DTIST

(2)

125

II

Superfile

101

1924-

990.

מדינת ישראל

STATE OF ISRAEL

גב' בלהה הולן,
מלבב שמחים על הזכות הבלתי
המיוחדים המובלטים: יום ג' ו/ו, יום ד'
ו/ז א' יום ב' ו/ט.
אודה על תשומת לב.

With the compliments

of the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

ח"ן שמיר
המח' לאורחים רשמיים
טל: 235651

12-12-84

קטע מתוך מכתב אישי לאוניאס'

בימים 31.12 - 7.1 יבקר בארץ NICHOLAS FRANK GREINER. הנ"ל מנהיג המפלגה הליברלית, כיום באופוזיציה, במדינת NEW SOUTH WALES. מדינה זו היא אחת מהחשובות באוסטרליה הן מבחינה מדינית-פנימית והן מבחינה כלכלית.

GREINER מוערך כאחד המנהיגים המבטיחים של המפלגה הליברלית גם במישור הפדרלי.

אנו רואים חשיבות בביקורו בישראל. העובדה שמכאן יצא למצרים ומלטה מקנה משנה חשיבות לפגישותיו עם אישים בארץ ולסיורים בה.

VISIT TO ISRAEL

משרד החוץ

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DIVISION FOR OFFICIAL GUESTS

MR. CHRISTIAN LENZER, MdB (CDU)

AND

MRS. LENZER

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

29 February - 7 March 1984

Wednesday, 29 February

15.20 - Arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport by Lufthansa, flight No. 604

- Proceed to Tel Aviv

Overnight at the Ramada Hotel, Tel Aviv

Thursday, 1 March

08.00	-	Leave for Yavneh
09.00	-	Visit "Ormat Turbines" Ltd
10.20	-	Proceed to Rehovot
10.45	-	Visit "El-Op", Electro Optic Industries Ltd.
11.45	-	Proceed to the Weizmann Institute of Science
12.00	-	Meeting with Prof. Israel Dostrovski, Head of the Energy Research Center - to be followed by lunch
	-	Return to Tel Aviv
16.30	-	Meeting with Dr. Michael Wolff, Coordinator for Energy Research, National Council for Research and Development
20.00	-	Dinner with Dr. Alexander Brenner, Counsellor of Scientific Affairs, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany

Overnight at the Ramada Hotel, Tel Aviv

Friday, 2 March

10.00	-	Leave the hotel
11.30	-	Visit Ma'ale Ephraim
	-	Proceed to the Upper Galilee (Kibbutz Kfar Blum)
19.00	-	Dinner with a member of the Kibbutz

Overnight at Kibbutz Kfar Blum Guest House

Saturday, 3 March

- Leave the Kibbutz
- Visit the holy sites on the shores of Lake Kineret (Sea of Galilee)

12.00 - Visit Kibbutz Kfar Haruv

- Lunch at the Kibbutz
- Proceed to Nazareth
- Visit the Basilica of the Annunciation
- Proceed to Daliyat el Carmel (Druze Village)

19.00 - Dinner with Mr. Amal Naser El-Din, M.K. (Likud)

- Leave for Haifa

Overnight at the Dan Carmel Hotel, Haifa

Sunday, 4 March

09.00	-	Meeting with Mr. Kurt Rudich, Head of Research and Development, Technion and Dr. Ilana Maor
10.00	-	Meeting with Prof. M. Silberman, Faculty of Medicine, Ramban Hospital
11.30	-	Meeting with Prof. Y. Timnat and Dr. Y. Goldman, Department of Aeronautical Engineering, Technion
12.30	-	Lunch with Prof. Singer, President of the Technion
13.30	-	Visit "Elscint" Ltd.
15.45	-	Meeting with Dr. Reuven Hecht, Senior Adviser to the Prime Minister
17.00	-	Proceed to Jerusalem

Overnight at the Hilton Hotel, Jerusalem

Monday, 5 March

08.50	-	Leave for the Knesset (Parliament)
09.00	-	Meeting with the Speaker of the Knesset, Mr. Menachem Savidor
10.00	-	Visit the Knesset
10.30	-	Visit "Yad Vashem", Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial
12.00	-	Meeting with Minister of Science and Development, Prof. Yuval Ne'eman
13.30	-	Lunch with Mr. Michael Ottolenghi, Vice President for Research and Development, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
	-	To be followed by a visit to research centers at the University
17.00	-	Leave for the Knesset
17.30	-	Meeting with Prof. Yosef Rom, M.K. (Likud)
18.30	-	Meeting with Mr. Micha Harish, M.K. (Labour Alignment)

Overnight at the Hilton Hotel, Jerusalem

Tuesday, 6 March

08.00	-	Breakfast with Mr. Shmuel Ovnat, Special Adviser to the Mayor of Jerusalem
09.30	-	Leave for the Dead Sea area
11.00	-	Visit Masada
13.00	-	Lunch at the Lot Hotel
15.30	-	Meeting with Mr. Shlomo Drori, Spokesman, Dead Sea Works,Ltd.
	-	Return to Jerusalem
20.00	-	Dinner hosted by Mr. Mordechai Drori, Assistant Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Overnight at the Hilton Hotel, Jerusalem

Wednesday, 7 March

08.00	-	Breakfast with Prof. Dan Zaslavsky, Chief Scientist Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure
09.00	-	Tour of Jerusalem
14.30	-	Leave for Ben Gurion International Airport
16.20	-	Departure by Lufthansa, flight No. 605

For further information, please contact :
Mrs. Hannah Dvir
Division for Official Guests
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem - Tel. 235111

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

MAY 1984.

[redacted]

[redacted]

לשכת המנהל הכללי

כה' כסלו תשמ"ה
19 דצמבר 1984

ת/ 990/ 186

אל: דר' יוחנן ביין, מנהל מש"ב, משרד החוץ

הנדון: הועידה הפרלמנטרית והמדעית של
מועצת אירופה - טוקיו 3-6 יוני 84
לשלך מה- 14.12.84

מבחינה ענייניתמה שמעכב כרגע המשך הטפול הוא העדר התגובה לשלך המאמר כפי שהוצע ע"י מנהל המועצה הלאומית למו"פ, להערות, בעקבות השיחה שקוימה עם סגן השר ר. מילוא.
אשר לשמות - הרי שנשתדל להודיע בהקדם, לאחר שובו של שר המדע והפיתוח, שם המדען האמור לייצג אותנו. עם זאת לא ברורה לי הבהילות שכן בטופס ההרשמה אשר צורף לחוזרים שהעברת לנו מבקשים כי יוחזר לטוקיו עד 30.4.85.
נראה לי כי מה שהיה דחוף הוא עצם ההודעה על רצוננו להשתתף, כוונתנו להגיש תזכיר ולהיות מיוצגים ע"י שניים - ח"כ ומדען.
השמות הרי אינם משנים ביחס להכנות בשלב זה.

בברכה,

מנחום גרידים
המנהל הכללי

העתק: יו"ר הכנסת
סגן השר,ר. מילוא, משרד החוץ
מר י. ספיר, מנהל המועצה הלאומית למו"פ

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

נתקבל
יום 19.12.84

תאריך: כ' בכסלו תשמ"ה
14 בדצמבר 1984

מספר:

אל: מר תנחום גרידים - מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפיתוח

מאת: מנהל מש"ב

הנדון: הועידה הפרלמנטרית והמדעית של מועצת אירופה בטוקיו 3-6 ביוני 1985
בהמשך לשיחתנו הטלפונית מ-12.12.84.

לוטים מכתבי ההזמנה, וכן טפסים להזמנת מלון. הברקנו במוסכם אישורנו וכי נודיע שמות הח"כ והמדען בהקדם.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יוחנן ביין

העתק: מר יעקב ספיר, מנכ"ל המועצה למו"פ
יו"ר הכנסת
מר ר. מילוא - סגן שר החוץ
אירופה 2

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים 91 950 טל' (02) 235111

מדף 2046/2

Conseil de l'Europe
Le Greffier de l'Assemblée Parlementaire

Strasbourg, le 12 novembre 1984

Madame,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint une lettre de M. Karl Ahrens, Président de l'Assemblée Parlementaire, au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de votre pays formulant à l'intention de la communauté scientifique et des autorités compétentes de votre pays une invitation à se faire représenter à la 6ème Conférence Parlementaire et Scientifique du Conseil de l'Europe.

La Conférence aura lieu à Tokyo et Tsukuba du 3 au 6 juin 1985, avec la coopération de la Chambre des Conseillers et la Chambre des Représentants de la Diète japonaise. Les réunions à Tokyo se tiendront au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

Le Comité d'Organisation souhaite assurer à la Conférence une participation équilibrée - équilibre entre les participants parlementaires et non parlementaires, équilibre géographique, équilibre entre spécialités et courants de pensée par rapport aux thèmes en discussion.

J'aimerais aussi rappeler l'importance qu'attache la Commission de la Science et de la Technologie aux travaux du Comité pour la politique scientifique et technologique de l'OCDE, au rôle de la Fondation européenne de la Science et à la nécessité d'assurer une participation masculine moins prépondérante que lors des conférences précédentes.

Il serait donc très utile pour le Comité d'Organisation que les noms et qualités des représentants de votre pays lui soient communiqués avant le 15 décembre 1984.

./.

Madame Miriam SHEFFER
Ambassade d'Israël
3, rue Rabelais
75008 - PARIS

Adresse postale : 67006 Strasbourg Cedex - Téléphone : Strasbourg (88) 61.49.61
Adresse télégraphique : Europa Strasbourg - Télex : Strasbourg 870943

Eu égard aux difficultés d'hébergement à Tokyo en 1985, en raison notamment de l'Exposition de Tsukuba, nos hôtes japonais ont fait des réservations provisoires groupées dans deux hôtels (voir formulaire de réservation ci-joint).

Conformément au voeu du Comité d'Organisation, le Président de l'Assemblée adresse des lettres d'invitation aux Présidents des parlements nationaux des pays membres du Conseil de l'Europe et des pays de l'OCDE non membres du Conseil de l'Europe.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Madame, l'expression de mes respectueux hommages.

J.D. PRIESTMAN

Council of Europe
Parliamentary Assembly

The President

Strasbourg, 12 November 1984

Sir,

I should like to inform you that the Council of Europe's Sixth Parliamentary and Scientific Conference will be held in Tokyo and Tsukuba, from 3 to 6 June 1985, in cooperation with the House of Councillors and the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet. The meetings in Tokyo will take place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Conference will be followed, on Friday 7 June, by a special programme of study visits to the most advanced scientific and technological facilities in and around Tokyo.

I have accordingly the honour to invite your country's scientific community and science policy authorities to be represented at the Conference and to take an active part in its proceedings.

I should be grateful if you could undertake to transmit this invitation, together with the provisional programme of the Conference which I enclose, to the appropriate institutions and authorities in your country with a view to the nomination of representatives.

For reasons of physical accommodation, the number of participants from countries other than Japan will be limited approximately to one hundred, of whom half will be parliamentarians from our Assembly and from national parliaments.

In order to ensure balanced participation within these limits, and bearing in mind that hotel accommodation in Tokyo in June 1985 may be difficult unless arranged well in advance, I would much appreciate being informed of the names and credentials and special interests of your country's representatives before 15 December 1984.

Please accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Karl AHRENS

His Excellency
Mr Itzhak SHAMIR
Deputy Prime Minister
and Minister for Foreign Affairs
JERUSALEM

Postal address: F 67006 Strasbourg Cedex
Tel.: (88) 61.49.61
Telegraphic address: Europa Strasbourg
Telex: Strasbourg 870943

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

Strasbourg, 10 July 1984
aspsc36.1

restricted
AS/Science/PSC (36) 1

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

SIXTH PARLIAMENTARY AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Tokyo/Tsukuba 3-6 June 1985

"SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY: COMMON VALUES IN A DIALOGUE OF CIVILISATIONS"

General Rapporteur: Sir Hermann Bondi FRS

P R O V I S I O N A L D R A F T P R O G R A M M E

E 75.069
01.42

Monday 3 June - afternoon

O P E N I N G S E S S I O N A N D P A N E L D I S C U S S I O N 'A'

Chairman:	Mr Lennart Pettersson (Sweden)	Chairman - Committee on Science and Technology, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly
Rapporteur:	Mr ..... (Japan)	Committee on Science and Technology of either the House of Representatives or the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet

O P E N I N G O F T H E C O N F E R E N C E

14.30 President of the Parliamentary Assembly or Chairman of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe

14.45 Chairman of the Council for Science and Technology of Japan

K E Y N O T E S P E A K E R S

15.15 Introduction of the two speakers by Sir Hermann Bondi, General Rapporteur:

"SCIENCE, CIVILISATION & DEMOCRACY: VALUES, SYSTEMS, STRUCTURES AND AFFINITIES"

Professor Ilya Prigogine, Nobel Laureate (1977)
Free University of Brussels; Director, Centre of Statistical Mechanics and Thermodynamics, University of Texas; Special Advisor to the Commission of the European Communities

"TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION -ITS NEW FORMS AND DIMENSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIETY AND THE WORLD ECONOMY AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW GEOGRAPHICAL BALANCES"

Professor Umberto Colombo
President, Italian Nuclear Energy Agency; Chairman, Committee for the Development of Science & Technology of the Commission of the European Communities; Chairman, UN Committee on Science and Technology for Development

16.15 Coffee break

16.30 - 18.45 G E N E R A L D I S C U S S I O N

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Tuesday 4 June - morning

PANEL DISCUSSION 'B' **BIOLOGICAL ADVANCES AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Chairman:	Senator José Manuel Duarte (Spain)	Director, Cadiz Health Centre; Member, Committee on Science and Technology Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly
Rapporteur:	Professor Stefano Rodotà	Law Faculty, University of Rome; Legal Affairs Committee, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly

"MEDICINE TODAY AND TOMORROW: IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN FREEDOMS"

Professor David Ingvar	President, Swedish Medical Academy; Department of Clinical Neurophysiology University of Lund (Sweden)

"ADJUSTMENTS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR: NEW BIOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS"

Professor Henri Laborit	Hôpital Boucicaut, Paris

G E N E R A L D I S C U S S I O N

"Challenges to Political, Legal and Regulatory Institutions"

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Tuesday 4 June - afternoon

PANEL DISCUSSION 'C'

CO-OPERATION AND COMPETITION IN SCIENCE AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY

Chairman: Mr Harry Aarts (Netherlands) — Vice-Chairman, Committee on Science and Technology, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly

Rapporteur: Professor Hiroshi Inose — Department of Electronics University of Tokyo; Chairman OECD Committee on Scientific and Technological Policy

"CHANGING PATTERNS OF TECHNOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP: COLLABORATION, COMPETITION AND INTERDEPENDENCE"

Mr John Marcum — Director for Science, Technology and Industry, OECD

"VITALITY OF SCIENCE: INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION, CO-OPERATION AND MOBILITY"

Professor Klaus Pinkau — Scientific Director, Max-Planck Institute for Plasma Physics (Garsching b. Munich)

G E N E R A L D I S C U S S I O N

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Wednesday 5 June

PANEL DISCUSSION 'D' **SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN EVERYDAY LIFE**

[Tour and presentation of Tsukuba Exhibition]

Chairman:	Sir John Osborn	Vice-Chairman, Committee on Science and Technology of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
Rapporteur:	[.....	Committee on Energy, Research and Technology of the European Parliament]

8 am Leave by coach for Tsukuba

Tour of Exhibition: "The Information Society in Japan"

12-2 pm Working Lunch

Professor Michael Gibbons
Department of Science and Technology Policy, University of Manchester

Dr Roland Hüber, Information Technology and Telecommunications Task Force, Commission of the European Communities

3 pm Tour of Exhibition (resumed)

Return to Tokyo

Thursday 6 June - morning

PANEL DISCUSSION 'E' — **SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

Chairman: [Mr	Committee(s) on Science and Technology of the Japanese House of Representatives and/or House of Councillors]
Rapporteur: Mr Philippe Bassinet	Chairman of French Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology Assessment

"THE NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND PRESSURES FOR GREATER DIRECT PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING"

Dr Roland Hüber	Information Technology and Telecommunications Task Force Commission of the European Communities

"TECHNOLOGICAL ADVICE AND POLITICAL DECISIONS"

[.....	United States National Academy of Sciences or National Academy of Engineering]

G E N E R A L D I S C U S S I O N

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Thursday 6 June - afternoon

CLOSING SESSION

TOWARDS STRONGER SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL LINKAGES BETWEEN EUROPE AND JAPAN: THE POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RATIONALE

Chairman: Mr Wolfgang Blenk (Austria)

Chairman of the Organizing Committee for the Sixth Parliamentary and Scientific Conference

General Rapporteur: Sir Hermann Bondi FRS

PRESENTATION OF THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE

C L O S I N G A D D R E S S E S

Secretary General of the Council of Europe

President of Parliamentary Assembly
or
Chairman of Committee of Ministers

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan

THE 6TH PARLIAMENTARY AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE
TOKYO/TSUKUBA 3-6 JUNE, 1985

HOTEL ACCOMMODATION APPLICATION FORM

Please complete and return this form to

AMERICAN EXPRESS INTERNATIONAL, INC.
TRAVEL DIVISION
HALIFAX BLDG., 7TH FLOOR
16-26, ROPPONGI 3-CHOME
MINATO-KU, TOKYO 106, JAPAN

Please type or use block letters

NAME : _____

ACCOMPANYING PERSONS : _____

_____

ADDRESS : _____

COUNTRY : _____

DATE OF ARRIVAL : _____ FLIGHT/TIME : _____

DATE OF DEPARTURE : _____ FLIGHT/TIME : _____

(A) HOTEL ACCOMMODATION :

Please indicate IN/OUT DATES and NUMBER OF ROOMS at an appropriate box(es).

HOTEL	SINGLE	DATES IN/OUT	NUMBER OF ROOMS	TWIN	DATES IN/OUT	NUMBER OF ROOMS
HOTEL OKURA	¥27,350			¥30,700		
CAPITOL TOKYU HOTEL	¥18,000			¥19,200		

The above room rates include tax and service charge.

DEADLINE FOR HOTEL RESERVATIONS

You are kindly requested to return the Application for hotel reservations to AMERICAN EXPRESS INTERNATIONAL, TOKYO, JAPAN by APRIL 30, 1985.

CANCELLATIONS

In the case of hotel cancellation, written notification should be sent directly to AMERICAN EXPRESS INTERNATIONAL, TOKYO. (=AMEX, TYO)

When notification is received by AMEX, TYO

- Upto 7 days prior to the first night of stay : No penalty
- 7-1 days prior : 20% of the daily room charge
- 1-on day/No Show :100% of the daily room charge

/

TOUR APPLICATION FORM

During/After the conference, the following tours/excursions will be offered. Reservations will be made by returning the TOUR APPLICATION FORM to AMEX, TYO by May 15, 1985 with a deposit of 50% of tour price.

- - - - - - - - - -

TOUR CODE	PRICE PER PERSON	PARTICIPATION DATE	50% DEPOSIT
T-1 (A)	@¥ 4,500		@¥ 4,500 x ____PAX x 0.5 =
(B)	@¥ 4,800		@¥ 4,800 x ____PAX x 0.5 =
T-2	@¥17,000		@¥17,000 x ____PAX x 0.5 =
T-3	@¥14,000		@¥14,000 x ____PAX x 0.5 =
T-4	@¥43,000		@¥43,000 x ____PAX x 0.5 =
TOTAL DEPOSIT ENCLOSED/OR REMITTED			YEN

T-1 (A) : Tokyo Morning Tour
(B) : Tokyo Afternoon Tour
T-2 : Day Excursion to Nikko with lunch
T-3 : Mt. Fuji Country Tour
T-4 : 1-Day Kyoto Super Express Tour by "Bullet Trains"(lunch included)

REMITTANCE

A) BANK REMITTANCE:

ACCOUNT NAME : AMERICAN EXPRESS INTERNATIONAL, INC.
ACCOUNT NO. : 1002899
NAME OF BANK : AMERICAN EXPRESS INTERNATIONAL BANKING CORPORATION
ADDRESS : TORANOMON MITSUI BLDG., 8-1, KASUMIGASEKI, 3-CHOME CHIYODA-KU, TOKYO 100, JAPAN

B) BANK CHECK

I (We) enclosed 50% deposit in the amount of YEN _____ in Total.

C) AMEX CARD

Please charge YEN _____ to my AMEX CARD

CARD NO. : _____

VALIDITY : _____

SIGNATURE : _____

CANCELLATIONS

In case of tour cancellations, a written notification should be sent to AMEX, TYO. The tour fare will be refunded after deducting the following cancellation charges.

When notification is received by AMEX, TYO

20 - 6 days before departure	:	20% of the fare
5 - 1 days before	:	30% of the fare
on/after the tour date	:	50% of the fare

TOUR DESCRIPTION

TO-1 : TOKYO MORNING/AFTERNOON TOUR

HIGHLIGHTS : AM - TOKYO TOWER
IMPERIAL PALACE PLAZA
IMPERIAL EAST GARDEN
ASAKUSA KANNON TEMPLE
GINZA SHOPPING DISTRICT

PM - IMPERIAL PALACE PLAZA
NATIONAL DIET BUILDING
TASHI PEARL GALLERY
MEIJI SHRINE
N.H.K. BROADCASTING CENTER
PRIVATE HOME OR FARM HOUSE
GINZA SHOPPING DISTRICT

TO-2 : DAY EXCURSION TO NIKKO

HIGHLIGHTS :
- Comfortable "Romance Car" train ride
- Visit of Toshogu Shrine, Dragon's Head Cascade and Kegon Waterfall
- Sacred Dance Performance at Futarasan Shrine
- Thrilling drive through Irohazaka highway with its 48 hairpin curves
- Lunch at the Lakeside Hotel

TO-3 : MT. FUJI COUNTRY TOUR

HIGHLIGHTS :
- Drive up to 5th station(8,000 foot-high) of Mt. Fuji
- Japanese Barbecue Lunch
- Kofu Katsunuma Fruits Village
- Katsunuma Winery
- Shogun Temple
- Lake Kawaguchi

TO-4 : 1-DAY KYOTO SUPER-EXPRESS TOUR

HIGHLIGHTS :
- Comfortable 125 m.p.h. "Bullet" train ride for Tokyo/Kyoto/Tokyo
- Lunch at New Miyako Hotel
- Afternoon Kyoto Tour visiting Heian Shrine, Sanju-sangendo Temple, Kiyomizu Temple

MINISTRY OF SCIENCE
AND DEVELOPMENT

משרד המדע והפיתוח

המועצה הלאומית למחקר ולפיתוח
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Head Office: Building 3, Qiryat Ben-Gurion, 91000 Jerusalem
Tel: +972—2—639231
Telex: 26188 RECO IL

משרד ראשי: בנין ג', הקריה, ירושלים 91000
טלפון: (02) 639231
טלקס: 26188 RECO IL

י"ז בכסליו תשמ"ה
11 בדצמבר 1984

נתקבל
ביום 13.12.84

לכבוד
סגן שר-החוץ
ח"כ ר. מילוא
משרד החוץ
ירושלים

מר מילוא הנכבד,

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - הועידה הפרלמנטרית למדע, טוקיו

בהמשך לשיחה שקיימנו אתך בכנסת ב- 5.12.84, מר ת. גריזים, מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפיתוח והח"מ ובהתאם למסוכם בשיחה זו, הנני מעביר לך בזאת ראשי פרקים ל"נייר" שקבלנו על עצמנו להכין ולהעביר אליך עד סוף ינואר 1985.

אודה על קבלת הערותיך והשגותיך לראשי הפרקים בכל ההקדם, כדי שנוכל לגשת ללא דיחוי לכתיבת הנייר שטיוטה סופית ממנו תועבר אף היא להערותיך.

ב ב ר כ ה,

יעקב ספיר
מנהל המועצה

העתקים: יו"ר הכנסת
מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפיתוח
מנכ"ל משרד החוץ
מנהל אירופה 2, משרד החוץ
מנהל מש"ב
מנהל קשתו"ם, משרד החוץ
גב' מ. גולן, לשכת יו"ר הכנסת

Science, Technology and Economic Transformation in Israel - The Role of International Cooperation.

1. Israel as a small developed country.

   A. Objective constraints and achievements of Israel.

   B. Dilemma of a small country participating in international science and technology.

   C. Solutions Israel has found to the problem - placing emphasis on international cooperation.

II. Israel's S & T System.

   A. National expenditure on R & D.

   B. The evolution of Israel's S & T system over time.

      - strength in science.

      - the emergence of high technology.

      - the changing university-industry interface.

   C. The impact of S & T on the economy.

III. International Cooperation in S & T with Developed Countries.

   A. The need for international cooperation in S & T.

   B. International cooperation in science at researcher and institute level.

   C. International cooperation at government level.

      - principles

      - machinery

      - practice

IV International Cooperation in S & T with Less Developed Countries.

* (כמה מה יכון גם לגבי המזרח).

מדינת ישראל
המחלקה לקשרי תרבות ומדע

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

נתקבל
ביום 3.1.85

תאריך: ט"ו בכסלו התשמ"ה
9 בדצמבר 1984

לכבוד
מר תנחום גריזים
מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפתוח

מספר:

הנדון: ביקור משלחת הבונדסטאג

ברצוני להודות לך על נכונותך להיפגש ולארח את חברי ועדת החינוך של הבונדסטאג.

אני מקוה שגם לעתיד יהיה בינינו שיתוף פעולה יעיל ופורה.

בתודה ובברכת
חג אורים שמח

תלי סס-אש

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים, 91950 טל' 235111 (02)

מדף 1046

לשכת המנהל הכללי

ט"ו בכסלו תשמ"ה

9 בדצמבר 1984

ת / 990 / 149

אל: מר יוחנן ביין, מנהל מש"ב.

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - הועידה הפרלמנטרית למדע - טנקיו.

מזכרך מה- 5.12.84

בינתיים קבלת בודאי עזכרי המסכם שוחח עם ח"כ ר. מילוא.
אגב, לו היו מתקבלות ההצעות הכלולות במזכרך הנ"ל, היה מקום שהטפול - הן לאור הנושא (טכנולוגיה גבוהה) ועניין החברות העוסקות בטכנולוגיה - יועבר למדען הראשי של משרד התעשיה והמסחר.

בברכה,

תנחום גריזים
המנהל הכללי

העתק: מר ד. קמחי, מנכ"ל, משרד החוץ.
מר ד. ריבלין, מנהל קשתסום, משרד החוץ.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: י"א בכסלו תשמ"ה
5 בדצמבר 1984

מספר:

נתקבל
ביום 7.12.84

דחוף

אל : מר תנחום גריזים - מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפתוח

מאת : מנהל מש"ב

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - הועידה הפרלמנטרית הששית למדע,
טוקיו, 3 - 6.6.85
בהמשך למכתבי מה-30.11.84

להלן פרטים שדווח לנו ח"כ ר. מילוא אשר השתתף בישיבת "הועדה למדע וטכנולוגיה" של המועצה, אשר התקיימה בשטרסבורג ב-30.11:

1. בשיחה בין ח"כ מילוא למזכיר הועדה סוכם כי נייר העבודה שנגיש יעסוק בטכנולוגיה גבוהה בישראל על תחומיה השונים. במסגרתו נוכל להציע גם שתוף פעולה בינלאומי וסיוע למדינות מתפתחות.

2. נייר העבודה הישראלי יידון במסגרת "פנל C" של הועידה והמדען שייצגנו יטול חלק בדיון שיתקיים במסגרת זו.

3. ח"כ מילוא הציע להסב תשומת לבן של חברות העוסקות בטכנולוגיה גבוהה לועידה.

בברכה,

יוחנן ביין

העתק: יו"ר הכנסת
המנכ"ל
מר ד. ריבלין, מנהל קשתו"ם
מר יעקב ספיר, מנכ"ל המועצה למחקר ופתוח
הגבי מ. גולן, הכנסת

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

משרד המדע והפתוח

לשכת המנהל הכללי

THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

יא' כסלו תשמ"ה

5 דצמבר 1984

ת/ 990/ 137

אל: מר יוחנן ביין, מנהל מש"ב, משרד החוץ.

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - הועידה הפרלמנטרית הששית למדע, טוקיו

3-6/6/85

לשלך מה- 30.11.84

נפגשנו היום, מנהל המועצה הלאומית למו"פ ואני, עם סגן השר ח"כ ר. מילוא, עפ"י הצעתך.

בשיחה סוכם כי הנושא לתזכיר אשר יוכן על ידנו יהייה המחקר בישראל, עם דגשים על תרומת המו"פ לפיתוח תעשיות מתקדמות, ומכאן גם תרומתו למשק המדינה (ייצוא וכיוב') ומערכת הגומלין בין המו"פ לש"פ בתחומי המדע והטכנולוגיה בכלל ובהקשר לארצות מפותחות פחות בפרט.

לוח הזמנים אשר סוכם הינו כדלקמן:

א. תוך שבוע נמציא לסגן השר ר. מילוא הצעה אשר תגדיר באופן יותר ברור את הנושא ושלד של תכנית (למעשה, ראשי פרקים מורחבים).

ב. לאור הערותיו של סגן השר יעובד התזכיר אשר יומצא לו מספיק זמן לפני הגשתו למועצת אירופה (סוף ינואר 85) כדי לאפשר לו להעיר ולנו להכניס תקונים כפי שייראה הצורך.

ג. כאמור לעיל, הנוסח הסופי יימסר בזמן שיאפשר הגשתו למועצת אירופה עד סוף ינואר 85.

בברכה,

תנחום בריזים

המנהל הכללי

העתק: יו"ר הכנסת

סגן השר ח"כ ר. מילוא, משרד החוץ

מנכ"ל משרד החוץ

מנהל אירופה 2, משרד החוץ

מנהל קשתום, משרד החוץ

הגב' מ. גולן, הכנסת

מר י. ספיר, מנהל המועצה הלאומית למו"פ

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: ו' בכסלו תשמ"ה
30 בנובמבר 1984

מספר:

נתקבל
ביום 2.12.84

אל: מר תנחום גריזים - מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפיתוח

מאת: מנהל משי"ב

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - הועידה הפרלמנטרית
השנית למדע, טוקיו 3-6/6/85
לשיחתנו במשרדך ביום 29.11.84.

1. מסתבר שח"כ רוני מילוא השתתף בישיבת הועדה המארגנת של הועידה ב-21.11, וכן בישיבה ב-30.11 של הועדה למדע וטכנולוגיה בשטרסבורג. בהזדמנות זו כבר מסר על נכונותנו להגיש הנייר לועידה והחלט שישתתפו בה מטעמנו חבר כנסת ומדען.

2. לוטה מזכר מנהל מח' אירופה 2 במשה"ח המפרט הנושא. לדברי ח"כ מילוא עלינו להגיש הנייר לא יאוחר מסוף דצמבר.

3. לוטים ארבעה מסמכים של הועידה הפרלמנטרית ובה הנחיות מלאות. שימו נא לב בעיקר למסמכי הועדה המכינה ולאלה של פנל C.

4. לסיפת סעיף 4. את מינוי המדען הישראלי שישתתף בועידה תתאמו בודאי עם מר שלמה הילל - יו"ר הכנסת.

5. מוצע כי תעמדו גם בקשר ישיר עם ח"כ רוני מילוא כדי לשמוע ממנו פרטים על הדיונים בהם השתתף. כאמור נמסר לנו על ידו כי המועד להגשת הנייר הוא בסוף דצמבר - אני מניח שתעשו המאמץ כדי לעמוד בלוח זמנים זה. מש"ב תהיה נכונה, כמובן, לתרום את חלקה שיתבטא, כך נראה לי, בכתיבה הפתיחה והסיפא ה"אידיאולוגיים" הכלליים שיספרו על גישתנו לנושא השת"פ הבי"ל בנושאי פיתוח והרקורד שלנו בנושא זה.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יוחנן ביין

העתק: יו"ר הכנסת
המנכ"ל
מנהל אירופה 2
מר ד. ריבלין, מנהל קשתו"ם
מר יעקב ספיר, מנכ"ל המועצה למחקר ופיתוח
הגב' מ. גולן, הכנסת

TARGET

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

דחוף

תאריך: ה' בכסליו תשמ"ה
29 בנובמבר 1984

מספר: 372

אל: מנהל מש"ב
מנהל קשתו"ם

מאת: מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - הועידה הפרלמנטרית השישית למדע, טוקיו
3 - 6.6.1985

המנכ"ל במזכרו דק/1050 מיום 8.11 אל מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפיתוח, קבע כי הטיפול בנדון יהיה בידיכם.

להלן פרטים על ההתפתחויות בנושא:

1. מצ"ב חומר רקע על סדר היום של הועידה ופרוט לגבי הנושאים שידונו בה.

2. בישיבה על נושאי מועצת אירופה שהתקיימה בכנסת ב-13.11 בראשות יו"ר הכנסת מר ש. הלל, הוחלט שבנוסף לנייר אשר ישראל תגיש לועידה, ישתתפו בה מטעמנו חבר כנסת ומדען.

3. ח"כ ר. מילוא השתתף בישיבת הועדה המארגנת של הועידה שהתקיימה בשטרסבורג ב-21.11 (ועומד להשתתף מחדש - 30.11 בישיבת הועדה למדע וטכנולוגיה של הועצה המתקיימת אף היא בשטרסבורג).
בישיבה הכ"ל הודגשה החשיבות המיוחסת לועידה הן ע"י המועצה והן ע"י ממשלת יפאן אשר יחד עם בתי הנבחרים שם מארחת את הועידה. ישתתפו בה כ-150 איש, פרלמנטרים ומדענים ויושם דגש על טכנולוגיה מתקדמת.

4. ח"כ מילוא דווח כי בשיחות עם המארגנים, הנושא שישראל התבקשה לכסות הוא במסגרת "הדיאלוג בין הרבויות, בין מדינות מפותחות לפחות מפותחות" - מערכת הגומלין בין המדע ליחסים בינ"ל כפי שהיא משתקפת בסיוע המדעי והטכנולוגי של ישראל למדינות המתפתחות.
הנייר יכול להכלל במסגרת פנל C של הועידה.
בנוסף לכך ובהתחשב בנושאי הועידה כדאי היה לדעתנו לתת ביטוי גם להשגי ישראל במדע ובטכנולוגיה מתוחכמת באמצעות המדען הישראלי שישתתף בועידה.

5. ח"כ מילוא דווח כי עלינו להגיש את הנייר לא יאוחר מסוף דצמבר. כאמור הטיל המנכ"ל תיאום הנושא על מחלקותיכם ואנו מניחים כי אתם תבואו בדברים עם מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפיתוח ועם יו"ר הכנסת במגמה שיוכן הנייר ויקבע המדען אשר ישתתף בועידה.

בברכה,

עמוס גנור

העתק: יו"ר הכנסת
המנכ"ל
ראש אגף אירופה
הגב' מ. גולן, הכנסת

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים, 91950 טל' 235111 (02)

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

CONFIDENTIAL

Strasbourg 15 November 1984

AS/Science/PSC (36) 4 prov.

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

5015
1225

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Organising committee for the

SIXTH PARLIAMENTARY AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

(Tokyo/Tsukuba 3-6 June 1985)

Some reflections on the themes and programme

Secretariat memorandum

drawn up on the instructions
of the General Rapporteur

NB: This paper, which is entirely provisional, is designed to provoke reactions from the principal actors at the conference, with a view to enabling a «programme note» to be drawn up by the General Rapporteur and distributed well in advance to all participants.

2.248
01.42

CONFIDENTIAL

Opening sitting and Panel «A»; «Science and Democracy»

1. The fact of having our conference in Japan is naturally the aspect of its preparation which is at the moment arousing most interest. It will indeed be the first time that the 21 countries of the Council of Europe, through the instrumentality of the Parliamentary Assembly, will have joined forces to stage a major parliamentary event - or Europe a major «science policy» conference - so far beyond the geographical limits of our continent. It has been made possible by our invitation from the House of Councillors and House of Representatives of the Japenese Diet and by their subsequent active and generous co-operation. This note is designed to show how the programme and thematic structure of the conference allow for a full and interesting treatment and integration of the «Japanese dimension».

2. Contrary to the prevalent trend of trying to account for the impressive technological and economic performances of our host country on grounds of cultural difference, our conference takes as its leitmotif some essential things which Europe and Japan have in common. Among these things are «science» (as part of our respective cultures, not only in view of technology) and «democracy». The conference sub-title is «Common values in a dialogue of civilisations».

3. The concept of a «dialogue of civilisations», as introduced at the previous conference (Helsinki June 1981), meant dialogue with the civilisations of the world's developing and least developed countries. In this meaning, it presents a theme of the highest interest to both Europe and Japan. But our invitation to meet in Japan suggests that we use it, on this occasion, to a somewhat different purpose. We shall start in Tokyo from the intersection, which we have traditionally felt to exist in Europe, of those sets of values relating to our pursuit of science, our commitment to democracy and our sense of belonging to a distinct civilisation. Is there a similar «intersection» in Japan? Can we share concepts and formulations which could underpin our future efforts to co-operate more effectively in science and technology?

4. To provide a glimpse of current European thinking on these elusive issues we have invited Professor Ilya PRIGOGINE to speak to the theme «Science, civilisation and democracy: values, systems, structures and affinities».

5. A word perhaps on what we may understand by the term «affinities». In the Council of Europe, democracy means the rule of law and the protection of the individual via-à-vis the state, the government and public administration. It involves the functioning of assemblies of elected representatives of the people and of an independent judiciary. It should involve insistent appeals to factual evidence - to check the policies and actions of governments or the protection of the rights of individuals at law. Science also, beneath its elaborate armoury of technical concepts, involves an insistent appeal to the evidence of our senses. It is true that this evidence, before reaching our senses, may be mediated by instrumentation and come in complex numerical form. But perceptions and their interpretations must be tested against a communal sense of what is or might be empirically valid in our universe. There is here, in the broadest sense, a natural «affinity» within our societies between our systems for taking decisions in law and politics and our systems for generating knowledge. It is also true that democratic politics aims at crystallising the opinions of as many people as possible on

whatever the issues may be, whereas science is resolutely «élitist». Not all opinions weigh equally, and no votes are taken. But science is also refreshingly non-authoritarian. Junior members of the community regularly and successfully challenge the opinions of their seniors.

6. Why, then, is the image of science which has come to prevail, not only in our popular cultures, that of an essentially alienating force - alienating man from the universe, from society and from a sense of personal value? PRIGOGINE argues this image is outdated. It came from highly selective descriptions of the universe generated by classical and quantum physics. There are other descriptions, from thermodynamics, which reveal the self-organising properties of matter (to the point of rendering theoretically intelligible the emergence of human life) and which incorporate more sophisticated and realistic notions of time and causality. Science is generating a new picture of the universe, in which physics, biology and human values (as LABORIT may confirm at a subsequent panel) may each be seen as part of a unified whole.

7. Part of PRIGOGINE's message will be that we must work towards the emergence of a more accurate image of science in our cultures. We have suffered in Europe from a profound rift, caused by a false image of science, in our intellectual, moral and emotional landscapes. The disappearance of this rift could lead to a new and revitalising sense of the unity, continuity and strengths of our civilisation. In a paper to a symposium of the European Communities (Brussels 1977) PRIGOGINE envisioned, some years ago, a «second renaissance of Europe» in this perspective.

8. Is there a comparable sense of «affinities», tensions and the prospects for their resolution in Japan? In the ensuing panel discussion, a Japanese vision will be set before us by Professor Kinhide MUSHAKOJI, Vice-Rector (regional and global studies) of the United Nations University and an active participant in our previous conference in Helsinki.

9. Science, whatever its constitutional setting (representative democracy or authoritarian régime) (1), is as integral to the technology as to the culture of the world's industrialised nations. It drives - but is also driven and conditioned by - technology. Science influences our civilisations not only through conceptions of the universe and of human values but also through the technology it inspires. By the same token, technology influences our civilisations not only through machinery but through the science it helps to generate. Together, science and technology may make it more of less difficult for our societies to sustain lively institutions of democracy.

10. Ten years ago, at our fourth conference (Florence 1975), Professor Keichi Oshima, then Director for Scientific and Technological Policy at OECD, presented Japan as looking to Europe for example and inspiration: «... the achievement of bringing technology into harmony with European civilisation would have significance for all other civilisations and cultures - even though, as with Japan, harmonies with other civilisations and cultures might sound differently».

---

(1) Authoritarian régimes, however, rarely resist the temptation of trying to bend science to political purpose - which results in stultifying the scientific imagination.

11. But Europe was already looking to Japan. Technology was changing fast. In a paper to a symposium of the European Communities (Brussels 1977) Professor Umberto COLOMBO speculated on the relations between Japan's performance in industrial innovation and the Japanese language and culture. He discerned «... a probing in the direction of the function for which something is thought of or produced, rather than in the direction of the specific technology possessed for its attainment (as often occurs in Europe) or of the market that is to use it (as is frequently the case in the United States)». But beneath this speculation lay a far more urgent concern. Industrial innovation governs competitiveness in international trade.

12. COLOMBO acted as Rapporteur for one of the sessions of our fourth conference in his capacity as the then Chairman of the OECD Committee for Scientific and Technological Policy. Today he holds the chairmanships of the European Communities' Committee for the Development of Science and Technology and of the UN Committee on Science and Technology for Development. These posts give him a strong regional and a strong global vision. We have asked him, for the opening session of our conference, to set the issues raised by PRIGOGINE in a technological perspective.

13. Opportunities for innovation have been emerging from eight (overlapping) sources of technology or areas of technological endeavour: micro-electronics, robotics, telematics, biotechnology, new sources of energy, new materials, exploitation of natural resources both on land and sea, exploration and exploitation of space, and the intellectual «software» underlying a vast new range of consultancy services. In addition to «mainstream» opportunities from each of these sources or areas, there is a vast range of opportunities for the combination, «clustering» or «intertwining» of strands of technology from these different sources and areas. In a recent paper (Venice 1983), COLOMBO spoke of the opportunities that arose for rejuvenating mature industries, including decentralised operations and the personalisation of traditional standard products: «Until a few years ago the most widespread hypothesis was that traditional manufactures - deemed mature and technologically stabilised - would inevitably migrate from the advanced to the developing countries ... today things appear in a different light».

14. The ability to inject emerging technologies into traditional industries is - or should be - an area of natural European strength. There are other strengths, as well as glaring weaknesses, in Europe's current position - weaknesses in solid-state electronics and the big computers, but strengths in nuclear and marine technology, in biotechnology and in parts of aerospace and telecommunications.

15. But if industrial innovation is the vehicle of technological change, its vectors in international trade are the multinational companies. Europe has tried to set up its own multinational companies, and failed. Instead, joint ventures and other forms of co-operation have been initiated along all three «sides» of the «triangle» formed by the United States, Europe and Japan. COLOMBO (Arizona 1984) suggests there is a new way of conceiving international competition, at variance with the traditional view of Europe, the United States and Japan being mutual rivals:

> «Rather than closing ranks at a European or American or Japanese level, with each attempting to rely only on itself, the three sides of the triangle which today guides world technological and economic development

(and perhaps not only this kind of development) have an interest in reinforcing the system as a whole. Toward this end, each partner must be in a position to contribute what his technological, organisational and managerial capabilities - and even his culture and his way of looking at the world and toward the future - permit him to contribute».

16. Our discussion of the issues raised by PRIGOGINE and COLOMBO will be led by Lars Roar LANGSLET, the Norwegian philosopher and theologian and Minister for Cultural and Scientific Affairs.

Panel «B»: «Biological advances and human rights»

17. The Japanese mathematician, Kimura, has pioneered a «random» theory of biological evolution, based on the chance combinations of genes (the units of heredity) and without recourse to the concept of «natural selection» with its deterministic overtones. Statistical techniques are enabling biologists with access to computers to cope with geographic variation without dividing species into sub-species. For the human species, popular notions of race are to be contrasted with the concentration of science itself on relations between whole groups of inherited characteristics.

18. As chance and probability play an increasing part in biology, notions of «biological determinism» have paradoxically re-emerged as part of the intellectual landscape of politics. Are we genetically «programmed» to behave as we do? Are our political and social arrangements the distant collective reflection of this «programming»? The conclusions (strongly challenged) of some psychologists from intelligence testing are echoed in the speculations of «sociobiology». These conclusions and speculations are used as convenient points of reference in the literature of some new political movements.

19. Where science is invoked to accredit or discredit ideas which are crucial to our sense of values and balance in human relationships, it is essential for scientists and politicians to come together to establish what is speculation and what is the state of the evidence.

20. This task is all the more important as European governments and parliaments come under pressure to work out legal frameworks to protect the rights of individuals (including those of the unborn child) in respect of research, experiment and therapy based on the new genetic techniques, on advances in embryology (for example: freezing and thawing of embryos), and directed towards preventing genetic disease or alleviating human infertility. Fears of illegitimate use, of uncontrolled commercial exploitation, or of the spirit in which the techniques might be applied by those of a particular political persuasion and philosophical disposition could lead, through public disquiet, to the closing of many avenues for improving the condition and lives of individuals.

21. At international level, the Council of Europe is examining the concept that individuals have the right to a genetic inheritance which has not been artificially interfered with. The proposal of this concept - following work by the Legal Committee and the Committee on Science and Technology of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly - was partly motivated by anxiety about eugenics.

22. We look forward to hearing whether similar pressures, fears and anxieties are being felt in Japan, and how they are being responded to. To help us in drawing the line between evidence and speculation, we have invited the views of Professor David INGVAR, President of the Swedish Medical Academy, and of Professor Henri LABORIT (France), one of the pioneers of modern neuro-psycho-pharmacology.

23. LABORIT dismisses the idea of genetic determinism in the sense in which the idea has been liable to political exploitation: «Up to now a gene has only been shown to code for an enzyme, not for anything so complex as a human behavioural predisposition». Nor, probably, should the feasibility of eugenics - as distinct from the political and social implications of its being accredited as desirable - cause any anxiety. It is hard to imagine the genetic techniques we have today being used on a mass scale.

24. LABORIT reminds us that the functioning of the human brain and nervous system are also part of biology, and that there are easier ways of manipulating the behaviour of human beings either as individuals or en masse - fear of torture, psychotropic drugs and the mass media. A more general understanding of how our brains and nervous system function could well be our best defence against manipulation by ideologies (including those of human rights and democracy) which aim to perpetuate existing patterns of dominance - in society and in international relations. It could also help us to set our societies on a more enlightened path, showing us how to remove some of the absurdities and inhumanities which arise as by-products of the way they presently function and compete. LABORIT compares the laws of neurobiology to the laws of gravity: «So long as we were ignorant of the laws of gravity, there was no question of getting to the moon. Once we knew them, we could - without being freed from them - use them to get there».

25. To focus and conclude our ensuing discussion, and to provide a bridge to our closing panel on «science, technology and representative democracy» (not least in regard to LABORIT's views of the media), we have asked Professor Stefano RODOTA, a consultant for our previous conference and a member of the Legal Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly, to define some specific challenges arising from the issues raised by INGVAR and LABORIT to our political, legal and regulatory institutions.

Panel «C»: «Co-operation and competition in science and advanced technology»

26. We renew in this panel our traditional partnership with those responsible for scientific and technological policy in OECD. Following COLOMBO's presentation at the opening sitting and the conference's response, the ground should be clear for practical discussion.

27. Before becoming Director for Science, Technology and Industry at OECD, Mr John MARCUM represented the United States on the group which conceived the 18 projects for co-operative research and development set up by the Versailles «summit» in 1982. His presentation of «Changing patterns of technological leadership» will convey a vision of opportunities for future co-operation with Japan which these changing patterns reflect, embody and shape.

28. What, for instance, is the state of progress on the 15 Versailles projects in which Japan is playing either the leading or a very significant role?

29. One of these projects is controlled thermonuclear fusion - an area in which technology itself provides the theme of fundamental research. In his paper on «Vitality of science», Professor Klaus PINKAU, Director of the Max-Planck Plasma Physics Institute, warns us that in areas like this some duplication of effort must be allowed, as a condition of genuine competition between scientists. Clearly, with projects on such a scale (as for solar system exploration or high energy physics), the future concertation of our efforts must lie within the triangle of relationships between the industrialised democracies envisioned by COLOMBO.

30. Differences in technical standards can make co-operation difficult and distort competition. In many fields, such standards must incorporate the latest knowledge generated by scientific and technical research. Those lines and phases or research where this kind of knowledge is being generated are probably the most useful areas to build co-operation with Japan. We shall look for signs as to whether this is happening.

31. Four of the Versailles projects deal with the harnessing of sources of energy. Two of them deal with the exploitation of space. We look forward to hearing the positions of the Japanese energy and space authorities at this panel. We note that there is as yet no project dedicated to the use of satellite communications for enhancing cultural relations between Europe and Japan.

32. Our conclusions will be drawn by Hiroshi INOSE, Professor of Electronics at Tokyo University, Chairman of the OECD Committee for Scientific and Technological Policy.

Panel «D» (Tsukuba Exhibition) and Panel «E»: «Science, technology and representative democracy»

33. The effects of science and technology on the functioning of parliamentary institutions is a theme which every conference in this series has dealt with. We have a historical perspective of a quarter of a century. Our closing panel takes up this theme on the day following our visit to the Tsukuba Exhibition, where we shall see some of the technology of tomorrow.

34. How this technology infuses our societies and shapes our lives will depend on decisions, or lack of decisions, at many different levels of responsibility. The final level is government and parliament. Will the new technologies make it easier or harder to handle responsibilities at and between these different levels? We have asked Dr. Roland HUBER, a consultant for our previous conference, now with the «information technology and telecommunications task force» of the European Communities, to initiate our discussion. It will be placed under the chairmanship of a member of the Japanese Diet (House of Representatives or House of Councillors), whose experience and anticipations we are anxious to learn from.

35. The other side of the coin is how government and parliament should be organising their decisions on questions with a high scientific and technological content.

36. Most of our countries have systems and networks of consultation for getting expert advice and expressions of group interests and popular feeling and opinion into the legislative process - for instance, through public

hearings. In Japan, according to the political scientists, Richard Samuels (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), the «functional equivalent» of such hearings in the field of technology and industry is the system of advisory councils which, contrary to public hearings elsewhere in the OECD area, are not easily accessible for the expression of interests likely to be affected in other countries. It is true that the advisory councils focus on industries rather than issues. Nonetheless, there may be room for comparing notes on the functioning of our respective systems - not least, on our side, to learn how Japanese democracy is facing up to the great issue of public acceptance of technological change.

37. This theme is the subject of one of the Versailles projects. Taking part in this project is the Manchester University «PREST» group (policy research in engineering, science and technology), which is led by our programme consultant, Professor Michael GIBBONS. People resist technological change for many reasons - tradition, habit and anxiety about effects on employment, health and the environment. A further reason may be protest against «technocracy» - the idea that our futures are being shaped by decisions taken outside the traditional and accepted framework and machinery of parliamentary democracy, and that those operating within this framework are either «rubber-stamping» predetermined decisions or making formal choices between options the shape of which they have played no part in modelling.

38. Our earlier conferences recommended bringing more scientists and technologists into government and parliament, in the hope of counteracting «technocracy» and public anxiety about it. We can see today that the remedy may have aggravated the disease. It seems clear, from analyses made at our last two conferences, that we should work towards a considerable strengthening of the information and decision-monitoring capabilities of our national parliaments and of their specialist cross-party committees. The way such committees deal with issues of future scientific and technological development - such as those raised in our panel on «Biology and Human Rights» - will critically affect, in the public mind, the credibility of representative democracy in the forms we know it. In his presentation, Dr. HUBER may foreshadow some of the technical means through which this strengthening can be accomplished. It is not a question of raising the scientific levels of knowledge of non-scientists, but of making them better aware of the uncertainties of the scientific process.

39. There are other institutional forms through which the same ends may be attained. Our Rapporteur, Mr Philippe BASSINET, will draw conclusions from his experience as Chairman of the newly-created French Parliamentary Office of Technology Assessment.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

AS/Science/PSC (36) 2

SIXTH PARLIAMENTARY & SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Tokyo/Tsukuba, 3-6 June 1985

Panel Discussion C

Cooperation & Competition in Science and Advanced Technology

VITALITY OF SCIENCE : INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, COMPETITION & MOBILITY

Klaus PINKAU
Max-Planck-Institut für Plasmaphysik (Garsching b. München)

Strasbourg
1984

CONTENTS

Vitality of science: international co-operation, competition and mobility

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Science proceeds through discussion and - thereby - mutual stimulation. This interaction has always occurred between scientists irrespective of their nationalities: science is an international affair. Indeed, with the increasing degree of specialisation, the number of knowledgeable people decreases, and the average distance to the scientific partner increases. Accordingly, scientifically active people have to be mobile, and mobility has thus been taken as a measure of the vitality of science. A new dimension has been added by the desire of nations to collaborate in sharing costly equipment, so that cost-effectiveness and the use of investments by the science community may be improved.

2. By reason of these activities, science has been a force towards improved international understanding and co-operation.

3. However, competition is required to provide stimulation, and the quality of science is the result of competition and criticism between scientists. Co-operation must therefore not be an obstacle to competition or criticism - or (even worse) provide the means to suppress other options: large collaborations lead to a monopoly of information which deprives others of their chance to criticise conclusions and to contribute to or improve knowledge.

4. Recently, with the increasing impact of scientific and technological results on industrial capability, the aspect of economic competition has gained importance in science.

5. Parliaments and governments are interested in the vitality of science. They see the relation between scientific and industrial competitiveness. Which factors govern mobility, govern the balance between co-operation and competition? The proposal here advanced is that the factors governing the vitality of science, technology transfer, and the competitiveness of our nations are provided by the reward systems which are operative. It is therefore illuminating to discuss the behaviour of scientists, industry and governments in terms of their respective reward systems.

B. THE REWARD SYSTEM

6. Science

6.1 The reward system is individual excellence. It is enormously satisfying to gain a new insight, to make a discovery. Excellent scientists are held in high esteem in the scientific community. Since the beginning of science, its usefulness for society has been important. Only good science is useful, however, and thus the scale of reward remains the same: "excellence".

Recently, a new scale of value has become increasingly important: personal income. It should be noted that excellence and income are not always related.

6.2 Individual excellence is achieved by:

a. discussion and competition in the stimulating environment of knowledgeable people. Scientists want to work and learn in centres of excellence;

b. learning of new techniques. Techniques can be learned by doing them. One has to go to the places where they have been developed. Reading the literature is not sufficient;

c. use of facilities. Advanced science requires complex and costly facilities which are available in only a few places.

6.3 Mobility is thus a measure of the desire to obtain a good education, of the desire to meet good people and to learn new techniques, or of the wish to use advanced facilities.

6.4 The scientific reward system does not necessarily directly value the usefulness of research. Applied science tends to be valued lower than basic research, although this is occasionally balanced by the desire to serve society.

7. The economy

7.1 The reward system is success in the market place. Industries have an interest in science and technology to gain advantages. These are achieved by:

a. early information: industries have an interest to maintain strong connections to the academic world to pick up early signals of possible development;

b. developing new technologies: these are often developed for other purposes (like science, space, the military ....) and then transferred to the market;

c. forming consortia: there is an interest to share risks in order to gain a commanding position or to apply successfully for international projects;

d. secrecy: industries want to maintain their technological leadership.

7.2 It is clear that the scientific and industrial reward systems are different. Society has to make provisions so that an effective transfer - or interaction - may take place.

8. Governments

8.1 The reward system is to be able to model society according to one's image of man and to maintain it against internal and external irritations. In many nations, the process of choosing leaders is by election. In order

to get elected, governments want to provide welfare to the population: protecting them socially, supporting the economy, sustaining a cultural civilisation - all on the basis of limited funds.

8.2 For example, governments have to:

a. provide a healthy educational system, allowing the achievement of international excellence. A healthy educational system must provide for competition: mobility is regarded as a significant attribute, as also is success in winning prizes;

b. support basic and long-term applied research which is too far away from possible use to be supported by industry;

c. provide research facilities, sharing them with other nations if the cost is too high or the scientific home-base too small;

d. provide for a system of employment, taxation and retirement which allows market forces to develop and effectively provides for the transfer of technology and knowledge from the research system into industry;

e. protect the population from undesirable consequences of scientific or industrial activities.

It is clear that some of these actions in favour of the scientific and industrial reward systems are in conflict with other rewards like:

f. provide social security and reasonable income (standard of living) to a large part of the population.

C. KEYNOTE ISSUES

9. Apart from the cultural desire to increase knowledge, our societies support science in order to improve their technological capability and, thereby, their industrial competitiveness. In political discussion, simplified and abbreviated arguments tend to be used as to how this can be achieved. These arguments are often counter-productive. This is because the operation of the reward systems - and their interaction or interference - is not appreciated. The following keynote issues illustrate this.

10. Avoiding duplication of effort

10.1 Effective cost-sharing of expensive equipment through collaboration is often supported by the argument of "avoiding duplication of effort". The argument is sometimes even extended - trying to suppress research on the grounds that it is also done somewhere else. However, the very essence of scientific progress is discussion - which depends on having at least one knowledgeable partner, who had to duplicate my effort in order to get there. In other words lack of duplication - when it means lack of competition - kills science, just as it kills progress elsewhere. In a different sense, duplication is also necessary in the technological field.

If one wants to use a technology, one has to duplicate it by doing it. It is of no use to the experimental scientists, or to an industry, simply to know that somebody else can do certain things; the technique has to be learned by duplication of effort.

10.2 Therefore, while it may be possible to avoid duplication of effort in facilities which are tools for investigation and do not prejudge the scientific result or the outcome of competition (such as accelerators or telescopes), effort must be duplicated in other areas - eg where it is necessary to learn a technique experimentally (to catch up with others) or where the facility is itself the object of investigation (as in fusion research).

11. Is international collaboration good under all circumstances?

11.1 Projects of international co-operation have failed. They can be successful if they take account of the reward systems for scientists and governments and thus meet the following conditions:

a. participating countries should have a strong scientific and technological home-base, assuring competent participation in the common effort;

b. such a home-base should be maintained and involved whenever possible in the overall joint project and should finally utilise the results of the joint venture. It is here that equity of benefit must be realised for the participants;

c. the joint project(s) should be specific and clearly defined in its (their) objectives, scope, financial implications and duration;

d. necessary conditions for the success of a large and time-consuming joint project are efficient and responsible management and a clear legal status, based on binding international agreements. Such agreements should permit adjustments according to the scientific and technological evolution of the project, but should also ensure the necessary continuity.

12. Mobility of scientists

12.1 Lack of mobility is regarded as an indicator that the educational system has shortcomings. One should exercise care in making such a claim, because conferences, joint international projects and modern means of communication tend partly to substitute for the personal mobility of the past, when extended periods of study and work in other countries were regarded as necessary. Lack of mobility may be a sign that the reward system for science has broken down. If our societies fail to value scientific achievement as such, if our societies establish new scales of values where scientific excellence is "the wrong thing to aim for", science - and mobility as one of its consequences - become unimportant.

12.2 Mobility may also be impeded by interactions with reward systems which are external to science. Two examples are:

- in many countries, the employment system penalises the mobile and gives advantage to the immobile persons;

- the reward system for the spouse may also interfere.

12.3 Geographical mobility is what has been discussed essentially so far. Thematic mobility is of a different nature. The scientific reward system tends not to support mobility in the object of curiosity. The reason is that excellence can be achieved only after considerable intellectual investment in a particular field. This investment is largely lost if the topic of research is changed. Therefore, scientists tend to remain with their speciality for a long time.

12.4 Thus it is easy, but probably wrong, to blame scientists - or their institutions - for lack of mobility. We must understand that our systems of social security and co-determination tend to favour the immobile person, as does the reward system of the spouse. It may be that modern means of communication can partly offset lack of mobility - and this should be pursued, because it is not sensitive to the adverse factors mentioned. However, actual personal mobility also leads to total immersion into new and stimulating environments. It would seem therefore necessary to tackle the limiting factors by legislation if one is to hope for an improvement in personal mobility.

13. Technology transfer

13.1 Transfer of knowledge occurs between someone who gives and someone who receives. Depending on the desire to give or take, at the two opposite ends of the scale we either talk of espionage or of unsuccessful attempts to sell ideas. This suggests that some current attempts to improve technology transfer do not take account of the reward systems but try, by government regulation, to compensate for the lack of desire to give and take.

13.2 Technology transfer will take place if transitions between the scientific and industrial reward systems can occur. As already indicated above, government legislation should provide for this to happen by shaping an adequate system of employment, taxation and retirement. However, governments should also see that technology transfer occurs if scientists engage in subsidiary business or consulting. Such subsidiary activities of academic staff are usually frowned upon, usually by people who have no chance to do likewise. But it is often not appreciated that, in stopping them, technology transfer and connections to the practical world in student education are impeded.

D. CONCLUSION: IS IT IMPORTANT TO WIN NOBEL PRIZES ?

14. The answer is yes, but it is not sufficient. Prizes are an indicator of the vitality of science and of a healthy and competitive educational system. They are not related to the strength of the industrial system and its capability to produce high technology.

15. This capability - to make use of brilliant ideas and to make use of the capable people who are trained in a healthy educational system - requires mechanisms of transfer from the academic to the industrial world. My argument is that reward systems and their interactions must be shaped so that this occurs. Governments and parliaments should act to this effect.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY ASSEMBLÉE PARLEMENTAIRE

AS/Science/PSC (36) 3

SIXTH PARLIAMENTARY AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Tokyo-Tsukuba 3-6 June 1985

Panel Discussion B

Biological advances and human rights

ADJUSTMENTS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR: NEW BIOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Henri LABORIT

Centre d'études expérimentales et cliniques de physio-biologie, de pharmacologie et d'eutonologie (Hôpital Boucicaut, Paris)

Strasbourg
1984

1.898
01.42

CONTENTS

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Until recent times science was meant to be the knowledge of the laws of the inanimate world. Biology - the science of living organisms and their laws - is a bare 30 years old. It has two important branches: one known as molecular biology, concerned with among other things, the structure and operation of the genetic code; and the other covering the structure and the operation of the nervous system, which is the instrument of our relations with others - that is, with our social environment.

2. Progress in these two branches has not had the same impact on the general public, probably because the media have given greater coverage to the potential consequences of molecular biology. Moreover everyone can apparently control the workings of his or her brain, and the so-called human sciences - psychology, sociology, economics and politics - seem to have said all there is to say on the subject.

3. We have made considerable progress, insofar as we already know the molecular structure of a number of genes, their spatial arrangement in a genome, their role in protein coding and even what happens to them during the evolution of the phylum from the simplest organisms to human beings. This progress leads to the development of techniques whereby human beings can manipulate and transform the genome. It is a short step from there to believing in the human ability to transform species, in particular the human species.

4. The therapeutic use of genetic engineering - the possibility, in the more or less distant future, of remedying genetic defects which, because of the lack of essential enzymatic proteins, cause genetic diseases (of which there are, admittedly, only a few, as far as we know at present) - can only be welcomed. The same is true of the use of genetic engineering to transform plant and animal species for the benefit of mankind, (this is already happening). On the other hand, the possibility of its use for eugenic purposes, to create categories of human beings in a way similar to that described by Aldous Huxley in "Brave New World", far from being promising, instils fear in many of our contemporaries.

5. I should like to say that technical progress is still at a stage where this fear seems to me to be groundless, for mass application of these techniques would be difficult. If, however, contrary to all expectations, this became possible in the not too distant future, the threat would not be the techniques themselves but their use by certain men - politicians or the military - allegedly in accordance with the wishes of the people. Yet these men have at their disposal an instrument just as powerful and fast-acting for guiding, controlling and rendering instinctive the behaviour of the masses: indoctrination by the media.

6. As long as ethical debates are confined to such issues as reproduction involving "surrogate mothers", the manipulation of embryos and in vitro genetic recombination, the emotions of the public in the industrialised countries will be channelled towards highly specific questions, while, at the same time, millions of people are dying in practically every country of the world in wars or from torture, without sophisticated biological weapons. There is little concern about the hundreds of motorway deaths during summer weekends, for they are the consequence of a technical development which helps to balance countries' trade accounts: the car industry. These mass phenomena are much more dangerous than genetic engineering at its present stage - a stage at which it will probably remain for a long time yet. Were such strong emotions also aroused by a biological discovery which has already radically transformed contemporary human behaviour? I am thinking of the contraceptive pill. It was, I assume, invented to curb soaring population growth in the so-called developing countries, but it was adopted, mainly, by the technically advanced countries. By removing the fear of unwanted pregnancy, it revolutionised relations between the sexes.

7. It is my view that the danger from genetic engineering may, for the time being, lie not in the end-products of experiments but in the stress which is put on the inborn, genetic factor, which is seen as being responsible for the human personality. Yet, to date, a gene has simply been shown to provide a code for an enzyme and not for something as complex as human behaviour. To discuss this issue I would need to dwell at length on the "nature versus nurture" argument over the human personality - now a live issue in fashionable circles. I would simply say that the child born of a genetic union between a Nobel prizewinner and an exceptionally gifted woman (there are so few ova of Nobel prizewinners!) will never, if abandoned in a non-human environment, become a man. Everything has to be learnt, in particular how to walk and speak. You will, however, note that those who believe in inborn factors are right-wing (from the traditional or New Right - it depends), since the favourable image they have of themselves, which is recognised and rewarded by society because of its conformism, gives them no incentive to transform society. They are conservative. Conversely, those who support the theory that personality is acquired are left-wing. Unsatisfied with the recognition which society has afforded their exceptional qualities, they think that, by transforming the structure of society, they will finally receive their just reward.

8. The public is also frightened by progress in neuro-psycho-pharmacology. We now have the means, in the form of molecules invented by man, of transforming the behaviour of our fellow creatures. These means are already being used in psychiatric prisons in the so-called totalitarian countries to "treat" dissidents opposed to the regime, and in prisons, psychiatric or otherwise, in the so-called "democratic" countries to "treat" dissidents opposed to the concept of ownership and to socially acceptable behaviour. It is only the institutionalised social code which is different - the symptoms requiring treatment, as it were. In both cases, the person whose behaviour does not conform to the code institutionalised by those in charge is considered ill and abnormal. This form of therapy, which is not mass therapy either, is doubtless easier to use than genetic engineering.

In both cases, however, the important thing is who orders their use. Obviously, some form of power. But what is power? Even though recent historical examples teach us that a man can embody an ideology, he is never more than a symbol. If this symbol is not based on the widespread consent of the masses, he will resort to torture rather than genetic engineering and psychotropic drugs.

9. The fact is that the quickest means of achieving widespread consensus and enabling individuals to recognise in their "leader" the ideal image he has of himself is, again, through the mass media, using the most trivial instincts and automatic cultural reflexes. Language always finds a logical argument, a pretext, a good reason in order to involve the masses in slaughter: it appeals to the unconscious mechanisms which make human brains work. And slaughter will be achieved much more effectively by the atom bomb, which owes nothing to biology, than by genetic engineering or psychopharmacology.

10. Yet - and this is the point I want to make - very little is said about biological progress over the past 30 years in the understanding of the workings of the human brain, even though this knowledge may be the source of the salvation of the species. It is thanks to their brains that people relate to one another, and it is through the workings of the brain that human societies become established.

11. This knowledge, although it is as yet tenuous and piecemeal, enables us to understand how, in the course of human history and, more particularly, since the beginning of the Neolithic age, human societies have been formed, and what previously unknown biological laws they have obeyed. So far, human behaviour in society has been a matter for psychologists, philosophers, sociologists, economists and politicians, who, with the use of language, have come up with interpretations, as varied as they are numerous, for the mishmash of instincts, culture and imagination which make up their unconscious. The unconscious could not provide them with the key to the problem since it was, by definition, unconscious. An infantile belief in a direct cause-and-effect relationship completely unsuited to the sciences of such complex processes as those of living organisms made them think that their theories were universally valid.

12. It reamins for me to highlight some important concepts. We are used to talking of those who dominate and those who are dominated, the former being few in number and wielding power, to which the latter are subjected. This situation exists. And we are beginning to see why. In a system based on competition between individuals, social groups, ethnic groups, states and blocs of states, it could hardly have been otherwise. The equality of opportunity so widely advocated is nothing short of equality of opportunity to become inequal and dominate other people, and it is therefore obviously absurd. It is the systems governing human behaviour in society that are responsible for the societies in which we live. It thus becomes clear that it is the ultimate purpose of these systems, from the individual to the species on the planet, that must be changed. The dominant and the dominated simply fall into line with the systems' purpose. The decision-makers decide nothing. How could they act differently if they do not know how the existing purpose developed over the centuries? And how could they find out if they do not know how the human brain is made and how

it operates in a social situation? Until one learns them, although one is not freed of them, one can use them to get there. Man's "essence" does not, as is said, make violence, crime and war, and possibly his own destruction, inevitable. There are simply laws governing relations between individuals and social groups, which are themselves based on neuro-biological laws that command the activities of the human brain. As all these laws have been unknown until now, they could not be used to change the purpose of society.

13. I believe there is still some hope - the hope that progress in biology, so dreaded in some quarters, will, leaving aside explanatory discourse, teach man what he is and show him the underlying mechanisms which unconsciously shape the logic behind the discourse. It was out of necessity that mankind was drawn, completely unconsciously, towards industrial civilisation. Ten or 12 years ago, I talked of the advent of what I called an "information society". The information most urgently needed is not that which will enable a few people to graduate from a prestigious higher education establishment, but that which will enable us all to know what we are and what other people are. Noble intentions - which rarely get further than the walls "Temples" of whatever kind and vary from era to era and with the geoclimatic spaces - must give way to something that is neither beautiful nor ugly, something that is not noble but simply exists and is reproducible in a statistically viable fashion, that is, the facts revealed by behavioural biology.

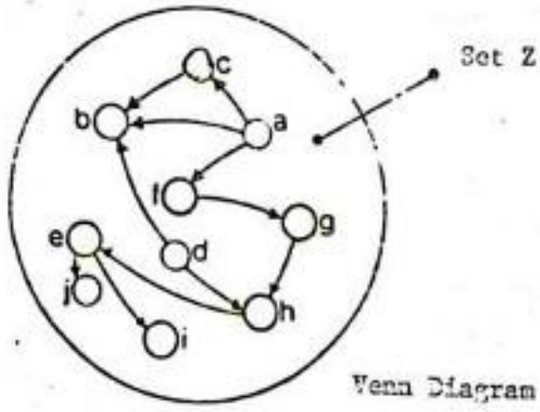
14. I should like to end this introduction on a more personal note. Having been one of the "pioneers" in the development of neuro-psycho-pharmacology, I was often asked whether I did not feel largely responsible for the current abuse of what are commonly known as tranquillisers or, more broadly, psychotropic drugs. At first I used to say "No" - that it was the societies in which we lived that had become unbearable without them. Then, as the years went by, I began to wonder whether, if psychotropic drugs had never been invented, a revolution would not have occurred - that is, a revolution in human behaviour in the face of an unbearable situation. For the substantial progress in modern biology and medicine are simply makeshift remedies and, to my mind, there is little chance of the species progressing as a result of pharmacology. It can do so only if there is a radical change in human behaviour based on a knowledge - not only discoursive but also experimental knowledge - of what we are. And this knowledge should be widely disseminated even before teaching of multiplication tables and elementary algebric problems.

B. COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION

15. Etymologically, "to communicate" means "to share". But to share what? Information. Etymologically speaking, again, information is the process of giving form to something. This raises the question of what form is. Form is nothing but what a set adds to the sum of its elements, and these are relationships. The acquisition of form is thus the result of the relationships established, in a certain order, between the elements of a set.

16. By convention, a set is represented by a circle. Within this circle there are smaller circles representing the elements of the set. These elements are not randomly placed; they are interrelated. These relations obviously consist of neither mass nor energy; they are merely information, whereas the members of the set will always be considered as mass or energy (Fig. 1).

(fig. 1)



a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j = elements of Set Z.
The arrows represent relations between the elements of the set.

