וצארי אל-נוסייבה (גם אצל הקונכ"ל).

5. בכל מקום שניתן, שוחחו עם אנשי התקשורת ואף ערך מסיבת עיתונאים לפני צאתו את הארץ.

6. לא נסע לתוניס כמתוכנן מאחר וערפאת הוּלִיט ליטול חלק בחגיגות לרגל עצמאות נמיביה. במקום זאת, המריא לקפריסין להזמנת הנשיא וואסיליוס שהציע לו להתעניין בסכסוך באי.

7. עם זאת, הודיע לא פעם על כוונתו להפגש עם ערפאת במועד שיהיה להם נוח.

8. הודיע גם שידווח למזכיר בייקר על סיורו זה במזה'ת (מצרים, סוריה, ירדן, ישראל).

ג. מטרת הביקור

1. רשמית, בא להתעדכן וכן לעניין ממשלות וגורמים אקדמאים ואחרים באזור - בסמינר שמרכז קרטז עומר לקייט בסתיו על הקורלציה בין השלום להתקדמות כלכלית (במקרו, במישור אזורי ומדינות; ובמיקרו, במישור משפחות ובודדים). הסמינר יהיה רב-משתתפים, ובין היתר יוזמנו נציגי AID, הבנק העולמי, ומוסדות בינלאומיים נוספים מחד, ומשקיעים פרטיים (מיצן, רפ'ג וכו') מאידך. אנשי אוניברסיטת ת'א הביעו עניין רב בסמינר.

2. באופן בלתי רשמי, עלה בבירור שקרטז מוכן ואף רוצה למלא תפקיד בעשיית השלום באזורנו. כבר רכש לעצמו שם עולמי כמתווך בסכסוכים אחרים (באתיופיה ועוד) וכמזבן מאליו רואה בהסכמי ק'ד מנוף למעורבותו מחדש באזורנו. אמר בפידוש לשר לוי כי במידת הצורך, ישמח להיות לעזר לצדדים בנסיונותיהם לפתור את הסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי.

ג. מסרים ונימות

1. המצב בעולם הערבי. סקו בפני ראש אמ'ן ואחרים את רשמיו

א. תחת עמדת שירותי הבריאות הממשלתיים והחברתיים, וכן תחת עמדת התעשייה והמסחר, הוצגו עקרונות ודרישות להקמת מערכת ארבע-מפלגתית, המבוססת על שוויון הזדמנויות, פתוחות כלכלית, צדק חברתי, ופיתוח משותף לכל שכבות הציבור, תוך שמירה על ערכי המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

ב. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

ג. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

ד. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

ה. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

ז. אחריות הממשלה

א. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

ב. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

ג. אחריות הממשלה

ד. הממשלה תמשיך להוביל את תהליכי הרפורמה הכלכלית, החברתית והמשפטית, תוך שמירה על הערכים המרכזיים של המשפט הישראלי, והבטחת המשפט הישראלי כמובן.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מסירתו זה ומשיחות אחרות עם מנהיגי ערב.
המסר העיקרי: כמעט כל מדינות ערב נכונות לשלום עם ישראל
ותהיינה מוכנות לנהל שיחות שלום עמנו רק במסגרת ועידה
בינלאומית (דווח אינטגרטיבי על נושא זה בנפרד).

2. סוריה. אסד מוכן לשיחות על הגולן (פירוז הדדי) ועל שאלות
אחרות (כגון פירוק נשק) במסגרת ועידה בינלאומית. ראו-נא
מברקנו 281. השלמות בנפרד.

3. הסכמי ק'ד. הסכמים אלה עדיין VALUABLE AND VIABLE. ישראל
עדיין מחוייבת להם ואילו מבחינת הפלסטינאים יש בהם נכסים
חשובים כגון הכרה בזכויותיהם, קבלת החלטות 242 ו-338 מצד
הליכוד (כדברי קרטר), מסגרת לניהול מו"מ, אוטונומיה מלאה
(מלאה, לדרישת רה"מ בגין) ועוד.
עם זאת, מובן מאליו שלא ניתן להשתמש בכינוי 'קמפ דינויד'.

4. שיחות בקהיר בין ישראל ופלסטינאים. במידה ויתקיימו, מוטב
לאפשר השמעת נאומי פתיחה. הנסיון מלמד שהצדדים, במקום לשפוך
את זעמם, מנסים להציג את עצמם בצורה חיובית בפני העולם כולו
ולכן בד"כ נאומים כאלה הם קונסטרוקטיביים.

5. זכויות האדם. ישראל מפרה את זכויות האדם של הפלסטינאים.
כפי שעולה מלקטי העתונות הישראלית שהועברו בפקס, קרטר לא
הסתיר את דיעותיו בסוגייה זו, לא בשיחות הושמיות ולא בפני
והתקשורת. דבריו זוכים גם לזד חזק בתקשורת הזרה (ניו-יורק
טיימס מ-19.3 ועוד). פירוט בנפרד.

6. ירושלים. כבר בק'ד הסכימו בגין וסאדאת שהעיר לא תחולק
מחדש. כשלעצמו קרטר נאמן למדיניות ארה"ב המוצהרת, אך מעריך
שבוע עשה משגה בהבלטת הנושא כיום. רואה בחיוב מכתב בוש
לקולק אך לדעתו היה רצוי להשאיר נושא זה לסוף התהליך. העריף
שבחים על טדי קולק ('תוזת הפיקוח שלך, יש כאן בירושלים הבעה
חשובה של חירות, שיתוף פעולה והרמוניה בתנאים קשים ביותר',
'...אנו מתגאים בך, טדי'). שמע מקולק על הקשיים שנתעוררו
במשך ארבע השנים האחרונות בושגת רשיונות לבניית 4,500
יחידות דיור עבור ערבים בירושלים, והעלה נושא זה בפני רה"מ
והמתאם, בטיעון שעצם מתן הרשיונות ובניין יחידות אלה ישפרו
תדמיתנו שעה שאנו מרבים לבנות שיכונים ליהודים בעיר.

7. אתיופיה. מעוניין מאד באתיופיה ובשלמותה. בשנה שעברה
בילה 20 יום שם ועוד 6 ימים בסודאן. המשך שיחות השלום ברומא
יהיה בין ה-8 וה-22 באפריל.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the editor, dated 1955. It discusses the author's interest in the subject of the book and the reasons for writing it. The author mentions that the book is a result of his long-standing interest in the field and that he has gathered a wealth of material over the years. He also mentions that the book is intended for a general audience and that he has tried to make it as accessible as possible. The letter concludes with a request for the editor's consideration of the book for publication.

2. The second part of the document is a preface to the book. It provides a brief overview of the book's content and the author's approach. The author explains that the book is divided into two main parts: the first part deals with the history and development of the subject, and the second part deals with the current state of the field and the author's own research. He also mentions that the book is intended to be a comprehensive survey of the subject and that he has included a large amount of detail. The preface concludes with a statement of the author's hope that the book will be of interest and value to the reader.

3. The third part of the document is the first chapter of the book. It is titled "The History of the Subject" and discusses the development of the field from its early beginnings to the present. The author traces the roots of the subject back to the work of the great scientists of the past and discusses the contributions of the various schools of thought. He also mentions the influence of the social and cultural context on the development of the field. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the current state of the field and the author's own research.

4. The fourth part of the document is the second chapter of the book. It is titled "The Current State of the Field" and discusses the most recent developments in the field. The author reviews the work of the leading researchers and discusses the current debates and controversies. He also mentions the influence of the latest scientific discoveries on the field. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the author's own research and his conclusions.

5. The fifth part of the document is the third chapter of the book. It is titled "The Future of the Field" and discusses the author's views on the future of the field. He discusses the challenges and opportunities that the field faces and offers his own suggestions for the way forward. He also mentions the importance of interdisciplinary research and the need for a more holistic approach to the study of the subject. The chapter concludes with a statement of the author's hope that the book will contribute to the advancement of the field.

6. The sixth part of the document is the fourth chapter of the book. It is titled "The Role of the Scientist" and discusses the author's views on the role of the scientist in society. He discusses the responsibilities of the scientist and the importance of ethical considerations. He also mentions the need for the scientist to be a good communicator and to be able to explain their work to the general public. The chapter concludes with a statement of the author's hope that the book will help to raise the public's awareness of the role of the scientist.

7. The seventh part of the document is the fifth chapter of the book. It is titled "The Author's Acknowledgments" and discusses the author's gratitude to the many people who have helped him in the process of writing the book. He mentions his family, his friends, and his colleagues, and expresses his appreciation for their support and encouragement. The chapter concludes with a statement of the author's hope that the book will be of interest and value to the reader.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בעבר פעל עבור יהודי אתיופיה ונענה לבקשת המנכ"ל להמשיך לעשות למען יציאתם במסגרת 'איחוד משפחות על בסיס הומניטרי'.

8. נעדר צה"ל. לא העלה נושא זה בפני אסד ולא נענה לבקשת המשפחות להפגש עמן כאן. אינו משוכנע שהנעדרים עודם בחיים, אך מוכן לקבל חומר נחוב עליהם - לעיונו ולשיקולו.

9. שלושת יהודי סוריה העצורים. כן העלה נושא זה בפני שה"ח של סוריה, והלה אמר כי יעשה מה שניכולתו למענם. בביקורו האחרון בדמשק הצליח קרטז להביא לשיחרורם של חמישה יהודים סוריים, ולהערכתו אין להוציא מכלל אפשרות הצלחה גם הפעם.

10. יהודי לבנון חטופים. לא ידע על נושא זה ומבקש חומר בכתב. להערכת קן שטיין, לא ירצה קרטז להעמיס על אסד עוד נושא כזה עת שמטפלים בעצורים היהודיים הסורים, אך יתכן שיוכלו לפעול אם יצא להם להפגש באחו מהימים עם הנשיא הראוני.

ג. סיכום

1. קרטז לא הפתיע. בשיחותיו עם שרים ואחרים שנע נחמדות מתוך עניין לחדש ולחמם יחסיו עם מנהיגים ישואליים, שמא המצב הפוליטי והמדיני וההתפתחויות בתהליך השלום יאפשרו שובו לזירה. עם זאת, לא הסתיר דיעותיו הידועות וברור שלא רק הפלסטינאים שפגש כאן אלא גם מנהיגי ערב (מוזאק, אסד וחוסייין) עמם נפגש עשו עליו רושם חזק - וחיובי.

2. בעניין זכויות האדם הוא מזדהה נפשית ואמוציונלית עם הפלסטינאים. לא היסט לומר לרה"מ ולאחרים שלאור מקום המשפחה בדת היהודית ודאגת היהודים לשלמות המשפחה במשך הדורות וגם לנוכח מאמציו האישיים למען איחוד המשפחות של יהודי ברי"מ, כואב לו מאד לראות מה אנו עושים למשפחות פלסטינאיות. בשיחה עם הח"מ אמר ש'לו הייתי פלסטיני ולו היו מפרידים אותי מאשתי ומילדי, הייתי מתקומם בצורה אלימה מזמן ולא הייתי ממתין עשרים שנה'. כ"כ, לאחר הביקור במבשות ציון (שריגש אותו מאד) אמר 'החרדות מפוגרומים וכיו"ב המפחידות יהודי ברי"מ כיום עוברות הלכה למעשה על הפלסטינאים כעת'.

3. כלפי חוץ הביקור התנהל על מי מנוחות אך מתחת לפני השטח רבו המתיחויות. קן שטיין התנהג בארוגנטיות רבה וניסה להשתלט על כל הסידורים. מנע משגריר ארה"ב מלהשתתף בכל השיחות עם

התאחדות העובדים הכללית
התאחדות העובדים הכללית

התאחדות העובדים הכללית
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התאחדות העובדים הכללית
התאחדות העובדים הכללית

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שרים ואף עמד בפני הח'מ בכניסה לשיחות עם פרס ורביין,
בהפליטו ש'אתם מכריחים אותנו לשאת בהוצאות הביקור ולפיכך
'הביקור שלנו' ואנו נחליט מי ישתתף במה'. לא הוזמן לא'ע
מטעם שה'ח.

מנהל מצפ'א

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, (אמן), בנצור,
מצפא, סי'יבל, משפט, סולטן, מזת'ים, ברנע, ארבל'2 244

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חוזם: 3,19201
 אל: 757/ווש, בטחון/1094, מצב/2595, מנמת/1090
 מ-: המשדר, תא: 220390, זח: 1509, חמ: מ, ג: ס
 תח: @ ג: ס צפא
 נד: @

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 סודי/מיד

אל: וושינגטון

דע: אטלנטה (בדיפ')

דע: לשכת שוב'ט, המתאם

ביקור קרט - זכויות האדם. (מברק שני מתוך ארבעה מברקי סיכום).

1. עניין זכויות האדם של הפלסטינאים היה ההיבט הקשה ביותר בביקור קרט. לרה'מ הוא אמר שמתרחשות בשטחים הפרות חמורות של זכויות האדם. כשהתייחס לנושא המשפחות המופרדות, העיר רה'מ כי פרטי הפרטים אינם ידועים לו והיפנה אותו למתאם. בשיחה עם הח'מ אחרי הביקור במשרת ציון, העיר קרט בהתרגשות - 'מה שקורה במרכז הקליטה מראה כמה טוב ויפה הכל יכול להיות בישראל, אך הפרות זכויות הפלסטינאים גורמות לי לבכות...'. 'איך אתם יכולים להרשות כאלה דברים?' עוד אמר רה'מ שמיר טוען שאין לו הפרטים, אך גורן (המתאם) אינו מתפקד בזולל הריק...'. 'גורן עושה והישראלי ברחוב אינו יודע מה קורה'.

2. הכתבות בעתונות הישראלית (ג'רוסלם פורט, על המשמר ועוד) ובעתון ניו-יורק טיימס משקפות נאמנה דברי קרט ברבים. בשיחותיו עם שרים ועם המתאם הוא התמקד בד'כ בשני נושאים - מצב הבריאות בשטחים ומשפחות מופרדות. באשו לנושא הראשון חזר לא פעם על דברים ששמע במפגשו עם אנשי בריאות פלסטינאים כאילו הירדנים בנו 8 בתי חולים בגדה והישראלים סגרו 3 מהם

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(ואף הפכו אחד למתקן כליאה); מספר המיטות בבתי החולים בשטחים לא עלה מאז 1967 למרות הגידול במספר התושבים - ודבר זה, לדברי קרט, 'אינו קביל בכלל'. באשר למשפחות מופרדות, מסר קרט לרה"מ כי לטענת הירדנים הופרדו 281 משפחות בשנה האחרונה (אצל המתאם ובמרכז דיין נקב במספר של 251). חזר פעם אחר פעם לשלושה מקרים של דבריו הוא בוק בירדן. לבקשת מזכיר הממשלה (בשיחה עם רה"מ), הסכימ למסור פרוטים בכתב לבדיקת המתאם והלה בשיחתו עם קרט אישר קבלת המידע והבטיח לשלוח לו תשובה תוך ימים אחדים.

3. בפנל שערך לו המתאם במשרד הבטחון, קטע קרט בתרעומת מה את דברי האחראי לבריאות בשטחים, ד"ר סבר, וזקק שורה ארוכה של טענות ותלונות (חלקן בצורת שאלות) שאישים פלסטינאים השמיעו בנינו ואשר הוא אינו יודע אם הן נכונות ושאינו יכול לבדוק:

- הנשיא החדש של אגודת עורכי הדין (לא פירט היכן) אינו יכול להשיג רשיון לנסוע לירדן.
- מאזן הסחר הינו לטובת ישראל באופן מסיבי.
- ראש עיריית ירושלים אינו יכול להשיג רשיונות בנייה ל-4,500 יחידות דיוור עבור ערבים בירושלים.
- בפועל בג'ץ אינו יכול לפעול במקרה של עירעור מצו תושב השטחים כי השלטונות הצבאיים מוציאים צוו מונע נגד בג'ץ.
- היעד העיקרי של מדיניות ישראל בשטחים הינו להכריח את תושבי השטחים לעזוב.
- כשמשאבים זרים זמינים לפרוייקטים בשטחים, הפרוייקט אינו זוכה לאישור אם יש בו כדי להתחרות עם תעשייה או יצרנים בישראל (הצביע על בקשה לפתוח מפעל מלט בוברון ומוגרה לאפרוחים במקום אחר).
- נושא מספר בתי החולים ומספר המיטות בום כנסעף 2 דלעיל.
- אינם מתירים לרופאים פלסטינאים לשפר את הכשרתם הרפואית (בניגוד לרופאים מדרום אפריקה).
- אינם נותנים רשיונות לאמבולנסים.
- לא ניתן להשתמש בשירותי בתי החולים בישראל ומחירי בתי החולים הפרטיים בשטחים גבוהים מאו.
- אין ספרייה רפואית בכל הגדה.
- מטילים מסים בשיעור של אחוז 70 על כל תרומה מחו"ל לשיפור שירותי הבריאות בשטחים.
- משלמים מסים והשלטונות אינם מפרסמים התקציב. לכן אינם יודעים כיצו השלטונות משתמשים בהכנסות אלה ובעיני התושבים המסים שהם משלמים מוקדשים למימון מערך עושיק.
- מאז פרוץ האינתיפאדה נעצרו 100,000 אנשים שהם 1 מתוך כל

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ארבעה גברים בשטחים.

4. קרטן קיבל תשובות לחלק מהשאלות והנקודות הנ"ל (ולאחרות שהעלה בשיחות אחרות). הירבה לדבר על המשפחות המופרדות אך לא ידע על אלפי הפלסטינאים שחזרו במסגרת תכנית איחוד המשפחות. הופתע לשמוע שישראל לא סגרה אף בית חולים אלא הוסיפה אחר חדר ביו"ש וכעת עומדת לפתוח אחד נוסף בעזה. הופתע גם ללמוד שהממשל עומד לפרסם בקרוב תקציב לשנה זו.

אולם בשל אילוצי הזמן לא קיבל הסברים מורחבים וספק אם השתכנע מהמעט ששמע. אחרי הסבר הפצ'ר שעמד על הכללים המיוחדים בחוק הבינלאומי לשמירת ז'א בשטחים כבושים, העיר קרטן שהמקרים והדוגמאות שהובאו בפניו להזים טענותיו היו 'סלקטיביים מאוד'.

5. בשיחה עם המתאם, רשם לפניו דברי גורן לפיהן אנו מעוררים ומזמינים סיוע כספי מבחוץ, שיימסר באופן ישיר לתושבי השטחים, ללא התערבות המימשל האזרחי, בלבד שיהיה לטובת האוכלוסיה המקומית. בשיחה פרטית לאחר מכן, העיר לי השגריר האמריקאי כי זהו 'A POWERFUL STATEMENT' ואין ספק שקרטן יביאו לידיעת אחרים. עוד לפני השיחה עם המתאם, סיפר קרטן לשגריר על מכר יפני עשיר שרצה לתרום טכום גדול למיזם בשטחים אך נסוג לאחר שנדרש לתת הבטחה שוהכספי לא יגיע לידי אנשי אש"ף.

6. כמו-כן, בשיחה עם המתאם הזכיר קרטן את דברי שהב"ט רבין כי לא יהיו עוד מקרים של פירוד משפחות. מכאן שאל לגבי 251 המשפחות שהופרדו בשנה האחרונה. התרשט מאד מתשובת המתאם שנעת מתכננים האיחוד מחדש של משפחות אלה. יצויין כי השגריר האמריקאי (ויש להניח קרטן) הבין את התשובה כאילו כל אחת מהמשפחות האלה תאוחד מחדש ולא תהיינה עוד נשים נשואות מופרדות מבעליהן.

7. לבסוף, גם אצל המתאם, הגישה גב' קרטן נייר ובו פרטים על שני מקרים - האחד בעניין משפחה מופרדת והשני בעניין עצור הסובל מבעיות בריאות במתקן כליאה. המתאם הטכים לבדוק מקריט אלה ובתום השיחה טוח קן שטיין לציין כי בשל קוצו הזמן אינם יכולים להגיש פרטים לגבי כל המקרים הידועים להם, ולכן רצונו לבקש שהמתאם יתייחס לשני המקרים האלה כאל 'GENERIC EXAMPLES' של שתי בעיות כלליות. בדרך לנתב'ג דאג שטיין להזכיר לזוג קרטן כיצד פעל...

מנול מצפ"א

1. The first part of the document...

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records. It states that the records should be kept in a secure location and should be accessible to all authorized personnel. The records should also be updated regularly to reflect any changes in the data. This is essential for ensuring the integrity and reliability of the information. The document also mentions that the records should be reviewed periodically to ensure they are still relevant and accurate.

The second part of the document describes the procedures for handling sensitive information. It outlines the steps that should be taken to protect this information from unauthorized access or disclosure. This includes limiting access to only those who have a legitimate need to know, as well as using encryption and other security measures to protect the data. The document also emphasizes the importance of training personnel on these procedures to ensure they are followed correctly.

The third part of the document discusses the role of the data in decision-making. It explains how the data can be used to identify trends, patterns, and areas for improvement. This information is crucial for making informed decisions and developing effective strategies. The document also notes that the data should be analyzed in a timely manner to ensure that the information is still relevant and useful.

The fourth part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records, protecting sensitive information, and using the data for decision-making. The document concludes by stating that these practices are essential for ensuring the success of any organization.

2. The second part of the document...

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תנ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, דם, ס(אמן), ממד,
בנצור, מצפא, סי יבל, משפט, סולטן, מזת ים, ברנע, ארבל

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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תאריך 22.03.90

** יוצא **
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שמו

חוזם: 3,19203
אל: וושינגטון/343, בטחון/1096, מנמת/1091, מצב/2596
מ-: המשד, תא: 220390, זוז: 1513, ח: מ, ס: ג, ש: מ
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שמו/מיד

אל: וושינגטון

דע: אטלנטה (בדיפ')

דע: משהב'ט, לשנת ר' אמ'ן

ביקור קרט - המצב במדינות ערב. (מברק שלישי מתוך ארבעה מברקי סיכום).

1. הנושא עלה בעיקר בשיווה עם ר' אמ'ן (20.3). להלן מתוך דברי קרט כפי שנרשמו במברק מאת אל'מ צבי שטאובר (ע' ר' אמ'ן להעזכה):

א. ערפאת ביטל את הפגישה עם קרט. למנהיג אש'ף היתה מעורבות בקדום הפתרון בנמיביה.

ב. הסעודים אינם אנטי-ישראליים. הט בעד יציבות ושלוש. תומכים בקמפ דיוד ויתמכו גם בשיחות ישראליות-פלסטיניות.

ג. עיראק היא המדינה שממנה צריך לפחד במיוחד. קרט הוזמן מספר פעמים לעיראק, אולם היא לא רואה טעם לבקר שם. אם יהיה תהליך לקראת הסדר, עיראק תהיה מבודדת ומעמדה ישחק. אולם, קפאון עלול להציב את עיראק כנדבך מרכזי בחזית פעילה עויינת לישראל.

ד. ירדן מפחדת באמת מישראל וממדיניותה, אותה היא מפרשת כמכוונת לעודד הגירת פלסטינים מישראל לתחומה. ירדן מעוניינת הסכם שלום (תחת מטריה בינ'ל), שתייצב את הבעיה הפלסטינית לתחומה.

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למעשה, ירדן היא המדינה הערבית היחידה שיש לה עניין ממשי בנושא הפלסטיני. ההתעסקות של המצרים ובעיקר של הסורים היא הרבה יותר שטחית ועם הרבה פחות מחוייבות. התהליך הדמוקרטי בירדן הוא בלתי הפיך. חוסיין לא יכול לחזור בו, אם ינסה לחזור בו לא בטוח שיצליח לשרוד.

הכל מדינות ערב סובלות מבעיות כלכליות חמורות. מצבה של סוריה טוב יותר יחסית מאשר לפני 3 שנים, בשל גילוי הנפט והגז.

1. בשיחותיו עם קרט, ביטא אסד רגשות מעורבים: פוחד מעיראק, אם כי אמר שיש אפשרות לשפור היחסים עמה.

נשיא סוריה הביע גאווה על יחסיו החדשים עם מובארק שלטענתו יש בהם משום קבלת תנאיו (אין פירוט).

2. קרט חזר על דבריו לגבי מה שאסד הסמיכו לאמר בפומבי. לטענתו, אסד מוכן לפתיחת המו"מ בהוסות שתי המעצמות/5 החברות הקבועות במועבי"ט, שלאחריה יתנהלו שיחות בילטרליות בין ישראל וסוריה.

לדבריו, אסד שולל את רעיון המשלחת הערבית המאוחדת ומוכן לפרוץ, במשתמע, הדדי.

3. בשיחותיו עם הצד הערבי הודגש בפניו שוב ושוב כי ישראל לא רוצה שלום וכי היא נסוגה מהתחייבותיה לגבי 242 ו-338.

4. בשיחותיו עם המנהיגים הערביים (לא העלה את הנושא בירדן), אף אחד לא הכחיש שיש לו יכולת כימית. לדבריהם, זוהי הדרך הזולה לנשק התרעתי מול ישראל. נאמר לו (במשתמע, אסד), כי מוכנים לשיחות עם

ישראל בסוגיית פרוק הנשק האסטרטגי. קרט לא יכול לקבוע כמה זה רציני.

5. הנושא הלבנוני הוא אובססיה עבור אסד. דיבר על לבנון יותר מכל נושא אחר. לטענתו, הסגסג טאאייפ הוא הבסיס היחיד לקראת התקדמות לפתרון בלבנון. האשים את ישראל בתמיכה בעוון ובג'עג'ע במטרה לעשות לסוריה את החיים קשים.

6. אסד אמר, כי הוא נכון לסגת מלבנון, אם יהיה הסדר יציב ואט ישראל תיסוג מדר'ל. קרט לא יודע כמה אפשר לבטוח באסד בנושא זה.

7. נשיא סוריה מאד להוט לשפר את היחסים עם ארה"ב.

עד כאן.

8. להלן מספר השלמות מתוך הופעת קרט במרכז דיין ומתוך שיחותיו האחרות:

א. סעודיה - מנהיגיה אמידים מופלגים והעושר מרוכז בידי עטייט. זו אחת מהסיבות שהם מעוניינים ביציבות ושלום. אינם אווקים (FERVENT) בנושא הפלסטינאים וזכויותיהם.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ב. ירדן - פחדיה מ ישראל אינם נובעים מאיום צבאי מצדנו כביכול, אלא מהתבטאויותיהט של מנהיגים ישראלים כגון שמיר ושרון לפיהן 'ירדן הינה פלסטיין' וכן מהמדיניות הישראלית - אשר, לדברי קרט, לא ניתן להכחישה - מכריחה את הפלסטינאים לעזוב את השטחים ו'כופה' אותם על ירדן. (אצל רה"מ, נקב קרט במספו של 45,000 פלסטינאים שלטענת הירדנים עברו לירדן בשנה שחלפה, בעוד שבמרכז דיין דיבר על 26,000 פלסטינאים - אך 'הפרינציפ', ולא המספו, חשוב'. הירדנים משוכנעים שאנו חותרים לפנוי הדרך והמקום בפני עולים מבריה"מ. הם טוענים שאינם מתנגדים להגירה יהודית, אן היה וישראל תמשיך ליישב עולים בשטחים, 'לרבות מזרח ירושלים', תתמיד ירדן במסע שלה נגד העלייה ולהערכתו של קרט תצליח להטיל חישוקים על עליה זו.

ג. סוריה - בנפרד.

ד. השלום באזור - מצרים רוצה באורח כנה מאו בהשגת השלום הכולל. בק'ד הם ניסו לקדם את אינטרסי הפלסטינאים, וחוסר הוהתקומות בעניין האוטונומיה הביך אותם מאד. הפלסטינאים והירדנים הינם EAGER לשלום, והסורים 'נכונים' לשלום. מאידך, יש לפזר מעיראק ואם הקפאון בתהליך השלום יימשך קיימת האפשרות שאסד וצדאם חוסיין יישרו את ההידורים והגבול המשותף שלהם ייפתח מחדש. עיראק תהפוך ל-FOCAL POINT. יתכן שירדן ואף סעודיה ובסופו של דבר מצרים יצטרפו אליה.

עד כאן.

מנהל מצפ'א

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, דס, (אמן), ממז',
בנצור, מצפא, סי יבל, משפט, סולטן, מזתים, ברנע, ארבל

0406 ***** מספר תלף ומספר בג"מ 70 - 5376867

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records and the role of the accounting department in providing reliable financial information to management and external stakeholders. It highlights the need for transparency and accountability in all financial transactions.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze financial data, including the use of spreadsheets, databases, and specialized accounting software. It emphasizes the importance of data integrity and security in the digital age.

3. The third part of the document discusses the challenges faced by accountants in the current business environment, such as the increasing complexity of financial transactions, the rapid pace of technological change, and the need for continuous professional development. It offers strategies for overcoming these challenges and staying ahead of the curve.

4. The fourth part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and conclusions of the study, highlighting the importance of a strong accounting foundation for long-term business success.

5. The fifth part of the document includes a list of references and sources used in the research, providing a comprehensive overview of the current state of the field.

6. The sixth part of the document contains a list of appendices and supplementary materials, including detailed financial statements and supporting documents.

7. The seventh part of the document provides a list of contact information for the authors and the research team, including email addresses and phone numbers. It also includes a list of acknowledgments and a list of funding sources.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 22.03.70

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מ:-המשרד, תא:220390, ח:1513, מ:מ, ס:מ

תח:8 גס:צפא

ג:ד

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שמוך/מיד

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אל: וושינגטון

וע: אטלנטה (בדיפ')

דע: משהב'ט; לשכת ר' אמ'ן

ביקור קרטור - סוריה (מברק רביעי מתוך ארבעה מברקי סיכום)

מעבר לשיחה עם המנכ"ל (מברקי 281 לווינגטון), הנושא עלה ברוב הפגישות ובאריכות אצל ר' אמ'ן ובמרכז דיין. כ"כ קרטור העלה אותו ביוזמתו עם התקשורת בטענתו שהוא מוסמך ע"י אסד לזר פומבית על נכונות סוריה לשיחות בילטרליות במסגרת ועידה בינלאומית. להלן מספר השלמות והבהרות למברק הנ"ל ולמברק ע' ר' אמ'ן להערכה (המועבר בנפרד).

א. שיחות כלליות - שיחות פר'ן

1. מדברי קרטור עולה שאסד מוכן לשני סטים של שיחות.

קרטור לא היה מוסמך לדבר על הסט השני (שיחות פר'ן) והדגיש בתשובה לשאלה במרכז דיין ובהזדמנויות אחרות שהוא מעביר את 'התושמות', על יסוד הכרותו את אסד ושיחותיו האחרונות עמו. קרטור לא (חוזר לא) מסר, כפי שמסר הסנטור ספקטור (מזכרי מ-18.1 לס/מנכ"ל צפ"א ופר'ן) כי אסד עומד קודם על השגת פתרון כולל ורק לאחר מכן יהיה ניתן לדון בנושאים אחרים,

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

לדבות ענייני פר'ן.

2. באשר לגולן, מובן שאסד דורש הוזהרתו, ובתוך כן מוכן לדון בפירוז הדדי. באשר לשיחות פר'ן, אסד לא יהיה מוכן, לדברי קרט, לדון בנושא חל'כ בלבד.

לשיטתו של אסד, נשק זה הינו מענה זול לנשק גרעיני ולפיכך הוא ידרוש הכללת נושא הגרעין בשיחות. מבחינתו אין טעם לדון בנושא חל'כ מבלי לדון ביכולת הגרעינית של ישראל.

3. בתשובה לפרופ' איתמר רבינוביץ ששאל במרכז דיין מה חדש ב'מסר של אסד נוסח 1990' (בוהתחשב בנכונותו להשתתף בוועידה בינלאומית מאז ועידת ג'נבה בשנות ה-70) הצביע קרט על שני אלמנטים:

א) הצימצום בתמיכה הסובייטית/המזא'רית, דבר שמביא אותו לפעול לנירמול יחסיו עם המערב ועם ארה"ב בפרט.
ב) בטחוננו העצמי המוגבר של אסד בעקבות גלויי נפט וגז טבעי.

4. עם ר' אמ'ן, קרט טען שאסד שינה עמדתו (המסורתית) לגבי השתתפות בוועידה בינלאומית, ועתה אינו (חוזר אינו) עומד על משלחת ערבית מאוחדת. לזברי קרט, אסד נכון לכל חלוקה של העולם הערבי למרכיבים בילטוליים סביריט' - דהיינו, ישואל-סוריה, ישראל-ירדן, ישראל-פלסטינאים ועוד.

5. יש לציין כי ר' אמ'ן הביע סקפטיות לגבי אסד וכוונותיו. ציין כי אין זה כך שאינו יכול להאמין לאסד, אך אינו יכול להרשות לעצמו להיות נאיבי. בתגובה, העיר קרט שלא נוכל להתעלם מהעתיד שלנו.

ר' אמ'ן השיב שאנו מנסים לעקוב בשקדנות אחרי הסימנים והאיתותים (במיוחד בלבנון - וכאן אמר ר' אמ'ן בתגובה לזברים אחרים שהשמיע קרט כי יתכן שאסד יהיה מוכן לסגת מביירות אך לא מהבקעה ולא מאזור טריפולי).

מנהל מצפ"א

פא

תפ: שהח, ששהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, זום, פ(אמן), ממד,
בנצור, מצפא, סי יבל, משפט, סולטן, מזתים, ברנע, ארבל'2

1950

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country in 1950. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's progress during the year.

The second part of the report deals with the economic situation. It shows that the economy has made considerable progress during the year, particularly in the field of agriculture and industry.

