

5

מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד

הסברה

מאגזין 124

הסברה - סלולר חלופי תל

1090 - 1091

מס' תיק מקורי 6/5885/9
7/7385/9

שם תיק: סגן השר בנימין נתניהו -הסברה.

מזהה פניי **ג-7385/9**

מזהה פריט R0003hy4

כתובת 2-107-11-4-7

תאריך הדפסה 10/02/2020



מחלקה

מס' 6/5885/9



Deputy Minister
of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem

סגן שר החוץ
ירושלים

ה' בחשוון תשנ"ב
13 באוקטובר 1991

119601

הנדון: סיכום ישיבת הסברה 13.10.91

נוכחים: ס/שה"ח, מ. רביב, י. למדן, מ. שלמה, א. ארד

1. לקראת ביקור בייקר יש למסור ההודעה הבאה בתשובה לשאלות על המגעים עם ארה"ב:
"ישראל הגיעה להבנות מסוימות עם ארה"ב וריא מצפה שארה"ב תכבד את התחייבותיה".
2. הסברה תכין בדחופות ניר תידרוך קצר על הצעדים הסוריים המנוגדים לרוח ועדת השלום כגון התחמשותה, התנגדותה למו"מ אזורי, התנגדותה לביטול ציונות-גזענות, בצרוף תגובת רוח"מ שהדברים אינם תורמים ליצירת אווירת שלום.
3. הסברה + מצפ"א יגישו ביום א' הבא הצעה מפורטת להסברת נושא הערכויות מעכשיו עד פברואר.

תפוצה: נוכחים, גב' ע. גורן, מר ב. בינה.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

701

שמוך

יוצא **

**

**

**

Handwritten signature

Handwritten signature

חוזם: 10.791

אל:קהיר/22, פריס/39, וושינגטון/35

מ-:המשרד, תא:011091, זח:1554, דח:ר, סג:שמ

תח:@ גס:ממד

נד:נתון

48096

שמוך/רגיל

א ל: קהיר

פריס, קמחי

וושינגטון, אמיתי

הנדון: מצרים, סוריה והסכסוך הערבי-ישראלי

1. הן עפ"י אלאהאלי (18.9) והן עפ"י סי'צ (21.9) המסתמכת על אלח'ליג של מאע'מ התגלעו בישיבה האחרונה של שרי החוץ הערבים, חילוקי דיעות בין מצרים לסוריה בענין העמדה כלפי ישראל. מצרים הציעה להחליף את המונח 'צראע' (דהיינו מאבק בין ישויות המבקשות להכריע זו את זו באופן טוטאלי) במונח 'נזאע' (דהיינו סכסוך בין שתי ישויות המכירות זו בזכות קיומה של האחרת אך חלוקות בנושא מסויים) וזאת כדי להפגין הכוונות הטובות של הערבים לפני ועידת השלום.

2. הענין הועלה להצבעה חשאית ועמדתה של סוריה התקבלה ברוב של 17 קולות. במצרים תמכו כוויית, עומאן וג'יבוטי.

ערב 1

1 באוקטובר 1991

פא

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), מנכל(1), מצב(0), סולטן(1), מצרים(2), מזתיס(1), איר(2), בנצור(1), מצפא(2), ר/מרכז(1), ממד(10)

03 5376687, 750 6406

1951

SECRET

TO: SAC, NEW YORK
FROM: SAC, PHOENIX
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]



RE: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

5: הסברה

אאא, חוזם: 16131

אל: רהמש/967

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 409, תא: 151191, זח: 0927, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: סמנכ"ל הסברה; סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"ן

דע: לש' שר החוץ; קונכ"לים

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

מסרי הסברה בארה"ב

=====

י

====

בעקבות ועידת מדריד ולקראת פתיחת השיחות הביילטרליות וכן במסגרת המאמץ הנמשך לגייס ערבויות נראה לי שחשוב שנחדד המסרים הבאים בנושא התהליך והערבויות.

מסר א': השלום

=====

ועידת מדריד היא נקודת מפנה במאמץ שישראל הובילה מאז הקמתה להשיג שלום באמצעות משא ומתן ישיר ביננו לבין שכנינו.

תהליך השלום הוא תוצאת יוזמת הממשלה ממאי 1989, יזמה שממשלת ישראל הובילה בנאמנות ובסבלנות.

במגעים השונים, בין היתר עם הקהילה היהודית, תקשורת צריך שיועבר מסר זה בצורה ברורה כאשר אליו נלווים כמה מסרי משנה:

- 1) ישראל מחוייבת להצלחת התהליך.
 - 2) המשא ומתן צריך שיהיה ישיר ובין הצדדים לבין עצמם.
 - 3) לארה"ב תפקיד חשוב בהבאת הצדדים לשולחן המו"מ ובמתן האפשרות לנהל משא ומתן ישיר. לא יושג הסדר של שלום אמת אם אחד הצדדים המעורבים יאמין ביכולת לכפות הסדר מבחוץ.
 - 4) התהליך יהיה ארוך וקשה, אך סופו להצליח.
 - 5) נדרשת סבלנות ואורך רוח.
- בהדגשים שונים מסרים אלה צריכים לעבור לכל אחד מקהלי היעד.

מסר ב' - ישראל-ארה"ב

=====

נוכח דיבורים על ירידה במעמדה של ישראל, אבדן מרכזיותה וחשיבותה עקב השינויים הבינ"ל מוצע לחזור להתבטאויות הבסיסיות של שיתוף הערכים, דמוקרטיה, ערכי המורשת היהודית-נוצרית והקרבה בין החברה האמריקאית לחברה הישראלית.

אפשר אף להשתמש במוטיב ההגירה - שתי החברות, שתי המדינות קרובות אחת

לשניה משום שכפי שארה"ב למהגרים אליה היתה "NEW ZION" כך, ישראל לבאים בשעריה היא התגשמות חלומות של אלפי שנים.

מסר ג' - כלכלי - ערביות

חשוב שבהתבטאויותינו בפני יהודים נדגיש תודת ישראל לקהילה היהודית על תמיכתה הנמשכת בישראל פוליטית וכלכלית. תודה זו חשוב שתשמע עקב תחושת אבדן הכוח היהודי מחד והמפלט שמצאה לה תחושה זו בקריאה להפסקת ההתנחלויות, צורך בהדברות עם המימשל וכעס על האכזבה בישראל ממאבק הקהילה היהודית, מאידך. דרך הצגת המסר הכלכלי/ערביות חשובה לא רק לצורך השגת הערביות, אלא ובעיקר שמירת אחדות הקהילה היהודית והקשר שלה עם ישראל. אסור לנו ליצור תחושה של אכזבה או ביקורת ישראלית משום שלטוח ארוך ישפיעו תחושות אלו על התרחקות מעניני ישראל והסתגרות פנימה. לפיכך חשוב שיוצג חזון קליטת העלייה, הציפייה, אמונה שארה"ב תסייע לנו בכך יחד עם המאמץ הכלכלי שישראל עצמה עושה: הפרטה, רפורמה בשוק ההון, גיוס השקעות וכו'.

נקודות להדגשה:

- (א) אנו מודים לארה"ב ולמימשל על סיועם ההסטורי בפתיחת השערים ובאחוד בית ישראל בארץ.
- (ב) שמחנו לשמוע מהמזכיר על מחויבות ארה"ב לסייע הומניטרית לקליטת העלייה בארץ.
- (ג) אנו מודעים לקשייה הכלכליים של ארה"ב.
- (ד) ישראל תודה לכל סיוע שארה"ב תושיט לה בנושא. אנו נאלצים לפנות שוב רק אליכם משום שמאמצים להשיג סיוע מאירופה או יפן טרם עלו יפה.

סיכום

=====

כאמור, אנו נמצאים בפתחה של תקופה ארוכה בה עליות ומורדות הקשורות במו'מ לשלום ימקדו אור הזרקורים והתענינות דעת הקהל בישראל. בהעברת מסרינו נוכל לסייע בחזוק יכולת העמידה של ישראל בנהול המו'מ.

שובל

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), בנצור, מצפא, רביב, הסברה

סססס

5
33205

WHY THE  JEWS?

The Reason
for
Antisemitism

DENNIS PRAGER
and
JOSEPH TELUSHKIN

SIMON AND SCHUSTER · NEW YORK

Islamic Antisemitism

ISLAM WAS THE SECOND RELIGION to emanate from Judaism, but as its founder was not a Jew and as it was not originally a Jewish sect, Islam's encounter with Judaism was significantly less bitter than Christianity's. As Salo Baron notes: "It was, therefore, from the beginning, a struggle between strangers, rather than an internecine strife among brethren."¹ Largely because of this factor, Jews in the Islamic world were rarely persecuted as violently as their brethren in the Christian world. S. D. Goitein, the leading historian of Jewish life in the Arab world, concludes: "... when the known facts are weighed, I believe it correct to say that as a whole the position of the non-Muslims [Christians and Jews under medieval Islamic rule] was far better than that of the Jews in medieval Christian Europe."²

Goitein's assessment is valid, but it tells us far more about the Jews' condition under Christians than about their treatment by Muslims. For while the Jews of the Muslim world may have rarely experienced the tortures, pogroms, and expulsions that typified Jewish life under medieval Christian rule, their life under Islam was at most times a life of degradation and insecurity. At the whim of a Muslim leader, a syna-

gogue would be destroyed, Jewish orphans would be forcibly converted to Islam, or Jews would be forced to pay even more excessive taxes than usual.

MUHAMMAD AND THE JEWS

Like Christianity, Islam's anti-Judaism is deeply rooted. Islam, too, was born from the womb of Judaism; it, too, was rejected by the Jews whose validation was sought; and it, too, suffered an identity crisis vis-à-vis Judaism.

When Islam was born in the seventh century, there was a substantial Jewish population in Medina where the first Muslim community arose. The Jews of pre-Islamic Arabia were active advocates of their religion—to the extent that several kings of Himyar, now Yemen, had converted to Judaism. Contemporary inscriptions described Dhu Nuwas As'ar, the last Jewish king of Himyar, as a believer in one deity whom the king called Rahman, the Merciful One, as God was called in Judaism and later in Islam.

During his early years, Muhammad related well to the Jews of Arabia, and their religious practices and ideas deeply influenced him. As Goitein indicated: "The intrinsic values of the belief in one God, the creator of the world, the God of justice and mercy, before whom everyone high and low bears personal responsibility came to Muhammad, as he never ceased to emphasize, from Israel."³

The profound influence of the Jews, their Bible, and their laws on Muhammad is clearly expressed in the Quran, the Muslim bible, and in Muhammad's early religious legislation. Indeed Muhammad saw himself as another Moses. In the Quran, he writes of his message (Sura 46, verse 12) that "Before it the Book of Moses was revealed. . . . This Book confirms it. It is revealed in the Arabic tongue. . . ." Moses is mentioned in the Quran over one hundred times, and is, in fact, the predominant figure in it.

The Jewish doctrine which most deeply influenced Muhammad was monotheism: "There is no God but God." Indeed, Muhammad's monotheism was so attuned to the un-

compromising nature of Judaism's monotheism that though he had also been influenced by Christian teachers, he rejected the Christian trinity and the divinity of Jesus as not monotheistic: "Unbelievers are those that say: 'Allah is the Messiah, the son of Mary' . . . Unbelievers are those that say, 'Allah is one of three.' There is but one God. If they do not desist from so saying, those of them that disbelieve shall be sternly punished" (5:71-73).

Jewish law also deeply influenced Muhammad. In the early days of Islam, Muslims prayed in the direction of the Jews' holy city, Jerusalem, and observed the most solemn Jewish holiday, Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. Only later, when Muhammad reluctantly concluded that the Jews would not embrace him as their prophet and convert to Islam, did he substitute Mecca for Jerusalem, and the fast of Ramadan for Yom Kippur. Similarly, Muhammad based Muslim dietary laws upon Judaism's laws of Kashrut: "You are forbidden carrion, blood, and the flesh of swine; also any flesh . . . of animals sacrificed to idols" (5:3). The five daily prayers of Islam are likewise modeled on the thrice daily service of the Jews.

Second in importance only to his adoption of the Jews' God was Muhammad's adoption of the Jews' founding father, Abraham, as Islam's founder. In Sura 2, verse 125, Muhammad writes how Abraham and his son Ishmael converted the Ka'ba, the holy rock of Arabian paganism, into the holy shrine of Islam.

Believing himself to be the final and greatest prophet of Mosaic monotheism, and having adopted so much of Jewish thought and practice, Muhammad appealed to the Jews of Arabia to recognize his role and to adopt Islam as the culmination of Judaism. "Even Luther," Princeton's renowned philosopher Walter Kaufmann wrote, "expected the Jews to be converted by his version of Christianity, although he placed faith in Christ at the center of his teaching and firmly believed in the trinity. If even Luther . . . could expect that, how much more Muhammad whose early revelations were so much closer to Judaism?"⁵ Muhammad's deep desire for Jewish recognition reflected similar needs of Jesus and his followers. No group could validate his religious claims as could the

Jews. No group could so seriously threaten to undermine them as could the Jews.

The Jews rejected Muhammad's claims as they had Jesus', holding in both cases that what was true in their messages was not new, and that what was new was not true. Islam may have served as a religious advance for Arabian pagans, but for the Jews it was merely another offshoot of Judaism.

One major factor that rendered Muhammad's prophetic claims untenable to Jews was his ignorance of the Bible. In large part because Muhammad never read the Bible, but only heard Bible stories, his references to the Bible were often erroneous. In Sura 28:38, for instance, he has Pharaoh (from *Exodus*) ask Haman (of the *Book of Esther*) to erect the Tower of Babel (which appears at the beginning of *Genesis*).

Another obstacle to Jewish acceptance of Muhammad was the moral quality of some of his teachings. These did not strike the Jews, or the Arabian Christians, as equaling, let alone superseding, the prophetic teachings of Judaism and Christianity. In 33:50, for example, Muhammad exempts himself from his own law limiting a man to four wives, and in 4:34 he instructs men to beat disobedient wives. Walter Kaufmann notes that "there is much more like this, especially in the 33rd Sura," and that "it must have struck the Jews as being a far cry from Amos and Jeremiah, and the Christians as rendering absurd the prophet's claim that he was superseding Jesus."⁶

Finally, Muhammad's suspension of many Torah laws invalidated him in the Jews' eyes.

For these and other reasons, the Jews rejected Muhammad's prophetic claims and refused to become Muslims. This alone infuriated Muhammad. But even more angering, the Jews publicly noted the errors in Muhammad's biblical teachings and may have even ridiculed his claims to prophecy. Thus, Goitein writes, ". . . it is only natural that Muhammad could not tolerate as a neighbor a large monotheistic community which categorically denied his claim as a prophet, and probably also ridiculed his inevitable blunders. . . ."⁷

As a result Muhammad turned against the Jews and their

religion, and he never forgave them. And just as early Christian hostility to the Jews was canonized in the New Testament to provide divine delegitimization of the Jews and Judaism, so Muhammad's angry reactions to the Jews were recorded in the Quran, giving millions of Muslims throughout history divinely based antipathy to the Jews.

In the Quran, Muhammad attacked the Jews and attempted to invalidate Judaism in several ways. First, and most significantly, he changed Abraham from a Jew to a Muslim: "Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian. [He] surrendered himself to Allah. . . . Surely the men who are nearest to Abraham are those who follow him, this Prophet . . ." (3:67-68).

Second, he condemned the Jews and delegitimized their law by advancing a thesis similar to Paul's, that the many Torah laws had been given to the Jews as punishment for their sins: "Because of their iniquity we forbade the Jews good things which were formerly allowed them" (4:160).

Third, Muhammad charged the Jews with falsifying their Bible by deliberately omitting prophecies of his coming.⁸ For example, in the Quran (2:129), Muhammad has Abraham mouth a prophecy of his (Muhammad's) coming. Muhammad charged that the Jews "extinguish the light of Allah" (9:32) by having removed such prophecies from their Bible.

Fourth, Muhammad asserted that Jews, like Christians, were not true monotheists, a charge he substantiated by claiming that the Jews believed the prophet Ezra to be the Son of God. "And the Jews say: Ezra is the son of Allah . . . Allah fights against them. How perverse are they . . ." (9:30).

These anti-Jewish fabrications, articulated by Muhammad as reactions to the Jews' rejection of him, have ever since been regarded by Muslims as God's word. As such they have formed the basis of Muslim antisemitism until the present day. Though originally directed against specific Jews of a specific time, these statements often have been understood by succeeding generations as referring to all Jews at all times. One common example is 2:61: ". . . And humiliation and wretchedness were stamped upon them and they were visited with wrath from Allah. That was because they disbelieved in

Allah's revelations and slew the prophets wrongfully. That was for their disobedience and transgression." This Quranic description of the Jews of seventh-century Arabia has often been cited by Muslims to describe Jews to this day.*

Muhammad and the Quran thus laid the basis for subsequent antisemitism just as the Church Fathers and the New Testament had—and for basically the same reason. By the Jews remaining Jews they constituted a living refutation. Thus under Islam, just as under Christianity, Jew-hatred was ultimately Judaism-hatred. Any Jew who converted to Islam was accepted as an equal.

Christians under Muslim rule fared little better. Muslims and their laws generally dealt harshly with both Christians and Jews.

As we cite examples of Muslim anti-Jewish legislation, then, it is necessary to recall that so long as Christian communities survived in the Muslim world, such legislation applied to them as well. However, whereas Jewish communities often flourished in Jewish terms, Christian communities for the most part did not even survive the intense Muslim hostility. Under the yoke of Muslim laws against Jews and Christians some of the oldest and strongest Christian communities in the world converted to Islam.

No fact better underscores the intensity of Muslim persecution of *dhimmi*s (non-Muslim monotheists) than this disappearance of so many Christian communities under Islam. The fact that under similar conditions many Jewish communities flourished bears witness to the Jews' tenacious commitment to Judaism, not to any Muslim benevolence toward Jews. This

* In a speech before Egyptian army officers on April 25, 1972, the late Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat cited this Quranic verse: "The most splendid thing our prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessing on him, did was to evict them [the Jews] from the entire Arabian peninsula . . . I pledge to you that we will celebrate on the next anniversary, God willing and in this place with God's help, not only the liberation of our land but also the defeat of the Israeli conceit and arrogance so that they must once again return to the condition decreed in our holy book: 'humiliation and wretchedness were stamped upon them' . . . We will not renounce this."

is often lost sight of when favorably comparing Muslim anti-semitism with Christian anti-semitism. Yet the conversion to Islam of nearly every pre-Islamic Christian community in the Muslim world (the Copts of Egypt constituting the most notable exception) eloquently testifies to what Jews had to endure in their long sojourn through the Muslim world.

ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS OF ISLAM'S LEADERS
TOWARD THE JEWS
FROM MUHAMMAD'S DEATH UNTIL
THE MODERN PERIOD

The two guiding principles of Islam's treatment of Jews and Christians are that Islam dominates and is not dominated, and that these groups are to be degraded.⁹ Non-monotheists were given the choice of conversion to Islam or death.

The Muslim legal code which prescribed the treatment of Jews and Christians, or *dhimmis* as they both are referred to in Islam, was the Pact of Umar, attributed to Muhammad's second successor, but assumed to date from about 720.¹⁰ Its key characteristic was the requirement that *dhimmis* always acknowledge their subservient position to Muslims. Jews and Christians had to pledge, for example, that "We shall not manifest our religion publicly nor convert anyone to it. We shall not prevent any of our kin from entering Islam if they wish it." The subservience that *dhimmis* were required to show publicly to Muslims is analogous to the behavior once expected of Blacks in the American South: "We shall show respect . . . and we shall rise from our seats when they [Muslims] wish to sit." They also had to pledge "not to mount saddles," since riding a horse, or, according to some Muslims, any animal, was considered incompatible with the low status of a *dhimmi*.¹¹ The *dhimmi* also had to vow that "We shall not display our crosses or our books in the roads or markets of the Muslims nor shall we raise our voices when following our dead."¹²

Anti-*dhimmi* legislation did not end with the Pact of Umar. In the Quran, Muhammad had urged Muslims to "Fight

against such of those who have been given the Scripture . . . and follow not the religion of truth, until they pay the tribute readily, being brought low" (9:29). Accordingly, Muslim officials often insisted that when paying tribute, *dhimmis* must be "brought low," that is, humiliated. An early Muslim regulation precisely prescribed how to humiliate Jews and Christians when they pay tribute: "The *dhimmi*, Christian or Jew, goes on a fixed day in person to the emir, appointed to receive the poll tax, who occupies a high throne-like seat. The *dhimmi* stands before him, offering the poll tax on his open palm. The emir takes it so that his hand is on top and the *dhimmi*'s underneath. Then the emir gives him a blow on the neck, and a guard, standing upright before the emir, drives him roughly away. The same procedure is followed with the second, third and the following taxpayers. The public is admitted to enjoy this show." The public was not merely "admitted" to this humiliating spectacle, but as Baron observes, "Public participation was, indeed, essential for the purpose of demonstrating, according to the Shafi'ite school, the political superiority of Islam."¹³

In the course of time Muslim rulers developed additional ways to humiliate *dhimmis*. Baron describes one of them: "Equally vexatious was the tax receipt, which in accordance with an old Babylonian custom, was sometimes stamped upon the neck of the 'unbelieving' taxpayer. This ancient mark of slavery . . . expressly prohibited in the Talmud under the sanction of the slave's forcible emancipation, occasionally reappeared here as a degrading stamp of 'infidelity.'"¹⁴

These humiliating and painful procedures had a terrible effect on the Jews: "An Arab poet rightly spoke of entering the door with bent heads 'as if we were Jews.'"¹⁵

Another law designed to humiliate *dhimmis* required them to wear different clothing. The purposes of this law were to enable Muslims to recognize Jews and Christians at all times, and to make them appear foolish. In 807, the Abbasside caliph, Haroun al-Raschid, legislated that Jews must wear a yellow belt and a tall conical cap.¹⁶ This Muslim decree provided the model for the yellow badge associated with the deg-

radation of Jews in Christian Europe and most recently utilized by the Nazis.¹⁷

A Jew living in Baghdad in the days of Al-Muqtadir (1075-1096) described additional measures passed by the vizier, Abu Shuja, to humiliate Jews: "... each Jew had to have a stamp of lead ... hang from his neck, on which the word *dhimmi* was inscribed. On women he likewise imposed two distinguishing marks: the shoes worn by each woman had to be one red and one black. She also had to carry on her neck or attached to her shoe a small brass bell. ... And the Gentiles used to ridicule Jews, the mob and children often assaulting Jews in all the streets of Baghdad."¹⁸

During the same century in Egypt, the Fatimid Caliph Hakim ordered Christians to wear a cross with arms two feet long, while Jews were ordered to wear around their necks balls weighing five pounds, to commemorate the calf's head which their ancestors had once worshiped.¹⁹

These clothing regulations were not only enforced in the Middle Ages. Until their departure from Yemen in 1948, all Jews, men and women alike, were compelled to dress like beggars.* In fact, Yemen offers us a unique opportunity to

* In addition to living under these laws of humiliation, Jews constantly lived with the fear that some new interpretation of Muslim sources would lead to greater oppression. The worst instance took place under the Almohades. "At the beginning of the twelfth century, a Muslim jurist in Cordova [Spain] claimed to have found ... a tradition, soon widely accepted in Morocco and Spain, that Muhammad's original decree of toleration of Jews had been limited to a period of five hundred years from the hegira [Muhammad's flight from Mecca]. If by that time the expected Jewish Messiah were not to arrive, the Jews were supposed to give up their religion and join the ranks of Islam. The time limit expired, of course, in 1107" (Salo Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 3:124.) On the basis of this new doctrine, in 1146, Abd al-Mu'min, the builder of the Almohade empire in North Africa and Spain, gave the Jews the choice of Islam or death. When nearly all of them refused to convert, nearly every Jew in Fez, the capital of Morocco, was murdered. As for those who converted, the Almohades put them under constant surveillance, and those whose conversions seemed insincere were executed, had their property confiscated, and their wives given to Muslims. Goitein

understand Muslim attitudes toward the Jews. For Yemen was the one Muslim country with a non-Muslim minority (Jews) that was never ruled by a European power. It was therefore able to treat its Jews in the "purest" Muslim manner, uninfluenced by non-Muslim domination.

In 1679, Jews in most of Yemen were expelled from their cities and villages. When recalled a year later, they were not allowed to return to their homes, but were forced to settle in Jewish ghettos outside the cities. During their expulsion the synagogue of San'a, the capital, was converted into a mosque which still exists under the name Masjid al-Jala (the Mosque of the Expulsion).

Among the many indignities to which the Jews of Yemen were constantly subjected was the throwing of stones at them by Muslim children, a practice which was religiously sanctioned. When Turkish officials (the Turks occupied Yemen in 1872) asked an assembly of Muslim leaders to see that this practice be stopped, an elderly Muslim scholar responded that throwing rocks at Jews was an old religious custom, *Ada*, and it was therefore unlawful to forbid it.

The greatest suffering which Yemenite Jews constantly experienced was the forced conversion to Islam of Jewish children whose fathers had died. This was practiced until the Jews fled Yemen in 1948, and was also based upon Islamic doctrine. Muhammad was believed to have said, "Everyone is born in a state of natural religion [Islam]. It is only his parents who make a Jew or Christian out of him." Accordingly, a person should grow up in "the natural religion" of Islam. When a Jewish father died there was often a race between the Jewish community which sought to place his children with Jewish parents and the Muslim authorities who wanted to convert the children to Islam and place them in a Muslim home. The Jews often lost. Goitein reports that "many families arrived in Israel with one or more of their children lost to

notes: "All the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition were anticipated under Almohade rule" (Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contact Through the Ages*, 3d ed., p. 80).

them, and I have heard of some widows who have been bereaved in this way of all their offspring."

Yet, as persecuted as the Yemenite Jews were, they were also denied the right to leave the country.²⁰

THE MODERN ERA

By the nineteenth century, the Jews' situation under Islam went from degradation to being recurrent victims of violence as these examples from Jewish life in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine illustrate.

Egypt

In his authoritative book *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Edward Lane wrote that at the time of his study, 1833-35, the Jews were living "under a less oppressive government in Egypt than in any other country of the Turkish Empire. . . ." but "they are held in the utmost contempt and abhorrence by the Muslims in general." Lane explained: "Not long ago, they used often to be jostled in the streets of Cairo, and sometimes beaten merely for passing on the right hand of a Muslim. At present, they are less oppressed; but still they scarcely ever dare to utter a word of abuse when reviled or beaten unjustly by the meanest Arab or Turk; for many a Jew has been put to death upon a false and malicious accusation of uttering disrespectful words against the Kur-an [*sic*] or the Prophet. It is common to hear an Arab abuse his jaded ass, and after applying to him various opprobrious epithets, end by calling the beast a Jew."²¹

That this was the Jewish situation in Egypt, "a less oppressive government" than elsewhere in the Muslim Arab world, tells us a great deal about Muslim antisemitism in the nineteenth century—prior to the Zionist movement.

Syria

In 1840, some Christians introduced the blood libel into the Arab world. After a Capuchin monk in Damascus van-

ished, fellow monks spread a rumor that he had been murdered by Damascus Jews who needed his blood for a religious ritual. Several Damascus Jews were then arrested, and under torture one of them "confessed" that leaders of the Jewish community had planned the monk's murder. Many other Jews were then arrested, and under torture more such confessions were obtained. Only after an international protest organized by Jewish communities throughout the world were the Jews who survived their tortures released.²²

The blood libel immediately became popular among Muslims. Muslims attacked Jews as drinkers of Muslim blood in Aleppo, Syria, in 1853, Damascus again in 1848 and 1890, Cairo in 1844 and 1901-2, and Alexandria in 1870 and 1881.²³

The blood libel played a decisive role in unsettling the lives of nineteenth-century Syrian Jews, and since then it has been repeatedly utilized in Arab anti-Jewish writings.

Palestine

Jews have lived continuously as a community in Palestine since approximately 1200 B.C.E. The only independent states ever to exist in Palestine have been Jewish. After the destruction of the second Jewish state in 70 C.E., Jews always maintained a presence in Palestine, awaiting the reestablishment of the Jewish state. But these Jews often had to live under degrading conditions.

In nineteenth-century Palestine, under Ottoman Muslim rule, Jews had to walk past Muslims on their left, as the left is identified with Satan, and they always had to yield the right of way to a Muslim, "step into the street and letting him pass." Failure to abide by these degrading customs often provoked a violent response. In Palestine as elsewhere, Jews had to avoid anything that could remind Arabs of Judaism: therefore, synagogues could only be located in hidden, remote areas, and Jews could pray only in muted voice. In addition, despite the widespread poverty among Palestinian Jews, they had to pay a host of special protection taxes. As examples, they paid 100 pounds a year to the Muslim villagers of Siloam (just outside Jerusalem) not to disturb the graves at the Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives, 50 pounds a year to the

Ta'amra Arabs not to deface the Tomb of Rachel on the road to Bethlehem, and 10 pounds annually to Sheik Abu Gosh not to molest Jewish travelers on the road to Jerusalem, even though the Turkish authorities were already paying him to maintain order on that road.²⁴ These anti-Jewish laws and taxes had a rather intimidating effect on the Jews. The British consul, James Finn, who lived in Jerusalem in the 1850s, described in his book *Stirring Times* how "Arab merchants would dump their unsold wares on their Jewish neighbors and bill them, safe in the knowledge that the Jews so feared them that they would not dare return the items or deny their purchase."²⁵

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Muslim antisemitism continued to be brutally expressed through the twentieth century. Albert Memmi, the noted French Jewish novelist who grew up in North Africa, cites a few examples.

In Morocco in 1907, a huge massacre of Jews took place in Casablanca, along with the usual embellishments—rape, women carried away into the mountains, hundreds of homes and shops burned, etc. . . . In 1912 a big massacre in Fez. . . . In Algeria in 1934, massacre in Constantine, twenty-four people killed, dozens and dozens of others seriously wounded. . . . In Aden in 1946 . . . over one hundred people dead and seventy-six wounded, and two thirds of the stores had been sacked and burned. . . . In June, 1941, in Iraq, six hundred people killed, one thousand seriously wounded, looting, rapes, arson, one thousand houses destroyed, six hundred stores looted. . . . [In Libya]: November 4th and 5th, 1945, massacre in Tripoli; November 6th and 7th in Zanzour, Zaouia, Foussaber, Ziltain, etc. girls and women raped in front of their families, the stomachs of pregnant women slashed open, the infants ripped out of them, children smashed with crowbars. . . . All this can be found in the newspapers of the time, including the local Arab papers.²⁶

Memmi summarizes the Jewish status under Islam in the century as "Roughly speaking and in the best of cases, the Jew is protected like a dog which is part of man's property, but if he raises his head or acts like a man, then he must be beaten so that he will always remember his status."²⁷

MUSLIM HATRED OF ISRAEL

It is the Jews' refusal to accept this subordination that is at the heart of the Arab-Muslim hatred for Israel.* As Yehoshafat Harkabi, a leading scholar of the contemporary Arab world, has put it: "The existence of the Jews was not a provocation to Islam . . . as long as Jews were subordinate or degraded. But a Jewish state is incompatible with the view of Jews as humiliated or wretched."²⁸ The call for a Palestinian Arab state in place of Israel is for a state in which once again 'Islam dominates and is not dominated.'

This hatred of Jewish nationalism has been so intense that many Arab leaders have embraced Nazi antisemitism. During World War II most Arab leaders were pro-Nazi. Among them was the head of the Muslims in Palestine, the mufti Haj Amin el-Husseini, who in 1929 helped to organize the large-scale murders of the ultra-Orthodox *non-Zionist* Jews of Hebron. A friend of Hitler who spent much of the war in Nazi Germany, the mufti, on November 2, 1943, delivered this speech: "The overwhelming egoism which lies in the character of Jews, their unworthy belief that they are God's chosen nation and their assertion that all was created for them and that other peoples are animals . . . [makes them] incapable of being trusted. They cannot mix with any other nation but live as parasites among the nations, suck out their blood, embezzle their property, corrupt their morals. . . . The divine anger

* It was this, not the Palestinian refugee issue, which lay at the heart of Muslim anti-Zionism. Without minimizing their personal misfortune, as regards the Palestinians Albert Memmi has noted: "The Palestinian Arabs' misfortune is having been moved about thirty miles within one vast Arab nation." *Jews and Arabs*, p. 35.

and curse that the Holy Quran mentions with reference to the Jews is because of this unique character of the Jews."²⁹

Though many Arab nations formally declared war against Germany in 1945 (when the German defeat was imminent) in order to be eligible for entry into the United Nations, extensive Arab sympathy with the Nazis continued after Germany's surrender. The Egyptians and Syrians long welcomed Nazis to their countries, offering them the opportunity to further implement the "Final Solution."³⁰

Among many Arabs the Holocaust has come to be regarded with nostalgia. On August 17, 1956, the French newspaper *Le Monde* quoted the government-controlled Damascus daily *Al-Manar* as having written, "One should not forget that, in contrast to Europe, Hitler occupied an honored place in the Arab world. . . . [Journalists] are mistaken if they think that by calling Nasser Hitler they are hurting us. On the contrary, his name makes us proud. Long live Hitler, the Nazi who struck at the heart of our enemies. Long live the Hitler of the Arab world."³¹ On June 9, 1960, after Israeli agents captured Adolf Eichmann, the Nazi who had supervised the murder of the six million Jews, the Beirut daily, *Al-Anwar*, carried a cartoon depicting Eichmann speaking with Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion. Said Ben-Gurion: "You deserve the death penalty because you killed six million Jews." Responded Eichmann: "There are many who say I deserve the death penalty because I didn't manage to kill the rest."

On April 24, 1961, the Jordanian English-language daily *Jerusalem Times* published an "Open Letter to Eichmann" which concluded, "But be brave, Eichmann, find solace in the fact that this trial will one day culminate in the liquidation of the remaining six million to avenge your blood."³²

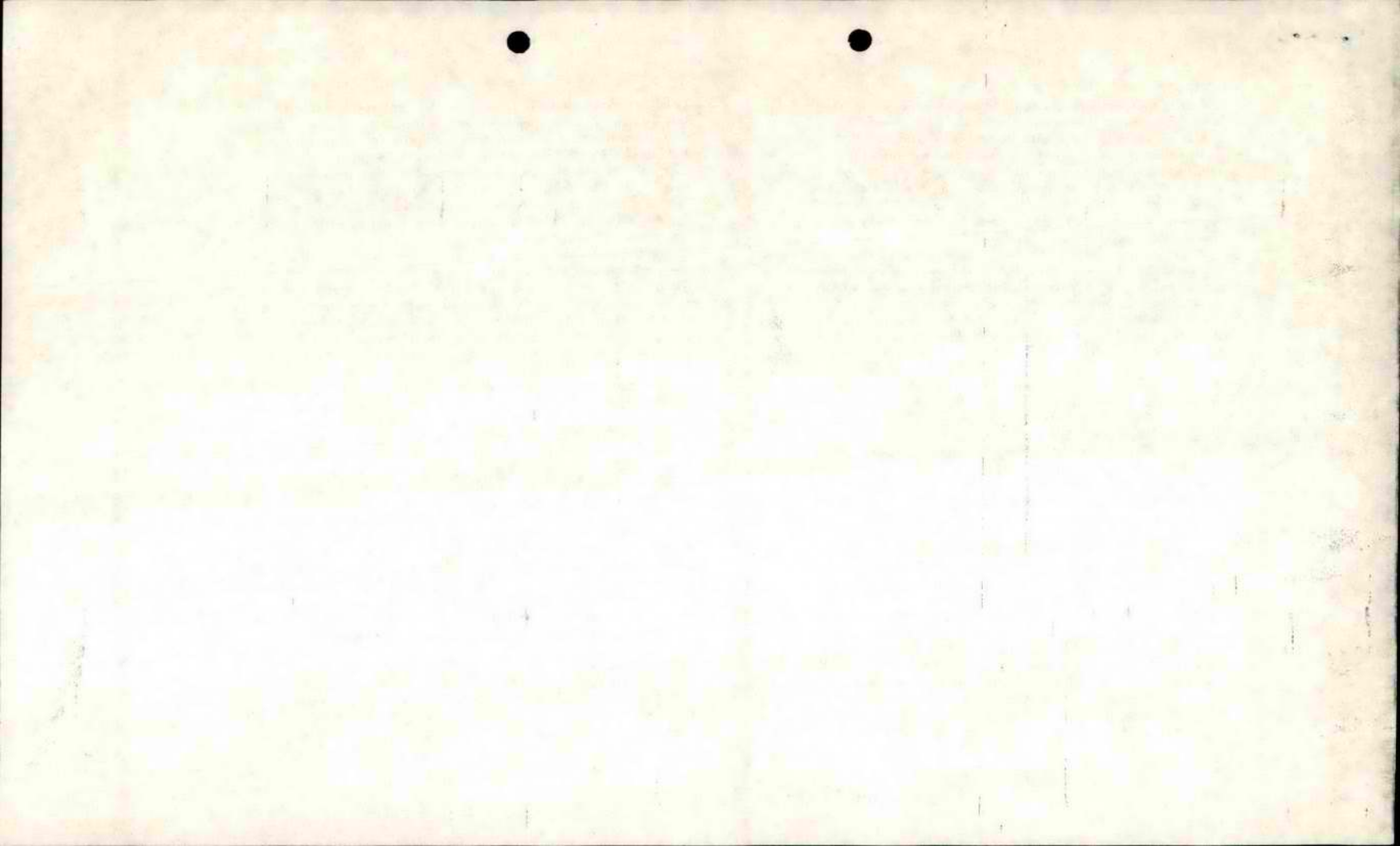
Arab Jew-hatred has also resurrected the blood libel. In 1962, the Egyptian Ministry of Education published *Talmudic Sacrifices* by Habib Faris, a book which had originally been published in Cairo in 1890. In the introduction, the editor notes that the book constitutes "an explicit documentation of indictment, based upon clear-cut evidence that the Jewish people permitted the shedding of blood as religious duty enjoined in the Talmud."³³ On April 24, 1970, Fatah

radio broadcast that "Reports from the captured homeland tell that the Zionist enemy has begun to kidnap small children from the streets. Afterwards the occupying forces take the blood of the children and throw away their empty bodies. The inhabitants of Gaza have seen this with their own eyes."³⁴ In November 1973, the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia said that it was necessary to understand the Jewish religious obligation to obtain non-Jewish blood in order to comprehend the crimes of Zionism.³⁵

The Arab Muslims have also reached back to classical themes of Islamic antisemitism to attack the Jews and Israel. Many Arab speakers and publications echo Muhammad's charge in the Quran (5:82) that the Jews are the greatest enemies of mankind. For example, an Egyptian textbook, published in 1966 for use in teachers' seminars, teaches that Jews (not only Israelis) are "monsters of mankind [and] a nation of beasts. . . ."³⁶

Among the favorite antisemitic publications of the Arabs today is *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In an interview with the editor of the Indian magazine *Blitz*, on October 4, 1958, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt praised the *Protocols*: "I wonder if you have read a book called 'Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.' It is very important that you should read it. I will give you an English copy. It proves clearly, to quote from the *Protocols*, that 'three hundred Zionists, each of whom knows all the others, govern the fate of the European continents and they elect their successors from their entourage."³⁷ The late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia gave copies of the *Protocols* to the guests of his regime. When he presented the *Protocols*, along with an anthology of antisemitic writings, to French journalists who accompanied French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert on his visit to Saudi Arabia in January 1974, "Saudi officials noted that these were the king's favorite books."³⁸

The Islamic world today has combined antisemitic motifs from Nazism and medieval Christendom, as well as from its own tradition. This potent combination has made the Arabs the major source of antisemitic literature in the world today. And as in other forms of antisemitism, in the words of Yeho-



shafat Harkabi, "the evil in the Jews is ascribed [by Arab Muslim antisemites] not to race or blood, but to their spiritual character and religion."³⁹

CONCLUSION

Only through an understanding of the deep theological roots of Muslim antisemitism and an awareness of the continuous history of Muslim antisemitism can present-day Muslim hatred of Israel be understood. Only then does one recognize how false are the claims of Israel's enemies that prior to Zionism Jews and Muslims lived in harmony and that neither Islam nor Muslims have ever harbored Jew-hatred. The creation of the Jewish state in no way created Muslim Jew-hatred; it merely intensified it and gave it a new focus. So long as the Jews acknowledged their inferior status among Muslims, they were humiliated but allowed to exist. But once the Jews decided to reject their inferior status, to become sovereign after centuries of servitude, and worst of all, to now govern some Muslims where they had so long been governed, the Jews' existence was no longer tolerable. Hence the passionate Muslim hatred of Israel and Zionism, a hatred that entirely transcends political antagonisms. Hence the Muslims call not for a defeat of Israel, but for its annihilation. As so often in Jewish history it is the Jewish nation's *existence* that arouses hatred and needs to be ended. Though there is some hope for peace as a result of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, for most Muslims the source of their hatred remains the Jewish state's existence, not its policies, nor even its borders. The Muslim and Arab claim that the issue is anti-Zionism rather than antisemitism really means that so long as the Jews adhere to their *dhimmi* status in Arab Muslim nations, and do not express the national component of Judaism, their existence as individuals is acceptable. But for a Jew to aspire to equality among Muslims, for a Jew to aspire to a status higher than "humiliation and wretchedness," is to aspire too high.

TOWARD
ity's dominance
ingly challenge
enment, challenge
political power
Not surprising
with open arms
ism, the Jews
to a dramatic
of the Enlightenment
The Jews' hope
equality was of
Their emancipation
to identify as a
the Enlightenment
its target from
Jews to this

25.8.91

גויז

~~Handwritten signature~~

לכבוד
מר ביבי נתניהו
סגן שר החוץ

2/10

אנוח

1. האם קול השמנו

האומה - שפרסומים לא ספיקו
קולות לפני שיש בו

א.ב. 2. הפניקס, אפוקליפסה, מאג, סמית

3. הממונים שגור מפניקס אינם
ס"ס \$50 אס"כ

כנדון : ספר הסברה חדש

~~Handwritten notes and signatures in red and blue ink~~

אשמח לקבל את חוות דעתך על החומר, במידה והתרשמותך חיובית.

אשמח לקבל עצה בקשר לקדומו של הספר (בעיקר בנושא המימון).

למען הסדר השוב ברצוני לעיין כי שלחתי עותק מהפרוספקט

לשכת שר החוץ וכן למר יוסי גל (לא קבלתי תשובה).

בברכת שנה טובה
אבי שפירא

לכבוד
מר ביבי נתניהו
סגן שר החוץ

תאריך 25.8.91

הנדון : ספר הסברה - ISRAEL - JEWS, NEWS & TRUTH

פ.א.ג.

מצ"ב חוברת לדוגמא מתוך הספר ISRAEL - JEWS, NEWS & TRUTH הנמצא
עתה בשלבי הכנתו.

1. הספר

זהו ספר ראשון מסוגו המראה את התנהגותה המוסרית של ישראל בנושאים
שנויים במחלוקת. הספר עתיד לצאת בכריכה קשה (כ - 220 עמודים) מלווה
באיורים, טבלאות ומפות המאפשרים לקורא לכסות את הנושאים בקלות יחסית.
בספר מושגות התנהגותה המוסרית של ישראל ביחס לארצות המערב (בעיקר
ארה"ב ואנגליה). כמוכך, תוך הצגת נושאים שעוררי מחלוקת בסכסוך הישראלי
- ערבי.

2. החוברת המצ"ב

החוברת המצ"ב כוללת את הנתונים הבאים :

- א. תוכן העניינים (11 פרקים).
- ב. הקדמה.
- ג. פרק לדוגמא (בעיות הפליטים).

הערה : מבנה המצ"ב אינו סופי והוא ניתן לשינוי.

3. קהל היעד

עקב העניין הרחב שמעוררת ישראל בתקשורת המערבית גודל הציבור
המתעניין בישראל (יהודים ולא יהודים) הוא עצום. כך למשל הציבור
הפוטנציאלי היהודי בצפון אמריקה בלבד כולל כ - 6 מליון נפש. סביר
להניח שגם צבור לא יהודי ברחבי העולם ימצא עניין בספר זה.

4. חשיבות הסברתית

למיטב ידיעתי לא יצא עד היום ספר הסברתי דומה באנגלית, ייחודיות
הספר הינה בהצגה גרפית פשוטה ובהירה, נוחה גם לקורא בעל השכלה נמוכה
יחסית.
אני מאמין כי העובדה שהספר יוצא על ידי גוף פרטי, ולא גוף הסברתי
רשמי של מדינת ישראל רק תגביר את סיכוייו בחו"ל.

5. סיוע להפקה

עקב רמת הגומור הגבוהה (נייר כרומו, תרשימים ממוחשבים ועוד)
עלות הפקת הספר הינה גבוהה (להערכתו כ - 100,000 \$ ל - 2,000 הספרים
הראשונים).
אודה, לאחר עיון בחוברת המצ"ב, אם תמצא עניין לעזור בקידומו של
הספר, אשר כאמור הוא עתיד להיות נכס הסברתי ראשון במעלה מבחינתה של
ישראל.

אשמח לעמוד לרשותך במתן פרטים והבהרות נוספים.

בברכה

אבי שפילברג - הוצאת יסמין

כ"ג באלול תשנ"א
2 בספטמבר 1991

27932

לכבוד
מר אריה סתיו
עורך כתב העת 'נתיב'
ת.ד. 99
שער תהווה, 44810

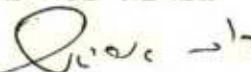
נכבדי,

פרסומי הסברה

לבקשת איל ארד, הוספנו את שמך לרשימת הנמענים המהבליים
את פרסומי הסברה של משה'ח, המופצים באמצעותינו.

להט ראשוני מצ'ב.

בברכת שנה טובה,



רות אריאל
מנהלת המרכז לאינפורמציה.

העתק: איל ארד, לשכת סגן שר החוץ.



תשנ"א ה' אלול
1991 15 באוגוסט
 אהב 000.00
 6823

אל : מנהל הסברה

מאת : קוננכ"ל, לוס אנג'לס

הנדון : שתוף פעולה עם חברת הפרסום B.L.S-דו"ח חודשי

1. כמסוכם, לפי בקשתכם, רצ"ב דו"ח חודשי ראשון בתום 4 שבועות פעילות משותפת עם חברת הפרסום האמריקאית החדשה שלנו. נראה שהכתוב, על כל נספחיו, מדבר בעד עצמו. בכוונה בקשתי מהנהלת חברת הפרסום לכתוב גם כן דו"ח חודשי (ראה הרצ"ב) למען תוכלו להתרשם ישירות מעמדתם, בנוסף לזו שלנו.

2. תזכורת קצרה :

א. מייד לאחר הגעתי ללוס אנג'לס הגעתי למסקנה שעל מנת לשפר רמת ההסברה שלנו לצבור האמריקאי, רצוי לקבל יעוץ מיקצועי מחברת פרסום אמריקאית מקומית.

ב. לפני כשנה פנינו בנדון ל-6 חברות פרסום באזורנו. 4 מהן נגשו ל"מכרז" והגישו הצעותיהם בכתב. לאחר דיונים, בדיקות והערכות נבחרה אחת מהן שאיתה נכנסנו למו"מ יסודי. סוכם על תשלום שנתי בעד שרותיה בסך 96 אלף דולר.

ג. בשלב זה פרצה מלחמת המפרץ והכל הוקפא. לאחר המלחמה פנתה אלינו ביוזמתה חברת הפרסום B.L.S. והציעה שרותיה ללא תמורה. לדבריהם, התרשמו מהופעותנו בתקשורת בעת המלחמה, דבר שדרבן אותם לשתף פעולה בהתנדבות. דווקא משום כך ערכנו בדיקות מעמיקות ביותר על החברה, הרכבה, תדמיתה, רמת מקצועיותה, מצבה הפננסי וכו'... כמו כן, ערכנו עם ההנהלה מספר פגישות היכרות והתרשמות. נועצנו במומחי פרסום חיצוניים והדעה הכללית של כולנו היתה חיובית ביותר.



ד. מאחר ו-B.L.S נותנת שרותיה בחינם, עמדתי על כך שהחוזה בינינו יערך בהקפדה רבה על ידי עורך הדין המנוסה של הקונסוליה, מר לאונרד לאו. ואכן, לפני חודש, ב-16 ביולי 91, חתמנו החוזה (העתק חתום נשלח אליכם) והתחלנו בפעילותנו המשותפת שכללה:

- 1) סדרת היכרות עם הקונסוליה ובעלי התפקידים שבה.
- 2) עדכונים בנושא ישראל (מדיניות, יעדים, בעיות וכו'...).
- 3) גבוש תוכנית עבודה משותפת לסווח קצר ולסווח ארוך (ראה הרצ"ב).
- 4) הסכמה על נושאים בסיסיים שיועלו בדיונים ביננו במטרה לגבש הדרך ושיטת ההסברה כלפיהם.
- 5) קיום דיוני מהות תאורטיים משותפים בנושאים מרכזיים, במטרה לגבש עמדות וגישות הסברה נכונות כלפי האמריקאים.
- 6) קיום דיון שבועי קבוע (כל יום שישי) המוקדש לתחקיר השבוע שעבר ותכנון הפעילות לשבוע הבא.
- 7) קיום פגישות ו/או "שיחות ועידה", כל פעם שצץ נושא חדש המצדיק התייעצות ותאום.

3. בשיחות הרבות עם הנהלת חברת B.L.S חזרתי והדגשתי שהמסבירים ומקבלי ההחלטות הם אנחנו. החברה היא בדרגת יועץ מיקצועי ותפקידיה העיקריים הם שניים:

א. לתרגם ה - "CASE" שלנו למנטליות האמריקאית וליעץ לנו כיצד נכון יהיה להציגו לצבור המקומי.

ב. לנצל נסיונם וקשריהם שנבנו ב-20 שנות עבודה מיקצועית בשטח, על מנת להגביר חזירתנו לתקשורת באזורנו (סלביזיה, רדיו ועתונות).

בנוסף, כמובן, סכמנו על פעילויות רבות אחרות הקשורות ונובעות בעיקרן משני היעדים המרכזיים האלה (ראה הרצ"ב). בשום אופן לא נעסיק את חברת הפרסום בנושאי ארגון ונהול כמו שראיתי במיסמכים שהגיעו לקונסוליה ממקומות אחרים. נקפיד על עיסוקים מקצועיים סהורים.



4. יצוין, של B.L.S- נסיון וידע רב בכל הקשור במדינת ישראל, בממשל האמריקאי, בקהילה היהודית בארה"ב ובנושאים מורכבים נוספים שאנו מספלים בהם (פרופיל החברה ובעלי התפקידים הבכירים שלה נשלח אליכם בזמנו בנפרד).

5. לסכום חודש הפעילות המשותפת הראשון ניתן לומר:

א. עד כה נראה שהבחירה ב-B.L.S היתה נכונה ומוצדקת. הנהלתה משקיעה מעל ומעבר בעינינו ולא היה מקרה אחד שהיינו זקוקים להם ולא התפנו מיידית, יום ולילה.

ב. רמתה המיקצועית וקשריה עם התקשורת הינם מעל המצופה. עובדה שבחודש המדובר הופענו ב-40 תוכניות רדיו וטלביזיה שחלקן שודרו כמה פעמים רצופות. נכון, אל לנו לחשוב שהכל בזכות B.L.S, אך יהיה הוגן לומר שלפחות חצי מההופעות הרבות תואמו על ידי חברת הפרסום. כמחצית הפניות הופנו אלינו ישירות בזכות הקשרים שפתחנו עם אמצעי התקשורת המקומיים ואילו החצי השני היה ביוזמת B.L.S.

ג. קשרי העבודה היום יומיים בין מחלקת ההסברה של הקונסוליה וחברת הפרסום הינם מצויינים והתאום נסול סבוכים וניירת מיוחדת. ישנו טופס בקשה מיוחד לתאום הופעה בתקשורת (ראה הרצ"ב), המועבר בפקס מ-B.L.S למחלקת ההסברה. טופס זה מובא לאשור הקונכ"ל ולאחר מכן מתבצע תאום ישיר עם התחנה. שיטה זו נמצאה פשוטה, יעילה ופועלת בשטח כמעט ללא תקלות.

ד. הדיונים הקצרים ו/או "שיחות הועידה" היום יומיים, הוכיחו עצמם מעל ומעבר. משהו חדש עולה במשך הלילה או בחזשות הבוקר, מייד נערכת התיעצות כיצד עלינו לפעול/להגיב, מהם הדגשי ההסברה ומה היעדים שלנו בנדון. עובדה שבשיטה זו היינו תמיד מוכנים כשהתקשורת פנתה אלינו ובעצם לא הופתענו אף פעם.

ה. לאחר פעילות אינטנסיבית של חודש בדיוק יש לנו כבר משובים מהשטח ואלה חיוביים ביותר. לאחרונה, יותר מאי פעם, להוציא את תקופת מלחמת המפרץ, הגבנו בזמן, מהר, תוך גלוי יוזמה והופענו בכל אמצעי



- 4 -

התקשורת בצורה מסיבית ובפרופורציות הנכונות (ראה רשימת ההופעות הרצ"ב). כאן ברצוני להדגיש שסגן הקונכ"ל, צוריאל רפאל, וקונסול ההסברה, דני בן-אליעזר, שהו בחופשה כל אחד שבועיים (צורי בחצי החודש הראשון ודני בחצי השני) כך שאם היו בעבודה כל החודש, הרי לבטח מספר ההופעות היה עוד גדול יותר.

1. באחד משיחות הועידה השבועיות של השגרירות עם הקונסוליות עלה הנושא של - "ליזום או לא ליזום הופעות בתקשורת". דעתי היתה ברורה ונחושה - הנני נגד "לשמור פרופיל נמוך למקרה שאם יתרחש משהו שלילי בלתי צפוי, אנו נהיה בצד ולא יאשימו אותנו...". ההיפך הוא הנכון, בכל נושא שאנו חלק מהעניין ומעורבים בו ללא זכות בחירה, תמיד עלינו לגלות יוזמה ולהסביר עמדתנו בכל אמצעי התקשורת. מסתבר שיש בשטח חוסר מידע רב והאמריקאי המצוי אינו מכיר את המציאות והעובדות באזורנו. מאחר ולרוב יש לנו "CASE" טוב, הגיוני ויציב, אזי גלוי יוזמה ויציאה לתקשורת תמיד יתן לנו יתרון, גם במקרה שמהו בלתי צפוי יתרחש. כמובן, שיש להקפיד על הרמה המקצועית, תוכן הדברים וצורת ההופעה. אף פעם אחת בשתי שנות שרותי בלוס אנג'לס לא גיליתי קושי להסביר בהגיון ובזקיפות את מדיניותנו והעומד אחריה. נכון, היו נושאים רגישים, היו שאלות מביכות, היו אי הסכמות והיו וכוחים, אך תמיד היו תשובות והסברים שרוב הצבור הבין אותם. הרבה יותר קל לייצג את מדינת ישראל בחו"ל ממה ששערתי מראש, בתנאי שיש לך את "חומר הגלם" ואת האמצעים לייצר את "המוצר המוגמר" התואם את הצרכים של האזור שבו אתה פועל.

2. עם העובדות בשטח קשה להתווכח - לאחרונה פתחנו דף חדש בנושא היקף ההסברה וחדירתנו לתקשורת באזור, כל זאת תוך הקפדה מירבית על העתוי, התוכן, צורת ההופעה, מי המופיע וכו'. ... בנוסף, הנינו מקפידים שחברת הפרסום תדע בדיוק את מעמדה וערכה הסגולי במערכת. יש לשמור על יחסי עבודה מיקצועיים וקורקטיים ולהקפיד שיפעלו בנתיב המוגדר והברור שעליו סוכם.

3. בהתחשב בנסיון השנתיים האחרונות הנני מציע בזאת לפנות לכל הקונכ"לים בארה"ב (להוציא קונכ"ל שיקגו שיש לו כבר חברת יעוץ) ולהמליץ בפניהם לעשות מאמץ מוגבר בתקופה הקרובה למצוא חברת פרסום אמריקאית



- 5 -

מקומית כיועצת, בעיקר בהתחשב באפשרות של קיום משא ומתן לשלום ארוך, מורכב ועם הרבה יעליות וירידות". על מערכת ההסברה בארה"ב להערך לכך בעוד מועד ובצורה המיטבית. כל מי שירצה את עזרתנו יקבלה בשמחה (כולל עיון בחוזה שחתמנו, במסרה לקצר הדרך).

ט. בהצלחה !!!

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יואן
רוזנו

נספחים: נספח א' - פעילות הסברתית של הקונסוליה בחודש האחרון.
נספח ב' - טופס אישור הופעה בתקשורת.
נספח ג' - סיכום חודשי של חברת הפרסום B.L.S.
נספח ד' - תכנית עבודה שנתית משותפת.

העתק: מנהל מצפ"א
מנהל תפוצות
הסברה מרחבי
ציר הסברה וושינגטון



כ"ט אב תשנ"א
9 באוגוסט 1991
אהב 000.00
6781

נספח א' - פעילות הסברתית של הקונסוליה (17/7 עד 16/8 91)

קונכ"ל - 77 רונן

1. פגישה עם ראש עיריית לוס אנג'לס וראש עיריית לוד.
2. נאום בפני נציגי הקהילה האירנית.
3. תדרוך ועדכון ה-ISRAELI TASK FORCE.
4. נאום בארוע לקראת משחקי מכבי ת"א וה"קליפרס".
5. ראיון לתחנת הרדיו KFI. המראיין - BILL HANDEL.
6. ראיון לתחנת הרדיו KBLA. המראיין - CHUCK ASHMAN.
7. ראיון טלוויזיוני חי ב - KCAL (ערוץ 9). המראיינים - PAT HARVEY ו- DAVID JACKSON.
8. ראיון טלוויזיוני ל - KABC (ערוץ 7). מראיין - ALEX PAEN.
9. TALK SHOW של שעה בתחנת הרדיו KABC. המראיינת - GLORIA ALLRED.
10. פגישה אישית עם סנטור BOB PACKWOOD (רפובליקני מאורגון).
11. נאום בארוחת הערב השנתית של "איפאק".



12. פגישה אישית עם סנטור RICHARD SHELBY (דמוקרט מאלבמה).
13. פגישה אישית עם קונגרסמן DAN GLICKMAN (דמוקרט מקנזס).
14. השתתפות בפגישה של פעילי "איפאק".
15. פגישה עם שר הכלכלה של קליפורניה CARL COVITZ.
16. ראיון לתחנת הרדיו KFI. מראיינת - TERRY RAY ELMER.
17. ראיון טלוויזיוני ל KABC (ערוץ 7). מראיין - ALEX PAEN.
18. ראיון טלוויזיוני ל KCOP (ערוץ 13). מראיין - WARREN OLNEY.
19. ראיון רדיו ל KBLA. מראיין - CHUCK ASHMAN.
20. ראיון טלוויזיוני ל KCAL. מראיין LARRY CARROLL.
21. ראיון חי בתוכנית הערב של "רדיו ישראל". המראיין - יגאל רביד.
22. עדכון ותדרוך הועדה למזרח התיכון של הפדרציה.
23. עדכון ותדרוך כ-100 אנשי מפתח של הקהילה היהודית.
24. שתי הופעות במהדורת החדשות (17:30 וב-23:00) של תחנת הטלוויזיה KABC (ערוץ 7). המראיין - ALEX PAEN.



25. ראיון חי במסגרת TALK SHOW לתחנת הרדיו KKLA. המראיין
- JOHN STEWART .
26. הופעה חיה במהדורת חדשות הערב (21:00) בתחנת הטלוויזיה
KCLA (ערוץ 9). המראיינים -
PAT HARVEY ו- DAVID JACKSON .
27. ראיון באולפני תחנת הטלוויזיה TNJ (ערוץ 10). המראיין
- DAN HACKEL .
28. ראיון לתוכנית הטלוויזיה ISRAEL TODAY (ערוץ 18).
המראיין - PHIL BLAZER באנגלית.
29. פגישה עם מנכ"ל הפדרציה לתכנון סדרת מפגשי הסברה.
30. ראיון חי למהדורת חדשות הבוקר לתחנת הרדיו KFI.
המראיינת - TERRY RAY ELMER .
31. פגישות עם חברת הפרסום החדשה (B.L.S.) לתכנון פעולות
ההסברה בתקופה הקרובה.
32. ראיון לתוכנית הטלוויזיה ISRAEL TODAY (ערוץ 18).
המראיין - מיכה מרגוליס בעברית.
33. ראיון חי בתחנת הרדיו KFWB למהדורת החדשות. המראיין -
JACK POPEJOY .
34. שני תדרוכים נפרדים לכל עובדי הקונסוליה.



35. ראיון חי למהדורת חדשות הבוקר בתחנת הטלוויזיה KTLA
(ערוץ 5). מראיינת - BARBARA BECK.
36. ראיון לעתון HERITAGE. המראיין - LEO NOONAN.
37. תדרוך רקע למערכות העתונים המקומיים.
38. הופעה של שעתיים ב-TALK SHOW בתחנת הרדיו KFI.
המראיין - BILL HANDEL. הופעה חיה בו הופנו עשרות
שאלות של מאזינים מכל רחבי קליפורניה.
39. ראיון בשידור חי של חצי שעה מאולפני תחנת הרדיו KBLA.
המראיין - CHUCK ASHMAN.
40. ראיון לתחנת הרדיו KFI. המראיינת - TERRY RAY ELMER.
שידורים חוזרים במשך כל היום.
41. ראיון טלוויזיוני ל-KABC (ערוץ 7). המראיין - ALEX
PAEN. שודר במהדורות החדשות ב-16:00 וב-17:00.
42. ראיון טלוויזיוני ל-KCOP (ערוץ 13). המראיין - WARREN
OLNEY. שודר במהדורת חדשות הערב (22:00).
43. ראיון רדיו ל-KBLA. המראיין - CHUCK ASHMAN. שודר
מספר פעמים בתוכניות הערב.
44. ראיון טלוויזיוני ל-KCAL (ערוץ 9). המראיין - LARRY
CARROLL. שודר ברציפות בשתי מהדורות החדשות של הערב.
45. פגישת עדכון ותדרוך עם סנטור BOB GRAHAM (דמוקרט
מפלורידה).



46. קיום שיחות ועידה עם 19 הפדרציות שבאזורינו - תדרוך ועדכון בנושא תהליך השלום והחלפת השבויים.
47. פגישת עדכון ותדרוך של כשעה וחצי עם המערכת הבכירה של ה-LOS ANGELES TIMES.
48. הופעה בפני חברי מועדון התעופה המקומי.
49. מסיבת עיתונאים בקונסוליה. עדכון ותדרוך נציגי העתונים המקומיים.
50. השתתפות בפגישת חבר הכנסת רבין עם הנשיא לשעבר רוונלד רייגן.



סגן הקונסול - צוריאל רפאל

1. תדרוך רקע לעיתון LA OPINION. כתב -GEORGE ROTH.
2. תדרוך רקע לרדיו KFWB. כתב - STEVEN KINDRED.
3. ראיון בתוכנית CABLE של MARGARET NOVAK (תשודר בעוד שבועיים).
4. הופעה בפני ה-CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY (כולל עתונות מקומית).
5. ראיון בשידור חי ב-KFWB.
6. נאום בפני כנס BNAI BRITH 4TH DISTRICT (מערב ארה"ב) בסן דיאגו.
7. תדרוך לראשי ה-JCRC בלוס אנג'לס.
8. תדרוך במשותף עם הקונסול ל-JCRCs בשיחת ועידה.
9. ראיון בתוכנית הרדיו של CAROLE HEMINGWAY (תחנת KGIL).
10. תדרוך לראשי הקהילה היהודית באורנג' קאונטי.



-7-

קונסול ההסברה - דני בן אליעזר

1. ראיון טלויזיה לתוכנית KALEIDESCOPE (חברת הכבלים
(CONTINENTAL).
2. ארגון מסיבת עתונאים מקומיים עם הקונכ"ל.
3. סדרת פגישות עבודה ותאום עם חברת הפרסום החדשה B.L.S.
4. תדרוך מנהל ה-JCRC בלוס אנג'לס על ההתפתחויות
האחרונות.
5. תדרוך מנהל הפדרציה בלאס וגאס.
6. תדרוך ועדת מזה"ת בפדרציה על עבודת הסברה.
7. תדרוכים לפניית עתונאיות שונות.
8. הרצאה ב-UCLA בקורס למזרח התיכון.
9. תדרוך מערכת ה-LOS ANGELES TIMES.



לפניו ז' - אלס - אלה האבא נתקלם

INTERVIEW FORM

INTERVIEW WITH: RAN RONEN TSURIEL RAPHAERL
 DAN BEN ELIEZER

DATE: Aug 9, 1991 DAY: FRIDAY TIME: 11³⁰-12⁰⁰

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: 30 min

TV: KABC RADIO: _____ NEWSPAPER: _____

CH: 7 STATION: _____ NAME: _____

INTERVIEWERS (NAMES, TITLES): Alex Paen

TYPE OF INTERVIEW: LIVE PRETAPED PHONE/STUDIO/SATELLITE

TYPE OF PROGRAM: News

TOPIC: Hostages

LOCATION: Consulate

CONTACT: Alex Paen

TEL #: W: 213-557-3277 H: _____

REMARKS: Will air on 4PM & 5PM News

INITIATED BY: CONSULATE _____ PR MEDIA _____

APPROVED BY RAN RONEN: [Signature]

לדן - 7 - 10/01 - 11/01 - 12/01 - 01/02

BOONSHAFT-LEWIS
PUBLIC RELATIONS & GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

& SAVITCH

To: Consulate General of Israel in Los Angeles
From: Hope J. Boonshaft-Lewis
Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch
Date: August 16, 1991
Re: Monthly Report
July 16 - August 16, 1991

I believe that together, Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch and the Consulate has indeed set a precedent in what has been accomplished during our first month of work. Normally, it takes a public relations consultant an entire month just to become briefed and familiar with their client. We were able to do this in one week.

It is indeed a pleasure to be working with this Consulate General. There exists a good spirit and a feeling of "togetherness" throughout the entire Consulate office. Based on my 20 years of experience, it is because of the mutual cooperation, enthusiasm, and teamwork between the Consulate and Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch that we have been able to be so successful and achieve such a great deal during the first thirty days. I am convinced, that together, we will accomplish great things in this year to come.

It is also my opinion that Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch is fortunate to work with a Consul General such as Ran. He is extremely intelligent and truly understands the need for Israel to get certain messages out to the public and to influence public opinion. He is also very open-minded and willing to listen to all sides of a discussion... therefore NOT making a rash or unwise decision. He shows much respect for other professionals. Yet, when necessary, he is able to make a quick decision...which is very important when dealing with news and the media. "Timeliness" can be critical in seizing an opportunity. Ran also exercises the right degree of caution. He is willing to take a risk but not an uncalculated one.

Ran is passionate and clear when expressing his views. This comes across very well during media interviews. He shows good judgement in analyzing situations at hand. He, and his key staff, has a good understanding of the economic, social, and political issues and trends facing the United States...on a national and regional basis. Ran is very aware...especially in Los Angeles...of the growing problem with ethnic/race relations due to the ethnic diversity in Southern California; and the Consulate is committed to becoming a part of the solution.

Tsuriel Raphael also serves his position well. He is most knowledgeable on the issues. His command of both Hebrew and English is very helpful in making the proper translations. He is very articulate with the media. He is calm, hard-working, and loyal.

It has been a most rewarding and exciting time for Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch to be of help to the State of Israel...especially during this period in history. It is clear that this Consulate...the second largest in the United States...has enormous tasks to perform with very limited resources and staff.

Most importantly, during this month, we had the opportunity to really become pro-active in helping to educate the public and dispel current myths regarding Israel's role with the hostage situation. In our discussions, I pointed out that the general public does not understand the difference between taking hostages...keeping POW's...or detaining terrorists. The entire scenario can be very confusing. Since Israel was already brought into the situation and was being discussed in the media, I did not want to see these events turn into an excuse for "Israel-bashing" or allow the media to put the blame on Israel without a response. We needed to anticipate the media's reaction and be prepared. So I suggested that we target several of our friends from television and radio news and suggest interviews about this issue..to get out the true facts...such as that Israel is willing to trade the 375 Shiite and Lebanese prisoners in her captivity for the 7 missing Israeli POW'S. Ran agreed with this strategy. Three television and two radio interviews were immediately booked. They aired all during Friday's afternoon and evening news. It was most successful. I received numerous telephone calls from people who saw or heard Ran and were so happy to see Israel in a pro-active position and getting the true facts out to the public. We can not afford to keep silent.

It is also clear to me that I personally could better serve the Consulate if I could speak Hebrew. There is a lot lost in the translation. Therefore, I will be enrolling in the Ulpan for the fall semester.

Although we submit weekly status reports, I would like to recap our main accomplishments and objectives:

1. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch had briefings on all Consulate departments, staff and activities, as well as a review of all materials. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch can be helpful in creating some new materials, eg. press kits, brochures about "The Consulate" and its activities.
2. Procedures have been established for Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch to efficiently and effectively work and communicate with the Consulate on a regular and on-going basis, e.g. media forms developed, holding weekly meetings.
3. Letters to organizations, government officials, and press releases announcing the Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch contract signing were written and sent out to over 300 outlets. Numerous letters of congratulations to both the Consulate and Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch have been received.

4. In the area of media we really made tremendous progress:

- press advisories were sent to over 200 outlets offering the Consul General for interview about Israel's role in the peace conference
- rolodex cards were created and sent to over 300 media outlets
- personal telephone calls were made to over 50 members of the media to book interviews
- press advisories were sent to over 200 media regarding the Holan Youth Band which is appearing in San Diego and Los Angeles
- approximately 30 - 35 interviews were conducted this first month (primarily with major television and radio stations)
- approximately 10 interviews are already scheduled for the next month
- an editorial board meeting was held at the Los Angeles Times
- Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch is planning a media strategy for the time of the peace conference so that the Consulate is not inundated with media requests
- op-ed pieces were given priority and the first one is being written by Hope Boonshaft-Lewis and edited by the Consulate
- all electronic media interviews given by Ran were reviewed and given positive critiques
- Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch has interest in a feature piece for a major business publication to write a story on the changing economic climate in Israel and Israel's interest in American investment
- Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch has interest from the travel editor of the Star newspaper group, e.g. Pasadena Star News, to visit Israel on a press trip and write two different stories

After speaking to many of my colleagues in the media as well as reviewing and evaluating the interviews, I am pleased to report that Ran is very well received by reporters and news anchors in the media. He understands the sensitivity of these very complex issues. During the interviews, he also comes across as positive, enthusiastic, and with a definite message to tell the public. He presents an attractive image for the State of Israel. This is one of the reasons why the media keeps returning to do more interviews. If Ran was not articulate, they would not interview him more than once. He also welcomes positive input and media counseling in order to meet the needs of the American press...such as short

answers or as I call it...the 8 second sound-bite. (In Israel, the average sound-bite is 41 seconds.) Tsuriel also gives very good interviews and is well received. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch received telephone calls from many people who saw Ran on television or heard him on the radio and were very impressed as well as pleased that Israel was getting so much and such positive press coverage.

It is difficult, yet important to understand that the American media can be very unreliable...particularly the local electronic press. This year, financial problems have forced severe staff cutbacks and the number of reporters and camera crews have diminished. Many times, reporters commit to do an interview or a story...only to be told later (by a superior), that they have to cover something different. If another "local hard news" event occurs, many previously booked interviews have to be postponed or cancelled. It is as frustrating to these reporters as it is to us.

5. Approximately 150 hours were spent by Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch in meetings, briefings, orientation, and work on behalf of the Consulate during the first month.
6. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch wrote a Strategic Plan outlining both short and long term goals.
7. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch and the Consulate were also able to overcome some minor but important problems, e.g. KCOP TV reporter who was interviewing certain Jewish community leaders who were giving comment about Israel's various positions...but was not interviewing anyone from the Consulate. After we called and explained to him that the Consulate is the only authorized body to speak on behalf of the State of Israel, he interviewed Ran the next day when we called him about the hostage situation.
8. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch began assisting Tsuriel in the area of improving ethnic relations by reviewing what had been done, what was currently in progress, and how not to overlap with the AJC. I suggested the names of several key hispanic leaders who could put together a group for continual and ongoing dialogues. We will be pursuing this course of action.
9. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch has begun work on a crises management plan for the Consulate.



תשנ"א כ"ב אב
1991 2 באוגוסט
 אהב 000.00
 6733

לספד ד' - תוכנית אלוזה לזאת

אל : מנהל הסברה

מאת : קונכ"ל, לוס אנג'לס

הנדון : שתוף פעולה עם חברת הפרסום B.L.S.

1. כזכור חתמנו לפני שבועיים חוזה שתוף פעולה לשנת נסיון עם חברת הפרסום האמריקאית B.L.S. (העתק החוזה החתום נשלח אליכם בנפרד).
2. מאז סקס החתימה החלנו בסדרת דיונים רצופים שהתמקדו בעיקר בשני נושאים מרכזיים:
 - א. תוכנית עבודה לטווח הקצר ולטווח הארוך.
 - ב. שיטת ואופן ההסברה של הנושאים הבסיסיים שלנו.
3. רצ"ב מיסמך מסגרת הכולל את עקרי תוכנית העבודה המשותפת של הקונסוליה וחברת B.L.S. לשנה הקרובה.
4. בזמנו דווחתי על המטרות והיעדים שהגדרנו לחברת הפרסום B.L.S. תוך תאום מלא עם הנהלתה הבכירה. יצוין, שתחילת העבודה הינה בהחלט על "רגל ימין" וכבר ניצני התוצאות נראים בשטח.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יח.
רן רונן

העתק : סגן שר החוץ
השגריר, וושינגטון
סמנכ"ל הסברה
סמנכ"ל צפ"א
הסברה מרחבי
מנהל מצפ"א
ציר הסברה וושינגטון



STRATEGIC PUBLIC RELATIONS PLAN

FOR

THE CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES

OVERALL GOAL

To influence public opinion through the media, community outreach and collateral material.

Targeting specific audiences with specific tools.

TARGETED AUDIENCES INCLUDE:

Jewish community and organizations
Ethnic/Christian communities and organizations
Media
Government Officials and agencies
Opinion leaders in the business, civic and academic community
University faculty, administration, and students
High school students and faculty
Business organizations
Labor
Cultural organizations

The following *topics* will be developed as resources, i.e. media stories, collateral material, speeches, seminars/panels, newsletters, position papers, meetings, briefings, press conferences, advertising etc. to be used in reaching our targeted audiences:

POLITICAL

I. Peace process/conference

- Positive response
- 1989 Israeli peace initiative
- Confidence building measures

- Golan Heights/Syria
 - S. Lebanon
 - Settlements
 - United Nations role/history
 - Reconvening of ceremonial opening
 - Palestinian representation (PLO, Jerusalem Arabs, Arabs from the territories)
- II. Aid to Israel
- Ongoing military and economic aid
 - Discourage linkage between loans and settlements
 - Loan guarantees
- III. Arab economic boycott
- IV. Territories
- Human rights
 - Intifada
 - Israel's contribution and improvements
- V. Arms race in the Middle East
- Conventional/non-conventional capabilities
 - Disarmament
 - Arm sales to other countries
- VI. Immigration
- Soviet
 - Ethiopian...Operation Solomon
 - Housing
 - Employment
 - Policy of government regarding living in the territories.
- VII. Terrorist attacks on Israel
- VIII. History of Israel/perspective/historical context
- Individual Arab nations and the collective Arab world and their relationship to Israel
 - Israel's small size...utilization of maps

IX. The United States/Israel strategic relationship and the world community

- Israel as the only democracy in the middle east
- Israel's value in the post Cold War era

X. The political and economic system in Israel

NON-POLITICAL

- I. Ethnic relations...particularly with Blacks, Hispanics and Asians in Los Angeles.
- II. Economic development/Israel's changing laws and government's role in encouraging American investment and joint ventures.
 - Announcement of new ventures.
 - Success stories.
- III. Arts and Sciences/Israel's leadership in technology, medicine, science, agriculture, environment, education, and culture.
- IV. Youth...outreach to high schools, Universities, academic world.
- V. Tourism
- VI. Israel's cooperation with developing third world countries.
- VII. Religion...Christians and Muslims in Israel/Ethnic relations.
- VIII. Immigration in Israel as a long term benefit to society.

SHORT TERM GOALS (July 15 - October 15, 1991)

- I. Set procedures for working with the Consulate General of Israel in Los Angeles.
 1. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will have an orientation to the Consulate. This will include briefings from each department within the Consulate as well as with the Consul for Economic Affairs, Avi Elkind and the Tourism Director for Western USA, Arie Sommer.
 2. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will review all current collateral materials, i.e. brochures, audio and video tapes, etc. as well as distribution lists and media interviews by Tsurriel and Dan. After such review, we will determine how we may assist in consulting on the creation of all new materials, expanding various lists (distribution), and matching up targeted audiences with appropriate materials, outreach and meetings.
 3. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch suggests that weekly meetings be held every Friday at 10:30 a.m. with Ran Ronen, Tsurriel Raphael, and Dan Ben-Eliezer. During these meetings we will discuss:
 - priorities for action items
 - new political developments affecting Israel
 - crises or problems needing special attention
 - media stories of interest; interviews, op-ed pieces, letters to the editor, etc.
 - review of the last week's agenda and accomplishments
 - schedule and travel plans for Ran, Tsurriel, or Dan
 - visiting foreign VIPs.
 4. As needed, special meetings will be held.
 5. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch suggests that Media Request forms be filled out for each media interview and sent to Dan. Scheduled interviews must be re-confirmed. All television and radio interviews should be critiqued by Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch, Ran, Tsurriel, and Dan.
 6. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will counsel Ran, Tsurriel, and Dan on giving interviews.
 7. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will write weekly status reports and submit them to Ran every Monday.

II. SHORT TERM OBJECTIVES

1. Develop *Crises Management Plan*.
2. Begin to strengthen media relations including the neutralization or turnaround of specific media showing continual negativity towards Israel.
3. Develop regularly scheduled briefings for the media as well as individual meetings with targeted journalists, reporters, editors, etc.
4. Begin to increase media placement, i.e. interviews, op-ed pieces, letters to the editor, and story placement. Develop a press kit and brochure on the Consulate. Write news releases, media advisories, interview opportunities, etc.
5. Assist Consulate in continuing to strengthen relations with the ethnic and Christian communities in Los Angeles.
6. Strengthen and expand distribution list for information processing to targeted audiences and groups. Consult on which information should go to which audiences and groups.
7. Assist Consulate in continuing to strengthen relations with the Universities...including faculty, students, and the administration.
 - a. 1st Israel Campus Task Force seminars
 - b. extension course on Israel at UCLA
7. Assist Consulate in continuing to strengthen relations with the ethnic and Christian communities in Los Angeles.
8. Begin preliminary work on promoting goals of Consul for Economic Affairs. Send out one or two story suggestions regarding Israel's changing economic climate encouraging American investment, joint-ventures, etc.; or breakthroughs in technology (or other areas); or a success story.
9. Assist in promotion of cultural events, activities, and achievements.

I. LONG TERM OBJECTIVES

1. Implement *Crises Management Plan* at the Consulate.
2. Continue program to strengthen media relations including the neutralization or turnaround of specific media showing continual negativity towards Israel.
3. Continue regularly scheduled briefings for the media as well as individual meetings with targeted journalists, reporters, editors, etc.
4. Continue plan to increase media placement, i.e. interviews, op-ed pieces, letters to the editor, and story placement. Write news releases, media advisories, interview opportunities, etc.
5. Continue to strengthen and expand distribution list for information processing to targeted audiences and groups. Continue to consult on which information should go to which audiences and groups.
6. Continue to strengthen relations with the Universities...including faculty, students, and the administration.
 - a. Israel Campus Task Force seminars
 - b. extension course on Israel at UCLA
 - c. meetings, panels, seminars with faculty and administration
 - d. getting targeted information into newsletters
 - e. campus media
7. Continue to strengthen relations with the ethnic and Christian communities in Los Angeles.
8. Assist in any activities for visiting foreign officials or dignitaries, youth delegations, etc.
9. Begin plan to help promote work of Consul of Economic Affairs; write press kit; attempt to place positive media stories about Israel's changing economic climate encouraging American investment, breakthroughs and achievements in technology, science, medicine, agriculture, etc.
10. Set up meetings with Tourism Director and travel media in this region.
11. Plan trips to Israel for targeted opinion leaders.
12. Continue to assist in promotion of cultural events, activities and achievements.

57207

Israel.
4,000 years of
civilization.



Advertisements appearing
in the New York Times



This booklet includes copies of 10 advertisements published recently on the op-ed page of *The New York Times* as part of an ongoing campaign sponsored by the America-Israel Friendship League.

The campaign was developed to provide Americans with clear, concise, and accurate facts and information about Israel.

It is also hoped that the ads will serve to remind the American public of the moral, cultural and political bonds between Israel and the United States, especially at a time when the two countries are working towards opening a new chapter of peace in the Middle East. As President Bush said recently, "The friendship between the United States and Israel is based on mutual respect and commitment to many of the same values."

The America-Israel Friendship League is a non-sectarian, non-partisan, not-for-profit organization committed to maintaining and strengthening the mutually supportive relationship that exists between the people of these two democracies.

It was founded in 1971 by a group of distinguished Americans dedicated to preserving the best interests of the United States in the Middle East. They foresaw the need to instill in Americans of all faiths an appreciation for the fact that Israel is the only democratic nation in the Middle East and America's most reliable ally in that part of the world.

Founding members of the AIFL included Hubert Humphrey, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Bayard Rustin, Frank Church, Emanuel Celler and Herbert Tenzer. Honorary Sponsors include President Gerald R. Ford, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Since its founding, the AIFL has expanded into an organization with 20,000 members nationwide. It has developed a broad range of people-to-people programs, including student exchanges, seminars in Israel for current and future American leaders, and a variety of educational activities throughout the United States.

The AIFL's op-ed advertising campaign will continue to help promote a better understanding of Israel among Americans during this important period in the U.S.-Israeli relationship.

If you have any comments about the ads, we would welcome a response. AIFL's national office is located at 134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016. Our telephone number is (212) 213-8630.



It's not easy to grow a democracy on 5" of rainfall a year.

The land that makes up the modern state of Israel is the historic homeland of the Jewish people, settled 4,000 years ago—before the time of Moses.

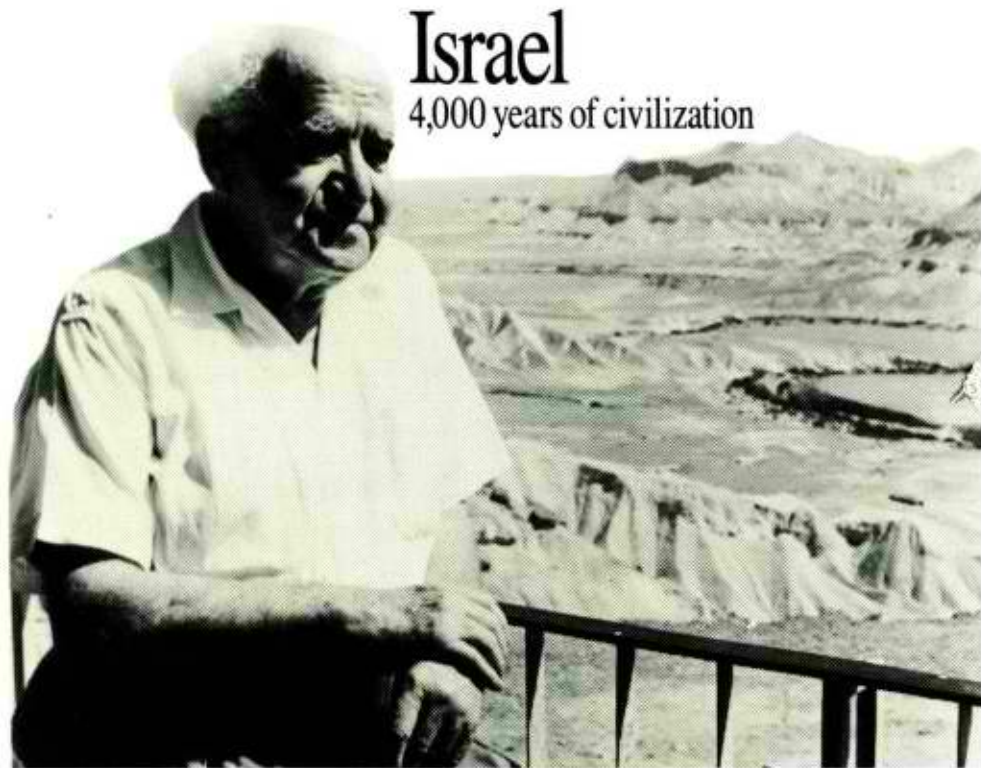
While it is rich in history, the land averages fewer than 5 inches of rainfall annually. It doesn't take an agronomist to realize that the land is hostile. Israel's roughly 10,000 square miles (about the size of Maryland) are mainly harsh, rocky desert.

The land isn't the only hostile aspect to Israel's location. On May 14, 1948 the world recognized the independence of the modern state of Israel. The very next day five Arab nations sent their armies into the new state determined to destroy it. Since then, Israel has been compelled to fight in five other wars.

Yet the people of Israel have created and sustained a thriving democracy. Voter turnout averages nearly 80 percent. Freedom of the press, speech and religion are guaranteed by law and practice. And all Israeli citizens, regardless of race, religion or gender, share the same civil and human rights.