17. The set of relations constitutes what is called the Structure. It thus constitutes a new set - the set of relations - but it is impossible for Man to grasp the set of relations existing between the elements of a set, that is, its Structure with a capital "S". He can grapple only with the subsets of this set of relations, that is, with a sub-structure, or part of the Structure (with a capital "S"), and is therefore dealing only with a structure (with a small "S"). The characteristic feature of ideology is the belief that the structure (with a small "s") describing a subset of the set of relations actually constitutes the Structure (with a capital "S"), that is the set of relations itself. All human groups, and indeed all individuals, extract from their surroundings a structure - a subset of the Structure of the set - and believe it to be universally valid. Accordingly, they want to impose it on their contemporaries.

18. This happens, when you inform me, unless you communicate to me - that is, when you try to share with me some information or, in other words, a sub-structure of the set of structures you have considered, and you will give form to my brain, which will preserve traces that will transform it in accordance with what you expect from me.

19. To sum up, the structures we perceive are, in accordance with Einsenberg's uncertainty principles, merely the components of a structural reality which can be called the Structure (with a capital "S"). It is therefore useful to know as many components, or elements, as possible of the set of relations and to see how they are organised - what relations exist between them, as it were - in the full knowledge that we shall never succeed in getting qualitatively closer to reality.

C. INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND MEMORIES

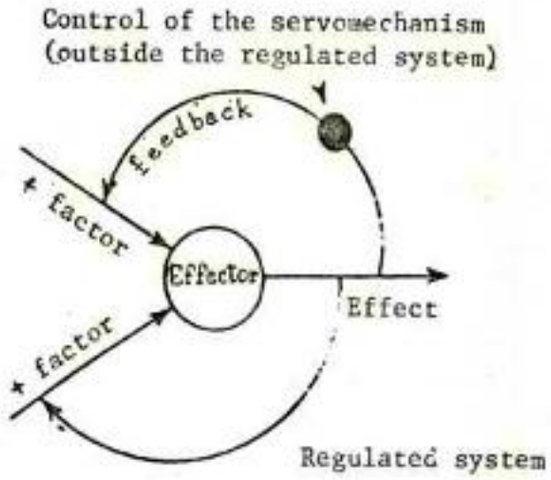
20. The information structure constitutes what can be called a memory, the form of which is invariant in time, according to the definition given above. Examples are monuments, books, records and films, the elements of which (stones, letters, grooves, images) have been organised by Man and have kept this organisation. In biology, the information structure also leads to the formation of memories, such as the genetic memory, the immune memory and the nervous memory. It was known a long time ago which atomic elements made up deoxyribonucleic acid, the fundamental component of genes, which are capable of transmitting the form of the members of a species from generation to generation. But until we knew how these atomic elements were organised in space - the fact that they were in the "form" of a double helix - we understood nothing about the transmission of genetic characteristics. This organisation of the atomic elements in living organisms, which needs a steady input of solar energy to maintain its information-structure, constitutes the metastable organisation of the elements of sets. For example, an antibody formed for the purposes of immune defence that is the recognition of matter foreign to the organism, in fact constitutes both a particular, specific form of protein molecule and a memory. Likewise, when impulses passing along chains of neurons leave signs of their passage behind them, again in the form of synthesied proteins, which provide a code for neuron components, this is a case of giving form to something. Similarly, the immune memory process involves the synthesis of specific proteins and hence the generation of molecular forms or organisations of molecules, the persistence of which is now generally accepted to be the source of the long-term memory. Clearly, though, unlike the genetic memory, which transmits the information structure of a species from generation to generation, the memories of individuals disappear with them. In Man, however, because of language, they can survive and be likewise handed down from generation to generation, thanks to a new information structure - language - which will become circulating information: information which circulates among individuals and between generations. When you provide me with information, in the sense in which I have defined it, this information will circulate from you to me - from one point to another in space-time. Initially, there is, of course, an information structure peculiar to your own brain and the specific form it has been given, but you are going to use means of transmitting this information to someone else. To do this, you will create a new information structure which will be outside you, but which will take as its model your brain's information structure, which is the result of what you have learned and experienced, and enable you to pass on a message. This brings us to the question of semantics, which we have not yet considered.

D. CIRCULATING INFORMATION AND LEVELS OF ORGANISATION

21. A message entails the establishment of an information structure which constitutes the signifier. To send a piece of information from Paris to Montreal, I shall need to compile the components of this signifier information-structure in the form of letters constituting words. I cannot place them at random but must put them in a particular order. On the basis of syntax and grammar, I shall join these words together to form a sentence, which will constitute the order, or structure, of the signifier or, in other words, the set of relations between the elements of the signifier set. But the set of elements - letters, words and sentences - making up the signifier (which requires a certain amount of energy for its transmission, irrespective of the channel used for the transmission) will form a semantic medium. Now, it is these semantics - the signification of the message, or that which is signified - which are going to transform, or give form to, the nervous system of the person receiving them. Of course, this presupposes that the sender of the message organises the signifier in accordance with a code also used by the decoder, or receiver, of the message. If I send you a message in French and the only code you know is Chinese, the exchange of information between us is liable to be somewhat limited. Lastly, this information, which I have described as "circulating", is not confined to inter-personal communication - that is, the social plane - but is also found at the various levels of organisation of the organism, which we shall now consider.

22. Several decades have elapsed since we first state that the structure of living organisms involves various levels of organisation. It can be said that the complexity of the organism depends on the number of levels of organisation. To mention but a few of these levels, atoms join together to form a molecular set, which become the elements of a new set, eg an enzymatic set, and these groups of molecules, which allow an enzymatic reaction to take place, join together in intra-cellular organelles, eg the mitochondria, the nucleus, the Golgi body, the endoplasmic reticulum, the membranes, and so on. These intra-cellular organelles, located in a complex system of microtubules and microfilaments, join together to form a cellular set, or cell. By joining together to perform one function, the cells form organs, and these organs form systems which, together, constitute the structure of the organism. Each of the levels of organisation I have just mentioned can be experimentally isolated from the level of organisation which encompasses it and of which it is a part. Isolating it makes it easier to study its function as one can vary one factor at a time. It must, however, be remembered that, when this level of organisation is put back in place in the system which encompasses it, it will not function in exactly the same way as it functioned in isolation. Certain factors have been ignored and it is, in fact, by comparing the function of the level of organisation in isolation and the function of the same level when encompassed in the system that we shall gradually be able to discover the missing links and acquire a better understanding of how they function in the organism. This means that, although it is important to know the structure of a level of organisation, it is perhaps more important to identify its relations with the system surrounding it.

(fig. 2)



23. An organisation level, since it can function in isolation (for it itself encompasses many lower-tier levels of organisation), may be considered as a regulator, which has the effect of controlling, generally negatively, the value of the factors concerned by means of a feedback mechanism. In a normal situation, that is, in the surrounding system, the regulation process will be controlled by information received from that surrounding system. The regulator (Fig. 2) is thus transformed into a servomechanism. Between each level of organisation there must be communication, or circulating information, so that the organic whole comprising the various organisation levels can function harmoniously and, most important, maintain its own structure. Messages, in the form of information, thus circulate between contiguous levels of organisation controlling the functional activity of each. Without going into the details of these complex processes, I would simply say that the nervous system and the endocrine system are probably the two main means of communication used by the organism in order to remain independent in a foreign environment. Structurally speaking, each level of organisation is thus a closed system. That is why we can distinguish a man from an elephant or an ant, and why we can make a heart, liver or intestine - that is, organs belonging to systems - function in isolation and isolate cells by means of a culture or, once we have destroyed the cellular structure, study the workings of intra-cellular organelles, eg the mitochondria. The endocrine system, for example, has the characteristic advantage of being able to convey information to certain groups of cells so that they change their functional or metabolic activity in such a way as to help preserve the structure and functional activity of the organism as a whole in its environment. Indeed, that is why the hormones secreted by the endocrine glands have been called "chemical messengers". Each of them consists of molecules with a particular structure, and it must be possible for the signifier which the hormone constitutes to be decoded by complementary structures of the same kind, which are in fact known as receptors. This explains why the message carried by a particular hormone is responded to only by the cells equipped with receptors

capable of understanding that message This brings us back to the problem we discussed in connection with communication through language. Furthermore, these receptors, which are usually located at the level of the cell membranes, pass the information on to a "second messager" (sic), which itself transmits the biochemical message to a metabolic factory - the cell.

24. It follows from the foregoing that, although each level of organisation is, structurally speaking, a relatively closed system, it is connected to all the other levels of organisation, which interlock to form a complete organism by means of a communication system which enables each organisation level to maintain its own structure while helping to maintain the overall structure of the organism. For it is through the maintenance of the overall structure of the organism that the structure of each organisation level can be maintained. Thus, where the information structure is concerned, an opening can be achieved only by embodiment in a system which controls the operation of the organisation level concerned. By contrast, thermodynamically - that is, where mass and energy are concerned - living organisms are open systems, into which solar photon energy, transformed by photosynthesis into chemical molecules, can flow. It is food that provides the energy needed not only to maintain the structure of each component at each organisational level but also to fuel the functional, thermodynamic activity of each level of organisation, which interlocks with the functional or, in a manner of speaking, mechanical activity of the organism as a whole. It follows that the sole "raison d'être" of an organism is to exist - to maintain its information structure in relation to an environment that is less highly organised than itself, or, in other words, to combat the second principle of thermodynamics - the increase in entropy - by using, in point of fact, solar energy, that is, by taking advantage of solar entropy in very particular surroundings - the biosphere.

25. The nervous system is another communication system. Its role is to link up the various organisation levels I have just mentioned as well as to link the organism as a whole with its environment. It is by controlling the environment through action that the nervous system helps to maintain the information structure of the organic whole in which it is immersed. In order to achieve this control, it must be informed not only of the state of well-being or otherwise of the entire cellular community in which it is located but also of what is happening in the environment. By combining information from these two sources, the most important being, obviously, information from within the organism, it can transmit messages to specialised cells - muscle cells - so that the organism moves in the environment, thereby acting on the environment and maintaining its state of well-being - that is, its information structure.

26. Clearly, therefore, communication, as the sharing of information, occurs at atomic level and continues at the molecular, intra-cellular, cellular, organic and systematic levels and within the organism as a whole, and we find it again between the organism and its surroundings - first and foremost, the other organism populating the surrounding area. This explanation of the role of the nervous system is very much over-simplified, but I shall not provide a fuller description, as I have already done so in numerous publications, both reference works and publications for the layman, which deal with the evolution of the structure of the brain through the hierarchy of species, ending with the human brain. The reader may refer to these works. I would simply say that we find, at each organisation level of the brain, the memories we discussed at the start - the genetic memory and the nervous memory. Man has, however, the peculiarity of being able, on the basis of learning and experience, which have left molecular traces in the nervous system, to reorganise these experiences by means of imaginative activity in such a way as to be able to act more effectively by taking advantage of past experience. Consequently, such terms as impulse, motivation, fundamental or acquired needs, emotion (love, hate, joy, sorrow, sadness, and so on), attention, imagination and creativity are more than just words; they portray mechanism which we are increasingly able to understand and can influence by means of pharmacology (the invention and study of chemical molecules by Man). Pharmacology is probably more important for confirming the existence of mechanisms thought to have been discovered than for strictly therapeutic purposes.

27. It must be realised that, because these mechanisms were unknown until recently, it was possible to come up with a logical theory for everything that can be described as the unconscious. The unconscious can no longer be considered to be that which is repressed because socio-cultural rules prevent it from being expressed in the form of action; it is all the automatisms which, from birth, have (during the impression period) forged the relational structure of the neurons, or some of them, plus the result of all the motor, conceptual and language learning that the culture of a certain area and era, embodying the accumulated history of previous generations, has instilled in the child's brain. We thus reach the conclusion that what two people communicate to each other is esentially the expression, in language, of what they have unconsciously learned - their cultural automatisms.

E. INTER-PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

28. On reaching the last stage - that of relations between social groups and within such groups - we observe that the relations which individuals and groups of individuals establish between themselves are based on the activity of their nervous systems. Ideally, I should dwell at length on how language developed, what it is and what purpose it serves. Although many animals can communicate with one another, their nervous systems lack areas which apparently developed in man thousands of years ago, known as Wernicke's area and Broca's area. These areas permit spoken language. Communication in the human species therefore has language as its medium.

There is a need for an explanation as to why, with the transition from the sign to the symbol, that is, from the one-to-one relationship of the sign and the object to the imprecision of the symbol (the sematic content of which varies with individual experience of life and the experience acquired over the centuries by each human group living in a particular geo-climatic area), communication has lost precision and yet become enriched. Why, in that case, does spoken or written language make much more use of the unique emotional activity of each individual than of an accurate, effective model of the world? Wernicke's area and Broca's area are located in the left hemisphere. It was recently found that this hemisphere enabled Man to analyse linearly the features of his environment, and to express this analysis in discursive or mathematical form. The right hemisphere, on the other hand, is used for the overall perception of the environment, synthesis, the occupation of space by gesture, and music - in right-handed people, of course, who are in the majority. We shall see below that, since the activity of the left hemisphere has always been the source of the technology which has, over the centuries, provided analytical knowledge of the environment, the various socio-cultural systems, in particular that commonly known as the Western world, have, through education, always favoured the operation and training of this hemisphere, usually to the detriment of the right hemisphere.

29. Why has this been so? I said at the beginning that the nervous system was used for action, ie that it enabled the organism endowed with it to move in its environmental niche and control its environment, first and foremost in order to satisfy its fundamental needs (to drink, eat and copulate), but also to protect itself against the elements in this niche likely to jeopardise its survival or pleasure. If the space in which an organism found itself was empty, ther would obviously be no reason to act on this space. It is because it contains objects and beings necessary to the maintenance of the information structure and to pleasure or, on the contrary, because it contains elements which jeopardise this maintenance, that the nervous system has reason to act. If experience teaches it that certain objects or beings in its environment are necessary for its pleasure and for the maintenance of its information structure, and that another individual in the same area wants to use the same objects or beings for the same purpose (repeating gratifying acts), competition will arise between the two individuals as each seeks to keep available the objects and beings necessary for person well-being.

30. The ownership instinct does not therefore exist: the nervous system simply learns of the pleasure that can result from gratifying objects and beings, or the essential need to keep them at its disposal. Nor is there a territorial defence instinct: there is simply an area in which individuals find gratifying objects and beings, which they want to keep at their disposal.

31. These behaviour patterns are not inborn; they are the result of learning about pleasure.

32. Competition gives rise to a relationship of dominance between the two individuals, as one of them tends to appropriate the gratifying objects and beings. On the basis of this two-way relationship, we can build, and observe how animal societies build, much more complex relationships leading to hierarchical structures involving dominance within groups. These are the findings of important work done over the last few decades by contemporary ethologists.

33. Man, thanks to his cerebral association systems and his imagination, is increasingly using tools to control the environment. These have provided the human species with much more sophisticated methods of protecting itself against the environment and ensuring its survival, whether the survival of the individual or of groups. Language had to take the syntactical and grammatical form in which we now know it as soon as human groups settled in one place, before the invention of agriculture and stock-farming, and the individual, from being a jack-of-all-trades, came to specialise in a particular occupational activity. Each activity helped to hold the human community together, and cohesion had to be achieved through communication between the individuals making up the community. But within this human group, priority in the use of gratifying objects and beings arose as a result of competition, and hierarchical systems emerged.

34. Indeed, it certainly seems that, when the first Neolithic populations began to settle in particular territories, and when the accumulation of reserves of cereals and domestic animals removed the fear of famine during the winter and people were no longer at the mercy of the hunt, the inter-personal relations which developed within the group were initially egalitarian relations, and weapons were not used. A great deal of convincing evidence gathered by pre-historians seems to provide proof of this. Nevertheless, since this radical transformation of group life resulted in sudden population growth, and since not all the groups had reached the same stage of technical advancement, competition arose between the groups for the acquisition of territories and the objects which they provided. Furthermore, the goods accumulated by means of primitive technology varied from region to region, depending on resources of the geo-climatic area. The result was a considerable increase in trade and the need to invent money.

35. Not only did the arbito-frontal region of Man's brain enable him to invent tools and thereby transform, more or less effectively, matter and, later, energy, which have always been at the disposal of all species, including the human species; it also enabled him to invent increasingly effective weapons enabling groups to dominate other groups in the competitive system that had become established. This was the origin of war, waged in order to appropriate new territories and the goods which could be extracted from them. This same orbito-frontal region of the brain and the languages whereby technical developments could be transmitted from generation to

generation and accumulated, subsequently enabled Man not only to transform matter for his own ends but also to use physical energy extremely effectively. Dominance set in with regard to possession of this technical know-how, which was considered to be the property of the groups which had produced it and was protected from other groups by the invention of increasingly destructive and deadly weapons.

36. At the same time, in complete ignorance of the unconscious underlying motives, logical argument invariably found reasons, pretexts and explanations for wars, murders, genocide and torture.

37. In view of what I said at the beginning in connection with ideologies, it is understandable that this argument could express nothing other than an abstract sub-set of a reality which it was impossible to grasp but which was in keeping with the interests of an individual or group. This argument was never valid for the entire species.

38. Such is the mish-mash of language in which we are still arguing. Man began by looking at the world around him, which was initially incomprehensible to him. It was a dangerous world, against which he had to defend himself by finding out about its structural features. First, therefore, he discovered physics, thermodynamics and their language - mathematics. His spoken language, by making him stand back and consider objects and thereby create concepts, made him believe in his freedom. In actual fact, like all other animal species, he is part of the biosphere and subjected to its laws. Animals, if they do not obey these laws, will disappear as individuals and species. Man thought that, on the contrary, with his technical expertise, he could stop obeying them and master and use them instead. At the same time, he discovered another kind of anxiety, for his ignorance, or at least - his belief in his liberty - which comes to the same thing - prevented him from finding universally valid systems - a level of organisation which could tell him how to behave. He therefore invented such systems, which took the form of myths, religious, morals and state laws. Having rules of conduct at his disposal, he could thus act and repress his anxiety - for our anxiety is basically connected with the inhibition of action, which has many causes, one of the main ones being lack of information. Again, these myths, religions, morals and state laws were never valid for the entire species, but only for aggressive, predatory sub-groups.

39. When societies are able to provide everyone, from the earliest age and throughout life, with as much information about what he or she is and about the mechanisms which enable him or her to think, desire, remember, and be happy or sad, calm or anxious, furious or good-humoured - in short, about the mechanisms which make it possible to live and live with other people ... when they are able to provide as much information about the curious creature that Man is as they have always endeavoured to provide about the most effective of ways of producing goods, people's daily lives are likely to be transformed. As nothing interests people more than themselves, when they discover that introspection has concealed from them that which is essential, and distorted the rest, that things are simply content to be, and that it is we who, in our own interests or those of the group to which we belong, will assign them a "value", their daily lives will be completely transformed. They will no longer feel isolated but will feel united through time and space - similar to others but different, unique and at the same time one of many, conforming and individual, transient and eternal, owner of everything without possessing anything - and in the pursuit of their own happiness they will give happiness to others.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

Strasbourg, 10 July 1984
aspsc36.1

restricted
AS/Science/PSC (36) 1

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

SIXTH PARLIAMENTARY AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Tokyo/Tsukuba 3-6 June 1985

"SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY: COMMON VALUES IN A DIALOGUE OF CIVILISATIONS"

General Rapporteur: Sir Hermann Bondi FRS

PROVISIONAL DRAFT PROGRAMME

E 75.069
01.42

Monday 3 June - afternoon

OPENING SESSION AND PANEL DISCUSSION 'A'

Chairman:	Mr Lennart Pettersson (Sweden)	Chairman - Committee on Science and Technology, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly
Rapporteur:	Mr ..... (Japan)	Committee on Science and Technology of either the House of Representatives or the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

14.30 President of the Parliamentary Assembly or Chairman of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe

14.45 Chairman of the Council for Science and Technology of Japan

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

15.15 Introduction of the two speakers by Sir Hermann Bondi, General Rapporteur:

"SCIENCE, CIVILISATION & DEMOCRACY: VALUES, SYSTEMS, STRUCTURES AND AFFINITIES"

Professor Ilya Prigogine, Nobel Laureate (1977)
Free University of Brussels; Director, Centre of Statistical Mechanics and Thermodynamics, University of Texas; Special Advisor to the Commission of the European Communities

"TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION -ITS NEW FORMS AND DIMENSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIETY AND THE WORLD ECONOMY AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW GEOGRAPHICAL BALANCES"

Professor Umberto Colombo
President, Italian Nuclear Energy Agency; Chairman, Committee for the Development of Science & Technology of the Commission of the European Communities; Chairman, UN Committee on Science and Technology for Development

16.15 Coffee break

16.30 - 18.45 GENERAL DISCUSSION

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Tuesday 4 June - morning

PANEL DISCUSSION 'B' **BIOLOGICAL ADVANCES AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Chairman: Senator José Manuel Duarte (Spain) — Director, Cadiz Health Centre; Member, Committee on Science and Technology Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly

Rapporteur: Professor Stefano Rodotà — Law Faculty, University of Rome; Legal Affairs Committee, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly

"MEDICINE TODAY AND TOMORROW: IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN FREEDOMS"

Professor David Ingvar — President, Swedish Medical Academy; Department of Clinical Neurophysiology University of Lund (Sweden)

"ADJUSTMENTS AND TRANSFORMATIONS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR: NEW BIOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS"

Professor Henri Laborit — Hôpital Boucicaut, Paris

G E N E R A L D I S C U S S I O N

"Challenges to Political, Legal and Regulatory Institutions"

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Tuesday 4 June - afternoon

PANEL DISCUSSION 'C'

CO-OPERATION AND COMPETITION
IN SCIENCE AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY

Chairman: Mr Harry Aarts (Netherlands) — Vice-Chairman, Committee on Science and Technology, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly

Rapporteur: Professor Hiroshi Inose — Department of Electronics University of Tokyo; Chairman OECD Committee on Scientific and Technological Policy

"CHANGING PATTERNS OF TECHNOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP: COLLABORATION, COMPETITION AND INTERDEPENDENCE"

Mr John Marcum — Director for Science, Technology and Industry, OECD

"VITALITY OF SCIENCE: INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION, CO-OPERATION AND MOBILITY"

Professor Klaus Pinkau — Scientific Director, Max-Planck Institute for Plasma Physics (Garsching b. Munich)

GENERAL DISCUSSION

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Wednesday 5 June

PANEL DISCUSSION 'D' SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

[Tour and presentation of Tsukuba Exhibition]

Chairman:	Sir John Osborn	Vice-Chairman, Committee on Science and Technology of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
Rapporteur:	[.....	Committee on Energy, Research and Technology of the European Parliament]

8 am Leave by coach for Tsukuba

Tour of Exhibition: "The Information Society in Japan"

12-2 pm Working Lunch

Professor Michael Gibbons
Department of Science and Technology Policy, University of Manchester

Dr Roland Hüber, Information Technology and Telecommunications Task Force, Commission of the European Communities

3 pm Tour of Exhibition (resumed)

Return to Tokyo

Thursday 6 June - morning

PANEL DISCUSSION 'E' — **SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**

Chairman: [Mr ..... — Committee(s) on Science and Technology of the Japanese House of Representatives and/or House of Councillors]

Rapporteur: Mr Philippe Bassinet — Chairman of French Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology Assessment

"THE NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND PRESSURES FOR GREATER DIRECT PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING"

Dr Roland Hüber — Information Technology and Telecommunications Task Force Commission of the European Communities

"TECHNOLOGICAL ADVICE AND POLITICAL DECISIONS"

[..... — United States National Academy of Sciences or National Academy of Engineering]

G E N E R A L D I S C U S S I O N

(with responses by the keynote speakers and summing-up by the Rapporteur)

Thursday 6 June - afternoon

CLOSING SESSION

TOWARDS STRONGER SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL LINKAGES BETWEEN EUROPE AND JAPAN: THE POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RATIONALE

Chairman: Mr Wolfgang Blenk (Austria)

Chairman of the Organizing Committee for the Sixth Parliamentary and Scientific Conference

General Rapporteur: Sir Hermann Bondi FRS

PRESENTATION OF THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE

C L O S I N G A D D R E S S E S

Secretary General of the Council of Europe

President of Parliamentary Assembly
or
Chairman of Committee of Ministers

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

Strasbourg, 8 August 1984
aaspsc36p.1

Confidential
AS/Science/PSC (36) PV 1

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Organizing Committee for the Sixth Parliamentary and Scientific Conference (Tokyo/Tsukuba 3-6 June 1985)

DRAFT MINUTES

of the meeting held in Paris
on 12 June 1984

Present:

MM	BLENK (Chairman)	Austria
	BASSINET	France
	BECK	Liechtenstein
	COLAJANNI (for Mr Antoni)	Italy
	DUARTE	Spain
	ENDERS	F R Germany
	MILLER	United Kingdom
Sir	John OSBORN	United Kingdom
MM	QUEIROZ	Portugal
	WORRELL (for Mr Aarts)	Netherlands

Apologised for absence:

Mr	PETTERSSON	Sweden

Also present:

Mr Gabriel DRILHON, Secretary, Committee for Scientific and Technological Policy, OECD
Ms Tove FIHL, Co-Secretary, Committee on Energy Research and Technology, European Parliament
Professor Michael GIBBONS, Science Policy Department, University of Manchester

920
01.42

Also present con'td:

Dr John GOORMAGTIGH, Secretary General, European Science Foundation

Professor Hiroshi INOSE, Chairman, Committee for Scientific and Technological Policy, OECD

Mr IMAMURA, First Secretary, Permanent Delegation of Japan to OECD

Mr John MARCUM, Director for Science, Technology and Industry, OECD

Mr Reii TAKAHASHI, Second Secretary, Permanent Delegation of Japan to OECD

Mr Blenk, Chairman of the Organizing Committee, opened the meeting at 10.40 am. He welcomed Professor Hiroshi Inose, Chairman of the OECD Committee on Scientific and Technological Policy, together with Mr Imamura and Mr Takahashi from the Japanese Permanent Delegation to OECD. He also welcomed: Mr John Marcum, Director for Science, Technology and Industry at OECD; Mr Gabriel Drilhon, Secretary of the OECD Committee on Scientific and Technological Policy; Ms Tove Fihl, Co-Secretary of the European Parliamentary Committee on Energy, Research and Technology; Professor Michael Gibbons, Programme Consultant; and Mr John Goormaghtigh, Secretary General of the European Science Foundation, whom he proposed should be invited to become a member of the Organizing Committee.

Mr Goormaghtigh having indicated his acceptance, this was agreed to.

1. AGENDA

[AS/Science/PSC (36) OJ 1]

The draft agenda was adopted.

2. MINUTES

[AS/Science/PSC (35) PV 1]

Following a proposal by Mr Takahashi, the draft minutes of the previous meeting (Strasbourg, 3 April 1984), were amended so that the first section of Mr Takahashi's intervention on page 2 should read as follows: "Mr Takahashi was looking forward to receiving concrete proposals from Tokyo".

The draft minutes, thus amended, were approved.

3. PROGRAMME OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE

[AS/Science/PSC (35) 1 rev. 2]

i. Talks held at OECD, 22 May 1984

Mr Bassinet, representative of the Organizing Committee at these talks, expressed his thanks to Mr John Marcum for making available a meeting room at OECD. The purpose of the talks had been to examine a preliminary draft programme, revised following the meeting of the

Organizing Committee in Strasbourg on 3 April 1984, with a view to preparing a provisional programme which the Organizing Committee could, at its present meeting, examine, adjust and approve for circulation to governments and international organizations subject to agreement by the various personalities whom it was proposed to invite as speakers. The talks had been attended by Sir Hermann Bondi, General Rapporteur, Mr John Marcum, Mr John Goormaghtigh, Mr Tsumotu Imamura, Ms Tove Fihl, Mr Gabriel Drilhon, Mr Jostein Myckletun (European Science Foundation), Professor Michel Gibbons. The results of these talks were now embodied in the provisional draft programme, document AS/Science/PSC (35) 1 rev. 2, which Sir Hermann Bondi, though unavoidably prevented from being present owing to a longstanding engagement of the United Kingom National Environment Research Council, of which he was Chairman, wished to present herewith for approval by the Organizing Committee.

ii. Examination of the provisional draft programme

The Organizing Committee proceeded to examine the various sessions and panel discussions set forth in the provisional draft programme, following brief introductory statements on each of these sessions and panel discussions by the Programme Consultant, Professor Michael Gibbons.

Took part in this examination: MM Miller, Colajanni, Bassinet, Sir John Osborn, MM Marcum, Duarte, Professor Gibbons, the Chairman, MM Goormaghtigh, Drilhon, Professor Inose, MM Takahashi, Castenetto and Hartland.

For the role of keynote speaker at the opening session, Mr Colajanni suggested and proposed to contact Professor Umberto Colombo, Chairman of the Italian Commission for Nuclear and Alternative Energy Sources, Chairman of the European Community Committee for the Development of Science and Technology.

This was agreed to.

The Organizing Committee:

i. approved the provisional draft programme subject to a number of amendments agreed on in the course of its examination of document AS/Science/PSC (35) 1 rev. 2;

ii. instructed the Secretariat to contact a number of personalities for particular roles at the Conference, it being understood that the precise wording of certain Conference themes would be left to further consultation with the personalities concerned;

iii. agreed to the circulation of the provisional draft programme, thus finalized, with conference invitations to parliaments, governments and international organizations, subject to approval by the full Committee at its meeting in Oslo on 27 June 1984.

4. OTHER BUSINESS

None.

5. DATE, TIME AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING

The date, time and place of the next meeting was left to the Chairman's discretion, in the light of progress with conference preparations.

The Organizing Committee rose at 12.45 pm.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL DECISIONS

The Organising Committee of the Sixth Parliamentary and Scientific Conference, meeting in Paris on 12 June 1984 under the chairmanship of Mr Blenk:

- heard a statement by Mr Bassinet on the informal talks held at OECD on 22 May 1984, on the basis of which a revised outline programme was now to be examined;

- following statements by Prof. Inose, Chairman of the OECD Committee for Scientific and Technological Policy, and Prof. Gibbons, Programme Consultant, examined and approved, as amended, a revised outline programme, for circulation with conference invitations to parliaments, governments and international organisations;

- instructed the Secretariat to contact certain personalities for particular roles at the conference, it being understood that the precise wording of certain conference themes would be subsequently agreed with the personalities concerned;

- appointed Mr John Goormaghtigh, Secretary General of the European Science Foundation, as a member of the Organising Committee;

- left the date of its next meeting to the discretion of its Chairman, in the light of progress with conference arrangements.

press notice

LIST OF

Official Guests

OF ISRAEL

רשימת האורחים שיבקרו בישראל

December 1984

Name	Position	Country	Date
Guillermo Cespedes	Journalist	Bolivia	1 - 3.12
Kalvero Siikala	Director of Finnish Ministry of Education's Dept.of International Relations	Finland	2 - 9.12
Raquel Ferreira	Secretary of State for Foreign Trade	Portugal	6 - 13.12
Jacques Chirac	Mayor of Paris	France	8 - 12.12
Yagi Makoto Murakami Atsushi	Members of Economic Research Institute for the Middle East	Japan	6 - 11.12
Otto Erling Møller	Director General of Foreign Ministry	Denmark	9 - 13.12
Chaban Delmas	Ex-Prime Minister	France	9 - 16.12
Drs C.S.L.Janse	Chief Editor 'Reformatarisch Dagblad'	Holland	11 - 17.12
Francois Xavier de Donnea	Secretary of State for Cooperation and Development	Belgium	12 - 16.12
Robert Kasten Jr. Daniel K.Inouye	Senators on The Appropriation Committee	U.S.A.	15 - 18.12
Delegation of European Parliament	-	Belgium	15 - 19.12

../2

Name	Position.	Country	Date
Committee on the Judiciary - House of Representatives-U.S.A.			16 - 21.12
Kenichi Takemura	T.V Personality	Japan	16 - 21.12
Vilma Guimaraes Rosa	Writer	Brazil	16 - 23.12
Leon McCarthy	Deputy Governor - California	U.S.A.	18 - 22.12
Gilberto Dimenstein	Journalist	Brazil	23 - 30.12
John Kasich	Congressman (Republican-Ohio)	U.S.A	29.12-3.1
Nicholas Frank Greiner	Leader of Liberal Opposition Party	Australia	31.12-7.1

For further information please contact:

42

Jeanette Koll, P.R.Div, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem-
Tel: 02-235674/235286/235111

Sima Bar Urian, Bet Sokolov, Tel Aviv
Tel: 03-266557/260973

Aldo Baquis, Press Office, Jerusalem
Tel: 02-243161

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

DIRECTOR GENERAL

המנהל הכללי

נתקבל
9.11.84
ביום

י"ג בחשוון תשמ"ה
8 בנובמבר 1984

דק/1050

אל : מר ת. גרידים, מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפיתוח

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - ועידה בינלאומית על מדע
מכתבך ת/50/990 מה-29.10.84

הטיפול בנושא במשרדנו יהיה במשותף בידי המחלקה לשתוף פעולה בינלאומי ובידי המחלקה לקשרי תרבות ומדע.

משרדך יכול לתאם הנושא עם ה"ה יוחנן ביין, מנהל משי"ב, ומר דוד ריבלין, מנהל קשתו"ם.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

דוד קמחי

העתק: ראש אגף אירופה
ראש אגף כלכלה
מנהל משי"ב
מנהל קשתו"ם

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

DIRECTOR GENERAL

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

המנהל הכללי

כ"ג בתשרי תשמ"ד
19 באוקטובר 1984
דק/991

משרד המדע והפיתוח
לשכת השר
דוד נבון
נתקבל ביום 23-10-1984
נר מ ב
תש כ

אל: שר המדע והפיתוח

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - ועידה בינלאומית על מדע

1. ועידה בינלאומית על המדע והטכנולוגיה והשפעותיהם על החברה, הכלכלה והחלטות פוליטיות תתקיים בטוקיו במחצית השנייה של 1985.

2. הוצע לח"כ רוני מילוא שישראל תשתתף ותגיש נייר כמסמך רשמי של מועצת-אירופה והדבר גם יתן הזדמנות - עפ"י תקנות מועצת אירופה - להשתתפות של שר ישראלי בדיוני ועדת השרים למדע וטכנולוגיה בכל עת שתתכנס לדון בנושאי הועידה ומסקנותיה.

3. הנני מעביר הנושא לטפול משרדך. מבחינת משרד החוץ הנני ממליצים על השתתפותנו.

4. ועדת האסיפה הפרלמנטרית למדע ולטכנולוגיה תתכנס ב-30 בנובמבר בשטרסבורג. במועד זה עליבו לאשר השתתפותנו וכוונתנו להגיש נייר העבודה כמוצע.

ב ב ר כ ה,

דוד קמחי

העתק: ראש אגף אירופה, מש"ח
ראש אגף כלכלית, משה"ח
מנהל אירופה 2
מנהל כלכלית,
מנהל מש"ב
מנהל קשר"מ

יג' בתשרי תשמ"ה
9 באוקטובר 1984

173

אל : המנכ"ל

עתק : מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : מועצת אירופה - ועידה בינלאומית על המדע והטכנולוגיה והשפעותיהם על החברה, הכלכלה והחלטות פוליטיות

1. בזמן ועדת השרים ועדת האסיפה הפרלמנטרית למדע וטכנולוגיה של מועצת אירופה תתקיים בסוקיר במחצית המנעה של 1985 ועידה בנושא הנ"ל.

2. ח"כ דרכי מילוא, שעמד בראש משלחת למושב האסיפה הפרלמנטרית שהתקיים בשטרסבורג בשבוע שעבר שוחח עם יו"ר הועדה הפרלמנטרית למדע וטכנולוגיה ועם מזכיר הועדה שמאמינה את ישראל להשתתף בועידה.
המזכיר אף הציע שישראל תביא נייר עבודה שיופץ (בפעם הראשונה) כנייר רשמי של מועצת אירופה שבדשאן: "שילוב המדע בסידע בינלאומי והחלטות פוליטיות ובלבלים ביחסי הגומלין שלהם על ההתמודדות המדינית".

3. התמתכותנו בועידה תקנה לנו את היתרונות הבאים:

א. נוכחותנו בועידה תהיה במסגרת האירופית;

ב. תנתן לנו הזדמנות להציג במסמך רשמי של מועצת אירופה ובהרצאות בועידה:
(1) מועלנו בתחום הטיוע הבינלאומי והאפשרויות הגלומות בש"ם בתחום זה;
(2) הישגי ישראל בתחום הפיתוח המדעי והטכנולוגיה המתקדמת והשפעתם על רמת התעסוקה בישראל.

ג. עפ"י תקנות מועצת אירופה יכולים שרים של מדינות משקיפות, אם רצונם בכך, להשתתף בועדות של מועצת השרים, אם מוסמכים מדינתם המתמתפו בדיונים בפורומים מקצועיים בנושאים שעל סדר היום של ועדות השרים. יתכן, והתמתכותנו בועידה תאפשר נוכחותנו של שר ישראלי בדיוני ועדת השרים למדע וטכנולוגיה בכל עת שהיא תתכנס לדון בנושאים הקשורים לועידה זו ולמסקנותיה. בכך עשוי להווצר משעול חדש לש"ם מדיני ושקדעי הן עם הארגון והן עם המדינות החברות בו.

4. ועדת האסיפה הפרלמנטרית למדע וטכנולוגיה תתכנס ב-30 בנובמבר בשטרסבורג. במועד זה עלינו לאחר השתתפותנו וכוונתנו להביא נייר העבודה כמוצע לעיל.

5. לאור האמור לעיל אנו ממליצים כי משרדנו יפעל להיענות להזמנה להשתתף בועידה בטוקיו. כמו כן, אנו מציעים כי יוסל על ראש אגף כלכלה ועל מנהל קשתו"ם לתאם בין הכנסת, משרד המדע ושטת"ח. כמובן שאירופה 2 תשתלב בנעשה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

(-) ע. גבור
עמוס גבור

העתק : ראש אגף אירופה
ראש אגף כלכלה
מנהל קשתו"ם

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Bill

2 November 1984

Dear Colleague,

We hope the attached information will be of interest. It describes the U.S.-Israel Cooperative Development Research (CDR) Program, an entirely new AID initiative that seeks to link Israeli and developing country investigators in joint scientific research on problems in international development.

If you need further details, please feel free to contact Dr. Irvin M. Asher at the CDR Program address indicated at the bottom of page 4.

We look forward to your participation in this new competitive research grants initiative.

Sincerely yours,

Howard A. Minners

Howard A. Minners, M.D.
U.S.-Israel Cooperative
Development Research
Program

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523 USA

U.S.-ISRAEL COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH PROGRAM

WHAT IS THE U.S.-ISRAEL CDR PROGRAM?

For several decades, Israel -- a small developing country with few natural resources -- has carried out a process of rapid agricultural growth and rural development based largely on technological innovation. The U.S. Congress has expressed an interest in facilitating the application of this Israeli experience and technical expertise to help solve problems that confront less-developed countries (LDCs). In FY 1985, $2 million has been set aside as a new initiative to link Israeli and developing country scientists in joint research projects.

As a new, Congressionally mandated activity, the U.S.-Israel Cooperative Development Research (CDR) Program is distinctly different from existing AID programs. It provides U.S. funding for Israeli and LDC scientists to cooperate in research on significant LDC problems, thereby strengthening the capability of LDC scientists to do such research.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE?

Both LDC and Israeli scientists and institutions are welcome to submit joint research proposals up to $150,000 (total funding) to this new program. Investigators may be from universities, government laboratories or the for-profit private sector. Priority will be given to Israeli research collaboration with selected LDCs having a USAID Mission (see attached list), although other developing countries can be considered. Participation of U.S. scientists will not normally be part of this Program.

WHAT TOPICS ARE OF INTEREST?

U.S.-Israel CDR Program seeks innovative research ideas in the natural sciences and engineering that aim to solve serious development problems. By research, we mean the testing of a scientific hypothesis or the development of a new technology through organized observation in an experimental setting (laboratory or field). Such research uncovers new knowledge or revises accepted theories or practices in the light of valid new information. The U.S.-Israel CDR will emphasize areas in which Israeli research interests and expertise would be particularly valuable to LDCs. These include, but are not limited to: arid lands agriculture, plant biotechnology, chemistry for world food needs, biotechnology related to human and

animal tropical diseases, aquaculture, biological vector control, genetic diversity, earth sciences and engineering.

The U.S.-Israel CDR Program will fund cooperative research involving LDC and Israeli scientists. It will not fund: planning or policy studies, international conferences, core support for organizations, travel grants, surveys or evaluations, baseline data collection, routine mapping, state-of-the-art and literature reviews or the preparation of manuals. It will not fund research of primary benefit to Israel; PREDOMINANT BENEFIT TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND RESEARCH COLLABORATION WITH LDC SCIENTISTS IS ESSENTIAL. Travel and training may be included to achieve the purposes of a well-defined research project, but not as an independent request.

Due to funding limitations, CDR will concentrate on the initial, particularly innovative phase of an investigation. Renewals of the same research project are not currently contemplated. Funding for all participants over the entire length of the project, usually 2 to 3 years, should not exceed $150,000, including overhead. More modest proposals are encouraged.

HOW CAN I PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROGRAM?

Interested investigators should first submit a 2-3 page preproposal describing their research plans. Although brief, the preproposal should state your research plans in some scientific detail and explain the importance of the research to LDC development. Two copies of your preproposal must be received in AID/ Washington, D.C. by 1 January 1985. A preproposal is not a binding offer and we do not require the formal, written agreement of your institution or collaborators at this stage.

LDC investigators should submit their preproposals through the local USAID Mission, allowing sufficient time for transmission. Israeli investigators should submit their preproposals directly to the address on page 4 with an information copy to the Science Attache at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv. Please do not append supporting documents, resumes, nor publications. These will be requested later, if you are invited to submit a full proposal.

HOW WILL PROPOSALS BE EVALUATED?

U.S.-Israel CDR review of research proposals consists of two phases: an AID staff review of impact on international development and an external technical peer review of scientific merit. Priority will be given to those areas in which Israeli science and technology have a demonstrable, competitive advantage. The advice and concurrence of relevant USAID Missions will also be sought.

Following an internal review of preproposals, selected investigators will be invited to submit a detailed full proposal. Only 45-60 investigators will be invited to submit full proposals (the current budget permits funding approximately 15-20 projects). We propose to telex these invitations in late January 1985. Invited full proposals will be due in Washington by 1 March 1985. Admittedly, this is a very tight deadline. Investigators may, therefore, elect to develop their collaborative arrangements and research plans while waiting for a possible invitation to submit a full proposal.

Full proposals will undergo a technical peer review by qualified scientists not affiliated with AID. In addition, USAID Missions will be consulted on projects that relate to their respective host countries. Project approval decisions are anticipated in early June 1985 with funding to be completed by the end of September. Funding should not be assumed until a formal, written notification is received.

The U.S.-Israel CDR Program faces severe time constraints in this, its initial year. We hope that applicants will appreciate the need to adhere rigorously to tight deadlines, and to accept being deferred until later years if these deadlines cannot be met. Future deadlines should be considerably easier to meet.

HOW DO I WRITE A PREPROPOSAL?

Please be sure to identify the preproposal clearly as directed to the U.S.-Israel CDR Program. Prepare a concise 2-3 page preproposal (2 copies) in English, describing in succinct, highly specific terms:

(1) The project title (a few, descriptive words)

(2) The project objective (provide a 1-3 sentence description)

(3) The principal investigators and scientific collaborators, their institutions, full mailing addresses, telex codes and telephone numbers. Do not send a complete resume or bibliography at this time. The active participation of both Israeli and LDC scientists/institutions is required.

(4) The work/research plan and the project duration. This is the most important part -- appropriate scientists will judge your proposed research. Do not generalize. What are your hypotheses, and what specific experiments will you do to test them? How does this research relate to, and advance, the state-of-the-art? Why is it important? Cite key references, if appropriate.

(5) The impact of this work on international development. Does this research have important implications for LDCs other than the one

collaborating in the research? What is the competitive advantage of Israeli research in this area of science?

(6) An estimated budget (totals only) for all institutions involved in the research. This budget is not binding and may be modified in the subsequent full proposal. However, requests exceeding $150,000 will either be reduced to that level or rejected.

WHAT EVALUATION CRITERIA WILL BE USED?

In evaluating preproposals and full proposals, and in making funding decisions, the Program will utilize four primary criteria:

(1) scientific merit

(2) importance to the collaborating LDC and to international development

(3) innovation

(4) enhancement of LDC research capacity.

It should be noted that the U.S.-Israel CDR is not focused on the economic development of Israel. Its primary purpose is to apply Israeli research expertise to problems facing LDCs and to help build the scientific and technical capacity that LDCs need to attack such problems themselves. As such, potential benefit to Israeli development is not a funding criterion.

WHERE CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE U.S.-ISRAEL CDR PROGRAM?

U.S.-Israel Cooperative Development Research Program
Agency for International Development
Room 311, SA-16
Washington, D.C., USA 20523

Telephone: (703) 235-3666
Telex: Western Union 892703.

Attachment

Belize
Benin
Bolivia
Botswana
Burma
Burundi
Cameroon
Cape Verde
Chad
Costa Rica
Dominican Republic
Eastern Caribbean*
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
The Gambia
Ghana
Grenada
Guatemala
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
India
Jamaica
Kenya
Lesotho
Liberia
Malawi
Mauritius
Nepal
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Rwanda
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Sri Lanka
Swaziland
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Uganda
Zaire
Zambia
Zimbabwe

*Antigua/Barbuda, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Kitts

לשמחת ... יעקב

משרד המדע והפיתוח

Ministry of Science and Development

המועצה הלאומית למחקר ולפיתוח

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

לעמיר שלום

לא יקלט אל הגדה אל תוך
אלי שולחי אלו רבי אל
לאבא את דוד הלוי ניראטוראנד קלאו
קי בונה ... בלי ... בברכה אל הגדה

WITH COMPLIMENTS

יעקב לם

Hakirya Building, 3 הקריה בנין ג'
Jerusalem 91000 ירושלים
ISRAEL
Telephone 02-639231 טלפון

מדינת ישראל

המחלקה לקשרי תרבות ומדע

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: ו' בחשון התשמ"ה
31 באוקטובר 1984

מספר:

אל: ד"ר ברוך איילי, מו"פ

מאת: מנהל קשתו"ם

לתיק

משרה

קיצוצים

ברוך היקר,

בהמשך לפגישתי אליך בע"פ בנדון, אני חוזר ומבקש להבהיר כי חלים אצלנו, ולצערנו הרב, קיצוצים דרסטיים ביותר בתקציבי הפעולות של קשתו"ם, ושוב אין הקומץ משביע את הארי.

עם כל התערכה והרצון לסייע לגורמי תרבות ומדע, וביחוד כמתחייב מהסכמי התרבות, הרי גם באלה אנו מצווים לקצץ עד למינימום ההכרחי וההיכולי בלבד.

בענין הפנייות מכם להשתתפותנו במחצית הוצאות שיגורם של חוקרים לחו"ל, אני חייב ומצווה לבקשך, חרף הצער שבכך, להפחית בזאת כי לא נוכל להמשיך בקצב זה מהבחינה הכספית.

ככל הנראה, אין מנוס מלנקוט מכאן ולהבא במה שלא עשינו עד כה; שתואילו להיוועץ עמנו לפני אישור נסיעה לחו"ל של חוקרים ומדענים, באם אנו נדרשים לשלם את המחצית.

בברכה רבה,

דוד ריבלין

העתק: סמנכ"ל למינהל
מר י. ספיר, מנכ"ל מו"פ
מנהל אגף כספים
י. סלפק, קשתו"ם

הלשכה לקשרי חוץ
דאר נכנס
2-11-1984

press notice

LIST OF

Official Guests

OF ISRAEL

רשימת האורחים שיבקרו בישראל

November 1984

Name	Position	Country	Date
Delegation of Health Ministry	-	Singapore	3 - 16.11
Delegation of Church Dignitaries	-	South America/ Portugal/Spain	6 - 14.11
Eberhard Diepgen	Mayor of Berlin	Germany	3 - 7.11
Robert Nurick	Director of Studies, International Institute for Strategic Studies.	Great Britain	4 - 11.11
J.E.Grotberg	Member of Congress (Republican)	U.S.A (Minnesota)	10 - 20.11
Delegation of San Diego Jewish Leaders	-	U.S.A.	11 - 21.11
B.Babbit	Governor of Arizona	U.S.A.	14 - 18.11
Sir John Davidson	Mayor of London	Great Britain	18 - 25.11
Oscar Manni	Minister without Portfolio	Italy	25.11-3.12
Vilma Guimaraes Rosa	Writer	Brazil	25.11 - 2.12

For further information please contact:

Jeanette Koll, P.R. Div, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem - Tel: 02-235674/235286/235111.
Sima Bar Urian, Bet Sokolov, Tel Aviv - Tel: 03-266557/260973
Aldo Baquis, Press Office, Jerusalem - Tel: 02-243161

Public Relations Division · Ministry of Foreign Affairs · phone 235·111 טלפון · משרד החוץ · מחלקה לקשרי ציבור

לשכת המנהל הכללי

ג' חשון תשמ"ה
29 אוקטובר 1984

ת/ 990/ 49

אל: מר ד. קמחי, מנכ"ל משרד החוץ.

לדייב שלום רב,

הנדון: התעלמות מקיום מדינת ישראל בפרסומי האו"ם.

בשעתו הפנה יו"ר מליאת המועצה הלאומית למו"פ דאז, פרופ' עזרא גלון ממכון ויצמן, את תשומת לבנו לכך כי בפרסום של ה- FAO הדפיעה מפה של אזורנו המתעלמת מקיום מדינת ישראל.

פרופ' גלון קבל על כך אצל עורכי העתון וכנראה כתוצאה מכך נכללה בבוליטין שלהם פסקה בגב עמוד השער אשר תכנה מדבר בעד עצמו.

אנא הפנה תשומת לב הגורמים המתאימים במשרדך.

בברכה,

תנחום בריזמן
המנהל הכללי

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

טולבל

25.10.84

לתעוף, שלום רב!

לכן כשנה האחרונה לך ולולבל
בלים של אבה בבוללים ולא אחר
בגלל הגלון החורן לה בשן והמפה
הגלאה לחלוטין מקום ישראל
(אפילו בגבולות 47...). קבלתי
קשר אבל הגרבים של הגבון הנה
הולכו בחסות FAO. הבורא:... הם
הוסיפו פסקה בגד אמור השרד (מעניי
בבע). אני מבין שאלות המאמה מבה...
כל טוב
לנוח.

מכון ויצמן למדע
WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE
רחובות
REHOVOT

PLANT GENETIC RESOURCES - Newsletter
RESSOURCES GÉNÉTIQUES VÉGÉTALES - Bulletin
RECURSOS GENETICOS VEGETALES - Noticiario

57

INTERNATIONAL BOARD FOR PLANT GENETIC RESOURCES
CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DES RESSOURCES PHYTOGÉNÉTIQUES
CONSEJO INTERNACIONAL DE RECURSOS FITOGENETICOS

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ALIMENTATION ET L'AGRICULTURE
ORGANIZACION DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS PARA LA AGRICULTURA Y LA ALIMENTACION

The Plant Genetic Resources Newsletter is published under the joint auspices of the Plant Production and Protection Division of FAO, and the International Board for Plant Genetic Resources. Contributions in English, French and Spanish are considered, and if accepted, will be published in the original language, with a summary in the other two.

Cover photo: Wheat collected during a mission in Greece

לשכת המנהל הכללי

ג' חשון תשמ"ה
29 אוק' 1984
ת/ 990/ 50

אל: מר ד. קמחי, מנכ"ל משרד החוץ.

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - ועידה בינלאומית על מדע
מזכרך דק/991 מה- 19.10.84

שר המדע והפיתוח העביר אלי את מזכרך הנ"ל בנדון.
נא הודיעני הגורם במשרדך המרכז הטפול בנושא על מנת שנתאם עמו את הפעילות.
עקרונית - גם אנו מחייבים השתתפותנו בדיוני ועדת השרים למו"ט של מועצת אירופה.

בברכה,

מנחום גריזים
המנהל הכללי

העתק: מר י. ספיר, מנהל המועצה הלאומית למו"פ

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

DIRECTOR GENERAL

המנהל הכללי

כ"ג בתשרי תשמ"ד
19 באוקטובר 1984
דק/991

משרד המדע והפיתוח
לשכת השר
דוד נבון
נתקבל ביום 23-10-1984
מס'
תש"ב

אל: שר המדע והפיתוח

הנדון: מועצת אירופה - ועידה בינלאומית על מדע

1. ועידה בינלאומית על המדע והטכנולוגיה והשפעותיהם על החברה, הכלכלה והחלטות פוליטיות תתקיים בטוקיו במחצית השנייה של 1985.

2. הוצע לח"כ רוני מילוא שישראל תשתתף ותגיש נייר כמסמך רשמי של מועצת-אירופה והדבר גם יתן הזדמנות - עפ"י תקנות מועצת אירופה - להשתתפות של שר ישראלי בדיוני ועדת השרים למדע וטכנולוגיה בכל עת שתתכנס לדון בנושאי הועידה ומסקנותיה.

3. הנני מעביר הנושא לטפול משרדך. מבחינת משרד החוץ הנני ממליצים על השתתפותנו.

4. ועדת האסיפה הפרלמנטרית למדע ולטכנולוגיה תתכנס ב-30 בנובמבר בשטרסבורג. במועד זה עלינו לאשר השתתפותנו וכוונתנו להגיש נייר העבודה כמוצע.

ב ב ר כ ה,

דוד קמחי

העתק: ראש אגף אירופה, מש"ח
ראש אגף כלכלית, משה"ח
מנהל אירופה 2
מנהל כלכלית,
מנהל מש"ב
מנהל קשתו"מ

לשכת המנהל הכללי

א י ש י

ח'	תשרי	תשנ"ה
4	אוקט	1994

ת/ 990/ 14

אל: מר י. אלון, מנהל אירופה 1, משרד החוץ.

הנדון: <u>התכתבות-התברקות עם גורמים שונים בארץ.</u>

הובאה לתשומת לבי התכתבות בינך לבין היועץ לעניני מדע בפריז בנדון.
מכיוון שאינני מכותב אני פטור מלהתייחס לגופם של דברים אם גם האמור במכתבך אינו מקובל עלי.
רציתי להעיר כי אם אכן כוונת מזכרך היתה להעיר הערה "חברית" אינני בדעה שהיה מקום לשלוח העתק המזכר לגורמים אליהם הועבר.

בברכת מועדים לשמחה,

תנחום גריזים
המנהל הכללי

העת

AMBASSADE D'ISRAËL

שגרירות ישראל

היועץ המדעי

פריז, 24 בספטמבר 1984

298.84/288/501

נתקבל
4.10.84
ביום

לכבוד מר יואל אלון -
מנהל אירופה 1

הנדון : התכתבות - התברקות של היועץ המדעי בפריז
מכתבך 181 מיום 20 בספטמבר 1984

1. תמהתי על קבלת מכתבך שבסימוכין ואינני מזדהה ולא מסכים לפירושך על תוכן מברקי מי/210 מיום 18.9.84.

2. אין כל "מאבק" בינו לבין השגריר שלנו בנדון. להפך, מתוך הפעולה בינינו מלא.

3. ליועץ המדעי בפריז יש הנחיות ברורות וחד-משמעיות מהגורמים המוסמכים בקשר להתכתבות והתברקות ותפוצת מכתבים ומברקים ואין בדעתי לסטות מהן.

בברכת שנה טובה,

יוסף מיוחס

היועץ המדעי

העתק : השגריר, כאן
מנהל הלשכה לקשרי מדע

✓ סמו' - תנחום אג'ים.

3, RUE RABELAIS · 75008 PARIS · TÉL. 266.91.49

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: כג' באלול התשמ"ד
20 בספטמבר 1984

מספר: 181

אל: מר יוסף מיוחס, היועץ המדעי, פריס

מאת: מנהל אירופה 1

הנדון: התכתבות - התברקות עם גורמים שונים בארץ

קראתי בתמיהה מסוימת את מברקך 304 מ 18 דנא "שר המדע הצרפתי החדש פרופ' קורייץ".

לשוא חיפשתי מערן מברקך ולו גם "לידיעה" לגורם כלשהו במשה"ח, למרות שמשה"ח משמש לכל התברקות והתכתבות נציגינו בחו"ל כמען ראשי ומנתב.

אודה גם שהשתדלתי על שמצאת לנכון להודיע במברק המופץ לגורמים שונים לאמור ש"שכנעת את שגרירנו בפריס לקיים פגישת הכרות" עם שר צרפתי. לתומי סברתי שכמו כל חבריגו בנציגויות, גם אתה עובד כפוף לראש הנציגות במקום ואינך נמצא במאבק איתו. מכל מקום אין זה צריך לענין אותנו בידיעה מברקית שאתה הוא זה ששכנעת את השגריר לקיים פגישת הכרות וכימוסין עם שר בארץ כהונתו.

הנני משוכנע שאתה מקבל דברי הנ"ל באותה רוח חברית בה הם נכתבים כשכוונתם להקפיד על נוהלי תקשורת נאותים המקובלים על כולנו בשרות החוץ.

בברכת שנה טובה,

יואל אלון

יואל אלון

העתק: השגריר פריס
לשכת המנכ"ל

שרות תת"ל

מברק צפון יוצא אל: 1) ישראל / 2)

אל: תנחום גריזים - מנכ"ל משרד המדע והפתוח - ירושלים	דרגת דחיפות מידי	מספר 304 (1)
לידיעת: יעקב ספיר-מנהל המרעצה הלאומית למו"פ - ירושלים	דרגת דחיפות	מספר (2)
מאת: יוסף מיוחס - יע"מ פריס	תאריך ושעת שמבר: 12.45- 10.9.84-	
סימן המכתבי מי/ 210	בהמשך לשלי:	בתשובה לשלך:

מיוחג בשתוף.....

248/1

שר המדע הצרפתי החדש פרופ' קוריין.

1. שכנעתי את שגרירנו בפריס לקיים פגישת הכרות ונסוסין עם פרופ' קוריין בקרוב, בהשתתפותי.

2. כדאי לנצל פגישה זו ככדי להתוות ולקדם כמה נושאים המעניינים אותנו. אינני צופה " התלהבות" יתרה מצד קוריין אך אנו חייבים ללחוץ.

הסוצת מניעות: (לא ישתנה).....אישור.....

לשכת המנהל הכללי

ו' תשרי תשמ"ה
2 אוקטובר 1984

ת/ 998/ 5

אל: מר א. טרי, מנהל פר"ן, משרד החוץ.

הנדון: פניה צ'יליאנית.
מזכרך 278 מת- 18.8.84.

אין לנו ענין במתן תשובה למספר נכר מהשאולות הכלולות בנספח למזכרך הנ"ל.
אני מציע להשיב לשגרירות הצ'יליאנית כי הסוכנות לחקר החלל הוקמה עפ"י החלטת הממשלה
לפני זמן לא רב ועל כן נמצאת אך בשלבים ראשונים של פעילות.
זה עתה הוצאנו החוברת הראשונה על הסוכנות אשר הנוסח העברי שלה מצ"ב; הנוסח האנגלי
יהייה מוכן עוד החודש ויועבר אליך וכמובן תוכל לשלוח עותק לשגרירות הנ"ל.
אפשר לציין בתשובה הנקודות הבאות:

א. הסוכנות פועלת במסגרת משרד המדע והפיתוח ממנו מקבלת תקציב לפעולותיה.
ב. הסוכנות מורכבת ממדענים בתחומים שונים, העשיינים ועובדי מדינה בכירים מבין המשרדים המעונינים.
ג. אחת ממטרות הסוכנות כמפורט גם בחוברת להתוך לש"פ בינלאומי.
ד. הסוכנות עוסקת אך בשמושי החלל החיצון למטרות אזרחיות.

בברכה,

תנחום גריזים
המנהל הכללי

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

נתקבל
יום 1.10.84

תאריך: כא' באלול התשמ"ד
18 בספטמבר 1984

מספר: 278

אל: מר תנחום גריזים, מנכ"ל המשרד
למדע ולפיתוח

מאת: מנהל פר"נ

הנדון: פניה ציליאבית

מצא נא ר"ב נוסח פניה של שגרירות ציילי בארץ, המבקשת פרטים על הפעילות הישראלית בנושא החלל החיצון.
השאלות תורגמו לעברית.

אודה לך מאוד אם משרדך יוכל לספק לנו נתונים לפחות לחלק מהשאלות.

בברכה,

א.טרל

העתק: ממנכ"ל
אגף אמל"ט

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים 91 950 טל' (02) 235111

מדף 1046/2

EMBAJADA DE CHILE EN ISRAEL

Re: 152

The Embassy of Chile presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel, Honourable Latin America II Department, and kindly requests to provide all the possible information about spacial activities in Israel, as specified in the attached question paper.

The Embassy of Chile thanks you in advance, and avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel, Honourable Latin America II Department, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Tel Aviv, August 16, 1984

EMBAJADA DE CHILE EN ISRAEL

שאלות

1. הקיים גורם מרכזי ממונה על פעילויות בחלל החיצון.

A. במקרה של תשובה חיובית:
א. מתי נוסד הגורם.
ב. לאיזה מוסד הוא כפוף ואיך הוא מורכב
ג. מה תפקידו המרכזי.

B. במקרה של תשובה שלילית:
א. אלו ארגונים המטפלים בנושא ?
ב. מהו החשוב ביותר במדינה ולמי הוא כפוף ?

C. האם קיימת חוקה בנושא. נודה על הפירוט.

2. אם מגדירים הפעילויות בחלל החיצון ל:
- אקדמאיות
- מחקר
- ביצוע מעשי

א. מי ואיך מבצעים הפעילויות הללו ?
ב. מה החשיבות בהווה ובעתיד לפעילויות הללו במדינה.?
ג. הקיימת כפילות של אחת מהפעילויות האלה בין המוסדות השונים - פרטיים או ציבוריים ?

3. מה מספר הפקידים והעובדים שמועסקים בפעילויות הללו. אם ניתן למיינם לפי דרגותיהם.

4. האפשר לציין את התקציב הגלובלי לפעילויות הללו ומה האחוז מתוך התקציב הכללי של המדינה?

5. הקיימים מרכזים מיוחדים למחקר ו-או פיתוח בשטח הזה? לאיזה סוג מחקר או מחקרים מוקדשים? האם קיימים מרכזים לביצוע תוצאות המחקרים הללו ויש שימוש בהם? המשוקים אותם על בסיס מסחרי במדינה?

6. הארגון או הארגונים הללו שמטפלים בנושאים של החלל החיצון, לאיזו מוסדות לאומיים או זרים קשורים באופן רלבנטי? מה התפקיד של משרדי החוץ והבטחון בנושא?

7. איך אתה מעריך הנכונות לשיתוף פעולה והעברת מידע הקשור לתוצאות המחקר המבוצע במדינה למדינות אמליטים? איך אתה מעריך הרצון הזה לשיתוף פעולה בילטראלי עם צילה?

8. מה לפי דעתך הגדרת היחסים של הפיתוח המתייחס לפעילויות של חלל החיצון במדינה? הקיימת נכונות מטעם הרשויות הלאומיות להעלות זה ראמן ?

9. אם אפשר לציין מה עמדת המדינה כלפי פנים ואו בארגונים הבינלאומיים, במיוחד ב-COPUOS ו- ONU (אם המדינה חברה בה) - לגבי הנושאים הבאים:
א. DESMILITARIZACION של החלל החיצון והכנת נורמות לגבי שימושו ומקורות האנרגיה הגרעינית בחלל בחיצון.
ב. הגדרת גבול של החלל האווירי והחיצון, כולל המשטר של ORBITA GEOESTACIONARIA.
ג. העקרונות העיקריים שקיימים במדינה בנושאי טליאובסרבציה.
ד. העמדה בנושא לתקשורות דרך לווינים.

10. האם קיימים נושאים חשובים ואחרים שאתה חושב הכרחיים להוסיף לשאלון הזה ושאינם מופיעים כן ?

II.- PREGUNTAS.

1.- ¿Existe un órgano central encargado de las actividades espaciales?

A.- En caso afirmativo:

a).- En que año fue creada

b).- De que organismo depende y como está compuesto.

c).- Cual es su principal función.

B.- En caso negativo:

a).- ¿Cuáles son los organismos que llevan estas materias?

b).- ¿Cúal es el más importante en el ámbito nacional? y de quién depende.

C.- Agradeceré a US. indicar que legislación existe al respecto.

2.- Si se clasifican las actividades espaciales en:

. Académicas

. De investigación

. De aplicación práctica

a).- ¿Quién y como se llevan a efecto estas actividades?

b).- ¿Que importancia presente y futura tienen estas actividades en el ámbito nacional?

c).- ¿Existe duplicidad de alguna de estas actividades entre los distintos organismos tanto privados como públicos?

3.- ¿Cuál es el Nº directo de funcionarios y/o empleados que trabajan en estas actividades? De ser posible clasifíquelos en escalafones.

4.- Si es posible indique cual es el presupuesto total para estas actividades y además que porcentaje del presupuesto nacional representaría.

5.- ¿Existen centros propios de investigación y/o desarrollo de estas materias? ¿A qué tipo de investigación (es) se dedican fundamentalmente? Si existen centros que apliquen los resultados de las investigaciones efectuadas ¿Son estas aplicaciones usadas masivamente? ¿Son comercializadas a nivel nacional?

6.- Este organismo u organismos que se preocupan de los asuntos espaciales ¿Con qué entidades nacionales y/o extranjeras tienen una vinculación relevante? ¿Cuál es el papel de los Ministerios de Relaciones Exteriores y de Defensa al respecto?

7.- ¿Cómo visualiza US. la voluntad de cooperación y traspaso de información relativa al resultado de las investigaciones efectuadas en el país hacia otros países latinoamericanos? ¿Cómo visualiza US. esta voluntad respecto de la cooperación bilateral con Chile?

8.- ¿Cuál es a su juicio el grado de desarrollo relativo de las actividades espaciales en el país? ¿Existe la voluntad de las autoridades nacionales de desarrollarlas en mayor grado?

9.- Si es posible indique cual ha sido la posición del país tanto a nivel nacional como en Organismos Internacionales, en especial en la ONU y COPUOS (si es que el país es Miembro), en las siguientes materias:

A.- Desmilitarización del espacio ultraterrestre y elaboración de normas respecto del uso y fuentes de energía nuclear en el espacio.

B.- Definición del límite del espacio aéreo y ultraterrestre incluyendo el régimen de la órbita geoestacionaria.

C.- Principales principios que se sustentan en el país en materias de teleobservación.

D.- Posición respecto a las telecomunicaciones por satélites.

10.- ¿Qué otros aspectos relevantes US. considera importantes consignar en este cuestionario y que no hayn sido incluídos?

&&&&&&

press notice

LIST OF

Official Guests

OF ISRAEL

רשימת האורחים שיבקרו בישראל

October 1984

Name	Position	Country	Date
C.Everett Koop	Surgeon General US Public Health Service	U.S.A	7-11.10
Lorenzo Cortese	Member - Radical Party	Argentina	7-14.10
Nestor Perl	Member - Peronista Party	"	7-14.10
Joan Lerma	Prime Minister of Valencia	Spain	22 - 29.10
Edgardo Javier Angara	President of Philippines University	Philippines	21 - 28.10
Frederic Kiesel	Editor 'Pourquoi Pas'	Belgium	22.- 29.10
Richard Gibson	Editor 'Rand Daily Mail'	South Africa	26.10 - 2.11

Delegations

Delegation of Attorney Generals	-	U.S.A.	21 - 27.10
Delegation of Businessmen	-	U.S.A.	23.10- 1.11
Delegation of Businessmen	-	Norwey	28.10 - 5.11

40

For further information please contact:

Jeanette Koll, P.R. Div, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem-
Tel: 02-235674 / 235286 / 235111
Sima Bar Urian, Bet Sokolov, Tel Aviv. / Aldo Baquis, Press Office J/m
Tel: 03-266557 / 260973 / Tel: 02-243161

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY אוניברסיטת תל-אביב

לתגובות

ד"ר מקלרת.

דוד וולטר - מהמת' לשרק
המשרד - במשרד החוץ 02-235434
מבקש לדבר אתך בקשר
לעבודה למחקר ופיתוח ישראל-גרמניה
בקשר לתברר [בהיר] שלחת למו"מים [מכון
אותו במשרד החוץ].

מבקש שמור הדבר חסוי.

מקפרה

מפרה מוסרת שהיא במשרד
עד 11 - בשעה תבטיח אותה.

קרית האוניברסיטה, רמת אביב, ת.ד. 39040, תל-אביב 69978, טל. 420111

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: י"ט באלול תשמ"ד
16 בספטמבר 1984

מספר: 83

א ל: יועץ שר המדע והפיתוח, מר דוד לב

מאת: מנהל מאסו"ק

הנדון: תוצאות השר י. נאמן בקנברה
מכ' 2791/1346/3 מ-9 בספטמבר 1984

העברתי תוכן מכתבך לחשב המשרד שבסמכותו להבריק לקנברה בנושא כספים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

י. נבון

העתקים: מנהל אגף כספים
חשב משרד המדע, מר ר. מלמד

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים, 91950 טל' (02) 235111
מדף 1046

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

press notice

LIST OF

Official Guests

OF ISRAEL

רשימת האורחים שיבקרו בישראל

September 1984

Name	Position	Country	Date
International Liberal Congress	-	International	12 - 16.9
Hispanic-American Leaders' Seminar	-	U.S.A.	10 - 19.9
José Luis do Amaral Nunes	- Vice President of Parliament and President of C.D.S. Group	Portugal	10 - 17.9
Wout Woltz	- Chief Editor of'NRC Handelsbladt'	Holland	16 -26.9
Frans Wijdnans	- Chief Editor of'DE Limburger'	Holland	14 - 23.9
Oscar Mammi	- Minister without Portfolio	Italy	19 - 26.9

39

For further information please contact:

Jeanette Koll, P.R.Division , Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem.

Tel: 02-235674/235286/235111

Sima Bar Urian, Bet Sokolov, Tel Aviv: 03-266557/260973

Aldo Baquis, Government Press Office, Jerusalem : 02-243161.

חוצץ חסימת תיק

בהתאם להחלטת הממשלה מס. 285 (רש/2) מיום ה' בטבת תשמ"ד 9.1.84
ולפי סעיף ב (1) בנוהל המצורף להחלטה נחסם התיק

תאריך החסימה 13-09-1984

מספר התיק ברשימת החסימה 124 (990)

חוצץ חסימה

לשכת המנהל הכללי

ב' אלול תשמ"ד
30 אוגוסט 1984
ת/ 990/ 2768

(9

אל: מח' צפון אמריקה, משרד החוץ.

הנדון: EARTH STATION 12.

מזכרכם מה- 22.8.84.

אין כל ענין בחומר ובהצעה ואנו מציעים ניתוק מגע.

בברכה,

תנחום גריזים
המנהל הכללי

Dear Duke Peter

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Re: EAST STATION 12.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Yours,

Derek Lewis
Chief Peter

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

נתקבל ביום 29-08-1984
נרשם ב
תשובה

תאריך: כח' באב תשמ"ד
23 באוגוסט 1984

מספר:

אל: לשכת שר המדע

מאת: מחלקת צפון אמריקה, משה"ח

הנדון: EARTH STATION 12

מצ"ב מכתב שהגיע אלינו באמצעות שגרירותנו באוטבה והעוסק בתחום טיפולכם.

ייתכן ותגלו בו עניין.

בברכה,

אבנר סגל

הקריה, רוממה
ירושלים 91950

טל' 02) 235111

מדף 1046

***

*** EARTH STATION 12 ***

CANADA

***

Dr. J.A. Ménard, Ph.D.
11727 George Pichet
Montreal North, Quebec
H1G 5L1
Tel: 514-321-9245

Harold Goldring
4155 Bourret #211
Montreal, Quebec
H3S 1X1
Tel: 514-733-9402

Consulate General of Israel,
2085 Union,
Montreal, Quebec
H3A 2C3

Our organization called EARTH STATION 12 is a research organization primarily involved in the interplanetary intelligence discovery in any of our Earth galaxies using Radio Telescope Parabolic antenna as receiving. As one of the largest in the world being 150 feet in diameter it is capable of decoding, interpreting and pin-pointing the area in space where signals come from.