The third part of the report deals with the social situation. It shows that the government has made considerable progress in the field of social welfare, particularly in the field of education and health.

The fourth part of the report deals with the political situation. It shows that the government has made considerable progress in the field of political reform, particularly in the field of the constitution and the judiciary.

The fifth part of the report deals with the foreign relations of the country. It shows that the country has made considerable progress in the field of international relations, particularly in the field of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

The sixth part of the report deals with the military situation. It shows that the country has made considerable progress in the field of military reform, particularly in the field of the army and the navy.

The seventh part of the report deals with the cultural situation. It shows that the country has made considerable progress in the field of cultural reform, particularly in the field of the arts and sciences.

1950

20

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
530 N. Dearborn St., Chicago 40, Ill.

חוזם: 3,15598
 אל: 609/ש, אביב/212, מצב/2127, מנמת/914
 מ-: המשד, תא: 190390, זח: 1641, דח: מ, סג: 10
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אל: השגריר, וושינגטון

דע: השגריר, אדיס

אתיופיה

1. אתמול (18.3) נפגש המנכ"ל עם הנשיא לשעבר ג'ימי קרטור ודן עמו בנושא אתיופיה על כל היבטיו מבחינתנו.

המנכ"ל לאחר שסקר מגעינו עם אתיופיה וההתפתחויות של הוודשים האחרונים, שם דגש על ענייני העליון בהוצאת היהודים משם - בינתיים במסגרת איחוד משפחות על בסיס הומניטרי, מפני שממאתיופיה לא מוכנה לאפשר יציאתם באופן אחר וישיר. בין השאר, הבהיר לקרטור שישראל לא ספקה לאתיופיה נשק להשמדה המונית (כולל פצצות מצרר) ואין בכוונתנו לעשות זאת. הסביר שנשאר צמודים לפרמטרים מצומצמים של סיוע בטחוני, כי אין אנשי צבא ישראלים באתיופיה והזים השמועות בדבר שימוש טריטוריאלי באי אתיופי ובובר פרויקט להטיית מי הנילוס. ציין שהעברנו מסר בנושא המים למצרים וכי אנו פועלים להרחבת מסגרת הסיוע והשת"פ לנושא אזרחיים. כמו כן הסביר שאנו איננו מעוניינים בהמשך הלחימה באתיופיה והיינו מעדיפים שיושג הסדר שלום.

2. קרטור גילה עניין והבנה. ספר על יחסיו הקרובים והטובים עם מנגיסטו ועל מאמציו לקרב את השלום באתיופיה. מסר שלפני ימים

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אחדים קבל (בקהיר) מסר דחוף ממנגיסטו המבקש ממנו לחדש את שיחות השלום ברומא. ציין שהוא מאמין בשלמות אתיופיה ושהוא חותר לפתרון שיבטיח זאת. כ"כ אמר שמאז הקיץ שעבר מנסה לקדם עניין הוצאת יהודי אתיופיה ונענה לבקשת המנכ"ל שימסור למנגיסטו, כי כל מה שיעשה (מנגיסטו) להקל על יציאת היהודים יתקבל בהערכה בעולם המערבי.

3. לשאלת המנכ"ל, אישר שאין לו התנגדות להעברת מידע על השיחה לשגרירנו באדיס. דיווח מורחב בנפרד.

מנהל מצפ"א

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, פ(אמן), ממד, בנוצור, מצפא, הדס, מאפו, תפוצות

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1. א. א. (כינוס א"י)
2. א. א. א.
3. נ. נ. נ.

חוזם: 3,15345

אל: וושינגטון/281, מצב/2097, מנמת/900
מ-: המשרד, תא: 190390, זח: 1414, דח: מ, סג: שמ
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שמו/מ"ד
אהב 10602

אל: וושינגטון

ביקור קרט - סוריה

בתום שיחת המנכ"ל עם קרט אתמול על אתיופיה (דיווח בנפרד)
התעניין המנכ"ל בנושא סוריה.

קרט השיב מאז 1978 נפגש עם אטד ארבע פעמיים. בביקור הראשון
ישב עמו כעשר שעות ונרקמו ביניהם יחסי ידידות ואימון. אטד
נוהג להזמין לארוחת ערב בביתו הפרטי והם יושבים ביחידות,
בנוכחות מתרגם בלבד.

בביקור זה נפגשו פעמיים וצברו שש שעות ביוזם. סיכס בקיצור
נמרץ חלק מהדברים שעלו בשיחות האלה :

- אטד אישר את מחויבותו (כדברי קרט) לתהליך שיביא לשלום
עם ישראל.

- הוא מוכן לשיחות בילטרליות עם ישראל אך ורק תחת המטרייה של
ועידה בינלאומית.

- הוא גמיש לגבי מתכונת ועידה זו בין אם בחסות חמש החברות
הקבועות במועב"ט, בין אם בחסות שתי המעצמות הגדולות.

- הוא מבין שהפורום המלא (ה - PLENUM) של הועידה ימלא

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפקיד מינימלי ויוקדש לדברי פתיחה בלבד, כאשר מיד
לאחר-מכן הועידה תתפצל לשיחות בילטרליות.

- הוא מוכן לדון בשאלת רמת הגולן ובכל נושא דלבנטי אחר.

- הינו איש חזק באופיו וכן יש לו סבלנות רבה.

- הוא מוכן להמתין 25 שנה עד לקבלת רמת הגולן חזרה ויעמוד
על כך, לא בגלל שהוא מייחס לאיזור ערך אסטרטגי אלא בשל
העקרון.

- הוא נוטה (HE IS AMENABLE) לפירוז הודי, דהיינו פירוז
הגולן בתנאי שיהיה פירוז אקוויבלנטי בצד הישראלי.

* כאן הכניס קרט הערה אישית : להערכתו, סידור כזה לא יעלה
לישראל מאומה כי הרי, לדעתו, לא צריך להיות בעייה בפירוז
האיזור מתחת לרמת הגולן בצדנו.

- אטד לא מתרשם מתהליך השלום הנוכחי אך לא יתערב בו ולא
יפריע למהלכים הננקטים כיום.

- הוא אינו מאמין שהתהליך הנוכחי יוביל לתוצאות וכן אינו
מאמין שישראל מוכנה לדבר עם הפלסטינאים ב - GOOD FAITH.

- הוא מרוצה משיפור יחסיו עם מצריים.

- הוא רוצה במימוש הסכם טאיף וטבור שישראל מפריעה בכך.

עד כאן.

מנהל מצפ"א

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רט, ס(אמן), ממד,
בנצור, מצפא, סולטן

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20965

תאריך : 25.03.70 **משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר**

יודי

יוצא

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חוזם: 3,20965
ל: 711/וש, 844/מצב/2922
מ-: המשרד, תא: 250390, זח: 1258, דח: ר, סג: 10
תח: @ גס: צפא
נד: @

63601
סודי/רגיל

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון
שיחת קרט-נשיא המדינה

קרט סיפר לנשיא המדינה שהוא נמצא בקשר הדוק עם הנשיא בוש
אשר נועץ בו בעניינים שונים. רמז גם שחלק משליחותיו הן
על דעתו ולעיתים לבקשת ובהשראת הנשיא בוש.

בנצור

17

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא

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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records. It highlights the need for consistency and the potential consequences of errors.

2. The second part of the document details the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It includes a list of procedures and the equipment used.

3. The third part of the document provides a summary of the findings. It discusses the trends observed and the implications for future research.

4. The fourth part of the document contains the conclusions drawn from the study. It emphasizes the significance of the results and offers recommendations for further investigation.

5. The fifth part of the document lists the references used in the study. It includes books, articles, and other sources that provided the theoretical background.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study. It acknowledges the constraints of the methodology and the scope of the research.

7. The seventh part of the document provides a brief overview of the study's objectives and the research questions it aimed to address.

8. The eighth part of the document describes the experimental design. It outlines the variables being tested and the control conditions.

9. The ninth part of the document presents the results of the data analysis. It includes statistical tests and the interpretation of the findings.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the practical applications of the study. It explores how the findings can be used in real-world scenarios.

11. The eleventh part of the document provides a final summary of the study. It reiterates the main points and the overall contribution of the research.

12. The twelfth part of the document contains the acknowledgments. It thanks the individuals and organizations that supported the research.

13. The thirteenth part of the document includes the author's contact information and a statement of interest in future collaborations.

14. The final part of the document is a closing statement. It expresses the author's hope that the research will be helpful and informative.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 28.03.90

24713

שמו

יציא

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חוזם: 3,24713

ל: וושינגטון/458, אטלנטה/196, מצב/3322, מנמת/1333

מ-: המשורד, תא: 280390, ח: 1619, מ: מ, ס: ג

תח: @ גס צפא

נד: @

שמו מדי

וושינגטון, אטלנטה

ביקור קרט

א. כפי שצויין בסעיף 3(ג) למברקנו 756, נמנע משגארהב להשתתף בכל השיחות עם שרים בעת הביקור. לבקשת השגריר, איפוא, בקרני שלושום (26.5) ג'ון בקר מהשגרירות וסקרתי עבורו את הנקודות העיקריות של הביקור-פחות או יותר לפי סעיף ב במברקנו הנל(עם ההתאמות המתבקשות) תוך ידיעה ששגריר ארהב שמע(אך לא רשם) חלק גדול מהנקודות בעת השתתפותו בשיחות קרט עם טדי קולק(וויילקוקס רשם), עם המתאם ועם בכירי מרכז דיין. כ"כ לבקשת השגריר, השגנו לו את הרשומות המודפסות ששימשו בסיס לדברים שהשמיע המתאם באזני קרט (העתק בדיפ). לידיעתכם.

ב. אופרטיבית, מוצע שוושינגטון תביא למחמד את השגותינו על מסרי קרט בנושא הסורי (ראונא מברק ממד ח/20971 נר 383 לווש) ע'מ לקבל תגובתם והערכתם.

ג. וודאי שמתם לב שבטעות רהמ לא הוזכר בסעיף א(2) למברקנו הנזכר בסעיף 1 דלעיל.

מנהל מצפא

לש

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 29.03.90

25893

שמו

יוצא **

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חוזם: 3,25893

אל: וושינגטון/471, אטלנטה/206, בטחון/1435, מנמת/1376, מצב/3422
מ: המשרד, תא: 290390, ח: 1045, ד: ר, ס: ג: שמ
תח: ג: צפא
נד: ג

שמו רגיל

אל: וושינגטון, אטלנטה
דע: משהבט, מתאם, לשכת ראש אמן

ביקור קרט-מסיבת העתונאים בווינגטון
למברק דוברת בווינגטון נר 871

דברי קרט גם בהתבטאות בתחילת מסיבת העתונאים וגם בתשובה לשאלות משקפות נאמנה הדברים שהשמיע בארץ הן בשיחותיו השונות והן במגעיו עם אנשי התקשורת כאן. ממעט החידושים ומשאר הנקודות, מן הראוי לציין:

א. סוריה

אחת. בארץ קרט טען שהוא מוסמך למסור שאסד מוכן לשיחות בילטרליות עם ישראל במסגרת ועידה בינלאומית. בווינגטון אמר שאינו מוסמך לדבר בנושא בפרוטרוט אך 'מתרשם' שניתן להגיע לפתרון בענין רמת הגולן.

שתיים. לעומת זאת אמר שהוא מוסמך עי אסד לומר כי הלה מסכים שבריהם ו'אחרות', אין להן זכות לכפות רצון המעצמות על המשתתפים בשיחות השלום. בהיותו בישראל הביא דעה זו וייחס אותה לגורבצ'וב-ולא אסד-ולכן לא אמר שהוא מוסמך עי אסד למסור עליה.

שלוש. למיטב ידיעתי, לא הזכיר כאן הצורך במשקיפים בינלאומיים שתפקידם לפקח על האיזור המפורז הבינלאומי (בגולן ובישראל).

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ארבע. לא ציין בישראל נכונותו הגלויה של אסד להכיר בזכות הקיום של ישראל.

ב. ירדן

לא דיווח בישראל על כוונת הפרלמנט הירדני לבטל כל חוקי החירום שם.

ג. ישראל

כצפוי, הודיע קרט שבשובה לשאלתו בקשר ל 250 המשפחות המופרדות, נאמר לו כי 'יותר להן לחזור'. עוד הוסיף שבישראל מסר על כך במסיבת עתונאים 'ואני מצפה שדבר זה יתבצע'.

מצפא

לש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, מזתים, סייבל, רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, גוברין, מזאר, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, (אמן)

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Press bulletin

Jerusalem, 18 March 1990

#21 SHAMIR TELLS CARTER: ISRAEL COMMITTED TO CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, 18.3.90

/90 03.18 (Communicated by the prime minister's media adviser)

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir today (Sunday), 18.3.90, met with former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and their discussion was held in a most friendly atmosphere.

In answer to a question by the former president, the prime minister said that Israel is completely committed to the Camp David Accords, and that its peace initiative is based on these principles. Regarding the immigration of Soviet Jews, Prime Minister Shamir said that we are worried by the campaign being waged by the Arab countries, and especially by King Hussein, against this immigration. He added that the claim that we are directing immigrants to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza region is untruthful. Mr. Carter replied that settling immigrants in Jerusalem cannot be compared to settling them in the settlements of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

On the issue of the the vote by Arabs of East Jerusalem, Mr. Carter said that he once had a debate about this with former Prime Minister Begin, and Prime Minister Shamir replied that our approach has not changed and that we oppose the participation of East Jerusalem Arabs on the autonomy question. The prime minister said that he knows how much effort the former president is devoting to dealing with human rights problems and so is Israel doing the same. As a result of this, Israel was proposing, as part of the peace initiative, a solution to the problems of the refugee camps by improving the standard of living in them.

At the end of the meeting, the two exchanged ideas regarding democratic processes in Israel and the prime minister said that it would be good to bring about a change in the system and that he proposed the possibility of direct elections. The prime minister expressed sorrow that the two big parties did not reach agreement on this point, something which would have prevented the events of recent days.

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התבטאויות קרטר בביקורו בסוריה ובירדן - מרץ 1990

הסכמי ק"ד.

קרטר הדגיש כי לפי דעתו ק"ד הוא פתרון הולם שכן הוא מעניק לפלסטינים ולצד הערבי זכויות ופריבילגיות יותר מאלה הקיימות בעת.

בדברים שנשא בפני ביה"נ והסנאט אמר קרטר כי ההסכם שנחתם בשנת '78 קובע ערבויות מסוימות לפלסטינים, ובמיוחד את זכות ההגדרה העצמית ואת הזכות המוחלטת לשאת ולתת עם הישראלים. קובע ההסכם כי זכות הפלסטינים היא לערוך משאל עם או רות חופשיות כשלב מעבר לפני השגת האוטונומיה. קרטר הבהיר כי על מנת שההסדר על בסיס של מו"מ יהיה אפקטיבי יש גם להקצות סיוע כספי בס"כ 15-20 מיליארד דולר כדי לשקם את המשק הכלכלי במדינות האיזור.

קרטר דחה בערבים להקבל את הסכמי ק"ד. בפגישה לא פורמלית עם חברי הפרלמנט הירדני הוא אמר כי אינו חושב שהסכמי ק"ד הינם מסמכים מושלמים, אך הם יכולים להיות הסכמים מחייבים ("A BINDING DOCUMENT" ישראל בחתמה על ההסכם קבלה את 242 שקוראת לנסיגה מהשטחים הערבים הכבושים שנכבשו ב-1967).

לטענתו זו הפעם הראשונה שהכנסת בישראל אישרה את 242. באשר למנהיגים הערבים אמר קרטר שהם יוכלו לבחור "את החלקים שהם רוצים מתוך ההסכמים לאור התנאים הנוכחיים". הוא טען שהסכמי ק"ד סיפקו "קרקע משותפת שעליה הוא מבסס את תקוותיו להשיג שלום באיזור".

בשלב זה תומך קרטר במדיניות צעד אחר צעד. הוא תומך בכינון דה בינלאומית לשלום אחרי שהערבים וישראל יגיעו "ADEQUATE AND MUTUAL TRUST".

יש"ע

קרטר אמר כי הוא נגד המשך כיבוש האדמות הכבושות ע"י ישראל ושלפלסטינים יש זכות להגדרה עצמית. קרטר הדגיש כי הוא נגד כבוש האדמות ע"י ישראל בגדמ"ע, ברצועה ובמזרח ירושלים.

קרטר אמר כי שפור המצב הכלכלי של התושבים הפלסטינים יסייע לתהליך השלום.



נפילת הממשלה

קרטר אמר כי הוא "מתפלל להחלטה של ישראל לתחילת השיחות עם הפלסטינים שתשאיר את הדלת פתוחה... לשלום". ועל נפילת הממשלה בישראל הגיב קרטר כי "מר שמיר לא היה מוכן מעולם לשבת ולדבר עם הפלסטינים... מפלגת העבודה מוכנה... TO ADVOCATE שהחלטה כזו חייבת להעשות כדי להתחיל בשיחות עם הפלסטינים". "יתכן שאין בכך הרבה ונתאכזב אך זה פותח את הדלת, לפחות לפתח צר, עבור הפלסטינים והישראלים להגיע לקרקע משותפת".

יהודי ברה"מ

קרטר מסר כי פקידים סובייטים אשרו לו שמוסקווה WAS CONTEMPLATING A CHANGE IN THE SOVIET LAW היהודי שיאפשר חזירתם של יהודים לברה"מ. הדבר כולל, לדברי קרטר, אפשרות לחזרתם של מאות מהיהודים שהגרו ומתו אפשרות לחופש תרבותי ודתי גדול יותר ליהודים שישארו.

באשר ליהודי ברה"מ וישובם בשטחים אמר שבמידה ופקידים ישראלים משתמשים ביהודי ברה"מ כדי לאכלס את השטחים הכבושים, אכן הדבר COUNTER - PRODUCTIVE ומכשול לשלום וניצול שלא ניתן לתרוץ של יהודי ברה"מ שמגיעה להם תמיכה והיום בשלום ואפשרות להיות חופשיים.

"TO THE EXTENT THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS ARE USING THE SOVIET JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO POPULATE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IT IS INDEED COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE, AN IMPEDIMENT TO PEACE AND AN UNEXCUSABLE EXPLOITATION OF THE SOVIET JEWS WHO DESERVE SUPPORT AND PEACEFUL EXISTANCE AND AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE FREE"

נתן ליהודי ברה"מ הזכות להגר לישראל "אך לישראלים אין הזכות לישובם במזרח ירושלים, בגדה המערבית או בעזה". הגירת יהודי ברה"מ לגיטימית אם לא תהיה ע"ח ההגדרה העצמית הפלסטינית. קרטר אמר שמדינות ערב יכולות לנסות ולשכנע את מדינות מערב אירופה לפתוח שעריהן ליהודי ברה"מ.

לטענתו דברי הנשיא בוש על ישוב עולים במז' ירושלים הינם חזרה על מדיניות אמריקאית הקיימת במשך 25 השנים האחרונות.

על בקורו בסוכיה אמר כי השיחות עם אסאד והממונים הסורים היו שיחות מוצלחות ובונות. תיאר מדיניות אסאד כקונסטרוקטיבית ביותר. זו הפעם הרביעית מאז '77 שהשניים נפגשים וקרטר מען שהדבר מעוגן בתפקוד המכריע שממלאת סוריה בכל הנוגע להשכנת השלום בלבנון על בסיס הסכם טאיף וביחס להסדר שלום כולל לבעיית המז"ת. הסדר השלום כולל כמובן את בעיית רמת הגולן שצריכה להיפתר על הבסיס שזהו איזור השייך לרבונות הסורית. ארה"ב רואה בגולן שטח ששייך לרבונות הסורית וספוחה ע"י ישראל סותר את החוק הבינלאומי. אם היה הוא מעורב בפתרון הבעיה היה מציע דמיליטריזציה משני צידי הגבול בן מס' קילומטרים ועם משקיפים בינלאומיים.



אסאד, למענתו של הרטר, פועל בצורה בונה על מנת לערוך ועידה בין"ל לשלום במז"ת. והועידה הבין"ל היא המקום הטוב ביותר לממוש הסדר השלום הכולל באזור.

בני הערובה

בענין בני הערובה אמר שאסאד הדגיש כי סוריה תעשה כל שביכולתה לסייע לשחרורם וכי יש לדעת הרטר כעת סיכויים יותר מאי פעם לשחרורם. לדעתו לאירן יש יכולת להשפיע על מחזיקי החטופים אך לא שליטה מושלמת.

לדעתו גם הסעודים הם גורם קונסטרוקטיבי בשחרור החטופים.

111

הסכם שאיף הוא הטוב ביותר ועל כל המדינות לתמוך בו. יישומו של ההסכם יביא להקמת ממשלה מרכזית בלבנון, להקמת צבא לאומי, לפריקת נשקו של כל המליציות ונסיגת הכוחות הישראליים מלבנון.

אש"פ

הרטר מסר כי יוועד עם ערפאת במהלך בקור שיערוך בתוניס. לא אמר מתי יערך הבוקר. הדגיש הצורך בכנוס ועידה בין"ל, בהשתתפות כל הצדדים כולל אש"פ.

המקורות : רוויטר, A.P, חצב.

אורה הרצל (18.3.1990).

דחיפות: מיידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	קד: 1
סוג: שמר	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 6

תאריך וזמן מעור: 13:30 20.4.98		אל: מצפ"א
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כס' פרוק: 415		דע: ממ"ד
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הפסד: 415		פאת: לשכת השגריר; וושינגטון
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בקור קרט

ראו-נא רשמית.

לשכת השגריר

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תפוצה: -36-

45
415



JIMMY CARTER

March 26, 1990

Mr. Sanford Greenberg
600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

To Sandy Greenberg

We have just returned from a productive trip to the Middle East, the purpose of which was to learn as much as possible about the peace process and economic situation there and to form some plans that might be helpful in the future. We had a very full schedule, but managed to see almost everyone on our list, with the exceptions mentioned below.

In Egypt, we had an up-to-date briefing from PLO and Egyptian government officials about the so-called Shamir-Baker-Mubarak plan which, unfortunately, Prime Minister Shamir abandoned under pressure from his Likud partners. President Mubarak is playing the leading role now in putting together a representative and acceptable delegation of about ten Palestinians from the occupied territories who will meet in Cairo with an equivalent number of Israelis. With the private knowledge but without the public acknowledgment of Israeli leaders, this delegation is being formulated with the full involvement of PLO officials. There is still some disparity between the intentions of the two groups; the Israelis seeing this as only a planning session for conducting elections in the West Bank and Jordan; the Palestinians desiring to discuss some more fundamental peace issues. A possible compromise will be to let each side make opening statements of their own devising, then move on to plan the election.

This process has been overshadowed by the failure of the Israelis to agree on a simple question: can Palestinian deportees or those with one of their dual addresses in East Jerusalem participate? The national unity government fell on this question while we were in Jordan, shortly before we arrived in Israel and, as you know, Shimon Peres of Labor has now been designated to form a new government.

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We found President Mubarak relaxed and pleased with his more prominent role in the peace process plus his current leadership of the Organization of African Unity. Detailed briefings from other top officials were very helpful. Despite the return of their oil wells, a healthy tourist industry, and heavy use of the Suez Canal, the Egyptian economy is in an almost desperate condition. Cash reserves are minimal, external debt very high, and there is a wide disparity between Egypt and the IMF concerning what must be done before loans can be rescheduled. A crucial concern is the burden of repaying military loans from the United States, with interest rates of up to 14%. It is obvious that great benefits would come from full cooperation with Israel on tourism, agricultural development, and other economic projects, a path still very difficult for Egypt to follow.

In Syria we found a poor but somewhat improved economy, primarily because of the production of enough oil to meet domestic needs and even to export a small quantity. To understand Syrian policy, it is not necessary to meet with a large number of officials, so Rosalynn and I spent more than seven hours with President Assad, discussing quite frankly a wide range of issues affecting the Middle East. He seemed healthier, in better spirits, more relaxed, and patient about the peace process than when we were there three years ago. He has minimal confidence that the planned Israeli-Palestinian talks will amount to anything, but willing to stand aloof, not interfere, and see what happens, waiting for an international peace conference to make a substantive difference. (This was a belief held by all the Arabs and a substantial portion of the Israelis -- and by me.) Assad made it clear that under the umbrella of an international conference he would be ready to negotiate directly with Israel to resolve outstanding issues. Now he is strongly supporting the implementation of the Taif agreement for Lebanon, an agreement that was orchestrated by King Fahd with the early help of the United States, and which will help to establish a strong national authority. However, he feels that the French, the Vatican, Iraq, and the Israelis are assisting the Christian militia forces of Generals Aoun and Gea Gea, who are opposing this potential solution to the Lebanese crisis.

We next had a brief but pleasant visit to Aqaba with some snorkeling off the Egyptian Sinai coast, where it was interesting to see the Egyptian flag over Taba and Pharaon Island -- the result of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty that I helped to negotiate. However, it was frustrating to see Aqaba and Eilat airports 3 miles apart with the city limits touching, with not even a foot path joining the two. We spent most of our time in Jordan analyzing the economic benefits of a peaceful Middle East, which will be the subject of our Carter Center conference late next November. Jordan also has serious economic problems, many of which could be substantially alleviated if they could have joint projects with Syria, Israel, and Egypt. Tourism alone, with open borders, would be a tremendous boost. Shipping, mining of phosphate and potash, and the proper sharing and conservation of water all offer rich dividends.

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Of special concern to all Arabs, and particularly Jordanians, was the immigration of large numbers of Soviet Jews into Israel and their settlement in the occupied territories. Maximum political pressure is being exerted on the Soviet Union, the United States, and European countries to reduce this threat to the West Bank and Gaza as a future Palestinian homeland.

As luck would have it, our first luncheon in Jerusalem was with President Herzog, who was busy meeting with one after another of the 16 Knesset factions in preparing his decision to let one of the two major parties make an attempt to form a government. We then met with a large number of young and old members of the major parties, scholars, West Bank and Gaza doctors, human rights activists, church leaders, Palestinians, and economists, and visited a center where incoming Jews from the Soviet Union and Ethiopia are being received and prepared for life in Israel. It was heart-warming to see the hope and anticipation of these newcomers, but disturbing that a substantial number of them are being settled in East Jerusalem, in areas beyond the pre-1967 Israeli boundaries. The Israelis do not consider this as part of the occupied territories, and seem to have a "special program" to encourage settlement there. We agreed with all Israeli leaders that Jerusalem should remain a unified city. Well advised or not, this is creating intense Arab pressure in the world community, and may have the counterproductive effect of reducing the number of Soviet Jews who will come to Israel, as Soviet, U.S., and European leaders respond to Arab concerns.

Despite contrary beliefs often expressed among Israelis, Palestinian leaders from all walks of life seem to be almost unanimous in supporting the intifada and expressing their loyalty to the PLO and Yasir Arafat as their sole legitimate representative and spokesman. They are prepared to participate in the Baker plan, however, provided the chosen group has the tacit blessing of the PLO.

We discussed reports of human rights abuses with Israeli military and civilian authorities who administer the occupied territories, and were gratified at some of their responses. For instance, they promised to cease removing mothers and children from their homes in the West Bank and Gaza and deporting them to Jordan, and to let the 251 documented cases be resolved by permitting families to be reunited.

Rightly or wrongly, Palestinian leaders are convinced that there is a general policy of encouraging emigration from the occupied territories by making life unpleasant for Arabs and insuring that vital services to West Bank and Gaza communities are increasingly dependent on Israeli sources. Many Israelis are distressed with these policies, and some asked us to continue to try to correct these problems, but it is obvious that a comprehensive peace settlement is the only sure path to this goal.

END

S/G 415

Page 4

Our final stop in Israel was at Tel Aviv university, where superb work is being done to promote reform of Israel's electoral system and in analyzing major economic opportunities in the region when peace finally comes. Since this is such an exciting issue, we received full support from leaders in all the countries for our Carter Center conference. We will be making full preparations under the direction of Dr. Kenneth Stein, and hope that you will plan to be with us the last three days in November.

While in Egypt, I met with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who is now co-chairman with me in the Eritrean-Ethiopian peace talks. We have been constantly striving to gain the opening of supply routes to provide relief to more than 3 million people who are faced with starvation, and there has lately been some good news from both sides. President Nyerere and I decided to extend invitations to President Mengistu Haile Mariam and Secretary Isaias Afwerke to recommence peace talks in April. Mengistu has accepted, and we are awaiting the EPLF response.

Needless to say, we accomplished most of our goals on the trip. Our only disappointments were the failure of Lebanese President Hrawi and PLO Chairman Arafat to meet with us because of scheduling difficulties. We will try to rearrange these meetings.

At the request of President Vassiliou, we landed in Cyprus and enjoyed a visit with him. We discussed the ongoing dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the hope that more intense mediation efforts might be helpful in addition to what the United Nations has been doing for several years.

This was an encouraging trip. The bottom line is that the people of the Middle East - Egyptians, Israelis, Jordanians, Lebanese, Palestinians, Syrians - want peace. One of our major goals at The Carter Center is to explore every opportunity and cooperate with all those who share our conviction that a comprehensive peace settlement is both necessary and inevitable. I know from Camp David days that the issues are sensitive and controversial. However, there was an enthusiastic response in all countries for our program this year to emphasize the necessity for direct talks and to explore the relationship between peace and economic cooperation. It is good to have you as a full partner in this effort.

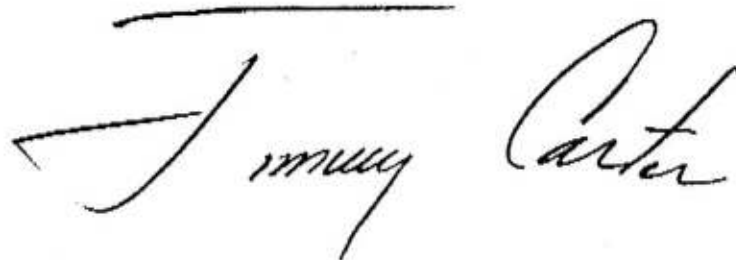
As usual, I have made a more confidential report to some top American officials on our discussions with leaders in the Middle East. This letter is just a general outline, so if you have any further specific questions, please share them with us.

6/6 415

Page 5

Thanks again for making it possible for us to carry out the purpose of our Center. We always strive to make you, as friends and supporters, proud of the work we do together. Come to visit us when you can, and let me know if there is ever any way we can help to repay your confidence and generosity.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink on a white background. The first name "Jimmy" is written in a large, flowing cursive, and the last name "Carter" is written in a slightly smaller, more compact cursive. The signature is positioned in the center of the page, below the word "Sincerely,".

דחיפות: כהול לבוקר	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 1
סוג: שמור	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 3
תאריך וזמן מעור: 20 במרץ 1990 18:15		אל: ממנכ"ל צפ"א
כס' פרוק: <u>הפרד:</u>		דע: ממנכ"ל רה"מ יועץ מדיני לשה"ח
ס 63		פאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

להלן נוסח מכתבו של הנשיא אל הסנטור בושביץ בנושא ירושלים שהועבר אלי מהבית הלבן.

א.ד.פ.
א.ד.פ.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1990

Dear Rudy:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of March 14. I have thought a great deal about the issues you raised, and I appreciate the opportunity to reaffirm how much in common are our views on the need to advance the peace process in the Middle East.

I am well aware of the historical attachment of the Jewish people to Jerusalem, that most wonderful of cities, unique in its character, beauty, and significance. Jerusalem is a city where Jews, Christians, and Muslims have lived together for centuries. It is my keen appreciation of Jerusalem's uniqueness that led me to write just days ago to its esteemed Mayor, Teddy Kollek:

... Jerusalem must never again be a divided city. We did not approve of the status quo before 1967; in no way do we advocate a return to it now. This was and is the policy of the United States, and it is my policy. Our efforts in the peace process are in no way designed to promote the division of Jerusalem. We would oppose any such effort.

It is also our view that the final status of this most special of cities should be decided by negotiation, and that this negotiation would be facilitated if we were well along the path toward peace. There is thus no intention on our part to focus now on

the final status of Jerusalem. It is also our view, just as it has been the view of the United States since 1967, that all sides should be taking steps to get to negotiations and avoiding steps that could prejudice the prospects for these negotiations.

As I told Mayor Kollek, it "is the pursuit of peace that ought to take priority, for only with peace can Jerusalem truly be open and whole." Recent political developments in Israel have centered on the peace process, and made clear the importance of moving forward. It is time to get to an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue on elections leading to negotiations. And it is time to strive, together with our strategic friend and ally Israel, toward peace. No peace that I can envision would deny Jews the right to live anywhere in this special city of Jerusalem.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Rudy Boschwitz
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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385491

חוזם: 3.17848

ל:א

אתונה/259, בון/423, בריט/388, האג/296, לונדון/400, פריס/626,
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מ-:המשרד, תא: 210390, זח: 1443, דח: 7, סג: 7
 תח: 6, גס: הסברה
 נד: 6

בלמס/רגיל

נציגויות

להלן נוסח תגובתנו לעיתונות בעקבות פרסום דו"ח מחמ"ד:

בדו"ח שהוגש אתמול לקונגרס מודה הממשל כי מאז דצמ' 1988 היו
 כ-30 מקרי חדירה וטרור פלסטינאי נגד ישראל כאשר לפחות 9 מהם
 בוצעו ע"י גורמי אש"ף. הממשל גם מודה בנכונות כמה מטענותיה
 של ישראל לגבי הצהרות חוזרות ונשנות של בכירי אש"ף המאירות
 את כוונותיו האמיתיות של הארגון.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

כזכור, התחייב הממשל האמריקאי עם פתיחת הדיאלוג עם אש"ף כי
 הדיאלוג לא יתקיים אם ימשך הטרור ע"י אש"ף או כל פלג הקשור
 אליו. ארה"ב גם דרשה מאש"ף להתנער פומבית מכל קבוצה
 פלסטינית המעורבת בטרור, לגנות הפעולה ולהעניש האשמים.
 המציאות היא שאש"ף לא הפסיק הטרור ולא נקט כל אמצעים נגד
 פלגים שהיו מעורבים בו.