For all the difficulty of the land and the challenge of its circumstances, Israel remains a beacon of hope for people throughout the world. Currently up to 30,000 Soviet Jews arrive every month to begin new lives.

Like their forefathers, they didn't come for the rainfall. They came because Israel today, as it has been in the past, is home for those who thirst for freedom.



Israel
4,000 years of civilization

David Ben-Gurion
First Prime Minister of the
State of Israel



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Jerusalem is cherished by Jews, Christians and Muslims. And kept open to all by Israel.

Jerusalem, Israel's capital, is one of the most beautiful, inspirational cities in the world.

Fully one-half of the world's population—Jews, Christians and Muslims—regard it as one of the most sacred places on earth. More than a million people visit the city's Holy Places every year.

The ancient city has always been the spiritual and political center of the Jewish people. King David established it as the capital of his kingdom 3,000 years ago, and Jews have lived there ever since. Today, it is the capital of the modern state of Israel.

Jews the world over journey to the Old City's Western Wall, Judaism's holiest place, and Jerusalem has been the subject of Jewish prayers for centuries.

Christians visit Jerusalem to trace the steps Jesus walked to his crucifixion and to see the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed to be the site where Christ's body was laid to rest.

Muslims travel to the Dome of the Rock and

Al-Aqsa—the third holiest place in the Islamic faith—where the Prophet Mohammed made his ascent to heaven.

But only recently has Jerusalem been open to all who cherish it.

When Jordan controlled the Old City from 1948 to 1967, Jews from around the world were not permitted to enter East Jerusalem, or pray at the Western Wall. Synagogues in the Old City were desecrated. And Christian and Muslim citizens of Israel were denied free access to the Holy Places.

Israel reunited the city in June, 1967, reopened the Holy Places to all religions, and guaranteed freedom of access and worship.

Jerusalem has been profoundly important to Jews, Christians and Muslims for thousands of years. But only since Jerusalem became the united capital of Israel have its Holy Places been open to people of all faiths.

Israel 4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Half the size of New York. Twice as many opinions.

The news media in Israel are among the most opinionated in the world. But then the people in Israel aren't short of opinions either.

With a population one-half of New York City's, the country publishes no fewer than 20 daily newspapers. Israel's papers come in nine languages and lean in every political direction.

Israelis buy more newspapers, read more magazines, and devour more information, per capita, than any country in the world. All told, there are some 600 publications to choose from in Israel.

About 70 percent of the adult population reads at least one newspaper every day, and a similar number watches TV news every evening.

Columns and editorials routinely and fearlessly

criticize the national government, even in times of major conflict.

Israel is the only country in the Middle East whose people are free to watch any TV channel, whether it broadcasts opinions from Britain, Jordan, or the United States, among others.

Israel's commitment to a free press enables the rest of the world to stay informed about important events in this vital region. Which is why it is home to one of the largest international press delegations in the world.

For more than four decades, Israel's neighbors have imposed on her a continuous state of tension and crisis. But not for a day in its life has Israel denied its citizens free speech and a vibrant free press. Nor the right to be as opinionated as any New Yorker.

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Two nations. One belief in freedom.

According to the Hebrew calendar, last Thursday, April 18th, marked the anniversary of the birth of the modern State of Israel. On that date 43 years ago, founders of the new nation signed the Declaration of Israel's Independence.

The Israeli Declaration embodies the rich tradition of individual freedom throughout Jewish heritage and embraces many of the same values expressed in the U.S. Declaration of Independence. Signed in Tel Aviv, it says in part:

"The State of Israel. . . will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew Prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

The language of modern Israel:

$$\lambda' - \lambda = \frac{h}{mc} (1 - \cos \phi)$$

While Hebrew is the national language of Israel, millions of Israelis speak the language of modern technology. Lacking rainfall, arable land, or the oil of its Arab neighbors, Israel provides for its people by basing its economy on advanced education and high technology.

This nation of not even 5 million people has more scientists doing research and development, per capita, than any country in the world. Israel publishes more scientific papers, educates more masters and doctoral students, and graduates more physicians, per capita, than any other nation.

A single Israeli company provides almost one-third of the U.S. market's surgical lasers, used to open clogged arteries and cure eye problems. Another Israeli firm manufactures many of the world's CAT scanners, which detect irregularities in the brain.

The "brain" or central processing unit for the IBM personal computer is an Israeli innovation. So is the remote control pilotless aircraft purchased by the U.S. Navy. And the automated page layout system used by major American news magazines.

Innovations in agriculture, especially its "drip irrigation" system, have allowed Israel to double the amount of land used for farming—from 480,000 acres in 1948 to 1.1 million acres today. Israel shares its agricultural know-how with people in western nations and the Third World, including most countries of black Africa.

Always mindful of their past, but determined to compete in the modern world, the people of Israel are well-schooled in the language of the future.

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

THE PLO - LOOK WHO THEY STAND WITH...

The PLO consistently backs non-democratic, repressive and totalitarian regimes. Recently, while the world held its breath hoping that the attempted coup d'etat in the USSR would fail, PLO leaders reacted swiftly, clearly, and joyfully. This was not the first time.



Tienmen Square, Beijing, 1989

After Tienmen Square:

"...I take this opportunity to express extreme gratification that you were able to restore normal order after the recent incidents in the People's Republic of China."

(Yasser Arafat, People's Daily, China, 29 June 1989).

After the invasion of Kuwait:

"...I say welcome, welcome, welcome to war...Iraq and Palestine represent a common will. We will be side by side and after the great battle, God willing, we will pray together in Jerusalem. ...the Iraqi fighters and the Palestinian stone throwers have an appointment with victory."

(Yasser Arafat, Associated Press, 27 January 1991).



Baghdad, Iraq, 1990



Moscow, USSR, 1991

And now:

"...the PLO had always viewed this experiment in perestroika with great skepticism, and with trepidation mingled with sadness."

(Farouk Kaddoumi, Arafat's Top Deputy, Radio 'A-Sharq', Lebanon, 20 August 1991)

"What has happened in the USSR proves that the [East-West] struggle is natural and inevitable, and that Perestroika was the anomaly."

(Radio "Voice of Palestine", Official PLO Organ, 19 August, 1991)

... AND YOU'II KNOW WHAT THEY STAND FOR!

The strength of Israel is measured in more than battlefield victories.

"The strength of a nation is measured by its ability to face emergency situations... without losing its... affinity for art, culture, music and the rest of those aspects which make the routine of material daily life richer in content and spirit," Haim Herzog, President of Israel said.

For more than 40 years, emergencies have been a way of life for the people of Israel. Yet, they thrive on a rich mix of cultural activities, as diverse as the cultures that make up Israeli life.

Israelis read and publish more books per capita than any other people in the world. One quarter of the population reads at least one book a month. About 10,000 new poems are published annually.

Nearly half the population attends at least one stage production each year and Israel's 80 museums record some 9 million visitors annually. Record and

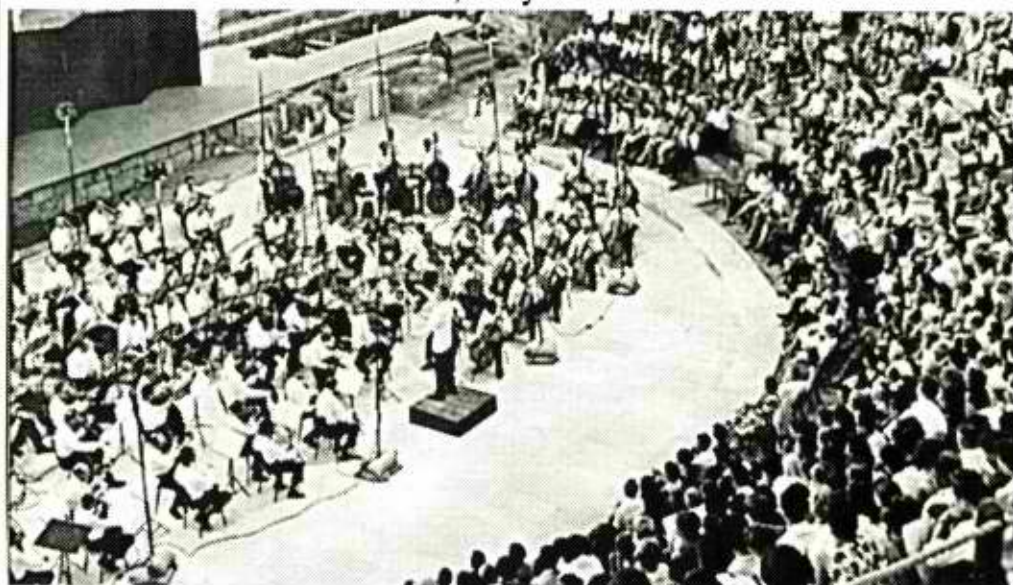
compact disc sales are among the highest in the world on a per capita basis.

Israel is hosting 20 international cultural festivals this year alone—this month, the Israeli festival in Jerusalem features 1,500 performers from around the world and the international book fair is representing hundreds of publishers and writers.

The Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra stages twice as many concerts as any American or European symphony. It is so popular that season subscriptions are handed down from one generation to the next. And around the world, Israeli musicians are lead conductors of 10 major symphonic orchestras. Many Israeli artists have received internationally recognized awards.

The people of Israel measure their strength not only on the battlefield, but also in the richness of their culture.

Israel 4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



Their dreams came true.

For thousands of years, Jews from around the world have dreamed of returning to the roots of their faith, to live in freedom without fear of persecution.

Their longing is expressed in the simple Passover prayer refrain, "Next year in Jerusalem." Their dreams came true in 1948, when the modern state of Israel was founded. And their dreams have been realized ever since.

The doors of this tiny nation are always open. Led by nearly 200,000 Soviet Jews, more people settled in Israel last year than in any other year since 1949.

The newcomers keep Israel one of the world's most ethnically diverse nations, a melting pot of people from 80 countries as varied as China, Morocco, and the United States.

For all their differences, the many peoples of Israel live together under one democratic political system. Dozens of foreign languages can be heard, but people are unified in everyday life by Hebrew.

Israel is much more than a political state. It is home for Jews the world over, people of many cultures who share a common dream.

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



Home, at last.

After decades of struggle, the Jewish people from the Soviet Union are coming home. Since the beginning of 1990, some 250,000 Soviet Jews have arrived in Israel.

Fifty years ago, there was no safe haven, no place they could call home. Today Israel opens its heart and borders to all newcomers, guaranteeing them the freedom to explore their religion, their heritage, their identity.

In realizing the dream of centuries, Israel faces great challenges. In the next few years, the tiny nation's population will swell by hundreds of thousands, the equivalent of adding about 50 million people to the United States.

As Israel absorbs its new citizens, it provides them a roof over their heads, health care, schooling, and a living allowance. They learn Hebrew and integrate themselves into Israeli society.

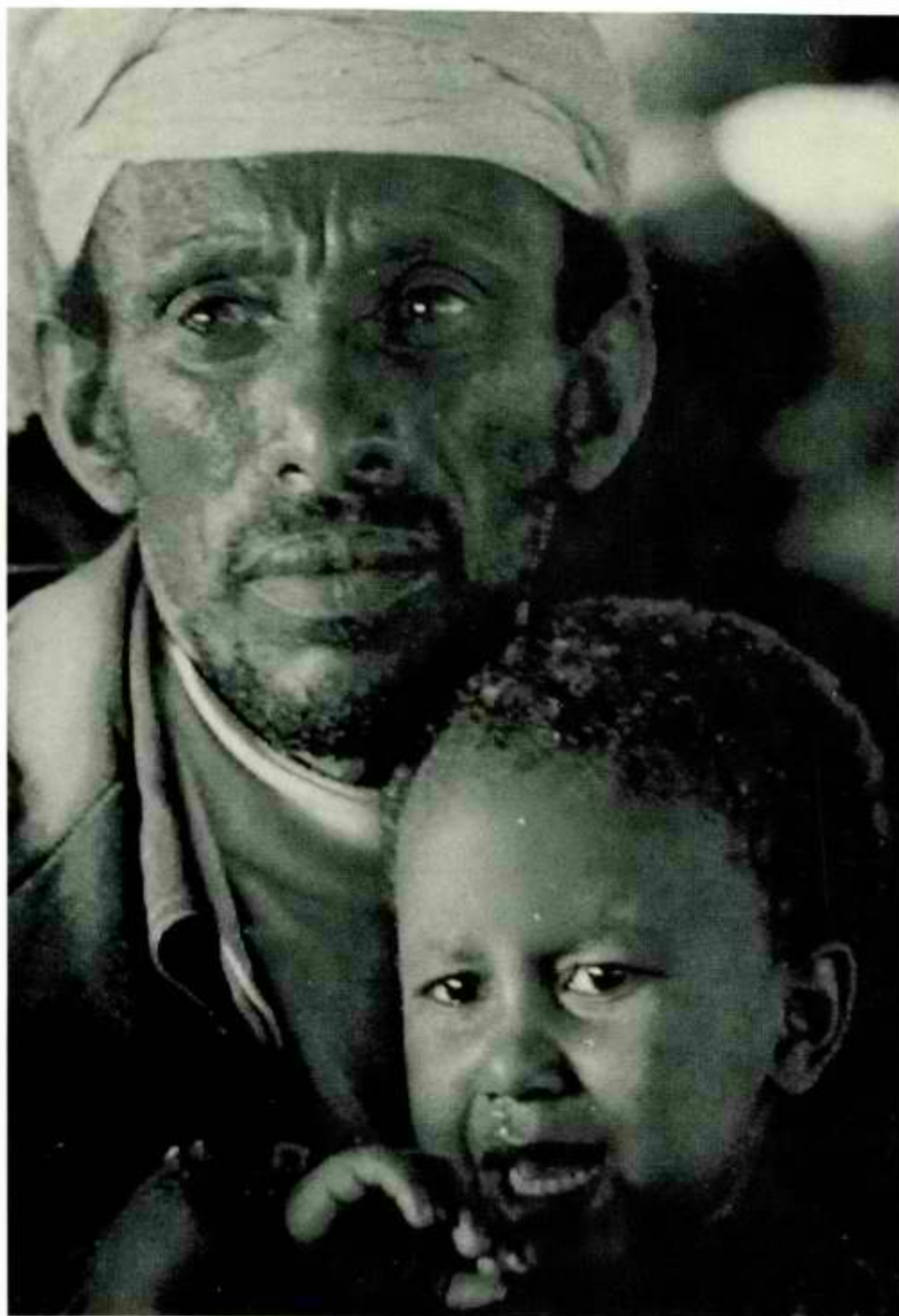
The newcomers offer real hope of transforming Israel's economy. A very high percentage of the recent Soviet immigrants are trained professionals. Their skills will further enable Israel to expand and strengthen its national economy.

Some time ago, a prominent Soviet Jewish leader upon arriving in Israel said, "I'm home at last."

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



Their faith brought them home.

The remarkable rescue of 14,400 Ethiopian Jews sends a powerful message to the world: No matter who they are, or where they come from, Jewish people have a home in Israel.

The swiftly executed airlift of the endangered Ethiopians, accomplished amid a civil war, was carried out by the Israeli government, in cooperation with the United States administration.

Like millions before them, the Ethiopians are sure to make their contribution to the rich tapestry of Israeli culture.

Whether they are from Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, or any other part of the world, Jewish people have a safe home in Israel.

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

"Any time. Any place."



Israel will negotiate directly with any of its neighbors.

Since the defeat of aggression in the Persian Gulf, the Bush administration has launched a tenacious initiative to open a new chapter of peace in the Middle East.

Progress has been slow and difficult.

The differences among nations in the region are rooted in disputes that date back centuries and are complicated by the presence of terrifying arsenals of modern weaponry. Not surprisingly, even the procedural question of how to *begin* negotiations has provoked disagreement.

But there is clear agreement between the American and Israeli governments about how to reach an enduring peace: Israel and its Arab neighbors must ultimately resolve their differences through direct, face-to-face negotiations.

That is what led to the region's only peace agreement. From 1977 to 1979, with help from the U.S., the leaders of Egypt and Israel held historic personal meetings—the only time any head of state of any Arab nation ever agreed to negotiate directly with Israel. The Egyptian-Israeli agreement has nurtured 12 years of peace between the two countries.

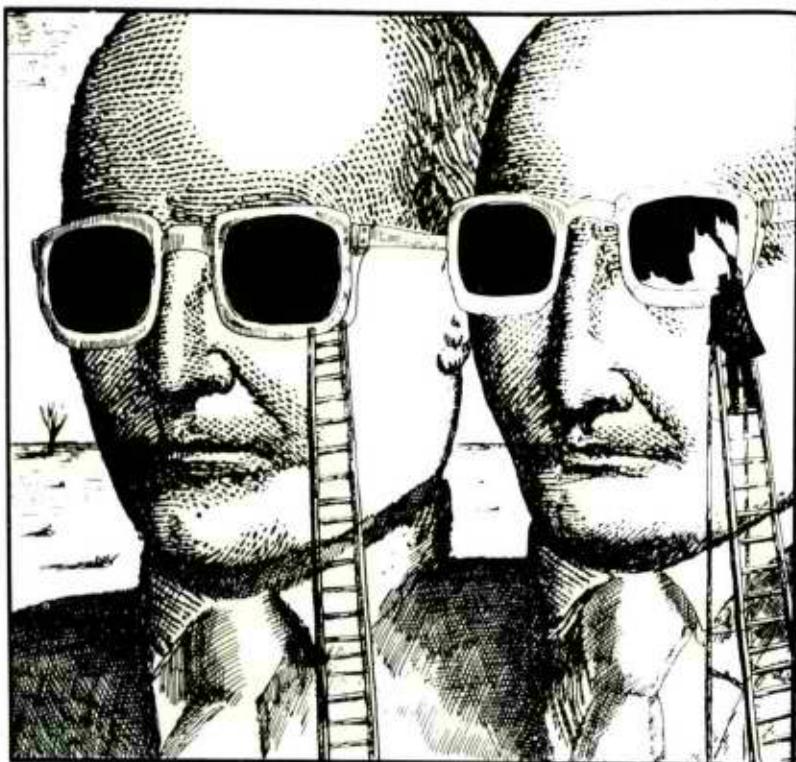
Since its founding, Israel has repeatedly expressed its willingness to meet face-to-face and discuss peace with any of its Arab neighbors. Any time, any place.

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



It's difficult to talk peace with someone you don't recognize.

The Gulf War reminded the world how dangerous and volatile the Middle East is. To keep the region from exploding into bloodshed again, it is essential that nations talk to one another.

Yet only one Arab country in the region—Egypt—even recognizes Israel's right to *exist*. Only Egypt has been willing to sit down, face to face, and negotiate a peace agreement.

The other 20 Arab countries of the world not only reject Israel as a legitimate state, but they are also actively engaged in

an economic boycott of Israel, imposed since the first day of its existence.

Arab opposition to recognition also means no diplomacy, formal or informal. No news. No cultural ties. No talking. No listening.

Egypt has shown the path to peace with Israel. Other Arab leaders need to demonstrate similar vision, by recognizing and negotiating with Israel.

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

PRESIDENT EMERITUS AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Hon. Herbert Tenzer

PRESIDENT

Samuel M. Eisenstat

EXEC. VICE PRESIDENT

Herman Z. Quittman

EXEC. VICE PRESIDENT

Ilana Artman

VICE PRESIDENTS

Werner Buckold

Carol W. Karsch

Rabbi Israel Miller

Sister Rose Thering

Hon. Duane Woodard

TREASURER

Herbert Berman

SECRETARY

Hon. Isaiah E. Robinson, Jr.

DIRECTORS

Efrat Abrams
Ilana Artman
Paul S. Berger
Herbert Berman
Jacob Berman
Werner Buckold
Dr. Alonzo A. Crim
Daniel A. Dutko
Samuel M. Eisenstat
Amb. Seymour M. Finger

Ira J. Greenblatt
Malcolm Hoenlein
John L. Huerta
Carol Karsch
Morton Kornreich
David Levy
Amb. Frederic V. Malek
Hon. Leonard A. Mancusi
Rabbi Israel Miller
Fleur Netanyahu

Mel Parness
Raymond M. Patt
Rudy Pavesi
Herman Z. Quittman
Bernard Reiner
Hon. Isaiah E. Robinson, Jr.
Robert A. Sasso
Asher Schapiro
Emmanuel Sella
Bill J. Seregi

Daniel S. Shapiro
Miro Silvera
Alan L. Smith
Joyce Strelitz
Kenneth J. Stuart
Hon. Herbert Tenzer
Sister Rose Thering
Hon. Wellington E. Webb
Hon. Duane Woodard

HONORARY SPONSORS

Hon. Robert Abrams
Hon. Reuben Askew
Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen
Sen. Rudy Boschwitz
Hon. Hugh Carey
Gov. Mario M. Cuomo
Hon. Robert F. Drinan
Max M. Fisher

Hon. Gerald R. Ford
Sen. John Glenn
Sen. Ernest F. Hollings
Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson
Sen. Edward M. Kennedy
Lane Kirkland
Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman
Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg

Hon. Arthur Markewich
Sen. Howard Metzenbaum
Hon. Walter F. Mondale
Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan
Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Sen. Bob Packwood
Hon. Ogden R. Reid
Samuel Rothberg

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Mrs. Bernice Tannenbaum
Hon. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
Jack D. Weiler
Elie Wiesel

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Hon. George R. Ariyoshi
Rep. Les Aspin
Sen. Dale Bumpers
Sen. Dennis DeConcini
Sen. John C. Danforth
Rep. Thomas J. Downey
Hon. John V. Evans
Hon. Geraldine Ferraro
Amb. Seymour M. Finger
Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr.
Dr. Eugene Fisher
Rep. Harold E. Ford
Rep. Sam M. Gibbons
Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman
Rep. S. William Green

Rep. William Harter
Hon. Paula Hawkins
Hon. Margaret M. Heckler
Rep. Frank Horton
Hon. Hubert Humphrey, III
Hon. James B. Hunt
Dr. David Hyatt
Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, Jr.
Hon. James R. Jones
Rev. Elmer Josephson
Hon. Jack F. Kemp
Rep. Tom Lantos
Rep. William Lehman
Rep. Norman F. Lent
Dr. Franklin H. Littell

Hon. Clarence Long
Robert Loup
Hon. Stanley N. Lundine
Rep. Raymond J. McGrath
Rep. Mathew F. McHugh
Hon. William G. Milliken
Hon. Joseph G. Minish
Hon. Richard L. Ottinger
Sen. Claiborne Pell
Hon. Melvin Price
Rep. James H. Quillen
Rep. Charles B. Rangel
Sen. Donald Riegle
Dr. Mary Rose Ryan
Rep. Charles E. Schumer

Sen. Paul Simon
Hon. Richard A. Snelling
Rep. Stephen J. Solarz
Sen. Arlen Specter
Hon. Robert W. Straub
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Rep. Morris K. Udall
Rep. Henry A. Waxman
Rep. Ted S. Weiss
Rep. Charles Wilson
Sen. Timothy E. Wirth
Dr. James Wood
Rep. Gus Yatron

EXECUTIVE STAFF

Dalia Zur
Director of Administration

William H. Behrer, III
Director, Special Projects

REGIONAL OFFICES

North Pacific Region: President: Hon. Stuart R. Pollack / 1400 Eucalyptus Drive, San Francisco, CA 94132, (415) 566-5004

Rocky Mountain Region: President: Hon. Wellington E. Webb / Executive Director: Joyce Oberfeld / 4100 E. Mississippi Ave. #602, Glendale, Co. 80222, (303) 758-9503

Tucson Committee: Chairman: John L. Huerta / 832 N. Desert Avenue, Tucson, AZ 85711, (602) 323-4694

Israel Office: Chairman, Israel Advisory Committee: Amb. Simcha Dinitz / Executive Director: Ruby Shamir / 10 Recanati Street, #45, Ramat Aviv, Israel 69494 / 03-6424510 / Fax No. 03-6422001

Published as a Public Service by



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Bush Takes Hostages

WASHINGTON

George Bush's Rosh ha-Shanah message to Jews around the world: Until Israel signals its willingness to give up the West Bank before direct negotiations begin, the United States will deny credit guarantees needed to prepare to receive one million more Jews in their exodus from Russia.

Nobody puts it so baldly, of course. Americans would take offense if their President admitted holding the lives of a million harried and worried people hostage to his demand that Israel surrender its most cherished position beforehand. To demand a ransom of land for humanitarian aid would be diplomatic blackmail, never the way the U.S. has done business.

To conceal the nature of that hostage-taking, Mr. Bush asks Congress for a four-month "delay" in consideration of Israel's urgent request for our cosigning its notes to put roofs over the refugees' heads.

But everybody knows there is only one reason for the delay: to hang a sword of Damocles over the heads of Israeli negotiators who may resist a predetermined, Bush-imposed solution. This is clearly intended to put an agonizing choice before Israel: lose the land or lose the people.

Nobody suggests any other reason. The United States recognizes the plight of the Jews eager for emigration; no American politician wants the blood of any possible pogrom on his hands; rather than take them in the U.S., we want them to go to Israel. And we are prepared to guarantee loans to help house them; that is not an issue.

But there is an issue before the Congress: are we, for the first time in our history, prepared to use humanitarian aid as a lever to force another democratic government to act against what it sees to be its interests?

Not so, insists the President; he merely intends to use the "delay" as a means to lean on Israel to forbid its citizens from moving to lands that the P.L.O. claims. The continuation of Jewish settlements, in Mr. Bush's eyes, is an obstacle to the grand settlement he has clearly in his mind and is determined, as the only superpower left standing, to impose.

Both Mr. Bush and the Israelis are well aware what a "settlements freeze" really would be. It is no mere pause in an activity that irritates Arabs, as our State Department likes to pretend it is; on the contrary, the day Israel bars Jews from moving to the West Bank is the day that Israel in effect gives up its claim to that

disputed territory.

Everybody knows that, too; that's what the settlements fuss is about. To insist that Israel make Judea and Samaria, including the outskirts of Jerusalem, verboten to Jews is to take the first long step toward the creation of a Palestinian state on that land, forever off limits to Jews.

That issue is one of those to be discussed at a face-to-face conference. Why, then, require that the issue be settled symbolically in advance? The White House answer is that settlements "inflammate passions" and such a concession is needed for the Arabs to come at all.

But Tom Friedman of The New York Times, who is far more even-handed than me, reports this fact: "In the last three months of diplomacy, Secretary of State Baker managed to

*Soviet Jews
his victims.*

talk the Arab states out of making a freeze on Israeli settlement building activity a precondition for their participation in the proposed peace conference, but he was not able to talk Mr. Bush out of it, officials said."

Can you believe it? George Bush's position on settlements is more pro-Arab than the Arabs'. Assad of Syria was ready to meet Shamir of Israel without a settlement surrender in advance, but America's George Bush was not.

I am not among Secretary Baker's acolytes, but even he deserves some sympathy as he must be coming to the conclusion that there is no greater obstacle to peace in the Middle East than George Bush's obsession with forcing Israel out of the West Bank.

Obsession it must be, because there is no rational explanation for a one-sided policy that ought to abort the conference, or for threatening the futures — and perhaps endangering the lives — of a million innocents who want only to flee to freedom.

Decent people can disagree about the West Bank, but humanitarian aid delayed is aid denied. What new morality justifies the callous abuse of refugees to achieve some diplomatic aim? Congress should tell Mr. Bush that we are a principled people. We don't hold anybody hostage. □

2/3
1034

NYT

9.9.



י"א באלול תשנ"א
21 באוגוסט 1991

115728

הנדון: סיכום ישיבת הסברה 21.8.91

נוכחים: משה רביב, יוסי עמיהוד, מאיר שלמה, ברוס קשרן, איל ארד.

1. הסברה תוציא פרוט באנגלית של התגובות הפלסטיניות הראשוניות בתמיכת הקושרים, מאמרי התמיכה בעיתון ונסיון התיקון הפלסטיני והשוואה לתמיכת אש"פ באירועים בעיראק. הכוונה להחזיר את הקו במאמרי מערכת ועמדה.

2. יש לחזור על מדיניותנו כפי שהובעה בעבר.



Deputy Minister
of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem

סגן שר החוץ
ירושלים

ה' באלול תשנ"א
15 באוגוסט 1991

115290

הנדון: סיכום ישיבת הסברה - 14.8.91

נוכחים: ס/השר, משה רביב, אלי אבידן, יוסף למדן, יוסי גל, ברוך בינה, ברוס קשדן, איל ארד.

בני ערובה

- להבהרת עמדותיה של ישראל יש להדגיש הנקודות הבאות:
1. אנו מבקשים מידע מהימן ועדכני לגורלם של אנשינו (אפשר לאזכר את דברי בוש).
 2. אנו מעוניינים בחילופי עצורים.
 3. הטלת האחריות על סוריה ואיראן.

הגדרה עצמית לפלסטינים

אין להתייחס לידיעה שהתפרסמה יש לחזור על התחייבות בייקר שלא יהיו התחייבויות סותרות וחשאיות וביטחוננו שארה"ב תעמוד בהתחייבות זו.

ביקורי אישים ברמה"ג

יש לשאוף להבאת כל האורחים לרה"ג. משה"ח יממן טיסות במטוס קל של סנאטורים ומעלה. לגבי אורחים אחרים תתקבל החלטה אד-הוק.



שגרירות ישראל

AMBASSADE D'ISRAËL

תשנ"א	אלול	'ד
1991	אוג'	14
100		מס"ש

ל הסכם

אל: הסברה/מידע
מאת: יועץ הסברה, פריס

הנדון: בני הערובה - הדגשי הסברה

למברקם נר 413 מ-13/8

בהתאם למברקם הנ"ל ולדברי סגן שר החוץ בתוכנית "פגוש את העתונות" של רשת CBS, תדרכתי את עורך OUEST FRANCE, היומון בעל התפוצה הגדולה ביותר בצרפת. העתון הקדיש היום את מאמר המערכת שלו, כחתימת העורך הנ"ל, לאחריות סוריה ואירן.
רצ"ב קטע סי"צ מתוך מאמר המערכת הנ"ל.


בברכה
דוד דדון

✓ אשמך סגן הרש
העתק: מנהל הסברה

הסברה/מרחבי
3, RUE RABELAIS - 75008 PARIS - TÉL. 42.56.47.47

FR FRA0034 4 6 0127 /AFP-BDB0
Revue-presse fit1

LES TRACTATIONS SUR LA LIBERATION DES OTAGES OCCIDENTAUX DU MOYEN-ORIENT

PARIS, 14 août (AFP) -

Ouest-France (Joseph Limagne) -

"Il serait choquant d'échanger des otages, victimes de la déveine et coupables de rien, contre d'authentiques assassins, comme le Tunisien Fouad Ali Saleh, auteur et complice des attentats meurtriers de l'automne 1986 à Paris. Choquant, aussi, de sortir de prison de tels hommes. L'Etat de droit s'accommode mal des entorses aux décisions de justice. Cet obstacle, toutefois, n'est pas insurmontable. Surtout si Damas et Téhéran sont, comme on le dit, résolus à tourner la page du terrorisme. Eux seuls sont en mesure de rendre la liberté aux dix otages. Non pas bientôt; tout de suite!"

suivra

AFP 140435 ADU 91



כ"ב אב תשנ"א
2 באוגוסט 1991
אהב 000.00
6733

סיכ

התעודה

אל : מנהל הסברה

מאת : קונכ"ל, לוס אנג'לס

הנדון : שתוף פעולה עם חברת הפרסום B.L.S.

1. כזכור חתמנו לפני שבועיים חוזה שתוף פעולה לשנת נסיון עם חברת הפרסום האמריקאית B.L.S. (העתק החוזה החתום נשלח אליכם בנפרד).
2. מאז טקס החתימה החלנו בסדרת דיונים רצופים שהתמקדו בעיקר בשני נושאים מרכזיים:
א. תוכנית עבודה לטווח הקצר ולטווח הארוך.
ב. שיטת ואופן ההסברה של הנושאים הבסיסיים שלנו.
3. רצ"ב מיסמך מסגרת הכולל את עקרי תוכנית העבודה המשותפת של הקונסוליה וחברת B.L.S. לשנה הקרובה.
4. בזמנו דווחתי על המטרות והיעדים שהגדרנו לחברת הפרסום B.L.S. תוך תאום מלא עם הנהלתה הבכירה. יצוין, שתחילת העבודה הינה בהחלט על "רגל ימין" וכבר ניצני התוצאות נראים בשטח.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יח.
רן רונן

העתק : סגן שר החוץ
השגריר, וושינגטון
סמנכ"ל הסברה
סמנכ"ל צפ"א
הסברה מרחבי
מנהל מצפ"א
ציר הסברה וושינגטון



STRATEGIC PUBLIC RELATIONS PLAN

FOR

THE CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES

OVERALL GOAL

To influence public opinion through the media, community outreach and collateral material.

Targeting specific audiences with specific tools.

TARGETED AUDIENCES INCLUDE:

Jewish community and organizations
Ethnic/Christian communities and organizations
Media
Government Officials and agencies
Opinion leaders in the business, civic and academic community
University faculty, administration, and students
High school students and faculty
Business organizations
Labor
Cultural organizations

The following *topics* will be developed as resources, i.e. media stories, collateral material, speeches, seminars/panels, newsletters, position papers, meetings, briefings, press conferences, advertising etc. to be used in reaching our targeted audiences:

POLITICAL

- I. Peace process/conference
 - Positive response
 - 1989 Israeli peace initiative
 - Confidence building measures

- Golan Heights/Syria
 - S. Lebanon
 - Settlements
 - United Nations role/history
 - Reconvening of ceremonial opening
 - Palestinian representation (PLO, Jerusalem Arabs, Arabs from the territories)
- II. Aid to Israel
- Ongoing military and economic aid
 - Discourage linkage between loans and settlements
 - Loan guarantees
- III. Arab economic boycott
- IV. Territories
- Human rights
 - Intifada
 - Israel's contribution and improvements
- V. Arms race in the Middle East
- Conventional/non-conventional capabilities
 - Disarmament
 - Arm sales to other countries
- VI. Immigration
- Soviet
 - Ethiopian...Operation Solomon
 - Housing
 - Employment
 - Policy of government regarding living in the territories.
- VII. Terrorist attacks on Israel
- VIII. History of Israel/perspective/historical context
- Individual Arab nations and the collective Arab world and their relationship to Israel
 - Israel's small size...utilization of maps

- IX. The United States/Israel strategic relationship and the world community
 - Israel as the only democracy in the middle east
 - Israel's value in the post Cold War era
- X. The political and economic system in Israel

NON-POLITICAL

- I. Ethnic relations...particularly with Blacks, Hispanics and Asians in Los Angeles.
- II. Economic development/Israel's changing laws and government's role in encouraging American investment and joint ventures.
 - Announcement of new ventures.
 - Success stories.
- III. Arts and Sciences/Israel's leadership in technology, medicine, science, agriculture, environment, education, and culture.
- IV. Youth...outreach to high schools, Universities, academic world.
- V. Tourism
- VI. Israel's cooperation with developing third world countries.
- VII. Religion...Christians and Muslims in Israel/Ethnic relations.
- VIII. Immigration in Israel as a long term benefit to society.

SHORT TERM GOALS (July 15 - October 15, 1991)

- I. Set procedures for working with the Consulate General of Israel in Los Angeles.
 1. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will have an orientation to the Consulate. This will include briefings from each department within the Consulate as well as with the Consul for Economic Affairs, Avi Elkind and the Tourism Director for Western USA, Arie Sommer.
 2. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will review all current collateral materials, i.e. brochures, audio and video tapes, etc. as well as distribution lists and media interviews by Tsuriel and Dan. After such review, we will determine how we may assist in consulting on the creation of all new materials, expanding various lists (distribution), and matching up targeted audiences with appropriate materials, outreach and meetings.
 3. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch suggests that weekly meetings be held every Friday at 10:30 a.m. with Ran Ronen, Tsuriel Raphael, and Dan Ben-Eliezer. During these meetings we will discuss:
 - priorities for action items
 - new political developments affecting Israel
 - crises or problems needing special attention
 - media stories of interest; interviews, op-ed pieces, letters to the editor, etc.
 - review of the last week's agenda and accomplishments
 - schedule and travel plans for Ran, Tsuriel, or Dan
 - visiting foreign VIPs.
 4. As needed, special meetings will be held.
 5. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch suggests that Media Request forms be filled out for each media interview and sent to Dan. Scheduled interviews must be re-confirmed. All television and radio interviews should be critiqued by Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch, Ran, Tsuriel, and Dan.
 6. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will counsel Ran, Tsuriel, and Dan on giving interviews.
 7. Boonshaft-Lewis & Savitch will write weekly status reports and submit them to Ran every Monday.

II. SHORT TERM OBJECTIVES

1. Develop *Crises Management Plan*.
2. Begin to strengthen media relations including the neutralization or turnaround of specific media showing continual negativity towards Israel.
3. Develop regularly scheduled briefings for the media as well as individual meetings with targeted journalists, reporters, editors, etc.
4. Begin to increase media placement, i.e. interviews, op-ed pieces, letters to the editor, and story placement. Develop a press kit and brochure on the Consulate. Write news releases, media advisories, interview opportunities, etc.
5. Assist Consulate in continuing to strengthen relations with the ethnic and Christian communities in Los Angeles.
6. Strengthen and expand distribution list for information processing to targeted audiences and groups. Consult on which information should go to which audiences and groups.
7. Assist Consulate in continuing to strengthen relations with the Universities...including faculty, students, and the administration.
 - a. 1st Israel Campus Task Force seminars
 - b. extension course on Israel at UCLA
7. Assist Consulate in continuing to strengthen relations with the ethnic and Christian communities in Los Angeles.
8. Begin preliminary work on promoting goals of Consul for Economic Affairs. Send out one or two story suggestions regarding Israel's changing economic climate encouraging American investment, joint-ventures, etc.; or breakthroughs in technology (or other areas); or a success story.
9. Assist in promotion of cultural events, activities, and achievements.

I. LONG TERM OBJECTIVES

1. Implement *Crises Management Plan* at the Consulate.
2. Continue program to strengthen media relations including the neutralization or turnaround of specific media showing continual negativity towards Israel.
3. Continue regularly scheduled briefings for the media as well as individual meetings with targeted journalists, reporters, editors, etc.
4. Continue plan to increase media placement, i.e. interviews, op-ed pieces, letters to the editor, and story placement. Write news releases, media advisories, interview opportunities, etc.
5. Continue to strengthen and expand distribution list for information processing to targeted audiences and groups. Continue to consult on which information should go to which audiences and groups.
6. Continue to strengthen relations with the Universities...including faculty, students, and the administration.
 - a. Israel Campus Task Force seminars
 - b. extension course on Israel at UCLA
 - c. meetings, panels, seminars with faculty and administration
 - d. getting targeted information into newsletters
 - e. campus media
7. Continue to strengthen relations with the ethnic and Christian communities in Los Angeles.
8. Assist in any activities for visiting foreign officials or dignitaries, youth delegations, etc.
9. Begin plan to help promote work of Consul of Economic Affairs; write press kit; attempt to place positive media stories about Israel's changing economic climate encouraging American investment, breakthroughs and achievements in technology, science, medicine, agriculture, etc.
10. Set up meetings with Tourism Director and travel media in this region.
11. Plan trips to Israel for targeted opinion leaders.
12. Continue to assist in promotion of cultural events, activities and achievements.



CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL
New York

עזריאל סביר, יו"ר המטה

בנימין נתן

ההורים, ילדיו, וילדיו

אמנון, אהרון, אהוד

בנימין, יעקב, יעקב

ג. 3

אוריאל

מ. 11

With the compliments of
URIEL SAVIR
Consul General

המנהל, מנהל
המטה, מנהל



Associated Press

Lithuanians Honor Slain Officers With Candles, Flowers and Prayers

Lithuanians paying respects yesterday at a border post between Lithuania and the Byelorussian Republic, at the site where seven police and customs officers were slain in an attack last Wednesday. Investigators have not said whom they suspect in the attack against the law officers.

Serbs Refuse to Negotiate in Croatia

By **CHUCK SUDETIC**
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Aug. 4 — A European Community peace mission to Yugoslavia foundered today when the Serbian republic refused to go along with a proposal for a Community-monitored cease-fire between rebel Serbs and military and police forces in the republic of Croatia.

The mission's failure portends an escalation of fighting in Croatia, where about 250 people have died since Croatia and Slovenia, the federation's wealthiest and most Western-leaning republics, declared their independence on June 25.

After the delegates from Serbia, the largest, most populous republic, boycotted a meeting of Yugoslavia's collective presidency and the three European foreign ministers today, the chairman of the peace mission, Hans van den Broek of the Netherlands, warned that Yugoslavia was "heading for a catastrophe."

"Our mission in Yugoslavia failed," Mr. van den Broek said at a news conference after the aborted noon meeting. "We have to conclude that it is not really helpful to continue at this point in time with further discussions."

The European Community ministers left the country after two days of shuttle diplomacy between the capitals of Yugoslavia's feuding republics. Outgunned by rebel Serbs who have



The New York Times

In Belgrade, Serbia rejected a European cease-fire proposal.

been waging an uprising for almost a year, Croatia has pleaded for foreign monitors to observe the conflict since serious talks with the European Community began last month.

The Croatian government charges that Serbia, with the support of the Serbs in Croatia and some elements of the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army, is fighting an undeclared war of expansion against Croatia. The national army denies the charges. Serbia, led by its Communist President, Slobodan Milosevic, opposes an international solution and says it is only helping to protect Croatia's Serbian minority from "genocide."

Under the community's proposal, as many as 500 international observers and support workers were to have been dispatched to Croatia. A monitoring mission is already observing a cease-fire in Slovenia.

Discussions Are 'Stagnating'

"We propose that part of the monitoring of such a cease-fire should take place in a combined effort by units of the federal armed forces, representatives of the authorities in Croatia and representatives of the Serb population in Croatia in coordination and cooperation with European Community monitors," Mr. van den Broek said today.

"On a number of these vital elements, the agreement of one party is lacking," he said, referring to Serbia. "And that means that the discussions in fact are stagnating, if not being stonewalled. We regret this."

"The only thing we can do before our departure now is to leave behind another urgent appeal to have reason," Mr. van den Broek said.

Croatian Police Gunned Down

After today's European Community failure, a fragile cease-fire agreement reached independently by members of Yugoslavia's eight-member presidency on Saturday morning seems unlikely to hold for long.

Masked Serb gunmen wearing police uniforms shot three Croatian traffic policemen to death today in Karlovac, a mostly military town near Zagreb, Croatian officials said. At least one other shooting death was reported in Slavonia, in Croatia's eastern panhandle, where about 80 people were said to have died in fighting on Thursday.

Mr. Milosevic has said that Serbia would agree to dissolution of the Yugoslav federation of six republics only if the country's internal borders are redrawn so all Serbs are brought within a single state. Croatia adamantly opposes that idea because it would stand to lose the parts of the republic populated predominantly by its 600,000-member Serbian minority.

But if the European Community pull-out was an attempt to shock the Serbs into compromise, Serbian officials seemed undaunted. Serbia's representative to the federal presidency, Borisav Jovic, charged Croatia and unnamed foreign countries with deception.

"Shameful games are being played out before the eyes of the Yugoslav and world publics with the goal of hiding the true situation in the republic of Croatia, to hide and protect those guilty parties behind the repression of Serbs and the civil war which it has provoked," Mr. Jovic said today. "Every effort is being made to involve the republic of Serbia in this conflict and to put the responsibility on Serbia for what the leadership in Croatia and those who support its chauvinist and secessionist policy are responsible for."

Serbia acknowledges giving Serbs in Croatia up to \$4 million in aid, including everything except weapons. But Western diplomats say they are convinced that the Serbian government has furnished the Serbs in Croatia with weapons from the arsenal of the republic's national guard.

Serbs Charge Trickery

Mr. Jovic said the Serbian delegates did not attend today's meeting because they were tricked into believing that it would begin at 1 P.M. instead of noon.

The departure of the European Community mission is apparently a serious setback for Croatia's Government. But the republic's president, Franjo Tudjman, said that the foreign ministers assured him before they left Belgrade today that the community's peace efforts in Yugoslavia were not over.

"For us it was important that they have personally gained direct knowledge of the situation," Mr. Tudjman said. "Representatives of Serbia showed every lack of cooperation. What was agreed to even last evening was rejected today."

Croatia will probably appeal to the Helsinki Conference and the United Nations to call for a peace conference on Yugoslavia and for peacekeeping forces to be sent to the country, the Croatian president said.

Fearing Bad Harvest, Gorbachev Moves to Spur Imports of the Basics

By **FRANCIS X. CLINES**
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Aug. 4 — Concerned about the dearth of consumer goods as another worrisome harvest approaches, President Mikhail S. Gorbachev issued an executive order tonight restricting luxury imports and easing customs duties to spur imports of food, medicine and other badly needed basics.

In effect, the Soviet leader was testing his improving relations with the republics by attempting a device — the executive order — that was widely ignored a year ago when the economy plummeted and he was deep in a power-sharing fight with the republics.

In this new order, Mr. Gorbachev, who has been negotiating a new union treaty of closer relations with the republics, called on the republics and the central Government in the Kremlin to "haul the country's economy out of crisis" with a series of measures ranging from factory incentives to republic bartering, all directed at bracing the life of the battered Soviet consumer.

As the order was announced, the now familiar annual warning about "a real threat of famine" was being issued by Mr. Gorbachev's chief economic offi-

cer, First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbakov, who implored the nation to pitch in and see that this year's grain harvest was a success.

Good Crop Last Year

Similar invocations of famine fears a year ago by the Government proved unfounded as a bumper crop partly compensated for breakdowns in the delivery and storage system that allowed thousands of tons of produce to rot before it could be delivered to packing houses, mills and store shelves.

Soviet consumers scrambled through another demoralizing season of hunting and foraging for needed goods whose shortages were severe but somewhere short of a threat to life.

"There is no time for idle talk," Mr. Shcherbakov declared on television in what the Soviet public takes as a mid-summer pep talk as the grain waits for harvesting. "Everything has to be done to bring the harvest in."

The Bush Administration has had a team of technical specialists visiting the hinterlands in an attempt to recommend improvements for the badly outdated and overcentralized Soviet farm distribution and storage systems. Mr. Gorbachev made no mention of

this or of the broad technical advice pledged to the last month at a London summit meeting of the six major free-market democracies.

Short-Range Help

But instead of dealing with the longer-range plans for transition to a market economy, the Soviet leader focused on testing once more whether there was enough cooperation between the central Government and the republics to patch together special short-range help this year for the consumer.

On one level, Mr. Gorbachev's order is intended to offer a bit of consumer hope to the public as it awaits the deeper economic changes that President Gorbachev promised during the Group of Seven summit talks last month. The precise nature and timing of those plans, after six years of floundering reconstruction, have not been announced, but the public is bracing for the pains that they are likely to inflict.

The omnibus package of measures that Mr. Gorbachev cited in his order were all directed at consumer shortages, as were similar orders a year ago that proved ineffective. This time, the

Soviet leader decreed that more raw materials should be channeled by the

Government to consumer goods industries, and that the nation's scarce hard currency supplies would be devoted "first and foremost" to the basics: grain, medicines, building supplies and spare parts for household goods.

Extra Incentives

No longer able to dictate economic life as his predecessors did, Mr. Gorbachev sought in his order to encourage the republics to offer extra profit incentives to farmers who do well with the harvest and to factories that lift consumer production.

He also authorized the auction of unfinished consumer factories to independent bidders, including foreign investors, in order to speed construction and increase consumer output.

The order included some general language urging the speeding up of the "denationalization" and "demonopolization" steps toward a market economy. But once again there was no precise definition of whether Mr. Gorbachev was moving wholeheartedly toward the idea of private property that critics stress is basic for market economics.



First this was a great health club.
Then it became the *in* place to exercise.
And then, of course, it became "popular".
Now, it's a great health club.
Funny how some things never change.

Trade in your MEMBERSHIP from another club and get up to 6 months FREE

It's time you rediscovered the Vertical Club

The Vertical Club. Offering the finest recreation and exercise facilities to the serious fitness enthusiast. Including our exclusive 30-Minute Workout™ for members seeking concentrated results.

- State-of-the-art equipment
- Highly experienced personal trainers
- Indoor jogging track
- Pool, whirlpool, sauna and steam rooms
- Racketball and tennis (61st st. location)

Rediscover the Vertical Club at four convenient locations around Manhattan:

- 330 E. 61st Street, 355-5100
- 139 W. 32nd Street, 465-1750
- 43rd Street, between Madison and Vanderbilt, 983-5320.

OFFER NOT AVAILABLE AT THIS LOCATION.

Or our Worldwide Plaza location:
• 350 W. 50th Street, 265-9400



Join Now and Get Two Years for the Price of One on a limited non-renewable membership.

Contraband No More, Soviet Books Languish

Continued From Page A1

adventures, Western detective novels, followed closely by how-to books — how to build a cottage, how to plant a garden," said Sergei L. Pashkin, a salesman at a used-book shop on Prospekt Mira.

Commercial considerations have now descended on the thick literary journals, whose powerful editors used to take huge subsidies and multimillion circulation for granted as they presided as the tastes and shape of Soviet letters.

"Our annual budget used to be 60,000 rubles," lamented Dmitri M. Urnov, editor of the scholarly Questions of Literature. "Now one issue costs that much." The venerable monthly Novy Mir, long the most influential of literary journals, skipped four issues last year and stands to cut its circulation from three million to 200,000.

Victims of Glasnost

Both journals are direct victims of glasnost. Their printer was always Izvestia, the Government newspaper, but with the onset of democracy, the paper was compelled to channel ever more paper and time to publishing the record of the interminable parliamentary debates, pushing the journals aside.

Among writers and editors, however, the greater crisis of perestroika is that they find themselves suddenly stripped of the mission, the criteria, the themes that had been imposed on them by a totalitarian state that had both confined and defined their art. In the arts as in Soviet politics, the old had been shoved aside, but the new had yet to be found.

"We've lost our point of reference," said Tatyana Tolstaya, a writer who exploded onto the Soviet literary scene in the first flush of glasnost and now spends most of her time teaching in the United States. "We don't know now, what is good?"

The plight is not unfamiliar in cultures emerging from repression, in which art often assumed the functions of a moral and political opposition.

In the Soviet Union the struggle took on a uniquely brutal form. For 70 years, the Kremlin's Marxist lords waged a relentless campaign to lobotomize one of the world's most fertile cultures and harness it to the service of the state under the canon of "socialist realism."

Overnight Celebrities

Whole generations of writers, from Boris Pasternak through Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, from Osip Mandelstam through Vladimir Vysotsky, the popular bard, were silenced, humiliated, exiled or murdered. Works hailed as masterpieces elsewhere in the world were furtively passed around the Soviet Union in typewritten folios. To have them was to risk a stretch in a labor camp for disseminating "anti-Soviet propaganda."

With the onset of glasnost, a starved nation pounced voraciously on long-banned fruits, wading through thickets of taboos and gorging on everything from Vladimir Nabokov's "Invitation



Klaus Reisinger/Black Star for The New York Times

Six years after glasnost first unleashed suppressed literature and forbidden themes in the Soviet Union, books are no longer a bargain or a rarity. Shoppers browsed at a large bookstore in Moscow recently.

through the religious philosophy of Nikolai Berdyaev and the horrors of Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago." Writers who had been repressed became overnight celebrities, and exiles returned as conquering heroes.

"Liberal literature was enormously pleased with perestroika, and at its outset it played the role that it had long dreamed of playing: the role of a social prosecutor, judging society by the laws of morality and common sense," Viktor Yerofeyev, a writer and critic, wrote last year in a landmark article in Literaturnaya Gazeta titled "Wake for Soviet Literature."

"But the happiness proved short-sighted: perestroika proved to be too bottomless for liberal literature, and many works which only yesterday had seemed remarkably bold began to drown in this well."

Many rising writers, moreover, found themselves elbowed out or intimidated by the deluge of suppressed works. Viktor I. Selyunin, a critic on the staff of Novy Mir, asked, "How can contemporary literature compete with all the chefs-d'oeuvre of the past that are coming out?"

'Good to Lose Taboos'

The very pace of events, the general chaos and uncertainty that have seized Soviet society, have given temporary primacy to reportage over literature, added Galina V. Nulkina, an editor of Novy Mir. "When the troops moved into Lithuania, everybody listened to the radio," she said. "Everybody sits watching the People's Congress. Everybody reads Moscow News. Write? There's barely time to read." Yet however painful the dislocation,

only the aging handful of "official" writers who faithfully served the old system lament the onset of glasnost.

"It's 100 percent good to lose taboos," said Andrei Voznesensky, the young poet-rebel of the 1960's who now, like many of his generation, trots the globe as an envoy of glasnost. "Literature had no future. It lived without juices. Now at last literature has living blood and a future."

Using literature as a social tribunal, argued Mr. Urnov, ruined it. "We forgave literary weaknesses," he said. "Our leading Soviet writers were weak writers, but we pushed them to the forefront as truth-tellers. Literature has played out its role as a tribunal for relative truths. Instead, it's trying to create an avant-garde. But for now we're simply too far behind. We have to go to the sources and start anew."

Lazar I. Lazarev, Mr. Urnov's deputy editor, interrupted: "And yet, what an epoch for the artist! What great material. If I were to prophesy, I would say that in 20 years or so there must appear a truly 'Soviet' literature, a literature about the people who lived through this."

Perhaps. Or, as Mr. Yerofeyev and Mr. Voznesensky say, an entirely new voice may be shaping up in the rich stew of video, Western pop culture, political chaos and freedom.

"We cannot yet see the new generation being born," Miss Tolstaya said. "We are between two cycles: the next great writer may be 10 years old today, but we have no way to discern him. Yet literature cannot die, especially Russian literature."



At last.



Israel will finally be able to negotiate directly with its Arab neighbors.

As the Middle East finally stands on the threshold of historic negotiations, no people are more eager for success than the people of Israel.

From the first day of its existence, May 14, 1948, Israel has struggled to live in peace. That very day, the new nation was attacked by six of its neighbors.

In the 43 years since, only one Arab country has recognized its right to exist. When Egypt's President Anwar Sadat made his unprecedented journey to Jerusalem, the Israeli people welcomed him with open arms. Eventually, with cooperation from the United States, an agreement was reached in 1979 that has nurtured a lasting peace between the two countries.

Regretably, until now no other Arab country has followed suit. Yet the people of Israel have called again and again for their Arab neighbors to sit down with them, face to face, to negotiate for peace.

Now, after tenacious diplomatic efforts in recent months by President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, other Arab nations have agreed to direct talks with Israel. In just a matter of weeks, Israel and its Arab neighbors could meet not on the battlefield, but at the bargaining table.

Israel and the United States, steadfast partners in peace, have great hopes that the talks will lead ultimately to better lives for all people in the region, Arab and Israeli alike.

Indeed, Israel's Declaration of Independence reads: "We offer peace and unity to all the neighboring states and their people, and invite them to co-operate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all."

At last, Israel's vision of peace may soon become a reality.

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Israel.
4,000 years of
civilization.



Advertisements appearing
in the New York Times





This booklet includes copies of 10 advertisements published recently on the op-ed page of *The New York Times* as part of an ongoing campaign sponsored by the America-Israel Friendship League.

The campaign was developed to provide Americans with clear, concise, and accurate facts and information about Israel.

It is also hoped that the ads will serve to remind the American public of the moral, cultural and political bonds between Israel and the United States, especially at a time when the two countries are working towards opening a new chapter of peace in the Middle East. As President Bush said recently, "The friendship between the United States and Israel is based on mutual respect and commitment to many of the same values."

The America-Israel Friendship League is a non-sectarian, non-partisan, not-for-profit organization committed to maintaining and strengthening the mutually supportive relationship that exists between the people of these two democracies.

It was founded in 1971 by a group of distinguished Americans dedicated to preserving the best interests of the United States in the Middle East. They foresaw the need to instill in Americans of all faiths an appreciation for the fact that Israel is the only democratic nation in the Middle East and America's most reliable ally in that part of the world.

Founding members of the AIFL included Hubert Humphrey, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Bayard Rustin, Frank Church, Emanuel Celler and Herbert Tenzer. Honorary Sponsors include President Gerald R. Ford, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Since its founding, the AIFL has expanded into an organization with 20,000 members nationwide. It has developed a broad range of people-to-people programs, including student exchanges, seminars in Israel for current and future American leaders, and a variety of educational activities throughout the United States.

The AIFL's op-ed advertising campaign will continue to help promote a better understanding of Israel among Americans during this important period in the U.S.-Israeli relationship.

If you have any comments about the ads, we would welcome a response. AIFL's national office is located at 134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016. Our telephone number is (212) 213-8630.



It's not easy to grow a democracy on 5" of rainfall a year.

The land that makes up the modern state of Israel is the historic homeland of the Jewish people, settled 4,000 years ago—before the time of Moses.

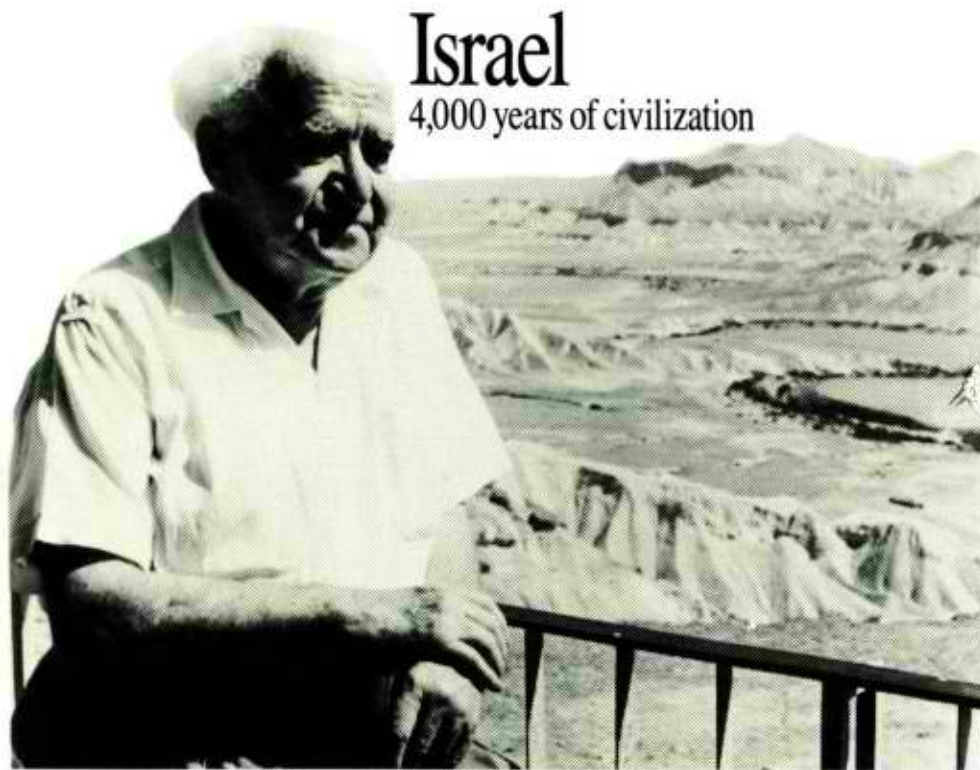
While it is rich in history, the land averages fewer than 5 inches of rainfall annually. It doesn't take an agronomist to realize that the land is hostile. Israel's roughly 10,000 square miles (about the size of Maryland) are mainly harsh, rocky desert.

The land isn't the only hostile aspect to Israel's location. On May 14, 1948 the world recognized the independence of the modern state of Israel. The very next day five Arab nations sent their armies into the new state determined to destroy it. Since then, Israel has been compelled to fight in five other wars.

Yet the people of Israel have created and sustained a thriving democracy. Voter turnout averages nearly 80 percent. Freedom of the press, speech and religion are guaranteed by law and practice. And all Israeli citizens, regardless of race, religion or gender, share the same civil and human rights.

For all the difficulty of the land and the challenge of its circumstances, Israel remains a beacon of hope for people throughout the world. Currently up to 30,000 Soviet Jews arrive every month to begin new lives.

Like their forefathers, they didn't come for the rainfall. They came because Israel today, as it has been in the past, is home for those who thirst for freedom.



Israel
4,000 years of civilization

David Ben-Gurion
First Prime Minister of the
State of Israel



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Jerusalem is cherished by Jews, Christians and Muslims. And kept open to all by Israel.

Jerusalem, Israel's capital, is one of the most beautiful, inspirational cities in the world.

Fully one-half of the world's population—Jews, Christians and Muslims—regard it as one of the most sacred places on earth. More than a million people visit the city's Holy Places every year.

The ancient city has always been the spiritual and political center of the Jewish people. King David established it as the capital of his kingdom 3,000 years ago, and Jews have lived there ever since. Today, it is the capital of the modern state of Israel.

Jews the world over journey to the Old City's Western Wall, Judaism's holiest place, and Jerusalem has been the subject of Jewish prayers for centuries.

Christians visit Jerusalem to trace the steps Jesus walked to his crucifixion and to see the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed to be the site where Christ's body was laid to rest.

Muslims travel to the Dome of the Rock and

Al-Aqsa—the third holiest place in the Islamic faith—where the Prophet Mohammed made his ascent to heaven.

But only recently has Jerusalem been open to all who cherish it.

When Jordan controlled the Old City from 1948 to 1967, Jews from around the world were not permitted to enter East Jerusalem, or pray at the Western Wall. Synagogues in the Old City were desecrated. And Christian and Muslim citizens of Israel were denied free access to the Holy Places.

Israel reunited the city in June, 1967, reopened the Holy Places to all religions, and guaranteed freedom of access and worship.

Jerusalem has been profoundly important to Jews, Christians and Muslims for thousands of years. But only since Jerusalem became the united capital of Israel have its Holy Places been open to people of all faiths.

Israel 4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Half the size of New York. Twice as many opinions.

The news media in Israel are among the most opinionated in the world. But then the people in Israel aren't short of opinions either.

With a population one-half of New York City's, the country publishes no fewer than 20 daily newspapers. Israel's papers come in nine languages and lean in every political direction.

Israelis buy more newspapers, read more magazines, and devour more information, per capita, than any country in the world. All told, there are some 600 publications to choose from in Israel.

About 70 percent of the adult population reads at least one newspaper every day, and a similar number watches TV news every evening.

Columns and editorials routinely and fearlessly

criticize the national government, even in times of major conflict.

Israel is the only country in the Middle East whose people are free to watch any TV channel, whether it broadcasts opinions from Britain, Jordan, or the United States, among others.

Israel's commitment to a free press enables the rest of the world to stay informed about important events in this vital region. Which is why it is home to one of the largest international press delegations in the world.

For more than four decades, Israel's neighbors have imposed on her a continuous state of tension and crisis. But not for a day in its life has Israel denied its citizens free speech and a vibrant free press. Nor the right to be as opinionated as any New Yorker.

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

Two nations. One belief in freedom.

According to the Hebrew calendar, last Thursday, April 18th, marked the anniversary of the birth of the modern State of Israel. On that date 43 years ago, founders of the new nation signed the Declaration of Israel's Independence.

The Israeli Declaration embodies the rich tradition of individual freedom throughout Jewish heritage and embraces many of the same values expressed in the U.S. Declaration of Independence. Signed in Tel Aviv, it says in part:

"The State of Israel . . . will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew Prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

The language of modern Israel:

$$\lambda' - \lambda = \frac{h}{mc} (1 - \cos \phi)$$

While Hebrew is the national language of Israel, millions of Israelis speak the language of modern technology. Lacking rainfall, arable land, or the oil of its Arab neighbors, Israel provides for its people by basing its economy on advanced education and high technology.

This nation of not even 5 million people has more scientists doing research and development, per capita, than any country in the world. Israel publishes more scientific papers, educates more masters and doctoral students, and graduates more physicians, per capita, than any other nation.

A single Israeli company provides almost one-third of the U.S. market's surgical lasers, used to open clogged arteries and cure eye problems. Another Israeli firm manufactures many of the world's CAT scanners, which detect irregularities in the brain.

The "brain" or central processing unit for the IBM personal computer is an Israeli innovation. So is the remote control pilotless aircraft purchased by the U.S. Navy. And the automated page layout system used by major American news magazines.

Innovations in agriculture, especially its "drip irrigation" system, have allowed Israel to double the amount of land used for farming—from 480,000 acres in 1948 to 1.1 million acres today. Israel shares its agricultural know-how with people in western nations and the Third World, including most countries of black Africa.

Always mindful of their past, but determined to compete in the modern world, the people of Israel are well-schooled in the language of the future.

Israel 4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

The strength of Israel is measured in more than battlefield victories.

"The strength of a nation is measured by its ability to face emergency situations...without losing its...affinity for art, culture, music and the rest of those aspects which make the routine of material daily life richer in content and spirit," Haim Herzog, President of Israel said.

For more than 40 years, emergencies have been a way of life for the people of Israel. Yet, they thrive on a rich mix of cultural activities, as diverse as the cultures that make up Israeli life.

Israelis read and publish more books per capita than any other people in the world. One quarter of the population reads at least one book a month. About 10,000 new poems are published annually.

Nearly half the population attends at least one stage production each year and Israel's 80 museums record some 9 million visitors annually. Record and

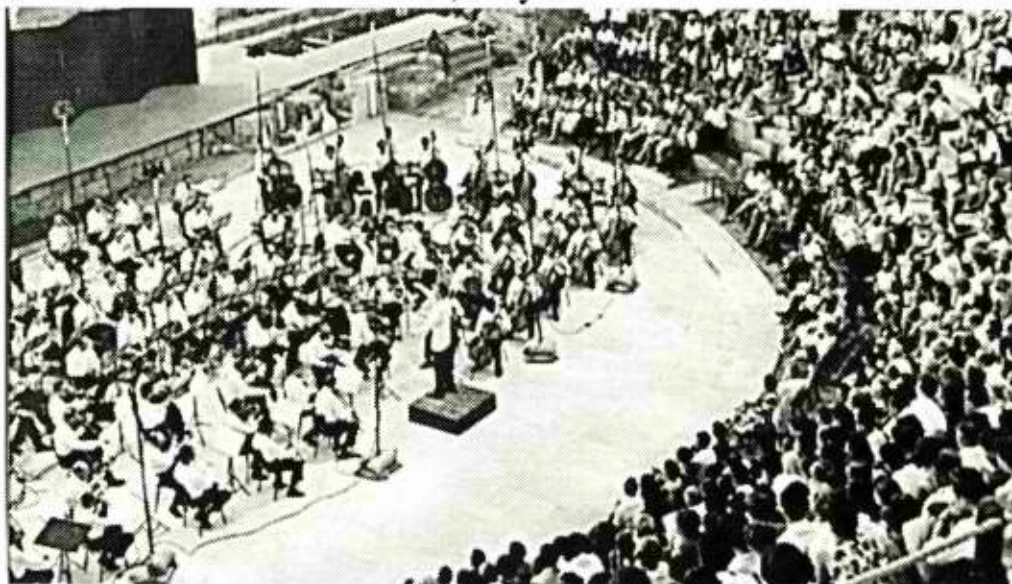
compact disc sales are among the highest in the world on a per capita basis.

Israel is hosting 20 international cultural festivals this year alone—this month, the Israeli festival in Jerusalem features 1,500 performers from around the world and the international book fair is representing hundreds of publishers and writers.

The Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra stages twice as many concerts as any American or European symphony. It is so popular that season subscriptions are handed down from one generation to the next. And around the world, Israeli musicians are lead conductors of 10 major symphonic orchestras. Many Israeli artists have received internationally recognized awards.

The people of Israel measure their strength not only on the battlefield, but also in the richness of their culture.

Israel 4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



Joe Malinin photo

Their dreams came true.

For thousands of years, Jews from around the world have dreamed of returning to the roots of their faith, to live in freedom without fear of persecution.

Their longing is expressed in the simple Passover prayer refrain, "Next year in Jerusalem." Their dreams came true in 1948, when the modern state of Israel was founded. And their dreams have been realized ever since.

The doors of this tiny nation are always open. Led by nearly 200,000 Soviet Jews, more people settled in Israel last year than in any other year since 1949.

The newcomers keep Israel one of the world's most ethnically diverse nations, a melting pot of people from 80 countries as varied as China, Morocco, and the United States.

For all their differences, the many peoples of Israel live together under one democratic political system. Dozens of foreign languages can be heard, but people are unified in everyday life by Hebrew.

Israel is much more than a political state. It is home for Jews the world over, people of many cultures who share a common dream.

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



Home, at last.

After decades of struggle, the Jewish people from the Soviet Union are coming home. Since the beginning of 1990, some 250,000 Soviet Jews have arrived in Israel.

Fifty years ago, there was no safe haven, no place they could call home. Today Israel opens its heart and borders to all newcomers, guaranteeing them the freedom to explore their religion, their heritage, their identity.

In realizing the dream of centuries, Israel faces great challenges. In the next few years, the tiny nation's population will swell by hundreds of thousands, the equivalent of adding about 50 million people to the United States.

As Israel absorbs its new citizens, it provides them a roof over their heads, health care, schooling, and a living allowance. They learn Hebrew and integrate themselves into Israeli society.

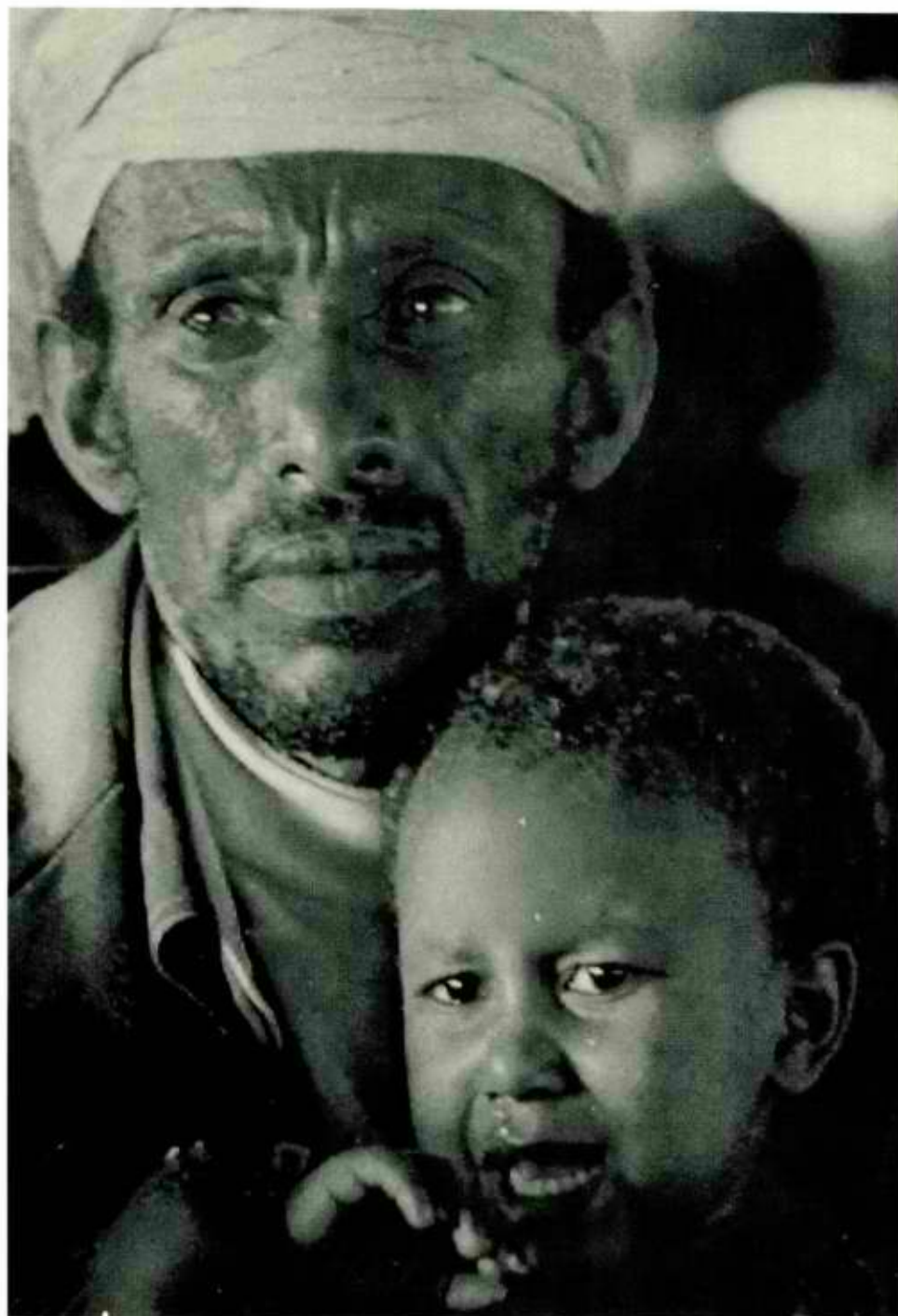
The newcomers offer real hope of transforming Israel's economy. A very high percentage of the recent Soviet immigrants are trained professionals. Their skills will further enable Israel to expand and strengthen its national economy.

Some time ago, a prominent Soviet Jewish leader upon arriving in Israel said, "I'm home at last."

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



Their faith brought them home.

The remarkable rescue of 14,400 Ethiopian Jews sends a powerful message to the world: No matter who they are, or where they come from, Jewish people have a home in Israel.

The swiftly executed airlift of the endangered Ethiopians, accomplished amid a civil war, was carried out by the Israeli government, in cooperation with the United States administration.

Like millions before them, the Ethiopians are sure to make their contribution to the rich tapestry of Israeli culture.

Whether they are from Ethiopia, the Soviet Union, or any other part of the world, Jewish people have a safe home in Israel.

Israel
4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

"Any time. Any place."



Israel will negotiate directly with any of its neighbors.

Since the defeat of aggression in the Persian Gulf, the Bush administration has launched a tenacious initiative to open a new chapter of peace in the Middle East.

Progress has been slow and difficult.

The differences among nations in the region are rooted in disputes that date back centuries and are complicated by the presence of terrifying arsenals of modern weaponry. Not surprisingly, even the procedural question of how to *begin* negotiations has provoked disagreement.

But there is clear agreement between the American and Israeli governments about how to reach an enduring peace: Israel and its Arab neighbors must ultimately resolve their differences through direct, face-to-face negotiations.

That is what led to the region's only peace agreement. From 1977 to 1979, with help from the U.S., the leaders of Egypt and Israel held historic personal meetings—the only time any head of state of any Arab nation ever agreed to negotiate directly with Israel. The Egyptian-Israeli agreement has nurtured 12 years of peace between the two countries.

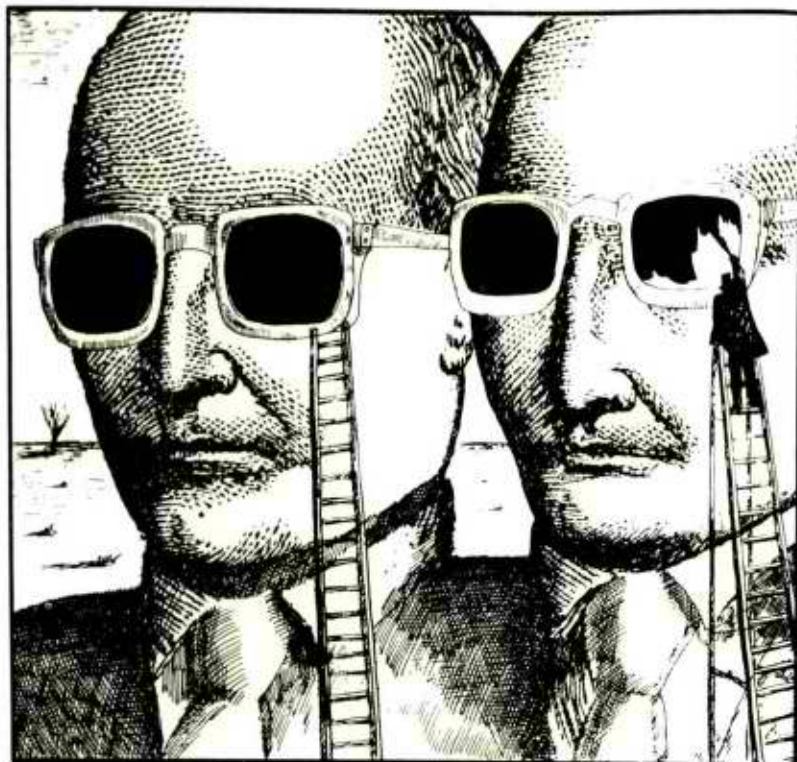
Since its founding, Israel has repeatedly expressed its willingness to meet face-to-face and discuss peace with any of its Arab neighbors. Any time, any place.

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630



© New York Times

It's difficult to talk peace with someone you don't recognize.

The Gulf War reminded the world how dangerous and volatile the Middle East is. To keep the region from exploding into bloodshed again, it is essential that nations talk to one another.

Yet only one Arab country in the region—Egypt—even recognizes Israel's right to *exist*. Only Egypt has been willing to sit down, face to face, and negotiate a peace agreement.

The other 20 Arab countries of the world not only reject Israel as a legitimate state, but they are also actively engaged in

an economic boycott of Israel, imposed since the first day of its existence.

Arab opposition to recognition also means no diplomacy, formal or informal. No news. No cultural ties. No talking. No listening.

Egypt has shown the path to peace with Israel. Other Arab leaders need to demonstrate similar vision, by recognizing and negotiating with Israel.

Israel

4,000 years of civilization



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

PRESIDENT EMERITUS AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Hon. Herbert Tenzer

PRESIDENT

Samuel M. Eisenstat

EXEC. VICE PRESIDENT

Herman Z. Quittman

EXEC. VICE PRESIDENT

Ilana Artman

VICE PRESIDENTS

Werner Buckold

Carol W. Karsch

Rabbi Israel Miller

Sister Rose Thering

Hon. Duane Woodard

TREASURER

Herbert Berman

SECRETARY

Hon. Isaiah E. Robinson, Jr.

DIRECTORS

Efrat Abrams
Ilana Artman
Paul S. Berger
Herbert Berman
Jacob Berman
Werner Buckold
Dr. Alonzo A. Crim
Daniel A. Dutko
Samuel M. Eisenstat
Amb. Seymour M. Finger

Ira J. Greenblatt
Malcolm Hoenlein
John L. Huerta
Carol Karsch
Morton Kornreich
David Levy
Amb. Frederic V. Malek
Hon. Leonard A. Mancusi
Rabbi Israel Miller
Fleur Netanyahu

Mel Parness
Raymond M. Patt
Rudy Pavesi
Herman Z. Quittman
Bernard Reiner
Hon. Isaiah E. Robinson, Jr.
Robert A. Sasso
Asher Schapiro
Emmanuel Sella
Bill J. Seregi

Daniel S. Shapiro
Miro Silvera
Alan L. Smith
Joyce Strelitz
Kenneth J. Stuart
Hon. Herbert Tenzer
Sister Rose Thering
Hon. Wellington E. Webb
Hon. Duane Woodard

HONORARY SPONSORS

Hon. Robert Abrams
Hon. Reuben Askew
Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen
Sen. Rudy Boschwitz
Hon. Hugh Carey
Gov. Mario M. Cuomo
Hon. Robert F. Drinan
Max M. Fisher

Hon. Gerald R. Ford
Sen. John Glenn
Sen. Ernest F. Hollings
Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson
Sen. Edward M. Kennedy
Lane Kirkland
Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman
Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg

Hon. Arthur Markewich
Sen. Howard Metzenbaum
Hon. Walter F. Mondale
Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan
Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Sen. Bob Packwood
Hon. Ogden R. Reid
Samuel Rothberg

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Mrs. Bernice Tannenbaum
Hon. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
Jack D. Weiler
Elie Wiesel

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Hon. George R. Ariyoshi
Rep. Les Aspin
Sen. Dale Bumpers
Sen. Dennis DeConcini
Sen. John C. Danforth
Rep. Thomas J. Downey
Hon. John V. Evans
Hon. Geraldine Ferraro
Amb. Seymour M. Finger
Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr.
Dr. Eugene Fisher
Rep. Harold E. Ford
Rep. Sam M. Gibbons
Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman
Rep. S. William Green

Rep. William Harter
Hon. Paula Hawkins
Hon. Margaret M. Heckler
Rep. Frank Horton
Hon. Hubert Humphrey, III
Hon. James B. Hunt
Dr. David Hyatt
Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, Jr.
Hon. James R. Jones
Rev. Elmer Josephson
Hon. Jack F. Kemp
Rep. Tom Lantos
Rep. William Lehman
Rep. Norman F. Lent
Dr. Franklin H. Littell

Hon. Clarence Long
Robert Loup
Hon. Stanley N. Lundine
Rep. Raymond J. McGrath
Rep. Mathew F. McHugh
Hon. William G. Miliken
Hon. Joseph G. Minish
Hon. Richard L. Ottinger
Sen. Claiborne Pell
Hon. Melvin Price
Rep. James H. Quillen
Rep. Charles B. Rangel
Sen. Donald Riegle
Dr. Mary Rose Ryan
Rep. Charles E. Schumer

Sen. Paul Simon
Hon. Richard A. Snelling
Rep. Stephen J. Solarz
Sen. Arlen Specter
Hon. Robert W. Straub
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Rep. Morris K. Udall
Rep. Henry A. Waxman
Rep. Ted S. Weiss
Rep. Charles Wilson
Sen. Timothy E. Wirth
Dr. James Wood
Rep. Gus Yatron

EXECUTIVE STAFF

Dalia Zur
Director of Administration

William H. Behrer, III
Director, Special Projects

REGIONAL OFFICES

North Pacific Region: President: Hon. Stuart R. Pollack / 1400 Eucalyptus Drive, San Francisco, CA 94132, (415) 566-5004

Rocky Mountain Region: President: Hon. Wellington E. Webb / Executive Director: Joyce Oberfeld / 4100 E. Mississippi Ave. #602, Glendale, Co. 80222, (303) 758-9503

Tucson Committee: Chairman: John L. Huerta / 832 N. Desert Avenue, Tucson, AZ 85711, (602) 323-4694

Israel Office: Chairman, Israel Advisory Committee: Amb. Simcha Dinitz / Executive Director: Ruby Shamir / 10 Recanati Street, #45, Ramat Aviv, Israel 69494 / 03-6424510 / Fax No. 03-6422001

Published as a Public Service by



America-Israel Friendship League
134 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016
Tele. (212) 213-8630

בלמס

יוצא

[Handwritten signature]

5! הסכמה

חוזם: 8,2704

אל: אבידגאן/35, אוטבה/43, אוסלו/34, אטלנטה/26, איסטנבול/45,
 אלכסנדריה/20, אנקרה/39, אסונסיון/25, אתונה/41, בוגוטה/49, בודפשט/40,
 בומביי/32, בון/74, בוסטון/32, בוקרשט/59, בייירס/75, בנגקוק/63, ברזיליה/50,
 בריסל/55, ברן/53, גואטמלה/41, גנבה/43, האג/53, הונגקונג/33, הונדורס/30,
 הלסינקי/50, וולינגטון/32, וושינגטון/112, וינה/43, ורשה/45, טוגו/25,
 טוקיו/53, טורונטו/40, יאונדה/49, יוסטון/26, להפאז/25, לונדון/66,
 לוסאנגלס/48, לילונגוואה/28, לימה/42, ליסבון/44, מבבנה/38, מדריד/45,
 מונטריאול/34, מונטבידאו/36, מיאמי/31, מילנו/32, מכסיקו/53, מנילה/34,
 מרסיי/28, ניו יורק/142, ניירובי/41, ניקוסיה/40, סידני/42, סינגפור/42,
 סלבדור/34, סנחוזזה/35, סנטודומינגו/39, סנטיאגו/51, סנפאולו/40, פידלפייה/28,
 פנמה/29, פרטוריה/38, פריס/79, פרנציסקו/35, קופנהגן/57, קטמנדו/31, קיטו/43,
 קינגסטון/29, קינשאסה/50, קנברה/38, קרקס/54, רומא/51, ריו/40, שטוקהולם/37,
 שיקגו/31, פיג'י/32, ציריך/24, מוסקבה/52, פראג/43, בייגינג/32, סופיה/30,
 רנגון/32, אדיס/36, סיאול/21, רהמש/154, פקס/251, קוביחדש/875, בטחון/186
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 040891, זח: 1341, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: @ גס: הסברה
 @: נד

9,244448

בלמ'ס/מידי

אל: כל הנציגויות

הנדון: דגשי הסברה - רמה'ג

לאחרונה אנו שומעים גורמים רבים המשווים בין רמת הגולן לבין סיני. השוואה זו מופרכת שהרי אין דין הגולן כדין סיני מבחינת האיום על ישראל ולהלן טיעונים המנמקים זאת:

א. גובה אסטרטגי - הגולן מתנשא עד לגובה של כ-900 מ' מעל פני אזור הכנרת והגליל. עד 67' יתרון גובה זה היה בידי הסורים ואיפשר להם לאיים על כל האוכלוסיה האזרחית בצפון המדינה. פני השטח בסיני לעומת זאת הם בעיקר מישוריים ואינם מקנים שליטה על שטח ישראל.

ב. אזור חיץ - רוחבו המירבי של סיני מגיע ל-200 ק'מ ומקנה אפשרות להסכמי פירוז ודילול המבטיחים התראה ופיקוח החיוניים לישראל גם בזמן שלום. רוחבו של הגולן הוא 24 ק'מ בלבד - בנקודה הרחבה ביותר - עובדה שאינה מותרת שולי סיכון לישראל. רק השליטה הישראלית על הגולן ב-73' איפשרה את בלימת מתקפת הפתע הסורית.