We have many research developments: Optics, electronics-electricity, mechanical, physics, electro-magnetic, medical metalurgical, radio, television, military radar and atomic energy research.

We feel that we should be in full operation in 5 years. Our complete research development programme is a 10 year project. We will invest 30 million dollars per year for 10 years for a total of 300 million dollars.

The organization was started by Dr. J.A. Ménard, Ph.D. nuclear physicist in 1980 which led him to compile all the data with the help of scientists to achieve its goal. Now 4 years later the organization has selected its personnel from amongst the best in the world:

16 Ph.D., 10 secretaries who understand the world of science, 52 Lab experts, 15 highly trained technicians with lab experience, 75 technicians for different laboratory research, legal advisors and C.A.'s, President, Vice President, Secretary Treasurer, 2 receptionists with knowledge of many languages including English and French, 10 regular laborers, 25 science students, 15 laborers for maintenance, 15 security guards, etc.

We have made association with other countries to participate in our project. Every one of these countries will have full participation of our discoveries for their investment of 2 million dollars per year each for 10 years. After 10 years, a new contract of participation will be renewed or cancelled. The probable participants are: Canada, U.S.A., England, France, Bahamas, Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico, Japan, China, Australia,New Zealand, India, Switzerland, Greece, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Israel, Italy, Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finaldn, Spain, Portugal, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Turkey, Iceland, Roumania, South Africa and Chile.

We are pleased to advise that we have been accepted by the Bahamian Government to choose their country to establish our project on Bimini Island, better known as The Island of Peace.

This project is also mandate to do research on the famous Bermuda Triangle, a menace for navigation for the world.

This project is a must for all countries as it will open a completely new field in satellites, radio communication, astro-physics, astonomy, pure physics, optics and many future developments at a very low cost for each participant plus the research made on their behalf or needs at no extra cost.

We sincerely hope that you will give us a favorable answer of acceptance very soon as we are ready to hasten future participation.

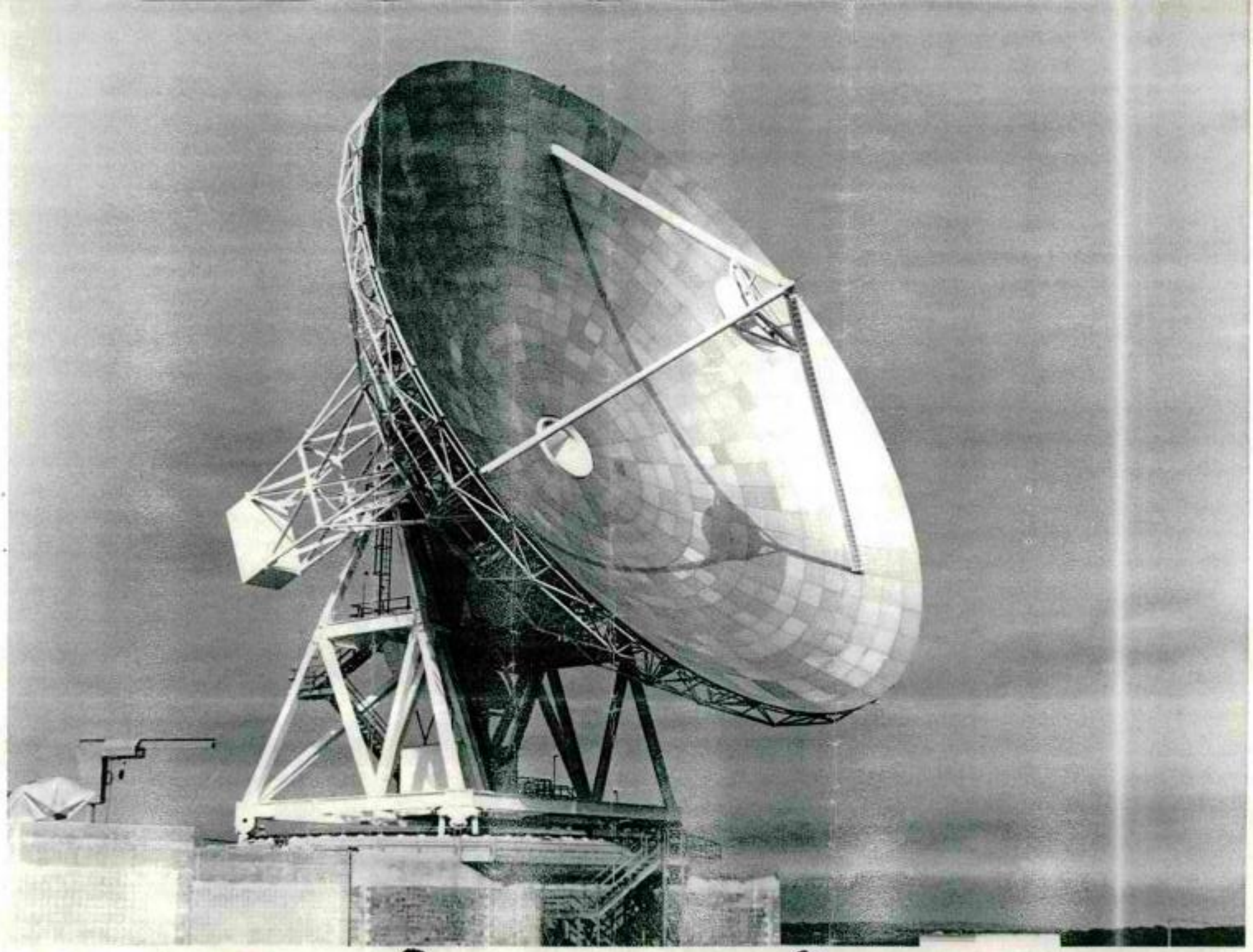
Please excuse us for our lack of letterhead since we are not sure if we shall remain in Canada. We shall inform you in the very near future of our location.

Again, we hope that your country will be part of this great project. If your Government cannot participate for reason of their own, maybe you could participate just the same by interesting private corporations that may be willing to represent you in this great project. This project is for the world of science, our future and peace for all mankind.

Yours sincerely,

Dr J. A. Ménard Ph. D

Dr. J.A. Ménard, Ph.D.
Project Director



משרד החוץ

הנשיא פרופ' יצחק נאמן
שר החוץ והפרסום

לשכת השר

בברכה -08- 1984

מאת

משרד החוץ

כבוד משה יגר
שלום

RESEARCH REPORT

Source must be quoted on publication

Institute of Jewish Affairs
in association with the
World Jewish Congress

IJA

11 Hertford Street
London W1Y 7DX
Telephone 01-491 3517
Cables IJA STUDIES LONDON W1

July 1984 Nos. 6 & 7

The Lebanon War and Western News Media

The coverage of the Lebanon war in the Western media in 1982 had a traumatic impact on Israel and on Jewish communities abroad. At that time, much was written about the treatment of the war by the press, television and radio—some of it was polemical, some impressionistic and some based on research. In this *Research Report*, Dr Yoel Cohen and Dr Jacob Reuveny, respectively Senior Lecturer and Instructor in the Department of Political Studies at Bar Ilan University, Israel, draw on original research they conducted in various countries in 1983 to produce a more comprehensive analysis and evaluation of the issues. After defining the problem and discussing various aspects of the media coverage, they consider the controversy itself and the factors which contributed towards dissatisfaction with the reporting of events. Finally, they suggest some conclusions which, if translated into appropriate policies, could, they believe, help avoid a repetition of similar occurrences in the future.

Since Israel's independence, the Arab-Israeli conflict has occupied a high position on the agenda of the world's media. Never before did Israel's image reach such a low ebb as in this war. Moreover, the critical attitude towards Israeli policy had, more than in previous instances, some aspects which could be interpreted as anti-Jewish and antisemitic. The event has stimulated research and polemical writing by both critics and protagonists of the media coverage. Although we believe that the debate on the media which followed the war and the research conducted on the subject performed a vital role, we feel that it is inadequate in evaluating the Lebanon war as a media event, an evaluation which has to go beyond the immediate aims of polemics. A re-evaluation is required for practical

purposes: how to design and implement appropriate policies which could avoid the repetition of similar occurrences in the future; how to counteract extreme negative trends in media coverage of Israeli and Jewish events. In this *Research Report* an attempt will be made towards contributing to this objective. Following a definition of the problem, we shall discuss some aspects of the media coverage of the Lebanon war, present the controversy on the issue and suggest some tentative conclusions.

The nature of the problem

Debates about the coverage of events by the media often recapitulate classical debates in epistemology. In cases of controversy about the reliability of reporting, the protagonist of the media will espouse a 'copy theory of knowledge': the media are acting as a mirror. They are neutral, objective, passive and accurate. Public reaction to the process of coverage is rational. The public reacts to the content of information, not to the way it is presented. Anyone who objects to the coverage is like a person ashamed of seeing his own image in the mirror. 'An ugly face looks ugly' and it is not the mirror which should be blamed.[1] The critic of the media will invoke an opposite theory. In making a relatively mild criticism, he may claim that the coverage involved a 'Heisenberg effect' whereby subjective personality factors or some individual biases have figured unconsciously in the content of the reporting. In cases of more severe criticism a more extreme type of argument may be raised such as malice, intentional distortion of facts, inflammatory reporting or the waging of deliberate psychological warfare.[2]

Much of our subsequent discussion will focus on criticism of the media. We shall examine cases of obvious misreporting but will also consider some more comprehensive explanations of the event beyond arguments raised in typical controversies.

Background

Longitudinal studies have pointed to fluctuations as well as to a long term decline in Israel's image in the West. Some trace the process to the aftermath of the 1967 war, when Israel captured the West Bank, Sinai and Gaza and adopted the role of occupying power.[3] Other observers stress that the real turning-point came with the 1973 war.[4]

The crucial role of oil supplies to Western economies put the Arab-Israeli

1 Roger Morris, 'Beirut – and the press – under siege', *Columbia Journalism Review*, November-December 1983.

2 See, for example, Norman Podhoretz, 'J'accuse', in *Commentary*, September 1982; and Joshua Muravchik, 'Misreporting Lebanon', *Policy Review*, no. 23, winter 1983.

3 Janice Monti Belkaoi, 'Images of Arabs and Israelis in the prestige press 1966-74', *Journalism Quarterly*, no. 55, winter 1978, 736.

4 Morad Asi, 'Arabs, Israelis and TV news: a time-series, content analysis', in William C. Adams (ed.), *Television Coverage of the Middle East* (New Jersey 1981), 70.

conflict in the limelight of the Western media and this very high attention had qualitative effects which were not in Israel's favour. The very entry of media politics into the arena implicitly illuminated and drew international attention to various aspects of Arab-Israeli relations which were previously covered in a relatively pro-Israeli or in a neutral way. For example, the war of attrition between Israel and Egypt between 1968 and 1970 caused severe loss of life and damage to property on the Egyptian side. Cities along the Suez Canal were demolished and about one million of the inhabitants made homeless. The media did not, however, depict it as a major human tragedy. The 1973 war enjoyed a relatively objective and balanced covering. However, many subsequent events, with more limited human consequences, received hostile coverage. These include the rise to power of the Likud government, Israeli attitudes towards Sadat's peace initiative and various political steps of the Likud government. Israel's politics were closely and critically examined in the light of their potential impact on the occurrence of a new oil crisis.

However, despite these trends, there was no comprehensive, outright criticism of Israeli policy. This includes the Litani operation in the spring of 1978, a war which had many Vietnam-like features, including engagements between a regular army and a guerrilla force in a populated area.

The coverage of the Lebanon war

A war is a controversial event. It usually involves severe human suffering. Any attempt to characterize the nature of coverage and evaluate it requires some caution. We shall discuss two aspects: negative or positive attitudes as reflected in editorials and adherence to standards of fair reporting.

Editorial reaction

It is difficult to arrive at a precise comparative assessment of the media's performance in the war in different Western countries. That would entail placing the media from the different countries side-by-side and applying a common standard. But surveys carried out in different countries by different organizations do allow some secondary conclusions to be drawn regarding the performance of the Western media.

A survey of the fifty largest US newspapers, carried out by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), found that 36% were supportive or inclined towards Israel. 43% were inclined against Israel or critical of Israel, and 20% were neutral. According to the survey, early editorial comment in the first days of the war indicated considerable understanding of the situation confronting Israel on its northern border and its settlements in the Galilee because of the PLO based in southern Lebanon. This support was diluted by the scope and extent of Israel's response, perceived by some papers as an over-reaction; by a perception in some papers that Israel's real

intent was not merely to push the PLO back but to destroy its military power and infrastructure in Lebanon; by disbelief that the shooting of Shlomo Argov, Israel's ambassador in London, was the real reason for Israel's military operation; by fears that it might lead to a wider Middle Eastern war; and by underlying antipathy to Menahem Begin and Ariel Sharon. The most positive comment from Israel's viewpoint concerned the opportunity that now existed to reconstruct Lebanon's infrastructure.[5]

The West European media were more critical. A survey of the British media, carried out by the authors, found that even some of Israel's supporters in Fleet Street could not justify Israel's action. While there was initial sympathy after the Argov shooting, this soon changed after the full extent of Israel's military action was realized. The *Daily Express* said (10 June 1982): 'Israel has gone too far. It might destroy Lebanon, but it will not destroy the Palestinians.' This criticism became even stronger during the siege of Beirut. The *Daily Mirror* (3 August 1982) called it 'a carnage that no cause can justify. The siege was close to being an atrocity. Its bombardment has been brutal, so sustained and so devastating as to be a crime against humanity.' To most papers the solution had to be political not military—on the West Bank. 'The problem of recognition of Palestinian sovereignty remains unsolved', said *The Times* (8 June 1982).
The *Daily Telegraph* (13 July 1982): 'The fault lay on both sides: the Palestinians prevaricated and the Israelis were unbending.' After the Phalange massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps few accepted the Israeli disclaimer of responsibility. The *Daily Mail* (20 September 1982): 'What started out as a legitimate crusade to drive the PLO terrorists from the Lebanon has degenerated into a terror campaign of its own. In the Lebanon Israel has achieved its military aims by abdicating its moral responsibility.' Some called for Sharon's and Begin's resignations. The *Guardian* (21 September 1982): 'The Israeli leadership should purge itself but the Israeli people do not deserve to share in their discredit.' The mood improved after the Israeli government announced that a Commission of Inquiry would be set up.

Deviation from fair reporting

Deviations from fair reporting during the war may be divided into a number of categories: factual accuracy in time, place or figures which could have been verified; the exclusion without justification of conflicting points of view; unjustified associations or comparisons with derogatory implications; excessive allocation of space, time and salience to negative factors, and the presentation of events outside the broader context; hostile cartoons—hostile beyond the norm of satire.

5 Memorandum of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), *US Press Survey of the Big 50 Papers: Israel's Action in Lebanon*, New York, July 1982.

a. *Factual accuracy* The most frequent, and probably most damaging, factual inaccuracy related to casualty figures. During the first two weeks of the war, which began on 5 June, the Israeli government did not release any casualty figures. By the fifth day, a Red Cross official announced casualty figures for Lebanon of 10,000 dead, 40,000 wounded, and 600,000 homeless. The Red Cross received these figures from the Palestine Red Crescent—which is headed by Dr Fathi Arafat, brother of the PLO leader. Many news organizations accepted these figures unquestioningly and some failed to give the source. When on 18 June the International Red Cross (ICRC) stated that the original figures were 'highly exaggerated', and suggested that the figure for homeless was 300,000, few media updated the original report. An exception was David Shipler of the *New York Times*, one of the first journalists to question the original figures. Writing on 14 July—five weeks after the original Palestine Red Crescent claims had been published, by which time they had gained wide public currency—Shipler thought that even the ICRC's revised estimate of 300,000 homeless seemed 'much too high to those who have spent time in the region, but it is difficult to make a count. There are no huge encampments of refugees living outside or in tents; most of the homeless have crowded into relatives' houses, and only a door-to-door census will begin to describe the scope of the problem.' When the Israelis finally published their casualty figures the numbers were: 460 dead, 450 wounded and 20,000 homeless. Of those media which reported these figures most failed to give them the space and prominence which they had given to the first set of figures, and which would have been needed in order to dispel the original impression created. Indeed some of the media were sceptical of Israel's counter-claims.

In one sense it is understandable that journalists should report any figures about fighting or casualties they can find. But the requirement to check these figures is clear. And there were good reasons for journalists to be sceptical about them. In any war it is very difficult to compute casualties with any accuracy during the first week of fighting.

In the Lebanese case, since communications between Beirut and the south were cut, there was no way at that early stage by which an accurate estimate could have been reached. The impotence of the Lebanese police in the south during the previous seven years made a number-count impossible. A large part of South Lebanon was made up of Christian and Shia Muslim villages friendly to Israel, in which no fighting had taken place. Many of the 'homeless' were in fact camping on beaches, as the Israelis had asked them to do in order to clear the way for the Israeli forces to remove the PLO from the villages. But the major journalistic error was not to know the basic demography of the area—since the entire population of South Lebanon amounted to 510,000 people there could not have been 600,000 homeless. The lack of background knowledge among the reporters was

evident throughout the war. Why did journalists blithely accept the casualty claims? To syndicated US columnist Max Lerner 'the faked figures fed their own bias.'[6]

b. *Photographs* Another case concerned a United Press International (UPI) photograph of a heavily bandaged baby in Lebanon being fed by a nurse. The caption supplied by UPI read: 'Nurse feeds a seven-month-old baby who lost both arms and was severely burned when an Israeli jet accidentally hit a Christian residential area in East Beirut during a raid on Palestinian positions to the west.'[7] The news agency photo was widely used. President Reagan was reportedly deeply moved by it and placed it on his desk. When he met the Israeli Foreign Minister, then Yitzhak Shamir, President Reagan reportedly told him: 'This is an ugly picture. Look what's happening in Beirut'. Mr Shamir ordered an investigation which found that the child had not in fact lost both arms but had suffered a broken arm and a superficial facial burn. A photographer from Associated Press (AP) had also taken pictures of the child at the same time; in its caption AP described the child as badly injured, but said nothing about any lost limbs. The Israeli Health Ministry said UPI had deliberately misrepresented the injury in order to smear Israel. Also questioned was whether the bomb was the responsibility of Israel or the PLO. UPI subsequently carried out its own investigation, concluding that the baby had not lost both arms. The agency said it had misinterpreted information given by the nurse to its photographer. But the impact of the photo could not be erased by an apology or clarification since photos of innocent children killed or maimed by military action carry a tremendous emotional impact. It may be recalled that during the Vietnam war, there was a photograph of a young girl running up a road in agony, her body aflame from napalm; that photograph probably reinforced anti-war feelings.[8]

c. *Exclusion of conflicting points of view* The argument for balanced journalism—allowing both points of view of an issue to be aired or reported—is not always easy to implement given the principle: only that which is newsworthy passes the media's threshold to become 'news'. After the Israeli Embassy in Washington DC claimed that various American newspapers were not providing balanced reportage and comment on the war, Meg Greenfield, editorial page editor of the *Washington Post*—one of the accused papers—replied: 'I don't buy the 50-50, political gridlock idea of balance for pages such as these (i.e. the pages carrying feature and essay

6 Max Lerner, 'The big lie about Lebanon', *New York Post*, 21 July 1982.
7 UPI report, 31 August 1982.
8 Reed Irvine, 'UPI turns opinion against Israel by lying in their photo captions', *News World* (New York), September 1982, 4-5.

articles). I believe such pages should reflect the judgement of a range of regular columnists and editorial writers that the editors see fit to print in ordinary times—and whom they neither change nor seek to counter, article for article, in extraordinary times with a view to creating some ideal standoff.'[9] Ms Greenfield is correct both for the feature essay pages as well as for the news pages. Only that which is newsworthy should be printed. The problem with the coverage and comment of this war was that several newsworthy stories were not reported. Frank Gervasi has listed five relevant aspects of the war which were not covered: (1) the significance of the vast quantities of arms found by the Israelis in PLO bunkers and tunnels; (2) the rapidity with which the Lebanese were able to resume normal life as they returned to their homes in the areas taken by the Israelis; (3) the benefits that accrued to Lebanon itself and to Western influence in the Middle East as a result of the Israeli military action; (4) the realities of the PLO as an instrument of terrorism which was revealed in the quantities of documents captured by the Israelis; (5) the extent of Israeli help in the relief and rehabilitation of the Lebanese population including its sizeable Palestinian Arab minority.[10]

In addition, there was a lack of reporting from the Christian areas of Lebanon. With the foreign correspondents based in West Beirut, then under PLO and Syrian control, few reports originated from the eastern, Christian sector of the city. A survey of the reporting of the *Los Angeles Times* during the period July 19-28 found that only two out of eighteen stories on Lebanon originated outside West Beirut. While the paper covered in detail the PLO leadership and life in West Beirut, only one brief story dealt in some detail with Bashir Gemayel. Its reporter, David Lamb, said he was based in the city's western sector because 'it seemed only proper that the information coming out of Israel be balanced with the Palestinian and Lebanese point of view.' Little of the Lebanese point of view could be obtained from West Beirut. Similarly, electronic media accorded extensive air time to PLO, Israeli and American spokesmen, with Yassir Arafat shown almost nightly with a baby in his arms. But, with the exception of the Druze leader, Walid Jumblatt, and the former Prime Minister, Sab Salem (both of them pro-PLO), major Lebanese leaders were consistently ignored or denied access. ABC was the first American network to interview Bashir Gemayel—on 27 July in the seventh week of war.[11]

d. *Unjustified associations and derogatory comments* Reporting in the war was replete with biased emotive images. The mass circulation *Daily Mirror*

9 Meg Greenfield, 'Editor's note: what's fair?', *Washington Post*, 12 November 1982.
10 Frank Gervasi, *Media Coverage: The War in Lebanon* (The Centre for International Security, Washington DC) December 1982, 16.
11 Committee for Media Accuracy (COMA) finding III, 25 October 1982.

(17 July 1982) of London carried the headline 'The butcher of Lebanon' with a picture captioned 'Death-dealer Sharon with Begin.' These were not limited to the popular media. *Le Monde* (15 June 1982) spoke of 'humiliating practices against civilians' under such headlines as 'The hooded informer', 'Tyre terrorist' and 'Stamped with the Jewish Star'. The *Washington Post* (12 June 1982) correspondent described how 'Israeli warships off the coast of Beirut lobbed shells indiscriminately into the centre of the city . . . shells seemingly fired aimlessly from warships into the city centre hit an apartment building.' This last case contrasted with the *New York Times*, whose Beirut correspondent reported only one case of the use of indiscriminate bombing. The reporting of the Sabra and Shatila massacres very often excluded the words Christian and Phalange from the description. And when either was used, an involvement by Israel in the massacre was often reiterated.

It would be useful here to quote the experience of Paul Kedar, former Israel Consul-General in New York, who was the army spokesman in Beirut. The foreign correspondents in West Beirut were 'an incredibly hostile group of people not only to Israel, but to me personally. I was not just asked questions by them, but put on trial – in which they acted as prosecutor and judge. Sometimes the questioning became so hostile that I had to stop the briefings.'[12] The use of terminology critical of Israel in the Lebanese war has its origin in the general media attitude to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Edward Alexander has noted how, in nearly every instance in which the two sides used different terms to label a place or event, the media adhered to the Arab usage.[13] For example,

Israeli usage	Arab usage/media usage
administered/disputed territories	occupied territories
PLO terrorists	PLO guerrillas/fighters
Judea and Samaria	West Bank
Syrian occupying army	Syrian peacekeeping forces
Palestinian Arabs	Palestinians
PLO military bases	refugee camps

A not unrelated problem was the overemphasis by journalists on Israeli censorship. While Israeli censorship was a factor in the war reporting, some editors went beyond normal journalistic practice to explain its use to their readers and viewers. On some occasions, in addition to superimposing the words 'Report cleared by Israeli censorship' on film reports, the anchorman would also indicate that the report had been censored. And this was sometimes followed by the reporter reminding viewers that the report had been subject to censorship. While Britain also applied censorship in the Falklands war, 'a comparison and examination of the way the networks

12 *Jerusalem Post*, 5 December 1982.
13 *Encounter* (London), September-October 1982.

treated the two situations suggests very different standards were employed', argued the ADL's study of American television.[14] Further, a different form of censorship by the PLO against foreign reporters in West Beirut—controlling the areas correspondents could travel to and the places they could film—was not communicated to viewers and readers.

e. *Excessive coverage, inadequate background* There were a number of cases of excessive coverage—excessive in terms of airtime/newspaper space, time and salience—causing a negative image of Israel. A comparative survey of the quantity of space given to the Sabra and Shatila massacres, and the massacre in the Indian state of Assam in February 1983, in which four times as many people died than in the former, found that much more space was given to the Beirut massacres. Coverage, in column inches, of the Sabra and Shatila massacres in the *New York Times* was 1,050 as compared to 127 for the Assam massacre; in the *Washington Post*, 623 as compared with 238; and in the *Christian Science Monitor*, 315 as compared with 79. News organizations reject such comparisons.[15] The president of NBC News, Reuven Frank, said 'You compete with time and you conclude that there isn't interest in the Egyptian Copts or the Kurds, or the massacre in Burundi, for that matter. So you don't cover them. When one talks about what should be covered one employs moral or political criteria. You cover what you think is interesting to the viewers. I can't imagine anybody getting upset about the Copts. Generally speaking, Arab countries are only interesting with respect to the price of oil.'[16] But does not the 'excessive' media coverage 'fan the flames of war?' Further, it may cause the public to reach the erroneous conclusion that Israel is the most conflict-ridden area of the Middle East and ignores the conflicts between, for example, Iran and Iraq, Syria and Jordan, and Libya and Egypt. Editors have a responsibility not only to cover 'newsworthy' stories but also not to exaggerate their relative importance. The other side of the same coin was the need to provide background to events. The basic impression created by the media was that Operation 'Peace for Galilee' was an aggresive act which was aimed at capturing territory and, at the very least, was an over-reaction on Israel's part. The large store of arms which the PLO had accumulated in Lebanon—and thus the pre-emptive defensive nature of Israel's act—or the intimidation and brute force of PLO rule among the Christian population of Southern Lebanon during the previous seven years—and thus the beneficial nature of Israel's act—failed to register among Western public and media opinion. The first detailed reports of life under the PLO, by

14 ADL, *Television Coverage of the War in Lebanon* (New York), October 1982, 7.
15 COMA study, April 1983.
16 Leon Harder, 'Covering the war', *Jerusalem Post*, 2 August 1982.

David Shipler of the *New York Times* (25 July 1982), only appeared six weeks after the outbreak of war. It could be argued that more background explanatory reporting might also have produced more background on the Palestinian side. On balance, however, Israeli officials thought that the cost would be outweighed by the benefit of gaining understanding of Israeli actions.

Some journalists can point to stories over the years that explained 'to the point of boredom' the necessary background. Essentially non-historical, the media in general and television in particular are not expected to fill in each news development with an accompanying explanation. Indeed, it is the need for a daily story, as well as their style, pace and tone which have given the media their identity. To Thomas Collins of *Newsday*, 'Journalism had its own rules and regulations. The coverage is heavy with machine-made wire stories. A wire service lead that could have run almost any day in the war, eventually losing its meaning, was: "Israeli jets, gunboats and artillery hammered guerrilla targets in West Beirut yesterday." There is an institutional mould to the reporting and there is little room to break out.'[17] Feature pages and current affairs programmes are the proper places for background depth. However, the audiences are usually much smaller than for the main news pages and news programmes. One solution is to include the background explanation within the news reporting, like news magazine journalism.

f. *Cartoons* The cartoons which appeared during the war deserve their own study, given that the earlier categories, including the problems of background and context, and of factual errors and derogatory descriptions, cannot be applied in the same way as caricatures, and given the special function of the cartoon to simplify a basic situation. Like other forms of news media, the vast majority of cartoons which were drawn about the war were critical of Israel. A survey by the American Jewish Committee of 81 cartoons, which appeared in 43 newspapers in the United States over a 2-month period, June to August, found that nearly half (35) were 'clearly hostile.' The large majority of the 35 dealt with civilian casualties and the destruction of Lebanon. The next largest group depicted Begin and Sharon as militaristic, expansionist, deceitful and recalcitrant. Twelve depicted Arafat and the PLO as defeated and powerless, but only 6 were clearly anti-PLO, most of them showing Arafat hiding behind wounded and dying civilians.[18]

The question of what is considered to be acceptable satire is a subjective judgement. Some would argue that offensive cartoons such as those which

17 Thomas Collins, 'Quantity vs. context', *Long Island Newsday*, 26 October 1982.
18 American Jewish Committee (AJC), *Trends Analyses Report* (New York 1982), 8.

depict Israelis as Nazis or which crudely use Jewish religious symbols to characterize Israeli actions, should not be published. The American syndicated cartoonist, Steve Benson, aroused disquiet with his cartoon when he put Ariel Sharon and Klaus Barbie in adjacent butchers' shops, with the former offering for sale 'rump of refugee'. Another Benson cartoon portrayed Begin flying a Phantom over the Golan Heights carrying a Torah scroll and shouting 'Torah, Torah, Torah'. Others would oppose any censoring measure. The editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* said his cartoonist Auth 'had been pretty tough, but hell, I don't censor his cartoons. Whenever you use religious symbols, the Jews say you wouldn't do that to the Catholics, and the Catholics say you wouldn't do that to the Jews.'[19]

g. *Reporters 'carried away' by the atmosphere* Cases where reporters conformed to the atmosphere resulted in, as the head of Danish TV's News Department put it, 'TV letting itself be carried away by the anti-Israeli atmosphere that the media itself had helped to create.'[20] Thus when on 14 July, three days into the ceasefire, a car bomb exploded in West Beirut outside the headquarters of the Palestine Research Centre, Australian TV's Channel 7 10.30 pm bulletin dropped the first ten seconds of the Visnews report and introduced the report by saying that 'Even as Israel observes the ceasefire the carnage continues.' The impression given to Channel 7's viewers was that the Israelis were duplicitous, ruthless liars who were slaying innocent Lebanese civilians. The truth was that car bombs were favoured interfactional weapons in Lebanon and any of the eighty factions then existing could have been responsible. Or consider the description of Tyre by many journalists, including NBC's John Chancellor, as a destroyed city. When a journalist from the *Ottowa Citizen* visited the city he found 'there was no destruction. The cafes were full of people; schools were operating, stores were open and Lebanese policemen (who had not been seen in uniform in the previous seven years) regulated traffic. The mayor showed us "Television Alley" – the only street where several blocks had been destroyed by bombs. He said all eleven destroyed buildings were occupied by the PLO headquarters and offices.'[21]

As we shall suggest, this last factor may be a crucial feature which might explain other instances of non-conformity to journalistic standards.

The debate

The debate about the media's coverage seemed to arouse almost as much

19 *Washington Journalism Review*, September 1982, 9.
20 Lasse Jensen, head of Danish TV News Department, on Danish television programme *Weekendavisen*, 20 May 1983.
21 Ilya Gerol, 'TV exaggerates Lebanese coverage', *Ottowa Citizen*, 30 October 1982.

interest at times as the war itself. The Arabs asked this question for longer, largely because they claim that the image conveyed about them is superficial, antagonistic and inaccurate. What were the aims of those who criticized media coverage of Israel in this war? Does this criticism show sufficient understanding of the way the 'media business' works? Have news organizations learnt any lessons from this criticism which may result in better journalistic reporting of future events concerning Israel?

Comprehensive and analytical surveys of media coverage of the Lebanese war were produced by the ADL in the United States. The ADL's surveys included one on the fifty largest-circulation newspapers in the US; one on the fifty next-largest newspapers; one on the black press; one on the Catholic press. But the most discussed survey was one which examined the evening news programmes of the three leading networks, NBC, ABC, and CBS, which the ADL commissioned from David Garth, a US media analyst.[22] Other key US studies include Joshua Muravchik's 'Misreporting Lebanon', prepared under the auspices of the Heritage Foundation; studies by the American Jewish Committee on the US press;[23] and those by the Committee for Media Accuracy (COMA) based in California.[24] The critique which perhaps caught public attention was that by Martin Peretz, editor-in-chief of the *New Republic*. The article, which began in big type spread across the front cover of the journal, opened: 'Much of what you have read in the newspapers and news magazines about the war in Lebanon – and even more of what you have seen and heard on television – is simply not true. . . . Remarkably little of what has been alleged in various published protest statements against the Israeli action in Lebanon is fact. . . .'[25] Fewer studies were made outside the United States. These include one by the ADL's Paris office which surveyed the French press,[26] and some by Zionist groups in Australia.[27] One group, Americans for a Safe Israel, produced a film, entitled *NBC in Lebanon: A Study in Media Representation*, which compared many film clips of the war from NBC with the alternative version of what happened. A number of conferences have been held in Israel, including one in May 1983 under the auspices of the Hebrew University, which compared coverage of the Lebanese war with that of the war in the Falklands, the war between Iran and Iraq, and the war in

22 ADL. *Television Coverage of the War in Lebanon.*

23 AJC. *Trends Analyses Report*; AJC. *Summary of Interviews with Foreign Correspondents who Covered the Lebanese War from Israel in the Summer of 1982* (New York 1982).

24 *COMA Reports: Lebanon War Coverage*, 15 September and 25 October.

25 Martin Peretz, 'Lebanon eyewitness', *New Republic*, 2 August 1982.

26 ADL European Foundation. Alain Blumenkranz. *The PLO Supporter Lobby in the French Press since 6 June 1982* (Paris). September 1982.

27 W. D. Rubenstein. 'The media in Israel', *Quadrant*, November 1982; Zionist Federation of Australia. *Survey of Australian Newspapers' Editorial Opinion on Israel and the Middle East October 1981-September 1982.*

Vietnam; a *Jerusalem Post* conference on 'War and the Media' in December 1982, which marked the paper's fiftieth anniversary, and a conference in August 1983 organized by the American Jewish Committee. A number of conferences and symposia were held in the USA. An edition of ABC's *Viewpoints* programme 'Battlefield journalism—TV war coverage' examined the subject.[28] In Britain the Institute of Jewish Affairs held a symposium on British media coverage in May 1983. Other studies were also published in France and Belgium. Some of these studies, and others, have been reprinted in a compendium of articles about the war's coverage: *The Media: Freedom or Responsibility. The War in Lebanon 1982. A Case Study* (Jerusalem 1984), edited by Julian J. Landau.

Most of these and other studies undertaken tended to be descriptive rather than analytical or prescriptive, and they examined the content of newspapers rather than, for instance, the way foreign correspondents gathered the news. The American Jewish Committee interviewed journalists who reported from Israel about news sources. Predictably the survey concluded that much of the negative image was caused by inadequate facilities for these reporters by Israeli spokesmen; other factors contributing to the negative image were ignored. The emphasis on content analysis rather than on the way the news is gathered in Israel reflects the fact that most of the serious research and writing about media coverage occurred outside Israel. An additional criticism to be made is that with the exception of ADL's television survey, only Muravchik and Americans for a Safe Israel have attempted to examine television coverage. This is understandable given that the printed media are more amenable to measurement. But given the important role which television played in constucting images of the war the imbalance is hardly justified. In the longer term, groups which monitor the media on a continuous basis need to find ways and means to monitor broadcasting comprehensively.

Apart from the surveys, representations were made during the course of the war to different news organizations in different countries by Zionist and Jewish organizations in regard to different aspects of the media's coverage. For example, at a meeting between members of Washington DC's Jewish community and editors of the *Washington Post* copies of the paper were laid side by side with those of the *New York Times* in order to compare story by story and photograph by photograph the former paper with the latter's more balanced coverage of the war. In London the Board of Deputies of British Jews hosted luncheons with journalists and editors.

Broadly speaking, the grievances of Zionist and Jewish organizations were that the media reported the war as though it had no history or context, thus making the Israeli government appear needlessly destructive and war-

28 19 October 1982.

mongering, that it concentrated on the devastation of Beirut and ignored the reasons behind it, that it humanized the PLO and its leader, and that television in particular exaggerated the casualties and suffering.[29]

What were the effects of the debate and these representations upon news organizations? They varied from *Le Monde*, which replied to a Jewish community official that his complaint 'was not in accord with *Le Monde*'s editorial policy',[30] to the *Washington Post*, which permitted a Jewish communal leader to sit in and observe how its foreign desk handles news about Israel. Individual jounalists wrote articles in most cases defending the media's behaviour.[31] A widely publicized critique of the critics was by Roger Morris in *Columbia Journalism Review* entitled 'Beirut—and the press—under siege',[32] in which he concluded that when the invasion and siege were over 'much seemed buried in Beirut . . . it was a graveyard . . . of the critics' charges of unprofessional reporting.' Thomas Collins of *Newsday* wrote that 'To journalists, the criticism often seems petty, which may or may not be the shortcomings of journalists; much of it seems invented for defensive and emotional reasons; and much of it is aggressive and annoying. The tempting image is that of critics finding fault with the broken threads and sometimes blurred design of a huge and complex tapestry that, overall and nevertheless, still hangs together.'[33] The benefits from the debate will probably be felt more in the long term. 'I don't think that the result is a specific change in a specific story, but a heightened awareness', said the foreign news editor of the *Washington Post*.[34]

Possible contributory factors

Our analysis suggests that some additional factors may have contributed towards the nature of media coverage of the Lebanon war.

Access and time

One of the reasons that Israel emerged from earlier wars with a generally

29 It may be noted that Arab groups in the USA and Western Europe were better organized and more vocal about the media coverage than in previous wars. Their spokesmen appeared regularly on radio and television programmes, advertisements were placed in newspapers, and their supporters carefully monitored the media. A survey of US press coverage by the Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee found that the media's war coverage showed 'a consistent pro-Israeli bias'. The survey claimed that Western reporting showed a continuing predisposition to favour Israel and to reflect an Israeli version of events. The emphasis in the siege of Beirut had been placed on the wrong side: the negotiations to stop the siege should not have focused on the evacuation of the PLO from Beirut but rather on the need to 'get the Israeli invaders out of Lebanon', Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, autumn 1982.

30 Blumenkranz, 12.

31 A couple of examples include an editorial 'Friends beyond the need', in *The Times*, 16 May 1983; Julius Duscha, 'Israel and friends attack US media', *Des Moines Register*, 26 November 1982; and Alexander Cockburn, 'The Beirut massacre and the US press', *Village Voice*, 28 September 1982.

32 November-December 1982.

33 Thomas Collins, 'Arabs and Jews view media as an enemy', *Long Island Newsday*, 24 October 1982.

34 Ibid., in interview with Katherine de Young, *Washington Post*.

positive image was the limited access which Arab governments granted to foreign correspondents to report on the destruction which the Israelis caused. In 1967, for example, foreign reporters in Cairo were ordered to stay in their hotel for the first few days of fighting. But in 1982 the Palestinians turned the tables on Israel and welcomed cameramen and correspondents to report on the damage. In the chaotic Lebanon situation, where there was no central authority, reporters could move fairly freely. The swath of destruction from this war and the previous seven years was fully documented by journalists. Israel, in contrast to her earlier wars, limited access of foreign correspondents to the front during the first five days, in order to create 'a fog of war' about her intentions. Therefore during the first five crucial days, when the basic image of the war was created, the story was reported mostly from the Arab side. Unlike the short wars in 1967 and 1973 which had been fought in the Golan, the Sinai and other sparsely populated areas, this time the Israeli army had to fight its way through densely populated areas of civilian population. The pictures of the high toll of civilians became a central part of the public image of the war and raised questions about Israeli aims in Lebanon. Other important differences between the 1982 war and earlier wars which influenced media and public reaction included the fact that Israel was not faced with the threat of physical annihilation. Nor was the war against a country; instead, Israel was fighting a movement and an ideology. As will be discussed, information officials in Israel failed to understand this difference.

The previous wars were shorter. The very extension of the war and the obscurity of the final outcome affected public support. A Harris public opinion poll in the US overwhelmingly supported Israeli objectives between June 18 and 21 (76%) whereas from 9 to 14 July support declined to 44%. In recent military history unexpected extensions from short campaigns to a protracted war have produced an anti-war feeling.

Arab pressures on the media

The antagonistic image of Israel and the supportive attitude to the PLO among the media may be partly explained by the influence of the PLO on the media. This influence was exerted among the Western press corps in Lebanon and in Western capitals by PLO offices and Arab lobby groups. In Lebanon the foreign press corps was no less affected than the rest of Lebanese society by the intimidation and terrorism of the Syrians and the PLO. That the seven-year-old story of Lebanese life under the Syrians and the PLO failed to be communicated to Western audiences is itself indicative of the pressure on the foreign press corps. From 1975 to 1979 the Arab press in Lebanon came under pressure from a number of Arab governments including Syria, Iran, Iraq and Libya. After the Arab press was silenced, these governments turned their attention towards the remaining source of

embarrassing news, the foreign press corps. In 1980 the Reuters bureau chief in Beirut was badly injured after being shot by Syrian agents following a news report about internal unrest in Syria. The BBC correspondent had to leave after breaking the story of a grenade attack on President Assad at Damascus airport. These and other news organizations moved their bureaux to Cyprus. The *New York Times*' correspondent, John Kifner, wrote that 'to work here as a correspondent is to carry fear with you as faithfully as your notebook. It is the constant knowledge that there is nothing you can do to protect yourself and that nothing has ever happened to any assassin. In this atmosphere, a journalist must often weigh when, how, and sometimes even whether to report a story'.[35] Shortly after this report Kifner had to leave Beirut. Some journalists have lost their lives; Robert Pfeffer of *Stern* magazine was murdered while investigating links between the PLO and Baader Meinhof.

A distinction should be drawn between the Syrians and the PLO *vis à vis* their pressure on the foreign press corps. Given the PLO's interest in wooing the foreign media the pressure was more implied. Most of the foreign correspondents were based in West Beirut, many at the Commodore Hotel. The hotel, situated in an area of Beirut which was controlled by Syria and the PLO, relied on the PLO for its security. Besides the tickers from Reuters and the Associated Press, the daily bulletins of the PLO news agency WAFA were hung up in the foyer. Copies of messages sent by journalists to their head offices via the hotel's telex machine found their way to the Syrian secret police and to the PLO. According to Peter Meyer-Ranke, Middle East correspondent of the Springer chain of West German newspapers, 'the local Palestinians and Lebanese working in the bureaux of Western news organizations made sure the terrorist line was followed since they feared for their own lives.'[36] Most correspondents carried press cards from the PLO and FLP because it facilitated travel in areas under their control. Some have claimed that these pressures created an atmosphere of fear so that correspondents failed to provide the type of comprehensive and investigative reporting which their colleagues give in free countries like Israel, and in turn led to a biased image in the media's coverage of Arab-Israeli affairs.[37]

The PLO has developed an elaborate information structure. It includes PLO offices in many countries, the PLO Unified Information Centre, the WAFA news agency, the PLO radio station 'Voice of Palestine' and a number of periodicals. On the eve of the 1982 war the PLO had offices in over seventy countries – more countries than Israel has diplomatic relations

35 *New York Times*, 25 February 1982.
36 *Jerusalem Post*, 16 February 1982.
37 Yoel Cohen, 'The PLO: "guardian angel" of the media', *Mainstream*, February 1985; Kenneth R. Timmerman, 'How the PLO terrorized journalists in Beirut', *Commentary*, January 1985.

with. The PLO had offices in most West European countries and had been granted recognition by Austria, Belgium, Greece, France, Sweden and Turkey. The PLO's office in Washington DC had developed links with influential leaders and opinion makers. Its representative, Hatom Husseini, described the scope of his office's influence: 'In the last six years hundreds of articles, radio and television interviews and programmes have appeared all over the United States, presenting facts about the Palestinians, their life in refugee camps, their work in schools, clinics, hospitals, political offices as well as interviews with Palestinian leaders.'[38]

The PLO office is only one element making up the Arab lobby. In Britain, for example, the Arab lobby during the war comprised various Arab pressure groups including the Council for Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), Palestine Action, university student groups, trade union groups, and political party committees. The Emergency Committee against the Invasion of Lebanon (ECAIL) coordinated the activities of these groups. Those with the greatest contact with the media were the PLO office, CAABU, and Palestine Action. Letters appeared in newspapers, their spokesmen appeared on radio and television programmes, and individual journalists and editors were lobbied. The BBC received more complaints from the Arab lobby than from the Israeli lobby.[39] The PLO office produced a 25-page booklet, *Background Briefing: Israel's Invasion of Lebanon, June 1982*, and this, together with special editions of *The Palestine Report* with graphic photos of Israel's invasion, were sent to parliamentarians and opinion-formers.

Ideology, double standards and latent antisemitism

Media attitudes were affected by a number of ideological orientations. Where the orientations could be described as liberal, new left, anti-war, anti-nuclear, internationalist, or supportive of the Third World, they were also associated with an anti-Israeli position. The war was reported and edited in many cases by journalists who graduated from the universities in the late 1960s and 1970s, and experienced the New Left student revolts of 1968. The previous generation of journalists who witnessed the Second World War, and lived through the Holocaust, the 1948 War of Independence and the period up to the 1967 war, had acquired an understanding and a sympathy for the problems facing Israel.

The intrusion of ideological values into reporting was particularly evident in the case of the West European media. Israeli justifications of her behaviour in terms of security needs and memories of the Holocaust were considered a disguise for expansionist goals. The American media were less

38 In letter to *New York Times*, 2 March 1982.
39 Hyam Corney, 'Young at the top', *Jerusalem Post*, 12 August 1983.

ideologically biased. The havoc in Lebanon was emphasized not so much to condemn Israel but more to satisfy demands of news organizations. Basic ideological undercurrents – such as support for the underdog – identified as being the Palestinians – did nevertheless intrude at times.[40] The *Wall Street Journal*'s reporter, on leaving Beirut during the siege, reported that 'Leaving West Beirut and the trapped Palestinians, I had a guilty feeling, as if I were abandoning a dying friend because I didn't want to watch him die'.[41] A correspondent for the American Cable News Network said that when news of the Sabra and Shatila massacres broke 'there was not a dry eye among the whole press corps in West Beirut. Everyone was weeping and was very uncomfortable and unhappy about it. Some cynics might say that this is an example of the press detachment breaking down. We are human beings in this situation.'[42] Today military victories seem to create uncomfortable feelings unless they are won by liberation fronts. 'The West is not supposed to win; its proper role is to be defeated' wrote Edward Luttwak of Georgetown University. Walter Cronkite observed in the 1960s that 'most newsmen have come to feel very little allegiance to the established order. I think they are inclined to side with humanity rather than with authority and institutions.' The image of the 'super-Jew' which developed after the 1967 war runs counter to this trend. Some have pondered why Israel so readily bought the 'super-Jew' image. But the importance of the image of a strong Israel in the country's deterrent strategy *vis-à-vis* the Arabs should not be ignored.

Israel's friends in this war were on the political right. For example, the *Wall Street Journal*, despite its focus on American business and the importance of the Arab world, has in its editorial columns consistently supported Israel on a range of issues including the creation of additional settlements in the administered territories, the Knesset Law declaring Jerusalem to be Israel's eternal capital, and the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor. On Lebanon the newspaper praised Israel for destroying the PLO's military infrastructure, and criticized the US government for undermining Israeli policy in Lebanon and for not letting Israel 'finish the job' in West Beirut. To the paper, Israel is one of America's few pro-Western, democratically-elected and strategically reliable friends in an otherwise hostile world. A fairly similar attitude was found among a number of conservative newspapers in West Germany, Holland, France and Britain. It contrasts with other papers, such as the *Washington Post*, which views the Arab-Israeli dispute in narrower terms. To this paper, the core of the problem is the Palestinian question. Israel should withdraw to roughly

40 See Erwin Frenkel, 'A distorting angle', *Jerusalem Post Magazine*, 9 July 1982.
41 David Ignatius, *The Wall Street Journal*, 15 July 1982.
42 Peter Arnett on ABC TV *Viewpoints* 'Battlefield Journalism – TV War Coverage'.

the pre-1967 lines. External sources of tension—such as Soviet expansionism are viewed as secondary factors.

A number of surveys and critiques claimed that some journalistic writing in the war was antisemitic.[43] They suggested that antisemitism existed in a hidden sense among the motivations of journalists and in a more overt sense in, for example, the comparing of Israeli policies to those of the Nazis. Few if any of those surveys of media coverage labelled all criticism of Israel as antisemitic. A *Chicago Tribune* columnist, Raymond Coffey, complained: 'Why does it somehow become automatically antisemitic to think Menahem Begin is a menace. . . . Endorsing every move Israel makes is a pretty stiff standard for anyone who wants to avoid being labelled antisemitic.'[44] Rather, a more precise definition has to be found. Some have defined it as the application of a different set of standards to Jews than one would expect from other people. In spiritual terms Israel is perceived as the latter-day biblical Israel or the home of the Chosen People. 'Christians are often puzzled and irritated by the Jews—their mind boggles at the achievements of Zionism that look suspiciously like a miracle. They are driven to admonish Israel, "tidy it up, shake it" ', noted Conor Cruise O'Brien.[45] Many journalists replied that Israel, like other Western states, is judged by higher standards. However, when journalists apply different standards to the two sides in the conflict the ordinary reader's and viewer's difficulties in evaluating a situation are increased rather than reduced. The criticism of Israel was particularly severe given the lack of Western criticism first of the PLO for its reign of terror upon Lebanon's Christian community in the previous seven years, and secondly of the Christian Phalange for the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

Robert Tucker argued that critics of the proportionality of Israel's response to the terrorist threat 'are holding Israel to a standard that no government would seriously consider holding to practice.'[46] A related argument said that Jews who have a long history of being persecuted should behave better than others. This, argued Conor Cruise O'Brien, 'leads to the ridiculous corollary that those who were not persecuted don't have to be better than others—that their descendants should be excused from proper behaviour. But logic demands that those who were persecuted should be forgiven poor behaviour.'[47]

Then there were the comparisons between Nazi actions and those of the Israeli government. This found expression early on in the war with the Palestine Red Crescent's claim of '600,000 homeless refugees' resulting from

43 Leon Haber, 'Lebanon and the libel of genocide', *Midstream*, November 1982.
44 Raymond Coffey, 'What of anti-columnists?', *Chicago Tribune*, 25 July 1982.
45 *Jerusalem Post*, 5 December 1982.
46 *New York Times*, 15 July 1982.
47 *Jerusalem Post*, 5 December 1982.

Israel's invasion – an absurdity given that, as has been noted, the total population of Southern Lebanon did not amount to more than 510,000. Beginning with a six, the figure perhaps facilitated the equation of 600,000 Arabs with six million murdered Jews. Bill Hartley, on Australia's 3CR Radio, thought that 'Israel's tactics make Eichmann look like a real angel'.[48] Nicholas van Hoffman, writing from the US in the London *Spectator*, believed that, 'Incident by incident, atrocity by atrocity, Americans are coming to see the Israeli government as pounding the Star of David into a swastika.'[49] A letter writer in the liberal newspaper the *Guardian* wrote that 'if the ideas of Ayatollah Begin continue to determine Israel's policies and actions, the day will come when an increasing number of non-Jews in Europe and America will say that perhaps Hitler had a point.'[50] An interesting explanation of some antisemitic phenomena in the Lebanese war was offered by Leo Haber in *Midstream*: 'The systematic attempt to eliminate every Jew from this planet led to reluctant world support for the formation of the State of Israel. If that support must dissipate as Arab political, economic and financial power grows, then the world conscience can make this climactic move only if it neutralizes the memory of the Holocaust it wrought with the charge of another Holocaust engineered by the Jewish people themselves and their Jewish state.'[51]

Journalists' lack of background knowledge and TV's emphasis on violence
It has been argued that the lack of background and context to events was one of the factors causing Israel's negative image. Apart from the news media's limited propensity to give historical context to daily events, another reason for the lack of background was that some of the journalists who reported the war were themselves lacking a good knowledge of the roots of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Lebanese civil war, sufficient to explain and interpret events to their audience. 'When you need to explain the difference between Sunni Muslims and Shiite Muslims to the "Middle East experts" in the press you begin to wonder', an Israeli diplomat in North America complained.[52] The problem of the lack of background knowledge in covering wars and crises has widened in recent years with the large sudden influx of reporters – or 'firemen' – which occurs when a Middle East war breaks. The influx includes a large number of journalists from the broadcasting stations. Nearly 2,000 reporters came to cover the 1982 war.

Owing to the expense, some news organizations which used to maintain permanent bureaux abroad today prefer to send in their 'firemen' when a

48 On 14 August 1982.
49 Noted in Conor Cruise O'Brien 'Anti-Jewism on the march', *Jerusalem Post*, 6 July 1982.
50 Ibid.
51 Haber, 'Lebanon and the libel of genocide'.
52 Interview by authors with David Ariel, former Consul-General, Toronto.

crisis breaks. 'The fire brigade people who come smashing in whenever there's a war anywhere—TV leading the pack but others as well—don't have any historical knowledge. So they can broadcast from Damour and in all innocence say the place was just destroyed. They don't know that a very large part of the wreckage was caused when the Palestinians devastated Damour, although if you just use your eyes you can see some trees growing out of the rubble and figure out that it wasn't blasted twenty minutes ago,' Michael Elkins, the former BBC Jerusalem correspondent, noted.[53] Paul Kedar also criticized the 'abysmal ignorance' of foreign correspondents he encountered as the Israel Army spokesman in Beirut. 'When you don't know the background of a conflict you're covering, what's left is the human suffering and the human conditions. That is certainly part of war reporting, but in the case of Beirut, this became the central focus of many. . . . The less informed they were, the more sensation-minded they became. They aimed at a Western audience with the same characteristics, satiated with sensations and always hungry for violence portrayed on the TV screen.'[54]

Television is perhaps the most powerful news media because it establishes the ground rules for coverage of a particular event. The dominant symbols established in the Lebanese war were the conquering Israeli soldier and the weeping Palestinian refugee. Having created a public attitude for pictures of violence and destruction, television must constantly feed that appetite by working to even tighter deadlines and producing more bloody action. In short, the language of TV war coverage is 'bang bang'. The 'bang bang' should not be too complicated because the simple division between goodies and baddies assists TV news ratings. A BBC TV reporter, Vincent Hanna, described covering the Lebanon war:

> Convoys would frantically dash north from the Israeli border shooting past incidents as they went and arriving at noon in Beirut. Long periods would then be spent shooting puffs of smoke as shells landed. A correspondent would rush to deliver a piece to camera on the progress of the Habib talks. After being sent by fast car to Tel Aviv the cassettes would be transmitted (or 'birded') by satellite to the USA and London. Such are the pressures instantly to display those pictures that there is little time to talk to the victims of the war, or those who give them aid. 'Listen Vince' said a network bureau chief in Jerusalem, 'we do three minute pieces for US newscasts. We have one current affairs show a week. What's the point of messing about asking stupid questions?'[55]

The ADL study on the TV networks complained that 'the "hot news" stories always assumed priority in the night broadcasts and were not balanced with enough stories of events in South Lebanon such as the strategically more important story of the Syrian-Israeli battle in the Bekaa Valley—of long range importance to the US and the West.' They were not

53 A. E. Norden, 'Behind the mike', *Jerusalem Post*, 14 January 1983.
54 *Jerusalem Post*, 5 December 1985.
55 Vincent Hanna in the *Journalist*, September 1982.

covered because the TV cameras could not reach the Beka'a Valley or if they could the visuals were not as intense as those in Beirut. In a similar sense—since TV cameras could not reach other battlefields, including Afghanistan, Iran or Iraq, the Falklands—the centre piece of news bulletins was Lebanon. 'The question remains of how to have the Lebanese war placed in proper perspective with other events of major international significance which American networks are barred from covering', the ADL study concluded.[56]

The imbalanced television coverage of the war produced a number of reactions from within the journalistic profession. An editorial in the *Guardian* suggested that television was producing a 'new reality'. 'These pictures are devastating; in their effect they are surely beginning to shift attitudes hitherto set in stone. They are the new reality for millions, upon which those millions will base conclusions and exert pressures'.[57] To Peter Jennings, however, the shortcomings lay with the messenger carrying the message, that is television, and with its audience. 'If you rely simply on television for your information, particularly from a war zone, then you are going to be simply underserved. The camera is very powerful; it's a piece of technology about which we must become more sophisticated.'[58] Ben Wattenberg of *Public Opinion Magazine* argued that the lesson of this war and of Vietnam was that 'democracies can wage only short wars, telling the whole truth all at once and immediately. The nature of television news demands that it show whatever horror is available. Our horror is available; our adversaries' horror is not. That process unwittingly presents our adversaries with a great gift. They can credibly use the threat of force in a harsh world; it is much more difficult for us.'[59]

Israeli information policy

Given the conditions in the Western news media—the underriding anti-Israeli mood, Arab pressures on the media, and the media's appetite for war—could information policymakers in Jerusalem have done anything to alleviate the negative image Israel created? The Israeli Foreign Ministry, which has overall responsibility for overseas information policy, used the period before the war, when military action over Lebanon was a likelihood, to prepare background papers on the terrorist threat in Lebanon. These were already in Israel's diplomatic posts abroad on the eve of war.

During the war Israel's missions received, in addition, audio-visual material and stills for TV programmes. Speakers, including members of the Knesset, university professors and reserve generals were sent abroad on

56 ADL, *Television Network Coverage of the War in the Lebanon*, 8-9.
57 Editorial: 'The story on the screens', the *Guardian*, 14 July 1982.
58 In ABC TV News *Viewpoints* programme 'Battlefield Journalism – TV War Coverage'.
59 Ben Wattenberg, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 8 July 1982.

speaking tours. The Foreign Ministry also went to considerable effort to publicize evidence discovered of links between the PLO and other foreign terrorist groups. Correspondents were also introduced to Lebanese citizens who told them at first hand of the intimidation they had experienced from the PLO during the previous seven years. The former had little effect while the latter's effect came too late and was reported after the initial images were created.

At the top there was a lack of appreciation of the public relations aspects of modern warfare. No distinction was made between fighting a revolutionary organization and fighting a conventional war against another country. Israeli policy-makers did not envisage the possibility of a Vietnam syndrome and the possible effects of a protracted war; no contingency plans were made—the assumption was that nothing would differ from previous wars.

The army spokesman, Tat-Aluf Yaakov Even, admitted to a Knesset committee that there had been a lack of coordination with the Foreign Ministry at the outset of the war.[60] The problems of Israel's image therefore remain with few lessons being learnt from the war. Given the specific perspectives of the official bodies—the Foreign Ministry, tied by diplomacy, and the army spokesman constrained by narrow military considerations—neither are capable of coping with the *strategic* dimensions of the country's external image. Only a superordinate entity is capable of taking a global perspective of the problem.

Menahem Begin's image

Two additional factors need to be considered in analysing Israel's negative image. First, there was the wide consensus among officials and journalists whom we interviewed, that Begin has negatively affected Israel's image. There was, however, little agreement about the factors explaining Begin's negative image. British correspondents explained it by reference to Begin's role as an Irgun leader fighting against the British mandatory government. In West Germany it was explained as resulting from his derogatory remarks about Helmut Schmidt in summer 1981. Israeli diplomats emphasized his blunt and 'non-diplomatic' provocative rhetoric. Others thought it was due to subconscious antisemitic feelings.

The second factor was the public criticism of the Begin government by individual Jews. In the United States there was public criticism, while in West European countries most who were critical did not express it publicly. In Britain, for example, those who spoke out in public were mostly a small group of intellectuals—academics, artists and lawyers—who, for example, in a political advert in the *Guardian*, expressed 'outrage at Prime Minister

60 *Jerusalem Post*, 28 July 1982.

Menahem Begin's murderous efforts to "clear" Lebanon of the Palestinians.[61] The Jewish Members of Parliament, supporters of Israel, also spoke out. The dilemma facing the British Jews, one newspaper reported, was 'Should they criticize Israel and so provide ammunition for Israel's enemies? Or should they swallow their doubts and accept the explanation of the Israeli government that the Beirut policy is vital to Israel's long-term security?'[62] The doubts about the correctness of the Israeli government's policy had partly been sown by the information Jews were receiving from the British media.

Overexposure

A basic problem in this war was that Israel was suffering from overexposure in the foreign media. Israel fits many of the criteria of newsworthiness. A small country at war, together with some spectacular military episodes, plus the fact that it all takes place in the Land of the Bible, make for good journalistic copy. There are more foreign correspondents permanently based in Israel per capita of population than in any other country. Or, to put it another way, after Washington DC, New York, London and Paris, there are more foreign correspondents in Israel at present than in any other country.[63] The overexposure of Israel was not a factor peculiar to the Lebanese war but it is a major factor in the reporting of other events.

The main problem posed by overexposure is that since much news concerns war, crisis and drama, much of the eventual image will be negative, as the experience of the Lebanese war illustrated, as did events in the administered territories. As a result of investing in full-time correspondents, permanently based in Israel, news organizations have a tendency towards over-coverage of local developments. The overexposure provides both opportunities and problems for Israeli officials. One means by which a country gains international prestige is through appearing regularly in the world's media.

Technological improvements in newsgathering have decreased the time lapse between television reporting and actual broadcast, resulting in greater immediacy and impact. Whereas in the 1967 war, film reports by television correspondents had to be flown by aeroplane to head offices abroad, by

61 *Guardian*, 8 July 1982.

62 Simon Freeman, 'British Jews fear backlash after Beirut', *Sunday Times*, 15 August 1982.

63 In 1981 there were about 250 foreign correspondents in Israel (according to a 1981 *Maariv* supplement). This includes a number of local journalists who are also regular correspondents for foreign news organizations. A study of the directories of the Foreign Press Association over the last ten years shows a steady increase in the number of full-time foreign correspondents permanently based in Israel. Since the 1982 war there has been a further increase, e.g., BBC Radio and BBC TV now each have a correspondent from London as does Independent Television News (the only other ITN foreign correspondent is in Washington). The estimate that Israel ranks third or fourth in countries with most foreign correspondents is based on the personal evaluations of officials in the Government Press Office and the IDF Spokesman.

1973 there were satellite facilities making transmission quicker. By 1982 improvements in equipment meant that film shot on location could be immediately 'bounced back' from the battle zone to the television bureaux' offices in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv and beamed back to New York and London in some cases via satellite facilities situated inside the bureau.

The greater volume and immediacy of news coverage brings foreign governments and publics that much closer to events. This poses serious problems for Israeli officials. Whereas fifteen, or even ten, years ago a press conference could be held several hours after an event, today it is necessary for government spokesmen to respond within the hour of an event in order that their side's position will make the next TV and radio news bulletin. Given the need in many cases to consult ministers, or even for a full cabinet meeting, immediate reaction is not always possible. Thus it took Israeli spokesmen nearly two weeks until the lie of 600,000 refugees in the Lebanese war was checked, but by the time the Israelis announced their own estimates the image had already been indelibly impressed on the mind of world public opinion.

Concluding remarks

Our discussion suggests that the coverage of the Lebanon war does not lend itself to a monocausal explanation. It was brought about by a confluence of many factors. However, if we look for an overall explanation, we have to look for the dominant factors. The way the Lebanon war was reported does not support, in any way, the mirror theory espoused by the representatives of the media. We could not attribute a key role to a 'Heisenberg effect' nor to intentional distortion of facts as an opposite view might suggest. The key factor seems to be the general atmosphere which the war created, an atmosphere with a unique dynamic which imposed itself on the various actors, a psychosis which was not necessarily an outcome of deliberate wilful acts by people in the media.

As explained by McLuhan,[54] in our information age the mass media have their own dynamics. Certain types of images are aggrandized beyond their normal size. Millions are mobilized as actors in the historical drama. Such media events may rekindle old fears and old cultural stereotypes (including antisemitism). The Lebanon war was a media event which reflected these very traits: an emotionally charged human and political story which has mobilized millions of spectators as active participants. The media did not only report but was actually engulfed in the socio-psychological atmosphere it created. The media were neither objective nor malicious. They were swept away by a psychosis. In cases of mass psychology individual responsibility cannot be pinpointed.

54 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (New York 1964).

In many respects Israel is a natural victim of mass psychosis created by the media. Its religious significance, the deep-rooted problems concerning Jewish-Christian relations, its political openness and overexposure are all major contributory factors.

The appropriate policy is to counteract these factors. This could not be attained by exhortation. True, some of the correspondents may have acted in bad faith, but a general accusation of lack of objectivity may be counterproductive. In some cases the distortions were not wilful but rather a reaction to the general trend. We even found that reports were adapted to fit the general trend: reports were rewritten, re-edited, and in some cases correspondents were replaced if reports did not conform to this mood.

Israel has to cope with the very factors which make it vulnerable to a media-generated psychosis. The first and foremost is 'de-exposure'; deliberate coordinated steps to give up its role as a world communications centre, to 'radiate' less information about itself, to return to the normal dimensions of communication of a small state the size of Switzerland. The argument posed earlier that the 'strong Israel' image has a positive role as a deterrent *vis-à-vis* the Arabs, needs to make way for a policy of de-exposure in world opinion. We believe that progress towards this aim is possible through an appropriate coordinated information policy, in the implementation of which Jewish communities could play an important role.

Yoel Cohen and Jacob Reuveny

IJA Research Reports 1983

No. 1	Andropov and the nationalities question—a new approach	LUKASZ HIRSZOWICZ
No. 2	The Falashas—the Jews of Ethiopia. An almost forgotten community	DAVID KESSLER
No. 3	Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby: an aspect of American antisemitism	C.C. ARONSFELD
No. 4	Nazi war criminals: the search and the legal process continue	MICHAEL MAY
No. 5	The West German elections, March 1983. Features of Jewish interest	RAFAEL SELIGMANN
No. 6	Eight Soviet Jews appeal for the creation of an Anti-Zionist Committee	LUKASZ HIRSZOWICZ and HOWARD SPIER
No. 7	The anti-foreigner campaign in Germany	C.C. ARONSFELD
No. 8	The seventh Non-Aligned summit, March 1983	TONY LERMAN
No. 9	Legal aspects of the Israeli incursion into Lebanon and the Middle East conflict	YORAM DINSTEIN
No. 10	Interfaith dialogue in Israel. A survey of the current position	GEOFFREY WIGODER
Nos. 11 & 12	One year's elections, July 1982-July 1983. A survey of governmental changes in the Western world	MICHAEL MAY
No. 13	The Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee—further developments	HOWARD SPIER
No. 14	Madrid ends and Helsinki continues. The agreement at the CSCE follow-up conference	S.J. ROTH
No. 15	Anti-Jewish attitudes in the Arabic media, 1975-1981	RAPHAEL ISRAELI
No. 16	Jews, Arabs and antisemites in Latin America	C.C. ARONSFELD
No. 17	The Second World Conference on Racism	S.J. ROTH
No. 18	The International Conference on the Question of Palestine	TONY LERMAN
No. 19	Uni-national and mixed marriages in the USSR. Further statistical data on Soviet Jewry	LUKASZ HIRSZOWICZ
No. 20	The PLO revolt in the Arab media	ILAN PAPPE

Single copies are available from the Institute of Jewish Affairs. Special reduced rates for bulk orders.

NBC'S WAR IN LEBANON:

THE DISTORTING MIRROR

by EDWARD ALEXANDER

NBC'S WAR IN LEBANON:

THE DISTORTING MIRROR

by EDWARD ALEXANDER

Americans For a Safe Israel

I think the press ought to be arrogant.

Reuven Frank, President NBC News
(May 11, 1983)

I never wonder to see men wicked, but
I often wonder to see them not ashamed.

Jonathan Swift

THE AUTHOR

Edward Alexander is professor of English at University of Washington, Seattle. His books include *Matthew Arnold and John Stuart Hill* (Columbia University Press, 1965); *Arnold, Ruskin, and the Modern Temper* (Ohio State University Press, 1973); *The Resonance of Dust: Essays on Holocaust Literature and Jewish Fate* (Ohio State University Press, 1979); and *Isaac Bashevis Singer* (G. K. Hall, 1980). His essays have appeared in *University of Toronto Quarterly Modern Language Review*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, *Dickensian*, *American Historical Review*, *Victorian Poetry*, *Midstream*, *American Spectator*, *Commentary*, and *Encounter*.

Cover Design by Frances Besner Newman

PREFACE

In June, 1983 Americans for a Safe Israel (AFSI) produced a video documentary "NBC in Lebanon: A Study of Media Misrepresentation." The hour long documentary written and directed by Peter E. Goldman, Director of AFSI, shows how NBC Nightly News misrepresented the war in Lebanon and misled and deceived the American public.

We felt, however, that a more detailed study of NBC's coverage of the war was needed and Prof. Edward Alexander's article "NBC's War in Lebanon: The Distorting Mirror" brilliantly analyzes NBC's falsehoods and techniques of distortion.

The problem of media advocacy and media misrepresentation stemming from the war in Lebanon has been covered in many articles including "Lebanese Eyewitness" by Martin Peretz (*The New Republic*, Aug. 2, 1982), "Misreporting Lebanon" by Joshua Muravchik (*Policy Review*, Winter 1983), "The War in Lebanon" by Frank Gervasi (Center for International Security), "Behind the Lies in Lebanon" by Pearl Sheffy Gefen (*Jerusalem Post*, Oct. 29, 1982), "J'Accuse" by Norman Podhoretz (*Commentary*, Sept. 1982), and "Lessons of the Lebanese Campaign" by Prof. Marvin Maurer and Peter E. Goldman (*Midstream*, April, 1983).

We believe that "NBC's War in Lebanon" and AFSI's video documentary, which go into great detail about one network's coverage, add a new and valuable dimension to the examination of the question of media advocacy.

Those readers who would like to receive a copy or a transcript of the video documentary should contact the AFSI office for details.

Herbert Zweibon
Chairman, Americans for a Safe Israel

INTRODUCTION

A word fitly spoken is like apples of
gold in pictures of silver.
Proverbs XXII, 11.

It probably took several centuries from the time printing was invented for the belief to die out that 'whatever is in print must be true.' Now, in the age of television, we face a parallel danger in the widespread belief that "pictures don't lie." In fact, as I shall frequently have occasion to suggest in the following pages, pictures, like words, can and do lie, for pictures, like words, are created and manipulated by men, whose reputation for probity has been open to question since the expulsion from Eden. The injunction to "hold the mirror up to nature" sounds sensible enough until we remember that mirrors may be dirty or clean, concave or convex, cracked or whole; and that everything depends upon which portion of nature you choose to reflect, how often you reflect it, and how much you reveal of the history of the reflected images. Not the least danger of distortion in the use of the mirror is the tendency of the owner to hold it up to himself and make it into the deceiving mirror of self-love, a mirror that reflects not life but the spectator.

If, as James Billington argued in his book *Fire in the Minds of Men* (1980), the press, once known as the Fourth Estate*, has now "in many ways replaced the First [Estate], the Church," we are under the most compelling obligation to ask whether journalists are using their enormous power for good or for evil, responsibly or recklessly. Americans have long assumed that their press, unlike the British and European, will clearly distinguish between news and editorial opinion. Even in the wake of the war in Lebanon we may still take some comfort from the fact that American journalists generally lagged far behind their European and British colleagues in the art of cloaking naked partisanship in tendentious reporting. But the tendency of our television news media to flout the conventions of balance, fairness, and accuracy in the interests of political ideology is growing, not receding. NBC's disregard for these conventions (and, in the case of fairness, federal regulations) was by no means *sui generis*; but I have chosen to analyze NBC rather than its competitors because the malpractices common to the three major networks were drawn out into extreme or radical form by NBC. Neither of the other networks, for example, allowed so complete a monopoly on the expression of editorial opinion on the war to one set of biases as NBC did in making John Chancellor its sole editorialist. (The closest NBC came to acknowledging that there might be a side to the question other than the anti-Israel one that Chancellor expressed several times a week, was on August 4. In the wake of Chancellor's intemperate outburst against "imperial

*In constitutional law, an "estate" denotes an organized class of society with a separate voice in government, such as the clergy, nobility, and commons (knights and burgesses) were in Europe starting in the thirteenth century.