טענת מחברי הדו"ח כי אין הוכחות לכך שערפאת או הוועד הפועל
 של אש"ף הנחו ביצוע הפיגועים או אישרו את ביצוען, מתעלמת
 מהמציאות שכן ביצוע הפיגועים מונחה ע"י מנגנוני הטרור תחת
 פיקודו של ערפאת.

דו"ח הממשל בוחר להתעלם משורה ארוכה של פיגועים של הפתח
 בתוך ישראל בגבולות 1967 שכוונו נגד אזרחים ומפיגועים רבים
 אחרים כמו למשל: פיגוע חזית השחרור העלסטינית - פלג
 אבו-עבאס - ב-6.10.89, ופיגוע החזית הומוקרטית ב-26.1.90,
 כאשר בידי המחבלים נמצא תרשים ציר החדירה ובו מסומן יעד -
 משגב-עם.

בשני פיגועים אלה, כמו ברבים אחרים נטלו ארגוני אש"ף אחריות
 מלאה לאירוע.

בחודשים האחרונים מעורב אש"ף בטרור ברוטלי וברצח פלסטינים
 ע"י פלסטינים בשטחים - תופעה המחמירה והולכת שהדו"ח מעדיף
 להתעלם מחלקו של הארגון בה.

ולבסוף, בבחינת הצהרותיו של אש"ף בוחר הממשל להתעלם לחלוטין
 משורה ארוכה של הצהרות תוקפניות המבהירות כוונותיו של
 הארגון.

על ארה"ב, אם ברצונה להיות נאמנה למחוייבותה, להכיר בכך שלא
 רק שאש"ף לא שינה את עורו כי אם הוא ממשיך במדיניות טרור
 וקיצונית.

מנהל הסברה - מנהל מצפ"א

צש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, אוקיאניה, מצרים, מצפא,
 אסיה, מאפ, אמלט, מזתים, ארבל, הדוכה, מעת, הסברה, ממד, איר, איר, איר,
 לעמ, ארבל, פרנ, מזאר

משרד ראש הממשלה

21/3

תאריך

[Handwritten signature]

אל:

[Handwritten signature]

מאת: המנהל הכללי

ידיד תלמידינו הנכבד

המחנך הנכבד, שמואל
לפנינו. המורה לקורא את התורה
היונה של אמת.

בן לימודי התורה של י.

כראון לרונה.

המורה הנכבד, שמואל

המורה

~~המורה הנכבד, שמואל~~

הסוגיה הפלסטינית ו"השטחים"

הממשל האמריקני הגיש לקונגרס שלושה דו"חות בסוגיית יחסיו עם אש"פ
ועם מדינות ערב

1. בהתאם לתיקון "מק - ליברמן" לחוק תקציב משה"ח האמריקני, הגיש (19 מרס) הממשל האמריקני לקונגרס 3 דו"חות:-

א. דו"ח חד-פעמי הודן בעמדת הממשל כלפי 9 נסיונות חדירה
מזוינים לישראל שבוצעו ע"י ארגונים שבזיקה ל-אש"פ.
מסקנת ה-דו"ח קובעת, כי רוב הנסיונות בוצעו ע"י ארגונים
שאינם חבריט בועד הפועל של הארגון ובכל מקרה, לארה"ב אין
כל הוכחה, שערפאת או ה-ועה"פ של אש"פ הורו או אישרו את
הפעולות המוזכרות ב-דו"ח. ה-דו"ח מסביר, כי אש"פ מורכב
מפלגים שונים בעלי דעות מגוונות אשר חלקם נתונים להשפעתה
השלילית של סוריה, ולפיכך - מתקשה הארגון לשלוט על כל
פלגיו. מכל מקום, ארה"ב תמשיך לבחון כל מקרה לגופו.

ב. דו"ח עיתי (המוגש כל 4 חודשים) לגבי עמידת אש"פ
בהבטחתו מדצמ' 88' (נטישת הטרור, הכרה בזכות קיומה של
ישראל, הכרה ב-338/242). בדו"ח נקבע, כי:-

(1) עמדת הממשל הינה ש-אש"פ עמד בהחייבותיו אלו.

(2) אין, לדעתו, לראות את אש"פ כאחראי לפרוץ
ה"התקוממות" שכן זו מונהגת ע"י גורמים מקומיים
שרואים ב-אש"פ מקור לתמיכה פוליטית.

(3) אש"פ תומך בהמשך ה"התקוממות" כאמצעי ללחוץ על
ישראל לסגת מ"השטחים" שנכבשו ב-67'.

(4) אש"פ מוכן לשקול לשנות את האמנה הפלסטינית (טעיה
33, הקורא לחיסול "הציונות בפלסטין") רק בהקשר של
הסדר שלום כולל. הממשל מדגיש, כי הביע בפני
הארגון את הצורך בתיקון האמנה, וכי הוא גם קורא
ל-אש"פ לדבר "בקול אחד" בכל הקשור לתהליך השלום.

659/0079

ג.
דו"ח חד-פעמי על עמדת מדינות ערב בסוגית תהליך השלום.
ה-דו"ח מציין, כי רוב מדינות ערב נטשו את מדיניות
"הלאוויים" של חרטום מ-1967, אולם - למעט מצרים - אף מדינה
ערבית אינה מוכנה כיום להכיר פורמלית בישראל ולחתום עימה
על הסכם שלום, ורובן פועלות לבידודה של ישראל בזירה
הבינ"ל. הממשל מביע ב-דו"ח את אכזבתו מפעילות ערבית זו
ומציין, כי פנה לכל מדינות ערב ללכת בעקבות אש"פ ולהכיר
בזכותה של ישראל להתקיים.

דו"ח מחמ"ד לגבי אש"פ והטרור

כללי

1. הממשל מנסה להפוך את הפסקת הטרור מתנאי (בעל אופי תחוקתי) לדיאלוג עם אש"פ - לכלל דרישה כללית שאיננה תנאי.
זאת בסתירה לחקיקה הקיימת ובסתירה ל-TALKING POINTS של הממשלה לגבי הדיאלוג עם אש"פ (כפי שנמסרו לשגריר פלטרוב בתוניס).
2. עם זאת הודה הממשל בכמה מן הטיעונים שהועלו ע"י ישראל בעבר בנושא זה - והודאות אלה לכשעצמן מערערות את טענת דוברי הממשל (כולל מזכיר המדינה) כי אש"פ דבק במחוייבותו.

פרוט עובדתי

3. הדו"ח מכיר רק בשלושה פיגועים כפיגועים נגד אזרחים (שלושה מקרי יירי קטיושות ע"י החזית/חבש במאי אוג' וספט' 89).
4. אבל היו פיגועים רבים נוספים שכוונו נגד אזרחים. למשל:
 - א. פיגועי ארגון ה"חזית הדמוקרטית" ב-23 בפבר' ב-2 במרס וב-4 ביוני 89.
 - ב. פיגוע "חזית השחרור הפלסטינית"/פלג אבו עבאס ב-6 אוקט' 1989.
 - ג. פיגוע ה"חזית הדמוקרטית" ב-26 ינו' 90. (בידי המחבלים היה תרשים ציר החדירה ובו מסומן היעד: משגב עם).
5. עוד יצויין כי הארגונים נטלו אחריות לפיגועים והודיעו כי היעד היה יישוב בישראל.
6. התעלמותו של הממשל מפיגועי ה"חזית הדמוקרטית" בולטת במיוחד נוכח העובדה שבאותה עת הוא מקיים את הדיאלוג בתוניס עם סגן ראש החזית הדמוקרטית ו"מברר" אתו את נושא הפסקת הטרור ע"י אש"פ ואף מגיע אתו ביחד למסקנה שלא היו פעולות טרור ע"י אש"פ בכלל ולא ע"י ארגון ה"חזית הדמוקרטית" בפרט...
7. כמו כן מתעלם הממשל לחלוטין מ-13 פיגועים שבוצעו בישראל ע"י ארגון פת"ח ואשר כוונו נגד אזרחים. כן מתעלם הוא לחלוטין מפיגוע הפת"ח בהר חריף ב-4 דצמ' 89.
8. להתעלמות זו משמעות מדינית אחת: הממשל מאותת בכך לאש"פ שגם פיגועים בישראל (ולא רק בשטחים) מהוים, לפי השקפתו, מאבק לאומי לגיטימי ולא טרור.

הערה: יובהר כי הממשל אף איננו מנסה להתמודד בדרך כלשהיא עם פיגועים אלה, אלא מתעלם מהם לחלוטין כאילו לא היו כלל בגדר ארועי טרור רלבנטיים לבחינה בדו"ח זה. הוא אף לא העלה אותם לפני אש"פ בתוניס לקבלת הערותיו של הארגון (כפי שעשה לגבי פיגועים אחרים).

9. הממשל טוען כי אין ראיות לכך שערפאת או הוועד הפועל של אש"פ הסמיכו (הנחו) על ביצוע הפיגועים או אשרו את ביצועם.

בטיעון זה אין ממשות שכן ביצוע הפיגועים ע"י אש"פ איננו מתאשר בהליכים מסודרים ע"י ה"וועד הפועל" של אש"פ, אלא מבוצע ע"י מנגנוני טרור הפועלים תחת פקודתו של ערפאת (למשל במסגרת הפת"ח: "כוח 17" "מנגנון הווארי" ומנגנון "הגזרה המערבית").

ערפאת מקיים ומממן את פעילותם של מנגנונים אלה. "כוח 17" אחראי לרוב הפיגועים שארעו בתוך ישראל (13 הפיגועים שנמנו בדו"ח כרמון) - ומפקדו של מנגנון זה - "אבו טייב" - אשר מופקד על הגנתו האישית של ערפאת - הוא אחד המקורבים ביותר לערפאת (אם לא המקורב ביותר). אילו רצה בכך ערפאת - לא היו מנגנונים אלה מבצעים פיגועים נגד ישראל.

10. הממשל טוען כי הביע בפני אש"פ אכזבתו על כך שהארגון לא מצא דרך "מוסמכת יותר" להרחיק עצמו מפעולות שנעשו ע"י קבוצות עצמאיות וכו'.

11. למעשה הארגון גם לא גינה מקרי פיגוע שבוצעו ע"י ארגונים אחרים (כפי שנדרש לעשות על פי ה-TALKING POINTS לשגריר פלטרין) וה פתח עצמו - שאיננו גוף הפועל עצמאית - ביצע פיגועים כאמור לעיל, הן בתוך ישראל והן בגבול מצרים. אופיינית לגישתו של הממשל בהקשר זה היא התעלמותו המוחלטת מפיגוע הר חריף ב-4 בדצ' - לגביו ידוע לנו כי הממשל יודע שפת"ח הינו הארגון האחראי לפיגוע זה.

סיכום

12. גישתו של הממשל כלפי אש"פ וכלפי הטרור נגד ישראל עומדת בסתירה לחחוייבות שנטל הממשלה על עצמו עם פתיחת הדיאלוג (מחוייבות שביטא במכתבים של הנשיא רייגן לרה"מ שמיר בדצמ' 88).

13. גישה זו מחבלת בסיכויים להסדר הסכסוך הישראלי פלסטיני ומערערת את אמונה של ישראל בעמדתה של ארה"ב.

כרמון



זאת אומרת זאת מאפיה מסודרת, יש סנדק עליון, יש קאפו דה טוטי קאפי, יש לו מוציאים לפועל, יש סדר. אבל מה לעשות? היו חריגות מן הסדר. וערפאת קובל על זה. הוא יוצא ברתקפה. הוא אומר: רצחו שלא מחוך שורות אש'ף.

זאת אומרת, אש'ף רוצה להיות לא רק הנציג הבלעדי של הגם הפלסטינאי; הוא רוצה להיות גם הרוצח הבלעדי של הגם הפלסטינאי.

וכי כל זה אינו ידוע בווינגטון? האם הם לא קוראים עיתונים? האם הם לא מקבלים את הדו'חות שלנו?

בדו'ח המוזר של מחלקת המדינה יש עמוד אחד שמוקדש לתכנית השלבים והעמוד הזה בסך הכל איננו מתייחס לתכנית השלבים אלא אומר שאש'ף קרא לכל מדינות ערב להכיר בתכנית השלום שלו והוא מצטט מחוך אותו מאמר של אבו-איאד, מאמר ב- FOREIGN POLICY. כמוכן מאמר באנגלית, ואני מצטט אותו:

THE PROPOSAL OF A TWO-STATE SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAEL PROBLEM IS NOT THE FIRST PHASE OF A PLAN TO LIQUIDATE THE JEWISH STATE'.

אין פה כוונה של תכנית השלבים, הוא אומר, אנחנו מציעים מדינה פלסטינית לא על מנת להשמיד את ישראל. זה הציטוט היחיד שממשלת ארצות הברית בחרה להביא מאבו-איאד.

היא לא בחרה, למשל, להביא את הציטוט של אבו-איאד שמונה ימים לאחר ההכרזה שכביכול אש'ף מכיר בישראל. זאת כמוכן הצהרה בערבית, לא באנגלית, בבטאון אש'ף. הוא אומר: באלג'יר החיינו את תכנית השלבים. ובמקום אחר, באל-אנבא בכווית, כמוכן בערבית, הוא אומר: גבולות המדינה שלנו, כפי שהכרזנו עליה, מייצגים רק חלק משאיפותינו. נפעל להרחבתם כדי להגשים את שאיפותינו לכל אדמת פלסטין, לשחרר את פלסטין שלב שלב. את זה הם החליטו לא להביא.

ציטוט נוסף הוא של נביל שנת, שמצוטט כאן שהוא מסביר שמדינה פלסטינית תהיה רק בגדה המערבית ובעזה ולא תחרוג מהן. הם לא בחרו להביא שורה של ציטוטים מאותו נביל שנת, שוב בערבית, שבהם הוא אומר: המדינה הדמוקרטית - הכוונה למדינה דמוקרטית על כל שטחה של פלסטין. אם נשיג עצמאות על חלק משטחה של פלסטין, לא נפקיר את חלומנו להשיג מדינה דמוקרטית שלמה על כל שטחה של פלסטין. וכן הלאה וכן הלאה.

יש פה אפילו ציטוט שלישי של ג'ורג' חבש שאומר שהמטרה מוגבלת לגדה המערבית ולעזה, ואילו במקום אחר הוא אומר: אנחנו לא יכולים לחסל את ישראל במכה אחת ולכן אנחנו צריכים לנקוט במסע טאקטי כדי להשיג את היעד האסטרטגי שלנו בשלבים. וכו' וכו'.

דובר דובר, יום יום, עיתון עיתון, הכל ידוע בווינגטון. אז מה קורה כאן? באנגלית יש מילה אחת קולעת למה שהממשל האמריקאי מנסה לעשות בדו'ח הזה והמילה הזאת היא WHITE WASH - להלבין, לטייח, להגלים, לטשטש, לסלף את העובדות, לסלף את האמת המנקרת את העיניים יום יום והמתגלה יום יום מחדש. או בשפתנו: לטהר את השרץ. אבל השרץ נשאר שרץ והאמת נשארת אמת.

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ומתמיהה הדבר שמעצמה כמו ארצות הברית, שהיתה צריכה להיות
הסמל של ההגינות הפוליטית והיושר הבינלאומי, מתמיהה הדבר
שהיא בונה את בנין מדיניותה על יסודות של סילוף ושקר.
הבנין הזה, אדוני היושב-ראש, סופו להתמוטט, אבל לא נרשה
שיתמוטט עלינו.

הסברה

יוסי גל
21 במרץ 1990

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1990-03-21 15:52

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.



שבדירות ישראל
ושינגטון

דף 1 מתוך 3 דפים
סוג בטחוני: בלמ"ס
דחיפות: מידי
תאריך רו"ח: 21/3/90
מס' מברק:

המשרד

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אל: יועץ שה"ח לתפוצות. מצפ"א
דע: סביר/נ"י

דו"ח מחמ"ד

מצ"ב הודעת ADL.

ב/אגה
פלג

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including numbers and names:

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- Selective in its list of PLO rhetoric; Omits numerous PLO statements which contradict Arafat's pledge to recognize Israel's right to live in peace and security.
- Acknowledges that PLO leaders have not denounced PLO acts of violence -- a condition that was stipulated by the U.S. at the time of the initiation of the dialogue.
- Fails to recognize that "armed struggle" has long been a code word for terror operations and that it is standard PLO practice to label violent assaults against civilians and civilian centers as "military operations" and "armed struggle."
- Fails to mention 12 Fatah-sponsored grenade attacks against Israeli civilians since December 14, 1988.
- Ignores additional PLO-sponsored cross-border attacks and downplays Arafat's refusal to publicly condemn these operations or his failure to discipline those PLO leaders responsible for them.
- Omits evidence of PLO involvement in the execution of fellow Palestinians deemed "collaborators," Arafat's public sanctioning of such activities and repeated statements by senior aides of Arafat's Fatah faction endorsing such assassinations.
- Omits the failure of the PLO to affirm Arafat's Geneva pledges in any official or unofficial context.

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AJ;C;EW-1;IP;JSP;RTVF;MPRTV;BHFOR;BHRTV-90

Founded in 1913 "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people . . . to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike."

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1990-03-21 15:53

Anti-Defamation League **ADL** of B'nai B'rith
 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 (212) 490-2525 FAX (212) 867-0779

LYNNE IANNIELLO
 Director, Communications Division

NEWS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, March 20...The Anti-Defamation League today called a new State Department report "selective and distorted" in its analysis of PLO compliance with American conditions for the U.S.-PLO dialogue.

Abraham H. Foxman, ADL's national director, said the report "sends a message that the PLO is not to be held accountable for its many acts of violence and inflammatory rhetoric which clearly violate the terms of the dialogue. Such an approach," Mr. Foxman went on, "reduces incentives for the PLO to take meaningful steps toward peace and hinders the building of trust and confidence essential to resolution of the conflict."

ADL documented at least ten flaws in the report including the following:

- PLO acts of violence are excused because they were not formally authorized by the PLO Executive Committee.
- The report cites PLO compliance with the political program passed at the November 1988 Algiers Palestine National Council meeting but fails to mention that the Algiers program was not considered sufficient by the U.S. to initiate a dialogue with the PLO.

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מיידי	דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
גלוי	סוג:		כתוב: 4
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פס' פרוק:		עודד ערו	כאת:
הפסרד:			
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מק - ליברמן.

להלן תגובת איפא"ק לדו"ח מחמי"ד.

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ערו

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 2 שם סלטה
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This report does not effectively hold the PLO accountable for its actions, because many of the actions and statements that have caused the greatest concern are absent from it, and what is reported is presented with an interpretation that shifts responsibility away from the PLO leadership.

The report quotes extensively from statements professing peaceful intent. But it mentions only in passing or, in a greater number of cases, omits entirely, references to authoritative statements at odds with the Geneva commitments. Examples follow.

ADVOCACY OF "ARMED STRUGGLE"

Arafat's own Fatah faction, in its most authoritative statement since December 1988 the "Political Program" issued on August 8, 1989, called for "escalation of armed struggle" against "the barbarous Zionist entity." State Department Spokeswoman Margaret Tutweiler said, at the time, "The political program issued by Fatah raises questions about Fatah's commitment to accommodation, understanding and peace." (Aug. 10, 1989). This report is more sanguine.

Arafat himself said on July 6, 1989 that, "The PLO will not stop the armed struggle. I did not ask anybody to refrain from military operations."

Abu Iyad, Arafat's top deputy, said on March 9, 1989, "The PLO has never obligated itself to stop the armed struggle, and it shall not renounce it." He said on December 17, 1989, "The attacks will continue until the flag of Palestine will fly over Jerusalem."

REACTIONS TO TERRORIST ACTS

The report repeatedly states that some terrorist acts are committed by dissident factions beyond Arafat's control. But it is silent on Arafat's treatment of those who commit these acts.

For example, the report acknowledges that the DFLP perpetrated many of the recent terrorist attacks, but depicts the DFLP as beyond Arafat's control. It fails to mention that Yasir 'Abd Rabbo, Arafat's representative to the Pelletreau talks, is the number two official of the DFLP. The State Department said on March 1, 1989, "When the PLO renounced terrorism last December, we assumed Mr. Arafat spoke in the name of the PLO's Executive Committee and its constituent groups, and that the PLO could exercise control over these constituent groups."

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Muhammed Abbas was seized by the U.S. in midair, for his role in the kidnapping of 400 tourists on the Achille Lauro. Subsequently, he was convicted and sentenced to life in Italy for his crime. Arafat continues to give him a seat on the PLO's top decision-making body, its Executive Committee. The PLO Commitments Compliance Act requires a State Department report of "the position of the PLO regarding the prosecution and extradition... of known terrorists such as Muhammed Abbas." The State Department response notes only that "there is no current U.S. extradition request," ignoring the fact that the U.S. has chosen to allow Italian authorities to prosecute.

Similarly, the report quotes Arafat saying the PLO "will not interfere" if Greece decides to extradite Muhammed Rashid to the US for his role in bombing two American planes leading to the loss of four American lives. But the report is silent on extensive evidence, well-known to the Administration, that the PLO has in fact expended considerable resources to prevent the extradition of Rashid.

Top officials of the PLO have declined to condemn many major terrorist attacks that have occurred. Farruk Qaddumi, Arafat's "Foreign Minister," said candidly on February 28, 1989, "The PLO is not ready to condemn any operation for which Palestinian organizations and factions have taken responsibility."

Top PLO officials have in fact publicly defended several notorious terrorist incidents. When nine Israeli tourists were murdered on an Egyptian bus in February 1990, Abu Iyad defended the act. This outraged the Government of Egypt toward the PLO, but the State Department report does not consider it worthy of mention. Similarly, Arafat defended an incident in which an Israeli bus was forced off a cliff killing 16; this too escapes notice in the State Department report.

ORIENTATION TOWARD PEACE

The report quotes extensively from PLO statements affirming peaceful intent, but treats lightly, if at all, other statements at odds with the Geneva commitments. For example, no attention is given to Arafat's major speech on the first anniversary of the Intifada (December 9, 1989), in which he relapsed to hard-line demands PLO supporters in the West assumed had long been discarded. This speech caused deep distress among moderate elements in Israel and the American Jewish community; for example, the American Jewish Congress analyzed it under the title, "Return of the Hard Line."

Similarly, the report notes with approval Arafat's statement that hard-line provisions of the PLO Covenant are now "caduque," a French term which the State Department interprets to mean "null and void." But it fails to mention that Arafat himself said, a day later, that the Charter cannot be changed except by actions of the PNC, something that he has not proposed.

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The report presents quotations "appearing to negate" the "strategy of stages." It fails to present statements by top PLO officials implying the opposite. E.g., "Foreign Minister" Farrouk Khaddumi: "Regaining part of our territory will not make us forget the Palestinian land. We shall pitch our tent as far as our bullet reaches. The Palestinian people will pitch their tent as a main base, and then the Palestinian people will study what the next stage will be" (April 5, 1989). Arafat himself said, "The declaration of Palestinian independence constitutes a beginning of the real confrontation of the Zionist project in the land of Palestine itself" (March 21, 1989).

The report fails to note that Arafat tried to have Israel expelled from the UN in October, and that he pressured Japan to honor the Arab Boycott of Israel in October.

VIOLENCE AGAINST PALESTINIANS

The report notes that there has been "an alarming increase in violence by Palestinians against other Palestinians." It fails to mention that Arafat himself promised "ten bullets in the chest" to any Palestinian who proposes a truce in the Intifada (January 1, 1989); and that Arafat said on October 10, 1989, "Liquidation of collaborators was made on the basis of a decision of the internal unified leadership. I gave them the powers of commander-in-chief to sign execution decisions."

CONCLUSION

This report is not a balanced and objective account. It is an attempt to defend the PLO leadership. As such, it fails to meet the requirements of the PLO Commitments Compliance Act, and erodes the confidence that is so important to build the foundations for the peace process.

END

33

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

דף 1 מתוך 1 דפים
סוג בטחוני: שמור
דחיפות: מידי
תאריך וז"ח: 19/3/90
מס' מברק:

N. Y

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המשרד

577

אל: מצפ"א

דע: סביר/נ"י

התנחלויות

סקוקרופט בפגישה עם מנהיגות ADL: ההתנחלויות הם SMALL CONCERN AND
MINOR ISSUE ביחסי ישראל - ארה"ב. הנשיא חזר במסיבת העתונאים שלו
על העמדה האמריקנית המוכרת בנושא ירושלים. ~~שהנשיא אמר~~ מה שאמר
ביחס למזרח ירושלים לאור ה- AMBIGUITY בעמדות ישראל וארה"ב ביחס
להתנחלויות.

פלב

- 12 -

מס' ס/מס' מס' ס/מס' מס' ס/מס' מס' ס/מס'
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מיידי	דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס כבוד	קד: 1
גלזל	סונג:		כתוב: 3
תאריך וזמן מעור:			אל: מצפ"א
16:35 19 במרץ 1990			
כס' כבוד:			דצ:
הפסד:			
1/3 583			פאת: ק. לקונגרס

ביהנ"ב : ירושלים

רצ"ב המכתב המופץ עתה בביהנ"ב בנושא ירושלים ביוזמת הקונגרסמנים שומר, פיהן, אקרמן לויין, בורטון, גילמן וויין וובר.

יהודה ורנאי דרנגר.
יהודית ורנאי פניני

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תפוצה: 3/6

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March 22, 1990

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Dear Mr. President,

We are writing to respectfully express our deep concern with recent statements made by the Administration regarding Jerusalem, the capital city of our strong ally, Israel.

We applaud your efforts to build upon the peace initiative launched by the government of Israel last May. By standing squarely behind Israel's four-point plan, the U.S. was sending a powerful signal to Arab states-- that the U.S. and Israel are jointly committed to the quest for peace and security.

We are therefore concerned that your declaration about Israeli "settlements" in Jerusalem has damaged the quest for a Middle-East peace settlement to which you are so committed. That statement has caused consternation across the political spectrum in Israel, and raised doubts about our ability to serve as a reliable partner in the peace process.

Mr. President, for 2,000 years Jerusalem has been the heart and soul of the Jewish people. Since Jerusalem was reunified under Israeli control in 1967, the holy sites of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have been protected and open to all.

We stand by you, Mr. President, in your efforts to promote peace in the Middle East. For that very reason, we support recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

We hope you will recognize what has been reality all along-- that Jerusalem, a city of neighborhoods, not settlements, is the indivisible capital of the State of Israel.

Sincerely,

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3/3

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

URGENT

DEADLINE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21

JERUSALEM IS ISRAEL'S CAPITAL

Dear Colleague:

We are writing to invite you to join us in sending a letter expressing our belief that Jerusalem is the indivisible capital of the State of Israel.

We support the President in his determination to bring peace to the region and we recognize what a delicate process that is. We also believe it is important to express to him how strongly we feel about not undercutting our ally Israel on this critical issue.

If you would like to sign onto the letter, please contact Jeremy Barber of Congressman Schumer's office at X5-6616 by Wednesday, March 21st.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Schumer
Charles E. Schumer, M.C.

Vin Weber
Vin Weber, M.C.

Gary Ackerman
Gary Ackerman, M.C.

Dan Burton
Dan Burton, M.C.

Edward Feighan
Edward Feighan, M.C.

Benjamin Gilman
Benjamin Gilman, M.C.

Mel Levine
Mel Levine, M.C.

דחיות: מיידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
סוג: שמור		פתוך: 3
תאריך זכרון חבור: 19.3.90		אל: מצפ"א
כס' פרוק: הפסד:		דע:
1/3 595		כאת: קישור לקונגרס

הסנטור מוניהאן - ירושלים

מצייל נוסח ה-Sense of congress של הסנטור. משיחות בסנט עולה כי צפויה הסתיגות של חלק מן הרפובליקנים - עקב הדרישה להכיר בעיר כבירת ישראל - הרואים בכך משום קריאת תגר מפלגתית על הנשיא.

יורם

י"ג

שמה סניטור 1
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תפוצה: 36

595 2/3

S. CON. RES. _____

Expressing the sense of the Congress that the search for peace in the Middle East would be facilitated by an unequivocal statement by the President of the United States concerning the status of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 20 (legislative day, _____), 1990

Mr. MOYNIHAN (for himself and _____) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the State of Israel has declared Jerusalem to be its capital;

Whereas from 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths were not permitted access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;

Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;

Whereas the President and the Secretary of State have demonstrated their strong desire to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and have worked diligently toward that end;

Whereas ambiguous statements by the Government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concerns in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be re-

divided and access to religious sites in Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens; and,

Whereas such concerns inhibit and complicate the search for a lasting peace in the region: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (the House of Representatives concurring), in recognition of the fact that the search for peace in the Middle East would be facilitated by an unequivocal statement by the United States concerning the status of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel, that the Congress --

(1) declares that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;

(2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected; and,

(3) calls upon the President and the Secretary of State to issue an unequivocal statement in support of these principles.

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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון
טופס פרוק

קד: 1
פתוך: 4

דתיפות: מיידי

סוג: 2

תאריך וזמן חצור:

אל: מצפ"א

19 במרץ 1990 11:15

פס' פרוק:

דע:

הפסד:

פאת: ק. לקונגרס

552

ירושלים - הסנטור מויניהן
בהמשך לשלבו 534 מ-16/3.

אתמול (18/3) בא"ב הקונגרסיונאלית של ה-JCRC לכבוד משלחת ניו יורק (בניו יורק).
הודיע מויניהן כי בכוונתו להגיש ביום ג' 20/3 החלטה בנושא ירושלים.

רציב הודעה לעתונות מטעמו ונוסח ההחלטה. דיווח מלא על איב יועבר ע"י הקונסוליה
בניו יורק.

ורנאי דרנגר
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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תפוצה: 36

FROM THE OFFICE OF

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan ^{2/4}

New York

SS2 2/4

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE:
Sunday, March 18, 1990CONTACT: Brian Connolly
Beth Weintraub
202/224-4451SEN. MOYNIHAN ANNOUNCES RESOLUTION ON STATUS OF JERUSALEM

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D.-N.Y.) today announced plans to introduce a resolution calling upon the President and the Secretary of State to strengthen the peace process in the Middle East by acknowledging that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and must remain united.

Sen. Moynihan declared that Israel is being asked to make sacrifices for peace in the Middle East and, therefore, must be reassured on the subject of Jerusalem. No Israeli government would contemplate joining a process that it believes may end in the dismemberment of Israel's historic capital.

Recently, while on a Foreign Relations Committee trip to the Middle East, Sen. Moynihan met with a cross section of Israeli political and communal leaders.

"I found that they (political and communal leaders) had many different views on the peace process," Sen. Moynihan said.

"There were, in fact, only two things on which they all agreed: their desire to see a meaningful and secure peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors and their anguish over the continued confusion of American policy concerning the City of Jerusalem."

"First the President declared that the United States opposes 'new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem' and then he assured Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem that 'we did not approve of the status quo before 1967; in no way do we advocate it now.'

The President's words of reassurance would be a lot more comforting if anyone could recall just what the United States did or said to show our disapproval of the 'status quo before 1967.'"

On March 9th, in a public statement, Sen. Moynihan also voiced concern over the disarray of United States' policy on this issue and President Bush's declaration.

"President Bush has, I am afraid, added to this confusion in a fashion that has already proven to be most unhelpful to the quest for peace in the Middle East," Sen. Moynihan said.

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S. CON. RES. _____

Expressing the sense of the Congress that the search for peace in the Middle East would be facilitated by an unequivocal statement by the President of the United States concerning the status of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 20 (legislative day, _____), 1990

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Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city administered by Israel and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;

Whereas the President and the Secretary of State have demonstrated their strong desire to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and have worked diligently toward that end;

Whereas ambiguous statements by the Government of the United States concerning the right of Jews to live in all parts of Jerusalem raise concerns in Israel that Jerusalem might one day be re-

divided and access to religious sites in Jerusalem denied to Israeli citizens; and,

Whereas such concerns inhibit and complicate the search for a

lasting peace in the region: Now, therefore, be it

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RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (the House of Representatives concurring), in recognition of the fact that the search for peace in the Middle East would be facilitated by an unequivocal statement by the United States concerning the status of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel, that the Congress --

(1) declares that Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel;

(2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected; and,

(3) calls upon the President and the Secretary of State to issue an unequivocal statement in support of these principles.

דתיקות: רגיל	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
כונן: גלוי		כתוב: 8
תאריך וזמן העבור: 16.3.90		אל: מצפ"א
פס' פרוק:		דע:
הכשרה: (54) 54		פאת: קישור לקונגרס

הסנטור פל
לשלכם 225 מ- 15/3

1. דברי טאטוילר ב- 8/3 נאמרו בתגובה לנאום הסנטור בוועידת המנהיגות הארצית של

מכון ויזנטל שהתקיימה בווישינגטון ב- 7/3/90.

2. רצ"ב נאומו המלא של הסנטור.

התייחסות פל לצורך הליצון פרטי ולא פומבי בנושא ההתנחלויות וירושלים מצד הנשיא

והמזכיר מופיעה בעמוד 4 של הנאום. (ראו המסומן).