7.90 SA06
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ג. צבא - רובו של הצבא הסורי מרוכז באזור הצר שבין דמשק לרמת הגולן. השילוב הפוטנציאלי בין ריכוז כוח צבאי עצום זה לבין השליטה הטופוגרפית על רמת הגולן עשוי להוות איום קיומי על מדינת ישראל. הצבא המצרי לעומת זאת ערוך כך שכוחות מצומצמים בלבד נמצאים בשטח הנרחב שבין ישראל לבין תעלת סואץ.

ד. קירבה למרכזי האוכלוסין של המדינה - הגולן חולש על צפון המדינה, המרחק בינו לבין יישובי הצפון נמדד בשניות ספורות של טיסה ושעות מעטות כאשר מדובר בכוחות רגליים וממונעים. חצי האי סיני גובל בדרום המדינה שהוא החלק הפחות מאוכלס בישראל.

ה. המים - רמת הגולן שולטת במשאב הלאומי הקיומי החשוב ביותר לישראל - מקורות המים שלה. כבר לפני '67 ניסתה סוריה לנצל שליטה זו על מנת למנוע זרימת מי הירדן לישראל. פעילות סורית זו הביאה להתנגשויות גבול רבות. סיני למותר לציין הוא אזור צחיח ומדברי.

ו. אופי המשטר - מצרים נכנסה לתהליך השלום במקביל לתהליך דמוקרטיזציה וליברליזציה. סוריה לעומת זאת לא שנתה כהוא זה עדיין את המשטר הדיקטטורי הקשוח כלפי חוץ ופנים התלוי כולו באדם אחד.

ברקע להשוואה דלעיל יש לזכור כי מרכיב נכבד מהחלטת מועבי'ט 242 הוא הקריאה לגבולות בטוחים - ולכך ודאי יש השלכה חשובה בנושא רמה'ג.

הסברה/מידע
4 באוגוסט 1991

עש

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), רהמ(0), שהבט(0), מנכל(1), סמנכל(17), אוקיאניה(2), מצרים(2), מצפא(4), אסיה(1), מאפ(4), אמלט(4), מזתיס(1), מזאר(4), ארבל(2), ארבל(2), הדרכה(1), מעת(4), הסברה(3), ממד(9), איר(2), איר(2), לעמ(0), מקצב(1), אומן(1), פרנ(2), מחע(2), משקוף(1), מיחשוב/המשרד(1), חליפה(1), בטמח(3), כספיים(1), משפט(1), לוברני(0)

1. המטרה - להגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו.

2. תחום היישום - המסמך יישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו.

3. אחריות - המסמך יישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו.

4. תאריך היישום - המסמך יישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו.

5. יישום המסמך - המסמך יישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו, ולהגות את המסמך וליישם את כל הנדרש בו.

מסמך מס' 1000-1000-1000

10

- 1. המטרה (1), תחום היישום (1), אחריות (1), תאריך היישום (1), יישום המסמך (1)
- 2. המטרה (2), תחום היישום (2), אחריות (2), תאריך היישום (2), יישום המסמך (2)
- 3. המטרה (3), תחום היישום (3), אחריות (3), תאריך היישום (3), יישום המסמך (3)
- 4. המטרה (4), תחום היישום (4), אחריות (4), תאריך היישום (4), יישום המסמך (4)
- 5. המטרה (5), תחום היישום (5), אחריות (5), תאריך היישום (5), יישום המסמך (5)
- 6. המטרה (6), תחום היישום (6), אחריות (6), תאריך היישום (6), יישום המסמך (6)
- 7. המטרה (7), תחום היישום (7), אחריות (7), תאריך היישום (7), יישום המסמך (7)
- 8. המטרה (8), תחום היישום (8), אחריות (8), תאריך היישום (8), יישום המסמך (8)
- 9. המטרה (9), תחום היישום (9), אחריות (9), תאריך היישום (9), יישום המסמך (9)
- 10. המטרה (10), תחום היישום (10), אחריות (10), תאריך היישום (10), יישום המסמך (10)



כ"ד באב תשנ"א
4 באוגוסט 1991
26954

5: התחנה

אל ✓ : מר אייל ארד, עוזר לסגן השר

מאת : מנהל מדור הפקה

אייל ארד

הנדון : סרט על רמת הגולן
מכתב 114021 ח-31.7.91

בהתאם לבקשתך אנו עובדים על הכנת ההצעה לכתבת וידיאו קצרה (כ-10 דקות) על החשיבות האסטרטגית של רמת הגולן.

בסרט ישולבו צילומים ארכיוניים על הרמה לפני '67, וצילומי אוויר משכנעים.

בימים הקרובים נחזור אליך עם הצעה מגובשת, כולל מסגרת תקציבית.

בברכה,

שמי צור

העתק: סמוכ"ל הסברה
מנהל הסברה

PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT
MARCH 26, 1979

The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Government of the State of Israel;

PREAMBLE

Convinced of the urgent necessity of the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;

Reaffirming their adherence to the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David," dated September 17, 1978:

Noting that the aforementioned Framework as appropriate is intended to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel but also between Israel and each of its other Arab neighbors which is prepared to negotiate peace with it on this basis:

Desiring to bring to an end the state of war between them and to establish a peace in which every state in the area can live in security;

Convinced that the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel is an important step in the search for comprehensive peace in the area and for the attainment of settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict in all its aspects;

Inviting the other Arab parties to this dispute to join the peace process with Israel guided by and based on the principles of the aforementioned Framework.

Desiring as well to develop friendly relations and cooperation between themselves in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law governing international relations in times of peace;

Agree to the following provisions in the free exercise of their sovereignty, in order to implement the "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel";

Article I

1. The state of war between the Parties will be terminated and peace will be established between them upon the exchange of instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

2. Israel will withdraw all its armed forces and civilians from the Sinai behind the international boundary between Egypt and mandated Palestine, as provided in the annexed protocol (Annex I), and Egypt will resume the exercise of its full sovereignty over the Sinai.

3. Upon completion of the interim withdrawal provided for in Annex I, the parties will establish normal and friendly relations, in accordance with Article III (3).

Article II

The permanent boundary between Egypt and Israel in the recognized international boundary between Egypt and the former mandated territory of Palestine, as shown on the map at Annex II, without prejudice to the issue of the status of the Gaza Strip. The Parties recognize this boundary as inviolable. Each will respect the territorial integrity of the other, including their territorial waters and airspace.

Article III

1. The Parties will apply between them the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among states in times of peace. In particular:

- a. They recognize and will respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence;
- b. They recognize and will respect each other's right to live in peace within their secure and recognized boundaries.
- c. They will refrain from the threat or use of force, directly or indirectly, against each other and will settle all disputes between them by peaceful means.

2. Each Party undertakes to ensure that acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, or violence do not originate from and are not committed from within its territory, or by any violence do not originate from and are not committed from within its territory, or by any forces subject to its control or by any other forces stationed on its territory, against the population, citizens or property of the other Party. Each Party also undertakes to refrain from organizing, instigating, inciting, assisting or participating in acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, subversion or violence against the other Party, anywhere, and undertakes to ensure that perpetrators of such acts are brought to justice.

3. The Parties agree that the normal relationship established between them will include full recognition, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, termination of economic boycotts and discriminatory barriers to the free movement of people and goods, and will guarantee the mutual enjoyment by citizens of the due process of law. The process by which they undertake to achieve such a relationship parallel to the implementation of other provisions of this Treaty is set out in the annexed protocol (Annex III).

Article IV

1. In order to provide maximum security for both Parties on the basis of reciprocity, agreed security arrangements will be established including limited force zones in Egyptian and Israeli territory, and United Nations forces and observers, described in detail as to nature and timing in Annex I, and other security arrangements the Parties may agree upon.

2. The Parties agree to the stationing of United Nations personnel in areas described in Annex I. The Parties agree not to request withdrawal of

the United Nations personnel and that these personnel will not be removed unless such removal is approved by the Security Council of the United Nations, with the affirmative vote of the five Permanent Members, unless the Parties otherwise agree.

3. A Joint Commission will be established to facilitate the implementation of the Treaty, as provided for in Annex I.

4. The security arrangements provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article may at the request of either party be reviewed and amended by mutual agreement of the Parties.

Article V

1. Ships of Israel, and cargoes destined for or coming from Israel, shall enjoy the right of free passage through the Suez Canal and its approaches through the Gulf of Suez and the Mediterranean Sea on the basis of the Constantinople Convention of 1888, applying to all nations, Israeli nationals, vessels and cargoes, as well as persons, vessels and cargoes destined for or coming from Israel, shall be accorded non-discriminatory treatment in all matters connected with usage of the canal.

2. The Parties consider the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba to be international waterways open to all nations for unimpeded and non-suspendable freedom of navigation and overflight. The parties will respect each other's right to navigation and overflight for access to either country through the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

Article VI

1. This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations.

2. The Parties undertake to fulfill in good faith their obligations under this Treaty, without regard to action or inaction of any other party and independently of any instrument external to this Treaty.

3. They further undertake to take all the necessary measures for the application in their relations of the provisions of the multilateral conventions to which they are parties, including the submission of appropriate notification to the Secretary General of the United Nations and other depositaries of such conventions.

4. The Parties undertake not to enter into any obligation in conflict with this Treaty.

5. Subject to Article 103 of the United Nations Charter in the event of a conflict between the obligation of the Parties under the present Treaty and any of their other obligations, the obligations under this Treaty will be binding and implemented.

Article VII

1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Treaty shall be resolved by negotiations.

2. Any such disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations shall be resolved by conciliation or submitted to arbitration.

Article VIII

The Parties agree to establish a claims commission for the mutual settlements of all financial claims.

Article IX

1. This treaty shall enter into force upon exchange of instruments of ratification.

2. This Treaty supersedes the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of September, 1975.

3. All protocols,, annexes, and maps attached to this Treaty shall be regarded as an integral part hereof.

4. The treaty shall be communicated to the Secretary General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

הגדרה

י"א באב תשנ"א
22 ביולי 1991

25718

יעדי מערכת ההסברה הישראלית לשנת 1991

1. תכנים ויעדים

ההסברה היא כלי שרת של המדיניות הנקבעת בדרג הפוליטי ותפקידה להציג מדיניות זו בפני מקבלי החלטות ודעת הקהל בעולם. ככזאת, ההסברה הישראלית נשענת על קווי היסוד של הממשלה ועל החלטות הרלבנטיות של הממשלה והקבינט.

תכני ההסברה העיקריים הם:

א. מחויבותה של ישראל לתהליך שלום

מדיניות החוץ של ישראל מבוססת מאז ומתמיד על השאיפה להשגת שלום של אמת באיזור. יוזמת השלום של ממשלת ישראל מה-14 במאי 1988 מהווה את הבסיס לפעילותה של ממשלת ישראל.

מערכת ההסברה שואפת:

1. להציג את שאיפתה ונחישותה של ישראל בהשגת שלום של אמת בינה ובין שכנותיה ולהשגת פתרון לשאלה הפלסטינית.
2. לגייס תמיכה מירבית בכל הרבדים של דעת הקהל, ובעיקר של מקבלי החלטות.
3. להחדיר את ההכרה שהתהליך המדיני הנוכחי הוא תולדה של פתיחות ישראלית ונובע ממנה.

ב. התקשר הכולל של הסכסוך המזרח-תיכוני

אנו פועלים להדגשת הקשרו הכולל של הסכסוך המזרח-תיכוני כנגד התפיסה הפשטנית הרואה במרכיב הישראלי-פלסטיני חזות הכל במזהית. פלישת עירק לכווית ומלחמת המפרץ שבאה בעקבותיה הוכיחו שהסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטיני הוא רק מרכיב אחד בסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי וזה כשלעצמו הוא רק פן אחד של מזרח תיכון מורכב ומסובך שלרבים מהסכסוכים המאפיינים אותו אין כל קשר לשאלה הפלסטינית ולישראל.

סכסוך המפרץ גם הדגיש נוכחותם של המסרים הבסיסיים שלנו:

1. חשיבותה של ישראל כמדינה דמוקרטית באיזור היחיד בעולם שלא נשתנה שינוי של ממש בכיוון של יתר-דמוקרטיזציה.

2. הסכנה לשלום העולם ממשטרים דיקטטוריים מסוג זה של השליט הגיראקי.

3. הסכנה לאיזור ולעולם במירוץ החימוש ובהצטיידות בנשק בלתי קונבנציונלי.

4. פגיעותה של ישראל מול מאמצי ההתחמשות של מדינות האיזור.

במסגרת זו אנו מציגים את האיום הנשקף לישראל מהחזית המזרחית, את מאזן הכוחות ומירוץ החימוש במזה"ת ואת הסכנה מתפוצת הנשק הלא-קונבנציונלי באיזור. אנו מציגים את הבעיות הכרוכות בהגנה על הארץ מאיומים אלה, בצד הסרבנות הנמשכת של העולם הערבי (להוציא מצרים) למתן את יחסו לישראל אפילו במסגרת המצומצמת של יוזמת השלום הישראלית.

ג. ההתמודדות מול האינתיפאדה

הסברת הצורך במציאת בן שיח שלא יחתור להשמדת ישראל ושאינו עוסק בטרור או מזדהה עימו, מהווה נדבך מרכזי בהסברה הישראלית. הדבר מעוגן בקווי היסוד של הממשלה ומהווה את הבסיס לפעילותנו המדינית.

אנו ממשיכים לחשוף את כוונותיו של אש"ף ואת מעורבותו הנמשכת בטרור, תוך הדגשת העובדה שהטרור מופנה גם כלפי התושבים הפלסטינאים תושבי יש"ע. חשיפת היבט זה של האינתיפאדה זכה לכיסוי נרחב בתקשורת הבינלאומית.

ד. אתגרי העליה והקליטה

האתגרים העומדים בפני מדינת ישראל בקליטה נכונה ונכונה של עולי בריה"מ, אתיופיה וגלויות אחרות.

העולם הערבי ממשיך לחשוף התנגדותו לתהליך חשוב זה של שיבת בנים לגבולם וזאת בגלל התנגדותם העיקשת להיותה של ישראל מדינה ככל העמים.

בארה"ב נעמוד בקרוב מול הצורך להשיג ערבויות משמעותיות לסיוע במאמץ הקליטה של יהדות בריה"מ.

ה. מטלות הסברתיות מתמשכות שאינן קשורות ישירות לסכסוך

בנוסף לכלל המטלות שנמנו לעיל, ישנן מטלות הסברתיות קבועות ומתמשכות. למשל, העמידה לחול הנסיון להשחיר את פני ישראל בנושא יחסי ישראל-דרא"פ, דווקא כאשר שינויים מרחיקי לכת מתרחשים בדרום אפריקה. נושא האנטישמיות, המאבק המתמשך נגד הצהרת האו"ם ציונות-גזענות ונושאים יהודיים שונים מעסיקים אף הם את ההסברה הישראלית.

ו. הצגת המדינה והחברה הישראלית על הישגיה בתחומים השונים

נושא מרכזי ומתמשך בהסברתה של ישראל הוא הצגתה של מדינת ישראל, אופי חברתה, משטרה והישגיה בתחומי הטכנולוגיה, המדעים, החינוך, החקלאות וכו'. כמו כן אנו מצוים על הדגשת הקשר בין העם למדינתו באמצעות הרחבת נושאי ההיסטוריה, הארכיאולוגיה, התרבות היהודית וכו'.

בשנים האחרונות חלו שינויי דגשים ביעדי ההסברה המסורתיים. המשכנו לטפח את היעדים החדשים במזרח אירופה ובמרכזה. חשיבותן של מדינות שלא טופחו עד כה עלתה. כל זאת מבלי לזנוח, כמובן, את יעדינו המסורתיים כמו ארה"ב. חשיבותה של אירופה לקראת 1992 וגרמניה שלאחרי האיחוד עלו בצורה משמעותית.

א. ארה"ב

ארה"ב ממשיכה להיות יעד מרכזי לפעילות ההסברה של משרד החוץ. חמישה קהלי יעד עיקריים מהווים מטרה לפעילותנו בארה"ב:

1. הממשל - לממשל מדיניות השונה לפחות בדגשים מסויימים ביחס לישראל מקודמו. הממשל מעורב אינטנסיבית בנסיון להניע את תהליך השלום מחד, ומאידיך אינו מסתיר את חילוקי הדעות עם ישראל בשאלות כמו 'שטחים תמורת שלום' ומדיניות ההתנחלויות של ישראל.

2. הקונגרס - שבו שלישי מאנשי הסנאט עומדים לבחירה מחדש מדי שנתיים כמו גם כל חברי בית הנבחרים. הקונגרס ממשיך להיות מוקד לתמיכה בישראל הן מדינית והן כלכלית.

3. תקשורת - כידוע זוכה ישראל לכיסוי מסיבי לא רק בדיווחים מישראל אלא גם בכתיבה ופרשנות של המערכות עצמן (ראיונות, מאמרי מערכת ודיעה וכיו"ב).

4. דעת הקהל - בשנה האחרונה חל שיפור משמעותי במעמדה של ישראל בחלק ממגזרי דעת הקהל בארה"ב. שעת רצון זאת מחייבת הגברת פעילותנו בעיקר בקרב מיגזרים ספציפיים מאד כגון סטודנטים ואקדמאים, שחורים, נוצרים פונדמנטליסטיים ועוד.

5. הקהילה היהודית - מעמדה של ישראל בארה"ב ייפגע קשות אם לא נמשיך לשמור ולטפח את הקשר בין ישראל ליהודי ארה"ב, המגלים לאחרונה יותר מעורבות פעילה בנעשה בתוך ישראל וביכוח הפנימי שבה.

מטרתנו העיקרית היא להעמיק את ההיכרות האינטימית של מעצבי דעת הקהל עם ישראל, עמדותיה ובעיותיה, כמתחייב מן הברית הגמוקה שלנו עם ארה"ב. לשם כך עלינו להגדיל משמעותית את מספר העיתונאים, הפוליטיקאים, חברי הקונגרס ומנהיגי קבוצות המיעוטים המבקרים בארץ ובמקביל להצמיד את מערך ההסברה לעידן התקשורת המהירה והמתוחכמת, כל זאת תוך נסיון להביא ליתר מקצועיות בשיטות ובאמצעים הנקוטים בידינו.

ב. מערב אירופה

בעשרים השנים האחרונות הקדישה הסברת הצד שכנגד את עיקר מאמציה לאירופה בעוד שאצלנו היתה ארה"ב היעד העיקרי והמרכזי. איחוד אירופה יביא עימו לא רק אחדות כלכלית אלא גם, באופן הדרגתי, איחוד מדיני. מערכת והסברה חייבת להערך בהתאם.

1. ביקורי אישים באירופה

החשיבות שאנו מייחסים לאירופה משתקפת בהגברה משמעותית של מספר הביקורים של ראשי המדינה במדינות אירופה, כולל ביקורי רה"מ, שה"ח וס/שה"ח.

2. ביקורי משלחות בארץ

באופן קבוע נערך בירושלים כנס של פעילי הסברה מרוב מדינות אירופה. בין המשתתפים, מנהלי משרדי אינפורמציה, חברי אגודות ידידות, עורכי מגזינים וכותבי תגובות לעיתונות. מטרת הכנס היא תדרוך המשתתפים בנושאים העומדים על הפרק ושמיעת דיווחיהם על הקורה במדינות מהן הם באו. בנוסף ביקרו בארץ עשרות חברי פרלמנט ואישים מהקהילה האירופית.

פעילותנו ההסברתית חייבת להמשיך להתמודד עם האתגרים הללו ע"י:

א. המשך המאמץ להגברה משמעותית של מבקרים - חברי פרלמנט, עיתונאים, מנהיגים ואישי אקדמיה ממדינות אירופה.

ב. גיבוש מוקדי השפעה ידידותיים.

ג. העתקת דפוסי פעילות מוצלחים מעבודתנו בארה"ב והתאמתם לפעילות דומה באירופה.

ד. התאמת הטכנולוגיות והכלים העומדים לרשות נציגינו.

ג. בריה"מ

על חשיבותה של בריה"מ כמעצמה עולמית אין להכביר במילים. יחד עם ההתקדמות המדינית ביחסנו עם בריה"מ וכתוצאה מהפתיחות החדשה של החברה הסובייטית, נפתחות בפנינו אפשרויות חדשות גם בתחום ההסברה. בבריה"מ ובמזרח אירופה בכלל קיים צמא עמוק לשמוע את ישראל ולהכיר את דמותה האמיתית במגע ישיר שלא עמד לרשותם בשני העשורים שחלפו. אנו ניצבים בבריה"מ מול שלושה קהלי יעד עיקריים:

1. ממשל - הקשר המתקיים היום בין נציגותנו במוסקבה לממשל בבריה"מ מקיף כיום מגזרים נרחבים.

2. תקשורת - עם פתיחת התקשורת הסובייטית בעקבות מדיניות הגלסנוסט, הולך ומתרחב הקשר עם התקשורת הסובייטית.

3. יהודים - מטבע הדברים יש לרוב יהדות בריה"מ ענין רב במתרחש בישראל. אנו פועלים שם הן בהסברה ציונית המיועדת לעודד את העלייה לארץ והן להעברת מסרים כלליים מתוך כוונה שהיהדות שתישאר בבריה"מ תשמש גשר לשאר האוכלוסיה, כפי שקורה במקומות אחרים ברחבי העולם.

בחודשים הקרובים, עם השלמת איוש הקונסוליה, נשלים המאמץ לבנות מחלקת הסברה ועיתונות כדי לעמוד מול האתגר העצום של הסברת ישראל במעצמה זאת. הדבר מחייב גם העמדת כלים (כוח אדם ותקציבים) לפעולה זאת.

ד. מרכז אירופה

1. רוח הדמוקרטיה השוטפת את מרכז אירופה הביאה לשינויים מפליגים בכל התחומים. זרם מנהיגי מרכז אירופה שביקר בישראל הוא הוכחה לשינוי מדיניותן כלפי ישראל.

2. עד לא מזמן כמעט ולא היתה קיימת ההסברה הישראלית באזור זה למעט כחובן רומניה. בעקבות קשירת היחסים הדיפלומטיים עם הונגריה בספטמבר 1989, חידוש היחסים עם פולין ו צ'כוסלובקיה והאפשרויות הפתוחות בפנינו ביחס לשאר מדינות מרכז אירופה עלינו להיערך על מנת להביא את דברה של ישראל לחלק זה של העולם. במיוחד, עלינו גם להגביר את תודעת מורשת השואה ולעמוד על המשמר בפני האנטישמיות המפעפעת.

3. יותר מכל מקום אחר נועדה חשיבות מיוחדת לביקור משלחות עיתונאים בארץ. לצדה נמשיך בפעילות מוגברת במוסדות להשכלה גבוהה, עידוד גורמים ישראלים להשתתף בתערוכות ובירידים וכחובן החדרת ראיונות ומאמרים לעיתונות הפותחת את שעריה.

ה. אסיה

1. יפן

להסברה בחלק זה של העולם קשיים מיוחדים הנובעים מפער התרבויות, הבדלי השפות והבורות והגמוקה של שני הצדדים זה אודות זה. משרד החוץ ממשיך לעסוק בהפצת חומר הסברה ביפנית ובהכשרת דיפלומטים ואנשי הסברה צעירים בשפה היפנית כחלק מהפניית משאבים ומאמצים לזירה האסייתית.

2. סין

עד לאחרונה הייתה פעילותנו ההסברתית בסין מוגבלת לפעילותה של הקונסוליה הכללית בהונג קונג כלפי הציבור הסיני במושבה זו. עם איוש נציגותנו שם אנו מקווים להתחיל בהדרגה גם בפעילות הסברה - תחילה תרבותי ולא פוליטי - ביבשת הסינית.

1. אפריקה

תשומת הלב הציבורית בישראל לאפריקה השחורה עלתה בעקבות "מבצע שלמה". אנו נמצאים בעיצומו של תהליך חידוש יחסים בינינו למדינות נוספות באפריקה. כדי לשרת מגמה זו אנו מדגישים את יכולתנו לסייע לאפריקה בנושאים שונים כגון: חקלאות, לימודי קואופרציה ותחומים נוספים. במקביל אנו מתמודדים בזירה האפריקאית בשאלת יחסיה של ישראל עם דרא'פ.

3. איפיונים מיוחדים של מערכת ההסברה

=====

הנסיונות לקנקע את מעמדה הבינ"ל של ישראל, להשחיר את פניה ולהטיל ספק בחוסנה המוסרי ובערכיה, הם מנת חלקנו מדי יום בזירה הבינ"ל. מערכת ההסברה הישראלית מתמודדת מול מערכת אילוצים לא פשוטה המקשה על פעולתה:

א. ההתמודדות מול האינתיפאדה

שנים של עיסוק תקשורתי מסיבי הביאו לשינוי בדימויה של ישראל בעולם, הנתפשת היום כ"מדינה כובשת" שהפכה מ"דוד" ל"גוליית". מהפך הדימויים מאיים על תשתית התמיכה בישראל כמדינה מערבית, דמוקרטית והומנית. אחרי הפוגה זמנית בעקבות משבר המפרץ חוזרת מערכת האינתיפאדה להיות התהליך המדיני.

ב. ההתמודדות מול התקשורת האלקטרונית

מעמדה של התקשורת האלקטרונית כמקור מהיר ומוסמך למידע מקשה מאוד על העברת המסר הישראלי. המסר של הצד השני "נמכר" טוב יותר למצלמות הטלביזיה מעצם אופיו של המדיום. קשה מאוד להעביר במדיה האלקטרונית רעיון ערטילאי כגון התכנית המדינית של ישראל. חשיבות הטלביזיה עולה עוד יותר עם ההתפתחויות בתחום תקשורת הלוויינים הבינלאומית והפיכת רשתות דוגמת CNN לרשת עולמית הנצפית, בו זמנית, בכל חלקי כדור הארץ.

ג. משאבי היריב

נדבך נוסף המקשה על ההסברה הישראלית כיום הינו המאמץ האדיר שמשקיע הצד שכנגד בזירת הקרב על דעת הקהל. מזה זמן רב מתארגן לובי פרו-ערבי בארה"ב המעתיק את דפוסי הפעולה של הלובי הפרו-ישראלי, ומתחיל להגמיק את חדירתו לציבורי יעד אמריקאים. מאמץ זה מקבל גיבוי במשאבים חומריים ואנושיים עצומים המנוצלים במידת תיחוס לא מבוטלת. המשאבים המוקצים ע"י מדינת ישראל לתחום זה, הינם דלים ביותר ואינם עומדים בשום יחס לגודל ההשקעה של הצד שכנגד. ללא ספק הדבר משפיע על יכולתנו לפעול באופן אפקטיבי להחדרת המסר הישראלי. ידוע לנו על השקעות כספיות גדולות בתחום זה גם בשווקים אחרים כולל בריה"מ, מזרח אירופה ויפן.

ד. הסטנדרט הכפול

עובדה נוספת המעיבה על נסיונות ההסברה של ישראל הינה שרעולים, ובמיוחד רעולם החופשי, מתייחס מאז ומתמיד למדינת ישראל בקני מידה שונים ובסטנדרטים כפולים. דבר זה מוביל לעיסוק תקשורתי אינטנסיבי בנושא הישראלי ולראייה, מספרם הגדול של העיתונאים הזרים היושבים בישראל ו'שטפון' הכתבים שרציפו את ישראל בתקופת מלחמת המפרץ.

ה. ההתמקצעות בהסברה

המעבר לדור הלוויין, מעבד התמלילים, הפאקס ותקשורת המחשבים, יצר זה מכבר מציאות חדשה המחייבת תשובות לא שגרתיות תוך הסתייעות בגורמי חוץ, במומחים, בחברות ליחסי ציבור ובאנשי מקצוע. המשרד בודק אפשרויות כגון אלו ומיישם אותם במגבלות היכולת כי הן מחייבות משאבים כספיים חדשים.

ו. ישראל - חברה דמוקרטית וחופשית

1. דיוק ואמינות - בניגוד לצד השני, שאינו בוחל בהטעייה ובהולכת שולל, אנו מצויים על דיוק ואמינות של המידע הרשמי, כמתחייב בחברה דמוקרטית. עם זאת, הרקפדה על מהימנות המידע באה לעיתים קרובות על חשבון מהירות התגובה.

2. פתיחות החברה - כחברה פתוחה וחופשית, יש בישראל נגישות גבוהה לאמצעי התקשורת לכל אירוע ויכולת כיסוי של כל מוסד. אפילו אכיפת חוקי הצנזורה נתקלת בקשיים הנובעים מעקרון הפתיחות לתקשורת. מועטות המדינות, גם כאלה שעל מסורתן הדמוקרטית אין עוררין, אשר בתקופה כה קשה מבחינה תקשורתית היו עדיין מתירות סיקור חופשי משטחן, עובדה שכשלעצמה אינה זוכה לכיסוי הולם.

3. מיגוון דעות - אופיה הדימוקרטי של ישראל ומיגוון הדעות המיוצגות בה, חייבות להשתקף בתמונת ההסברה שלנו, כאשר הצד השני משתמש בדעות ישראליות הנוגדות את דעת הממשלה כדי להצדיק את עמדותיו כנגד ישראל.

4. קרי פעולה

=====

א. מקצוענות והשימוש בחברות יחסי ציבור - החלנו בנסיון בארה"ב, של הפעלת חברות יחסי ציבור לקידום מטרות מיוחדות, תוך ניצול היתרון המקצועי של החברות באותם תחומים.

ב. משלוח מבקרים לארץ - הנסיון מלמד שההסברה הטובה ביותר היא ההתרשמות הבלתי אמצעית של המבקרים בארץ, מראותיה ובעיותיה. למשל, קשה להסביר בשיחה את בעיות הבטחון של ישראל ביש"ע, אך הן מובנות מאוד לאחר תצפית מגב הרר לעבר שפלת החוף. הכוונה היא להביא לארץ משלחות של מעצבי דעת קהל: מדינאים, פרלמנטרים, עיתונאים בכירים, מנהיגים מקומיים ואחרים.

- ג. החזרת חומר כתוב - פעולה מרוכזת להחזרת חומר כתוב לעיתונות במאמרי דיעה, מכתבים למערכת ומודעות בתשלום של גופים עצמאיים, על בסיס חומר שיופק בארץ או בנציגות.
- ד. הפצת מידע מיידית - שימוש בדואר אלקטרוני, פאקס ואמצעים אחרים להפצת מידע מיידית על ישראל.
- ה. משלוח מסבירים מהארץ - יישום של תכניות מרצים מוגברות לאירופה והכשרת קאדרים של מסבירים בשפות השונות, לניצול ע"י הנציגויות והאירגונים המקומיים.
- ו. אירגונים אקדמיים - בחינת האפשרות להגברת הפעילות באוניברסיטאות האירופאיות, ומיצוי של הסכמים לחילופי סטודנטים בשיתוף בתי"ס לתלמידי חו"ל באוניברסיטאות בארץ.
- ז. פעולות תרבות - גיוס הנציגויות להגברת מופעי תרבות מהארץ, בעיקר לארצות מזרח אירופה, כאמצעי נוסף לחדירה ישראלית לשם.



Deputy Minister
of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem

סגן שר החוץ
ירושלים

כ"א בתמוז תשנ"א
3 ביולי 1991

111730

סיכום ישיבת הסברה 4.7
נוכחים: ס/שה"ח, אורן, רביב, אולמרט, עמיהוד, גל, ארד.

ערביות

לחוציא דברי ס/שה"ח בכנסת באנגלית. יש לחזק קו ההסברה האומר שהנושא הומניטרי ואין להתנותו בתנאים פוליטיים.

עיראק

קו התידרוכים הוא שלא מאמינים לסאדאם חוסיין, תומכים במאמץ האמריקאי ומאמינים שייתן התוצאות המקוות.

סוריה

מח' הסברה תבנה מודל להשוואה בין יחסו של המערב לעירק ליחסו של המערב לסוריה.
אורי אורן יבדוק עם הטלויזיה האם אפשר לקבל קסטת מבט שני ולהפיצה תמורת תשלום לרשות השידור.



י"ח בתמוז תשנ"א
30 ביוני 1991

סכום ישיבת הסברה

נוכחים: ס/השר, אולמרט, רביב, אבידן, גל, עמיהוד, קשדן, גביר, ארד.

1. לבדוק עם פר"ן נושא מחשבי-על על בסיס הידיעה ב-WT.
2. תגובה בנושא עירק:
אין לנו אשליות ביחס לכוונותיו של סאדאם חוסיין ויש זכות מלאה לארה"ב לפעול. מראה את מגבלות הפיקוח הבינ"ל.
(לא ללחוץ לפעולה צבאית).
הסברה תוציא T.P. לנציגויות.
3. ערבויות
להוציא תרגום תקציר של דברי ס'שה"ח בכנסת.
הסברה תכין חוברת קצרה של שו"ת בנושא הערבויות.
4. סוריה
יש להכין T.P. על נושא יהודי סוריה וליזום מאמרי עמדה בעיתונים. הקו הוא שאם סוריה רוצה להתנקות בעיני המערב היא אינה יכולה להחזיק ביהודים כבני ערובה.

1

0 200 1 25

SYRIAN JEWRY -SITUATION UPDATE

GENERAL

1. DESPITE RAMIFIED PUBLIC AND DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY, THE SITUATION OF SYRIAN JEWRY HAS NOT IMPROVED AT ALL FOR YEARS, AND IT REMAINS AS DIFFICULT AS EVER.

2. THE JEWS ARE UNDER THE CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE OF THE SECURITY SERVICE (MUKHABARAT) IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD IN WHICH THEY LIVE, AT SCHOOL AND IN THEIR SHOPS. THEY ARE NOT PERMITTED TO GO ABROAD. (EMIGRATE), WHETHER FOR PURPOSES OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION OR TO BEGIN A NEW LIFE IN ANOTHER COUNTRY.

3. ANYONE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE SYRIA (INCLUDING THOSE WHO ONLY REACH THE PLANNING STAGES) IS ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED UNDER THE MOST DIFFICULT CONDITIONS, FOR A LONG PERIOD, WITHOUT TRIAL. THE FAMILY OF ANYONE WHO SUCCEEDS IN FLEEING CAN EXPECT TO BE IMPRISONED AND TORTURED, SINCE IT DID NOT 'INFORM' THE MUKHABARAT ABOUT THE PERSON'S INTENTIONS TO FLEE.

4. FOLLOWING IS A CURRENT LIST OF PRISONERS, THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THEIR ARREST AND CONDITIONS OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT.

DETAINED FAMILIES

THE TWO SUWAYD BROTHERS FROM DAMASCUS

5. IMPRISONED SINCE 1987. THE TWO BECAME SEVERELY ILL DUE TO THE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT IN A DAMP, DARK SUBTERRANEAN BASEMENT. THEIR TRIAL BEGAN ABOUT A YEAR AGO, UNDER GREAT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE. THE TRIAL IS STILL CONTINUING AND VARIOUS CHARGES HAVE BEEN BROUGHT. CURRENTLY, THEY ARE CHARGED WITH SPYING IN VIEW OF A SHORT TRIP THEY MADE TO ISRAEL TO VISIT RELATIVES (THERE IS NO FOUNDATION FOR THIS ACCUSATION).

RAHMUN DARWISH AND JOSEPH RAFUL SABATO FROM QAMISHLI

7. THE TWO MEN WERE ARRESTED ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1990, ALONG WITH THEIR WIVES. RAHMUN DARWISH'S WIFE WAS SEVEN MONTHS' PREGNANT AND SHE WAS HELD IN PRISON UNTIL AFTER SHE GAVE BIRTH THERE UNDER DIFFICULT CONDITIONS AND MOST ABUSIVE TREATMENT. THE TWO WOMEN WERE RELEASED AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS, BUT THE MEN HAVE BEEN DETAINED SINCE THEN WITHOUT TRIAL. THEY ARE CHARGED WITH ATTEMPTING TO FLEE THE COUNTRY.

MOSHE DA'UD PINCHAS AND ZAKI SHAUL SABATO FROM QAMISHLI

8. TWO YOUNG MEN, 18 YEARS OLD, WHO LEFT HOME FOR FEW DAYS. WHEN THEY RETURNED, THEY WERE ARRESTED ON CHARGES OF ATTEMPTING TO FLEE SYRIA. THERE WAS NO PROOF FOR THE CHARGE, SINCE THEY WERE NOT ARRESTED NEAR THE BORDER. THE TWO YOUNG MEN HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL SINCE NOVEMBER 1990.

THE CASTICA FAMILY FROM DAMASCUS

9. TWO BROTHERS, SUBHI AND SA'ID CASTICA, ALONG WITH THEIR WIVES AND TWO BABIES - ONE BORN IN 1989 AND THE OTHER IN 1991 - WERE ARRESTED IN MAY 1991, FAR FROM THE BORDER, AND WERE CHARGED WITH ATTEMPTING TO FLEE THE COUNTRY. THEY HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL.

PUBLIC ACTIVITY AND ITS RESULTS

10. RAMIFIED PUBLIC AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN CONDUCTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS, EUROPEAN HEADS OF STATE AND MANY PUBLIC FIGURES. NOT A MONTH PASSES WITHOUT THE SUBJECT BEING RAISED IN CONTACTS WITH SENIOR FACTORS IN SYRIA - ALL TO NO EFFECT. THE SYRIANS RAISE COUNTER-CLAIMS, DISTORT FACTS AND MORE THAN ONCE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN EMBARRASSING THEIR INTERLOCUTORS, WHO ARE NOT ALWAYS FULLY PROFICIENT ON THE SUBJECT.

SYRIAN CLAIMS

11. THERE IS NO DISCRIMINATION IN SYRIA, AND THE LAW APPLIES TO EVERYONE. JEWS ARE SYRIAN CITIZENS IN EVERY WAY AND THERE ARE NO LIMITATIONS TO THEIR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT (THE OFFICIAL POSITION).

12. THE DETAINEES WERE ARRESTED BECAUSE THEY VIOLATED THE LAW AGAINST 'ILLEGAL DEPARTURE'.

13. ISRAEL MUST FACILITATE THE REUNIFICATION OF THE 500 THOUSAND DRUZE (GOLAN HEIGHTS). THIS IS A CONDITION FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF SYRIAN JEWISH FAMILIES (STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT ASSAD AND THE SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER).

14. THE PROBLEM OF THE SYRIAN JEWS IS LINKED TO THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINANS, AND WILL ONLY BE RESOLVED IN AN OVERALL AGREEMENT (REPLIES GIVEN TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS).

ACTUAL SITUATION

15. CONTRARY TO SYRIA'S CLAIMS, THE JEWS ARE TREATED WORSE THAN NON-JEWISH SYRIAN CITIZENS (SEE SURVEY). THE LATTER ARE PERMITTED TO LEAVE SYRIA ON VACATION, ANY TIME THEY WISH. JEWS ARE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY ONLY AFTER POSTING A MONETARY BOND AND LEAVING BEHIND RELATIVES AS HOSTAGES (THE PASSPORT IDENTIFIES THE BEARER AS A JEW).

16. THOSE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE THE COUNTRY INDEED DO SO IN THE FRAMEWORK OF 'ILLEGAL DEPARTURE', BUT THIS 'CRIME' COMES AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE ABSENCE OF ANY 'LEGAL' RECOURSE. THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR KEEPING THEM IMPRISONED FOR LONG TERMS WITHOUT TRIAL FOR SUCH A 'CRIME'. SMUGGLERS OF GOODS AND DRUGS ARE DETAINED FOR ONLY SHORT PERIODS.

17. THE SYRIAN CONSTITUTION EXPLICITLY CLAIMS EQUALITY IN FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, AND THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE SYRIAN AUTHORITIES ARE ACTING HERE IN VIOLATION OF SYRIAN LAW.

LIMITING FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT/EMIGRATION CONTRAVENES INTERNATIONAL LAW AND EVERY INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. AS FOR THE SYRIAN CLAIM REGARDING ISRAEL'S TREATMENT OF THE DRUZE ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS - THERE ARE NOT 500 THOUSAND REFUGEES, BUT RATHER 1200 DRUZE WHO LEFT IN THE WAKE OF THE 1967 SIX DAY WAR. OF THESE, ABOUT 600 HAVE SO FAR RETURNED TO THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. ISRAEL ALLOWS EVERY DRUZE TO LEAVE THE STATE OF ISRAEL, WHETHER FOR A VISIT OR TO EMIGRATE, BUT SYRIA DOES NOT GRANT THEM ENTRY.

18. UP TO 1991, OVER 300 DRUZE LEFT ISRAEL FOR VISITS IN SYRIA AND ANOTHER 200 ARE WAITING TO RECEIVE ENTRY VISAS FOR SYRIA.

19. LINKING THE PROBLEM OF SYRIAN JEWRY WITH THE PALESTINIANS IN THE ISRAELI ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES DOES NOT STAND UP TO ANY LEGAL EXAMINATION, OR EVEN TO LOGIC. SYRIAN JEWS ARE SYRIAN CITIZENS IN EVERY WAY, WHILE THERE HAS BEEN NO DETERMINATION OF THE PALESTINIANS' CITIZENSHIP. HOWEVER, PALESTINIANS ARE NOT PREVENTED FROM LEAVING THE STATE OF ISRAEL OR THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES. OF COURSE, ENTRY IS PERMITTED ONLY TO RESIDENTS RESIDING IN ISRAEL AND THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES SINCE THE SIX DAY WAR.

20. ONE CLAIM POINTS TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT SYRIAN JEWS WOULD INCREASE ISRAEL'S MILITARY POWER (STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT ASSAD AND THE SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER). THIS RIDICULOUS CLAIM DOES NOT EVEN DESERVE TO BE ADDRESSED.

SUMMARY

21. SYRIA HOLDS ITS JEWISH CITIZENS AS HOSTAGES AND DEMANDS POLITICAL CONCESSIONS FROM ISRAEL FOR THEIR RELEASE.

22. SYRIAN JEWISH CITIZENS ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST AND DO NOT HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS.

23. IN ORDER TO DETER THE JEWS FROM TRYING TO LEAVE SYRIA, THE SYRIAN AUTHORITIES IMPRISON THOSE WHO DO ATTEMPT TO LEAVE, FOR LONG PERIODS AND WITHOUT TRIAL.

24. THE PRESIDENT OF SYRIA AND HIS MINISTERS EXPLOIT FOREIGN POLITICIANS' AND PUBLIC FIGURES' LACK OF PROFICIENCY ON THE SUBJECT, AND PRESENT THEM WITH INCORRECT DATA (SEE DRUZE, PALESTINIANS).

25. THE JEWISH PEOPLE'S CONCERN, AND EFFORTS TO FACILITATE THE RELEASE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN SYRIA, ONLY SERVES TO STRENGTHEN THE OPINION OF SYRIAN LEADERS THAT THEY HOLD AN IMPORTANT BARGAINING CHIP.

26. WE MUST CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE IN ALL POSSIBLE WAYS, MAKE CERTAIN THAT THOSE PRESENTING THE DEMANDS ARE EQUIPPED WITH CORRECT AND PROVEN DATA, AND IN ANY CASE PREVENT THE LINKING OF THE PROBLEM OF SYRIAN JEWRY WITH A RESOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM.

ATTACHMENTS

ATTACHMENT A: SYRIAN JEWRY/BASIC SURVEY

ATTACHMENT B: SYRIAN JEWRY/THE LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS

SYRIAN JEWRY

1. ATTACHED PLEASE FIND THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

A. THE SITUATION OF SYRIAN JEWRY - AN UPDATE

B. HUMAN RIGHTS IN SYRIA - SUMMARY

C. SYRIA - A PLAN OF ACTION

D. HUMAN RIGHTS IN SYRIA - COMPREHENSIVE BOOKLET

E. SYRIAN JEWRY - A GENERAL SURVEY

F. REMARK - THE FIRST FOUR ITEMS CAN ALSO BE TRANSFERRED TO OTHERS WHEREAS THE LAST ITEM (THE GENERAL SURVEY) IS INTENDED FOR YOUR USE ONLY.

2. WE REQUEST THAT THE ACTIVITY BE PLANNED ON TWO LEVELS - POLITICAL AND MEDIA AND TO PREPARE TWO PLANS:

- A. THE FIRST - A PLAN OF ACTION DIRECTED AT POLITICAL PERSONS AND BODIES AT HIGH LEVELS WHO HAVE POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE ON SETTING THE CONDITIONS OF AID FOR SYRIA, FOR APPLYING REAL PRESSURE, AND FOR SUITABLE LEGISLATION.

- B. THE SECOND PLAN WILL BE USED ON THE MEDIA, NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS, RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS, NEWSPAPER EDITORS, JOURNALISTS AND AUTHORS WHO ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO TAKE ON A MEDIA CAMPAIGN ON A LONG TERM BASIS.

3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING DETAILED PLANS OF ACTION AND IDEAS BEFOREHAND SO THAT WE CAN COORDINATE THE ACTIVITY IN YOUR COUNTRY WITH THAT IN OTHER COUNTRIES. IN THIS WAY BETTER USE CAN BE MADE OF RESOURCES AND NEGATIVE, CONTRADICTIONARY RESULTS PREVENTED.

4. MANY THANKS.

SYRIA - PLAN OF ACTION

THE INTENTION IS TO OPERATE ON TWO LEVELS:

- A. THE POLITICAL LEVEL
- B. THE MEDIA LEVEL.

POLITICAL - BACKGROUND

THE ATTITUDE OF THE WEST TOWARDS SYRIA HAS IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE THE END OF THE GULF CRISIS. COUNTRIES WHOSE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SYRIA HAD BEEN CUT OFF OR FROZEN, HAVE NOW RENEWED RELATIONS. OTHERS HAVE RENEWED WIDE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES WITH SYRIA.

SYRIA, FOR ITS PART, IS MAKING CAPITAL OUT OF ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE COALITION AGAINST IRAQ AND HAS ASKED FOR MASSIVE ASSISTANCE IN ECONOMIC AND SECURITY MATTERS.

HOWEVER, NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN SYRIA - NEITHER IN THE TOTALITARIAN NATURE OF ITS REGIME, NOR IN ITS SUPPORT OF TERROR, OR IN ITS BLATANT ATTACKS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS, ESPECIALLY THE JEWS. ALL THIS CAN BE SEEN IN THE ATTACHED MATERIAL.

FURTHERMORE, IN RECENT MONTHS, SYRIA HAS BEEN CONDEMNED EXPLICITLY BY VARIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER AMERICAN COMMITTEES.

IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE TO GET CARRIED AWAY AND THINK THAT SYRIA HAS CORRECTED ITS WAYS AND HAS BECOME WORTHY OF THE WEST'S FAVORABLE AND FRIENDLY ATTITUDE. SYRIA JOINED THE COALITION NOT BECAUSE OF ANY SOLIDARITY WITH THE WEST OR THE FREE WORLD BUT RATHER BECAUSE OF ENTIRELY SELFISH REASONS. ON THE ONE HAND IT DEEPLY FEARED THE POSSIBILITY OF AN IRAQI VICTORY WHICH WOULD HAVE DOUBTLESSLY ENDED WITH SYRIA'S BEING OCCUPIED AND SEVERLY PUNISHED FOR SUPPORTING OF IRAN THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE IRAQ-IRAN WAR.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WITH THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE EAST EUROPEAN 'EMPIRE' AND THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOVIET UNION, SYRIA WAS LEFT TOTALLY ISOLATED AND NO LONGER HAD ANYONE TO PROTECT IT, NOT EVEN FROM A THEORETICALLY POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW.

IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT SYRIA WAS VERY PLEASED TO JOIN THE 'WEALTHY' SIDE (SAUDI ARABIA, THE GULF, THE WEST) AND THE STRONG SIDE (THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS).

THEREFORE, IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT ANY ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO SYRIA, BE IT ECONOMIC, SECURITY AND CULTURAL, SHOULD BE GIVEN ONLY ON THE CONDITION THAT THERE BE A SIGNIFICANT, OBVIOUS AND MEANINGFUL CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF THE SYRIAN REGIME, PARTICULARLY REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS - WITHOUT

EXCEPTION. RECENTLY, A BILL WAS PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN CONGRESS FORBIDDING ALL FOREIGN AID TO SYRIA UNTIL THE PRESIDENT REPORTS DEFINITELY ON THE ABOVE CHANGES. SUCH A STEP, IN OUR OPINION, IS HIGHLY POSITIVE AND SHOULD BE ADOPTED. LIKewise, SIMILAR LAWS SHOULD BE INITIATED THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN FREE WORLD, ESPECIALLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES FROM WHICH SYRIA HAS REQUESTED AID.

THE MEDIA LEVEL

THE MEDIA MUST TAKE UPON THEMSELVES THIS IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN MISSION AND LAUNCH A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN AGAINST SYRIA.

WE ARE CURRENTLY EXPERIENCING A POLITICAL ERA OF PRIME IMPORTANCE WHEN FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE SUPERPOWERS AND A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONALITIES FROM THE HIGHEST ECHELONS ARE COMING TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND MAKING EFFORTS TO REACH A PEACE SETTLEMENT. THEY ALL MEET WITH THE SYRIAN PRESIDENT WITH THE AIM OF PERSUADING HIM TO JOIN THE PEACE PROCESS.

ASSAD VIEWS THIS ACTIVITY AS AN EXPRESSION OF GREAT RESPECT FOR HIM, AND APPRECIATION BY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES. AS A RESULT HE FEELS SO POWERFUL THAT HE ALLOWS HIMSELF TO HARDEN HIS STAND AND TO ADOPT A RECALCITRANT, OBSTINATE ATTITUDE, WHILE ALL THE OTHER FACTORS INVOLVED ARE REVEALING FLEXIBILITY AND ARE GIVING UP IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES.

THE MEDIA MUST SHOW SYRIA IN ITS TRUE LIGHT AND EXPLAIN TO THE WORLD THE TRUTH ABOUT ITS TOTALITARIAN REGIME, WHICH OPPRESSES ITS CITIZENS' HUMAN RIGHTS. SUCH INFORMATIVE ACTIVITY SHOULD NOT BE CARRIED OUT ON A ONE TIME BASIS OVER A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, TO BE FORGOTTEN QUICKLY, BUT MUST RATHER GO ON CONTINUOUSLY AND PERSISTENTLY UNTIL SYRIA IN FACT IMPROVES ITS WAYS.

IN SHORT, THE SUBJECT MUST REMAIN ON NEWSPAPER PAGES AND IN THE MEDIA UNTIL THE PROBLEM IS COMPLETELY SOLVED.

LARGER AND STRONGER COUNTRIES THAN SYRIA (ALL EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION) HAVE RETURNED TO THE FREE WORLD DUE TO PRESSURE PLACED ON THEM BY WORLD MEDIA. THERE IS NO REASON WHY A COUNTRY LIKE SYRIA, WHICH SUPPORTS INTERNATIONAL TERROR AND CRUSHES ALL INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD CONTINUE ON ITS OBSTINATE PATH AND EVEN GARNER PRIZES WHICH IT DOES NOT DESERVE AT ALL.

אל: כל הנציגויות (רק לנציגויות עם צופן)

בהמשך למברקינו חוזם 19005.

TALKING POINTS -- SYRIA AND THE PEACE PROCESS

Following the resolution of the Gulf Crisis and the defeat of Iraq by the international coalition, there was optimism that a "new order" would arise in the world, or at least in the Middle East. It was hoped that the Arab nations, which have refused to even recognize Israel's right to exist, would now enter an era of cooperation and make peace with Israel.

Syria was among the nations from whom there were expectations. Syria, a country bordering both Israel and Iraq, has much to gain from peace in the region. It's major rival in the East, Iraq, was destroyed by the military actions of the international coalition. Yet it refuses to enter a process which could possibly bring peace with Israel through non-violent means.

To those familiar with Syria this really comes as no surprise. Syria has traditionally been one of the most extreme Arab countries of the Middle East. Together with Iraq, it is considered by the U.S. State Department to be one of the six states who sponsor global terrorism.

Syria exploited the world focus on the Gulf crisis to strengthen its hold on Lebanon. In October 1990 Syria destroyed the forces of Lebanese Christian leader Michel Aoun, massacring many civilians in the process. Most recently, it has been reported that Syria has prepared a treaty with Lebanon which will result in the de facto absorption of Lebanon as a Syrian province.

Syria's propensity for the use of force has been cited in many human rights reports. It's lack of concern for global considerations is also seen in its involvement in international drug trafficking. While the world speaks of a new order, Syria has clearly displayed that it remains committed to the destructive ways of the past.

1) Syria and the Peace Process

a) Despite the American and Soviet efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, the Syrians rejected the proposal for a regional meeting at which the Arabs and Israel would negotiate peace. In such a meeting, hosted by the U.S. and Soviet Union, the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict would enter direct face-to-face negotiations following an opening session attended by all. Europeans would participate in some capacity, and Palestinian representation would represent the interests of the Arab residents of the territories. But Syria has so far refused to commit itself to such a meeting.

b) Of all of the Arab coalition partners Syria stands alone in its rejection of the peace process. Israel has shown flexibility in its position and willingness to contribute to confidence building measures. Egypt, Jordan, and representatives of the Gulf Cooperation Council have expressed willingness to participate in the regional meeting in some capacity. Syrian rejectionism threatens the readiness of countries such as Egypt and Jordan to continue to support the peace process.

c) Syria has clung to its demand that negotiations be held in a political framework in which Israel would be diplomatically isolated and forced into making concessions that would endanger its security. For this reason, Syria demands that negotiations be held in the context of an international conference sponsored by the United Nations. Syria also demands that Israel declare its prior intention to abandon the Golan Heights before negotiations, rather than negotiate this issue at the peace table. Syria is not prepared to recognize Israel, let alone sign a peace agreement with it.

2) Syria and Lebanon

a) For years, Syria has tried to transform its smaller neighbor Lebanon into a new province of "Greater Syria". For this purpose, Syria has encouraged terror and violence in Lebanon since the Lebanese civil war began in 1975.

b) Syria has focused its efforts on destabilizing Lebanon and preventing any arrangement which would not suit Syrian interests. In 1984, Syria forced the government of Lebanon to abrogate a peace agreement it had reached with Israel the year before.

c) According to reports, Syria has most recently concluded a treaty with Lebanon which would result in the transformation of Lebanon into a protectorate of Syria. The agreement calls for the establishment of joint policies on both regional and international affairs. The treaty is a Syrian attempt to convert its military dominance over Lebanon into complete sovereignty over the Lebanese people.

3) Syrian Military Aspirations

a) Syrian rejection of the peace process coincides with its current massive military buildup. Syria has recently received shipment of MIG-29 fighter planes and SU-24 fighter bombers, and has purchased North Korean SCUD C surface to surface missiles, which are far more accurate than the SCUD missiles fired by Iraq at Israel and Saudi Arabia. There have also been extensive media reports that Syria has very recently purchased 300 advanced tanks from Czechoslovakia.

b) The Syrian buildup is financed by the funds Syria received in compensation for its participation in the coalition against Iraq. Money that could have been spent on agricultural development and other peaceful ventures is instead being used to

build a formidable military arsenal comparable to the one present in Iraq on the eve of its invasion of Kuwait.

c) The new Syrian weapons are in addition to the vast stockpile of weapons already in Syria. Besides conventional weapons, Syria maintains stockpiles of chemical weapons and has adequate missile technology to deliver them to any part of Israel.

4) Syria and International Terror

a) Syria is a state sponsor of international terror. According to the Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1990, the U.S. State Department report on terror, "Syria continued to give refuge and support to Lebanese, Palestinian, Turkish, Japanese, and Iranian terrorists while maintaining that all attacks on Israel and the occupied territories are legitimate 'national liberation' efforts."

b) Several of the most radical Palestinian terror groups are headquartered in Damascus. These include the PFLP, the PFLP-GC, the PSF, the Abu Musa group, and the DFLP. Several other terrorist groups, including the Japanese Red Army and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad receive cooperation from Syria. A Palestinian Islamic Jihad statement taking credit for an ambush of an Israeli bus in Egypt in which nine Israeli civilians were killed was broadcast from a radio station on Syrian soil.

5) Syria and Human Rights

a) When the Gulf crisis broke out, the focus of the world centered on Iraq and Kuwait. Syria took this as an opportune time to step up its long-held practice of abusing human rights. In October 1990, Syria destroyed the opposition to its hegemony over Lebanon when it eliminated the forces of Lebanese Christian leader Michel Aoun, massacring many of his soldiers and killing women and children in the process. According to news reports, many handcuffed Lebanese Christian soldiers were shot in the back of the head after they had surrendered to Syrian forces.

b) These actions were reminiscent of February 1982, when the Syrian government massacred thousands of protestors in the city of Hama opposed to the rule of Hafez Assad. The Syrian army sealed off the city to the outside world, and proceeded to bomb its inhabitants from the ground and from the air. According to Amnesty International, cyanide gas may also have been used for killing protestors: Syrian soldiers were reported to have connected "rubber pipes to the entrances of buildings believed to be housing insurgents and turned on" the cyanide gas canisters.

c) These actions are consistent with Syria's long list of other human rights violations. According to Amnesty International, in Syria "torture is used systematically during interrogation (of prisoners) both in order to extract confessions and as a form of punishment." Amnesty reports that Syrian torture includes electric shock burning, whipping and beating, burning, and

sexual tortures. The U.S. State Department and Middle East Watch have also reported on extensive Syrian use of torture and a vast array of other human rights violations.

6) Syria and International Drug Trafficking

a) The Syrian government takes an active role in the international drug market. According to the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report prepared by the U.S. State Department and released in March 1991, "Syria is a transit point for illicit drugs as well as a refiner of heroin." In addition, in Lebanon "Syria tolerates and profits from the drug production and trafficking in the areas over which it exercises control."

b) Syria is involved in the production, refinement, and trafficking of Heroin, Opium, Cocaine, Hashish, and Marijuana. According to the U.S. government report, "individual Syrian soldiers and other officials stationed in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, as well as higher level Syrian military officials, are involved in the drug trade." The report adds, "Periodic media reports that the Syrian Army has encouraged and participated in the destruction of hashish and opium crops in the Bekaa Valley are unsubstantiated. In fact, the reverse appears to be true."

c) There are even reports of direct involvement of Syria's rulers in international drug trafficking. These include the Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas and Rif'at Assad, the brother of the Syrian president.

7) Syria and Iraq

One of the major ironies of the Persian Gulf War is that as the international coalition battled against the tyranny of Iraq and Saddam Hussein, it was joined in arms by the forces of Hafez Assad and Syria. While convenience may have determined the newfound interest of the world in Syria, the parallels between Iraq and Syria should not be just as conveniently forgotten. Both are committed to the use of force for achieving political goals, both are state sponsors of international terror, and both are ruled by ruthless dictators. Both share ambitions to swallow a smaller neighbor: Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait, and Syria is expanding on its military dominance over Lebanon and gradually transforming it into a Syrian protectorate. It would be a shame if the same mistakes the world made in underestimating Iraq will be repeated with Syria.

HASBARA/MEYDA

20-MAY-1991

אל: כל הנציגויות (רק לנציגויות עם צופן)

בהמשך למברקינו חוזם 19005.

TALKING POINTS -- SYRIA AND THE PEACE PROCESS

Following the resolution of the Gulf Crisis and the defeat of Iraq by the international coalition, there was optimism that a "new order" would arise in the world, or at least in the Middle East. It was hoped that the Arab nations, which have refused to even recognize Israel's right to exist, would now enter an era of cooperation and make peace with Israel.

Syria was among the nations from whom there were expectations. Syria, a country bordering both Israel and Iraq, has much to gain from peace in the region. It's major rival in the East, Iraq, was destroyed by the military actions of the international coalition. Yet it refuses to enter a process which could possibly bring peace with Israel through non-violent means.

To those familiar with Syria this really comes as no surprise. Syria has traditionally been one of the most extreme Arab countries of the Middle East. Together with Iraq, it is considered by the U.S. State Department to be one of the six states who sponsor global terrorism.

Syria exploited the world focus on the Gulf crisis to strengthen its hold on Lebanon. In October 1990 Syria destroyed the forces of Lebanese Christian leader Michel Aoun, massacring many civilians in the process. Most recently, it has been reported that Syria has prepared a treaty with Lebanon which will result in the de facto absorption of Lebanon as a Syrian province.

Syria's propensity for the use of force has been cited in many human rights reports. It's lack of concern for global considerations is also seen in its involvement in international drug trafficking. While the world speaks of a new order, Syria has clearly displayed that it remains committed to the destructive ways of the past.

1) Syria and the Peace Process

a) Despite the American and Soviet efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, the Syrians rejected the proposal for a regional meeting at which the Arabs and Israel would negotiate peace. In such a meeting, hosted by the U.S. and Soviet Union, the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict would enter direct face-to-face negotiations following an opening session attended by all. Europeans would participate in some capacity, and Palestinian representation would represent the interests of the Arab residents of the territories. But Syria has so far refused to commit itself to such a meeting.

b) Of all of the Arab coalition partners Syria stands alone in its rejection of the peace process. Israel has shown flexibility in its position and willingness to contribute to confidence building measures. Egypt, Jordan, and representatives of the Gulf Cooperation Council have expressed willingness to participate in the regional meeting in some capacity. Syrian rejectionism threatens the readiness of countries such as Egypt and Jordan to continue to support the peace process.

c) Syria has clung to its demand that negotiations be held in a political framework in which Israel would be diplomatically isolated and forced into making concessions that would endanger its security. For this reason, Syria demands that negotiations be held in the context of an international conference sponsored by the United Nations. Syria also demands that Israel declare its prior intention to abandon the Golan Heights before negotiations, rather than negotiate this issue at the peace table. Syria is not prepared to recognize Israel, let alone sign a peace agreement with it.

2) Syria and Lebanon

a) For years, Syria has tried to transform its smaller neighbor Lebanon into a new province of "Greater Syria". For this purpose, Syria has encouraged terror and violence in Lebanon since the Lebanese civil war began in 1975.

b) Syria has focused its efforts on destabilizing Lebanon and preventing any arrangement which would not suit Syrian interests. In 1984, Syria forced the government of Lebanon to abrogate a peace agreement it had reached with Israel the year before.

c) According to reports, Syria has most recently concluded a treaty with Lebanon which would result in the transformation of Lebanon into a protectorate of Syria. The agreement calls for the establishment of joint policies on both regional and international affairs. The treaty is a Syrian attempt to convert its military dominance over Lebanon into complete sovereignty over the Lebanese people.

3) Syrian Military Aspirations

a) Syrian rejection of the peace process coincides with its current massive military buildup. Syria has recently received shipment of MIG-29 fighter planes and SU-24 fighter bombers, and has purchased North Korean SCUD C surface to surface missiles, which are far more accurate than the SCUD missiles fired by Iraq at Israel and Saudi Arabia. There have also been extensive media reports that Syria has very recently purchased 300 advanced tanks from Czechoslovakia.

b) The Syrian buildup is financed by the funds Syria received in compensation for its participation in the coalition against Iraq. Money that could have been spent on agricultural development and other peaceful ventures is instead being used to

build a formidable military arsenal comparable to the one present in Iraq on the eve of its invasion of Kuwait.

c) The new Syrian weapons are in addition to the vast stockpile of weapons already in Syria. Besides conventional weapons, Syria maintains stockpiles of chemical weapons and has adequate missile technology to deliver them to any part of Israel.

4) Syria and International Terror

a) Syria is a state sponsor of international terror. According to the Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1990, the U.S. State Department report on terror, "Syria continued to give refuge and support to Lebanese, Palestinian, Turkish, Japanese, and Iranian terrorists while maintaining that all attacks on Israel and the occupied territories are legitimate 'national liberation' efforts."

b) Several of the most radical Palestinian terror groups are headquartered in Damascus. These include the PFLP, the PFLP-GC, the PSF, the Abu Musa group, and the DFLP. Several other terrorist groups, including the Japanese Red Army and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad receive cooperation from Syria. A Palestinian Islamic Jihad statement taking credit for an ambush of an Israeli bus in Egypt in which nine Israeli civilians were killed was broadcast from a radio station on Syrian soil.

5) Syria and Human Rights

a) When the Gulf crisis broke out, the focus of the world centered on Iraq and Kuwait. Syria took this as an opportune time to step up its long-held practice of abusing human rights. In October 1990, Syria destroyed the opposition to its hegemony over Lebanon when it eliminated the forces of Lebanese Christian leader Michel Aoun, massacring many of his soldiers and killing women and children in the process. According to news reports, many handcuffed Lebanese Christian soldiers were shot in the back of the head after they had surrendered to Syrian forces.

b) These actions were reminiscent of February 1982, when the Syrian government massacred thousands of protestors in the city of Hama opposed to the rule of Hafez Assad. The Syrian army sealed off the city to the outside world, and proceeded to bomb its inhabitants from the ground and from the air. According to Amnesty International, cyanide gas may also have been used for killing protestors: Syrian soldiers were reported to have connected "rubber pipes to the entrances of buildings believed to be housing insurgents and turned on" the cyanide gas canisters.

c) These actions are consistent with Syria's long list of other human rights violations. According to Amnesty International, in Syria "torture is used systematically during interrogation (of prisoners) both in order to extract confessions and as a form of punishment." Amnesty reports that Syrian torture includes electric shock burning, whipping and beating, burning, and

sexual tortures. The U.S. State Department and Middle East Watch have also reported on extensive Syrian use of torture and a vast array of other human rights violations.

6) Syria and International Drug Trafficking

a) The Syrian government takes an active role in the international drug market. According to the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report prepared by the U.S. State Department and released in March 1991, "Syria is a transit point for illicit drugs as well as a refiner of heroin." In addition, in Lebanon "Syria tolerates and profits from the drug production and trafficking in the areas over which it exercises control."

b) Syria is involved in the production, refinement, and trafficking of Heroin, Opium, Cocaine, Hashish, and Marijuana. According to the U.S. government report, "individual Syrian soldiers and other officials stationed in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, as well as higher level Syrian military officials, are involved in the drug trade." The report adds, "Periodic media reports that the Syrian Army has encouraged and participated in the destruction of hashish and opium crops in the Bekaa Valley are unsubstantiated. In fact, the reverse appears to be true."

c) There are even reports of direct involvement of Syria's rulers in international drug trafficking. These include the Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas and Rif'at Assad, the brother of the Syrian president.

7) Syria and Iraq

One of the major ironies of the Persian Gulf War is that as the international coalition battled against the tyranny of Iraq and Saddam Hussein, it was joined in arms by the forces of Hafez Assad and Syria. While convenience may have determined the newfound interest of the world in Syria, the parallels between Iraq and Syria should not be just as conveniently forgotten. Both are committed to the use of force for achieving political goals, both are state sponsors of international terror, and both are ruled by ruthless dictators. Both share ambitions to swallow a smaller neighbor: Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait, and Syria is expanding on its military dominance over Lebanon and gradually transforming it into a Syrian protectorate. It would be a shame if the same mistakes the world made in underestimating Iraq will be repeated with Syria.

HASBARA/MEYDA

20-MAY-1991

SYRIAN JEWRY, HUMAN RIGHTS,

AND THE RULE OF LAW

Study prepared by:

Irwin Cotler
Professor of Law
McGill University

April 9, 1991

SYRIAN JEWRY, HUMAN RIGHTS,

AND THE RULE OF LAW

Study prepared by:

Irwin Cotler
Professor of Law
McGill University

April 9, 1991

ratification by each new session of Parliament, a French precedent deemed still to be applicable to Syrian law; and it never conformed to the requisite nature of an Emergency, as required by Decree No. 51.

Moreover, even leaving these requirements aside, the State of Emergency seems to be illegal in still another way. For Article 4(1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights allows for derogation from undertakings under the Covenant in a State of Emergency only if it is proclaimed in a genuine national emergency and lasts for a limited period of time. Such Emergency measures must be of an "exceptional and temporary nature", as the U.N. Human Rights Committee has stated. Yet the Syrian State of Emergency does not conform to either requirement. It has become the rule, rather than the exception; and it has been in force now for 28 years.

Indeed, even if one were to allow for the "validity" of the State of Emergency, the purported derogation from, or limitations upon, fundamental rights and freedoms - such as the right to emigrate - violate every canon of international Treaty law - and human rights law - to which Syria has obliged itself, as set forth more fully below in Part Two respecting the denial of the right to leave.

SYRIAN JEWRY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE RULE OF LAW

PART ONE:

INTRODUCTION: SYRIA, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE RULE OF LAW

PART TWO:

SYRIA, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW: THE CASE OF SYRIAN JEWRY

- I Denial of the Right to Leave
 - (a) The Right to Leave as a Fundamental and Generic Human Right
 - (b) Syria and the Right to Leave in International Law
- II Denial of the Right to Family Reunification
- III Denial of the Right to Life, Liberty, and the Security of the Person
- IV Denial of Legal Rights, Including Protection Against Arbitrary Arrest and Detention; The Right to a Fair Public Trial; and the Right to Protection Against Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Punishment
- V Denial of the Right to Protection Against Discrimination Based on Race, Religion, Sex, National or Ethnic Origin
- VI State-Supported Anti-Semitism: The "Damascus Libel" as a Case Study
- VII Violations of Fundamental Freedoms - The Denial of Basic Political Rights of Expression, Religion, Assembly and Association
- VIII Restrictions Upon International and Non-Governmental Investigations of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

PART THREE:

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SYRIAN JEWRY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE RULE OF LAW

PART ONE:

INTRODUCTION: SYRIA, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW

Few observers of the Syrian Constitution can fail to be impressed by its seemingly humanistic character and commitment to the rule of law. The Preamble of the Constitution affirms that "freedom is a sacred right and popular democracy is the ideal formula which ensures citizens the exercise of their freedom"; the Constitution proclaims that "sovereignty of law is a fundamental principle in society and state" (Article 25-2); it 'constitutionalizes' the protection of fundamental rights, including freedom of religion (Article 35), freedom of speech (Article 38), and freedom of assembly (Article 39); it declares that "every citizen is presumed innocent until convicted by a final legal decision, that no one may be searched or arrested except in accordance with the law", and that "no one may be subjected to physical or mental torture or be treated in a degrading manner" (Article 28-1/2/3).

Moreover, Syria has not only constitutionalized the protection of fundamental rights, but has also guaranteed their protection through the ratification of the International Bill of Rights, including both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and

Cultural Rights. As well, Syria is a State Party to the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. As such, Syria has not only obliged itself to protect the rights of its citizens, but has effectively undertaken this obligation to each of the State Parties to these Conventions.

Admittedly, Syria argues that its State of Emergency [Halat Al-Tawariq] permits derogation from its obligations and undertakings under both the Syrian Constitution and international treaties to which Syria is a Party. This current State of Emergency, declared as Military Order No. 2 of March 8, 1963 by the National Revolutionary Command Council, was one of the first acts of the Ba'athist officers after seizing power. Moreover, argue the Syrians, this Declaration was both in conformity with Syrian law - particularly Decree No. 51 of December 22, 1962, declared by the previous regime - and based on relevant passages of the Syrian Constitution.

Yet as Syrian jurists have otherwise demonstrated, this Declaration of a State of Emergency some twenty-eight years ago has never been legal, for it did not conform either to the requirements of legislative Decree No. 51 or to the requirements of the Syrian Constitution. In a word, it was never approved by the Council of Ministers chaired by the President of the Republic, nor was it ever submitted to the Syrian Parliament - yet both are required by legislative Decree No. 51: nor was it submitted for Parliamentary

The tragic paradox, therefore, is that Syrian law, which should serve as a protector of rights, has emerged as another instrument of state repression; that Syrian citizens - and, in particular Syrian Jews - who take Syrian law seriously find their fidelity to law criminalized and worse; and that Syrian Jews who rely on the principles of the Syrian Constitution - or on Syrian undertakings under international law such as freedom of emigration - can find not only their rights denied, but their very attempted exercise an invitation for punitive reprisal.

What follows is a documented study of Syrian violations of their own law and international agreements to which Syria is a party, particularly the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, if not also fundamental norms of international customary law, such as the right to leave and the right to be protected against torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman, and degrading punishment. What emerges is a persistent and pervasive assault on human rights in Syria - with Syrian Jewry almost a metaphor for these violations.

There is, as well, a specific, American, Canadian, European, indeed international "connection" to these human rights violations. For what must be realized is that these violations by Syria are not only violations of the rights of Syrian citizens - which would be cause enough to protest - but violations of undertakings made to the international community as well as to each of the State Parties

to the Conventions to which Syria is a signatory. The internationalization of human rights - such as the right to emigrate - has made these rights subject not only to international scrutiny, but to international sanction. The fate of Syrian Jewry, then, is not an "internal affair"; it is the subject-matter of international human rights law - and our collective responsibility.

SYRIAN JEWRY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE RULE OF LAW

PART TWO:

SYRIA, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW: THE CASE OF SYRIAN JEWRY

I Denial of the Right to Leave

The Right to leave has long been regarded as the most "fundamental" and "critical" of human rights, tantamount to the basic right to liberty and personal integrity, if not the right to life itself. Indeed, this right was the subject of one of the most comprehensive - and significant - reports ever to emanate from the United Nations - the 115 page Report by Judge José Inglés on "The Study of Discrimination in Respect of the Right of Everyone to Leave Any Country, Including His Own, And to Return to His Country".

This study by the distinguished Philippine jurist - prepared in his capacity as Special Reporter for the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities - is organized around four basic theses: first, that the right to leave is bound up with the right to liberty, if not the right to life itself, so that, in Judge Inglés words, the denial of the right to leave "may be tantamount to the total deprivation of life itself"; second, that this right is particularly critical for members of racial and religious minorities, who are singled out

for discriminatory treatment, if not also prosecution and persecution on grounds of their religious or national origin; indeed, Judge Inglés refers to "a sort of collective claustrophobia" resulting from "a morbid fear of being hemmed in" when racial or religious minorities who are "singled out for unfair treatment" are then prevented from leaving a country; third, that the right to leave is "an indispensable condition for the full enjoyment by all of other civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights". Accordingly, wrote Judge Inglés, when a person is prevented from emigrating, he may thereby be "prevented" from observing or practising the tenets of his religion; he may be frustrated in efforts to marry and found a family; he may be "unable to associate with his kith and kin"; he may not get the kind of education which he desires - in a word, concluded Judge Inglés, the right to leave "frequently gives rise to discrimination in respect of other human rights and fundamental freedoms, resulting at times in the complete denial of these rights and freedoms"; and fourth, as a corollary, the right to emigrate is so critical and fundamental that, in Judge Inglés words, it "shall not be subject to any restrictions except those provided by law, which shall be only such as are reasonable and necessary...".

It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that the Right to Leave was accorded recognition before virtually all other human rights. Socrates spoke of it as an "attribute of personal liberty"; the Magna Carta of 1215 A.D. emphasized that it was part

of "natural law"; the French Constitution of 1791 included it, while the American Congress of 1868 formally declared that the Right is "a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness".

It is perhaps only natural and appropriate, therefore, that this basic right of human liberty - and human dignity - should now find expression in international treaty law, if not also emerge as part of the *lex lata* - of customary international law.

Indeed, this "generic" human right is now recognized in virtually every major international and regional legal instrument. It is enshrined in Article 13-2 of the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, itself increasingly regarded as declaratory of customary international law, which proclaims that "everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country"; it is codified in Article 12-2 of the **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights**, regarded as the most authoritative international human rights instrument, which provides that "everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own"; it is inscribed in Article 12-2 of the **International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination**, which stipulates that "every individual shall have the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return

to his country"; while similar undertakings can be found in Article 22 of the 1963 Protocol No. 4 to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; Article 22 of the 1969 American Convention on Human Rights; Article 12(1) of the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights; and Basket III of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Final Act), which incorporates by reference both Article 13(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 12(2) of the International Covenant.

Syria, as set forth above, is a Party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; it is a Party to the International Covenant on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination; it approved the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has otherwise relied on the Universal Declaration as a source of international law.

It is true that, inasmuch as the freedom to emigrate may be said to be part of customary international law, it is arguable that Syria, as a member of the international community, would be bound to respect this right even were it not a signatory to a single treaty endorsing freedom of emigration. As it stands, however, Syria not only acknowledges the existence of this right in its own Constitution, but has undertaken to respect it as a State Party to every international treaty where this right finds expression.

Accordingly, Syria's arbitrary and capricious denial of Syrian Jewry's right to leave constitutes a standing breach of its undertakings under international Treaty law, if not international Customary law; indeed this pervasive denial has persisted throughout the life of this present government and Constitution, and throughout the period that Syria has been a State Party to those international Treaties.

Admittedly, the right to leave is not an absolute right, and international law - including, in particular, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - does recognize the possibility of derogations from, or limitations upon, the right to leave. But such derogation or limitation must be of an exceptional character only; in effect, no derogation from, or restriction upon the right to leave is permissible except those which

- (a) are expressly provided by law
- (b) are consistent with obligations under international law, in particular the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and with their international commitments, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and Related Instruments
- (c) have the character of exceptions only
- (d) are not abused or applied in an arbitrary manner, but are applied in such a way that the effective exercise of the right to leave is insured
- (e) provide that the burden of justifying any such restrictions lies with the State, and is otherwise subject to international scrutiny.

The Syrian denial of the right to leave, however, has effectively turned international law and morality on its head.

Rather than protect the Right to Leave as a fundamental right, with any limitation on this right being of an exceptional character only, the right itself has been denied, while permissions to leave have assumed at best the status of exceptions only; rather than ensure that any limitations on this right are prescribed by domestic or international law, Syria has arbitrarily limited the right to leave without reference to - and in violation of - both domestic and international law; rather than provide for any remedy in law against abuse of this right, it has punitively sanctioned the exercise of the right; rather than subject its limitation of the right to leave to international scrutiny, Syria has rejected any international inquiry about its respect for the right itself.

Indeed, the factual and legal grounds advanced by Syria for restricting this fundamental right make a mockery of both facts and law. In the matter of "facts", Syria argues that Syrian Jews do not wish to leave and therefore there can be no denial of the right to leave; alternatively, Syria argues that there is no reason to leave since Syrian Jews actually enjoy a "privileged existence", and that in any case those few who wish to leave are free to do so.

The facts, regrettably, are exactly the opposite, as the analysis below will demonstrate. Syrian Jewry, in a word, is in a "prison without walls", where the right to leave is not only forbidden, but the exercise of that right may result in arrest, detention, torture, or disappearance. Moreover, the condition of

Syrian Jewry - in the absence of the right to leave - is not so much "privileged" as disadvantaged, compounding thereby the magnitude of the rights violation.

II Denial of the Right to Family Reunification

The denial of the right to emigrate is particularly egregious and abusive when it involves also a denial of the right to family reunification. Indeed, the Syrian Constitution recognizes - and undertakes to protect - the family as the basic unit of the social order, as it acknowledges - and undertakes to protect - the institution of marriage, including the removal of any material or social impediments to its realization.

The "constitutionalization" of family rights in Syria reflects the normative international consensus regarding the importance of according the fullest protection to the rights of the family, as set forth in international human rights treaties and declarations to which Syria is a Party. Both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 16(3)), and the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (Article 23-1) speak identically of the family as follows:

"The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State";

While the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognizes that,

"The widest possible protection and assistance should be accorded to the family, which is the natural and fundamental group unit of society, particularly for its establishment and while it is responsible for the care and education of dependent children."

It should be noted that these treaty provisions - and the related provisions in the Helsinki Final Act respecting reunification of families - are neither a substitution for, nor a reduction of, the obligation to respect the right to emigrate as set forth in these same treaties and declarations. Rather, they represent an additional obligation to respect, within the general framework of the right to leave, the humanitarian needs of family reunification.

Moreover, it is difficult to imagine a more compelling case on humanitarian grounds for family reunification than the Syrian Jewish community. For there is scarcely a family that has not been divided or separated through the passage of time by the vicissitudes of war and related considerations; while the disproportionate number of single Jewish women in comparison to eligible males for marriage purposes, requires the Syrian Jewish women - in the absence of emigration - to choose between a life of celibacy or conversion and marriage to a Moslem.

Admittedly, the Syrian government was reported to have told the U.S. State Department, in September 1989, that it "was ready to permit the reunification of 25 families and the departure of 75 single Syrian Jewish women"; and it was reported to have stated that "it looks positively at cases of family reunification and of unmarried Jewish women unable to find suitable husbands in the small Syrian Jewish community"; (1991 Report of the U.S. State Department on "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1990", Report on Syria, pg. 1651); while the Report itself notes that "the number of unmarried Jewish women allowed to emigrate jumped dramatically in the middle of 1989 following U.S.-Syrian discussions on this issue, and a steady outflow continued in 1990".

It appears, however, that the U.S. State Department Report is unduly indulgent or accepting of the Syrian statement, and that the facts respecting family reunification in general - and the plight of single Syrian Jewish women in particular - do not yet warrant the encouraging sentiments - and allegations - found in the Report. Rather, checks with international monitoring groups, particularly the Canadian National Task Force on Syrian Jewry chaired by Judith Carr, demonstrate that only 2 families were reunited, and only 25 unmarried Syrian Jewish women were permitted to leave. While this limited initiative does alleviate a human tragedy for the two reunited families and each of the 25 women allowed to leave, it only serves to dramatize the desperate character of the overall humanitarian tragedy.

In a word, denial of the right to emigrate is tantamount here to denial of the right to marry and have a family, the whole as protected by Syrian law and international agreements to which Syria is a party.

III Denial of the Right to Life, Liberty, and the Security of the Person

As set forth above, the very denial of the right to leave is tantamount to a standing denial of the right to liberty, if not the right to life itself. Indeed, this very denial of the right to leave - having regard to the condition of Syrian Jewry - is tantamount to a denial of each of the fundamental freedoms - or constituents of - human dignity. For the very nature - or condition - of Syrian Jewry is that of a standing assault on their human dignity and humanity, and where Syrian Jewry, in one form or another, must endure a standing threat to their right to integrity of the person.

Syrian Jews are, fundamentally, a "hostage community", held hostage to the vicissitudes of the Arab-Israeli conflict. For just as Syria has sought to legitimize its "State of Emergency" - and attending violation of law - as a response to the Arab-Israeli conflict, so are Syrian Jews the deemed "surrogates" of the enemy Israel. If Syrian Jews, then, are denied the right to leave

because they would unite with the "enemy", so is their life and liberty under constant threat because they are seen as being identified with, if not allied to, this "enemy".

Indeed, they are not only a "hostage community" but also a "captive community", denied not only the right to leave, but the right to freedom of movement within Syria itself. For not only is their every move monitored and controlled, but any human contact with any "foreigner" can itself become the subject of a punitive reprisal, "chilling" thereby not only their movements but their encounters.

Accordingly, Syrian Jewry is also the most "isolated" of communities, effectively prohibited and prevented from any contact or association with any of their co-religionists from any country, or even from any contact or association with any family members who may choose to come and visit them in Syria. And so it is not only that Syrian Jews are denied the right to leave and visit with family or co-religionists abroad; but such family or co-religionists are not even permitted to have any contact with them in Syria.

Finally, Syrian Jewry is the most "deprived" of communities. For the denial of the right to leave is tantamount to an utter denial of the right to personal autonomy and self-realization - a basic component of the right to human dignity. Indeed, a critical

feature of respect for human dignity - as founded in both Syrian law and international human rights law - is the right of the individual to make fundamental decisions of a personal character without interference by the State. In the case of Syrian Jewry, the most fundamental and personal of decisions - the right to marry and have a family, the right to freely practice one's religion and manifest one's beliefs, the right to equality and dignity, are not so much protected as prohibited. Indeed, these rights are critical components of the right to liberty, integrity, and security of the person, so that the denial of the right to leave has thereby profound psychological, social, economic, political - indeed, existential - consequences for Syrian Jewry.

IV. Denial of Legal Rights, Including Protection Against Arbitrary Arrest and Detention; The Right to a Fair Public Trial, and the Right to Protection Against Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Punishment

Both the Syrian Constitution, and Syrian civil and criminal law - modelled after French law - provide for basic guarantees of legal rights and procedural due process to its citizens; as well, as a State Party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Syria has undertaken to respect the whole corpus of basic legal rights of its citizens.

Regrettably, however, even leaving aside the illegal character of the State of Emergency - which has purported to limit or suspend rights which Syria has otherwise guaranteed to undertake - the Syrian government has even violated the sweeping powers contained in the State of Emergency. The result - as revealed in the recent studies of Amnesty International (December 1990) and Middle East Watch (September 1990) - and as reported in 1991 U.S. State Department Country Report on Human Rights Practices in Syria - is a continuing pattern of violations of legal rights for which the situation of Syrian Jewry is both metaphor and message.

First, the procedure for arrest orders, which even the State of Emergency law requires to be signed by the Martial Law Governor or his Deputy (Article 4), is routinely ignored. According to testimony, blank arrest orders are signed and given to the security services, or arrest orders are signed after the fact; second, the security services now ignore the courts altogether and do not even bother with even the most perfunctory kind of official charge and trial; third, there is no right of appeal from any decisions of the Military Governor, including those involving indefinite preventive detention; and finally, the regime refuses to acknowledge whether particular people are prisoners, or where they are being held.

Accordingly, Syrian Jews - like Syrians generally - but even more threateningly given their special vulnerability, are constantly subject to harassment, intimidation, and arbitrary and

even clandestine arrest, either because they did not inform the Mukhaberat of their activities - religious, social, business, etc; or because they failed to report meetings with foreigners; or because a relative or friend is travelling abroad; or because they have themselves applied for permission to go abroad; or because they have failed to report the sale of a house, and so on. One recently emigre reported on this pattern of intimidation - and virtual constant "house arrest" - as follows:

"When they came into my store, I never knew what was going to happen. Were they looking for a bribe? Were they checking my family? Had someone told them something that would get me into trouble? I felt powerless because whatever happened there was no recourse."