Israel" on August 2, Tom Brokaw read from three letters disagreeing with Chancellor's views. But he took care that the three selected were all by people with names readily identifiable as Jewish, and added that in any case reaction to Chancellor was about evenly divided between those who agreed with him and those who did not.) NBC also outdid the other networks in its relentless insistence (e.g., on June 24, 28, and August 2, 4, 12, 13) that American public opinion was turning against Israel. Since NBC is one of the principal shapers of public opinion, this insistence (based on the flimsiest of evidence) could only be construed as a self-serving exercise. NBC was also the only network that consistently refused to acknowledge the existence of PLO censorship.

My discussion of NBC-TV's coverage of the war in Lebanon extends from the period of June 4 through August 31, and is based on videotapes of every night of evening news during that period. My observations touch on six major subjects or problems in NBC's reporting and commentary: 1) The Subject of Censorship; 2) The Question of Civilian Casualties; 3) Deliberate Falsifications; 4) The Terminology of Bias; 5) The Missing Background of the War; and 6) Selective and Tendentious Interviewing.

Finally, a distinction is in order. On this subject as on most others, generalizations about an organization cannot authoritatively render the whole truth about every individual who works for it. Not everybody who reported the Lebanon War for NBC was engaged, as Mudd, Chancellor, Brokaw, Mallory, and Reynolds appeared to be, in a private war against Israel. Whatever objections one may have to particular reports and even the surrender to shared media cliches by Bob Kur, Rick Davis, or Martin Fletcher, it would be unfair to impute to them any such will to deceive as moved many of their colleagues. These men acquitted themselves, under very trying conditions, honorably; but their efforts in the direction of seeing clearly and telling what they saw in a plain way were nearly lost in the plethora of calculated distortions that comprised NBC's overall approach to the war in Lebanon.

I. THE SUBJECT OF CENSORSHIP

> In Lebanon, Palestinian commanders permitted camera crews and correspondents to move freely into areas under attack, but not to photograph military targets hidden among civilian offices and apartments.
>
> John Martin, ABC News.

No theme, not even that of civilian casualties, was more relentlessly pursued by NBC-TV than that of censorship: that is to say, of Israeli censorship, for censorship by Israel's adversaries was blithely accepted by NBC as an aspect of the natural order of things. The opening salvo in NBC's campaign against Israeli military censorship came on June 5 and established the pattern that would be followed throughout the summer. Jessica Savitch, introducing a report by Vic Aicken from northern Israeli "settlements and villages," sternly warns that "It's censored by the Israeli military." Aicken himself stresses at the outset of his report that he can only show pictures "allowed by the Israeli censor," and concludes the report with these words: "Vic Aicken with a censored report from northern Israel." Then Savitch, who believes in nothing so much as incessant repetition, remarks: "His report was heavily censored by the Israelis and half of the pictures he wanted to send out were cut." Then, presumably for the benefit of those viewers who can understand nothing unless it is repeated five times, NBC places next to Savitch a large placard saying "ISRAELI CENSORSHIP," at the same time that she most audibly and visibly inhales her scarcely controllable outrage at this violation of NBC's inalienable rights.*

In the days and weeks to follow it became clear that NBC was determined to retaliate whenever possible the injury inflicted upon its "right to know" by Israeli censorship. Not only would reports from Israel and from southern Lebanon begin and end with graphic and oral references to Israeli censorship, but reporting of the war would be periodically punctuated with entire program segments devoted to the subject of Israeli censorship. Thus what might have begun as a piece of valuable information about the difficulties of reporting the war soon became a means of editorializing, almost unceasingly, against Israel. The venomous tone and compulsive repetition suggested that people at the upper echelons of NBC News had allowed their sense of outrage to determine editorial policy.

The anger was much in evidence in Roger Mudd's remarks of June 18 about Israel having censored two cassettes of inteviews with PLO prisoners, and "refusing" to say why, and in the furious outbursts of June 23 and 24 by Brokaw and Chancellor. Brokaw started the program of June 23 with the ritualized announcement of Israel having broken yet another cease-fire, then switched to

---

*Readers interested in Miss Savitch's techniques of demagoguery applied to a wholly different subject should consult Dorothy Rabinowitz, "Lesley and Jessica: TV demagogues," *N.Y. Post*, 27 May 1983.

Steve Mallory, whose voice came out of a blackened screen, against which were boldly superimposed the words: "PICTURES CENSORED." Since NBC had decided (perhaps, even from its own point of view, unwisely) that no amount of repetitious haranguing on this subject can be excessive, Brokaw followed up with a separate story on the Israeli refusal to transmit pictures of injured children, damage and casualties in a Beirut neighborhood. The visual backdrop showed an Israeli flag, cassettes, and "Israeli Censorship." Then, in high dudgeon, Brokaw declared that the story had nothing to do with Israeli national security, and, in a voice dripping with sarcasm, noted that Menachem Begin had complained of "corrupt media."

The fury against Israel over the censorship spilled over on this evening into a particularly egregious distortion of facts by Roger Mudd. Trumpeting what sounds like a spectacular revelation of yet more Machiavellian skullduggery by Israel, he "reports" that this war in Lebanon has been coordinated with a "campaign" against Palestinians in "Jordan's West Bank, which is occupied by Israel." When we switch to Martin Fletcher in said "West Bank" however, we get nothing more than a reasonably sober account of Israeli troops quelling demonstrations by Arab university students in favor of the PLO. Mudd's revelation proves to be mere wind. Mudd tried a similar stunt on the following evening, June 24, in his introduction to Steve Mallory's typically sensational report of blood, chaos, filth, and fire in West Beirut, caused by the explosion of powerful car-bombs of unknown origin. Since not even Mallory was about to assign the blame for these to Israel, Mudd took it upon himself to do so by insidious juxtaposition: "The Reagan White House revealed today that Prime Minister Begin promised President Reagan on Monday that Israel would not try to capture Beirut. By making Israel's pledge public . . . the White House was bringing pressure on him to live up to it. But as we will see in a moment . . . sending in an army is not the only way to destroy a city. It can be shelled to death from without and within." But just in case there are viewers who do not fall into the Mudd trap, Brokaw is ready with yet another blast at Israeli censors for allowing such scenes (which might reflect unfavorably on the PLO) to be transmitted while deleting material that has nothing to do with Israel's national security. Now that its anchorman has on two consecutive nights editorialized against Israeli censorship, one might suppose that the subject has been for the moment exhausted. But no, NBC's resident sage John Chancellor must add a long, sweaty editorial on the matter.

Chancellor begins with the astounding remark that "Censorship in the Middle East is getting to be a real problem, and it sometimes makes it hard to cover a story." Chancellor did not remind his audience that Israel is the only democratic country in the Middle East, the only one in which there has always been a free press, or that censorship, ranging from authoritarian to totalitarian, and employing methods ranging from persuasion to coercion to murder, has, time out of mind, prevailed in the Middle East. Had he done so, viewers might have wondered why Middle East censorship never became a "problem" for Chancellor and his colleagues until practiced, in the midst of a hard-fought war, by Israel. He does, in the course of this diatribe, mention that although Syria helpfully transmitted

the tape that Israel had intercepted, Syria "enforces a total ban on stories about its own military." Yet Syria's far more stringent censorship is mentioned only casually and "incidentally": it does not, for Chancellor, constitute a "problem." Exactly why this should be so is not clear, expecially since Syrian censorship had earlier in 1982 effectively kept television cameras away from the Syrian city of Hamma (the fifth largest in the country) while the Syrian army ruthlessly massacred, with tanks and artillery, between 15,000 and 20,000 of its own unarmed citizens, who had been guilty of refractory behavior towards the regime. Where then was Chancellor's concern for the American public's right to know, and for NBC's right to film? Was he not then, as is he not now, troubled by the "problem" that very little, if any, attention is paid by the news media to slaughters that cannot be photographed although they are known to have happened? We know that his employer, Reuven Frank, is not. For when the head of NBC News was taxed with this question, he responded, with his characteristic moral tact: "There isn't interest in the Copts or the Kurds, or the massacre in Burundi . . . so you don't cover them." To talk of what "should" be covered is impermissible because it suggests *moral* criteria, with which his profession is unconcerned. "You cover what you think is interesting for the viewers. I can't imagine anybody getting upset about the Copts." As if it had never occurred to Mr. Frank that the absence of "coverage" explained the absence of "interest."

Although Chancellor acknowledged that Syria's censorship policy left something to be desired, he expressed no misgivings about PLO treatment of journalists and even went out of his way to remark that "There is no censorship in Beirut . . ." This must have come as a stunning revelation to the countless journalists who in recent years have testified to what the *Guardian* of London (one of the most fiercely anti-Israel papers in the world) called the "censorship by terror" that prevailed in Beirut, and the *Economist* named the phenomenon of "publish and perish." On February 22, 1982, John Kifner, *New York Times* correspondent in Beirut, wrote:

> To work here as a journalist is to carry fear with you as faithfully as your notebook. It is the constant knowledge that there is nothing you can do to protect yourself and that nothing has ever happened to any assassin. In this atmosphere, a journalist must often weigh when, how, and sometimes even whether, to record a story. . . .
>
> There is a pervasive belief among the Beirut press corps that correspondents should be extremely wary of incurring the wrath of the Syrian regime of President Hafez al-Assad.

In February 1982 Zeev Chafetz, then director of Israel's Government Press Office, charged that substantial segments of the western news media follow a double standard in reporting and commentary on the Arab-Israeli conflict because they fear and respect Arab terror, but take for granted and abuse the freedom allowed them in Israel's open society. He explicitly charged that terror prevented critical reporting on the PLO and Syria, and that ABC's wide-ranging attack on Israel (in the program "20/20") had a casual connection with the murder in Beirut

in July 1981 of Sean Toolan, ABC-TV's correspondent there. (Toolan's sin had, apparently, been his contribution to a program by Geraldo Rivera on PLO terrorism.) Chafetz also claimed that five US journalists had in 1981 been held for almost 24 hours by Palestinian Arab terrorists without the incident being reported in their newspapers for over six months. (They had been released after their lives were threatened and their employers promised not to report on the episode.)

Over a period of five years a series of threatening letters, assassination attempts, explosions, and murders by the PLO intimidated the Lebanese press to the point where, according to Edouard George, senior editor of Beirut's French language daily *L'Orion Du Jour*, "not one of them dared to write or broadcast the truth." Peter Meyer-Ranke, Middle East correspondent for Germany's Springer chain of papers, said he had personally observed "self-censorship, self-restriction, and silence" by his colleagues in Beirut. Among those who, because they did not silence themselves, were silenced forever by the PLO are: Salim Lawzi, owner of the weekly *Al-Hawadit*, arrested at a PLO checkpost in July 1978 and tortured to death in the village of Aramoun, after which photos of his body were distributed among Beirut's journalists as a warning; Edouard Saeb, editor-in-chief of *L'Orion Du Jour* and local correspondent of *Le Monde*, shot to death in September 1976 while crossing Beirut's Green Line; Riadh Taha, president of the Lebanese newspaper publisher's union and part of an effort to form an anti-PLO front with Bashir Jemayel, murdered by the PLO outside the Carlton Hotel in Beirut. George listed seven foreign journalists murdered by the PLO in West Beirut between 1976 and 1981: Larry Buchman, ABC-TV correspondent; Mark Tryon, Free Belgium radio; Robert Pfeffer, correspondent for *Der Spiegel* and *Unita*; Italian journalists Tony Italo and Graciella Difaco; ABC correspondent Sean Toolan.

Where, during the years when these outrages were perpetrated in Beirut by the PLO, was the voice of John Chancellor and NBC to decry censorship? Why is it censorship becomes a Middle Eastern problem only when it is practiced (and hardly in a manner even remotely resembling the instances just cited) by Israel? No one with a passing acquaintance with human nature ought to have been surprised that the intimidation and terror with which the PLO censored journalists before June 1982 continued, *a fortiori*, once it came under direct attack by Israel. Countless witnesses told how PLO commanders—in the words of John Martin of ABC News—"permitted camera crews and correspondents to move freely into areas under attack, but not to photograph military targets hidden among civilian offices and apartments." In other words, the television reports coming from PLO-occupied West Beirut were indeed censored, contrary to what Chancellor alleged, and censored in such a way as to remove from

*NBC has questioned the accuracy of George's list, claiming that not all of these journalists were killed by the PLO or Syrians. George told us in a telephone conversation that his sources were articles in his newspaper "*L'Orion du Jour* as well as other journalistic sources in Beirut. The murder of Pfeffer has been generally acknowledged by journalists, but it is impossible for us to independently confirm the cause of the other deaths. It is well known, however, that many foreign journalists were forced to leave Beirut because of threats from the PLO. According to press reports, these included Larry Pintak of CBS, *Le Figaro*'s J. Stocklin, BBC's Tim Llewellyn and Jim Muir. Reuters correspondent Bernd Debussman was shot in the back after receiving threats from Syrian officials. *Editors.*

sight precisely the evidence used by Israel to justify its siege. "What's more," observed the *New Republic*, "you weren't even told that you weren't seeing something important. So while television relentlessly repeated that dispatches from the Israeli side were censored by Israeli authorities, it didn't tell you of the PLO's censorship—which of course made the censorship that much more effective." Ann Medina, of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, showed the rare courage to film PLO censorship with a hidden camera. Her film proved, beyond any possibility of contradiction, how a PLO censor accompanied reporters in Lebanon "everywhere we go." This may help to explain the intriguing way in which *Newsweek*, in a rare burst of candor, sought to justify the "anti-Israel tone of many dispatches from the front" by disclosing that "many correspondents based in Beirut developed warm relationships with PLO leaders." Is it conceivable that fledgling reporters are taught in their journalism courses that cozy relationships with terrorist combatants afford indispensable aid in impartial reporting of wars in which those terrorists become involved? If so, perhaps they should be warned that in the business of war reporting, "warm relationships" may be a self-deceptive label for anticipatory compliance with terrorist censorship.

The extent to which television became, in the words of Ted Koppel of ABC, a war-weapon in PLO hands, even forced two of the major networks—CBS on July 9 and 12, and ABC on July 12—to acknowledge the existence of PLO censorship; only Mr. Chancellor and his colleagues at NBC maintained their stony silence on this subject. They maintained it even in the face of what an observant viewer of their own pictures might well have construed as evidence to the contrary. Thus, on June 12, just after Mallory's standard report on bombing in Beirut, we are shown several PLO fighters retreating into central Beirut. One of them points his gun menacingly at Mallory's cameraman, prompting the remark that "they *don't* like to be photographed." Inadvertently, NBC thus reminds us that the PLO is very much in the censorship business, but that its favored instrument for keeping camera crews from photographing military installations is the gun rather than the pen. By a peculiar coincidence, which perhaps only a Viennese doctor could satisfactorily explain, this very same film sequence was again used, with typical unscrupulousness, and without comment (or any explanation of the gross falsification involved) as part of Jack Reynolds' report of events allegedly taking place on June 29, and as a prelude to a Roger Mudd harangue against censorship—Israeli censorship, that is. By some subterranean psychological process, the fact of *PLO* gun censorship insinuated itself into the minds of the NBC news staff but came out to the American public as an attack on Israeli pen censorship. And wherein lay the Israelis' offense against free expression? Jack Reynolds' signoff words—"West Beirut"—were "inexplicably removed by Israeli censors." This, but not the PLO threats against reporters' lives, was yet another "problem" for Chancellor, Mudd, and company.

Following the line taken by Brokaw on June 23, Chancellor in his commentary of the 24th generously allowed that "every journalist can understand when censorship is used by a government to protect the lives of its troops. But increas-

ingly, in the Lebanese story, censorship has been used to protect Israel's image and to serve its political goals." NBC's commentators always know what is or is not relevant to Israeli national security, for which—so it is implied—they have the gravest concern; but no other form of censorship is permissible. At least it is not permissible for Israel, for it is well known that the British blackout of television coverage of the war in the Falklands, a war that, whatever might be said in its justification by the British, could hardly be said to have been fought in the protection of British national security, did not stir Chancellor, Brokaw, and Mudd to the rage they vented whenever Israel refused to transmit film over satellite. Rarely is the arrogance which Reuven Frank recommends as the *sine qua non* for ambitious journalists so much in evidence as in NBC's lectures to Israel on its moral transgression in failing to provide complete information services to its enemies in wartime. First, even the most careless viewer, watching NBC's relentless barrage of anti-Israel stories, must be struck dumb by Chancellor's temerity in saying Israeli censors won't pass stories "that make Israel look bad." Secondly, is Israel any more under a moral obligation to transmit from its Tel Aviv satellite interviews with Yasser Arafat or other PLO spokesmen than the United States in World War II would have been to disseminate interviews with Hitler conducted by foreign journalists sympathetic to his "cause"?

When Reuven Frank, the president of NBC News, was asked about the vendetta his staff had carried on against Israel over the issue of military censorship, he replied that "Basically, the Israelis are treating the foreign press better than most of the other countries. We are picking on them." This is a typical reply from Mr. Frank, who is fond of parading his general cynicism, which diverts attention from his particular responsibility for NBC's misdeeds and from his own entire indifference to self-correction.

Throughout the summer, NBC continued to hammer away at Israel over the issue of censorship. Always the stress was on the political nature of Israeli censorship, sometimes qualified by a fleeting reference to Syrian censorship, but never any at all to PLO censorship by terror. The program of August 1 appeared at first to give some semblance of balance by using background graphics referring to Syrian censorship in Rick Davis' report from East Beirut, and background graphics referring to Israeli censorship when John Hart appeared before a map of Lebanon, and informed his viewers that during the preceding eight weeks many scenes had been "missing in the war reports from Lebanon . . . Reports from West Beirut sent from Syria, subject to Syrian censorship; reports from East Beirut sent from Israel are restricted by Israeli censors." But all this was merely prelude to yet another report, very detailed, on Israeli censorship, with the Syrians forgotten altogether. Bob Kur, a far more scrupulous journalist than Chancellor, made some attempt to explain Israel's rationale for what Kur condemned as "purely political" censorship: "Israel does not want to generate sympathy for the PLO or, some say, with good reason, provide a stage for its spokesmen." Kur also admitted that "Israeli censors never tried to hide the damage in southern Lebanon, nor did Israel try to hide its unprecedented anti-war demonstrations," and that "a degree of censorship during wartime is not

unusual for any country, and some have been more restrictive than Israel." But any credit that might redound to Israel from these acknowledgements was quickly erased by Kur's conclusion that there was so much criticism from abroad of Israeli censorship that "Israel could not easily have increased censorship." In other words, here as in all other respects, Israel was just as mischievous as the world allowed it to be. Why "the world" allows Israel's adversaries to be so much more mischievous, with impunity, Kur did not bother to explain. Perhaps the answer is, as R. Emmett Tyrrell, editor of *The American Spectator*, alleged: "Not all our allies are . . . diabolized. The diabolizing comes down only on those who actually oppose America's enemies."

II: THE QUESTION OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES: "NO MILITARY TARGETS HERE"

> Israel, by aiding Lebanese Christians since 1975, has saved more civilian lives than have been lost in this war. But a television screen is easy to fill . . . Television in war is bound to suggest more generalized destruction than has occurred. Furthermore, had there been television at Antietam on America's bloodiest day (Sept. 17, 1862), this would be two nations. Americans then lived closer to the jagged edges of life, but even they might have preferred disunion to the price of union, had they seen the price, in color in their homes in the evening.
>
> George Will, *Newsweek*,, August 2, 1982

On August 2, a photograph, published throughout the world, showed what was described as a severely burned baby girl, with her arms amputated, who had been wounded during an Israeli bombardment of West Beirut. The photograph came to symbolize Israel's allegedly indiscriminate bombing of civilians. On August 14, NBC's Fred Francis reported Secretary of State George Shultz's endorsement of Ronald Reagan's view that the "symbol of this war" was this same "picture of a baby with its arms shot off." It was a symbol in more ways than Reagan and Shultz understood, for by August 20 it had been conclusively proved that the photograph had been deliberately misrepresented in the news media in order to smear Israel. Doctors who suspected the veracity of the photograph sent a special team to find the baby, and discovered it to be a healthy boy (Reagan, Shultz, and NBC even had the sex wrong) with a broken left arm still in a cast, but otherwise healthy and intact. He was released from the Beirut hospital five days after his picture as a moribund girl made front pages around the world. NBC did not think it worthwhile, after Francis had reported the "story," to correct the misrepresentation, or, for that matter, to correct the impression given by the complementary supporting story of the August 14 news, by Steve Delaney in Beirut. This told of a West Beirut home for retarded children in which—allegedly as a result of frequent Israeli shelling—the children were found starving, and lying in their own excrement. Mother Teresa was photographed carrying one of the skeletal children from the home. But Mother Teresa, unbeknownst to NBC viewers, said in a later television broadcast that the children had been kept in these wretched conditions for a very long time, and that those responsible for the conditions, since long before the Israelis came, not only got off scot-free, but had the additional satisfaction of seeing their hapless victims used for their own propaganda purposes.

The doctored photograph and the stage-managed hospital visit of Mother Teresa were thus "symbolic" of the uncontrollable desire of many in the news media to depict Israel as a brutal power intent mainly on the destruction of Palestinian Arab civilians. That civilians were uprooted, injured, and killed in this war, as in all wars, no one can doubt; but they were not uprooted, injured, and killed

to anything like the extent or with anything like the callous indifference or evil intent alleged by the journalists, NBC's reporters foremost among them.

Almost from the outset of the war, NBC's field reporter in Beirut, Steve Mallory, made it his special duty to insist, day in and day out, that Israeli bombing raids did not merely cause civilian casualties as a by-product of military missions, but were directed at civilian targets and areas. On June 4 Mallory reported the Israeli attack on a sports stadium in southern Beirut used by the PLO as an arms depot; the attack, said Mallory, was "deadly accurate" and "officials said most of the casualties were civilians." Who these helpful "officials" were Mallory did not say. On June 5 he reported the Israeli bombing of "a school bus: 15 died in the bus." He thus conveyed the impression to his innocent audience that those inside the bus were school children. In fact, nearly every other report on the incident said that the bus was not a schoolbus, and that its occupants were adults, not children. Some reports, crediting PLO claims, identified the men as construction workers, but Mallory suppressed even this half-truth lest it dilute the image of an Israeli massacre of young innocents. As for the larger attack on the "major coastal highway" linking Beirut to Southern Lebanon, Mallory claimed that "Bystanders asked, 'Why? No military positions here.' " On June 11, Mallory reported that "As the cease-fire was taking effect, Israeli warplanes streaked over Beirut. One dropped a bomb on a predominantly Moslem side of the city, hitting a civilian area. There are no military targets here." On June 12, Mallory reported crews "looking for casualties or survivors of yesterday's Israeli bombing of civilian areas of central Beirut." On June 17, Mallory described Israel's attack on Beirut International Airport and then sounded his standard refrain: "no military positions here." It was perhaps at this point that those viewers of NBC who had ever been in a war, or read about one, or been endowed with even the most modest portion of common sense, must have wondered whether there was anything that Steve Mallory did consider a military target, since he had already ruled out major airports and highways (so long as they were under Arab control). No matter how often he reported on Israeli attacks, it was the identical story. June 21: "An Israeli round hit . . . in Central Beirut—primarily a civilian area" (and to show just how "civilian" it is, NBC follows the pictures of Israeli shelling with one of Arafat dandling a baby)' June 25: "no military positions here" (residential area of West Beirut); June 26: "Most casualties were civilians"; June 28: "It's been . . . *civilians* who've lost the most."

The pattern of reporting the war from West Beirut established by Mallory was continued by Jack Reynolds, with the addition of strongly tainted political rhetoric and lurid emotionalism. On July 9, one of the rare occasions when NBC allowed that somebody else besides the Israelis was firing, Reynolds noted that when "the Israelis responded—people were hit." On July 10 he gave his typically florid account of the day's shelling, followed by invocation of the Mallory refrain: "There are no Palestinian fighters here, they said." In this instance, "here" was the area of the foreign embassies, an area which published reconnaissance photos showed to be replete with tanks, mortars, heavy machine guns, and anti-aircraft positions; yet NBC saw no need for correction, retraction, or apology.

James Compton, who replaced Mallory in West Beirut in mid-summer, seemed torn between repetition of the Mallory-Reynolds formula and glimmerings of awareness of what virtually every disinterested observer of the PLO "defense" strategy had known for years: namely, that the PLO always places its troops and its weapons in and around schools, hospitals, and apartment houses, deliberately seeking to maximize civilian casualties in the event of an Israeli attack. (In many cases, PLO fighters hid behind rows of women and children when firing on Israeli forces.) As David Shipler wrote in *The New York Times* of July 25:

> The P.L.O. was not on a campaign to win friends among the Lebanese. Its thrust was military. The huge sums of money the P.L.O. received from Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries seems to have been spent primarily on weapons and ammunition, which were placed strategically in densely populated civilian areas in the hope that this would either deter Israeli attacks or exact a price from Israel in world opinion for killing civilians. Towns and camps were turned into vast armories as crates of ammunition were stacked in underground shelters and antiaircraft guns were emplaced in schoolyards, among apartment houses, next to churches and hospitals. The remains could be seen after the fighting, and Palestinians and Lebanese can still point out the sites.

Whether from ignorance, obtuseness, or cravenness, Mallory and Reynolds failed to mention any of this while expressing continuing wonderment and outrage at Israel's bombing of what they confidently declared to be "civilian" targets.

Compton began in the established NBC style. On July 27 he reported a hit on an apartment house "at least a mile from any Palestinian military concentration." On July 29 he reported on a hospital hit by six artillery shells because Israel was "trying to get at an already-destroyed tank that sits nearby." On August 1, however, complications arose. As usual, it is alleged that Israeli "artillery (shells) fell in a seemingly random way in congested central neighborhoods," yet we are also told that "whole neighborhoods that held concentrations of Palestinian forces have now been reduced to rubble by the Israeli bombing." This must have come as something of a shock to viewers who had been assured, by Mallory and Reynolds, for week after week, in the wake of Israeli shelling of these very neighborhoods, that "there are no military targets here." Then, in yet another paradoxical turn, Compton remarks on "the assumption here . . . that the PLO forces will now pull back into neighborhoods that hold concentrations of Lebanese civilians, forcing the Israelis to come after them in door-to-door fighting. . . ." On August 5 he was back to the formulaic post-bombing refrain—"We could not find any Palestinian military targets"—but followed it with an apparently contradictory reference to the "tragic" situation in which PLO fighters have moved out of "camps" and into "civilian" neighborhoods, inviting Israelis "to come and get them."

Not all of the confusion here is innocent. At no point did NBC ever bother to inform its viewers of what this little word "camp" may mean in the Lebanese context. In the context of the phrase "refugee camp" it evokes the image of post-war DP camps and the miserable hovels in which the first wave of "displaced persons" the world over takes refuge. But very few PLO camps fit into that description. What NBC referred to as "PLO camps" should have been called "armed bases," which were additionally "protected" by maintaining the close presence of Palestinian Arab civilians and their families. They were also, as *The Times* of London reported on August 21, "military training camps": "members of the Italian Red Brigades and the West German Baader-Meinhof gang were trained at the so-called 'European base' at the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut. The camp is one of those subject to recent heavy Israeli bombardment." Many of the "refugee camps" were in reality whole urban neighborhoods, with high-rise apartment buildings, and not a tent or mud-hut in sight. It was as if Mallory, Reynolds, and Compton were to have called General Custer's Indian-fighting camps, or the Wild West's Fort Bravo, "trading posts." This became abundantly clear, even despite what might be called NBC's own censorship system, on August 11, when Compton reported Israeli raids on the refugee camps. A woman resident, sounding very much as if she'd been coached by Steve Mallory, steps forward to express the predictable denial: "there are no fighters here." But James Compton, to his credit, declares that this isn't the whole truth, for no sooner had she spoken than three PLO fighters emerged from hiding: "the truth is the Palestinian forces are mingled with civilians everywhere in this refugee camp," a truth it took NBC ten weeks to divulge.

The false testimony of this Palestinian Arab woman, testimony of precisely the kind so eagerly sought after, and so uncritically regurgitated by Mallory and Reynolds week after week, should make us pause to reflect on just how innocent are the "innocent" adult civilians injured in bombing raids on PLO concentrations. The PLO constitution, or "National Covenant," spells out, in 33 variations on a single theme, its members' commitment to the destruction of the state of Israel. No matter how diligently certain journalists seek to deceive themselves and others on this fundamental point, every Palestinian Arab is aware of it and no Palestinian Arab bothers to deny it except when whispering into the ears of journalists in cafes. Palestinian Arabs in Lebanon are not innocent of the PLO's merciless plans and procedures for the erasure of Israel from the map. How could they be, when they saw the wholesale deployment of PLO armaments in houses, and hospital grounds? The degree of culpability of a person who harbors a killer is not the same as that of the killer; but it is not the same as innocence either. Even in the "normal" circumstances of war, it has traditionally been assumed that the immunity of noncombatants must be qualified if military operations are to be made possible at all. Should the fact that the PLO went to such lengths to mingle itself with the civilian population have made it as immune to attack by Israel as it made it immune to attack by the reporters at NBC?

Chancellor, reflecting and then magnifying the reactions of NBC's Beirut reporters, consistently damned Israel's siege of Beirut as exacting "a terrible

human . . . cost" (June 7), "savage" (August 2), "horrifying" and "brutal" (August 5), and "inhuman" (August 6). Yet there is abundant evidence that Israel made greater, not lesser, efforts than most attacking armies to avoid injuring civilians, and increased its own casualties by doing so. Robert Tucker, professor of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University and a careful observer of modern warfare, has stated that "The places attacked were almost invariably known or long-suspected PLO military positions. Civilian casualties were incurred in the immediate vicinity of such objectives. Moreover, from all that is known, these casualties were of an incidence to be expected when an attacking force is taking even more than reasonable precautions to spare the civilian population from injury." He also noted that even the severest bombardments of the war, those of August 4 and 12, resulted in civilian casualties which, even if we accept the figures given out by PLO officials—not famous for their probity in such matters—"bear no real comparison in their magnitude with the indiscriminate bombings of cities in World War II" and "compare quite favorably with measures taken by American forces against civilian centers in the Korean and Vietnam wars." On August 12, NBC reported thousands of tons of bombs dropped on West Beirut. But the military historian U.S. Colonel Trevor N. Dupuy, Retired, stated that "on that day I spent about five hours observing this bombardment. During that time, it was apparent from my observation that no more than 150 bombs, probably 200 to 500 kilograms each, were dropped on Beirut. . . . To any veteran who has been under air or artillery attack in 'normal' combat situations, this was relatively modest harassment."

The truth of the matter, of course, is that for those who articulate NBC's foreign policy *any* damage wrought by Israeli air attack in Lebanon would have been deemed disproportionate in relation to the value of Israel's enterprise, for it is NBC doctrine that Israel (unlike Britain, for example) may not go to war unless its very existence is at stake. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote on June 22 about the war that "No sovereign state can tolerate indefinitely the buildup along its borders of a military force dedicated to its destruction, and proceeding by periodical shellings and raids." But on August 6 Chancellor said that although Israel might have had a "genuine" concern about PLO actions from Lebanon, it was in "no mortal danger" and therefore had no right to go to war. NBC also laid it down from the outset that, whatever Israel or the Lebanese people might claim to the contrary, the sending of Israeli military forces across the Lebanese border was an invasion by what Chancellor on August 2 called "an imperial Israel which is solving its problems in someone else's country." The notion that Israel entered Lebanon, as the allies entered France in World War II, to liberate the country from a brutal conquering regime received no countenance from NBC's policy-makers. When people in Christian neighborhoods of Beirut had the temerity to inform Steve Mallory (June 15 broadcast) that they were happy to see the Israelis arrive, he heaped scorn on those who "welcome the invaders as liberators." Clearly, it is the reporters and not the inhabitants of Lebanon—after all, they just happen to live there, and are not "Palestinians"—who are entrusted with the task of deciding whether the Israelis are invaders or liberators. No wonder that one journalist, shocked by the behavior of many of his colleagues in Lebanon, expressed the view that not the Jews but the journalists consider themselves the chosen people.

III: DELIBERATE FALSIFICATIONS

> If the reporter has poisoned our imagination by his version of the truth, he brings us back to reality by his lies.
>
> Karl Kraus

The propaganda battle against Israel during the Lebanon war began with the invention by the PLO of the figures of "600,000 homeless civilians" and 10,000 civilians killed in the portion of southern Lebanon taken by Israel. On June 10, Roger Mudd reported that "the Red Crescent, which is Lebanon's Red Cross, is quoted as estimating that more than 10,000 civilians have been killed or wounded since Friday." This statement did not merely transmit a wildly exaggerated figure, it contained a double falsification. The Red Crescent is *not* Lebanon's Red Cross but a branch of the PLO, something any conscientious reporter would have known and said; and—a fact that Roger Mudd chose not to share with his audience—the Palestinian Red Crescent organization is headed by Yasser Arafat's brother, Fathi Arafat. Although on June 16 John Chancellor announced that "The Red Cross said today that approximately 300,000 may have been made homeless," Jessica Savitch on June 19 proclaimed the favored PLO figure of 600,000 without going to the trouble of inventing a "source" for the figure: "It is now estimated that 600,000 refugees in south Lebanon are without sufficient food and medical supplies." The real Red Cross had on June 18 already refused to endorse the 600,000 figure, but this did not trouble the intrepid Jessica Savitch, any more than she was troubled by the fact that her colleague Bob Kur had on June 17 said that 70,000 had been left homeless by the war.

The figures that NBC disseminated so eagerly were of course ludicrous. 600,000 refugees amounted to more than the total population of southern Lebanon under Israeli control. If, as was alleged by the PLO and its publicity agents in the news media, 10,000 had been killed, primarily in Tyre and Sidon, it seemed odd that the Mayor of Tyre reported to *The New York Times* that only 62 persons had died there, while the Bishop of Tyre said only 50 civilians had been buried as a result of the war operations. The official figures released by the local authorities in Sidon indicate that about 100 were killed. In his story of July 15 in *The New York Times*, David Shipler (certainly no great friend of Israel) said that "it is clear to anyone who has traveled in southern Lebanon, as many journalists and relief workers now have, that the original figures of 10,000 dead and 600,000 homeless, reported by correspondents . . . during the first week of the war, were extreme exaggerations." When he was asked why NBC had knowingly disseminated these PLO-invented fabrications, Israel Bureau Chief Paul Miller replied petulantly that it is "not the job of the media not to report the figures" bandied about by various parties, so long as the sources of the figures are also given. We have already seen how scrupulous Roger Mudd and Jessica Savitch were in identifying their "sources." What Paul Miller did not even attempt to explain was how his reporters could have been so ignorant of the country they were covering as to blithely pass on a figure of 600,000 refugees for an

area whose total population, the vast majority of whom never left their homes, was less than 500,000; or so contemptuous of their audience that even after it became, as Shipler wrote, "clear to anyone who has traveled in southern Lebanon" that the original figures were lies, they never retracted the figures or corrected them. In fact, they gave PLO supporters every opportunity to recite these bogus figures (see, e.g., Steve Delaney's report of June 28 and Jack Reynolds' of July 2) without their accuracy being challenged.

The figure of 600,000, a patent absurdity on the face of it, was irresistibly attractive to journalists hostile to Israel for the same reason that it was invented by the Arabs in the first place: it began with a 6 and facilitated the licentious equation of 600,000 Palestinian Arabs with the 6 million Jews who had been murdered by Hitler. At least since 1967 the PLO has made it a consistent practice to ride on the coattails of the Jewish experience of discrimination, exile, oppression, and murder by stealing the Holocaust from the Jews, presenting themselves as the "Jews" of the Middle East and the Israelis as their Nazi oppressors. Although NBC went to nothing like the lengths of von Hoffman, Cockburn, Oliphant, and other inhabitants of the dirtier sections of Grub Street in alleging that Israelis were doing to Palestinian Arabs what Nazis had done to Jews and others, their reports and commentaries were certainly tainted by this practice. John Chancellor, musing autobiographically on the bombing of August 2, confessed that he "kept thinking yesterday of the bombing of Madrid during the Spanish Civil War." ("Was he there at the time?" asked Frank Gervasi. "The year of the bombing of Madrid by the Junkers 52s of Hitler's burgeoning *Luftwaffe* was 1936, when John was 12 or 13 years old.") James Compton artfully described the Israelis (July 30) as "prepared to force a final military solution." Steve Mallory was always ready at hand when Yasser Arafat had something to say about Beirut's being the Arabs' "Stalingrad", and Jack Reynolds—true to form—went a step further by endorsing the equation (June 29).

Reynolds had already demonstrated his high respect for historical accuracy on June 13 in a report on the rush to volunteer for action among Palestinian Arabs in Jordan, where they have, according to Reynolds, been living in camps "since Israel took over Palestine in 1948." What inflames these would-be fighters "is inevitable . . . anger at the Israelis who pushed them out of Palestine." Not even Reynolds' most tendentious colleagues, during three months of broadcasting the war, had the temerity to go quite this far; but Reynolds is NBC's most devout believer in Oscar Wilde's dictum that "the one duty we owe to history is to re-write it."

By 1948 four-fifths of the territory known as Palestine under the British Mandate was already under Arab control, in the country known as Jordan. The United Nations had voted to partition the remaining section—western Palestine—into two countries, one Jewish, one Arab. Israel recognized the Arab part as the Palestinian Arab state, but no Arab country did or ever has done so. Instead, the Arab countries declared war on the Jewish state and attempted to destroy it. The attempt was unsuccessful, but Jordan did succeed in occupying

eastern Jerusalem, which the United Nations had intended to be an "internationalized" city. And this was how Israel "took over Palestine in 1948." Reynolds' version of why many Arabs left Palestine in 1948 is exactly the PLO version, but no reputable historian would endorse it. Even the anti-Zionist historian Christopher Sykes wrote that "there is no evidence of a long-standing and agreed Jewish policy to evict the settled population; on the contrary in the first half of 1948 there is considerable evidence that the Jews tried to prevent the flight. . . . When the war was over, Arab journalists and broadcasters asserted on several occasions that the exodus was a planned Arab manoeuvre, the main object being to clear the land and thus give freedom of action to the invading armies." (*Cross Roads to Israel*) It is anticlimactic to note that, having uttered these boldfaced lies, Reynolds also failed to ask, as any normally curious reporter would have done, why these refugees of 1948 have for 35 years been kept in such wretched conditions by their brother Arabs. Even John Chancellor was willing to admit (August 9) that "when Arabs attacked Israelis they [refugees] ran away" and that their present plight was more the fault of the Arab countries than of Israel. To anyone who wonders why Jack Reynolds' every broadcast from Lebanon was a condemnation of Israel and an exoneration of the PLO, the broadcast of June 13 is a revelation, the key to an enigma: PLO "anger" at Israel is, according to Reynoldsian psychology, "inevitable"; if it is inevitable, then no moral blame can possibly be attached to the actions that it brings in its wake, however merciless and bloody they may be.

As this discrepancy between Chancellor and Reynolds suggests, the re-writing of history appears to be a free-lance affair at NBC; reporters are free to distort as they like, so long as what they like is not what Israel likes. Roger Mudd, for example, has taken it upon himself to refuse recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital city. NBC's staff is in general chary of locating events in Jerusalem which happen merely to have taken place there. Paul Miller and Martin Fletcher are usually "in Tel Aviv" even when the scenes they describe and the stories they narrate are recognized to be in Jerusalem by anyone who has ever been there (June 6, 7, July 25, 30, etc.). But at least they can justify this practice by claiming that they are transmitting their reports from a Tel Aviv office. With Roger Mudd, however, we are dealing either with spectacular ignorance or the attempt to distort facts to fit policy. On June 29, Bob Kur reported on a debate in Israel's Knesset, which meets in Jerusalem, and concluded with "Bob Kur, from the Israeli Knesset," specifying no location. Roger Mudd promptly helped out by locating it in Tel Aviv, saying "While Tel Aviv Debates, Beirut Waits." On July 19 he announced that the "focus of the Middle Eastern crisis shifted from Tel Aviv and Beirut to Washington today." The Lebanese seat of government is Beirut, the American seat of government is Washington, and the Israel seat of government is Jerusalem. Why then Tel Aviv? On August 5 Mudd introduced Jim Bittermann, reporting "from Israel's capital"; perhaps by this time somebody at NBC had told Mudd that it was unseemly to adjust geography so blatantly to fit bias, but that if he felt so strongly about the matter, he should rest content with blank ambiguity. (When Shakespeare's Macduff asked his countryman Ross, upon the latter's return to England, "Stands Scotland where it did)" was

he really worrying about his country's suffering or fearful that some eleventh century Roger Mudd had relocated Caledonia in Wales?) Although NBC did not go so far as explicitly to consign Jerusalem to the rule of those who are daily proclaiming their resolve to "liberate" the city, it did refer over and over again (see Savitch, 31 July, or Mudd, 23 June) to "Jordan's West Bank" and it is hardly a secret that the city of Jerusalem is included in the Arab definition of "West Bank." It was as if NBC had decided, on its own, to assign sovereignty over this disputed area to the country that invaded it in 1948, a sovereignty not even Arab nations have ever granted to Jordan.

Some observers believe that such falsifications result from ignorance. Thus Martin Peretz of *The New Republic* wrote in October 1981 that "NBC can't persuade its 250 affiliates to air one hour of network news instead of the present half-hour. Thirty minutes is preferable to sixty, since TV news comes to us from men and women who know little and understand even less. But if you haven't seen them improvise, you have not really seen ignorance in full flower." This seems to me an overly charitable interpretation. Those who believe that Roger Mudd, for example, blundered innocently into his falsifications and misrepresentations should pay particular attention to the broadcast of July 2, a typical example of NBC's double standard in conveying statistics to the unwary viewer. A Lebanese American doctor who gained international fame for her fiery flow of anti-Israel rhetoric in interviews by most television reporters in Beirut recites to Jack Reynolds the by now standardized PLO estimates of civilian deaths (those "extreme exaggerations" referred to in *The New York Times*) while the respectful reporter obediently nods his head in agreement. Mudd, entering the ring to deliver the second part of the regular NBC one-two punch against Israel, then announces:

> Prime Minister Begin claims the Israeli army has picked up 66 children aged 12 to 13 and armed with submachine guns who were recruited into the PLO. . . . Later, however, a spokesman for Begin said that he had made a mistake and read from the wrong paper, and that the correct number was either two or twenty-two child soldiers.

NBC, suddenly very conscientious in sifting the evidence for statistical claims, was doing its best to suggest that Begin was a liar or a fool. Nevertheless, in subsequent days it became irresistably clear that, as *The New York Times* reported on July 25: "An extensive P.L.O. conscription program drafted Palestinian boys as young as 12 and mobilized all male students for one to three months of duty a year, according to some Palestinians. During the invasion, Israeli soldiers said they found themselves in combat with 12-year and 13-year-olds shooting rocket-propelled grenades. More than 200 youngsters from 12 to 15 were captured and have been released. The P.L.O.'s draft apparently stirred resentment, for Rima Shabb told of checkpoints being set up to catch young Palestinians who were trying to run away. . . . Sister Alisse Araigi, headmistress of a Maronite school in Nabatiye, said, "Families came to us and asked for certificates that children were sick and couldn't be drafted." That Begin's state-

ment of July 2 was essentially true, and that he had erred on the side of caution rather than exaggeration was a fact rigorously concealed from NBC viewers. Showing up Menachem Begin clearly had a higher priority for NBC News than telling the truth about the PLO's short and ready way of exploiting Arab children.

As if this were not enough skulduggery for one evening, NBC also gave an account of "a growing feeling of anti-Americanism" in West Beirut because of injury caused by U.S.-made cluster bombs and shells, dutifully displayed for the cameras. But, as Joshua Muravchik pointed out in *Policy Review* (Winter 1983), NBC neglected to point out that the "story" was written from a PLO press conference at which the shells were displayed. "In contrast, one of the other networks ran the same footage with the simple announcement that it was a PLO press conference. There was a remarkable contrast between the abundant cooperation that NBC gave to this PLO public relations effort and the deep skepticism that it showed to Israel's slightly bungled public relations effort the same night." (Another aspect of the cluster bomb "story" not made public by NBC is that its chief non-Arab disseminator was Franklin Lamb, a certified fraud with a criminal record who had earlier invented out of whole cloth the horror story about the Israeli "vacuum bomb," a type of bomb that does not exist.)

NBC was often so eager to impute monstrous, destructive evil to Israel that it disregarded even the visual evidence it placed on the screen and so fell into ludicrous self-contradiction. On July 5 Reynolds reported Beirut "slowly reduced to rubble" and said that "almost all the civilians here have fled" except the few who had no place else to go. Yet on July 6, one day later, because he is eager to unify his report under the heading "amazing resiliency" of the people in West Beirut, Jack Reynolds shows Beirut returning "to its own sense of normalcy [sic]." By July 8 Reynolds had effected a miraculous transformation and resurrection of a city that three days earlier was little but "rubble". "Almost overnight," he exclaims, West Beirut has begun to change for the better and things look fine now. People are crowding into supermarkets. On July 9 Reynolds continued his rapid repopulation and rebuilding, but not without some uneasy suspicion that some viewers might wonder whether total evacuation and nearly total destruction can be fleeting temporary phenomenona. He therefore hastens to explain that "parts of West Beirut are still deserted and destroyed." (!) Reynolds' antics provide a shocking example not merely of how selective camerawork can be used to support virtually any assertion, but of how journalists can persuade themselves that destruction is an arbitrary invention of the camera, and that cities can be emptied and filled, destroyed and resurrected, by tendentious reporters more readily than by the mightiest historical forces or the most powerful machines.

NBC repeated the same cycle at the end of the month. On July 31 Jessica Savitch, with characteristic hyperbole, says "You've got to wonder what is left in West Beirut to be destroyed." If the photographs of Beirut that flashed across the screen two minutes later, showing a city essentially intact, did not raise several million eyebrows, then surely John Chancellor's commentary of August 2 must

have done so. For Chancellor speaks against a background showing a majestic city of brightly shining high-rise buildings stretching as far as the eye can see. Apparently, NBC's reporters, by a judicious turn of phrase and an opportunistic direction of the camera, can destroy and restore cities as will. Whether they can also restore our confidence in their honesty, having first destroyed it by such unscrupulousness of statement and sleight of hand methods, remains to be seen.

IV: THE TERMINOLOGY OF BIAS

And let us bathe our hands in . . . blood
Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords.
Then walk we forth, even to the market place,
And waving our red weapons o'er our heads,
Let's all cry "Peace, freedom, and liberty!"
Julius Caesar, III, i, 106-110.

More pervasive, more effective, and more insidious as an instrument of persuasion than outright attack upon an object of the journalist's dislike is the repeated use of biased and highly charged language. As the English novelist Arnold Bennett once wrote: "Journalists say a thing that they know isn't true, in the hope that if they keep on saying it long enough it *will* be true."

A listener attuned to the subtleties of language could recognize in the early days of June the tendentious drift of NBC reporting. Mudd began by referring (on June 4 and again on June 7) to Israeli action taken after the shooting of Ambassador Argov in London as "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," thereby implying not merely that Israeli action against terrorist bases was taken solely in response to the shooting, but that it was morally equivalent to it, and that the whole nasty business was an atavistic irruption into the modern, civilized world of unredeemed, "Old Testament" Jewish ferocity. References to PLO shelling of Nahariya on June 4 and 7 depicted it as a "settlement south of the Lebanese border." Nahariya is a town 50 years old; one might as well refer to Bellingham, Washington as a "settlement" because it is south of the Canadian border. The choice of this ludicrous label is not innocent error, for it has the effect of suggesting that Nahariya and other northern Israel towns that come under PLO fire share the questionable and disputed status of the "settlements" in Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank") of which Americans have heard so much (and none of it good) in recent years.

On June 6 Paul Miller referred to the approximately 40,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon as the "Syrian peacekeeping army in Lebanon," an expression Senator Daniel Moynihan called "an Orwellian triumph." On June 7 NBC referred to the "PLO coastal town of Sidon," but by June 26 it had become "Israeli-occupied Sidon." In fact, no sooner did Israeli troops take over an area than it was referred to as "Israeli occupied Lebanon" (thus Martin Fletcher in Tyre on June 19). At no point in its three months of covering the war did NBC find it necessary to inform its viewers that Syria, in addition to having had those 40,000 troops occupying half of Lebanon, including half of Beirut, for seven years, has never in its history had an ambassador in Beirut because it does not recognize Lebanon as a sovereign country but considers it part of Syria. Whereas Syria's troops, which had made very

substantial contributions, through savage shelling of Christian population centers, to the figure of 100,000 people killed in Lebanon between 1975 and 1982, are for NBC a "peacekeeping army," Israel's soldiers are part of a "war machine" (Mallory, June 15, Brokaw, June 16) representing "a warrior state" (Chancellor, June 16).

NBC developed certain fixed epithets which it applied throughout the war with a mechanical illogic and unsuitableness far exceeding anything that we find in Homer. Its reporters attached the label "moderate" to Saudi Arabia, for example, so regularly that many Americans watching NBC must have come to think it a geographical term. On June 13 John Hart said that despite King Khaled's death no change was to be expected in Saudi Arabia's "reliable" supply of oil and "stable" prices, and Marvin Kalb prognosticated that the "Saudis may now encourage moderation in Lebanon." On June 14 Paul Miller reported the Mubarak-Fahd meeting as one of "moderate Arab states", adding that Fahd is "known for his peace proposal to recognize Israel" (a disingenuous piece of puffery which disguises the fact that Fahd's proposal did not mention recognition of Israel at all). On June 27 Miller was finding more evidence in London of Saudi moderation and desire for "diplomatic solution" in Lebanon. On July 16 Chancellor expressed fear that Iran might turn its guns "on its moderate Arab neighbors." These endless hymns of praise sung by NBC to Saudi moderation may have gone far to make NBC's viewers forget that this is the same Saudi Arabia that consistently advocates "*jihad*" (holy war) against Israel; that massively supports the PLO; that holds the oil cartel together; that practices public beheadings; that rejected the Camp David accords, the Reagan peace plan, and the Lebanese-Israeli accord worked out by the United States in 1983. Nevertheless, it is an article of faith at NBC that King Fahd is always busily working behind the scenes for "moderation" and peace.

Jordan's King Hussein had his "moderation" credentials and label conferred upon him by NBC and most of the news media long ago, but it seems to have taken the Lebanese war for NBC to transform Yasser Arafat himself into a moderate. Although Jillian Becker, the English writer on terrorism whose study of the Baader-Meinhof gang (*Hitler's Children*) gained world reknown, has said that "to speak of international terrorism without mentioning the PLO would be like describing the circulation of the blood without mentioning the heart," nobody at NBC dared to use the word "terrorist" in connection with Arafat and the PLO. It was as if nobody at NBC had been looking when the PLO murdered Israel's Olympic athletes (1972) or invented the fine art of hijacking by blowing up all 47 passengers in a Swissair plane (1970), or slaughtered Christian pilgrims arriving at Tel Aviv airport from Puerto Rico (1972), or murdered the U.S. ambassador in Khartoum (1973), and the Egyptian diplomat in Ankara (1979), or attacked the kibbutz nursery of Misgav Am (1980). An organized ignorance or else a collective amnesia seemed to have taken hold of Reuven Frank's staff, so that none of the hundreds of outrages committed by Yasser Arafat's organization against innocent human beings of every nationality (including the Arab nationality) could be allowed to cast the slightest shadow over NBC's idyllic

picture of "guerrillas" fighting for their homeland and freedom and (this above all) "honor" in Lebanon.

On June 20 Steve Mallory reported that Arafat was "trying to work out a compromise peace settlement." On June 22 Chancellor worries solemnly over the danger that as a result of Begin's "success" in Washington Arafat "will lose out to the extremists." (This is said by Chancellor against the background of NBC's picture, already used on the previous day, of Arafat kissing a baby.) NBC's reporters not only insisted on the term "guerrilla" and refrained from using the term "terrorist" for Arafat and the PLO; they were forever suggesting the bias, if not downright bigotry, of those who did call them terrorists. Judy Woodruff reported from Washington on July 12 (on the basis of evidence yet to be uncovered) that the administration was threatening to deal directly with the PLO, "which *Israel* considers a terrorist organization." Tom Brokaw, interviewing Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir on August 6, refers to "the PLO, or the terrorists as *you* call them." In a later report, August 16, Brokaw allowed by implication that some members of the PLO might be less devoted to moderation than Arafat when he said that "even hardline factions of the PLO are willing to leave."

Whereas NBC classified Arab nations and the various factions of the PLO according to their greater or lesser moderation, Israelis were classified ornithologically, as hawks or (less frequently) doves. Typical was James Compton's (July 17) reference to Ariel Sharon as popular with the "hawky sector of Israeli society." For Roger Mudd even this epithet was not strong enough: on June 9 he averred that "Israel's decision to go after the Syrian missiles undoubtedly means that superhawks are now in the ascendancy in Tel Aviv" (to which city, we recall, Mudd had moved Israel's seat of government). Since nearly all Israeli factions in and out of government were in agreement on the necessity to destroy these missiles, we must conclude that Israel is a society made up of these predatory aggressors, an impression frequently reenforced by NBC's automatic references to "Israel's aggressiveness" (Brokaw, August 12).

The gentlemanly reticence about using the term "terrorist" when Yasser Arafat and the PLO came into view naturally disappeared altogether when NBC went after Israeli leaders. On July 19 Martin Fletcher reported on documents Israelis captured in Lebanese camps, several of which "Israel hopes" will show that the PLO was the center of internationally supported terrorism. But John Chancellor, determined that NBC's viewers will remember who is the *real* terrorist in the Middle East, introduces, in the midst of a commentary having nothing to do with the war at all, the following: "Menachem Begin, a terrorist in Palestine, went on to become Prime Minister of Israel." NBC's Israeli reporters showed remarkable diligence in transmitting those speeches by Communist members of the Israeli Knesset which referred to Begin and Sharon as "terrorists." This was no doubt one reason why Chancellor on August 13 recommended to the U.S. Congress that it emulate the forthrightness of the Knesset in speaking out against Israel's role in the war. (Christian leaders opposed to the PLO fared little better than Israel with Chancellor: Bashir Yemayel was identified in Chancellor's August 24 commentary as "this bloodthirsty young Christian.")

The connotative epithet most frequently applied to the PLO in the course of NBC's reporting of the war in Lebanon was "honorable." On June 25, Kemal Jumblatt, the leftist Druze leader who became one of NBC's favorite interviewees, claimed that Israeli bombing didn't allow time to talk or the chance for an honorable solution. Steve Mallory, acting as the dutiful puppet of Jumblatt's intention, then asserted that "without some honorable solution" the "Palestinians" would continue to fight. Two days later, June 27, Mallory bridled at the notion the PLO should leave Beirut without some quid pro quo, because "the Palestinians want to leave with some honor." (He claimed that "Israelis have rejected the compromise" agreed to by the PLO and the United States, an agreement that seems to have existed exclusively in Mallory's head, for no evidence of it could ever be discovered.) On July 11 Jack Reynolds (sounding very like a PLO spokesman) declared that "the PLO will resist unless an honorable withdrawal can be arranged." On July 13 Reynolds again pleaded that "what he [Arafat] wants most is an honorable withdrawal and a continuation of the struggle for a Palestinian homeland." In June and July, PLO "honor" was constantly invoked by NBC as an argument against the continuance of Israel's siege of Beirut. Such "honorable" men could hardly be expected to agree to negotiations for their withdrawal so long on the siege continued. (No attempt was made to explain why Israel should continue the siege if the PLO was ready to leave, or why, if the PLO had showed not the slightest sign of willingness to leave until the siege had commenced, it should be more willing to leave once the siege had been lifted.) In August, PLO "honor" was as sacred as ever; only now it was the bombing that prevented these honorable men from negotiating their withdrawal. It seems never to have occurred to anybody at NBC that a main reason why the quickly defeated PLO forces stayed in Beirut during the many weeks of Philip Habib's patient efforts was not their "honor" but the fact that the Arab states refused to take them in, and therefore they had nowhere to go. Both Lebanese and PLO officials have stated that the bombardments of August 4 and 12 had the effect of persuading the Arab states to change their mind and of dissuading Arafat and his followers from holding out for political victory in despite of military defeat. Nevertheless, on August 16, Brokaw asserted that now, having fought the Israelis for two months, "they can leave with honor: they believe the world is more sympathetic to their cause (as well they might, given the efforts made on their behalf by NBC and like-minded journalists).

V: THE MISSING BACKGROUND OF THE WAR: THE PLO IN LEBANON

I rather choose
To wrong the dead, to wrong myself and you,
Than I will wrong such honourable men.
Mark Antony (on the assassins of
Julius Caesar)
Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, III,ii,127-29

Who, then, were these honorable men and why was Israel going to such lengths to expel them from Lebanon? NBC had short and ready answers to these questions. Homeless "Palestinians" (in NBC lexicon, only Arabs, not Jews, can be Palestinian, an excellent linguistic means of implying that Palestine belongs exclusively to the Arabs), out of desperation, had organized themselves in Lebanon into fighting units that sought to regain a usurped "homeland." Their "chairman" Yasser Arafat is a beloved leader (see, e.g., Reynolds, July 16) who spends much of his time kissing children, and proclaiming that "We resist to protect the children, the next generation." NBC followed this vignette on its July 12 broadcast by freezing the picture of Arafat kissing a little boy, as if this were the image of him that it wished forever to keep before our mind's eye, although on July 12 he was kissing adults for NBC cameras.

NBC's frequent glimpses of PLO members showed them as devoted to their families, eager to avoid destruction, given to volunteering to clean up neighborhoods in their spare time, and having no desire to kill Jews. The weakness and essential "powerlessness" of Arafat's forces were constantly stressed in NBC battle reports. "Sophisticated Israeli warplanes" are always going "too high, too fast" (June 23, July 22, 23). One could never have guessed from this relentless stress on PLO powerlessness that its forces had in fact amassed gigantic quantities of weapons: rocket-launchers, anti-aircraft guns, tanks, thousands upon thousands of light arms plus ammunition supplied from nearly every arms merchant in the world, and enough from the Russians to equip an army of three to five divisions. NBC viewers rarely saw pictures of PLO weapons being fired from the midst of civilian life because pictures of anti-aircraft batteries and tanks within apartment houses or hospitals would have seriously damaged NBC's portrait of the Israeli attack as an onslaught against civilians.

Ironically, the only time in NBC's version of the Lebanon war that we saw an impressive display of fire-power by the PLO was during the last week of August, when they daily "celebrated" their withdrawal from Beirut. Even these fiery occasions, so lavishly covered by NBC, were deceptively presented. When "salutes" are given "with everything from small arms to tank fire" (Vic Aicken, August 22) one is curious about where the bullets

and shells land. NBC yielded to its curiosity so far as to note (August 23) that two people were killed by these salutes. NBC's stress had to be, however, on PLO "rejoicing" and on the universal devotion of Arafat's men to their leader, a stress that must have left many viewers puzzled when in 1983 violent mutiny against Arafat's leadership broke out.

Israel, on the other hand, was presented as an imperialist power "solving its problems in someone else's country." (Chancellor, August 2) Its prime minister Menachem Begin was usually pictured with a scowl on his face and a *Never* under his chin in a photograph placed alongside a smiling Arafat (see, e.g., July 27) forever searching for "peaceful settlement" (July 3) and tirelessly "signaling . . . willingness to leave Beirut" (July 30). Israel's leaders were nearly always "hardened," "defensive," and "militant" (Brokaw, August 11), its Minister of Defense "boisterous," "uncooperative," "intransigent," and also appearing with a *Never* under his photograph (Fred Francis, August 27). Israel's stony intransigence and unwillingness to compromise found expression in its reliance only on force. Rick Davis, to the sound of blasting guns, declared on July 31: "This is the tactic of persuasion—Israeli style." this already powerful imperial "war machine" was, moreover, supported by the mysteriously "powerful Israeli lobby" (Mudd, June 28) in the United States, where the Congress' reluctance to take a bold stand against Israel may well be due to "the influence of Jewish voters" (Chancellor, August 13). It is even possible, according to NBC, that "the power of the American Jewish community" has been responsible for a long-standing "pro-Israel bias" in news coverage. Since this particular sentiment has been expressed by none other than NBC News' own president Reuven Frank (interviewed August 8, 1982), it comes as no surprise that Roger Mudd should imply sympathy with those Arab-Americans who hope to persuade the news media to be more "fair" to them (June 28).

NBC's reporters often sounded as though they were under instructions to assume that Israel was guilty until proven innocent, and that all utterances by Israeli officials were to be treated with a caution and circumspection nowhere in evidence when Arabs were quoted. Brokaw (June 30) warns that Rick Davis will report from Sidon on how Israelis presented "what *they* called evidence" of an international terrorist ring" that the PLO operated. Judy Woodruff (July 12) has the U.S. administration threatening to deal directly with the PLO, "Which *Israel* considers a terrorist organization." Martin Fletcher (July 19) reports on "documents Israelis *say* they captured" in Lebanese camps. On August 1 the cautious Fletcher says that "Sharon produced aerial reconnaissance photos he *said* showed PLO tanks and heavy machine guns near Western embassies." In itself, such caution about accepting official pronouncements is admirable, but NBC's caution, like its morality, was very selective. NBC invariably took at face value condemnations of Israel by unnamed U.S. government "sources," that convenient formulation that provides license for every tendentious speculation of the journalist. More to the point, it invariably assumed the PLO to be

innocent until proven guilty—or rather, even after proven guilty, for when PLO casualty statistics, for example, were shown to be utter fabrications, NBC continued to allow pro-PLO Arabs to repeat them without challenge or correction. NBC invariably accepted PLO claims that Israel had broken the cease-fires, though even President Reagan blamed the PLO for this. On August 1, one of the extremely rare occasions during the entire war that NBC showed civilian casualties in *East* Beirut, Rich Davis said: "One report said Palestinian mortar hit two apartment buildings. . . . But some of the people here say it was a misplaced Israeli bomb."

In order to arrive at this conception of the adversaries in this war, still more to persuade their viewers to share the conception with them, NBC's news staff had to conceal from view both the immediate background of the war and much of the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. An American citizen who had been so unfortunate as to rely on NBC News for his information about Lebanon between 1975 and 1982 would have known little, if anything, of the PLO occupation of southern Lebanon, of the Syrian occupation of half of the country, and of the bloody civil war that had raged there for seven years. In June of 1982 NBC exposed this viewer to pictures of spectacular devastation and damage in Tyre, Sidon, Damur, and southern Beirut, but rarely bothered to tell him that a war had been going on in these places for seven years. Television cameras zoomed in on damage, but television reporters were not overly scrupulous about specifying when the damage had occurred. John Chancellor's first "history" of the conflict leading to the 1982 war (June 7) included not a single word on the seven years of PLO-Syrian occupation and civil war; viewers were simply told that "Israel is trying to buy a few years of peace at a *terrible* human and political cost." If you had just been watching pictures of devastation in Damur, filmed as Israeli tanks passed through, Chancellor's anger might seem justified. Similarly, if the news media had begun their coverage of World War II on the day of the allied invasion in June 1944, and not taken the trouble to recount what the Germans and the other axis powers had been up to since 1939, the landing in France and the ensuing carnage would have seemed monstrous acts. The truth of the matter was that Damur had been a Christian township whose population had been massacred and its survivors exiled by the PLO in the fighting of 1976-77.

The PLO, generally pictured by NBC as powerless, besieged, idealistic freedom fighters longing for a land and state of their own, had in actuality for six years "had something closely approaching an independent state" in southern Lebanon. These were the words of *New York Times* reporter David Shipler in a lengthy dispatch from Sidon on July 25. The PLO "had an army, a police force, a crude judicial system, . . . a civil service and a foreign policy. Those who lived within its rough boundaries said they were too terrified then to describe it to outsiders. Now, for the first time, they are describing what it was like, telling of theft, intimidation and violence." NBC viewers who took time away from their screens to read Shipler's report must have been stunned to discover that "the major tool of persuasion" of this organization whose yearning for peace NBC

regularly contrasted with Israel's aggressiveness "was the gun." NBC's idealistic "guerrilla" fighters looked very different to those who lived under their reign of terror. "Both Lebanese and Palestinians describe . . . outright theft as a common practice of the P.L.O. . . . They often took things from shops without paying, Miss Raad and others complained. Youssef Alifreh, a young Palestinian resident of the Burj al Shemali camp, near Tyre, confirmed it. 'Now we are happy because the armed P.L.O. left,' he declared. 'When somebody wanted to buy something, he would take it and not pay, and if someone would complain, he would shoot him.'" Although NBC's reporters were mightily impressed by Arafat's devotion to children, many Palestinian Arab refugees in camps took a dimmer view, and told Shipler: "Our children were working in the lemon groves, and then the P.L.O. forced them into service!" For the majority of Lebanese under the PLO rule, NBC's honorable men were, precisely, terrorists and thugs: "'Life was terrible,; said Khalil Hamdan, who owns a gas station in Harouf, a Shiite village near Nabatiye. 'They never used their brain. . . . They used their Kalashnikov. Even in the car, they used a machine gun to open the road for them.'"

This aspect of the Lebanese picture was not confined to *The New York Times*. David Ignatius, reporting from Damur for *The Wall Street Journal*, described how, on the night of January 17, 1976, "Palestinian guerrillas and their Lebanese Moslem allies attacked the northern part of the town . . . crying "Allah-u-akh-bar'—God is great—as they stormed into the houses of Christian civilians. The screams of the attackers and the victims could be heard a half-mile away. . . . About 300 of the people of Damur were killed." Martin Peretz, writing in *The New Republic* (August 2) related that "Lebanese of all persuasions and origins have expressed—I heard it myself dozens of times—gratification at their liberation from the PLO." John Laffin, writing for the *Catholic Herald*, described (September 10, 1982) how "White flags are beginning to show on many a house in southern Lebanon—but not the white flags of surrender. In this region the flags indicate that the family has an unmarried daughter—and naturally a virgin. The Lebanese found that the traditional signal was merely an invitation to rape by the PLO and the custom went into abeyance. Whatever the PLO were defending it was not the sanctity of the Lebanese home." Nevertheless, Roger Mudd on July 28 lamented that the "war has rekindled old hatreds" between Christians and Moslems. (If so, this was a classic case of carrying coals to Newcastle.)

It is scarcely necessary to remark that some awareness of the fact that, in the words of *The New York Times*, The P.L.O. established a de facto capital in west Beirut" or that "the camps became the P.L.O.'s political and military centers, where they shared control with the Syrian Army," would have given NBC's innocent viewers a very different impression of Israel's bombing of west Beirut and of the "camps" than the impression they very likely received from NBC's presentation. There were exceptions to the rule among NBC reporters. On June 13, June 17, and June 21 Bob Kur transmitted reports from southern Lebanon that included interviews with Arabs thankful to Israel for liberating them from the PLO's reign of terror, and he also once mentioned (June 21) that the

PLO habitually positioned their guns near schools and hospitals. But for every such report by Kur there were two dozen by Mallory, Reynolds, and Compton that reiterated the PLO version of past history and present events, which also was the version accepted and propagated by Chancellor, Mudd, and Brokaw on the home front. (On occasion one could sense the conflict between sense impressions—the witness of one's eyes and ears—and idelogy, as when Martin Fletcher, on July 28, reported from Damur how returning Christians were trying to restore homes and lives ravaged by the PLO and then—in a jarring *non-sequitur*—asked "How hard will it be for Christians to shake off Israeli patronage, and for Christians and Moslems to learn to live in peace again?")

If NBC viewers got little of the immediate Lebanese background of the war, they got nothing at all (apart from Jack Reynolds' grotesque travesties) of the larger background of the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948. They were never told that the neighboring Arab states, with the exception of Egypt since it signed the peace treaty in 1979, have been formally at war with Israel since 1948. In that year the state of Israel was established, the Arab states declared war against it, and sent five armies across its borders. This act of aggression, recognized as such by many Security Council resolutions adopted between 1948 and 1951, continues down to the present day, so that the Lebanon War is but the latest in a series of six major battles (1948, 1956, 1967, 1969-70, 1973, 1982) of a prolonged war. Israel, confronted with a permanent state of war for 35 years, in 1982 decided that if the Arabs wanted a state of perpetual war, they could no longer expect Israel to wait for a time of attack convenient to the Arab rulers and commanders.

The PLO too has a history. In 1964 the Arab League created it in order to carry out terrorist attacks against Israel (Israel, of course, in its pre-1967 borders). Although rent by factionalism—Syria, Iraq, Algeria, and Libya financed their own factions within the PLO—and at the service of Saudi, Soviet, and Syrian foreign policies, it was united by a "covenant." The PLO National Covenant stipulates in article 6 that no Jew who arrived in Palestine after the "Zionist invasion" (dated by Arafat from 1882) has the right to live there. Article 19 declares that "the partitioning of Palestine and the establishment of Israel are entirely illegal." Article 20 denies any "historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine" as "incompatible with the facts of history." Arafat declared in January 1980 that "Peace for us means the destruction of Israel." In May of the same year his Al-fatah organization announced, in Damascus, that its purpose remained "the complete liberation of Palestine, the liquidation of the Zionist entity, politically, militarily, culturally, and ideologically." Although the cold-blooded murder of infants and children figured very prominently in the record of PLO exploits—the Avivim school-bus ambush in 1970, the abbatoir at the Maalot school in 1974, the machine-gunning of the babies at Kiryat Shemona in the same year, the smashing of the head of 3-year old Galit Haran of Nahariya against a rock in 1979—NBC did not shrink from presenting Arafat as specially attached to children.

NBC's presentation of the PLO as a valiant band of "guerrillas" seeking to regain their "homeland" resulted either from organized ignorance or the will to deceive. Is it conceivable that nobody at NBC recognizes the distinction

between "guerrilla" actions, which inflict injury upon an enemy by whatever means possible and result in innocent casualties, and PLO terrorist actions, which do not even recognize the concept of innocence among the Israeli population but assume that every man, woman, child, or infant, regardless of occupation, place of residence, or personal history, who happens to be in any street, bus, marketplace, or building where a PLO bomb goes off or PLO members attack, is deserving of death? Is it conceivable that nobody at NBC wondered why, during the nineteen years when Jordan controlled what Jessica Savitch and Roger Mudd call "Jordan's West Bank," there was not only no call for an independent "Palestinian" state in that area but no peace in the Middle East? Is it conceivable that nobody at NBC wondered how an apparently rational man like John Chancellor could present the Lilliputian state of Israel as a predatory Brobdingnagian warrior extending its imperial reach over an Arab world composed of twenty states sprawled over 14 million square kilometers and controlling resources beyond the dreams of Croesus?

During its three months of broadcasting the war in Lebanon, the closest NBC came to an acknowledgement that it might have blotted out the background essential to an understanding of the conflict came on August 6. Tom Brokaw, now in Israel, mentioned, in a bemused fashion, that some Israelis had asked him, "Where were you when the PLO was killing thousands of Lebanese over the past seven years?" But since NBC's willingness to admit error is non-existent and its belief in its infallibility unshakeable—"the press" says Reuven Frank, "ought to be arrogant"—no program of self-correction was ever undertaken.

Predictably, NBC lingered uncritically, admiringly, even affectionately over the PLO's riotous departure from Beirut and the arrival of its various factions at their several destinations. The evacuation was the ultimate "media event" of the war, for it is not difficult to imagine how different it would have looked if the cameras had not been there. Vic Aicken was specially touched by the "pride as well as sorrow" of George Habash's men, and offered mournful threnodies over the wounded, and rhapsodic accounts of tearful farewells, and of Arafat on yet more kissing sprees. (His tone turned acerbic, however, when he noted that U.S. Marines "got lost" because their maps included places that had been wiped out by Israeli aerial bombardment.) Tom Brokaw did say that although "Arafat left Beirut today like an Arab head of state at the height of his glory," "in fact he was being driven out of Beirut by a massive defeat." Yet none of NBC's resident sages could bring himself to name the real truth that was concealed by this masquerade, as Bill Moyers did on CBS (August 23):

> Watching scenes of the Beirut evacuation this weekend, I was struck by how it is possible for the cameras to magnify a lie. The Palestinian troops left town as if they'd just won a great victory. Arafat, they praised as a conquering hero. In fact, they are leaving town in defeat. And in fact, Arafat led them to this cul-de-sac where they made their last stand behind the skirts of women and among the playgrounds of children. . . . It could have been otherwise if Arafat

and his allies accepted the reality of Israel, if they had not established with Lebanon a terrorist state sworn to Israel's destruction, and if Arab governments had not found it useful to nurture the PLO in the bloody illusion that Israel can one day be pushed into the sea.