אוריאל ורנאי פרנקל
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

סיה סנטוריה רפ"ד 3
א"א אדוארד כרמי ז"ל פ"א
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תפוצה:

Remarks by Senator Claiborne Pell
Simon Wiesenthal Center
National Leadership Conference
Washington, D.C.
March 7, 1990

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I am pleased to be with you today as we begin a new decade that could go down in history as the Decade of Peace. The peoples' revolutions in Eastern Europe have toppled one communist dictator after another. The growing strength of the reform movement in the Soviet Union has made that country much less of a military threat to the West. South Africa's President De Klerk has taken bold actions that could lead to early negotiations with his country's black majority. In Central America, civil war is giving way to elections and negotiations. What a wonderful way to begin the final ten years of the twentieth century, the most destructive century in human history.

This rosy picture will not be complete, however, unless there is peace also in the Middle East. This cradle of civilization has become the crucible of one of the most enduring conflicts of modern times. Israel, through all its travails, has counted on the support of its many friends in America. And I am proud to count myself as one of these friends.

My support for Israel is rooted in some rather unique experiences. Before the Second World War, I was arrested in Danzig by the Nazis, and I saw the humiliating sight of Jews having to wear the yellow Star of David. From my cousin Robert Pell, a career U.S. diplomat, I learned of the tragic refusal of the United States and other countries to help resettle Jews who wished to escape from Germany after Kristallnacht in 1938. It was clear to me that many of the

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victims of the Holocaust could have been saved if the United States and others only had the will to do so.

During the Second World War, my father served as head of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. War Crimes Commission and played a major role in having genocide declared a war crime. A grove in Israel is named after him in honor of his work. After the war, as a young diplomat, I gave sanctuary in the American Consulate General in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia to a group of young Slovak Jews who got caught in a mini-pogrom. These experiences convinced me long before I entered the Senate that there must be an independent and secure Jewish homeland where Jews could live freely as a matter of right. The creation of the State of Israel provided that homeland, and the United States has been and must continue to be a staunch supporter of Israel.

Current developments in the Soviet Union, and even in Eastern Europe, remind us of the continuing role that Israel plays as a haven for Jews suffering from repression. The dark side of glasnost in the Soviet Union and liberation in Eastern Europe has been a revival of ethnic conflicts and anti-Semitism. The fear of new pogroms in the Soviet Union is very real, and last month I joined several of my colleagues in sending a letter to President Gorbachev urging him to take a public and unequivocal stand in opposition to anti-semitism. I also joined in urging the Soviets to implement the Aeroflot-El Al agreement for direct flights to Israel.

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Unfortunately, as you know, the Soviets bowed to Arab pressure and are renegeing on the Aeroflot-El Al agreement. I raised this with President Bush and Secretary of State Baker in a meeting at the White House on February 21 and urged them to try to get the Soviets to reconsider this decision. We must continue to press the Soviets on this issue. In this connection, discussions are currently underway with the Soviets on a bilateral trade agreement. The Soviets should be advised in those discussions that a favorable resolution of the Aeroflot-El Al issue will be an important factor in whether or not a trade agreement is concluded.

The resurgent exodus of Soviet Jews has, unfortunately, raised a new issue. A careless remark by Prime Minister Shamir was used to accuse Israel of having a policy of forcibly settling Soviet Jews in the West Bank and Gaza in order to drive Arabs from their homes. To his credit, Mr. Shamir quickly made it clear that Israel has no such policy.

Mr. Shamir's statement should have laid that issue to rest. Unfortunately, however, during the past week, the Administration has reopened this issue.

Secretary of State Baker is apparently trying to get Israel to stop building settlements in the West Bank and Gaza as a condition for Administration support for legislation providing loan guarantees to house Soviet Jews in Israel proper. And President Bush last Saturday said that the freeze on new settlements should apply to East Jerusalem as well as to the West Bank and Gaza. The President is reported

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to be changing this position, but where he actually stands is not at all clear.

Personally, I believe that this matter should be resolved in private discussions. Above all, this controversy should not be allowed to upset plans for a meeting of U.S., Israeli and Egyptian officials to discuss arrangements for elections in the West Bank and Gaza.

This meeting will be a critical event. If all goes well, it should result in an agreement under which Israeli representatives would enter into a dialogue with Palestinian representatives on the implementation of Mr. Shamir's May 1989 proposal for elections in the West Bank and Gaza. It has not been easy to agree on who should represent the Palestinians in this dialogue; and it will be even harder to have a calm productive dialogue with the Palestinians on the arrangements for elections. The area of common ground between Israelis and Palestinians is currently very narrow, and that is that both sides want an end to the violence in the West Bank and Gaza.

That is not much of a basis for a peace process, but it is at least a beginning. Israel has taken a major gamble in proposing elections and has made many concessions to get to the point where we are now. U.S. support for Israel will be essential if the inevitable obstacles to success are to be overcome. That is why I oppose Senator Dole's across-the-board proposal to cut aid to Israel. I cannot think of anything worse for the peace process than to give the impression that U.S. support for Israel is weakening.

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Fortunately, there is little support in Congress for Senator Dale's proposal. There is also little or no support for his notion that the needs of Eastern Europe must be pitted against those of Israel and Egypt. We simply need a more substantial foreign aid budget that promotes U.S. interests in both the Middle East and Eastern Europe. This must not be an either/or proposition. Surely, if the Warsaw Pact threat is declining--and it is--money for peace can be found by diverting money currently being spent on our NATO military commitments.

Having been a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for 25 years, I am often asked how I see the outcome of the Middle East peace process. In addressing this issue, I would like to emphasize that it is up to the people and government of Israel to decide what kind of eventual settlement is acceptable to them. "It is not for other countries to try to impose a solution on Israel.

What will prove to be acceptable to Israel, I would argue, will not be known until negotiations with elected Palestinian representatives are underway. This will be a slow, step-by-step process, and what Israelis can live with will, in large part, depend upon how cooperative the Palestinians are in meeting Israeli concerns. A climate of cooperation and confidence cannot be created on the basis of words alone. There will have to be a body of experience of commitments fulfilled by the Palestinians before Israelis will feel comfortable about relaxing their control over the occupied territories.

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At some point, I could foresee the creation of an arrangement under which the West Bank and Gaza would acquire a status similar to that of a Swiss canton. The canton system has worked well to meet the aspirations of four ethnic groups in Switzerland, and a modified version just might be the answer in the Middle East as well.

A Palestinian canton would be self-governing but not independent. It would have a police force, but no military forces. And borrowing an idea from the plan of Israeli Defense Minister Allon some 15 years ago, Israel would maintain a string of military outposts along the borders with Jordan and Egypt and would control entry into the West Bank and Gaza. Jerusalem would remain a unified city under an Israeli mayor, but it might be helpful to create a post of vice mayor to be held by a Palestinian.

These are some ideas about where negotiations might lead, but it is important to emphasize that what actually happens and what is acceptable will depend on the climate that develops as the negotiations proceed.

In closing, I would like to leave one final thought with you, and that is that the events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in no way diminish the strategic aspect of our relationship with Israel. The U.S.-Israel strategic relationship is based on more than countering Soviet influence in the Middle East.

The United States will continue to have major interests in the area regardless of the decline of the Soviet threat. Libya, Iran, Iraq and Syria are all actual or potential

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threats to U.S. interests relating to oil supplies, freedom of navigation and terrorism. Cooperation with Israel is important to protecting those interests, while minimizing the cost to the United States.

In this regard, developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union will inevitably lead to drastic reductions in U.S. forces in Europe. That will mean fewer American assets to defend our interests in the Middle East. Israel will, therefore, be even more important as an ally of ours in the years to come. That is one more reason to keep Israel strong through an undiminished aid program.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 101st CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 136

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1990

No. 27

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1990

486 2/15

JERUSALEM MUST NOT BE DIVIDED

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAUBIN). Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. FEIGHAN) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I thank the Speaker, and at the outset of this special order I would like particularly to thank our colleague from Indiana, Congressman BERTON, who has joined me in organizing this special order this afternoon and spoke with many of our colleagues, many of whom had hoped to participate, thinking that the special order would have been conducted somewhat earlier in today's schedule. Just because of the wide interest in a number of topics, we were not able to do so.

I would also like, Mr. Speaker, to just mention two of our colleagues who have been instrumental in organizing this special order and were very eager to participate but because of the lateness of the hour were unable to do so.

One is the gentleman from California (Mr. LEVINE), who has been a very active member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, particularly the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East in dealing with the wide range of complex issues in the fashioning of American foreign policy in the Middle East. He is submitting an extension of his remarks at a later date.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of my special order today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I also would like to mention a colleague of ours who serves on the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. LEHMAN), who also wanted to participate today. I will be submitting his lengthy statement into the Record. He is someone who has been of enormous help and tremendously responsible in helping us to fashion an appropriate American policy.

Mr. Speaker, during the past 23 years—since 1967—there have been certain hallmarks in U.S. Middle East policy that have remained constant. One has been that any peace agreement involves mutual recognition and secure borders for Israel. Another has been that in exchange for full peace and recognition Israel might have to yield some of the territory that was won after the Arab States attacked in 1967. A third was that the city of Jerusalem must remain united and would not be returned to the divided status of the pre-1967 period.

However, on March 3, President Bush seemed to break with the consensus that had existed since 1967 when he stated that his administration opposed new Israeli settlements "in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem." Initially, it was thought that the President misspoke and that he had meant to say "the West Bank and Gaza." It seemed unlikely that the President would have intended to put Israel's capital city in the same category as the administered territories.

But, as Tom Friedman pointed out in the New York Times of March 9, that was his intention. "Officials say," Friedman wrote, "that Bush intentionally added East Jerusalem to make sure that the Israelis understood that it was still viewed as occupied territory by the United States . . ." The President stated just yesterday that he stands by his March 9 statement.

The President has made a blunder, one that is already reverberating throughout the Middle East. The first mistake was in the timing of his remark on Jerusalem. At the time he made his statement, the administration was trying to convince the Israeli Government to enter into negotiations with the Palestinians—negotiations that would lead to elections in the West Bank.

The Shamir government was resisting, in part because of the administration's insistence that Arab residents of Jerusalem be allowed to participate both in the negotiations and in any future election. Israelis feared that allowing residents of Jerusalem to participate—as if Jerusalem was just another part of the West Bank—might lead to a situation where Israel was being pressured to relinquish sovereignty over its own capital.

This fear was only fueled by the President's statement which is a departure from traditional U.S. policy. The United States has always made a distinction between Jerusalem and the territories. American policy on the West Bank and Gaza is governed by U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and the Camp David accords, both of which envision at least partial Israeli withdrawal in exchange for full peace and security.

However, neither of those documents makes reference to Jerusalem and diliberately so. The United States Ambassador to the United Nations at the time 242 was drafted stated that "Resolution 242 in no way refers to Jerusalem . . . Jerusalem was a discrete matter, not linked to the West Bank." As for Camp David, the accords drafted there include separate letters stating the Egyptian, Israeli, and American positions on Jerusalem. These separate side letters were included simply because the three sides could not reach agreement on Jerusalem's future.

Subsequent United States administrations have made clear, over and over again, that the land for peace formula does not apply to Jerusalem. Israelis would not be asked to accept the redivision of Jerusalem.

Nor should they. Jerusalem is Israel's capital. The concept of settlements in Jerusalem is nonsensical. Israelis do not settle in their capital. They live there. Jerusalem is not occupied territory.

The Bush statement reveals a troubling aspect to United States policy toward Jerusalem. In his March 9 statement the President indicated that the administration considers East Jerusalem to be occupied territory, that is, territory that Israel would be asked to give up in the context of peace negotiations.

In a March 13 letter to Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem he stresses that Jerusalem must "never again be a divided city," but at the same time states that it is "our view that the final status of this most special of cities should be decided by negotiation . . ."

The logic here is inescapable. The administration believes that Jerusalem must remain one city but that its final

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status is up for grabs. Israel will be asked to negotiate not only over the future of East Jerusalem—the part of the city that was gained in the 1967 war—but also over West Jerusalem, which has always been part of Israel.

Mr. Speaker, the administration's policy toward Jerusalem is precisely half right. Jerusalem must never again be divided. However, it is most certainly not up for grabs. Jerusalem, East and West, will remain Israel's capital. Now and forever.

This is not to say that there can be no negotiations over Jerusalem's final status. At the end of the day, when the other outstanding issues dividing Israelis and Palestinians are resolved, there should be discussions over the holy places and other sites of particular historic or religious interest.

However, raising the Jerusalem question at this time is counterproductive. It unnecessarily alarms the Israelis and raises the expectations among Palestinians and other Arabs that the United States will join in the effort to wrest Jerusalem from Israel. That is not going to happen. And it shouldn't happen. It's President Bush who should convey this message to Arabs and Israelis alike. Only then will this needless controversy be laid to rest.

□ 1850

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] who has joined me this afternoon in calling for and organizing this special order.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am a very strong supporter of President Bush, and I think many of my colleagues are. However, we believe, I think many Members believe, that an unfortunate error was made by the President recently when he made the statement that "We do not believe that there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem."

Jerusalem, the ancient capital of Israel, represents the heart and soul of the Jewish people. It has been the focus of Jewish national and religious yearning for 3,000 years. Jews have always lived there. And, since the 19th century, a plurality of its residents have been Jewish.

Ever since King David established Jerusalem as the capital of the kingdom of Israel, Jerusalem has been close to the heart of the Jewish people.

Through all the years of exile, Jerusalem was the focus of Jewish prayers. At Passover, Jews have always prayed "next year in Jerusalem." One of Judaism's most fervent prayers reads like this:

If I forget thee O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember thee, if I do not raise Jerusalem above my highest joy.

We must remember Jerusalem was divided for 19 years because of war imposed by Arab neighbors, and Jews

were not allowed into East Jerusalem for that time, even to pray at the holy shrines. Jewish gravestones were desecrated, and some used for latrines, and some used for road construction. Israel pleaded with Jordan not to enter the 1967 war. Jordan, instead, chose to enter the war started by Syria and Egypt. As a consequence, Israel found itself in control of all of Jerusalem and the West Bank. In order words, these were areas seized in a war of self defense. The very fact that Israel is being asked to relinquish those territories is a reflection of the hypocrisy of the world community. What other country in the world is expected to give up land it won in a war? Especially a war of self defense. Can Members imagine the United States giving Texas back to Mexico? Can Members imagine Poland returning territory to Germany? I think not.

How could anyone who has been to Israel not be awed and impressed by what the Israelis have done in Jerusalem? It is a free city, where Jews, Arabs, and everybody else enjoys freedom. Mayor Teddy Kollek, a great statesman, has done a tremendous job in unifying that city. The Arabs who live there are entitled to full citizenship and have all benefited from a higher standard of living, better education, better health care, better job opportunities and so forth. Most Arabs in any other country in the Middle East do not enjoy anywhere near the same advantages. Anyone who has been to Israel who has seen the West Bank knows how vulnerable Israel is, how narrow the country is at the waist. A person can fire a rocket from the West Bank all the way across the country into the Mediterranean Sea. It is surrounded by hostility. We ought to have maximum understanding for Israel's situation.

However, Jerusalem is in a category by itself. Recently, unfortunate statements have been made about the Israeli settlements in Jerusalem, which I alluded to, by the President, a few moments ago. Let all Members make it clear that we do not understand that language, on both sides of the aisle. Jerusalem is the eternal, indivisible capital of Israel. As a matter of principle, we really should move our Embassy to Jerusalem. Israel is the only country in the world where the United States Embassy is located in a city other than its capital, and Israel is our strongest ally in the Middle East. But at the very least, let Members speak with one voice concerning our feelings about Jerusalem. Let no one, be it friend or foe, doubt our strong support for Israel, and our strong conviction about the centrality of Jerusalem as Israel's eternal, united, and free capital city.

I would just like to end by saying since 1967, successive administrations have been sensitive to the special status of the city. According to Arthur Goldberg, one of the drafters of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 242,

that resolution "in no way refers to Jerusalem, and this omission was deliberate . . . Jerusalem was a discrete matter, not linked to the West Bank."

Mr. Speaker, I hope that the President, whom I support almost 100 percent of the time, will reevaluate his position on this issue so that this Congress can speak with one voice with the administration in helping preserve, protect, and defend Israel, our allies, work with them and work with their capital city, Jerusalem.

Mr. FEIGHAN, Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for his forceful statement this afternoon, and again for his participation in organizing today's special order.

I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, who has been one of the most effective and responsible voices on American foreign policy in the Middle East.

Mr. GILMAN, Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. FERGHAN] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for arranging this special order so that we may be able to comment on the status of Jerusalem.

Mr. Speaker, for over 3,000 years, Jerusalem has been the center of religious, historic, and political identification for Jews throughout the world. The people of Israel and both major Israeli parties are united in their conviction that Jerusalem is and will remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel, just as it has been for more than four decades.

Jerusalem is the heart and soul of the Jewish people. For thousands of years it has been the focus of Jewish national and religious yearning. Jews have always lived in Jerusalem, and since the 19th century, a plurality of its residents have been Jewish.

On December 5, 1949, David Ben Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel, declared in the Knesset that:

. . . Jewish Jerusalem is an organic and inseparable part of the State of Israel, as it is an inseparable part of the history of Israel, of the faith of Israel, and of the very soul of the Jewish people. Jerusalem is the heart of hearts of the State of Israel . . .

Those words, so articulately spoken by Ben Gurion, loudly proclaimed to the entire world that Jerusalem is the only religious and national center that Jews have ever had. If all of this is so obvious, and so critically important to Israel and her citizens, I question why our administration has not been more sensitive to this issue?

It is inconceivable for any Israeli Government to agree to the redivision of Jerusalem under any circumstances. In 1967, a Labor government was responsible for reunifying the city and a labor controlled Knesset legislated Israeli jurisdiction over all parts of the city. This commitment was reaffirmed when the Knesset enacted the basic law on Jerusalem in July 1980, which

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declared that "Jerusalem, united in its entirety is the capital of Israel."

Since 1967, successive administrations have been sensitive to the special status of Jerusalem. It is significant to note that according to Arthur Goldberg, one of the drafters of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, commented on the omission of Jerusalem in that resolution, stating: "that resolution in no way refers to Jerusalem, and this omission is deliberate * * *. Jerusalem is a discrete matter, not linked to the West Bank."

The 1980 Republican Party platform called for Jerusalem to "remain an undivided city with continued free and unimposed access to all holy places by people of all faiths."

President Reagan on a number of occasions voiced support for keeping Jerusalem "undivided under Israeli rule."

I believe that President Bush is clearly committed to the important strategic relationship with our one stable, resolve any in the Middle East: the State of Israel. In fact, President Bush's 1988 Republican Party platform was the most pro-Israeli political document ever produced by a major American party.

Lately, however, something appears to have been lost in the translation and most recently there has been a plethora of mixed signals with respect to United States policy toward Israeli Jews living in east Jerusalem.

Earlier this month, President Bush stated "we do not believe that there should be new settlement in the West Bank or in east Jerusalem."

By departing from a longstanding United States policy regarding the special status of Jerusalem, President Bush has raised doubts about our Nation's credibility at an extremely sensitive time in the peace process.

Jerusalem's mayor, Teddy Koller, observed that the administration's recent statements "have harmed the peace process and have caused a furor throughout Israel" and I might add throughout the American Jewish community.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I call upon our President to review and clarify the official United States position with regard to Jerusalem and particularly with regard to the Jewish population in east Jerusalem, as a further demonstration of our commitment to and support for Israel.

Mayor Teddy Koller noted there have been no Jewish settlements in Jerusalem.

A.M. Rosenthal, in his comments in the NY Times on March 8, 1990 stated:

The very use of the word "settlement" to describe Jews moving into Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem is insulting. Should Israelis declare a Jewish quota for the eastern part of their capital?

Mr. President, you have been a staunch supporter of peace in the Middle East. Do not allow your recent east Jerusalem comments to undermine all of your good works.

□ 1900

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his very thoughtful and scholarly presentation on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN].

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank both the gentlemen from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for taking this special order.

If President Bush's comments were not so serious, if his misstatement of U.S. policy were not so severe, one could almost find a humorous aspect to what he has done. With the Israeli body politic, which is so divided and so split up and so fractious and tumultuous right now, he has managed to unify Israelis from the left to the right and from Labor to Likud with his very, very unfortunate comments.

The sad part of this and the thing that takes the humor away is the serious repercussions and implications which will come from all of this. The President has misstated U.S. policy toward Jerusalem. Jerusalem has always, under Republican administrations and Democratic administrations, been considered a separate issue from the question of the West Bank and Gaza. Jerusalem has been accorded a special status by the U.S. Government, at least until last week. The United States has always until last week been very careful to refrain from taking a position on the final status of Jerusalem. But always the U.S. position has been that Jerusalem is to be a unified entity.

The separation between 1967 and post-1967 was not to apply to Jerusalem. The green line did not run through the middle of Jerusalem.

The irony of the President's statements implying that Jews should be restricted from living in certain areas of the Holy City, in addition to being deeply offensive to Israelis of all political persuasions, Jews of every nationality, and many other Americans, is that Jerusalem is one city where the residents, be they Muslim, Christian, or Jew, Arab Israeli or Jewish Israeli, could live anywhere. No one has ever suggested restrictions on the ability of Arab Israelis who lived in what was known as East Jerusalem before 1967 to move anywhere within Jerusalem or anywhere within Israel as it existed before 1967. This has never been a question for Muslims or for Christians.

Now President Bush all of a sudden suggests and raises the question that it should be an issue of where Jews can live in Jerusalem. Each year at Passover, Jews worldwide pray, and they pray next year in Jerusalem, remembering that particularly in recent years Soviet Jews were unable to conduct services for themselves. For 2,000 years the return to the Holy City has been the highest spiritual aspiration for Jews.

That is why the President's statements are especially distressing to

Soviet Jews. Having finally escaped decades of persecution in the Soviet Union, they discover now that our Government is seeking to discriminate against them on the basis of religion. As we applaud the collapse of the Berlin Wall, it might be intolerable for us to support the erection of a similar divisive edifice in Jerusalem.

I have been one who has been supportive of the administration's efforts in pursuing the peace process in the Middle East. The administration has played a very useful role in trying to implement the Shamir peace initiative, and in doing so, I think, has given hope to all of us that we may bring this spiraling escalation of hatred to an end, turn this around, and move forward in the peace process. But when they raise the kind of issue like the final status of Jerusalem in such a fashion as President Bush just did, it is the kind of ill-considered, hasty action that brings negotiations of such sensitivity to a standstill.

There are three theories for what the President has done. One is that it was a misstatement. If it was a misstatement, he had ample opportunity to correct it, but he chose instead to reiterate it. Another suggestion has been that he is trying to make a purposeful change in our position with respect to Jerusalem. If that is his intent, he should put it forth as such, defend it as such, and explain why what he is doing serves our national interest.

Finally, it is the view of some that this is the result of pique or irritation at some Israeli action in the peace process. That is not an appropriate response for the President of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, moving the peace process backward by this kind of comment is a very terrible responsibility for the administration to bear, and I hope they do everything they can as soon as they can to rectify the situation.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN] for his remarks and for joining us this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAXON].

Mr. PAXON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I would like to thank and commend my colleagues, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] who have taken the time this evening to ask us to come over and talk about an issue of very great importance and personal interest to me.

Last August I had the opportunity to visit Israel for the first time. While I was there, I spent several days touring the ancient city of Jerusalem, the center of Jewish history. Although the short time I was there was not nearly enough to fully experience life in Jerusalem, I was able to speak to many people, not just leaders of the government but ordinary citizens as well.

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I was told by these men and women of the days when Jerusalem was a divided city, when the city, held sacred by not only Jews but by Christians and Muslims as well, was divided by walls and barbed wire, machine guns, and mines. My friends in Israel, those old enough to remember, told me of the pain they felt knowing that they could not go to East Jerusalem to visit the many places holy to them and to their religion.

After the Jewish sector of the partitioned city came under attack in the Six Days War in 1967, the Israelis were able to reestablish control and order in all parts of that Holy City.

□ 1910

Mr. Speaker, when the Israelis reunited all parts of Jerusalem, they undertook measures to guarantee that in the future all holy places would be protected from desecration and that access to them would be free to all members of all faiths, and, my colleagues, that has been the case ever since, regardless of religious background.

On that afternoon of the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967, standing at the Western Wall, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said, "We have returned to our holiest places. We have returned, never to be parted again."

Mr. Speaker, when I was in Jerusalem, I went and prayed at that Western Wall myself. I joined with others in our group and from all over the world at that wall to pray that Jerusalem never again would be divided. I prayed for a just and lasting peace in Israel and the Middle East.

However, my colleagues, now I fear that these prayers and these concerns of myself and so many others might go unanswered. The United States policy toward the division of the city of Jerusalem and Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem as expressed in recent days by our administration is at very best unclear. We must explore every opportunity for achieving peace, and we must demonstrate our unwavering commitment to Israel with a unified Jerusalem as its capital.

I have been a strong supporter for the State of Israel for a very long time, for Israel is our only real democracy and our only real ally in the turbulent Middle East. But I have also been among the strongest supporters and friends of the Bush administration in this House. As a result, I today urge my friends in the administration to carefully reflect on the issue of Jerusalem and then join with us in standing up for a united, free, and strong Jerusalem and Israel.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MANTON).

Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my colleagues Mr. FEIGHAN and Mr. BURTON for reserving this time to discuss President Bush's policy toward Jerusalem.

Mr. Speaker, I am here to voice my deep concern about President Bush's recent statement that the administration is opposed to new Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem. The President's remarks are troubling to me and to friends of Israel everywhere because they signal a complete shift in United States policy toward Israel. No other United States president has ever challenged the rights of Jews to live in Jerusalem, the ancient capitol of Israel. The President's statement also represents a complete reversal of his own previously stated policy on this issue.

One reason I am concerned about the President's remarks is that they seem to represent a lack of understanding of Israel's history. I am troubled that the President linked the very different issues of the West Bank and Jerusalem. It is inappropriate to refer to the Israeli community in Jerusalem as a settlement because Jerusalem is part of Israel, and has been since 1967.

During his news conference yesterday, President Bush said he did not regret his remarks about Jerusalem. He added that the political situation in Israel was so sensitive and emotional he would not talk about it further. I think we need to urge the President to change his mind. These statements need to be talked about. We need to know what other departures from longstanding U.S. policy the President has in mind with regard to the Middle East.

Although the President's policy toward Jerusalem remains ill defined, the effect of his statements is painfully clear. In a single remark, the President has done a great deal to undermine confidence in his administration's intentions regarding the Middle East peace process and in political stability in Israel.

Mr. Speaker, the outlook for peace in the Middle East looked bright 2 weeks ago. Both the Likud and Labor Parties seemed poised to agree to begin peace talks with Palestinian representatives in Cairo. Unfortunately, things have changed a great deal in 2 weeks. Today, Likud Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir fired his Vice Premier, Labor Party Leader Shimon Peres, thereby signaling the end of Israel's coalition government. Regrettably, President Bush's introduction of the Jerusalem issue into the peace talks debate precipitated this breakdown.

When asked a question about the Soviet Union at yesterday's news conference, the President said that he stayed out of the internal affairs and deliberations of the Soviet Union. Yet the administration has shown no such constraint in making pronouncements about Jewish neighborhoods in the Israeli city of Jerusalem. I only wish the President felt that his administration owed Israel the same courtesy he feels is due the Soviet Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN).

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. FEIGHAN) for yielding, and I would like to commend my colleagues, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. FEIGHAN) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) for having the energy, and the foresight and everything, the dedication of putting this special order together, and it is a real privilege and an honor for me to be able to participate tonight in this very important discussion.

Mr. Speaker, today we are at a point where one could envision peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict as a result of this new world.

Congress continues to debate many issues of concern to Israel. Policy regarding Soviet refugees, terrorism, foreign aid, and the Middle East peace process justifiably demand our complete attention.

There is, however, a more pressing issue on our collective agenda, an imperative concern to the ongoing search for a lasting peace—it is Israel's capital, Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is the embodiment of Jewish history, the heart and soul of the Jewish people. For 3,000 years, Jerusalem has been the focus of their national and religious yearning. It is a city in which Jews have always lived. However, it is a city that Israel has granted freedom of access to all.

Jerusalem is worshiped as a holy city; a well of spiritual opportunity for Jews, Christians, Moslems, and other religious groups. The Israeli Government guarantees each religion the authority to oversee their own holy places. The history, culture, and tradition of this land are unparalleled and give one an understanding of why so much of man's past and present existence has been focused in this part of the world. Israel recognizes Jerusalem's special significance and has made great efforts to preserve this multiple identity. One can therefore not help but have an intense love for this land and her people.

In the year 1000 BCE (before the common era) King David established Jerusalem as the capital city of the Jewish state, serving as the symbol and most profound expression of the Jewish people's identity as a nation. The return to Israel has continued throughout the centuries, and 78 years of nation-building, beginning in 1870 culminated with the reestablishment of a Jewish state.

History has demonstrated the need to ensure Jewish security through a national homeland with a national capital—Jerusalem.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to our very distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK).

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the initiative of the gentleman

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from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] in taking out this special order. It is very important because our purpose here is not simply to reaffirm what I believe is the policy overwhelmingly supported by the Congress of the United States; that is, the recognition that Jerusalem united is the capital of Israel.

Actually, Mr. Speaker, I was somewhat puzzled when the President said at one point that he agreed that the Jewish people should be united, but they apparently only were not sure that it should be part of Israel. I do not know whether the implication is that Jerusalem is supposed to move entirely someplace else. I think that illustrates the lack of thought that went into the President's position.

So, Mr. Speaker, we are here to reaffirm our commitment to the legitimacy, indeed the essentiality, of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. We are here to once again praise Israel because only under Israeli rule have all of the holy places been fully opened to all. Prior to Israel taking over, in all of Jerusalem Jews were denied access. The Jewish people running Jerusalem have not denied access to anyone, as they should not have.

□ 1920

But it was a particular disaster for the President to have gratuitously injected the sensitive issue of Jerusalem into the political arena at this point.

American policy for some time has been trying to advance the peace process in the Middle East, and I have agreed with some aspects of that policy. I was one who believed that it was in the interests of peace and justice when Prime Minister Shamir came forward with an electoral proposal, which was quite a good proposal. I was sorry that it seemed to be bogging down. I was hoping that we could get an agreement with Israel and Egypt and the United States so that the talks could begin leading to an election so that there could be an elected autonomous body in the elected territories to see whether out of that could evolve a true peace. At that point, when this government was asking elected democratic leaders in Israel to take political risks and to take risks to some extent with the security of their state, for the President to have called into question Israel's right to Jerusalem was the biggest diplomatic gaff I can remember having been made since I have come to Congress.

What the President did was not simply to call into question something that should not be questioned, but he did it at a time when it was guaranteed to retard the very peace process that he was apparently trying to help, because what has he done? He has given those in Israel who are resistant to any degree of compromise the argument that if you give in to the Americans, you are going to be calling Jerusalem into question. I do not think that is accurate.

I think it is very important that we here show overwhelmingly that the United States Congress does not agree with that, that we are not asking Israel in any way, shape or form, to sacrifice their control over their sovereignty over all of Jerusalem; but the President of the United States has given some credibility to those who would argue that putting the peace process forward would somehow call Jerusalem into question. The President's objection to Jerusalem at this point undoubtedly contributed to the political crisis in Israel, and it is not just a political crisis, it is a political crisis which may lead to an election in which some will be portraying an American initiative as one which calls Jerusalem into question as the capital of Israel. It cannot be the interests of anyone who wants peace in the Middle East. It cannot be in our interests, so what the President said was not simply wrong, factually wrong, politically wrong and morally wrong in doubting Israel's right to have a united Jerusalem as its capital. It was as I guess Tallyrand said, even worse than a crime. It was a stupidity. It was an error of a very grave sort, compounded the other day when the President was asked if he wanted to take it back, he said, "I don't want to take it back because it is too sensitive to discuss it. It is too delicate."

Mr. President, if it was so sensitive and so delicate, why did you bring it up in the first place?

He was the one who injected this bomb into the process. Then he pleads the delicacy of the subject as a reason not to clarify what he said.

The President has got to understand, it is not simply that we believe as a matter of right that Israel can have Jerusalem as its capital. If the President continues to allow there to be doubts about America's recognition of Israel's right to a unified Jerusalem, he will be putting a serious obstacle in the way of the peace process that he says he wants.

The President at this point, as I say, has created an enormously difficult diplomatic situation. We are trying to minimize the damage. Only he can totally undo it, and I hope that he will, and I thank the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER] whose recent visit to Israel and the region I think underscores his experience and perspective on this issue and the whole range of issues regarding the peace process.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio for yielding to me. I thank the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for having had the leadership and thoughtfulness and sensitivity to arrange for this important special order, and I would like to thank the broad range of our colleagues who have spoken before me. They really said it

all. There is really not very much for me to day. I have enjoyed their remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I was asked this afternoon in various conversations with the press, did President Bush mean to upset the peace process? Did he mean to sabotage the negotiations? Did he mean to cut Prime Minister Shamir down to size with this monkey wrench or this bomb that he threw into the negotiations. Of course not. Nobody thinks that. Nobody questions President Bush's essential decency, his essential honor, his bona fides; but this was an awful gaff. This was an awful boomer.

To link Jerusalem with settlements is a non-starter in the first place. I just got back from Jerusalem 16 days ago. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] was there on a mission. We meet there. Anybody who has ever been in East Jerusalem would be appalled by the application of the word settlements to East Jerusalem.