And so it was, then, that the security forces in December 1985 arrested Shehade Busso and his two sons Salim and Jacques, on the ground only that a family member did not return from a foreign trip. Shehade Busso was seventy years old at the time and his health deteriorated during his incarceration. All three were held for ten months without any charge being laid or trial held.

Similarly, security forces arrested ten Syrian Jews between September 1987 and July 1988 for "violating" emigration and travel restrictions. Again, all were held without any charge or trial for more than a year; of the two who have been charged and are awaiting trial - the Soued brothers - they were held for two years without any charges being laid; denied access to family or friends; denied the right to a public trial; denied any judicial determination of

their detention, and subjected to cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment, the whole in violation of both the Syrian Constitution and the Syrian undertakings under international law.

As well, two Syrian Jews arrested in 1990, Rachamon Darwish and Joseph Rathoul Sabato, were recently transferred from Damascus to a jail in Aleppo, and have been imprisoned without charge since last September. Fortunately, Darwish's pregnant wife Grace, who was also imprisoned, was released in January following the birth, in jail, of her child. As well, Sabato's 19 year old fiancée, Badura Laalo, who was also taken into custody, was released; while Zaki Sabuto and Meyer Dahoud Pinhas continue to be imprisoned without charge in Quamishli since their arrest last August.

V Denial of the Right to Protection Against Discrimination Based on Race, Religion, Sex, National or Ethnic Origin

Apart from the equality guarantees in Syrian law, Syria, as a State Party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights has undertaken to guarantee that "all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race... religion... sex... political or other opinion, national or social origin..." (Article 26); while the Assad regime continues

to publicly declare its commitment to equality, proclaiming not long ago to an U.N. body that:

"Neither in law, nor in practice, does the Syrian Arab Republic make any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origins. In view of the foregoing, the citizens of the Syrian Arab Republic cannot be divided along racial, ethnic, or other compact or distinct groups."

In fact, however, the Assad regime makes many such distinctions, conferring benefits or imposing burdens based on prohibited grounds of discrimination. In Syria membership in the Ba'ath Party, or being a close relative of a prominent Ba'ath Party member, or being a member of the Alawi sect, confers important privileges and preferences. It facilitates entry into the better schools, assures access to more lucrative employment, and secures greater power in the government and military, etc.

Syrian Jewry are not only excluded from membership in any Party, religion, or group which is the beneficiary of political, military, economic, or social preferences, but they constitute both the tiniest and most disadvantaged of all communities in Syria. As the recent Report of Middle East Watch on Human Rights in Syria put it (September 1990), "No other community in Syria faces such heavy surveillance and none is made to feel so completely powerless in the face of the authorities".

Indeed, in a country in which discrimination abounds, Syrian Jews are the most discriminated against. They are the only minority whose passports and identity cards note their religion; while officials have replaced the large red lettered Mosaic (Jew) on identity cards with the word in smaller black type, the "singling out" remains; they are the only minority who, even when they are allowed a restrictive right to travel, must provide guarantees for their return, and the only group required to make a forfeitable deposit before they leave; they are the only group for whom not only travel to Israel is illegal, but travel also to any of the Arab countries is also prohibited; they are the only group under constant saturation surveillance, and the only group in which a special section (the Palestine Branch) of the Mukhabarat (Security Services) actually have their headquarters in the center of the Damascus Jewish ghetto itself; they are the only community whose members must constantly inform the Mukhabarat of all their activities such as holding a Bar Mitzvah or wedding; they are the only group prohibited from liquidating their assets, who must report all sales of assets to the Mukhabarat, itself an inhibiting factor against emigration; and they are the only community where there exists a personal dossier on every member of the community.

VI State-Supported Anti-Semitism: The "Damascus Libel" as a Case Study

We have seen that, notwithstanding the equality guarantees in the Syrian Constitution and in international Treaties to which Syria is a Party, Syrian Jewry have been systematically denied equality before the law, including denial to protection against discrimination on grounds of race, religion, national or ethnic origin.

But the discrimination has not only consisted of differential treatment in matters of emigration, family reunification, legal and political rights and the like - though that alone would surely be enough. Rather, Syrian Jews have been the victims of the worst form of discrimination and denial of their inherent right to human dignity and equality - namely, state-supported anti-semitism in the form of incitement to racial hatred against Jews. Indeed, such state-supported anti-semitism is particularly reprehensible, given the vulnerable and powerless situation of Syrian Jewry; and particularly offensive, given that it violates prohibitions against incitement to racial hatred in international Treaties to which Syria is a Party.

Moreover, as if to thumb its nose not only at the whole regime of international human rights law - but at the whole United Nations human rights system - Syria chose the recent meeting of the U.N.

Commission on Human Rights in February 1991 for one of the most obscene group libels of any people ever recorded in the annals of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the Syrian delegate, Nabliya Shaalan, utilized the occasion to resurrect - and to seek to validate - a medieval anti-semitic libel that one would have thought had been consigned to the dustbins of history.

More particularly, the Syrian representative made repeated and supportive references to the racist calumny that "members of the Jewish faith have engaged in the ritual murder of Christians". The Syrian delegate, compounding the libel, sought to justify it by reference to the book published in 1985 by Syrian Defense Minister Maj. Gen. Mustafa Tlas. In his book, titled *The Matza of Zion*, Tlas writes approvingly of the medieval blood libel - the Jews use the blood of Christians, especially children, to make their matza on Passover. In the words of the Syrian delegate to the Commission, "The book proves Jews are engaged in ritual murder. I recommend to every member of the Human Rights Commission to read this book."

That such a reference could be made at all is appalling; that it could be made in the course of the Gulf War - with Syrian Jewry exposed in all its vulnerability - is frightening; that it exhibited such a callous and wanton disregard for international due process and international Treaties to which it is a Party only

makes the case and cause of Syrian Jewry all the more compelling and urgent.

VII Violations of Fundamental Freedoms - The Denial of Basic Political Rights of Expression, Religion, Assembly and Association

The Syrian Constitution, as set forth above, expressly guarantees the protection of fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and freedom of conscience and religion. Moreover, Syria is a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which guarantees that "Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching." (Article 18-1); including the "freedom to seek, receive or impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice" (Article 19-2); the "right of peaceful assembly" (Article 21); and the "right to freedom of association with others" (Article 22).

Regrettably, however, these undertakings, anchored in both Syrian and international law, are honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

In the matter of freedom of religion, Syrian Jews, as set forth above, are not only singled out for differential and discriminatory treatment, but are the victims of a crude, and cruel, state-sanctioned anti-semitism carried out under the "cover" of a U.N. Human Rights meeting. This alone is guaranteed to chill freedom of religion as it discriminates on grounds of religion; in other words, Jews are "free" to practice their religion, provided that it is exercised in a circumstantial and confined manner. The free exercise of religion, then, is limited to defined forms of religious worship; in the words of the State Department, "fund-raising, construction of worship sites, and holding of all meetings except for worship are tightly restricted and sometimes banned." (1991 U.S. State Department Report on Country Practices in Human Rights For 1990, Report on Syria, pg. 1651).

Moreover, members of the Mukhabarat tend to "visit" synagogue services, while the Mukhabaret surveillance center in the Damascus ghetto is itself almost within earshot of the communities' synagogues. Contacts with any co-religionists from abroad - even in the context of a synagogue service - are monitored, and may subject Syrian Jews to questions and enhanced surveillance.

As for freedom of expression, one is reminded of the saying of Leo Hazard, which, applied to Syrian Jewry, sums up in one sentence a condition about which volumes could be written. In the words of Hazard, Syrian Jews are "free to say what they think, as long as they do not think what they do not say".

Also, not only are Syrian Jews "chilled" in their "freedom of thought, opinion, belief and expression", but Decree Law No. 6 of July 1, 1965 introduced vague, overbroad, "catch-all" categories of "thought crimes". Among the offenses under Decree Law No. 6 are:

Section A: "actions considered incompatible with the implementation of the socialist order, whether they are deeds, utterances or writing, or are done by any means of communication or publication";

Section C: "offenses against the security of the state";

Section E: "opposing the unification of the Arab states or any of the aims of the revolution or hindering their achievement".

As one can see, almost any expression or dissent can be criminalized, while Section E makes Syrian Jewry particularly vulnerable to prosecution and persecution.

Finally, Syrian Jews must guard themselves not only in terms of what they may express, but also in terms of what information they may receive. For while Article 19-2 of the International Covenant purports to protect them in their right to "seek and

receive information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers", Syrian Jewry would exercise this right at their peril, and render themselves vulnerable to prosecution under a variety of political crimes. Indeed, Syrian law subjects all imported printed material and films to strict censorship, particularly if they are overly critical of Syria, or offer an unfavourable interpretation of the Arab-Israeli Conflict; while Syrian Jewry's schools are required to follow the Ministry of Education's curriculum and are subject to regular inspection. One hour of the day is directed to instruction on Syrian patriotism and teachers are not permitted to express ideas critical of government policy.

As for the right of peaceful assembly and association, it is virtually non-existent, unless one wishes to consider religious services a form of peaceful assembly and association. Admittedly the right to peaceful assembly and association is guaranteed as a matter of law in the Syrian Constitution and international Treaties to which Syria is a Party; but in fact public meetings, assemblies, or demonstrations of any kind can be held only with official permission, and generally take place not so much with the permission as with the instigations of the government or the Ba'ath Party. It is almost unheard of for Syrian Jews to ever hold any assembly - other than religious - unless ordered to do so by the government for its own reasons; while any unauthorized "association" would invite the suspicion, if not worse, of the dreaded Mukhabarat.

VIII Restrictions Upon International and Non-Governmental
Investigations of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

Syrians are not only denied the right to legally and peacefully change their government, but they are effectively denied the right even to critique it, on pain of rendering themselves liable to prosecution under one or more of the "catch all" Presidential or Parliamentary Decrees. Indeed, public criticism of the President is not permitted, and criticism of the government or Ba'ath Party "effectively discouraged". It is not surprising, therefore, that there are no local Syrian human rights groups operating publicly, while the government denies or ignores any allegations about human rights abuses from outside sources, which it regards as an unwarranted intrusion into Syrian "internal affairs".

Indeed, there is no occasion on record of the Syrian government ever permitting a human rights NGO to investigate alleged abuses of the rights of Syrian Jews, while access to human rights NGO's generally is very restricted.

In June 1989 Amnesty International officials were permitted to visit Syria to attend an Arab Lawyers Convention - their first visit since 1978 - and met privately with Vice-President Khaddam and other Syrian officials. According to AI's 1990 Report, the

delegation urged the release of prisoners of conscience, the prompt, fair trial or release of other untried political detainees, the impartial investigation of torture allegations and deaths in custody, and the abolition of the death penalty. Government officials reportedly said they would be prepared to establish contact with AI and in the future would respond to its inquiries. AI also presented the names of over 400 political detainees who had not been tried; the officials stated they would examine them and respond in detail. However, the Government had not provided further information by the end of 1990, nor responded to AI's pending offer to send a mission to Syria.

Amnesty International did learn of the imprisonment of the Soued brothers, who had been arrested in 1987, and had virtually "disappeared". The government announced that the Soued brothers who had been held virtually incommunicado until 1989, would be put on trial for security-related offenses. As of this writing, the trial continues to be postponed, and the fate of the Soued brothers remains uncertain. There are credible reports that the two brothers have been tortured in detention, as appears to be the practice generally with political prisoners in Syria. The International Committee of the Red Cross had only limited access to these prisoners, and has not been permitted to visit the Jewish ones. Human Rights monitoring in Syria is a contradiction in terms.

PART THREE:

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study of Syria, Human Rights and the Rule of Law leads to one inescapable conclusion - that Syria is engaged in a persistent and pervasive assault on the human rights of its citizens, for which the condition of Syrian Jewry is both metaphor and message. Indeed, there is scarcely any category of rights - mobility, democratic, political, legal, egalitarian, cultural, or economic - that is not the object of a consistent pattern of gross violation of rights.

The tragic paradox in all this, as this study has sought to demonstrate, is that Syrian law, which should serve as a protector of rights, has emerged as another instrument of state repression; that Syrian citizens - and, in particular Syrian Jews - who take Syrian law seriously find their fidelity to law criminalized and worse; and that Syrian Jews who rely on the principles of the Syrian Constitution - or on Syrian undertakings under international law such as freedom of emigration - can find not only their rights denied, but their very attempted exercise an invitation for punitive reprisal.

There is, as well, a specific, American, Canadian, European, indeed international "connection" to these human rights violations. For what must be realized - as we have sought to demonstrate - is

that these violations by Syria are not only violations of the rights of Syrian citizens - which would be cause enough to protest - but violations of undertakings made to the international community as well as to each of the State Parties to the Conventions to which Syria is a signatory. The internationalization of human rights - such as the right to emigrate - has made these rights subject not only to international scrutiny, but to international sanction. The fate of Syrian Jewry, then, is not an "internal affair"; it is the subject-matter of international human rights law - and our collective responsibility.

Accordingly, it is recommended

1. That the international community - inter-governmental bodies, human rights NGO's, international jurists and the like - bring political and public pressure to bear on the Syrian government to cease and desist from its serious rights violations; that this include support for multi-lateral sanctions, support for U.N. resolutions condemnatory of Syria's consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights, public statements of concern, and expressions of solidarity with victims of such violations.
2. That the United Nations and its various agencies and instrumentalities do everything in their power to focus attention on Syria's human rights violations, while calling

attention to Syria's commitments under international Treaties to which it is a Party.

3. That governments condition their relations with Syria on its compliance with international human rights norms, while "linking" sanctions to Syria's human rights performance; in particular, governments should "distance" themselves from relations with Syria which have the effect of providing Syria with political, economic, or strategic support - until such time that Syria demonstrates a commitment to curbing its rights abuses.

4. That in the matter of the human rights of Syrian Jewry - the most aggrieved victim community - Syria must be called upon to:
 - release the six Syrian Jews presently in detention, including the dropping of charges against the Soued brothers.
 - allow Syrian Jews the right to travel and to emigrate, equally with other Syrians, the whole in conformity with international agreements to which Syria is a Party.
 - cease and desist from any and all acts of reprisal against Syrian Jews seeking to exercise their rights as guaranteed under Syrian law and international undertakings to which Syria is a Party, including in particular, the right to leave.

- permit, as a matter of urgent moment and humanitarian concern, the right of families to be re-united with their kin, and the right of unmarried Syrian Jewish women to leave, to marry, and to bear a family.
- abolish special mention of Jewish religious or ethnic affiliations on identify documents and remove all other disabilities discriminatorily imposed on the Syrian Jewish community.
- cease and desist from all acts of incitement to hatred and contempt against Syrian Jews, whether in international fora or within Syria itself.
- permit Syrian Jews to enjoy the full range of contacts and associations with their co-religionists, family members, professional or private organizations, without fear of reprisal or recrimination of any kind.
- allow international organizations and human rights groups access to Syrian territory to investigate charges of human rights violations and to verify human rights conditions.
- guarantee to all those arrested, for whatever reason, immediate access to family, to lawyers, and to medical care.

The United Nations General Assembly has proclaimed the 1990's as the Decade of International Law. There are few international rights so fundamental - and so indispensable to the exercise of all

other rights - as the right to leave; and there are few communities - if any - for whom this fundamental right is so critical, as that of Syrian Jewry. A collective commitment to International Law - and the Decade - requires that we do what we can for the promotion and protection of this most fundamental and critical of rights.

:gg

c91:syria.jew

5 סדרה

Empty rectangular box

משרד החוץ המרכז למחקר מדיני



י"א בניסן
26 במרץ
תשנ"א
1991

בלמ"ס

42119

אל : ר. מ"ד

מאת : דוד גוברין, ערב 4

סקירה מיוחדת.

הנדון: מעורבות סוריה בגידול סמים בלבנון (ע"פ מקורות גלויים)

1. מאז מלחמת האזרחים ב-75 ובעיקר מאז כניסת הצבא הסורי ללבנון ב-76 נעשה גידול החשיש וההרואין ציר מרכזי בכלכלה השחורה של לבנון. העדר שלטון מרכזי וסמכותי מחד גיסא וריבוי הפלגים היריבים מאידך גיסא שימשו כר נוח לפעילות מגידלי וסוחרי הסמים. יש האומדים ב-800.000 את העוסקים בכך ואת ההכנסות בכמה מיליארדי דולר. ה-D.E.A - הסוכנות האמריקאית למלחמה בסמים העריכה בעבר שבאזור הבקאע מייצרים כ-720 טון חשיש ובין 11-15 טון הרואין בשנה.

2. הצבא הסורי מעורב בעסקי הסמים בלבנון מאז פלש אליה ב-76. השליטה על הסחר בסמים מכניסה לכלכלה הסורית - ע"פ הערכות שונות - בין 1-2 מיליארד דולר בשנה ומשמשת בין השאר לכיסוי הוצאות הפעילות הסורית בלבנון. חלק מכספים אלו מושקעים גם במחנות אימונים בבקאע, מחנות השייכים לארגונים העוסקים בטרור כמו ארגונו של חבש, חוותמה, ג'יבריל ואבו נד'אל.

3. השליטה והפיקוח על מגדלי וסוחרי הסמים נעשים ע"י כוחות מיוחדים של המשטר הסורי הנקראים "בריגדות ההגנה על המהפכה". בריגדות אלו אינם מסתפקים בשליטה על אזורי הגידול אלא מפקחים על המחסומים בדרכים ומתלווים למשאיות בדרכן לסוריה או לחילופין לנמליה החוקיים והבלתי חוקיים של לבנון. (טריפולי, ח'לדה, ג'יה, צידון). הסורים מסתייעים במיליציות המקומיות הנאמנות להם כמו זו של וליד ג'ונבלאט (הצבא העממי) וטוני פרנג'יה (אלמרדה) לצורך שיווק הסחורה מנמלים אלו לארופה. לאחרונה (דצמבר '90) נמסר על תפיסת 2.5 טון חשיש שהועמסו על אוניה שנשאה דגל סורי ואשר היתה בדרכה לאיטליה. שווי החשיש הוערך ב-13.5 מיליון דולר.

משרד החוץ
המרכז למחקר
מדיני



4. קציני הצבא הסורי, אשר גידול הסמים נמצא באזור הבקאע הנתון לשליטתם וחסותם, גובים דמי חסות ומשלשלים את הרווחים לכיסם. הכסף השחור שבידם משמש לקניית מכוניות, טלביזיות, מקררים, מכשירי וידאו, סיגריות וקפה.

5. משה"ח האמריקאי ציין בעבר (מרץ '88) שרפעאת אסד, אחיו של הנשיא אסד, ממונה על עסקי הסמים ועל הברחתם לארופה דרך נמל לאד'קיה ונמל התעופה של דמשק. לאחרונה פורסם שחלק מהשדות בהם מגדלים את הסמים שייכים לבנו של רפעאת אל לאסד, פראס ואף לנשיא לבנון - אליאס הראוי.

6. ההכנסות הניכרות מסמים מסבירות מדוע בחר אסד להעלים עין מהסחר בהם על אף שהדבר השחיר את תדמית משטרו. בהיותו מודע לכך משתדל המשטר הסורי לטהר עצמו באמצעות דיווחים על "צעדים דרסטיים" שנקט כדיכול להשמדת יבולי הסמים. דיווחים אלו מיועדים לצרכי תעמולה על מנת לשפר את תדמית המשטר בעיני המערב, כפי שנעשה ערב ביקורו של מזכיר המדינה האמריקאי בייקר בדמשק.

30047

תאריך : 28.06.91

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר
בלמס

נננ

תזום: 6,30047

אל: המשרד

ינדים: 1558/ש, 2624/ש, 2132/ש, 1590/ש, 2203/ש, 1226/ש

מ-11: ש, 499: נ, 270691: א, 1719: ח, 1719: ח, 1719: ח, 1719: ח

תח: @: סצפא

@: ד

3

בלמס/מיידי

TO: MITZPA
FROM: YORAM ETTINGER

THE ENCLOSED MEMORANDA - ON THE SUBJECTS OF THE RECENT FOCUS OF SYRIAN POLICY (NO. 25), AND WHETHER OR NOT GEOGRAPHY, AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY, HAS BEEN UNDERMINED BY MISSILE CAPABILITIES (#26) - WERE RECENTLY MAILED TO ALL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM #25*

TO: MITZPA
FROM: YORAM ETTINGER, MINISTER FOR CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: RECENT FOCUS OF SYRIAN POLICY

1. MILITARY PROCUREMENT:

ACCORDING TO THE APRIL 4 AND 6, 1991 ISSUES OF THE SAUDI DAILY, A-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, DAMASCUS IS CONCLUDING A DOLLAR 2 BILLION MILITARY TRANSACTION WITH MOSCOW. IT INCLUDES 48 MIG-29, 24 SU-24 BOMBERS, 300 T-72 AND T-74 TANKS, SAM-11, 13 AND 16 SURFACE TO AIR MISSILES, ADVANCED SURVEILLANCE AND EARLY WARNING EQUIPMENT AS WELL AS COMMAND-COMMUNICATIONS-CONTROL SYSTEMS.

RICHARD ELLIS OF THE SUNDAY TIMES ADDS ON MAY 5, 1991: "... TO SOME WORRIED EXPERTS, IT IS LIKE WATCHING A REPLAY OF AN OLD HORROR FILM: AN ARAB LEADER OF BA'ATHIST REGIME WHO HAS A RECORD OF TORTURING OPPONENTS, SPONSORING TERRORISTS, POSSESSING CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND HARBORING PLANS FOR TERRITORIAL EXPANSION HAS EMBARKED ON ARM-BUYING SPREE AS THE WEST STANDS IDLY BY ... WITH DOLLAR 2 BILLION IN THE BANK FROM SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT AND THE U.A.E. - AND PERHAPS DOUBLE THAT TO COME - HE (ASSAD) HAS SENT HIS AGENTS INTO THE ARMS BAZAARS TO BUY EVERYTHING THEY CAN (INCLUDING TWO DOZEN NORTH

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

KOREAN IMPROVED SCUDS AND 20 LAUNCHERS AND CHINESE M-9 SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES) ... ASSAD HAS NOT FORGOTTEN THAT GREATER SYRIA ONCE EMBRACED AN AREA FROM MODERN SOUTHERN TURKEY IN THE NORTH TO THE SINAI PENINSULA IN THE SOUTH, FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN TO THE DESERTS OF MODERN IRAQ, JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA ... ASSAD'S REGIME, BACKED BY 15 SECURITY FORCES, CONTINUES TO HOLD ABOUT 7,500 POLITICAL PRISONERS, MANY OF WHOM HAVE BEEN TORTURED ..." OTHER SOURCES INDICATE THAT SYRIA IS ALSO NEGOTIATING THE PROCUREMENT OF 300 T-72 TANKS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ADDITIONAL T-72S FROM ROMANIA.

2. DRUG TRAFFICKING:

"... IN 1985, UNDER SYRIAN SUPERVISION, LEBANON PRODUCED 2,000 TONS OF HASHISH A YEAR. IN 1989, THIS DROPPED TO 1,000 TONS IN THAT YEAR THERE WAS SIMPLY A TRANSFER FROM CANNABIS GROWING TO THE MASSIVE CULTIVATION OF OPIUM TODAY, 30,000 DUNAM OF POPPIES BLOW IN THE BEKAA (IN EAST LEBANON), FROM WHICH 30 TONS OF OPIUM OR THREE TONS OF HEROIN CAN BE PRODUCED ANNUALLY ONLY THE CLIMATE PREVENTS SYRIAN AND LEBANESE ENTREPRENEURS FROM GROWING COCA. BUT THIS PROBLEM TOO HAS BEEN SOLVED - THE RAW MATERIALS ARE IMPORTED VIA SYRIA UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE AUTHORITIES THERE.

* FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON SYRIAN POLICY PLEASE SEE INFORMATION MEMORANDA #23, 20, 9 AND 7.

BETWEEN 12 AND 50 PROCESSING PLANTS HANDLE THESE RAW MATERIALS IN LEBANON LABORATORIES CAN BE FOUND IN AREAS LIKE HARMAL, BAALBEK, DIR EL-HAMAD, ZAHLA - AND ALL OF THEM ARE UNDER TOTAL SYRIAN CONTROL ... THE SYRIANS CONTROL ALL THE PORTS AND THE DRUG ROUTES. 40-50 PERCENT OF LEBANESE HASHISH IS EXPORTED TO EGYPT, 30-40 PERCENT TO THE U.S. AND CANADA AND 20-30 PERCENT TO EUROPE. THE REST IS EXPORTED TO AUSTRALIA AND ISRAEL OR IS CONSUMED LOCALLY. LEBANESE OPIUM IS MOSTLY EXPORTED TO EGYPT. MOST OF THE HEROIN IS EXPORTED TO THE U.S., EUROPE AND ISRAEL ...

"... A FASCINATING DOCUMENT FELL INTO THE HANDS OF WESTERN INTELLIGENCE AGENTS IN LEBANON ... THIS WAS A TRANSIT DOCUMENT. WITH HIS SIGNATURE, (SYRIA'S DEFENSE MINISTER, MUSTAFA) TLAS ENABLES THE HOLDER OF THE DOCUMENT (DRUG DEALER) TO PASS FREELY BETWEEN SYRIA AND LEBANON, WITH PERSONAL WEAPONS, EQUIPMENT AND PORTABLE ITEMS. THE SYRIAN SECURITY FORCES ARE EVEN UNDER ORDERS TO ASSIST THE BEARER OF THIS DOCUMENT. THE DOCUMENT UNDERWENT THOROUGH TESTING IN THE LABS OF ONE OF THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN THE WEST AND THE SIGNATURE WAS CHECKED FROM EVERY ANGLE ... IN EXCHANGE FOR THE DOCUMENT, HE (DRUG DEALER) HAD PAID A CONSIDERABLE FIVE-DIGIT SUM, IN DOLLARS ... IT BECAME CLEAR THAT SYRIAN CONTROL OF LEBANON - THROUGH DRUGS - IS ACTUALLY AN INSTITUTIONAL MATTER ...

"... HAMAD ALI AL-KIS ... IS A DRUG PRODUCER AND DEALER FROM

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

BAALBEK. MUSTAFA TLAS VISITED HIS BAALBEK HOME AT LEAST TWICE - IN MARCH 1983 AND MARCH 1990 ... AL-KIS EXPORTS HEROIN TO EUROPE, VIA TURKEY. ON THE WAY, HE MOVES THE MERCHANDISE THROUGH SYRIA UNDER THE PROTECTION AND PATRONAGE OF MUSTAFA TLAS ... ANOTHER TLAS FAMILY FRIEND, TALAL DAISUM, RESIDES IN THE PICTURESQUE LEBANESE VILLAGE OF KAMAD ALOUZ. HIS NAME IS ALSO IMPRINTED ON FILES OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. HE IS ONE OF THE HEADS OF A DRUG-DEALING NETWORK WHICH DISTRIBUTES ITS MERCHANDISE VIA CYPRUS. THE NETWORK USES COURIERS WHO LEAVE LEBANON FOR THE AIRPORT IN DAMASCUS, OR ON LAND - VIA SYRIA AND TURKEY - AND FROM THERE TO EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS, TOO, IS UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE SYRIAN AUTHORITIES ...

"... IN 1989, MOHAMMAD FARTUZI, THE SHIP-CAPTAIN OF THE "CLEOPATRA SKIES," WAS ARRESTED IN PARIS AND SENTENCED TO EIGHT YEARS IN PRISON FOR DRUG SMUGGLING. DURING THE COURSE OF THE TRIAL, IT EMERGED THAT FARTUZI WAS CONNECTED TO BRIGADIER HASSAN ALI, A SYRIAN INTELLIGENCE OFFICER WHO SERVED AS THE MILITARY ATTACHE IN THE SYRIAN EMBASSY IN FRANCE ... THE HASHISH WAS LOADED IN NOVEMBER 1989 AT THE PORT OF TRIPOLI, UNDER THE SUPERVISION AND PROTECTION OF SYRIAN ARMY PERSONNEL ...

"... LIEUT.-COLONEL MUHSAN SALMAN, THE COMMANDER OF A COMMANDO BRIGADE STATIONED AT THE BEIRUT AIRPORT ... IS CONNECTED TO TWO WELL-KNOWN DRUG DEALERS, ZIAD SALAM, FROM THE TOWN OF BINT A-JABAL, AND SAMI AL-ANA OF BEIRUT ... THE COMMANDER OF THE SYRIAN COMMANDO UNITS IN THE TRIPOLI AREA, BRIGADIER SA'ID, IS ALSO A PARTNER IN A NUMBER OF BOATS WHICH SERVE TO SMUGGLE DRUGS AND WHICH SAIL FROM THE PORT OF TRIPOLI.

"... COLONEL HAITHAM, THE INTELLIGENCE OFFICER OF THE NORTHERN SYRIAN AIR COMMAND, DOES NOT SUFFICE WITH ONLY PROVIDING SERVICES. HE PERSONALLY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR TRANSFERRING HEROIN TO TURKEY ... THE CONNECTION (1976) THEN FORGED BETWEEN THE BROTHER OF THE SYRIAN PRESIDENT, RIFAT ASSAD, AND THE CHRISTIAN LEADER, TONY FRANJIEH - UNTIL THE MURDER OF THE LATTER - IS A PROMINENT EXAMPLE OF THE USE THE SYRIANS MAKE OF LEBANESE FIGURES WHO ARE CONNECTED WITH DRUGS. TODAY, THE HEAD OF SYRIAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, GENERAL ALI DUBAH, AND HIS REPRESENTATIVE IN LEBANON, GHAZY KNA'AN, HOLD THE PLACE OF RIFAT ASSAD" (ALEX FISHMAN, ISRAELI DAILY HADASHOT, MAY 10, 1991).

3. TERRORISM:

ASSAD'S LONGSTANDING RECORD OF SUPPORTING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IS ALLUDED TO BY PATTERNS OF GLOBAL TERRORISM: 1990, PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE: "... SYRIA CONTINUES TO GIVE REFUGE AND SUPPORT TO LEBANESE, PALESTINIAN, TURKISH, JAPANESE AND IRANIAN TERRORISTS ..."

4. SYRIAN BIOLOGICAL CAPABILITIES?

"AFTER THE INVASION OF KUWAIT, IT WAS FOUND THAT IRAQ HAD

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

CONVERTED LEGALLY OBTAINED WESTERN PRODUCTS AND TECHNOLOGIES INTO WEAPONS OF WAR. CNN SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT REPORTER DAVID LEWIS REPORTS ON A NEW CONTROVERSY INVOLVING A U.S. COMPANY'S DECISION TO GIVE TECHNOLOGY TO ANOTHER MIDEAST NATION, SYRIA ... BAXTER WANTS TO BUILD A PHARMACEUTICAL PLANT FOR THE SYRIAN ARMY, A PLANT DESIGNED TO MAKE INTRAVENOUS SOLUTIONS. BUT EXPERTS SAY THE BAXTER PLANT COULD BE MISUSED BY THE SYRIANS, CONVERTED TO MAKE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ...

"EILEEN CHOFNESS, STAFF SCIENTIST, SENATE GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE: '... YOU CAN CONVERT A PHARMACEUTICAL FACILITY INTO THE MANUFACTURE OF BIOLOGICAL MATERIALS OF WEAPONS GRADE ...'

"LEWIS: 'THE SYRIAN PHARMACEUTICAL PLANT WOULD BE SIMILAR TO IRAQI PHARMACEUTICAL PLANTS BOMBED BY THE ALLIES DURING THE GULF WAR ... THE U.S. LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES SAY THE EQUIPMENT IN THE PLANT COULD BE USED BY THE SYRIANS TO REFINER HEROIN. BY SOME ACCOUNTS, A DOLLAR 4 BILLION-A-YEAR SIDELINE FOR THE SYRIAN ARMY ...'

"DR. FUISZ (A FORMER BAXTER OFFICER): 'IN SPITE OF BAXTER'S PROTESTATIONS, THEIR TECHNOLOGY REPRESENTS A VERY HIGH TECH LEGO. AND DEPENDING ON HOW THAT LEGO SET IS ASSEMBLED, ONE HAS EITHER AN IV FLUID PLANT, A BIOLOGICAL WARFARE PLANT, OR EVEN POTENTIALLY A PLANT TO REFINER DRUGS, ILLICIT DRUGS, LIKE HEROIN ...'

"STEPHEN BRYEN (FORMER UNDERSECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR TRADE SECURITY POLICY): 'IT'S UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTROL THE USE OF A FACTORY ONCE IT'S BUILT. THERE ARE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN IRAQ AND WHAT'S HAPPENED IN SYRIA ...'" (CNN-TV SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT, APRIL 19, 1991).

ק. לקונגרס

מא

תפ: שהח(2), טשהח(1), רהמ(0), שהוט(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(2), 7/מרכז(1), רם(0), אמר(1), מצב(0), ממד(9), בנצור(1), מצפא(4), סולטר(1)

February 7, 1982

ISRAEL'S AUTONOMY PROPOSALS

In the Camp David Agreement signed on 17 September 1978 between Egypt and Israel, agreement was reached on a plan for the solution for the problem of the Palestinian Arabs, that includes a proposal for full autonomy for the Palestinian Arabs living in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The matter of establishing this autonomy as well as its powers, were to be determined in negotiations between the signatories (Jordan was invited to participate, but did not respond). It was Israel that first raised the idea of autonomy that was later to serve as the basis of the Camp David Agreement. For the first time in the history of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and the Gaza district, they were offered an opportunity of this kind to conduct their own affairs by themselves. Since 1979, talks have been held for the implementation of this agreement; there were intermissions in the negotiations but talks were resumed intensively in the summer of 1981, leading to a thorough-going clarification of the positions of the parties. At these talks Israel put forward its proposals with regard to the self-governing authority (administrative council), its powers, responsibility and structures as well as other related issues. The main points of Israel's proposals, as submitted in the course of the negotiations were as follows:

Scope, Jurisdiction and Structure of the Self-Governing Authority (Administrative Council):

1. The Camp David accords set forth the establishment of a self-governing authority (administrative council) that will comprise one body representing the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, who will choose this body in free elections, and it will assume those functional powers that will be transferred to it. This the Palestinian Arabs will for the first time have an elected and representative body, in accordance with their own wishes and free choice, that will be able to carry out the functions assigned to it as an administrative council.

2. The members of the administrative council will be able, as a group, to discuss all subject within the council's competence, apportioning among themselves the spheres of responsibility for the various functions. Within the domain of its assigned powers and responsibilities, the council will be responsible for planning and carrying out its activities.

Powers of the Self-Governing Authority (Administrative Council):

1.

- a. Under the terms of the Camp David agreement, the parties have to reach an agreement on the powers and responsibilities of the authority. Israel's detailed proposals include a list of powers that will be given to the authority and that, by any reasonable and objective criterion, represent a wide and comprehensive range of fields of operation. Without any doubt, the transferring of these powers

constitutes the bestowal of full autonomy - in the full meaning of that term.

b. The powers to be granted the authority, under these proposals, are in the following domains:

1. *Administration of Justice:* Supervision of the administrative system of the courts in the areas; dealing with matters connected with the prosecution system and with the registration of companies, partnerships, patents, trademarks, etc.
2. *Agriculture:* All branches of agriculture and fisheries, nature reserves and parks.
3. *Finance:* Budget of the administrative council and allocations among its various divisions; taxation.
4. *Civil Service:* Appointment and working conditions of the Council's employees. (Today, the civil service of the inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and Gaza, within the framework of the Military Government's Civilian Administration, numbers about 12,000 persons.)
5. *Education and Culture:* Operation of the network of schools in the areas, from kindergarten to higher education; supervision of cultural, artistic and sporting activities.
6. *Health:* Supervision of hospitals and clinics; operation of sanitary and other services related to public health.
7. *Housing and Public Works:* Construction, housing for the inhabitants and public works projects.
8. *Transportation and Communications:* Maintenance and coordination of transport, road traffic, meteorology; local postal and communications services.
9. *Labour and Social Welfare:* Welfare, labour and employment services, including the operation of labour exchanges.
10. *Municipal Affairs:* Matters concerning municipalities and their effective operation.
11. *Local Police:* Operation of a strong local police force, as provided for in the Camp David agreement, and maintenance of prisons for criminal offenders sentenced by the courts in the areas.
12. *Religious Affairs:* Provision and maintenance of religious facilities for all religious communities among the Arab inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and the Gaza district.

13. *Industry, Commerce and Tourism:* Developments of industry, commerce, workshops and tourist services.

2. The council will have full powers in its spheres of competence to determine its budget, to enter into contractual obligations, to sue and be sued and to engage manpower. It will, moreover, have wide powers to promulgate regulations, as required by a body of this kind. In the nature of things, in view of the free movement that will prevail between Judea-Samaria and the Gaza district and Israel for the general welfare of the inhabitants, arrangements will be agreed upon in the negotiation, in a number of domains, for cooperation and coordination with Israel. The administrative council will, hence, have full scope to exercise its wide-ranging powers under the terms of the autonomy agreement. These powers embrace all walks of life, and will enable the inhabitants of the areas concerned to enjoy full autonomy.

3. Size: The size of the administrative council must reflect its functions and its essential purpose: it is an administrative council, whose representative character finds expression in its establishment through free elections, by the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Clearly, the criterion for determining the number of its members must be the functions that the council is empowered to perform. We propose, therefore, that the number of members will conform with the functions listed above.

4. Free Elections: Elections to the administrative council, under Israel's proposals, will be absolutely free, as stipulated in the Camp David agreement. Under the terms of the agreement, the parties will agree upon the modalities of the elections; as a matter of fact, in past negotiations a long list of principles and guidelines has already been prepared in this matter. In these free elections, all the rights pertaining to a peaceful assembly, freedom of expression and secret balloting will be preserved and assured, and all necessary steps will be taken to prevent any interference with the election process. The holding of an absolutely free and unhampered election will thus be assured in full, under the law, and in keeping with the tradition of free elections practiced in democratic societies. These elections will, in many respects, constitute a new departure in the region around us which in most of its parts is not too close to the ways of democracy, an in which free elections are a rare phenomenon. It is of some interest, therefore, to note that Judea-Samaria and Gaza, under Israel's Military Government since 1967, have exemplified the practical possibility of totally free elections in the area. In 1972, and again in 1976, Israel organized free elections in these areas based on the tradition and model of its own democratic and liberal tradition and custom; voters and elected officials alike concede that these were free elections in the fullest sense. The elections in the administrative council will be organized and supervised by a central elections committee whose composition has been agreed upon by the parties.

5. Time of elections and establishment of the self-governing authority (administrative council): The elections will be held as expeditiously as possible after agreement will have been reached on the autonomy. This was

set forth in the joint letter of the late President Sadat and of Prime Minister Begin to President Carter, dated 26 March 1979, setting forth the manner in which the self-governing authority (administrative council) is to be established, under the terms of the Camp David agreement.

6. Within one month following the elections, the self-governing authority (administrative council) is to be established and inaugurated, and at that time the transitional period of five years will begin - again, in conform it with the Camp David agreement and the joint letter.

7. Hence, every effort will be made to hold elections without delay, once an agreement is reached to be followed by the establishment of the self-governing authority (administrative council).

8. Following the elections and the establishment of the self-governing authority (administrative council) the military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn, a withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place, and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations, in full conformity with the Camp David agreement. Israel will present to the other parties in the negotiations the map of the specified security locations of the redeployment. It goes without saying that all this will be done for the purpose of safeguarding the security of Israel as well as of the Arab inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and Gaza and of the Israeli citizens residing in these areas.

9. All of the above indicated Israel's readiness to observe the Camp David agreement fully and in every detail, in letter and spirit, while safeguarding the interests of all concerned.

14 May 1989

A PEACE INITIATIVE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

GENERAL:

1. **T**his document presents the principles of a political initiative of the Government of Israel which deals with the continuation of the peace process; the termination of the state of war with the Arab states; a solution for the Arabs of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district; peace with Jordan; and a resolution of the problem of the residents of the refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.
2. **T**he document includes:
 - a) The principles upon which the initiative is based.
 - b) Details of the processes for its implementation.
 - c) Reference to the subject of the elections under consideration. Further details relating to the elections as well as other subjects of the initiative will be dealt with separately.

BASIC PREMISES:

3. **T**he initiative is founded upon the assumption that there is a national consensus for it on the basis of the basic guidelines of the Government of Israel, including the following points:
 - a) Israel yearns for peace and the continuation of the political process by means of direct negotiations based on the principles of the Camp David Accords.
 - b) Israel opposes the establishment of an additional Palestinian state in the Gaza district and in the area between Israel and Jordan.
 - c) Israel will not conduct negotiations with the PLO.
 - d) There will be no change in the status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza other than in accordance with the basic guidelines of the Government.

SUBJECT TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE PEACE PROCESS:

4.
 - a) Israel views as important that the peace between Israel and Egypt, based on the Camp David Accords, will serve as a cornerstone for enlarging the circle of peace in the region, and calls for a common endeavor for the strengthening of the peace and its extension, through continued consultation.
 - b) Israel calls for the establishment of peaceful relations between it and those Arab states which still maintain a state of war with it for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive settlement for the Arab-Israel conflict, including recognition, direct negotiation,

ending the boycott, diplomatic relations, cessation of hostile activity in international institutions or forums and regional and bilateral cooperation.

- c) Israel calls for an international endeavour to resolve the problem of the residents of the Arab refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in order to improve their living conditions and to rehabilitate them. Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavour.
- d) In order to advance the political negotiation process leading to peace, Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in an atmosphere devoid of violence, threats and terror. In these elections a representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. This period will constitute a test for co-existence and cooperation. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted for a permanent solution during which all the proposed options for an agreed settlement will be examined, and peace between Israel and Jordan will be achieved.
- e) All the above-mentioned steps should be dealt with simultaneously.
- f) The details of what has been mentioned in (d) above will be given below.

THE PRINCIPLES CONSTITUTING THE INITIATIVE:

STAGES:

- 5. **T**he initiative is based on two stages
 - a) Stage A - A transitional period for an interim agreement.
 - b) Stage B - Permanent Solution.
- 6. **T**he interlock between the stages is a timetable on which the Plan is built: the peace process delineated by the initiative is based on Resolutions 242 and 338 upon which the Camp David Accords are founded.

TIMETABLE:

- 7. **T**he transitional period will continue for 5 years.
- 8. **A**s soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations for achieving a permanent solution will begin.

PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN BOTH STAGES:

9. **T**he parties participating in the negotiations for the First Stage (the interim agreement) shall include Israel and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Jordan and Egypt will be invited to participate in these negotiations if they so desire.
10. **T**he parties participating in the negotiations for the Second Stage (Permanent Solution) shall include Israel and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Jordan; furthermore, Egypt may participate in these negotiations. In negotiations between Israel and Jordan, in which the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will participate, the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan will be concluded.

SUBSTANCE OF TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

11. **D**uring the transitional period the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be accorded self-rule by means of which they will, themselves, conduct their affairs of daily life. Israel will continue to be responsible for security, foreign affairs and all matters concerning Israeli citizens in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Topics involving the implementation of the plan for self-rule will be considered and decided within the framework of the negotiations for an interim agreement.

SUBSTANCE OF PERMANENT SOLUTION

12. **I**n the negotiations for a permanent solution every party shall be entitled to present for discussion all the subjects it may wish to raise.
13. **T**he aim of the negotiations should be:
 - a) The achievement of a permanent solution acceptable to the negotiating parties.
 - b) The arrangements for peace and borders between Israel and Jordan.

DETAILS OF THE PROCESS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INITIATIVE

14. **F**irst and foremost dialogue and basic agreement by the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Egypt and Jordan if they wish to take part, as above-mentioned, in the negotiations, on the principles constituting the initiative.

15. a) Immediately afterwards will follow the stage of preparations and implementation of the election process in which a representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza will be elected. This representation:
 - I) Shall be a partner to the conduct of negotiations for the transitional period (interim agreement).
 - II) Shall constitute the self-governing authority in the course of the transitional period.
 - III) Shall be the central Palestinian component, subject to agreement after three years, in the negotiations for the permanent solution.
- b) In the period of the preparation and implementation there shall be a calming of the violence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.
16. **A**s to the substance of the elections, it is recommended that a proposal of regional elections be adopted, the details of which shall be determined in further discussions.
17. **E**very Palestinian Arab residing in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza district, who shall be elected by the inhabitants to represent them - after having submitted his candidacy in accordance with the detailed document which shall determine the subject of the elections - may be a legitimate participant in the conduct of negotiations with Israel.
18. **T**he elections shall be free, democratic and secret.
19. **I**mmediately after the election of the Palestinian representation, negotiations shall be conducted with it on an interim agreement for a transitional period which shall continue for 5 years, as mentioned above. In these negotiations the parties shall determine all the subjects relating to the substance to the self-rule and the arrangements necessary for its implementation.
20. **A**s soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the establishment of the self-rule, negotiations for a permanent solution shall begin. During the whole period of these negotiations until the signing of the agreement for a permanent solution, the self-rule shall continue in effect as determined in the negotiations for an interim agreement.

עֵתוֹן מִסְרֵי - נִייר עֲבוּדָה

כללי - מטרת העיתון, להוות במה לויקוח רעיוני, בנושאים המרכזיים אשר מעסיקים את הציבוריות הישראלית. העיתון יציג השקפות לאומיות, מנומקות ושיטתיות ויפנה במיוחד לאינטליגנציה ולציבור הצעיר בישראל.

תמוצה - העיתון יודפס כ־10000 עותקים, אשר יופצו באופן הבא: כ־5000 באוניברסיטאות; כ־3000 לפעילי ימין מרכזיים בתנועות ומפלגות שונות; כ־1000 בבתי ספר נבחרים; כ־1000 הפצה קבועה ברואר למקבלי החלטות ולמנויים.

תמחור (הערבה) - עלות שנתית כ־100000 ש"ח (= \$ 40000), לפי חלוקת הוצאות הבאה לכל גליון: הדפסה - 5000 ש"ח (\$ 2000); גרפיקה והוצאות מנהליות כ־1250 ש"ח (\$ 500); משכורת למרכז מערכת 1250 ש"ח (\$ 500); הוצאות דואר ושונות כ־600 ש"ח (\$ 250).

סה"כ מחיר גליון 8000 ש"ח (\$ 3250) \times 12 גיליונות לשנה = 100000 ש"ח (\$ 40000).

* הערה: העריכה התוכנית והלשונית, כתיבת המאמרים ועיקר ההפצה - יעשו ללא תשלום.

אסיון - העיתון יופיע פעם בחודש (12 גיליונות בשנה), יהיו בו 8 עמודים, והוא יחולק חינם.

תוכן - העיתון ישאף להביא בכל גליון חידוש או חשיפה ייחודיים שיהוו את שער העיתון. שאר עמודי העיתון יחולקו בערך באופן שווה בין שלושה תחומים: מדורים קבועים המתייחסים לנושאי אקטואליה, פוליטיקה, חוץ, כלכלה וכו'; מאמרים כלליים, המנתחים שאלות מרכזיות לעומק; מדורים המטפלים בנושאים שונים באופן קליל והומוריסטי.

Sam Kame.



למקום

אילן אור

ע"ש סגן של הקול

מילרד ג'ורד

ירושלים

PTT
24-6-1981

אלביר גרמני

ד. מ. 3 ✓

Deputy Minister
of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem



סגן שר החוץ
ירושלים

כ"ח בתמוז תשנ"א
10 ביולי 1991

112225

הנדון: סכום ישיבת הסברה 10.7

נוכחים: ס/שה"ח, רביב, עמיהוד, אבידן, גל, קשדן, ארד

פר"ן

להוציא הודעה על הצהרת ה-5 על פר"ן בתאום עם משרד רה"מ ומשהב"ט. יש להציע להם שתי נקודות: קישור לנשק קונבנציונאלי והדגשת הצורך במו"מ.

לכנון

צה"ל מכין ניר רקע שיופץ לנציגויות. הסברה תפיץ את דברי שהב"ט והנחיה לא לסטות ממנה. יש להימנע מלהגיד מתי נצא מדר"ל אם בכלל.

דו"ח אמנסטי

משרד המשפטים מכין תגובה עד סוף היום שתופץ לנציגויות.

דרא"פ

אם נישאל, להגיד שישראל עוקבת אחרי השינויים ומדיניותה אינה שונה מזו של מדינות המערב העיקריות. השגריר נמצא בארץ ומתקיימות התייעצויות.



Deputy Minister
of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem

סגן שר החוץ
ירושלים

כ"ה בתמוז תשנ"א
7 ביולי 1991

סכום ישיבת הסברה 7.7

נוכחים: ס/שה"ח, רביב, אורן, אולמרט, אבידן, גל, קשדן, ארד.

יהודי סוריה

הסברה תפיץ את החומר שהוכן בנושא ותיזום מאמרי op-ed בווישינגטון ובלונדון.

דרום לבנון

לבדוק עם מערכת הבטחון את נוסחי התשובה והתידרון. הסברה תכין בתאום עם דו"צ נייר רקע לנציגויות.

מאמר ג'קסון דול

להפיץ את מאמר דוד בר-אילן תעונה לג'קסון דול.

51 20000

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

המנהל הכללי
טל: 303519
י"ג בתמוז תשנ"א
25 ביוני 1991
100.01

המנהל הכללי

111103

אל : מר א. מקל, מנכ"ל רשות השידור

הנדון: צימצום שידורי קול ישראל בחו"ל
בהמשך לשיחותינו הטלפוניות

בהמשך למכתבו של ס/שה"ח אליך מיום 22 במאי 1991, הנני מצטער להודיעך כי אנו מחשיכים לקבל מכתבים רבים ממוסדות, ארגונים ובודדים בחו"ל המבקשים להחריע על הנזק שייגרם כתוצאה מצימצום אפשרי של שידורי קול ישראל לחו"ל.

הפונים חוזרים ומדגישים ששידורי קול ישראל מהווים עבור הקהל היהודי את הקשר היום יומי עם הארץ ובנוסף לכך יש בהם תרומה הסברתית חשובה בהיותם כוללים אינפורמציה עובדתית ומהימנה המגיעה מהארץ למאזינים רבים בשפתם הם. ידידים פעילי הסברה בחו"ל מתריעים על כך "שאינם יכולים להבין כיצד מדינת ישראל פויתות באמצעי הסברה מצליח ואמין שבמשך שנים רבות שקדה של פיתוחו והרחבת הקשרים ועתה כאשר מגיעים לקהלי יעד רחבים עומדים להפסיק זאת".

לאור האמור לעיל ובידיעה שהשידורים לחו"ל מוסיפים לנו ידידים ותומכים שבשעה זאת חשובים לכולנו וקיצוץ בשידורים עלול לפגוע באמץ ההסברתי והקשרים עם מאזינים רבים, אנו מבקשים לעשות כל מאמץ לא לפגוע בקיים, ובכל מקרה לתאם עמנו, בעבודת צוות, את העדיפויות בהקצאת הזמן והיעדים. לצורך זה בקשתי מסמנכ"ל הסברה, מר משה רביב, לבוא עמך בדברים כדי לתאם העניין.

כ ב ר כ ה,
ראובן מרחב

הגנתך: ס/שה"ח ✓
חברי מליאת רשות השידור
מנכ"ל הסברה
מר א. נדב, מנהל קול ישראל

11. ס' / אייזיקסון ואמנון / ק"ל

ט' בסיון | חשנ"א
22 במאי | 1991

לכבוד
אריה חקל
מנכ"ל רשות השידור
ירושלים

אריה ירדי,

קשה לתאר את הפתעתי ואכזבתי כששמעתי על הצימצומים הדרסטיים בחטיבת השידורים לחו"ל באנגליה. בנוסף לסערת המחאה בקרב יהדות בריטניה, הנהנית והעיקרית מהשידורים, קיבלתי פניות רבות מדיפלומטים וזרים המכהנים בארץ שהביעו צער רב על ההחלטה.

דווקא בימים אלה של תעמולה ערבית בלתי פוסקת נגד ישראל, יש חשיבות עצומה לכלי אינפורמציה עובדתית ומדוייקת באנגליה על האירועים בארץ. כלי זה אינו יכול להיות כלי תעמולתי של חשה"ח. הוא חייב לבוא ממקור חיצוני ואובייקטיבי כדוגמת "קול ישראל".

אני פונה אליך בתקווה לשכנע אותך לשנות את ההחלטה ולהשיב את מתכונת השידורים באנגליה על פיה.

בברכה,

בנימין נתניהו

העתק: מר אמנון נדב - מנהל הרדיו.

17
26 באוקטובר 1990
ז' בחשוון תשנ"א

File

תמצית דו"ח ועדת הברור לבדיקת נושא
הארועים בהר-הבית ב- 8 באוקטובר 1990

נערכה ע"י לשכת העתונות הממשלתית לנחיות העתונאים וכאמצעי עזר בלבד.
הנוסח הרשמי היחידי המחייב הוא הדו"ח המלא של הועדה,

פרק 1: מבוא

1. הועדה מביעה צערה העמוק על אבדן חיי אדם בהר-הבית, ומשתתפת בצער המשפחות שאיבדו יקיריהן. כן מביעה הועדה צער על הפגיעות באזרחים ובשוטרים ברחבת הכותל וסביבתו ומאחלת רפואה שלמה לפצועים.
2. הועדה ממליצה שהדין וחשבון יהיה גלוי כולו לציבור ועל כן נמנעה מלציין בגוף הדו"ח ראיות ומקורות לקביעותיה ומסקנותיה.
3. למרות היות הועדה "ועדת בירור" ולא "ועדת חקירה", הוסמכה הועדה ע"י שר המשפטים "לקבל תצהירים בכתב ולהזהיר את נותניהם לומר אמת". כן פעלה הועדה לפי סעיף 14 לחוק ועדות חקירה התשכ"ט 1968 והחליטה כי כל העדויות והחומר שגבתה לא ישמשו כראיה בהליך משפטי, חוץ ממשפט פלילי.
4. הועדה שמעה 124 עדים, ביניהם: שר המשטרה, ראש עיריית ירושלים, המפקח הכללי של המשטרה, ראש השב"כ, מפקדי משטרה ומג"ב וכן שוטרים ואנשי מג"ב כן שמעה הועדה מספר עצורים ביניהם פייסל חוסייני והשייח מחמד סעיד אל ג'מל אל ריפעי.
5. הועדה ביקרה בבית החולים מוקסד ושמעה דיווחים מפי רופאים ופצועים, כן ביקרה הועדה פעמים אחדות בהר הבית ובסביבתו.
6. הועדה לא נתבקשה להסיק מסקנות אישיות בתחום האחריות האזרחית, הפלילית או המשמעית של מי מן המעורבים בארועים - ולדעתה אף אין לה כל סמכות לכך על פי דין. מטרת הועדה היתה לבחון את מה שהוטל על הועדה בכתב המנוי - אין זה ענינה של ועדת הבירור לעסוק או להמליץ על הסקת מסקנות אישיות כלפי מי מן המעורבים באירועים. דו"ח הועדה איננו מתייחס למעשה או למחדל של אדם מסוים כל ההחלטות והמסקנות המתבקשות - אם בכלל - מדין וחשבון הועדה לגבי המעורבים בארועים בהר-הבית ביום 8 באוקטובר 1990 יקבעו ע"י הרשויות המוסמכות.
7. הועדה קיבלה חומר בכתב מגורמים שונים כולל "בצלם" אולם המצהירים שתצהיריהם צורפו לדו"ח "בצלם" לא ראו לנכון להופיע לחקירה תחת אזהרה בפני הועדה. פניות הועדה למועצה המוסלמית העליונה ולהנהלת הווקף להפגש עמם נענו בשלילה.
8. חוות דעת רופא מומחה שהוגשה לוועדה לגבי 7 פצועים שאושפזו בבית"ח מוקסד בירושלים קבעה כי אף לא אחד מהם נפגע מכיוון הגב.

9. הועדה מפנה תשומת לב המוסד לביטוח לאומי שיש לבדוק בהקדם האפשרי מי מהנפגעים - שלא נטלו חלק בפעולות הפרת הסדר הציבורי בהר-הבית - זכאי לתגמולים לפי חוק התגמולים לנפגעי פעולות איבה התש"ל - 1970.

- - -
 - - -
 - - -

- - -
 - - -
 - - -

- - -
 - - -

PROUD
 ← ← ←
 ← ← ←
 ← ← ←
 ← ← ←

פרק 2: סיכומים ומסקנות

1. מעמדו של הר-הבית
לדעת הועדה יש להקים ועדת שרים מיוחדת לענייני הר-הבית בשיתוף ר"ע ירושלים. ועדה זו צריכה להתוות מדיניות, לכוון היערכות במצבים שונים, לקבוע ולפקח על סדרי תאום בין הגורמים המעורבים באבטחת הר-הבית והכותל המערבי. ועדה זו תיוועץ בראשי הדתות כמתחייב בחוק.

2. גורמי הארוע
א. התכנסות המוסלמים בהר-הבית חרגה מהיעוד של המקום ומהנורמות שהמקום הקדוש מחייב. אנשי הוואקף ידעו שבג"צ לא קיבל את עתירת "נאמני הר-הבית", שביקשו היתר להניח אבן פינה לבית המקדש השלישי, ולא נענו לפניית קציני משטרת ישראל בבוקר יום הארוע להרגיע המתקהלים. זאת על אף העובדה שהקצינים הודיעו כי ימנעו אפילו את ביקורם של "נאמני הר-הבית" וכל אדם אחר על אף שהביקור מותר לפי חוק.

ב. הארוע עצמו החל כאשר לפתע הושמעו קריאות מאיימות ואלימות ברמקול ("אללה אכבר", "ג'יהאד", "איטבח אל יהוד") ומיד לאחריהן הומטרו כמויות אדירות של אבנים, חומרי בנין וחומרי מתכת, על שוטרי ישראל שנכחו במקום. המון המתפרעים המשולהב יידה מטווחים קצרים מאד - אבנים וחפצי מתכת שונים. היו אף שהחזיקו סכינים בידיהם. במעשי המתפרעים ולא כל שכן המסיתים היה משום סיכון חיי השוטרים, אלפי המתפללים בכותל ושלחם עצמם. זו עבירה פלילית חמורה שהשתתפו בה המונים שהוטנו ע"י דרשנים ברמקולים והיא שגרמה להשתלשלות הטראגית של המאורעות.

ג. לדעת הועדה יש להמשיך לחקור האם בוצעו עבירות פליליות במהלך הארועים. לדעת הועדה יש מקום לחשד שחלק ניכר מהמתכנסים בהר-הבית ומנהיגיהם היו מעורבים לכאורה בהפרת הסדר הציבורי, בפגיעה בשוטרים ומתפללים ובסיכון חיהם.

3. הפעלת כוח ע"י המשטרה

א. הועדה הגיעה למסקנה שהשוטרים בהר-הבית היו נתונים בסכנת חיים וחששו לחייהם ולחיי רבבות המתפללים שהיו בכותל המערבי.
ירי רימוני הגז וכדורי הגומי ע"י השוטרים, שבא עקב הרגימה ההמונית באבנים ובחמרים אחרים, כוון להרתעת המתפרעים ולהסגתם מקרבת הכותל. עקב הפגיעה ברבים מהם נאלצו השוטרים לסגת מן ההר דרך שער המוגרבים והרגימה נמשכה לעבר הכותל, פתח שער המוגרבים וכביש העופל.

ב. הפריצה להר הבית נבעה הן מהמשך ההתפרעות ורגימת האבנים והן מחשש לחיי שני השוטרים שנותרו לכודים בתחנת המשטרה בהר הבית. כמו כן הועלה חשש כי כלי הנשק והתחמושת שבתחנה זו יפלו לידי המתפרעים. בהעדר קשר לא ידעו

מפקדי המשטרה כי השוטרים הלכודים בתחנה הצליחו להחלץ בכוחות עצמם.

ג. הפריצה נערכה תוך הפעלת רימוני גז ואף ירי באש חיה שעה שההמונים ממטירים על השוטרים אבנים וחמרים אחרים שסיכנו את חייהם. המשך ההסתערות על השוטרים, גם על ידי רעולי פנים, אילצה את השוטרים לתקוף באש חיה. כאשר נכנסו המתקהלים למסגדים ניתנה הוראה "חדל אש".

ד. לגבי הנושאים שהועלו לעיל, סבורה הוועדה כי לאחר פריצת שער המוגרבים, שבאה כדי להציל שוטרים לכודים ולמנוע נפילת נשק ותחמושת לידי המתפרעים, המשיכו השוטרים להיות מותקפים באבנים ובחפצים מסוכנים אחרים על-ידי המוני מסתערים. השוטרים ירו גז וכדורי-גומי ובמקרה של סכנת חיים השתמשו גם באש חיה לכיוון מתקיפיהם.

ה. הוועדה ממליצה כי תיערך בדיקה מפורטת נפרדת, ע"י קצין משטרה בלתי תלוי שימונה ע"י מפקד משמר הגבול, בנוגע ליזמה שנקט אחד ממפקדי המחלקות במג"ב באזור שער האריות, ללא קבלת פקודה מפורשת. מסקנות הבדיקה יועברו לשר המשטרה ולמפכ"ל.

ו. אמבולנס אחד נפגע מיריה בשמשו הקדמית ובצדו ונפגעו אחות ונהג האמבולנס. לועדה הוברר כי השוטרים לא ראו את האמבולנס, שעמד בין העמודים בכניסה למסגד אל-אקצה. ההמלצה לביטוח לאומי שנזכרה בפרק א' מתייחסת לנפגעים אלה.

ז. ממסוק הסיור שחג מעל הר הבית לא הושלכו רימוני גז או כל חפץ אחר ולא נורו ממנו יריות על המתקהלים.

4. תפקוד הדרג הפיקודי הבכיר במשטרת ישראל

לועדה יש ביקורת על תפקודו של דרג הפיקוד הבכיר במשטרה:

א. בידי המשטרה היו ידיעות מוקדמות על אפשרות קיום מהומות. דרך חשיבתם והתייחסותם של מפקדי המחוז הדרומי ומרחב ירושלים היתה שיגרתית ואף שגויה.

לא נמצאה התייחסות של רגישות ייחודית להר-הבית ולא היה תכנון מוקדם לסיטואציות מגוונות אפשריות. הפיקוח התרכז באלמנט אחד בלבד, "הנחת אבן הפינה לבית השלישי", וכשזה בטל נקטו אמצעי שיגרה.

ב. מפקדי המחוז והמרחב לא לקחו בחשבון את השפעתה המצטברת של האינתיפדה, את האוירה שמקורה בגורמי טרור, את התייחסותם של אלה למשבר במפרץ ואת קריאות ההסתה של המואזין והדרשנים בהר-הבית ביום ששי שקדם לארועים. תופעות אלו חייבו גישה של יזמות וחדשנות שלא היו קימות במקרה זה. לא היו גם בידי המשטרה תיקי תכנון לתרחישים אפשריים ולכן לא תורגלו.

ג. לדעת הוועדה המצב שנוצר בהר-הבית חייב נוכחות מפקדים ברמה בכירה ביותר בהר הבית. המצב שנוצר חייב נוכחותם של מפקדי המחוז והמרחב ועם החרפת

המצב היה מקום להזעיק את המפכ"ל. הפעלת מצב חירום להבטחת הר-הבית, הקמת חפ"ק, ריכוז כוחות והצבתם בעמדות, היו יכולים להרתיע ההמון המשולהב מלפתוח במהומות.

בעקבות ארועים אחרים לא היו המיפקדות מאוישות במפקדים בכירים, הקשר בין נקודות ההר השונות לא פעל כשורה והמפכ"ל, וממילא גם שר המשטרה, לא דווחו בשעות הראשונות לגבי התפתחות המצב.

ד. לא קיימות הגדרות חדות וחד-משמעיות לגבי אחריות הפיקוד בהר. הועדה סבורה שיש לשמור על אחדות פיקוד ועל כפיפות מלאה של הכוחות הפועלים בעיר העתיקה למפקדת העיר העתיקה.

ה. מפקד הפלוגה של מג"ב, שפעל יחידי בשטח, ראה חובה לפרוס כוח מג"ב בגב הכותל - צעד זה תאם הפקודות שקיבל.

ו. לדעת הועדה:

1) יש להקצות כוח עלית קבוע להר-הבית וסביבתו, שיפעל תחת פיקוח אחיד בעל סמכות ואחריות מוגדרים.

2) יש לכונן "מיפקדת ארועי הר-הבית", אשר תדווח על המתרחש בהר ותהא נוכחת בו בעת ארוע.

3) יש להכין תיקי תכנון מוקדם שיתיחס לסיטואציות אפשריות ולנסח מסגרות התייחסות אופרטיביות לכל סיטואציה.

4) יש לייחד כוחות עזר לתגבור הכוח בעת ארועים, שימצאו באזור נגישות קרוב ומידי.

5) הועדה ממליצה כי מפקד משטרת העיר העתיקה יהיה האחראי לכוננות הכוחות ויודא תרגולים כדי להבטיח מוכנותם לפעולה.

ז. הביקורת על דרך תפקוד המרחב אינה גורעת כהוא זה מאומץ הלב של מפקד המרחב, קציניו ושוטריו במהלך ההשתלטות על המתפרעים.

5. מודיעין

א. קיימים קשיים בתחום איסוף מידע, ניתוחו, מתן התראה וסיוע בסיכול הפרות סדר ציבורי. הועדה סבורה כי חלוקת המשימות בין השב"כ והמשטרה נכון ביסודו ואין לשנותו.

ב. השב"כ נטל על עצמו את איסוף המידע על התארגנויות להפרות סדר ואילו המשטרה מטפלת באיסוף מידע ברחוב, בנוגע להתפתחויות שאופין ספונטני.

ג. בארוע הר הבית לא היה חסר מידע מוקדם: התראות כלליות של השב"כ ומעל לכל ידיעות גלויות - קריאת דרשנים, כרוזים וריבוי קבוצות רעולי פנים שקראו להתכנסות בהר-הבית.

ד. הטעות של המפכ"ל, מפקד המחוז הדרומי ומפקד מרחב ירושלים, היתה בהערכת המידע ובהתמקדות בהנחה כי אם תמנע "הנחת אבן הפינה" יבוא הכל על מקומו בשלום - כשם שהיה בעבר.

קריאה נכונה של המצב, לנוכח שינוי הנסיבות והתנאים היתה מאפשרת היערכות מונעת ופעולת סיכול שהיתה דרושה ואפשרית. עקב טעות זו לא ערכה המשטרה את כוחותיה במתכונת העבר, לא נערך חפ"ק כראוי ולא רוכז כוח הרתעה והתערבות כמקובל. הערכה בסיסית זו לא השתנתה גם כאשר היתה ידיעה ברורה על מספר האנשים בהר-הבית.

ה. הערכות שב"כ היתה שונה משל המשטרה. השב"כ הבהיר כי גורם מאיץ בלתי צפוי עלול לגרום להתפוצצות בעת התקהלות בנסיבות ובהיקף כפי שהיתה בהר-הבית. הועדה לא מצאה סימוכין לקיום התראה בכתב ע"י השב"כ למשטרה באותה חדות ובהירות כפי שהוצגה ע"י השב"כ בפני הועדה.

ו. לדעת הועדה:

- 1) יש להשאיר על כנה חלוקת משימות המודיעין ויש להפיץ כל מודיעין בנוגע להר-הבית גם לשר המשטרה ולוועדת השרים שתוקם. בועדה זו יתקיים דיון על הערכות מודיעין שונות אם תהיינה כאלה.
- 2) יש להקצות למשטרה באופן מיידי אמצעים וכלים להקמת רשת לאיסוף "מודיעין רחוב" ולהקמת יחידות כאלה שתפעלנה במסגרת מרחב המשטרה וכחלק אורגני ממפקדת המחוז.

6. סמכויות שלא הופעלו ופעולות מנע שלא נעשו

א. יום ד' של חוה"מ סוכות היה עמוס בארועים והמשטרה הקצתה כוחות ומפקדים לכלם. הועדה מציע שמוטב לפרוש את הארועים בכותל וסביבתו לכמה ימים ולא לרכזם ביום אחד.

ב. "נאמני הר-הבית" - מעשי קבוצה קטנה זו לא חרגו מגדר המותר לפי החוק אך הענין אינו מתמצה רק במישור החוקי והפורמלי. המוסלמים רואים בקבוצה זו גורם מתגרה ומאים המתכוון לדחוק אותם מהר-הבית. המנהיגות המוסלמית ניצלה נוכחות הקבוצה כדי להתסיס הנקהלים בהר-הבית. המשטרה היתה צריכה להיות ערה לכך ולאשר ליווי הקבוצה ביום אחר, בו אין מצבור כזה של ארועים.

המשטרה ראתה עצמה מחויבת על פי החלטת בג"צ אולם בירור שערכה הועדה העלה כי לא היתה חובה כזאת וניתן היה להעביר הארוע ליום אחר. לדעת הועדה על המשטרה לשקול הגבלת ארועים בהר הבית, בכותל המערבי וברחבי העיר העתיקה, שקיימת סבירות גבוהה שיביאו להפרות סדר חמורות.

ג. מניעת התקהלות בהר-הבית שיש עימה חשש להפרת סדר - המתקהלים על הר-הבית פגעו ביעוד המקום כמקום קדוש ולכאורה נעברה על ידם עבירה על החוק. מלכתחילה נקראו להפגנה, האסורה על הר-הבית, ולהגנה עליו, מטלה המוטלת על מדינת ישראל. לדעת הועדה היתה למשטרה סמכות לסגור את שערי הר-הבית ולמנוע כניסה והתקהלות שמטרתן הפרות סדר. המשטרה גם יכלה למנוע כניסת גורמים חשודים - דבר שנעשה בעבר והוכיח עצמו.

גם בעת הארועים יכלה המשטרה לנקוט בפעולות שיתכן והיו מונעות ההתדרדרות - כגון הפסקת פעולת הרמקול שליבה המהומה. פעולות אלו לא נעשו בעיקר בגלל

ההנחה שהסדר יחזור על כנו אם לא תתאפשר עליית "נאמני הר-הבית" להר. המשטרה נסתה ללא הצלחה להשתיק הרמקול באמצעות יריות, לדעת הועדה ניתן היה כבר בעבר לפתור בעיה טכנית זו ויש לעשות מיד כל הדרוש כדי למנוע שימוש בעתיד ברמקול להסתה, התססה והמרדה. לו פעלה המשטרה כך יתכן והיתה זוכה לביקורת בעיקר בקרב הציבור המוסלמי וגורמים עוינים למדינת ישראל, אך מוטב להתייבב נגד ביקורת מאשר להגיע לתוצאות העצובות והקשות של יום הארועים בהר-הבית, אף שהאשמה העיקרית והאחריות לכך רובצת ועל המוני המתפרעים על מסיתיהם שניצלו המקום המקודש לפרעות.

ד. איסור קיום הפגנת באזור העיר העתיקה.

האינטרס הלאומי של ישראל ומצבה המיוחד של העיר העתיקה מחייבים מחשבה חדשה לגבי המותר והאסור בכל הנוגע להתקהלות והפגנות העלולות להביא להפרות סדר. הועדה מציעה למנוע הפגנות והתקהלויות לשם הפגנה באזור הר-הבית, הכותל המערבי ורחבי העיר העתיקה. יש לשמור על חופש הפולחן לבני כל הדתות באתרים המקודשים להם. רק ארועים ממלכתיים רישמיים של המדינה יוכלו להתקיים באזור הכותל המערבי.

ה. שימוש באמצעים טכנולוגיים

השימוש בירי באש חיה בהר-הבית בנסיבות שהיו קיימות הוצדק ע"י הועדה. כמו כן ברור כי מדיניות המשטרה היא כי השימוש באש חיה הוא אמצעי אחרון המותר לשימוש רק אם נשקפת סכנת חיים. הכרחי לפתח אמצעים טכנולוגיים שיעילותם תעלה על שימוש בגז וכדורי גומי. הועדה מצביעה על הצורך המידי לפתח אלטרנטיבות לירי באש חיה. הועדה ממליצה על הקמה מיידית של צוות טכנולוגי-בטחוני שיבחן אפשרויות לפתרון בעית שמירת הר-הבית והכותל המערבי. ועדת השרים תסכם ותחליט בנושא בהקדם האפשרי.

7. הכוונה, מעקב ובקרה ע"י שר המשטרה

א. שר המשטרה נושא באחריות מיניסטריאלית לפעולות המשטרה. הועדה מודעת לדיון הקיים ולסמכויותיו ולמעמדו המיוחד של מפכ"ל המשטרה. מקובל שאין מקום להתערבות שר המשטרה בהליכי חקירה פלילית אך בנושא שמירת הסדר דרושה התערבותו הפעילה של השר לשם קיום אחריותו המיניסטריאלית. במבנה הקיים של משרד המשטרה אין כלים הדרושים לכך לכן יש צורך דחוף בכינון כלים אלה. לדעת הועדה יש צורך בפיתוח עבודת מטה מיוחדת לצורך תפקוד השר כדי שיוכל להתוות מדיניות, לבחון אלטרנטיבות ולקיים בקרה משלו על ההצעות המוגשות לו. יש צורך במעורבותו של שר המשטרה בנושא שמירת הסדר הציבורי תוך תשומת לב מיוחדת לעיר העתיקה ולמקומות הקדושים בה.

פרק 3: הה-הבית בראייה משפטית, היסטורית ומדינית

המצב המשפטי

הר-הבית נמצא ברבונות מדינת ישראל, לפיכך חלים עליו כל חוקי המדינה. בעקבות מלחמת ששת הימים, הוחלה הריבונות של מדינת ישראל על חלקה המזרחי של העיר ירושלים ובכללה העיר העתיקה בה מצוי הר-הבית. החלת הריבונות נעשתה בחוק של הכנסת - תיקון לפקודת סדרי השלטון והמשפט, התש"ח - 1948. כמו כן, הובטח, בחוק השמירה על המקומות הקדושים, התשכ"ז - 1967, חופש גישה לבני הדתות השונות אל המקומות המקודשים להם. סעיף 1 לחוק זה מופיע כלשונו, מפאת חשיבותו, גם בחוק יסוד: ירושלים בירת ישראל, שנחקק בשנת 1980.

היהודים והר-הבית

הר-הבית מקודש לישראל מדור דור גם כאשר נעקר העם מארצו נשמרה זיקתו לאתר מקודש זה. בעקבות הכיבוש הירדני, ב-1948, לא איפשרה ממשלת ירדן גישה חופשית ליהודים למרות שהתחייבה לכך בהסכם שביתת הנשק בין ישראל וירדן ב-1948. יהודים שומרי מצוות נמנעים במצוות חכמי ישראל והרבנים הראשיים מלעלות על הר-הבית ותפילתם נערכת ליד הכותל המערבי. יהודים שאינם דבקים במצוות ההלכה, עולים לר-הבית כמבקרים. זכות הגישה לר-הבית מעוגנת בחוקי המדינה ובפסיקות בג"צ.

המוסלמים והר-הבית

מאז הכיבוש הערבי של ירושלים בשנת 638 לספירה, הר-הבית הוא מרכז מוסלמי דתי. בג"צ הכיר בהר-הבית כמקום קדוש לבני הדת המוסלמית, ואכן הוא משמש כמקום התכנסות לתפילה. מתוך רגישות מיוחדת למקום קדוש זה הודיע ראש ממשלת ישראל לוי אשכול, עוד ביום 27.6.67 לכל ראשי העדות הדתיות כי "...המקומות הקדושים בירושלים פתוחים לבני כל דת. כל אחד חפשי לבקר ולהתפלל במקומות הקדושים לדתו ללא אפליה..."

עפ"י עקרון זה הופקד הניהול הפנימי של ענייני הר-הבית, לרבות המסגדים שעליו, בידי רשויות הוואקף המוסלמי.

האחריות על הבטחון בהר-הבית

האחריות לבטחון הר-הבית היתה מוטלת הן בימי המאנדאט הבריטי והן בימי השלטון הירדני, על השלטונות האזרחיים. הוזה אומר - שמירת הסדר הציבורי הינו מענינה של המדינה. ממשלת ישראל, שהיא הסמכות הריבונית על הר-הבית, אחראית איפוא לבטחון המקום.

אף רשויות הוואקף לא ראו עצמן אחראיות על ענייני הבטחון.

בדו"ח שפרסמה "ועדת חקירה" ערבית בעקבות הצתת מסגד אל-אקצה ב-1969 עליו חתומים אנוואר אל חטיב, אנוואר נוסייבה ובעיד אלא אלדין, נאמר בין השאר "...שלטונות

הכיבוש בתור שכאלה אינם יכולים להשתמש מאחריותם הבטחונית. לשומרי ההקדשות המוסלמים אין כל סמכות או אופי בטחוניים...".

חלות החוק הפליילי על מקומות קדושים

בית המשפט העליון פסק (בג"צ 267/88) כי החוק הפליילי בכללותו חל על "מקומות קדושים", אבל רשויות המדינה נהגו זהירות בכל הנוגע לאכיפת החוק בשטח הר-הבית בשל רגישות המקום ומתוך רצון למנוע התלקחות על רקע דתי.

חופש הפולחן - בראי הפסיקה

חופש הפולחן של יהודים על הר-הבית, להבדיל מזכות הגישה, נבחן במספר ניכר של פסקי דין של בית המשפט העליון. בפסקי דין אלה הועמדו לביקורת שיקולי המשטרה שסרבה להתיר תפילות יהודים על הר-הבית. רוב העתירות נדחו ע"י בית המשפט, וברוב המקרים הובעה דעה מפורשת שיש לנהוג בענין הר-הבית ברגישות מיוחדת העדיפה "מן הקו הנוקשה, הבלתי גמיש של הדין או החוק...". (ראה בג"צ 222/86).

פרק 4: סקירת פקודות והיערכות משטרת ישראל

כללי

בראשית שנת 1990 גובשה תוכנית אופרטיבית הדנה בהיערכות המשטרה במרחב ירושלים, וכונתה "מחשבה תחילה". עיקרי התוכנית קבעו כי יש להטיל את האחריות על הגיזרה הנדונה בה על מפקדת מג"ב ירושלים בכפיפות לפיקוד מרחב ירושלים וכי יש לתת למפקדה החדשה אפשרות וסמכות לפעול ביוזמה עצמית.

פלוגה ג' של מג"ב נקבעה כאחראית לאזור העיר העתיקה בתוך החומות (גזרה ד'). צוין במפורש כי בגזרה זו יתכנו הפרות סדר ופעולות הסתה בהר-הבית. ההיערכות הביאה בחשבון צורך בתגבור ועיבוי כוחות באירועים מיוחדים. בין האירועים צוינו "ברכת כהנים" ופעילות "נאמני הר-הבית".

פקודות המשטרה לגבי השמירה על הר-הבית

מרחב ירושלים - בחודש יולי 1983 הוציא מרחב ירושלים פקודת אבטחה ונוהלים לגבי אזור הר-הבית. הפקודה כוללת תיאור תפקידי מפקד יחידת הר-הבית והוראות קבע לשוטרים הנמצאים בו. כמו כן, נקבע בפקודה נוהל לאזעקת כוח מג"ב הנמצא בכוננות בנקודת המחכמה, לתיגבור בעת אירוע בהר-הבית. ביום 1.8.90 הוכפפה יחידת הר-הבית לתחנת המשטרה בעיר העתיקה.

ביום 17.7.84 הוצא ע"י הן המטה הארצי פקודת מסגרת - אבטחה ונהלים בהר-הבית. לתשומת לב הוועדה לא הובאה כל פקודה מפורטת שהוצאה ע"י המחוז הדרומי - מרחב ירושלים, ותעדכן את הפקודה שהוצאה ביולי 1983.

משמר הגבול - בחודש יוני 1989 הוצאה פקודת אבטחה לפלוגה ג' של משמר הגבול. מן הפקודה עולה כי האחריות לשמירת הסדר והבטחון בהר הבית, ואבטחת הגישה למבקרים ומניעת הפרות סדר בהר-הבית - מוטלת על יחידת מג"ב.

פקודות משטרת ישראל לקראת האירועים ביום 8.10.90

מטה ארצי - ביום 21.8.90 הוציא המטה הארצי - אגף המבצעים "פקודת מבצע חגים - תשנ"א", שמטרתה אבטחת הסדר הציבורי ובמיוחד אבטחת המתפללים באתרים שונים. הערכת המודיעין שצורפה לפקודה קבעה כי חגי ישראל מהווים מועדים מועדפים לפיגועים, ציינה במפורש את הרגישות במזרח ירושלים ובהר-הבית והסבירות לפיגועים.

מטה המחוז הדרומי - ביום 29.8.90 הוציא המטה פקודת מבצע "היערכות המחוז הדרומי לחגי רה"ש - סוכות תשנ"א". אין בפקודת המבצע התייחסות מיוחדת לאזור הר-הבית והכותל מלבד איזכור אירוע ברכת כהנים כאירוע מרכזי.

מטה מרחב ירושלים - באוגוסט 1990 הוציא המטה פקודת היערכות מרחב ירושלים בחגים - תשנ"א. הודגשו בפקודה אתרי נופש אך הר-הבית והכותל לא צוינו כמטרות מיוחדות שיש להגביר בהן את השמירה.

לפקודה צורפו מספר נספחים. נספח ט' עסק בתחנת העיר העתיקה, נספח י"ג בטבלת האירועים בחגים ובה צוינו טכס ברכת כהנים ואירוע "נאמני הר-הבית", נספח י"ד

פירט היערכות כוחות לאירוע ברכת כהנים ו"נאמני הר-הבית", נספח כ"א כלל פקודות לאירוע ברכת כהנים ובו הוטלה האחריות המשימתית על מג"ב ירושלים, נספח כ"ב התייחס ל"נאמני הר-הבית" ופרט את האירועים שיותר להם לקיים ואת אלה שנאסרו, על מנת למנוע "הפרות שלום בשטח".

משמר הגבול מרחב ירושלים - ביום 16.9.90 הוצאה פקודת היערכות לחגי תשנ"א.
צויין במפורש כי בחגים תעבה הפלוגה את המערך בכותל ותתכנן עיבוי מערך בגב הכותל. בנספח ו' לפקודה נאמר בין השאר כי יוקצה כוח מיוחד, שימוקס על הר-הבית בגב הכותל, בערב סוכות וביום ברכת כהנים.

מידע מוקדם ודיונים בימים שקדמו לאירועים

דיונים בדרג משטרה ושירותי בטחון - ב-24.8.90 הובאה לידיעת הנוגעים בדבר
במשטרה הידיעה שיש אפשרות להתעוררות סביב נושא הר-הבית. בסוף ספטמבר נדון המצב הבטחוני, הצפוי בתקופת החגים, בפורום שנתכנס אצל ראש מחלקת מודיעין במשטרה, בוועדה לבטחון ירושלים בלשכת המפכ"ל ובפגישת עבודה בין מפקד מרחב ירושלים והאחראי על הבטחון בעיר.

הערות ראש הממשלה - ביום 30.9.90, בתום ישיבת ממשלה בה מסרו שר המשטרה
והמפכ"ל סקירות בנושא, סיכם ראש הממשלה ואמר בין השאר: "...הבטחון בירושלים הוא חשוב ביותר והמשטרה בזמנו קיבלה הוראות מיוחדות לדאוג לכך שבטחונה של ירושלים לא יופר. ...אנו עדים ליותר מדי הפרות סדר ופגיעות בירושלים את המצב הזה צריך להפסיק".

עתירת "נאמני הר-הבית" לבית המשפט הגבוה לצדק

ביום 1.10.90 נדונה עתירתם לצוות על המשטרה להתיר עריכת טקס הנחת אבן פינה לבית המקדש בסמוך לשער האשפות ובניית סוכה ליד שער המוגרבים. להודעת ההתנגדות לעתירה, שהוגשה מטעם פרקליטות המדינה, צורף תצהיר של קצין אג"מ במרחב ירושלים בו נאמר בין השאר כי בידי המשטרה ידיעות מודיעיניות על הפרות סדר צפויות בהר-הבית כתוצאה מכוונות העותרים וכי הקמת סוכה ליד שער המוגרבים עלולה לגרור ידוי אבנים לעבר הסוכה, העשויות לפגוע בשוגג במתפללים ברחבת הכותל.
העתירה נדחתה ודבר הדחייה פורסם בהרחבה גם בעתונים הערבים היוצאים לאור במזרח ירושלים. בנוסף לפרסום, נמסרו תוצאות הדיון בע"פ ביום 3.10.90, להנהלת הוואקף ולמנהל מסגד אל-אקצה.

הכנות בנושא הר-הבית לקראת 8.10.90

קריאות בתפילות יום ששי, ופניות נוספות

למרות הפרסום וההודעות שנמסרו להנהלת הוואקף, קרא המואזין לאחר תפילת יום ששי (5.10.90) לצעירים להגיע להר הבית ביום שני (8.10.90) כדי למנוע בגופם מהיהודים להניח אבן פינה לבית המקדש על הר-הבית. לאחר דברי המואזין נישאו בפני הנאספים

נאומים שחזרו על דבריו
ממקורות מודיעין ומכרז של החמאס נודע על פעולות להפדת סדר צפויות בימים
5-6-7-11/10/90. ב- 7/10/90 קראו רעולי פנים לתושבי אבו-טור להגיע למחרת
להר-הבית בתגובה לכוונות היהודים להגיע למקום.

דיון ופרסומים

ב- 5.10.90 נערך בלשכת שר המשטרה דיון על ההערכות בבטחונות בירושלים. ביום
7.10.90 דיווח השר לראש המשלה. בבוקר יום האירוע, פירסמו עתוני הצהרים ידיעות
על תגבור כוחות והיערכות חדשה בירושלים בגלל קריאות ראשי הדת המוסלמים.