VI: SELECTIVE AND TENDENTIOUS INTERVIEWING

> Jack Reynolds, NBC: "Is the American attitude toward the PLO changing?" Yasser Arafat: "We hope so. I began to touch it through the mass media . . . I began to touch it." (July 16, 1982)

On July 30 NBC's Roger O'Neill offered a special report on what was alleged to be a "spirited and bitter debate" within the American Jewish community over the war in Lebanon. Yet it soon became apparent that this was a debate in which, so far as NBC was concerned, only one side was permitted to speak. By way of showing its readers the substance of this debate, NBC offered its viewers two people at a synagogue commenting, from identical positions, on "Israel's wrong path to peace"; this was followed by glimpses of the anti-Israel protests of "New Jewish Agenda," an extreme left, pro-PLO fringe group; after which O'Neill commented that "to make sure voices of dissent don't get too loud Israeli military commanders are now speaking to American Jews about the war." Apparently these military commanders despatched to stifle dissent have not done a very good job, since Roger O'Neill *appears* to have been unable to locate a single jewish voice to speak *for* Israel. He concluded this survey of the "bitter debate" with the observation that the "war has split the American Jewish community like no issue before" and quoted an unidentified rabbi who (bravely defying those Israeli military commanders sent to silence him) told the interviewer that "If we forget about Palestinian humanity, we may soon lose our own." If there exists anywhere in America an articulate Jewish voice that supports Israel's action in Lebanon, NBC has taken special care that nobody shall hear it.

On the next evening, Rick Davis interviewed three officers of a relief organization called World Relief about the Israeli blockade against supplies going into West Beirut. They expressed anger against Israel because, they insisted, their food went only to civilians. Also, by happy coincidence, these dispensers of charity (and strong opinion) had met with an Israeli officer who, just like the American rabbi interviewed by Roger O'Neill the night before, alleged that Israelis were losing their own humanity because of their inhuman treatment of the Palestinian Arabs. "The three men said they asked an Israeli officer where his humanity was, and he said 'I left it behind when I came to Lebanon.' . . ."

Two nights later, Roger Mudd interviewed Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir in Washington. He asked Shamir whether President Reagan would pull Habib out of his negotiating role "if you don't lower the level of violence," an expression Mudd was so taken with that he repeated it a few seconds later: "also, if you don't lower the level of violence, won't President Reagan force you to negotiate with the PLO?" Mudd also took it upon himself to suggest—as if he himself had already replaced Habib as the chief negotiator—that Israel pull back five or ten miles as a "sign of good faith." As if this were not enough to indicate NBC's powerful disapproval of Israeli policies, Mudd followed the interview by saying

"Shamir would not acknowledge that Israel is having a credibility problem in the United States, but he also said that if there *was* one, it was not justified, because, he said, Israel tells only the truth." Mudd's arrogance, hostility, and rudeness towards Shamir must have come as a surprise to viewers who remembered his manner in the previous interview he had done (July 20), with the Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, a manner that can most charitably be described as one of oily sycophancy. On that occasion Mudd not only kept putting into the prince's mouth the idea that "the Middle East crisis can't be solved unless Palestine is recognized" (whatever this means) and that Syria dare not take in the PLO for fear this will give Israel an "excuse" to attack Syria; he also interjected engaging laughter by way of tacit approval whenever the prince referred to Israel's malignant designs upon the region.

These three interviews, coming within a period of four days, were only too representative of the way in which NBC sought to buttress its hostile view of Israel's actions in Lebanon by an artful selection of hostile witnesses and a double standard of behavior in cross-examining them. One could watch NBC for weeks on end without hearing a single pro-Israel voice, while Arafat and such fervid supporters of Arafat as Saeb Salam and perfervid Israel-haters as Walid Jumblatt performed day after day. It was not merely that they were interviewed and interviewed frequently (more than seven times as often as anti-PLO Lebanese) but always in a manner respectful, admiring, even affectionate: no hard questions, no abrasive challenges, no snide remarks, all of which were standard in interviews with Israeli officials. To watch an NBC reporter interviewing an Arab official was to be reminded of Swift's adage that crawling and climbing are done from the same posture. A particular egregious example of oleaginous fawning on PLO spokesmen was James Compton's interview with Arafat on July 21. In response to Arafat's indicating that in addition to already-existing UN resolutions on Palestine he would like "a new one," Compton helpfully proposes a Madison Avenue formulation: "If America will say yes, Palestinians have legitimate rights, is that everything you need?" and is mightily pleased by Arafat's sweet reasonableness in replying, "Oh, yes." On none of the many occasions when Arafat was interviewed by NBC did any of the network's reporters dare to ask him what his own responsibility might be for the civilian dead of Beirut and other places. As a *Wall Street Journal* writer remarked on the very next day, July 22: "The American media still has the sense not to glorify a gunman who uses hostages to shield himself from the police, but everyday they are making Yasser Arafat out to be a plucky little hero, even as he hides behind the innocent civilians of West Beirut." And who can know by how much Arafat prolonged this hiding (and multiplied the attendant casualties) because of the favorable publicity NBC's reporters and their colleagues were giving him? If by July *16*, as he told Jack Reynolds, he had begun "to touch" American hearts "through the media", was it not plausible for him to believe that he might eventually capture those hearts entirely?

Everywhere a double standard was in evidence in the selection and treatment of interviews. On July 14 Bob Kur reported on Israeli soldiers refusing to

serve again in Lebanon, and interviewed an Israeli soldier who urged his countrymen to "talk" with Palestinian Arabs instead of fighting them, after which Yitshak Rabin, also interviewed, criticized Israel's "political" goals in Lebanon as illegitimate. On July 17 James Compton mentioned that a rally reported to be twice the size of the anti-war rally so lavishly covered by NBC on July 3 had taken place in Tel Aviv, but in this case none of the people involved was interviewed. While Jumblatt and Salam appeared so regularly to castigate Israel that it was easy to believe they had been salaried as NBC field reporters, Bashir Jemayel, the Lebanese Christian leader soon to be elected president of the country, was interviewed only twice, and since, as noted above, John Chancellor had tagged him with the label of "bloodthirsty young Christian" it didn't much matter what he said. PLO representatives were interviewed fourteen times in July and August, but Major Sa'ad Haddad, whose forces now controlled southern Lebanon, was not considered worthy of NBC microphones and cameras. When he was referred to, it was invariably as leader of a right-wing "Christian army" (Fletcher, July 28), although 60% of his militia is Shia Muslim.

In July several U.S., congressmen visited Lebanon. One was Representative Charles Wilson, a Texas Democrat who had voted for the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia and intended to vote for the Jordanian arms sale, and nevertheless brought back from Lebanon impressions of "the universal enthusiasm with which the Lebanese welcomed the Israeli army. . . . I mean it's almost like a liberating army . . . It was astonishing. I expected this, somewhat, from the Christian population. But I didn't expect it from the Muslim population. . . . And in talking to a group of people, some of whom had lost their homes, some of whom had lost relatives, they said it was awful. But they said that all in all, to "be free of the PLO was worth it." This was a remarkable and newsworthy eyewitness American reaction to the Lebanese war, but it did not appear so to NBC, which never reported it to its viewers. But when five U.S. congressmen, led by the anti-Israel crusader "Pete" McCloskey, called a press conference to announce (falsely, as it turned out) that Arafat was ready to accept Israel's right to exist, the story (or non-story) dominated NBC's Middle East news for three consecutive nights and brought a Tom Brokaw interview of McCloskey on July 26. Congressman McCloskey's announcement that "Arafat accepts all UN resolutions relevant to the Palestinian question" was a transparent farce that has been performed a hundred times in the past decade. Arafat did not, of course specifically recognize UN resolutions 242 and 338, which do not refer to the Palestinians or the Palestinian question at all; he said nothing about Israel's right to exist; he spoke in full awareness that the totality of UN resolutions dealing with "Palestine" is a contradictory hodgepodge that includes condemnations of Zionism as the greatest evil ever visited upon this planet. Nevertheless, Tom Brokaw, exhibiting NBC's characteristic amenability to PLO balderdash, not only failed to ask McCloskey any hard, sceptical questions, but noted irritably that "debate" over the meaning of Arafat's statement "didn't keep Israel from pounding West Beirut for the fifth straight day." How unreasonable of the Israeli air force not to be as impressed as, say, Roger Mudd by the familiar PLO masquerade! At no point did NBC provide identification of McCloskey as an anti-

Israel activist who has long worked to cut off U.S. aid to Israel and been a regular performer on the PLO lecture circuit.

During its three months of reporting the war, NBC never succeeded in discovering a single interviewable American who supported Israel or opposed the PLO. It never interviewed any Lebanese Americans who opposed the PLO, and indeed went out of its way to give the demonstrably false impression that Lebanese Americans supported the PLO against Israel. (The most casual reader of American newspapers would likely have known that the American Lebanese League publicly castigated the PLO for holding much of Lebanon and West Beirut hostage and asked them who gave "the PLO authority to insist that Lebanese civilians die with them?") Also, by a remarkable coincidence, every one of the ten Americans (not counting government officials) NBC interviewed condemned Israel and supported the PLO. Although over 200 U.S. generals and admirals signed their names to newspaper advertisements stressing the "extraordinary significance" of the defeat of the most advanced Soviet arms by "Israel-modified American weapons and tactics," NBC, despite the fact that it consistently took the view that Israeli action had damaged U.S. policy and interests in the Middle East, felt no obligation to interview a single one of them. Had it done so, of course, its constant reiteration that Israel had destroyed U.S. policy and weakened U.S. influence in the Middle East (thus Chancellor starting on June 7, 1982 and continuing without let up through July 14, 1983, when he still insisted that in Lebanon the "only winners are the Soviets") would have had a hollow ring. For the truth of the matter, as the generals and others pointed out, was that Israel's action had given the U.S. the foothold it had sought in Lebanon for a decade, shattered the Soviet reputation as the world's leading arms supplier, and demonstrated that Soviet clients (Syria and the PLO) can be defeated by an American ally. For the first time since 1975 the opportunity existed as a result of Israeli action, for Lebanon to be reconstituted as a quasi democratic nation allied to the West. Are we nevertheless to assume, along with John Chancellor, that this was an occasion for rejoicing in Moscow? Apparently the American government and American people do not think so. Throughout the war, NBC's Chancellor, Mudd, Brokaw, and Francis relentlessly insisted that Israel's action had permanently alientated the American government and the American people. Yet public opinion polls taken during the war showed substantial numbers of Americans supporting Israel and condoning Israel's actions in Lebanon. Moreover, in the late summer of 1983, as I write, public opinion polls show a higher rate of approval of Israel than existed before June 1982. Was NBC's failure to find and interview *any* of the people who make up this "public opinion" perhaps a result of wishful thinking about the possibility of driving a wedge between Israel and America?

CONCLUSION

It is not easy, nor is it the aim of this pamphlet, to say what is the underlying cause of the deplorable lack of self-critical professionalism in NBC's reporting of the war in Lebanon. We know that just before the Six-Day War of 1967,

when the Straits of Tiran were closed and Arab armies were advancing toward her borders and Nasser and Shukairy were promising to turn the Mediterranean red with Jewish blood, Israel was the recipient of a good deal of sympathy, including journalistic sympathy. But after the war, Israel discovered that the price she would have to pay for winning a war that, if lost, would have meant her destruction, was the universal loss of the sympathy Jews had been collecting since 1945, when discovery of the Holocaust became general. All those statesmen and journalists whose eloquence had for twenty-two years gushed forth on the subject of the dead Jews and of their vanished civilization now fulminated with rage and resentment against a people and a state that preferred life to death and even to the rhapsodic eulogies that might be bestowed on dead Jewish martyrs and the glory that was Israel. Since 1967 this rage and resentment have taken a variety of forms, some of which may have found expression in the reporting of the war in Lebanon. Jay Bushinsky, Cable News Network's man in Jerusalem, described the foreign press as "enraged", bitter and resentful" towards Israel; and David Bazay (CBC) referred to a "get Israel" attitude among his colleagues. Another possible explanation, one of more immediate relevance to citizens of a democracy like America, is that precisely because Israel, unlike any of its neighbors, is an open, democratic society with a free press, it is peculiarly vulnerable to the depredations of a press which has perverted liberty into license. With 1984 only a few months away, it is pertinent to recall that the totalitarian Oceania depicted in Orwell's *1984* rests mainly on the assumption that, given modern technology and a contempt for moral tradition, anything is possible, anything can be done with the human mind, with history, above all with language. Orwell understood that a free press is indeed a guarantor of democratic freedoms, but that a press which plays fast and loose with facts, which attempts to destroy memory, which uses language to render spite and incite hatred, which sacrifices traditional standards of fairness and objectivity to sectarian passion, may well be undermining precisely those principles of freedom, democracy, and tolerance which justify its existence.

AMERICANS FOR A SAFE ISRAEL

147 East 76th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
(212) 988-2121

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Americans for a Safe Israel is an organization devoted to fostering consciousness of the significance of Israel's security for the safety of the Western World.

Additional copies are available at $4.95 each from Americans for a Safe Israel.

משרד החוץ

בברכה

מאת

משרד החוץ

ITED
TIONS

21/373 2/3

A S

General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL
A/39/406
S/16702
16 August 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC/ENGLISH

ENERAL ASSEMBLY
hirty-ninth session
tem 24 of the provisional agenda*.
RMED ISRAELI AGGRESSION AGAINST THE IRAQI
NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS AND ITS GRAVE
CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ESTABLISHED
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM CONCERNING
THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY,
THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-ninth year

Letter dated 15 August 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

With reference to the letter of 12 July 1984 addressed to you by the Permanent epresentative of Israel (document A/39/349 of 16 July 1984) in answer to your note f 15 March 1984, and on the instructions of my Government, I have the honour to ring to your attention the following.

The statements quoted by the Representative of Israel in the letter he ddressed to you make absolutely no mention of General Assembly resolution 38/9 of 0 November 1983, which demands that Israel withdraw forthwith its threat to attack nd destroy nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries. You will also note hat these statements were not issued by the parties who originally made those hreats, and that they are confined to generalities, whereas the Israeli threats ere directed specifically against Iraq.

The thesis of the Director-General of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission eported by the Representative of Israel, to the effect that Israel has no policy f attacking nuclear facilities and certainly has no intention of attacking nuclear acilities dedicated to peaceful purposes anywhere, is a piece of special pleading hich cannot deceive the international community, in that Israel has in fact

* A/39/150.

21/373 3/3

attacked Iraqi nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes and subject to International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, and the United Nations has condemned this attack.

Moreover, the statements referred to by the Representative of Israel make no mention whatsoever of the international safeguards system, leaving it to the good will of Israel, whose aggressive designs are well-known, to decide which facilities are peaceful. In this respect, I must bring to your attention the statement made by the Israeli Minister of Scientific Research in August 1983 and published in the United States magazine Nucleonics Week (No. 35 of 25 August 1983):

> "As long as there is no agreement turning the Middle East into a nuclear-free zone Israel is compelled to disrupt any Arab project when it becomes clear beyond doubt that the intention is to produce nuclear weapons. Israel has succeeded in disrupting several such programmes during the past 20 years and we believe it is possible to prevent the entry of nuclear arms into the Middle East in the future."

It will be apparent to you from these statements that Israel persists in its intention of attacking nuclear reactors on the basis solely of its own decision as to the nature of these reactors, without regard for the International Atomic Energy Agency, the safeguards system, international law or the relevant agreements on the subject. Needless to say, it is the duty of the United Nations to spare no effort to prevent the aggressive Zionist régime from implementing this policy, which constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the present letter distributed as a document of the General Assembly, under item 24 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Riyadh M. S. AL-QAYSI
Permanent Representative

משרד המדע והפתוח

לשכת השר

THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

6' אוגוסט 1984

ח' אב תשמ"ד

ב/ 990/ 2677

לכב'

המח' הקונסולרית - גב' שרס

משרד החוץ

השר פרופ' י. נאמן ורעייתו גב' ד. נאמן אמורים לצאת לחו"ל בחודש ספטמבר ש.ז.

אודה לך באם תסדירי אשרת כניסה לתאריכים ולמקומות דלהלן:

2.9 עד ה- 8.9 - אוסטרליה מלבורן.

18.9 עד סוף החודש-ארה"ב.

מצ"ב שני הדרכונים של השר ורעייתו.

כ"כ אודה לך על הארכת תוקף הדרכון של רעיית השר. גב' נאמן תשהה בחו"ל גם בחודש אוקטובר ש.ז.

לטפולך המסור אודה.

בברכה,

בקי שמעוני

ראש הלשכה

ירושלים, משרדי הממשלה, הקריה המזרחית טל. 02-277046/7

[illegible] מאיר בקראבידוב שכיהן עד כה כמנהל יחיד הכנסת.

היועצת להסברה בשגרירות בצרפת הועברה מתפקידה

מאת רפאל כהן

על פי דרישתו של שגריר ישראל בפריס, מובריה פיסר, הועברה השבוע מהתפקידה קולס אביטל, שפרהה כמרייעץ לענייני הסברה בי שגרירות ישראל בצרפת.

גב' אביטל עמדה לסיים את כהונתה בעוד חודש ים אחדים. אולם בביקורו בארץ לפני שבועות אחדים תבע השגריר מאיר מפגביל מפרד החוץ, דוד קמחי, להעבירה מהתפקידה ללא דיחוי.

בתקום קולס אביטל מונה להתפקד יוסי שמיהוד, הכהן עתה כדובר מפרד החוץ. מר

הוגלה מדרגתם שרדרד רחמנ.

מאת עמוס פליישר

מצב משונה נוצר אתמול בשוק „הצוללנים" בדיזנגוף. מחיר של חדוקר „השחורים" ירד והוא נמכר מן המחיר האפקטיבי אותו משלמים ישראלים הנוסעים דרומה בבנקים.

אתמול, יום ראשון, לא היה מסחר בבנקים בארץ. שער המכירה של חדולר נשאר איפוא זהה לזה שאפשר היה ביום שני, כלומר 36.69 שקל. אם לוקחים בחשבון את הטל „שלום הגליל" (בסך אחוז אחד), את מס שוק המוסדי של רכישת מטרח (15 אחוזים) ואת עמלת הבנקים

מוצרי היסו

בשיעור על

ההתייקרויות מהוות שינוי במ

מאת שרגא מקל

המבוטן צפויה התייקרות של מוצרי יסוד ודי

משרד המדע והפתוח

לשכת השר

THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

ג' אב תשמ"ד

1 אוגוסט 1984

ב/ 990/ 2685

לכב'

דר' מ. יגר

סגן המנהל הכללי

משרד החוץ

לכב'

מר זאב סרפוק

מנהל אירופה 1

משרד החוץ

א.נ.,

השר פרופ' י. נאמן בקשני להעביר המכתב הלוטה ששלח לגב' קולט אביטל מתאריך 29.7.84. המכתב מדבר בעד עצמו.

לידיעתכם ולכל שימוש שתמצאו לנכון.

בברכה,

בקי שמעוני

ראש הלשכה

ירושלים, משרדי הממשלה, הקריה המזרחית טל. 02-277000

שר המדע והפתוח
MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

כט'	תמוז	תשמ"ד
29	יולי	1984

(1)

ר/ 1331/ 2681

אל: גב' קולט אביטל, שגרירות ישראל, פריז

לקולט שלום רב,

המולת הבחירות שככה והמתח ירד. העם בישראל לא בחר בדרך המובילה לאבדן יהודה שומרון ועזה - ואני פלטתי אנחת רווחה.
בנתונים אלה חזרתי לעיין בדאר ובחמר שחכה לי מזה 2-3 חדשים, ושתויק בינתיים כ"לא דחוף".
קראתי את מאמרי בכתב העת "מדיניות בינלאומית" וברצוני להביע את תודתי והערכתי הרבה. אכן הצלחנו כאן להציג את התיזה הלאומית הישראלית כפי שממשלת ישראל רואה את הדברים, בלבוש נאה ובמקום נגיש מאוד.
אני מברך על טפולך המסור והיעיל מאד בהחדרת החומר לכתב העת החשוב, על טיוטת התרגום שספק ידידנו ישראל ושאפשרה לי הכנסת כמה נקודות "ארופיות" ועל התוצאה הנאה. מסרי גם תודתי למתרגם ולאיש המערכת שסייעו לכו.

בידידות,

יובל נאמן

ירושלים, משרדי הממשלה, הקריה המזרחית טל. ד/ 277098 - 02

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

ירושלים, י"ז בסיון תשמ"ד
17 ביוני 1984

אל: כל הנציגויות - הממונים על ההסברה
מחלקות המשרד

מאת: ראש אגף ההסברה

הכרת ערבים בזכות העם היהודי על ארץ ישראל

בהמשך לחרזר אשר נעים, מנהל הסברה: "ירדן היא פלסטין"
מ-8 במארס 1984

במאמציה להשיג את ארץ-ישראל פעלה התנועה הציונית מכח חזון שיבת ציון, זכויותיו ההסטוריות של עם ישראל ומצוקתו הקשה בגולה. למרות הזכויות הטבעיות והמובנות מאליהן של העם היהודי על ארצו שאפה המנהיגות הציונית להגיע להבנה ולהסכם עם הערבים. על המאמצים האלה קיימים פרוטוקולים של פגישות, תזכירים של שיחות, טיוטות של הסכמים, ספרי זכרונות, מסמכים רבים הסטוריות רבות העוסקים במגעים ובמו"מ שהתקיימו בין מנהיגים ציונים למנהיגים ערבים מאז מלחמת העולם הראשונה ואילך.

מכל שפע החומר הזה בחרנו לצרף לכאן מסמכים אחדים בלבד. המענין במסמכים אלה הוא העובדה שהם מבליטים קיומה של הסכמה עקרונית מצד אישים ערבים והכרתם בזכות העם היהודי על ארץ-ישראל. הסיבות שהביאו להשתלטות הכוחות הקיצוניים בקרב הערבים והסתלקותם מהכרה זו, הן ענין להסטוריונים.

המסמכים:

1. הסכם האמיר פייצל וחיים וייצמן שנחתם בלונדון ב-3 בינואר 1919.
2. מכתב מ-1 במארס 1919 מן האמיר פייצל לפליכס פרנקפורטר, שהיה יועץ משפטי לנשיא ארצות הברית וודרו וילסון וממנהיגי התנועה הציונית בארצות הברית. מכתב זה נכתב בכתב ידו של קולונל ת.א. לורנס ונחתם על ידי פייצל.
3. מכתב מ-31 באוקטובר 1919, מהאמיר פייצל לשמריהו לוין, חבר ההנהלה הציונית בלונדון.
4. הסכם שנחתם בירושלים ב-26 במארס 1920, (בצרפתית, עברית וערבית) בין יהושע חנקין, בא כח ההסתדרות הציונית לבין באי כח "הסיעה הלאומית" בסוריה ובלבנון. (הנוסח העברי כתוב בכתב ידו של משה שרת ז"ל. התרגום לאנגלית הועתק מן הספר: FUTILE DIPLOMACY, Vol. 1. By NEIL CAPLAN. FRANK CASS, London,1983,PP.162-163).

5. הסכם בצרפתית שנחתם ב-30 במאי 1946 בין המונסיניור אנטואן פייר ארידה, הפטריארך המארוני של לבנון, לבין ד"ר ברנרד(דב) יוסף, נציג הסוכנות היהודית. (התרגום לאנגלית נעשה על ידנו).

את שני המסמכים האחרונים קיבלנו מהארכיון הציוני המרכזי בירושלים.

לשימושכם ולמסירה לאגודות "ירדן היא פלסטין" ולגורמים מעוניינים אחרים.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

משה יגר
סמנכ"ל

הממונים על ההסברה יביאו המסמכים לידיעת כל עובדי הנציגות

DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO
ARAB RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE
TO THE LAND OF ISRAEL

I. Text of Agreement between Emir Feisal and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, 3 January 1919

II. Letter from Emir Feisal to Felix Frankfurter, Paris, 1 March 1919

III. Letter from Emir Feisal to Dr. S. Levin, sent from Paris, 31 October 1919

IV. Treaty between a representative of the Zionist organization and representatives of "The Nationalist Faction in Syria and Lebanon," 26 March 1920

V. Agreement between a representative of the Maronite Community of Lebanon and a representative of the Jewish Agency of Palestine, signed in Jerusalem, 30 May 1946

Please note: Copy of each original document appears on coloured paper.

I. Text of Agreement between Emir Feisal and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, 3 January 1919

His Royal Highness the Emir Feisal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organization, mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article I

The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial goodwill and understanding, and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories.

Article II

Immediately following the completion of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, the definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties hereto.

Article III

In the establishment of the Constitution and Administration of Palestine all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guarantees for carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of the 2nd of November, 1917.

Article IV

All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

Article V

No regulation nor law shall be made prohibiting or interfering in any way with the free exercise of religion; and further the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed. No religious test shall ever be required for the exercise of civil or political rights.

Article VI

The Mohammedan Holy Places shall be under Mohammedan control.

Article VII

The Zionist Organization proposes to send to Palestine a Commission of experts to make a survey of the economic possibilities of the country, and to report upon the best means for its development. The Zionist Organization will place the aforementioned Commission at the disposal of the Arab State for the purpose of a survey of the economic possibilities of the Arab State and to report upon

the best means for its development. The Zionist Organization will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means for developing the natural resources and economic possibilities thereof.

Article VIII

The parties hereto agree to act in complete accord and harmony on all matters embraced herein before the Peace Congress.

Article IX

Any matters of dispute which may arise between the contracting parties shall be referred to the British Government for arbitration.

Given under our hand at London, England, the third day of January, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

(signed:) Chaim Weizmann
Faisal Ibn Husain (in Arabic)

(Reservation, in Arabic, by Emir Feisal:)

Provided the Arabs obtain their independence as demanded in my Memorandum dated the 4th of January, 1919, to the Foreign Office of the Government of Great Britain, I shall concur in the above articles. But if the slightest modification or departure were to be made I shall not then be bound by a single word of the present Agreement which shall be deemed void and of no account or validity, and I shall not be answerable in any way whatsoever.

Source: Central Zionist Archive: S25/10.358
English translation of Faisal's reservation taken from George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (London, 1946), 439.

His Royal Highness the Emir FEISAL, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz, and Dr. CHAIM WEIZMANN, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organisation,

mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realising that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations, is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them,

have agreed upon the following Articles;-

ARTICLE I.

The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial goodwill and understanding and to this end Arab

and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories.

ARTICLE II.

Immediately following the completion of the deliberations of the Peace Conference, the definite boundaries between the Arab State and Palestine shall be determined by a Commission to be agreed upon by the parties hereto.

ARTICLE III.

In the establishment of the Constitution and Administration of Palestine all such measures shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guarantees for carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of the 2nd of November, 1917.

ARTICLE IV.

All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and intensive cultivation

of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

ARTICLE V.

No regulation nor law shall be made prohibiting or interfering in any way with the free exercise of religion; and further the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed. No religious test shall ever be required for the exercise of civil or political rights.

ARTICLE VI.

The Mohammedan Holy Places shall be under Mohammedan control.

ARTICLE VII.

The Zionist Organisation proposes to send to Palestine a Commission of experts to make a survey of the economic possibilities of the country, and to report upon the best means for its development. The Zionist Organisation will place the aforementioned Commission

at the disposal of the Arab State for the purpose of a survey of the economic possibilities of the Arab State and to report upon the best means for its development. The Zionist Organisation will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means for developing the natural resources and economic possibilities thereof.

ARTICLE VIII.

The parties hereto agree to act in complete accord and harmony on all matters embraced herein before the Peace Congress.

ARTICLE IX.

Any matters of dispute which may arise between the contracting parties shall be referred to the British Government for arbitration.

اذا نالت العرب استقلالها كما طلبناه
بتقريرنا المؤرخ ٤ كانون ثاني ١٩١٩ الى مؤتمر الصلح
فاننا نطلب من حكومة بريطانيا العظمى ان
توافق على ما ورد في المواد ٧ و ٨ و ٩ من العهد
تغيير او تبديل شيء منها او من بنودها بأي كيفية كانت
بل تعد هذه المعاهدة كلا يتجزأ ولا حكم لها ولا واجب ولا واجب
في هذه الحالة بأي صورة كانت

Given under our hand at LONDON, ENGLAND, the THIRD day of JANUARY, ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND NINETEEN.

Chaim Weizmann

II. Letter, in Lawrence's handwriting, signed by Emir Faisal, addressed to Felix Frankfurter, Paris, 1 March 1919

Dear Mr. Frankfurter,

I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Dr. Weizmann in Arabia and Europe.

We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppressions at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals (deletion) together.

We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through: we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

With the chiefs of your movement, especially with Dr. Weizmann we have had, and continue to have the closest relations. He has been a great helper in our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness.

We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national, and not imperialist: our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for both of us. Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours ignoring the need for cooperation of the Arabs and Zionists have been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry, and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principle, but on matters of detail such as must inevitable occur in every contact of neighbouring peoples, and as are (sic) easily adjusted by mutual goodwill. Indeed nearly all of them will disappear with fuller knowledge.

I look forward, and my people with me look forward to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the comity of the civilized peoples of the world.

Believe me,
yours very sincerely
(in Arabic) Faisal

DÉLÉGATION HEDJAZIENNE

PARIS

1. 3. 19.

Dear Mr. Frankfurter

I want to take the opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Dr. Weizmann in Arabic and French.

We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppressions at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals ~~at the same time~~ together.

We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our delegation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through: we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

With the chiefs of your movement, especially with Dr. Weizmann we have had, and continue to have the closest relations. He has been a great helper of our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness.

We are working ~~together~~ for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national, and not imperialist: our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

Being less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, the need for co-operation of the Arabs and Zionists has been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry, and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not a question of principle, but a matter of detail such as must inevitably occur in every contact of neighbouring peoples, and as are easily adjusted by mutual goodwill. Indeed nearly all of them will disappear with fuller knowledge.

I look forward, and my people with me look forward to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the society of the civilised peoples of the world.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely

Faisal

III. Letter from Emir Feisal to Dr. S. Levin

(League of Nations)
Conference of the Countries
Secretariat of the Delegation of Hedjaz

Paris, 31 October 1919

Dr. S. Levin
Zionist Organization Committee
London

Sir,

I am sorry not to be able to be present at the ceremony commemorating the second anniversary of the Balfour Declaration to which you have so kindly invited me.

I am, nevertheless, very glad to take this opportunity to reiterate to you my most sincere desires to see our two peoples working together for a common idea, which is the revival of the East.

We have been united in adversity and we expect to remain united in this new era of progress and civilization which lies before us.

Our free and independent country will be greatly benefitted by the collaboration of our two brethren-people, so intimately linked by a common heritage.

The evolution of the semitic Jewish race cannot but be hailed with sympathy by the semitic Arabs.

The East has a great mission to accomplish, and it is on our two peoples that this greaty duty devolves; I would like to convey my feelings and those of the Arab people by paying my respects to the sincerity of the Zionist leaders, who are working towards the union of our two peoples.

"Signed"

Faisal

(translated from French)

CONFÉRENCE DE LA PAIX PARIS, LE 31 Octobre 1919

SECRETARIAT
DE LA
DELEGATION DU HEDJAZ

Monsieur le Docteur S. Levin.
du Comité de l'organisation sioniste.
LONDRES.

Monsieur.

Je regrette de ne pouvoir assister à la cérémonie de la commémoration du second anniversaire de la déclaration Balfour à laquelle vous avez bien voulu m'inviter.

Je suis cependant très heureux de saisir cette occasion pour vous réitérer mes vœux les plus sincères et voir nos deux peuples travaillant ensemble pour un idéal commun qui est la résurrection de l'Orient.

Nous avons été unis dans le malheur et nous comptons rester unis dans cette nouvelle ère de progrès et de civilisation qui s'ouvre devant nous.

Notre pays libre et indépendant aura beaucoup à gagner de la collaboration de nos deux peuples frères, qu'une histoire commune unit si étroitement.

L'évolution de la race juive sémite ne peut être que saluer avec sympathie par les Arabes sémites.

L'Orient a une grande mission à remplir et s'est à nos deux peuples que cette grande tâche incombe, aussi je crois interpréter mes sentiments et ceux du peuple Arabe en rendant hommage à la sincérité des chefs sionistes qui travaillent à l'union de nos deux peuples.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de ma haute considération.

"Signé" Faisal

IV. Treaty between Zionist representative and "The Nationalist Group in Syria and Lebanon", 26 March 1920

The undersigned, Mr. Yehoshua Hankin, representing the Zionist Organization in Palestine, and Messrs. Najib Sfeir, Yusuf Muazzin, Dr. Rashid Karam, Mr. Najib Hashim and Dr. Ant n Shihade, representing the Nationalist Group in Syria and Lebanon, in view of the gravity of the political situation in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, and desirous of co-ordinating their political activity for the good of these three countries, have agreed after discussion on the following basic principles:-

1. The Governments of Syria and Lebanon recognize the independence of Palestine within boundaries to be fixed by a committee with representatives of both sides (Syria and Lebanon, on the one hand; Palestine, on the other), and the Zionist Organization will have the right to build there a National Home for the Jewish people, by organizing a mass immigration of Jews from every land into Palestine, and by obtaining political and economic privileges necessary to ensure the calm and free development of the National Home.

2. The Nationalist Group in Syria and Lebanon will do everything necessary to prepare public opinion among the Arab people for this recognition, and to accustom the Arabs to (look upon) the Jewish people as neighbours.

3. The Zionist Organization undertakes in future not to go beyond the borders of Syria and Lebanon as will be determined in accordance with paragraph 1.

4. The Zionist Organization undertakes to respect the religious rites and customs of Muslims and Christians in Palestine, and not to interfere in questions affecting the holy places.

5. The Zionist Organization undertakes to assist the Governments of Syria and Lebanon in the development of their countries, and to arrange for capital loans on terms to be agreed.

6. All the inhabitants of Palestine without distinction of religion will enjoy complete civil and economic equality.

(Signed and dated at Jerusalem; text in French, Arabic and Hebrew. Karam signed also for Shihade; Sfeir signed also for Hashim.)

Source: Central Zionist Archive, S25/9907 (translated from the French)

Les soussignés, Mr Joachim Hankin, représentant de l'organisation sioniste et Mr Nadjib Efendi, Jussuf Mouassi, Dr Rashid Karam, Nadjib Hashem et Dr Anton Tabbara, représentants du „Parti Nationaliste" en Syrie et en Liban, en voyant la gravité de la situation politique en Syrie, Liban et Palestine et en désirant coordonner leur activité politique pour le bien de ces trois pays, se sont entendus après un entretien sur les bases principales suivantes:

1. Les gouvernements de la Syrie et du Liban reconnaissent l'indépendance de la Palestine dans les limites qui seront fixées par une commission formée des délégués des deux parties (Syrie et Liban d'un part et Palestine d'autre part) et le droit de l'organisation sioniste d'y construire un foyer national pour le peuple juif, en organisant une immigration en masse des juifs de tous les pays en Palestine et en obtenant les priviléges politiques et économiques nécessaires pour assurer le développement calme et libre du foyer national.
2. Le „Parti Nationaliste" en Syrie et en Liban fait tout le nécessaire pour préparer l'opinion publique du peuple arabe à cette reconnaissance et pour l'habituer au peuple juif comme à un voisin.
3. L'organisation sioniste garantie de ne pas dépasser en aucun les frontières de la Syrie et du Liban qui seront fixées selon l'article 1.
4. L'organisation sioniste se charge de respecter les rites religieux et ne pas intervenir dans les questions des biens réels des mahométans et chrétiens en Palestine.
5. L'organisation sioniste se charge de venir en aide aux gouvernements de la Syrie et du Liban pour le développement de leurs pays et de contracter des emprunts d'argent, dont les conditions seront fixées à temps.
6. Tous les habitants de la Palestine sans distinction de religion jouiront de l'égalité civile et économique complète.

Jerusalem, le 26 mai 1920.

Joachim Hankin — Jussuf Mouassi — Nadjib Efendi — Rashid Karam — Nadjib Hashem — Dr Anton Tabbara

המסומנים מטה, מ. יהושע הנקין, בא כח הסתדרות הציונית מצד ישראל, ומר נגיב אפנדי, יוסף מעאסי, ד"ר רשיד קרם, נגיב חשם ודר אנטון טבארה, נציגי „המפלגה הלאומית" בסוריה ולבנון, בראותם את גדלות המצב הפוליטי של סוריה, לבנון ופלשתינה ובהרצותם לצרף שניהם פעולתם הפוליטית עליה בארצות הללו, כאן לאחר שיחה לדי הסכמה על הנקודים העיקריים הבאים:

1. הממשלות של סוריה ולבנון מכירות בעצמאות פלשתינה בגבולים אשר יקבעו ע"י ועדה מעורבת שמורכבת מן הנציגים (סוריה ולבנון מצד אחד ופלשתינה מצד שני), וזכות של הסתדרות הציונית לבנות בה בית לאומי לעם ישראל ע"י סידור הגירה המונית של יהודים על מנת לארגן לעם ישראל ע"י השגת הזכויות המדיניות והכלכליות הדרושים להבטחת התפתחות הקלה והמתאימה של הבית הלאומי.
2. המפלגה הלאומית בסוריה ולבנון עושה את כל הדרוש בכדי לכוון את דעת הקהל בעם הערבי לקראת הכרה הזאת ולהרגילו אל העם היהודי כאל שכן.
3. ההסתדרות הציונית מבטיחה שלא תעבור בשום אופן אל מחוץ לגבולות סוריה ולבנון שהם אשר יקבעו בהתאם לסעיף 1.
4. ההסתדרות הציונית שומרת על כבוד את הקדושה והמנהגים הדתיים ולא תתערב בענינים הקדושים הרגוניים של המוסלמים והנצרים בפלשתינה.
5. ההסתדרות הציונית שומרת לבוא לעזרתם של ממשלות סוריה ולבנון לשם פתוח ארצותיהן ולעזור לקבל כסף בלוה תנאים, אשר יקבעו בזמנם.
6. כל תושבי פלשתינה בלי הבדל דת יהנו משויון-זכויות אזרח וכלכלה מלא.

ירושלים, יום כ"ו לחודש אייר תרפ".
26 מאי 1920.

المذكورة أسماؤهم أدناه شيخ مندوب الحركة الصهيونية
والسادة نجيب حسن وجوسف معوض وكرم بحيث كرم
نجيب حشم وكتور انطون طبارة ممثلي الحزب الوطني في سوريا
ولبنان في الأدوار الحرجة الحالية السياسية في سوريا ولبنان
وفلسطين وإرادة أن يتعاونوا سياسيا لخير هذه الأقطار
الثلاثة قد اتفقوا بعد التشاور على المبادئ الأساسية التالية
1 — تعترف حكومتي سوريا ولبنان باستقلال فلسطين ضمن حدود
التي ستقرر من قبل لجنة مؤلفة من المندوبين الطرفين الطرف الأول
سوريا ولبنان والطرف الثاني فلسطين) وبحق الجمعية الصهيونية
في أن تؤسس فيها وطنا قوميا للشعب اليهودي بتنظيم هجرة كثيفة
من اليهود في جميع البلاد الأخرى وبإعطاء امتيازات سياسية
واقتصادية تضمن للوطن القومي اليهودي الهدوء والترقي.
2 — الحزب الوطني في سوريا ولبنان يعمل ما يلزم لتهيئة
الأذهان العربية في الشعب العربي لهذا الاعتراف وتعويد
الشعب اليهودي كجار له.
3 — تضمن الجمعية الصهيونية عدم تجاوز حدود الجمهوريتين
المستقبلتين سوريا ولبنان المعينة حسب المادة الأولى.
4 — تتعهد الجمعية الصهيونية باحترام الشعائر الدينية
وعدم التدخل في شؤون الأملاك المقدسة العائدة
للمسلمين والمسيحيين في فلسطين.
5 — تتعهد الجمعية الصهيونية بمساعدة حكومتي سوريا ولبنان
على إعمار أقطارهما وتأمين ما يلزم وتتفق على القروض
المؤقتة في حينه.
6 — جميع سكان فلسطين مهما كانت أديانهم يتمتعون
بالمساواة في الحقوق المدنية والاقتصادية التامة.

26 أيار سنة 1920

[illegible]

V. Agreement between Maronite Community in Lebanon and Jewish Agency of Palestine, 30 May 1946

We, the undersigned,

1. His Beatitude, the Maronite Patriarch, Antoine Arida, acting in the name of the Church and of the Maronite Community, the largest community in the Republic of Lebanon, with members also in other countries, and represented by Sheik Toufik Aouad, former minister, by virtue of an authorization addressed to the President of the Jewish Agency, Professor Weizmann, on May 24, 1946,

hereafter designated: "the first party"

2. Dr. Bernard Joseph, acting in the name of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, internationally acknowledged as the representative of world Jewry, with the view to the establishment of the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine,

hereafter designated: "the second party"

have decided and agreed on the following:

ART. 1: The first party declares that it fully acknowledges the historic bond which links the Jewish people to Palestine, the Jewish people's aspirations in Palestine, as well as the Jewish people's right to a free immigration into Palestine and to establish itself without restrictions in the country, and it declares itself in agreement with the Jewish Agency's current political programme, comprising notably the establishment of the Jewish State.

ART. 2: The second party declares that it fully acknowledges the Lebanon's independence and the right of the inhabitants to determine their country's regime in the manner they consider appropriate.

The second party declares, as well, that it is not in its programme to widen and expand itself into the Lebanon, but, on the contrary, it declares to respect the Lebanese state in its present form. The Lebanon is not a goal of Jewish immigration.

ART. 3: Both parties undertake to refrain from interfering in their respective aspirations and status; the abovementioned agreement includes the obligation that the representatives of each of the two parties - be they official or non-official - within the country, abroad and at international conferences, West or East - abstain from giving any support to decisions or activities which might interfere with the other party; and not only this, but they shall also do everything possible to prevent such decisions from being taken or such activities to be carried out.

ART. 4: Both parties undertake to help each other in the following areas: political, commercial, security and social, in order to give support to the first party's position, and to realize the second party's aspirations. This undertaking comprises:

a) to inform the public opinion, in the East and in the West, about each party's cause, in the spirit of this agreement.

b) efforts by both parties' to open the doors of each of the two countries to the other party, in order to strengthen cultural and social ties, commercial exchanges, the exchange of liaison officers, and to cultivate neighbourly relations.

c) the first party, which acknowledges the right of every Jew to immigrate into Palestine, undertakes to support this immigration as best as it can, insofar as the immigrants might have to pass through the Lebanon.

d) the second party undertakes - at the moment it will have established the Jewish state - to respect fully the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities and the sacred nature of their holy places in Palestine. The first party pledges - the moment it will rule over its country - to consider the present agreement as an integral part of its government's programme.

e) both parties undertake to help each other - insofar as one of them shall need the other - to maintain security in their countries. This pledge includes the obligation to take the necessary steps to prevent the entrance or exit of hostile elements which might disrupt public order - as well as the obligation to obstruct any help to those same elements.

f) both parties pledge to exchange between them informations on all matters - for example, on their country's politics, economy, security, ties with a third party, etc.

g) both parties agree to exchange information and advice in the fields of industrial, agricultural and scientific research, to synchronize Jewish and Lebanese efforts in order to assure the best development of their industries (including tourism), agriculture and respective research, on the basis of mutual collaboration.

h) the second party, when it will have established the Jewish State, pledges to maintain a friendly attitude towards the Maronite Patriarchate's representatives; to facilitate their purchase of a piece of property and the building of a Patriarchate such as the Maronite community deserves.

i) the second party undertakes that their offices all over the world shall give support to the first party's cause and support its representatives in Washington, London and Paris and at international conferences.

ART. 5: In regard to the means needed to realize the above mentioned obligations, and supplementary practical means of collaboration and reciprocal help, the two parties will confer directly or through representatives, according to the circumstances.

The first party, here and now, nominates Sheik Toufik Aouad as appointed representative, until further notice.

ART. 6: The present agreement shall come into force as soon as it is signed. Each of the parties will have the right to cancel it, by giving six months' prior notice.

In testimony whereof, the two parties have signed the present agreement.

Prepared in two original copies, for one and the same purpose, in Jerusalem, 30 May 1946.

(Signed)

In the name of His Beatitude
Mgr. Antoine Pierre Arida
Toufik Aouad

For the Jewish Agency of Palestine,
Bernard Joseph

1. S.B. le Patriarche Maronite, Antoine Arida, agissant au nom de l'Eglise et de la Communauté Maronite, la plus grande des communautés de la République Libanaise, -- laquelle Communauté compte des ressortissants, aussi dans d'autres pays, représenté par Cheikh Toufic Aouad, ancien ministre, en vertu d'une procuration adressée au Président de l'Agence Juive, le Professeur Weizmann, en date du 24 mai 1946,

ci-après dénommé: "la première partie"

2. Dr. Bernard Joseph, agissant au nom de l'Agence Juive pour la Palestine, reconnue en droit international comme le représentant du peuple Juif dans le monde entier à l'effet de l'établissement du Foyer National juif en Palestine

ci-après dénommé: "la seconde partie"

avons arrêté et convenue ce qui suit:

ART. 1er: La première partie déclare reconnaître pleinement le lien historique unissant le peuple Juif à la Palestine, les aspirations du peuple Juif en Palestine, ainsi que le droit du peuple Juif à une immigration libre en Palestine et à s'établir librement dans le pays, et il déclare être d'accord sur le programme politique actuel declaré de l'Agence Juive, comprenant notamment l'établissement de l'Etat Juif.

ART. 2: La seconde partie déclare reconnaitre pleinement l'indépendance du Liban et le droit de ses habitants de fixer le régime de leur pays dans la forme qu'ils considérent opportune.

La seconde partie déclare également qu'il n'est pas dans son programme de s'élargir en s'étendant dans le Liban mais au contraire elle déclare respecter l'état libanais dans sa forme actuelle. L'immigration juive ne comprend pas le Liban.

ART.3: Les deux parties prennent l'engagement de s'abstenir de porter atteinte à leurs aspirations et status respectifs; le dit engagement comporte l'obligation que les représentants de chacune des deux parties -- officiels ou non officiels,-- à l'intérieur du pays, à l'étranger et dans les conférences internationales, occidentales ou orientales, -- s'abstiennent de fournir n'importe quel support dans des décisions ou des actions susceptibles de porter atteinte à l'autre partie; non seulement mais aussi qu'ils fassent tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour empêcher que de telles décisions soient prises ou de telles actions soient entreprises.

ART.4: Les deux parties s'engagent à s'entre-aider aux points de vue: politique, commercial, de la sécurité et social, dans le but de soutenir la position de la première partie et de réaliser les aspirations de la seconde. Cet engagement comprend:

a) éclairer l'opinion publique en Orient et en Occident sur la cause de chacune des deux parties; dans l'esprit du présent accord.

b) effort des deux parties dans le but d'ouvrir les portes de chacun des deux pays à l'autre partie afin de resserer les liens culturels et sociaux, les échanges commerciaux, l'échange d'agents de liaison, et cultiver les rapports de bon voisinage.

c) la première partie, qui reconnait à tout juif le droit d'immigrer en Palestine, s'engage à aider cette immigration au mieux de ses possibilités, dans la mesure où les immigrants devraient passer par le Liban.

d) la seconde partie s'engage, -- pour le moment où elle formera l'Etat juif, -- à respecter pleinement les droits civils et religieux des communautés non-juives et le caractère sacré de leurs lieux saints en Palestine. La première partie s'engage, -- pour le moment où elle arrivera au pouvoir dans son pays, -- de considérer le présent accord comme partie intégrante du programme de son gouvernement.

e) les deux parties s'engagent à s'aider réciproquement, -- dans la mesure où l'une serait requise par l'autre, -- à maintenir la sécurité dans leurs pays. Cet engagement comporte l'obligation de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher l'entrée ou la sortie d'éléments hostiles susceptibles de troubler l'ordre public, -- ainsi que l'obligation d'empêcher toute aide à de pareils éléments.

f) les deux parties s'engagent à échanger entre elles des informations sur tous les sujets, -- par exemple sur la politique de leurs pays, leur économie, leur sûreté, leurs liens avec des tiers, etc.

g) les deux parties s'engagent sur le plan industriel, agricole et des recherches scientifiques, à échanger des informations et des conseils pour synchroniser les efforts des juifs et des Libanais, afin d'assurer le meilleur developpement de leurs industries (tourisme compris), agricultures et recherches respectives sur la base d'une collaboration mutuelle.

h) la seconde partie, quand elle formera l'Etat Juif, s'engage à réserver aux représentants du Patriarche Maronite un traitement amical; à lui faciliter l'achat d'un terrain et la construction d'un Patriarcat digne de la Communauté Maronite.

i) la seconde partie s'engage à ce que ses bureaux dans les differents pays donnent leur soutien à la cause de la première et appuyent ses représentants à Washington, Londres et Paris et dans les conférences internationales.

<u>ART.5:</u> Sur les moyens de réaliser les obligations qui précèdent, et sur les moyens pratiques supplémentaires de collaboration et d'entre-aide, les deux parties délibéreront directement ou par représentants, au fur et à mesure et suivant les circonstances.

La première partie nomme d'ores et déja comme représentant attitré Cheikh Toufic Aouad, sauf nouvelle notification à l'avenir.

ART.6: Le présent accord entrera en vigueur aussitôt signé. Chacune des parties aura le droit d'y mettre fin moyennant un préavis de six mois.

En foi de quoi, les deux parties ont signé le présent accord.

Fait en double original pour un seul et même effet, à Jerusalem, le 30 mai 1946.

Pour le Président de la Commission
Mgr Antoine Pierre Arida
Toufic Aouad

For the Jewish Agency for Palestine
[illegible]

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: י' בניסן התשמ"ד
12 באפריל 1984

מספר:

אל: כל הנציגויות - המטמונים על ההסברה
מחלקות המשרד ולשכותיו

מאת: ראש אגף ההסברה

יציאת הערבים מחיפה - 1948

במשך שנים רבות האשימה התעמולה הערבית את ישראל ביצירת בעיית הפליטים הערבים ע"י גירושם מן הארץ במהלך מלחמת השחרור.

נושא זה אינו מונח כרגע על סדר היום, אך בכ"ז מן הראוי להביא לידיעת עובדי המשרד את המסמכים המע"ב שנמצאו בארכיון ההגנה (תיק מס' א' 8/15) . מסמכים אלה הם העתקים של דוחו'ת סודיים של קצין בולשת בריטי , המתאר את המאמצים שעשו מנהיגים יהודיים בעיר חיפה, בימים 23-29 באפריל 1948, לשכנע את ערביי העיר שלא יברחו ושימשיכו בחייהם הרגילים. הערבים התעקשו בכ"ז לצאת מן העיר !

כדאי לשים לב גם לעדות הקצין הבריטי על הסיוע ברכב שנתן הצבא הבריטי לאוכלוסיה הערבית שרצתה לצאת.

הסטוריונים של המזה"ת ומדעני מדינה עשויים למצוא ענין בחומר.

ב ב ר כ ה,

משה יגר
סמנכ"ל

מי/ער

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים, 91950 טל' 235111 (02)

10/PS

District Police Headquarters
(C.I.D.)
P-O.B. 700,
HAIFA

SECRET
A/A.I.O., C.I.D.

23rd April 1948

Subject: - General Situation - Haifa District

The Jewish forces maintained their attack on the Souk area yesterday morning and by shortly after midday were in possession of the Souk and Eastern area where they were continuing to attack isolated strongpoints. A diversionary attack was made in the early morning on Tireh village to prevent reinforcements reaching the Arabs in Haifa. During the morning the Arab populace was evacuating the Souk area and large numbers passed through the port and it is estimated that approximately 15,000 were transhipped in 'Z' craft to Acre. Others, have no doubt, made their way out on foot.

During the morning Arab negotiators asked for a truce and a meeting was arranged to take place at the Town Hall during the afternoon between Miltary, Jews and Arabs to discuss the terms laid down by the Jewish leaders. In the meantime the attacks went on and during the afternoon the Wadi Nisnas area and Haffa Road came under heavy attack.

At 4 p.m. with Jewish forces in virtual control of Haifa - East of the German Colony - the negotiators went to the Town Hall where they heard and discussed the terms laid down for the truce. These were:-

1) Cease fire from 1900 hours.
2) Complete disarming of all Arabs in Haifa and all weapons and explosives and other military equipment, including transport, to be handed in at muster points laid down by Jews within four hours of the cease fire.
3) Arab road blocks to be removed fortwith under military supervision and free access and road traffic to be permitted.
4) All foreign males to be mustered at a point to be specified by Jews and deported within 24 hours.
5) All European Partisans to be handed over to military authorities.
6) A 24 hour curfew to be observed by Arabs as from daybreak 23/4/48 to ensure disarmament terms being carried out.
7) Non delivery of arms to be treated as a punishable offence.
8) After curfew, Arabs of Haifa may carry on their normal life.
9) Arabs to work and be treated as equals with equal rights in Haifa and all future meetings between them to take place in the Town Hall.

The Arab negotiators who included Sheikh Ibrahim Murad, Farid Saad Ahmed Abu Saad, Victor Khayat, and Assis Nassar, were permitted to discuss the terms with their people and returned to the meeting at 7 p.m. when they stated that they had asked for a cease fire but could not be wholly responsible for some elements of the National Guard and the Arab Liberation Army, and that they desired the Arab populace of Haifa to be evacuated to Arab areas under military supervision. A meeting has been arrange for this morning to discuss the arrangements for evacuation and in the meantime a cease fire has been observed without incident. Military ambulances toured the Arab areas yesterday night to collect the dead and wounded which the Arabs estimate as 150 dead. They were unable to find many, however, and most of the casualties appear to have been evacuated by relatives. Jewish forces claim their casualties to be 15 dead and 36 wounded.

The situation is quiet this morning with movement gradually opening up in thelower town exclusive of the Arab areas.

(A.J. BIDMEAD)
f/SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

Copy to: District Commissioner, Haifa.
Superintendent of Police, Haifa
FILE

10/PS.

District Police Headquarters,
(C. I. D.)
P.O.B. 700 Haifa
24th April 1948.

SECRET
A/AI.C. C.I.D.

Subject:- General Situation - Haifa District

Quiet prevailed throughout Haifa yesterday. Arab and Jewish negotiators met again in the Town Hall yesterday morning when the Arabs announced that they intended to evacuate the remainder of the Arab population estimated at 37,000. No other firm decisions were reached but a committee has been set up under the Chairmanship of the Mayor to deal with the problems of feeding the Arabs, most of whom are cut off from their homes, shops, bakeries etc; and to examine methods of evacuation in which the Military authorities/offered to help. /have

It is reported that Tireh was again attacked yesterday with no known result and yesterday evening Jewish forces demanded that the Arabs of Balad es Sheikh hand over their arms. They were offered a number of old and useless rifles which they refused to accept and at 0500 hrs. this morning they launched an attack against the village with automatic and mortar fire. Sporadic fire was returned from the village which during the past few days has been largely evacuated. Military have now interceded and discussions are going on between Military, Arabs and Jews.

Area otherwise quiet and little movement on the streets which are now patrolled by Haganah military police.

(A.J. Bimead)
f/SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

Copy to:-District Commissioner, Haifa
Superintendent of Police, Haifa
File.

10/PS.

District Police Headquarters,
(C.I.D.)
P.O.B. 700, Haifa
26th April, 1948.

SECRET

A/A.I.C., C.I.D.
Subject:- General Situation - Haifa District

The situation in Haifa remains unchanged. Every effort is being made by the Jews to persuade the Arab populace to stay and carry on with their normal lives, to get their shops and businesses open and to be assured that their lives and interests will be safe. On the other side the evacuation goes on and a large road convoy escorted by Military and containing a large percentage of Christians left Haifa for Beirut yesterday. An estimated number of 700 has been given for this convoy and evacuation by sea goes on steadily. At the same time the evacuation of women, children and older inhabitants from Tireh and surrounding villages hasbecome a problem and these are taking refuge in a disused army camp near Tireh. They are being carried out to Transjordan and Military lorries have been loaned to get this section clear. At the moment it looks as if the greater part of very healthy crops which will soon require attention are going to be abandoned & lost.

Tireh was attacked again yesterday morning but managed to repulse the attack, There have been no other incidents reported.

(A.J. Bidmead)
for SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

Copy to :- District Commissioner, Haifa.
Superintendent of Police, Haifa!
File.

10/PS.

District Police Headquarters
(C.I.D.)
P.O.B. 700.
Haifa.

Secret

26th April, 1948.

A/A.I.G., C.I.D.

Subject:- General Situation - Haifa District

Haifa remains quiet. Yesterday prodiced a noticeable change in the general atmosphere and businesses and shops in the lower town were open for the first in many days. Traffic started to move normally around the town and people returning to their places of business filled the streets. In fact, Haifa presented a more normal appearance than it had done for a long while. Some Arabs were seen moving among the Jews in the lower town and German Colony area and these were allowed free and unmolested passage. An appeal has been made to the Arabs by the Jews to re-open their shops and businesses in order to relieve the difficulties of feeding the Arab population. Evacuation was still going on yesterday and several trips were made by 'Z' craft to Acre. Roads too, were crowded with people leaving Haifa with their belongings. At a meeting yesterday afternoon Arab leaders reiterated their determination to evacuate the entire Arab population and they have been given the loan of ten 3-ton military trucks as from this morning to assist the evacuation.

Yesterday morning a Jew attempted to pass the drop barrier of Police H.Q. facing Palmers Gate wheeling a barrow. He was shot and killed by a police sentry.

At 0640 hrs. yesterday Tireh village was again attacked with mortar fire. Casualties and damage not known.

A report has been received from Military to the effect that at 23.50 hrs. yesterday Jews attacked Acre from the direction of Ein Hamifratz and Tall al Fukhkhar. An advance party succeeded in demolishing three houses in the Manshiya Quarter and then heavy mortar fire was directed at the town. Several mortar bombs landed in Acre Prison and all the inmates have escaped. The British warden staff are safe. Military proceeded to the scene and opened fire with artillery on Ein Hamifratz. The Jews therupon withdraw and a convoy of 11 vehicles was seen proceeding in the direction of Haifa. Casualties to both sides are not known.

(A.J. Bidmead.)
for SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

Copy:- District Commissioner, Haifa.
Superintendent of Police, Haifa.
File.

10/PS.

District Police Headquarters,
(C.I.D.)
P.O.B.700
Haifa.

29th April, 1948.

SECRET

A/A.I.G., C.I.D.

Subject: General Situation - Haifa District

There is no change in the situation in Haifa. The Jews are still making every effort to persuade the Arab populace to remain and settle back into their normal lives in the town. Another convoy left Tireh for Transjordan and the evacuation by sea continues. The quays and harbour are still crowded with refugees and their household effects, all waiting an opportunity to get a place on one of the boats leaving Haifa. Some families have lived and slept on the xxxx quaysides for several days waiting a change to get away. Life in the New Business Centre has returned to normal with all shops and businesses functioning.

The steam trawler "TADORN" renamed the Haganah ship "OPERATION CA???" was brought into Haifa harbour at 8:30 a.m. with a total of 559 persons on board made up of 332 males, 182 females and 45 children. The illegals were transferred in the usual manner to the Empire Comfort and Empire Rest. During the transhipment the illegals twice refused to move from their ship and had to be got on the move again by naval and marine personnel. The transhipment was completed at 11.15 a.m. and the illegals left for Cyprus.

(Sgd.) A. J. Bidmead
for SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE

Copy to: District Commissioner Haifa
Superintendent of Police, Haifa.
File.

10.6.84

לכבוד
עו"ד דוד נבון
לשכת השר
נתקבל
28-06-1984

נרשם ב.....

תשובה.....

לכבוד
עו"ד דוד נבון
לשכת השר
ירושלים

אדוני הנכבד,

הנדון: בדיקת אל מחמד שלאמה.

מצורף לך דו"ח.

בברכה ובכבוד רב

א. אליקים

Compliments of

ELYAKIM HA'ETZNI
ADVOCATE
Tel. 02-971878
Kiriat Arba — Hebron

אליקים העצני
עורך דין
טל. 02-971878
קרית ארבע — חברון

6.6.1984

לכבוד
מר יוסף בן אהרון
יועץ ראש הממשלה ושר החוץ
משרד החוץ
הקריה
ירושלים

שלום רב,

לוטה גזיר-עתון ב"בטחנה" 23.5.84.

מלקסר כאן, כי מר מיכאל פלד, עוזר למנהל מחלקת אירופה במשרד החוץ התבטא באזני משלחת של אנשי המסעדות של מפעל ה"ברנדס" כי "ישראל נחושה בדעתה להחזיר חלקים בגדה המערבית וגו".

גם הביאורים והתירוצים שנתן דובר משרד החוץ הם מפוקפקים ביותר. האמנם זו משאת נפש של שר החוץ דהיום שצה"ל ייסוג מכל יש"ע, להוציא כמה מחנות צבא? וה-terminus technicus הוא "גדה" ?!

אבקש לבדוק אם הוסקו מסקנות נגד האיש. הלא ברור להלוטין שהוא מבצע בתוך המשרד - וכלפי חוץ! - מדיניות של המערך, בהאריך בר "הליכוד" לפחות נוטינלית עדיין בשלטון!

שאלתי היא, האם באמת ראש הממשלה ושר החוץ הוא חסר אונים לעשות מאומה כדי להעביר איש כזה לפחות למשרה אחרת, בה לא יוכל לגרום נזקן?

בכבוד רב,
ר ב ב ר ת
ז י ר ז
אליקים העצני.

8.6.1984

לכבוד
מר יוסף בן אהרון
יועץ ראש הממשלה ושר החוץ
משרד החוץ
הקריה
ירושלים

שלום רב,

לוטה גזיר-עתון מ"במחנה" 23.5.84.

מוסמר כאן, כי מר מיכאל פלד, עוזר למנהל מחלקת אירופה במשרד החוץ התבטא באזני משלחת של אנשי המסעדות של מפעל ת"בונדס" כי "ישראל נחושה בדעתה להחזיר חלקים בגדה המערבית וגו".

גם הביאורים והתירוצים שנתן דובר משרד החוץ הם מפוקפקים ביותר. האמנם זו משאת נפשו של שר החוץ דהיום שצה"ל ייסוג מכל יש"ע, להוציא כמה שחנות עבאל ות-terminus technicus תוא"גדה" ?!

אבקש לבדוק אם הוסקו מסקנות כנגד האיש. הלא ברור לחלוטין שהוא מבצע בתוך המשרד - וכלפי הוץ! - מדיניות של המערך, בהאריך בר "חליכוד" לפחות נוטינלית עדיין בשלטון!

שאלתי היא, האם באמת ראש הממשלה ושר החוץ הוא חסר אונים לעשות מאומה כדי להעביר איש כזה לפחות למשרה אחרת, בה לא יוכל לגרום נזקן

בכבוד רב,
ר ב ב ר ה
ז י ר
אליקים העצני.

[redacted]

האם נרקמת בסתר מדיניות ממשלתית חדשה להחזרת חלקים מן הגדה? כך משתמע, לפחות, מדברי פקיד בכיר במשרד החוץ, כפי שצוטט על-ידי מוסי ה„בונדס". דובר משרד החוץ: „הוא לא התכוון לומר את זה כך".

אורנה קדרוש / 23.5.84 דיוקן

„ישראל נדרשה כרעתה להחזיר חלקים בגדה המערבית, אשר יאפשרו לה מכסימום ניצול אפקטיבי מבינימום שטח גאוגרפי" — זהו ציטוט מדברים שנשא מיכאל פלד עוזר למנהל מחלקת אירופה במשרד החוץ, בפני משלחת אנשי המסקרות של מפעל הה„בונדס". הוועדה לקתונת שהוציא ה„בונדס" בישרה על ה„בונדס", הוועדה לקתונת שהוציא ה„בונדס" בישרה על שינוי המדיניות ממדיניותה של ממשלת ישראל.

פנינו אל דובר משרד החוץ ושאלנו — האמנם? רפי נמזר, ממשרד הדובר, בדק את הדברים עם פלד. הוא אומר שפלד לא התכוון לתת פרשם חדש לשתרון באזור, אלא איזכר בפני אנשי „הבונדס" את חבנית האוטונומיה, כפי שנוסחה בקמפ־דייוויד. לי־שיה תהיה נוכחות כוחות צבא רק במקומות הנחוצים להבטחת בטחון המדינה.

כלומר, פלד מבחיש שאמר את הדברים?

נייר שהוציא ה„בונדס" לא מחייב אותנו. הוא אמר מה היתה כוונתו. הוא לא התכוון להיות אוריגינלי.

הוא אמר, או לא אמר?

אין הכחשה לציטוט שנכתב באותה הודעה. למיסב זכרוני, הוא לא התייחס לשום זירה ספציפית, אלא דיבר באופן כללי על האוטונומיה.


מפעל מלוח העצמאות והמיתות

הודעה לעתונות

המונח ערבי מקובל עליכם?

הוא לא זוכר שהוא התייחס לזירה ספציפית, אבל אם אמר „ניצול אפקטיבי במינימום שטח גאוגרפי", הוא התכוון לאותן פרשם שקובע שכוחות צבא שלנו יהיו רק במקומות ההכרחיים להבטחת בטחוננו.

לעניות דעתי — „מכסימום ניצול אפקטיבי במינימום שטח גאוגרפי" מדבר על הבטים כלכליים, לא?

הוא בהחלט התכוון להיבט הצבאי.

יש לכם מקום על התבטאויות פוליטיות של עובדי המשרד?

עובדי המשרד לא מתבטאים התבטאויות פוליטיות.

המה זה?

מיכאל פלד לא מאשר שזה מה שהוא אמר...

press notice

LIST OF

Official Guests

OF ISRAEL

רשימת האורחים שיבקרו בישראל

June 1984

Name	Position	Country	Date
Delegation of Parliamentarians -People's Party (3)		Turkey	4 - 11.6
Javier Perez de Cuellar	General Secretary of U.N.	U.S.A.	12 - 13.6
Prof. R. Barre	Ex-Prime Minister	France	9 - 17.6
General Manuel Noriega	Chief of the General Staff	Panama	15 - 22.6
Rob Soetenhorst	Deputy Chief Editor	Holland	13 - 25.6
Dr. Sherman-Brown	President, University of Liberia	Liberia	21 - 29.6
Batukezanga Zamenga	Author	Zaire	25.6-4.7

38

For further information please contact:

Jeanette Koll, P.R Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem
Tel: 02-235674/235286/235111
Sima Bar Urian, Bet Sokolov, Tel Aviv - Tel: 03-266557/260973
Aldo Baquis, Government Press Office, J/m - Tel: 02-243161

מנויים לשרות החוץ

הצעה להחלטה

מחליטים לאשר את המנויים לשרות החוץ המפורטים להלן:

מר צבי טנא	-	שגריר באקוודור
מר יצחק מיבאלי	-	קונסול כללי במרסיי
מר יצחק צופתי	-	שגריר בקינשאסה
מר מאיר גביש	-	שגריר בניקוסיה
מר יעקב רהן	-	שגריר לא תושב בבוגוטה ובגרנדה בנוסף לתפקידו בשגריר בקוקאס, ושגריר לא תושב בשרינידד וטובגו
מר מרדכי פלצור	-	שגריר לא תושב באנטיגואה בנוסף לתפקידו כשגריר בדומיניקה הדומיניקנית ושגריר לא תושב בסנט קיטס.

מצייב תולדות חייהם על המועמדים.

מוגש על-ידי ועדת השרים
לענין מנויים לשרות החוץ

נספח 155

ה' בסיון התשמ"ד
(10.6.84)

צ ב י ט נ א

[redacted]

שפות: צרפתית
אנגלית - בינוני
ערבית - חלקית

[redacted]

יצחק מיכאלי

קורות חיים:

[redacted]

1947
1950
1960
1961
1964
1968
1970
1973

1982

שפות: צרפתית
אנגלית

[redacted]

יצחק צרפתי

[redacted]

1983 * שגדיל בקפריסין.

שפות: אנגלית
צרפתית
איטלקית - בינוני
ערבית - בינוני
תורכית - בינוני
פורטוגזית - בינוני

[redacted]

מ א י ר ג ב י ש

אגר.

שפות: אנגלית
איטלקית - חלש

יעקב כהן

[redacted]

שפות: אנגלית
גרמנית
פולנית
רוסית
ערבית

[redacted]

מרדכי פלצור

[redacted]

שפות: אנגלית
פולנית
רוסית
ספרדית
גרמנית - בינוני
צרפתית

2[redacted]

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: י' בניסן תשמ"ד
12 באפריל 84

מספר:
277

נתקבל
26.4.84
ביום

אל : לשכת המנהל הכללי, משרד המדע
מאת : מאסו"ק, משה"ח

הנדון: פרויקטים בתחום המחקר המדעי - בורמה

במצ"ב העתק מכתב שגרירותנו ברנגון בדבר פרויקטים המצויים בתכנית החומש של בורמה ואשר אפשר להניח שלישראל הידע לתרום להם.

מקוים אנו שתמצאו ענין בנושא וכי בתאום עם גורמים נוספים. החומר המבוקש על ידי שגרירותנו כך שיהיה בכוח נציגנו לנהל השיחות המוקדמות, עם הגורם המתאים בבורמה.

אנא הודיעונו דבר.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

זהר רז
ס/מנהל המחלקה

העתק: לשכת המדען הראשי, תמ"ס
כלכלית
השגרירות, רנגון

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
49, PROME ROAD
RANGOON, BURMA
PHONE: 84198-84252

שגרירות ישראל

အစ္စရေး(လ်) သံရုံး
၄၉-ပြည်လမ်း
ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ မြန်မာပြည်
ဖုန်း ၀၄၁၈၀-၀၄၂၅၂

רנגון, 2 אפריל 84
מספרנו: 120

אל : לשכת הסדרן הראשי, תמ"ס
מאת: השגרירות, רנגון

הנדון: פרויקטים בתחום המחקר המדעי בבורמה

1. מעיון בתכנית החומש של בורמה למדנו שהארגון המרכזי למחקר בבורמה (CENTRAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATION) מטפל במסגרת ההכנית בשלושה פרויקטים מרכזיים:

1 ESTABLISHMENT OF INSTRUMENTAL ANALYSIS LABORATORY PROJECT

2 ESTABLISHMENT OF ELECTRON MICROSCOPE LABORATORY PROJECT

3 ESTABLISHMENT OF SOLAR ENERGY UTILIZATION RESEARCH LABORATORY

2. נראה לנו שלמדינת ישראל היכולת לתרום לשלושת הפרויקטים הנ"ל (כדוראי לשלישי העוסק באנרגיה סולרית) וכמו-כן יתכן ויווצרו הזדמנויות עסקיות כגון אפשרות לסכירת רכיבים או ידע לאחד הפרויקטים)

3. אין בידינו פרטים רבים, ראה נא תקצירי תאור הפרויקטים הרצ"ב. בכדי לקבל פרטים נוספים אנו מתכננים לפגוש את מנהל מכון המחקר.

4. פגישה זו תיתכן רק במידה ויהיה בידינו חומר כלשהוא להציע לו. על כן נבקשכם, במידת האפשר - לציידנו במעט חומר מדעי על מחקרים הנערכים בארץ בתחומים הנ"ל, על נצול אנרגית שמש בארץ, אינפורמציה על מעבדות מקבילות הפועלות בארץ, אינפורמציה על גופי מחקר מקבילים וכו'.

5. כמו כן, במידה וניתן על מסך אינפורמציה כה מעטה, נא הנחונו בקווים כללים מה ניתן להציע לראש מכון המחקר כעת הפגישה.