Mr. Speaker, East Jerusalem is a very densely occupied urban place. Settlements are placed on rocky mountainsides. Settlements are placed in empty fields. Settlements are not placed in densely occupied urban areas, and this is an urban area that has been densely occupied by Jews and Arabs, living together amicably for most of the last 3,000 years.

There is a difference, though. Jews look upon Jerusalem and always have as the centrality of their ethos, of their morality, of their religion, of their body and soul. A united Jerusalem is totally central to the Israeli persona, both as individuals and the persona of the Israeli state. It has been the capital of Israel for the last 42 years, and for several thousand years Jews have been saying every year on the occasion of Passover, "L'Chaim." "Good health next year in Jerusalem."

And we say, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand lose its cunning." And we have been saying that for 3,000 years.

It is totally central to the Jewish being.

Now, I guess Jerusalem is of significance to Arabs, to the Arab culture. It is never mentioned in the Koran, not once, while Jerusalem is mentioned in the Bible, in the Torah 700 times. There has never been an Arab state of which Jerusalem was its capital, and indeed over the years Mecca and Medina have been the two central cities that are most holy to the Arabs, with Jerusalem coming a poor third. Not so with the Jews. Jerusalem was the one and only holy place, the one and only capital, the one and only center of the heart and the mind of the Jewish people, extending back 3,000 years.

Now, I do not think President Bush, I do not believe President Bush meant to disrupt the peace process, but it was his thoughtless act—I credit him with bona fides, but this was a thoughtless,

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ill-considered act, and it was mischievous. It was destructive. It spread confusion and doubt and chagrin and dismay throughout the Middle East. It was very painful for the Jewish community and it was very confusing for the Arab community, because the Arabs are going through a very traumatic situation now. Their friends and mentors and suppliers and financiers of 40-odd years are disappearing into the morning mist. Russia, the East European states, the central European states, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, who have supplied arms to the Arabs, who have provided intelligence for the Arabs, who are giving training, have been giving training for the Arabs, they have totally departed the Arab camp.

□ 1930

Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, all in the last few weeks, have recognized the State of Israel. Incidentally, so have eight African states.

No longer can Syria look to Russia for the state-of-the-art armaments of all kinds, no longer can the PLO look to Russia and the Eastern European countries for assistance, financial underpinning, advice, counsel, training in terrorism and so forth. That is all a thing of the past.

It has been a very difficult period for the Arabs. The Arabs are reaching for straws, understandably. It is a painful period for them. So when the President threw this little bomb into the negotiation process and talked about no settlement in Jerusalem, the Arabs understandably grasped at that straw; understandably they felt that America was sending very mixed and confused signals about America's support for Israel and America's support for Jerusalem as the centrality of the Jewish existence. So it is going to take some time for a new equilibrium to be achieved.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that in the fullness of time this little contretemps, this little confusion will be viewed as a blip on the radar screen, but not it is not.

The very reasons that President Bush used not to apologize or the reason that he used as not having regrets over this was because it was a sensitive and an emotional subject. My colleague, this is precisely and exactly the reason why President Bush never should have made the comment in the first place, why it was so wholly ill-advised. It was blurted out. I am sure that the President would not make that statement again, nor would the Secretary of State.

We will get negotiations back on an even keel when a new government in Israel is established. We all hope and pray that they will be open-minded, open-hearted, and magnanimous in dealing with their Arab brothers. They are all Semites under the skin. They are a bunch of scorpions in a bottle; they must learn how to live to-

gether, and we all pray that that process will be sooner rather than later.

Surely this ill-considered episode did not add anything to the process.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the short length of time remaining, I am going to ask the subsequent speakers if they could confine their remarks within a 2-minute timeframe.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER).

Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER. Mr. Speaker, on March 3, President Bush stated his opposition to new settlements "in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem." The administration has confirmed that the President's remarks were intended to make it clear to the people of Israel that administration policy still viewed East Jerusalem as occupied territory.

I want to take this opportunity to clearly state my disagreement with the President's statement. I think that it is unfortunate that the President has forsaken his strategy of sitting on the sidelines of world events just in time to disrupt the prospects for negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

In the past, the United States has stated that it supports a united Jerusalem whose final status would be determined by negotiations. The status of Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Israel, has always been considered a separate issue from the treatment of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—territory which came under the control of Israel after the Six-Day War in 1967.

The separation of Jerusalem into east and west portions was the result of the battle lines existing at the end of Israel's war for independence in 1949. Prior to this, the United Nations partition plan, accepted by the Zionists and rejected by the surrounding Arab States, had called for Jerusalem to become an international city under U.N. control. Instead, the Arab countries attacked the newborn State of Israel and at the end of the fighting, the Kingdom of Jordan controlled a portion of the city of Jerusalem.

Over the next 18 years, the city of Jerusalem grew up around the battle lines. New communities grew up on all sides of Jerusalem to house the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees and immigrants who came from all over the world. In 1967, after a number of belligerent acts by President Nasser of Egypt, Israel launched a preemptive attack against Egypt. Armies from Jordan and Syria joined Egypt in the fight against Israel. In the ensuing battles, Jordan lost control of its portion of Jerusalem.

The Six-Day War allowed the reunification of the city of Jerusalem. Since that time, the city has continued its growth in all directions. Today, it is impossible to clearly delineate what is east or west Jerusalem. It has grown

as a single city. It should not be considered as a part of the West Bank.

When I visited Israel in 1988, I had the opportunity to talk with an American citizen who was living in Jerusalem. This person had recently tried to register his newborn son as an American citizen at the United States consulate in Jerusalem. At the consulate, when filling out the appropriate forms, this person came to the question, "place of birth." He filled in the answer "Jerusalem, Israel." A consular official told him that that was not an acceptable answer—essentially, the consular officials said there was no such place. This must have come as a great shock to this individual and to his friends who has been successfully sending letters to this address that the United States was claiming did not exist.

United States refusal to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel denies the reality of the situation and continues debate on an issue that never should have begun in the first place. President Bush, in equating Jerusalem with the West Bank and Gaza Strip has only served to break up the government of national unity which had been working toward negotiations with West Bank and Gaza Palestinians and strengthened the hand of groups such as the PLO which have no interest in a resolution of this conflict.

Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. This fact should be recognized by the administration. It is an odd fact that Israel, one of our most loyal international allies, is the only country in which the United States purposely does not locate its Embassy in that nation's capital. I think it is time to change that.

I hope that President Bush will reconsider his position and clearly state United States support for a unified Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. SCHUMER).

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank very much the gentleman from Ohio and the gentleman from Indiana for taking out this special order and their leadership.

Much of what has to be said has already been said. This was a cosmic blunder. This united the American community and the community in Israel behind a very justifiable and worthy goal that I believe just about all Americans would support, and that is that Jerusalem be united, Jerusalem be Israeli.

Many of us cannot forget the time between 1947 and 1967, or 1948 and 1967, when the Jordan Arab League pushed the Jews out of East Jerusalem. Was there an open city as there is today where Arabs and Christians and others can come and worship and even run their own shrines? No way. No Jew was allowed. Jews could not visit the Wailing Wall. Jews could not visit the old temple, Jews could not visit

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vital parts of their history, and in fact in 1967 when the areas were finally liberated, what was found was that many of these holy places had been desecrated.

Jews and many others throughout the world said after discovery of this desecration, "Never again." We say to the President, "Perhaps you did not know the chord you were striking. Perhaps you did not understand how the centrality of Jerusalem is to Jews throughout the world as well as in Israel. Perhaps it was, indeed, a slip of the tongue. Unfortunately, the damage has been done. The clocks cannot be turned back. The peace process has been at the very least temporarily derailed and, Mr. President, the only thing that I can think of that you can do to change, to undo, this slip of the tongue that had such terrible consequences is once and for all do what the Republican platform says that to be done, and that is that there ought to be one city, a unified city of Jerusalem under Israeli control with international guarantees of the holy places so that all religions can be there."

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Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for his participation this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to recognize the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. DYSON].

(Mr. DYSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DYSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in voicing our concern over alarming deficiencies in the Bush administration's position on Jerusalem. I wish to thank my distinguished colleagues from Ohio and Indiana for arranging time today for this purpose.

Each of us are by now aware of the dismal chain of events which began on Saturday, March 3. Breaking with the policy of his predecessors, President Bush included East Jerusalem as an area in which he opposed "new settlements" of Jews.

In the days preceding that unfortunate remark, the prospects for peace in the Middle East looked brighter than they had for some time. The resignation of hard-line Cabinet Minister Ariel Sharon gave the Israeli Government room to maneuver. Prime Minister Shamir seemed ready to lead the moderates in his Likud Party to join with their coalition partners from the Labor Party and launch a viable peace process.

With his ill-considered remarks, President Bush destroyed this promising opportunity and seriously jeopardized the chances for a U.S. brokered solution in the region. Today, the Israeli Government stands on the verge of collapse.

What troubles me the most about the President's statement is his apparent failure to recognize its conse-

quences. President Bush denies having misspoken and has stood by his remarks. At the same time, his administration refuses to acknowledge the drastic shift in U.S. policy which they portend.

Ten years ago, when the Carter administration voted for a U.N. resolution opposing all settlements "including Jerusalem," they were severely criticized by a Vice Presidential candidate by the name of George Bush. President Carter had the courage to repudiate this vote, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance publicly apologized for "the breakdown in communications" which led to this lapse in judgment. I ask today how President Bush can justify a refusal to do the same.

Recent events only underline the need for a fundamental reassessment of U.S. policy toward Jerusalem. How much longer will we ignore the reality that Jerusalem, as the spiritual capital of the Jewish people, is and must remain an integral part of the sovereign State of Israel? The sooner the United States recognizes this reality by moving its embassy from Tel Aviv and ending the futile and counterproductive debate over the status of Jerusalem, the sooner we can address the real issues which span the Arab-Israeli divide.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ENGEL].

(Mr. ENGEL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strongest opposition to the stance Mr. Bush and the administration has taken on the issue of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is the heart and soul of Israel and, as previous administrations have maintained, should under no circumstances be divided. Mr. Bush's recent statements have cast serious doubt on this longstanding American policy and have come at a very delicate time in the peace process. At this juncture the Israeli Government needs assurances of solid and unambiguous American support, not unnecessary and destructive equivocations about the status of Israel's capital city.

Mr. Bush's statements have also cast doubt on the administration's commitment to freeing Jews still trapped in the Soviet Union. The Israeli Government has provided assurances that no American funds will be used for the settlement of Soviet Jews in the territories and that American funds will not be used to expand shekel-funded programs either. There is no reason to link further United States funding to Israeli settlement policies. With rising anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, the administration must do all it can to expedite resettling of these Jewish refugees and not hinder this effort.

The PLO is delighted at the current turn of events. Instead of the United States clearly supporting our ally

Israel, the PLO sees the administration applying heavy handed pressure. This is a time for solidarity with Israel, not a time for pandering to the interests of a terrorist organization that has for years and years committed itself to the complete annihilation of the State of Israel. The Israelis know best what is necessary for the security of their homeland and should not be coerced into accepting unreasonable negotiating positions by irresponsible American rhetoric.

Mr. Speaker I urge the President and my congressional colleagues to support Israel during this critical time as it moves toward the peace process. Further statements of the President or the administration to pull the rug out from under the Israelis regarding Jerusalem, will only make it more difficult for the Israelis to negotiate and take real risks for peace. The future of Israel cannot be jeopardized by a thoughtless and inconsistent shift in American foreign policy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAUBIN). The Chair is obligated to caution all Members that under the rules it is impermissible to direct comments directly to the President of the United States. All comments must be directed to the Chair.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. DOUGLAS].

(Mr. DOUGLAS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make clear tonight this is a bipartisan concern and that we clarify American policy with regard to the citizens of Jerusalem.

In 1947 it was the Arabs who rejected a plan to internationalize that city. A year later when Israel became independent, Jordan moved in troops and occupied what is known today as East Jerusalem. For 20 years thereafter, Jews were not free to travel to East Jerusalem.

In 1967 that ended when the war occurred after Jordan invaded Israel and Israeli forces drove out the Jordanians. Ever since that time Israel has granted to all religions equal access to their holy shrines in Jerusalem.

A year ago this month I had the privilege of being in Israel and going to Jerusalem. The only thing I can describe is a city not unlike Washington, DC, a city of industry, of hotels, of residences, an urban area where you cannot tell the difference between East or West Jerusalem any more than you can tell the difference between northeast and southeast Washington, DC.

East Jerusalem is not Arab. It is part of the united capital of Israel and is home to an equal number of both Jews and Arabs, and the Jews and Arabs are equal citizens in that city.

Our own government has always made a distinction between Jerusalem and the territories. For instance,

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West Bank policy is governed by United Nations Resolution 242 and Camp David, both of which envision some kind of Israeli withdrawal in exchange for peace and security down the road. But we have indicated over and over again that while there may be play in the joints and negotiation in what is called the West Bank, and I happen to disagree with that policy, but assuming there is some play in the joints there, it is very clear: Jerusalem is one city. It is Israel's capital.

Therefore, Jews who go to Jerusalem are not engaged in settlements, they are engaged in moving into neighborhoods. I think that is what we have to clarify. That is what I urge, that it be clarified as soon as possible. Anyone who has been to Jerusalem clearly knows that it is one city, indivisible, and Jews and Arabs equally should be free to move and live in that city, which is the capital of the nation of Israel.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. MACHTLEY].

(Mr. MACHTLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MACHTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentlemen from Ohio and Indiana for bringing this important issue to our attention and giving Members the opportunity to address and focus on Jerusalem.

There are those who might use their time to dilute the importance of Jerusalem, to criticize or to discuss this on a partisan basis. But let it be clear that there is bipartisan support for not only the greater security of Israel, but for a united Jerusalem.

It is in that vein that I wish to use my time to persuasively and passionately argue that, first, we should have a renewed commitment for the greater security of Israel, and, second, that we must recognize that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and that the Jewish people have inextricably committed themselves to that issue.

From King David, Jerusalem has in fact been the symbol of the Jewish people. It has been the profound expression of the essence of the Jewish people. It has been their identity.

During the time from King David there have been many foreign rulers who have ruled this city, but only the Israelis, the Jewish people have made Jerusalem their capital.

In August I visited Jerusalem, and in the early morning I ran through its streets, streets that knew no division, streets that were in a united city, streets that were filled with the history of the Jewish people. As my heart pounded running through the streets, I came to the conclusion that I no more could run through the streets without a heart than Israel could exist without its capital. In fact, Jerusalem is more than just a thriving city. Jerusalem is more than just the capital of Israel. Jerusalem is Israel, and let us

pledge that Jerusalem, as a united city shall remain the capital of Israel.

Mr. FEIK HAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE].

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, last December, I made my first visit to Israel, which included several days in Jerusalem. Through my entire stay in Israel, I was struck repeatedly by how little room the Israelis have to maneuver in terms of their own security. This was made especially clear to me during my stay in Jerusalem, a densely populated area lacking any surrounding buffer zone to protect its inhabitants from hostile or unstable neighbors. If, as the President seemed to suggest, we were to begin negotiating away Israeli sovereignty and jurisdiction of any portion of the Jerusalem area, we would be guilty of bringing an extremely dangerous and rampant form of instability to this historic and glorious city.

The current status of Jerusalem has benefited its Arab inhabitants, as well as Jewish residents of the city. A unified Jerusalem allows for a more normal flow of commerce and people that has benefited all Jerusalemites. Under Israeli administration, religion shrines of all faiths have been protected and maintained, and access has been granted to all—which is much more than can be said of the years of Jordanian control, when Jews were prevented from going to the Western Wall, the holiest site in Judaism.

Last year, we all rejoiced when the wall separating East and West Berlin came down. We should not be in the position of rebuilding the wall that separated East and West Jerusalem during those dangerous years when a highly militarized "green line" cut through the heart of ancient neighborhoods. Furthermore, the administration should not be reversing years of American diplomatic practice, which has recognized East Jerusalem as distinct from the West Bank and Gaza. Israel continues to be one of our staunchest and most reliable allies. We owe it to the Israelis to speak up for their security concerns. And we owe it to them not to abruptly surprise them with sudden and unwise policy shifts.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY].

(Mrs. LOWEY of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. LOWEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join in this very important discussion of the Middle East peace process and the status of the city of Jerusalem.

It is the responsibility of the United States to do what we can to help achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East that preserves the security of our close friend and ally, Israel.

However, the statements and actions of the Bush administration in recent days have harmed, not helped, the peace process.

In the midst of delicate negotiations designed to get the peace process moving in the Middle East, the Bush administration made ill-timed, counterproductive statements about the status of the city of Jerusalem. Not only did these statements derail the peace process, but they also represented a dramatic departure from previous U.S. policy on this question. They have raised serious questions about the Bush administration's commitment to provide strong support for our closest ally in that region of the world.

Previous U.S. administrations have always considered Jerusalem's status a subject that will be raised after most other outstanding issues have been resolved. By raising this delicate issue before negotiations have even started, the Bush administration unnecessarily complicated the peace talks. The result has been the collapse of the Israeli coalition government, which will substantially delay any actual peace negotiations.

In addition, these statements—which President Bush has confirmed are an accurate portrayal of his administration's position—represent a dramatic departure from previous United States policy on the status of Jerusalem. No administration has ever questioned the right of Jews to live in Jerusalem, and no administration has ever equated the status of Jerusalem with the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In fact, every U.S. administration has repeatedly insisted that Jerusalem must remain united under any final peace agreement.

The Bush administration's position in this regard is unfortunate and ill-advised. Jerusalem is the holiest site and the spiritual capital of the Jewish people, and the right of Jews to live anywhere in Jerusalem should not be questioned by the United States.

That notwithstanding, this issue should not even be on the bargaining table. Nor should the Bush administration ever have suggested that the political capital of the State of Israel is simply another piece of territory to be bargained once such negotiations begin.

Rather, the United States should focus on the more immediate steps that can be taken to achieve real progress toward peace in the Middle East. And we should express our strong support for a united Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel.

Mr. Speaker, I regret that the Bush administration has taken this counterproductive stance toward the Middle East peace process. Those of us who are strong supporters of a secure Israel believe deeply that this path will not contribute to a solution of the Middle East conflict. Rather, I urge the administration in the strongest possible terms to reverse its position, express strong support for a united Jerusalem, and get on with the task of reinvigorating the Middle East peace process.

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Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of bringing this special order to a conclusion, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARKEY].

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio and congratulate and compliment the gentleman from Ohio and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for making it possible for all of us to express our views on this very important issue. It has been restated here many times this evening that President Bush's statement, "We do not believe that there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem," is a mistake, plain and simple.

By raising questions about Israel's claim to East Jerusalem at this very sensitive point in the negotiations, the President may have helped torpedo early prospects for an Israeli-Palestinian meeting on elections for the West Bank and Gaza.

Such an outcome would be a tragedy. The administration has worked very hard over the last year to help move the Middle East peace process forward. All of us applaud Secretary of State James Baker's efforts to bring the Israelis, Egyptians, and Palestinians together to devise an elections plan that can produce a Palestinian leadership able to negotiate a peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict. Unfortunately, the President's statement on Jerusalem has served to undercut all of these efforts by raising sensitivities over one of the most difficult and sensitive issues to be resolved in future negotiations.

While United States policy has not officially recognized Israeli control over East Jerusalem, no other President has ever before challenged the right of Jews to live in the historic capital of Israel. Since the late 1960's, successive American Presidents have been sensitive to the special status of the city. It is for this reason that the United States has long emphasized that it favored an undivided Jerusalem, whose final status would be decided through negotiations. Jerusalem is not the same as the West Bank and Gaza, and a United States policy which equates Jewish settlements in the territories and Jewish housing in East Jerusalem is wrong-headed.

Mr. Speaker, in the last few months the world has watched in wonder as the wall which divided Berlin was finally torn down—signaling the end of the cold war and the division of Europe. The last thing we should be doing is raising fears about new walls and dividing other cities.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that a terrible mistake has been made, and the administration should reverse its position so that it can be clear that the historic position our country has taken on Israel remains intact.

I again congratulate the gentleman from Ohio and the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, that concludes our special order. I want to thank the Speaker personally for his patience and generosity in presiding over this special order tonight, as well as the patience of our professional staff.

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I was very dismayed by the gratuitous comments that President Bush made about East Jerusalem recently. I was hoping they were made in error, especially since most of us who know the history of East Jerusalem know that there are no settlements there. The unfortunate impression that is left by those untimely remarks is that United States policy is against Jews living in East Jerusalem.

I have never before heard a President suggest that Jews were not welcome in all parts of Jerusalem. In fact, the freedom of Jews to live anywhere in Jerusalem had not been an issue until Jordan annexed East Jerusalem in 1950. Until then, and prior to the creation of modern Israel, Palestinian Jews lived alongside Moslems and Christians in the eastern part of Jerusalem. During the war of 1948, many of these Palestinian Jews fled to the western part, leaving property they had owned for generations. It was only when East Jerusalem was liberated in a defensive war in 1967 that the former Jewish residents of the eastern part of the city could return to their homes.

East Jerusalem is an intrinsic part of Jerusalem and as Israel's first prime minister David Ben-Gurion said, an "inseparable part of Israel." After 19 years of annexation by Jordan, during which time the Jewish quarter of the Old City was destroyed, the sacred burial place, the Mount of Olives, was desecrated, and holy sites were inaccessible to Jews, Christians, and even Moslems. It was the Israeli Government that passed a resolution protecting all holy places. The right of all religions to worship at their respective holy sites was reinstated and is honored to this day.

While United States policy has been unclear as to the final legal status of Jerusalem, leaving its resolution to further negotiation as stipulated in a side letter to the Camp David accords, our Government has distinguished between the sui generis issue of Jerusalem and the administered territories of the West Bank and Gaza.

The one issue on which the major Israeli political parties and world Jewry agree is a Jerusalem undivided. I urge the Bush administration to take note of this fact and to take an approach that will facilitate the commencement of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians instead of making it more difficult.

Mr. OWENS of Utah. Mr. Speaker, President Bush made a serious political blunder last week when he condemned Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem. Inadvertently, it seems, he enunciated a change in United States policy and precipitated a major political crisis in Israel. The fall of the National Unity Government was inevitable, it seemed to me as 3 weeks ago when I last visited Jerusalem. The real crisis which threatens the peace process, however, was caused by the President's miscalculation of how a simple, unfortunate misstatement could precipitate a sea change in Israeli public opinion.

By calling into question the right of Jews to settle in a unified Jerusalem, the President an-

gered not only Israelis, but supporters of Israel in this country and around the world. Prior to the President's statement, Israel's friends were secure in the knowledge that American policy was unequivocal in its support for an undivided Jerusalem whose ultimate status would be determined by negotiation.

Jerusalem issues are unquestionably the most difficult to resolve and the most explosive in a possible Middle East peace settlement. They must be dealt with only after all others are resolved. Secretary of State Baker's five point plan was gaining momentum in Israel because Israelis felt that this process would not call Jerusalem's status into question. After all, Baker's plan is simply the implementation of the Shamir proposal of last April.

Much to the credit of this administration, support for Baker's five points has been steadily growing in Knesset, most notably among religious party members who were strongly aligned with Likud. The Shas party, for example, was becoming increasingly disillusioned with the stalled peace process, and was preparing to join a narrow labor coalition. The prospects for repairing the rift in the unity government or for labor gaining a necessary majority to form a coalition may have been fatally jeopardized by Bush's misjudgment. This, in turn, could prove to be a major setback for the peace process.

It must be hoped by all who support peace in the Middle East that the Shamir proposal can go forward. Ironically, it is labor and non-aligned Knesset members who are prepared to carry through with Shamir's suggestion. The double irony is that Baker's plan may have been sabotaged by his well-meaning President.

There is still time, however, to avoid a political catastrophe in Israel if the President will clarify that his statement was not intended to alter long-standing American policy on the issue of Jerusalem. Rather, he should reiterate that he strongly supports the traditional position that Jerusalem must never again be divided. Moreover, he should reaffirm that American policy does not oppose Jewish residences in East Jerusalem, nor does it oppose establishment of homes by Moslems or Christians, or for that matter, Hindus or Buddhists.

It is in no one's interest to deal with this matter in an ambiguous way. It does not even serve the Palestinians' cause, because it threatens the progress toward peace which Baker's activities have achieved. The traditional American policy has not obstructed the peace process, so it should not be interposed as a roadblock at this time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, in the midst of a crisis within the Israeli coalition government, President Bush has further aggravated the peace process and shocked the American-Jewish community with his remarkable ignorance and insensitivity. The city of Jerusalem is the historical and cultural capital of Israel—and it remains its strength and spirit. For the survival of Israel, Jerusalem can never be divided. With a few manipulative words of warning on March 3, President Bush seriously damaged United States relations with Israel, perhaps beyond repair. Mr. Speaker, on this matter, the administration can not and will not be allowed to prevail. As Mayor Teddy Koleck noted, "on Jerusalem, we are united."

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Israel is the recognized Jewish state and Jerusalem is the capital. When Jews move to their own homeland, they are not settlers, they are not visitors, and they are not subject to the capricious whims of President Bush. The administration responded to the mass emigration of Soviet Jews to the United States by capping the number in absurd disproportion to the amount of Jews being permitted to leave the Soviet Union. President Bush wisely suggested Soviet Jews go to Israel instead. So they did. The Soviet Jews sought their motherland and she welcomed them with open arms. Now President Bush has the gall to declare East Jerusalem off limits to Soviet Jews.

The Israeli coalition government has disintegrated and President Bush provoked the collapse. The Bush administration has departed sharply from traditional United States policy on Jerusalem in an effort to dictate the rules and completely control the peace process. By deliberately overlooking the special status of Jerusalem and by coupling Jerusalem with the West Bank, President Bush has effectively denied the legitimacy of the Israeli capital and linked it to occupied territories. Jerusalem can not be a bargaining chip in the peace talks. Yet this administration seems intent on distinguishing between East and West Jerusalem and on dividing the very heart and soul of Israel.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely appreciate the opportunity afforded Members of the House today to discuss the issue of the status of Jerusalem in the Middle East peace process.

No discussion of Jerusalem can be divorced from the facts of history.

Israel liberated Jerusalem in 1967, in a war that was not Israel's choosing, in response to an attack that was not of Israel's making. The kingdom of Jordan was warned not to enter hostilities with Israel in those fateful days, but King Hussein could not resist, and the eastern part of the city fell to Israel.

Those developments meant the reunification of Jerusalem—the restoration of its normal status. It has been divided since Israel's war of independence some two decades previously. The division of Jerusalem, and the exercise of control by Jordan over the eastern part of the city, should hardly serve as a source of pride or inspiration to Jordanians or Palestinians. Jews were denied access to holy places to worship—denied the ability to visit and pray at sites whose meaning date to biblical times. Holy places were also systematically desecrated. The Jewish cemetery on Mount of Olives still bears the marks of the wholesale destruction of headstones by the Jordanian authorities. Some headstones were used to construct latrines. Slums were permitted to be built abutting the Western Wall of the Temple Mount—the holiest site in Judaism. An alley, with a sewer in its middle, was next to the wall. These were the conditions found by Israel's soldiers on the day of the liberation of Jerusalem in 1967.

Since that time, several important things have happened. First, Jerusalem is a completely open city. Anyone can live there—be they Israeli or Palestinian. Second, anyone can worship there—without any restrictions. Third, all holy sites are open and protected in their sanctity with the full force of law from desecration. Israel has created an environment of respect for the full exercise by peo-

ples of all faiths of their ability to worship in Jerusalem at the places they deem holy.

Jerusalem is the capital of Israel—as it has been since the day of independence in 1948.

Most importantly, Israel has determined, with unanimity, that Jerusalem shall not be divided again. The previous division of Jerusalem meant its spiritual and material dismemberment. That cannot and will not be repeated. The city is now an organic whole, rich with the diversity of ethnicity, religion, and heritage of peoples from throughout the world. Its municipal structure, under the leadership of Mayor Teddy Kolliek, is truly remarkable. The administration of the city under Teddy Kolliek is dedicated to preserving the rights of all who live in Jerusalem.

In recent days, a controversy has erupted, promoted by remarks by the President and the Secretary of State, over the future of Jerusalem and the issue of Israeli settlements and development in the city. These remarks were inappropriate and harmful to the peace at a most sensitive moment. The entire point of the efforts to breathe life into Israel's proposal for elections to establish a Palestinian delegation for dialogue with the Israeli Government was to make the process of peace work—not to immediately grapple with the hard issues involved. By placing Jerusalem front and center, however, not only has the administration exposed the rawest of Israeli nerves, but done so gratuitously.

Again, Jerusalem is one city, and Israelis can and will live throughout that city. If there is a question over Palestinian representation in the governance of the city, or access to holy sites, or some other matter involving fundamental civil liberties and respect for their protection, these matters should certainly be on the table for discussion at the appropriate time.

But no one, including the President, should make a mistake in assuming, for a moment, that it is illegitimate for Israelis to settle in Jerusalem or that there is something unsatisfactory in Israel's governance of Jerusalem.

A small miracle, the reunification of Jerusalem, has been forged by the goodwill of Israelis and Palestinians alike. It is something to cherish—not question. None should doubt the resolve of us in the Congress to do everything in our power to affirm that it is the unequivocal policy of the United States that Jerusalem is and should remain united as Israel's capital.

Mr. BUSTAMANTE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague from Ohio, Mr. FEIGHAN, for calling this special order on Jerusalem. I am disturbed by the recent White House statements about Jerusalem, Israel's undeniable and indivisible capital. Jerusalem is no more occupied territory than Texas is, I think our failure to recognize Israel's right to designate its own capital is a shame; our Embassy should be there too, not in Tel Aviv.

I have been to Jerusalem. I have seen the beautiful things Mayor Teddy Kolliek has accomplished throughout the entire city for Jews and Arabs, Moslems and Christians. The Israelis have treated that city like the precious jewel that it is to us all—guaranteeing the right of free access to all holy places.

How could President Bush, then, imply that Jews should be prevented from living anywhere in their capital? That was exactly the situation for 19 years during Jordan's occupation, when King Hussein set out to systematically eliminate all traces the city's Jewish her-

itage. Jews of all nationalities and Israelis of all religions were barred from their holy sites. The vibrant, growing Jewish neighborhood built since the city was reunited in 1967—when Jordan and the Arab confrontation states failed in their second full-scale attempt to destroy Israel—are a living symbol of the commitment to protect against the severing of Jerusalem from the Jewish people ever again.

The timing could not have been worse. Ten days ago the administration was saying that the national unity government was close to accepting the Baker formula for a tripartite meeting in Cairo; now the Israeli Government is falling apart over this issue. And, the President's remark about Jewish settlement in East Jerusalem was just one more in a series of confidence-eroding statements made by the Bush administration that indicate a dangerous inclination to lean on our ally, Israel, but stroke the PLO. It's time for confidence building measures from this administration—like holding the PLO's feet to the fire on its commitment to end terrorism and insisting that the Arabs end their boycott of Israel now.

Finally, I am alarmed by the linkage between the question of settlements and the urgent imperative to get Soviet Jews out of Russia. Where do we come off toying with their lives while we tinker with relatively minor differences between Washington and the Government of Israel? The administration should be moving full speed ahead on the Housing Loan Guarantee Program.

Mr. JOHNSON of Florida, Mr. Speaker, the complex political and emotional situation in the Middle East lends itself to many interpretations. And it is not uncommon or inappropriate for Israelis, Americans, and friends of Israel throughout the world to express differing opinions on the proper course for peace negotiations and strategic planning for Israel's future.

But there is one thing upon which virtually all Israelis and their allies agree: Jerusalem is the soul of Israel. Jerusalem is a symbol for Jews throughout the world, and a spiritual center for people of many faiths. As the celebration of Passover approaches, Jews throughout the world will reaffirm the importance of this holy city by proclaiming "next year in Jerusalem."

That is why President Bush miscalculated so drastically when he equated East Jerusalem with the West Bank and said that there should be no new settlements of Jews in either area. That is why the Government of Israel is racked with dissension. That is why Americans who support Israel are in a state of shock.

President Bush, we are all united in our desire to see a lasting peace achieved in this vital portion of the world. And we are disheartened that your words over the last few days may have dealt a severe blow to the painstaking efforts toward peace in the Middle East.

Mr. GLICKMAN. Mr. Speaker, Israel's coalition government broke up yesterday because of differences over how to proceed with a United States plan to open Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. The major parties are divided over this broad issue, but they are united on the issue of the need for a united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Since 1967, the U.S. administration has acknowledged the special status of Jerusalem, and the fundamental need to preserve the

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status quo. The willingness to move toward talks with the Palestinians rests on that foundation. President Bush has introduced a new, destabilizing factor into the negotiations for peace in the Middle East. Whether the ruling Israeli Government is "Labor, Likud or National Unity," any agreement that leaves open the status of a united Jerusalem is a nonstarter.

I hope the President will reassess or clarify his remarks, and continue to foster a dialog that will achieve peace without undermining the status of Jerusalem. But I wonder, as did the mayor of Jerusalem, "Why did the White House have to bring it up?"

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join with my colleagues in the House of Representatives in expressing my deep concern about President Bush's recent remarks in which he stated his opposition to new settlements on the West Bank and in East Jerusalem.

The city of Jerusalem is not just a territory, and the President's comments alluding to reservations on the right of Jews to enter and live in the holiest of cities is an affront to most Members of Congress. It signals an unwelcome and totally unacceptable change in U.S. policy. In the text of United Nations resolutions and even the Camp David accords, Israel and the United States have always made a careful distinction between the city of Jerusalem and the occupied territories on the West Bank and Gaza.