פרק 5: תיאור מהלך האירועים בהר-הבית ביום 8.10.90

פרק זה מכיל את לוח הזמנים המפורט ככל האפשר של אירועי הר הבית. תיאור זה מבוסס על עדויות (שנגבו בתצהיר ותחת אזהרה) מכל אנשי כוחות הבטחון שנכחו בהר-הבית בשעות האמורות. עדויות אלה נבדקו ואומתו בצורות שונות - אם באמצעות סרטי וידיאו, תצהירים בכתב ומידע שנאסף ע"י שירות הבטחון ונמסר ע"י הציבור. כן נחקרו חלק מן העצורים וחלק מן הפצועים שנפגעו באירוע. כל עובדה וזמן נבדקו ע"פ יותר מראיה אחת.

לוח הזמנים מתחיל ב- 03:30 - עם כניסת כ-50 מתפללים מוסלמים להר-הבית לתפילת השחר ומסתיים בשעה 13:00.

בתמצית זו נזכיר רק מספר אירועים מרכזיים.

ב- 08:30, כאשר על הר-הבית כבר היו כמה מאות צעירים, התקימה שיחת הרגעה בין מפקד המשטרה על הר-הבית לבין אנשי הוואקף. מפקד המשטרה הודיע כי איש לא יעלה ביום זה על הר-הבית. הודגש כי "נאמני הר-הבית" אף הם לא יורשו לעלות, גם לא כבודדים.

ב- 08:40 דווח על התקהלות של כ-2000 איש ועל צפי להפרת סדר. קצין מג"ב ביקש תגבורת.

ב- 09:00 פוזרה תגבורת שוטרי משמר הגבול בגב הכותל.

בין 09:15 ל- 09:30 נתבקשו אנשי הוואקף להרגיע את הרוחות.

בין 09:40 ל- 09:50 נערכה "ברכת כהנים" בכותל בהשתתפות בין 20.000 ל-30.000 איש. בתום התפילה החלו לעזוב את המקום.

ב- 09:50 הגיעו כ-20 מאנשי "נאמני הר-הבית" לרחבה מחוץ לכותל ובשעה 10:00 יצאו בלווית כוח משטרה לעבר נקבת השילוח. בשעה זו החלו להישמע בהר-הבית דרשות ונאומים שכללו דברי הסתה נגד היהודים. אנשי הוואקף הוזהרו כי ההסתה הפרועה עלולה להביא להפרות סדר ונתבקשו להרגיע את הרוחות. בשעה זו החלו צעירים לאסוף אבנים מבנינים הנמצאים בשלב שיפוץ על הר-הבית.

ב- 10:45 הסתערו כ-2000 עד 3000 איש לעבר 44 שוטרי מג"ב שעמדו אל גב הכותל. אבנים וברזלים נזרקו לעברם ולכיוון הכותל. ניתנה הוראה לירי גז וכדורי גומי אך ההסתערות לא נעצרה. שוטרי מג"ב, שחלקם נפגעו, נסוגו אל מעבר לשער המוגרבים וחלקם לכיוון המחכמה. התחיל פינוי מידי של המתפללים מרחבת הכותל.

ב- 10:55 הסתערו מאות צעירים אל תחנת המשטרה שעל הר-הבית בה נלכדו שני שוטרים שזעקו בקשר לעזרה. הקשר עימם נותק ושני השוטרים, שהצליחו להימלט, לא הצליחו להודיע על בריחתם. בתחנת המשטרה נשארו כלי נשק ותחמושת.

בשלב ההתפנות של שוטרי מג"ב והמתפללים לא היה ירי מכוון באש חיה על המתפרעים.

ב- 11:05 החלה פריצה להר-הבית דרך שער המוגרבים. השוטרים שפרצו נתקלו במטר אבנים וברזלים ורימוני הגז שהטילו הושלכו חזרה לעברם. ההמון המוסת מנע מן השוטרים להתקדם לעבר נקודת המשטרה. רעולי פנים הסתערו על השוטרים ומאחר ואלה לא נעצרו בכדורי הגומי נורתה אש חיה, תחילה באויר ואח"כ גם לעבר המסתערים.

ב- 11:00 לערך הגיע האמבולנס הראשון להר-הבית וחנה בפתח מסגד אל-אקצה, באזור בו התנהל ירי של גז וכדורי גומי ולאחר מכן גם ירי של אש חיה. כתוצאה מן הירי נפגע האמבולנס ונפצעו הנהג ואחות שהיו בו.

ב- 11:15 הוזעק הליקופטר סיור לאזור הר-הבית. כל זמן האירוע לא נורו יריות מן ההליקופטר והוא שימש לצרכי מעקב ודיווח בלבד.

ב- 11:25 לאחר שנסוגג המתפרעים לתוך המסגדים ניתנה הוראה "חדל אש".

ב- 11:30 החלו הפרות סדר באזור שער האריות. צעירים תקפו שוטרים באבנים ומשלא הועילו כדורי הגומי והגז נאלצו השוטרים להשתמש באש חיה.
כוחות מג"ב הגיעו לאזור שער האריות לאחר ששמעו בקשר כי יש שם מהומות והפרות סדר חמורות.

בין 12:50 ל- 13:00 הותקף צוות שוטרי מג"ב ליד בית החולים מוקסד ע"י צעירים ובתוכם רעולי פנים. כתוצאה מן המרדף נפלט רימון גז שחדר לבית החולים. מפקד הסיור התנצל על תקרית מצערת זאת.

באירוע חמור זה היו נפגעים רבים. נפצעו 19 שוטרים ו- 9 מתפללים ברחבת הכותל. לפי נתוני משטרת ישראל נהרגו על הר-הבית 20 איש ונפצעו 53. בשל העדר רישום לא נכללו במספר הפצועים אלה אשר הגיעו לבתי-חולים, קיבלו טיפול ונשלחו לביתם בו ביום.

כל ההרוגים והפצועים בהר-הבית נפגעו כאשר שהו בשטח ההתפרעות. איש מהם לא נפגע בעת ששהה בתוך המסגדים או הבינינים בשטח הר-הבית.

פרק 6: ארגון, תפעול ופיקוח

מודיעין - קשיים באיסוף מידע יצרו חלוקה לפיה השב"כ אוסף מידע על התארגנויות להפרת סדר ואילו הפרות סדר בלתי מאורגנות נותרו בטיפול המשטרה. מידע על התארגנויות רחוב שיועברו במהירות למשטרה יקל עליה להתמודד איתן. הוועדה סבורה כי חלוקת המשימות הקיימת בין השב"כ למשטרה, נכונה ואין לשנותה.

מודיעין הר-הבית - המידע עליו ביסס מרחב ירושלים את הערכותו על הצפוי בהר ב-8.10.90, מקורו בידיעות חסויות וגלויות: קריאות המואזינים, כרוזים, ידיעות על רעולי פנים שהסתובבו בשכונות וידיעות חסויות על חשש מעימות עם קבוצת "נאמני הר-הבית".

על יסוד ידיעות אלה העריכה המשטרה כי אם תביא לידיעת הוואקף את החלטת בית המשפט הגבוה לצדק כי אין מקום להתערב בהחלטת המשטרה למנוע מ"נאמני הר-הבית" לבצע את תוכניתם - ירגעו הרוחות. הדבר נעשה ומשטרת מרחב ירושלים העריכה כי צעדיה הרגיעו את הרוחות ולכן לא נערכה במתכונת הרגילה לאירועים בהר-הבית שיש בהם חשש להפרות סדר. הערכת השב"כ שנמסרה לוועדה ביום 16.10.90, היתה שונה. לפי הערכה זו די בגורם מאיץ בלתי צפוי הצא בעת התכנסות של ציבור משולהב כדי לגרום עימות עם המשטרה. להערכה זו לא נמצאו סימוכין בחומר שהופץ ע"י השב"כ לפני ה-8.10.90.

הערכות המשטרה לפעולה בהר-הבית - למרחב ירושלים כפוף גדוד מג"ב. פלוגה ג' ממנו מוצבת בעיר העתיקה. כמו כן מוצבת יחידת כוננות בבנין המחכמה. פלוגות מג"ב מתאמות פעולתן עם כוחות המשטרה האחרים. למפקדת העיר העתיקה, שהוקמה לאחרונה, אחריות מרחבית על כל אזורי העיר העתיקה.

בימים מועדים לפורענות נוטל מרחב ירושלים את הפיקוד על כלל הכוחות ומקים חפ"ק. כאשר נערך החפ"ק לא מתעוררת כלל שאלת הפיקוד על הכוחות. בימים רגילים עולה שאלת כפיפותה של פלוגת מג"ב בעיר העתיקה.

פיצול הפיקוד על השוטרים בהר-הבית, בין מפקד העיר העתיקה ובין מפקד מג"ב הביא לתקלות בבלימת ההתפרעות. פלוגה ג' פעלה בכפיפות מלאה למפקד מג"ב עד שהגיע מפקד מרחב ירושלים ונטל את הפיקוד על כל הכוחות. היערכות הכוחות בהר-הבית ביום 8.10.90 התבססה על פקודת היערכות של מרחב ירושלים המחוז הדרומי, שהופצה למפקדת מג"ב. מפקדת מג"ב הפיצה גם פקודה הנוגעת לפלוגותיה ומגדירה את משימותיהן.

כוננות מפקדות - הרגישות המיוחדת של האתר כולו והמידע שהיה בידי המפקדים צריך היה לגרום להם להגיע לאתר. המפקדים היו עסוקים באירועים אחרים, אולם לנוכח המידע שהיה בידם היה עליהם לשנות את סדר העדיפויות. הועדה בדקה ומצאה שמפקד פלוגה ג' קיבל את ההחלטות הדרושות על יסוד הפקודות המקדימות שניתנו לו וניתוח המצב בשטח. היערכות שונה היתה חושפת את 20.000 המתפללים לסכנה חמורה.

לקחים - הערכות המשטרה בהר-הבית - בהר-הבית ובכותל המערבי מתרכזים בימי חג

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

סודי

** נכנס

**

**

**

חוזם: 6,25690

אל: המשרד

לעדים: וו/ש/2312, מצב/1925

מ-: נ"י, נ"ר: 2046, תא: 240691, זח: 1400, דח: מ, סג: ס

תח: @: הסברה

נד: @:

סודי/מלדי

אל: סמנכל הסברה, סמנכל צפא, מנהל הסברה, מנהל מצפא, מנהל מעת

דע: לשכת שה"ח, לשכת ס/שה"ח, השגריר - פלג וושינגטון

מאת: הקונכל ניו יורק

מסע מודעות בניו יורק טיימס

בנפרד (שלנו 1164) עשר המודעות הראשונות אשר התפרסמו בניו יורק טיימס. ההדים למודעות כפי שמתקבלים אצלנו וביחוד בליגה ליהדות הם בדיכ חיובים ביותר.

מתוך דיונים שערכנו לאחרונה עם חברת המחקר והפרסום החלטנו, לפרסם המודעות במרוצת השבוע - לא ביום א' (עמוד ה-ED SP נקרא פחות בסופי השבוע).

לגעת יותר בנושאים מדיניים - יחד עם זאת להמשיך לדבוק באסטרטגית הבסיסית של מסע להבלטה חיובית של ערכי החברה הישראלית ודמיונם לערכי החברה האמריקאית.

האיש העומד מאחורי המסע התחייב לקיים מסע שבועי למשך שנה שלמה.

אורי סביר

מג

תפ: שהח(2), טשהח(1), מנכל(1), ממנכל(2), מצב(0), רביב(1), מעת(4), הסברה(3),
בנצור(1), מצפא(4)

5: סמנכל

700 8408
סוכן מלך עמית, בנימין סג, 03-5276597

073005

JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES

=====

Introduction

As of 1991, there are 148 Jewish towns and villages in Judea-Samaria, with a total population of 78,300 Jews, and 17 settlements in the Gaza district with 3,300 Jews. The Palestinian Arab population in these areas is 1.6 million.

Jewish settlements in the territories are often misrepresented by others as being 'illegal' and an 'obstacle to peace'. It can, however, be shown that they are legitimate, and arguments against them may be refuted at many levels. Israel views Jewish settlement in the territories as the exercise of an historical and legal right, which if not exercised, would entail long-term negative political and security consequences.

Main Points

- I. **FACTUAL:** The presence or absence of Jews in the territories has had no influence on the Arab's long standing refusal to accept Israel's right to exist in peace. For two decades (1948-1967), no Jews were allowed there, yet the Arabs still refused to talk peace with Israel.
- II. **SECURITY:** Most settlements have been built in strategic areas and fulfill a security role.
- III. **LEGAL:** The presence of Jewish settlements in the territories does not violate international law.
- IV. **LAND USE:** The overwhelming majority of land used for settlements is either state land or land owned by Jews, some acquired before 1948. With few exceptions, Israel does not use private Arab land for settlements.
- V. **DEMOGRAPHIC:** Jews moving to the administered territories do not displace the local Arab population. Since 1967, just as many Arabs have moved there from Arab countries as have Jews from Israel. Furthermore, the total Arab population in the territories has doubled.
- IV. **POLITICAL:** Dealing with the settlement issue prior to the start of peace talks is detrimental to the peace process.
- VII. **HISTORICAL:** These areas have always been identified with the historic homeland of the Jewish people.

Points in Full

I. FACTUAL:

A JEWISH SETTLEMENT DOES NOT PREVENT A PEACE SETTLEMENT

A. These areas were overrun by Arab armies in 1948, the Jewish population in Judea/Samaria was expelled, and their property destroyed. Even though there were no Jews in the territories for the next two decades, the Arabs still demonstrated no willingness to make peace with Israel.

B. Following the 1967 Six-Day War, the Arabs continued in their refusal to come to the peace table. Even though there were still no Jews living in the territories, Israel's calls for peace after the war were answered by the 1967 Arab League Summit in Khartoum with three Noes: 'No peace with Israel- No negotiations with Israel- No recognition of Israel'. All this was before the Jews began to returning to the territories, and before any settlements were built.

C. A Jewish presence in the territories did not prevent Sadat from coming to Jerusalem in 1977 and offering his hand in peace to the Israeli people. Neither did settlements in the Sinai prevent a peace treaty between the two countries.

II. SECURITY:

SETTLEMENTS ARE LOCATED IN STRATEGIC AREAS, AND FULFILL A SECURITY ROLE

A. Along Israel's coastal plain, where most of its population reside, the distance between the pre-1967 armistice lines and the Mediterranean Sea ranges between 9 and 20 miles. Until 1967, all of Israel's major towns and cities, its international airport and the bulk of its industry were within range of Arab guns located on the dominating mountains of Judea-Samaria. Jerusalem was almost completely surrounded.

B. The Arab armies on Israel's eastern front are five times larger, have three times more tanks and twice as many aircraft than Israel. Under the conditions of modern warfare, this numerical and topographical inferiority, coupled with the narrowness of the coastal plain and the density of its population, renders Israel virtually indefensible without a strategic presence in Judea-Samaria.

C. Most settlements have been established along a line just west of the Jordan River, along the mountain ridge running north-south through the region, and in the vicinity of the few east-west passes into the coastal plain. This provides a friendly presence and control over strategic terrain features and lines of communication, denying their use by hostile elements in times of peace or war. IDF reservists who live in these settlements are grouped into local reserve units, which act to defend these strategic areas during an invasion, saving valuable time until the regular reserve units arrive from the rear.

D. The 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait illustrates how a small country can be overwhelmed by superior forces in a matter of hours, before any international action can be brought to bear. The brutal Iraqi occupation of Kuwait could be considered benign when compared with what Arab armies would do to Israel's population were it ever overrun. Israel's only protection against such a scenario lies in its ability to defend itself. Such a defense would be greatly compromised should Israel lose its strategic presence in the territories.

E. Contrary to popular belief, modern hi-tech weapons systems actually increase the strategic importance of territory in warfare. Operation 'Desert Storm' re-emphasized the long standing principle that wars are decided on the ground. While subjected to weeks of the most concentrated air and missile bombardment in history and greatly weakened as a result, the Iraqi forces were not defeated until Allied ground forces were committed.

In a future war, Israel might be subjected to massive Arab missile attacks on its cities and military installations. Although casualties and damage may be substantial, Israel would not be overrun until Arab ground forces actually invade. At this point the importance of Israeli control over strategic areas in the territories becomes vital.

III. LEGAL:

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS ARE IN KEEPING WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW

A. These territories cannot be considered "occupied territories" of Jordan, Egypt, or any other country. Between 1948 and 1967, Judea-Samaria was annexed by Jordan, and Gaza was occupied by Egypt. Jordan had no sovereignty over the Judea-Samaria, and its presence there was illegal and unrecognized by the international community (except for two countries). When the territories came under Israeli control in 1967 it was the result of an act of self-defense in response to Arab aggression. Therefore, Israel's presence there today is not foreign occupation.

B. The last legal sovereignty over these territories was that of the League of Nations Palestine Mandate of 1922, and its provisions still hold legal weight. This Mandate stipulated that the area was to be part of the Jewish homeland, and that Jewish settlement there was to be encouraged. Israel, however, has refrained from annexing the territories, and has stated that their final status should be determined through negotiations.

C. The favoring of Arabs' legal rights to live in the territories over the legal right of Jews to do so, would be discriminatory. Just as Israel is required to safeguard this right for Arabs, it cannot be expected to deny this right to Jews.

IV. LAND USE:

ISRAEL DOES NOT CONFISCATE PRIVATE ARAB LAND FOR JEWISH SETTLEMENTS

A. The Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 only applies in situations of true "military occupation", and therefore, does not apply in the administered territories. However, Israel has taken upon itself to apply the humanitarian provisions of the Convention to these areas. In keeping with the provisions of the Convention, Israel scrupulously follows the land law which was in force in Judea-Samaria during Jordanian rule before 1967, and has made no changes to it. According to this law, land which is neither privately registered nor cultivated is state land. By international law, this state land formerly controlled by Jordan is now subject to Israeli authority.

B. Almost all of the land used for settlements is either state land (80%), or is Jewish owned (19%). A significant part of this Jewish owned land was acquired by Jews even before the establishment of Israel in 1948. Since 1979, following the High Court of Justice Alon Moreh decision, settlements are not established on land expropriated for military use. Settlements are established only on state land or on land purchased by Jews under norms of international law. In all, Arab land accounts for only about 1% of the land now used for settlements. Prior to 1967, Jordan expropriated more private Arab lands for security and public use than Israel has since then.

C. In determining which land is state land, Israel applies the existing Jordanian law. With few exceptions, no private land or even unregistered cultivated land has been declared state land and approved for settlement use. The determination of state land is a legal process which is based on an investigation of records, aerial photographs, and inspections on the ground. Public notices are published and full opportunity is given to anyone with a contrary claim to present his case. Jordanian authorities determined much more land to be state land before 1967 than Israel has since then, and the Jordanian application of the law was much more severe.

D. About 60% of the land in Judea-Samaria is private land and 40% is state owned. However, the law provides local inhabitants the opportunity to gain title to unregistered land, without having to purchase it from the state, by cultivating it for at least ten years. Since 1967, many local Arabs have taken advantage of the law and registered cultivated land under their own names. As a result, the amount of land privately owned by local Arabs has grown significantly under Israeli administration.

E. Any party who feels maltreated by Israeli land use has full legal recourse, including access to the Israeli Supreme Court. This provision goes far beyond the stipulations of the Convention and the laws of any other country, including those of the United States. Most Arab complaints concerning land use are based on claims of prior ownership or cultivation of land which Israel has been determined to be state land. These claims are fully investigated and have usually proved to be unfounded. The claims are mostly politically motivated and publicity oriented have little to do with the actual facts of the case.

V. DEMOGRAPHIC:

JEWES MOVING TO THE AREA DO NOT DISPLACE THE PALESTINIAN POPULATION

A. The Jewish population in the territories has not prevented the local Arab population from growing both through natural increase and in-migration.

B. Natural increase: Since 1967, the Arab population has almost doubled. In 1967, the Arab population in Judea-Samaria totalled 585,900 and 380,800 in Gaza. By 1991, the non-Jewish population in the territories totalled 955,000 in Judea-Samaria and 642,500 in Gaza.

C. Arab In-migration: The number of Arabs who have come to live in these areas from neighboring Arab countries since 1967 through family reunification (78,700), is roughly equal to the number of Jews moving there from Israel (81,600). Both Jew and Arab settle in the territories in similar numbers.

D. By contrast, under Jordanian rule (1948-67), the population in Judea-Samaria showed no growth at all. The birth rate was canceled out by emigration due to the Jordanian policy of local economic stagnation. The population growth was also negatively affected by a much higher rate of infant mortality under Jordan.

VI. POLITICAL:

DEALING WITH THE SETTLEMENT ISSUE PRIOR TO THE START OF PEACE TALKS IS DETRIMENTAL TO THE PEACE PROCESS.

A. The status of these territories will be negotiated between the parties and resolved. Any external demand that Israel unilaterally curtail the presence of the Jewish population prior to peace talks would only encourage Arab intransigence, undermine Israel's ability to negotiate the issue, and prejudice the outcome of such negotiations.

B. Forcing a halt to settlement activity prior to negotiations would grant the Arabs a major political victory without them ever having to recognize or talk to Israel. This would remove much of the impetus for the Arabs to pursue a prompt peace, having already achieved a main goal without having to modify their traditional anti-Israel stance.

VII. HISTORICAL:

THESE AREAS ARE PART OF THE HISTORIC HOMELAND OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

A. The connection of the People of Israel to the Land of Israel is an historical fact. From the time of the Bible, this area has been identified as the homeland of the Jewish people. Since then, this area has continued to be inhabited by Jews. An indication of the Jewish character of these territories can be seen in the countless archeological findings, historical records, and Hebrew place names which are still in use today, even among the Arab population.

B. The Jewish communities in Hebron, Atarot, Neve Yaakov, Beit Ha'arava, Kfar Etzion, Revaim and other sites, were removed from the map as a result of the Jordanian invasion of 1948 and Jordan's policy of making and keeping the area it had conquered "Judenrein". Special Jordanian legislation made the sale of land to Jews punishable by death.

C. Israel cannot be expected today to continue Jordan's discriminatory policy, which runs counter to the historic character of this area. The fact that the territories were under illegal Arab control for twenty years, and all Jews expelled, does not now give the Arabs the exclusive right to settle there, and prohibit the return of Jews.

משרד החוץ

מחלקת ההסברה

5: תשובה

ח' בכסלו תשנ"ב
15 בנובמבר 1991

אל הנציגויות

האם ההתנחלויות הן חוקיות?
מאת יוג'ין רוסטוב, ניו-רפבליק 21.10.91

בשבועון NEW REPUBLIC, שיצא לאור ב- 21 באוקטובר, התפרסם מאמר של המשפטן יוג'ין רוסטוב, שכיהן בזמנו כתת מזכיר המדינה לעיניינים מדיניים בממשל ג'ונסון וכיום עמית כבוד במכון לשלום של ארה"ב.

במאמר מתייחס מר רוסטוב להיבטים המשפטיים של החלטה 242 וההתנחלויות, וסוקר את ההשלכות שלהן על עמדות הממשל האמריקאי, בנושאים אלה, בעבר והיום.

להפצה במקומותיכם תוכלו להדפיס במקום את הכמות הרצויה לכם.



Are the settlements legal?

RESOLVED

By Eugene V. Rostow

Assuming the Middle East conference actually does take place, its official task will be to achieve peace between Israel and its Levantine neighbors in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Resolution 242, adopted after the Six-Day War in 1967, sets out criteria for peace-making by the parties; Resolution 338, passed after the Yom Kippur War in 1973, makes Resolution 242 legally binding and orders the parties to carry out its terms forthwith. Unfortunately, confusion reigns, even in high places, about what those resolutions require.

For twenty-four years Arab states have pretended that the two resolutions are "ambiguous" and can be interpreted to suit their desires. And some European, Soviet, and even American officials have cynically allowed Arab spokesmen to delude themselves and their people—to say nothing of Western public opinion—about what the resolutions mean. It is common even for American journalists to write that Resolution 242 is "deliberately ambiguous," as though the parties are equally free to rely on their own reading of its key provisions.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Resolution 242, which as undersecretary of state for political affairs between 1966 and 1969 I helped produce, calls on the parties to make peace and allows Israel to administer the territories it occupied in 1967 until "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East" is achieved. When such a peace is made, Israel is required to withdraw its armed forces "from territories" it occupied during the Six-Day War—not from "the" territories, nor from "all" the territories, but from some of the territories, which included the Sinai Desert, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip.

Five-and-a-half months of vehement public diplomacy in 1967 made it perfectly clear what the missing definite article in Resolution 242 means. Ingeniously drafted resolutions calling for withdrawal from "all" the territories were defeated in the Security Council and the General Assembly. Speaker after speaker made it explicit that Israel was not to be forced back to the "fragile" and "vulnerable" Armistice Demarcation Lines, but should

retire once peace was made to what Resolution 242 called "secure and recognized" boundaries, agreed to by the parties. In negotiating such agreements, the parties should take into account, among other factors, security considerations, access to the international waterways of the region, and, of course, their respective legal claims.

Resolution 242 built on the text of the Armistice Agreements of 1949, which provided (except in the case of Lebanon) that the Armistice Demarcation Lines separating the military forces were "not to be construed in any sense" as political or territorial boundaries, and that "no provision" of the Armistice Agreements "shall in any way prejudice the rights, claims, and positions" of the parties "in the ultimate peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem." In making peace with Egypt in 1979, Israel withdrew from the entire Sinai, which had never been part of the British Mandate. For security it depended on patrolled demilitarization and the huge area of the desert rather than on territorial change. As a result, more than 90 percent of the territories Israel occupied in 1967 are now under Arab sovereignty. It is hardly surprising that some Israelis take the view that such a transfer fulfills the territorial requirements of Resolution 242, no matter how narrowly they are construed.

Resolution 242 leaves the issue of dividing the occupied areas between Israel and its neighbors entirely to the agreement of the parties in accordance with the principles it sets out. It was, however, negotiated with full realization that the problem of establishing "a secure and recognized" boundary between Israel and Jordan would be the thorniest issue of the peace-making process. The United States has remained firmly opposed to the creation of a third Palestinian state on the territory of the Palestine Mandate. An independent Jordan or a Jordan linked in an economic union with Israel is desirable from the point of view of everybody's security and prosperity. And a predominantly Jewish Israel is one of the fundamental goals of Israeli policy. It should be possible to reconcile these goals by negotiation, especially if the idea of an economic union is accepted.

The Arabs of the West Bank could constitute the population of an autonomous province of Jordan or of Israel, depending on the course of the negotiations. Provisions for a shift of populations or, better still, for individual self-determination are a possible solution for those West Bank Arabs who would prefer to live elsewhere. All these approaches were explored in 1967 and 1968. One should note, however, that Syria cannot be allowed to take over Jordan and the West Bank, as it tried to do in 1970.

The heated question of Israel's settlements in the West Bank during the occupation period should be viewed in this perspective. The British Mandate recognized the right of the Jewish people to "close settlement" in the whole of the Mandated territory. It was provided that local conditions might require Great Britain to "postpone" or "withhold" Jewish settlement in what is now Jordan. This was done in 1922. But the Jewish right of settlement in Palestine west of the Jordan river, that is, in Israel, the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, was made unassailable. That right has never been terminated and cannot be terminated except by a recognized peace between Israel and its neighbors. And perhaps not even then, in view of Article 80 of the U.N. Charter, "the Palestine article," which provides that "nothing in the Charter shall be construed . . . to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments. . . ."

Some governments have taken the view that under the Geneva Convention of 1949, which deals with the rights of civilians under military occupation, Jewish settlements in the West Bank are illegal, on the ground that the Convention prohibits an occupying power from flooding the occupied territory with its own citizens. President Carter supported this view, but President Reagan reversed him, specifically saying that the settlements are legal but that further settlements should be deferred since they pose a psychological obstacle to the peace process.

In any case, the issue of the legality of the settlements should not come up in the proposed conference, the purpose of which is to end the military occupation by

making peace. When the occupation ends, the Geneva Convention becomes irrelevant. If there is to be any division of the West Bank between Israel and Jordan, the Jewish right of settlement recognized by the Mandate will have to be taken into account in the process of making peace.

This reading of Resolution 242 has always been the keystone of American policy. In launching a major peace initiative on September 1, 1982, President Reagan said, "I have personally followed and supported Israel's heroic struggle for survival since the founding of the state of Israel thirty-four years ago: in the pre-1967 borders, Israel was barely ten miles wide at its narrowest point. The bulk of Israel's population lived within artillery range of hostile Arab armies. I am not about to ask Israel to live that way again."

Yet some Bush administration statements and actions on the Arab-Israeli question, and especially Secretary of State James Baker's disastrous speech of May 22, 1989, betray a strong impulse to escape from the resolutions as they were negotiated, debated, and adopted, and award to the Arabs all the territories between the 1967 lines and the Jordan river, including East Jerusalem. The Bush administration seems to consider the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to be "foreign" territory to which Israel has no claim. Yet the Jews have the same right to settle there as they have to settle in Haifa. The West Bank and the Gaza Strip were never parts of Jordan, and Jordan's attempt to annex the West Bank was not generally recognized and has now been abandoned. The two parcels of land are parts of the Mandate that have not yet been allocated to Jordan, to Israel, or to any other state, and are a legitimate subject for discussion.

The American position in the coming negotiations should return to the fundamentals of policy and principle that have shaped American policy toward the Middle East for three-quarters of a century. Above all, rising above irritation and pique, it should stand as firmly for fidelity to law in dealing with the Arab-Israeli dispute as President Bush did during the Gulf war. Fidelity to law is the essence of peace, and the only practical rule for making a just and lasting peace.

EUGENE V. ROSTOW is a Distinguished Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace.

You deserve a factual look at...

Myths About Israel and the Middle East (1)

Do the media feed us fiction, instead of facts?

We all know that, by dint of constant repetition, white can be made to appear black, good can get transformed into evil, and myth may take the place of reality. Israel, with roughly one-thousandth of the world's population and with a similar fraction of the territory of this planet, seems to engage a totally disproportionate attention of the print and broadcast media. Unfortunately, much of what the media tell us—in reporting, editorializing, and in analysis—are endlessly repeated myths.

What are some of these myths?

■ **Myth:** The "Palestinians" are a nation and therefore deserving of a homeland.

■ **Reality:** The concept of Palestinian nationhood is a new one and had not been heard of until after the Six-Day War, when Israel, by its victory, came into the administration of the territories of Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank") and the Gaza strip. The so-called "Palestinians" are no more different from the Arabs in the neighboring countries of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, than Wisconsinites are from Iowans.

■ **Myth:** Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank"), and the Gaza Strip are "occupied Arab territory".

■ **Reality:** All of "Palestine" — east and west of the Jordan River — was part of the League of Nations mandate. Under the Balfour Declaration all of it was to be the "national home for the Jewish people". In violation of this mandate, Great Britain severed the entire area east of the Jordan — about 75% of Palestine, and gave it to the Arabs, who created on it the kingdom of Transjordan. When Israel declared its independence in 1948, five Arab armies invaded the new country in order to destroy it at its very birth. They were defeated by the Israelis. The Transjordanians, however, remained in occupation of Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank") and East Jerusalem. They proceeded to drive all Jews from those territories and to systematically destroy all Jewish houses of worship and other institutions. The Transjordanians, now renamed "Jordanians" were the occupiers. Israel regained these territories following its victory in the Six-Day War and has

administered them ever since. They have not been annexed. Their final status will be decided if and when the Arabs will ever sit down to talk peace with Israel.

■ **Myth:** Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank") are the "greatest obstacle to peace".

■ **Reality:** This is a totally new formulation, recently put forward by Secretary of State Baker. He and the president seem to be obsessed by it. Fewer than 100,000 Jews are settled in these territories, living among about 1.4 million Arabs. How can Jews living there be an obstacle to peace? Why *shouldn't* they live there? About 700,000 Arabs live in Israel proper. They are not an obstacle to peace and nobody, including the Israelis, consider them as such.

■ **Myth:** Israel is unwilling to yield "land for peace".

■ **Reality:** The concept that to the loser, rather than to the victor, belong the spoils is a radically new one, never before thought of in world history. Israel has emerged victorious in the five wars imposed on it by the Arabs. In order to make peace, it has returned over 90% of the territory occupied by it, specifically the vast Sinai Peninsula, to Egypt. That territory contained some of the most advanced military installations in the world, prosperous cities and settlements, and oil fields developed entirely by Israel that made it independent of petroleum imports. In the Camp David Accords (1983) Israel agreed to autonomy for Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank") with the permanent status to be determined after three years. No responsible Palestinian representation has been available to negotiate with Israel about this.

The greatest myth of all is that Israel's administration of the Gaza Strip and of Judea/Samaria is the root cause of the conflict between Arabs and Jews. But that is nonsense and flies in the face of historical reality. The Arab desire to obliterate the Jewish presence in Palestine, and since 1948 the Jewish state long predates that territorial administration. The root cause of the conflict is the total unwillingness of the Arabs to tolerate any "non-believers" to be in control of even one inch of what they consider "sacred Arab soil". And they don't just mean Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") and the Gaza strip. They mean Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, the whole state of Israel. No change in the Arabs' attitude seems to be in the offing. But until there is such a change, no peace can possibly come to this troubled area.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East

P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501(c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and related direct mail.

Yes, I want to help in the publication of these ads and in clarifying the situation in the Middle East. I include my tax-deductible contribution in the amount of

\$ _____ C/36

My contribution is in the amount of \$50 or more. Please send me your booklet containing 24 of the ads that you have published in national media over the last few years.

My name is _____

I live at _____

In _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail to: FLAME, P.O. Box 590359, San Francisco, CA 94159

3200
1
4

סרץ טורא
רוד.ד.טוכני.וו.ת.ד.171
רזחבות 76429

ה
2

ה' בנסלו גשני (24/8)

ה' מר בנימין גשני -
מר אלכ גשני
ירושלים (ה'2020)

א.י.

ה' גאון אר יבול ביהמ"ד אשם בגל
'גאון' ה'2020.
2207
מר א/א

פרץ טורא
רח' הכוכבי 171.ת.ד.
76429 רחובות

(5)

אל:

אילן אלבז

20/6

התאריך

מאת:

יוסי

תיק מס'

הנדון:

סימובין:

אולי שיה בקונפאנל - להורא - לביה"ד (הנסכה)
בקרניו בזרמי"ה" . 2 דונמאה רצ"ב

① מחנה חנוך הצדקה "אונטאלונגיה גן
היליו" שפסקנו המחלקה כפי שהוצגה
בקרניו (אין בחייו המחנה)

2. גיליון מס. 18 של קשר בדטן - יוראן
לרוביה אמלה - מצד חנוך שפסקנו והנסכה
מחנה ההסגנה בקרניו

20th July 1958

1/2

1. The first sample is a "normal" one
Some specimens are available.

① During the winter "scarcity" of
"normal" specimens is the main
reason for the scarcity of
specimens available.

2. The second sample is a "normal" one
The first sample is a "normal" one
The second sample is a "normal" one



Two small white rectangular labels are placed below the photograph, likely providing descriptive text or dates.



A single small white rectangular label is placed below the photograph, likely providing descriptive text or dates.



A single small white rectangular label is placed below the photograph, likely providing descriptive text or dates.



$$\frac{48}{5}$$

1/3

$$\frac{7103}{5}$$



Small white rectangular label with illegible text, positioned below the cliff photograph.

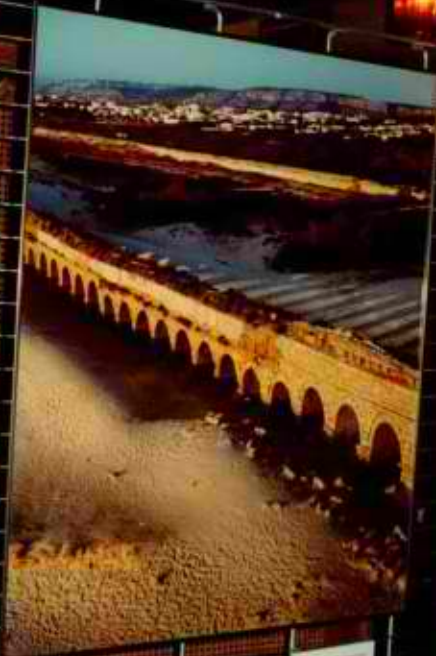


Small white rectangular label with illegible text, positioned below the coastal photograph.



$$\frac{48}{85} \frac{4}{4}$$

$$\frac{2173}{52}$$



السدود
التي بنيت في
العصر الإسلامي
في مدينة
الجزيرة

$$\frac{48}{2}$$

25

Exc

I S R A E L

ARCHEOLOGY FROM THE AIR

Presenting Daily TV
from World Bank

The exhibition "ISRAEL - ARCHAEOLOGY FROM THE AIR" presents aerial photography in a new perspective to the public. The exhibition is a part of the "ISRAEL TV and World Bank" project.

The exhibition is a part of a series of projects, all supported by the World Bank, in order to promote the archaeological and historical heritage of the country. The aim of the exhibition is to help the public understand the archaeological heritage of the country.

The exhibition is a part of a series of projects, all supported by the World Bank, in order to promote the archaeological and historical heritage of the country. The aim of the exhibition is to help the public understand the archaeological heritage of the country.

The exhibition is a part of a series of projects, all supported by the World Bank, in order to promote the archaeological and historical heritage of the country. The aim of the exhibition is to help the public understand the archaeological heritage of the country.

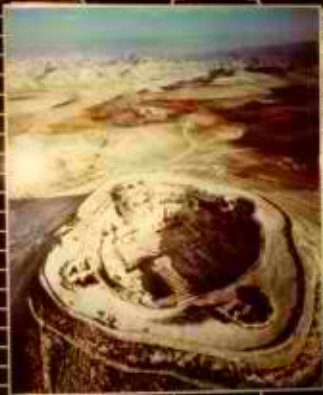
The exhibition is a part of a series of projects, all supported by the World Bank, in order to promote the archaeological and historical heritage of the country. The aim of the exhibition is to help the public understand the archaeological heritage of the country.

The exhibition is a part of a series of projects, all supported by the World Bank, in order to promote the archaeological and historical heritage of the country. The aim of the exhibition is to help the public understand the archaeological heritage of the country.

48/3

(2)

1113



1. The Great Wall of Gobi
2. The Great Wall of Gobi
3. The Great Wall of Gobi



1. The Great Wall of Gobi
2. The Great Wall of Gobi
3. The Great Wall of Gobi

$$48 \overline{) 15}$$

~~100~~

$$\begin{array}{r} 1173 \\ \hline 2710 \\ 2 \end{array}$$

فنوننا العربية

انباء علمية ادبية وفنية من اسرائيل

يونيو ١٩٩١

السنة الثانية/عدد ١٨

صفحة

١

٣

٥

٨

١١

١٤

١٦

١٨

١٩

٢٢

٢٤

٢٧

في هذا العدد

مؤلفات جديدة

ادب

انباء الجامعات

فنون

اثریات

الطبيعة والبيئة

تراث

طب

علوم

تكنولوجيا

زراعة

انباء متفرقة

مؤلفات جديدة

انا من دونك يا آلهي
يوم بلا معنى
انت الخير وانت السلام
فكيف لا اقبل نورك...

قصة حياة قرية

اما القرية فاسمها «قرية الفجر»، وهي تقع في منطقة حدودية وتجاور سوريا ولبنان في اقصى الشمال من البلاد. وقد كتب سيرتها بالتفصيل الكبير كل من احمد حسين خطيب وجمال حسين خطيب وهما اخوان شهدا كما تدل فصول الكتاب، على مرّ سنين طويلة، حالة هذه القرية وعلاقتها بكل من اسرائيل ولبنان وسوريا، كما شهدا تطور القرية وازدهارها ثم، لكي يضعنا كتابهما (مائة صفحة من القطع الكبير) فقد درسا ما توفر لهما من كتب التاريخ واجتمعا الى المشايخ والعارفين بتاريخ المكان واشكالات وجود القرية، فقاما بعمل يتجاوز المكان الصغير الذي تحتله القرية، لكي يصبح جزءا من تاريخ اوسع واشمل للمنطقة وللبلاد عامة.

يحتوي الكتاب على دراسة انثروپولوجية هامة، فهو يبدأ بتاريخ

«صباح الخير لكم وللياسمين»

مجموعة شعرية انيقة تحمل هذا الاسم للشاعر محمود الصبح، وتحتوي على ٢٥ قصيدة نثرية، كلها عاطفة وغزل وكلام من القلب. بل ان ذكريات الشاعر التي صاغها شعرا منشورا تحتوي على شحنة عظيمة من العاطفة. وتأتي هذه المجموعة لتذكرنا ان هناك خارج متاعب الحياة ودوائر الصراع، عالم آخر من الشذا والبهجة نكاد ننساه لفرط ما تجاهلناه. يقول محمود الصبح في احدي قصائده:

بلا قصيدتي انا لا اعرف المسير
لا اقدر

قصيدتي مسكني

وعالمي الصغير

وعالمي الكبير

ويقول في قصيدة اخرى:

فكان الشعر

لينقل الوردة من قلب الى قلب

ليضيء الحب في زوايا الارض

وكان الشعر لتكون الحياة اجمل

وفي ختام المجموعة نجد هذا الابتهاج:

من دونك ربي

انا صفحة ضائعة

للأطفال. اسم المجموعة «سفيننة نوح»، وقد ظهرت في سلسلة «عرب ميديا للأطفال». تحتوي المجموعة على أربع قصص مبسطة ومخططة بخطوط جميلة نَقَّدها الخطاط ياسين حسن، ومصحوبة برسومات قامت بتنفيذها آمال شَما أبو حامد.

والكتاب تحفة للقراء الصغار والكبار معا. ومن المنتظر صدور ثلاث مجموعات أخرى في نفس السلسلة وبقلم نفس الكاتب.

هذه الاسماء الجميلة

قدمت المؤلفة سيمادار شير سيدي، التي سبق لها ان نشرت اكثر من خمسين كتابا للأطفال والناشئة، كتابا جديدا اسمه «الكتاب الكامل لاسماء الاطفال بالعبرية» وذلك بالعبرية والانجليزية. وكذلك باللفظ الحرفي باللغة الانجليزية. يحتوي الكتاب على ٥٠٠٠ اسم، مع تفسير كل اسم وصفاته واصوله في الكتاب المقدس، وعلاقته بالاعباد الدينية اليهودية وبالازهار في الديار المقدسة، ومكانه في التاريخ اليهودي.

نشر الكتاب في الولايات المتحدة من قبل شركة «هارپر وراو».

القرية ومكانها بين الماضي والحاضر ثم يصف اوضاع القرية الحالية، وبعد ذلك يدرس عادات وتقاليدها ومنها عادات الخطوبة والزواج والتقاليد الخاصة بذلك، مدرجا الاغاني الفولكلورية الخاصة بهذه القرية.

طبع الكتاب في مطبعة الحكيم بالناصره، مع صور كثيرة بالاسود والابيض وصور فاخرة بالالوان.

«مقابلات مع مؤلفين اسرائيليين»

اخرجت هذه المقابلات الى الوجود الكاتبة استير فوكس ونشرتها في كتاب «منشورات ميكا». يقول النقاد ان سلسلة المقابلات هذه هي عمل فني هام. وتضم مجموعة المقابلات محادثات اجرتها المؤلفة مع تسعة من اهم الكتاب في البلاد، وهم جرشون شكيد واماليا كاهانا - كرمون ويزهر سميلانكي والتقصي الكبير اهرن ايلفند ويورام كانيوك ويهودا عميحاي واهرون ميجيد.

للأطفال العرب

نشر الكاتب عبد الله عيشان اول مجموعة من قصصه المكتوبة خصيصا



ادب

طوابع لتخليد شاعرتين

سفينة وصلت من روسيا بعد الحرب والتحقت بقرية دجانيا أ في وادي الاردن، واضطرت بسبب مرضها الى ترك القرية لكي تعالج في المصححات، ثم استقرت في تل ابيب حيث كتبت اغلب اشعارها. كانت تقول «ان كتابة الشعر هي من قبيل تعزية النفس على فقداننا حياة العمل في طبريا».

توفيت الشاعرة في مدينة تل ابيب في ابريل ١٩٢١ وعمرها واحد واربعون عاما، وقام اصداؤها ومحبوها بتنفيذ طلبها الاخير فدفنت في القرية التي لم تنجح في العيش فيها، وهي دجانيا أ. قالت الشاعرة في احدي قصائدها:

اذا قضى الحظ

ان ابتعد عن مداك

فاسمحي لي، بحيرة طبريا،

ان اجد مثوي في مقابرک.

بعد موت الشاعرة، قام المرحوم زامن شازار الذي اصبح فيما بعد الرئيس الثالث لدولة اسرائيل، بجمع اشعارها في ديوان ذاع صيته وحظي بطبعات لا حصر لها. وتعتبر اشعارها حتى الان من اكثر الاشعار شعبية، وما زالت القصائد التي لحنها الملحنون تذاع في

اولى هاتين الشاعرتين اشتهرت باسمها الاول وهو «راحيل». ولدت الشاعرة عام ١٨٩٠ وعاشت فترة طفولتها وصباهها في بيت تعج جنباته بالثقافة والادب في بولتافا في اوكرانيا. وفي عام ١٩٠٩ بعث بها ابوها ومعها اختها الى ايطاليا لتعلم الرسم والنحت، ولكن الاختين زارتا الدير المقدسة قبل وصولهما الى ايطاليا، وطلبتا البقاء لعدة ايام كزائرتين، الا انهما بقيتا في مدينة رحوبوت سنة كاملة.

قررت راحيل التي تركت زيارتها للبلاد انطباعات عميقة لديها، ان تستقر فيها لكي، كما قالت، «تتعلم العزف على المحراث والرسم بالمجرفة» وسكنت في حيفا واشتغلت في الرعاية باشجار اللوز على جبل الكرمل ومن هناك ذهبت الى شواطئ طبريا، حيث عاشت سنتين. في عام ١٩١٣ سافرت الشاعرة راحيل الى تولوز لتتعلم اساليب الزراعة العصرية، لكي تعود الى البلاد فتصبح مزارعة، الا ان نشوب الحرب العالمية الاولى منعها عن العودة، فعادت الى روسيا حيث مرضت بالسل. الا انها في عام ١٩١٩ عادت الى البلاد في اول

المجلات المعروفة وبضمن ذلك اشعارها التي لفتت الانظار بسرعة. جمعت اعمالها في ثمانية اجزاء ضخمة ظهر اولها عام ١٩٣٥ وأخرها في العام الاخير من حياتها.

تميز شعرها الغنائي بايقاعه الصافي، وبساطته وبعمقه الثقافي الغني. لم يكن من الصعب على القارئ ان يدرك ان الشعر الذي يقرأه هو شعر امرأة وهو الى ذلك شعر يخلو من التعبيرات المائعة من الاعترافات الشخصية، شعر يعبر عن امرأة حساسة النفس عميقة الخواطر وواسعة الاطلاع. فقد كانت ليثة غولديبرغ ذات آفاق ثقافية واسعة، كما كانت واسعة الاطلاع على الادب العالمي.

وقد توجت اعمالها بقيامها بالتدريس في نطاق الجامعة العبرية حيث ادارت صفوفًا خاصة بالادب المقارن، واجتذبت محاضراتها اعدادًا كبيرة من المثقفين ومحبي الادب، الذين انضموا الى مجموعة طلابها الثابتة. في عام ١٩٦٢ عينت الجامعة العبرية في القدس الشاعرة ليثة غولديبرغ رئيسة لقسم الادب المقارن، وبعد سنة حصلت على لقب بروفييسور في الجامعة. ولم تكن محاضراتها علمية جافة، او مجرد محاضرات مرصوفة بالمعلومات، وانما كانت هذه المحاضرات تعبيرًا عن الحضارة الروحية التي اشتهرت بها الشاعرة التي كانت ترجماتها من الآداب العالمية زينة هامة لاعمالها الخلاقة الاخرى. يكفي ان نذكر ان ليثة غولديبرغ

الاذاعة وفي التلفزيون وكأنها كتبت قبل ايام فقط واشتهرت قصائد «راحيل» بحب عميق للارض، وبتعبير مؤلم عن فجيعتها الشخصية بصحتها فقد انتقلت راحيل من عالم الصبا السعيد الى عالم المرض الذي لا شفاء منه، وفي سنيها الست الاخيرة كتبت راحيل اجمل واعمق قصائدها.



الشاعرة راحيل على الطابع التذكاري وتحتها منظر من طبريا

اما الشاعرة الثانية التي ظهرت على طابع تذكاري خاص فهي ليثة غولديبرغ (١٩١١ - ١٩٧٠)، وهي شاعرة وقصصية، وكاتبة مقالات وناقدة ومحرة فقد كانت احدي الشخصيات المركزية في الادب العبري المعاصر.

ولدت الشاعرة لعائلة يهودية في ليتوانيا ووصلت الى البلاد عام ١٩٣٥ وانضمت الى جمعية ادبية شهيرة باسم «يحداف» ونشرت اعمالها الادبية في عدد من



الشاعرة ليئه غولديبرغ على الطابع التذكاري
الذي صدر مؤخرا

قامت بترجمة خمسين كتابا من عيون
الادب العالمي، ومنها اعمال پترارك
وشكسبير وليو تولستوي، كما ترجمت
الكثير من الشعر الروسي والقصص
الروسية من القرن التاسع عشر وعدد
من المسرحيات الروسية الشهيرة.

واليوم تعتبر اعمال ليئه غولديبرغ من
اهم الابداعات التي لا يمكن تقديرها
بشمن للادب العبري المعاصر، الذي ليس
من الممكن التعرف عليه بدون قراءة
ما تركته من آثار.

انباء الجامعات

والاقتصادية والتغييرات السياسية
والديموغرافية، كما اثرت ايضا العوامل
الاجتماعية السائدة.

وفي اسرائيل مجلس اعلى للدراسات
العليا، يعين اعضاءه رئيس الدولة
بتوصية من وزارة المعارف والثقافة.
ويقوم المجلس الذي يضم صفوة
الاكاديميين وممثلي المحافظات وطالبا
واحدا على الاقل، بمنح اجازات للمعاهد
العليا بالعمل وبمنح الدرجات الجامعية

توسع الدراسات الجامعية

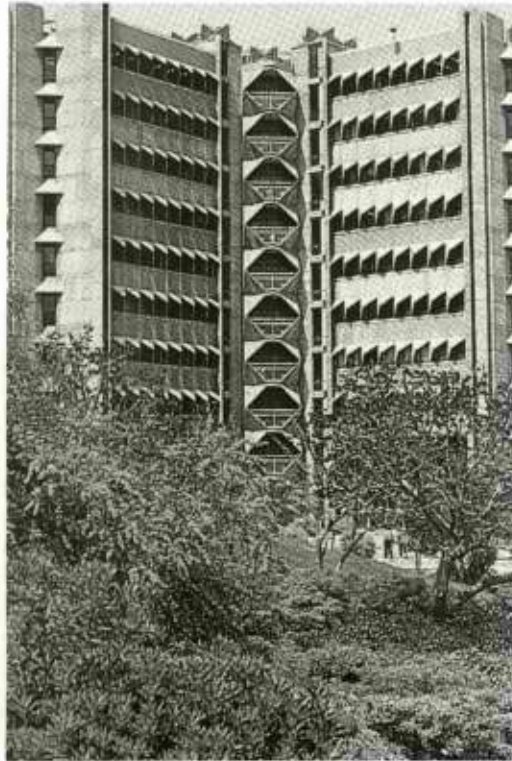
ذكرت آخر الاحصائيات التي نشرت في
البلاد ان عدد الطلاب الذين يدرسون
في المعاهد العالية وعددها عشرون بلغ
هذا العام ٧٥,٠٠٠ مقابل ١,٦٠٠ في
معهدين فقط عام ١٩٤٨. وفي الفترة
من عام ١٩٤٨ وحتى الان توسعت
المعاهد العالية في اعداد الطلاب وكذلك
في انواع الدراسات، فقد اثرت على
نوعية الدراسات العوامل الاجتماعية

كما يقوم بتوجيه الحكومة حول تطوير التعليم وتمويل المؤسسات والبحوث العلمية.

هذه البحوث تجري بين جدران المؤسسات الجامعية.

اول المؤسسات العلمية التي عرفتها البلاد هو معهد التكنيون (تأسس عام ١٩٢٤) ومنه تخرجت نسبة عالية من المهندسين والميكانيكيين والمهندسين المعماريين ومخططي المدن. وفي العقود الاخيرة اقام التكنيون كلية للطب وكليات علمية اخرى. والمعهد يقيم صلات قوية مع المؤسسات الصناعية الكبرى في البلاد.

تشير الاحصاءات الاخيرة الى ان ثلاثين بالمائة من البحوث التي تقترحها وتديرها الجامعات ، تجري في الحقول الطبيعية والتكنولوجية وخمسة واربعين من هذه البحوث تجري لدعم الصناعة والزراعة في البلاد وكذلك في حقول الدراسات التاريخية والاجتماعية. وكل



احدى عمارات جامعة تل ابيب

ايلان عام ١٩٥٥ وجامعة تل ابيب عام
١٩٥٦ وجامعة حيفا عام ١٩٦٣ وجامعة
بن غوريون في النقب عام ١٩٦٧.

يدرس ٣٤ بالمائة من الطلاب في فروع
الآداب المختلفة و ٢٥ بالمائة في حقول
العلوم الاجتماعية و ١٣ بالمائة
الميكانيكا والهندسة المعمارية و ١١
بالمائة في حقول الفيزياء والرياضيات
وعلوم الكمبيوتر، و ٧ بالمائة في الطب
و ٣ بالمائة قانون و ٢ بالمائة زراعة
و ٥ بالمائة العلوم البيولوجية.

وقد تأسست الجامعة العبرية في القدس
عام ١٩٢٥، وهي تضم اليوم جميع كليات
العلوم والتاريخ والآداب، كما تضم
المكتبة الوطنية المركزية وفيها أكثر
من ثلاثة ملايين مجلد. ويعتبر معهد
الدراسات اليهودية فيها أكبر معهد من
نوعه في جامعات العالم .

وفي عام ١٩٣٤ تأسس في رحوبوت
معهد وايزمن للعلوم، وفيه يقبل الطلاب
للمرات العلمية العالية فقط وذلك في
فروع الفيزياء والكيمياء والرياضيات
وعلوم الحياة. ثم تأسست جامعة بار



منظر عام للعمارة الرئيسية لجامعة حيفا

فنون

جوهرة في تاج الفنون

ونيو يورك وبوسطن ولندن في حفل خاص اقيم احياء لذكرى الموسيقار الكبير ليثونارد برنشتاين، اما قائد هذه الحفلة فكان زوبين مهتا، القائد الشهير للفرقة الفلهارمونية الاسرائيلية.

والمعروف ان زوبين مهتا كان قد ولد في الهند، واصبح مديرا موسيقيا للفرقة منذ عام ١٩٦٩، وهو يقيم بانتظام في اسرائيل ثلاثة اشهر من كل سنة. والى جانب زوبين مهتا يقود الفرقة الاسرائيلية عدد من كبار قادة الفرق ومنهم جورج سولتي وجوزيف كريبس وهول كليتسكي وكلاوديو ابادو ودانييل بيرنباوم.

وقد اغنت الفرقة الاسرائيلية حياة الكثير من محبي الموسيقى في انحاء كثيرة من العالم وفي اسرائيل خلال سني حياتها. وكانت الفرقة قد ولدت في اقصى السنين التي عاشها العالم في الثلاثينات واغلب عازفيها آنسذ من الذين هربوا من جحيم النازية قبل اشتعال الحرب في اوروبا. قام بانشاء الفرقة عازف الكمان الشهير برونيسلاف هوبرمن الذي كان يقول دائما ان هدفه هو ليس انشاء فرقة اخرى بل فرقة يهودية تقوم بنشر نور الموسيقى في حياة الشعوب.

بلغت الفرقة الفلهارمونية الاسرائيلية هذا العام الرابعة والخمسين من عمرها، وهي في قمة عنفوانها منذ نشأتها وحتى الآن. ومؤخرا نشرت معلومات عن الفرقة وعازفيها، بعد ان بلغ عدد الحفلات الموسيقية التي تؤديها كل سنة المائة والثمانين، وذلك في خلال موسم عملها الذي يمتد من اكتوبر تشرين الاول وحتى يوليو تموز من العام الذي يليه. تقوم الفرقة بالاضافة الى ذلك باقامة حفلات موسيقية للمشاركين. اما مركزها الثابت فهو قاعة فريديريك مان في تل ابيب، الا ان الفرقة تقيم عددا من الحفلات كل عام في حيفا وفي القدس وفي المدن الصغيرة والكيبوتسات.

يبلغ عدد اعضاء الفرقة ١١٠ من الفنانين اغلبيتهم العظمى من الاسرائيليين. وللفرقة عدد من الحفلات تؤديها كل عام بانتظام في المهرجانات الاوروبية في سالزبورغ ولوسيرن وبرلين وستريسا وساليرنو. وفي شهر مارس الماضي عزفت الفرقة في قاعة كارنيجي في نيو يورك بمناسبة العيد المئوي للقاعة. وفي نوفمبر ١٩٩٠ اشترك عازفون كبار من الفرقة الى جانب عازفين من فيينا



قائد الفرق زوبين مهتا مع الفهارمونية الاسرائيلية

لينون في الاصل، واذيعت الاغنية في عدد كبير من محطات التلفزيون في العالم.

اشترك في اداء الاغنية يوكو اونو وراشدي نيومن وايچي يوي و توم بيتي ورتشارد هاكين وبيتر جبرييل وديف ستوارت وكذلك المغنية المغربية الشهيرة امينة. اما الصيغة الجديدة للاغنية فكتبها شون لينون ابن المرحوم جون لينون. كتبت النص العبري المغنية عوفرا حازا الاسرائيلية، وقامت بغناكه بطريقتين: الطريقة العبرية والطريقة العبرية اليمينية. وتقول كلمات الاغنية:

في العالم يتحدثون عن الحرب
وعن الثورة
وعن التنبئة الذرية

وليس من حل. فهل تعود فيتنام؟
لا نريد نهاية للعالم

نريد حبا مجنونا
وبيتا اخضر
فغنا مبتهلين
نشيدا للسلام

دعم السينمائيين الاسرائيليين

وزعت في مارس الاخير جوائز كبيرة خصمتها وزارة المعارف والثقافة لعدد من السينمائيين، اختيروا من قبل لجنة خاصة للاتطلاع عن كل عمل غير سينمائي لمدة سنة كاملة وللتفرغ تماما لاعمالهم السينمائية.

فازت بالجوائز المخرجة زيفيا بوستاك التي كتبت مع كلود لانمن سيناريو فيلم «كارثة» ثم قامت بتمثيله في قلبه النهائي، وفازت بالجائزة ايضا دينيا تشفي ريكليس التي حصلت على جائزة مهرجان الافلام في القدس في السنة الماضية على فيلمها القصير «تقطعة مراقبة». اما الفائز الثالث فهو تميز پاو، وهو مخرج قدير وصاحب فيلم «الي ذاتي».

اغنية للسلام

في يناير الماضي قامت مجموعة من المغنين، وبضمنهم المغنية عوفرا حازا بانثاد صيغة جديدة للنشيد الشهير «اعطوا السلام فرصة» الذي كتبه جون



اثريات

مدينة تاريخية تستيقظ

المدينة عام ١٩٦٩ وجدوا شوارع مبلطة بالحجر، ومساكن وكهوفاً كانت مسكونة وبعضها يحفل بالاوني الصلصالية. كما وجدوا آثار معبد يهودي محكم التفاصيل، بقيت منه اعمدة فخمة وارضية تغطيها الفسيفساء وبلاط مستورد يحيط بالهيكل.

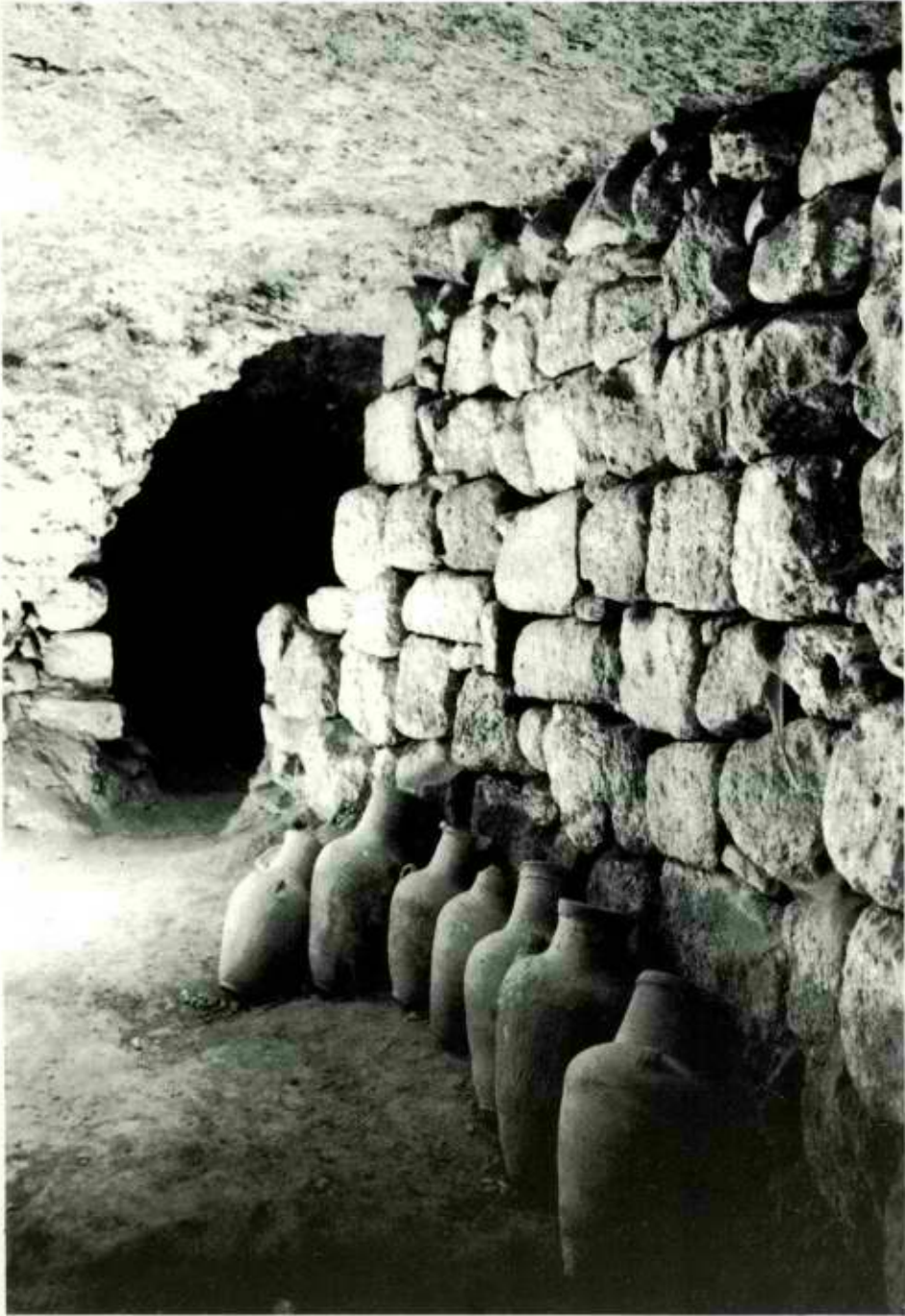
تحف هامة في مقابر عتيقه

اكتشف خبير الآثار يوسي ليفي من قسم الآثار الوطنية رخامة تحمل رموزاً دينية يهودية، منها «مينوراه» او شمعدان تقليدي يهودي، ذات سبعة رؤوس والنفير المقدس وثمره «الاتروج» في حفريات اخيرة جرت في مقابر اثرية في منطقة «ابو كبير» في تل اييب. الرخامة كانت مبنية في مدخل احدى مقبرتين اثريتين يعود تاريخهما الى القرنين الرابع والخامس قبل الميلاد وتبلغ مساحة كل منهما عشرين متراً مربعاً، ويعتبر وجود رخامة كهذه في مدخل المقبرة من الامور النادرة ذلك انه لم تكتشف في وسط البلاد مقابر اثرية تحمل عناوين واسماء او رموزاً يهودية كهذه من قبل.

افتتحت قبل مدة وجيزة للزيارات، مدينة اسرائيلية ظلت منسية ومدفونة تحت الارض منذ مئات السنين. المدينة اسمها «سوسيا»، وقد انشئت بعد تدمير الهيكل الثاني حوالي سنة سبعين ميلادية، واختفت منذ الف ومائتي سنة. تقع المدينة الى الشمال الشرقي من بئر السبع.

مدينة «سوسيا» لم يأت ذكرها طبعاً، في الكتب القديمة، الا انها كانت جزءاً من المدن الجنوبية التي بنيت بعد خراب الهيكل، واقصاء اليهود عن مدينة القدس.

تغطي خرائب المدينة المكتشفة حوالي ثمانين فدانا، وما اكتشف منها حتى اليوم يروي قصة مدينة كبيرة مزدهرة الاقتصاد كانت تعيش على الزراعة والتجارة. فقد قامت «سوسيا» على خطوط قوافل التجارة الممتدة من الجنوب الشرقي من البلاد وحتى مدينة قيساريا في الشمال. وكانت المدينة تجهز قوافل المسافرين بالبضائع والاغذية وتمنحهم الملجأ ووسائل الراحة. وعندما بدأ الاثريون بالكشف عن معالم



الوانى الصلصالية فى المدينة التاريخية «سوسيا»

قرر بعض العلماء ان تاريخ هذه اللفائف يعود الى قرنين من الزمن قبل ثورة باركوخبا، الا ان فحوص «كاربون ١٤» ستحسم في الخلافات القائمة في آراء العلماء حول تاريخ كل لفيفة توراتية على حدة.

ارضية من الفسيفساء

في فبراير ١٩٩١ اكتشفت بمحض الصدفة ارضية من الفسيفساء وسط مدينة ريشون لتسيون. قام اثنان من علماء الآثار بفحص المكان الذي يغطي ستة امتار مربعة، فوجدوا ان تاريخ هذه الارضية يعود الى القرن الخامس الميلادي او اوائل القرن السادس.

قال العالمان ان المكان كان معصرة يستعملها مزارعو الكروم لانتاج النبيذ. وجدت في نفس المكان آثار عناقيد عنب وعلى مقربة من المكان مزرعة واسعة. قال احد المسؤولين في بلدية ريشون لتسيون ان الاثر قد اكتشف صدفة اثناء العمل في احد الشوارع وان الاوامر صدرت في الحال لوقف كل عمل والمحافظة على الاثر التاريخي. تمت احاطة المكان بسياج واق وطلب عمدة البلدة من الخبراء والمؤرخين القيام باعادة بناء المعصرة.

اكتشفت المقبرتان بمحض الصدفة عندما وقع ضرر خطير بالمقبرتين اللتين لم تكونا قد اكتشفتا بعد، وذلك اثناء اعمال بناء كانت تجري في منطقة استاد تل ابيب الرياضي الجديد.

لفائف البحر الميت

قررت لجنة من العلماء تشكلت بتوصية من قسم الاثریات بوزارة المعارف والثقافة في اسرائيل ارسال عينات صغيرة جدا من اللفائف التوراتية المعروفة باسم لفائف البحر الميت، الى سويسرا لاجراء الفحوص عليها بهدف تحديد عمر هذه اللفائف. وتعرف هذه الفحوص باسم «كاربون ١٤». ونتائج هذه الفحوص تعتبر دقيقة، وتقترب عادة من حد الخطأ بمقدار خمس وثلاثين سنة اكثر او اقل من العمر المضبوط.

وقد اكتشفت هذه اللفائف كما هو معروف عام ١٩٤٧ في مغائر قمران على الساحل الشمالي الغربي للبحر الميت. ومن المحتمل ان اللفائف قد خبئت هناك قبل تدمير الرومان لمدينة القدس سنة ٧٠ ميلادية.



الطبيعة والبيئة

نسر اسرائيلية

مجموعة كبيرة من هذه النور يقارب عددها المائة بينها ١٨ من الأزواج في شبه جزيرة العرب.

وتقع اسرائيل في أقصى الشمال من المنطقة التي يتواجد فيها النسر المذنب، حيث ان صحراء النقب تبعد حوالي خمسمائة كيلومتر من المناطق الرئيسية التي تتواجد فيها هذه النور في الجزيرة العربية وافريقيا. ويعتبر النسر الاسرائيلي المذنب من الاصناف الثانوية البارزة لهذه النور ويختلف النسر

يوصف النسر الاسرائيلي الذي يكثر وجوده في منطقة النقب الجنوبية بانه النسر المذنب لان منقاره يشبه الذيل المعقوف الى اسفل. وينتمي هذا النسر الى جنس النور الافريقية. وفي ايامنا هذه تتكاثر هذه النور في جنوب منطقة الصحاري وقد توقفت عن التكاثر في شمال افريقيا منذ اوائل هذا القرن، ويقال ان هذه النور تتواجد في منطقة جبل علبة في جنوب مصر. وقد اكتشفت



زوج من النور الاسرائيلية المذنب

والجولات والرحلات الخاصة، خصوصا في اوساط التلاميذ والطلبة. ويتصل بالجمعية وباغراضها ما لا يقل عن عشرين بالمائة من سكان البلاد من جميع الاعمار ومن جميع الاديان، كما يتصل بها المواطنون والسياح كأعضاء وكمؤيدين مما يجعلها اكبر جمعية في البلاد من ناحية عدد اعضائها.

وللجمعية ٢٥ مركزا للدراسات على الطبيعة ولها عشرات الفروع، وكذلك ستة مراكز للبحوث ترتبط بالجامعات. ويشترك في نشاطاتها كل سنة حوالي ٧٥٠,٠٠٠ مواطن في برامج تمتد من يوم واحد الى خمسة ايام تقوم خلالها الجمعية بتعريف المواطنين بما يجب المحافظة عليه من مظاهر الطبيعة والبيئة والارض. وتتصل الجمعية لهذه الاغراض بالمدارس وبالمعلمين لتطوير المناهج وتقديم المرشدين والمدربين. كما تعمل الجمعية على مراقبة الطبيعة والحيوان والنبات وتقديم تقديرها الى الجهات المختصة في كليات الطبيعة باللغتين العبرية والانكليزية. وقبل عشر سنوات انشأ مدرس نشيط يعمل في الوسط العربي هو الاستاذ محمود غزاوي فرعا للجمعية يعمل في مراكز السكان العربية وينشط في تنظيم الرحلات والجولات التي تعرف المواطنين العرب على طبيعة البلاد. وللجمعية ثلاثة فروع خارج البلاد، في الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا وفرنسا تقوم بتنظيم رحلات خاصة للسياح الذين يرغبون في المجيء للتعرف على الطبيعة في اسرائيل.

السعودي والنسر الاسرائيلي في المظهر عن الاصناف الثانوية الافريقية. وتم اكتشاف النسر الاسرائيلي لأول مرة عام ١٩٣٨، ولونه بني غامق. اما منقاره فمعقوف قليلا الى الاسفل.

يبلغ وزن هذا الطائر حوالي عشرة كيلوغرامات وعندما يفرد جناحيه يبلغ عرضه ثلاثة امتار. تزن كل بيضة ٢٤٠ غراما وفي العادة يقيم هذا النسر لنفسه عشا عند قمة اشجار الاكاسيا على ارتفاع ٣ - ٧ امتار وتبيض انثاه بيضة واحدة كل فصل ، وتفقس البيضة بعد ٥٤ يوما.

ذكرت مصادر المحافظة على الطبيعة مؤخرا ان بضع عشرات من هذه الطيور تعيش الآن في البلاد، بعضها في اماكن خاصة تمكن مراقبي الطبيعة من تقديم الطعام والماء لها، وبعضها الآخر في الأسر. وهناك برنامج لتفريخ هذه النور في الاسر، يتم بنجاح ، ويتوقع معه ان يزداد عدد هذه النور الجميلة بصورة محسوسة.

جمعية حماية الطبيعة

نشرت مؤخرا معلومات هامة حول جمعية حماية الطبيعة في اسرائيل. وقد تشكلت الجمعية عام ١٩٥٣ ووضعت لها اهدافا خاصة تتعلق بحماية الطبيعة و تثقيف المواطنين لغرض احترام وتفهم وحب القيم الطبيعية والتاريخية والتراثية لاسرائيل. وتنفذ الجمعية برنامجا تثقيفيا واسع النطاق عن طريق المحاضرات والمحادثات والبحوث

تراث

قرية تحت الماء

الاستقرار، في بناء مستوطنات مستقرة يقيم فيها، وفي تدجين الحيوانات وزراعة الاشجار.

قام في «عتليت يام» نحو ثلاثين بيتا ضمت ثلاثين عائلة ووجدت في الحفريات كميات كبيرة من عظام الحيوانات البيتية تشير الى ان السكان مارسوا رعي الحيوانات، كما وجدت آثار تدل على زراعة الشعير والعدس.

ولعل اهم ما وجدته المنقبون في القرية هو بشر الماء وعمقها خمسة امتار وعرضها متران . يقول العلماء ان هذه البئر تشير الى ان الانسان كان يعرف آنذاك بوجود المياه العذبة تحت سطح الارض والى انه كذلك كان قد تحرر الى حد ما من الحاجة الى مياه الامطار ومياه السيول. اكد العلماء الذين تولوا فحص الهياكل العظمية ان سكان القرية لم يمتازوا بصحة حسنة، وان عددا من الامراض كانت تصيبهم دون ان يكون في استطاعتهم مقاومتها، وقد تأكد للعلماء مثلا اصابة السكان بالمalaria بسبب انتشار المستنقعات آنذاك بالقرب من القرية.

ولكن مياه البحر سرعان ما غطت القرية وطردت منها سكانها. وظلت القرية تحت المياه ثمانية آلاف سنة حتى جاء الانسان فاكتشفها من جديد.

يقول عالم الآثار ايهود جليلي عن سكان قرية «عتليت يام» التي اكتشفت تحت عشرة امتار من سطح الماء وعمرها ٨٠٠٠ سنة: «ان هؤلاء السكان هم بشر مثلنا، يتمتعون بنفس المقدرة التي لدينا على التعليم، وكان من الممكن ان يذهبوا الى الجامعات كذلك».

وتبعد هذه القرية عن ساحل عتليت الحالي بحوالي ٤٠٠ متر، وظلت مختفية آلاف السنين حتى جاء الانسان المعاصر وكشف النقب عنها عندما نقل آلاف الامتار المكعبة من الرمل لاغراض البناء، فظهرت ملامح القرية امامه، الا انه بالاضافة الى ما قام به الانسان، فقد ادت عاصفة بحرية كبيرة عام ١٩٨٤ الى ازالة ما تبقى من رمال فوقها، وهكذا جاء عالم الآثار جليلي ومعه رجاله ليزيلوا غبار الزمن عن تراث انساني هام.

يقول عالم الآثار، مكتشف القرية ان القرية قامت على حوالي ثلاثين الف متر مربع، ووجد الطاقم المكتشف ٢٣ هيكلًا بشريا كانت مدفونة على مقربة من بيوت القرية. اما القرية فتمت الى فجر الحضارة، عندما بدأ الانسان بعد مليونين من سنوات التشرذم وعدم



البحث عن الآثار تحت البحر

طب

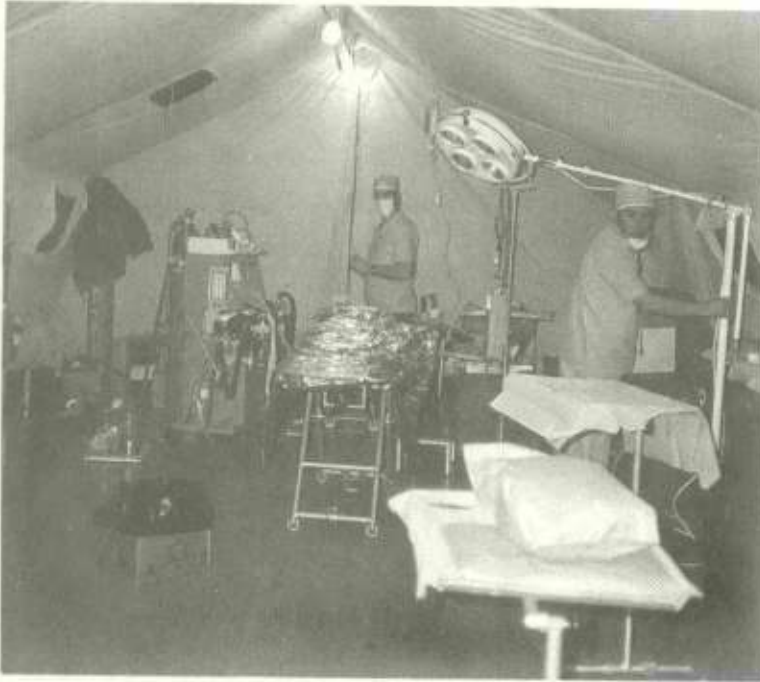
تطبيق الشمولية الطبية

المرضى على المجيء الى اسرائيل للعلاج الاختصاصي من كل نواحي العالم، بل ومن مختلف البلاد العربية التي ما زال بعضها رسمياً، في حالة حرب مع اسرائيل.

وفي مناطق كثيرة من آسيا وافريقيا يعمل الاطباء والممرضون الاسرائيليون لتأمين العون اللازم ولتقديم العلاج المطلوب. وهناك امراض شائعة اختفت

تدار المؤسسات الطبية في اسرائيل على اساس الايمان بان العناية الطبية اللازمة هي حق طبيعي للانسان يتجاوز حدود الدول والايديولوجيات والسياسة.

من هذا الايمان، فكل من يزور المستشفيات الاسرائيلية او يتفقدوها يجد ان ابوابها مفتوحة لكل من يطلب العون والخبرة. وخلال سنوات عديدة دأب



مستشفى ميداني اسرائيلي عمل في ارمينيا السوفياتية بعد الزلزال الرهيب هناك

والعالمان هما البروفسور رفائيل مشولام من الجامعة العبرية والبروفسور يحيئيل جاؤوني من معهد وايزمن للعلوم. اوضح البروفسور مشولام ان العقار الجديد كان قد تم استخلاصه في الستينات من قبل المكتشفين ومؤخرا بدأ تقديمه مختبرياً بطريقة تجريبية لمرضى السرطان، حيث وجد انه يخفف من معاناة المرضى الذين يقيئون عقب اصابتهم بامراض معوية بالاضافة الى مرضى السرطان. قال البروفسور مشولام ان الاكتشاف الاسرائيلي معروف طبيا في الولايات المتحدة وأنه يستعمل في المستشفيات فقط برخصة من سلطة الادوية الاميركية.

يعكف الخبراء حالياً على تطوير نوع افضل من العقار لتعميمه على المرضى.

تماماً من هذه المناطق نتيجة للمسح الطبي وللتعاون وللعمل الدؤوب الذي قدمته مؤسسات الطب الاسرائيلية التي تشارك بخبرتها وبمعلوماتها ابناء البلاد، كما تبعت باخصائيتها ومرضيها واطبائها للعمل خلال الفترات اللازمة لتحقيق تلك النتائج. بعض هذه الطواقم يعمل تحت جناح منظمة الصحة العالمية، وبعضها يستدعى على عجل الى المناطق المنكوبة بسبب الزلازل او الآفات.

دواء من ثمرة الحشيش

اكتشف عالمان اسراييليان عقارا جديدا استخلصاه من ثمرة الكناپوس (الحشيش)، يساعد مرضى السرطان الذين يعانون من القيء بسبب العلاج الكيماوي الذي يتلقونه.

علوم

الديجيتالية اصبحت في الحال طريقة متبعة عالمياً تحت اسم «الحساب الزمني بطريقة لمپل - زيف» اما الاسم العلمي الرسمي للطريقة الجديدة فهو V42BTS.

والمعروف ان استقاء المعلومات مطرا

اسلوب جديد لضغط المعلومات

توصل عالمان من معهد التكنيون هما البروفسور ابراهام لمپل من قسم علوم الكمبيوتر والبروفسور يعقوب زيف من قسم الهندسة الكهربائية الى اختراع طريقة مذهلة لضغط المعلومات

الى العلماء الجيولوجيين لكي يقرروا الاستمرار في الحفر.

قال مدير العمليات في شركة «نومرولوج» السيد موتي هوبر ان الشركة عملت مدة خمس سنوات في تطوير الجهاز حتى وصلت به الى مرحلة التسويق. يبلغ ثمن كل وحدة معملية كهذه مائة وعشرة آلاف دولار. ذكر مدير العمليات ايضا ان الشركة واجهت صعوبات كبيرة في المراحل الاولى للاكتشاف وذلك لعدم توفر المواد الاساسية التي تتحمل درجة حرارة ١٨٠ مئوية تحت الارض. اما الشركة الام وهي شركة «نومر» الاميركية التي ستسلم الاجهزة الاولى فستقوم باستعمالها في حفريات البترول في تكساس وفي خليج المكسيك وفي شبه جزيرة الاسكا. وقد ارسلت بالفعل اول هذه الاجهزة الى مستورديها.

توربين لبلاد التبت

تقوم شركة «اورمات» في كيبوتس «يبني» باعداد وحدة انتاج كهربائية حرارية لانتاج الطاقة لبلاد التبت. تتولى المشروع في التبت شركة اميركية اختارت التوربين الاسرائيلي بسبب شهرته العالمية.

تنتج الوحدة ميغاوات واحداً وتعمل بتبريد الهواء ولا تسبب اي تلوث كما تقوم بانتاج الكهرباء بدون استعمال البترول بل بطريقة التحويل الجيولوجي الحراري. تستعمل الوحدة المياه الحارة

فسطرا من الحاسوب هي احدى العمليات العالية التكاليف في الجهاز. اما الحساب الرمزي الجديد الذي توصل اليه العالمان الاسرائيليان فيتم من خلاله ضغط النصوص والمعلومات في ملفات قصيرة لا يمكن قراءتها. الا انه عند الحاجة اليها يقوم الحاسوب بترجمة اللغة الرمزية الى سطور عملية وممكنة القراءة مما يؤدي الى اختزال الوقت، وتوسيع مخزن الذاكرة في الحاسوب. اما الريح في مخزن الذاكرة فهو بمقدار الثلثين مما كان عليه حتى الآن.

قررت مؤخرا لجنة دولية عليا للاتصالات بالحاسوب انعقدت في مدينة جنيف في سويسرا بتبني «الحساب الرمزي بطريقة لمهل - زيف كقاعدة للعمل، وبسرعة كبيرة تبنت هذا الحساب الرمزي كبرى اجهزة الحاسوب، والشركات التي تقوم بتصنيع شرائط الحاسوب.

جهاز لفحص البترول

بدأت شركة «نومرولوج» العاملة في مدينة نيس تسيونا مؤخرا بتسويق اول جهاز من نوعه في العالم لفحص كمية البترول في الاماكن التي تكتشف فيها آبار بترولية. ويعمل الجهاز بطريقة الذبذبات المغناطيسية الذرية. يبلغ وزن كل جهاز معلمي كهذا خمسين كيلوجراما.

يجري فحص كمية البترول بانزال الجهاز بواسطة انبوب مغناطيسي الى اعماق الارض، فيقوم الجهاز بفحص نوعية البترول والكمية التي يمكن استخلاصها في مكان الحفر، ثم تنقل المعلومات

التي تأتي من باطن الارض بدرجة حرارة ١١٠ سنتيجراد وتحول المياه الى بخار يقوم بتشغيل التوربين الخاص بانتاج الكهرباء.

تقام المحطة في التبت على ارتفاع ٤,٥ كيلومتر فوق سطح الماء، وهي من اعلى المحطات الكهربائية مكانا. اما الوحدة المصنوعة في اسرائيل فستنتج الكهرباء لـ ١٦,٠٠٠ من سكان مدينة ناشو التي تبعد عن العاصمة لهاسا مسافة ٣٠٠ كيلومتر.

تقول الشركة «اورمات» ان بلاد التبت والصين عامة تحتوي على مقومات طبيعية لتشغيل العديد من محطات التحويل الجيوحرارية. اما الوحدة الاسرائيلية فتكون الاولى في سلسلة محطات كهربية ومحطات طاقة من شأنها تطوير المنطقة كلها.

لغة السحالي

في الصين يقولون عن البيت الجديد الذي تظهر فيه سحلية انه بيت محظوظ. وتمتاز السحلية بصوتها الخاص الذي لا يخطئ فيه احد، حتى ان هذا الصوت الذي يمكن التعبير عنه كتابة بكلمة «غيكو - غيكو»، اصبح الاسم المرافق للسحالي في كل مكان.

ولكن هناك ٨٠٠ نوع من السحالي في العالم، وكلها تعرف بالصوت الذي يصدر عنها وكل نوع يمتاز بصفاته الخاصة وبمبناه العظمي الخاص، كما تمتاز بسرعة لا تضاهى في تسلقها للحيطان

وللاشجار . وفي الليالي الهادئة يمكن سماع اصوات السحالي من مسافات بعيدة جدا.

والسحالي تتحدث - وهذا امر لا شك فيه. وهي تتحدث كثيرا ويقول علماء الحيوان ان للسحالي ستة اصوات تعبيرية مختلفة ، فهناك مجموعة اصوات تطلقها السحالي اذا هي شعرت بالخوف ومجموعة اخرى تطلقها وهي تدافع عن المنطقة التي تقيم فيها بوجه الذكور الذين يحاولون النفاذ اليها، ومجموعة اخرى من الاصوات الهدف منها استمالة الانثى.