בברכה

רם אבירם

העתק: מאסו"ק
כלכלית
קשהו"ם

Establishment of Solar Energy Utilization Research Laboratory Project

This laboratory is to be established to carry out research and development works and studies for the utilization of solar energy especially in rural areas. The major research activities and development works will include

(1) Development and fabrication of solar photo voltaic cells, solar cookers and grain driers, solar pumps and hot air engines

(2) Studies on solar ponds and solar refrigeration.

Establishment of Electron Microscope Laboratory Project

This laboratory is to be established to study the morphology of fibrous raw materials (wood, bamboo, agriculture fibers) and minerolgy of indigenous minerals and clay materials and metallurgical research in support of pulp and paper industry, textile industry, metal industry, ceramic industry, clay and mineral exploration and utilization.

Establishment of Instrumental Analysis Laboratory Project

This laboratory is to be established to analyse the chemical and physical properties of mineral, plant and animal resources of the country to facilitate more comprehensive survey and evaluation for more effective utilization.

משרד המדע והפתוח

לשכת השר

THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

יז' ניסן תשמ"ד

19 אפריל 1984

לכב'

מר מ. יגר

סמנכ"ל הסברה

מע' החוץ

א.נ.

הרני לאשר בתודה קבלת מזכרך בצרוף הספר בעריכת Julian J. Landau,

בשם - The Media: Freedom or Responsibility.

השר רשם לפניו את תכנו.

בברכת חג שמח,

בקי שמעוני

ראש הלשכה

משרד החוץ

9

בברכה

מאת

משרד החוץ

מטה יעקב

לשכת ראש הממשלה

ירושלים, כ"ח בניסן התשמ"ד
30 באפריל 1984

ת-מ"ש ה"ח

אל: עוזר שר המדע והפיתוח
לשכת המנכ"ל, משרד התוץ

שלום וברכה,

במצורף מכתב שנתקבל בלשכתנו מאת מר
Masaru Ibuka, Chiarman, Japan Institute of
Invention and Innovation.

אני מציע שאתם תשיבו במישרין למר איבוקה.

בתודה ובברכה,

י. קדישאי
מנהל לשכת ראש הממשלה

אודה
מלמטה לשכת הממשלה
מר יעל קשתוג, מש"ר ה"ח

社団法人 発明協会
HATSUMEI KYOKAI

JAPAN INSTITUTE OF INVENTION
& INNOVATION (J. I. I. I.)
9-14, TORANOMON 2-CHOME,
MINATO-KU, TOKYO 105, JAPAN.
P.O.BOX 69, SHIBA, TOKYO 105

March 31, 1984

Prime Minister and Minister of Defense
Menachem Begin
Office of the Prime Minister
3 Kaplan Street, Hakirya
Jerusalem 91919
State of Israel

Re: Invitation to the "World Exhibition
of Young People's Inventions"

Sir,

The "Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation" was established in 1904 with the objects of promoting invention and innovation and encourage science and technology.

Our Institute encourages inventions, popularizes the Patent System and the Patent Information service, and, in particular, concentrates its efforts on education to increase the creativity of young people, recognizing that it is important for the encouragement of science and technology to support young people's creativity.

As shown in the separate document "Notes for Entrants" attached hereto, our Institute is planning and making preparations for the World Exhibition of Young People's Inventions to be held in 1985 to commemorate the 80th anniversary of our Institute.

This Exhibition has as its objects a strengthening of international friendship and a promotion of scientific, technological and cultural exchanges, and to accomplish these objects, it is collecting devices originally designed by young people from various countries around the world, and intends to exhibit these devices all over Japan such as in Tokyo and at the site of TSUKUBA EXPO' 85, etc.

This Exhibition has received public authorization from the Minister of the Science and Technology Agency of the Japanese Government and the Attorney General of the Patent Office. Although we have already received applications from some of the major countries around the world, we have not yet been informed of any participation from your country.

TEL: (03) 502-0511 TELEX: 0222-2947 IVENA J. CABLE ADDRESS: IVENASSO
BANK: THE MITSUI BANK, LTD. HEAD OFFICE ACCOUNT NO. 1186500

社団法人 発明協会
HATSUMEI KYOKAI

JAPAN INSTITUTE OF INVENTION
& INNOVATION (J. I. I. I.)
9-14, TORANOMON 2-CHOME,
MINATO-KU, TOKYO 105, JAPAN.
P.O.BOX 69, SHIBA, TOKYO 105

March 31, 1984

We sincerely hope that there will be entries from the young people of your country so as to make this Exhibition a truly significant one. We would be very grateful if you could do your utmost toward achieving this end.

We would like to offer our best wishes for the prosperity of your country and your own good health.

Very truly yours,

M. Ibuka

Masaru Ibuka
Chairman
Japan Institute of
Invention and Innovation

Encl.: one copy of the attached document

TEL: (03) 502-0511 TELEX: 0222-2947 IVENA J. CABLE ADDRESS: IVENASSO
BANK: THE MITSUI BANK, LTD. HEAD OFFICE ACCOUNT NO. 1186500

[redacted]

each country, and invited to Japan with their guardian.

OUTLINE OF HATSUMEI KYOKAI (JIII)

• **Purpose:**	To promote science and technology by the encouragement of invention and the enhancement of creativity, and through the promotion of the utilization of inventions.
• **Foundation:**	1904
• **Honorary Chairman:**	His Imperial Highness Prince Hitachi
• **Officers:**	Chairman : Masaru Ibuka (Honorary Chairman : SONY Corporation) Vice Chairman : Shoichi Inoue (Counselor : SKY ALMINIUM Co., Ltd.) Haruo Suzuki (Chairman : SHOWA DENKO K.K.) Eiji Toyoda (Chairman of the board : TOYOTA MOTOR Corporation) Seiji Hatakeyama (President : EBARA Corporation) Keizo Saji (Chairman of the board and President: SUNTRY Ltd.) President: Isamu Ikoma Executive Managing Director: Hiroshi Watase Managing Director: Akisada Miyata
• **Organization:**	13.000 members, Branch offices in 47 prefectures, 250 staff
• **Activities:**	Encouragement of Invention under the Patronage of the Imperial Household Promotion and Encouragement of Invention Diffusion and Practical use of the patent system Patent Information Services Research and Investigation relating to the patent system

• Head Quarters
Hatsumei Kaikan Bldg.
9-14, Toranomon 2-chome, Minato-ku, TOKYO 105, Japan
TEL 03-502-0511

• Osaka-Kyoto Area Service Department
Kinki Toyama Kaikan Bldg.
9-15, Utsubohoncho 1-chome, Nishi-ku, OSAKA 550, Japan
TEL 06-443-7435

HATSUMEI KYOKAI

Guide to Activities Concerning Commendations, Exhibitions and Projects to Encourage Creativity

HATSUMEI KYOKAI

(Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation)

Event	Activities	Invitation Period	Date of Event	Location	Year of First Event
❶ **National Commendation for Invention**	Recognition of individuals who have perfected original and superior inventions, or who have helped to put inventions into practice.	September through December every year	June.	Tokyo	1919
❷ **Local Commendation for Invention**	Recognition of individuals in the eight main blocks of Japan for excellent inventions or for their efforts in putting inventions into practice.	During April and May every year	October/ November	Hokkaido, Tohoku, Kanto, Chubu, Kinki, Chugoku, Shikoku, Kyushu	1921
❸ **Commendation for Schools**	Recognition of schools contributing to the encouragement of creativity in science education.		During The Science and Technology Week in April	Tokyo	1978
❹ **The Concours of School Children's Inventions**	Recognition and exhibition of excellent works devised by school children and students, and screened by authorities.	June through November every year	March	Tokyo	1941
❺ **The Concours of Teachers' and Educators' Inventions**	Recognition and exhibition of excellent educational materials devised by school teachers and educators, and screened by authorities.	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	1953

Event	Activities	Invitation Period	Date of Event	Location	Year of First Event
❻ **All Japan Concours of Inventions**	Recognition and exhibition of unmarketed excellent inventions and devices screened by authorities.	During June and July every year	February	Tokyo	1960
❼ **The Concours of Children's Art of Tomorrow's Science**	Recognition and exhibition of school children's and student's excellent drawings which express their dreams of science in the future and which are screened by authorities.	July through December every year	April	Tokyo	1979
❽ **The World Exhibition of Young People's Inventions**	Exhibition of creative works devised by the younger generation all over the world, for the aid to world unity and mutual understanding among young people through their works based on scientific ideas.	As appropriate	As appropriate	Tokyo	1972
❾ **Invention Clubs for Schoolchildren**	Opportunities and facilities to be given to children to express their original creativity without restraint and to realize the joy of taking a concrete form of their ideas through their creative experience.			Cities, towns and villages all over Japan	1974
❿ **Lending of Films and Videotape Recorda**	Lending of films and videotapes concerning inventions and developments in technology that are of use to businesses and inventors.	At any time (No charge)		——	1962

Notes for Entrants

The World Exhibition of Young People's Inventions

—An Aid to World Unity—

Sponsor: Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation

Supporters: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of International Trade and Industry
The Science and Technology Agency
The Japanese Patent Office

Objects of the Exhibition:

Every year Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation helds the All-Japan Exhibition of School Children's Inventions for young people in Japan. The objects of the Exhibition are to collect devices originally designed by school children on the basis of their fresh scientific ideas, commend the excellent works officially, show them to the public, and foster the creative power and increase the scientific knowledge of young people.

Based on the results of, and its experience in, the All-Japan Exhibition of School Children's Inventions, Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation has held the world exhibition of the inventions of young people twice in the past, in 1972 and 1975.

Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation has decided to hold the World Exhibition of Young People's Inventions in 1984 to commemorate the 80th anniversary of our Institute.

The objects of the World Exhibition of Young People's Inventions are to collect devices originally designed by young people from various countries of the world, with different manners and customs, based on their fresh scientific ideas, promote scientific, technological and cultural exchange between these countries through the Exhibition, and strengthen the ties of friendship and bring about a better understanding between the countries of the world.

You are cordially invited to enter the contest with your works.

1. Devices for the Exhibition

(1) Creative devices based on scientific ideas, for example improvements in everyday necessities or teaching materials.
(2) Subject matter may be freely chosen.
(3) Any materials may be used. However, devices that are easily breakable (those made from glass, bamboo or clay) or perishable, or are dangerous (using gunpowder or explosives), will not be accepted. Drawings or photographs only, or research papers cannot be accepted.
(4) The exhibit should be less than 1 meter in length, width and height, and less than 30 kilograms in total weight.

2. Requirements for entrants:

(1) The entrants are limited to ones who were born on or after January 1, 1964.
(2) The entrants should be school children, or children who have not yet entered a school.
(3) A device can be submitted by one or more devisers.

3. Application for the Exhibition:

(1) Application form and description form:
   a. An application form and a description form must be filled in (in English, German, French or Spanish).
   b. The application form and the description form must be sent to our Institute by airmail separately from, and prior to, shipment of the devices.
   c. Application period:
   January 1, 1983 — March 31, 1984 (An application postmarked March 31, 1984 will be accepted)
(2) Attachments to the application:
   a. Photograph of applicant . . . . 1 photo (When there is more than one deviser, a photograph of each of them must be submitted. Size of photograph: 5cm × 5cm)
   b. Complete drawings (or photographs) of the device . . . . . 1 set

c. Wiring diagrams (when an electric current is used).....1 set

d. Anything else needed to describe the device.

(3) Packing and acceptance period of the device:

a. The device must be packaged securely so that it will not be broken during transportation and it must be shipped by one of the methods described in section 4, "Shipment of the device" after the application has been sent in.

b. The exhibit label must be filled in properly and pasted on the outside of the package containing the device. (Use the same language as that used for the application)

c. Acceptance period:
January 1, 1983 — August 31, 1984.

4. Shipment of the device:

(1) The device can be sent by airmail when the package containing it is within the parcel post limits in size and weight, but it must be sent by air cargo when the package is in excess of the parcel post limits in size or weight.

(2) The method of sending the device must be clearly shown on the application form by ticking off "Airmail" or "Air Cargo".

(3) After an application from an entrant has been received by the sponsor, the transportation instructions, the name of the forwarding agent to be used and the shipping date will be informed to the entrant in writing. The entrant must ship his exhibit in accordance with this information.

5. Transportation expenses:

(1) When the device is transported as air cargo, the expenses of shipment from the designated forwarding agent to the sponsor (in Tokyo), and from the sponsor to the entrant, will be paid by the sponsor.

(2) When the device is transported as air cargo, the expenses of carrying it from the entrant's address to the designated forwarding agent should be paid by the entrant.

(3) When the device is sent by airmail, the expenses of sending the device from the entrant to the sponsor will be compensated by the sponsor.

6. Selection of the winning works:

The sponsor and a committee organized by men of learning and experience in Japan will examine the works and select the best one from each country.

7. Invitation of winners to Japan:

(1) Three winners will be selected from among those selected from each country. The three winners will be invited (with one guardian for each winner) to an exhibition and commendation ceremony to be held in Tokyo. Also, the three winners and their guardians will be invited to TSUKUBA EXPO'85 to be held in the same period.

(2) If such a winning work is designed by several people, the sponsor will select one of them to be invited to Tokyo.

8. Prizes and mementos:

(1) A diploma, a prize and a list of exhibits will be given to the winners selected from each country. If a winning exhibit is designed by several people, a diploma, a prize and a list of exhibits will be given to each of them.

(2) A memento and a list of exhibits will be given to all entrants. If an exhibit is designed by several people, a memento and a list of exhibits will be given to each of them.

9. Exhibition of inventions:

All the works of the entrants will be displayed at the exhibition.

(1) Period: From March to December 1985.

(2) Place : Tokyo. After the works have been displayed in Tokyo, they will be displayed in other major cities in Japan.

10. Return of exhibits:

After the exhibitions in major cities in Japan have been finished in late December 1985, the exhibits will be returned to the entrants.

11. Compensation for breakage or loss of the exhibits:

After this Institute has received the works, they will be stored with the greatest care. If any of the works are broken or lost, a certain amount of money that corresponds to the cost of making the works will be paid to the entrant except when the breakage or loss of the works occurs from a cause beyond our control.
The voltage and/or frequency of electrical or mechanical devices may be changed by us, if necessary.

12. Address:

It is requested that the documents, the works and any inquiries be sent to the following address.

Administration Office for the World Exhibition of Young People's Inventions
c/o Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation
9-14, Toranomon 2-chome, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105, Japan
Telephone: 03-502-0511

* No.
Received

Application

1 Title of Exhibit

2 Full name of Entrant

other person(s)

3 Date of Birth

☐ Male ☐ Female age

4 Address

5 Nationality

6 Name of School

7 Address of School

8 Date completed

9 Cost of Exhibit

10 Materials of Work

11 Electrical Capacity

V. A.

12 Size of Exhibit

L. cm x W. cm x H. cm

13 Weight of Exhibit

kg

14 Have you won any prize for this work?

☐ Yes, ☐ No

15 Name of exhibition or contest, name of sponsor and name of prize awarded

16 Method of Transportation

☐ Air mail ☐ Air cargo

17 Name and address of organization or person from whom you have learned of this exhibition.

- Do not write anything in the box marked "*".
- Put the title of the exhibit in box 1, using the words that accurately describe it.
- If you change your address, send the new address to the Administration Office immediately.
- When the exhibit is designed by several people, write the full name, sex and age, address, and nationality of one representative in boxes 2, 3, 4 and 5, respectively.
  Write the full name, sex and age, address, and nationality of the remaining person (s) on a separate sheet and attach it to this application.
- Put the cost of exhibit in your own currency in box 9.
- Write the names of the main materials used for the device in box 10.
- Fill in box 11 only if an electric current is used for operation of the device.
- Write the dimension and weight of the device by centimeter and kilogram, respectively, in boxes 12 and 13.
- Put a check-mark in the applicable square in boxes 3, 14 and 16.

* No.
Received

Explanation of Exhibit

1. Motive for your device:

2. How to operate the device:

3. Specific features and effect of your device:

Full name of Entrant:

Date:

LABEL

Name :

Address :

LABEL

Name :

Address :

VISIT TO ISRAEL

משרד החוץ

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DIVISION FOR OFFICIAL GUESTS

H. EXC. MR. DAMRONG LATHAPIPAT

MINISTER OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND ENERGY

THAILAND

19 - 24 May 1984

H. Exc. Mr. Lathapipat is accompanied by :

Mr. Somdee Chareokul, Deputy Permanent Secretary

Dr. Charlio Surasiti, Director General, Department of Science Service

Mr. Phol Songpongs, Deputy Director General, the National Energy Administration

Dr. Charoen Vashrangsi, Deputy Director General, National Research Council

Dr. Santhad Rojanasoonthon, Deputy Governor, Scientific and Technological Research Institute

Dr. Vichitvong Na Pomdhejara, Advisor

Dr. Likhit Dhiravegin, Advisor

Dr. Wiwat Mungkandi, Advisor

Mr. Pahol Chindakul, Director, The Bureau of the Budget

Dr. Prathet Sutabutr, Director, Energy Planning, the National Energy Administration

Mr. Metee Auatinyakul, Advisor

Mr. Surasak Konggaen, Journalist

Saturday, 19 May

21.15 - Arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport by OA flight No. 301

- Proceed to Jerusalem

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Sunday, 20 May

08.00	-	Leave for Tel Aviv
[illegible]00	-	Visit "Koor Industries"
	-	Visit "Degem Systems"
13.00	-	Lunch
15.00	-	Meeting with Mr. Avishai Furmanski, General Manager, Industries Development Corporation
	-	Return to Jerusalem
21.00	-	Reception hosted by the President of the State of Israel, Mr. Chaim Herzog, at the Presidential Residence

Overnight at the Ramada Rénaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Monday, 21 May

08.45	-	Opening of plenary session of the Jerusalem Economic Conference, at the Hilton Hotel
11.00	-	Meeting with Mr. Yitzhak Moday, Minister of Energy and Infrastructure
13.00	-	Meeting with Prof. Yuval Ne'eman, Minister of Science and Development
13.30	-	Lunch hosted by Prof. Yuval Ne'eman (at the Plaza Hotel)
16.00	-	Visit Jerusalem
21.00	-	Cultural Event at the Jerusalem Theatre

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Tuesday, 22 May

08.30	-	Departure for Tel Aviv Fair Grounds
09.45	-	Visit the "Isratech 84" Exhibition
12.15	-	Proceed to the Tel Aviv Hilton
12.45	-	Cocktails and lunch hosted by Mr. Gideon Patt, Minister of Industry and Trade
15.00	-	Visit the "Electronics Corporation of Israel Ltd."
	-	Return to Jerusalem
	-	Dinner hosted by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, at the Diplomat Hotel

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Wednesday, 23 May

09.00	-	Visit "Yad Vashem", Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial
10.00	-	Leave for Tel Aviv
	-	Visit the Military Industries (to be confirmed)
	-	Lunch
15.30	-	Visit "Amcor"
	-	Return to Jerusalem

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Thursday, 24 May

[illegible].45	-	Leave for Ben Gurion International Airport
09.50	-	Departure by OA, flight No. 302

For further information, please contact :
Mr. Meir Mishan
Division for Official Guests
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem - Tel. 235111

VISIT TO ISRAEL

משרד החוץ

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DIVISION FOR OFFICIAL GUESTS

H. EXC. MR. DAMRONG LATHAPIPAT

MINISTER OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND ENERGY

THAILAND

19 - 24 May 1984

H. Exc. Mr. Lathapipat is accompanied by :

Mr. Somdee Chareokul, Deputy Permanent Secretary

Dr. Charlio Surasiti, Director General, Department of Science Service

Mr. Phol Songpongs, Deputy Director General, the National Energy Administration

Dr. Charoen Vashrangsi, Deputy Director General, National Research Council

Dr. Santhad Rojanasoonthon, Deputy Governor, Scientific and Technological Research Institute

Dr. Vichitvong Na Pomdhejara, Advisor

Dr. Likhit Dhiravegin, Advisor

Dr. Wiwat Mungkandi, Advisor

Mr. Pahol Chindakul, Director, The Bureau of the Budget

Dr. Prathet Sutabutr, Director, Energy Planning, the National Energy Administration

Mr. Metee Auatinyakul, Advisor

Mr. Surasak Konggaen, Journalist

Saturday, 19 May

21.15 - Arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport by OA, flight No. 301

- Proceed to Jerusalem

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Sunday, 20 May

08.00	-	Leave for Tel Aviv
09.00	-	Visit "Koor Industries"
	-	Visit "Degem Systems"
13.00	-	Lunch
15.00	-	Meeting with Mr. Avishai Furmanski, General Manager, Industries Development Corporation
	-	Return to Jerusalem
21.00	-	Reception hosted by the President of the State of Israel, Mr. Chaim Herzog, at the Presidential Residence

Overnight at the Ramada Rénaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Monday, 21 May

08.45	-	Opening of plenary session of the Jerusalem Economic Conference, at the Hilton Hotel
11.00	-	Meeting with Mr. Yitzhak Moday, Minister of Energy and Infrastructure
13.00	-	Meeting with Prof. Yuval Ne'eman, Minister of Science and Development
13.30	-	Lunch hosted by Prof. Yuval Ne'eman (at the Plaza Hotel)
16.00	-	Visit Jerusalem
21.00	-	Cultural Event at the Jerusalem Theatre

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Tuesday, 22 May

08.30	-	Departure for Tel Aviv Fair Grounds
09.45	-	Visit the "Isratech 84" Exhibition
12.15	-	Proceed to the Tel Aviv Hilton
12.45	-	Cocktails and lunch hosted by Mr. Gideon Patt, Minister of Industry and Trade
15.00	-	Visit the "Electronics Corporation of Israel Ltd."
	-	Return to Jerusalem
	-	Dinner hosted by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, at the Diplomat Hotel

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Wednesday, 23 May

09.00	-	Visit "Yad Vashem", Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial
10.00	-	Leave for Tel Aviv
	-	Visit the Military Industries (to be confirmed)
	-	Lunch
15.30	-	Visit "Amcor"
	-	Return to Jerusalem

Overnight at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Jerusalem

Thursday, 24 May

07.45	-	Leave for Ben Gurion International Airport
09.50	-	Departure by OA, flight No. 302

For further information, please contact :
Mr. Meir Mishan
Division for Official Guests
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem - Tel. 235111

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

3726
** נבנס שמור
**
**
**

אל: המשרד, נר: 104, מ : בנגקוק
דח: ב, סג: ש, תא: 160584, לח: 1600
נד: שר המדע

משרד המדע והטכנולוגיה
לשכת השר
דואר נכנס
נתקבל ביום 17-05-1984
נרשם ב.....
תשובה.....

שמור/בהולי!!!!!!!!

אל מאסו'יק,מאו'יר

שר המדע - לשלכם 221.

1. שוחחתי עם שר המדע אשר מקבל בהבנה האמור בשלכם 200. במובן שיהיה צורך להבטיח בי אנשי התקשורת המלוים אותו יובלו להצטרף אליו על תקן של אנשי עמונות או בכל צורה שהיא. אתם דואגים בודאי לתכנית עבור הפמליה בשעה שהיא לא תלווה לשר. לא ניתן לצמצם מספרם.
2. השר מבקש לדעת אם הוזמנו החדרים במלון הילטון,מי יקבלו בשדה ומי האישיות המארחת אותו רשמית. נא הודיעונו.
3. אני מארח את השר ופמליתו לארוחת פרידה ב-18 במאי ואודה את תודיעוני עד אז שלד התכנית. איזה גופים כלכליים שולבו בה ואת תשובותיכם גם לסעיפים 7,3 למברקנו 68.

בהנ===

מפ: שהח,מנכל,מנכל,מאסוק,יגר,אורחים,מקס,מעת,ר/מרכז
מח: שר המדע

מ ז כ ר (להתכתבות פנימית במשרדי הממשלה)

אל: יגל | התאריך: אין

מאת: מ. נחום | תיק מס':

הנדון:

הלוטה

(1)

אני מעוניין כי בקשרו בטכנולוגיות ראמלות
מעורב בחיי היומיות לאוכלוסיות הזולה. נפרד.

נמר - אפשר לי לנסות בזה ושלום
יגל?

(3) לא

לא

נ.ד. אין בעניין בטכנולוגיה ראמלות ולהמנעות
בגלגלים בקלאנים של מעורב בחיי.
יש לי ראיה בחיי אני אני-יודע
והיתר מכוסה אל הולדן הכל (בקצת שעות)
מעניין של ויהיה בלוח.

(2)

מרכז 1010 אלוה FREE : MOSED .. לא

THE ADMINISTRATOR
UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

6 April 1984

Your Excellency,

I am writing to draw your attention to the current situation regarding the Financing System for Science and Technology for Development. As provided for by the General Assembly, the Administrator of UNDP is also responsible for supervising the operations of the Financing System and for its conduct as a new component of multilateral cooperation. The Financing System, throughout the first four years of its existence, following the Conference on Science and Technology held in Vienna in 1979, has followed a course that clearly demonstrates its dynamic and innovative character. This is clear in its project operations, its administration and management procedures, and its flexible approaches to project financing.

Despite this performance, however, and despite reaching agreement on the long-term financial and institutional arrangements, governments have not yet been able to agree on the overall financing plan for the System's future operations. As a result, contributions have not yet matched the target agreed by the General Assembly of US$50 million for the first year, needed to launch the new arrangements and increased levels of resources, both core and non-core, in future years.

To give you a more complete picture of the performance and outlook ... for the Financing System I am attaching three pieces of information. These include:

- a brochure, "The Vital Difference", which gives an overall view of the System's mandate, methods and resource structure;
- a recent statement by Martin Lees, Director of the Financing System, to the Advisory Committee on Science and Technology, which gives an up-to-date summary of individual activities and the current status of intergovernmental action;
- a series of questions and answers designed to clarify some of the issues which have been raised by governments and others on the purpose and even the validity of the Financing System.

/....

H.E. Mr. Yuval Ne'eman
Minister of Science and Development
New Kirya, Clelemont Gannot Street
Jerusalem 91180
Israel

לזמנם

As called for in General Assembly resolution 38/157 the Secretary-General is undertaking consultations with governments leading to a special pledging conference for the Financing System by June 1984, if appropriate. As also called for in the resolution, the Secretary-General, the Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, and the Administrator of UNDP are making the fullest possible effort to mobilize the support of governments to make this pledging conference a success, and to ensure that the Financing System can at last be launched on a vigorous basis so as to carry out its important tasks in the vital field of science and technology. I very much hope that you will be prepared to assist in the necessary efforts to ensure that the importance of these final consultations is recognized and that governments are prepared to reach the necessary decisions and provide the required support.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Bradford Morse

United Nations Financing System
for Science and Technology for Development

STATEMENT OF MR. MARTIN LEES, DIRECTOR
TO THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT
17 FEBRUARY 1984

***

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

***

United Nations Development Programme
One United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 • (212) 754-1234 • Cable: FINANSYS, New York

STATEMENT OF MR. MARTIN LEES, DIRECTOR OF THE

UNITED NATIONS FINANCING SYSTEM FOR SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

TO THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

17 FEBRUARY 1984

STATEMENT OF MR. MARTIN LEES, DIRECTOR OF THE
UNITED NATIONS FINANCING SYSTEM FOR SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT
TO THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT
17 February 1984

I am most grateful for this opportunity to inform the Advisory Committee on the activities in progress and the current situation of the Financing System. The members of this Committee, being distinguished scientists and science policy experts, have often expressed serious interest in the substance of the activities of the Financing System and I shall therefore speak longer than usual in order to convey some impression of the wide range of activities in progress. The staff of the Financing System and myself are, of course, available at any time for followup discussions with individual members of the Committee. I start then with an outline of the activities of the Financing System.

First, I should point out that the 90 or so projects approved and financed by the Financing System, together with the 70 fully appraised proposals awaiting financing and the more than 800 further proposals awaiting processing do represent clear government priorities and correspond to the broad programme areas defined by the Vienna Programme of Action. The Financing System has been able, through a systematic appraisal process, to approve only around 10% of the projects submitted to it over the last four years.

S&T Policy and Planning

The approved projects can be grouped into several main substantive areas and it is hardly surprising that science and technology policy and planning activities have emerged as of key importance within the overall Financing System programme. In this field, the Financing System seeks to promote a results-oriented approach to ensure that the concerns with the design of policy, procedures and institutions are closely linked to the practical purposes of economic and social development. Projects in this field are being supported by the Financing System in a number of Latin American and Caribbean countries, such as Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Panama and the CARICOM sub-region, in Africa, in the Arab region and in several Asian countries including the People's Republic of China.

In Costa Rica for example, the Financing System is assisting the Government in the design of a national science and technology system which includes mechanisms and instruments for policy formulation, exchange and absorption of science and technology information, efficient transfer of technology based on modern industrial property legislation, strengthening of consulting and engineering capacities and all the links between research and development and the productive sector, and in addition, the internal financing of science and technology projects.

In contrast, a project in the Dominican Republic has adopted a sectoral approach, in order to develop a working arrangement to incorporate science and technology policy and planning in national economic and social decision-making. In each of six priority sectors, a four-step approach was followed: (i) an inventory of existing capabilities and ongoing research and development; (ii) sectoral in-depth studies; (iii) formulation of policies and programmes, and (iv) the creation of the necessary support functions for science and technology information exchange and national financing of projects. Sectoral steering committees were established to ensure the full participation of the scientific and technological communities with public and private sector organizations interested in these efforts.

An interesting aspect of science and technology policy and planning has been addressed in Mexico where the Financing System provided preparatory assistance to assist in the creation of a national advisory mechanism on technological forecasting in some key industrual sectors with a view to enabling the Government to formulate industrial development policies and to make major investment decisions, taking proper consideration of international technological trends and the comparative advantage of Mexico in the world economy.

In the African region, concerted efforts have been made to integrate science and technology development with overall economic and social development. In Botswana, Burundi, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe, projects seek to assist Governments to articulate their national science and technology priorities and strategies and to strengthen national machinery for science and technology planning and choice. In the absence of coherent policy a country finds it hard to participate in a proper way in international science and technology relations. In Botswana, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe, the assistance provided is focussed on a comprehensive assessment of the state of science and technology, involving Government, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, with a view to inserting the science and technology factor into development planning. In addition to this overall approach, a special focus has often been adopted, for example the agro-industry and the capital goods sector in Sierra Leone and on chemical industries in Zimbabwe. In Burundi, activities concentrate on the strengthening of the country's capacity for the acquisition of new technologies which include a revision of investment and industrial property legislation.

At the regional level, the Financing System has provided preparatory assistance to the African Regional Centre for Technology (ARCT) to help in working out detailed programmes and activities critical to strengthening African efforts for technological development in the sectors of food and energy. A number of activities have been defined, which now require technical and financial support for their implementation. One clear conclusion which has emerged from this preparatory project is that there is a substantial

need for closer partnership between scientific and technological organizations - both public and private - in developed countries, with their counterparts in developing countries. To address this need, an unusual meeting on "International Co-operation for African Technological Development" was held in Dakar, Senegal in December 1983, jointly sponsored by ARCT and FSSTD. The meeting brought together a very wide range of interested parties including representatives of African Governments and of African scientific and technological organizations together with representatives of international organizations, Western donor governments, and private banks, enterprises and research and academic institutions from developing countries. The purpose of the meeting was to identify and reinforce opportunities for practical cooperation between African science and technology activities and international and national capacities in other countries, so that skills and resources can be systemically mobilized to support African efforts. Although the first of its kind, the meeting was successful and a further more systematic effort will be made to organize another meeting of a similar type in due course.

In the Arab region, leading national and international science and technology experts held 24 sessions of lectures and discussions on various aspects of technology policy planning, drawing on the experience of those who have been actually involved in the process of technology choice, development, acquisition and transfer, as well as on capacity building.

In a similar way, support is being provided to a regional technological center in the Asia and Pacific region, where the Financing System has provided programme support to the Regional Centre for Technology Transfer in Bangalore, India. This institution is aimed at strengthening the endogenous technological capacities of the developing countries in the region and the Financing System is supporting a two-year programme to assist in establishing institutional and policy frameworks to stimulate technological development, to provide training in the implementation of technology policies and for experts in critical technological fields, to establish a regional technolgical information network with specific assistance to selected national information centres and to promote critical aspects of national energy programmes. After several years of preparation an unusual approach was chosen to assist the People's Republic of China in the improvement of their science and technology policy and planning capabilities. Through a project which required little money but alot of organization, three different delegations each representing different ministries and organizations in China, comprising a total of 33 top policy makers were given the opportunity to visit over a hundred institutions in seven developed and developing countries. They were able to explore with their counterparts strategic choices, plans and institutional options related to the management of science and technology which, for the People's Republic of China as for other developing countries, is considered to be a central issue of national development policy. It is interesting to note, that the Government of India was glad to welcome one of these missions and that a return mission of eminent Indian scientists and policy makers has had the opportunity to pay an extensive visit to China.

After digesting and disseminating the principal conclusions reached regarding policy options and practices of other countries and calling a major national symposium, an International Conference on Science and Technology Policy was held in Beijing, co-hosted by the State Scientific and Technological Commission of China and by the Financing System. Some 35 international experts and around 80 Chinese policy makers and planners were involved, contributing through 40 discussion papers, to a genuine interchange of ideas. The Chinese authorities alone prepared 17 important papers in English for the meeting. The meeting culminated in an interview with the Premier of China, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, who underlined the vital importance to China of science and technology and his appreciation of the role played by the Financing System.

From all the above activities in the field of science and technology policy, it is clear that an internationally-based effort such as the Financing System can accumulate practical experience through the financial support of a variety of projects worldwide, which can be of great use to the governments of developing countries. It is also clear that there exists a fund of goodwill and expertise throughout the developed countries in Universities, research organizations, private companies and public sector organizations, willing and able to assist the developing countries across a wide range of scientific and technological activities. In the developing countries, there are urgent needs for support of every kind in this field, but, organizational and communications problems make it extremely difficult and, in fact, quite rare for the needs and the possible help to come together in a constructive and sustained co-operative effort. The Financing System has an important role to play in promoting such co-operative arrangements.

Science and Technology Information

A necessary concomitant of science and technology policy is science and technology information. Many of the projects mentioned above in the fields of policy and planning include mechanisms for the production, exchange and absorption of science and technology information. In other cases, such as a project on agricultural information in Senegal, projects have been requested specifically to focus on information issues. The Financing System has also addressed this important subject at the subregional, regional and interregional levels to promote the international exchange of information. An ambitious project of this type has been supported by the Financing System in the Andean subregion, where the five member countries of the Andean Pact have joined together to form the Andean Technological Information System (SAIT) expanding on conventional information network practices. SAIT pools resources and also information in eight categories: Direct Foreign Investment, World Prices, Technological Transfer Agreements, Patents and Trademarks, Locally Available and Marketable Technologies, Alternate Technologies, Rules for Classification of Information, and Inventory of National Documents and Information Sources. The system will strengthen the capacity of the five countries individually and collectively for the search, choice, negotiation, adaptation and assimilation of technologies.

SAIT is an important component of the emerging Regional Technical Information Network in Latin America (RITLA). The Financing System has assisted in the final design and bringing into effect of this network. Another regional approach to information exchange is being supported in the Asia and Pacific region in the context of the RCTT already mentioned.

A further important effort of the Financing System has been to support the Arab League and its member governments in establishing a computer-based information system to identify on a continuing basis individuals and organizations with scientific and technological expertise available throughout the Arab world and beyond.

At the interregional level, the Financing System has made a substantial effort to define, negotiate and launch the Technological Information Pilot System (TIPS) project at the request of a number of developing countries throughout the world. This project is being financed as a "non-core" activity through a trust fund arrangement financed by the Government of Italy. In two phases, this project will test the technical and economic viability of a user-oriented mechanism for the exchange of scientific and technological information on a current basis among developing countries. The project is not, therefore, aimed simply at linking data banks, but in promoting the exchange of information of work and activities in progress between countries on a continuing and timely basis. The focal points of the project will be National Bureaux in each of an initial ten participating countries linked through a global operational centre. The topics provisionally selected, subject to confirmation through detailed user surveys in the participating countries and elsewhere, are focussed on energy and industrial technologies. The project makes provision for evaluation and design of a wider system if warranted by successful results. It offers a limited but practical start with an interesting approach on an issue of key concern to developing countries.

It is evident from the work of the Financing System in the information area, that many developing countries incur substantial costs in lost time and resources because of the inadequate international exchange of information. An internationally-based effort such as the Financing System can assist in accumulating experience and knowledge of information available, and promoting the effective exchange of this information among developing countries. It is also sadly evident that the dissemination and use of information is a critical problem for many developing countries. In this respect, the strengthening of capacity in terms of skilled manpower, information and communication systems, is urgently required so that the countries may be better able to select useful information from the mass available and ensure its availability where it can be used in practice to promote economic and social development.

The Importance of Application of Technologies

One of the highest priorities of many developing countries is the appropriate use of established and modern technologies for the exploration, exploitation and beneficiation of natural resources. A large number of projects among the thousand or so submitted to the Financing System address priority problems in this sector. An interesting example of the economic and technical benefits to be gained from such activities is a project in Tunisia where the Government has executed a project to provide advanced training and research to national geologists and geology students in geological surveys and cartography. This project has resulted, at acceptable cost, in the production of high quality maps besides the training of a large number of Tunisians in this field. It has led directly to the discovery of natural mineral resources within a very short time, resulting in substantial savings in foreign exchange. Another project in this field which has also shown valuable results has been in the People's Republic of China where the Financing System has supported the creation of a National Remote Sensing Centre for the training of nationals in all the related techniques.

The introduction of modern mineral processing technologies can hold enormous potential for developing countries as demonstrated in Jamaica, where the Financing System has assisted the Jamaican Bauxite Institute in the upgrading of its scientific and technological capabilities, especially through the installation of a modern Pilot Plant to run tests and carry out research on different ores. Another important facility has been created with the support of the Financing System in Nigeria, focussed on research in metallurgy particularly for iron-ores. Similar projects focussed on mineral processing are being financed in a number of other countries.

A different example of the development of natural resources is a project on "Industrial Chemicals from Local Carbohydrate Sources" in the Philippines, where significant R&D work is being carried on in conjunction with local industry on the derivation and manufacture of sucro-based chemicals as part of an effort to diversify the natural sugar industry and relieve demand on foreign exchange.

Yet a further variety of natural resource development is represented by a project in Bangladesh, which is carrying out research on indigenous herbal and plant-based drugs. Like a number of other developing countries, Bangladesh is rich in plants of medicinal value and possesses a deep-rooted tradition of herbal medicine. Through the application of modern pharmaceutical techniques, it is planned to exploit and popularize these valuable local resources to provide affordable health care products for the domestic market.

Another aspect of natural resources is the question of environmental protection and a number of projects of the Financing System are focussed on this important area either directly or as part of projects principally aimed at resource development. In several cases such as a project on cellulose chemistry in the Sudan, the project aims not only at eliminating environmental degradation, but in treating agricultural residues so as to obtain an economic benefit.

New and Renewable Energy

A substantial number of the projects supported by the Financing System deal directly or indirectly with new and renewable sources of energy. In six African countries (Cape Verde, Gambia, Lesotho, Mauritius, Seychelles and Somalia) small energy packages are being developed. Research and Development efforts focus on appropriately designed low-cost prototypes and other small devices using any one or a combination of different energy sources.

The activities of the Financing System focussed on energy problems of island countries are of particular interest. Here, a particularly important energy problem has proved to be the supply and linkage to outlying islands. The Seychelles Integrated Energy Project, for example, seeks to alleviate this problem: technologies are being systematically developed with the needs of the outlying islands in mind. The energy mix includes a range of renewable sources - biogas, solar, wind and mini-hydraulic schemes which are adapted and tested in actual field applications. On the main islands, these applications are developed for integration into the national grid. As a result of the Financing System's initial involvement, several donors are now participants in this research effort. In Mauritius, the potential of wind as a source of energy for electrifying small isolated villages is being examined. Project activities include collecting, analysing and interpreting wind data, testing wind turbines and establishing a demonstration programme for wind power generation. In Cape Verde Islands, there is a well-coordinated approach to develop water resources linked to the testing and installation of wind and solar energy technologies in the archipelago.

In Pakistan, the Financing System has initiated a combined research and production programme in alternative energy at the National Development Centre for Silicon Technology. The object of this programme is to familiarize national physicists, metallurgists and technicians with a complete range of options for the production of silicon-based photovoltaic cells and their subsequent application. The project thus offers Pakistani scientists exposure to some of the latest research on the refinement of metallurgical-grade, ferro-silicon while introducing local technicians to production methods in water and module fabrication.

A major portion of the Financing System's activities are focussed on research, development, testing and pilot production in relation to natural resources, energy and environment. The potential of utilizing research and suitable technology to provide economic benefits in this sector is substantial. Particularly in regard to energy, there is an urgent need for improved understanding, strengthened capacity and increased efforts in developing countries.

High-Technology Projects

In response to its specific mandate from governments, as reflected in the Vienna Programme of Action and ensuing General Assembly resolutions, the Financing System has used a small amount of its resources in response to government requests for technology-related projects which represent the state-of-the-art in their respective fields. A case in point is the development of carbon fibre technology in Brazil, where the Financing System has assisted with the installation and development of a small-scale steady state pilot plant for carbon fibres. A research team and a production team have been fully trained to develop and adapt the state-of-the-art technology and introduce it into production processes.

At the regional level in Latin America and the Caribbean, an innovative networking approach has been used for the pooling and upgrading of non-destructive testing capacilities. Many countries in Latin America have reached the level of industrial development where the production and export of capital goods is of great importance. Quality control in industrial production, construction and maintenance is of fundamental importance. A National Non-Destructive Testing Institute in Argentina provides the main operational basis for this regional project which is focussed principally on the training of operators and certification officers and the introduction of modern testing techniques. In order to finance this project, the Financing System has helped to bring together a consortium of interested parties including the developing countries themselves, donor governments and other funding and technical agencies.

In Asia, another high-technology project deserves special mention. Project INTERACT, an ambitious computer training and software development programme in India is building up capacity to custom-design, adapt and integrate software packages for real-time, on-line applications in railway management, electrical power distribution, and meteorological forecasting. Under a cooperative research programme, professionals from interested developing countries have been engaged, together with their counterparts from the Indian Computer Maintenance Corporation, in designing software and systems which will assist other developing countries to keep pace with this rapidly evolving science.

Technologies for Rural Development

In contrast to the type of high-technology projects sketched above, the Financing System is also supporting a large number of projects where the specific purpose is the appropriate development of application and adaptation of well known technologies to the solution pervasive problems of rural development. A good example of this approach is a package of projects in the Sahel region of Africa which is now being negotiated on a trust fund basis, designed to support the improvement and application of technologies in food and energy. The focus is on the planning of energy technologies and on farming systems research, taking into account the different ecological and agricultural conditions of the countries concerned. Another project in Indonesia, recently approved, aims to implement a complete programme for the design, adaptation and delivery of rural technologies covering such fields as post-harvest technologies, rural water supply, food conservation and processing, and the production of fertilizers, while making maximum use of locally available renewable energy sources. An interesting feature of this project is that the Financing System will make available through a private bank in Indonesia, small loans to individual entrepreneurs to encourage the dissemination of technologies in rural areas.

Rural development efforts do, of course, include the use of some advanced technologies and a project in Egypt demonstrates the results which can be achieved. The project, on a pilot scale, responds to the country's need for a comprehensive health information system with a radically new approach using micro-computers at the Village level. This relatively inexpensive and uncomplicated technology is making a start in providing Egypt with a readily accessible data base and a data collection network so that health care can be managed and monitored on a reliable basis. Health indicators are being synthesized and instructions for action are fed back to the Villages within days.

Science Education and Popularization

Zambia, Swaziland, Ethiopia and Kenya are recipients of UNFSSTD assistance to develop and upgrade their science education. The development of human resources, in particular, expanding the base of skilled personnel, lies at the core of capacity building, of providing developing countries with the means of initiating and sustaining their own developmental efforts. To illustrate, the support to Swaziland is aimed at increasing the number of Swazi professors at the science faculty of the University of Swaziland (presently most of the staff is expatriate), and building up a cadre of young Swazi scientists.

In Ethiopia, there is an added dimension. UNFSSTD is helping one of the few ongoing efforts anywhere to develop and popularize, in a practical and systematic way, a science and technology vocabulary in the national language, Amharic. In this way, UNFSSTD is helping to sustain the vitality of this language as a medium of expression in the rapidly changing modern world of science and technology.

General Considerations

The projects supported by the Financing System are the result of an explicit appraisal process through which each one is exposed to critical assessment from a variety of expert points of view. The result is projects which are clearly output-oriented and which focus on capacity building. They give special importance to training and human resource development so that when the project is completed, the capacity of the country has been strengthened. They emphasize the possibilities of cooperative linkages between developing countries and with resources in developed countries, both in the public and private sectors. Each project contains specific provision for final evaluation so as to ensure that the experience gained is accumulated to broaden the base of understanding of science and technology issues in developing countries, and particular efforts are made to promote the international exchange of project results. The Financing System can therefore become a channel to stimulate international cooperation on practical issues of science and technology for development and to accumulate and disseminate information and experience on the financing and management of science and technology projects.

The Financing System has achieved a number of successes in the international exchange of project results. A project on science and technology policy and programming in the Dominican Republic has been the focus of close study by policy makers and experts from other developing countries. Another illustration is the success of the International Conference on Carbon Fibre Applications which was recently held in Brazil, and which familiarized participants from other developing countries with the results achieved from the project. It was agreed that the laboratory and pilot plant facilities created in Brazil might be used as a training ground for scientists and technicians from interested developing countries. A similar exercise is planned in Jamaica related to bauxite processing techniques, and in Korea the results of significant research and testing work related to the production of parafin hydrocarbons have also been disseminated through an international seminar.

The output orientation which is an essential element in project design has resulted in some cases in substantial economic benefits from relatively modest project investments. An outstanding example is a project in Uruguay which has developed a method to inactivate foot-and-mouth disease virus in meat and meat products. It can be expected that the most important international markets will soon be reopened for meat and meat products from Uruguay, a result with major commercial implications.

Innovative project design based on the Financing System's experience of actual factors involved in capacity building for speedy achievement of results have characterized a number of FSSTD-supported government executed projects. Another good example is the project in Jordan which has resulted in a breakthrough in self-help, low-cost housing techniques. Newly designed building blocks produced in metal molds which have themselves been developed by Jordanian technicians, can be assembled without using mortar by prospective house owners. The technique has already been demonstrated in several developments, and negotiations are now underway with interested parties to apply the low-cost housing system in other developing countries in the region. Revenues through sale of this technology being realized by the Royal Scientific Society in Jordan will be used to support other research activities.

This outline of a few projects supported by the Financing System has focussed on their substantive content. I will not have time to expand here on the details of the operational approach which has been designed and applied to project selection, improvement, appraisal, management, monitoring and evaluation. Both in the General Assembly and the Governing Council of UNDP, both donors and recipients have expressed themselves satisfied with the effective use of resources through this project-specific approach. In addition, the legislation established by the General Assembly allows the Financing System substantial flexibility in the financing of projects including co-financing and loan operations, funds in trust and equity participation through both core and non-core operations. The Financing System has cooperated with and is cooperating with a wide range of private sector and non-governmental organizations in an effort to encourage a coherent approach to providing assistance to developing countries. It is regrettable that resources have not permitted the full development of all these possibilities and I very much hope that Governments can reach agreement so that the achievements which have been made can serve as the basis for a less marginal effort in the future.

The Current Situation of the Financing System

Now, Mr. Chairman, I will turn briefly to outline the present situation of negotiations in regard to the long-term arrangements for the Financing System. It is no secret that the negotiations have encountered serious problems. In spite of this, a great deal has been accomplished. After four years of effort, governments reached agreement on the institutional arrangements for the future, which in my view, offer an opportunity for a streamlined and effective effort on science and technology for development.

Briefly, the Financing System will be managed by an Executive Board made up of only 21 Directors, nominated for their experience of science and technology activities or of finance, or, ideally, of both.

This agreement has been reached on the basis of widespread political support for the Financing System in both developed and developing countries. A large majority of OECD countries and almost all developing countries have expressed their willingness to contribute. In parallel with this progress at the political level, the operations outlined above have been proceeding satisfactorily. Many countries have expressed their satisfaction with the work of the Financing System in practice. We have thus been able to demonstrate that projects can be designed and implemented to strengthen science and technology capacities in developing countries and that limited resources can be deployed in a judicious manner to meet the priority objectives of developing countries.

In view of this widespread support and all the practical results achieved over four years, why then can the System not be launched? The main difficulty is that five important developed countries are not prepared to provide financial contributions to the Financing System on the basis of the arrangements negotiated. At one point, in June 1982, it did appear that a major agreement was imminent which would have resulted in the flow of substantial new resources in this sector. Again, in April 1983 we were within **one word** of agreement on a critical point of the institutional arrangements. It is thus still possible to believe that there is a very fine line between success and failure and that continuing efforts are worthwhile.

The task before us is to bring together a "critical mass" of resources to launch the System and the General Assembly has determined that this amount should be $50 million brought together on a "joint and mutual" basis in which both developed and developing countries should contribute. We will be making strenuous efforts again to promote such an agreement, but I should close by pointing out that there is a limit to what the secretariat can properly undertake and that the responsibility lies absolutely with member governments.

Our experience over the past four years demonstrates the usefulness and potential of strengthened cooperation in science and technology. It shows the opportunities for innovation in multilateral technical cooperation. We are therefore convinced that our efforts are worthwhile. We are doing, in fact, the right thing but at the wrong time.

I very much hope that governments, at this critical stage of the negotiations, will provide support to the Financing System. Should this venture fail, it will not be possible to undertake similar efforts on this issue or indeed on other issues for many years to come.

United Nations Financing System
for Science and Technology for Development

STATEMENT OF MR. MARTIN LEES, DIRECTOR
TO THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT
17 FEBRUARY 1984

***

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

***

United Nations Development Programme
One United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 • (212) 754-1234 • Cable: FINANSYS, New York

THE UNITED NATIONS FINANCING SYSTEM
FOR SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

In the course of negotiations on the activities of the Financing System over the last four years, a number of questions have been raised as to its purpose and even its validity. A number of the most common questions are raised below and answers are given as far as possible. It is important to recognize that a series of decisions have been taken by the world's governments in resolutions of the General Assembly and other bodies which have established and justified the Financing System, determined its terms of reference and style of operations, and have clarified through sustained negotiations its financial and institutional characteristics.

It is hoped that the answers set out below will help to clarify the reasoning which lies behind this important initiative in international cooperation.

Question I

"WHY DO YOU NEED A FINANCING SYSTEM FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT? WHAT IS UNIQUE ABOUT IT?"

Answer

The Financing System, in comparison with other intergovernmental organizations, is uniquely focussed on the financing of projects aimed at strengthening the science and technology capacities of developing countries and at promoting cooperation in science and technology among all countries. Other organizations in the course of their activities, support projects with these purposes, but the Financing System is specifically focussed on this task which gives rise to a number of particular benefits. First, the System is able to accumulate specialized experience in the design and management of projects focussed on science and technology. In such fields as science and technology policy, science and technology information systems, training for scientific and technological activities, the adaptation and dissemination of technologies and other related activities, the System has accumulated practical experience in project design, managment and evaluation which can be made available to other countries. This body of knowledge is of prime importance in helping to ensure that the scarce resources available to developing countries are used in effective ways with the greatest probability of successful results.

The critical importance of strengthening science and technology in developing countries is recognized by leaders and experts in developing and developed countries alike. This is reflected both at the level of international agreements

and at the level of practical action. It is clear that technological progress based on enhanced skills, the application of knowledge and the installation of effective systems to support economic activities are critical to accelerated development. This has been shown historically in developed countries and in a small number of developing countries. As the effective mobilization of science and technology is a pre-condition for increased productivity and accelerated development, why should there not be a multilateral focus on this dimension of development? This is a question legitimately raised by those who strongly believe that the Financing System should soon be launched on a significant basis.

Another important role for the Financing System is that, in focussing specifically in a sustained way on the problems of building science and technology capacity in developing countries, it is able to stimulate, encourage and support the efforts of the developing countries themselves. It is clear that the resources available to a UN-based multilateral Financing System will always remain small in relation to the resources deployed by the developing countries themselves and to bilateral and private sector flows. Although small, the resources envisaged for the Financing System can be catalytic and can be used to promote the coherence, continuity and effectiveness of resources flowing through other channels. Objective international support has proved to be of significance in encouraging the developing countries to make sustained and increased efforts to build their science and technology capacities. This is a long-term objective which can be obliterated by urgent demands. International support can help to preserve the efforts on which the future ability of developing countries to help themselves will depend.

Viewed from a developing country point of view, great difficulties can be encountered in trying to ensure some coherence between the wide variety of inputs flowing through a number of bilateral, sectoral, private sector, and non-governmental channels. Each project, however well intentioned, requires counterpart efforts by the countries concerned and thus the utilization of scarce human, physical and financial resources. The Financing System has worked and does work with the governments of developing countries to help them to establish the framework of policy and programmes which can gradually ensure that all these efforts, both national and international, can be mobilized in a coherent way. Thus, the results achieved will become commensurate with the resources deployed and all participants can become more committed to such cooperative development efforts.

The Financing System therefore is unique in that its objectives are specifically focussed on science and technology. It is unique in the role that it has played and can play in assisting developing countries on an issue of internationally agreed importance and, in order to carry out its mandate, governments have created a unique set of institutional and operating arrangements to meet the technical cooperation needs of the 80's. These aspects are described below.

Question II

"DOES THE FINANCING SYSTEM CONSTITUTE A 'PROLIFERATION' OF FUNDS?"

Answer

Governments have decided, after four years of negotiation, that the Financing System should be focussed identifiably and specifically on science and technology, but that it should be closely linked to the facilities of an existing organization, UNDP. The Financing System is under the administration of the Administrator of UNDP, which ensures that there can be no conflict of objectives or activities. In operations, the Financing System utilizes the facilities of UNDP so as to avoid the creation of a whole new organization. Thus, it utilizes the field network in 111 countries for the channelling of communications with governments, for the processing of project requests, and for the day-to-day monitoring of projects. It utilizes head office facilities such as finance and accounting services, personnel and administrative services, and draws on the accumulated expertise of the regional bureaux. In this way, the Financing System has been able to add a dimension without duplication or excessive overhead costs.

In the opinion of the Administrator of UNDP, the creation of the Financing System constitutes a positive development for UNDP in that its financial flexibility and innovative methods will reinforce existing approaches while its established links to UNDP ensure proper coordination of activities.

Question III

"DO WE REALLY NEED ANOTHER U.N. FUND?"

Answer

The Financing System is not a fund of the traditional type. Governments recognized already in 1979, that new approaches are necessary to meet new requirements in international cooperation. The Financing System is unique in being established with both core and "non-core" resources. Around 50% of its activities will be made up of non-core activities including trust fund arrangements, loan operations, equity participation, co-financing, etc. For this reason, it is called a "system" as it is viewed as a small core operation influencing through a variety of flexible arrangements, more substantial flows of resources through other related or unrelated channels.

The Financing System also pays considerable attention to cooperation in "other-than-financial" terms. Science and Technology are international phenomena and the projects already undertaken have demonstrated the opportunities for cooperation and the flow of experience and ideas which can be triggered by relatively small amounts of money.

The Financing System, therefore, should be viewed as a new, flexible type of cooperative arrangement in which finance, information, technology and expertise can be programmed to bring accumulated human knowledge, 95% of which resides in developed countries, to assist in promoting the development of three-quarters of humanity.

Another feature of the Financing System is that a large part of its activities are motivated by the mutual interest of developed and developing countries. It is not purely motivated by considerations of development assistance. In research, training and the transfer and adaptation of technology, there are many areas of interest to developed countries, and a number of projects have demonstrated the economic and technological benefits which can arise not only to recipient developing countries, but also to developed countries participating in the system.

The Financing System is not, therefore, just another fund. It is an effort by governments to innovate, through wider financial flexibility, streamlined operating procedures and a conception of international cooperation based on genuine mutual interest in scientific and technological activities.

Question IV

"WHY DO WE NEED A MULTILATERAL EFFORT? WHY CAN THESE VALID OBJECTIVES NOT BE ACHIEVED BY BILATERAL EFFORTS?"

Answer

As mentioned above, the System is intended not to replace bilateral or private sector efforts -- which would be a wrong concept -- but to complement them. Science and technology are worldwide activities. The progress of research and the accumulation of experience are worldwide and have been for centuries. A multilateral effort can accumulate and distill information, the experience of results, of successes and failures, and the results of specific approaches and methods in the management of science and technology activities. Such a pool of knowledge does not now exist and many developing countries, which themselves have limited resources, would welcome access to such accumulated knowledge and to the network of resources and expertise which this implies. A bilateral programme can, of course, accumulate experience and provide access to national sources which can be of the highest quality on certain topics. A multilateral effort, able to choose from the best and most appropriate expertise in the world, can be of added benefit.

A further feature of multilateral efforts is that they are not conditioned by national interests. They can therefore provide sustained support for long periods which is essential in many areas of research and development and in the building up of national capacities. It is also the case that the governments

of many developing countries which do, of course, utilize bilateral and private sector flows, consider for some purposes that objective multilateral support is appropriate. This may be because of the sensitivity or special nature of the topic concerned, or because the gulf between the expertise of the developing country and that of the developed country is so substantial that the developing country would wish a third party, the United Nations, to act as an insulator and arbiter to ensure the success of a cooperative venture.

It is particularly important to stress that one of the key factors in determining the success of any project is the willingness, motivation and committment of the partners in the developing country themselves. It is important that they feel that a project is "their" project, which it should be, and that it meets their priority needs. In this way, they will be committed to provide the counterpart contributions which are essential. It is sometimes difficult, in setting up bilateral projects, because of the differences in economic and technological weight of the partners, to establish a design and an approach to a project which will ensure a willing and active committment of the developing country partner. In these circumstances, U.N. organizations, and in this case the Financing System, can play an essential role to the benefit of all concerned. In a number of practical examples, the Financing System has been able to assist with the setting up of arrangements which have led to very good results in such circumstances.

Another important reason for the creation of a multilateral focus for science and technology, which is not of a technical nature, is the fact that the developing countries have,for more than seven years, expressed and demonstrated their own view that such a mechanism would be of relevance and use to them.

As a result of the emergence on the international scene of the Financing System, many developing countries have been prompted to re-define and re-direct national planning energies toward the closer integration of science and technology with economic development, frequently identifying fresh focal points and institutions for such action. These re-directed efforts augur well for their future capacity to absorb and utilize technology as an effective instrument of their development. The amounts of money involved in establishing the Financing System, are not, from a macro-economic point of view, or even from an ODA point of view, very substantial. It would therefore be most unfortunate if this high-priority objective of the developing countries for which modest resources are required should fail to come into effect after seven years of negotiation in good faith. It is, after all, a tenet of official development assistance that it is intended to respect and to meet the objectives and needs of the developing countries themselves. On this subject they have indeed made themselves clear.

Thus, a modest multilateral Financing System to complement bilateral and private sector efforts is justified, both on technical grounds and on the grounds that leaders of the developing countries perceive its utility.

QUESTION V

"EVEN IF THE FINANCING SYSTEM IS UNUSUAL, WILL IT NOT INEVITABLY BE INEFFICIENT?"

Answer

The Financing System has established written operating procedures through which it utilizes existing resources throughout the U.N. system and beyond. It uses the field network and central facilities of the UNDP and can draw on the technical expertise of the U.N. agencies in such fields as health, industrial development, energy, rural development, etc. It has also been able to tap the resources of non-governmental and private sector research centers, individuals and organizations.

In this way, the Financing System has been able to process several hundred projects to the level of approval after detailed development and appraisal, of which around 100 are in operation. The process of project choice and approval is "project-specific", in which any project must compete for funds with others. A systematic appraisal process ensures that each project is assessed from a variety of points of view so that its design on approval is of high quality. This creates the necessary conditions for an effective work plan and budget and for proper monitoring and evaluation. Through such streamlined procedures and the use of expertise available elsewhere, the overheads of the Financing System have been kept low. It is estimated that when running at a level of between $50-100 million per year, the overhead costs associated with the Financing System would be around 5-7 percent.

In the execution of projects, around 50% of the current programme of the System is executed by governments themselves, while 50% is executed by U.N. agencies. The System has enjoyed the support and full cooperation of the whole U.N. system and has been able to bring its expertise to bear in a controlled manner on the science and technology problems of developing countries.

Governments have decided that the System is to be managed by a small Executive Board of 21 Directors chosen for their expertise in the financing of science and technology activities. This small, efficient board will constitute a considerable innovation in the U.N. system and offers the opportunity for effective supervision and direction of the System's activities. As mentioned above, the Financing System has wide flexibility in its choice of financial methods and instruments and in the design of its operating procedures.

For these various reasons, the Financing System has been complimented by the governments of donor and recipient countries for its ability to generate, initiate and manage projects economically and efficiently. It is already the case that a number of evaluations of the System's projects have been carried out, which demonstrate unambiguously that the projects have achieved their internal objectives and have, in addition, produced the intended outputs and in some instances substantial economic benefits to the countries concerned.

Question VI

"DOES THE FINANCING SYSTEM ONLY WORK WITH GOVERNMENTS?"

Answer

The Financing System has a unique mandate from the General Assembly to cooperate with private sector organizations, in this case research centers, private companies, banks, and non-governmental organizations of various kinds. The Financing System has already exploited these possibilities to some small degree and has found considerable interest and support in the private sector itself. In many fields of research, development, pilot production, technology transfer, management and marketing, for example, the private sector contains enormous resources and experience which can, under appropriate arrangements, be put at the disposal of developing countries.

Once the System is established on a sound long-term basis, it will be possible to put in place the appropriate arrangements to ensure proper articulation of the resources flowing through governmental channels with the resources and expertise available from the private sector.

Question VII

"IF THERE IS SO MUCH INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR THE FINANCING SYSTEM, WHY HAS IT TAKEN MORE THAN FOUR YEARS TO FINALIZE THE NEGOTIATIONS?"

Answer

It is a fact that there is widespread support throughout the world for the Financing System. In the General Assembly in December 1982, when the long-term financial and institutional arrangements were submitted, all but one OECD country and all developing countries voted in favor of the arrangements. A large majority of OECD countries have expressed their willingness to contribute and have indeed contributed in the past to the Interim Fund. The developing countries themselves have agreed in the negotiations to contribute in a joint and mutual effort, in view of the importance of the issue of science and technology for development.

The difficulties faced in the negotiations are the result of the unwillingness of a small number of important developed countries to participate, with the result that other developed countries have held back and the developing countries are not confident of the outcome.

In spite of these difficulties, it is important to recognize that substantial progress has been made. Comparing the current situation with that of the Vienna Conference in 1979, agreement has been reached on virtually all outstanding issues. Both developing and developed countries have approached the negotiations, which have been difficult, with an attitude of goodwill and seriousness. The field of science and technology therefore represents a rare example of sustained negotiation and practical progress in the field of North/South relations.

This progress has been possible at a time of intense economic difficulties in most countries, and in spite of a series of political dramas and changes in various parts of the world. It is a sign of the importance of this issue that countries have continued to negotiate under these difficult and uncertain conditions and it is to be hoped that the result will be of the measure of the efforts which have been made.

Question VIII

"DOES IT REALLY MATTER IF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FAIL? THERE HAVE BEEN MANY FAILURES, WOULD ANOTHER ONE MATTER?"

Answer

Any answer to this question depends on a personal view and assessment of what matters in the world today. There is, in some countries, a retreat from the ideas which have guided the development of international institutions and cooperation since the Second World War. These changing attitudes may be the result of changing political perception, of an intense preoccupation with domestic difficulties, or of a weariness with the difficulties and disappointments which have been experienced in international cooperation.

In any case, the general proposition that cooperation in international affairs is to be preferred to confrontation remains valid, particularly in a world in which interdependence is increasingly a fact of life and where the trends define a future in which cooperation between developing and developed countries will be even more important than in the past.

In this perspective, the self-generated growth and economic development of the developing countries is a pre-condition for sustained long-term economic progress of the world and for world peace. In this respect, science and technology is a key to development and therefore the strengthening of science and technology capacity of the developing countries is not a marginal topic of mild interest in the U.N. system, but a central issue which will determine the future of the world economy. Developing and developed countries have negotiated seriously for seven years to try to establish a focus for new efforts on this vital issue. They have done this in such a way as to innovate, so that the inefficiencies and disappointments encountered in the past will be reduced in the future and so that the new system can meet the diverse needs and concerns of both recipient and donor countries.

There is therefore a major opportunity to be seized in spite of the current international malaise. On the other hand, should these negotiations fail, it is a signal to the nations of the world that cooperation in good faith on a practical, carefully defined issue is unproductive. The repercussions of such a conclusion would be felt far beyond the U.N. system itself, and it would constitute a bad omen for the strategic choices which will be made by decision makers throughout the developing world and indeed in some developed countries. On this issue, the U.N. secretariat has tried hard to promote a successful outcome. The responsibility rests clearly with governments and it is to be hoped that they will choose to agree on a productive outcome.

Robert Martin Lees
Director
United Nations Financing
System for Science and Technology
for Development.

press notice

LIST OF

Official Guests

OF ISRAEL

רשימת האורחים שיבקרו בישראל

1-05-1984

May 1984

Name	Position	Country	Date
Roy Mason	Member of Parliament (Labour)	Great Britain	1 - 8.5
José Gutierrez Vivo Nildo Morell Di Carlo	- Radio Reporters	Mexico	6 - 12.5
Esko Almgren	Chairman of Christian Party	Finland	14-21.5
B.Genge	Minister of Youth Affairs	Ireland	13-20.5
Juan Santiago Frisuelos	Journalist - E.F.E	Spain	14-25.5
José Fostier	Chief Editor -'RTBF'	Belgium	20-28.5
Prof.Paulino Romero	Director General, Institute for Professional Training	Panama	20-27.5
Winston Chinchon-Bunting	Minister of Health	Chile	17-23.5
Georgina Dufoix	Deputy Minister of Family Affairs	France	27-30.5

Delegations

Members of the Bundestag - C.D.U.	Germany	8 - 15.5
Delegation of Writers (4)	Finland	8 - 15.5

Name	Position	Country	Date
Delegation of Women for International Understanding	-	USA	13-20.5
International Economic Committee (300)	-	International	20-25.5
Delegation of Journalists (6)		Cyprus	20-24.5
Delegation of Journalists (25)		Europe	18-27.5
Delegation - Members of Conservative Party (6)		Great Britain	28.5-5.6

37

For further information please contact:

Jeanette Koll - Division of Public Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem.

Tel: 02-235674/235286/235111

Sima Bar Urian - Bet Sokolov, Tel Aviv

Tel: 03-266557/260973

Aldo Baquis - Bet Agron, Jerusalem

Tel: 02-243161

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: ט' בניסן התשמ"ד
11 באפריל 1984

מספר:

אל: כל הנציגויות - הממונים על ההסברה
מחלקות המשרד ונציגויותיו

מאת: ראש אגף ההסברה

שומרון, יהודה, עזה - מינהל
בהמשך לחוזרנו מ-16 במרס 1984

בשנים הראשונות לקום המדינה הורה שה"ח הראשון, משה שרת ז"ל, לנהל יומן של פעולות המשרד. יומן זה נקרא בשם "האנאלים של משרד החוץ". עמיתנו מרדכי דרורי מצא בתיקי גנזך המשרד את התרשומת הבאה מ-13 בפברואר 1949:

"היועץ המשפטי [ש. רוזן] פנה במזכר אל שר החוץ בנוגע לציון המדויק של הביטויים: Village , Settlement ; עם הקמתה של מדינת ישראל וביסוסה הגיעה העת להפסיק להשתמש במונח "סטלמנט", כשהמדובר הוא בנקודות התישבות. מונח זה הוא בחלקו האחד עבאי ובחלקו השני אימפריאליסטי - קולוניאלי ואין בו כדי להביע את הקשר המהודק בין העם המתישב על אדמתו ההיסטורית. לפיכך מציע היועץ המשפטי לתת הוראות מפורשות, שלהבא ישתמשו באנגלית בתיבה "וויילאג'" כשהמדובר הוא בנקודות התישבות, וכל אלה העוסקים בתעמולה בשפה האנגלית (לרבות העתונות, הרדיו וכיו"ב) מחויבים לשטור בכל התחומה על הוראות אלו".

אין חדש תחת השמש ...

מועדים לשמחה,

משה יגר
סמנכ"ל

הטמונים על ההסברה בנציגות יביאו חוזר זה לידיעת כל העובדים

מי/עו

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים, 91950
טל' (02) 235111

משרד המדע והפתוח

לשכת השר

THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

יז' ניסן תשמ"ד

19 אפריל 1984

לכב'

מר מ. יגר

סמנכ"ל הסברה

משרד החוץ

א.נ.

הרני לאשר בתודה קבלת מזכרך בצרוף הספר בעריכת Julian J. Landau,

בשם - The Media: Freedom or Responsibility.

השר רשם לפניו את תכנו.

בברכת חג שמח,

בקי שמעוני

ראש הלשכה

אל: לשכת
שר המדע והטכנולוגיה

לקבלת אישור הגדלה ע"י
ב- יושב ראש הכנסת DUMAS.
לשכת השר
ד"ר נבבס
נת' ל 25-01-1984
בברכה
נרשם ב
מאת
תשובה

משרד החוץ

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: י"ב באדר א' תשמ"ד
15 בפברואר 1984

מספר:

הנדון: שיתוף הפעולה בין ישראל והקהיליה
לקראת נסיעת רה"מ לבריסל

א. שיתוף הפעולה בין הקהיליה וישראל הוקפא על-ידי הנציבות ביוני 1982 בעקבות מבצע של"ג ובהמשך להחלטת מועצת השרים מיוני 1982 וחודש מעשית רק בסתיו 1983.

ב. מטרתנו היא להרחיב את שיתוף הפעולה ולהעמיקו תוך מציאת מקורות מימון מעבר לסעיפי התקציב הקהילתי המיועדים לכך כיום. כמו כן ברצוננו להרחיב את שיתוף הפעולה שבין ישראל לבין כל אחת מחברות הקהיליה מאחר והצדדים לפרוטוקול המשלים לשיתוף פעולה הם ישראל, הקהיליה כגוף ועשר חברות הקהיליה. בלשון המשפט הקהילתי מדובר ב- *ACCORD MIXTE*.

ג. על היקף שיתוף הפעולה עם הקהיליה בשנת 1983 והמתוכנן לשנת 1984 ניתן ללמוד ממכתב ס/ראש משלחתנו לקהיליה האירופית, מר י. פרידן, הרצ"ב.

ד. הרחבת שיתוף הפעולה כפי שדורשת ישראל הינה פועל יוצא ממטרותיו של הפרוטוקול לשיתוף פעולה שהן בין היתר לעידוד תיעושה של ישראל, חיזוק שיתוף הפעולה התעשייתי, עידוד השקעות פרטיות ושיתוף פעולה בתחומי החקלאות, המדע והטכנולוגיה. יש לציין שעד עתה הפעילות במסגרת שיתוף הפעולה לא עמדה ביחס להיקף המטרות כפי שבאו לידי ביטוי בנוסח הפרוטוקול המשלים.

ה. ישראל מתעניינת במיוחד בשיתוף פעולה בתחומים אשר יאפשרו לה להרחיב את היכולת התעשייתית שלה בתחומי התעשיה הטכנולוגית המתוחכמת כגון אלקטרוניקה, רובוטיקה ומחשבים. רוב התחומים בהם מתעניינת ישראל כלולים בתכניות ספציפיות שיש לקהיליה בתחומי המו"פ וישראל מעוניינת להשתלב בהן. מדובר בתכנית אירופית למחקר ופיתוח בתחום טכנולוגיית המידע *ESPRIT*, תכנית האנרגיה הלא-גרעינית ומרכז המחקר המשותף *JRC*. ישראל מאמינה בתועלת ההדדית שתצמח לשני הצדדים מהשתלבותה בתכניות.