Our Government, and especially the State Department, has had a long history of nonrecognition of Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel. Our United States Embassy is in Tel Aviv, and Israel is the only country where our Embassy is not located in the capital city. For years, along with many of the Members in Congress, I have urged the United States to recognize formally the city of Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel, and relocate our embassy in the capital city. Yet the State Department still has not acted, and the latest statement by the President appears to be a step backward complicating the already delicate peace process.

It was the Arab States in 1947 which rejected a plan that would have made Jerusalem an international city, and after Israeli independence, it was Jordan which forcibly occupied East Jerusalem, throwing Jews out of their homes, and prohibiting Jews from entering this area. As a divided city under Jordanian occupation, what followed was a despicable history of desecration and destruction of Christian and Jewish holy sites by the Muslims. It was not until the Arabs decided to attack Israel during the Six-Day War in 1967 that Israel was able to regain control of the eastern part of Jerusalem, and Jews were able to reoccupy and rebuild neighborhoods in the Jewish quarter and Mount Scopus where they previously had lived.

Under the control of the State of Israel, Jerusalem is a united city, and the Israeli Government has shown the ultimate in respect for all holy sites. Jerusalem is truly an international city with Christian, Moslem and Jewish denominations having absolute control and authority over their own respective sites.

Mr. Speaker, the eastern portion of the city of Jerusalem is not an occupied territory, and cannot be linked and grouped with the West Bank and Gaza in any discussions or peace negotiations. By linking East Jerusalem to occupied territories the President has not only

departed from a longstanding United States policy, but also has impeded the already slow moving peace process.

I join with my colleagues in the House of Representatives in urging the President to clearly and unambiguously retract his statements, which ignore the history of Arab occupation and desecration of the city of Jerusalem, and are counterproductive to the peace process.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I am dismayed by the recent statements of President Bush regarding East Jerusalem. On March 3, the President stated, "We do not believe that there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem." Then yesterday, the President declared that he did not regret expressing this sentiment and questioning the right of Jews to settle in East Jerusalem. I am very concerned about the intent of the administration on this issue. First, I do not believe that settlement in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem is equivalent, and the two should not be linked. Second, I am very concerned about the impact of these ill-thought statements on the Government and the people of Israel as well as the negative impact on the Middle East peace process.

The view expressed by President Bush is a departure from traditional United States policy, which has always made a distinction between Jerusalem and the territories. Every administration since 1967 has been sensitive to the special status of Jerusalem and the need to address this issue with great thought and sensitivity as well as innovative proposals. Policy that may apply to the territories does not necessarily correlate to the policies we need to advocate for East Jerusalem. To make such a parallel is misguided and simplistic at best. West Bank policy is governed by U.N. Resolution 242 and Camp David, both of which envision at least partial Israeli withdrawal in exchange for full peace and security. At the same time United States officials have indicated, over and over again, that Jerusalem cannot be returned to the pre-1967 status quo, that it must remain united.

Likewise, United States efforts to initiate Israeli-Palestinian dialog, which is always an extremely sensitive issue, have been hampered by the President's statements. I am only hopeful that these peace efforts have not been irreversibly damaged. Instead of working to divide, we need to encourage the peace process. The divisions in the Israeli Government following the President's statement leave the peace negotiations in limbo for the present time. Certainly the Israeli people, who stand united in their support for Jerusalem, must also be distressed about the President's treatment of the ancient capital of Israel.

In closing, I want to again express my deep concern for the statements by President Bush on East Jerusalem. I am hopeful that the administration will carefully review this position and clarify its intent. I am also hopeful that the administration will come to the realization that President Bush's statement is both inconsistent with past policy and damaging to the peace process as well as detrimental to our close friendship with Israel. The status of Jerusalem should be an item of final negotiations in the peace process and should not be the subject of simple pronouncements at a news conference. I urge the administration to treat East Jerusalem with the respect and sensitivity that the issue deserves. Furthermore, I urge

the administration to think twice in the future about the ramifications of its statements on critical foreign policy issues such as this.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleague, Representative FEIGAN and BURTON, for calling this special order today. Negotiators seeking peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must not forget the important history which surrounds the special status of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is the Capital of Israel and Judaism's holiest city. When the United Nations recommended that Jerusalem be internationalized in 1947, the Jewish Agency accepted that proposal. It was the Arab States who rejected the United Nations decision, choosing instead to attack the Jewish state. From 1948 to 1967, Jerusalem was divided. Jews were denied visits to the Wall, Judaism's holiest shrine, and other holy sites such as the Mount of Olives Cemetery. Christians, too, were often denied access to their holy places. In 1967, after the Arab Legion again attacked Jerusalem, Israel came to control the Old City. Since 1967, the holy places of Jerusalem have been cared for by an Israeli administration which protects religious freedom for all—Jews, Moslems, and Christians alike.

The provisions of United Nations Resolution 181, including the internationalization of Jerusalem, were nullified by the aggression of the Arab States themselves. Only Pakistan and the United Kingdom recognized Jordan's 19-year claim to the sovereignty over Jerusalem.

The United States has always maintained a solid commitment to a united Jerusalem and, since 1967, successive administrations have been sensitive to the special status of the city. In recent weeks, however, President Bush has made disturbing statements regarding East Jerusalem which seriously undermine the integrity of the United States' commitment to a unified city. The President asserts that his recent statements on East Jerusalem are "reaffirming United States policy." Surely he recalls that under President Reagan, that administration never viewed Israeli administration of Jerusalem to be in violation of the fourth Geneva Convention, and did not attempt to restrict Jewish settlement there.

In absence of a tenable legal argument, does the current administration really take the position that there are areas in which no Jew should be allowed to live? That would plainly be a violation of the 1968 Civil Rights Act in our own country. In a related issue, Secretary of State Baker's proposal that no housing loan guarantees under existing United States law be made available to Israel to house Soviet refugees unless Israel prevents any Jews—not just Soviet refugees—from settling in the administered territories is very offensive. How can Secretary Baker support that redefining in the administered territories?

The growth of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union makes it more urgent than ever that the United States not throw roadblocks in the way of emigration from the Soviet Union. Since the Bush administration has chosen to limit Soviet Jewish emigration to the United States, it is inexcusable that Secretary Baker should now throw intolerable obstacles in the way of emigration by Soviet Jews to Israel. Because I know Secretary Baker to be a decent, honorable, and unprejudiced human being, I hope that he is reconsidering his position on this issue.

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To further the cause of peace in the Middle East, the United States should not call into question Jerusalem's current status as a unified city open to people of all religions.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish people have been inextricably bound to Jerusalem for 3,000 years. There has been a continuous Jewish presence in the city despite numerous conquests and persecutions.

Jerusalem is revered as a holy city by the world's three great monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, but only since Israel gained control of the city in 1967, have worshippers of all faiths enjoyed free access to the holy sites.

Mr. Speaker, the United States should not presume to advise the Israelis what the capital of their country should be. Only the Israelis can make that determination.

Mr. LAUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, with the increasing peace and unification events occurring throughout the world, it is only sensible that we support the people of Israel in keeping Jerusalem the undivided Capital of the Jewish State.

Jerusalem is the ancient Capital of Israel and it represents more than 3,000 years of national and religious yearning of the people who lived there. The Jewish and Israeli people suffered heavy discrimination and witnessed the desecration of their burial sites. These people must not be denied their right to access their holy sites, which are the foundation of their civilization, nor should they be subjected to what they suffered during Jordan's 19-year occupation.

I ask that we recognize and support the established status of Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel; with free access of all holy sites to the people of all religious denominations who live there. I understand their views because we Americans would not tolerate people in other countries telling us where to locate the capital of our Nation.

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take the opportunity to join those of my colleagues who have chosen today to speak out on the status of Jerusalem, the Capital of the State of Israel. It has been the longstanding policy of the United States to recognize the eastern portion of Jerusalem as separate from the West Bank territories and as a nonnegotiable item in peace talks. I strongly support this policy and believe that it should be a cornerstone of the administration's ongoing efforts to advance the Middle East peace process.

Jerusalem was the ancient Capital of Israel and has always been a central part of the national and religious aspirations of the Jewish people. In fact, next month when Jews around the world observe Passover, their ritual meal will be closed with the hope that it will take place "next year in Jerusalem."

Under the promise of the United Nation's 1948 partition plan, Jerusalem was to become an international city in which all faiths were free to worship. However, the plan was scuttled following the refusal of Palestinian Arabs to recognize Israel and the unprovoked attacks on the infant Jewish state by five Arab armies.

Jerusalem was occupied by Jordan for 19 years during which a vigorous campaign was undertaken to eliminate all vestiges of the city's historic ties to the Jewish people. Jewish cemeteries were desecrated and shrines important to the Jewish people were defaced. However, the suffering during this

period was not limited strictly to Jews; people of all faiths were discriminated against and denied access to their holy sites. In response, it is estimated that 20,000 Christians fled Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967.

Jerusalem became a united city in the aftermath of the 1967 Six-Day War. Since the liberation, the rights of all faiths to worship freely have been scrupulously protected by the Israeli Government. Israel has ensured that every religion has access to and can oversee its own shrines.

It would be a grievous error to view Jerusalem simply as a bargaining chip in peace negotiations. To do so would be to jeopardize the hard-won freedoms which all faiths have enjoyed there for the last 23 years. As the Middle East peace process advances, it is imperative that the United States continue to fully support the special status of Jerusalem.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I salute Congressman FEIGHAN's leadership in arranging this special order so that we in the U.S. Congress may address a very important issue: the status of Jerusalem.

More than 40 years have passed since the Arab States and the Palestinian Arabs rejected the United States partition plan, which called for an internationalized Jerusalem. In 1948, five Arab armies invaded the Jewish State, including the Jewish section of Jerusalem. The Arab legion severed the city, separating the Western Wall and the Jewish quarter from the rest of Jerusalem. Those Jews who survived the attack were expelled from the city.

During Jordan's 19-year occupation, King Hussein sought to systematically eliminate all traces of the city's Jewish heritage. Jews of all nationalities and Israelis of all religions were denied access to their holy sites. Jewish cemeteries were desecrated; Jewish grave-stones were used to build roads and latrines.

Since the reunification of the city by Israeli forces in 1967, after the Arab States failed in their second full-scale attempt to destroy Israel, Jews have been living in the Jewish quarter, praying at the Western Wall, and attending school at the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. And since 1967, Christians and Arabs have had the same access to their holy sites in Jerusalem as have had the Jews; in fact, Israel has welcomed religious pilgrims from around the world.

I am puzzled as to why this issue has suddenly come under international scrutiny. As Israel was poised, some thought, to accept the Baker proposal to move the peace process forward, our own President jumped in with a statement probably designed to force Shamir's hand in accepting the Baker proposal. But what it has done instead is destabilize the Labor-Likud coalition government, and probably caused its collapse.

Since 1967, successive administrations have been sensitive to the special status of Jerusalem. In fact, Arthur Goldberg, one of the drafters of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, said that that resolution "in no way refers to Jerusalem, and this omission was deliberate . . . Jerusalem was . . . not linked to the West Bank."

Most countries around the world have, at one time or another, annexed land which they took during a war. The United States, in fact, annexed Texas in 1845, almost 10 years after Santa Anna was defeated at San Jacinto. Have I heard anyone ask the United States to

give Texas back to Mexico? Why does the rest of the world hold Israel to a standard that they themselves are unwilling to uphold?

Jerusalem is not up for negotiation. Just as the Moslem world would unify itself should the Israelis ever try to rebuild the Second Temple on the site of the Dome of the Rock, the Moslems third holiest shrine, so will the Israelis, and their American supporters, react to the division of Jerusalem. On this issue all sides are in agreement; Jerusalem is not a territory and will not be divided.

Mr. BROWN of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, as the United States plays a central role in the Middle East peace process, it is imperative that we keep in mind the special status of the undivided Capital of Israel. It is important that the United States not sidetrack the peacetalks by interjecting divisive issues. Jerusalem is not an occupied territory. It is the united, political Capital of Israel as well as the spiritual home for Jews across the world.

Contrary to PLO chairman Yasir Arafat's declaration that East Jerusalem is Arab and will be the future PLO state, an equal number of Jews and Arabs live in East Jerusalem. Arab residents are entitled to Israeli citizenship, and are granted the right to vote in municipal elections even if they are not citizens. We must give the PLO the message that the United States Congress firmly recognizes Jerusalem as the unified capital of the Jewish state, and will not support any attempt to bargain it away. Jerusalem must remain the undivided Capital of Israel.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, Jerusalem has always played a central role in Jewish religious and political life. For over 3,000 years, since the time when King David made it his capital, Jerusalem has been home to Jews. The Western Wall in Jerusalem, part of Herod's temple over 2,000 years ago has been the focus of Jewish prayer and veneration. The entire city is central to the Jewish people's religious faith, tradition, and to Israel's historic culture.

In 1947 the United Nations recommended that the city of Jerusalem be internationalized. The Jewish Agency was willing to accept this plan with the hope that the city would be spared from conflict. As we all know, the Arab States were adamantly opposed to the internationalization of the city just as they were to partition.

When Jordan controlled Jerusalem from the year 1948 to 1967, Jews were not granted access to Jewish holy places like the Western Wall or the Mount of Olives. The Jordanian-controlled parts of Jerusalem were not closed to Jews only. In fact, Christians from Israel were allowed to enter the Old City for Christmas and Easter, but Israeli Moslems were not permitted to enter.

Under Jordanian control the Jewish cemetery at Hebron was destroyed, the Jewish Quarter was sacked, and 34 Jerusalem synagogues, some of which were centuries old, were also destroyed. Two great institutions, Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University remained idle on top of Mount Scopus for 20 years.

On the second day of the Six-Day War, Jordanian King Hussein ignored Israeli appeals to stay out of the war by firing the opening shots on Jerusalem. They lost the Old City to Israel. Under Israel control all people of all religious

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faiths are permitted access to holy sites. Religious freedom has thrived since 1967.

A number of times during his Presidency, former President Ronald Reagan expressed his desire for Jerusalem to remain under Israeli authority. I do not often hope for a continuation of Reagan policy, but to President Bush I say, follow the policy of your predecessor.

Mr. Speaker, Jerusalem is the Capital of Israel. Anyone who has ever been there knows that it is the heart and soul of the Jewish state. Although official United States policy recognizes that there be a unified Jerusalem to be the subject of negotiations, to me the issue is as clear as a Jerusalem skyline when the sun sets on the whiteness of the Jerusalem stone and the true meaning of Jerusalem, city of gold, hits home—Jerusalem and Israel are inseparable.

Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. Speaker, the President has recently stated that Jerusalem, the ancient capital of Israel, should be considered in the same light as the administered territories of the West Bank and Gaza. This apparent reversal of our Nation's longstanding policy toward Jerusalem ignores the history of that holy city and its importance to the State of Israel.

Since Biblical times, Jerusalem has been the single geographical focal point of Jewish prayer, theology and national aspirations. Until the President's recent statement, U.S. policy has consistently supported an undivided Jerusalem.

The President's recent statements ignore the history of the region and fail to take into account the present day realities of Israel. The belief that Jerusalem must always remain whole and under Jewish sovereignty is a belief that unites Israelis of all political and religious persuasions.

We must remember that turning over any portion of Jerusalem to Arab rule would not be a new experiment but the repetition of a serious mistake, the results of which are a matter of record. Many gross abuses of Jerusalem's holy sites occurred during the years of Jordanian rule from 1948 to 1967. Jews not killed during the Jordanian invasion were expelled from the city. Both Arab and Jew alike were barred from visiting their holy sites. Along with this, Jordan pursued a systematic attempt to eliminate all traces of the city's Jewish heritage.

Since the time of Israel's liberation of Jerusalem in 1967, Arabs and Jews have lived side by side. Arab residents have also been entitled to Israeli citizenship. All residents, regardless of their citizenship, have been granted the right to vote in municipal elections. Israel has granted each religion and denomination the authority to oversee its own shrines. It has also assured complete freedom of access to all people.

President Bush now speaks of Jerusalem and its Jewish residents as simply another West Bank style settlement. Israelis do not "settle" in their capital. They live there. Furthermore, no Government of Israel can consider the renewed division of Jerusalem and expect to survive.

I deeply regret that the President's statement on Jerusalem has endangered the very peace process that his administration, the Israeli Government, and Egypt have been working to promote. I ask the President to consider the danger of a policy that may leave our

Nation unable to promote policies that will advance the peace process rather than hinder it.

I was present at the signing of the Camp David Peace Accord. I look forward to the day when a new agreement is signed between the warring parties of the region and its people can live in peace. This peace that can only come if our administration accepts that the city of Jerusalem must remain unified and under Israeli democratic and beneficent rule.

Mr. GRANDY, Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman taking the time this evening. I wish to submit the remarks of Mayor Teddy Kollek who recently wrote President Bush expressing his concerns over the question of Jerusalem's future. I was privileged to meet with Mayor Kollek earlier this year and see first hand the integrated Jerusalem he refers to in his letter. His comments reflect my own and I commend them to the membership.

MAYOR OF JERUSALEM,
March 8, 1990.

Mr. GEORGE H.W. BUSH,
The President of the United States of America, The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In these days when all Israelis are united in their deep concern over recent American statements on Jerusalem, I am encouraged to write you as I recall the privilege I had of taking Mrs. Bush and you through the city on your visit in Israel in 1988.

In June 1987, in spite of our messages to King Hussein through your ambassador and through the United Nations that Israel had no intention of initiating hostilities against Jordan, we were unprovokedly attacked from the Jordanian occupied part of Jerusalem, an occupation followed by an annexation that was not recognized by any country except Pakistan. After the war ended, the city was united as it had been for 4000 years and its municipal boundaries were somewhat enlarged, in the main incorporating uninhabited areas of rocky hills. In the past 22 years, the city has grown considerably. The number of Jews has increased from almost 200,000 to 340,000 and the Arab population has doubled from 75,000 to 150,000. This necessitated a massive effort to build housing for both Jews and Arabs. Homes for the Jewish population were built all over the city including in areas that had been under Jordanian occupation. Over 30,000 families now live in these areas. No Arabs were dispossessed in order to build these homes. Parts of this land had been Jewish owned before. In the northern extremity, within the new municipal borders, Jewish villages existed prior to 1948, when their inhabitants were forced to leave by the invading Jordanian army.

While the Jewish settlers in the occupied West Bank did get considerable incentives, none were given to families who made their homes within the city's boundaries. They acquired their homes under the same conditions as those living in Tel Aviv, Haifa and other parts of the country. A certain number of Russian immigrants, as well as immigrants from other countries, including many from the United States, now live in these neighborhoods. It is a fact that these new neighborhoods have become an integral part of the undivided city and are quite distinct from the settlements in the West Bank, the nearest of which is miles away.

I am aware of the policy of the United States toward the City of Jerusalem, namely "that the city remain united but that its status be determined in the negotiations." In my opinion there is no conflict between this policy and the actual state of affairs. While there is a difference between Israel's thinking that united Jerusalem is and

shall remain the capital of Israel under Israel's sovereignty and American policy that leaves the city's ultimate status open, no conflict needs to arise from the existence of the new urban neighborhoods that have gone up in the last 22 years.

The Arab uprising over the last 2 years has also had its repercussions in Jerusalem, but to a much lesser extent than in the West Bank and Gaza. Work and life go on here, the schools are open and tourists and pilgrims are visiting the city. There is a certain amount of Arab strikes and some cars have been stoned or torched, but the level of violence, if at all, is small. To give just one figure, in 1989 there were altogether 11 homicides in Jerusalem, 6 of them of a criminal nature, while 4 Jews and 1 Arab were killed in terrorist acts. Indeed, the number is smaller than it was 10 or 15 years ago. I wrote to Mrs. Bush a year ago about the city's illiteracy program for Arab women. This and many other social and development activities in the city's Arab neighborhoods are going on as before.

There is one further point I would like to mention. Jerusalem is the center of Palestinian political activity. In 1967, before the city was reunited, not a single Arab newspaper was published here. Today there are 4 Arab dailies and a great number of weeklies and monthlies published which are free to attack the Israeli government and, at times, even challenge Israel's right to exist. Palestinians, who in spirit, if not organizationally, represent the PLO, address freely meetings at the Hebrew University attended by Israeli and Arab students and the general public. Similar activities could not take place in Amman, Damascus or Bagdad, where no criticism of the authorities is tolerated.

Differences over Jerusalem's future status are bound to come to the fore at some stage of the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. I do, however, firmly believe that this issue should be discussed as late as possible, and only after all other outstanding issues are settled. It would be particularly unfortunate if at this early but critical stage, when Israel must decide whether it will agree to a dialogue with a Palestinian delegation with one or two West Bank Palestinians who also have a Jerusalem address, other much more crucial questions concerning the future of Jerusalem should becloud the issue. In particular, no question mark should be permitted to hover over the new Jerusalem neighborhoods.

I would like to add, Mr. President, that we are grateful for the efforts of the United States government, and to you personally, to promote a peace settlement and to enable Russian Jewry to return to their homeland.

Please forgive me for taking up some of your valuable time, but I do this in the hope that I am contributing to the good relations between our two nations by expressing these thoughts to you.

With best personal regards,
Yours sincerely,

TEDDY KOLLEK.

Ms. SCHNEIDER, Mr. Speaker, Jerusalem represents the historic center of the Jewish State. The people of Israel and both the Labor and Likud parties consider Jerusalem the undivided capital of Israel. Since 1967, Jews have returned to historically Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem.

Recent discussions of the status of East Jerusalem may unfortunately complicate the peace process in Israel. At a particularly crucial point in the peace process, it would seem more advantageous to postpone discussion of

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this divisive issue until the larger issues of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are resolved.

Although U.S. policy has never officially recognized the 1967 reunification of Jerusalem, previous administrations have always supported a united Jerusalem.

It is my hope that the discussion of the status of East Jerusalem will not unnecessarily complicate the difficult peace process. Secretary Baker and the Bush administration have been stalwart in promoting a constructive solution to end the uprising. I am confident that once the larger issues have been addressed, the sensitive issue of East Jerusalem can be resolved.

Mr. SCHUETTE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank my colleagues, Mr. FEIGHAN and Mr. BURTON, for holding this special order.

Last weekend, President Bush expressed his opposition to new Jewish immigration to East Jerusalem. As much as I support the President's foreign policy views, I feel compelled to object to this statement. Maintaining a united Jerusalem transcends philosophical differences between the political parties within the Israeli Government and touches the very heart and soul of the Jewish people.

With the recent breakup of the Israeli governing coalition, it is important that statements from the United States not be used to heighten volatility in an already dangerous region. The United States should not stray from its longstanding policy that Jerusalem should never again be divided. Jerusalem should be a free and open city, where people are welcome to live wherever they choose without regard to their religious faith.

As the Israelis have contended, Jerusalem is the rightful capital of their nation. Currently, the United States Embassy to Israel is located in Tel Aviv. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Jerusalem, as the rightful capital of Israel, should be host to our Embassy.

Further, the issue of the division of Jerusalem should not be a factor in the negotiations of the Palestinian-Israeli peace talks. The Israelis have sent a clear message that the division of Jerusalem will never be an acceptable concession—and, I, too, find this unacceptable.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAUBIN). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) is recognized for 60 minutes.

[Mr. DELAY addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. STUMP (at the request of Mr. MICHEL) for today and the balance of the week on account of family medical emergency.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GILMAN) and to revise and

extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. LENT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DELAY, for 60 minutes, today and 60 minutes on March 20.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, for 60 minutes, on March 20, 21, and 22.

Mr. BILIRAKIS, for 60 minutes, on March 21.

Mr. ARMEY, for 60 minutes, on March 20.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. EVANS) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. MAZZOLI, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GLICKMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ENGEL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. POSHARD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. CROCKETT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. STARK, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KASTENMEIER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SKAGGS, for 5 minutes, on March 15.

Mr. SKELTON, for 30 minutes, March 15.

Mr. GAYDOS, for 60 minutes, March 15.

Mr. OWENS of New York, for 60 minutes, on March 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 60 minutes on April 2, 3, 4, and 5.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GILMAN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BROOMFIELD.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.

Mr. DELAY in two instances.

Ms. SNOWE.

Mr. MACHTLEY.

Mr. PURSELL.

Mr. GUNDERSON.

Mr. DOUGLAS.

Mr. WOLF.

Mr. GALLEGLY in two instances.

Mr. IRELAND.

Mr. MILLER of Washington.

Mr. CONTE.

Ms. SCHNEIDER.

Mr. SCHUETTE.

Mr. GINGRICH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. EVANS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MRAZEK.

Mr. McMILLEN of Maryland.

Mr. KLECZKA.

Mr. HAMILTON.

Mr. ECKART.

Mr. LIPINSKI.

Mr. SMITH of Florida.

Mr. RANGEL.

Mr. KASTENMEIER.

Mr. WYDEN.

Mr. DYMALLY.

Mr. DWYER of New Jersey.

Mr. PALLONE.

Mr. HAWKINS.

Mr. DORGAN of North Dakota.

Mr. TALLON.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts.

Mr. ACKERMAN.

Mr. RICHARDSON.

Mr. DOWNEY.

Mr. FRANK.

Mr. TRAFICANT in two instances.

Mr. MAZZOLI.

Mr. KANJORSKI.

Mr. STARK.

Mr. DELLUMS.

Mr. DIXON.

Mr. PENNY in two instances.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly, (at 8 o'clock p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 15, 1990, at 11 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2725. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notice of the Department of the Air Force's proposed letter(s) of offer and acceptance (LOA) to Egypt for defense articles (Transmittal No. 90-28), pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 118; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2726. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting the 1990 report on allied contributions to the common defense, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 1928 nt.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

2727. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 8-173, "Tax Amendment Act of 1990," and report, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

2728. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 8-171, "Judiciary Square Detention Facility Construction Act of 1990," and report, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on the District of Columbia, March 14, 1990.

2729. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 8-172, "Abandoned Property Amendment Act of 1990," and report, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

2730. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification that the Department provided the defense articles, services and training to Colombia under the authority of P.D. 89-24, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2318(b)(2); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, March 14, 1990.

2731. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency; transmitting notice of the Department of the Air Force's proposed letter(s) of offer and acceptance (LOA) to Egypt for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$120 million (Transmittal No. 90-28), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2732. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notice of the Department of the Navy's proposed letter(s) of offer and acceptance (LOA) to Korea for defense arti-

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מיידי	דחיות:	שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
	סוג:		כתוב: 2
	תאריך ושפת העבודה:		אל: מצפ"א
	15.3.90		
	כס' פרוק:		דע:
	הפסד:		
	487		כאת: קישור לקונגרס

ביה"ב : ירושלים

בהמשך לשלנו 418 סעיף ב' רצ"ב מכתב לנשיא בנדון, ביוזמת הקונגרסמנים

שומר, פיהן, וובר ובורטון.

הנ"ל הופץ לחתימת הקונגרסמנים.

אוראל - אנה' פסקין
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

1. אוראל
 2. אנה' פסקין
 3. יהודית ורנאי דרנגר
 4. אוראל
 5. אנה' פסקין
 6. יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

כס' פרוק
487

תפוצה: 6

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

487 2/2

March 16, 1990

Dear Mr. President,

We are writing to express our deep concern with recent statements made by your Administration that appear to deviate from America's traditional policy regarding Jerusalem, the capital of our friend and ally Israel.

We applaud your efforts to build upon the peace initiative launched by the Government of Israel last May. By standing squarely behind Israel's four-point plan, the U.S. was sending a powerful message to Arab states -- that the U.S. and Israel were unshakable partners in the search for peace and security.

But your precedent setting declaration regarding Israeli "settlements" in Jerusalem sounded alarm bells across the Israeli political spectrum and may have eroded Israel's confidence in our reliability as a partner in the peace process.

Mr. President, for 2,000 years Jerusalem has been the spiritual soul of the political capital of the reborn Jewish state. But only since Jerusalem was unified in 1967 under Israeli control have the holy sites of Christianity, Islam and Judaism been protected and open to all.

We stand by you, Mr. President, in your efforts to bring peace to the Middle East. But now is not the time to sidetrack the peace process and change longstanding U.S. policy, unless it is to finally and formally recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

We hope you recognize what has been reality all along -- that Jerusalem, a city of neighborhoods not settlements, is the indivisible capital of the State of Israel.

Sincerely,

10/15/90

2/11/90 -
1/20/90 -
2/21/90 -
1/16/90 -

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק

דחיפות: מיידי

דף: 1

סוג: גלוי

פתוך: 1

תאריך וזמן מעור: 15.3.90

אל: מצפ"א

כס' פרוק:

דע:

הפסד:

469

פאת: קישור לקונגרס

ביהנ"ב: ירושלים

1. אחמול 14/3 בשעה 18:45 התקיים ה- SPECIAL ORDER במליאת ביהנ"ב, בנושא ירושלים. סדרת הנאומים ערכה כשעה ורבע.

2. למרות השעה המאוחרת נאמו 18 קונגרסמנים: אד פיהן (D-OHIO) שיזם הדיון, דו בורטון (R-IND) שהצטרף לפיהן כיוזם; בן גילמן (R-NY) והוארד ברמן (D-CA); ביל פקסון (R-NY); תומס מנטון (D-NY); רוז-לטינאן (R-FL); ברני פרנק (D-MASS); ג'ים שוייר (D-NY); גורג'י הוכנוקנר (D-NY); צ'אק שומר (D-NY); רוי דייסון (D-MD); אליוט אנגל (D-NY); צ'אק דאגלאס (R-N); רון מטלי (R-RI); פרנק פלון (D-NJ); ניטה לואי (D-NY); אד מרקי (D-MASS).

3. אד פיהן בפתח דבריו, הודיע בשמם של מל לויין וביל להימן כי נוכח השעה המאוחרת לא יוכלו להשתתף וביקש להכניס הודעותיהם לרקורד. כן ציין שקונגרסמנים נוספים ביקשו להשתתף אולם לא יכלו להשאר. הודעותיהם יוכנסו לרקורד. דן ברטון ביקש בשם ביל שוטי להכניס דבריו לרקורד.

4. הנאומים היו חמים ביותר, תמכו באחדותה של ירושלים והיותה בית ישראל. רבים ציינו מרכזיותה של ירושלים לעם היהודי מאז ימי המלך דוד. בימים בהם נופלת חומת ברלין, אין להעלות על הדעת חלוקתה מחדש של ירושלים. ברוב הנאומים היתה התייחסות לשגיאה שעשה הנשיא בוש בהתבטאותו. נעביר בנפרד הנוסח המלא של הדיון.

ישראל - אק"א פסקני
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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תפוצה: 36 רביב הסברה 1/2 קארכס 1/1 שיהם 1/1 רח טאן 1/1

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United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

WUSTON TPA

March 14, 1990

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The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Jerusalem has a place in the hearts of the American people and of people throughout the world. Whether Christian, Jewish, or Muslim, they look to it as a symbol of peace and a source of spiritual inspiration.

Jerusalem is the spiritual center of the Jewish faith, and for Israelis, it is their capital. For over twenty-five hundred years, as Jewish people yearned to return to Zion, they recalled Jerusalem in their prayers. Thus, above all, Jerusalem has special meaning to the Jewish people. But their devotion to Jerusalem has not meant the exclusion of others. When Jerusalem was reunited in 1967, a tragic period in its history ended; now people of every faith enjoy free access to their holy places.

We agree with long-standing United States policy that Jerusalem should never again be divided and that its people should be free to live wherever they wish without regard to their faith. In our view, the status of Jerusalem need not be settled early in the current peace process, and it should not be linked to other issues.

We are deeply concerned, however, that recent statements on the subject of Jerusalem may raise doubts as to whether that policy has changed. In particular, these statements could raise doubts about our long-standing commitment to the right of Jews to live in Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is a city unique in the world, a mosaic of diverse ethnic and religious groups living together in peace. That peace reigns in Jerusalem, despite its diversity, gives us hope that peace may be achieved throughout the Middle East.

The President
March 14, 1990
Page 2

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Mr. President, we support your determination to advance the peace process in the Middle East. We believe, however, that your clarification that our policy on Jerusalem has not changed is urgently needed now. Even though the constraints of time prevented us from asking more of our colleagues to join in this letter, we believe that most of them share our concerns.

Sincerely,

Ben Gilman

Benjamin A. Gilman, M.C.

Rudy Boschwitz

Rudy Boschwitz

Pete Wilson

Pete Wilson

Joseph I. Lieberman

Joseph I. Lieberman

Alfonse M. D'Amato

Alfonse M. D'Amato

John McCain

John McCain

Carl Levin

Carl Levin

Larry Pressler

Larry Pressler

Connie Mack

Connie Mack

Handwritten notes: ~~15~~ 2-4 m/j/af

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DICK CHENEY TO THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL CONFERENCE AT THE WASHINGTON HILTON, WASHINGTON DC TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1990

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SEC. CHENEY: (Applause.) Well, thank you very much for that very warm and very fine introduction. I can assure you, thinking back, that frankly it hadn't occurred to me that I'd been on the job a year -- it seemed more like ten. (Laughter.) But I would much rather be here today than I would face the prospect of a week in front of the United States Senate trying to earn confirmation. So it is a pleasure to be here today.

Let me begin by saying, "Shalom." Charity has been important to Jewish life ever since the book of Leviticus said that farmers should not harvest the corners of their fields so the poor could find something to eat. Despite this, voluntary charitable associations have become important to the Jewish community only in modern times, and especially in this country. There is something essentially American about the way the United Jewish Appeal has flourished in the 51 years since it was founded. You have supported an impressive array of educational, social service and humanitarian organizations here and in Israel. And your volunteer activities have extended well beyond the mere writing of checks.