قام استاذان جامعيان هما د. اليعيزر فرانكنبورج ود. يهودا فيرنر من قسم علم الحيوان في الجامعة العبرية، بدراسة شاملة للسحالي في اسرائيل . واستطاعا تحديد ثلاثة انواع من هذه السحالي في اسرائيل. كان الاعتقاد السائد انها نوع واحد. يقول د. فيرنر ان دراسة اصوات السحالي هي عملية صعبة جدا، فالسحالي لا تستجيب لتسجيلات تلتقط من اصواتها هي، كما تفعل الضفادع مثلا. ومع ذلك فقد نجح العالمان الاسرائيليان في التوصل الى نتائج هامة، ومنها تحديد اربعة اصوات دفاعية تطلقها السحالي لاختافة اعدائها.

اثبت العالمان ايضا ان السحالي، مثل بني البشر، تتغير اصواتها بسبب كبر السن.

ومن النتائج الهامة التي توصل اليها العالمان الاسرائيليان ان السحالي تصدر انواعا لا تسمع من الذبذبات الصوتية،

البيوت عادة، وان سكان هذه البيوت يسمعون اصواتها ولا يحزرون من اين تأتي هذه الاصوات.

وان السحالي لا تسمع صوتهاهي ، الا ان هذه الذبذبات تستهدف الطيور واللبونيات الضارة التي تلتقطها وتفهمها. واجمل ما في السحالي انها تعيش في



الانواع الثلاثة من السحالي في اسرائيل

تكنولوجيا

«اتاري» في اسرائيل»

الشهيرة في العالم باسم «اتاري». يوظف في المصنع الجديد ١٥٠ مليون دولار للصناعات الاساسية الالكترونية الخاصة بالمصنع. وقد اشترط المستثمر الاميركي جاك ترميال، وهو احد اصحاب شركة «اتاري» العالمية، ان تقام في

تم مؤخرا التوقيع على اتفاق عمل سيكون خطوة واسعة في توسيع وتطوير الصناعات الالكترونية في اسرائيل. سيقام بموجب الاتفاق مصنع لانتاج الحاسوب الشخصي وللالعاب الالكترونية

المحطة كلها خلال شهر معدودة ٥٥٠ ميغاوات من الكهرباء.

بلغت تكاليف المحطة الف مليون دولار وبضمن ذلك شراء وتركيب جهاز الاحراق وادوات التوليد. وسيضاف الى المحطة وحدة احراق ثانية خلال عام واحد.

كانت اسرائيل قد اختارت محطات الانتاج العاملة بالفحم لأن الفحم المستورد هو ارخص من البترول. وقد اقيمت اول محطة لانتاج الكهرباء باستعمال الفحم في مدينة الخضيرة في اوائل الثمانينات. وادى هذا الاختيار الى اقتصاد ٧٥٠ مليون دولار حتى الان. اما المحطة الجديدة التي اطلق عليها اسم المهندس روتنبرغ فسوف تساعد على سد الحاجة المتزايدة للطاقة الكهربائية في اسرائيل. فقد ازدادت حاجة اسرائيل للطاقة الكهربائية من حوالي الف ميغاوات/ساعة في اواخر عام ١٩٨٨ الى ٣,٧٦٠ ميغاوات/ساعة في اواخر عام ١٩٨٩ ومن المنتظر ان تصل الى ٣,٨٠٠ ميغاوات/ساعة عندما تنشر احصاءات عام ١٩٩٠.

اما المرحوم المهندس الكبير روتنبرغ فقد كان اول من انشأ محطة هايدروكهربائية في العشرينات عند شلالات نهر الاردن التي تصب في بحيرة طبريا.

اسرائيل صناعة اساسية يستثمرها المصنع، تنتج اجزاء الكترونية معينة، ودوائر مطبوعة واجهزة عرض وبرامج عمل، حيث ستندمج بمصانع اخرى للحاسوب الشخصي ولالعب الالكترونية تنقل من الشرق الاقصى.

اما المصنع الرئيسي فسوف تؤسسه شركة «اتاري» بمبلغ مائة وخمسين مليون دولار اخرى. ويقول الخبراء ان المصنع بعد اقامته سيبيع ما قيمته مائة وخمسون مليون دولار سنويا وذلك في المرحلة الاولى حيث يستخدم المصنع ٦٠٠ موظف اغلبهم من المهندسين وذوي المهن الهندسية. ومن المقرر ان يزداد عدد الفنيين الموظفين في المصنع خلال خمس سنوات الى الألف. اما المصنع الاساسي فيسوظف فيه مبلغ مائة مليون دولار ويستمر العمل في توسيعه وتطويره سنوات عديدة حيث من المقرر ان يعمل فيه الفان من الفنيين وان يصدر كل عام ما بين ٣٠٠ و ٥٠٠ مليون دولار.

محطة كهربائية جديدة

بدأت مؤخرا بالعمل في اسرائيل، احدث محطة لانتاج الكهرباء باستعمال الفحم بدلا من البترول. وقد بدأ اول مولدين في المحطة بانتاج مائة ميغاوات في اليوم الاول. ومن المنتظر ان تنتج



زراعة

التفاحة الذهبية

الليمون واليوسفندي فيمثلان ١٢ بالمائة من الحاصل. ويجري تسويق كل هذه الثمار تحت اسم حمضيات يافا.

تقول الاساطير ان اشجار البرتقال كانت قد غرست منذ القرن الثاني عشر قبل الميلاد في الجنائن المعلقة التي اقيمت للملكة سميراميس زوجة الملك البابلي نبوخذ نصار. اما الحقائق المعروفة فتقول ان البرتقال يعود في اصله الى قارة آسيا، وان كريستوفر كولومبوس مكتشف العالم الجديد قام في عام ١٤٩٣ بنقل شجرة البرتقال الى الغرب، بعد ان انشأ مستوطنة في جزر الهند الغربية، وبالتحديد في جزيرة هيسبانيولا. تقول الحقائق المعروفة ايضا ان الصينيين القدماء عرفوا البرتقال واطلقوا عليه اسم «حامي الحياة»، بعد ان ادركوا قيمته الصحية العالية في حين ان الارستقراطيين في الغرب كانوا يزرعون شجرة البرتقال لتزيين حدائقهم قبل كل شيء. وفي القرن العشرين ثبت للعلماء ان البرتقال هي كنز صحي يعتبر من عجائب الطبيعة، حيث انها تحتوي على الفيتامينات والمواد المعدنية، وتحتوي قبل كل شيء على فيتامين سي.

نشرت مؤخرا معلومات وافرة عن زراعة البرتقال في اسرائيل. فقد صدرت اسرائيل عام ١٩٩٠ ما قيمته اكثر من ٣٠٠ مليون دولار من الموالح. وسجلت الحاصلات ارقاما قياسية حيث تم قطف مليون ونصف مليون طن من هذه الثمار عام ١٩٩٠، تم تصدير نصف مليون طن منها كحاصلات طازجة واستهلك السوق المحلية الباقي، حيث استعمل القسم الاكبر لانتاج العصير المركز وصدر اغلبه الى الخارج.

ويقول الكثيرون ان بلاد اسرائيل التي وصفت في الماضي بالارض التي تدر عسلا ولبنا اصبحت كذلك الارض التي تنتج الموالح. وتصدر اسرائيل حاليا ٩٣ بالمائة من حاصل الموالح الى اوربا الشمالية الغربية، كما يقول السيد رؤبين اندرون كبير الاقتصاديين في هيئة تصدير الموالح، في حين يذهب الباقي لكي يباع في اميركا الشمالية والشرق الاقصى حيث يمثل السوق الياباني احد الاسواق المتوسعة المستهلكة. يقول كبير الاقتصاديين ايضا ان البرتقال يمثل ٦٥ بالمائة من مجموع الموالح التي تنتجها البلاد والكريب فروت ٢٣ بالمائة. اما

البرتقال الاسرائيلي



البرتقال المعبأ في الكرتونات للتصدير

الصوامع بنجاح مؤخرا، وتقوم الشركة المنتجة بتركيب صوامع مماثلة في عشر دول اخرى في العالم، حيث تبلغ تكاليف الصومعة الواحدة التي تحتوي على مخازن واسعة كثيرة، ثلاثين مليوناً من الدولارات ويستوعب كل مخزن الف طن من الغلال.

اغراس اسرائيلية لكولومبيا

تصدر شركة «اجرجسكو» هذا العام ٨٠,٠٠٠ من اغراس الاشجار حاملة الثمار الى جمهورية كولومبيا. يبلغ ثمن الاغراس لثلاثمائة الف دولار وتمثل الصفقة زيادة تبلغ الضعف عن صادرات الاغراس لكولومبيا عام ١٩٩٠. جرى التوقيع على اتفاقية الصفقة في بوغوتا عاصمة كولومبيا.

جدير بالذكر ان شركة «اجرجسكو» تصدر اغراس الاشجار بعشرات الآلاف من الدولارات لعدد من الدول في اميركا الجنوبية ومنها فنزويلا والاكوادور وجمهورية الدومينيكان. وتستورد هذه الدول، باستثناء اغراس الاشجار شتائل الورود بمبلغ ثلاثة ملايين دولار كل عام.

وفي الوقت الحاضر يعتبر انتاج الموالح عامة والبرتقال خاصة، علما من العلوم اكثر منه فرعا من فروع الزراعة. وقد تم في اسرائيل تطوير الكريب فروت الاحمر والسريع التقشير كما تم تطوير اليوسفندي الخالي من البذور. اما البرتقال «الشموطي» فهو معروف في اغلب اقطار العالم بسبب حلاوته وامتلائه بالعصير.

البيادر البلاستيكية

باعت شركة «عونيچ بلاست» التابعة لكيبوتس «عونيچ» صومعة غلال من البلاستيك للصين الشعبية. وهذه الصوامع هي انتاج اسرائيلي صرف، وهي الوحيدة من نوعها في العالم، وقد طورت وصنعت في اسرائيل في معمل اقيم خصيصا لذلك في كيبوتس «عونيچ».

تقوم الجهات الصينية المختصة بتجربة الصومعة البلاستيكية خلال العام الحالي، على ان تقوم بشراء العديد منها اذا مرت التجربة بنجاح. وفي الاتحاد السوفياتي جربت هذه



انباء متفرقة

أن يأخذ معه «الدب» الى الغرفة المعزولة فيتصرف كما يتصرف الكبار مع صغارهم وبادر احد المعامل الى صنع كامات خاصة للعب الاطفال من البلاستيك، لكي يقوم الطفل بوضعها على رأس لعبته، تماما كما يفعل الوالدان معه. وهكذا خفف الاطفال بعض الضغط النفسي الذي تعرضوا له اثناء الازمة الاخيرة، واثبتوا استحالة تغلب صدام على لعبهم!

كامات لعب الاطفال!

اثناء الازمة الاخيرة في المنطقة وجد الآباء والامهات والخبراء النفسيون ان الطفل او الطفلة الذين يحبون لعبهم وعرائسهم ويأخذونها معهم للنوم في السرير، يقومون بالتعبير عن مشاعرهم احسن بكثير لو تركوا يتصرفون كما يحلو لهم وبمسئولية مشيرة عند تعرضهم للازمة.

وجد الآباء والامهات ان الطفل يحب



الكامات على وجوه لعب الاطفال



منظر الحجاج وهم يحملون سعف النخيل

الذي صلب فيه المسيح ودفن فيه وبعث منه حيا.

يقوم على ادارة الاثر رجل دين من بريطانيا هو القس بيل كوتريل، وهو يقول: «اننا لا نستطيع ان نثبت ولا نعمل لكي نثبت، ان المكان هو الموقع الذي صلب فيه السيد المسيح الا ان كل الدلائل تشير الى ان القبر المقدس موجود هنا».

وقد حدّد عدد من الباحثين الاوروبيين هذه الحديقة باعتبارها المكان الذي شهد الصلب. اشار الى ذلك المؤرخ اوتو ثينيوس (١٨٤٢) ثم اكتشف القبر عام ١٨٦٧، الا انه لم يتحدد ذلك حتى عام ١٨٩١ وذلك بايدي عالم الآثار الالمانى د. كونراد شيك.

ولعل اول من اقتنع بان الحديقة هي

احد الشعانين في القدس

المنظر الفريد اعلاه يقدم مجموعة من الحجاج المسيحيين في احد الشعانين (عيد الفصح - الايستر) وهم يسرون في طريقهم من جبل الزيتون، حيث يمرون بعدد من الكنائس العتيقة التي بنيت لذكرى صلب السيد المسيح، ثم يصلون اخيرا الى كنيسة القبر المقدس في البلدة القديمة.

حديقة القبر المقدس

كل من زار هذه الحديقة يستطيع ان يؤكد ان الجو الخاص بها من شأنه ان يدفع الى التأمل والصلاة. ويؤم هذه الحديقة آلاف الحجاج خصوصا خلال عيد الفصح المسيحي. ويؤمن الكثير من المسيحيين ان الحديقة كانت الموقع

وسيرا على التقاليد فقد تحول المكان الى حديقة من اجمل الحدائق، ورسمت فيها طرق ومسالك تحيطها الورود والاشجار من مختلف الانواع، وخصصت فيها اماكن منعزلة للتأمل والصلاة، حتى ان الزائر لا يكاد يصدق ان الحديقة تقع في قلب المركز التجاري لمدينة القدس الشرقية.

المكان الذي جرى فيه الصلب هو الجنرال غوردون وهو عالم متبحر في الكتاب المقدس. ففي عام ١٨٨٣ اعلن غوردون عن اقتناعه بذلك وبالاهمية الروحية للمكان، ومنذ ذلك الحين عرفت حديقة القبر المقدس باسم غوردون. وفي عام ١٩٨٤ اشترى المسيحيون البريطانيون المكان واقامت منظمة باسم «منظمة حديقة القبر المقدس» ومركزها في لندن لادارة وصيانة الاثر.



من الطقوس الدينية في حديقة القبر المقدس

تصدر عن مركز الاعلام الاسرائيلي
اورشليم - القدس

ת"ת

ת"ת

כ"ד בסיון תשנ"א
6 ביוני 1991

התקן
ת"ת

24639

הנדון: מבצע שלמה - הסברה

בתשובה לשאלותיך בענין שחוף מחלקת ההסברה בהכנות ל"מבצע שלמה": מחי ההסברה לא שותפה בשום שלב שהוא לפני, במהלך או אחרי המבצע בדיונים הפנימיים שהתקיימו במשרד. לא נמסר לנו כל מידע מוקדם ודבר המבצע נגלה לנו באקראי.

מזלנו כי למרות כל הנ"ל לא הורגש בנציגויות כל חוסר בחומר וכי ההערכות בדקה האחרונה הצליחה לנצל חלק נכבד מהפוטנציאל ההסברתי העצום שבמבצע.

להלן מגוון הפעולות שנקטה המחלקה על מנת לנצל את ההזדמנות ההסברית שב"מבצע שלמה".

א. הנציגויות קבלו במהלך יום ששי ה-24/6/91 חומר רב ומגוון שכלל בין היתר:

1. דף רקע על העליה מאתיופיה.
2. פרטים ראשוניים על המבצע.
3. הודעה לעתונות (עברית-אנגלית).

החומר כולו הועבר תוך בקשה לנצור אותו עד לקבלת הנחיה מתאימה.

ב. עם פרסום דבר המבצע יום שבת 16:30 קבלו הנציגויות היתר להשתמש בחומר הנצור.

ג. מעת הפרסום ועד אחרי חצות יום שבת הועבר לנציגויות מידע מפורט ושוטף על המבצע כולל הצהרותיהם המפורטות של ראשי המדינה:

1. רה"מ שמיר בראיון לטלוויזיה.
2. שר החוץ לוי - מסיבת עתונאים.
3. שר הבטחון ארנס - מסיבת עתונאים.
4. דברי הרמטכ"ל - ראיון לטלוויזיה.
5. דברי הנשיא.

ד. מדור ההפקה הפיק במהלך סוף השבוע סרט וידאו קצר בן 7 דקות. הפקתו הושלמה במהלך הלילה וביום א' הוא יצא לנציגויות. אותה עת הוצע לרשתות הזרות בארץ.

הסרט נמסר למספר ארגונים ורשתות:

כמו רשתות הטלוויזיה:

CBS
NBC
FOX TV
BARCELONA TV
VOICE OF AMERICA
CHRISTIAN BROADCAST NETWORK

הארגונים:

AIPAC
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
ISRAEL BONDS
AUSTRALIAN ZIONIST FEDERATION

בשבוע האחרון קיבלנו דיווחים רבים מנציגותינו בחו"ל על ניצול הקלטת. רק לשם הדגמה נצביע על הדיווחים משתי הנציגות:

ניו-יורק - הופק VNR ע"י הנציגות בן 90 שניות מהחומר שנשלח על-ידנו. ה-VNR ישודר בסוף השבוע הזה ב-66 תחנות טלוויזיה וב-3,000 תחנות כבלים. בנוסף לכך הופץ ה-VNR באמצעות חברת ההפצה הקבועה ומצפים להגיע לעוד 100 תחנות לפחות.

הסרט הוקרן בקבלת פנים חגיגית של ה-JCRC של ניו-יורק בפני השגריר וזכה למחמאות רבות. במקום נכחו נציגי הקהילה היהודית ובקשו עותק מהקלטת לאחר ההקרנה.

הסרט מבוקש מאד בקרב הקהילה היהודית והלא-יהודית. ישנן פניות רבות לקבלת הקלטת.

בוקרשט - קטעים מתוך הסרט שודרו במהדורת החדשות הרומנית (שעה 20:00) ב-28/5.

בנוסף קיבלנו שורת דיווחים על אפשרות החדרה הסרט לטלוויזיות בפנמה, אורוגוואי, דרום אפריקה, איטליה, קנדה ונציגות אחרות.

ה. כל נציגות ישראל בחו"ל קבלו סט תמונות צבעוני שצולם בידי צלם לשכת העתונות המחשלתית - לכל שמוש הסברתי, אם למסירה לעתונות ואם לפרסומי השגרירות.

1. לקראת יום א' הקרוב תושלם הכנתה של תערוכת צלומים מרהיבה שתצא לארה"ב ותתאר את המבצע. נבחרו 24 צילומים המתארים שלבים שונים במבצע: העליה למטוסים באדיס, הטיסה ארצה, קבלת הפנים וקליטה ראשונית בבתי המלון.

כל הנ"ל נוסף לפעילות השגררתית והשוטפת של הנציגויות.



ירושלים, 29 מאי, 1991

Link

לכבוד
מר משה רביב
סמנכ"ל הסברה
משרד החוץ
ירושלים

א"נ.,

הנדון: קול-ישראל באנגלית

מנכ"ל רשות השידור, מר אריה מקל, בקשני להשיב על מכתבך אליו מיום 15.5.91 בענין קיצור השידורים באנגלית.

ההחלטה על קיצור השידורים היתה רק אחת בשורה של החלטות קשות שנאלצה הנהלת רשות השידור לקבל וזאת בשל אילוצי התקציב.

עלי לציין גם כי הסוכנות ומשרד החוץ שנהגו להשתתף במימון השידורים לחו"ל בסכום כולל של כ-5 מליון דולר לשנה, הפסיקו באופן חד-צדדי את השתתפותם (וגם כאן - כנראה בגלל אילוצי תקציב).

על דעת המנכ"ל אני מבקש להודיעך כי באם יובטח חידוש מימון השידורים לחו"ל בהקפים שהיו נהוגים בעבר נשמח לשוב למתכונת הקודמת של השידורים באנגלית.

בכבוד רב,

יוחנן צנגן
סמנכ"ל

העתק: סגן שר החוץ
מנכ"ל רשות השידור
מנהל ההסברה, משרד החוץ

(להתכתבות פנימית במשרדי הממשלה)

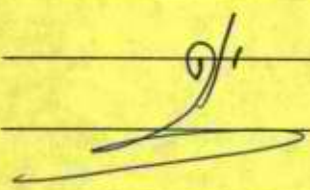
מזכר

28/5	תאריך	אחא אונז	אל:
	חיק מס	101	מאת:
		בה ארמ - ווארנאון	הערן:

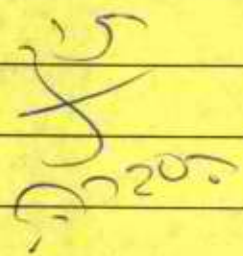
סימוכין:

ברשנא אלאנז - כולה באמזיק שצנו אר
 כעסנא .

י/פ



5
 20



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר
שמור

נכנס **

**
**
**

חוזם: 5,17084
אל: המשרד
יעדים: e
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 311, תא: 160591, זח: 1321, דח: מ, סג: שמ
תח: e גס: הסברה
נד: e

9410
ארה"ב

12 1/2

סימוכין: 5-15-4

אל: רמ"ד הסברה/מנהלה

מאת: הסברה/וושינגטון

הנדון: כח אדם בהסברה.

שלכם 481 מ- 5/13

1. צר לנו על העכוב במתן תשובה, אשר נבע הן מרובי הפעילות כאן - קודם תקשורת, והן לצורך ברור התקנים ש"נלקחו".

2. להלן פרוט התקנים, העובדים והכפופות כפי שמופיעים במצבת כ"א בשגרירות.

- 033 עוזר עתונות מרקו גרינברג (משרה חדשה)
- 401 עוזרת עתונות דבורה מינץ.
- 409 עוזרת עתונות חני מילצקי

שלוש המשרות הנ"ל כפופות לרות ירון.

410 רכז מחשבים - המשרה מאוישת ע"י מזכירה בלשכת השגריר. (מח' ההסברה תגיש ערעור).

407 מזכירה - חצי משרה מאוישת ע"י מזכירה בלשכת השגריר.

להלן המשרות הכפופות להסברה:

מס' תקו	תפקיד	שם	תאור התפקיד
402	נספחת נשים	הדסה שטרן	קשר עם ארגוני נשים, מתן תדרוכים והרצאות. אחראית על שיתוף מרצים ואולם ארועים.

6406
7.90
ספר חלי ששה בנים סל 76670000

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

	פקיד הסברה	יאיר לוי	403
	חומר הסברה. מפעיל המכשור האלקטרוני בשגרירות.		
	ע. לציר הסברה	אורה סידנר	404
	ע. לציר הסברה	וורן אדלמן	408
	ע. לציר הסברה	ננסי גרינברג	413
	50 אחוז מזכירה	סולי קרן	407
	בנוסף מתן הרצאות, תזרוכים, סיוע למחלקות אחרות ובנין בתרגום וניסוח.		
	50 אחוז ארכיב הסברה	סינדיה נתניהו	405
	עבודת ארכיב, קשר עם שותוניסטים.		
	מזכירת הסברה	קלרה מאן	406
	עבודות מזכירות והדפסה.		
	מפעיל מחשב	יעקובי שרון	411
	הדרכת הקונסוליות, וסיוע למחלקות בשגרירות.		
	מזכירה	נעמה יפה	412
	מזכירת ציר הסברה.		
	בנרכה,		
	פג - פרי - בן-חיים		
	שמ		

תפ: רביב(1), הסברה(3), בן יעקוב(1), מחש(2)

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

21212

יוצא

א.א.א

בלמס

התקנת הנושא

יוסי גל

זה הם

זה? א.א.א

מאזיז

חוזם: 5,21212
אל: וושינגטון/858
מ-: המשרד, תא: 220591, זח: 1520, דח: ר.סג: בל
תח: @ גס: הסברה
נד: @

על/ל
מאזיז
היינטי

23/5

24030

בלמ'ס/רגיל

אל: וושינגטון/פלג, פרי: בן-חיים

דע: וושינגטון/השגריר

הנדון: כח אדם - הסברה. לשלכם 311 מ-16.5

א. נודה על הסבירים המפורטים לגבי משרות 407 ו-410 וכנ"ל לגבי 033. מדוע תקנים של הסברה משמשים לתפקידים אחרים בשגרירות ומדוע נעשו שינויים בלי ידיעתנו ואישורנו.

ב. אנו תמהים כיצד ניתן לנסות ולהקים בארה"ב מערכת מיחשוב מתקדמת ובאותה נשימה לוותר על תפקיד רכז מחשבים, האין זאת הסיבה לתקלות במערכת המיחשוב?

ג. כלל לא ברורה לנו העסקתם של ארבעה עובדים (תקנים 404, 408, 413 ו-407) במה שמוגדר אצלכם 'מתן מידע לפונים'. האמנם שלש משרות ומחצה מוקדשות לעניין זה?

ד. לאחר קבלת תגובתכם המפורטת נחליט אם לקצץ לכם בתקנים שאינכם משתמשים בהם והנחוצים לנו כאוויר לנשימה במקומות אחרים.

הסברה

21 במאי 1991

שמ

תפ: רביב (1), הסברה (3), בנצור (1), מצפא (4), בן יעקב (1), מחע (2)

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

Handwritten notes and a signature in the top left corner.

משרד החוץ

מחלקת ההסברה

ז' חשוון תשנ"א
26 באוקטובר 1990

א ל ה נ צ י ג ו י ו ת

האירועים בהר הבית והמשבר במפרץ

שלושה מאמרים מהעתונות הבריטית, המצדדים בעמדת ישראל, מצ"ב.

במאמריהם מצביעים העתונאים על הקשר בין האירוע בהר הבית

למשבר במפרץ ומסתיגים מהגינוי של ישראל באו"ם.

לידיעה והתיחסות בעת הצורך.

189/26.10.90/3.05.04(1.11.03, 3.08.151)

TO THE POINT

How the UN threatens civilisation

IN THE BEST Machiavellian mode, the United States and Britain have gone out of their way to condemn Israel for defending its citizens from Iraqi-inspired PLO mob violence against innocent Jewish worshippers. On this occasion the Israeli authorities were plainly not to blame. They had leant over backwards to avoid provoking violence. That is why there were so few troops on hand at the sacred site. Hence the inevitability of the panic shootings.

But why bother with the facts when it is in the Western interest — for reasons of political expediency, not morality — to pillory Israel as ruthless killers? If this is an example of the new UN-led world order, it is clearly going to be no less cynical than any other world order. Realpolitik is dead; long live realpolitik.

What staggers and disgusts is the extent to which so-called progressive opinion demands and requires this cynicism, in the name of avoiding double standards. Thus we are told that it is necessary to condemn Israel for shooting the Arab mob, because otherwise we cannot consistently condemn Iraq for invading Kuwait.

The Sunday Telegraph finds no difficulty whatsoever in condemning Iraq and in not condemning Israel. The sins of the two states are in no way comparable. Nor is Israel's occupation of the West Bank comparable with Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. Furthermore, Israel and Iraq are wholly different in other crucial respects. Israel is a decent and civilised pro-Western democracy; Iraq a vicious and barbarous anti-Western dictatorship.

That, of course, is not how the UN sees the matter. The UN is on record as regarding Israel as a racist pariah state. So far as the UN is concerned, Israel is always in the wrong and nothing is more wrong than its loyalty to the West. In most UN member states killing and beating of demonstrators are almost as much a matter of routine as are the famines which these governments, being as corrupt and incompetent as they are cruel, also cause. Not so long ago, sainted India's lathi-toting police even saw fit to weigh into a demonstration of the blind, many of whom were badly injured. Was India condemned at the UN? Are any Third World countries ever condemned at the UN?

In tactical terms, to keep some Arab states behind the West in its forthcoming war with Iraq, the Governments of Britain and America may well be compelled to go along with the UN's Third World view. But progressive opinion in the West actually seems to believe it. This incident should give us pause about welcoming the new UN-led world order which President Bush and Mrs Thatcher take such pride in having brought about.

If they are being cynical, and just milking the UN for what it is worth in the immediate future, all well and good. But if they were so foolish as to think the UN can be of any long-term or permanent use, then the civilised world really will have cause to fear for its survival.

The truth behind Saddam's West Bank publicity wheeze

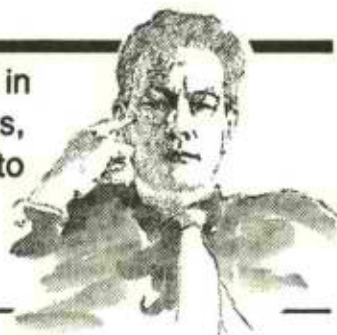
Provocation, in English, has a simple meaning: to get up someone's nose deliberately. In other languages, the meaning is more complicated. It is to get someone else, deliberately, to get up someone else's nose, not deliberately. This was an old dodge in continental strikes.

The strikers, knowing the powers of the police, would not want to cause violence and would try to be moderate. But the police or the bosses would place an agent among the strikers' ranks, who would throw a stone or two, or worse, and would then give the police an excuse to do some mowing down.

The police and the bosses learned, before this century began, that this was wrong: you just created ferocious ill will. But the revolutionary side learned provocation in its turn. Place agents in your own side, to egg it on to violence. Force the police to overreact. Your own people will then be more firmly revolutionary than before, because they will look at slain young sons and will then hate without reservation. In a situation of tension, provocation is an easy enough tactic. It requires just a few unscrupulous characters for mayhem to be created and hatred to go on from generation to generation.

In my opinion, Israel is now suffering from such unscrupulousness on the part of Iraq and her Palestinian clients. What happened last Monday — the death of some young Palestinian Arabs at the hands of the Israeli police — has had quite an effect. Western statesmen, including our own foreign secretary (though in muted form), have said that Israel behaved rather badly. President George Bush thought Israel should control its police better. President François Mitterrand said that "unright" on any side must be condemned, that is, in Israel, over the occupation of the West Bank, as much as in Kuwait, occupied by Saddam Hussein.

Suspecting provocation in the Jerusalem shootings, **Norman Stone** points to Iraq's delight at Israel's isolation



The point of all this is, of course, clear. Our governments are scared of offending their Arab allies in the Gulf phoney war if they fail to condemn Israel. In their pronouncements, they have suggested that there is some sort of equivalence between what Saddam has done to Kuwait and what Israel has done to the West Bank.

This maybe suits some people in the West, who are looking for ways to keep the world-wide coalition of anti-Iraqi powers together. It may also appeal to the various people in the West, such as Edward Heath, who think that we have to offer negotiations to Iraq. And there is still quite a powerful anti-Israeli lobby in the West, people who cannot see what the fuss is about. Raymond Barre in France, for instance, thinks that only the "Israeli-American lobby" wants war with Saddam. And there are those of us who remember what he said, 10 years ago, when a bomb outside a synagogue in Paris killed several people, inside and outside the synagogue: "Not only Israelites [sic] but also innocent Frenchmen [were killed]," said the then French prime minister.

In other words, the very best thing for Saddam's cause, at this moment, must be to provoke trouble between Israel and the West. What is called in the trade "the Foreign Office Camel Corps" can go into action, blaming Israel for anything in this messy situation, appealing feebly to the Arabs, and losing links with an isolated Israel,

which can be written off as a hysterical nuisance. It all brings closer Saddam's little wheeze of offering to abandon Kuwait if Israel gets out of the West Bank.

What are the facts behind last Monday's incident, which brought all this about? It is too early to say, but the whole thing smells of "provocation". Get some Palestinians worked up and have a muezzin in the Dome on the Rock intoning: "Death to the Jews." Isolate the Israeli police in the Rock itself. That is easy, because, to keep any real provocation to a minimum, the Israelis maintain only 40 policemen there, easily blocked off from reinforcements if you barricade the only narrow entrance. Block it off.

Create mayhem, with sticks and stones, among the 40. Burn down a police station. Then, for good measure, throw stones at elderly orthodox Jews praying at the Wailing Wall just beyond. The reinforcements for the police will have to intervene with force, and, seeing their station burning, may panic.

Now, in the past two months, there have been no Palestinian deaths at the hands of the Israeli authorities. There have been killings by Palestinians of Palestinians — people just trying to get about their business, even if this meant co-operating with authorities. In other words, Palestinian rebels do not get out of hand unless someone tells them to. And various Palestinian leaders, or would-be leaders, have been in Baghdad of late.

Yasser Arafat, who poses as a moderate, was there on Sunday, just before these dreadful events.

And before they even happened, the world's television teams were told to turn up. That was why we saw them on the BBC as soon as they happened. Yet the BBC's radio news at 9pm that night talked of the "murder" of Palestinians by Israelis. When these things happen in Kuwait or Iraq, they become, oddly, "killings". Looking at this, without wanting to prejudge the issue, I would have thought there's skulduggery afoot. Someone is trying to get young men killed for the sake of a political ploy.

In all of the denunciation of Israel that has followed, it is worth bearing this in mind. Saddam has killed at least 10 times more Muslims in the past year or two than Israel in the whole course of her nearly 50 years of existence. Israel

has kept going and in many ways improved the lot of the West Bank Arabs. Saddam wiped out Kuwait, and the killing there goes on and on — without the benefit of television cameras to record it. Israel occupies the West Bank as a pledge of security, after it was attacked. Saddam just pushes over a small neighbour for greed.

There is no equivalence between Israel's behaviour and Saddam's. Do, in any case, Arab governments now take anti-Zionism as anything other than a ritual banality? In this, the West has been taken for a ride by a few crafty Palestinians, and the monster in Baghdad.

To a large extent, the Gulf crisis seems to have been caused, in the first place, by Western spokesmen being mealy-mouthed towards the monster. We should not be mealy-mouthed about the West Bank now. We should have said, from

the start, that our aim in this was to be rid of Saddam and his chemical weapons (which the Germans gave him) and his nuclear potential (which the French gave him) and his international prestige (which the Americans gave him).

Israel has its sins, inevitable in such a situation (which we gave it). But it is a force for good in a very troubled world. By isolating it, failing to understand its problems of existence, and preaching at its response to what was almost certainly a "provocation", we just divert ourselves from the main issue, the disposal of Saddam. Why does a world-wide coalition get in this mess, biting its fingers and mistrusting its allies and disliking its friends? The answer is an old Latin proverb: "To the late-comers, the bones." We should have attacked, long ago.



OCTOBER 12 1990

Barbara Amiel urges that Israel's 'gift' to Saddam should not dilute the war effort

Shifting sands under Western tanks

The United Nations is on the point of condemning Israel for the shooting of rioters on the Temple Mount. The only thing that could prevent the resolution being passed would be insistence by the PLO and its supporters on wording so extreme that the United States would be forced to veto it, which the Americans do not want to do. The truth is that even if an independent enquiry found Israel justified in acting as it did, the West would still support some sort of critical resolution. We are all upset that Israel has played into Saddam Hussein's hands.

The subtext to Western support of the UN resolution is plain. We think that under present circumstances it would have been better for Israel to have absorbed some casualties at the Wailing Wall rather than give Saddam the headlines he needs. For the Western consensus, there was more mileage to be made out of a few Jewish worshippers being stoned to death than Palestinians being shot.

The Israelis have a straightforward answer: what would a few

dozen of your police do when faced with several thousand stone-throwing Palestinians shouting "*Itbach El Yahood*" (slaughter the Jews)? It is hard to think of a nation on earth that can justly throw the first stone at Israel. Throughout history nations have acted with no more and probably less forbearance than the Israelis show now, when faced with much less of a threat to national existence. Where parts of the population or surrounding population riot, attack police, or are incited to do so, nations respond with force, even where national existence is not at stake. No group, whether the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Sikhs in Punjab, the IRA in Northern Ireland or the Indians in North America have demands such as those of the Palestinians, which threaten the survival of the country itself. That does not mean one can condone what happened in Jerusalem: unless Israel finds some sort of peaceful solution to the aspirations of the Palestinians, the problem will be permanent and eventually become a conflict that the Israelis will lose.

But if the United Nations resolution suggests a diminution of support by the United States and its allies for Israel, something seems to be going awry in the Western consensus over Saddam Hussein. Initially, the aim appeared sound. America would not have transferred huge forces to the Middle East at astounding cost without the intention of using them to get its way. At the outset, getting its way seemed clearly to mean an unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait and the crippling of Iraq's military machine. But what does "getting our way" mean for the West now? Asked about this on breakfast television yesterday, Douglas Hurd replied: "The first objective is to get Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. Then he will be a weakened man."

This is the sort of chat British diplomats have been pushing very hard recently at every embassy dinner party and exchange of views. The notion is that a retreat from Kuwait will cause Saddam to lose face in his own land, with disastrous results for his tenure. One can never tell how much of

this is smoke and mirrors, of course, but if the Foreign Office genuinely believes that line, it is mistaken. If we are delaying military action against Saddam until the time is militarily best for us, we are being sensible. If action is being delayed because we think the conflict can be resolved in some other way, it is an illusion.

As it is, Saddam is being handed his face-saving kit by the French, in their attempt to link Kuwait to the Palestinian conflict. One cannot help seeing traces of Munich in this, as the French hint that if Saddam simply states his intention to withdraw we might all have a nice international conference to resolve the entire Middle East situation (read Palestine). The analogy with Munich is not helped by the remarkable resemblance President Mitterrand shows lately to photographs of Edouard Daladier, the French signatory of the Munich pact. History never repeats itself exactly, but by giving Saddam Hussein the kudos of an international conference on Palestine in return for his withdrawal from Kuwait, leaving him other-

wise untouched, we are creating another Munich.

In the end, the fact that Saddam is simply a tyrant may, alas, make everybody's day. Just as Chamberlain and Daladier were unable to stop Hitler, so the best intentions of the French and the British Foreign Office are unlikely to prevent Saddam precipitating his destruction by forcing the Americans to fight. One abhors the idea of war, but using force now may cost fewer lives than using it later.

An alternative possibility is that, if Hussein is very shrewd or well-advised, he will stall the confrontation long enough to get away with his invasion. By March, the temperatures in the desert will be 45 degrees in the shade and no American will survive the heat. Nor will America be able to shuttle its forces back and forth from Fort Bragg every time Saddam has a bad dream and invades some other territory.

Indeed, what worries me most of all is that long-term peace in the Middle East depends increasingly not on our courage but on the folly of Saddam Hussein.

משרד החוץ
מחלקת ההסברה

ז' חשוון תשנ"א
26 באוקטובר 1990

א ל ה נ צ י ג ו י ו ת

ההפצצות של חיל האוויר במבצע "שלום הגליל"

לוט קטע ממאמר, המשתרע על כ-200 עמודים, שהתפרסם בכתב העת הרשמי של חיל האוויר האמריקאי.

הקטע מתייחס לזהירות הרבה בה נקט חיל האוויר הישראלי, במהלך מבצע של"ג, במאמץ למנוע פגיעות באזרחים בעוד שאש"פ במתכוון הציב את מתקניו בתוך איזורי האוכלוסיה האזרחית.

המסמך איננו מיועד להפצה יזומה אלא לשימוש סלקטיבי אם וכאשר הנושא יעלה.

191/26.10.90/3.11.04

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1935

1936

1937

1938

1939

1940

1941

1942

1943

1944

1945

1946

1947

1948

1949

THE AIR FORCE LAW REVIEW



VOL. 32, No. 1

1990

Air War and the Law of War

W. HAYS PARKS

In response to the 1982 Israeli incursion into Lebanon, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) announced its intent to abide by the requirements of the four 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1977 Protocols. It immediately shifted its defensive positions into Lebanese towns, villages, and cities, where it emplaced its artillery and anti-aircraft weapons on top of or immediately adjacent to hospitals, churches, or mosques. The PLO did this in order to shield the weapons from attack or cause damage to these protected objects while attempting to negate the superiority the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and Israeli Air Force (IAF) enjoyed in firepower (armor and artillery) and airpower, respectively, and to increase the likelihood of heavy IDF and Lebanese civilian casualties in costly house-to-house fighting. On retreating to Beirut, the PLO positioned its weapons adjacent to foreign embassies in order to achieve the same protection. It moved other equipment and forces into the lower floors of high-rise apartment buildings, while forcing the civilian tenants of those buildings to remain in the upper floors to shield the PLO from attack.

The IAF employed certain steps and very strict rules of engagement to provide protection for the civilian population in the course of its attack of PLO fixed positions. These included the dropping of several million leaflets to warn the civilian population to depart anticipated areas of conflict; development of highly detailed targeting maps for built-up areas to distinguish military objectives from civilian objects and other specially-protected property; positive verification of all objects as military objectives prior to authorization of any attack; establishment of a requirement to abort any bomb run if the aircraft lost the redundancy in its bomb-aiming equipment; marking of each target to minimize misidentification; delivery of a single bomb per bomb run; dropping each bomb at absolute minimum altitudes under visual (rather than radar-bombing) conditions only, at substantial risk to aircrews; verification of bomb damage where it was believed a hit had been achieved, before continuing strikes; and use of the most accurate munitions.

Notwithstanding these precautions, which are among the highest imposed by any nation in any armed conflict, the ICRC issued a public statement on 10 June 1982 calling upon Israel *only* to cease actions which placed the civilian population at risk. The ICRC also released erroneous, unconfirmed civilian casualty figures based upon

information it had obtained from the head of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society—PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's brother.⁴⁹⁴

494. Author's personal knowledge. In May 1983 the author was sent to the Middle East by the Secretary of Defense to examine the law of war issues involved in the 1982 Israeli incursion into Lebanon, and specifically to investigate Israeli Air Force (IAF) employment of airpower in light of allegations of "indiscriminate bombing" by the ICRC and supporters of the PLO. The author had access to all-source intelligence, and met with military experts (United States and foreign) who witnessed PLO actions and IAF operations. Whatever the feelings of the observers toward Israel, and they were mixed, they were unanimous in their confirmation of the IAF's exercise of care for the civilian population of Beirut in light of the PLO's efforts at using that population as a shield from attack. The author also obtained an unpublished paper prepared by Trevor Dupuy, who witnessed Israeli Defense Force (IDF) and IAF operations, which confirmed official eyewitness accounts. For his analysis of the IAF attack of 12 August 1982 (the heaviest of the incursion) see *Journalism and the Conduct of War* in T. DUPUY & P. MARTELL, *FLAWED VICTORY* 167-74 (1986), which may be summed up with the following:

The PLO gained a propaganda advantage by forcing the Israelis to fire on military targets in civilian environments that should have been protected under . . . [the law of war]. A propaganda victory was won in the western world, and even in Israel, because of the double standard applied by the news media, which—on balance—grossly distorted the facts, and failed to present all of the considerations affecting the civilian loss of life and private property damage.

Id. at 174. See R. GABRIEL, *OPERATION PEACE FOR GALILEE* 132-76 (1984), see also Z. CHAFETS, *DOUBLE VISION* 304-05 (1985). A classic example of the actions of the press was NBC's John Chancellor broadcasting from Beirut, describing the IAF air attacks on the PLO, with destroyed buildings in the background, suggesting that the destruction had occurred as a result of the Israeli air attacks on the PLO. In fact, the buildings were in an entirely different part of Beirut from the area in which the PLO was located, and had been destroyed in earlier fighting not involving Israel or its military forces during Lebanon's civil war.

The ICRC statement referred to in the body of this article is contained in ICRC Press Release No. 1444, Geneva, June 11, 1982, and states:

Lebanon: Solemn Appeal by the ICRC on Behalf of the Population. Yesterday evening, 10 June 1982, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) appealed formally and solemnly to highest authorities of Israel, demanding that all measures possible be taken so that civilians, whatever their nationality, be spared in the conflict in Lebanon. Specific mention was made of the fighting in Beirut.

Representatives of the ICRC subsequently justified their actions on the basis of the authority provided them by article 81(1) of Protocol I, which provides:

The Parties to the conflict shall grant to the [ICRC] all facilities within their power so as to enable it carry out the humanitarian functions assigned to it by the Conventions and this Protocol in order to ensure protection and assistance to the victims of conflicts; the [ICRC] may also carry out any other humanitarian activities in favor of these victims, subject to the consent of the Parties to the conflict concerned.

SCHINDLER & TOMAN, *supra* note 27, at 669-70. The ICRC statement departed from the ICRC's usual practice in calling upon *all* parties to a conflict to take appropriate steps to protect the civilian population. In contrast, for example, ICRC Press Release No. 1563, released on March 10, 1988, during the Iran-Iraq "war of the cities," states:

The indiscriminate bombing of civilians in connection with the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq has been denounced by the . . . ICRC on several occasions.

The ICRC is alarmed by the resumption of such bombing.

The Parties to the conflict are directly responsible for the ever more cruel suffering being inflicted on civilians in this breach of the most fundamental precepts of humanity.

The ICRC once more appeals to the Parties to put an end to this tragic escalation.

In singling out Israel, the ICRC failed to recognize the actions of the PLO that were a direct cause of civilian losses, while greatly facilitating the PLO's propaganda advantage. ICRC members subsequently acknowledged that their appeal had been directed at Israel only because of Israel's use of airpower. As previously mentioned, it was the opinion of those involved in the United States military review that while the ICRC may have provided substantial contributions to the law of war for the protection of war victims as contained in the four 1949 Geneva Conventions, the ICRC and its staff for political and technical reasons is singularly *unqualified* to be entrusted with the responsibilities provided it by article 81(1) of Protocol I insofar as those responsibilities include that part of the law of war related to warfighting as such. The ICRC's singling out of one party to the conflict in its call for restraint and its reliance upon disinformation provided it by one party to the conflict are but two examples of its technical incompetency in matters relating to warfighting, its long-held bias against airpower and its abandonment of its principles of *neutrality*.

משרד החוץ
מחלקת ההסברה

ל' תשרי תשנ"א
19 באוקטובר 1990

א ל ה נ צ י ג ו י ו ח

פלטטינים מתנכלים למערכת הבריאות בי"ש"ע

מאז ראשית ההתקוממות בשטחים מהווה מערכת הבריאות בי"ש"ע יעד לפגיעות והתנכלויות מצד גורמים פלטטינים תומכי אש"פ.

למרות זאת ממשיך המינהל האזרחי לבנות, להשקיע ולפתח את המערכת ולהגיש שירותי רפואה לתושבי השטחים.

מצ'ב ניר בנושא, שהוכן על ידי מתאם הפעולות בשטחים (משה"בט).

185/19.10.90/3.08.10

Palestinians Waylay Health System in Judea-Samaria and Gaza District

Since the start of the uprising, PLO supporters have been making intense attempts to attack all Civil Administration bodies operating in the territories, including medical personnel and institutions in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza District.

The government health system in the territories provides employment for thousands of Palestinian families, whose breadwinners are paid from the Civil Administration budget. The system also provides health services to large segments of the local Palestinian population. Of the 17,900 Civil Administration employees in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza District, over 15,000 (approximately 84 percent) are local Palestinians employed in the health and education sectors. The health sector alone employs 1,550 local Palestinians in the Gaza District and 1,700 in Judea-Samaria.

Nevertheless, since the beginning of the uprising, intifada activists have encouraged attacks against personnel of government medical institutions in the territories, causing physical injury to hospitalized residents, local employees, and medical staff. These actions include murder within medical facilities.

Threats and Attacks against Government Health System Employees

Threats and physical attacks are commonplace in Arab society and were widespread even before the uprising. As a result of the uprising, however, they have been invoked increasingly to step up the "balance of terror" against those perceived as resisting the directives in the leaflets, not distinguishing between those who serve the Arab population, such as health personnel, whose injury affects the local population, and those whose injury has no direct impact on the local population.

Of the many injuries inflicted on medical personnel, the following cases are noteworthy:

- a. A dental clinic in Qalqilya was set on fire on August 21, 1988.
- b. Masked Palestinians threw acid at two doctors from Nasser Hospital in Khan Yunis on September 10, 1988, causing severe facial burns.
- c. A physician's car in Gaza was set on fire on September 11, 1988, after reports that wounded persons had reached the hospital where he worked.
- d. A person entered a Board meeting of Shifa Hospital in Gaza on February 26, 1989, and shot an employee with a handgun.
- e. On March 12, 1989, a car belonging to a Hebron resident working for the Civil Administration Health Service was stoned and its windshield shattered.
- f. On March 23, 1989, a clinic in Beit Jalla belonging to Dr. Judath Ahmed Mussa Darwish was torched by local residents.
- g. On July 4, 1989, local residents set fire to the UNRWA clinic in Nuseirat.
- h. On August 22, 1989, a nurse from Deir el-Balah was threatened because of her opposition to the activity of masked persons in the hospital. She was subsequently murdered.
- i. In Qalqilya, on August 3, 1989, an attempt was made to torch the car of deputy director of the Tulkarm Health Bureau.

Takeover of Hospitals

Since the beginning of the uprising, youths and masked men associated with the pro-Fatah *shabiba* committees have attempted to take control of hospitals and convert them into private fortresses, rather than humanitarian institutions providing the population with health services. In these actions, they exploit the fact that IDF soldiers are under

strict orders not to enter hospital premises. Among these attempts, the following are noteworthy:

- a. At the beginning of the uprising, masked Palestinians took control of Shifa Hospital in Gaza, threatened the staff, destroyed equipment, wrote graffiti, waved PLO flags, and threw hundreds of stones and Molotov cocktails at IDF soldiers from the hospital premises.
- b. The deputy director of the government hospital in Ramallah, Yasser Obeid, reported (March, 1988) that about 50 young Palestinians enter the hospital every day and take over the hospital and its corridors. They throw stones and Molotov cocktails from the premises and hang PLO flags in order to lure and provoke IDF troops. Obeid also reported that they use violence and terrorize the hospital staff, who dare not disobey them for fear of their lives.
- c. On November 16, 1988, masked Palestinians took over the government hospital in Ramallah for two weeks, terrorizing the medical staff, workers, and patients. The intruders painted graffiti on the interior and exterior walls of the hospital and hung PLO flags on the grounds. Some of the assailants disguised themselves as doctors and male nurses while engaging in nationalist activity.
- d. On December 18, 1988, masked individuals armed with clubs, knives, and axes, took over 'Alia Government Hospital in Hebron, threatened the hospital staff lest they report their nationalist activity in the hospital, disconnected telephones, painted graffiti, and raised PLO flags.
- e. On August 7, 1989, scores of youths wearing red uniforms invaded Ramallah Hospital, interfered with medical staff work, entered patients' rooms, threatened staff members, entered the hospital director's office, and shattered windows in the

room. They also stripped blood pressure meters of their rubber tubes for use in slingshots.

- f. Masked individuals took over Nasser Hospital in Gaza, threatened a worker, and broke doors, claiming that the doors were preventing stone throwers from taking shelter in the hospital.

They Murder and Kidnap in Hospitals, Too

Members of the "popular committees" have even turned hospitals into murder zones in their activities against suspected collaborators. It should be emphasized that some of the persons in hospitals had been hospitalized after severe beatings by the same "popular committees." Below are several examples of murders committed in hospitals and even in operating rooms.

- a. Six members of the Abu Jihad "Eagles" cell, whose aim it is to murder suspected collaborators, were ordered by the Fatah office in Jordan to kill three Palestinians suspected of collaborating. On February 22, 1989, they murdered Rasmiya Shaqaliya, a nurse in Nasser Hospital, with two gunshots at close range.
- b. On February 25, 1989, in an office in Shifa Hospital in Gaza, members of the same cell murdered Awad Rauf Khalaf, a hospital clerk suspected of collaborating. The members of the cell were captured by security forces and brought to trial.
- c. Three masked individuals entered Rafidiya Hospital in Nablus at 4:30 a.m. on June 8, 1989, and one of the three shot Taleb Kamal Amin al-Yamini in the head, killing him. Al-Yamini had been a patient in the hospital.
- d. Rasmiya Otman, a resident of the Nablus *casbah*, was murdered on July 12, 1989, while hospitalized in Rafidiya Hospital in Nablus. The victim and her

husband previously had been beaten by masked assailants.

- e. Ten masked individuals entered an operating room in Shifa Hospital in Gaza on September 21, 1989, and murdered Mohammed Kandil with an axe as the doctors looked on. Kandil had previously been shot in the abdomen. The murderers brutalized the anesthetized patient, tearing off parts of his head and body.
- f. On September 25, 1989, masked individuals stabbed and axed to death Sa'id Sabah Abu Muhassin of the Shabura neighborhood in Rafah, who had been employed as a male nurse in the UNRWA clinic in Rafah.
- g. On July 2, 1989, eight Gazans kidnapped a Civil Administration worker who had brought his young daughter to Shifa Hospital in Gaza for medical care. While the father and daughter were on the hospital grounds, the eight seized the father, beat him brutally with clubs in front of his daughter, dragged him into a waiting car after tying his hands and feet, took him to a garage in a Gaza neighborhood, and tortured and abused him for the next two days.

Threats Demanding the Resignation of Ranking Health Officials

Uprising activists have placed special emphasis on the resignation of high-ranking employees of the government health system: directors-general, deputy directors-general, heads of health bureaus, and hospital directors and their deputies. They view the holding of these positions as collaboration with Israel. This activity manifests itself in various kinds of threats and pressure, from threatening letters demanding their resignation, to beatings and even attempted murder. It should be remembered that Leaflet No. 16 of the Unified Leadership, distributed on May 15, 1988, called explicitly for the resignation of three Administration directors-general in Gaza, among them Dr. Khairi Abu Ramadan, director-general for health.

In July, 1988, after an intensive threat campaign, Dr. Khairi resigned. The campaign against him was composed of:

- a. Telephone threats on his life;
- b. Graffiti written on his house calling for his resignation (May 27, 1988);
- c. Molotov cocktails thrown at his house (June 14, 1988).

The deputy director-general, Dr. Farrakhan abu Salim, fared no better; he, too, was threatened. He left for Germany for fear of his life without prior notice, and relatives ran newspaper advertisements publicizing his departure.

Threats and attacks were also the lot of 'Azzi Khazandar, deputy director-general for health in Gaza, who was threatened twice, and Dr. Mahmoud Salameh, deputy director-general for hospitalization.

The following additional incidents deserve mention:

- a. Graffiti were written in Khan Yunis on March 5, 1988, demanding the resignation of the deputy director of the Khan Yunis hospital. The messages included a threat to burn down his house.
- b. On March 14, 1988, the director of a pediatric hospital in Gaza received threats demanding her resignation.
- c. Dr. Satitya, head of the Jenin Health Bureau, was stabbed on September 11, 1988.
- d. On March 7, 1989, Radio al-Quds accused the administrative director of the government hospital in Hebron, Ahmed abu Zeina, of collaboration. He went to Jordan on leave in the wake of threats and pressure against him.
- e. On May 4, 1989, youths visited Watani Hospital in Nablus and demanded the resignation of the hospital director-general.
- f. The director of Ramallah Hospital, Dr. 'Issa Salti, and another doctor, Dr. Maher, were threatened with

assault and torching of their cars unless they resigned.

- g. An attempt was made on the life of an administrator of Shifa Hospital in Gaza.

We believe that it was in response to the activity of masked Palestinians in the hospitals, and the threats against hospital staff members, that the hospital directors in Judea-Samaria (March 3, 1988) publicized a telegram sent to the Ministers of Defence and Health, protesting against IDF activity in the hospitals. (This activity was intended, as should be recalled, to rid the hospitals of masked Palestinians and other disruptive elements.) It should be emphasized that among the signers were hospital administrators who had themselves reported having been threatened and beaten by the same uprising activists.

In this context, a statement by the chairman of the Israeli Medical Association, Dr. Ram Ishai, at a press conference on September 21, 1989, is noteworthy. He refuted allegations in a report by the Israeli-Palestinian Doctors Society on the health situation in Gaza, stressing that the data provided by the doctors were fictitious and meant for political gain.

As an example, Dr. Ishai presented the case of a ranking physician in the Gaza District who alleged that he had been arrested by IDF authorities "so he could not provide medical assistance." In a subsequent conversation with the same ranking physician, however, it was found that he had not been arrested at all, and that his alleged inclusion among the "detainees" had been meant for political capital and had been carried out under pressure and threats by uprising activists.

Dr. Ishai rejected allegations in the report that local doctors had been fired. "No Arab doctor has been fired in the past two years. The Civil Administration employed 250 doctors in Gaza in 1987, 294 in 1988, and 320 in 1989."

Attacks on Nursing-School Students and Participants in Civil Administration Symposiums and In-service Courses

The uprising activists regard participation in medical courses and symposiums held by the Civil Administration, meant to train health workers in the territories and improve their professional caliber, as a form of collaboration. Consequently, threat campaigns and other kinds of pressure have been brought to bear against nursing-school students and participants in medical in-service courses, symposiums, and scholarly conferences. Below are several noteworthy examples:

- a. Masked Palestinians entered the nursing school in Ibn Seina (Ramallah subdistrict) and threatened to attack the students and the principal if the school were not closed. Due to repeated threats, the students were moved to another location to continue their studies.
- b. Young Palestinians threatened the principal of the nursing school in Nablus, demanding that classes be suspended.
- c. A nursing student in Gaza was kidnapped.
- d. Doctors and male nurses from the territories were pressured to boycott training and in-service courses held by the Civil Administration.

It should be noted that, due to these pressures, Dr. Mahmoud Salameh, one of the doctors participating in the 10th International Conference on Paleosurgery, held in Haifa, called for the separation of politics and health. He added that leaders of the uprising regard participation in courses as collaboration with the enemy. It should be emphasized that participants avoid appearing in front of television cameras for fear of their lives (*Al-Quds*, March 30, 1988).

It should also be noted that while participating in a ten-month midwives' training course held in April, 1988, at Assaf Harofe Hospital in Zerifin, nine Palestinian nurses (from Jenin, Kafr Zababda, Nablus, Tulkarm, Jericho, and East Jerusalem) were often absent because of threats and pressures brought against them by uprising activists. At the end of the

course, the nurses were afraid to subject themselves to media coverage for fear of an attack on their lives.

What the Civil Administration has Done to Promote the Development of the Health System in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza District

Despite all the sabotage, attacks, and pressures perpetrated by pro-PLO elements in the territories, the Civil Administration continues to build, develop, and invest in the health system in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza District.

- a. *In the Gaza District* the Civil Administration has invested approximately NIS 7 million (\$3.5 million):
- 1) The ophthalmological hospital in Gaza was renovated and modern, well-equipped operating rooms were installed, including a special room for eye surgery using lasers. Cost: NIS 1.5 million.
 - 2) Building No. 2 of Shifa Hospital in Gaza was recently readied for use. A gynecology ward with state-of-the-art operating rooms and a dialysis ward with 14 treatment stations were set up in the building. Cost: NIS 1.1 million.
 - 3) A new delivery room was built in the Tel Sultan clinic.
 - 4) A new clinic was built in Jabalya. Cost: NIS 160,000 (\$80,000).
 - 5) Work is continuing on the development of Building No. 8 of Shifa Hospital in Gaza, to include 50 additional beds in the intensive care, orthopedics, and pediatric surgery wards.
- b. *Judea-Samaria* — in 1988-89, the Civil Administration invested in health system development in the following projects:
- 1) The completion of outpatient clinics in Ramallah. Cost: NIS 600,000.
 - 2) Continued development of operating rooms in Hebron. Cost: NIS 500,000.

- 3) The completion of operating rooms in Ramallah.
Cost: NIS 900,000.
- 4) Completion of emergency rooms, a pharmacy, a physical therapy department, and administrative offices in Rafidiya Hospital in Nablus.
Cost: NIS 1.2 million.

It should be emphasized that pro-PLO activists in the territories exploit the existence of the Civil Administration health system to cause material damage to the Civil Administration, even if this causes damage to the services from which the local Palestinian population benefits. This damage manifests itself in the theft of medicines and the theft and destruction of medical equipment.

PLO supporters even exploit medical facilities to create a negative image of Israel. This is done by directing international committees and delegations to the territories in order to besmirch Israel's image in the world by disseminating photographs of casualties, blood, and death. It should be emphasized that the terror inflicted by uprising activists on doctors and nurses deters them from opposing such cynical use of corpses and casualties.

Conversely, the uprising activists exploit the system to obtain medical care for persons who are not insured and to issue forged documents affirming that Palestinians have been wounded in uprising activity in order to receive money from the PLO. It should be noted that many persons killed or injured at work, at home, or in other accidents are taken to government hospitals in order to qualify for the PLO compensation given to victims of the uprising.

The examples cited in this document are in effect the "tip of the iceberg" of sabotage, threats, injuries, and assassinations committed by uprising activists against health facilities, medical staff, and the recipients of medical services provided by the crucial medical system run by the Civil Administration for the Palestinian population in the territories. The examples in this report are presented in

order to elucidate the following facts in the most effective manner possible :

- a. PLO supporters in the territories do not respect hospitals in the territories as humanitarian and extra-territorial institutions.
- b. PLO supporters in the territories inflict systematic, planned terror against an innocent civilian population that requires medical services or provides vital humanitarian services.
- c. The activists and PLO supporters in the territories are eager to cause severe material damage to Israel and to the Civil Administration health system, by sabotaging, destroying, and stealing expensive medical equipment, even if this impairs the medical services provided to the Palestinian population in the territories.
- d. The continued operation of the government health system allows the uprising activists and the PLO to direct international delegations to the territories with the intention of defaming Israel throughout the world by displaying photographs of casualties, blood and death.
- e. The activists of the uprising exploit the Civil Administration health system to secure false documentation of casualties in order to collect money from the PLO, whereas many of these cases involve injuries as a result of work accidents, home accidents, murder for criminal motives, etc.

A large percentage of the allegations lodged by medical staff against the Civil Administration health system have proven to be false; they were presented specifically for political purposes or as a result of pressure and threats employed against them by the uprising activists and the "popular committees."

משרד החוץ
מחלקת ההסברה

א.ו.ו.
מ: הסברה

ל' תשרי תשנ"א
19 באוקטובר 1990

א ל ה נ צ י ג ו י ו ת

תשובות לפניות של חברי אמנסטי אינטרנשיונל

מנהלת המחלקה לזכויות האדם וקשרים בינלאומיים במשרד המשפטים
העבירה לנו כמה מתשובותיה, לפניות ספציפיות של מספר חברי
אמנסטי אינטרנשיונל, לגבי מאסרים או/ו פגיעות באנשים מסוימים
מהשטחים. תוכלו להעזר בתשובותיה אם וכאשר תשאלו לגבי המקרים
המתייחסים.

כמו כן מליטים, לשימושכם בעת הצורך, את תגובת משרד המשפטים
לסרט על השטחים שהפיק סניף אמנסטי בארה"ב.

187/19.10.90/3.08.12

September 27, 1990

Ne'eme El-Hilu (I.D. No. 910880442)

The following is information concerning Ne'eme El-Hilu's terrorist activities, which most certainly disqualify her from being regarded as a "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International.

El-Hilu has a long history of terrorist involvement. In October 1972, she was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for attempting to throw a hand grenade at a military vehicle. She was released three years prior to the end of her sentence for humanitarian considerations. In May 1981, she was arrested again, this time for recruiting local inhabitants to a terrorist organization and for training them in the use of weapons. She was tried and sentenced to 30 months imprisonment.

She was most recently arrested on 20 April 1990 due to her resumption of terrorist activities. She was charged, *inter alia*, with the following offenses:

1. membership in a terrorist organization, in contravention of Defence Emergency Regulations (1945) ("DER") Article 85(1)(a); for *inter alia*, since the beginning of 1988 she has been a member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), one of the most extreme factions of the PLO terrorist organization, headed by the notorious Naif Hawatmeh. This organization is responsible for much of the intifada violence including Molotov cocktail attacks and assassinations. El-Hilu has carried out her activities behind the facade

of labor unions and a women's organization; in particular, through these front organizations, she was engaged in incitement to violence against the Israel Defence Forces and local Arab inhabitants;

2. holding an office in a terrorist organization, in contravention of DER Article 85(1)(b); for since the beginning of 1988, El-Hilu, who operated under the DFLP code name "Sabarine," activated a women's organization which acted on behalf of the DFLP; during March 1988, she was acting head of the DFLP in the whole of the Gaza Strip; later during 1988, she was a member of the senior leadership of the DFLP in the Gaza Strip and as of April 1989, she was responsible for the activities of the DFLP in the southern half of the Gaza Strip; and

3. performing services on behalf of a terrorist organization in contravention of DER Article 85(1)(c); for, *inter alia*, during the year of 1988, El-Hilu partook in the regular bi-weekly meetings of the DFLP in the Gaza Strip during which decisions were made concerning the recruitment of new members, the carrying out of various activities, the appointment of heads of cells and distribution of funds for the DFLP's activities; and in April 1989, El-Hilu traveled to Ramallah and met with Walid Zaqut (a senior leader of the DFLP) regarding re-organization of the DFLP in the Gaza Strip, which she subsequently assisted in implementing.

El-Hilu's trial is currently pending before the Military Court in Gaza. She is represented by counsel of her choice.

September 4, 1990

Ra'ad Adwan

This response is based upon the findings of an investigation carried out by the Investigations Department of the Israel Police National Headquarters. The findings were based on all the evidence and testimony which was gathered from various witnesses, including an interview with Adwan himself. Adwan was injured on 26 April 1989, in a stone-throwing riot in Nablus. It was determined that he was injured when a group of rioters attacked the Border Police and attempted to release several young men who had been arrested on suspicion of involvement in intifada violence. Contrary to Amnesty International's widely disseminated allegations, Adwan's medical records indicate that his injury was caused by a rubber bullet.

The investigators found that the use of rubber bullets was justified under the circumstances. No evidence whatsoever supports AI's claim that Adwan was beaten or hit. Moreover, Adwan was not riding a bicycle at the time of the incident as was claimed. These inconsistencies and others suggest that Adwan's account of the events, repeated as factual by AI, is completely unreliable.

August 31, 1990

Nidal Darwish Qa'bi

According to the findings of the Investigations Department of the Israel Police, Nidal Qa'bi participated in a riot in Nablus on 27 April 1989. A large group of rioters, burning tires and hurling stones and bottles, attacked a Border Police Patrol that was sent to disperse the riot. The relevant procedures and limitations on the use of force were reiterated to the Border Policemen prior to their arrival on the scene. Some of the rioters, including Qa'bi, were wearing face masks to avoid identification and arrest. Three of the Border Policemen were injured by the rioters. One of the three, the deputy commander of the Border Police force, was hit in the chest with a rock thrown by Qa'bi. A chase ensued when the Border Policemen attempted to arrest him as he fled the scene. During this chase, one of the Border Policemen fired a canister of rubber bullets which hit Qa'bi's head and fractured his nose.

The Border Police administered first aid to Qa'bi who was then transferred by ambulance to Ittihad Hospital in Nablus for further care. According to the hospital report, Qa'bi was treated for a fractured nose and other head injuries. The hospital released him four days later. The medical report makes no mention of any burns. This fact corroborates the testimony given by the Border Policemen that Qa'bi was not asked to remove burning tires and contradicts the story circulated by Amnesty International that Border Policemen "forces his hands onto the burning tire."

Several attempts were made to summon Qa'bi to give his version of the events to the investigators. To date, he has neither responded nor appeared.

September 5, 1990

Abed Al-Razaq Saleh Al-Ajrami (I.D. No. 949876296)

We have inquired into the facts of this case and wish to inform you as follows. Al-Ajrami, a male nurse at the Al-Ahli Hospital, was arrested in Gaza on 26 November 1989. His arrest was prompted by the receipt of information regarding his terrorist involvement on behalf of Al-Fatah and the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU). Al-Fatah is the dominant faction of the PLO terrorist organization and one of the four components of the terrorist umbrella grouping known as the UNLU.

Al-Ajrami was tried on 19 March 1990, before a three-judge bench at the Military Court in Gaza. He was represented by counsel who called a foreign witness on his client's behalf. After hearing all the evidence, the court convicted Al-Ajrami, *inter alia*, of violations of Section 85(1)(a) of the Defense Emergency Regulations (1945) (hereinafter "DER") for membership in a terrorist organization; Section 85(1)(b) of the DER for holding an office or position in a terrorist organization; and Section 85(1)(c) of the DER for performing a service on behalf of a terrorist organization. The criminal acts underlying these offenses included:

1. as of August 1989, he had been a member of the Popular Committee of Al-Fatah acting on behalf of the UNLU;
2. he was appointed to head all the Al-Fatah Popular Committees in Jabaliya; and
3. he had recruited Khaled Yusef Mahmud Riba to Al-Fatah, appointed him head of one of several local Popular

Committees and furnished him with \$2000 (U.S.) to further the purposes of that organization.

Al-Ajrami's conviction was based primarily on his confession to the charges and supported by corroborating evidence. He was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment, an additional 21 months suspended sentence, and a fine of 2000 Israeli Shekels (about \$1000 U.S.). The prosecution appealed the leniency of the sentence to the Military Appeals Court. After reviewing all the evidence, the Appeals Court stiffened Al-Ajrami's sentence to 24 months imprisonment and a 24-month suspended sentence.

Regarding Al-Ajrami's claim that his signed confession was false, the details of his involvement were corroborated by others who were arrested in connection with the same events. Moreover, the findings of an investigation into his allegations regarding maltreatment during interrogation concluded that Al-Ajrami's interrogation was conducted in accordance with the accepted procedures. Thus, Al-Ajrami's claim that his confession was the result of maltreatment is baseless. Significantly, when Al-Ajrami appeared in court for the extension of his detention and during a second court appearance at this trial, he did not make use of these opportunities to complain about any maltreatment.

Al-Ajrami's terrorist involvement was in addition to his everyday work at the Al-Ahli Hospital. The prosecutor noted at the trial that it was particularly regrettable for someone in the healing profession to involve himself in destructive activities.

September 27, 1990

Bassam Ahmad Umar Al-Salhi (I.D. No. 933193138)

Al-Salhi was arrested on 23 March 1990, in the town of El-Bireh. His arrest followed the receipt by the security authorities of reliable information from several sources regarding his involvement with the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU), which is responsible for most of the intifada violence and assassinations. The Communist Party, of which Al-Salhi is a member, is one of the four factions which comprise the UNLU. The other components of the UNLU are the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and al-Fatah.

Al-Salhi was taken into custody at the Moscobiyyeh Jail in Jerusalem. Under Order 1220, pursuant to Article 78C(a) of the Security Provisions Order (1970) as amended, he was temporarily prevented from meeting with his lawyer. This delay in meeting with counsel is permitted only in instances where security needs necessitate it or where such a meeting could impede the ongoing investigation. Subsequently, on 28 March 1990, Al-Salhi met briefly with his lawyer. He also appeared before a judge to extend his detention in order to continue the investigation. In each instance, the judge authorized the extension of his custody.

An indictment has been filed against Al-Salhi. He was charged with membership in a terrorist organization and with performing services on its behalf in violation of Sections 85(1)(a) and (1)(c) of the Defense Emergency Regulation (1945) for, *inter alia*, his activities in and for the Communist Party since 1987.

The services performed by Al-Salhi included preparing the UNLU's illegal underground intifada leaflets numbers 46 to 54. These leaflets feature incitement to violence (i.e., with Molotov cocktails) and threats against local Arabs who do not obey the directives of the intifada leadership or are suspected of cooperating with the authorities. The leaflets also urge school children to engage in street violence. Significantly, many incriminating materials were found in Al-Salhi's possession and in his home when he was arrested. In addition, Al-Salhi appointed Mufid El-Fakiah, a member of the Communist Party who has been working directly under him since 1987, as a representative of the Communist Party in the command of the UNLU. El-Fakiah followed Al-Salhi's orders in the drafting of the above-mentioned UNLU leaflets. Al-Salhi's trial began on 16 September 1990, in the Military Court in Ramallah, and is still in progress.

Some individuals who have written to us note that Al-Salhi is a teacher at a Quaker school. They suggest that he must therefore favor non-violence and a peaceful resolution of conflicts. This suggestion is regrettably not borne out by Al-Salhi's conduct and his associations. In addition, the claim made by Amnesty International that Al-Salhi was unable to review his case fully because secret security evidence was not disclosed to his lawyer is unfounded.

July 3, 1990

Atwah Lutfi Umar Hirzallah

This matter was investigated by the Investigations Unit of the Military Police. The investigation identified the soldier who shot Hirzallah as a reserve soldier.

The facts in this case were found to be as follows:

On 27 February 1989, a soldier in an IDF reserve unit was on patrol in the village of Deir Ibzi near Ramallah. The soldier, Melkman Ben-Melkman Mangashi, was ordered with three other soldiers to go into the village to disperse a group of violent demonstrators. The patrol arrested one rioter, and Mangashi, together with another soldier, continued to search the alleys for other participants in the demonstration. The other two men in the patrol guarded the arrested individual. At around 9:00 p.m. Mangashi and the other soldier came upon a group of five individuals who were walking towards them. The soldiers shouted to the five to stop. Mangashi, without an order or permission, fired 3 rifle bullets in the direction of the group which was approximately 16 feet away. One of the group, Atwah Hirzallah, age 25, was struck with two of the bullets, one of which hit his head while the other struck his right shoulder. These injuries were fatal.

Mangashi told the investigators that he felt threatened by the imminent confrontation with the approaching group of five and that he had no intention of causing harm. As a result of this shooting, Mangashi was charged with violation of section 304 of the Penal Law for negligently causing death. The case is pending trial in the Jerusalem Magistrate's Court.

Contrary to AI's allegation that Hirzallah might have been "summarily executed by Israeli soldiers," the soldiers were not in fact on a mission to find Hirzallah. They did not know who Hirzallah was. Thus, by no stretch of the imagination was Hirzallah singled out as a target for extra-judicial killing. Indeed, the suggestion that extra-judicial execution is in some way condoned by the Israeli authorities is utterly without foundation.

September 4, 1990

Khaled al-Quadrah (I.D. No. 96761041)

In September 1989, Khaled al-Quadrah was detained on suspicion of having received funds from a representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorist organization and of having transferred these funds to the so-called "popular committees." These committees, in turn, carry out much of the intifada violence, including kidnappings, torture, and assassinations. Al-Quadrah was also suspected of receiving and sending messages to participants in a terrorist organization.

Contrary to some claims, no illegal or undue pressure was used by al-Quadrah's interrogators. Indeed, he confessed to all the charges against him at the very outset of the first interrogation session. Al-Quadrah's questioning was stopped for periods to enable him to eat and sleep. His interrogators gave him a Koran and furnished him with cigarettes, coffee and water whenever he requested. When he was brought before a judge to extend the period of his arrest, neither al-Quadrah nor his attorney made any claim of maltreatment or undue pressure.

Following the completion of the investigation, al-Quadrah was charged with the following offenses:

- 1) having contacts with the enemy, which is proscribed by Article 54 of the Security Provisions Order (1970); and
- 2) performing services for an illegal (terrorist) organization, which is proscribed by Regulation 85(c) of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945).

Among the evidence supporting these charges was al-Quadrah's receipt of \$240,000 (U.S.) in September 1988, from a woman from Ramallah; his disbursement of 7,000 Jordanian dinars on two occasions in 1987 and 1988; his communications with Dr. Zuhadi Hamad — the director of the PLO office in Amman — concerning funding intifada committees; the disbursement (under Dr. Hamad's instructions) of 2,900 Jordanian dinars to Hamdi Tsabas on two occasions; and the disbursement (also at Dr. Hamad's instruction) of 200 Jordanian dinars to Khalid Yasgi.

In the event that you are unaware of al-Quadrah's history of involvement in subversive activities, I should like to inform you that he had previously been convicted of terrorist offenses and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment.

September 5, 1990

Yassir Muhammad Dib Abu-Katif (a.k.a. Yassir Muhammad Dib Abu-Gosh)

This case was investigated by the Investigations Branch of the Military Police, as well as by the Israel Police. The following are the findings:

Since the beginning of the intifada, Abu-Katif, a resident of Bitinuya, had been actively involved in organizing public disturbances and violent activities. These activities included the stoning of passing vehicles, blocking roads with burning tires, and engaging in a Molotov cocktail attack on the home of an individual suspected of cooperating with the authorities for the purpose of kidnapping him for "interrogation" (which usually results in the death of the kidnapped person). In addition, he was an active member of the extreme neo-Marxist Popular Front (PFLP) wing of the PLO terrorist organization.

On 10 July 1989, a unit of four IDF soldiers was searching for Abu-Katif, who was wanted for having committed serious security offenses over a period of months. Abu-Katif was identified while sitting in a cafe in Ramallah. When he saw the soldiers approach, he tried to escape. A chase ensued during which one of the soldiers shouted in Arabic to stop and shot two bullets into the air. Abu-Katif, however, only accelerated his pace and after running approximately 60 meters, turned into a side alley. After following the suspect 20 meters into the alley, one of the soldiers fired a shot in the direction of Abu-Katif's legs. Since the soldier was running when he fired, his pistol may have risen. The bullet hit Abu-Katif's lower back and he fell.

Contrary to Amnesty International's allegation that the soldiers shot Abu-Katif in the head, he was hit only with the one bullet mentioned above. According to the autopsy, Abu-Katif died from internal bleeding caused by the bullet passing from his lower back through his chest. Although Abu-Katif was promptly evacuated by a Border Police jeep to the infirmary of the Civil Administration, the Military Advocate General stated in his report that this treatment was inappropriate under the circumstances. He therefore instructed that a directive be issued regarding the appropriate steps to be taken to evacuate the injured.

The Military Advocate General, upon reviewing the findings of the above-mentioned investigations, determined that the rules for opening fire in cases of arresting suspects had not been observed. He instructed that the soldier who fired the fatal bullet be brought to a disciplinary trial. It was determined that he be charged with Illegal Use of Arms in violation of Section 85 of the Military Justice Law (1955). The Military Advocate General also ordered that the rules on the arrest of suspects be reiterated.

Response of the Israel Ministry of Justice to Amnesty International's Video on Human Rights and the Intifada

Amnesty International USA has recently issued a video on Israel and the administered areas. This Ministry, in expressing the views of the Government of Israel, sees in the existence of Amnesty International a suitable instrument for the preservation and advancement of human rights worldwide. Had such an organization not been in existence, it would be necessary to create it. AI's commitment to the advancement of human rights and its contribution to the realization of this goal are appreciated by the Government of Israel.

However, we are convinced that the responsible Amnesty officials are inclined, when criticizing Israel, to ignore the extraordinary efforts that Israel has always made to honor human rights in spite of the existential struggle which Israel has faced since her establishment. Despite the violence and scope of the intifada, these efforts have continued. By contrast, the organizers of the intifada do not hesitate to use the most inhumane and immoral means in pursuit of their ultimate objectives.

We believe that the video on Israel and the administered areas is fundamentally flawed, contains elements beyond the scope of AI USA's ascribed purposes and does not reflect the political impartiality that should be the hallmark of AI USA's activity. The following are some of our comments on the video:

I. Visual Distortions

The video dehumanizes Israelis by showing them primarily in the role of soldiers beating or arresting Arab demonstrators. Footage of Israeli soldiers beating Arabs is purposefully

repeated and screened in slow motion in order to exaggerate and magnify its visceral impact. Violent Arab activities that necessitate the use of force by Israeli soldiers are shown only in short clips. Omitted entirely from the video are the grim statistics, such as nearly 300 Arabs and Jews killed and thousands injured, approximately 100,000 riots and public disturbances, 3,000 petrol bomb attacks, 125 shootings, 2,000 cases of arson, and 50 grenade attacks — *all committed by participants in the intifada*. These omissions leave the viewer with the distorted impression that Israeli soldiers act without provocation and with the intent to inflict injury. The soldiers are only authorized to use force in self-defense, to arrest fleeing suspects or to restore public order. Even when the lives of soldiers are in danger, and they are constrained to open fire, they are under instructions to aim below the knees. In reality, the IDF strictly regulates the nature and extent of force that may be employed so that it is proportionate to the circumstances and reduces the likelihood of fatalities and injuries.

II. Misuse of Legal Authority

In the video, both the columnist Anthony Lewis and the Palestinian lawyer, Mona Rashmawi, insinuate that there is an irregularity in the fact that military law rather than civil law and government applies in the administered areas. The fact is that the application of military law in the administered areas is required by international law. Moreover, the extension of Israeli law over the administered areas would arguably imply their annexation, which Ms. Rashmawi and Mr. Lewis would themselves undoubtedly oppose.

The video omits any mention of Israel's compliance with the relevant international law, namely, the Hague Regulations

(1907) and the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949). The latter's humanitarian provisions, while not *de jure* binding, have been recognized by Israel as applicable to the administered areas on a *de facto* basis. To the best of our knowledge no other country has ever applied the Fourth Geneva Convention on any basis whatsoever. In addition, AI USA insinuates that Israel does not abide by the *Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials* which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 17 December 1979. This insinuation is untrue. Moreover, it is a legal red herring. Certainly AI USA is aware that General Assembly resolutions do not create binding international law and ordinarily carry the force of recommendations only. Even the preamble of the Code states that it constitutes a "recommendation." The video's omission regarding Israel's compliance with the relevant international law coupled with the red herring allegation that Israel does not abide with the *Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials* constitutes a clear misuse of legal authority.

III. Untruths

Palestinians interviewed in the video state that inmates of the Ketziot detention facility are not allowed to communicate with the outside world. This claim is utterly false. The inmates of Ketziot may send and receive mail, listen to radio news broadcasts, receive daily newspapers, meet with their lawyers and also with the Swiss delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who regularly visit Ketziot. The Civil Administration allows families to visit their relatives detained at Ketziot, if they so request. These visits have not taken place in practice since 1988, however, only because the insurrection leadership has pressured families to forego visitation privileges. Moreover, the narrator's claim that

conditions are "harsh" at Ketziot, or that the accommodations and medical care are "inadequate" are entirely false. Had AI USA taken the trouble to visit this facility, it would have found no grounds for these accusations.

In the video, the lawyer Tamar Pelleg claims that Israeli authorities often detain Arabs for one year without informing them of the nature of their illegal activity and without allowing for the testimony of witnesses. In fact, most administrative detention orders do not exceed six months. In cases exceeding six months, the detention order is automatically reviewed by a judge. Moreover, any administrative detention order may be appealed twice. The first appeal is to a military judge. The second appeal is made to the Israeli Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice, a procedure which is unprecedented in international law. Detainees may bring their own witnesses and are always informed of the nature of their illegal activity. In order to avoid the assassination of the sources of information by Arab terrorists, administrative detainees are not apprised of all the evidence underlying their detention. However, every order is based on reliable information from two or more independent sources and all the evidence is reviewed by the judges. Israel's use of administrative detention is in full compliance with the relevant international law and embodies a series of safeguards that protect the rights of the detainees.

IV. Groundless Insinuations of Israeli Misconduct

The video also insinuates that it is Israel's policy to use force to punish Arabs. In fact, military regulations *forbid* the use of force as a punitive measure, as does Israeli criminal law. Contrary to what is stated in the video, many soldiers have been prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned

following substantiated claims that they used force as a punitive measure. From the beginning of the intifada until 1 August 1990, 121 IDF soldiers have been indicted. The courts-martial instituted in these cases have resulted in 87 convictions and 13 acquittals. In addition, 19 cases are still pending and 2 soldiers have had their files closed due to lack of evidence.

AI USA's suggestion that children have been victims of army gunfire because of callous or intentional disregard for their welfare is also untrue. The insurrectionist leadership *deliberately* deploys children in the disturbances, and therefore the main responsibility for casualties among the young recruits rests with the organizers of the intifada. Thus, children, far from being a target of the soldiers, have become a cynical weapon in the hands of the organizers of the intifada, who know that an injured child evokes sympathy. The video blatantly ignores the role of the Arab adults who place their own children in harm's way.

AI USA implies that Israel's use of alternative ammunition such as plastic and rubber bullets is intended to cause extreme injuries. The use of alternatives to live ammunition is meant to reduce fatalities and serious injuries, and often increases the probability of injury to Israeli soldiers. AI USA omits mentioning that IDF soldiers have paid dearly for their self-restraint in the use of live ammunition.

V. Unfair Testimony

In the video, *not one* of the thousands of the Israeli victims of intifada violence is interviewed. By contrast, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian speakers relate gory tales, many of them hearsay. AI USA makes no effort whatsoever to probe or

investigate the accuracy of these self-serving and politically motivated statements. None of the individuals interviewed in the video represents a pro-Israel or even a neutral point of view. All those interviewed are critics of Israel. An Israeli, Michael Warshavsky, who is identified simply as an "activist," expounds on the moral dilemma facing soldiers. Omitted is the fact that Warshavsky was convicted and is currently serving a sentence for providing services to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the most extreme factions of the PLO.

In the video, the botanist, Dr. Jad Ishak is allowed to present himself as an innocent victim of injustice who was arrested "merely for selling seeds." In fact, Dr. Ishak was active in a "popular committee" which threatened the lives of residents of Beit Sahour if they refused to engage in illegal acts. He encouraged the residents of his town to refuse to pay their taxes (which are devoted to financing municipal and other local needs) and ordered them to turn in their identity cards to the authorities. Dr. Ishak has also been connected with efforts to bring funds from abroad to finance the intifada. Initially, out of respect for Dr. Ishak, he was cautioned before his detention. Although he promised in writing to desist from illegal activity, he dishonored his promise and was subsequently detained. Ultimately, due to his poor health, he was released from detention on humanitarian grounds before the end of his detention order. The video omits these salient facts and other revealing background information regarding other individuals interviewed.

Finally, while AI USA claims to be committed to a fair representation of Israel's human rights record, the Government's point of view is expressed by the narrator's

selective reading of several very short excerpts from statements and letters written by the Ministry of Justice.

VI. Conclusion

AI USA's video is characterized by factual inaccuracies, the misuse of legal authority, critical omissions, groundless insinuations of Israeli official misconduct, untruths, and unfair and unsubstantiated "evidence." In addition, it is a one-sided presentation which disregards proportion and context. Regrettably, AI USA's preoccupation with Israel's "misconduct" is long-standing and the video is merely the most recent manifestation of this approach. It is instructive in this regard that AI USA has never made a video about Iraq, Libya, Syria or any other Arab state. AI USA cannot be unaware of the widespread systematic violations of human rights that are perpetrated by these governments including the use of deadly poison gas against civilians, torture and execution of political prisoners, and disappearances. Although the printed page can never carry the emotional impact of video footage, we hope you will see this response as clarifying some of the issues raised in the video and describe why, in our view, it constitutes a highly biased presentation.