התחומים בהם מתעניינת ישראל הם רחבים ומאפשרים ליכולת המו"פ של ישראל לבוא לידי ביטוי ולתרום להם. התעשיה הישראלית אינה מסוגלת ליישם בעצמה את כל תפוקות המו"פ המתנהל בישראל והיא נאלצת למצוא שותפים, תעשייתיים מבחוץ. שיתוף הפעולה יכול להתנהל במספר צורות משלימות כגון יצור ושיווק משותפים, שיתוף פעולה בצורה של קבלנות משנה ועוד

ישראל מתעניינת גם בשיתוף פעולה בחקר שווקים בקהיליה לשם איתור יעדים מוגדרים ליצוא מוצרים ישראליים בתחומים הבאים:

- ציוד רפואי
- ציוד בטיחות
- בקרה ספרתית ממוחשבת
- שיווק אבוקדו בגרמניה

ישראל מתעניינת בתחום הרכישות הממשלתיות של חברות הקהיליה, תחום בו אין לנו עדיין חלק רב.

2/...

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים, 91950 טל' 235111 (02)

ישראל מעוניינת להשתתף בפעולות הקהיליה בארצות מתפתחות שלישיות כולל אלה המבוצעות ע"י הבנק האירופי להשקעות. לישראל הידע המתאים במיוחד בתחומי החקלאות, ניצול המים ואנרגיות תחליפיות.

כמו כן מעוניינת ישראל להגביר את שיתוף הפעולה בתחום החקלאי ובמיוחד במחקר החקלאי, מערכות מידע ושירוק חקלאי, תדרוכה, השקיה ויעור ובתחום שיתוף הפעולה המדעי, וזאת לתועלתם ההדדית של שני הצדדים.

ו. באשר לשיתוף הפעולה הכספי, הרי הסכומים שהוקצו לישראל בפרוטוקול הראשון (כ-36 מליון דולר לחמש שנים) והשני (כ-35 מליון דולר לחמש שנים) הם רק 4% מן הסכומים שהוקצו בפרוטוקולים דומים לשאר ארצות אגן הים-התיכון. נוסף על כך, הלוואות הבנק האירופי להשקעות לישראל הן הלוואות בתנאי שוק הכספים ללא שום אלמנט של סיבסוד ריבית ומענק.

ישראל מעוניינת שהפרוטוקול השלישי יכלול סכומים גדולים יותר וינתן בתנאים טובים יותר על מנת שישקף את היקף היחסים הכלכליים בין ישראל והקהיליה.

ז. אין ספק שלצורך שיתוף הפעולה הנ"ל ברוח ההסכם נחוצים אמצעים כספיים וארגוניים התורגים מהמסגרת התקציבית הצרה של הנציבות (כמתואר בדו"חות המצ"ב). אנו מציעים שינתנו גם לשיתוף הפעולה עם ישראל (כפי שהדבר נעשה לגבי מדינות המגרב והמשרק) אמצעים כספיים במסגרת הבנק האירופאי להשקעות (BEI) גם אם תנאי מדמון אלה יהיו פחות "רכים" מאלו שניתנים למגרב ולמשרק בשל היות ישראל מפותחת יותר ומסוגלת להשתתף בו.

נכתב ע"י המחלקה לשוק המשותף

ב' בניסן תשמ"ד.
בריסל, 5.4.84

אל: מנהל משו"ף.

מאת: סגן ראש המשלחת.

הנדון: שתוף פעולה עם הקהיליה - עדיפויות.
למכתבי מה - 26.1.84

1. המסגרת התקציבית העומדת לרשותינו מתקציב הקהיליה לפעולות ש"פ תעשייתי, מסחרי וחקלאי הינה לצערי 200.000 י.פ.א, וזאת בלתי הקשיים הפיננסים הנוכחיים של הקהיליה.
סכום זה אינו כולל ש"פ המדעי אשר " זכה " השנה בסעיף תקציבי נפרד ועל כן המסגרת התקציבית הכוללת חופפת המסגרת שעמדה לרשותינו אשתקד.

2. קיימתי לאחרונה שיחות עם אנשי הפתוח (רנייה וביסטולפי) ואגף התעשיה (ביר) והם מצפים מאיתנו למעשה לדירוג עדיפויות.

3. המצב כרגע הינו כדלקמן:

פרויקטים בצנרת

א.	סקר הדרכה חקלאית שלב ב' (בשלבי אישור)	60.060	יפ"א
ב.	סקר ציוד רפואי שלב ב' (" ")	41.515	"
ג.	גיום משתתפים לאישראסק	22.850	"
	סה"כ	124.425	"

פרויקטים שהגענו ב 1983 ומהם נדונו.

א.	סקר קניות ממשלתיות	70.000	"
ב.	סקר שיווק ציוד בטיחות	100.000	"
ג.	סקר בקרה ספרתית ממוחשבת	80.000	"
	סה"כ	250.000	"

עפ"י הנחיותכם נתבקשתי להגיש:

א.	מימון הביתן בירידי ברייפון.	15.000	יפ"א.
ב.	מערכות מידע שלב ב' .	60.000	"
	סה"כ	75.000	"

23.158 יפ"א
מבוטלות

2/..

40, avenue de l'Observatoire – 1180 Bruxelles – T. (02) 374.90.80

4. אפשר כמובן למחות על מיעוט האמצעים הכספיים העומדים לרשות ש"פ עמנו ואמנם עשינו ועושים זאת. אך במציאות נראה לי שאין מנוס אלא לנסות ולדרג עדיפויות אחרת הכל יעמוד במקום.
מציע על כן להעדיף הפרויקטים הבאים:

א. יריד בריסון - מתבצע ממילא בנובמבר ומדובר בסכום קטן יחסית.

ב. בקרה ספרתית ממוחשבת - ניתן לדעתי להקטין האמדן ל 50.000 יש"א מאחר ומדובר במספר מפעלים קטן משל ענף הציוד הרפואי ולמצלו תקציבית על פני השנים 1984 ו 1985 .

ג. מערכות מידע ממוחשבות - המדובר בפרויקט שתוצאותיו מיידיות ומסייעות במישרין ליצואנים. בם אותו ניתן למצל תקציבית על פני שנתיים.

אשמח לקבל הנחיותכם.

בברכה
יעקב פרידן.

העתק:
מר מ. דרורי, סמנכ"ל מסחרי.
מר א. דברת, סמנכ"ל האוצר.
מר ז. פרי, ממונה על המסחר עם אירופה, תמ"ס.
מר ב. ספרן, ממחקלאות ת"א.

MISSION D'ISRAËL
AUPRÈS DES
COMMUNAUTÉS EUROPÉENNES

משלחת ישראל
ליד הקהיליות האירופיות
380

כב' בסבס, תשס"ד
בריסל, 26.1.84

אל: מסו"ף

מאת: סגן ראש המשלחת.

הנדון: הקהיליה - שיתוף פעולה.

א. מצ"ב בסעיף פנימי של הנציבות המסכם את פעולות ש"פ בין הקהיליה וישראל שאושרו במהלך 1983.

להלן סיכום הפעולות:

		ההוצאה
1.	ש"פ במערכות מידע וטרוטעבות שלב א' התחלות בן דור - ינואר 84.	4000 י.מ.א.
2.	השתלמות פקידים- החל באפריל 84.	" 9600
3.	השתתפות ביריד SITEF בטולוז -אוק' 83.	" 16760
4.	השתתפות בסימון מראקש 83.	" 31500
5.	השתתפות ביריד SIMA בפאריס מרץ 84.	" 25000
6.	ביצוע שתי הכנות מחקר מדעי במימון משותף, חלקם שלב א' 71.500 דולר שהם-	" 85286
7.	סקר בענף ציוד רפואי שלב א'	" 84.445
8.	סקר הדרכה הקלאית שלב א'	" 40000
	סה"כ	296,591 י.מ.א

בכך הצלחנו למלא הסכסה שהוקצאה לנו ע"י הנציבות ע"ס 300.000 י.מ.א.
(שער החליפין כיום - 1 י.מ.א. = 0.80 דולר)
מסעיף 290 בתקציב הנציבות ב 1983.

2/..

ב. בתכנית העבודה ל1984 יש להביא בחשבון שבחלק מהפרוייקטים שאושרו ב1983 מביאים בחשבון שלבים נוספים כך שחלק מהכספים שיועמדו לרשותינו ב1984 כבר מגורים למעשה.

הכוונה לפרוייקטים הבאים:

.1	מערכות מידע ממוחשבות שלב ב' מוערך ב 40.000 דולר שהם כ-	50.000 י.מ.א
.2	מחי תכניות מחקר מדעי שלב ב' ע"מ 71.500 דולר שהם כ-	" 89.375
.3	מקר ציוד רפואי שלב ב'	" 40.000
.4	מקר הדרכה חקלאית שלב ב' מוערך ב-	" 60.060
		" 239.435

וכן:

.5	ישראטק 84. מיוע לגיוס מטחפים	" 40.000
	סה"כ	" 279.435

פרוייקטים נוספים שהובטחו על ידנו ב 1983 ושרם נדונו:

.1	מקר קניות ממשלתיות מוערך ב - (הוגש ב 20.10.83)	" 70.000
.2	מקר שיווק ציגר בסיחות (הוגש ב 20.10.83)	" 100.000
.3	מקר ענף בקרה מפרחית ממוחשבת שלב א' (הוגש ב 20.10.83)	" 80.000
.4	מקר שיווק אבוקדו ברפ"ג הוערך ע"י ממקלאות ב 50.000 מ.ג. שהם כ- (טרם הוגש)	" 22.000
.5	מכינר על אנרגיות מטליות - הוחל בשעתו בבירורים אך אגף האנרגיה בנציבות הקפיא בעלב זה הטיפול. עם זאת עניינו בנושא בעינו וניתן להעריכו בלמחות -	" 50.000
	סה"כ	" 322.000

3/..

ג. הנציבות טרם אישרה לנו ולו גם באורח בלתי פורמאלי האמצעים שנכונה להקצות לש"פ עמנו מתקציבה ל 1984. הנ"ל על רקע המשבר הפיננסי הפוקד כיום הקהיליה. עם זאת האגף המדעי בנציבות קיבל לראשונה סעיף תקציבי משלו למימון פעולות ש"פ מדעי עם ארצות שלישיות כאשר ישראל מופיעה ברשימת המדינות הנובעות. סעיף זה פותח בפנינו אפשרויות מימון הדשות מאחר ונוכל להוריד מסעיף 990 את פעולות ש"פ המדעי (שלב ב' הנ"ל + פעולות נוספות שאותרו בעקבות ביקורו של מנכ"ל האגף המדעי פאסלה בארץ ב 14.1.84)

עם זאת קיימת סכנה שאנשי החשבונות בקהיליה יפחיתו מהמכסה שלנו במסגרת סעיף 990 את המכסה שהוקצה לנו במסגרת הסעיף המדעי החדש!

סיכום ומסקנות

בהנחה השמרנית שהקהיליה המחלבמת בבעיות בספירות השנה, חקצה לנו סכום מירבי של 300.000 י.מ.א על סמך הניצול ב 1983, הרי אנו מגיעים למסקנה עגומה שבפתיחתה של שנת 1984 כבר ניצלנו את מירב הסכום (ראה סעיף 2 לעי"ל - 279.435 י.מ.א.!)

המסקנה האופרטיבית ככל הסיכום הנ"ל היא שבקת הוועדה והמוקצה לש"פ הקרובים, עלינו להציג הדינמיקה הכרוכה בפתוח ש"פ בתחומים הנזכרים לעי"ל ולדרוש הגדלה האמצעים הכספיים.

בסיעוניים מציע שנדגיש:

א. בחירה נושאים בעלי ענין בשותף בו ישראל נהנית אך גם תורמת מהידע והנסיון שלה.

ב. ברב הפרויקטים ישראל משתתפת מצידה במימון הפרויקטים.

ג. הביצוע מתחלק בין גורמים ישראליים וארופאיים כך שגם גורמים אירופאים נהנים מביצוע עבודות.

בברכה,

יעקב פרידן

העתק:
מר מ. דרורי, סמנכ"ל משה"ח.
מר מ. סמדר, סמנכ"ל המ"ס.
מר א. דברה סמנכ"ל מש, האוצר.
מר א. זייף סמנכ"ל מסחקלאות.

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: כ"ד בניסן תשמ"ד
26 באפריל 1984

מספר:

אל: לשכת שר המדע והגיבלא

מאת: מנהל המחלקה לשוק המשותף

הנדון: הרחבת הקהיליה האירופית
בהמשך למכתבי מ- 18.4 בעניין ביקור השר הצרפתי Dumas

1. בסקירתנו על הרחבת הקהיליה האירופית שצורפה למכתבי הנ"ל צויין בסיפת סעיף ג' ש"תזכיר הנציבות שהוגש ב- 9/4 למועצת השרים אינו מספק את דרישתנו". להלן פרטים משלימים.

2. ההצעות שבתזכיר זה יאפשרו למעשה לכ- 1/3 מייצואנו החקלאי הטרי להכנס לשוק ללא מכס וללא הגבלות אחרות. כ-1/3 נוסף יכנס ללא מכס ותוך פטור חלקי מהגבלות לא מכסיות (בעיקר ממחירי רפרנס) אך במסגרת תקרה המבוססת על רמת הסחר בשנים עברו. לגבי ה-1/3 הנותר הכולל בעיקר פרחים, בוטנים, כוחנה, לא מוצא כל פתרון מאחר ומוצרים אלו לא מופיעים בהסכם.

3. להלן בקווים כלליים הסיבות המרכזיות להסתייגותנו מההצעות שבתזכיר:

א. אין הפתרונות המוצעים תואמים "הגישה הים-תיכונית הגלובאלית" שהשוק התחייב בה עוד ב-1972. גישה זו היתה צריכה להוביל, בעקבות הצטרפות ספרד, ליצירת אזור סחר חפשי למוצרים חקלאיים ים-תיכוניים. רק פתרון מעין זה יכול להבטיח תחרות חפשית והוגנת תוך ויסות השוק.

ב. ההצעה מתייחסת רק למוצרים החקלאיים הכלולים בהסכם. פירוש הדבר שמוצרים אחדים ובמיוחד הפרחים שלא היו משמעותיים ולכן לא נכללו בהסכם בעת חתימתו ישארו מחוץ להסדר המוצע למרות שפותחו מאז והפכו לחשובים. מצב בלתי נסבל זה נובע מסירובה המתמשך של הקהיליה למלא אחר סעיף 22 של ההסכם אשר כוונתו היתה לענות למצבים אלו ולשפר בשלבים הפרק החקלאי של ההסכם.

ג. בהצעה מדובר על שיטת ה- modulation המעניקה פטור מסויים מההגבלות הנובעות מהמדיניות החקלאית המשותפת (ה-cap) למוצרים רגישים (עבורנו בעיקר להדרים). אולם כאמור פטור זה ינתן רק במסגרת תקרות כמותיות על בסיס הסחר המסורתי בשנים קודמות. עקרון זה אינו קביל עלינו מכמה סיבות:

2/...

(1) שיטה זו נוגדת העקרון של סחר חפשי בתחרות הוגנת.
(2) השיטה "מענישה" את ישראל אשר דאגה כל הזמן לגוון גידוליה החקלאיים בהתאם לצרכי השוק האירופאי. ואמנם קביעת תקרות על בסיס הסחר בשנים עברו לפי סוגים וזנים לא מתחשבת בהתפתחויות הנובעות מפיתוח גידולים חדשים בהם כבר הוחל (כך למשל לגבי קליפים בהדרים שהם בשלבי פיתוח וגידול לעונת התפוזים).

ד. יתר על כן, שיטה זו של ה- modulation אינה מבטיחה כלל תנאי תחרות הוגנים עם המצטרפות בתום תקופה המעבר.

ה. אין בהצעה כדי להבטיח הגנה מפני צעדים פרוטקציוניסטים במסגרת ה-cap העלולים להנקט בעתיד ואשר יפגעו ביצוא מוצרים מסורתיים שאינם נחשבים כיום ל"רגישים", (לדוגמא אבוקדו).

ו. ההצעה מצביעה על פתרונות עזר בצורה של סיוע השוק "להסבה מחקלאות לענפים אחרים, להגברת הצריכה הפנימית של מוצרים חקלאיים ולפיתוח שווקי יצוא מחוץ לאירופה לאותם המוצרים". פתרון זה אינו ישים לגבי ישראל אשר עשתה ועושה כבר את המירב בשלושת התחומים הנ"ל.

ז. הצעות הנציבות עלולות להוביל לגיבוש מנדט שלא יתיר גמישות מספקת לניהול מו"מ אמיתי ופתוח עמנו בבוא העת.

4. יחד עם זאת אנו מעריכים בהחלט מאמצי הנציבות למציאת פתרונות אמיתיים לבעייה וגישתה והצעותיה העקרוניות בנושא, אלא שמורגשת לצערנו נטייה ליישמם בדרך המנוגדת לרוח גישות עקרוניות אלו.

5. בהקשר אחרון זה מצערת תגובתה השלילית של איטליה להצעות הנציבות. עמדתה זו תמוהה ואינה מתיישבת עם רצינות הבעייה העומדת בפנינו ובפני שאר היום-תיכוניות.

ב ב ר כ ה,

דר' צבי טנא

העתקים: מר מ. דרורי, סמנכ"ל לענייני כלכלה ומש"ב
מר י. הדס, השגריר, בריסל
מר י. פרידן, ס/ראש המשלחת, בריסל
מר ש. שירמן, היועץ החקלאי, פריס
מר א. זייף, סמנכ"ל, משרד החקלאות
מר מ. סמדר, סמנכ"ל, משרד התעשיה והמסחר
מר א. דברת, סמנכ"ל, משרד האוצר
מר ב. ספרן, מרכז סחר חוץ, משרד החקלאות
מר ז. פרי, הממונה על הסחר עם אירופה, משרד התעשיה והמסחר

press notice

LIST OF

Official Guests

OF ISRAEL

רשימת האורחים שיבקרו בישראל

April 1984

Name	Position	Country	Date
Bertel Haarder	Minister of Education	Denmark	1 - 8.4
Robert Strauss	Leader, Democratic Party-Texas	U.S.A.	7 - 11.4
Jose Baldomero Pinto Vacondeus	Editor-'O Pais' weekly	Portugal	4 - 11.4
Dr Julio Garrett Aillon	President of Senate	Bolivia	8 - 13.4
Sandro Mariategui	President, Foreign Affairs Committee	Peru	8 - 12.4
S. Gorton	Senator-Republican (Washington)	U.S.A.	14 - 22.4
J.Garn	Senator-Republican (Utah)	U.S.A.	14 - 22.4
Eivind Berg	Deputy Foreign Minister	Norway	24 - 25.4
Prof.M.Bossuyt	Begian Representative for Human Rights at U.N.Commission, Geneva	Belgium	25.4-1.5

.../2

DELEGATIONS

Name	Country	Date
Danish Cultural Delegation	Denmark	2 - 5.4
Delegation of A.F.L.C.I.O. (17)	U.S.A.	29.3-5.4
Delegation -Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs	U.S.A.	1 - 9.4
Delegation - Jewish National Fund, Oregan Friendship Mission(18)	U.S.A.	1 - 12.4
Delegation - White House Fellowships	U.S.A.	8 - 10.4
Delegation - Members of Labour Party	Holland	24 - 29.4
Delegation - Science Journalists (6)	Canada	25.4-2.5

36 For further details please contact:

Jeanette Koll - P.R. Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

TEL:02-235674/235286/235111

Sima Bar Urian - Bet Sokolov, Tel Aviv

TEL:03-266557/260973

Aldo Baquis - Bet Agron, Jerusalem

TEL:02-243161

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

מספר:

תאריך: יב' באדר ב' התשמ"ד
16 במרץ 1984

מרכז מידע ותיעוד
לשכת השר
1-04-1984
נר מ ב
תש נ ח

הש' פרופ' יגאל נאמן
שר האוצר והפנים

אל: כל הנציגויות - הממונים על ההסברה
מחלקות המשרד ולשכותיו

מאת: ראש אגף ההסברה

שומרון, יהודה, עזה - מינוח

פעמים אחדות בעבר התבקשו נציגינו לשים לב לצורך להשתמש במינוח נכון כלפי שומרון, יהודה ועזה. למונחים יש לעתים משמעויות מדיניות ואל לנו לשחק, בענין זה, לידיהם של אויבינו. הננו להזכיר ענין זה שוב.

1. יש לשרש את המונח האנגלי Settlements ולהשתמש במקומו ב- Townships and villages.

2. אין להשתמש במונח "שטחים" - Territories. במקומו יש להשתמש במונחים הגיאוגרפיים: שומרון, יהודה, עזה.

3. בשום פנים ואופן אין להשתמש במונח: "גדה מערבית".

בברכה,
משה יגר
סמנכ"ל

הממונים על ההסברה בנציגות יביאו תוכן זה לידיעת כל העובדים

מי/ער

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים, 91950 טל' 235111 (02)

לכבוד

גשרת השר יורן נאמן,

משרד האוצר וכלכלה

לקסטנבוים בקטע

מעמד בחוק האמריקני.

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

(FOOTNOTE: BECAUSE OF THE SHARPLY DIFFERING SOCIO-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENTS IN ISRAEL AND IN THE ARAB TERRITORIES WHICH ISRAEL HAS OCCUPIED SINCE THE 1967 WAR, THE RESPECTIVE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS ARE TREATED IN SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL FASHION. THE REPORT ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES FOLLOWS THE REPORT FOR ISRAEL. END FOOTNOTE)

ISRAEL IS A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY WHICH GUARANTEES BY LAW AND RESPECTS IN PRACTICE THE CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS. IT HAS AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, FREE ELECTIONS, A MULTIPARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM, AND AN ELECTED LEGISLATURE (THE KNESSET) WHICH MAY RESTRICT THE GOVERNMENT BY LEGISLATION AND CAN BRING IT DOWN BY A VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE.

ISRAELI SOCIETY IS CHARACTERIZED BY ITS OPENNESS AND BY ITS WIDE-RANGING AND LIVELY PUBLIC DEBATE OF ALL ISSUES OF POPULAR CONCERN. POLICE AND INTERNAL SECURITY FUNCTIONS ARE UNDER THE CONTROL OF CABINET MINISTERS WHO

MUST ANSWER TO THE KNESSET CONCERNING THE ACTIONS OF PERSONNEL FOR WHOM THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE AND WHOSE PERFORMANCE IS SUBJECT TO THE SCRUTINY OF A FREE PRESS.

FROM ITS FOUNDING IN 1948 UNTIL 1979, A FORMAL STATE OF WAR EXISTED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ALL OF ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. IN 1979, AS PROVIDED IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, EGYPT AND ISRAEL SIGNED A PEACE TREATY; PURSUANT TO THE TREATY, ISRAEL RETURNED TO EGYPT, OVER A THREE-YEAR PERIOD, THE PORTION OF THE SINAI PENINSULA THAT HAD BEEN UNDER ITS CONTROL SINCE THE 1967 WAR. ISRAELIS DOUBT THE SINCERITY OF THE CLAIM OF OTHER ARAB STATES REGARDING ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST ON THE BASIS OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. TERRORIST INCIDENTS WITHIN ISRAEL AND THE ABSENCE OF PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS OTHER ARAB NEIGHBORS MAKE SECURITY A DOMINANT CONCERN THAT AFFECTS MANY FACETS OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL LIFE.

THE PRESENCE OF AN ARAB MINORITY PRESENTS ISRAEL WITH THE CHALLENGE OF ACCOMMODATING WITHIN ITS SOCIETY A GROUP WHICH DOES NOT SHARE THE ZIONIST PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE STATE WAS FOUNDED.

ISRAELI FORCES CONTINUED TO OCCUPY PART OF LEBANON DURING 1983. ON MAY 17, ISRAEL CONCLUDED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT WHICH PROVIDED, INTER ALIA, FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM LEBANON, A STEP WHICH ISRAEL PREDICATED ON THE REMOVAL OF OTHER FOREIGN FORCES. ON SEPTEMBER 3, ISRAEL REDEPLOYED ITS FORCES FROM THE SHUF REGION TO THE AWALI RIVER. ON NOVEMBER 24, THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS INVOLVING ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO). ISRAEL RELEASED APPROXIMATELY 4,500 DETAINEES, PREDOMINANTLY PALESTINIANS AND LEBANESE, IN RETURN FOR SIX ISRAELI SOLDIERS HELD BY THE PLO. IN DECEMBER, ABOUT 4,000 PLO COMBATANTS WERE EVACUATED FROM TRIPOLI, LEBANON. DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS IN 1983 TO BRING ABOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN AND OTHER PLO FORCES FROM LEBANON DID NOT SUCCEED.

IN THE WAKE OF THE MASSACRE OF PALESTINIANS THAT OCCURRED IN THE SABRA AND SHATILA CAMPS NEAR BEIRUT IN SEPTEMBER 1982, ISRAEL ESTABLISHED AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY HEADED BY SUPREME COURT JUSTICE YITZHAK KAHAN. IN ITS FINDINGS, ISSUED IN FEBRUARY 1983, THE COMMISSION DETERMINED THAT SEVEN ISRAELI CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS HAD BEEN REMISS IN NOT FORESEEING THE CONSEQUENCES OF PERMITTING LEBANESE PHALANGIST FORCES TO ENTER THE CAMPS AND IN NOT REACTING MORE EFFECTIVELY TO

EARLY REPORTS OF ATROCITIES TAKING PLACE THERE. AS A RESULT OF THE COMMISSION'S FINDINGS, THE DEFENSE MINISTER RELINQUISHED HIS PORTFOLIO, THE CHIEF OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE WAS RELIEVED OF DUTY, AND THE BEIRUT SECTOR COMMANDER WAS REASSIGNED.

IN 1983, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS FOR ISRAEL DERIVED FROM THE STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES AND THE ARAB INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THESE PROBLEMS WERE EXACERBATED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS POLICY OF STRENGTHENING, EXPANDING, AND DEVELOPING JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THOSE AREAS.

ISRAEL ENJOYS A RELATIVELY HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING. IT HAS A MARKET ECONOMY WITH SUBSTANTIAL GOVERNMENTAL PARTICIPATION AND CONTROLLED PRICES FOR BASIC COMMODITIES. ISRAELI ECONOMIC POLICY HAS BEEN ORIENTED TOWARD SOCIAL WELFARE. IN RECENT YEARS, ISRAEL HAS EXPERIENCED INCREASING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICITS, RISING FOREIGN DEBT, AND TRIPLE-DIGIT INFLATION.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

SECTION 1 RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING

- FREEDOM FROM:

- A. UNLAWFUL OR ARBITARY DEPRIVATION OF LIFE

THERE IS NO INDICATION OF SUCH PRACTICES BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES. THERE HAVE BEEN, HOWEVER, INCIDENTS OF DEPRIVATION OF LIFE AS A RESULT OF TERRORIST ACTS. IN DECEMBER, SIX PERSONS WERE KILLED AND 43 WERE WOUNDED

WHEN AN ISRAELI BUS IN WEST JERUSALEM WAS DESTROYED BY A TERRORIST BOMB; ELEMENTS OF THE PLO CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTACK, ALTHOUGH OTHERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PLO DENIED ITS INVOLVEMENT. IN FEBRUARY, A JEWISH DEMONSTRATOR PROTESTING ASPECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LEBANON POLICY WAS KILLED BY A GRENADE. IN JANUARY 1984, AN ISRAELI JEW WAS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE MURDER.

- B. DISAPPEARANCE

THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF SUCH A PRACTICE IN ISRAEL.

- C. TORTURE AND CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

SUCH PRACTICES ARE PROHIBITED IN ISRAEL, AND THERE WERE NO CONFIRMED REPORTS OF THEIR OCCURRENCE IN 1983. EVIDENCE OR CONFESSIONS OBTAINED UNDER DURESS ARE INADMISSABLE IN COURT, AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODES OF CONDUCT OF THE PRISON AND POLICE AUTHORITIES CONTAIN STRINGENT SANCTIONS AGAINST THE USE OF FORCE OR

BRUTALITY. POLICE OFFICERS ACCUSED OF BRUTALITY OR VIOLENCE AGAINST PRISONERS OR SUSPECTS MAY BE PROSECUTED EITHER IN ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS FOR VIOLATION OF THE CODE OF CONDUCT OR IN REGULAR CRIMINAL COURTS FOR CRIMINAL ASSAULT.

D. ARBITRARY ARREST, DETENTION, OR EXILE

ISRAELI LAW PROVIDES STRONG GUARANTEES AGAINST ARBITRARY ARREST OR IMPRISONMENT. WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS AND OTHER PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE SAFEGUARDS ARE AVAILABLE. DEFENDANTS ARE CONSIDERED INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY.

ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION CAN BE EMPLOYED IN SECURITY-RELATED CASES WHEN IT IS DETERMINED TO THE SATISFACTION OF A JUDGE THAT FORMALLY CHARGING A PERSON WOULD CAUSE SENSITIVE SOURCES OF EVIDENCE TO BE COMPROMISED. ANY INDIVIDUAL UNDER ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION IS ENTITLED TO REPRESENTATION BY COUNSEL AND MUST BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE PRESIDENT OF THE APPROPRIATE DISTRICT COURT WITHIN 48 HOURS OF BEING TAKEN INTO CUSTODY. EACH CASE OF ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION MUST BE SUBMITTED TO JUDICIAL REVIEW AT LEAST EVERY THREE MONTHS THEREAFTER FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF DETENTION. THE DECISION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE DISTRICT COURT CAN BE APPEALED TO THE SUPREME COURT. THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF INSTANCES OF ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION IN 1983.

FOR MOST OF 1983, ISRAEL CONTINUED TO HOLD AS MANY AS 5,000 PRISONERS WHO WERE CAPTURED DURING AND AFTER THE JUNE 1982 INVASION OF LEBANON, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF ARMED PALESTINIAN AND LEBANESE GROUPS AND SYRIAN FORCES. IN

ADDITION, ISRAELI OCCUPATION FORCES MADE NEW ARRESTS.

ON NOVEMBER 24, THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS FACILITATED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC), A PRISONER EXCHANGE WAS ARRANGED INVOLVING ISRAEL AND THE PLO. APPROXIMATELY 4,500 PRISONERS, PREDOMINANTLY PALESTINIANS AND LEBANESE FROM THE ANSAR CAMP IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, WERE EXCHANGED FOR SIX ISRAELIS. THE ANSAR CAMP WAS THEN CLOSED, BUT IT WAS REOPENED LATER IN THE YEAR TO HOUSE ADDITIONAL DETAINEES, MOSTLY LEBANESE. AT YEAR'S END, THERE WERE BELEIVED TO BE ABOUT 80 PRISONERS IN THE RE-OPENED ANSAR CAMP, AND APPROXIMATELY 50 PRISONERS, ALSO PREDOMINANTLY LEBANESE, AT A FACILITY IN NABATIYAH.

ISRAEL DOES NOT ACCORD PRISONER-OF-WAR STATUS UNDER THE THIRD GENEVA CONVENTION TO PRISONERS CAPTURED DURING AND AFTER THE LEBANESE CONFLICT WHO WERE NOT MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF ANOTHER COUNTRY. ISRAEL HAS MAINTAINED, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH DETAINEES ARE TREATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION IN ALL MATTERS RELATING TO THE GUARANTEE OF HUMANE TREATMENT AND CONDITIONS OF INTERNMENT. IT HAS STATED THAT UNDER THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION IT HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERN PERSONS WHO CONSTITUTE A DANGER TO THE SECURITY OF THE DETAINING POWER OR ITS ARMED FORCES. THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT HAS CONFIRMED THE APPLICABILITY OF THE STANDARDS OF THE FOURTH CONVENTION, WHILE HOLDING THAT, FOR SECURITY REASONS, ISRAEL IS PERMITTED TO DENY THE DETAINEES ACCESS TO FAMILY MEMBERS AND LEGAL COUNSEL. ISRAEL HAS PERMITTED ICRC REPRESENTATIVES TO VISIT THE DETAINEES REGULARLY.

IN ADDITION, ISRAEL CONTINUED DURING THE YEAR TO HOLD IN ISRAEL 281 SYRIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL CAPTURED DURING THE JUNE 1982 WAR. (ISRAEL HAS RELEASED TO THE ICRC 12 ILL SYRIAN PRISONERS.) THESE PRISONERS ARE ACCORDED THE STATUS OF PRISONERS OF WAR PURSUANT TO THE THIRD GENEVA CONVENTION. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ICRC HAVE BEEN ALLOWED ACCESS TO THEM.

E. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

THE RIGHT TO A HEARING BY AN IMPARTIAL TRIBUNAL WITH REPRESENTATION BY COUNSEL IS GUARANTEED BY LAW. THE JUDICIARY IN ISRAEL IS INDEPENDENT AND EFFECTIVELY INSULATED FROM POLITICAL INTERFERENCE. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF SECURITY CASES, ALL TRIALS ARE OPEN. IN SECURITY CASES, ISRAELI LAW PROVIDES THAT PART OR ALL OF A TRIAL MAY BE CLOSED, WITH THE BURDEN OF JUSTIFYING IN CAMERA PROCEEDINGS FALLING ON THE PROSECUTION. COUNSEL IS PRESENT DURING CLOSED PROCEEDINGS.

F. ARBITRARY INTERFERENCE WITH PRIVACY, FAMILY, HOME, OR CORRESPONDENCE

PRIVACY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SANCTITY OF HOMELIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE ARE FULLY PROTECTED. THERE ARE

EFFECTIVE LEGAL SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ARBITRARY INVASION OF THE HOME.

SECTION 2 RESPECT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, INCLUDING:

- A. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS, LIMITED ONLY BY SECURITY-BASED CENSORSHIP PROVISIONS, ARE BASIC RIGHTS IN ISRAEL. THESE RIGHTS ARE PROTECTED BY LAW AND THE JUDICIARY, AND ARE BROADLY EXERCISED BY CITIZENS AND INDIVIDUALS AND BY AN INDEPENDENT AND VIGOROUS PRESS, WHICH EXPRESSES A WIDE VARIETY OF POLITICAL OPINION.

MEDIA CENSORSHIP IS BASED ON BRITISH MANDATORY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE CENSOR MAY PROHIBIT THE PUBLICATION OF MATERIAL WHICH, IN HIS OPINION, WILL HARM THE DEFENSE OF ISRAEL, THE PUBLIC SAFETY, OR PUBLIC ORDER. CENSORSHIP DECISIONS MAY BE APPEALED THROUGH THE JUDICIARY. IN PRACTICE, CENSURSHIP OF THE MEDIA IS USUALLY LIMITED TO MILITARY SECURITY MATTERS. ISRAELI RADIO AND TELEVISION ARE RUN BY THE INDEPENDENT ISRAEL BROADCAST AUTHORITY (IBA). THE GOVERNMENT HELPS TO FUND THE IBA AND APPOINTS ITS GOVERNING BOARD, BUT HAS ALMOST NO CONTROL OVER PROGRAMMING. THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE IBA IS PROTECTED BY LAW, SUBJECT TO THE CENSORSHIP PROVISIONS.

LICENSES TO PUBLISH NEWSPAPERS ARE REQUIRED AND NORMALLY ARE ROUTINELY ISSUED. THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS, HOWEVER, THAT APPLICATIONS FROM ISRAELI ARABS ARE SCRUTINIZED MORE CLOSELY THAN OTHERS AND SOMETIMES TURNED DOWN WITHOUT

EXPLANATION. IN MARCH, AN ISRAELI ARAB WAS ARRESTED AND RELEASED ON BAIL FOR PUBLISHING A LOCAL PAPER AFTER HE WAS REFUSED A LICENSE BY A REGIONAL OFFICIAL ON THE BASIS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS. MOVIES AND THEATER ARE

SUBJECT TO CENSORSHIP IF DEEMED PORNOGRAPHIC OR OTHERWISE OFFENSIVE TO RELIGIOUS OR SOCIAL MORES OR LIKELY TO CREATE A DISTURBANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER. IN 1983, THREE FILMS WERE BANNED, TWO FOR PORNOGRAPHIC CONTENT AND ONE BECAUSE IT WAS DEEMED HARMFUL TO THE ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES. THE GOVERNMENT LODGED CHARGES AGAINST TWO ISRAELIS RESPONSIBLE FOR STAGING A PLAY, "THE PATRIOT," IN DEFIANCE OF CENSORSHIP. THE COURTS, HOWEVER, PERMITTED THE PLAY TO BE PERFORMED, THUS ESTABLISHING A PRECEDENT DENYING PRIOR RESTRAINT OF SPEECH.

B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

THESE ARE BASIC RIGHTS IN ISRAEL, PROTECTED, ALONG WITH THE RIGHT TO DEMONSTRATE, BY LAW AND RULINGS OF THE COURTS. IN THE CASE OF POLITICAL RALLIES AND OUTDOOR MEETINGS BEYOND AN ESTABLISHED SIZE, PERMITS ARE REQUIRED AND ROUTINELY GRANTED.

ISRAELI LAW FORBIDS TANGIBLE PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS OF SUPPORT FOR ORGANIZATIONS DEFINED AS TERRORIST IN NATURE. PROSCRIBED ACTS INCLUDE FLYING THE PALESTINIAN FLAG, DISPLAYING PALESTINIAN NATIONALIST SLOGANS, AND PUBLICLY EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE PLO. IN MAY, AN ISRAELI ARAB WHO RAISED A PALESTINIAN FLAG DURING A MARCH IN HIS VILLAGE WAS SENTENCED TO FIVE MONTHS IN JAIL, WITH AN ADDITIONAL THREE YEARS SUSPENDED.

ISRAEL HAS A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR MOVEMENT. THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF LABOR (HISTADRUT), ISRAEL'S MOST POWERFUL LABOR ORGANIZATION, COMPRISES 1,600,000 ADULT MEMBERS OR OVER 85 PERCENT OF THE WORKING POPULATION. THE MEMBERSHIP INCLUDES 160,000 ISRAELI ARABS OR 60 PERCENT OF THE ADULT ARAB POPULATION. ISRAELI WORKERS, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, MAKE FREQUENT USE OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

C. FREEDOM OF RELIGION

ISRAEL WAS FOUNDED AS A JEWISH STATE IN WHICH ALL CITIZENS ARE GUARANTEED FREEDOM OF RELIGION BY LAW. (MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS, DRUZE, AND OTHER MINORITY RELIGIONS MAKE UP ABOUT 17 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION.) THE PREVAILING INTERPRETATION OF THE JEWISH NATURE OF THE STATE HAS BEEN SECULAR AND NOT RELIGIOUS. ALL RELIGIOUS GROUPS MAY MAINTAIN CONTACTS WITH THEIR CORELIGIONISTS OUTSIDE ISRAEL. FOREIGN CLERGY ARE PERMITTED TO LIVE IN ISRAEL TO MINISTER TO THEIR CORELIGIONISTS. SEVERAL THOUSAND ISRAELI MUSLIMS MAKE THE HAJJ PILGRIMAGE TO

MECCA EACH YEAR. THERE IS NO OPERATING SEMINARY FOR MUSLIM CLERGY AND RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONARIES IN ISRAEL. MUSLIMS MAY OBTAIN SUCH TRAINING IN INSTITUTIONS IN EAST

JERUSALEM, THE WEST BANK, OR EGYPT. THE INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF THE BAHA'I RELIGION IS LOCATED IN HAIFA.

ISRAEL HAS RETAINED THE OTTOMAN MILLET SYSTEM UNDER WHICH EACH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IS GOVERNED IN MATTERS OF PERSONAL STATUS BY ITS OWN RELIGIOUS LAW AND NOT BY CIVIL LAW. THIS FEATURE OF ISRAELI LAW GIVES EACH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY GREAT FREEDOM TO OBSERVE ITS OWN CUSTOMS AND RELIGION WITHIN THE AREA WHERE THE MILLET SYSTEM APPLIES BUT SOMETIMES CAUSES SERIOUS INCONVENIENCE TO INDIVIDUALS WHO DO NOT FOLLOW THE DOMINANT TRADITION WITHIN ONE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY. THESE DIFFICULTIES DO NOT NORMALLY ARISE IN RELIGIOUS WORSHIP BUT DO OCCUR IN AREAS SUCH AS MARRIAGE OR CONVERSION TO JUDAISM. WITHIN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, THE ORTHODOX TRADITION HAS A DOMINANT POSITION.

A LAW ENACTED IN 1978 PROHIBITS THE OFFERING OF BRIBES OR MATERIAL BENEFITS AS INDUCEMENTS TO RELIGIOUS CONVERSION. IN A CLARIFICATION PLACED IN THE KNESSET RECORD IN 1979, THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE STATED THAT THE LAW IS NOT INTENDED TO RESTRICT THE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM OF ANY COMMUNITY OR TO IMPEDE ANY COMMUNITY FROM THE PURSUIT OF NORMAL EDUCATIONAL OR PHILANTHROPIC ACTIVITIES. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAS ORDERED THAT NO ACTION BE TAKEN UNDER THE LAW WITHOUT HIS EXPRESS PERMISSION, AND THE LAW HAS NOT BEEN EMPLOYED. IT NEVERTHELESS CONTINUES TO CAUSE UNEASINESS AMONG SOME CHRISTIAN GROUPS.

THE LAW OF RETURN OF 1950 (WHICH ABOLISHED ALL RESTRICTIONS ON JEWISH IMMIGRATION) AND THE CITIZENSHIP LAW OF 1952 (WHICH GRANTED EVERY JEW THE RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP UPON ARRIVAL IN ISRAEL) CONFER AN ADVANTAGE

D. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL, EMIGRATION, AND REPATRIATION

ISRAELI CITIZENS ENJOY FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND ARE FREE TO TRAVEL ABROAD OR TO EMIGRATE, SUBJECT TO GOVERNMENTAL REVIEW TO DETERMINE WHETHER MILITARY SERVICE-RELATED OBLIGATIONS HAVE BEEN SATISFIED. EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, HOWEVER, PROVIDE THAT ISRAELI CITIZENS, BY MILITARY ORDER, MAY BE CONFINED TO THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS OR VILLAGES OR BARRED FROM TRAVELLING TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. RESTRICTIONS OF THIS NATURE HAVE BEEN APPLIED MOST OFTEN TO ISRAELI ARABS. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE SUCH INDIVIDUAL, CONVICTED OF BELONGING TO WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS A HOSTILE ORGANIZATION, WAS CONFINED TO HIS VILLAGE FOLLOWING HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON IN 1981. IN 1983, THE CONFINEMENT ORDER WAS RELAXED TO PERMIT HIM TO TRAVEL WITHIN ISRAEL.

SINCE 1948, ISRAEL HAS TAKEN IN OVER A MILLION JEWISH REFUGEES FROM EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND NORTH AFRICA AND HAS WORKED TOWARD INTEGRATING THEM INTO ITS SOCIETY AND ECONOMY. INTEGRATION OF SMALLER NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS CONTINUED DURING THE YEAR.

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 194 OF DECEMBER 11, 1948, CALLS UPON ISRAEL TO PERMIT ARAB REFUGEES WHO LEFT THEIR HOMES IN THE 1947-48 FIGHTING TO RETURN IF THEY ARE WILLING TO LIVE IN PEACE OR TO BE COMPENSATED FOR THEIR LOSSES IF THEY CHOOSE. ISRAEL HAS NOT RECOGNIZED THE VALIDITY OF THIS RESOLUTION, POINTING OUT THE LOSSES TO ITS OWN CITIZENS WHO FLED ARAB STATES; IT HAS, HOWEVER, ON OCCASION INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO TAKE BACK SOME REFUGEES IN THE CONTEXT OF A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE HEBREW-ISRAELITE COMMUNITY (USUALLY KNOWN AS BLACK HEBREWS), WHICH NUMBERS ABOUT 1,200 MEMBERS, REMAINED UNCHANGED SINCE THE 1982 REPORT. WHILE MANY COMMUNITY MEMBERS ARE LONG-TERM RESIDENTS OF ISRAEL, HAVING SETTLED IN THE EARLY 1970'S, FEW ARE IN THE COUNTRY LEGALLY. THEY ARE ABLE TO EXIT ISRAEL BUT CANNOT RETURN. APPROXIMATELY 80 BLACK HEBREWS RENOUNCED THEIR AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND MAY BE CONSIDERED STATELESS, AS THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL DOES NOT ACCEPT THEIR CLAIM TO IMMIGRANT STATUS UNDER THE LAW OF RETURN.

SECTION 3 RESPECT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS: THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT

ISRAEL IS A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY WITH A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM. ALL ADULT ISRAELI CITIZENS HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR CANDIDATES OF THEIR CHOICE AND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

THERE IS NO LEGAL PROHIBITION AGAINST ARAB OR

ARAB-ORIENTED POLITICAL PARTIES, BUT EFFORTS TO FORM SUCH PARTIES HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL. ISRAELI ARABS ARE INCLUDED IN THE KNESSET ELECTION LISTS OF SEVERAL OF THE ZIONIST PARTIES, AND A MAJORITY OF THE ARAB ELECTORATE VOTED FOR ZIONIST PARTIES IN THE 1981 NATIONAL ELECTIONS. FIVE OF THE 120 MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET ARE FROM THE ISRAELI ARAB AND DRUZE COMMUNITIES. THE NON-ZIONIST ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY, RAKAH, DERIVES MOST OF ITS SUPPORT FROM ISRAELI ARABS. IN THE 1981 ELECTIONS, THE RAKAH SLATE WON FOUR SEATS IN THE KNESSET.

WOMEN PARTICIPATE FREELY IN THE ISRAELI POLITICAL PROCESS AND ACCOUNT FOR MORE THAN 40 PERCENT OF THE POLITICAL PARTY MEMBERSHIP. NINE MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET ARE WOMEN.

SECTION 4 GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THE GOVERNMENT MAINTAINS AN OFFICE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND SEVERAL HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS IN ISRAEL WORK FOR THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS. PRIVATE GROUPS, SUCH AS THE ISRAELI LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS, THE ASSOCIATION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN ISRAEL, AND PEACE NOW, FREELY CRITICIZE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN ISRAEL, THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND LEBANON. THEY ISSUE STATEMENTS AND REPORTS, HOLD PRESS CONFERENCES, AND ORGANIZE DEMONSTRATIONS WITHOUT GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE.

THE GOVERNMENT PERMITS VISITS TO ISRAEL BY

REPRESENTATIVES OF PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, AS WELL AS UNESCO, WHO, AND THE ILO. WHILE DISPUTING THE APPLICABILITY OF THE RELEVANT GENEVA CONVENTIONS, THE GOVERNMENT PERMITS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) TO VISIT PRISONERS IN ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND, AFTER AN INITIAL DELAY, PERMITTED THE ICRC TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE PRISONERS CAPTURED AS A RESULT OF THE WAR IN LEBANON. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO INVESTIGATES AND REPLIES TO INQUIRIES BY ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IS CURRENTLY INVESTIGATING THE CASES OF 41 ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES RESERVISTS IMPRISONED FOR REFUSING TO SERVE IN LEBANON ON GROUNDS OF CONSCIENCE. FREEDOM HOUSE CONSIDERS ISRAEL "FREE"; IT DOES NOT CHARACTERIZE THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SITUATION

THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL IS ABOUT FOUR MILLION AND HAS SEEN INCREASING BY ABOUT 1.7 PERCENT A YEAR. PER CAPITA GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP) IS ABOUT $5,425.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1983 WAS ABOUT FIVE PERCENT.

ISRAEL HAS BEEN BESET BY SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN RECENT YEARS, WITH INCREASING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICITS, A LARGE FOREIGN DEBT AND TRIPLE-DIGIT INFLATION (190.7 PERCENT IN 1983) THE MOST SERIOUS CONCERNS. A COMPLEX SYSTEM OF INDEXING ~~(WHICH TIES~~ SALARIES, MOST FINANCIAL ASSETS, AND PENSIONS TO THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX) HAS PROTECTED MOST OF THE POPULATION FROM THE DAMAGING EFFECTS OF THE HIGH INFLATION. THE GOVERNMENT, CONCERNED BY THE DISTORTING EFFECT OF INFLATION ON THE ECONOMY, HAS ATTEMPTED TO REDUCE THE RATE OF PRICE INCREASES, BUT WITH LITTLE SUCCESS. ISRAEL HISTORICALLY HAS RUN A BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE RESOURCES TO ABSORB LARGE-SCALE IMMIGRATION IN THE EARLY YEARS OF STATEHOOD, MAINTAIN A HIGH DEFENSE CAPABILITY, AND RAISE THE GENERAL STANDARD OF LIVING. IN RECENT YEARS, THE WORLDWIDE RECESSION AND THE STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR HAVE HURT ISRAELI EXPORTS, THEREBY INCREASING THE PAYMENTS DEFICIT. SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, HAS HELPED ISRAEL COVER THE PAYMENTS GAP.

STATE EDUCATION IN EITHER SECULAR OR RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IS FREE AND COMPULSORY FOR ALL ISRAELI CITIZENS THROUGH AGE 16. THE PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATIO IS ABOUT 97 PERCENT AND THE ADULT LITERACY RATE ABOUT 81 PERCENT (88 PERCENT FOR JEWS AND 49 PERCENT FOR ARABS). THE PARALLEL EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN ISRAEL FOR JEWS AND ARABS, CONDUCTED IN HEBREW AND ARABIC RESPECTIVELY, SHOW A DISPARITY IN QUALITY, WITH GREATER RESOURCES PER STUDENT GOING INTO THE JEWISH SYSTEM.

ISRAEL HAS AN ADVANCED HEALTH CARE SYSTEM WITH A HIGH DOCTOR TO PATIENT RATIO. LIFE EXPECTANCY IS 72.5 YEARS,

AND THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE IS 14.1 PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS. ALTHOUGH SAFE DRINKING WATER IS AVAILABLE TO THE ENTIRE POPULATION, 6,000 CASES OF VIRAL HEPATITIS WERE REPORTED IN 1982. ONE-THIRD OF THESE WERE SOLDIERS RETURNING FROM ACTIVE DUTY IN LEBANON. FIGURES FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1983 SHOWED A 10 PERCENT DECLINE IN REPORTED CASES.

TITLE TO 93 PERCENT OF THE LAND IN ISRAEL IS HELD BY THE STATE OR QUASI-PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS IN TRUST FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE. ACCORDING TO LAW, ANYONE MAY PURCHASE THE REMAINING SEVEN PERCENT OF PRIVATELY-OWNED LAND THROUGH ORDINARY COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS.

THE ISRAELI ARAB MINORITY HAS EQUAL RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW IN MOST RESPECTS, AND ISRAELI ARABS HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL EDUCATIONAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE. SOME HAVE RISEN TO RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE, GENERALLY IN THE ARAB DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES.

ISRAELI ARABS, HOWEVER, ARE RELATIVELY POWERLESS AND TEND TO FEEL ALIENATED. DESPITE SOME GOVERNMENTAL AND PRIVATE EFFORTS TO BRIDGE THE GAP, THERE IS LITTLE SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH ISRAELI JEWS. ISRAELI ARABS COMPLAIN THAT THEY ARE DENIED EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION, HOUSING, AND OTHER SERVICES, AND THAT THEY ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN SUCH AREAS AS EMPLOYMENT AND APPOINTMENT TO GOVERNMENT POSITIONS. GOVERNMENT GRANTS TO ARAB LOCAL COUNCILS REPRESENT A SMALLER PERCENTAGE OF THE BUDGETS OF THESE BODIES THAN IS THE CASE FOR GOVERNMENT GRANTS TO JEWISH MUNICIPALITIES. WHILE ARABS MAKE UP ABOUT 16

PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL, LESS THAN TWO PERCENT OF THE PERSONS IN SENIOR GOVERNMENT POSITIONS ARE ARABS, LESS THAN THREE PERCENT OF ISRAELI JUDGES ARE ARABS, AND NO LARGE BANK, INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE, OR AGRICULTURAL UNDERTAKING IN ISRAEL IS HEADED BY AN ISRAELI ARAB. ISRAELI ARABS MAKE UP THREE PERCENT OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND LESS THAN ONE PERCENT OF THE ACADEMIC POSITIONS IN ISRAELI UNIVERSITIES.

DRUZE AND CIRCASSIANS ARE SUBJECT TO ISRAEL'S MILITARY DRAFT, AND SOME BEDOUIN SERVE VOLUNTARILY IN SPECIAL UNITS. OTHER MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO SERVE AND THEREFORE DO NOT QUALIFY FOR MANY OF THE IMPORTANT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BENEFITS THAT DERIVE FROM MILITARY SERVICE. IN 1983, THE ISSUE OF PROVIDING VETERAN CHILD ALLOWANCES TO YESHIVA STUDENTS WHO HAD NOT SERVED IN THE DEFENSE FORCES, BUT NOT TO ARABS WHO ALSO DO NOT PERFORM ARMY SERVICE, WAS DEBATED IN THE KNESSET AND WIDELY DISCUSSED IN THE MEDIA. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE EXCLUSION OF ONE GROUP BUT NOT THE OTHER COULD BE INTERPRETED AS UNFAIRLY DISCRIMINATORY. TWO ARAB MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET CHALLENGED THE LEGALITY OF THE ALLOWANCES TO THE YESHIVA STUDENTS IN THE SUPREME COURT, AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL RULED THAT THE ALLOWANCES MUST BE STOPPED.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN ISRAEL ARE PROTECTED BY LAW AS WELL AS BY GOVERNMENTAL AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS. THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY LAW FORBIDS DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF SEX OR MARITAL OR PARENTAL STATUS, AND EMPLOYERS ARE LEGALLY

BOUND TO PAY FEMALE WORKERS A WAGE EQUAL TO THAT PAID MALE WORKERS FOR THE SAME OR GENERALLY SIMILAR WORK. LAWS AND REGULATIONS ALSO PROVIDE FOR PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF FEMALE EMPLOYEES WITH RESPECT TO PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH. THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE INCLUDES AN ADVISER ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, AND THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION AND SEVERAL GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES HAVE OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROMOTING FAIR TREATMENT FOR WOMEN AND ENSURING THAT THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN ARE PROTECTED. A NUMBER OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS ALSO WORK TO ADVANCE THE STATUS OF WOMEN, ENSURE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN ALL FIELDS, AND OFFER FAMILY SERVICES SUCH AS CHILD CARE FOR WORKING MOTHERS.

OVER 40 PERCENT OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES ARE WOMEN, AS ARE 39 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE. WOMEN ACCOUNT FOR APPROXIMATELY TWO-THIRDS OF THE INSTRUCTORS EMPLOYED IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. THEY OCCUPY ABOUT ONE-FIFTH OF THE SENIOR POSITIONS OF THE PROFESSIONAL GRADE OF THE CAREER CIVIL SERVICE, ARE WELL-REPRESENTED IN PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL JOBS IN THE MEDIA, AND WORK IN A BROAD RANGE OF THE PROFESSIONS AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS.

THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

THE TERRITORIES THAT ISRAEL HAS OCCUPIED SINCE 1967 CONSIST OF THE WEST BANK, EAST JERUSALEM, THE GOLAN

HEIGHTS, AND THE GAZA STRIP. THE WEST BANK AND GAZA REMAIN UNDER MILITARY GOVERNMENT. ISRAEL REGARDS EAST JERUSALEM AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AS SUBJECT TO ISRAELI LAW, JURISDICTION, AND ADMINISTRATION.

THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAVE ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS, IN WHICH THE U.S. CONCURS, ASSERTING THAT ISRAEL'S PRESENCE IN ALL THESE TERRITORIES IS THAT OF AN OCCUPYING POWER. AS SUCH, ISRAEL'S GOVERNANCE IS SUBJECT TO THE HAGUE REGULATIONS OF 1907 AND THE 1949 FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIAN POPULATIONS UNDER MILITARY OCCUPATION.

ISRAEL DECLARES THAT IT VOLUNTARILY OBSERVES MOST OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION'S PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, EVEN THOUGH IT DOES NOT ACCEPT THAT THESE AREAS ARE WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE CONVENTION. MAJOR DIFFERENCES HAVE ARISEN IN REGARD TO THE APPLICABILITY OF THESE PROVISIONS TO THE INTRODUCTION OF CIVILIAN SETTLERS AND THE USE OF CERTAIN FORMS OF

PUNISHMENT, SUCH AS COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT, IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. ISRAEL DECLARES THAT MEASURES OF THIS NATURE ARE NECESSARY FOR SECURITY REASONS.

THE COMPLEX HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, PARTICULARLY IN THE WEST BANK WHERE THE MAJORITY OF THE SETTLED ARAB POPULATION IS LOCATED, IS LARGELY THE RESULT OF FRICTION BETWEEN OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES AND THE INDIGENOUS ARAB POPULATION. ISRAEL IMPLEMENTS POLICY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA THROUGH SEPARATE CIVIL ADMINISTRATIONS. THESE WERE CREATED IN

1981 AND ARE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. THEY ARE STAFFED BY MILITARY AS WELL AS CIVILIAN PERSONNEL. ISRAEL'S NATIONAL POLICE, BORDER POLICE, SECURITY SERVICE, AND THE ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (IDF) ALL HAVE A ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. WHILE THE NATIONAL POLICE, WHICH INCLUDES LOCAL PALESTINIANS IN ITS RANKS, IS SELDOM THE TARGET OF CRITICISM, THERE ARE FREQUENT COMPLAINTS BY WEST BANKERS AND GAZANS ABOUT THE ACTIONS OF THE OTHER ORGANIZATIONS.

ISRAEL CONTINUED IN 1983 TO ESTABLISH AND EXPAND JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, NOTABLY AND MOST CONTROVERSIALLY IN POPULOUS AREAS OF THE WEST BANK. THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THAT THIS AND ASSOCIATED ISRAELI PRACTICES, INCLUDING THE EVOLUTION OF A DIFFERENT SYSTEM OF LAWS FOR THE SETTLERS, MIGHT BE INTENDED TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR ISRAEL'S EVENTUAL ANNEXATION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THIS CONCERN HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY REPEATED STATEMENTS BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNING COALITION THAT, AT THE END OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD CALLED FOR IN THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK, ISRAEL WOULD ASSERT A CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER THESE AREAS. (THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK PROVIDES FOR A FIVE-YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, DURING WHICH NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO TAKE PLACE TO DETERMINE THEIR FINAL STATUS.) IN ADDITION, THE SCARCITY OF WATER IN MOST PARTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA HAS CONSTRAINED BOTH AGRICULTURE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT. AS A RESULT, WATER HAS REMAINED A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE BETWEEN RESIDENT PALESTINIANS AND THE OCCUPYING ISRAELIS.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION AUTHORITIES HAVE ATTEMPTED TO RESHAPE LOCAL POLITICS, PARTICULARLY BY BLOCKING THE INFLUENCE OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) AND BY PROMOTING AN ALTERNATE LEADERSHIP. ISRAELI SUPPORT OF THE QUASI-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WEST BANK KNOWN AS THE VILLAGE LEAGUES, HOWEVER, DIMINISHED IN 1983.

ISRAEL PERMITTED MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS TO TAKE PLACE IN THE WEST BANK IN 1972 AND 1976 BUT POSTPONED, WITHOUT RESCHEDULING, THE ELECTIONS THAT WERE TO BE HELD IN 1980. SINCE THEN, THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES, CITING SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS, HAVE REMOVED NUMBERS OF ELECTED AND APPOINTED OFFICIALS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. ISRAEL HAS ALLOWED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOUR UNIVERSITIES IN THE WEST BANK WHERE NONE HAD EXISTED BEFORE (AS WELL AS A UNIVERSITY IN GAZA) BUT HAS DEPORTED FACULTY MEMBERS FOR TAKING POLITICAL STANDS THAT IT REGARDS AS THREATENING TO ITS SECURITY. ISRAEL HAS PERMITTED OUTSPOKEN CRITICISM OF ISRAELI POLICY BY THE EAST JERUSALEM-BASED ARABIC PRESS BUT HAS OFTEN CENSORED ARTICLES AND EDITORIALS ON STATED SECURITY GROUNDS AND RESTRICTED THE CIRCULATION OF ARABIC PUBLICATIONS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. IN ADDITION, ISRAEL HAS IMPOSED BROAD RESTRICTIONS ON SPEECH AND ASSEMBLY IN THOSE AREAS.

ARAB AND JEWISH RESIDENTS CONTINUED TO SUFFER FROM TERRORIST ACTS IN 1983. HISTORICALLY, RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH ACTS HAS BEEN CLAIMED BY PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS LOCATED OUTSIDE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IN ADDITION, CONTINUING VIOLENCE BY SETTLERS AGAINST ARABS HAS NOT BEEN EFFECTIVELY DEALT WITH BY THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES.

IN THE WEST BANK, AND TO A SOMEWHAT LESSER DEGREE IN GAZA AND EAST JERUSALEM, FRICTION BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS ERUPTED DURING THE YEAR IN DISTURBANCES OF PUBLIC ORDER. THERE WERE DOZENS OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS, SEVERAL OF WHICH RES;LTED IN DEATHS OR SERIOUS INJURIES. THERE WERE ALSO RETRIBUTIVE ACTS BY BOTH SIDES, ARAB PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES, AND CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN ISRAELI SETTLERS, WHO WERE OFTEN ARMED, AND LOCAL INHABITANTS. EXPRESSIONS OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALIST OR PRO-PLO FERVOR OFTEN LED TO INTERVENTION BY SECURITY FORCES. DURING THE LAST PART OF 1983, THE ENDEMIC TENSION WAS HEIGHTENED BY PALESTINIAN CONCERN OVER THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PLO FACTIONS IN LEBANON.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING

FREEDOM FROM:

- A. UNLAWFUL AND ARBITRARY DEPRIVATION OF LIFE

THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE IN 1983 OF POLITICAL MURDER BY ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES, AND MURDER IS NEITHER PRACTICED

NOR CONDONED BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. SEVERAL PERSONS WERE KILLED AND NUMEROUS OTHERS INJURED BY TERRORIST ATTACKS. IN ADDITION, ISRAELIS WERE KILLED OR INJURED BY STONES THROWN BY LOCAL PALESTINIANS, AND LOCAL PALESTINIANS WERE KILLED OR INJURED BY GUNFIRE BY SECURITY FORCES AND ISRAELI SETTLERS. PALESTINIANS HAVE COMPLAINED THAT ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES DO NOT ADEQUATELY PROTECT THEM FROM REPRISALS BY ISRAELI SETTLERS.

IN EARLY JULY, AN ISRAELI SETTLER WAS STABBED TO DEATH BY ASSAILANTS IN CENTRAL HEBRON; SEVEN MEMBERS OF AN ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST GROUP WERE ARRESTED AND SUBSEQUENTLY CONFESSED TO THE CRIME. IN LATE JULY, THREE ARAB STUDENTS ON THE HEBRON UNIVERSITY CAMPUS WERE KILLED AND OVER 30 INJURED BY UNKNOWN ATTACKERS, WIDELY BELIEVED TO BE SETTLERS, USING AUTOMATIC WEAPONS AND GRENADES. NO SUSPECTS HAD BEEN FORMALLY CHARGED BY YEAR'S END. IN GAZA, TWO ISRAELI SETTLERS WERE KILLED DURING THE YEAR BY ARAB ASSAILANTS.

AN ARAB VILLAGER OF BIDIYA WAS KILLED AND A BORDER POLICEMAN AND TWO OTHER ARABS SEVERELY INJURED IN A CONFRONTATION OVER SETTLEMENT CONSTRUCTION ON DISPUTED LAND. TWO ARABS WERE FATALLY WOUNDED BY SECURITY FORCES IN TULKARM DURING A DEMONSTRATION, AND A YOUTH FROM JENIN WAS KILLED AFTER FAILING TO HALT AT A ROADBLOCK. A NABLUS GIRL WAS KILLED WHILE SHOPPING WHEN AN ISRAELI MOTORIST OPENED FIRE ON DEMONSTRATORS WHO HAD STONED HIS CAR. IN DECEMBER, AN 11-YEAR OLD NABLUS GIRL WAS SHOT TO DEATH IN HER FATHER'S BAKERY; THREE ISRAELI SETTLERS WERE PLACED IN CUSTODY DURING THE INVESTIGATION OF THE INCIDENT, AND WERE CHARGED IN JANUARY 1984.

AN ARAB RESIDENT OF RUJAIB VILLAGE WAS REPORTEDLY KILLED BY ARABS FOR SELLING LAND TO ISRAELI SETTLERS. OTHER ARABS SUSPECTED OF ASSISTING THE OCCUPATION WERE THE TARGETS OF UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACKS. THERE WERE MANY INCIDENTS DURING THE YEAR INVOLVING ARSON, FIRE BOMBS, EXPLOSIVES, OR GUNFIRE AGAINST SETTLERS AND ARABS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. SECURITY FORCES SUCCESSFULLY DEFUSED NUMEROUS EXPLOSIVE DEVICES AIMED AT THE GENERAL PUBLIC. ONLY ONE SUCH DEVICE, A CHARGE PLACED UNDER AN ISRAELI MILITARY VEHICLE, WAS SPECIFICALLY DIRECTED AGAINST A MILITARY TARGET. RESPONSIBILITY WAS GENERALLY CLAIMED BY PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

AN ISRAELI ORGANIZATION CALLING ITSELF "TERROR AGAINST TERROR" CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR A SERIES OF BOOBY-TRAPPED GRENADE ATTACKS ON ARAB HOMES AND BOTH MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS SITES. SEVERAL PERSONS WERE INJURED IN THE INCIDENTS.

IN FEBRUARY, AN ISRAELI RESIDENT OF THE WEST BANK WAS SEVERELY INJURED IN AN ATTACK BY ARAB ASSAILANTS THAT WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN RELATED TO HIS ROLE AS A BROKER IN THE PURCHASE OF ARAB-OWNED LAND.

IN MARCH, ISRAELI SETTLERS FROM KIRYAT ARBA, NEAR HEBRON, FIRED WITHOUT KNOWN PROVOCATION INTO A NEARBY ARAB HOUSE, INJURING A SMALL CHILD. THREE SETTLERS WERE ARRESTED, CONVICTED, AND SENTENCED TO 12 MONTHS (LATER COMMUTED TO SIX MONTHS) IMPRISONMENT. AN ISRAELI COURT REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE PLEA OF SELF-DEFENSE IN THE CASE OF ANOTHER KIRYAT ARBA SETTLER WHO OPENED FIRE ON AN ARAB MOTORIST; THE SETTLER WAS CONVICTED AND SENTENCED TO 30 MONTHS IMPRISONMENT.

IN APRIL, ALAN GOODMAN, THE ISRAELI ACCUSED OF KILLING THREE PERSONS DURING A SHOOTING ASSAULT ON THE TEMPLE MOUNT/HARAM AL SHARIF IN 1982, WAS FOUND GUILTY AND SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT.

- B. DISAPPEARANCE

THERE WERE NO KNOWN CASES OF INDIVIDUALS DISAPPEARING FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES DURING 1983. THE ARABIC PRESS, HOWEVER, CONTINUED TO REPORT THE ABDUCTION AND TEMPORARY DETENTION OF ARABS, INCLUDING CHILDREN, BY ARMED ISRAELI SETTLERS AFTER STONE-THROWING ATTACKS ON SETTLER VEHICLES.

- C. TORTURE AND CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

TORTURE IS FORBIDDEN BY ISRAELI LAW, AND VIOLATORS ARE PUNISHED. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT TORTURE IS CONDONED BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES.

PALESTINIAN PRISONERS COMPLAINED OF CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR

DEGRADING TREATMENT IN ISRAELI FACILITIES DURING THE YEAR. THEY ALLEGED THAT WARDENS PERMITTED NON-ARAB PRISONERS TO ABUSE THEM, THAT THEY WERE DENIED EXPEDITIOUS AND COMPREHENSIVE MEDICAL TREATMENT, AND THAT THE PLACES OF DETENTION WERE UNHEATED AND OVERCROWDED. THERE WERE CREDIBLE REPORTS THAT PRISONERS WERE SOMETIMES

DENIED THE OPPORTUNITY TO BATHE OR SHOWER FOR EXTENDED PERIODS. ALLEGATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE, PHYSICAL MISTREATMENT, AND INSTANCES OF BRUTALITY DURING THE ARREST AND INTERROGATION OF SECURITY SUSPECTS DECLINED IN 1983 FROM 1982 LEVELS, CONTINUING A DOWNWARD TREND OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS.

SOME OF THE CHARGES OF MISTREATMENT, ESPECIALLY THOSE INVOLVING LACK OF HEAT OR SANITARY FACILITIES, SEEMED TO RESULT FROM ANTIQUATED OR OVERCROWDED PLACES OF DETENTION TO WHICH NOT ONLY PALESTINIANS ARE SUBJECT.

- D. ARBITRARY ARREST, DETENTION, OR EXILE

UNDER APPLICABLE LAW, INDIVIDUALS MAY BE HELD IN ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION WITHOUT FORMAL CHARGES OR TRIAL FOR UP TO 18 DAYS. A CIVILIAN OR MILITARY COURT MAY THEREAFTER EXTEND PRE-TRIAL DETENTION FOR UP TO SIX MORE MONTHS. IN 1983, THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF SUCH DETENTION FOR MORE THAN 19 DAYS.

PERSONS SUSPECTED OF HAVING COMMITTED SECURITY OFFENSES ARE SUBJECT TO MILITARY TRIAL. ISRAELI LAW DOES NOT PRECISELY DEFINE WHEN A GIVEN CRIME WILL BE CONSIDERED A SECURITY OFFENSE. THE ARREST OF A SIZABLE NUMBER OF ARABS HAS BEEN COMMON IN THE WAKE OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS OR WHEN SECURITY FORCES DISPERSE A DEMONSTRATION. USUALLY, SUCH ARRESTS DO NOT RESULT IN EITHER FORMAL CHARGES OR PROLONGED DETENTION. PERSONS ARRESTED WHILE DEMONSTRATING ARE TRIED IN MILITARY COURTS ON SECURITY GROUNDS. THE SECURITY FORCES CAN AND DO DETAIN INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT PROMPT NOTIFICATION OF THEIR RELATIVES AND APPARENTLY WITHOUT THE USE OF WARRANTS. SEVERAL HUNDRED SUSPECTED SECURITY OFFENDERS WERE AWAITING TRIAL EITHER IN ISRAEL OR THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AT THE END OF 1983.

PERSONS ARRESTED FOR COMMON CRIMES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE USUALLY PROVIDED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR BAIL, ACCESS TO AN ATTORNEY, AND A CLEAR STATEMENT OF CHARGES. PERSONS DETAINED FOR SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS ARE NOT PERMITTED BAIL AND INITIALLY DO NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO ACCESS TO AN ATTORNEY OR OTHER OUTSIDE CONTACT. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THEY ARE INFORMED OF THE SPECIFIC CHARGES AGAINST THEM, AND MANY OF THOSE RELEASED FROM SUCH DETENTION WITHOUT BEING CHARGED CLAIM IGNORANCE OF THE REASONS FOR THEIR DETENTION.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, IN A SPECIAL REPORT IN FEBRUARY

1983, EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER WHAT IT REGARDS AS THE

EXTENSIVE USE OF RESTRICTION ORDERS UNDER WHICH, FROM JANUARY 1980 THROUGH DECEMBER 1982, 107 PERSONS IN ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WERE ORDERED TO REMAIN WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THEIR TOWN OR VILLAGE (TOWN ARREST) FOR PERIODS OF THREE MONTHS OR MORE, IN SOME CASES FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS, AS A RESULT OF EXTENSIONS OR ORIGINAL ORDERS. SUCH RESTRICTIONS, WHICH OFTEN MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THOSE AFFECTED TO PRACTICE THEIR PROFESSION OR TO PURSUE THEIR COURSE OF STUDY, INVOLVE NO FORMAL CHARGES AND ARE ORDERED BY REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS WITH NO REQUIREMENT FOR JUDICIAL APPROVAL. MANY OF THOSE UNDER RESTRICTION ORDERS ARE POLITICAL ACTIVISTS OPPOSED TO ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OR WHO ARE OUTSPOKEN IN THEIR CRITICISM OF ISRAELI POLICIES AND IN THEIR SUPPORT OF THE PLO.