One hundred fifty years ago, Alexis De Tocqueville wrote about the crucial role of voluntary associations in his classic book, "Democracy in America." Tocqueville said that "in a country based on the primacy of individual rights, voluntary associations help potentially isolated individuals see the importance of caring for the welfare of the larger community." The United Jewish Appeal's role fits within a long tradition that goes to the core of this country's foundation as a liberal democracy.

I begin with this observation today because this has been a remarkable year in the history of democratic liberty. From Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe to Nicaragua, voluntary associations -- churches, labor unions and a host of others -- nurtured the seeds of freedom that have burst forth so gloriously these past several months. In country after country, the people, finally able to cast ballots, have rejected communism. Three weeks ago, it was Nicaragua. Two weeks ago, communist candidates were defeated in local elections in the three Slavic Soviet republics. Last Sunday, Lithuania declared its independence from the Soviet Union. And next Sunday, it will be East Germany's turn to vote.

These momentous events have brought with them some major changes in the national security environment faced by the United States. The threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe clearly has receded. In other respects, the picture is more complicated, and I'll return to this point later. The net effect has been to

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raise some fundamental questions, the likes of which we have not had to confront for a very long time.

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Some of these questions have been posed by the press in a form that may be unsettling to the American Jewish community. A few months ago, a Washington Post headline said that partly because of the changes in US-Soviet relations, quote, "An anxious Israel fears that the world, and especially the US, is losing interest in it," end quote. And last week, a Washington Jewish Week headline asked whether, quote, "The end of the Cold War will mean that Israel will be less than a strategic asset?"

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Before I go any further, let me assure you that this country's bedrock commitment to Israel's security is absolutely unshakeable. (Applause.) And I mean absolutely. We have had and always will have a very special relationship with Israel. I particularly want to say that in light of today's news about resignations from Israel's cabinet.

With that basic assurance stated up front, I want to get back to the underlying concern that a change in the Soviet threat may reduce the strategic importance of Israel to the United States. That suggestion reminds me of questions that appeared in the Korean and Japanese press during my visit to Asia last month. The concern really is about what it might mean for Israel, Japan, or other US allies if this nation were to rush willy-nilly to cash in on the so-called "peace dividend." Simply stated, the idea that there will be a massive dividend is based on the assumption that our enemies have disappeared. If the enemy has disappeared, the argument goes, so have the reasons for US alliances and for defense spending.

I want to address this issue on two levels today. First, on the narrow question of whether the US still cares about Israel, I want to say something about the cooperative defense relationship that exists and will continue to exist between the United States and Israel. And then I want to speak more generally about the US role in the world of the future.

In 1983, President Reagan and Prime Minister Shamir agreed to a formal relationship of strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel. Since then, the two countries' strategic ties have become closer than they ever were in the previous 35 years since Israeli independence. Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between the two nations involves shared information and planning. If you tell the average person that we have regular working groups, it may sound like bureaucratic gobbledeygook. But these kinds of institutions tend to insulate long-term relationships from the disagreements that are bound to show up now and then among friends.

More concretely, Israel is slated to get 35 percent of the administration's fiscal 1991 budget request for security assistance. In addition, Israel is due to begin taking delivery on its third order of EF-16F aircraft in 1991, and we expect the Israeli Defense

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Forces to be getting their first Apache attack helicopters soon. At the same time, we also expect US procurements of Israeli defense product to increase in the 1990s. These procurements have skyrocketed from a level of \$51 million in 1984 to more than \$350 million in 1989. 431 4/11

Finally, the United States has a number of joint research and development projects underway with Israel, including several that are part of our Strategic Defense Initiative, or SDI. It is hard to look at the Middle East today without worrying about the potential spread of weapons of mass destruction. We have reason to be concerned that some states in the region may over time develop the capability to deliver chemical and biological weapons. Therefore, we've been talking with Israel about helping them strengthen their radar warning system, and we've funded initial research into the Arrow anti-ballistic missile system as part of SDI.

I mention all of these specific programs because I want it to be understood that we do not consider our relationship with Israel to flow only in one direction. The United States provides aid and assistance, of course, but we also get national security benefits in return. And that brings us to the broader issue, how the US relationship with Israel and our other major allies fits into a broader conception of the US role in the world of the future.

There are some in the United States who seem to think that, because the world is changing, we can fundamentally alter the basic premises that have guided our military strategies. That is the posture that leads to loose talk about a peace dividend and produces concern among our allies that we are about to withdraw and to leave them all hanging. That is dangerous talk.

Our critics accuse us of not noticing that the world has changed. But the real argument between us is different. They believe that because the immediate threat has gone down, we should disarm immediately. We agree that the budget should come down, but we also insist that the whole process should be handled with an eye on the longer term.

With the world changing so quickly, we believe that we have to work harder than ever with a sense of predictability and consistency to maintain the strength of our relationships with our allies, and we have to do so with a steady sense of balance that will leave us ready for today's remaining uncertainties while we prepare for the role we want the United States to play in the decades ahead. Of course, planning for the future requires some clarity about what has just transpired. For the past 45 years, US and allied policy has fostered a climate of cooperation and stability that has helped keep the peace. That peace has permitted free economies to grow and free political ideals to spread and take root.

Throughout the postwar era, the biggest threat to peace has been the Soviet Union, its client states and client terrorist organizations. The Soviets embarked on a massive military buildup

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of arms and equipment designed for defense, was that big, far beyond what would be needed strictly for EdefenseF, was useful for only two objectives: conquest or intimidation.

Soviet strategy failed because the democracies of the world deployed forces that were too strong to be conquered, and because their commitment to freedom and democracy could not be shaken. Look at the revolutionary developments in Eastern Europe: there is a very real possibility that much of Eastern Europe will soon be governed by democratically elected non-communist regimes, and that most if not all Soviet troops will be withdrawn back to the Soviet Union.

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Change has even come inside the Soviet Union itself. We've been impressed with President Gorbachev's determination to bring about reforms in Soviet foreign and domestic policies: political reforms, pluralism in Soviet politics, and a better record on emigration and other human rights. His willingness to let events unfold contrasts favorably with the record of his predecessors.

However, as we survey all these changes, there are some key points to keep in mind. The threat of a sudden Soviet invasion of Western Europe has gone down, but a new set of uncertainties has sprung up, and old animosities could always resurface.

There is also great uncertainty about the future course of reform inside the Soviet Union. Mr. Gorbachev faces massive problems at home. We very much want EperestroikaF to succeed, but its success is far from assured. No one can predict what fate has in store for the current Soviet leadership. Average citizens are questioning the basic assumptions of the governing Communist Party. The economy is a disaster. Old nationality problems are reasserting themselves, and virulent Eanti-SemitismF has begun to reappear.

In addition, we must never forget that, whatever other changes they may have made, the Soviets are still targeted against the United States and our allies. It is hard for me to look at that capability, to consider the possibilities for upheaval within the Soviet Union, and to remain peacefully sanguine as if we no longer need to be concerned about our own defense. However much we may want Soviet reforms to take hold, it would be irresponsible not to preserve all of our options for the future.

Moreover, even on the most optimistic assumptions about the Soviet Union, it would be a mistake to think that the United States can ever again be a "Fortress America." The United States is a global power with global interest and global responsibilities. It does not take a very vivid imagination to see what would happen if we were to let international power vacuums develop in regions where our strength now exerts a positive influence. Countries have claims or counterclaims against each other's territories and interest in just about every part of the world. As friends of Israel well know, these can endanger the peace if they get out of hand.

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If those kinds of situations threaten the important interest of the United States or our allies, we must be prepared to exert a restraining influence. Sometimes those interests unavoidably will require us to use American military power. One good example is EpanamaF. But another one in the Middle East was the 1987 decision to re-flag and escort EkuwaitiF EoilF tankers during the EIran-FIraq War. Our willingness to see that action through continues to pay dividends. Our active presence is welcomed by our friends in the region, and those friends have seen that they can, indeed, count on us. 431

I said earlier that the US commitment to Israel is absolutely unshakable, and it is. However, the real-world value of our commitments to any ally depends ultimately upon our ability to project American power. Our commitments are only as good as our ability to back them up. 6/11

Some people who like to portray themselves as great friends of EIsraelf are in the forefront of those who want to cut the EdefenseF budgetF drastically to cash in on the so-called peace dividend. You should listen to that kind of posturing with a great deal of skepticism. I believe those two positions are fundamentally incompatible with each other.

We can cut our budgets. We can reduce our force structure. President Bush's EbudgetF will get us down by 1995 to the lowest proportional rate of Edefense spendingF since before Pearl Harbor. But these cuts have to be managed with great care. We must handle any force reductions in a manner that keeps up the quality and the morale of our personnel. We must also invest in the technology we will need for the future. And we must continue to deter strategic threats from the ESoviet UnionF.

And finally, we will have to rely more heavily on mobile, highly ready, well equipped forces and solid power projection capabilities. This last point is particularly important in regard to the EMiddle EastF. Slash and burn budgeting would make it impossible for us to meet our EdefenseF priorities. It would be a direct threat to the commitments we all value dearly. And this, in turn, surely would not help the prospects for peace in the Middle East.

As we seek to promote a realistic peace process, Israel must know that it can count on the United States. Risk for peace can only be taken if Israel is confident about its security and the US commitment to it. Too often, we treat policy as if it can be made in isolated compartments. Our minds have a EMiddle EasternF compartment for diplomatic issues -- the peace process and so forth. Then there is the defense compartment. My message for you today is that those compartments are not distinct. The beaches of Haifa are washed by the rainfalls of Europe. Our long-term capabilities and influence in the Middle East are very much a part of the defense budget debates, even if it may not always look that way. I hope you all bear that in mind as you try to put this debate into a larger perspective.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

I understand there's a plan for a few questions to wrap up.

MODERATOR: Mr. Secretary, we're going to collect questions. There are cards on the table. There are some people walking around now. And then we'll filter the questions through me to you, if that's okay.

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SEC. CHENEY: I'd love to know who gets to filter the questions. (Moderator laughs.) All right. That sounds good to me.

MODERATOR: Okay, thank you. Let me -- they're already coming on. Okay.

It was reported recently, I think in the last week or so in the news, that the United States plans to sell the Patriot missile system to Israel. Could you describe what that is and what needs Israel has that we're selling such a sophisticated system?

SEC. CHENEY: Well, we have talked with the Israelis. I've had discussions in my meetings now with Defense Minister Rabin. I think I've met three times in the year that I've been Secretary, and I'm scheduled to go to Israel in May. (Applause.)

We've talked about a number of ways of dealing with the increasingly sophisticated ballistic missile threat, basically, and air threat to Israel in the Middle East. The efforts involve discussions of such things as early warning radars. The Patriot is a sophisticated air defense system that has significant capabilities that's used in Europe and NATO. We have not yet finalized arrangements in this area, but it is one of a number of measures that's under discussion that would enhance Israeli capabilities against possible future threats.

MODERATOR: Another couple questions on chemical weapons in the Middle East, specifically Iraq's capabilities and the press reports on Libya's plant now being operational. If you could comment on those developments.

SEC. CHENEY: Well, we have been watching the developments in Libya very carefully. Obviously, we have been involved -- our government has previously, both the Reagan and now the Bush administrations, in dealing with the efforts of the Libyans to acquire significant chemical capability. We've done that by diplomatic means. We continue to press those efforts.

The President feels very strongly about chemical weapons and their proliferation. When he was Vice President, he tabled the original administration proposal on -- for a chemical weapons ban internationally. We continue to pursue that.

The developments in the Middle East are worrisome because of the fact that we have sort of crossed through the threshold now, broken through the threshold, if you will, in the Iran-Iraq War where chemical weapons were actually used. And it is a subject of great concern, I think to all of us who watch developments not only here but in other places in the world. I think the policies we are pursuing, or discouraging the production of chemical weapons, and working with the Soviets to reduce our own stocks, and working on an international basis to get a complete ban on chemical weapons worldwide, is the proper course for us to follow. But we do, of

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course, follow very closely specific developments, especially any development that involves Libya.

MODERATOR: Thank you. A question on foreign aid, the military portion of foreign aid -- some 35 percent of the defense budget, as you have mentioned, is allocated to Israel, and isn't most of that in fact spent right here in the United States? Could you talk about the fact that foreign aid -- comment on the amount of foreign aid that is spent here in the US to purchase US weapons systems?

SEC. CHENEY: That's correct. The amount of military assistance that is slated for Israel both in 1990, the year we're now in and 1991 is \$1.8 billion. It is the largest portion of our military assistance budget. There are several reasons, obviously, for it in addition to our historic ties to Israel, but the United States does gain in the sense that a lot of those funds go to purchase US systems. I mentioned the third buy of the F-16, for example, but also even more importantly, because of the strategic relationship between the United States and Israel, we benefit enormously by having in the Middle East, a very important part of the world, a democracy, another nation that shares our historic values and our commitment to freedom and individual rights and to liberty, and that kind of strategic tie, I think and the capabilities that go with it in terms of our ability to contribute to our mutual security are enormously important, not only to Israel, but to the United States. One-point-eight billion dollars is not a gift in that sense at all, but it's something that we derive great benefit from in terms of our own national interests. (Applause.)

MODERATOR: Several of the questions coming in are on the military balance in Israel, maintaining its qualitative edge, and with our US arms sales to Arab countries, how can that -- how can Israel continue to maintain its qualitative edge? And, specifically, with reference to not an arms sale, but the US, as we withdraw from NATO and Europe, giving tanks to Egypt, and does that set a bad example for what the Soviets will be doing because they certainly have a lot more excess equipment than the United States does, and are we fueling and escalating an arms race in the Middle East by dropping off some of this there?

SEC. CHENEY: The United States has good relationships with a number of Arab nations in the Middle East. Those relationships are important to us. I think to the extent that the US has influence throughout the region, that's also important from the standpoint of Israel's security interest.

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A number of those nations also have legitimate requirements. That is to say they're faced with various and sundry threats to their security and survival. And the United States from time to time helps satisfy those requirements. There are obviously other options.

I think, as a general proposition, when we're looking at one of those nations in the Middle East, and they are able to satisfy their legitimate security requirements by dealing with the US instead of some other major foreign power or arms supplier, that's in our interests as well as in Israel's interest. We do not want to be in the business, and are not as a matter of policy in this administration, of doing anything to upset the qualitative advantage that Israel clearly enjoys.

The question on the Egyptian tank transaction is an important one, but the key here is what we're doing is we're taking 700 of the M60A1 tanks -- that's one of our older tanks, currently deployed in Europe -- and sending those to EEgyptF. Egypt will in turn destroy, on a one-for-one basis, old ESovietF tanks that they currently have in their inventory. That's good. That's a positive development.

It's also important to remember that Israel and Egypt after all do have diplomatic relations, that Egypt has been, in recent years, a friend of Israel's. There is a peace agreement there. And I think that's a classic case where, from the standpoint of both Egypt and Israel, that kind of capability for Egypt doesn't constitute a threat to Israel and does, in fact, add to stability in the region and I think it helps cement the relationship, as well, between the United States and Egypt.

So that transaction, I think, makes sense. It has not been objected to by the government of Israel. And it is a way for us to enhance the security and stability, if you will, of an important country in that part of the world, a country that does have good relationships with Israel.

MODERATOR: Thank you. Could you -- I may have missed the beginning, and if I'm repeating myself, please correct me, but what about the example -- we understand in the context of Egypt, but is it a bad example for the Soviet Union, as they have this excess equipment also? Is there any concern about what they'll do with it?

SEC. CHENEY: Well, I haven't noted any special restraint on the part of the Soviets in supplying military hardware in the Middle East in the past. There's a lot of it there already, obviously, that has been provided by the Soviets to the ESyriansF and the ELibyansF and to others.

I'm not that concerned about that kind of a transaction. We haven't seen any evidence of it yet at this point. But in the final analysis, I come back to the proposition that it is in the interest of Israel and the United States for the US to have the kind of broad influence throughout the region that goes with our helping satisfy the legitimate security needs of several governments in that part of the world. And that's why we've pursued the particular policy we have.

MODERATOR: There are several questions -- we spent a good deal of the conference on the issue of ESoviet emigrationF. While the numbers are terrific and we're pleased with that, there is a sense

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urgency about getting as many Soviet Jews out as possible, as quickly as possible. It's apparent that the direct flight agreement between El Al and Aeroflot is not going to be implemented any time in the near future. What is the chance -- the questioner is asking -- is the chance of involving US military aircraft in helping to lift Soviet Jews out of the Soviet Union? (Applause.)

SEC. CHENEY: I -- that's one I hadn't thought of. (Laughter, applause.) It's conceivable you might have some difficulties getting the Soviets to allow us to fly a lot of -- (laughter) -- US Force flights into Moscow and other centers. I'll take it under advisement. (Laughter. Applause.)

MODERATOR: Mr. Secretary, we are very respectful of your position and the scope of your responsibilities, but I'm getting inundated with the questions on a topic that you might imagine is very close to us and that we've spent a lot of energy on in the last couple of days, and that has to do with the question of Jerusalem.

You spoke very eloquently and deeply about this country's -- this nation's commitment to Israel's security and so maybe you could offer us a comment on how you reconcile that commitment, which we trust and want to believe in, with the President's comments in speaking out and calling -- leading us to believe that his thoughts are that East Jerusalem is occupied territory and the failure of the United States over years to recognize Israel's vital being in Jerusalem.

SEC. CHENEY: Well, I have learned as the Secretary of Defense (laughter) -- to be very cautious about interpreting the comments of my leader. (Laughter.)

The fact is that the position of the United States, the policy of the United States there is -- remains unchanged, it has not been changed. And that policy is -- because I checked it with Jim Baker before I came over here this afternoon -- (laughter, applause) -- is that we believe that Jerusalem should not be divided -- (extended applause, cheers) -- and -- and that the status should be resolved as the final step in the negotiation process of achieving a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. That has been our policy for a long time. It is a subject to be negotiated once we get the negotiations started, and that policy is unchanged.

MODERATOR: Do you have time for more? I thought there was a hal --

SEC. CHENEY: I'd take one more question.

MODERATOR: One more? Okay. Could you talk about briefly the relationship of Haifa with the Sixth Fleet and how that is part of the strategic relationship?

SEC. CHENEY: Well, we do have a number of port calls by our ships; naval vessels visit Haifa. It's an excellent port and

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We will continue to -- obviously, to be very actively involved in the Mediterranean. That's one place where we have one of our aircraft carrier battle groups stationed 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year. And that commitment isn't going to change, and I would expect that we will frequently and periodically continue to do joint exercises with Israeli forces, to pay port calls -- port visits in Haifa, continue to be an important location and place for us.

MODERATOR: Okay, and --

SEC. CHENEY: Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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MODERATOR: -- thank you.

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REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DICK CHENEY TO THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL CONFERENCE AT THE WASHINGTON HILTON, WASHINGTON DC
TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1990

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SEC. CHENEY: (Applause.) Well, thank you very much for that very warm and very fine introduction. I can assure you, thinking back, that frankly it hadn't occurred to me that I'd been on the job a year -- it seemed more like ten. (Laughter.) But I would much rather be here today than I would face the prospect of a week in front of the United States Senate trying to earn confirmation. So it is a pleasure to be here today.

Let me begin by saying, "Shalom." Charity has been important to Jewish life ever since the book of Leviticus said that farmers should not harvest the corners of their fields so the poor could find something to eat. Despite this, voluntary charitable associations have become important to the Jewish community only in modern times, and especially in this country. There is something essentially American about the way the United Jewish Appeal has flourished in the 51 years since it was founded. You have supported an impressive array of educational, social service and humanitarian organizations here and in Israel. And your volunteer activities have extended well beyond the mere writing of checks.

One hundred fifty years ago, Alexis De Tocqueville wrote about the crucial role of voluntary associations in his classic book, "Democracy in America." Tocqueville said that "in a country based on the primacy of individual rights, voluntary associations help potentially isolated individuals see the importance of caring for the welfare of the larger community." The United Jewish Appeal's role fits within a long tradition that goes to the core of this country's foundation as a liberal democracy.

I begin with this observation today because this has been a remarkable year in the history of democratic liberty. From Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe to Nicaragua, voluntary associations -- churches, labor unions and a host of others -- nurtured the seeds of freedom that have burst forth so gloriously these past several months. In country after country, the people, finally able to cast ballots, have rejected communism. Three weeks ago, it was Nicaragua. Two weeks ago, communist candidates were defeated in local elections in the three Slavic Soviet republics. Last Sunday, Lithuania declared its independence from the Soviet Union. And next Sunday, it will be East Germany's turn to vote.

These momentous events have brought with them some major changes in the national security environment faced by the United States. The threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe clearly has receded. In other respects, the picture is more complicated, and I'll return to this point later. The net effect has been to

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raise some fundamental questions, the likes of which we have not had to confront for a very long time.

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Some of these questions have been posed by the press in a form that may be unsettling to the American Jewish community. A few months ago, a Washington Post headline said that partly because of the changes in US-Soviet relations, quote, "An anxious Israel fears that the world, and especially the US, is losing interest in it," end quote. And last week, a Washington Jewish Week headline asked whether, quote, "The end of the Cold War will mean that Israel will be less than a strategic asset?"

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Before I go any further, let me assure you that this country's bedrock commitment to Israel's security is absolutely unshakeable. (Applause.) And I mean absolutely. We have had and always will have a very special relationship with Israel. I particularly want to say that in light of today's news about resignations from Israel's cabinet.

With that basic assurance stated up front, I want to get back to the underlying concern that a change in the Soviet threat may reduce the strategic importance of Israel to the United States. That suggestion reminds me of questions that appeared in the Korean and Japanese press during my visit to Asia last month. The concern really is about what it might mean for Israel, Japan, or other US allies if this nation were to rush willy-nilly to cash in on the so-called "peace dividend." Simply stated, the idea that there will be a massive dividend is based on the assumption that our enemies have disappeared. If the enemy has disappeared, the argument goes, so have the reasons for US alliances and for defense spending.

I want to address this issue on two levels today. First, on the narrow question of whether the US still cares about Israel, I want to say something about the cooperative defense relationship that exists and will continue to exist between the United States and Israel. And then I want to speak more generally about the US role in the world of the future.

In 1982, President Reagan and Prime Minister Shamir agreed to a formal relationship of strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel. Since then, the two countries' strategic ties have become closer than they ever were in the previous 35 years since Israeli independence. Perhaps the most important form of cooperation between the two nations involves shared information and planning. If you tell the average person that we have regular working groups, it may sound like bureaucratic gobbledeygook. But these kinds of institutions tend to insulate long-term relationships from the disagreements that are bound to show up now and then among friends.

More concretely, Israel is slated to get 35 percent of the administration's fiscal 1991 budget request for security assistance. In addition, Israel is due to begin taking delivery on its third order of F-16 aircraft in 1991, and we expect the Israeli Defense

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Forces to be getting their first Apache attack helicopters soon. At the same time, we also expect US procurements of Israeli defense product to increase in the 1990s. These procurements have skyrocketed from a level of \$51 million in 1984 to more than \$250 million in 1989.

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Finally, the United States has a number of joint research and development projects underway with Israel, including several that are part of our Strategic Defense Initiative, or SDI. It is hard to look at the Middle East today without worrying about the potential spread of weapons of mass destruction. We have reason to be concerned that some states in the region may over time develop the missile capability to deliver chemical and biological weapons. Therefore, we've been talking with Israel about helping them strengthen their radar warning system, and we've funded initial research into the Arrow anti-ballistic missile system as part of SDI.

I mention all of these specific programs because I want it to be understood that we do not consider our relationship with Israel to flow only in one direction. The United States provides aid and assistance, of course, but we also get national security benefits in return. And that brings us to the broader issue, how the US relationship with Israel and our other major allies fits into a broader conception of the US role in the world of the future.

There are some in the United States who seem to think that, because the world is changing, we can fundamentally alter the basic premises that have guided our military strategies. That is the posture that leads to loose talk about a peace dividend and produces concern among our allies that we are about to withdraw and to leave them all hanging. That is dangerous talk.

Our critics accuse us of not noticing that the world has changed. But the real argument between us is different. They believe that because the immediate threat has gone down, we should disarm immediately. We agree that the budget should come down, but we also insist that the whole process should be handled with an eye on the longer term.

With the world changing so quickly, we believe that we have to work harder than ever with a sense of predictability and consistency to maintain the strength of our relationships with our allies, and we have to do so with a steady sense of balance that will leave us ready for today's remaining uncertainties while we prepare for the role we want the United States to play in the decades ahead. Of course, planning for the future requires some clarity about what has just transpired. For the past 45 years, US and allied policy has fostered a climate of cooperation and stability that has helped keep the peace. That peace has permitted free economies to grow and free political ideals to spread and take root.

Throughout the postwar era, the biggest threat to peace has been the Soviet Union, its client states and client terrorist organizations. The Soviets embarked on a massive military buildup

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that big, far beyond what would be needed strictly for defense, was useful for only two objectives: conquest or intimidation.

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Soviet strategy failed because the democracies of the world deployed forces that were too strong to be conquered, and because their commitment to freedom and democracy could not be shaken. Look at the revolutionary developments in Eastern Europe: there is a very real possibility that much of Eastern Europe will soon be governed by democratically elected non-communist regimes, and that most if not all Soviet troops will be withdrawn back to the Soviet Union.

Change has even come inside the Soviet Union itself. We've been impressed with President Gorbachev's determination to bring about reforms in Soviet foreign and domestic policies: political reforms, pluralism in Soviet politics, and a better record on emigration and other human rights. His willingness to let events unfold contrasts favorably with the record of his predecessors.

However, as we survey all these changes, there are some key points to keep in mind. The threat of a sudden Soviet invasion of Eastern Europe has gone down, but a new set of uncertainties has sprung up, and old animosities could always resurface.

There is also great uncertainty about the future course of reform inside the Soviet Union. Mr. Gorbachev faces massive problems at home. We very much want Perestroika to succeed, but its success is far from assured. No one can predict what fate has in store for the current Soviet leadership. Average citizens are questioning the basic assumptions of the governing Communist Party. The economy is a disaster. Old nationality problems are reasserting themselves, and virulent anti-Semitism has begun to reappear.

In addition, we must never forget that, whatever other changes they may have made, the Soviets get against the United States and our allies. It is hard for me to look at that capability, to consider the possibilities for upheaval within the Soviet Union, and to remain peacefully sanguine as if we no longer need to be concerned about our own defense. However much we may want Soviet reforms to take hold, it would be irresponsible not to preserve all of our options for the future.

Moreover, even on the most optimistic assumptions about the Soviet Union, it would be a mistake to think that the United States can ever again be a "Fortress America." The United States is a global power with global interest and global responsibilities. It does not take a very vivid imagination to see what would happen if we were to let international power vacuums develop in regions where our strength now exerts a positive influence. Countries have claims or counterclaims against each other's territories and interest in just about every part of the world. As friends of Israel well know, these can endanger the peace if they get out of hand.

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If those kinds of situations threaten the important interest of the United States or our allies, we must be prepared to exert a restraining influence. Sometimes those interests unavoidably will require us to use American military power. One good example is Panama. But another one in the Middle East was the 1987 decision to re-flag and escort Kuwaiti oil tankers during the Iran-Iraq War. Our willingness to see that action through continues to pay dividends. Our active presence is welcomed by our friends in the region, and those friends have seen that they can, indeed, count on us. 4/31

I said earlier that the US commitment to Israel is absolutely unshakable, and it is. However, the real-world value of our commitments to any ally depends ultimately upon our ability to project American power. Our commitments are only as good as our ability to back them up. 6/11

Some people who like to portray themselves as great friends of Israel are in the forefront of those who want to cut the defense budget drastically to cash in on the so-called peace dividend. You should listen to that kind of posturing with a great deal of skepticism. I believe those two positions are fundamentally incompatible with each other.

We can cut our budgets. We can reduce our force structure. President Bush's budget will get us down by 1995 to the lowest proportional rate of defense spending since before Pearl Harbor. But these cuts have to be managed with great care. We must handle any force reductions in a manner that keeps up the quality and the morale of our personnel. We must also invest in the technology we will need for the future. And we must continue to deter strategic threats from the Soviet Union.

And finally, we will have to rely more heavily on mobile, highly ready, well equipped forces and solid power projection capabilities. This last point is particularly important in regard to the Middle East. Slash and burn budgeting would make it impossible for us to meet our defense priorities. It would be a direct threat to the commitments we all value dearly. And this, in turn, surely would not help the prospects for peace in the Middle East.

As we seek to promote a realistic peace process, Israel must know that it can count on the United States. Risk for peace can only be taken if Israel is confident about its security and the US commitment to it. Too often, we treat policy as if it can be made in isolated compartments. Our minds have a Middle Eastern compartment for diplomatic issues -- the peace process and so forth. Then there is the defense compartment. My message for you today is that those compartments are not distinct. The beaches of Haifa are washed by the rainfalls of Europe. Our long-term capabilities and influence in the Middle East are very much a part of the defense budget debates, even if it may not always look that way. I hope you all bear that in mind as you try to put this debate into a larger perspective.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

I understand there's a plan for a few questions to wrap up.

MODERATOR: Mr. Secretary, we're going to collect questions. There are cards on the table. There are some people walking around now. And then we'll filter the questions through me to you, if that's okay.

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SEC. CHENEY: I'd love to know who gets to filter the questions. (Moderator laughs.) All right. That sounds good to me. 7/11

MODERATOR: Okay, thank you. Let me -- they're already coming on. Okay.

It was reported recently, I think in the last week or so in the news, that the United States plans to export the Patriot missile system to Israel. Could you describe what that is and what needs Israel has that we're selling such a sophisticated system?

SEC. CHENEY: Well, we have talked with the Israelis. I've had discussions in my meetings now with Defense Minister Rabin. I think we've met three times in the year that I've been Secretary, and I'm scheduled to go to Israel in May. (Applause.)

We've talked about a number of ways of dealing with the increasingly sophisticated ballistic missile threat, basically, and air threat to Israel in the Middle East. The efforts involve discussions of such things as early warning radars. The Patriot is a sophisticated air defense system that has significant capabilities that's used in Europe and NATO. We have not yet finalized arrangements in this area, but it is one of a number of measures that's under discussion that would enhance Israeli capabilities against possible future threats.

MODERATOR: Another couple questions on chemical weapons in the Middle East, specifically Iraq's capabilities and the press reports on Libya's plant now being operational. If you could comment on those developments.

SEC. CHENEY: Well, we have been watching the developments in Libya very carefully. Obviously, we have been involved -- our government has previously, both the Reagan and now the Bush administrations, in dealing with the efforts of the Libyans to acquire significant chemical capability. We've done that by diplomatic means. We continue to press those efforts.

The President feels very strongly about chemical weapons and their proliferation. When he was Vice President, he tabled the original administration proposal on -- for a chemical weapons ban internationally. We continue to pursue that.

The developments in the Middle East are worrisome because of the fact that we have sort of crossed through the threshold now, broken through the threshold, if you will, in the Iran-Iraq War where chemical weapons were actually used. And it is a subject of great concern, I think to all of us who watch developments not only here but in other places in the world. I think the policies we are pursuing, or discouraging the production of chemical weapons, and working with the Soviets to reduce our own stocks, and working on an international basis to get a complete ban on chemical weapons worldwide, is the proper course for us to follow. But we do, of

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course, follow very closely specific developments, especially any development that involves Libya.

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MODERATOR: Thank you. A question on foreign aid, the military portion of foreign aid -- some 35 percent of the defense budget, as you have mentioned, is allocated to Israel, and isn't most of that in fact spent right here in the United States? Could you talk about the fact that foreign aid -- comment on the amount of foreign aid that is spent here in the US to purchase US weapons systems?

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SEC. CHENEY: That's correct. The amount of military assistance that is slated for Israel both in 1990, the year we're now in and 1991 is \$1.8 billion. It is the largest portion of our military assistance budget. There are several reasons, obviously, for it in addition to our historic ties to Israel, but the United States does gain in the sense that a lot of those funds go to purchase US systems. I mentioned the third buy of the F-16, for example, but also even more importantly, because of the strategic relationship between the United States and Israel, we benefit enormously by having in the Middle East, a very important part of the world, a democracy, another nation that shares our historic values and our commitment to freedom and individual rights and to liberty, and that kind of strategic tie, I think and the capabilities that go with it in terms of our ability to contribute to our mutual security are enormously important, not only to Israel, but to the United States. One-point-eight billion dollars is not a gift in that sense at all, but it's something that we derive great benefit from in terms of our own national interests. (Applause.)

MODERATOR: Several of the questions coming in are on the military balance in Israel, maintaining its qualitative edge, and with our US arms sales to Arab countries, how can that -- how can Israel continue to maintain its qualitative edge? And, specifically, with reference to not an arms sale, but the US, as we withdraw from NATO and Europe, giving tanks to Egypt, and does that set a bad example for what the Soviets will be doing because they certainly have a lot more excess equipment than the United States does, and are we fueling and escalating an arms race in the Middle East by dropping off some of this there?

SEC. CHENEY: The United States has good relationships with a number of Arab nations in the Middle East. Those relationships are important to us. I think to the extent that the US has influence throughout the region, that's also important from the standpoint of Israel's security interest.

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A number of those nations also have requirements with various and sundry requirements. That is to say they're faced with various and sundry threats to their security and survival. And the United States from time to time helps satisfy those requirements. There are obviously other options.