י אית - זי 3-2
2

הערך
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר
המחיר

מס': (בהמשך לטעמי)
 מס': האל על התורה של 2'
משרד החוץ
 תל אביב-יפו
 ירושלים. סוג
 אל: 2'2' תאריך 7.4.91
 מאת: לשכת סגן השר
 הנדון: "אמריקא ביטחון" - האגף

1. המיון האגף נראה מבלתי נכון.
 למען או בחינה אצל אוסטרלי.
 2. למה תכניתם לא לאתר הקבאה
 דלא קמה אסתי?
 אלו המיון בעני קמא. ^{בבוכה} קמא?
 אלא מי ינסה (אולי לנסח)



משרד החוץ

ד"ר יצחק יצחקי,

המלכה ג'ורג' קאמיליה ויליאמס

צ'יב ה'אן.

בברכה

מאת

אליהו יצחק

ב' הא'פ'י'א'ל



ב' בכסלו תשנ"א
19 בנובמבר 1990
אוק 913.18

57593

אל : יוסי גל, מנהל הסברה

מאת : דני כירס, מנהל אוקיאניה

הנדון: "אמריקה בישראל"

ברצוני לחזור, במעט פירוט, לנושא הנדון, במטרה להחיות את הפרוייקט.

1. ב- 5-1984, בעת שרותי בווינגטון כיועץ הסברה, יזמתי הפקת דפדפת הנושאת את השם "אמריקה בישראל" והכוללת כתיסר אתרי הנצחה של אמריקה בישראל (יד הנדי, מכון טרומן, רחוב ווינגטון, גבעת ווינגטון, יער יובל ה-200 וכו') כשהכוונה להציג כיצד הביעה ישראל הערכתה לארה"ב, אישיה ופועלם.

במהלך ההכנות החייעצתי במשה יגר, שהיה אז סמנכ"ל אמית"ק והוא מצדו התייעץ עם זאב וילנאי שהעיר שאפשר לכתוב ספר בנדון. משה יגר הציע לוילנאי לכתוב את הספר, וילנאי ביקש מקדמה עבור מלאכת הכתיבה.

שכנענו את אילנה ארטמן, מנכ"ל הליגה לידידות לתת את הבספ (תמורת הכללת דף או דפים אחדים בספר על פעולות הליגה), ואכן הועבר סכום של 5000 דולר מהליגה באמצעותנו לזאב וילנאי.

2. וילנאי החל לעבוד על הספר ובינתיים הפקנו בארה"ב, ללא כל קשר לכך, את הדפדפת שזכתה להצלחה רבה. וילנאי נפטר לפני מספר שנים, וכל נסיונותינו לגלות מה הספיק לעשות לפני מותו, עלו עד לפני זמן מה בתוהו. מאחר וסרבתי להפרד מרעיון הספר, המשכתי לנסות ולאחר את החומר ולבסוף הצלחתי לאתרו אצל אלי שילר, בעל הוצאת "אריאל" (המתמחה בהוצאת ספרי ארץ ישראל). שילר, שהיה מקורב לזאב וילנאי קיבל לדבריו את החומר מהמשפחה תוך בקשה שימשיך במפעל זה. אלי שילר ניאות להשאיל לי את החומר, אותו צילמתי ובידי, איפוא, העתק ממנו.

3. הרעיון הכללי היה להוציא ספר/אלבום מהודר ומכובד. שיפרט מקומות וצורות הנצחת אמריקה ואמריקנים בישראל. בדפדפת כללנו כאמור רק מעט שבמעט תוך בחירת אישים ידועים מאד (קנדי, טרומן, ווינגטון, מרטין לותר קינג וכיו"ב). בספר ניתן כמובן להרחיב הידיעה גם לאישים פחות ידועים (או זכורים) לציבור הרחב (כמו עין השופט, רמת השופט, כפר סילבר, משמר דוד או קרית מלאכי ומי-עמי, כפר פילדלפיה וכיו"ב).



4. מטרת ספר כזה, למותר לציין, להדגיש שישראל יודעת להעריך מה עשתה למענה ארה"ב ואת והקשר המסורתי ההדוק בין שתי המדינות כפי שהוא בא לידי בטוי בשטח לאורך שנים רבות מאוד. Xאת שימושנו אני רואה בעיקר כספר שנוציגונו יוכלו להעניק בהזדמנויות שונות בארה"ב (כיום מסתפקים כידוע בספרים הנדושים על ירושלים וא"י).

5. עברתי על החומר שוילנאי הכין והוא מקיף הרבה מעבר למה שחשבנו לנכון לכלול בספר. וילנאי אסף וכתב חומר על התיירים והחוקרים האמריקנים הראשונים שהגיעו לא"י מראשית המאה ה-19 (לינץ', מרה טוויין, רובינסון, ברקליי, אולברייט וחפירות שומרון, בית שאן, גבעון, מגידו וכיו"ב) מוסדות ומפעלים אמריקניים בישראל (מכון אולברייט, היברו יוניון קולג', מוזיאון רוקפלר, ימק"א וכד'), מושבות אמריקניות (ביפו, בירושלים), הקונסוליה האמריקנית בירושלים והעומדים בראשה מאז המאה ה-19, יהודים אמריקניים שתרמו ליישוב הארץ (טורא, ברמן, רוזנברג, גולדמן, וכו').

רובו של החומר שוילנאי אסף יכול, אולי, לשמש כהקדמה מורחבת וכרקע לחלקו העיקרי של הספר, שהוא, כאמור, סקירת מפעלי הנצחה ישראליים. יש גם מקום לאיזכור ישובים בארה"ב בשמות מקראיים (יש כמה עשרות כאלה)

6. אני מציע איפוא לשקול חידוש הטיפול בנושא ואם יוחלט לקדם הוצאת הספר, הרי לדעתי מתבקש שמשעה"ח יקבע את תוכן הספר, יטיל את כתיבתו ופיוס איסוף החומר על חוקר וסופר מתאים, יקבע את רשימת האתרים הדורשים צילום ויזמין צלם לבצע העבודה.

נראה לי שהתחייבות המשרד לרכוש כמות ספרים לשימוש הנציגויות בארה"ב תוכל להעלות את הפקת הספר על פסים מעשיים. המו"ל יהיה רשאי להפיץ הספר למכירה בחנויות ספרים. נראה לי שניתן יהיה גם למכור מהדורות שלמות, לארגונים כבונדס והמגבית (שלא לדבר על הליגה לידידות לה מגיע יחס מיוחד בנושא), תוך הכנסת דפים ו"י הארגונים המפרטים פעילותם ותרומתם, ובכך להוריד עלות הפקת הספר.

7. אודה על התייחסותך לנושא, מאחר ומכל מקום יש צורך להחליט אם לקדם הנושא או להקברו סופית.

בברכה,

דני כירם

העתק: סמנכ"ל אמית"ק
סמנכ"ל אפסו"ק
סמנכ"ל צפ"א

An Outline for a Hasbara Counter-Offensive

In my opinion, only a full-scale, Government-sponsored, centrally-planned and well-sustained counter-offensive can be successful. This counter-offensive must be based on an analysis of the motivations and modus operandi of our adversaries: their weak points must be found and the counter-attack concentrated against them.

President Herzog recently in Helsinki, Benyamin Netanyahu in many of his public statements, and Charles Krauthammer recently in The Washington Post, rightly complained about the bias and the double-standard applied against Israel by the Western media. Indeed, a bias and a double-standard applied consistently, day in and day out, year in and year out, exclusively against the Jewish State, smack strongly of the anti-Semitism of the post-Holocaust, post-rebirth of Israel era.

In this era, the old anti-Semitism, with its brutality against individuals and small groups of Jews, has become rather outdated and even detested in the Western democracies, mainly because of its total identification with Nazi theory and practice. Anti-Jewish impulses have become something to be ashamed of: they have been largely suppressed and banned to the subconscious. Suppressed desires die hard and strive for gratification: they often re-emerge in a disguised form in order to avoid detection by society and by the conscious-ridden self. In the present case, irrational anti-Semitism re-emerges as a rational political view of the Arab-Israel conflict (which always happens to be pro-Arab and anti-Israel).

Thus the motivation of the 'bias' seems to be a conscious or not-so-conscious anti-Semitism.

This neo-anti-Semitism is philosophically as irrational as earlier ones, being fed by the very same prejudices. From a practical point of view it is rational because it is aimed exclusively against the Jewish powerhouse, i.e. Israel, and is not interested in damaging sideshows such as cemetery desecrations, etc., which can be left to the hooligans.

.....

The methods of the media in their anti-Israel practices vary from the sophisticated falsifications of history to downright lies. The means of falsification are:

1. Semantic manipulation
2. Selective amnesia
3. The combination of 1. and 2.

Some examples to illustrate the above:

1. The term 'West Bank'

Every ancient nation refers with pride to its history and the names connected with it and other nations accept this. The Jewish nation has an abundance of such names: Jerusalem, Caesaria, Nazareth, Jaffa, etc. These names are accepted the world over - with the exception of two, which are anathema to the Western media: Judea and Samaria. These two are history-revealing and favour the Israeli cause and are therefore politically embarrassing for all those who wish to deny these territories to the Jews and want the Arabs to have them by hook or by crook. Hence the 'West Bank' term. The ill will revealed in the obstinate insistence in using this misnomer is well illustrated in the fact that to this very day no reputable atlas uses misnomer. The Oxford Atlas refers to a 'West Bank' in its gazetteer, but this is on the Inner Hebrides and not on the river Jordan: it refers to these territories as 'Judea' and 'Samaria'. The Times Concise Atlas refers to them in the same way with the bracketed description 'Israeli administered'. This is a typical example of falsifying history via semantic manipulation.

This manipulation provides the basis for a further falsification by the same method. This is that for the past 23 years the media and many politicians have, without exception and with Orwellian insistence, referred to these territories as 'Israeli occupied': the reason for this is that the verb 'occupy' implies aggression and the media want to brand Israel as the aggressor and present the Arabs as the innocent victims.

2. The Palestine Mandate

Israeli politicians have often pointed out that when Britain sponsored the Palestine Mandate in 1922, she suspended over $\frac{2}{3}$ of the territory from its provisions and was subsequently instrumental in creating a Palestinian Arab state, now known as Jordan. It was further stated that the majority of the population of this country is of Western Palestinian origin and that therefore the Western Palestinian Arabs had a home of their own. But the media ignored this fact. Only now, wanting to defend the 'plucky' King's alignment with Saddam Hussein, have they discovered it (e.g., Sandy Gall stated that 70% of Jordan's population is Palestinian - Independent Television News, London, 13th August 1990).

Another serious falsification of history by selective amnesia is committed daily when the media refers to 'the Israeli-occupied West Bank', but forgets to say that Israel occupied these territories after being threatened with national and physical extinction by the neighbouring Arab States. Her only choice was to go under or destroy the Arab enemies in a war forced upon her: "It is no longer a question of the Gulf of Akaba but something more important - the Israeli concept of security. That is why I say Israel must attack" (Heykal, 26 May 1967, quoted in Simone de Beauvoir, All Said and Done, p. 431). "The taking of Sharm el Sheikh meant a clash with Israel.

It also meant that we were ready to launch into a full-scale war with Israel" (Nasser, ibid.). The fact that Israel re-occupied these territories in a defensive war of survival, puts Israel's presence in the territories morally and legally in a context quite contrary to that presented by the media.

A citizen who fails to reveal all the relevant truths, commits perjury. A political commentator who deliberately does likewise, is guilty of the same crime.

.....

Since the Gulf crisis began, politicians and the media have frequently equated the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait with the Israeli occupation of the territories. This equation, made by people well aware of the basic facts, is a simple lie, motivated by hatred of the Jewish State, not even qualifying as a falsification of history.

.....

That the media discriminate against the Jewish State, is further demonstrated by their handling of other issues not directly connected with Israel. Here are two examples.

In 1990, Chancellor Kohl refused to endorse (for electoral reasons) the new Oder-Neisse line. European governments and media vehemently condemned him on the grounds that an aggressor has to be punished and his victim compensated and any prevarication is unjustified. The very same people, inexplicably, take the opposite view with regard to the Arab-Israel dispute: the victim of aggression is not entitled to compensation and must withdraw to the old border. It is noteworthy that the expulsion of 5 million Germans from the newly-acquired territory is not even mentioned.

The Soviet occupation of the Baltic States - in collusion with Nazi Germany - was one of the most obscene aggressive occupations known to history. Yet the Western media never refer to 'Russian-occupied Estonia' or 'Kremlin-occupied Latvia' or 'Moscow-occupied Lithuania', but simply to 'Estonia' or 'Latvia' or 'Lithuania', without the pejorative 'occupied'. And this despite the fact that the Soviet Union was until very recently enemy number one of the West and Israel is the only democratic country in the Middle East.

This knee-jerk reaction to these two different occupations clearly demonstrates that for the Western media the aggressive Soviet occupation is more palatable than the Israeli occupation of the territories in a defensive war of survival.

.....

It testifies to the lack of serious analysis on the part of Western media vis-a-vis the Arab-Israel dispute, that they never even mention the rabid anti-Semitic propaganda in the press and the schools of the Arab world: a factor which cannot be overlooked if peace is to be achieved.

.....

The obsessional preoccupation on the part of Western politicians and the media with Israel would seem to be connected with a guilt feeling derived from a moral inferiority complex vis-a-vis the Jews because of the anti-Jewish history culminating in the Holocaust. The best way to get rid of such a guilt feeling is to prove, by hook or by crook, that the Jews do not behave better now than the Gentiles behaved against them. Hence the endless repetition of and rumination over any real, imagined, or fabricated Israeli transgressions.

.....

There is no doubt that the Arabs have managed, with the substantial help of the West, to undermine Israel's international standing and thus weaken her generally. If, God forbid, Israel would fail to prevent the Arab aim of destroying her, such a tragic event would inevitably be crowned with an Arab version of the Holocaust. No genuine or hypocritical tears would diminish the guilt of the West.

.....

All the above suggests that the main target of a counter-offensive should be (1) the media's neo-anti-Semitism, (2) that the media put the Arab-Israel conflict in the wrong context by (a) falsifying history and (b) lying, (3) the media's policy willy-nilly might result in a new Holocaust.

The counter-offensive could be mounted as follows:

It has to be Government sponsored and centrally planned. It should start with a grand conference presented as an important event at which the relationship between Israel and the media will be discussed. In a well-prepared speech, preferably by the Prime Minister, the behaviour of the media, as outlined above together with other points thought necessary, will be exposed in a kind of 'J'accuse', with a reminder that Israel expects a drastic change from all those who wish to be persona grata.

Such a conference will generate much interest and it is imperative that full preparations are made in the Western countries to exploit the opportunities arising: A good idea might be to establish committees to monitor whether the media observe their self-proclaimed objectivity. These committees could include among their number well-known figures in public life (in Britain, for example, with which the present writer is more acquainted, such figures could be Lord Weidenfeld; Sir Alfred Sherman; Robert Maxwell; Sir Isiah Berlin; Lord Beloff; Conor Cruise O'Brien; Greville Janner, Q.C., M.P.; Ivan Lawrence, Q.C., M.P.; etc., etc.). The findings of the committees should be well publicised.

.....

The following documents are attached:

1. Section of page 55 of The Oxford Atlas, 1952
2. Section of page 89 of The Oxford Atlas, 1952

(copies of these maps could be distributed at the suggested conference and enlarged versions displayed)

3. Copy of an article published in Britain: this might serve as a model for follow-up articles in the foreign press (if necessary as paid advertisements).

22/4 - איגרת נכס

בינו

מכאן קטן

הצדק איך אבו הצדק!

(1) אמת טקס - מינס מעט קבול
במסן המלך 3/3

(2) מניט טמא האוהים של מיני
המלך מוציא בכסום של אלטי
היגסום המליעם אנציה

(3) תלביט טמול גוהולאים היכסע
המליעם - זי צווא של צולמט

מניט גשוט אבו אבצולניו

היה

מלכות
מלכות
מלכות

ישי

הוא

הוא

File

אמריקאן
מלכות
מלכות
מלכות
American
equality



מנהל קשרי ציבור
טל' 3366

ב' באייר תשנ"א
16 באפריל 1991

32899

אל : מר מ. רביב, סמנכ"ל הסברה

מאת : מנהל קשרי ציבור ונציג משה"ח בלע"מ

הנדון: פעילות "כח 12"

בהמשך לשיחתנו מאתמול, מצ"ב רשימת העיתונאים המבקרים לחודש אפריל.

בשיחותי עם הכתבים, מתברר שיש דרישה גדולה ממערכות העיתונאים לכתבות מהאזור.

המבקרים חזרו למתכונת פעולה כפי שהיתה לפני ה-15.1.91 בישיבתם באמריקו קולוני - המקום בו מקורות המידע העיקריים הם מרכז המידע הפלשתינאי.

הצוות של "כח 12" שפעל בעבר בקשר עם העיתונאים המבקרים הוכיח עצמו בעבר במספר הקשרים הטובים עם העיתונאים וכמות התוכניות שהכינו עבורם.

מ-15.1.91, עם הקמת מרכזי התקשורת בירושלים ובת"א נעשתה הפעילות הזו במסגרת המרכזים. מאז סגירת המרכזים לא הועמד לרשותנו צוות חדש לפעולה.

עם הגברת המאמצים הפוליטיים סביב תהליך השלום חשוב מאוד לפעול בקרב הכתבים ולא להשאיר אותם תחת השפעה חד צדדית.

מבקש מעורבותך בפתרון הבעיה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

ברוס קשן
ברוס קשן

הערה: שמר ב. נתניהו, ס/שה"ח
גב' עליזה גורן, יועצת לשר
מר יוסי עמיהוד, מנהל מע"ת

NAME	ORGANIZATION	POSITION	DEPARTURE			LOCATION		
			DATE	DATE	DATE			
YIZHAKI GUY	VISNEWS	SOUNDMAN	13.2.91	13.4.91	5768609	ISRAEL	03-5239457	3849
BROZA GUY	ON AIR LTD.	PRODUCER	13.2.91	13.4.91	023869290	ISRAEL	002-662123	3850
CARDOSO OSCAR	CLARIN	EDITOR	13.2.91	13.4.91	6.155.198	ARGENTINA	HILTON H JM	3851
RICHMAN EVAN	PHOTOREPORTERS	PHOTOGRA.	13.2.91	15.3.91	100614488	USA	03-9221836	3852
RABINOVICI MOISES	AGENLIA ESTADO	CORRES.	14.2.91	14.4.91	CC 964316	BRAZIL	HILTON H JM	3853
SCHENK HAN	DAVIS	PHOTOGRA.	14.2.91	14.4.91	W 402534	HOLLAND	ISRAEL FOUND.	3854
FRIE AMNON	TF-1	SOUNDMAN	14.2.91	14.3.91	058381831	ISRAEL	08-415065	3855
TANG SHI-ZENG	XINHUA	PHOTOGRA.	4.2.91	14.4.91	447969	CHINA	HILTON H JM	3859
VAZQUEZ ANA MARIA	ANTENA-3 TV	ENGINEER	14.2.91	14.4.91	33.302.567	SPAIN	HILTON H JM	3860
DE GREGORIO PABLO	ANTENA-3 TV	CAMERAMAN	14.2.91	14.4.91	5.395.195	SPAIN	HILTON H JM	3861
CABELLO LUISA	ANTENA-3 TV	PRODUCER	14.2.91	14.4.91	51.377.157	SPAIN	HILTON H JM	3862
UENO TERUYUKI	ASAHI TV	CORRES.	15.2.91	15.4.91	ME 9727615	JAPAN	HYATT H JM	3863
OGASAWARA MASAYOSHI	ASAHI TV	ASSISTANT	15.2.91	15.4.91	ML 9036776	JAPAN	HYATT H JM	3864
MINESAKI NAHUM	ASAHI TV	ASSISTANT	15.2.91	15.4.91	ME 9580603	JAPAN	HYATT H JM	3865
LESIK MANFRED	ASAHI TV	CAMERAMAN	15.2.91	15.4.91	T 0504542	AUSTRIA	HYATT H JM	3866
LE GALL DU TERTRE PATRICE	LA CINQ	CAMERAMAN	15.2.91	15.4.91	750290/61052	FRANCE	A.C. H JM	3867
SAINT-CRICO NATHALIE	LA CINQ	CORRES.	15.2.91	15.4.91	3702875578	FRANCE	A.C. H JM	3868
QUINONES LISA	BLACK STAR	PHOTOGRA.	15.2.91	15.4.91	H 379627	USA	JM H JM	3869
HIRSCH MICHAEL	GAMMA	PHOTOGRA.	15.2.91	15.4.91	110312536	USA	JM H JM	3870
HIRAI MASANOBU	FUJI TV	STAFF CORR.	15.2.91	15.4.91	ML 9035818	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	3871
SOLLIMA STEFANO	FUJI TV	CAMERAMAN	15.2.91	15.4.91	714809 B	ITALY	HILTON H JM	3872
LACCHE EMIDIO	FUJI TV	SOUNDMAN	15.2.91	15.4.91	504974 F	ITALY	HILTON H JM	3873
YAMAJI TORU	ASAHI TV	CORRES.	17.2.91	17.3.91	ML 4875706	JAPAN	HYATT H JM	3874
INNOCENTI LEOPOLDO	RAI	CORRES.	17.2.91	17.4.91	085859	ITALY	HILTON H JM	3875
PANTOULAS GEORGE	ANTENNA TV	CORRES.	17.2.91	17.4.91	Z 553976	GREECE	K.D. H JM	3876
FRATTINI ERIC	CADENA SER	CORRES.	17.2.91	17.4.91	27487/88	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3877
HORLANS ISABELLE	L'UNION DE REIMS	EDITOR	17.2.91	17.4.91	76.02.87.6211	FRANCE	SONESTA H JM	3878
BARTHOLET JEFFREY	NEWSWEEK	B.C.	17.2.91	17.4.91	Z 6160849	USA	02-242026	3879
DANIELS MARLEEN	FREELANCE	PHOTOGRA.	17.2.91	1.3.91	110858	BELGIUM	K.D. H JM	3880
KIM JONGKU	HANKYOREH SHINMUN	STAFF CORR.	17.2.91	17.4.91	3272980	KOREA	HILTON H JM	3881
KIM KWANG WON	DONG-A DAILY NEWS	STAFF CORR.	17.2.91	17.4.91	1828904	KOREA	HILTON H JM	3882
SONE EIJI	TBS TV	CORRES.	17.2.91	17.4.91	MH 6623534	JAPAN	HYATT H JM	3883
PLOQUIN JEAN-CHRISTOPHE	LA CROIX	EDITOR	17.2.91	17.4.91	47-01-87-484	FRANCE	HILTON H JM	3884
GOLDSTEIN EDWARD	LA CINQ	SOUNDMAN	18.2.91	18.4.91	Z 6472853	USA	HILTON H JM	3885
MICKELSON JAN	WHO RADIO	TALK HOST	18.2.91	1.3.91	013125385	USA	HILTON H JM	3886
WATARI NOBUO	ASAHI SHIMBUN	STAFF CORR.	18.2.91	18.4.91	MK 1131046	JAPAN	JM H JM	3887
CHOI BYONG-KWON	CHOSUN ILBO	EDITOR	18.2.91	18.4.91	1627557	KOREA	HILTON H JM	3888
SONG YANG MIN	CHOSUN ILBO	STAFF CORR.	18.2.91	18.4.91	1237250	KOREA	HILTON H JM	3889
MALMBERG ILKKA	HEKSINGIN SANOMAT	EDITOR	18.2.91	1.3.91	0650575	FINLAND	02-348999	3890
JOKELA MARKUS	HEKSINGIN SANOMAT	PHOTOGRA.	18.2.91	1.3.91	1049566	BRAZIL	02-348999	3891
PORRO ALESSANDRO	VEJA	EDITOR	18.2.91	18.4.91	CD 228700	FRANCE	HILTON H JM	3892
ESHTAI HANITA	VISNEWS	CONSULTANT	18.2.91	18.4.91	04483803/5	ISRAEL	052-574833	3893
SASSANO MARCO	IL GIORNO	CORRES.	19.2.91	19.4.91	027343 A	ITALY	A.C. H JM	3894
YAJIMA SEIJI	SANKEI SHIMBUN	CORRES.	19.2.91	19.4.91	MK 2740162	JAPAN	A.C. H JM	3895
SANCHEZ GERVASIO	HERALDO DE ARAGON	CORRES.	19.2.91	19.4.91	39661991	SPAIN	JM H JM	3896
RIGAI FERRUCCIO	RAI TV	TECHNICIAN	19.2.91	15.3.91	L 389275	ITALY	02-514121	3897
WIESENFELD MICHAEL	CBC	STAFF CORR.	19.2.91	19.4.91	EJ 689899	CANADA	02-712758	3898
NAVASCUES IGNACIO	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	CAMERAMAN	19.2.91	19.3.91	15829342	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3899
AURA PEIDRO FRANCISCO	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	PRODUCER	19.2.91	19.3.91	21.634.040	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3900
JOYCE BRETT	ABC TV - AUSTRALIA	CAMERAMAN	19.2.91	1.3.91	E 5128561	AUSTRALIA	A.C. H JM	3901
HOYT SHAUN	ABC TV - AUSTRALIA	PRODUCER	19.2.91	1.3.91	T 0364205	AUSTRALIA	A.C. H JM	3902
ALVARO JULIA	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	CORRES.	19.2.91	19.3.91	658/86	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3903
BARRY PAUL	ABC TV - AUSTRALIA	CORRES.	19.2.91	1.3.91	N 758511 E	ENGLAND	A.C. H JM	3904
KRIX GEOFFREY	ABC TV - AUSTRALIA	SOUNDMAN	19.2.91	1.3.91	G 806740	AUSTRALIA	A.C. H JM	3905
OPOCZYNSKI MICHAEL	ZDF - GERMAN TV	STAFF CORR.	20.2.91	1.4.91	G 4054126	GERMANY	A.C. H JM	3906
TERSIGNI NELIANA	RAI - TG 3	CORRES.	20.2.91	20.4.91	005728 F	ITALY	A.C. H JM	3907
KRATSI CHRISTINA	MEGA CHANNEL	CORRES.	20.2.91	20.4.91	006994	GREECE	HILTON H JM	3908
HARDAVELLAS KONSTANTIN	TA NEA	CORRES.	20.2.91	20.4.91	Z-005050	GREECE	HILTON H JM	3909
MOTOIKE SHIGRO	YOMIURI SHIMBUN	STAFF CORR.	20.2.91	20.4.91	ME 9716055	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	3910
MIIYAKE TAKASHI	YOMIURI SHIMBUN	STAFF CORR.	20.2.91	20.4.91	MH 6852021	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	3911
MARSHALL RUTH	NEWSWEEK	STAFF CORR.	21.2.91	21.4.91	S 1678940 B	SINGAPORE	A.C. H JM	3912
MORDEUTI ADRIANO	AGF	PHOTOGRA.	21.2.91	21.4.91	459106 H	ITALY	K.D. H JM	3913
MIYAGAWA YOSHIAKI	NIPPON TV	CORRES.	21.2.91	21.4.91	MH 8289568	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	3914
LYDEN JACKI	NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO	STAFF CORR.	21.2.91	21.4.91	021445781	USA	A.C. H JM	3915
CRESPO XAVIER	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	PRODUCER	21.2.91	21.4.91	22.111.717	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3916
BLASCO MARIA REMEDIOS	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	STAFF CORR.	21.2.91	21.4.91	52.712.801	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3917
FERNANDEZ JOAN	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	CAMERAMAN	21.2.91	21.4.91	19.986.231	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3918
LISSAC PHILIPPE	CIRIC	PHOTOGRA.	21.2.91	10.3.91	75-462975	FRANCE	02-272362	3919
PAE JUNG-KUN	HANKOOK DAILY NEWS	STAFF CORR.	21.2.91	1.3.91	1482550	KOREA	HILTON H JM	3920
FOURNIER JEAN-NOEL	EUROPE 1	CORRES.	22.2.91	22.4.91	75-139542	FRANCE	K.D. H JM	3921
DEVIS VILENT	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	CORRES.	22.2.91	22.4.91	9884/88	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3922
MORENO LUIS	CANAL 9 - VALENCIANA	CAMERAMAN	22.2.91	22.4.91	22686064	SPAIN	A.C. H JM	3923
SAKIYAMA MASANOBU	FUJI NEWS NETWORK	CORRES.	22.2.91	22.4.91	ME 9732431	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	3924
BYWATER MICHAEL	DAILY MAIL	STAFF CORR.	22.2.91	1.4.91	B 433475	ENGLAND	A.C. H JM	3925
WALLACE IMOGEN	BBC (FREELANCE)	CORRES.	22.2.91	1.4.91	778911 E	ENGLAND	A.C. H JM	3926
PEREIRA ANTONIO	DIARIO DE NOTICIAS	CORRES.	24.2.91	24.4.91	408178	PORTUGAL	HILTON H JM	3927
MIRSKY ZIPORA AVIVA	ABC NEWS	PRODUCER	24.2.91	24.4.91	G 063483	USA	02-255216	3928
HOWARD SHELDON	WTN	PRODUCER	24.2.91	24.4.91	303601850	ISRAEL	02-240327	3929
VELAZQUEZ MIGUEL-ANGEL	NOTIMEX	CORRES.	24.2.91	24.4.91	MH 8615	MEXICO	JM GATE H JM	3930
RIVA PALACIO RAYMUNDO	EL FINANCIERO	STAFF CORR.	24.2.91	24.4.91	MH 38195	MEXICO	A.C. H JM	3931
MEYEROWITZ ROBERT	NBC-MUTUAL	CORRES.	24.2.91	24.4.91	D 1840718	USA	02-723406	3932
VIGODA MICHAEL	FREELANCE	PHOTOGRA.	24.2.91	9.3.91	RK 595528	CANADA	02-282187	3933
GASPARINI JUAN	BRECHA	STAFF CORR.	24.2.91	15.3.91	6.325.372	ARGENTINA	A.C. H JM	3934
SCHNEIDER ANDREAS	SWF/ARD	STAFF CORR.	25.2.91	15.3.91	5191027360	GERMANY	HILTON H JM	3935
FRANK UDO	SWF/ARD	STAFF CORR.	25.2.91	15.3.91	G 3443862	GERMANY	HILTON H JM	3936
HOSTEIN LISA	JEWISH EXPONENT	STAFF CORR.	25.2.91	25.4.91	091046778	USA	MORIAH H JM	3937

BOLTANSKI CHRISTOPHE	LIBERATION	STAFF CORR.	8.4.91	21.4.91	750790/44751	FRANCE	A.C. H JM	4033
DAREMBLUM JAIME	LA NACION	STAFF CORR.	8.4.91	21.4.91	1-274-588-89	COSTA RICA	SHERATON TA	4034
VASILE VINCENTO	L'UNITA	STAFF CORR.	8.4.91	30.4.91	183890 I	ITALY	A.C. H JM	4035
WILLIAMS DAN	L.A. TIMES	STAFF CORR.	9.4.91		042222468	USA	02-512611	4036
BRADLEY ALISON	KANSAS CITY STAR	STAFF CORR.	10.4.91	10.6.91	2 6038487	USA	02-634681	4038
MACLAY MICHAEL	LONDON WEEKEND TV	PRODUCER	11.4.91	20.4.91	576753 E	ENGLAND	A.C. H JM	4039
FLEISCHNER MORTON	WABC TV	PRODUCER	11.4.91	23.4.91	F 199693	USA	K.D. H JM	4040
STEINMAYR JOACHIM	DIE ZEIT	STAFF CORR.	11.4.91	30.4.91	EG 436088	GERMANY	A.C. H JM	4041
BONTE ANDREAS	ARD - GERMAN TV	CORRES.	11.4.91	30.4.91	G 5332975	GERMANY	03-5371281	4042
ASAI KUNIO MI	TV TOKYO	CORRES.	12.4.91	21.4.91	MH 4484310	JAPAN	NOTREDAME	4043
ODAGIRI SHIMPEI	TV TOKYO	COORDINATOR	12.4.91	21.4.91	ME 9590118	JAPAN	NOTREDAME	4044
WATANABE TAKA AKI	TV TOKYO	DIRECTOR	12.4.91	21.4.91	MH 5914917	JAPAN	NOTREDAME	4045
HORIE HIROFUMI	TV TOKYO	ASS.DIRE.	12.4.91	21.4.91	ML 4489032	JAPAN	NOTREDAME	4046
YAMAGUCHI MAKOTO	TV TOKYO	CAMERAMAN	12.4.91	21.4.91	MK 3575599	JAPAN	NOTREDAME	4047
HUFFMAN CHARLES	MICHIANA TV CORP	PRODUCER	14.4.91	24.4.91	020704329	USA	HILTON H JM	4048
O'SULLIVAN JON	MICHIANA TV CORP	CAMERAMAN	14.4.91	24.4.91	021558376	USA	HILTON H JM	4049
COSTE	JEUNE AFRIQUE	CORRES.	14.4.91	15.5.91	871 C 11929	FRANCE	02-633336	4050
KELER ALAIN	ODYSSEY IMAGES	PHOTOGRA.	14.4.91	15.5.91	75-31-90-116871	FRANCE	02-633336	4051
SAXGREN HENRIK	SECOND UNIT	PHOTOGRA.	14.4.91	20.4.91	2157684	DENMARK	AUSTRIAN HOSP.	4052
BOWERS STEPHEN	LONDON WEEKEND TV	CAMERAMAN	14.4.91	20.4.91	6566243 D	ENGLAND	A.C. H JM	4053
GREENE BRIAN	LONDON WEEKEND TV	SOUNDMAN	14.4.91	20.4.91	B 299905	ENGLAND	A.C. H JM	4054
LISTER DENISE	LONDON WEEKEND TV	PROD.ASS.	14.4.91	20.4.91	227624 T	ENGLAND	A.C. H JM	4055
VANE TREYAS JANE	BBC TV	PRODUCER	14.4.91	15.6.91	840945 L	ENGLAND		4056
JENSEN STEFFEN	TV2 - DENMARK	STAFF CORR.	14.4.91	30.4.91	A 000305179	DENMARK	LAROMME H JM	4057
MCWETHY JOHN	ABC NEWS	CORRES.	9.4.91	9.5.91	011264566	USA	K.D. H JM	4068
SUSSMANN BETHSABEE	SHALOM MAGAZINE	EDITOR	8.4.91	22.4.91	14187	FRANCE	K.D. H JM	4069
SUSSMANN ROLAND	SHALOM MAGAZINE	EDITOR	8.4.91	22.4.91	18874	FRANCE	K.D. H JM	4070
RIEDL JOACHIM	SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG	STAFF CORR.	8.4.91	30.4.91	T 0269323	AUSTRIA	A.C. H JM	4071
ITO SHIYORI	TBS	PRODUCER	8.4.91	30.4.91	ML 5307885	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	4072
AZUMA MASAKI	TBS	DIRECTOR	8.4.91	30.4.91	ML 7847764	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	4073
TAKAHASHI SEICHI	TBS	SOUNDMAN	8.4.91	30.4.91	MH 6957090	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	4074
SEKI TAKASHI	TBS	CAMERAMAN	8.4.91	30.4.91	MH 3762115	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	4075
TOMOHIRO TOGAWA	TBS	ASS.DIREC.	8.4.91	30.4.91	MH 8709715	JAPAN	HILTON H JM	4076
FUJIMURA KAZUHIKO	YOMIURI SHIMBUN	B.C.	8.4.91	30.4.91	ME 9617395	JAPAN	A.C. H JM	4077
HATANO RURIKO	YOMIURI SHIMBUN	CORRES.	8.4.91	15.4.91	MK 1535633	JAPAN	K.D. H JM	4078
CIRILLI MAURIZIO	RAI TV2	CAMERAMAN	9.4.91	10.4.91	546760	ITALY	SHER.PLAZA H	4079
HALAWANI RULA	AL BAYADAR ALSIJASSI	PHOTOGRA.	9.4.91	23.4.91	080162597	ISRAEL	02-273958	4082
MORKEN JOHANNES	VART LAND	STAFF CORR.	9.4.91	21.4.91	G 0711132-1	NORWAY	25 SHIVTEI IS.	4083
ZUK YITZHAK	VISNEWS	TECHNICIAN	9.4.91	15.5.91		ISRAEL	02-512191	4084
CANCELLED	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	4098
SHEBAN JEFFREY	CANADIAN PRESS	CORRES.	3.4.91	17.4.91	011201038	USA	02-241518	4099

נכנס

בלמט

חוזם: 2,39041

אל: המשרד

יעדים: וושינגטון/2130, ניו יורק/2324, רהמט/3124, מצב/4438, אביב/3742
 מ-: בוסטון, נר: 74, תא: 260291, זח: 1400, דח: ר, סג: בל
 תח: @ גט: הסברה
 נד: @

גי: הסברה

בלמט רגיל

אל : ווש, נ' קונכל רותמ
 מצפא, הסברה

דע : לש ס/שה'ח, פלג ירון

מאת: הקונכל - בוסטון

הנדון: דעת קהל-סקר ולקחים לפעולה

1. נפגשתי ביזמתי בלוויית הקונסול אורן (26) עם JOHN MARTTILA מנהל חברת יחסי הצבור MARTTILA + KILEY בבוסטון שהכינה עבור ה-ADL את הסקר האחרון שפרטיו ודאי ראיתם.

2. מטרת הפגישה - לנסות ולתרגם למונחים אופרטיביים את מסקנות הסקר. להלן המלצותי-1

3. נקודות המוקד בסקר:

א. דמוי ישראל חזר לדמוי ששרר בין 1948 ל-1978-

TOUGH, MORALLY JUST UNDERDOG SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE UNPREDICTABLE NEIGHBORS

ב. המלחמה הזכירה לצבור את הקשרים החזקים בין ישראל לארה"ב.

ג. השתתפות מצרים וסעודיה בברית נגד עירק לא השפיעה על התפיסה הכללית של הצבור בהקשר לסכסוך ישראל-ערב. 60 מצודים כיום בישראל, 17 בערבים.

ד. על אף העליה בתמיכה בישראל אין ירידה מקבילה בשעור התמיכה בפלסטינים.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
5700 SOUTH CAMPUS DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

RECEIVED

DATE

BY

FROM

TO

RE

NOTE

ATTENTION

REFERENCE

REMARKS

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4. לדעת עורך הסקר עקב האכילס בדעת הקהל מבחינתנו - תמיכת שערך גדול (44) בנושא HOMELAND FOR THE PALESTINIANS יתר על כן, בקרב צבורי היעד הקריטיים - אליטות המתעניינות במדיניות חוץ, בעלי תאר אקדמי שני עולה התמיכה לשעורים של 54-58.

לנושא זה מצטרף אימפקט הדווח על האינטיפדה. לדעתו חלה שחיקה רצופה בדמויינו בעקבות 3 שנות אינטיפדה שהינה משמעותית יותר מהשחיקה שחלה בעקבות מלחמת לבנון בשל רצף הזמן של הדווח.

5. כדי לנטרל בעיה זו בדעת הקהל מציע MARTILLA הטקטיקה הבאה: מרבית הנשאלים אינם יודעים בדיוק מה הכוונה ב- HOMELAND ותומכים ברעיון כמשקף ערכים אמריקנים מקובלים. לפיכך יש להפוך הוכחה לפשטני פחות ע"י תוספת 3 מרכיבים לפי סדר העדיפות הבא:

- אי הכרת 19 מדינות ערב בישראל- לדעתו תוספת נתון זה שאינו מוכר ל-88 מהצבור משנה התמונה.
- העדר דמוקרטיה במדינות ערב.
בהדגש פחות חזק - חזרה על הזהות צדאם-אשף-ערפאת: יש מודעות רבה לזיקה זאת וראוי לחזקה.
להערכתו עלינו לחזור על תימות אלו חזור והדגש באופן עקבי ורצוף.

6. למרטילה קשרים פוליטיים טובים, ניהל יחסי הצבור והסקרים במערכות פוליטיות של סנטור KERRY, דוקאקיס, ר' עירית דטרויט ואחרים. מרטילה קשור גם עם עורך סקרי דעת הקהל של בוש TEETER.
להערכתו מסמנים הסקרים על מעמד כה חזק של בוש ובייקר שיקשה לעמוד בפני כל יזמה שלהם שתיתמך ע"י מערכות העתוננים בחוף המזרחי. התימה שיציגו LAND FOR PEACE. הסכוי לישראל בדעת הקהל טמון בהוספת אלמנטים לתמונה הפשטנית שתוצג וזאת באמצעות חזרה על המרכיבים שנמנו בסעיף 3 דלעיל, מיד עם תום הלחימה במפרץ.

7. לידיעתכם.

יעקב לוי

צש

ל"ל
ג'אז ישנה תגובה סבירה
"יקבא" 3 העקלות טאגים
הסג"ל
באורכה

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), רהמ(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), רביב(1), הסברה(3), בןאבו(1), תפוצות(2), בנצור(1), מצפא(4), ר/מרכז(1), ממד(8), רם(0)

7.30 8406 יוקר מלך עומת 03.57567503

THE FIRST PART OF THE DOCUMENT IS A SUMMARY OF THE
SITUATION IN THE AREA OF THE INVESTIGATION. THE
SECOND PART IS A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE
EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE ON THE DATE OF THE
INVESTIGATION.

THE INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED BY THE
POLICE OFFICERS WHOSE NAMES ARE GIVEN IN
THE LIST OF NAMES AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION ARE
GIVEN IN THE SUMMARY OF THE
SITUATION AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED BY THE
POLICE OFFICERS WHOSE NAMES ARE GIVEN IN
THE LIST OF NAMES AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION ARE
GIVEN IN THE SUMMARY OF THE
SITUATION AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED BY THE
POLICE OFFICERS WHOSE NAMES ARE GIVEN IN
THE LIST OF NAMES AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION ARE
GIVEN IN THE SUMMARY OF THE
SITUATION AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED BY THE
POLICE OFFICERS WHOSE NAMES ARE GIVEN IN
THE LIST OF NAMES AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION ARE
GIVEN IN THE SUMMARY OF THE
SITUATION AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED BY THE
POLICE OFFICERS WHOSE NAMES ARE GIVEN IN
THE LIST OF NAMES AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION ARE
GIVEN IN THE SUMMARY OF THE
SITUATION AT THE END OF THE
DOCUMENT.

20360
אל : מנהל הסברה
מאת : חיים קורן

280 / עזרה
למכון המחקר
לקיימת הקולות
אלו

תיפקוד מח' הסברה בעת המשבר במפרץ

תכנים - מאז תחילת המשבר במפרץ (2.8.90) קיימת תחושה, שגברה ביתר שאת מאז פרוץ מלחמת ארה"ב ובנות בריתה בעירק, של הכנה גוברת למסרים והסברתיים אותם מנסה ישראל להנחיל מזה זמן.

רצ"ב, לנוחיותך חוזם 1,16942 מ-16.1 - המפרט את עיקריהם.

בנוסף, שרירים וקיימים מסרינו באשר לעלייה וקליטתה. מדינה קולטת עלייה יהודית רב-גונית כישראל, מול התנגדות ערבית, ישראל כאבן שואבת להתפתחויות טכנולוגיות, פיתוח מדעי ומרכז תרבותי רב חשיבות.

שיטות הפעולה בהן נוקטת המחלקה:

מברקי הבוקר מנציגויות ישראל בעולם, משמשים למעקב אחר דיווחיהן. לאחריו יוצא דו"ח יומי מפורט של השתקפות הדברים בממשלי המדינות האנויות, מעצבי דעת הקהל בהן ובתקשורתן.

במקביל מוגש דו"ח על השתקפות האירועים, הנכונים לאותו יום, בסוכנויות הידיעות (רויטר, AP ואחרות, הנשלפים ממחשב המחלקה).

בד בבד משתדלת המחלקה להזעזען בחומר המגיע באותו יום מהגולם הערבי (מתורגם) למעקב ולהיערכות מצידנו, ואם יש צורך, לתגובה.

מדי יום נערכת ישיבת הסברה (בדרך כלל בסביבות השעה 10:00 בבוקר) בה מתווים קוי והסברה לאותו יום, בהסתמך על המידע שפורט לעיל.

במחלקת והסברה מתורגמים קוי והסברה היומיים להנחיות אופרטיביות, והדגשי הסברה מוברקים לנציגויותינו בעולם, מרכזי התקשורת, דובר המשרד וגורמים ואמורים להשתמש בכך באותו יום. בנוסף מופץ מידע שוטף הזורם למחלקת והסברה ממקורות אשר מחוץ למשרד כמו: דובר צה"ל, משטרה, מתאם הפעולות בשטחים, שב"כ ואחרים.

המידע כולל פרטים ועידכונים על המצב בשטחים, התבטאויות מהעולם הערבי, דיווחי דובר צה"ל (כמו לאחזרונה המצב לאחר נפילת טילי ה'סקאד' או, היערכות העורף בשעת חירום וכד'). החומר כולו בלתי מסווג. באופן קבוע מועברים נאומים והתבטאויות של אישים פוליטיים מרכזיים ישראלים (רוה"מ, שהב"ט, שה"ח, המטכ"ל וכד') לנציגויותינו בעולם.

נעשה מאמץ גדול לשגר את כל החומר האמור 'בזמן' אמת' על מנת שלאנשינו בנציגויות תהא תמיד 'תחמושת' מוכנה לכל צורך.

בצד זה ממשיכה להתקיים פעילות יומית שוטפת בה יוצאת, פעמיים ביום, סקירת עיתונים מהארץ ופניני פנים.

יד ביד עימנו, פועל מרכז האינפורמציה - המסייע בהפצת חומר, לנציגויותינו, שעיקרו במסרי הסברה מעוצבים בפורמט משובח יותר, במוצר שהושקעה בו חשיבה - להפצת מסרי הסברה שלא יהיו מברקים דווקא, אלא ישמשו כחומר אסתטי להפצה, הכולל מירב החומר העדכני, הענייני והרלוונטי עפ"י יוזמות שלנו ודרישות פרטניות מהנציגויות.

אנו קשובים גם למכתבים מאזרחים המציעים, ממליצים, פוסלים קו הסברה כזה או אחר - המהווים גם הם מעין היזון חוזר וקליטת רחשי לב, המחייבים התייחסות (הנשלחת בתשובה לפונים לפי העניין).

מדור ההפקה במח' והסברה עובד גם הוא, בשותף פעולה הדוק, במעקב אחר אירועים וראיונות בעלי עניין לנו, מהצד הישראלי ומצד יריבי ישראל. השיתוף מתבטא בהפניית תשומת הלב של נציגויות לחומר הויזואלי, תימלולו והפצתו כטקסט, אם יש צורך, ובקשת קלטות אודיו ו-וידאו למשלוח אלינו לצורך תימלולן לשימוש עפ"י הצורך.

בשל חשיבות אמינות המסרים, בצד שיגורם 'בזמן' אמת', נערכנו להקלת ברירת החומר לעבודת שליחיו בעולם באופן שיקבלו מסרים מובילים בשפות ארצות כהונתם.

תוגברו תרגומי תדרכים חשובים (התבטאויות המנהיגות הפוליטית בארץ, דגשי הסברה, התייחסויות לתעמולה אנטי-ישראלית וכד') לאנגלית כמו גם לספרדית וצרפתית עפ"י העניין במקום.

יחד עם כל האמור לעיל ודרך העומס הרב, מנסים לא לזנוח את החשיבה לטווח הרחוק יותר - שעיקרה התבססות על קריאת הלוך הרוחות הרווח בעולם וצפי של האירועים. זאת בסימולאציות "סיעור מוחות". תוצאת פעולה כזאת היא המסמך "משבר המפרץ - מחשבות ודרכות" המזמין תגובות, הערות והתייחסויות - המצורף לעיונכם.

פעילות מרכזי התקשורת של משרד החוץ

אחד הלקחים המרכזיים ממלחמות ישראל היה, החשיבות ההולכת וגוברת של המערכה ההסברתית, שליוותה מערכות אלה והכשירה את הקרקע למערכה המדינית בעקבותיהם. כל הערכות הסברתיות למערכה העמידית במפרץ (ולא למלחמה של ה"אתמול"), חייבה, בזמנו, מענה לשלושה אלמנטים בסיסיים:

- א. הערכות תואמת להתפתחות הטכנולוגית המואצת בתקשורת.
- ב. יצירת חזית אחידה של גופי ההסברה השונים בישראל.
- ג. יצירת תלות מסויימת של העיתונאים הזרים במערכת המידע שלנו.

אלמנטים אלה נלקחו בחשבון כשהחל משה"ח, לפני חמישה חודשים, בתכנון הפריסה והתקשורתית למקרה מלחמה במפרץ.

יצירת התלות נעשתה באמצעות הקמת מערכת דוברות המספקת, החל ממידע מהימן, מעניין ובזמן אמת וכלה בתשתית לוגיסטית הכוללת - מקווי תקשורת לחו"ל (לויין, טלפון, פקס וכו') ועד לתשתית מגורים בבתי המלון. יצירת ה"תיזמור" בין גופי ההסברה נעשתה ע"י כינוסם של נציגי כל הגופים למרכז כגון משה"ח, דו"צ, לע"מ, הצנזורה וכו'.

מטרות

הדעיון המונח בבסיס הקמת מרכזי התקשורת הוא, יצירת מרכז שתפקידו ומגוון שירותיו יהיו אטרקטיביים די הצורך בכדי שרעיתונאים יוכלו לראות בו כתובת לחיפוש מידע ומקור להשיג "סיפור". התרכזות העיתונאים במרכזי התקשורת ופיתוח והרגל בקרב העיתונאים להשתמש במקורות המידע שלנו, מאפשר לנו הכוונה מסויימת של המידע ושל מקורות המידע הנחשפים, שבתורה מסייעת ליצור הטייה כלפי מטרות מדיניות ההסברה הישראלית. מטרה אחת לדוגמא, עליה שמנו דגש ושהושגה בהצלחה לא מבוטלת, היתה הפניית הזרקורים מהפן הצבאי לפן האנושי של ישראל וקנקוע הדימוי הכוחני של ישראל, שקנה אחיזה במדינות רבות.

פעילות

מרכזי התקשורת שרתו עד עתה כ-1,000 עיתונאים זרים שהגיעו עם תחילת המלחמה, בנוסף ל-250 כתבים זרים המוצבים דרך קבע בישראל. כ-65% מהכתבים התמקמו בח'א.

בין הפעולות האוטטפות של מרכזי התקשורת ניתן למנות:

- א. אספקת מידע ותאום פגישות וראיונות.
- ב. תדרוכים רשמיים של גורמי ממשל (שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, דובר צה'ל).
- ג. תדרוכים לא רשמיים של פרשנים שונים (על בסיס יומי) בעיקר מואקדמיה.
- ד. מסיבת עיתונאים של מבקרים חשובים כגון: נשיאת הכונדסטאג או ראש עיריית ניו-יורק.
- ה. סיורים שונים כגון: סיור לבסיס אימונים לחיילות, לגדר הטובה וכו'.
- ו. סיוע בשרותי שידור-למדיה השונים.
- ז. הפצת חומר הסברה בזמן אמת (מקבלים הפאקס, עד להגעת החומר לידי העיתונאי - חמש דקות בלבד).
- ח. תערוכות צילומים: "ישראל - החיים מאחורי מסכת הגז".

לסיכום, העובדה שכל רשתות הטלביזיה הגדולות בחרו מרצונן להתמקם במרכז התקשורת בת'א וגם תוכן שידוריהן ככלל, מאששים, את התזה שביסוד פריסת מרכזי התקשורת אותה פרטתי לעיל.



מרכז התקשורת
מלון הילטון, ירושלים

כ"ח בשבט תשנ"א
12 בפברואר 1991

20357

אל : מר בנימין נתניהו, סגן שר החוץ
מאת : מרכז התקשורת, מלון הילטון ירושלים

הנדון: פעילות מרכז התקשורת במלון הילטון ירושלים

כללי

1. מרכז תקשורת הילטון ירושלים נפתח בתאריך 16 בינואר 91, והופעל ע"י משרד החוץ ולע"מ, תוך קיום נציגות של דובר צה"ל והצנזורה.
2. להלן הפעילות שהתקיימה במרכז :
 - 17.1.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם סגן שה"ח מר בנימין נתניהו.
 - 19.1.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם דובר צה"ל תא"ל נחמן שי. (הועבר בשידור ישיר למרכז התקשורת בת"א).
 - 19.1.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם סגן שה"ח מר בנימין נתניהו
 - 24.1.91 - מסיבת עתונאים משותפת עם שה"ח גרמניה, גנשר - שה"ח דוד לוי. (הועבר בשידור ישיר למרכז התקשורת בת"א).
 - 28.1.91 - תדרוך עתונאים עם ד"ר אורי מרינוב, מנכ"ל משרד איכות הסביבה. משמעות הזרמת הנפט ע"י הערבים למפרץ.
 - 29.1.91 - תדרוך עתונאים עם ח"כ מרדכי גור.
 - 29.1.91 - תדרוך עתונאים עם ד"ר דורי גולד. אסטרטגיה מזרח תיכון.
 - 30.1.91 - תדרוך עתונאים עם יו"ר ועדת חו"ב בכנסת, ח"כ אליהו בן אלישר.
 - 31.1.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם שר החוץ מר דוד לוי בתיאטרון ירושלים.



- 31.1.91 - תדרוך לעתונאים עם ד"ר אשר ססר. (ירדן ופלשתינאים)
- 3.2.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם ס/מתאם הפעולות בישי'ע -
תא"ל פרדי זד. העוצר בשטחים השתתפו כ-120 נציגי
התקשורת.
- 4.2.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם ראש עיריית ניו יורק מר דויד
דינקנס.
(הועבר בשידור ישיר למרכז התקשורת בתל-אביב).
- 4.2.91 - תדרוך עתונאים עם דן גילרמן, יו"ר אירגון הגג לשכות
המסחר.
- 5.2.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם נשיאת הבונדסטג הגרמני (הועבר
בשידור ישיר למרכז התקשורת בת"א).
- 7.2.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם ד"ר אמציה ברעם, אוניברסיטת חיפה.
דמותו של סאדם חוסיין והמצב בעירק.
- 10.2.91 - עתונאים ספרדים עם שר החוץ מר דוד לוי - התקיים
במשרד החוץ, אורגן ע"י מרכז התקשורת.
- 11.2.91 - מסיבת עתונאים עם שר החוץ במלון הילטון ירושלים
בהמשך לפגישה עם נציגי הקונגרס היהודי העולמי.
(הועבר בשידור ישיר למרכז התקשורת בת"א).
- 11.2.91 - סיור לעתונאים בכפר דרוזי - עוספיה, הרצאה ע"י יועץ
נשיא המדינה לעניני ערבים ודרוזים, כמאל מנצור. כולל
סיור בבתי ספר וא'צ בכפר. בהמשך ביקור בקיבוץ עין
שמר ובהיאחזות נח"ל אלישע, ליד יריחו.
- 12.2.91 - סגן שר החוץ מר בנימין נתניהו בפני נציגי הקונגרס
היהודי העולמי, הרצאה ומסיבת עיתונאים.
- 12.2.91 - רה"מ שמיר בפני נציגי הקונגרס היהודי העולמי, ומסיבת
עיתונאים.
- 13.2.91 - תדרוך לעתונאים עם יועץ ראש הממשלה לעניני טרור, מר
יגאל כרמון.

בתדרוכים היתה השתתפות של כ-40 עד 60 עיתונאים.
במסיבות העיתונאים היתה השתתפות של כ-100 עד 150 עיתונאים.

3. המרכז קיים תדרוכים אישיים וקבוצתיים ע"י צוותים ממשרד החוץ,
(רשימת המתדרכים והמפעילים מצ"ב) וכן ע"י ד"ר יוסי אולמרט,
מנהל לשכת העיתונות הממשלתית ונציגי דובר צה"ל השוהים במקום.

בתדרוכים אלה נמסרו לעיתונאים גם פרסומי ההסברה היומיים כולל
ניירות רקע, תרגומי מאמרים נבחרים ורשימת של ביקורי משלחות
סולידריות בארץ.



4. מספר העיתונאים השוהים במלון הגיע לכ-250. הודעות על אירועים נשלחו בפקסימיליה ובאמצעות הג'לם (טלפון מידע לעיתונאים) לבתי המלון האחרים בעיר בהם שוהים עיתונאים כגון: המלך דוד, רמדה, אמריקן קולוני.

5. מעבר לפעילות הנ"ל, התקיימה פעילות מגוונת אחרת כגון :

- אורגנו סיורים וצלומים בבתי ספר יסודיים ותיכונים עם חידוש הלימודים.
- העיתונאים הוזמנו לארוח בבתי פרטיים, אצל משפחות ישראליות בימי שישי ושבת.
- אורגנו פגישות עם משפחות של עולים חדשים וביקרו בבתיהם.
- נערכו פגישות עם אמנים רוסיים, עולים חדשים (מוסיקה, אמנות פלסטית).
- מסיבת ט"ו בשבט עם עתונאים זרים אורגנה במרכז התקשורת בירושלים.
- סיורים במחנות צה"ל בהדרכת דובר צה"ל.
- סיורים במוזיאון ישראל.
- מתוכנן סיור ע"י אגף תירות עיריית ירושלים.
- תידרוכים גיאוגרפים במח' המדיניות לעיתונאים מאסיה אוקיניה אמל"ט.
- תאום פגישות וראיונות אישים עם שה"ח, סגן שה"ח, מנכ"ל וראשי אגפים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

מרכז תקשורת, ירושלים.

רל"א : כה"ג לתמונה - א.ע"י
רל"א : 3 יוני - הסיועה

העתקים: מר משה רביב, סמנכ"ל הסברה
מר משה יגר, סמנכ"ל אפסו"ק
מר יוסי עמיהוד, דובר המשרד
מר יוסי גל, מנהל הסברה



רשימת מתדרכים במרכז
=====

שמואל הדס, ראש חטיבת קשתו"ם
אלי תבורי, מנהל כלכלית א'
משה מלמד, מנהל מזא"ר 1
אליעזר פלמור, מנהל אמל"ט 1
אבי מנור, סגן מנהל אירופה
שמי צור, ס/מנהל הסברה
דניאל סעדה, הפקה/הסברה
אהובה אורן, קשתו"ם
עופר אבירן, הדרכה
מידד מדינה, איכ"ב
יוסי ליבנה, אמל"ט
שרה בראור, ממ"ד
אילן אלגר, ארב"ל
יצחק גרבר, ארב"ל
דני כירס, אוקיאניה
מיכאל רון, מש"ב
יעקב טופז, מש"ב
יעקב גבאי, תקציבים
אורי סביר
יגאל ענתבי, מא"פ
הרצל ענבר, מא"ס

הארגון המינהלי

בהיג' מנצור, מע"ת
אורית דנון, קשרי ציבור

צחי אלג - מע"ת

12/2/91

אנשי: אנשי הסוכה
למנו: אנשי הפור הפקס - הסוכה

ניצחון: (החלטה) - נולדו ויצאו אנשינו

החלטת אנשי הפור לפועל ע"י הסוכה, איפה לבני הפור הפקס הפקס נולדו ויצאו אנשינו

1. קולות נביאים לדובר - ע"י הפקס ונאום אנשינו - אנשינו האנשינו האנשינו

2. קולות אנשינו ע"י דברי זכור באנשינו הפועלים

3. סוף כל המעשה - נאום אנשינו - ע"י הפקס, נאום אנשינו הפועלים (אנשינו)

אנשינו עם הפועלים אנשינו

4. ציבור אנשינו הפועלים, הכיסוי, פאנורמה, אנשינו, אנשינו, אנשינו אנשינו

5. התעוררות אנשינו הפועלים באנשינו אנשינו 12 עד 15 ימים - אנשינו

האנשינו הפועלים הם אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

6. קולות אנשינו הפועלים אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

7. אנשינו הפועלים הם אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

אנשינו הפועלים הם אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

אנשינו אנשינו

אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו

אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו אנשינו



חוזם: 1,16942

אל: אבידגאן/212, אוטבה/334, אוסלו/248, אטלנטה/221, איסטנבול/290, אלכסנדריה/149, אנקרה/275, אסונסיון/185, אתונה/378, בוגוטה/325, בודפשט/354, בומבי/201, בון/483, בוסטון/254, בוקרשט/408, ביירט/569, בנגקוק/473, ברזיליה/354, בריסל/518, ברן/435, גואטמלה/254, גנבה/366, האג/407, הונגקונג/251, הונדורס/213, הלסינקי/293, ווילינגטון/174, וושינגטון/816, וינה/329, ורשה/311, טוגו/206, טוקיו/471, טורונטו/287, יאונדה/356, יוסטון/220, להפאז/194, לונדון/445, לוסאנגלס/316, לילונגוואה/202, לימה/371, ליסבון/375, מבונה/195, מדריד/397, מונטריאול/279, מונטבדאו/238, מיאמי/304, מילנו/235, מכסיקו/327, מנילה/244, מרסיי/215, ניו יורק/943, נירובי/276, ניקוסיה/285, סידני/256, סינגפור/278, סלברור/202, סנחוזזה/235, סנטודומינגו/215, סנטיאגו/350, סנפאולו/273, פילדלפיה/219, פנמה/232, פרטוריה/297, פריס/677, פרנציסקו/225, קופנהגן/470, קטמנדו/194, קיטו/334, קינגסטון/216, קינשאסה/345, קנברה/321, קרקט/367, רומא/436, ריו/274, רנגון/173, שטוקהולם/272, שיקגו/271, אריס/339, פיגי/195, ציריך/158, מוסקבה/286, פראג/233, בייגינג/167, קייפטאון/114, סיאול/144, סופיה/202, רהמש/1438, פקט/1431

מ-: המשוד, תא: 160191, זח: 2013, דח: מ, סג: בל

חח: @ גס: הסברה
8: ד:

9,244448

בלמס/מידי

אל: כל הנציגויות

הנדון: רענון טעוני הסברה על רקע משבר המפרץ

1. עם פקיעת חאריך היעד שקבעה מועבי'ט ולאחר חמישה וחצי חודשים של משבר המפרץ נראה לנו כי נוצרה 'שעת רצון' הסברתית לישראל.

2. מקריאת הדיווחים השוטפים מהנציגויות, מעיון בסקרי דעת קהל ומהתרשמות משיחות עם עיתונאים ומבקרים, מתקבל אצלנו הרושם שהשפעת ארועי המפרץ יוצרת יתר פתיחות לעמדות ולטיעונים המסורתיים של ההסברה הישראלית.

טיעונים מסוג: ה'שכונה' המזרח תיכונית, רגישותה הביטחונית של ישראל, האופי האמיתי של אש'ף ותמיכתו בסדאם חוסיין אופי המשטרים באיזור וחשיבותה האסטרטגית של ישראל, ניתנים היום להטמעה בקלות יחסית כאשר העולם יכול בגלל הנסיבות 'להתייחס' ולהבין אותם היטב.

4. עיקרי הדברים הראויים לשינון היום:

מקורותיו של המשבר הנוכחי במפרץ נעוצים בסכסוך היסטורי בין עיראק לכווית, סכסוך אחד מיני רבים בעולם הערבי. פועל יוצא מהיריבויות הותיקות בעולם הערבי, מאופי המשטרים הנהוגים בו ומאישיותם של המנהיגים העומדים בראשם הוא מצב אי היציבות המחמשך במזה"ת. רגישותה של ישראל וחששותיה בחלק זה של העולם מובנים יותר על רקע האיומים החוזרים ונשנים מצד עיראק להשמדה.

ישראל היתה מבודדת בעמדתה כאשר טענה שטאדם חוסיין מבקש לרכוש לעצמו אופציה גרעינית החקפית, וגונתה ע"י הקהיליה הבינלאומית כאשר תקפה את הכור הגרעיני העיראקי ב-81'. כיום קיימת הכרה והסכמה רחבה באשר לכוונותיו של השליט העיראקי אז ויש להניח כי אילולא הפצצת הכור היה המשבר הנוכחי סבוך ומסוכן שבעתיים.

לתביעה של ישראל באשר לצורך בפיקוח על ייצור ושימוש בנשק כימי גרעיני וביולוגי, יש כיום משנה תוקף הן לאור השימוש העיראקי בנשק כימי כנגד האוכלוסיה הכורדית-עיראקית והן על רקע האיום העכשווי. יש לקוות, על כן, שעם תום המשבר יתנו המדינות, ספקיות הנשק, את דעתן להגברת המאמצים להשלמת החקיקה הן במישור הלאומי והן במישור הבינלאומי להגברת הפיקוח על תעשיות הנשק ולהגבלת היצוא והשיווק של נשק מסוג זה.

5. ישראל, שאינה מאיימת על אף מדינה, לא נזקקה למשבר במפרץ על מנת להוכיח פעם נוספת כי היא עומדת לצידן של ארה"ב ובנות בריתה בעולם החופשי.

6. מומלץ לנצל שעת כושר זו כדי לחזור על מסרים בסיסיים אלה.

הסברה/מידע

צש

תפ: ששהח(2), ששהח(1), רהמ(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), סמנכל(17), אוקיאניה(2), מצרים(2), מצפא(4), אסיה(2), מאפ(4), אמלט(4), מזתים(1), מזאר(4), ארבל(2), הדרכה(1), מעת(4), הסברה(3), ממד(10), איר(2), איר(2), לעמ(0), ארבל(2), פרנ(1), קשדן(1), אומן(1)

אל: כל הנציגויות
מרכזי התקשורת - י-ס/שמי צור, ת'א/מאיר שלמה
יועץ רה"מ לתקשורת, יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דו'צ - הסברה

הנדון: משבר המפרץ - מחשבות והערכות

מדיווחי הנציגויות והמעקב אחרי התקשורת ניתן לאתר בשלב זה כמה אלמנטים שליליים כתולדה של הסברת הצד שכנגד שמן הראוי לתקוף אותם כבר עתה. להלן נייר בסיסי המנסה להתמודד עם כמה מהטענות, כאשר מול כל טענה מוצגים כמה דרכי תגובה:

1. ישראל אינה חייבת להגיב משום שחיילים זרים / ארה"ב מגינה עליהם.
=====

א. ישראל לא ביקשה הגנה מאיש. היא יכולה לנקוט צעדים יעילים להסיר את איום הטילים עליה בכוחות עצמה וללא עזרה. היא נמנעה עד כה מלעשות כן משום התחשבותה באינטרסים המיוחדים (והזמניים) של ארה"ב בת-בריתה וידידתה הקרובה.

ב. החיילים האמריקאים המוצבים בישראל נשלחו כדי לסייע באימון ובהדרכה לצה"ל בתפעול מערכת נשק חדשה. זה מצב שיגרתי, אלא שבתנאים רגילים האימון מתבצע בארה"ב ולא בישראל. הפיקוד על המערכת נתון בידי ישראל. החיילים האמריקאים יעזבו בקרוב עם השלמת משימת האימון וההדרכה. ישראל כמובן אסירת תודה על המהירות שבה נתקבל סיוע זה.

ג. ברמה האסטרטגית, ישראל אינה יכולה להסתמך על הנוכחות המסיבית של כוחות ארה"ב באזור והפעילות המבצעית שלהם במסגרת מבצע 'סופת מדבר'. זוהי נוכחות זמנית שתסתיים - אנו מקווים - בהקדם ובנצחון ברור לארה"ב ובעלות הברית. ישראל, לעומת זאת, תישאר באזור ותיאלץ להמשיך ולהתמודד עם האיום לקיומה מצבאות עויינים החמושים בטילים, באמצעי השמדה המוניים ובמיטב הנשק הקונבנציונאלי.

ד. ישראל, כמו כל מדינה ריבונית אחרת, אינה יכולה להותיר החלטות עקרוניות לביטחונה ולקיומה בידי גורמים שמחוץ לאזור. גורמים מחוץ לאזור שגו בעבר (למשל ביחס לעירק) אך מבחינתם אפשר לתקן שגיאות אלה ללא סיכון מידי להם. לעומתם ישראל הקטנה אינה יכולה לדרשות לעצמה אף טעות אסטרטגית בגלל מימדיה, בגלל שכניה ובגלל האיבה כלפיה.

2. גל האהדה יחלוף אם ישראל לא תגלה נכונות לויתורים מדיניים.
=====

א. המשבר במפרץ ויותר מכך המלחמה הנוכחית חושפים את אמיתות היסוד באשר לסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי. אנו מצויים בשעת כושר המאפשרת הטמעת והנחלת אמיתות אלה.

ב. כעת כולם מכירים בעובדה שישראל מצויה תחת איום קיומי אמיתי ושאינם זה נובע ממצב המלחמה עם מדינות ערב. תהליך שלום אמיתי חייב לכלול, כיעד ראשי, את הפסקת מצב הלוחמה עם מדינות ערב ולא להתמקד בלעדית בבעיה הפלסטינית. בעיה זאת, חשובה ככל שתהיה, היא רק פן אחד של

הסכסוך הערבי-ישראלי וזה כלשעצמו הוא רק רכיב אחד במערכת סבוכה של סכסוכים אזוריים בין-ערביים ואחרים.

ג. אש'ף חשף את דמותו האמיתית בתמיכתו בסדאם חוסיין. לתדמיתו המתונה אין כיסוי. זהו אירגון קיצוני השותף לסדאם גם במטרתו להשמיד את ישראל וגם באמצעים להשגת מטרה זו (טיילים, טרור). לפיכך אין מקום לשיתוף במו'ם ולמסירת זכות ווטו על התהליך בידינו. ככל שהדבר תלוי באש'ף - לעולם לא יהיה שלום.

ד. גורל כוויית ממחיש את הבעיה של היעדר עומק אסטרטגי במזה'ת. גיאוגרפית, כוויית שווה בגודלה של ישראל ועל כן נבלעה ע"י התוקפן ב-6 שעות. לסעודיה היה עומק אסטרטגי ועל כן היה לה זמן לגייס את 'המילואים' (במקרה שלה: צבא ארה"ב). גם התקפות הטיילים ממחישות את הצורך בעומק אסטרטגי: התקפת טילים מאסיבית (כולל שימוש בחל"כ) היחה משבשת את גיוס המילואים על כל משמעויותיו של שיבוש זה. הטענה כי ירי הטיילים ממחיש את חוסר חשיבותה של טריטוריה היא שטחית ועלולה לחביא לסיכונה של ישראל באשר קרבות ומלחמות מוכרעות בשטח ועל הקרקע.

ה. היותה של ישראל הדמוקרטית היחידה במזה'ת, אינו רק מטבע שחוק כי אם מציאות המוכיחה חשיבותה על רקע תהליך קבלת החלטות במשטרים לא-דמוקרטים דוגמת אלה של עירק וירדן. בנוסף ישראל היא המדינה היחידה שבה דעת הקהל היא פרו-מערבית לעומת הסנטימנט הציבורי הפרו-עירקי במדינות ערב רבות.

אם יוטמעו מסרים אלה ודומיהם, נצמצם והאפשרות ללחץ מדיני על ישראל.

3. ישראל אחראית למלחמה בגלל סירובה העקשני לוועידה בינ'ל.

א. מזכיר המדינה של ארה"ב עמד כבר על מידת הגיחוך שבטענה העירקית כאילו פלישתו לכוויית נועדה לפתור את בעיית הפלסטינים.

ב. הדרישה ללינקג' הייתה דרישתו של סדאם. מטרתו לא הייתה שלום אלא הסחת הדעת ממטרותיו האמיתיות.

ג. לא רק ישראל סירבה ל'זיקה'. כמעט כל המדינות בעולם, ובראשן ארה"ב דחו נסיון עירק זה.

ד. ועידה בינ'ל היא אמצעי בידי הערבים להחליש את ישראל, לבודד אותה, לקרוע ממנה שטחים חיוניים לכיטחונה ולקדם את השמדתה. אף מדינה לא היחה מסכימה להצאבד על מזבח 'שמירת השלום'.

ה. ועידה בינ'ל, מעצם טיבעה והגדרתה, תפנה למכנה המשותף הנמוך ביותר של כל אויבותיה המוצהרות של ישראל.

4. המפתח לבעיה הפלסטינית בידי ישראל.

א. אש'ף אינו בר-שיח לגיטימי ואינו שואף לשלום (ראה 2).

ב. ישראל מקווה שעם תבוסתו של סדאם חוסיין יתפכחו הפלסטינים ביש'ע ויטכינו לתכנית ההגיונית והנדיבה שהציעה להם ישראל: בחירות (זכויות פוליטיות, הנהגה לגיטימית), אוטונומיה כהסדר ביניים ולאחריה מו'ם על הסדר הקבע.

מסמך מס' 1000
תאריך: 1980
מקום: תל אביב
מחבר: [שם לא ברור]
נושא: [שם לא ברור]

ג. העולם יכול לתרום לכך אם ישכנע את הפלסטינים להזנוע מאש'ף ומסדאם חוסיין, לקבל את התצעה ואם יתייצב נגד נסיונות הקיצוניים ואש'ף בראשם לכפות קו סרוב ע"י הפחדה וטרור.

ד. הערבים הפלסטינים, המריעים לטיליו של סדאם מעל גגות השטחים, אינם מוסיפים לסיכויי השלום ומעוררים סימני שאלה רבים, אפילו אצל אלה בישראל שגילו בעבר יותר נכונות לבוא לקראתם.

5. הקואליציה הפרו-אמריקאית תדרוש ויתורים.

מדינות ערב התומכות בארה"ב עושות כך לא מנדיבות ליבן אלא משום שסדאם מאיים גם על קיומן. זהו אינטרס שלהן, שארה"ב נחלצה להגן עליו בדם חייליה. לפיכך לא הן תהיינה בעמדה לדרוש ויתורים. להיפך, המערב שהגן עליהן יוכל לדרוש מהן לוותר על העמדה הקיצונית והשוללת את זכותה של ישראל להתקיים ולסיים את מצב הלוחמה עם ישראל. במקביל יש לדרוש מהן לאמץ מדיניות פנים מתונה בדרך לדמוקרטיזציה וכיבוד ז'א (ראה 6).

6. המשבר יביא להקצנת יחס העולם המוסלמי לארצות המערב.

א. אין כאן מאבק בין המערב לאיסלם אלא בין כל אומות העולם לבין רודן מטורף ומאיים על שלום העולם. עד כה לא התממשו התחזיות הקודרות על הקצנה בלתי נסבלת בעולם המוסלמי. להיפך, מדינות איסלמיות כתורכיה, פקיסטן ובמידה מסוימת אירן תומכות בעמדה המערבית. זאת כמובן בנוסף לסעודיה, מצרים, כוויית, מדינות המפרץ וסוריה שכולן מדינות איסלמיות וחברות בקואליציה.

ב. ההקצנה האיסלמית הפונדמנטליסטית האנטי-מערבית נובעת לא ממשבר המפרץ אלא יש לה שורשים עמוקים בני מאות שנים. יש להיערך לאיום הזה בעיניים פקוחות ומתוך ידיעה שפייסנות לא תביא לפיוס בין האיסלם למערב.

ג. הנסיון (הפצצת טריפולי, הסנקציות על אירן) מלמד שהתייצבות מול הקיצוניות - כולל נכונות לשימוש בכוח - מרתיעים את הקיצוניים ומעודדים את המתונים לנקוט עמדה אחרת.

7. ההקצנה בארצות ערב מסוכנת לשלום העולם ולכן יש לבוא לקראתם.

א. הדרך להתמודד עם המגמות השליליות בחברות הערביות אינה כניעה לדרישות הקיצוניים. כך לא יושג שינוי אמיתי והבעיה תידחק רק כדי להתפרץ ביתר חומרה במועד מאוחר יותר.

ב. יש לעודד את המחשבים הערבים להשתנות כך שיהיו יותר אטרקטיביים ליושביהם. מדובר בעיקר בעידודן ליתר חופש לתושבים, ליברליזציה פנימית, כיבוד זכויות אדם והשקעת משאבי הנפט לא בחימוש אל בפיתוח. דמוקרטיזציה ופיתוח כלכלי הוכיחו את עצמם כפותרי סכסוכים פנימיים וחיצוניים באירופה, באמל"ט ואפילו באפריקה. אין סיבה שרק העולם הערבי יהי פטור מתביעות הזמן לדמוקרטיזציה.

8. המשבר הוכיח ש'ערכה האסטרטגי' של ישראל למערב חסר ערך.

=====

לערכה האסטרטגי של ישראל מימד של עבר, הווה ועתיד:

עבר - העולם חייב רבות לישראל על שסילקה ב-81' את איום הכור הגרעיני. נקל לשער בפני מה היה העולם עומד בימים אלה לולא עשתה כך ישראל.

הווה - ישראל נוקטת מדיניות של התחשבות בבעלת בריתה העיקרית - ארה"ב ומתוך התחשבות באינטרסים שלה היא נמנעת מנקיטת יזמה. דווקא משום כך היא מפגינה ערך מיוחד.

ישראל היא הבולמת - בעצם קיומה ויכולתה לפעול - את נטיות ההתפשטות של רודנים ערביים לכיוונה. היא בלמה את הנסיונות בעבר לפלוש לירדן, היא מונעת השתלטות מוחלטת של סוריה על לבנון, ומרתיעה כניסת כוחות עירקיים לירדן.

עתיד - ארה"ב ובעלות בריתה יודעות היטב שבמקרה הצורך תוכל ישראל לסייע במיגורו של הוודן מבגדד.

הסברה

יוסי גל

31 בינואר 1991

Handwritten text: *2020* and a signature.

ISRAEL

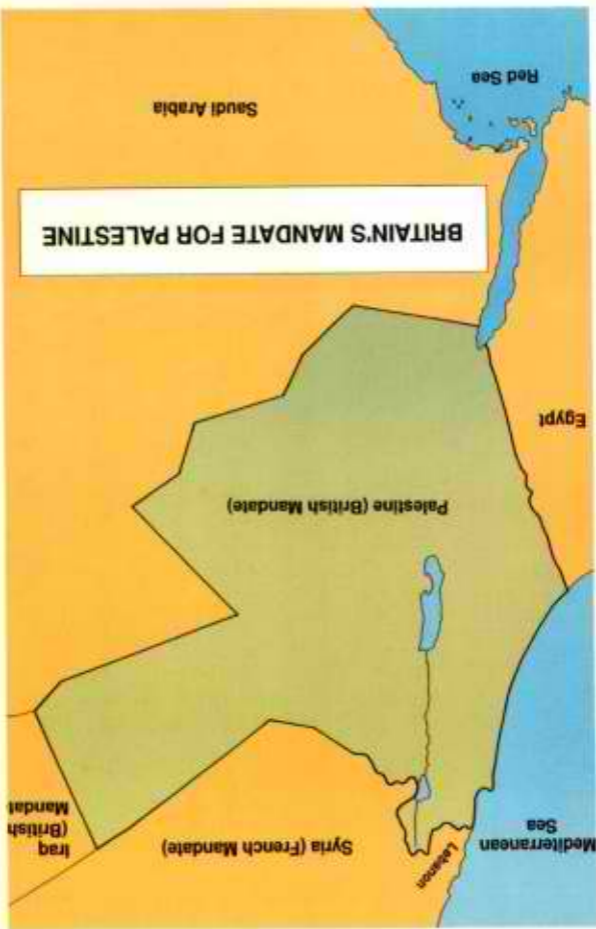
AND THE ARAB STATES

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD

Peace Treaty with Israel since 1979



BRITAIN'S MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

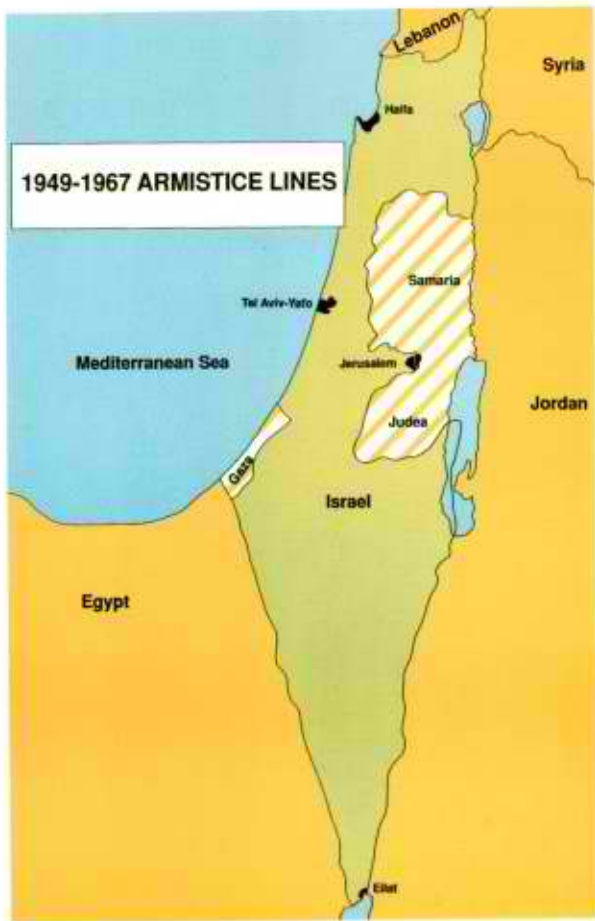


**BRITISH ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE
IN THE MANDATE 1921-22**



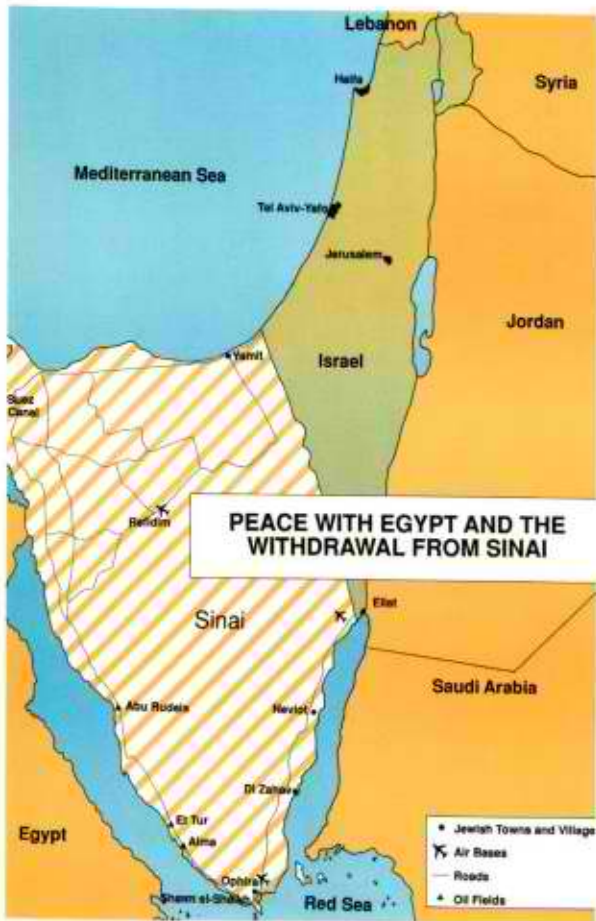


1949-1967 ARMISTICE LINES

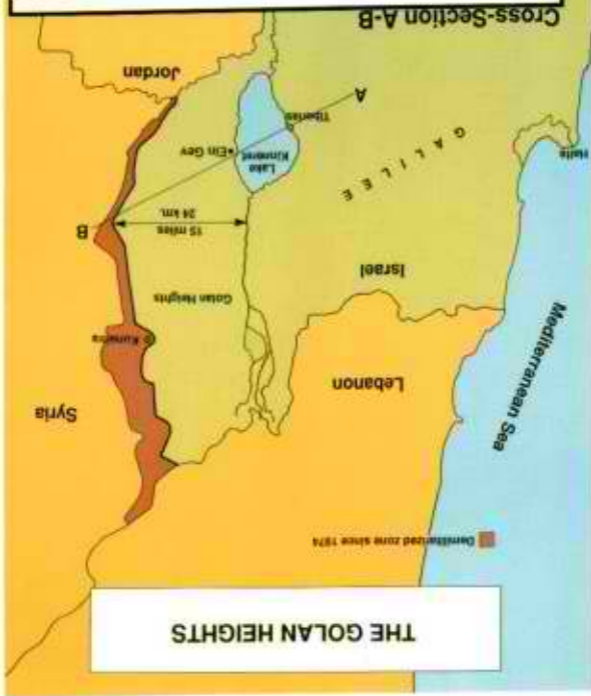


1967 CEASE-FIRE LINES

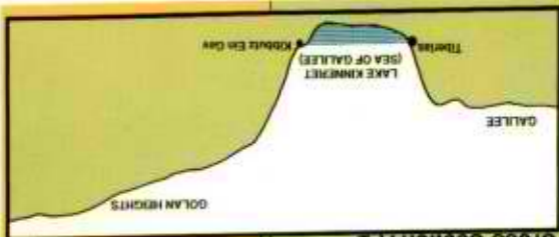




THE GOLAN HEIGHTS



Cross-Section A-B



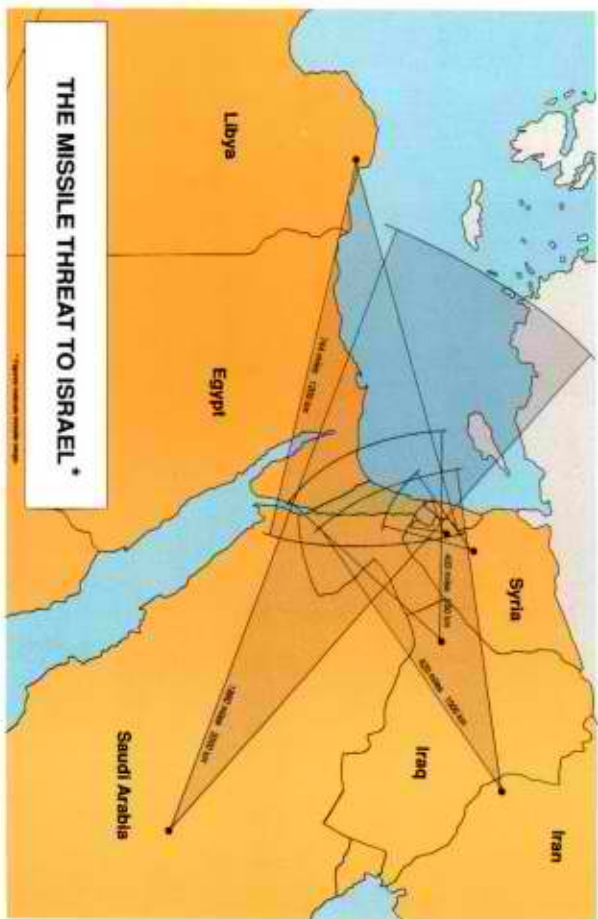
ISRAEL BEFORE 1967



THE AERIAL THREAT TO ISRAEL



THE MISSILE THREAT TO ISRAEL *



THE MILITARY BALANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST 1990-1991

Country	Population (millions)	Armed Forces Active	Reserves	Combat Aircraft	Tanks
Syria	12.4	404,000	400,000	658	4,000
Jordan	4.1	85,250	35,000	128	1,150
Iraq	19.1	1,000,000	850,000	689	5,600
Saudi Arabia	14.1	67,500	-	189	550
Libya	4.6	85,000	40,000	548	2,000
Algeria	25.5	125,500	150,000	295	900
TOTAL	79.7	1,767,250	1,475,000	2,507	14,200
Israel	4.6	141,000	504,000	730	4,288
Ratio	1:17	1:12.5	1:2.9	1:3.4	1:3.3

Source: The Military Balance 1990-1991, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (3) Estimate

Israel Information Center
Jerusalem, Israel, 1991

משרד החוץ
מחלקת ההסברה

כ"ד בשבט תשנ"א
8 בפברואר 1991

אל הממונה על ההסברה

הסיכסוך במפות

כדי לענות על הצורך של מאות העתונאים השוהים בארץ הפקנו את

ערכת המפות על הסיכסוך גם במהדורת כיס (מצ"ב).