I think, as a general proposition, when we're looking at one of those nations in the Middle East, and they are able to satisfy their legitimate security requirements by dealing with the US instead of some other major foreign power or arms supplier, that's in our interests as well as in Israel's interest. We do not want to be in the business, and are not as a matter of policy in this administration, of doing anything to upset the qualitative advantage that Israel clearly enjoys.

The question on the Egyptian tank transaction is an important one, but the key here is what we're doing is we're taking 700 of the M60A1 tanks -- that's one of our older tanks, currently deployed in Europe -- and sending those to Egypt. Egypt will in turn destroy, on a one-for-one basis, old Soviet tanks that they currently have in their inventory. That's good. That's a positive development.

It's also important to remember that Israel and Egypt after all do have diplomatic relations, that Egypt has been, in recent years, a friend of Israel's. There is a peace agreement there. And I think that's a classic case where, from the standpoint of both Egypt and Israel, that kind of capability for Egypt doesn't constitute a threat to Israel and does, in fact, add to stability in the region and I think it helps cement the relationship, as well, between the United States and Egypt.

So that transaction, I think, makes sense. It has not been objected to by the government of Israel. And it is a way for us to enhance the security and stability, if you will, of an important country in that part of the world, a country that does have good relationships with Israel.

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urgency about getting as many Soviet Jews out as possible, as quickly as possible. It's apparent that the direct flight agreement between El Al and Aeroflot is not going to be implemented any time in the near future. What is the chance -- the questioner is asking -- is the chance of involving US military aircraft in helping to lift Soviet Jews out of the Soviet Union? (Applause.)

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MODERATOR: Mr. Secretary, we are very respectful of your position and the scope of your responsibilities, but I'm getting frustrated with the questions on a topic that you might imagine is very close to us and that we've spent a lot of energy on in the last couple of days, and that has to do with the question of Jerusalem.

You spoke very eloquently and deeply about this country's -- a nation's commitment to Israel's security and so maybe you could offer us a comment on how you reconcile that commitment, which we trust and want to believe in, with the President's comments in speaking out and calling -- leading us to believe that his thoughts are that East Jerusalem is occupied territory and the failure of the United States over years to recognize Israel's right to Jerusalem.

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MODERATOR: Do you have time for more? I thought there was a half --

SEC. CHENEY: I'd take one more question.

MODERATOR: One more? Okay. Could you talk about briefly the relationship of Haifa with the Sixth Fleet and how that is part of the strategic relationship?

SEC. CHENEY: Well, we do have a number of port calls by our (S) naval vessels visit Haifa. It's an excellent port and

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We will continue to -- obviously, to be very actively involved in the Mediterranean. That's one place where we have one of our aircraft carrier battle groups stationed 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year. And that commitment isn't going to change, and I would expect that we will frequently and periodically continue to do joint exercises with Israeli forces, to pay port calls -- port visits in Haifa, continue to be an important location and place for us.

MODERATOR: Okay, and --

SEC. CHENEY: Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

MODERATOR: -- thank you.

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אל: המשרד

יעדים: 682/ני, 703/בטחון, מצב/1730, מנמת/725
מ-: נוש, 430: תא, 140390: זח, 1700: ו, 1: סג: בל

תח: גס: צפא

נד:

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל: מצפא, מעת, ממד

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם,
אמן/מנמת - ו' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק

מאז: עתונות וושינגטון

תרוך דובר מחמד ליום: 14.3.90

Q. ANY CONTACT BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OR OTHER OFFICIALS
HERE WITH MEMBERS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: NOT WITH SECRETARY BAKER. I CANNOT
SPEAK FOR THE ENTIRE BUREAU IN THE MIDDLE EAST
HERE. BUT SECRETARY BAKER HAS NOT.

Q. (OFF MIKE) -- DISCUSSION OF THE PEACE PLAN IN
THE WAKE OF THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS?

MS. TUTWILER: HMM-MM. (NEGATIVE RESPONSE.)

Q. ANYTHING IN TUNIS?

MS. TUTWILER: A MEETING IN TUNIS? NOT THAT I
AM AWARE OF, BUT I'LL BE HAPPY TO CHECK AND SEE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

IF AMBASSADOR PELLETREAU HAS HAD A MEETING.

Q. MARGARET, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE POTENTIAL
SALE OF MISSILES TO ISRAEL, OF THE PATRIOT MISSILE
THAT SECRETARY CHENEY DISCUSSED YESTERDAY?

Q. THE PRESIDENT WON'T LET THAT HOSTAGE THING GO TO BED.
IS THERE SOME REASON THAT WE KEEP GETTING TANTALIZING
HINTS THAT SOMETHING IS GOING ON TO GET THE HOSTAGES
FREED, SOMETHING SPECIAL, SOMETHING NEW? COULD WE HAVE AN
INTERIM REPORT? ARE THERE ANY NEW LEADS, ANY NEW
DISCUSSIONS ANY NEW REASONS FOR HOPE?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T THINK THAT ANYONE, INCLUDING
THE PRESIDENT, AS HE HAS SAID, EVER GIVES UP HOPE.
BUT THERE IS NOTHING NEW THAT I HAVE TO REPORT.
I'M UNAWARE THAT THERE'S A NEW RUMOR TODAY. I HAVEN'T
HEARD ONE TODAY.

Q. THE WAY HE DEALT WITH IT YESTERDAY AT THE
NEWS CONFERENCE, THE WAY STATE AND THE WHITE HOUSE
DEAL WITH THE HOSTAGE THING IS TO SORT OF SUGGEST
THERE'S SOME BUSY ACTIVITY GOING ON INSTEAD OF
--

Q. WAIT TILL YOU FIND OUT WHAT I KNOW, SAID
THE PRESIDENT.

MS. TUTWILER: I THINK IT PROBABLY BEST IF MARLIN

Q. MARGARET, LAST WEEK THERE WAS A STORY FROM THE STATE
DEPARTMENT, OR RATHER WARNING AND CONCERN ABOUT THE
CHEMICAL PLANT IN LIBYA. WHAT ELSE EMANATED OR
GENERATED, AND WERE WOULD THIS STORY STAND OR WHERE THE
EVIDENCE STANDS AT THE PRESENT TIME?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T HAVE AN UPDATE FOR YOU
AND I'D REFER YOU TO WHAT WE SAID LAST WEEK.
THERE IS NOTHING THAT'S CHANGED IN OUR OPINION.

Q. MARGARET, CAN I --

Q. YOU MEAN THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

WITH US ALLIES AND FRIENDS?

MS. TUTWILER: OF COURSE THEY WOULD. THIS IS SOMETHING
WE SAID WE WERE VERY, VERY DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT.

Q. CAN I REPEAT MY QUESTION FROM YESTERDAY ABOUT
THIS GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONY IN EAST JERUSALEM
THE NEW HOUSING THERE? DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING
TO SAY ABOUT IT TODAY?

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

Q. HAS THERE BEEN A NEW CONTACT WITH OR FROM SYRIA
REGARDING THE WESTERN HOSTAGES IN LEBANON, BECAUSE
THERE WAS A STORY A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO -- IN THE LAST
TWO WEEKS THAT SYRIA AND THE IRANIAN OFFICIALS MET
TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE FREEING OF HOSTAGES.

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

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תפ: שהח, טשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מונכל, ממונכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, רט, (אמן),
בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רבי'ב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, דוצ-יט

SECRET
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

1. [Illegible]

2. [Illegible]

3. [Illegible]

4. [Illegible]

5. [Illegible]

6. [Illegible]

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21. [Illegible]

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23. [Illegible]

24. [Illegible]

דחיפות:	טובס מזרק קשר ניו-יורק	יד: 1 מחוק: 5
דגיל		אל: מנהל מצפ"א, יועץ תפוצות
ס"ג:		
שומר		
תזח:		דע: השגריר וושינגטון
141700		
חס מעדי:		מאת: סגן הקונס"ל
0475		
52-11		

הצהרת בוש - ירושלים

בהמשך למברקנו 424 מצ"ב:

1. מכתב פוקסמן/לוינגר א.ד.ל לנשיא בוש
2. הודעת הדסה לתקשורת.
3. מכתב נשיא אמריקה ג'ואיש קומיטי לבוש.

מרדכי ידיר

1. מכתב נשיא אמריקה
 2. הודעת הדסה לתקשורת
 3. מכתב פוקסמן/לוינגר א.ד.ל לנשיא בוש

[Handwritten signature]

HADASSAH
"The Heart of the Jewish Community"

NEWS

Ruth B. Hurwitz, *Chairperson*

NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Len Fink, *Director*

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Len Fink (212) 303-8153
(718) 273-8026

475-52

$\frac{2}{5}$

**HADASSAH SHOCKED BY PRESIDENT BUSH
STATEMENT ON JERUSALEM**

JERUSALEM, March 8 -- Hadassah National President, Carmela E. Kalmanson, expressed shock and outrage today over a statement by President Bush, that there should be no new Jewish settlements in Jerusalem.

She said, "I am shocked and deeply outraged by President Bush's statement that Jews should not be permitted to settle in Jerusalem. It is a stinging insult to every Jew in the world, and non-Jews, too, to try to prohibit Jews, or any other group, from settling in any part of the capital of Israel.

"Jerusalem is a free city and one city, and since reunification in 1967, Jews, Christians, Moslems and all other people have lived in any part of it," she declared.

Mrs. Kalmanson made her remarks at a ceremony at Hadassah's College of Technology in Jerusalem.

She continued, "We at Hadassah remember what it was like before 1967 when our hospital on Mt. Scopus, situated in the eastern sector of Jerusalem, was cut off. We remember the painful date of April 11, 1948, when 77 doctors and nurses were savagely attacked and murdered on their way to heal the sick and wounded in Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus.

- more -

2/HADASSAH SHOCKED

475-52 $\frac{3}{5}$

"We remember when Jews could not live in all of Jerusalem or pray at the Western Wall. We could not visit our holy places, and Jewish property was destroyed.

"Today Jews, Christians and Arabs are provided full medical care at both Hadassah medical facilities in Jerusalem.

"Today all people may worship freely at the holy sites, and all property is protected," Mrs. Kalmanson said.

With 385,000 members in 1,500 chapters and groups in the United States, Hadassah is the largest Jewish organization in the world. It supports Jewish causes worldwide and promotes social justice throughout the world.

- 30 -

1759

3/8/90

AJ, AJP, M, N

2-14-90 WED 8:41

AJC-D. C.

FAX NO. 2024624864

P. 02

475-52 4/5



The American Jewish Committee

1700 Broadway, New York, NY 10019-2211
Tel: 212 310-6977 Fax: 212 310-6977
Office of the President

March 9, 1990

Honorable George Bush
President of the
United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you well know, the question of the future of Jerusalem is a complicated and deeply emotional one. It is for this reason that Dr. Henry Kissinger wisely suggested that Jerusalem be left to the end of the diplomatic process, when a climate of mutual trust had been established between Israel and its Arab neighbors. President Jimmy Carter likewise found at Camp David that it was impossible to achieve agreement between President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin on the issue of Jerusalem. Therefore, the issue was deferred for later discussion.

It is thus not surprising that the dedicated efforts that you and Secretary of State James Baker are investing in bringing about Israeli-Palestinian talks to prepare for implementation of the Israeli election plan in the occupied territories may well founder on issues related to East Jerusalem.

While American Jews may be divided, as are the Jews of Israel as to the best approach to peace, they are virtually united on one issue. Jerusalem must continue to remain a physically united city with free access for all faiths to their respective holy places, and the acknowledged capital of the State of Israel. We believe that this is consistent with United States policy.

We are confident that once these unshakable principles are accepted, elections for a self-governing authority held, and final status talks later begun, it should not be impossible to devise a formula whereby the Palestinians will enjoy self-government under a borough system, permitting Palestinian institutions to flourish in the united city of Jerusalem. Then Jerusalem which for centuries was a center of strife, will genuinely live up to its Biblical name, "Abode of Peace."

Sincerely,

Sholom D. Comay

Sholom D. Comay
President

Sholom D. Comay
President

- Fred H. Moses
- Sam Alperin
- Joseph M. Ramer
- Robert B. Jacobs
- Walter R. Gips, Jr.
- Jack Lapin
- David F. Squire

Irwin S. ...

- Bernard Abrams
- Norman E. Alexander
- Mel S. Berger
- Herbert S. Cohen
- Jerome R. Goldstein
- Robert Goodkind
- David Hirschhorn
- Kathy R. Mondelson
- Reine Patashnik
- Robert S. Rifkind
- Mary Shepero

- Morris B. Abram
- Thomas S. Ellenoff
- Howard I. Friedman
- Arthur J. Goldberg
- Phillip E. Hoffman
- Richard Moses
- Elmer L. Winter
- Waynard I. Wishner
- Nathan Appleman
- Morris H. Bergreen
- Morton K. Blaustein
- David B. Fleisman
- Martin Gang
- Ruth A. Goddard
- Andrew Goodman
- Alan C. Greenberg
- Raymond R. Kravis
- William Rosenwald
- Shirley M. Szabad
- Elise D. Waterman

Max M. Fleher
Sol M. Linowitz

- Leo Nevo
- Bertram H. Gold
- John ...

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International Affairs
KENNETH JACOBSON

Leadership
Assistant to the National Director
MARVIN S. RAPPAPORT

Washington Representative
JESS N. HORDES

General Counsel
ARNOLD FORSTER



March 12, 1990

The Honorable George Bush
The President of the United States
Washington, DC 20500

475-52 $\frac{5}{5}$

Dear Mr. President:

It is with great concern that we write to you now about the recently articulated U.S. government position on the status of Jerusalem.

We were pleased to learn about your clarification of a previous statement on the subject indicating an understanding of the right of Jews to live in Jerusalem. However, we are deeply troubled that the clarification made no mention of the issue at the heart of the controversy.

East Jerusalem is not the West Bank, nor can there be any comparison between the status of the two. Israel's administration of the West Bank may prove to be temporary, but the status of Jerusalem is a much more complicated matter.

Jerusalem has served as the symbol and most profound expression of Jewish national identity since King David declared it the capital of the Jewish state in 1000 BCE. The suburban neighborhoods of East Jerusalem were built in 1967 following the reunification of the nation's capital after almost 3,000 years. They are an integral part of the city and it is the deeply felt conviction of Israelis and American Jews that their status, like that of Jerusalem as the nation's capital, should remain unchanged.

It is our belief, Mr. President, that raising questions about Jerusalem at this sensitive time serves only to undermine the political process now underway. The suggestion that Jerusalem too is up for discussion, injects another obstacle at an extremely delicate stage in Israel's political debate. What is needed now as the government of Israel struggles to reconcile concerns over national security and the need to take risks for peace, is encouragement, not additional "red flags" from Washington.

Sincerely,

Burton S. Levinson
Burton S. Levinson
National Chairman

Abraham H. Foxman
Abraham H. Foxman
National Director

נכנס

בלמס

3,12269:00

אל:המשרד

יעדים:ני/682, בטחון/703, מצב/1730, מנמח/725

מ-:ווש, נר:430, תא:140390, זח:1700, דח:ב, סג:בל

תח:גס:צפא

נר:ג

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם,
אמן/מנמח - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק

מאת : עתונות וושינגטון

תדרוך דובר ממד ליום : 14.3.90

Q. ANY CONTACT BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OR OTHER OFFICIALS
HERE WITH MEMBERS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: NOT WITH SECRETARY BAKER. I CANNOT
SPEAK FOR THE ENTIRE BUREAU IN THE MIDDLE EAST
HERE. BUT SECRETARY BAKER HAS NOT.

Q. (OFF MIKE) -- DISCUSSION OF THE PEACE PLAN IN
THE WAKE OF THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS?

MS. TUTWILER: HMM-MM. (NEGATIVE RESPONSE.)

Q. ANYTHING IN TUNIS?

MS. TUTWILER: A MEETING IN TUNIS? NOT THAT I
AM AWARE OF, BUT I'LL BE HAPPY TO CHECK AND SEE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

IF AMBASSADOR PELLETREAU HAS HAD A MEETING.

Q. MARGARET, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE POTENTIAL
SALE OF MISSILES TO ISRAEL, OF THE PATRIOT MISSILE
THAT SECRETARY CHENEY DISCUSSED YESTERDAY?

Q. THE PRESIDENT WON'T LET THAT HOSTAGE THING GO TO BED.
IS THERE SOME REASON THAT WE KEEP GETTING TANTALIZING
HINTS THAT SOMETHING IS GOING ON TO GET THE HOSTAGES
FREED, SOMETHING SPECIAL, SOMETHING NEW? COULD WE HAVE AN
INTERIM REPORT? ARE THERE ANY NEW LEADS, ANY NEW
DISCUSSIONS ANY NEW REASONS FOR HOPE ?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T THINK THAT ANYONE, INCLUDING
THE PRESIDENT, AS HE HAS SAID, EVER GIVES UP HOPE.
BUT THERE IS NOTHING NEW THAT I HAVE TO REPORT.
I'M UNAWARE THAT THERE'S A NEW RUMOR TODAY. I HAVEN'T
HEARD ONE TODAY.

Q. THE WAY HE DEALT WITH IT YESTERDAY AT THE
NEWS CONFERENCE, THE WAY STATE AND THE WHITE HOUSE
DEAL WITH THE HOSTAGE THING IS TO SORT OF SUGGEST
THERE'S SOME BUSY ACTIVITY GOING ON INSTEAD OF
--

Q. WAIT TILL YOU FIND OUT WHAT I KNOW, SAID
THE PRESIDENT.

MS. TUTWILER: I THINK IT PROBABLY BEST IF MARLIN

Q. MARGARET, LAST WEEK THERE WAS A STORY FROM THE STATE
DEPARTMENT, OR RATHER WARNING AND CONCERN ABOUT THE
CHEMICAL PLANT IN LIBYA. WHAT ELSE EMANATED OR
GENERATED, AND WERE WOULD THIS STORY STAND OR WHERE THE
EVIDENCE STANDS AT THE PRESENT TIME?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T HAVE AN UPDATE FOR YOU
AND I'D REFER YOU TO WHAT WE SAID LAST WEEK.
THERE IS NOTHING THAT'S CHANGED IN OUR OPINION.

Q. MARGARET, CAN I --

Q. YOU MEAN THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

WITH US ALLIES AND FRIENDS?

MS. TUTWILER: OF COURSE THEY WOULD. THIS IS SOMETHING
WE SAID WE WERE VERY, VERY DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT.

Q. CAN I REPEAT MY QUESTION FROM YESTERDAY ABOUT
THIS GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONY IN EAST JERUSALEM
THE NEW HOUSING THERE? DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING
TO SAY ABOUT IT TODAY?

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

Q. HAS THERE BEEN A NEW CONTACT WITH OR FROM SYRIA
REGARDING THE WESTERN HOSTAGES IN LEBANON, BECAUSE
THERE WAS A STORY A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO -- IN THE LAST
TWO WEEKS THAT SYRIA AND THE IRANIAN OFFICIALS MET
TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE FREEING OF HOSTAGES.

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

מג

תפ: שהח, טשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, (אמן),
בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, דוצ-ים

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Q. ANY CONTACT BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OR OTHER OFFICIALS
HERE WITH MEMBERS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT?

A. TUNISIERS NOT WITH SECRETARY BAKER, I CAN'T
SPEAK FOR THE ENTIRE BUREAU IN THE MIDDLE EAST
HERE, BUT SECRETARY BAKER HAS NOT.

Q. LOFF MIKEY -- DISCUSSION OF THE PACE PLAN IN
THE WAKE OF THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS?

A. TUNISIERS (HON. MR. NEGATIVE RESPONSE.)

Q. ANYTHING IN TUNIS?

A. TUNISIERS: A MEETING IN TUNIS NOT THAT I
AM AWARE OF, BUT I'LL BE HAPPY TO CHECK AND SEE

IF AMBASSADOR PELLETREAU HAS HAD A MEETING.

Q. MARGARET, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE POTENTIAL
SALE OF MISSILES TO ISRAEL, OF THE PATRIOT MISSILE
THAT SECRETARY CHENEY DISCUSSED YESTERDAY?

Q. THE PRESIDENT WON'T LET THAT HOSTAGE THING GO TO BED.
IS THERE SOME REASON THAT HE KEPT GETTING TALKING
PINTS THAT SOMETHING IS GOING ON TO GET THE HOSTAGES
FREED, SOMETHING SPECIAL, SOMETHING NEW? COULD HE HAVE AN
INTERIM REPORT, ARE THERE ANY NEW LEADS, ANY NEW
DISCUSSING ANY NEW REASONS FOR HOPE?

A. TUNISIERS: I DON'T THINK THAT ANYONE, INCLUDING
THE PRESIDENT, HE HAS SAID, EVER GIVES UP HOPE.
BUT THERE IS NOTHING NEW THAT I HAVE TO REPORT.
I'M UNAWARE THAT THERE'S A NEW LEAD TODAY. I HAVEN'T
HEARD ONE TODAY.

Q. THE WAY HE DEALT WITH IT YESTERDAY AT THE
NEWS CONFERENCE, THE WAY STATE AND THE WHITE HOUSE
DEAL WITH THE HOSTAGE THING IS TO SORT OF SUGGEST
THERE'S SOME BUSY ACTIVITY GOING ON INSTEAD OF

Q. WAIT TILL YOU FIND OUT WHAT I KNOW, SAID

A. TUNISIERS: I THINK IT PROBABLY BEST IF MARGIE

Q. MARGARET, LAST WEEK THERE WAS A STORY FROM THE STATE
DEPARTMENT, OR RATHER WARNING AND CONCERN ABOUT THE
CHEMICAL PLANT IN LIBYA. WHAT ELSE EMANATED OR
GENERATED, AND WERE WOULD THIS STORY STAND OR WHERE THE
EVIDENCE STANDS AT THE PRESENT TIME?

A. TUNISIERS: I DON'T HAVE AN UPDATE FOR YOU
AND I'D REPEAT YOU TO WHAT HE SAID LAST WEEK.
THERE IS NOTHING THAT'S CHANGED IN OUR OPINION.

Q. MARGARET, COULD

Q. YOU MEAN THAT THE SITUATION IS CHANGING

WITH US AIDS AND FOREIGN?

A. TUNISIERS: OF COURSE THEY WOULD, THIS IS EVIDENT.
WE ALL WE'RE VERY, VERY DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT.

Q. CAN I REPEAT MY QUESTION FROM YESTERDAY ABOUT
THIS CROWN-BREAKING CEREMONY IN EAST JERUSALEM
THE NEW HOUSING THERE? DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING
TO SAY ABOUT IT TODAY?

A. TUNISIERS: NO.

Q. HAS THERE BEEN A NEW CONTACT WITH OR FROM SYRIA
REGARDING THE WESTERN HOSTAGES IN LEBANON, BECAUSE
THERE WAS A STORY A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO -- IN THE LAST
TWO WEEKS THAT SYRIA AND THE ISRAELI OFFICIALS MET
TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE FREEDING OF HOSTAGES.

A. TUNISIERS: NO.

1700 (1000), 1700 (1000), 1700 (1000), 1700 (1000)
1700 (1000), 1700 (1000), 1700 (1000), 1700 (1000)

נכנס **
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סודי

חוזם: 3,12354
אל: המשרד
יעדים: מצב/1746, מנמת/735
מ-: ווש, נר: 447, תא: 140390, חז: 1900, דח: מ, סג: 10
תח: & גס: צפא
נד: &

סודי/מידי

אל : סמנכל צפא

דע : יועץ מדיני לשהח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

פגישת דיניץ-איגלברגר

יו"ר הנהלת הסוכנות מר שמחה דיניץ נפגש היום עם סגן מזכיר המדינה, איגלברגר.

נכחו מצידם ג'ון הירש ועוזרו האישי של איגלברגר. מצידנו: הח'מ'.

דיניץ פתח בסקירה על מימדי העליה, בעיית הטיסות הישירות ובעיית הקליטה שעמה מתמודדות הממשלה והסוכנות היהודית.

פרט נתוני העליה הצפויה ובעיית השיכון, תוך הדגשת 'מסלול הקליטה הישירה' אשר בה נקלטים כ-85 עד 90 אחוזים מהעולים המגיעים ארצה.

כמו, כן סקר את הנתונים להתחלת הבניה בתחומי הקו הירוק ונתונים על משכנתאות הניתנות לעולים חדשים בתחומי הקו הירוק, ואשר אינם פחותות מאלו הניתנות לעולים המעדיפים לגור ביו"ש. בתגובה השיב איגלברגר שלנוכח הלחצים הקשים המופעלים על הסובייטים מצד ארצות ערב, אין סיכוי להפעלת טיסות ישירות

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מבריה'מ' לישראל וצריך למצוא דרכי ביניים אשר יענו על הצרכים. הוזכרו אפשרויות של קיום טיסות שכר מבריה'מ' לארצות מזרח אירופה ומשם לארץ.

בהתייחסותו לענין התיישבותם של עולים ביו"ש, ציין איגלברגר שהנושא אמנם חרג מהמימדים האמיתיים שלו והביע הערכה על הנתונים שנמסרו לו ע"י דיניץ. בהקשר זה עלתה לדיון הצהרתו של הנשיא בוש לגבי מזרח ירושלים.

איגלברגר השיב, שככל ששני הצדדים ימהרו להוריד את הנושא מסדר היום הציבורי, כן ייטב לשתיהם המדינות. מדבריו היה ניתן להבין שאיזכור מזרח ירושלים היה ביטוי לתסכול וזעם של הנשיא בנושא ההתנחלויות בשטחים וזו היתה דרכו להביע תסכול זה. עם זאת, ברור שאין בכוונת הממשל לטפל בנושא מזרח ירושלים או להעלותו לסדר היום ולכן כל ויכוח פומבי רק מחריף, ללא צורך את מערכת היחסית בין שתי המדינות.

בנושא הערבויות לשיכון ציין איגלברגר, שנצטרך לפעול במשותף כדי להגיע לנוסחה שתאפשר מחד תמיכת הממשל במתן הערבויות, ומאידך, נוסחה שישראל תוכל לחיות עמה לפיה, הכספים האלה לא ינוצלו לבניה בשטחים. בנושא זה סוכם שאפגש עמו לדיון בשבוע הבא.

דיניץ העלה גם את נושא הסיוע שניתן ע"י הממשל באמצעות ה-U.I.A. בסך של 25 מיליון דולר אשר משמש לצרכי כיסוי ההוצאות להטסת העולים ארצה. דיניץ אמר שהסוכנות היהודית ביקשה באמצעות ה-U.I.A. להכפיל סכום זה לנוכח הצרכים הגדלים, ולהקציב למטרה זו 100 מיליון דולר בשנה הבאה. איגלברגר השיב כי לא שמע אל בקשה זו אשר אמורה היתה להיות מוגשת ע"י ה-U.I.A. אין הוא רואה סיכוי להגדיל ההקצבה השנה מ-25 ל-50 מיליון דולר, ולגבי השנה הבאה, הממשל הגיש כבר את תקציבו וגם שם המצב עגום מאד מבחינה תקציבית.

כמו-כן, הבטיח לבדוק כיצד יוכל להיות לעזר בנושא.

ארד

רש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, גוברין, מזאר, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, &(אמן), תפוצות, סייבל

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** נכנס
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חוזם: 3,12354
אל: המשרד
יעדים: מצב/1746, מנמת/735
מ-: ווש, נר: 447, תא: 140390, חז: 1900, דח: מ, סג: 10
תח: & גס: צפא
נד: &

סודי/מידי

אל : סמנכל צפא

דע : יועץ מדיני לשהח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

פגישת דיניץ-איגלברגר

יור' הנהלת הסוכנות מר שמחה דיניץ נפגש היום עם סגן מזכיר המדינה, איגלברגר.

נכחו מצידם ג'ון הירש ועוזרו האישי של איגלברגר. מצידנו: הח'מ'.

דיניץ פתח בסקירה על מימדי העליה, בעיית הטיסות הישירות ובעיית הקליטה שעמה מתמודדות הממשלה והסוכנות היהודית.

פרט נתוני העליה הצפויה ובעיית השיכון, תוך הדגשת 'מסלול הקליטה הישירה' אשר בה נקלטים כ-85 עד 90 אחוזים מהעולים המגיעים ארצה.

כמו, כן סקר את הנתונים להתחלת הבניה בתחומי הקו הירוק ונתונים על משכנתאות הניתנות לעולים חדשים בתחומי הקו הירוק, ואשר אינם פחותות מאלו הניתנות לעולים המעדיפים לגור ביו'ש. בתגובה השיב איגלברגר שלנוכח הלחצים הקשים המופעלים על הסובייטים מצד ארצות ערב, אין סיכוי להפעלת טיסות ישירות

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מבריה'מ' לישראל וצריך למצוא דרכי ביניים אשר יענו על הצרכים. הוזכרו אפשרויות של קיום טיסות שכר מבריה'מ' לארצות מזרח אירופה ומשם לארץ.

בהתייחסותו לענין התיישבותם של עולים ביו'ש, ציין איגלברגר שהנושא אמנם חרג מהמימדים האמיתיים שלו והביע הערכה על הנתונים שנמסרו לו ע'י דיניץ. בהקשר זה עלתה לדיון הצהרתו של הנשיא בוש לגבי מזרח ירושלים.

איגלברגר השיב, שככל ששני הצדדים ימהרו להוריד את הנושא מסדר היום הציבורי, כן ייטב לשתי המדינות. מדבריו היה ניתן להבין שאיזכור מזרח ירושלים היה ביטוי לתסכול וזעם של הנשיא בנושא ההתנחלויות בשטחים וזו היתה דרכו להביע תסכול זה. עם זאת, ברור שאין בכוונת הממשל להטיל בנושא מזרח ירושלים או להעלותו לסדר היום ולכן כל זיכוח פומבי רק מחריף, ללא צורך את מערכת היחסית בין שתי המדינות.

בנושא הערבויות לשיכון ציין איגלברגר, שנצטרך לפעול במשותף כדי להגיע לנוסחה שתאפשר מחד תמיכת הממשל במתן הערבויות, ומאידך, נוסחה שישראל תוכל לחיות עמה לפיה, הכספים האלה לא ינוצלו לבניה בשטחים. בנושא זה סוכם שאפגש עמו לדיון בשבוע הבא.

דיניץ העלה גם את נושא הסיוע שניתן ע'י הממשל באמצעות ה-U.I.A. בסך של 25 מיליון דולר אשר משמש לצרכי כיסוי ההוצאות להטסת העולים ארצה. דיניץ אמר שהסוכנות היהודית ביקשה באמצעות ה-U.I.A. להכפיל סכום זה לנוכח הצרכים הגדלים, ולהקציב למטרה זו 100 מיליון דולר בשנה הבאה. איגלברגר השיב כי לא שמע אל בקשה זו אשר אמורה היתה להיות מוגשת ע'י ה-U.I.A. אין הוא רואה סיכוי להגדיל ההקצבה השנה מ-25 ל-50 מיליון דולר, ולגבי השנה הבאה, הממשל הגיש כבר את תקציבו וגם שם המצב עגום מאד מבחינה תקציבית.

כמו-כן, הבטיח לבדוק כיצד יוכל להיות לעזר בנושא.

ארד

רש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, גוברין, מזאר, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, ס(אמן), תפוצות, סייבל

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House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

IMMEDIATE ATTENTION: SPECIAL ORDER TODAY

March 14, 1990

Dear Colleague:

On Wednesday, March 14 we will be reserving time for a special order on the status of Jerusalem and the Administration's handling of this issue. We urge you to participate.

We are engaging in this colloquy in order to express our dismay over the Administration's recent statements on the future of Jerusalem. On March 3, President Bush referred to his Administration's opposition to new settlements "in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem." Initially, it was thought that the President had misspoken, that he had meant to say "the West Bank and Gaza." It seemed highly unlikely that the President would have wanted to put Israel's capital city in the same category as the administered territories.

But, as Tom Friedman pointed out in the New York Times of March 9, that was his intention. "Officials say that Bush intentionally added East Jerusalem to make sure that the Israelis understood that it was still viewed as occupied territory by the United States...."

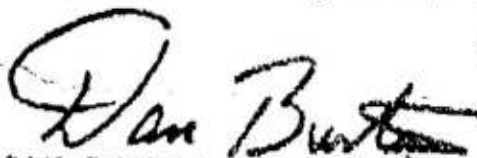
We do not share that view which is a departure from traditional U.S. policy. The U.S. has always made a distinction between Jerusalem and the territories. West Bank policy is governed by U.N. Resolution 242 and Camp David, both of which envision at least partial Israeli withdrawal in exchange for full peace and security. At the same time U.S. officials have indicated, over and over again, that Jerusalem cannot be returned to the pre-1967 status quo, that it must remain united.

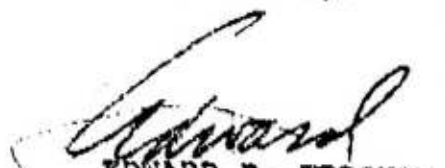
Jerusalem is Israel's capital. The concept of "settlements" in Jerusalem is nonsensical. Israelis do not "settle" in their capital. They live there. It is not "occupied territory."

In the context of peace negotiations, innovative solutions for Jerusalem's future should be considered. However, to suggest that Jerusalem is just another piece of territory to be bargained over once the negotiations begin is a serious mistake. Surely it is not the view of Congress.

That is why we invite your participation on Wednesday. If you wish to participate, please contact Neil Levine (w/ Rep. Feighan: 5-5731) or Gil Kapen (w/ Rep. Burton: 5-2276).

Sincerely,


DAN BURTON
Member of Congress


EDWARD F. FEIGHAN
Member of Congress