עותקים מהגירסא האנגלית, לחלוקה במקומותיכם ניתן להזמין

באמצעות הטופס הנלווה.

בשלב זה אין כוונה להפיקה בשפות נוספות.

108/8.2.1991/3.01

אל המרכז לאינפורמציה

מאת _____
(שם הנציגות)

הסיכסוך במפות / מהדורת כיס

לחלוקה במקומותינו נבהש להקבל _____ עותקים

ממהדורת הכיס של ערכת המפות על הסיכסוך באנגלית.

המזמין _____

התפקיד _____

התאריך _____

משרד החוץ

מחלקת ההסברה

כ"ד בשבת תשנ"א
8 בפברואר 1991

א ל ה נ צ י ג ו י ו ת

הספקים של צאדם או קשר הגז הרעיל

גורמי מודיעין במערב עמדו עוד לפני כמה חודשים על היקפה המדאיג של מכונת המלחמה העיראקית והיו שכינוה "המדינה המנוסה ביותר בעולם במה שנוגע לייצור ולשימוש בנשק כימי".

מי סייע להם להקים את אותה מכונת מלחמה, מי סיפק לעיראק את הטכנולוגיה, אייש את מעבדות המחקר ובנה את המפעלים?

על שאלות אלה ואחרות משיב העיתונאי האמריקאי קנת טימרמן בדו"ח הנקרא "השר הגז הרעיל", שהוכן לבהשת 'מכון שמעון ויזנטל' בלוס אנג'לס.

הדו"ח מתמקד בעיראק ובלוב, בעלות מערך מפותח ביותר של נשק כימי, ובוחן את רשת החברות הבינלאומיות - רובן המכריע גרמניות - אשר ציידו את שתי המדינות בנשק להשמדה המונית. המסמך מוקדש להשרים המסחריים הסבוכים שהתפרסו על פני כדור הארץ וקויימו, לעיתים, תוך עצימת עיניים של הגורמים הממשלתיים במדינות השונות; בסוף המסמך מובאת רשימה של למעלה מ-200 חברות במערב אירופה ובארה"ב.

מחבר הדו"ח מוכר היטב באירופה ובארה"ב בזכות מחקרו על המזרח התיכון ועל רשת השוק השחור של כלי נשק. פרסומיו הוכללו בניוזוויקה, בוול סטריט ג'ורנאל, בל'אקספרס ועוד. הוא בן 36 וחי באיזור פאריס עם אשתו השבדית וארבעת ילדיו.

107/8.2.1991/3.05.04

Iraq

Introduction

Over the past ten years, Iraq has imported more than \$50 billion in modern weaponry, and this is a conservative estimate¹ While the bulk of Iraqi army purchases (tanks, armored vehicles and artillery) came from the USSR, much of Iraq's best weaponry was bought from the West. From Italy, Iraq purchased modern frigates and missile boats worth more than \$3 billion. From Britain and Holland, Iraq purchased frequency-hopping radios and other electronics gear. From France, Iraq purchased more than \$15 billion worth of sophisticated weaponry, including 133 Mirage F1 fighter-bombers, 140 armed helicopters, 1,000 armored vehicles, 884 Exocet missiles, 20,000 HOT and Milan anti-tank missiles, and 2,500 air combat missiles.²

Even when the credit crunch began to take its toll in 1987-88, Western arms makers were making fabulous profits on Iraq. Iraqi arms purchasers were welcomed as VIP guests in most Western capitals. As Christopher Cowley, an engineer now under indictment in Britain for his role in the supergun affair, told a recent BBC *Panorama* broadcast, "This was a very, very large cake that had to be cut up. We were talking about not millions or hundreds of millions, we were talking about billions of pounds. And every European Government wanted their share of that cake."³

There was nothing illicit about the Iraqi arms purchases. This entire conventional weapons arsenal was purchased above the board.

Iraq had no need to resort to clandestine or grey market purchases, as did Iran throughout the Gulf War. The West was courting Iraq as the bulwark against Islamic expansionism spreading Westward from Tehran, and the Iraqis took advantage of this privileged position to make friends and to make deals.

They also took advantage of all the boom years to learn the ins and outs of the Western arms industry. Western salesmen acknowledge openly that by the mid-1980s, the Iraqis had accumulated an awesome experience of the arms marketplace. They knew what was available, and at what price. And they knew what they wanted. Saddam Hussein is said to have commented once that he was willing to pay the French 10% more than their other clients did, just to make sure they gave him the best.

For twenty years, this strategy paid off. At the height of the war with Iran, France delivered state-of-the-art missiles and electronic counter-measures (ECM) to Iraq, often before they went into service with the French Armed Services.⁴ And Iraq's other Western suppliers did the same.

But Iraq was not content to build up the largest arsenal of conventional weapons the Arab world had ever seen. Saddam Hussein sought other weapons - weapons of mass destruction - that he felt would give him the edge over Israel. And he used the years of influence, of arms buying and oil selling, to lay the groundwork for a vast clandestine network to procure the technologies he needed to make those weapons in Iraq, often with the connivance, if not the complicity, of Western governments.

The controls: Numerous international conventions exist to control the flow of strategic weapons technology and their use in war. The barbarous use of chemical weapons during WWI led directly to the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the wartime use of chemical or bacteriological agents. This was followed by the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention, which outlaws the production and use of toxins.

Starting in 1984, concern over Iraq's use of poison gas in the Gulf war led several Western countries to enact laws establishing "watch lists" of precursor chemicals, and to impose some form of export controls on their purchase. But Iraq simply sidestepped the countries with more or less effective export controls (such as the U.S.) for its CW purchases, and concentrated its efforts on others (such as West Germany) where the controls either did not exist or were not enforced.

Iraq's widespread use of poison gas, first against Iran, and later against its own Kurdish population, showed that haphazard export controls and declarations of intent were not enough. Concern with Iraq's use of poison gas, and with Libya's poison gas manufacturing plant at Rabta, led directly to the convening of the January 1989 Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons. But heavy lobbying by Iraq and its Third World allies prevented the Conference from reaching agreement to ban the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. Meanwhile, Iraq has built up its own domestic chemicals industry, making international controls of the type the Paris Conference *might* have passed ineffective before ink could ever dry on the paper.

Even fewer controls existed on ballistic missile technologies until the United States and six Western allies (Canada, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and West Germany) signed the Missile Technology Control

Regime (MTCR) on April 16, 1987. Most experts agree that the MTCR was enacted too late. As former Pentagon arms control expert, Frank Gaffney put it, MTCR was like "closing the door to the barn after the horse has run out."⁵ By the time Western nations signed the Treaty, Iraq had established long-standing relationships with reliable suppliers of ballistic missile technology, and had mastered the art of clandestine procurement.

So successful were the Iraqis at beating the controls that they even succeeded in getting Western banks (such as the Atlanta branch of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro) to finance poison gas, ballistic missile, and nuclear technology purchases. And one month after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Iraq's principle clandestine purchasing company, the Trade & Development Group, continued to make deals and arrange shipments to Iraq from its headquarters in London.⁶

It is indeed likely that many of Iraq's clandestine suppliers are continuing their shipments today, using the black market methods they have by now perfected to run the gauntlet of the UN embargo.

A. Chemical Weapons production today

Iraq's chemical weapons (CW) production capability - and its stockpile of CW agents - is so extensive it dwarfs that of all other Middle Eastern nations combined. Iraq may well be the principle manufacturer of chemical weapons in the world today. Its stockpiles of CW and of CW agents rank only third after those of the USSR and the United States, the only other nations in the world to have declared CW stockpiles.

A recent French intelligence estimate, quoted by the newsweekly *l'Express*, identifies three major CW production sites in Iraq, located near the towns of Samarra, Fallujah, and Akashat. Major CW stockpiles are currently maintained north of Fao, at a military laboratory at Balad air base to the north of Baghdad, and in underground stores near the holy city of Kerbala. The production plants, which were designed, built, and equipped by Western companies - most of them German - are now producing from between 1,400 to 2,500 tons of CW agents every year, including mustard gas, cyanide, somar, sarin and tabun.⁷

But even this troubling estimate may fall way short of the mark. *Der Spiegel* reported recently⁸ that a German firm, W.E.T.GmbH, built production lines for Tabun and Sarin nerve gas in Fallujah (identified in contractual documents as Project 33/85) capable of manufacturing 17.6 tons of nerve gas *per day*. For 300 effective production days, this plant alone was therefore capable of putting out 5,280 tons of nerve gas per year - more than twice the maximum estimate advanced by the French for Iraq's entire yearly production of CW agents!

U.S. intelligence officials unequivocally identify Iraq as "the most experienced country in the world" when it comes to the production and use of chemical weapons. Speaking in interviews during the Paris Chemical Weapons conference in January 1989, the officials noted that the Iraqis had "solved the production problem, [and] know how to fill munitions. So they come out of [the Gulf] war more experienced than the U.S. and the Soviet Union" in all aspects of chemical warfare. These sources said the United States had identified seven fully-dedicated CW production facilities in Iraq.⁹

Iraqi weapons plants are now capable of filling a wide variety of munitions with chemical warfare agents, using specially-designed machine tools purchased on the European market. During its war with Iran, Iraq provided ample evidence that it can deliver CW from combat aircraft and by various means on the ground. Known delivery vehicles include Tu-16 and Tu-22 long-range heavy bombers; Su 22 and Mirage F1 EQ5 strike aircraft; MiG 29 fighters; air-to-ground rockets; gravity bombs; air-dropped dispenser tanks; truck or helicopter-mounted dispenser tanks; 122 mm, 152 and 155 mm field howitzers; and long-range multiple-rocket launch systems (the 50/100 km range Ababil system, jointly developed by Iraq and Yugoslavia).

While there is not yet any firm evidence that Iraq has managed to develop chemical warheads for its medium-range ballistic missiles, there can be no doubt that this is one of Iraq's top priorities. The French intelligence evaluation quoted above estimates that a single Iraqi SCUD-B tipped with a CW warhead using a volatile agent would contaminate an area of 100 hectares upon explosion. Use of a persistent agent would increase lethality to 150-250 hectares.

Iraq has also begun developing biological weapons at Salman Pak, a dedicated bacteriological research facility along the Tigris River 17 km south of Baghdad. NBC News reported on April 11, 1990 that Iraq had developed strains of anthrax, typhoid and cholera capable of being packed into biological munitions, and identified one U.S. concern, the Atlanta Centers for Disease Control, as having sent three shipments of West Nile Fever virus to Salman Pak in 1985.¹⁰ German press reports allege that a small German firm from Neustadt am Rügenberge, Josef

Kühn, has delivered small quantities (100 milligrams each) of the deadly Mycotoxins TH-2 and T-2.¹¹

B. The Akashat plant

Iraq first sought to acquire CW agents and technologies abroad in the mid-1970s. Initial attempts were made to purchase precursor chemicals in the United States, but these were blocked by tough on-site inspection requirements by the Carter Administration and by safety considerations brought up by the companies themselves.¹² "At that time," noted Washington Post journalist David Ignatius, "Iraq's main enemy wasn't Iran, but Israel. And it may be Israel, in the long, run that has the most to fear from Iraq's chemical-weapons arsenal."

Iraq intensified its world-wide search for chemical weapons in 1981, when a raid by Israeli Air Force F-16s smashed Iraq's French-built nuclear reactor, and with it, Saddam Hussein's dream of making Iraq the first Arab nation to possess the Islamic Bomb - at least, temporarily. Iraqi agents scoured the world for the materials needed to produce rudimentary chemical weapons such as mustard gas (yperite). This blistering agent, British researcher Julian Perry-Robinson has commented, "is about the easiest CW agent to make once you've got hold of a few common ingredients."¹³

Iraq's first mustard gas plant was completed and in operation by 1983, and appears to have been built with the help of Italian chemical giant Montedison, which was also involved in shipments of CW precursors to Iraq from KBS and Melchimie in Holland, and Atochem in France.¹⁴ Engineering expertise was provided Technipetrol, an Italian

subsidiary of the French oil company Technip, itself part of the Elf-Erap group.¹⁵ This plant is located in the Western desert at Akashat, near the border with Saudi Arabia, some 16 km from town of Rutbah and 370 km West of Baghdad. It is now believed capable of nerve gas production as well.

But there were problems with this procurement scheme.

Shipments of phosphorous oxychloride (a Tabun nerve gas precursor) organized by Montedison were blocked in Italy and in Holland, suppliers became skittish and called back deliveries. Iraq was soon forced to turn its sights elsewhere.

It turned principally to the Federal Republic of Germany.

C. Iraq's 'Special Relationship' with West Germany

Iraq's relationship with Germany goes back a long way. As an ally of the Ottoman Empire during WWI, Germany helped build Iraq's first railroad lines, linking Turkey and Mosul in the north to the Gulf port of Basra in the south. Germany lost its privileged position in Iraq following the Treaty of Versailles, when Iraq became a British protectorate. But in the late 1960s and 1970s, Iraq's Baathist regime sent scores of scientists and technicians to West German universities to learn the best of German science. Their principle interests were mechanical engineering, and chemistry.

One of these students went on to become the head of Iraq's strategic weapons programs. He is a German-trained chemist named Dr. Amer Hammoudi al Saadi. Today, Lt. General al Saadi serves as First Deputy Minister of Industry and Military Industrialization, in charge of that

Ministry's Military Production Authority (MPA). He is the father of Iraq's chemical weapons programs and of its ballistic missiles. He is also the mastermind behind Iraq's clandestine procurement programs in the West.

In a May 1989 interview, Amer al Saadi explained that Iraq had been seeking from the very start to acquire manufacturing technology for its strategic weapons programs, to soften the bite of an eventual embargo. "When we wanted things that we could not obtain from the outside for one reason or another, we made them ourselves. I am personally grateful to many of the "No's" we received from our arms suppliers. This made us insist, and concentrate our efforts" on the procurement of manufacturing technologies. These efforts, Saadi said, had been so vast and so successful that Iraq now has "export capacity" in certain chemicals, including military black powder.¹⁶

A fluent German speaker, married to a German wife, Dr. al Saadi naturally turned to West Germany in the early 1980s when Iraq needed to make discreet, large-scale purchases of chemicals weapons precursors and the technology to manufacture them in Iraq. In doing so, he was able to draw on his extensive knowledge of that country, its language, and culture.

He was also motivated by a keen appreciation of West German export control laws, which until very recently were the most lax in the entire Western world.

One early attempt by a West German chemical manufacturer to export CW precursors to Iraq was blocked in 1981, after a tense exchange between the incoming Reagan Administration and the government of then-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. It involved a company whose very

name evokes the darkest days of German history: pharmaceutical giant, I.G. Farben. "These are the same guys who brought us Zyklon B," one former U.S. official who was involved in blocking the sale pointed out¹⁷. Zyklon B was the gas patented by I.G. Farben and used in Nazi death camps for the extermination of the Jews. Farben also invented Tabun nerve gas in 1937.

On August 22, 1990, German Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann revealed that no fewer than 59 German companies were then under investigation for illicit arms and technology exports to the Middle East, "25 of them specifically involving chemical weapons."¹⁸ Press accounts of West German firms selling strategic technologies to Iraq show that this list is even longer (see Appendix). Over the past year German businessmen have been arrested in several cities for their ties to Iraq, companies have been raided, documents seized. The picture beginning to emerge is of a vast Iraqi pillage of the treasures of West German technology, aided and abetted by the West German authorities in their lust to increase the nation's export earnings.

Der Spiegel has reported extensively on the intimate relationship between the export licensing authority at Eschborn (*Bundesamt für Wirtschaft*, or BfW) and companies involved in illicit technology sales to the Middle East. In its 24 June 1989 issue (24/89), Der Spiegel accused a BfW inspector of working as a paid consultant for a German exporter, Industriewerke Karlsruhe Augsburg (IWKA), to help evade export legislation in order to sell fifteen advanced machine-tools to the Iraqi Military Production Authority in Baghdad. The machine-tools were used to make 155 mm chemical shells for Iraqi field guns.

As a general rule, Spiegel asserts, Eschborn licensing officials saw their role as "helping industry, not hindering it." Dubious exports of this kind approved by Eschborn in recent years have included more than three thousand sophisticated machine-tools sold since 1986 to the Soviet military industries in violation of COCOM rules¹⁹, in-flight refueling probes sold to the Libyan Air Force in contravention of German law²⁰, nuclear reprocessing technology sold to Pakistan in violation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty²¹, chemical weapons delivered to Iraq and Libya, and gas ultracentrifuges capable of enriching uranium for Iraq's nuclear weapons program.²²

This centrifuge case, which focuses on the H + H Metalform Company of Drensteinfurt, is incredibly the only investigation currently being pursued by the West German authorities involving nuclear technologies. But published accounts show that several other companies were involved, including the West German nuclear consortium Nukem, and half a dozen speciality steel companies..²³

D. Karl Kolb, or the 'Secrets of Samarra'

Iraq's main CW production complex is located on a 25 square kilometer plot in the desert 120 km north of Baghdad, near the holy city of Samarra. The plant is managed under the auspices of the State Establishment for the Production of Pesticides, or SEPP, and is run by a certain Dr. Al Ani. A BBC "Panorama" documentary broadcast on October 27, 1986 revealed extensive details of the complex, including a SPOT satellite photograph. A separate CW manufacturing plant was

reportedly completed in 1988 at a new site just to the north of Samarra.²⁴

The 'Secrets of Samarra,' as the BBC called their documentary, were the type of secrets everyone knows but does nothing about. For the Samarra "pesticides" plant, which was built by a consortium of West German companies led by Karl Kolb GmbH, had been an open secret since February 1984. And nobody had been able - or willing - to stop it from producing chemical weapons, despite clear and repeated warnings.

The supply of precursor chemicals is often difficult to trace. Scores of different chemicals are involved, and until recently many were not controlled in any way. As Julian Perry-Robinson put it, "There are so many brokers, so many intermediaries, that it takes a skilled investigator to track these things down. A single train-load of chemicals can change hands six times on its way from the factory to the port, so all trace of its origin gets lost."²⁵

But once Iraq began using its newly-perfected CW arsenal in large scale attacks against Iranian troops in February 1984, the wraps were off. Tongues were loosed, documents began to get passed around. Within weeks, one supplier of CW technology and chemicals to Iraq had been publicly identified. It was Karl Kolb GmbH, of Drieich, West Germany. The CIA eventually leaked a classified report on the Samarra plant to the New York Times. The Times presented it by saying there was "overwhelming" evidence that Iraq had embarked on a major nerve gas (Tabun) production plant in Samarra.²⁶

The CIA report detailed deliveries to Iraq by Karl Kolb and by a subsidiary company called Pilot Plant, which had been set up especially to handle the Iraqi deal. Among the equipment they delivered were the

glass-lined reactor vessels needed for mixing such lethal compounds as Sarin and Tabun nerve gas. Other equipment was subcontracted out to a West German company called Quast, located at Inden-Pier, near Duren by the Dutch border.

After repeated American protests, Chancellor Helmut Kohl is said to have intervened to stop the supplies in August 1984²⁷. But Karl Kolb eventually sued the government, and won. In October 1984, two Karl Kolb engineers returned to Iraq to inspect two brand new poison gas production lines called "Ahmed 1" and "Ahmed 2."²⁸ In other words, despite the posturing of the Kohl government, the gas business went on as usual. In fact, Karl Kolb kept supplying Iraq for at least another four years, with little or no intervention from the West German government.²⁹

"During those years," according to one West German Parliamentarian, "the Americans sent over one thousand "non-papers" to the German government" on the Iraqi poison gas programs, and the involvement of German companies. "They were simply filed away and ignored."³⁰

In the meantime, another West German company, Water Engineering Trading (W.E.T.), was identified in press reports of having signed a 20 million DM contract with Iraq in 1985, to build production lines at a SEPP complex in Fallujah, one for tabun and another for sarin. The contract, known as "Project 33/85," included delivery of 17.6 tons of phosphorus trichloride, a known nerve gas precursor. A follow-on deal was signed by W.E.T. in June 1987. One hundred West German technicians and workers were sent to Iraq to supervise construction and installation³¹

The al Fallujah poison gas plant is located to the West of Baghdad near the Habbaniyah air base, and it is a crucial facility as far as Iraq's independence from any international embargo is concerned. This is where Iraqi chemists are now making the poison gas precursor chemicals they previously had to import from Europe and the United States. Not only does this huge industrial complex include a vast chemicals plant, but al-Fallujah is where the MPA manufactures most of its ballistic missile fuselages³². Dozens of European and American companies have contributed to it in one way or another, including MBB, Ifat, the Consen Group, Feneberg, and W.E.T.

W.E.T. was in fact little more than a shell company, to cover the private deals with Iraq of two employees of a major West German chemical producer, Preussag AG. Because they had no in-house employees to speak of, W.E.T. had to "purchase" its expertise elsewhere. So it turned to a French chemicals manufacturer, Atochem (a wholly-owned subsidiary of the French national oil company, Elf-Aquitaine), to learn how to handle the extremely dangerous substances it was supposed to deliver to Iraq.³³

W.E.T also built a small research laboratory at Samarra, where the lethality of the "pesticides" it manufactured in Iraq could be tested on living subjects. In this case, the subjects were dogs and cats, but their resistance to the various "pesticides" made at Samarra was measured in seconds, not minutes or hours. As one of the German engineers who helped build this particular laboratory remarked later, it was indeed "strange" that such tests on live animals would be required for a plant making only pesticides or pharmaceuticals.³⁴

Iraq's leaders had a curious notion of human life. Iraqi generals frequently referred to Iran's human wave attackers as so many "insects,." As one broadcast from Baghdad Voice of the Masses radio put it, Iraq had prepared "a certain insecticide for every kind of insect."³⁵

E. The German government report.

The real "secret" of Samarra was how it remained a secret for so long. Despite the early press coverage of German involvement in building the plant, little or nothing was done to stop it in Bonn. The Kohl government admitted as much when it presented its only public report to Parliament on the Samarra plant. That report was dated December 20, 1988.³⁶ In other words - more than four years after the first accounts appeared in the press about poison gas deliveries to Iraq, and five years after the first backdoor warnings from the U.S. government about the involvement of German companies.

In its 1988 report, the German government states that its investigation into illicit chemical weapons sales to Iraq only began in November 1987. On November 25, 1987, the German police carried out searches on 29 individuals and/or companies, the report states, believed to be engaged in chemical weapons sales to Iraq. Seized documents were turned over to German Customs. The report named the following German companies as the principle offenders:

- W.E.T. (Walter Engineering Trading) GmbH of Hamburg;
- Karl Kolb GmbH & Co KG, of Creieich bei Offenbach;
- Pilot Plant GmbH, of Dreieich;
- Prussag AG, of Hannover; and

- Heberger Bau GmbH, Schifferstadt bei Ludwigshafen.

By December 1988, a total of 38 persons had been indicted, and more than 50 searches had been carried out. But the West German government "still lacks complete proof" that anything illegal had occurred, the report concluded. It was a remarkable admission.

In his written reply to this report, Opposition Parliamentarian Norbert Gansel wondered whether the shipments to Iraq continued out of "coincidence, or does it prove the powerlessness of the government when confronted with big business interests?" Or even worse, Gansel wondered, did the Samarra case point to an "undeclared government policy?" Despite insistent requests by Gansel and other German parliamentarians, the Federal Government in Bonn has never provided a more detailed accounting of poison gas shipments to Iraq, either in public or in executive session.

F. Short-list of German Contributors

The count of German companies involved in supplying Iraq with poison gas, ballistic missiles, and the manufacturing equipment to produce them locally is still mounting. But this much is sure: the real 'secrets of Samarra' are not in Iraq, but in Bonn.

The following summary has been extracted from the more complete data base listing in the appendix. Interested readers can refer to that listing for source material.

Anton Eyerle:

mobile toxological labs

Aviatest (Rheinmetall subsidiary):	production equipment for the Samarra plant; wind tunnels to the Saad 16 R&D complex in Mosul
BP (Germany):	chemicals research equipment
Blohm (a Körber AG subsidiary):	machine-tools to the Saad 16 R&D center
Carl Zeiss:	unspecified equipment to CW plants
Degussa:	unspecified equipment to Saad 16 R&D center
Fritz Werner Industrie :	CNC machine-tools
Gildemeister Projecta GmbH:	Main contractor for Saad 16 R&D research center, which was signed on 16/1/84
Heberger Bau GmbH:	Construction work on chemical weapons plants
I.B.I. Engineering:	Construction of CW plants; used as middleman by Preussag for CW equipment deliveries
Infracplan:	Nerve gas plant in Falluja (Project 9230)
Integral/Sauer Informatic/ICME:	Computer programming for Saad 16 R&D complex
Iveco/Magirus- Deutz:	Vehicles for mobile toxicological laboratories
Josef Kühn:	Bacteriological weapons (Mycotoxins TH-2, T-2)
Karl Kolb:	Principle supplier of equipment and chemicals for Samarra plant. In July 1987, got additional order to contribute to chemical weapons research lab at Saad 16.
Körber AG:	machine-tools for Saad 16
KWU:	nuclear technology
Mauser:	machine tools for weapons production; weapons R&D

MBB:	laboratory equipment for CW research; extensive cooperation for on Iraqi missile programs via the Consen Group in Zug, Switzerland; provided training, drawings, engineering support; fuel-air explosives licenses.
Pilot Plant:	extensive deliveries of production equipment for Samarra and al-Falluja CW plants. In 1989, the company was dissolved.
Plato-Kuehn	Toxins for biological weapons
Preussag:	Special water-purification equipment for Samarra CW plant
Quast:	Reactor vessels for Sarin production
Rhema-Labortechnik:	Ventilation systems for CW research unit at Samarra
Sigma Chemie:	Bacteriological weapons, precursor virus
Thyssen:	Weapons and munitions manufacturing equipment
Tesa:	Unknown manufacturing equipment
Transtecnica (an MBB subsidiary):	Principle technology supplier for Saad 16 R&D complex. Was searched by German Customs in 1989.
WET Engineering:	CW Precursors for mustard gas, Sarin, and Tabun; Sarin and Tabun production lines at al-Falluja CW plant. The managers of this company were arrested in 1990.
WTB Walter Thosti Boswau:	Equipement for manufacturing nerve gas

G. Project 395

Poison gas is inherently a weapon of barbarity and terror. But coupled to ballistic missiles, capable of delivering CW warheads to targets hundreds of kilometers away, poison gas becomes a strategic weapon, capable of altering the regional, and even global balance of power.

Project 395 is the overall name given by Iraq's Military Production Authority to its ballistic missile projects. From the very start, Iraq has developed these and other delivery vectors (long-range penetration bombers, such as the Mirage 2000, or the "super-gun" of assassinated Canadian ballistics engineer, Dr. Gerald Bull) as a means of extending its influence throughout the Middle East, and from there, to the entire Mediterranean world. Like the chemical weapons programs, Project 395 was spearheaded by Iraq's German-trained chemist, Lt. General Dr Amer Hammoudi al Saadi.

There were four main parts to Project 395.

- a state-of-the-art research and development complex, called Saad 16, engineered by German and Austrian firms in Mosul;
- a "metal-bending" plant, where missile bodies were altered (for the SCUD-B upgrades), or manufactured from scratch (for Iraq's solid-fuel missile projects). This was dubbed Project 124, and was co-located with the Tabun and Sarin production plant near the town of al-Fallujah;
- a solid fuel propellant manufacturing plant called Project 96, built at al-Hillah, 17 km south of Baghdad. This was where the British

journalist Farzod Bazoft had travelled to investigate a major explosion which occurred in August 1989³⁷.

- the An-Anbar Space Research Center, built in the desert near Kerbala, where Iraq launched its first experimental three-stage rocket on December 5, 1989.

Since April 1987, many of the technologies Iraq has been seeking for its missile programs have fallen under Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) guidelines. Before that time, Iraq purchased much of its best technology in the United States, in perfectly legal deals approved by the Department of Commerce.

In a February 27, 1985 letter sent to DoC from the Director of the Saad General Establishment (the general contractor for Saad 16), M.B. Namody, said the center would contain 76 labs and workshops. A list he appended to his letter got more specific. Most of the labs dealt with fields applicable to missile and Chemical weapons research, such as fuel production, vibration and friction effects, the stability of mixtures, aerodynamics, turbo machines, microwaves, etc.

Here are a few examples of equipment approved for sale by the DoC to the Saad 16 R&D facility in Mosul.³⁸

- On May 9, 1985, a German firm requested export of a U.S. televideo graphics display to Saad 16 (DoC Case A897641). The case was approved without condition.

- On July 5, 1985, an American firm sought to export electronic equipment to Saad 16, including a 100 Hz spectrum analyzer, network analyzer, five 18 GHz electronic counters, and six 275 MHz oscilloscopes (DoC case BO17620). The case was approved without condition.

- On September 3, 1985, an American firm sought to export a hybrid electronic computer system for use in the complex (DoC case B042361). The case was suspended.

- On December 26, 1985, an American company sought to export a 10 MHz-40 GHz scalar network analyzer system to Saadi 16 (DoC case B075875). The case was approved without condition.

Even after the signature of the MTCR, a few cases got through. Among them were these:

- On June 3, 1987, a U.S. company requested permission to export a 19.9 Mbit computer system to Saad 16 "for process control and data evaluation (DoC case 232594). The case was approved without conditions.

- On April 28, 1988, an American firm tried to export two linear microcircuits to the University of Mosu for use in an oscilloscope (DoC case B320131). The case was approved without conditions.

But for the most part, the MTCR forced Iraq to seek engineering and state-of-the-art missile technology elsewhere.

Once again, it turned primarily to West Germany.

H. The MBB/Consen Connection

According to press accounts appearing in Austria, West Germany and Great Britain, Messerschmidt Bölkow Blohm was the prime contractor of Iraq's solid fuel missile programs.³⁹ Norbert Gansel, the Opposition Parliamentary expert in Bonn, says MBB began a basic research program in Iraq in 1984, but told the West German government it would "phase out" its cooperation with Iraq in 1985 because the military purpose of the program had become known⁴⁰ By 1987, MBB was

still present in Iraq - in the Saad 16 R&D complex in Mosul, and elsewhere. But soon thereafter the German aerospace giant passed on its share to a Swiss-base consulting group called Consen.

In fact, Consen's Director, Karl Adolf Hammer, had been chief of MBB's Armaments Technology Division until 1987⁴¹, and when he set up Consen he brought over as many as one hundred MBB engineers. Consen continued to work with an MBB subsidiary, MBB Transtechnica, to acquire specialized equipment for Saad 16. And it set up a web of front companies specialized in clandestine technology procurements throughout Europe.

Wholly-owned Consen subsidiaries began operating in Monaco (Consen S.A.M, Consen Investment S.A.M), Switzerland (Condor Projekt A.B., IFAT Corporation Ltd, Consen S.A., Desintec A.G), Austria (Delta Consult GmbH, Delta System GmbH), Jersey (Transtechno Ltd), and West Germany (GPA, PBG).⁴² Consen also sought technologies from Sagem in France (inertial guidance systems), Snia BpD in Italy (solid-fuel propellants), Bofors in Sweden (electronics), Wegmann in West Germany (rocket launch systems) The German transport giant, M.A.N, provided essential parts of the missile launch vehicle.

MBB apparently kept working on the missile projects until very recently. A BBC documentary in September 1990 stated that MBB had provided Iraq with sophisticated warhead technology⁴³, which it may have gleaned from its participation in SDI research carried out for the U.S. Department of Defense⁴⁴

And these were only some of the largest suppliers of Iraq's ballistic missile programs. Here are a few more:

In Austria:

- Consultco, an engineering firm drew up design plans and blueprints for the Saad 16 plant;
- Hutter und Shranz, a construction firm that sent workers to build weapons labs at the Mosul site;
- Ilbau, an explosives expert that provided special "blow-out walls" for the missile test labs and explosive labs. If there was an accident, these shelters were designed to pop-out to allow explosive energy to escape instead of destroying the entire building;

In Germany:

- Blohm Maschinbau, Waldrich-Siege, and Fritz Werner provided Computer-controlled numerical machine-tools for various weapons plants;
- Gildemeister Projecta of Bielefeld provided a wide variety of machine-tools, engineering and contracting services, and was the prime contractor for the Saad 16 facility;
- Integral/Sauer Informatic/ICME, provided 10.6 million DM of computer programs;
- Leifeld & Co provided sophisticated rocket nozzles, a stumbling block to many Third World missile programs;
- Siemens provided special electronics for the automatic control of complex rocket fuel mixtures;

Other suppliers are listed in the data base in the appendix.

Conclusion

Iraq has pursued its strategic weapons plants with a determination rarely seen in the Third World. Its engineers and industrial managers

have shown increasing expertise at selecting programs and promising technologies, and for getting them organized in record time. They have also proved themselves to be masters of black market procurement. Over the past decade, Iraqi buyers have literally run circles round Western intelligence agencies. And in most cases, they did so by finding allies at the political level of Western governments who would support their purchasing programs for purely mercantile reasons.

The bottom line was drawn clearly in testimony last year before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Director of Central Intelligence, William Webster.

Asked whether Iraq or Libya could have developed its poison gas production capability alone, he replied: "the principle is that none of these countries were able to develop their own capability without foreign assistance. Much of that foreign assistance came from West German companies."⁴⁵

The company register, developed from Middle East Data Project® files, contain listings for over 200 companies that have been involved in supplying Iraq with chemical, ballistic missile, or sophisticated weapons technology.

They do *not* include conventional weapons exports. Conventional weapons exports, which have been compiled by the Middle East Data Project®, involve more than 1,000 companies in nearly thirty nations.

Abbreviations:

BW = biological/bacteriological weapons

CW = chemical weapons, technology, and/or precursor chemicals

MT = missile technology and/or manufacturing equipment

Nuclear = nuclear weapons and uranium enrichment, technology, equipment, and materials

WT = weapons technology and/or manufacturing equipment. This category primarily focuses on the "super-gun" case.

Saddam's Foreign Suppliers

Companies supplier Iraq's unconventional weapons programs

Country of domiciliation	Number of firms
Argentina	3
Austria	17
Belgium	8
Brazil	1
Switzerland	11
Egypt	1
France	16
Federal Republic of Germany	86
Greece	1
Holland	2
India	1
Iraq	2
Italy	12
Japan	1
Jersey	1
Monaco	2
Poland	1
Spain	4
Sweden	1
UK	18
USA	18
Total	207

Data base

Iraq's sources of unconventional technologies

<u>Company</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Equipment delivered</u>	<u>Source</u>
Aerotech (Buenos Aires)	Argentina	MT	Consen group, missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Conseltech SA	Argentina	MT	Consen group, missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Intesa S.A. (Cordoba)	Argentina	MT	Consen group, missile tech	FT 20/11/89
AST Consult Co	Austria	CW	Laboratory construction	Profil, 6/3/89
Consultco	Austria	CW	SAAD 16 construction	Spiegel 13/89
Emmerich-Assman	Austria	CW	Owner of Hutter and Schrantz	Profil 6/3/89
Feneberg	Austria	CW	Construction planning	Profil, 24/4/90
Lenhardt Metal Construction and Roofing	Austria	CW	Steel construction, CW plant	Kurier, 13/1/90
Neue Berger	Austria	CW	Percursor chemicals	Austria State Radio, 4/1/89
Swatek and Cerny	Austria	CW	Sanitary equipment	Profil 6/3/89
Consultco	Austria	MT	Saad 16 Engineering	Stern 26/1/89
Delta Consult Studien GmbH	Austria	MT	Electronics, plans (Consen)	Kurier, 13/5/90
Delta System GmbH	Austria	MT	Consen group; missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Girozentrale Bank	Austria	MT	Financing of weapons lab	Profil 6/3/90
Hutter und Shranz	Austria	MT	Construction of weapons lab	Profil 6/3/89
Ilbau	Austria	MT	Blow-out walls, missile plant	Profil, 8/5/89
Denzel	Austria	WT	Helicopters from MBB	AFP
Hirtenberger	Austria	WT	Percussion caps and traction machines	Profil 13/8/90
Steyer-Daimler-Puch	Austria	WT	Nonferrous-metal cartridge case facility	Profil 24/4/90
Voest-Alpine	Austria	WT	GC-45 Howitzers	The New York Times Magazine 26/8/90
Philips Petroleum	Belgium	CW	Thiodiglycol sold to KBS	BBC Panorama 2/2/87
Sebata	Belgium	CW	Built CW plant	The Washington Post 25/8/90
PRB (Poudrieres Reunies de Belgique)	Belgium	MT	Solid fuel, munitions/rockets	Groot Bijgaarden De Standaard 17/5/90, WSJ 19/4/90, At Tayar 4/9/90
Amalgamated Trading Ind. (ATT)	Belgium	WT	Super-gun	Groot Bijgaarden De Standaard 18/5/90, Monde et Vie
Cockerill	Belgium	WT	Super gun parts	
Forges de Zeebrugge Herstal	Belgium	WT	Super gun parts	
Six Construct	Belgium	WT	Air base construction	Mednews 3,21/22 (27/8/90)
Space Research Corp	Belgium	WT	Super-gun prime contractor	
Avibras	Brazil	MT	Joint missile R&D programs	Mednews 1,12 (21/11/88)
Companies Inc.	CH	CW	Chemical precursors	New York Times 31/1/89
IFAT Corp Ltd	CH	CW	Engineering, Saad 16	Spiegel 18/89, Profil 24/4/89
Condor Projekt A.G.	CH	MT	Consen group, missile tech	FT 21/11/89
Consen S.A. (Zug)	CH	MT	Missile technology; provided 150 electronics and computer engineers	FT 20/11/89; NBC News 30/6/89, Kurier (Austria)13/5/90
Desintec A.G. (Zug)	CH	MT	Consen group, missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Schaeublin	CH	Nuclear	Tools for nuclear facility	Berliner Tagesspiegel 22/8/90
Schmiedemeccanica	CH	Nuclear	Centrifuge assemblies	Tages Anzeiger 3/9/90, Berliner Tagesspiegel 22/8/90

Georg Fischer	CH	WT	Tadji, casting molds, machinery for cannon plant	Spiegel 28/90, 11/7/90
Space Research Corp	CH	WT	Super-gun procurement office	
Von Roll	CH	WT	Taji, super-gun parts	Tribune de Geneve, 17/6/90, the New York Times Magazine 26/8/90
VUF AG (Verwaltung und Finanzierung)	CH	WT	Middleman, financing	Mednews 2/4/90
WTB International AG	Egypt	CW	Saad 16, controler	Spiegel 19/89
Atochem	France	CW	Sarin precursors to Montedison	BBC Panorama 2/2/87
Carbone Lorraine	France	CW	Subcontractor to Protec	Nouvel Observateur 20/9/90
Le Vide Industriel	France	CW	Subcontractor to Protec,	Nouvel Observateur 20/9/90
Pirep	France	CW	Subcontractor to Protec	Nouvel Observateur 20/9/90
Prévost	France	CW	Subcontractor to Protec	Nouvel Observateur 20/9/90
Protec SA	France	CW	French partner to Karl Kolb; purchased manufacturing equipment and Tabun precursors for Samarra plant.	Nouvel Observateur 20/9/90; IHT 21/9/90
SVCM	France	CW	Subcontractor to Protec	Nouvel Observateur 20/9/90
Sagem	France	MT	Missile guidance systems	Mednews No 1.17, 30/5/88, The New York Times 24/5/90
SEP	France	MT	Rocket motors, nozzles	Mednews 3,21 (12/4/90); SEP denies
SNPE	France	MT	Solid rocket fuel (w/Snia Bpd)	Mednews 3, 12 (12/4/90)
Framatome	France	Nuclear	Nuclear fuel for Osirak reactor	CEA
St. Gobain	France	Nuclear	Nuclear Technologies	Mednews 2/4/90
Technatome	France	Nuclear	Osiris nuclear reactor	CEA
Usinor-Sacilor	France	Nuclear	Special steels for centrifuges	Spiegel, 8/90
Intespace	France	WT	High resolution infrared cameras for observation satellites. Via Brazil?	Defence, Dec. 1989
Thomson-CSF	France	WT	Saad 13 electronics factory	Jane's Defense Weekly, 6/4/85
Tesa	FRG	??	??	Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Josef Kühn	FRG	BW	Mycotoxins TH-2, T-2	Spiegel 33/90
Anton Eyerle	FRG	CW	Mobile toxological labs	Spiegel 4/89
Aviatest (Rheinmetall subsidiary)	FRG	CW	Saad 16: wind tunnel for for missile and aerodynamics research	Spiegel 33/1990, Profil 6/3/89
BP	FRG	CW	Military research	Spiegel 13/89, 33,90
Carl Zeiss	FRG	CW	Equipment for Saad 16 CW lab	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990
Deutsch BP	FRG	CW	Military research	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990
Heberger Bau GmbH	FRG	CW	Buildings for CW plant	Bundestag, 20/12/88
I.B.I.	FRG	CW	Construction, procurement	Spiegel 3/89, Stern 26/6/89
Industriewerke Karlsruhe, Augsburg (IWKA)	FRG	CW	Machinetools, CW packing	Spiegel 24/6/89
Infraplan	FRG	CW	Project 9230, nerve gas plant,	Stern 1/89, NBC News
Iveco/Magirus /Deutz	FRG	CW	Vehicle for mobile labs	Spiegel 4/89
Karl Kolb	FRG	CW	Saad 16, laboratory equipment for material testing; biological agent equipment; Prime contractor of Samarra CW plant	NYT 8/8/84, Spiegel 3/89, Stern 27/3/89, ChristianScience Monitor 13/12/89
MBB	FRG	CW	CW lab equipment for Saad 16	Stern 26/1/89
Pilot Plant, dissolved	FRG	CW	Equipment for Samarra plant	Spiegel 3/89, NY Times
Plato-Kuehn	FRG	CW	Toxins	Spiegel 30/1/89

Preussag	FRG	CW	Water-treatment, buildings for Samarra CW facility	BBC Panorama 2/2/87, Spiegel 13/8/90
Quast	FRG	CW	Reactor vessels for Sarin; corrosion-resistant alloy parts	BBC Panorama 2/2/87, Christian Science Monitor 13/1/89, Spiegel 13/8/90
Rhein-Bayern Vehicle Construction Rhema-Labortechnik	FRG FRG	CW CW	Mobile toxicological lab Inhalation system for toxic research	Spiegel 4/89 Washington Times 31/1/89
Sigma Chemie	FRG	CW	Precursors for BW	Monde et Vie
Sigma Chemie	FRG	CW	??	Spiegel 13/4/90, NY Times
W.E.T Engineering	FRG	CW	Precursors, production plant	Stern 26/1/89
WTB Walter Thosti Boswau	FRG	CW	Nerve gas plants	
AEG	FRG	MT	Weapons and ammunition production equipment	Spiegel 33/1990
Blohm Maschinbau	FRG	MT	Saad 16, computer controlled grinding facilities	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990
Brown Boveri	FRG	MT	Electronics	Profil, 8/5/89
Daimler-Benz	FRG	MT	Vehicules	Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Degussa	FRG	MT	Saad 16, military research; unspecified equip at CW plant	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990
Fritz Werner Industrie Ausrüstungen	FRG	MT	Machine-tools	Spiegel 13/89, Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Gildemeister Projecta GmbH	FRG	MT	General contractor for SAAD16 missile programs, computer programs; supplied machine tools, test equipment	Stern 26/1/89, 9/8/90 Spiegel 13/89, 24/90
GPA	FRG	MT	Consen group	Financial Times 21/11/89
Integral/Sauer Informatic/IC:E	FRG	MT	Saad 16, computer programs	Stern 26/6/89
Leifeld & Co	FRG	MT	Rocket nozzles, via Nasr (GB)	Der Spiegel 28/90
M.A.N.	FRG	MT	Tadji, missile launcher parts	Financial Times 21/11/89, Spiegel 28/90
Maschinenfabrik Ravensburg	FRG	MT	machine-tools	Spiegel 33/1990
Mauser-Werke	FRG	MT	Saad 16, research	Spiegel 13/89, 33/1990
MBB	FRG	MT	Training, engineering, R&D; electronics & testing of Condor II missile	Stern 9/8/90
Nickel GmbH (Hamburg)	FRG	MT	Climate control, missile plant	Vienna Profil, 8/5/89
PBG (Freiburg)	FRG	MT	Consen group; missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Promex Explorations GmbH	FRG	MT	Middleman, CW, missile tech	Mednews 3,12 (12/4/90)
Rheinmetall	FRG	MT	Tadji, missile propellants; parent firm of Aviatest	Spiegel 28/90, Monde et Vie, Profil 6/3/89
Siemens	FRG	MT	Electronic rocket fuel mixers; precision lathes and computer control equipment; programming equipment for Tadji complex; non-echoing room for Saad 16 missile R&D	(DS 27/3/89)
International Trade Consulting SA Transtecnica (MBB subsidiary)	FRG	MT	Main Saad 16 subcontractor, providing lab equipment for missile and CW R&D	Stern 26/1/89; NBC News, 3/3/89, Spiegel 18/89, 19/89
Waldrich-Siegen	FRG	MT	Machine-tools at missile plant	K. Timmerman; La Grande Fauche (Paris, Editions Plon, 1989).
Wegmann	FRG	MT	Tractor rocket launch system	Financial Times 20/11/89

Weiss Technik	FRG	MT	Hot & cold chambers	Vienna Profil, 8/5/89
Dillinger Huette-Sarstahl	FRG	Nuclear	Special steels for centrifuges	Spiegel, 13/8/90
Export-Union GmbH	FRG	Nuclear	Metal for production of gas centrifuges	Spiegel 13/8/90
Ferrostaal (MAN subsidiary)	FRG	Nuclear	Main contractor, Tadj	Spiegel 28/90, 32/90, 33/90
H+H Metalform GmbH	FRG	Nuclear	Rolling mill to manufacture centrifuges, computer controlled facility for material checks, hardening of cannon barrels, cartridge cases, missile bodies	Spiegel 9/7/90, 13/8/90, 33/90, AFP
Inwako GmbH	FRG	Nuclear	Ring magnets for uranium enrichment processing plant; SCUD-missile upgrade	Spiegel 35/90, 20/8/90
KWU	FRG	Nuclear	Reactor core technologies	Mednews 2/4/90
Leybold AG	FRG	Nuclear	Tadj, high-temperature furnace; recasting plants for cannon factory	Nucleonics Week 9/8/90, Spiegel 6/8/90, 32/90, 33/90
M.A.N. Technologies Ltd	FRG	Nuclear	Middleman for H+H	Der Spiegel 18/12/89
Nukem	FRG	Nuclear	U-235 fuel pins; blocked	Spiegel 33/1990; Energy Daily, 2/10/80
Saarstahl	FRG	Nuclear	Maraging steel for centrifuge production at Tadj complex	Spiegel 33/1990
TüV	FRG	Nuclear	Materials testing, Tadj	Spiegel 33/90
ABB (Mannheim)	FRG	WT	Electrical equipment for furnaces at Tadj complex	Spiegel 28/90, 33/1990
Buderus, Feldmühle subsidiary	FRG	WT	Casting technology for cannon plant at Tadj	Spiegel, 32/90, 33/1990
Daimler Benz	FRG	WT	Security vehicles	Der Spiegel 27/3/89
Dynamit Nobel (Troisdorf)	FRG	WT	Explosives	Spiegel 33/1990
Faun	FRG	WT	Transportation facilities	Spiegel 13/8/90
Hochtief (Essen)	FRG	WT	Construction, Tadj	Spiegel 28/90, 32/90, 33/1990
Klöckner Industrie-Anlage GmbH	FRG	WT	Steel boiler, foundry, compressors, machine parts for Tadj	Spiegel 9/8/90, 32/90, 33/1990
Krauss-Kopf	FRG	WT	Unspecified equipment at weapons plant	International Herald Tribune 7-8/1/89
Lasco Umformtechnik	FRG	WT	Weapon and ammunition manufacturing facilities	Spiegel 33/1990
LOI Industrieofenanlagen	FRG	WT	Special furnaces for hardening steel at Tadj complex	SPIEGEL 32/90, 33/1990
Ludwig Hammer	FRG	WT	Unspecified equipment at weapons plant	International Herald Tribune 7-8/1/89
M.A.N. Roland	FRG	WT	Transportation equipment	Spiegel 13/8/90
Mannesmann (Duisberg)	FRG	WT	Super gun components	Spiegel 33/1990
Mannesmann Demag-Hüttentechnik	FRG	WT	Casting equipment for Tadj	Spiegel 28/90
Mannesmann-Rexroth	FRG	WT	Components for super-gun	Groot Bijgaarden De Standaard (Belgium) 8/5/90
Marposs (Krefeld)	FRG	WT	Weapon and ammunition production facilities	Spiegel 33/1990
Matuschka	FRG	WT	Parent of Leico (Leifeld & Co)	Spiegel 9/7/90
MBB	FRG	WT	License for fuel-air explosives	BBC Panorama 3/9/90
Ravensburg	FRG	WT	Boring equipment for cannon manufacturer at Tadj	Spiegel 32/90, 33/90
Ruhrigas	FRG	WT	Tadj	Spiegel 32/90, 33/90

Schirmer-Plate-Siempeklamp	FRG	WT	Weapon and ammunition production facilities	Spiegel 33/1990
Schmidt, Kranz & Co	FRG	WT	Computer controlled facility for materials checks, hardening of artillery tubes	Spiegel 33/90
SMS Hasenclever	FRG	WT	Forging press for Tadj	Spiegel 32/90, 33/1990
TBT Tiefbohrtechnik	FRG	WT	Machine tools, Tadj complex	Spiegel 32/1990
Thyssen	FRG	WT	??	Spiegel 33/1990 (13/8/90)
Züblin	FRG	WT	Steel plant at Tadj complex	Spiegel 28/90, 33/1990
Dango & Dienenthal	FRG	WY	Molten metal treatment, Tadj	Spiegel 9/7/90, 33/1990
Körber AG (parent firm of Blohm)	FRG	MT	Machine-tools for Saad 16	Spiegel 13/89
Advanced Technology Institute	Greece	WT	Super-gun engineering w/SRC	NYT Mag 26/8/90; Figaro 1/6/90
KBS	Holland	CW	Thiodiglycol	BBC Panorama, 2/2/87
Melchemie	Holland	CW	Precursor chemicals	Spiegel 3/89, Christian Science Monitor 13/12/88
Transpek India Ltd	India	CW	Trionyl chloride	Far Eastern Economic Review, 30/8/90
Teco (German-owned)	Iraq	CW	Tadj, (middle-man??)	Spiegel 33/90
Al-Arabi Trading company	Iraq	MT	State-owned front; owns TDG	MEED, 22/9/89
Ausidet	Italy	CW	Sarin precursors for Montedison	BBC Panorama, 2/2/87
Montedison	Italy	CW	Sarin Precursors to Melchemie	BBC Panorama 2/2/87
Snia Techint (Fiat group)	Italy	CW	CW lab for Saad 16	Mednews 3,12 (2/4/90)
Technipetrole	Italy	CW	Nerve gas plant, Akashat	Libération 12/3/84
Snia Bpd	Italy	MT	Solid rocket fuel	Mednews 3,12 (12/4/90)
Euromac (European Manufacturer Center)	Italy	Nuclear	Iraqi front; krytron triggers	AFP, AP, 29/3/90, Spiegel 9/7/90
Snia Techint (Fiat group)	Italy	Nuclear	Hot Cells for Thuwailha	L'Express 4/10/80
BNL (Banco Nazionale del Lavoro)	Italy	WT	Financing	
Danieli	Italy	WT	Tadj, steel rolling mill	Spiegel 28/90
Ilva	Italy	WT	Forge equipment	Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (ILVA)	Italy	WT	Owens Fucine; super-gun parts	Reuters 14/5/90
Societa delle Fucine	Italy	WT	Super gun parts (ILVA)	Reuters 14/5/90, Financial Times, 15/5/90
Minolta	Japan	WT	Duplicating equipment	NBC News, Monde et Vie
Transtechno Ltd	Jersey	MT	Consen group, missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Consen Investment S.A.M	Monaco	MT	Consen group, financing	FT 20/11/89
Consen S.A.M	Monaco	MT	Consen group; Missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Chemadex	Poland	Nuclear	Repair work on uranium processing plant	Washington Post 25/8/90
Int'l Trade Consulting SA	Spain	MT	Middleman, missile tech	Mednews 3,12 (12/4/90)
Casa	Spain	WT	Helicopters from MBB	AFP
Trebelan	Spain	WT	Steel cradles for super-gun	Financial Times 26/5/90, Monde et Vie 23/8/90
International Trade Consulting SA	Spain	MT	Middleman for missile tech	Mednews 3/12 (12/4/90)
Bofors	Sweden	MT	Electronics; Missile launchers	Financial Times 26/5/90, Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Canira Technical Corp	UK	MT	50% share owned by TDG; attempted buyout of Learfan, Belfast, to acquire carbon-carbon technology	MEED, 22/9/89
Matrix Churchill	UK	MT	Machine-tools, precision lathes (owned by Iraq)	WSJ, US News and World Report 4/6/90, MD
Nasr Dependance Meed Int'l	UK	MT	Iraqi front; rocket nozzles	Der Spiegel 28/90
SRC Composites	UK	MT	Joint venture SRC/TDG; attempted buy-out of Canira/ Learjet factory in Ireland, 1989	Financial Times 17/4/90
TMG Engineering	UK	MT	Iraqi front (TDG); bought Matrix-Churchill	MEED 22/9/89

Trade Development Group	UK	MT	Iraqi-owned front, MT & WT purchases, finance of carbon-tipped machine tool plant	BBC Panorama 3/9/90, Mednews 2/4/90
Transtechno UK	UK	MT	Consen group, missile tech	FT 20/11/89
Consarc Engineering	UK	Nuclear	High-temperature ovens	NY Times 16/7/90
Astra Holdings	UK	WT	Super-gun parts, owner of PRE	WSJ 19/4/90, MD, AFP 5/5/90
BSA	UK	WT	Machine-tools for weapons plants	BBC Panorama 3/9/90
Eagle Trust	UK	WT	Owner of Halesowen (equipment for super gun)	Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Global Technical & Management International	UK	WT	Mine detection, acoustic detectors for sea mines	London Press Association 30/3/90, Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Halesowen	UK	WT	Parts for SRC supergun	London Press Association 17/4/90
Int'l Highway Transports	UK	WT	Transport of super-gun parts	TRT-TV 29/4/90; Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Meed International	UK	WT	Iraqi front; machine-tools	BBC Panorama 3/9/90
Sheffield Forge Masters	UK	WT	Super-gun barrils	Reuters, AP, 11/4/90
Space Research Corp	UK	WT	Super-gun procurement office	Reuters, AP, 11/4/90
Walter Somers	UK	WT	Hydraulic equipment, super-gun	Wall Street Journal 23/4/90
Center for Disease Control	USA	BW	West Nile Fever virus	NBC News, 11/4/90
Al Haddad Trading	USA	CW	Sarin precursors	BBC Panorama 2/2/87
Alcolac International	USA	CW	Precursor chemicals	US News and World Report 4/6/90
Nu Kraft Mercantile Co	USA	CW	Precusor chemicals	New York Times 31/1/90
United Steel and Strip Corporation	USA	CW	Precursor chemicals	New York Times 31/1/89
US Steel and Strip Corp	USA	CW	??	Monde et Vie 23/8/90
Lumms Crest	USA	CW	Ethylene oxide	Washington Times 27/4/90
Electronic Associates, Inc	USA	MT	Computers for missile R&D	ABC News 7/9/90
Hewlett Packard	USA	MT	Computers for missile R&D	Mednews 3,12 (2/4/90), Washington Post 3/5/89
Scientific Atlanta	USA	MT	Computers for missile R&D	Washington Post 3/5/89
Wiltron Company	USA	MT	Computer equipment, scalar analyzer system	L'Express 7/9/90, Washington Post 3/5/89
XYZ Options	USA	MT	Carbon-tool machine tool bits	Financial Times, 21/11/89
Consarc	USA	Nuclear	High-temperature ovens	NY Times 16/7/90
BNL (Banco Nazionale Lavoro)	USA	WT	Atlanta branch of italian owned bank, financing	Chicago Tribune 6/5/90
Centrifugal Casting	USA	WT	Machine-tools for gun barrels	ABC News, 20/8/90
Sitico	USA	WT	Iraqi financed fron for VUF AG	Mednews 2/4/90
Tektronix Inc.	USA	WT	Computer graphic terminal	Washington Post 3/5/89
Textronix	USA	WT	Computers for missile R&D	Mednews 3,12 (2/4/90)

אל:

התאריך

כ"ו

מאת:

תיק מס'

4

הנדון:

הכ"ו

File

1. אין לי מושג מה זה רשימה של
השם, אבל זה נראה כמו רשימה
כיימית של שם, כ"ו, רשימה של
ה?

2. קניין המדינה, ולכן הייתי שואל
על (RA) - מדוע קיים ה-LA
ועל זכות המדינה, שאלה שאלות
יש להם כל כך הרבה שאלות, והוא
למה הוא מיועד למדינה, מה
הוא 350,000.

3. קניין המדינה, מה זה נראה כמו
הוא

ל' ש' ח' ה'
3 ח' ח' ח'

ח' ח' ח' ח'

CRA

INCORPORATED

COPY

908 TIVERTON AVENUE (WESTWOOD) LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024 PHONE (213) 824-1811

IRVING S. WHITE, PH.D.
President

August 7, 1990

Dr. Daniel Elazar
Beaver Run
Breckenridge, CO
FAX: (303) 453-7234

Dear Dan:

I'll just outline a few of the tentative parameters of sample segmentation that I believe are essential to an in-depth study of the meaning and value of Israel to Americans. (Incidentally, the sudden radical turn of events in the Middle East -- which we "insiders" could have predicted -- probably adds a new overt dimension to the image of Israel as an essential bulwark for the "Western World" against the unpredictability of Arab and/or Muslim madmen.)

Without getting into the substance of the investigation, let's look at its structure:

1. I believe we should divide our sample into a "2 by 2" structure along lines of (a) "Christian" (or non-Jewish) and Jewish and (b) "influentials" and "the masses", in each of two phases (1) the pilot (exploratory) and (2) the main phase.

Let's take each of the sequential phases separately:

(1) The Pilot (12 Focus Groups)

As I had indicated earlier, the pilot should consist of three focus groups in each of the four cells, as follows:

Handwritten notes:
IHC
W.
S!

	"Masses"	"Influentials"	
Non-Jewish:	1 New York	1 New York	
	1 Chicago	1 Chicago	
	1 Los Angeles	1 Los Angeles	
Jewish:	1 New York	1 New York	
	1 Chicago	1 Chicago	
	1 Los Angeles	1 Los Angeles	
Total =	6	6	Grand Total = 12

We can tentatively define the "Masses" as consisting of an equal mixture of blue and white collar types, with an educational range of high school graduates to those holding undergraduate degrees, with a family income of no less than \$25,000 and no more than \$35,000 and whose occupations do not encompass the world of mass media, journalism, and of communal leadership. Essentially, these are the "non-influential" citizens who are not involved in shaping or influencing "others" but are indeed influenced in their values, perceptions, and voting patterns by their affiliations.

I believe that each focus group, of eight to ten people, should involve a random mixture of the above types, including half men and half women.

The "influentials" are those whose family incomes are more than \$75,000, whose educations include at least some graduate work, and whose work or informal affiliations qualify them as "sophisticates" (academics, journalists, "communicators", professionals, business and communal leaders).

Obviously, the definition of "Jewish" and "Non-Jewish" is self-evident and need not have "ideological tests" for such qualifications. A respondent is either one or the other.

In the pilot study, we would assess the basic discussion guide, probe for areas of special value and sensitivity (as outlined in my letter of January 5, 1990), and come up with our first stage hypotheses as well as develop a more refined discussion guide for the follow-up groups of the main phase and a carefully constructed in-depth questionnaire for the face-to-face "one on one's" of that phase.

(2) The Main Phase

In this Main Phase, I would replicate the structure of the Pilot Phase but expand the number of focus groups to twenty -- that is, one focus group in each cell per five regions. Thus, in the same "2 by 2" structure, we would have six regions represented: the East (N.Y.), the Midwest (Chicago), the West (L.A.), the Southeast (Atlanta) and "Mid-America" (Midwest or Mideast -- Kansas City or Cincinnati, etc.).

In the "one on one" portion of the Main Phase, which would be semi-structured and more specifically designed for additional and essential quantifiability, we would interview 200 people (50 in each of the "2 by 2" cells, ten in each city referred to above per cell). We may diagram the main phase as follows:

Main Phase: (a) Focus Groups (20)		
	# Masses	# Influentials
Non-Jewish:	1 New York	1 New York
	1 Chicago	1 Chicago
	1 Los Angeles	1 Los Angeles
	1 Atlanta	1 Atlanta
	1 Kansas City	1 Kansas City
Jewish:	1 New York	1 New York
	1 Chicago	1 Chicago
	1 Los Angeles	1 Los Angeles
	1 Atlanta	1 Atlanta
	1 Kansas City	1 Kansas City
Total =	10	10
		Grand Total = 20

 (b) "One-on-One" In-Depths (200)

	Masses	Influentials	
Non-Jewish:	10 New York	10 New York	
	10 Chicago	10 Chicago	
	10 Los Angeles	10 Los Angeles	
	10 Atlanta	10 Atlanta	
	10 Kansas City	10 Kansas City	
Jewish:	10 New York	10 New York	
	10 Chicago	10 Chicago	
	10 Los Angeles	10 Los Angeles	
	10 Atlanta	10 Atlanta	
	10 Kansas City	10 Kansas City	
Total =	100	100	Grand Total = 200

Time and Costs

Aside from the problem of how you and I should distribute our own time and costs, this is what I believe is essential were we to administer the project out of L.A., with our cooperative supervision, training of moderators and analysts, recruiting of sample, analytic time, and reporting:

The Pilot Phase (12 groups)

Including the types of incentives needed to gather recruits, the facilities used (we need not use fancy one-way mirror rooms but can rent reasonable hotel rooms) for the actual interviewing, the analytic phases and report-writing, I would estimate that this phase would require between \$50 and \$60,000 dollars. The time demanded for this phase should be no more than eight to ten weeks from inception of fieldwork.

The Main Phase, Plan One:

(20 groups and 200 in-depth one-on-one's)

Plan One, as described, includes an expanded focus group subsample as well as an in-depth one-on-one sub-subsample. The costs in this plan would run about \$180,000.

The Main Phase, Plan Two
(200 in-depth one-on-one's only)

In this plan, we would eliminate the followup focus groups and concentrate on the one-on-one sample, which would involve structured and open-end questionnaires for both quantification and content analysis. One of the important objectives will be to provide a segmentational analysis as well as an overall one, and this plan can accomplish that as well.

The cost for this plan, I estimate, would be between \$110,000 and \$120,000.

The Main Phase should require about three to four months for its completion.

Obviously, we would need to add a ten percent contingency in the event of factors beyond our control, such as inclement weather, sudden inflation due to economy, and so on, though we don't anticipate using it.

To summarize: The total project should require a budget of between \$170,000 and \$230,000, (depending on Plan One or Plan Two) plus a ten percent contingency factor, and will require between five and six months for its consummation.

Dan, the above is not written in stone but, based on hundreds of studies we've conducted, the above general methodology would demand the above time and cost. Obviously, when we meet, we may modify in either direction as well as change the structure of the study.

From my point-of-view, this study will provide imperative information for Israel as well as for our own Administration and will avoid the rigid, operationist and usually sterile (i.e., pseudo-empirical) orientations of the current "Jewish Federation style" researchers.

Letter to Daniel Elazar

Page six

August 7, 1990

I've just completed an interesting study of America's "future" in relation to changing values for a major Japanese client involving a similar orientation, and it turned out to be quite exciting.

Get back to me as soon as possible so that we can coordinate schedules.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Irving S. White, Ph.D.
President

C-II-078



COPY

908 TIVERTON AVENUE (WESTWOOD) LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024 PHONE (213) 824-1811

IRVING S. WHITE, PH.D.
President

July 18, 1990

Dr. Daniel J. Elazar, President
Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs
21 Arlozorov Street
Jerusalem, 92181
Israel

Dear Dan:

After receiving your June 19th letter, I got in touch with an old friend, Dr. Julius Lesner (Jules), who is the administrator for the Milken Family Foundation, to pursue the possibility of obtaining funds for our proposed in-depth study of the American electorate's attitudes toward the State of Israel.

I was pleasantly surprised to learn that your organization is already a beneficiary of that group and that it is therefore an appropriate framework through which to apply for such a funding. Jules did indicate that such a study certainly falls within the frame of the Milken Family's interests and that a proposal of this type would be seriously considered. Obviously he could make no commitment of any sort at this stage without a formal proposal. Moreover, the Milken Family Foundation is not the only source I know for such funding but a highly appropriate one.

The bottom-line, I suggest, is that we put our heads together and finalize the method -- suggested as a starter in my prior letter to you -- along with a time-table and costs.

I look forward to seeing you in Los Angeles and meeting on this matter. Please get in touch with me as soon as you have received and read this letter so that I can coordinate my own schedule with yours.

Best wishes to Harriet from Joan and myself.

Sincerely,

Irving S. White, Ph.D.
President

Enclosures

C-II-054

COPY



June 19, 1990
26 Sivan 5750

Dr. Irving S. White
President
CRA Incorporated
908 Tiverton Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90024

Dear Irv,

I am very sorry that I have not written up to now. It seems that one thing has come after another and I thought that I was going to be out in Los Angeles a couple of times since receiving your first letter and that we would talk then. No doubt I will be out your way sometime during the summer but I have already waited long enough.

Many thanks for your letter and the materials. I found them very interesting and we would very much like to find a way to work together with you to explore American attitudes toward Israel in appropriate depth. I think your plan is a good one. What would it cost? Do you have any idea who might be interested in funding it. We could certainly get it into the pipeline here so that it would have an impact. I think I can fairly say that we are prepared to join forces with you to do this study providing that we can raise the funds. As soon as we have a budget and anything more that we need in the way of a proposal, we can get moving.

I will be in the States from July 19th to September 11th so that we will have some time to work out details if we can move along with the project. It certainly seems to be needed at this time.

Best regards from Harriet and me to both you and Joan.

Sincerely,


Daniel I. Elazar
President

DJE/rg
reftape272



COPY

908 TIVERTON AVENUE (WESTWOOD) LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024 PHONE (213) 824-1811

IRVING S. WHITE, PH.D.
President

January 5, 1989

Dr. Daniel Elazar
Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs
21 Arlozoroff Street
Jerusalem, Israel 92181

Dear Dan:

I'm sorry that we didn't get to Jerusalem this trip. It's actually the first time in over twenty years of coming to Israel that I didn't stay at least a few days in your beautiful city. Our family matters, however, were too pressing (a Bar Mitzvah and Joan's mother's health).

Nevertheless, as I said I would, I wanted to maintain a dialogue with you -- and perhaps move into an active state of planning a program of research and consulting together with you -- in the very sensitive area of beliefs, attitudes, and feelings held by American citizens of various demographic segments toward the State of Israel.

There are two critical purposes for doing such an analysis:

- o First, of course, it is important to really understand the meaning and role which Israel plays in the mind of the American electorate at large but perhaps most significantly among key voting groups.

When I say "really understand", I mean to have an in-depth grasp of the actual phenomenology of "Israel"; what priority its survival has; its perceived relationship and value to the U.S.; the comparative value of Israel vs. the Arab Middle East in the mind of the electorate; as well as the perceived ideal "solution" to the problem of Palestinians and whatever that term connotes to them. My conception of the "raw data" for such understanding deviates strongly from the Eastern researchers who supply the Jewish Federation with "information" and who believe that counting up scaled responses to atomistically reduced questions reflects anything but a superficial shot in the dark. I believe in sound qualitative research practices with perhaps supportive content-analyzed (from phenomenological data) "numbers". I don't want to get too deeply into a methodological discussion at this juncture, just to set some possible goals.



COPY

908 TIVERTON AVENUE (WESTWOOD) LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024 PHONE (213) 824-1811

IRVING S. WHITE, PH.D.
President

January 5, 1989

Dr. Daniel Elazar
Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs
21 Arlozoroff Street
Jerusalem, Israel 92181

Dear Dan:

I'm sorry that we didn't get to Jerusalem this trip. It's actually the first time in over twenty years of coming to Israel that I didn't stay at least a few days in your beautiful city. Our family matters, however, were too pressing (a Bar Mitzvah and Joan's mother's health).

Nevertheless, as I said I would, I wanted to maintain a dialogue with you -- and perhaps move into an active state of planning a program of research and consulting together with you -- in the very sensitive area of beliefs, attitudes, and feelings held by American citizens of various demographic segments toward the State of Israel.

There are two critical purposes for doing such an analysis:

- o First, of course, it is important to really understand the meaning and role which Israel plays in the mind of the American electorate at large but perhaps most significantly among key voting groups.

When I say "really understand", I mean to have an in-depth grasp of the actual phenomenology of "Israel"; what priority its survival has; its perceived relationship and value to the U.S.; the comparative value of Israel vs. the Arab Middle East in the mind of the electorate; as well as the perceived ideal "solution" to the problem of Palestinians and whatever that term connotes to them. My conception of the "raw data" for such understanding deviates strongly from the Eastern researchers who supply the Jewish Federation with "information" and who believe that counting up scaled responses to atomistically reduced questions reflects anything but a superficial shot in the dark. I believe in sound qualitative research practices with perhaps supportive content-analyzed (from phenomenological data) "numbers". I don't want to get too deeply into a methodological discussion at this juncture, just to set some possible goals.

January 5, 1990

and

- o Second, to have the essential and sound intelligence base upon which the State of Israel (and the U.S. government, for that matter) could (a) construct a valid "public information" or "public relations" program that would reinforce loyalty and support among Americans in general and (b) develop a substantive policy of relationship to American Jewry in particular.

While I'm known in the States as a researcher and strategy consultant to the top management of the largest industries (automotive, financial, etc.) -- that is, in the so-called applied arena of the behavioral sciences, I've also consulted for the political parties, the White House, various institutional groups such as City governments, National Safety Council, and others in the area of social and political issues.

I would like us to join forces to organize a national study, utilizing "focus groups" -- I was one of the early theorists and pioneers in the use of this technique, having been one of those few who together first coined the phrase some twenty-eight years ago -- as well as one-on-one in-depth interviews to assess the dynamics of public attitudes and opinions about Israel. In light of the changing political and ideological topography, it is critical to make available (to Israel), the psychological and sociological underpinnings of American support (or God forbid, lack of support) under changing circumstances.

The size and scope of such a study would have to be realistic, of course, from a budgetary point-of-view (if we are to raise the necessary funds).

To begin with, I believe a short pilot study, involving perhaps twelve groups -- four in each of three metropolitan areas: New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles -- including two or three Jewish groups and one or two non-Jewish groups in each city. The purpose here, of course, would be to generally assess the terrain of the discussion guide, to develop a refined series of discussion areas, and to have a first look at the substantive response.

The main sample would then be expanded to include three or four more Metropolitan areas, including the Southeast, Deep South, and mid-America, and increase the sample size to about fifty groups and about 150 in-depth interviews. This is not a "small sample" by qualitative standards and will involve substantial funds. I'm convinced this approach will pay off far more than those studies employed by "reductionist" sociologists who avoid the cerebral process altogether and believe that numbers are "facts".

I have a cadre of colleagues who want to join me (some contributing their time with no compensation; others at bottom-

Letter to Dr. Daniel Elazar Page three January 5, 1990

scale cost) and who have experience in such work. I have made no commitment to anyone, of course, not yet knowing where the funds might come from for this enterprise.

At any rate, let me know your thinking about such issues. I'm sending you my "commercial" bio (not the academic or "Jewish" one), a client list, as well as a few theoretical articles and talks I've given.

I look forward to your response. Best wishes to Harriet and same from Joan to both of you.

Sincerely,

Irving S. White, Ph.D.

enclosures

C-I-089

Volume 24 Number 8

Marketing News

Marketing News (ISSN 0025-3790) is published biweekly (26 times a year) by the International Headquarters of the American Marketing Association, Suite 200, 250 S. Wacker Dr., Chicago, IL 60606-5819, USA (312) 648-0536. **Postmasters: Send address changes to the above address.**

Advertising and Circulation: (312) 648-0536
Editorial: (312) 993-9517 Fax: (312) 993-7540

Second Class Special Nonprofit Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and additional mailing offices. Opinions expressed are not necessarily endorsed by the AMA, its officers, or staff. The AMA and *Marketing News* do not endorse any advertised products or services except their own.

Annual subscription rates: \$25 AMA members, \$50 nonmembers, and \$80 libraries, corporations, and institutions. Single copies \$2, quantity discounts available. Air printed matter, all countries except U.S. and Canada, add \$95 to subscription rate. Payment must be in U.S. funds or the equivalent.

Marketing News welcomes expressions of all professional viewpoints on marketing and its related areas. These may be as letters to the editor, Viewpoint columns, or articles. Letters should be brief but may be condensed by the editors. Please request a copy of the "Guidelines for preparing articles for consideration for publication" before submitting an article. Upon submission to the AMA, photographs, manuscripts, and other materials belong to the AMA and will not be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, adequately stamped envelope.

Generation of individual initiative is key to changing the Soviet marketing system

by Irving S. White

Irving S. White is founder and president of Creative Research in Action Inc., Los Angeles.



Viewpoint



Irving S. White says the Soviet national character must improve before the U.S.S.R. becomes the marketing equal of the U.S.

The human factor probably is the most difficult problem facing Mikhail Gorbachev as he tries to bring the Soviet system fully into the 20th century.

Glasnost has made the Soviets aware that they have been short-changed in consumer goods—toilet paper, coffee, children's clothing, and soap, among many other products, are becoming luxuries—freedom of artistic expression, and in the right to mobility: moving up in terms of monetary and other rewards based on individual competence and energy, as well as being free to move geographically.

I discovered this during the eight days I spent in Moscow as part of a consulting project called the Willens-Bilson Initiative, named for two U.S. businessmen who conceived the idea

of providing U.S. marketing experts to help the Soviet economy.

I spoke to Soviet economists, factory managers, ministers of industry and media, as well as with average citizens.

The new freedom is a two-edged sword for Soviet citizens, creating unrealistic expectations and a despair that they will never achieve the luxury and comfort of the West.

I wonder whether the system is prepared to reeducate and recondition the character of a people that has not experienced rewards and incentives for individual drive and ambition for nearly 70 years.

In the long run, the most exacting toll of the Soviet system lies in its failure to nurture a human character that is conditioned for individual effort and energy expenditure to meet the new challenges of perestroika.

lence, are symptoms of an unmotivated economic society that have become incorporated into the Soviet character since Lenin.

It will take at least a generation to transform this catharsis into a new national character, to help develop a new generation of citizens motivated by high standards of work, rewardable dreams, and visions; workers and employees who sense that the fruits of their energy are inextricably related to their individual efforts.

At the same time, the Soviets must develop a consumer-oriented marketing management and infrastructure to undo the deterioration of products and producers.

The value of in-depth market research of consumer and audience attitudes in the U.S. helped support a "bottom up" social and consumer planning methodology in our society. Similarly, the gradual revelation of the needs, values, and hopes of Soviet citizens—covered up by generations of "command system" marketing and education—will gradually close the chasm between the autocratic ►

The absence of any spur to pursue one's personal dream and strive for higher standards in one's work, coupled with oppression of the religious quest (whether of formal religion or the pursuit of spiritual goals that were central to the creativity of earlier Russian artists and writers), has produced the most serious weak link in the Soviet economy and perhaps the nation as a civilization.

The typical lethargy of taxi drivers, waiters, factory managers, store clerks, hotel maintenance workers, and the bureaucrats who have risen to the top through *nomenklatura* (nepotism), and their unwillingness to take the extra step toward quality and excel-

instincts of Soviet leaders and the passive distance of their citizens.

My main role while in the Soviet Union was to evaluate a pilot industry chosen by the government apparently because it believed the industry was capable of change and innovation. The center of the industry is in the heart of Moscow, and the product it makes is women's lingerie, with an emphasis on the bra.

The style, form, material, and production quality are determined by a central committee in a production and distribution system we call command marketing. This method calls for a segment of ministerial leaders, mostly older males, to judge the tastes and needs of the masses below them.

We know now that the leadership's directives for the economy have not generated anything close to consumer satisfaction with basic needs, let alone discretionary needs.

In the U.S., top management has gradually learned to base its production and marketing specifications on an information strategy system that flows up from the consumer market and interacts at least equally with other policy variables, such as technology, capital, and basic production expertise, to determine strategy.

In contrast with the Soviet command system, our consumer-oriented system has helped place an almost unlimited choice of luxury and essential products on store shelves. Our pricing structure is also adaptive to the supply and demand of a competitive system, but the arbitrary ruble system is unresponsive to change.

Though intellectually armed to expect a dearth of products and Soviet ignorance of the U.S. system of product and brand differentiation, I was nevertheless appalled at how little the average Soviet citizen has in consumer goods. I was even more astounded at how little that society knew about how Western marketing works.

The differences between our two marketing systems are so profound that most Soviet production managers

Most Soviets can't grasp what they must do to catch up to the Western marketing system

and their supervisors in the ministry, let alone the average bureaucrat, do not have the language, jargon, or even the essential conceptual grasp of what the Soviet Union must do to catch up to our system.

Changing its marketing system demands not only a new channel for providing accurate data on consumer needs and expectations, but also a totally new infrastructure organized around free, competitive marketing directed by executives trained in such an open system.

One of my most personally exciting experiences occurred as I conducted the first professional focus group ever witnessed in the Soviet Union. Ten randomly selected women discussed their feelings about the type and amount of women's clothing, specifically lingerie, available in the country. The focus group was conducted before various ministers and industrial leaders to demonstrate one of our popular research tools.

The women, at first frightened and retreating from any display of openness, dropped their public insistence on how excellent Soviet clothing was and slowly began to criticize Russian-made products as boring, poorly made, or just plain nonexistent.

Their demands for Soviet products of quality and style became clearer and more articulate, to the astonishment of the industrial leaders in the auditorium.

Without the free flow of such information between government and people, there can be no initial change in the national character or economy. *M*

CRA

INCORPORATED

908 TIVERTON AVENUE (WESTWOOD) LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024 PHONE (213) 824-1811

Among CRA's clientele are many of the nation's largest industries, private institutions and governmental agencies. We are proud to include this partial listing of clients for whom we have conducted research and provided counsel:

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| Food
American Potato Company
Anderson, Clayton and Co.
Armour & Company
A & W International, Inc.
Borden, Inc.
Campbell Soup Co.
Carnation Co.
Castle & Cooke, Inc.
Consolidated Olive Growers
Corn Products Corp.
General Foods Corp.
General Mills, Inc.
Green Giant Co.
Heinz U.S.A.
Kitchens of Sara Lee
Kraft Foods
Lawry's Foods
Libby, McNeil & Libby
Thomas J. Lipton, Inc.
McCormick & Co., Inc.
McCormick & Co., Inc.
Schilling Division
McDonald's Corp.
MJB Co.
National Biscuit Co.
Pet Incorporated
The Pillsbury Company
The Quaker Oats Co.
Specialty Brands, Inc.
S & W Fine Foods
Swift Company | Soft Goods
A-1 Kotzin Corp.
Catalina, Inc.
Coopers, Inc.
E.I. DuPont de Nemoura
& Co., Inc.
Fruit of the Loom Inc.
International Latex &
Chemical Co.
Levi-Strauss & Co.
Sears, Roebuck and Company
Wembley, Inc.

Leisure Time,
Communications
Boise Cascade Corp.
Brunswick Corp.
Chicago Daily News
Chicago Sun-Times
Chicago Tribune
Columbia Pictures
Walt Disney, Inc.
Home Box Office
MCA, Inc.
MGM/UA
McHugh & Hoffman, Inc.
National Broadcasting
Company
Newspaper One
Sportsman's Park (Chicago)
Twentieth Century Fox, Inc.
Warner Bros. Communications | Hard Goods
American Can Co.
American Motors Corp.
Chrysler Corporation
Craig Corporation
Ford Motor Company,
Corporate
Ford Motor Company,
Lincoln-Mercury
Division
Georgia-Pacific Corporation
National Can Corporation
Renault, Inc.
Samsonite Corporation
Sanyo Electric Corp.
Sunbeam Corp.
Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc.
Westinghouse Corp.
Weyerhaeuser Company
Yamaha International Corp.

Service & Utilities
American Gas Association
American Oil Company
Amoco Chemicals Corp.
Bank of America
Budget Rent-a-Car Corp.
of America
Coast Savings and Loan
Continental Airlines
First Interstate Bancorp
Gulf Oil Corporation
Home Savings of America
National Safety Council
Northern Illinois Gas Co.
Pacific Mutual Life
Insurance Co.
Science Research
Associates, Inc.
Seattle-First National Bank
Standard Oil of California
Standard Oil of Indiana
Union Carbide Corp.
Union National Bank
(Illinois)
United Airlines
United California Bank

Government & Institutional
Bay Area Rapid Transit
(San Francisco)
City of Inglewood, California
Democratic Party | Environmental Protection
Agency
Independent Natural Gas
Association of America
Los Angeles County, California
Planned Parenthood
Association
University of California

Advertising Agencies
Austin Knight Advertising
Barnes-Chase Advertising, Inc.
BBDO
Benton & Bowles, Inc.
Charles E. Bird Advertising
Botsford Ketchum, Inc.
Leo Burnett, Inc.
Dancer-Fitzgerald Sample, Inc.
D'Arcy MacManus & Masius
Davis Johnson Mogul &
Colombatto, Inc.
Doyle Dane Bernbach Inc.
Eisaman, Johns & Laws, Inc.
Erwin Wasey, Inc.
Foote, Cone & Belding Adv. Inc.
Forbath & Platts Advertising
Clinton E. Frank, Inc.
Gardner Advertising
Company, Inc.
Grey Advertising, Inc.
Grey-North Advertising, Inc.
Kenyon & Eckhardt
Advertising, Inc.
Arthur Meyerhoff
Associates, inc.
Needham, Harper & Steers, Inc.
Oglivy & Mather Inc.
Post, Keys and Gardner, Inc.
Albert Jay Rosenthal & Co.
Saatchi & Saatchi DFS, Inc. |
|---|---|---|--|



908 TIVERTON AVENUE (WESTWOOD) LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024 PHONE (213) 824-1811

IRVING S. WHITE, PH.D.
President

Irving S. White, Ph.D.
President, CRA, Inc.

Dr. White is founder and president of CRA (Creative Research in Action), Inc., a nationally known creative market research firm formerly of Chicago and now headquartered in Los Angeles. He has earned a national reputation for pioneering the use of perception psychology applied to consumer research, and is highly regarded as an expert in consumer behavior, popular tastes and mass culture. Dr. White was awarded the Alpha Kappa Psi award by the American Marketing Association for his article, "The Functions of Advertising in Our Culture" and has published numerous articles on the psychology of mass behavior and concepts for the prediction of popular reactions to new products, advertising and marketing. He has also been invited to address national conventions of professional organizations, including the American Psychological Association, the American Sociological Association, the American Statistical Association, and the American Marketing Association.

Dr. White's chief involvement in recent years has been with new product conceptualizations and the development of marketing/advertising strategies in such diverse fields as television commercial development, packaging, and product concept and positioning for products such as liquor, beer, coffee, food items, automobiles, and financial institutions and feature films. Dr. White and his company have also provided guidance to management in their corporate relations.

Dr. White received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in Social and Clinical Psychology. He is a member of the American Marketing Association and the American Psychological Association.