LENGTHY CURFEWS IMPOSED ON ALL OR PORTIONS OF ARAB TOWNS, CITIES, AND REFUGEE CAMPS ARE SEEN AS COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT BY THOSE SUBJECTED TO SUCH MEASURES. THERE WERE REPORTS DURING THE YEAR THAT TWO PERSONS AT THE JALAZUN REFUGEE CAMP DIED FOR LACK OF PROMPT MEDICAL TREATMENT DUE TO A CURFEW. THERE WAS NO INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION OF THESE REPORTS. VIOLATORS OF CURFEWS OR TOWN ARREST ARE SUBJECT TO FINE OR IMPRISONMENT UNDER SECURITY REGULATIONS.

OTHER FORMS OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT, SUCH AS THE HOLDING OF GROUPS OF ARAB MEN IN TOWN OR VILLAGE SQUARES FOR LONG PERIODS, HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES.

E. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

JORDANIAN LAW AS MODIFIED BY THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES REMAINS IN FORCE IN THE WEST BANK FOR MOST CIVIL AND CRIMINAL MATTERS; BRITISH MANDATORY LAW, AS MODIFIED, PREVAILS IN GAZA. THE JUDICIAL APPLICATION OF THESE LAWS, EXCEPT WHERE SECURITY OFFENSES OR ACQUISITION OF LAND BY THE AUTHORITIES IS INVOLVED, HAS BEEN LEFT IN THE HANDS OF AN ARAB JUDICIARY, WHICH ACTS INDEPENDENTLY OF THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES. RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ACCUSED OF NON-SECURITY OFFENSES RECEIVE PUBLIC TRIALS IN LOCAL CIVILIAN COURTS. MOST CASES OF OFFENSES IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA INVOLVING ISRAELI SETTLERS ARE HEARD IN MILITARY COURTS. IN EAST JERUSALEM AND THE GOLAN, THE LAWS OBTAINING IN ISRAEL APPLY.

ALLEGED SECURITY OFFENDERS ARE TRIED IN ISRAELI MILITARY COURTS, WITH A MILITARY JUDGE PRESIDING, AND ARE DEFENDED BY COUNSEL. MOST MILITARY TRIALS ARE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC. CONSULAR OFFICERS NORMALLY HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN ATTENDING ANY COURT PROCEEDINGS IN WHICH A FOREIGN CITIZEN IS INVOLVED. TRIALS FOR INDIVIDUALS ACCUSED OF SERIOUS SECURITY OFFENSES, HOWEVER, ARE SOMETIMES CLOSED TO THE PUBLIC, ESPECIALLY WHEN SECURITY OFFICIALS ARE TO TESTIFY.

ISRAELI MILITARY COURTS ALSO CLAIM JURISDICTION OVER SECURITY OFFENSES COMMITTED OUTSIDE ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. AN AMERICAN CITIZEN OF PALESTINIAN ORIGIN WAS SENTENCED TO TWO YEARS DURING 1983 FOR ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH A PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATION WHICH OCCURRED ONLY WITHIN THE UNITED STATES AND WHICH WERE NOT ILLEGAL IN THE UNITED STATES.

AFTER ISRAEL'S EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS INVOLVING THE PLO IN NOVEMBER, APPROXIMATELY 2,900 NON-ISRAELI-CITIZEN ARABS REMAINED IN PRISON FOR SECURITY OFFENSES IN ISRAEL OR THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CONTINUED TO ASSERT CLAIMS OVER ADDITIONAL AREAS OF THE WEST BANK WHICH IT CONSIDERS TO BE STATE LAND BUT WHICH LOCAL INHABITANTS OFTEN REGARD AS COMMUNITY OR PRIVATE LAND. ARAB USERS OF THE LAND FREQUENTLY COMPLAIN THAT THEY ARE NOT PROVIDED WITH ANY WRITTEN NOTIFICATION OF THESE DECISIONS. ALTHOUGH THE AUTHORITIES HAVE EXTENDED THE TIME AVAILABLE FOR THE FILING OF COMPETING CLAIMS TO 30 DAYS FROM THE PREVIOUS 21-DAY LIMIT, ARABS ARGUE THAT THE PERIOD IS TOO BRIEF FOR THEM TO OBTAIN SUBSTANTIATING DOCUMENTATION, SOME OF WHICH IS AVAILABLE ONLY IN JORDAN OR TURKEY. ISRAELI AUTHORITIES RESPOND THAT EXTENSIONS ARE GRANTED UPON REQUEST, WHICH APPEARS TO BE THE CASE IN MOST INSTANCES. THEY ALSO MAINTAIN THAT NO TITLE IS REQUIRED WHEN THE CLAIMANT CAN PROVE HE HAS CULTIVATED THE DISPUTED LAND FOR AT LEAST TEN YEARS. SOME ARABS, HOWEVER, ASSERT THAT THIS PROVISION IS NOT ALWAYS OBSERVED. IN SOME CASES, THE AUTHORITIES HAVE PERMITTED EARTH-MOVING WORK TO BEGIN BEFORE THE 30-DAY PERIOD HAS ELAPSED.

THERE ARE COMPLAINTS BY ARABS THAT THE PRACTICE OF ADJUDICATING APPEALS FROM MILITARY ORDERS UNDER WHICH LAND IS SEIZED FOR STATE PURPOSES BY AN APPEALS COMMITTEE COMPOSED OF MILITARY OFFICERS DOES NOT PROVIDE AN INDEPENDENT, FAIR REVIEW OF THE DISPUTE. ARABS ALSO MAINTAIN THAT THE IMPOSITION DURING 1983 OF MILITARY ORDER 1060, TRANSFERRING INITIAL ARBITRATION OF LAND

TITLE FROM THE ARAB COURTS TO ANOTHER MILITARY TRIBUNAL, LIKEWISE PREVENTS A FAIR EVALUATION OF THEIR CLAIMS. AN ARAB CLAIMANT WHO IS UNSATISFIED WITH THE MILITARY COMMITTEE'S RULING MAY APPEAL THROUGH THE ISRAELI LEGAL SYSTEM UP TO THE SUPREME COURT. NO SUCH APPEALS HAVE BEEN FILED OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS.

ORDERS OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATIONS MAY BE APPEALED TO THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT. NON-JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATIVE ORDERS OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT MAY BE APPEALED TO AREA MILITARY COMMANDERS AND THE SUPREME COURT. NO APPEAL OF MILITARY COURT VERDICTS IS POSSIBLE, ALTHOUGH THE AREA COMMANDER CAN AND DOES EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF COMMUTATION.

- F. ARBITRARY INTERFERENCE WITH PRIVACY, FAMILY, HOME, OR CORRESPONDENCE

UNDER THE OCCUPATION REGULATIONS, MILITARY AUTHORITIES CAN AND DO ENTER PRIVATE HOMES AND INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT PRIOR JUDICIAL APPROVAL IN PURSUIT OF SECURITY OBJECTIVES.

IN 1983, AT LEAST TWO HOUSES OF THE FAMILIES OF WEST BANK AND GAZA RESIDENTS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN

SECURITY INCIDENTS WERE DEMOLISHED OR SEALED AND THE FAMILIES DISPLACED. DURING THE COURSE OF THE YEAR, THIS POLICY WAS MODIFIED TO LIMIT THE SEALING OR DEMOLITION TO THE RESIDENCES OF INDIVIDUALS HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OFFENSE. THERE IS NO JUDICIAL PROCESS PRIOR TO A DECISION TO SEAL OR DEMOLISH A ROOM OR HOUSE IN SECURITY CASES.

A NUMBER OF HOUSES AND OTHER STRUCTURES ALSO WERE DEMOLISHED IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE CONSTRUCTED WITHOUT PROPER AUTHORIZATION. IN SOME CASES, ARABS COMPLAINED THAT THEIR HOUSES WERE CONSTRUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH LICENSES ISSUED BY VARIOUS ARAB MUNICIPALITIES BUT THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS LATER RULED THE SITE OUTSIDE OF MUNICIPAL JURISDICTION. SOME OF THE DEMOLITIONS WERE CONDUCTED BY ISRAELI SETTLERS RATHER THAN BY THE AUTHORITIES.

SECURITY FORCES DISPERSED SEVERAL DEMONSTRATIONS BY ARMED SETTLERS OUTSIDE WEST BANK REFUGEE CAMPS DURING THE YEAR. BOTH ARAB VILLAGERS AND SETTLERS CONTINUED TO COMPLAIN OF EFFORTS AT INTIMIDATION THROUGH THE DESTRUCTION OF PERSONAL PROPERTY.

IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED THAT MAIL AND TELEPHONE SERVICES IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ARE MONITORED. INDIVIDUALS CAN BE

AND ARE QUESTIONED ON THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS BY SECURITY OFFICIALS. SUCH INQUIRIES SOMETIMES INVOLVE DETENTION OVERNIGHT.

SECTION 2 RESPECT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, INCLUDING:

A. FREEDOM ~~OF~~ SPEECH

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IS RESTRICTED ON STATED SECURITY GROUNDS. THE ARABIC PRESS, MOST OF WHICH IS LOCATED IN EAST JERUSALEM, REMAINS OUTSPOKEN IN ITS CRITICISM OF ISRAELI POLICY AND ACTIONS. ARRESTS, PRISON SENTENCES, LAND SEIZURES, AND OTHER POLITICALLY SENSITIVE STORIES ARE GENERALLY REPORTED, BUT EDITORIALS AND ARTICLES ARE FREQUENTLY CENSORED OR EXCISED BY THE ISRAELI CENSOR. ABOUT HALF OF THE EDITORIALS SUBMITTED BY THE ARABIC DAILY AL-FAJR DURING 1983 WERE COMPLETELY EXCISED.

MATERIALS LICENSED TO BE PUBLISHED IN EAST JERUSALEM ARE FREE TO CIRCULATE THERE, BUT REQUIRE AN ADDITIONAL LICENSE, WHICH IS NOT ALWAYS GRANTED, FOR DISTRIBUTION IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE PUBLICATION LICENSE OF THE ARABIC MAGAZINE AS-SHIRA WAS WITHDRAWN IN AUGUST 1983. THE MAGAZINE WAS ALLEGED TO HAVE CARRIED PROPAGANDA FOR EXTREMIST PLO FACTIONS. UNLICENSED DISTRIBUTION IS ILLEGAL AND CAN RESULT IN SEIZURE OF THE PUBLICATIONS AND ARREST OF THOSE INVOLVED IN THEIR TRANSPORTATION AND DISTRIBUTION. SEVERAL NEWS DEALERS IN THE WEST BANK WERE DETAINED FOR DISTRIBUTING CERTAIN EAST JERUSALEM PUBLICATIONS IN 1983.

ARABIC EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS, PERIODICALS, AND BOOKS ORIGINATING OUTSIDE ISRAEL ARE CENSORED FOR ANTI-SEMITIC OR ANTI-ISRAELI CONTENT AND FOR ENCOURAGEMENT OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM. THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES MAINTAIN A LIST OF APPROXIMATELY 1,200 FORBIDDEN PUBLICATIONS. IT INCLUDES ANTI-SEMITIC AND OFFICIAL ARAB PROPAGANDA, PUBLICATIONS OF THE PLO'S INSTITUTE OF PALESTINE STUDIES, AND WORKS BY INDIVIDUALS IDENTIFIED WITH OTHER PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSED TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. POSSESSION OF SUCH PUBLICATIONS BY A WEST BANK OR GAZA ARAB IS A CRIMINAL OFFENSE. RESTRICTIONS OF THIS KIND ARE USUALLY NOT APPLIED TO ISRAELI RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

ARABIC-LANGUAGE RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS FROM JORDAN, SYRIA, AND OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES, INCLUDING BROADCASTS OF THE VOICE OF PALESTINE, ARE RECEIVED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAVE NOT REPORTED ANY DIFFICULTIES IN MEETING WITH INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. ALL REPORTING FILED BY THE FOREIGN PRESS, HOWEVER, IS SUBJECT TO MILITARY CENSORSHIP. BLOCK WARDENS AND OTHER SUCH FORMAL SURVEILLANCE SYSTEMS ARE NOT USED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES HAVE PERMITTED A WIDE RANGE OF LABOR, PROFESSIONAL, AND FRATERNAL GROUPS

ORGANIZED BEFORE 1967 TO CONTINUE TO FUNCTION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. NO POLITICAL PARTIES OR OTHER GROUPS VIEWED AS POLITICAL ARE PERMITTED.

THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 40 LABOR UNIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, GROUPED INTO TWO RIVAL FEDERATIONS. NO NEW LABOR UNIONS HAVE BEEN CREATED IN THE WEST BANK SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE OCCUPATION, AND A NUMBER OF ARAB UNIONS HAVE BEEN DISBANDED BY THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES FOR ALLEGED POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. STRIKES ARE LEGAL AS LONG AS THEY ARE NOT UNDERTAKEN FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF ARRESTS FOR LABOR ORGANIZING ACTIVITY IN 1983.

WEST BANK UNIONS ARE RELATIVELY SMALL AND GENERALLY CONFINED TO URBAN WORKERS IN SKILLED CRAFT TRADES. THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES MUST APPROVE ALL CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE IN LABOR UNION ELECTIONS, BUT SUCH ELECTIONS ARE HELD WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. THE MOST RECENT ELECTIONS FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WEST BANK GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS WERE HELD IN SEPTEMBER 1983.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE HISTADRUT, THE ISRAELI NATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, IS OPEN TO ARAB WORKERS FROM EAST JERUSALEM AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. MOST ARABS IN EAST JERUSALEM HAVE DECLINED SUCH ASSOCIATION. THE HISTADRUT HAS RULED THAT GOLAN-DRUZE CONSTRUCTION WORKERS WHO WERE ABSENT FROM WORK DURING THE 1982 STRIKE MUST BE RETURNED TO THEIR JOBS WITH FULL RIGHTS AND HAS TAKEN OTHER STEPS AIMED AT EQUALIZING WORKING CONDITIONS FOR ISRAELIS AND GOLAN DRUZE.

SINCE 1978, THE ILO HAS REGULARLY SENT FACT-FINDING MISSIONS TO ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO REPORT ON THE SITUATION OF ARAB WORKERS. THE 1983 VISIT OF THE ILO REPRESENTATIVES TOOK PLACE IN MARCH.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF DOCTORS, LAWYERS, PHARMACISTS, AND ENGINEERS, ARE ACTIVE AND FREQUENTLY TAKE PUBLIC STANDS ON POLITICAL ISSUES. THE WEST BANK LAWYERS ASSOCIATION STRUCK IN SEPTEMBER IN PROTEST AGAINST REVISED ISRAELI REGULATIONS ON THE ADJUDICATION OF LAND DISPUTES.

PUBLIC GATHERINGS REQUIRE THE PERMISSION OF THE AUTHORITIES. PERMISSION IS OFTEN WITHHELD FROM BOTH ARAB AND ISRAELI GROUPS ON THE GROUNDS OF PUBLIC ORDER.

C. FREEDOM OF RELIGION

THERE IS COMPLETE FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. NO GROUPS OR SECTS ARE BANNED ON RELIGIOUS GROUNDS. MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN HOLIDAYS ARE OBSERVED WITHOUT HINDRANCE, AND MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS OPERATE A VARIETY OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTIONS. THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES TOLERATE THE EXISTENCE OF A NUMBER OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS. THERE HAS BEEN NO REPORTED INTERFERENCE WITH THE PRINTING OR

DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS.

ISRAEL HAS AN EXEMPLARY RECORD IN PROTECTING MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN HOLY PLACES AND HAS USUALLY ASSURED FREEDOM OF ACCESS TO THEM. SOME WEST BANK LEADERS HAVE BEEN PREVENTED ON SECURITY GROUNDS FROM ENTERING JERUSALEM TO ATTEND FRIDAY PRAYERS AT AL AQSA MOSQUE. THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES HAVE ALSO ON OCCASION BARRED JEWISH GROUPS THAT HAVE SOUGHT ACCESS TO THE TEMPLE MOUNT/HARAM AL SHARIF FOR PUBLIC PRAYERS ON RELIGIOUS AND SECURITY GROUNDS. AT HEBRON'S IBRAHIMI MOSQUE, WHICH IS ALSO THE SITE OF THE TOMB OF THE PATRIARCHS, THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAS REDUCED MUSLIM WORSHIP BY SETTING ASIDE SPACE AND TIME FOR JEWISH WORSHIPPERS. THE MUFTI OF JERUSALEM COMPLAINED FORMALLY IN SEPTEMBER ABOUT RESTRICTIONS ON WORSHIP TIME FOR MUSLIMS AT THE MOSQUE IMPOSED DURING THE JEWISH HIGH HOLY DAYS. WEST BANKERS HAVE ALSO COMPLAINED ABOUT THE CONTINUAL PRESENCE OF SMALL GROUPS OF ARMED ISRAELI TROOPS WITHIN THE MOSQUE.

THE MOST SERIOUS RELIGIOUS INCIDENT DURING THE YEAR WAS THE ATTEMPT OF ARMED RELIGIOUS ZEALOTS TO BREAK INTO THE TEMPLE MOUNT/HARAM AL SHARIF IN APRIL. THE GROUP, WHICH WISHED TO ESTABLISH A PERMANENT JEWISH PRESENCE AT THE SITE, WAS ARRESTED BY SECURITY FORCES. CHARGES AGAINST ALL THOSE ARRESTED WERE SUBSEQUENTLY DISMISSED.

- D. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL,
- EMIGRATION, AND REPATRIATION

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IS GENERALLY UNRESTRICTED FOR MOST

ARABS WITHIN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, BUT CERTAIN CATEGORIES ARE SIGNIFICANTLY RESTRICTED. ALMOST 80,000 ARABS TRAVEL DAILY TO ISRAEL TO WORK. VEHICLES OWNED BY INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORIES HAVE DISTINCTIVE LICENSE PLATES AND ARE FREQUENTLY STOPPED FOR SECURITY CHECKS. ARAB INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE REQUIRED TO OBTAIN PERMITS TO STAY OVERNIGHT IN ISRAEL; WEST BANK ARABS ARE NORMALLY FORBIDDEN TO REMAIN IN JERUSALEM AFTER MIDNIGHT. SEVERAL DEPOSED MAYORS AND ONE SERVING MAYOR WERE FORBIDDEN TO LEAVE THEIR TOWNS DURING 1983 NUMEROUS OTHER WEST BANKERS WERE UNDER SIMILAR RESTRICTIONS OR PERSONAL CURFEWS, WHICH REQUIRED THEM TO REMAIN AT HOME FROM DUSK TO DAWN. THE DEPOSED MAYOR OF RAMALLAH, KARIM KHALAF, CONTINUED TO BE RESTRICTED TO JERICHO, WHERE HE WAS EXILED IN 1982 AFTER HIS REMOVAL FROM OFFICE.

MOST INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ARE PERMITTED TO TRAVEL ABROAD, AND MANY THOUSANDS DO SO EACH YEAR. EXIT VISAS ARE REQUIRED. IN SOME CASES, RESTRICTIONS ARE IMPOSED ON RE-ENTRY. THERE ARE ALSO RESTRICTIONS ON CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF RESIDENTS, INCLUDING LIMITATIONS ON THE FREQUENCY OF BORDER-CROSSINGS BY YOUNG MEN AND OCCASIONAL TEMPORARY COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT BANS ON FOREIGN TRAVEL BY RESIDENTS OF SPECIFIC TOWNS OR AREAS FOLLOWING DEMONSTRATIONS OR TERRORIST ACTS. TRAVEL BANS ARE ALSO IMPOSED ON CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING MAYORS AND OTHER LEADERS, AND PERSONS SUSPECTED OF ANTI-OCCUPATION ACTIVITIES. LOCAL INHABITANTS ARE SOMETIMES PREVENTED FROM TRAVELING ABROAD TO ENGAGE IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OR POLITICAL MEETINGS, AND ARE PROSCRIBED FROM DIRECT CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF THE PLO.

DESPITE THE FORMAL STATE OF WAR BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN, TWO-WAY TRAVEL BETWEEN THE WEST BANK AND JORDAN HAS BEEN PERMITTED. INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK RETURNING FROM JORDAN, AS WELL AS OTHER ARABS OR PERSONS OF ARAB DESCENT, ARE SUBJECT TO SEARCH FOR WEAPONS AND CONTRABAND. THERE HAVE BEEN COMPLAINTS THAT THESE SEARCHES OF PERSON AND PROPERTY ARE UNNECESSARILY RIGOROUS AND CONSTITUTE HARASSMENT.

SOME FORMER WEST BANK RESIDENTS WHO OBTAINED FOREIGN CITIZENSHIP AFTER EMIGRATION FROM THE AREA HAVE CLAIMED

THAT UPON RETURNING TO THEIR ORIGINAL HOMES THEY ARE DENIED PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS AND PERMITTED ONLY TO REMAIN AS TOURISTS FOR LIMITED PERIODS. THERE ARE NO OFFICIAL OBSTACLES TO EMIGRATION. NET EMIGRATION, PRIMARILY FOR ECONOMIC REASONS, APPROXIMATES 15,000 ANNUALLY.

TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON A NUMBER OF PROMINENT GAZANS BY THE ISRAELIS IN PREVIOUS YEARS WERE LIFTED DURING 1983. GAZANS NORMALLY DO NOT REQUIRE PRIOR APPROVAL FOR TRAVEL TO THE WEST BANK. UNDER SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS CONCLUDED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT, THOUSANDS OF GAZANS REGULARLY CROSS THE BORDER INTO

EGYPT, PARTICULARLY TO WORK OR VISIT RELATIVES IN THE DIVIDED CITY OF RAFAH.

ISRAEL PERMITS GOLAN HEIGHTS DRUZE TO RETURN AFTER ATTENDING SCHOOLS IN SYRIA. IT HAS NOT, HOWEVER, PERMITTED THE RETURN OF SYRIANS WHO FLED OR WERE EXPELLED FROM THE AREA DURING AND AFTER THE 1967 WAR.

SECTION 3 RESPECT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS: THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT

THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ARE RULED BY A MILITARY GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED IN THE WAKE OF ISRAEL'S VICTORY IN THE 1967 WAR. THERE IS NO SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THESE AREAS AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL, AND ONLY LIMITED ARAB ADMINISTRATION AT THE TOWN LEVEL; VILLAGES LARGELY RETAIN THEIR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP. ARAB CIVIL SERVANTS, INSTITUTIONS, AND MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS OPERATE UNDER THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT. ISRAELI AUTHORITIES, HOWEVER, HAVE REMOVED ELECTED AND APPOINTED ARAB OFFICIALS, AND NEITHER THESE REMOVALS NOR THE SUBSEQUENT APPOINTMENT OF ARAB OR ISRAELI REPLACEMENT OFFICIALS IS SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY THE LOCAL INHABITANTS OR THEIR INSTITUTIONS. NO FORMAL POLITICAL PARTIES OR OVERTLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERMITTED. MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN 1972 AND 1976 AND WERE WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS FAIR. ELECTIONS WERE SCHEDULED FOR 1980, BUT WERE POSTPONED. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN RESCHEDULED.

TWENTY-THREE ARAB MAYORS AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILS WERE ELECTED IN THE 1976 ELECTIONS. BY THE END OF 1983, 14 OF THE MAYORS HAD BEEN DISMISSED, AS WELL AS AT LEAST FOUR

OF THE TOWN COUNCILS. THE MAJOR TOWNS OF HEBRON, NABLUS, RAMALLAH, AND EL BIREH WERE RULED BY ISRAELI OFFICIALS: HALHOUL AND JERICHO WERE LED BY MAYORS APPOINTED FROM THEIR TOWN COUNCILS. BETHLEHEM WAS THE ONLY MAJOR TOWN

STILL GOVERNED BY ITS ELECTED MAYOR.

IN JULY, FOLLOWING THE STABBING DEATH OF ISRAELI SETTLER AHARON GROSS IN CENTRAL HEBRON, THE TOWN'S ACTING MAYOR, MUSTAFA AN-NATCHE, WAS DISMISSED BY THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES. AN-NAATCHE, ELECTED DEPUTY MAYOR IN 1976, HAD BEEN APPOINTED BY THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES AS ACTING MAYOR AFTER THE DISMISSAL AND DEPORTATION OF MAYOR FUAD QAWASSMEH IN 1980.

ARAB RESIDENTS OF EAST JERUSALEM ARE PERMITTED AND ENCOURAGED TO VOTE IN JERUSALEM MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. THE ISRAELI PRESS REPORTED THAT APPROXIMATELY 20 PERCENT OF THE ELIGIBLE ARAB VOTERS PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION HELD IN OCTOBER, ALTHOUGH SOME ARAB SOURCES CLAIM THAT THE TURNOUT WAS SUBSTANTIALLY LESS.

ARAB RESIDENTS OF THE WEST BANK ARE CONSIDERED BY JORDAN TO BE JORDANIAN CITIZENS AND, AS SUCH, ARE TO BE REPRESENTED IN THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT, WHICH WAS RECONVENED IN JANUARY 1984.

SECTION 4 GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

A VARIETY OF LOCAL GROUPS, BOTH ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN, ARE CONCERNED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. THESE GROUPS PRODUCE PUBLICATIONS AND STATEMENTS WHICH ARE CIRCULATED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. TWO NOTEWORTHY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, PUBLISHED IN 1983, WERE PREPARED RESPECTIVELY BY THE TEL AVIV-BASED INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND BY LAW IN THE SERVICE OF MAN, THE WEST BANK AFFILIATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS. STATEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS, INCLUDING ALLEGATIONS OF MISTREATMENT, ARE PUBLISHED REGULARLY IN THE ARABIC PRESS.

THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT NORMALLY PERMITS INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS TO VISIT THE TERRITORIES. IN 1983, HOWEVER, IT REFUSED SUCH PERMISSION TO A U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE. ISRAELI OFFICIALS SAID THE REFUSAL WAS BASED ON AN INHERENT BIAS IN THE COMMITTEE'S MANDATE.

IN ITS 1983 REPORT ON ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER IMPRISONMENT OF "PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE," THE ARBITRARY USE OF ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES TO RESTRICT INDIVIDUALS,

INCLUDING SEALING OFF HOUSES AND DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGES OR TRIAL, THE USE OF SUMMARY TRIALS, ALLEGATIONS OF MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS, AND THE KILLING OF

DEMONSTRATORS BY SECURITY FORCES. FREEDOM HOUSE RATES ISRAEL "FREE," BUT DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO RATE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SITUATION

LIVING STANDARDS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE RISEN SUBSTANTIALLY THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD OF ISRAELI CONTROL. OFFICIAL ISRAELI STATISTICS INDICATE THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IS AS LOW AS ONE PERCENT, AND REAL PER CAPITA INCOME HAS RISEN 11-12 PERCENT ANNUALLY SINCE 1968. IN THE WEST BANK, PER CAPITA GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP) IN 1983 WAS OVER THREE TIMES THE 1968 FIGURE. MUCH OF THIS INCREASE IN PER CAPITA INCOME CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE LARGE NUMBER OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS EMPLOYED IN ISRAEL AND TO THE REMITTANCES OF PALESTINIANS WORKING IN ARAB COUNTRIES. A LARGE, BUT UNDETERMINED PORTION OF THE ARAB WORK-FORCE IS UNDEREMPLOYED OR ENGAGED IN SEASONAL WORK.

THROUGH ISRAELI OCCUPATION, ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE WEST BANK HAS BECOME ENMESHED IN ISRAELI REGULATIONS. SOME ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF BUREAUCRACY IN ISRAEL. OTHERS MAY BE USED POLITICALLY. ARABS COMPLAIN THAT THEY ARE NOT PROVIDED SUFFICIENT LATITUDE TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN RESOURCES. WHILE ISRAEL IS CONCERNED THAT FUNDS FROM THE PLO OR OTHER HOSTILE SOURCES MIGHT BE BROUGHT INTO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNDER THE GUISE OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS, THE ARABS CONTEND THAT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WHICH ARE FULLY FUNDED BY PROVEN LOCAL SOURCES HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED.

ISRAELI CONTROLS ON THE EXPORT TO ISRAEL OF WEST BANK AND GAZA PRODUCTS, ESPECIALLY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, RESTRICT THE MARKET OPPORTUNITIES OF LOCAL INHABITANTS. RECENTLY INTRODUCED RESTRICTIONS ON THE EXTENT AND TYPE OF AGRICULTURAL PLANTING LIMIT POTENTIAL ECONOMIC GROWTH. WEST BANK FARMERS AND MANUFACTURERS HAVE SUFFERED FROM PERIODIC JORDANIAN RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR ABILITY TO TRANSSHIP THEIR GOODS THROUGH JORDAN, AS WELL AS FROM OCCASIONAL ISRAELI BANS ON THE EXPORT OF PRODUCTS FROM AREAS UNDER CURFEW.

ISRAEL RESTRICTS THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW FACTORIES THROUGH A NUMBER OF REGULATIONS. IT ALSO LIMITS THE IMPORT OF CAPITAL FROM THE ARAB WORLD, IN PART BY

REQUIRING A SPECIAL PERMIT FOR AMOUNTS OVER $3,000. IN THE SUMMER OF 1983, ISRAEL BANNED THE USE BY INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK OF PERSONAL CHECKBOOKS OR OTHER FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS FOR ACCOUNTS OUTSIDE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OR ISRAEL. THESE RESTRICTIONS (WHICH HAVE INCLUDED THE CONFISCATION OF CHECKBOOKS FOR SUCH ACCOUNTS BY BORDER OFFICIALS) ARE UNEVENLY APPLIED, BUT APPEAR TO HAVE HAD A SEVERE AFFECT ON THE DEVELOPMENT BUDGET OF SOME MUNICIPALITIES. ISRAEL ALSO RESTRICTS ENTRY OF ARAB FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND EDUCATIONAL OR PHILANTHROPIC PURPOSES.

THE TAKING OF LAND FOR SETTLEMENTS AND FOR MILITARY USE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAS STRONGLY AFFECTED THE LIVES OF ARAB RESIDENTS. LAND UTILIZED BY ISRAEL IN THIS WAY AMOUNTS TO ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF THE WEST BANK. IN MANY CASES, THOSE AFFECTED HAVE HAD TO LEAVE FARMING TO BECOME DAY LABORERS. THERE ARE CURRENTLY MORE THAN 140 NON-MILITARY SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK (EXCLUDING UNILATERALLY EXPANDED JERUSALEM) AND GAZA, WITH A TOTAL POPULATION OF ABOUT 30,000. THE SCARCITY OF WATER IN MOST PARTS OF THE WEST BANK CONSTRAINS BOTH AGRICULTURE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION. AS A RESULT, WATER USE HAS BECOME A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE BETWEEN THE RESIDENT PALESTINIANS AND THE OCCUPYING ISRAELIS.

WHILE URBAN WEST BANKERS ARE INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED IN THEIR SOCIAL ATTITUDES, INCLUDING CONCERNING THE ROLE OF WOMEN, THE RURAL MAJORITY OF WEST BANKERS CONTINUES TO HOLD MORE TRADITIONAL, MIDDLE EASTERN SOCIAL VALUES.

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE U.N. RELIEF WORKS AGENCY (UNRWA) MEET THE BASIC EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF REFUGEE STUDENTS IN THE WEST BANK. OVERALL ADJUSTED PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT HAS RISEN FROM ABOUT 56 PERCENT OF THE SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION IN 1967 TO ABOUT 90 PERCENT IN 1983. THE NUMBER OF GIRLS RECEIVING EDUCATION HAS MARKEDLY INCREASED BY THE END OF 1983 AND NOW REPRESENTS ABOUT 45 PERCENT OF THE STUDENT TOTAL.

THE WEST BANK IS SERVED BY FOUR UNIVERSITIES, ONE COMMUNITY COLLEGE, AND A VARIETY OF OTHER HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, ALL ESTABLISHED OR UPGRADED

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF ISRAELI OCCUPATION. OFTEN THE SCENE OF DEMONSTRATIONS AND CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE SECURITY FORCES, MOST INSTITUTIONS WERE CLOSED FOR VARYING PERIODS OVER THE YEAR. IN NOVEMBER, SECURITY AUTHORITIES CLOSED BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY FOR ABOUT ONE MONTH AFTER DEMONSTRATIONS. NONE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

RECEIVES FINANCIAL SUPPORT OR OTHER ASSISTANCE FROM THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL FOUR HAVE COMPLAINED ABOUT RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR OPERATIONS BY THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES.

THE ARAB POPULATION OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS IS ABOUT 14,000, MOSTLY DRUZE AND A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF ALAWITES. DRUZE VILLAGE COUNCILS HAVE COMPLAINED THAT THEY DO NOT RECEIVE SUFFICIENT FUNDS TO PROVIDE MINIMAL MUNICIPAL SERVICES, AND A THIRD OF THE ESTIMATED 4,000 SCHOOL CHILDREN ARE REPORTED TO BE STUDYING IN SUBSTANDARD CLASSROOMS.

THE GAZA STRIP'S ECONOMY ADVANCED MARGINALLY IN THE EARLY 1980'S, COMPARED WITH REAL GNP GROWTH RATES OF OVER 10 PERCENT IN THE LATE 1960'S AND 5-6 PERCENT IN THE LATE 1970'S. ABOUT 35,000 GAZANS WORK IN ISRAEL. GAZA'S INCOME FROM WORK OUTSIDE THE GAZA STRIP REPRESENTS ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF ITS GNP.

LOCAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE GAZA STRIP IS HIGHEST IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, WHICH HAS REMAINED VIRTUALLY UNCHANGED IN RECENT YEARS. CITRUS, GROWN ON ABOUT HALF THE CULTIVATED LAND IN GAZA, SUFFERED A THIRD POOR YEAR IN SUCCESSION IN 1982-83. LOCAL PRODUCERS BLAMED ISRAELI AND JORDANIAN MARKETING RESTRICTIONS FOR MUCH OF THE

DECLINE. WATER WAS ALSO A MAJOR CONSTRAINT. ISRAELI AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN MEASURES TO CUT BACK ON WATER USAGE IN THE GAZA STRIP TO ALLOW THE WATER TABLE TO RISE.

GAZANS' BASIC NEEDS FOR FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER ARE LARGELY MET. UNRWA, PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT PROVIDE SPECIAL ASSISTANCE TO OVER 20,000 PERSONS. WITH OVER 460,000 INHABITANTS ON 378 SQUARE KILOMETERS OF LAND, SEVERE POPULATION PRESSURE REMAINS A MAJOR PROBLEM. HOUSING CONDITIONS ARE CROWDED IN GAZA REFUGEE CAMPS, WHERE APPROXIMATELY 200,000 OF THE 370,000 LOCAL REFUGESS LIVE. UNRWA STATISTICS INDICATE THAT, AS OF MID-1983, APPROXIMATELY 30,000 REFUGEES HAD LEFT THE CAMPS TO LIVE IN GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED COMMUNITIES.

GAZANS SUFFER FROM AN ABSENCE OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A LITERARY JOURNAL, NO NEWSPAPERS ARE PUBLISHED.

THE EL AZHAR ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OFFERS A FOUR-YEAR UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAM TO ABOUT 3,300 GAZA STUDENTS. RELIGIOUS AND INTERCOMMUNAL STRIFE ON THE CAMPUS IN 1983 DISRUPTED THE SCHOOL YEAR AND REKINDLED LOCAL INTEREST IN

CREATING A SECULAR, TWO-YEAR TECHNICAL/VOCATIONAL COLLEGE.

הרב, פרופ' יעקב נאמן
שי הגאון והפיאור

לכבוד
ולאחר שעבר לדין
ל"ל

בברכה

מאת

משרד החוץ

כנ"ל מעתה יבר 20.3.84

סמנכ"ל

AUSTRALIA/ISRAEL
Review
Vol. 9, No. 2
15-28 February 1984

Settlements and security

Yuval Ne'eman

On 1 September 1982, President Reagan launched a new American initiative in the "peace process". Essentially, this is a proposal for peace with Jordan, at the price of a complete Israeli withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders, including Jerusalem.

Israelis are about evenly divided between those who are against any withdrawal from Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, and those who are willing to give up part of those areas. According to the American press, US policy should play up those who are for a partial withdrawal against those who are against any concession. Note however that a very large majority of Israelis — more than 90 per cent — are against the creation of a Palestinian Arab state and against the complete withdrawal requested by the US President.

To understand the issues involved, we must first analyse the military aspects, since I claim that this is a matter of the nation's survival. At this point, there is often a feeling of puzzlement. Israel is always worried about its defence, yet when war breaks out, the Israelis always win. So why are they so worried?

Israel's military strength is entirely dependent on the mobilization of its reservists. In fact Israel has no real standing army. Every Israeli citizen is a "soldier on leave", and has to be called up when a war is to be fought. The available contingent is composed of the national servicemen, i.e. 3 out of 37 classes between the ages of 18 and 55. Mobilization can thus increase the army's strength tenfold. Prior to mobilization, the ratio of forces between what Israel and the Arabs can put in the field is around 1:20. After mobilization, this may reach 1:2-3, and with better training, more sophistication, and a stronger dedication, the Israelis have won their wars up to now.

Mobilization in Israel is among the most rapid in the world, but it still requires 48 hours. Of course, mobilization takes place where the people live. Three quarters of the Israeli Jewish population live in an "L" shaped corridor, some seven miles wide, stretching from Haifa to Greater Tel Aviv, and from there to Jerusalem. We have often wondered about the possibility of bombardments or raids that would hinder and slow down the mobilization process. But if Israel should cease controlling the passes in the hills of Samaria, the regions where mobilization takes place can be easily conquered by an enemy even before there is time to issue a mobilization order!

The distance from the Jordan River to the coastline is about 50 miles on the average. A tank column crossing the Jordan can reach Netanya or Petah-Tikva in less than two hours. Prospective enemies on that front — Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia — can field some 7,000 tanks. Iran could add another 2,000, once its war with Iraq is over. It would be more than willing to join, if we are to believe the Ayatollah.

From the point of view of security, imagine first a terrorist band infiltrating our borders and entering Samaria or Judea. As long as there is no Jewish population, these terrorists can move freely in the region, provided they make an effort to evade the army's attention. Once there is even a sprinkling of Jewish settlements, a terrorist has to hide and be prepared to meet antagonistic elements anywhere. The terrorist's freedom of action is seriously impaired by the settlements.

As for military value, we have touched upon the importance of slowing down an enemy advance in Samaria. Settlements in the Jordan Valley can provide warning. They can't stop an armoured advance, just as the Barlev line did not. But they can sound the alarm. Settlements on the hills can block the passes at crucial points and save Tel Aviv and the country.

The settlements, so essential for security and in the heart of historic and geographic Eretz Israel (Palestine), are in complete harmony with the autonomy promised at Camp David. Moreover, giving political rights to the territories' Arabs would not endanger the state's Jewishness: as long as they refuse to identify with the Jewish state they will refuse citizenship and live as residents (as happened in Jerusalem and the Golan). When hatreds recede, in some future time, they can identify — and should be welcomed as citizens.

Professor Ne'eman is Israel's Minister of Science and Development.

(*Midstream*, January 1984.)

COMMENT

President Reagan's order for the redeployment of American marines stationed in Beirut to offshore positions is understandable, although its long-term effect on Middle Eastern politics and especially on the long-term stability of Lebanon is far more questionable, and those hopeful of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East have some reasons for concern.

The United States has a long-standing and honourable commitment to Lebanese sovereignty and stability. To honour this commitment, and given the threat posed to Lebanon by Syria, President Reagan ordered the troops into Beirut, as part of an international peace-keeping force. Opponents have included a motley and negative collection of radical Arab regimes and their supporters, neo-isolationist opponents of direct American involvement in any third world country, and opportunistic candidates for the Presidency and other offices who see in the casualties suffered by the marines a cheap and easy way of denting a seemingly invulnerable Reagan.

If America is serious about saving the Gemayel government, or at least a Lebanon free from Syrian domination, it can be argued that a much larger commitment of American and other troops is required. Of course, such an increased commitment is probably impossible in an election-year America, while there are legitimate arguments about the senselessness of entering the Lebanese quagmire. President Reagan has apparently attempted to cut the Gordian knot in this case by heavy shelling of Syrian, Druze and terrorist positions in Lebanon from offshore.

Restructuring of the Lebanese government to take account of the current demographic balance in that country is probably required for a lasting settlement. Despite this, the goal of a sovereign and independent Lebanon remains an honourable one, which the West should continue to support. By its official agreement of 17 May 1983 Israel will leave southern Lebanon — invaded to drive out the PLO and secure northern Israel — the moment Syria also leaves Lebanon. Whatever the future of this pact, or of Saudi or Syrian inspired substitutes, it is to the end of Syrian withdrawal that the West ought to be working.

John Levi

Rabbi Levi is a member of the Editorial Committee.

Registered by Australia Post — Publication No. VBG 1428

DOCUMENT

Kimche interview

David Kimche, Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, was in Melbourne in early February as a guest of the Young Presidents' Organization. The following is from his press conference of 7 February 1984.

Kimche: Our position regarding Lebanon is a very simple one. Our overriding interest is the safeguarding of the security of our own citizens, in our country. Therefore our major concern is what happens in southern Lebanon. However, we do support the legal government of President Gemayel. He was elected in a democratic manner by the Lebanese parliament and he represents as far as we are concerned Lebanese legality. If this regime does collapse, it will be a victory for Syria and also for the Soviet Union and it will bring about increased lawlessness, increased violence and increased instability in Lebanon and indirectly in the entire Middle East. So therefore it is in the interests of the Israeli government that this should not happen and that the Gemayel government continue to rule that country.

Whether this is possible or not depends, in our opinion, on one factor and that is whether the Lebanese army can stand together, can prevent its own disintegration and remain loyal to the Gemayel regime.

How does Israel perceive the current situation in Lebanon?

First of all, we don't consider this to be a civil war situation. It's a situation where you have a neighbouring country, Syria, which in fact subverts the legal government of Lebanon. The Syrians are using the Shia, the Druze, the Palestinians in order to do that subversion. It is one country trying to ruin the total regime of another. That's one point. As for the marines in Lebanon I want to stress that Israel never asked the marines to go in, they didn't go in because of Israel, it wasn't a direct move in the interest of Israel, they went in originally to protect Palestinian camps from the Lebanese. So it's not a direct interest of ours whether they leave or stay. However, I do want to say that we believe that if they were to leave too quickly and if this were to bring about the downfall of the Gemayel regime, this would in our opinion cause a loss of credibility for the United States government throughout the Arab world and possibly throughout the third world. President Reagan is publicly committed to the upkeep of President Gemayel's regime. The whole of the Arab world and let's say the third world, understand the situation — that President Gemayel has put himself in the protection of the United States. If the United States fails in that it will be considered a loss of credibility and a victory to the Soviet Union.

What would you envisage the future of Lebanon to be?

Well I think there are a number of possible scenarios. One is that there will be a Syrian puppet regime set up. In other words a government by somebody who is completely under the domination of the Syrians and it could mean a de facto ending of the independence or even the existence of an independent country called Lebanon. That's one scenario and obviously both the United States and Israel will consider very carefully what would be our reaction to such a scenario. Another possibility is that another Lebanese not under Syrian influence will take over the Presidency if President Gemayel will step down.

Will the Israeli government send its troops into Beirut again?

We will not send our armies back into Beirut unless it is necessary from our point of view. Now from our point of view means unless there is a threat to the security of our country. If there is such a threat we will have to take the necessary steps. So I wouldn't believe that there will be an immediate moving up of the Israeli army back into Beirut. We have no wish for renewed fighting.

What form would such a threat take?

If there were a move towards the south for example, or attempts by the PLO terrorists to return to the south, or the Syrians would move to the south, this could then become a threat and we would have then to consider what we will do.

Did Israel achieve anything positive through the Lebanon war?

Our aim was to remove the military infrastructure that the PLO had set up in south Lebanon. We tend to forget that there was stress and that we had been forced to remove the threat. If I could give just one example we captured in fact about 500 artillery pieces in south Lebanon when we moved in. Now the whole of the British army at that time had only about 870 artillery pieces. In actual fact you had a military infrastructure in south Lebanon which was a threat to the security of our citizens which we certainly weren't prepared to accept and I would venture to say that no other country in the world would be willing to accept such a situation.

But isn't Syria the only winner?

I have to disagree with you. We had this threat of the PLO military infrastructure. There were for example reports before we went in of negotiations between Libya and the PLO for the installation of ground to ground missiles in south Lebanon. This was a situation which was impossible and I would say from that point of view, we achieved exactly what we wanted. We removed the threat of the PLO. So I wouldn't say the only winners are Syria. I would say the main losers are the PLO and we hope that the Lebanese will still have something to gain from the whole operation.

You probably know that there were seven years of fighting in Lebanon beforehand. The Christian elements were being very hard pressed by the others and we certainly had hoped of having a more stable and calmer government in Beirut. If there had been a strong government in Beirut in the first place we would never have had to go into Lebanon. They were confronting the setting up of a state-within-a-state situation in southern Lebanon. But we have definite hopes of seeing a strong government in Beirut. It was a secondary aim and that aim has not yet been achieved but we still hope it is a possibility in the future.

Did the multinational force in Sinai make it easier for Israel to move into Lebanon?

I was in charge of the Israeli delegation which negotiated the entry of the multinational force into Sinai and I spent many months with the Egyptians and the Americans setting up this whole force and I can assure you of three things. First of all they are doing an excellent job, it is an efficient, good force and the Australian contingent is a first class contingent in that force and we are very happy it's there. It's a peace keeping force from every point of view, it's keeping the peace in Sinai. Third of all, it had nothing to do with the entry into Lebanon because as I said when we have a situation where we had to hit that military infrastructure of the PLO, if we would have been at war with Egypt we would have still done it.

Can Israel economically sustain another operation in Lebanon?

This will not be a relevant consideration if our security is at stake. The Israeli economy is going through a difficult period as is the economy of many other countries but we have a very sound economic infrastructure and we have a very quickly expanding high technology industry, and an agricultural base of the next century.

New glimmers of false hope

Karen Elliott House

As the new year begins, there's once again optimism in Washington about Mideast peace prospects.

But all this Mideast motion doesn't mean much. If possible, prospects for peace are even dimmer this year than last.

The Reagan administration has obvious domestic political reasons for fostering the appearance that things are moving in the right direction. But all this commotion is largely a smokescreen for a US retreat from the region. At least that's how it's seen in this part of the world. Key Syrian, Jordanian and Egyptian officials all say they expect the US marines to cease their peace-keeping duties in Beirut and go home before the November presidential election.

Even if they prove wrong about the date, there's no arguing that the only move under serious consideration in Washington is retreat, not expansion. By contrast, Moscow has some 5,000 technicians and advisers here and there's no prospect of reductions, only of reinforcements.

As a result, Syria has every reason — and intention — of continuing its role as Mideast spoiler. And so-called moderate Arabs such as Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia haven't much incentive to buck Syria and co-operate with the US — either in Lebanon or in talking peace with Israel.

Because sorting out things in Lebanon and ending the risk to US marines there remains a precondition for tackling broader Arab-Israeli disputes, Syria's presence in Lebanon gives it a lock on Mideast peace prospects.

Syrian incentives

And Syria hasn't any intention of leaving Lebanon quickly or easily. What most strikes a visitor here is that for Syria, the war in Lebanon is more a blessing than a curse.

Unlike those of Israel and the US, Syria's 30,000 troops in Lebanon aren't suffering casualties at the hands of terrorists. Besides, in a dictatorship like this one, a few casualties are inconsequential to the regime.

For most Syrians, the war offers personal, economic and psychic rewards. What's more, standing up to Israel and the US is popular with Syrians.

For the Syrian government, the focus on Lebanon is an insurance policy against unwanted Mideast peace talks. Syria's leaders believe Israel is so strong that the Arabs can only lose by talking with the Jewish state right now. Thus, Syria hasn't any intention of talking to Israel about regaining its lost territory. Nor does Damascus intend to allow other Arabs to go to the bargaining table and leave Syria isolated.

In short, the idea that special Mideast envoy Donald Rumsfeld will be any more successful than his predecessors at producing peace in Lebanon in 1984 is probably a myth.

Egyptian illusion

The sudden hope in the White House that Egypt will take leadership of the Arab world and bring Jordan and the Palestinians to the peace table with Israel almost certainly is another illusion.

The Arafat-Mubarak meeting served the self-interests of both men but not necessarily the cause of peace. Humiliated by the Syrians and hounded by radical Palestinians to resign from the PLO, Mr Arafat got a much-needed pat of support in Cairo. In return, he removed the scarlet letter Egypt has worn (in Arab eyes) for sacrificing the Palestinian cause in making peace with Israel.

That accomplished, Cairo isn't likely to resume Egyptian-Israeli talks on the future of Palestinians living on the West Bank and Gaza.

A recent visit to Jordan finds King Hussein insisting he'll represent the Palestinians in talks with Israel only if Mr Arafat agrees and names some Palestinians to the delegation. Yet Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is just as insistent as his unyielding predecessor, Menachem Begin, that Israel won't talk to Mr Arafat or a delegation that includes members of his Palestine Liberation Organization.

To confuse matters more, the US can't seem to decide whether it's for or against a role for Mr Arafat. For weeks administration officials gloated that with Mr Arafat ducking fire and waiting for deliverance from Lebanon he was so discredited that Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza were now free to ask King Hussein to speak to Israel on their behalf.

But when the PLO leader turned up in Cairo to see Mr Mubarak, the US suddenly praised their embrace as a "positive" development and said this *might* be the magic that makes peace possible.

1984: deadlock

A prediction: 1984 won't bring peace talks, let alone peace. Because sitting down with Israel over Syria's objections involves substantial physical risk (a Jordanian diplomat in Madrid was murdered last week by terrorists believed to be Syrian or Palestinian), the king will calculate that in a presidential election year what the US can force Israel to yield simply isn't worth the gamble.

So, the king will keep sitting on the sidelines, Syria and Israel will stay put in Lebanon and Ronald Reagan will try to find a way out for the marines while avoiding the appearance of total diplomatic failure in the region.

(*Wall Street Journal*, 3 January 1984.)

Summary of world reports

Here is a summary of some recent reports received by the Review, which we cannot cover in more depth for reasons of space.

Petroleum imports from Saudi Arabia to the United States have declined from 1.4 million to only 425,000 barrels per day since 1979. Saudi oil now accounts for only one per cent of US oil consumption. So overproduced is Saudi oil that the Saudis are considering building an oil storage cavern with a 1.5 billion barrel capacity, the world's largest. Abu Dhabi has also reduced its oil price by 12 to 24 per cent . . . Observers of Soviet Jewish affairs are puzzled by an apparent soft-pedalling of "anti-Zionist" (i.e. anti-Semitic) propaganda. It is claimed that last November all anti-Zionist books were withdrawn from Moscow bookshops, and police harassment of Jewish activists has slackened. Reasons for this shift (unreflected in any Soviet softening on Israel) may include a drive to win the support of Western intellectuals for the Soviet's anti-Reagan disarmament push . . . Uri Lubrani, one of Israel's top trouble-shooters, has been assigned to deal with Lebanon. One of his previous postings was Iran, where his cables reporting the Shah's downfall were not taken seriously. Lubrani has held secret meetings with Druze leader Walid Jumblatt and helped in the negotiations to evacuate besieged Christians in Deir el-Khama . . . Libyan intelligence chief Sayed Quaddaf el-Damm is reported to have been instructed to assassinate a senior pro-Arafat PLO leader in retaliation for the attempt on Libya's ambassador to Italy on 21 January.

West Bank economics

Herbert Stein

Discussions of future relations among the parts of what was once called Palestine — now Israel, the West Bank and Jordan — focus on historic claims, political arrangements and security considerations. These are certainly major concerns. But too little is heard about economic aspects, which will have to do with the welfare of all the people living there. Economic considerations do not prescribe a particular political arrangement. Probably there are several different political conditions that would permit the population to prosper economically. But what is certainly required are peace, the prospect of political stability and the free movement of goods, labour and capital.

The problem and the requirements are most clearly seen from the standpoint of the West Bank Arabs. About 700,000 people live in area of 2,200 square miles, much of it arid and not arable. Their main resource is labour. Their great needs are employment of the labour in higher-income areas, sale of their local products — mainly agriculture, despite the limitations — in the most profitable markets, education of their labour force and investment in productive capital.

Link broken

Before the 1948 war, the coastal regions of Palestine served as an important market for the labour and products of the West Bank Arabs. After the 1948 war, when the West Bank came under the control of Jordan, this economic link was broken as the border with the territory under Israeli control was closed. In the next 20 years, until the Six Day War and the occupation of the West Bank by Israel, economic development in the territory proceeded at a moderate pace. The West Bank served as a source of relatively skilled labour for Jordan. The government of Jordan in Amman was indifferent to the economic development of the West Bank. Such economic development efforts as were mustered were concentrated east of the Jordan River, and these efforts drew labour from the West.

After the Six Day War in 1967, the economic situation on the West Bank changed radically. The population there continued to have access to Jordan for their labour and products — Israel did not cut those economic links. But at the same time, economic links with Israel were reopened. Israel had a much higher level of production and technology than did Jordan and was growing more rapidly. The population of the West Bank soon felt the economic advantages of open relations with Israel. Trade with the relatively affluent Israeli market flourished. A large fraction of the West Bank labour force commuted to work in Israel. There was some flow of technology to the West Bank from Israel, mainly in agriculture.

High growth rate

Between 1970 and 1975, the real GNP of the West Bank rose at an average annual rate of 14% — one of the highest rates in the world, higher even than Japan's. Much of the increase in the West Bank GNP was the increase of the earnings of West Bank citizens working outside the area, mainly in Israel. But if those earnings are excluded and we concentrate on those earnings produced on the West Bank, we still see an increase of 12% per annum, compared with an increase of 7% in Israel.

After 1975, economic growth on the West Bank slowed down, following the pattern of Israel, but much less severely. Real output on the West Bank rose at an annual rate of 7% from 1975 to 1980, compared with a little below 3% in Israel.

(The nature of external economic relations of the West Bank shifted after the Yom Kippur War and the big oil-price increase. Economic growth in Israel was slowing down and Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf countries were awash with money and had an enormous appetite for labour. The flow of labour from the West Bank into Israel slackened while the flow into the oil-producing countries increased greatly. The percentage of West Bank income from abroad that was earned in Israel declined from 84.3% in 1975 to 67.4% in 1980. This change of geographical direction implied two other changes also. The workers who found employment in the oil countries were not commuters, unlike those who worked in Israel. They moved to stay for a long period, perhaps indefinitely. And while they remitted income to the West Bank, the share of their earnings that contributed income to the West Bank was smaller than in the case of income earned in Israel. Moreover, the employment opportunities in the oil countries attracted more skilled workers, which probably in the long run is less favourable for economic development in the West Bank.)

The rise of the real product and real incomes apparent in the general statistics is reflected in more down-to-earth evidence. For example, between 1972 and 1981 the percentage of households with electricity increased from 35 to 82 and the percentage with television sets rose from 10 to 64.

By most standards the economic development of the West Bank under Israeli administration would be judged a success. There are, however, complaints about it. The West Bank Arabs are said to be exploited because they are consigned to selling their labour and labour-intensive products. But, of course, they are not being exploited. They are voluntarily taking advantage of an opportunity to better themselves by exchanging the resources they have for higher incomes than they could otherwise earn.

It is much in the interest of all parts of the area, and most of all to the West Bank, to preserve the degree of freedom of cross-border economic movement than now exists and to create even more secure conditions for the movement of capital. There is nothing new in an economist saying that all parties would benefit from the free exchange of labour, goods and capital. But two points about the Israel-West Bank-Jordan situation justify calling attention to this truism.

Great gains

First, the resources of each part of the region are small. Also, compared with the rest of the territory, Israel is much better supplied with technology, entrepreneurship and capital and less well supplied with labour and land. Therefore, the gains from free exchange can be exceptionally great. The gains from the economic integration of the parts of the former Palestine would probably be greater than the gains from the economic integration of Western Europe, for example.

Secondly, it cannot be taken for granted that the political relations in the area will automatically provide for even that degree of free economic intercourse that exists elsewhere. After all, something like peace has been established between Israel and Egypt, but economic relations are severely limited. Proposals that the end of hostilities and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon should be accompanied by the normalization of economic relations were rejected. Special attention will have to be paid to ensure that the evolution of political relations assures continued and increased economic integration.

Herbert Stein is professor of economics at the University of Virginia.

(*Wall Street Journal*, 20 September 1983.)

Lebanon and Greater Syria

Some observers note that Syrian policy on Lebanon, which encompasses both direct intervention as well as support for the Druze militia and the Shi'ite Amal movement, reflects President Assad's concept of a Greater Syria. According to this Syrian world view, Middle East states such as Jordan and Lebanon have no legitimacy: they are all seen as integral parts of Bar el-Sham (land of Syria), which spans the entire eastern coast of the Mediterranean and the Jordanian desert. Damascus has always viewed the divisions between Lebanon and Syria as artificial creations, by-products of French colonialism, and still resents the dismemberment of Ottoman Syria. There is no Syrian embassy in Lebanon, there are no restrictions on movement between the two countries, and Syrian policy-makers even consider the inhabitants of these different countries to be one people. The ideological, psychological and historical background of Syrian leaders is a large factor in shaping their strategic objectives in Lebanon whilst it in no way serves to legitimize them. Current attitudes in Damascus towards Lebanon should also be considered against the backdrop of Syria's perception of itself as the originator and protector of Arab nationalism and its stubborn adherence to the theoretical construct of Arab unity: a principle which underlies the institutional legitimacy of the ruling Ba'ath party.

Assad believes that all decision-making in the Middle East should stem from the Syrian capital, with the PLO, the Lebanese and the Jordanians waiving their right to independent policy making. The Ba'ath ideology rejects the various elements which comprise Lebanese nationalism, especially those Christian components which have defined Lebanon's uniqueness in the Arab world.

Syrian strategic objectives

There is a distinct correlation between the relative stability of the Syrian regime since 1970 and the absolute instability and virtual disintegration in Lebanon. While the Syrian claim to Lebanon was essentially ceremonial throughout the forties, fifties and sixties, Assad has in the last decade taken concrete steps to implement the claim through strategic interference in Lebanese affairs.

Assad sees Syria's two immediate neighbours, Lebanon and Jordan, as a natural extension of its territory, vital to its defence. This three-nation grouping is a Syrian objective: Assad now rules by proxy in Lebanon, threatens Jordan, and if the Palestinians ever recover a West Bank homeland, they will inevitably be a Syrian target.

Many experts suggest that the thesis that the Syrian state has a special status regarding the question of Palestinian Arabs is derived from the claim that Palestine is part of an entity called Greater Syria. In this instance, Syria's position in the Arab-Israeli conflict arises not only out of pro-Arab solidarity, as in the case of Egypt and Iraq, but out of the direct involvement of one part of Greater Syria in the fate of another part. Moreover, the plan to set up a state or a federation in the region of Greater Syria would enable Assad's regime to propose its own solution to the Palestinian component of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Assad's intervention in Lebanon is also a result of his aim to upgrade Syria's regional position vis-a-vis the superpowers, its Arab neighbours and Israel. Assad views the military involvement as a vehicle to lessen Syria's isolation in the area, to confer some legitimacy on his unpopular Alawite minority regime in Damascus and as a means to establish Syrian supremacy in the region.

Two further observations may be made. The first is that it has been the external military interference in Lebanese affairs, rather than the internal Lebanese fragmentation, which has caused the regional and global spillover. Hence, one may notice a direct relationship between the 1969/70 importation of the PLO from Jordan into Lebanon (under Syrian control), the 1975/76 Syrian invasion of Lebanon (designed to impose a new reality more amenable to its own interests), the resulting threat to Israel's security, and the subsequent Israeli military involvement in Lebanon (which was non-existent until 1969/70!).

The second is that until the military intervention by Syria and the PLO, it was the level of the internal Lebanese conflicts (aside from being an inherent phenomenon) which constituted a by-product and reflection of regional inter-Arab rivalries. However, since that intervention (in addition to the recently Syrian directed and protected Iranian presence) it has been the level of certain regional and global conflicts which (in some way) become a by-product of the strategic developments in the Lebanese arena.

(*Middle East Backgrounder*, Jerusalem, January 1984.)

UN Middle East peace vote: Australia supports Israel

Senator Georges — Did a vote take place at the UN on an international conference in search of peace for the Middle East? Is it a fact that four nations voted against the proposition? Was Australia one of those nations? If so, why did Australia vote against such a motion?

Senator Gareth Evans — I am advised that, together with Canada, the USA and Israel, Australia voted against a UN General Assembly resolution calling for an international peace conference on the Middle East to consider further the Palestinian question. Fifteen other countries abstained. The resolution backed the call for a conference exclusively to the Geneva Conference on the question of Palestine, held in August-September this year, without reference to Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. Australia did not participate in the Geneva Conference but attended as an observer.

The resolution laid down guidelines for an international conference on the Middle East in terms which were quite unbalanced and in effect sought to pre-empt matters which would be discussed at such a conference. It also sought to enable the PLO to participate on the same basis as states. It described the Geneva Conference as having made an important and positive contribution to the peace process and sought to have governments endorse the declaration of that Conference. Honourable senators should be aware that there would be many governments which would have serious reservations about endorsing the declaration.

If there is to be a serious effort to reach a solution to the Middle East dispute through the mechanism of an international conference, it should be obvious that the enabling resolution should not seek itself to dictate the terms of a settlement. Moreover, the initiative to convene a conference should, in the view of the government, be supported by all the major parties. In this case it was quite clear that Israel and the United States did not support the resolution in the General Assembly. For these reasons, which indicated that the proposal as formulated in the resolution would not be helpful towards negotiation of a Middle East settlement, the Australian delegation voted against the resolution.

(*Hansard*, 15 December 1983.)

LEBANON CONFLICT — EDITORIALS "While foreign troops occupy parts of Lebanon, there will never be a lasting peace", believes the *Australian* (7 February), noting that "the Israelis have shown a willingness to withdraw . . . But the Syrians remain — unrepentant, unyielding". In contrast, the Melbourne *Herald* (7 February) notes that the Lebanese army "inherits the same mindless Christian-Moslem hatreds which . . . have been systematically destroying Lebanon . . . Lebanon can only be saved if the Lebanese themselves want to save it." Concerning the Western peace-keeping forces in Beirut, the *Adelaide Advertiser* believes that "withdrawal at this critical juncture is unthinkable" (7 February). Despairing, the Melbourne *Age* (7 February) stated that "it is difficult to see that there is any future whatsoever, except partition between the Syrians and Israelis . . ." The *Canberra Times*, however, called for "the reconvening of the Geneva conference [as] the only hope for some kind of long-term political settlement" (8 February), while the Sydney *Daily Mirror* believes that "Lebanon's only hope for continuing independence" lies in "the Maronite Christians assuming government and achieving [a] national consensus", but admits that this "is a forlorn hope indeed" (9 February).

AUSTRALIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST — EDITORIALS Noting that Bill Hayden "is personally identifying himself — and Australia — with the Palestinian struggle for a homeland", the *Adelaide Advertiser* (1 February) asked if Israel "can ignore the possibility that the Australian view increasingly reflects world opinion?" The *West Australian* (2 February) criticized "polarized all-or-nothing attitudes prevailing in the Middle East". "The real issue" believes the *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 February) "is not the Israel-Arab peace process, but Syrian strategic malevolence". In their attitudes towards the Middle East "there is no real difference between [Bob Hawke] and Mr Hayden, even though some of the sillier advocates of Israeli positions would like to believe that there is", *Financial Review* (6 February). The Melbourne *Age* looks forwards to "a new bloc of moderate Arab states" which support "a Palestinian peace initiative strongly reminiscent of the Reagan proposals" (2 February). Concerning the Australian MFO contingent, the *Age* also believes that its withdrawal "would contribute uncertainty to the one peace agreement that is actually working. No nation sincerely seeking reconciliation . . . could possibly wish to do that" (4 February). The *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 February) agreed, noting that the contingent "protects the most peaceful border in the Middle East".

HERMANN & SPRINGBORG Dr Irwin Hermann, Assistant Director of the Footscray Institute of Technology, and perhaps Australia's most visible and outspoken anti-Zionist Jew, has appeared on ABC radio as a frequent commentator on Middle Eastern affairs in recent weeks. The repeated use on *P.M.* of so one-sided a spokesman as an allegedly neutral expert on the Middle East, and moreover virtually its only academic commentator on the Middle East, is typical of the ABC's frequent bias and lack of balance in its coverage of Arab-Israeli affairs. Speaking on *Notes on the News*, Hermann lauded former British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin for "warning that the imposition of a Zionist solution on Palestine, over the wishes of the majority Arab population, would not see the end of the problem", and that Bevin "ran foul of the same kind of Zionist pressures operating via Washington which President Assad mentioned the other day to Bill Hayden in Damascus", *2FC* (7 February). He has also been interviewed frequently on Hartley's 3CR programs. Hermann has been interviewed on *P.M.* at least six times over the past two months on the Middle East, nearly always alone. In contrast, the only pro-Israel expert interviewed on *P.M.* recently, Adelaide Professor Michael Yehuda, followed an interview on the same show with Irwin Hermann, *2FC* (6 February). Dr Hermann is not only one of the voices most hostile to Israel among Middle East commentators, he has a record of consistent misperceptions, even for the volatile Middle East. In 1981 he predicted that Reagan's Middle East policies would resemble the pro-Arab stance of President Eisenhower, and has recently highlighted the fact that Jesse Jackson has "broken the consensus" on American aid to Israel, ignoring his standing as a relatively minor Presidential candidate. Another pro-Arab academic gaining considerable media exposure lately is Dr Robert Springborg, senior lecturer at Macquarie University and President of the Australia-Iraq Friendship Society, who has been interviewed extensively on Sydney radio over the Lebanon situation. Springborg claimed that Syrian Foreign Minister Halim Khaddam told Australia "at an official level" that it opposed the Sinai MFO, thus contradicting Bill Hayden's statement on Syria's attitude, and also claimed that the American contingent in the MFO "is not there simply as a screen between the Egyptians and the Israelis", but is also "one of the key American listening bases in the Middle East", and also "would play — in the case of disposition of forces of the American rapid deployment force — some role in that". Australia should "seek assurances from the United States" against these "unofficial activities of the American contingent", *Razor's Edge, 2SER FM* (5 February).

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION The final draft report on the proposal for Amendments to the Racial Discrimination Act to Cover Incitement to Racial Hatred and Racial Defamation was released by the Human Rights Commission in November 1983. Although hatred against religious groups is still not covered by the proposed legislation, Jews are considered an ethnic group, and hence have legal remedies for group defamation under the proposed legislation, the Commission relying here on the King-Ansell case (1977) in New Zealand under which Jews were accorded status as an ethnic group under the terms of that country's Race Relations Act. The Report also named "denials of the reality of racial extermination campaigns during World War II" as among the major "behaviour which complainants believe should be outlawed", and noted that "more than half of the really rabid racist propaganda" known to the Commission "is aimed at Jews".

OVERSEAS VISITORS Among international personalities in Melbourne as guests of the Young Presidents' Organization was the Director-General of Israel's Foreign Ministry, Mr David Kimche, who stressed the non-involvement of Israel in the current Lebanese crisis, Melbourne *Age* (9 February) and argued that a collapse of the Gemayel government "would mean a Soviet victory" in Lebanon, Melbourne *Herald* (8 February), and ensure a major loss of US credibility in the Arab and third worlds, *Sun* (9 February). Dr Jeane Kirkpatrick, the US Ambassador to the UN, also in Melbourne for the YPO conference, criticized the UN's approach to issues. Since Israel is the "principal target at the UN", it is accused of the most extraordinary crimes whilst the "terrible abuses of human rights and international law" around the world go unnoticed, Melbourne *Herald* (8 February). For this reason, the UN is not as important an arena for solving international problems as most people believe, *Age* (4 February).

YOUNG LABOR AND SINAI The recent national conference of the Young Labor movement adopted a resolution calling on the Hawke government to remove Australian troops from the Sinai, *Channel 10 Sydney* (4 February). National Young Labor President Stephen Bartos and far left pro-PLO activist and broadcaster, stated that "it's a question of supporting Israel's sort of incursions into Lebanon by safeguarding their southern borders, and we don't think Australia should be any part of any country's warlike actions against other countries."

FLO AND THE LEAGUE OF RIGHTS Senator Flo Bjelke-Petersen (NCP, Queensland) sent a message of support to the International League of Rights Conference at Calgary, Canada, stating that "the League of Rights stands for many good principles, one of which is, of course, supporting so strongly State Rights", *New Times* (January 1984). Not mentioned by the Senator were the League's bold principles, such as the odious anti-Semitic articles in the same issue of the League's monthly *New Times*. "Judaism and Social Credit" (reprinted from a 1948 *Social Crediter*) stating that "Judaism is implacably anti-Christian, and it is, by definition, an Implacable Lie". The California-based "Institute for Historical Review", whose anti-Semitic publications distributed in Australia by the League include numerous books denying the Holocaust by German and other neo-Nazis, also sells as part of a series "Revisionist Lectures on Tape" talks by PLO spokesmen Issah Nakhleh on "Palestinians and Zionist Genocide" and Sami Hadawi on "Who Are the Palestinians?" (also heavily promoted by extreme left PLO supporters in Australia) and another by Dr Charles Sutton outlining Nazi support for Arab nationalists like the Mufti of Jerusalem, as well as books describing "how Palestine was wrenched from its rightful owners and bartered to the Zionists", and another which presents "a resounding rebuttal of the myth that Israel is a 'beacon of democracy'."

WHITLAM AND UNESCO Former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, now Australian Ambassador to UNESCO in Paris, attacked the United States for announcing its withdrawal from UNESCO as "regrettable and damaging", Melbourne *Sun* (31 January). Whitlam stated that for developing countries UNESCO "was their only means of access to scientific knowledge and communication skill" but apparently did not respond to charges of UNESCO's financial profligacy and its anti-Israel, anti-Western politicization or to third world and Marxist calls for press restrictions which led to America's withdrawal. Whitlam's support of the organization will make him "a hero to the third world and its nutty representatives who have made such a shambles of UNESCO", whilst making him unpopular with the International Press Institute. The Institute had condemned the attempt by Soviet and third world members to regulate Western news agencies, *Bulletin* (14 February).

HIS HARTLEY ON HIS SLEEVE

Writing in his weekly column in the Melbourne *Age* (7 February), Michael Barnard raised the prospect that Bill Hartley, doyen of the Victorian ALP Socialist Left and probably Australia's number one supporter of radical Arab causes, is the preferred candidate of the left faction in Victoria for number one slot on the ALP Senate ticket at the next election, presumably replacing Senator Button. For those who think that time has moderated Bill Hartley's views, we suggest listening to his weekly half-hour slot on 3CR's *Arab Report* as an educational experience and we here present some of the high spots of recent shows. (For those who tire of Bill Hartley on the Middle East, Bill Hartley's views on a wide range of topics may also be heard on the numerous other 3CR programs he comperes, like *Par Avion* and *Union Lines*.) On 11 February 1984, Hartley extended his condolences at the death of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov who had "done much for the oppressed peoples of the world", *Arab Report* (11 February). Director of the so-called PLO Information Office in Australia, Ali Kazak, interviewed by Hartley on the same program agreed that the United States was "an imperialist country" which was "working ... for the destruction of many countries." In contrast "we value the Soviet Union's presence" in the peace process. Hartley noted that Arab states "took the initiative" in UNESCO's discussions of the "New Information Order" (widely regarded as repressive in the West) and recalled that it was "not much fun" when visiting the headquarters of the Iraqi Newsagency in Baghdad to receive "false and pro-Zionist information" from the international wire services, and noted that UNESCO was "supposed to bring about a more equitable information order", *Arab Report* (28 January). On the same show Hartley termed Israeli leader Ariel Sharon "one of the trio of fascist-oriented leaders regarded as the most vicious expression of Zionism" (the others being Begin and Shamir) and referred to the "Zionist entity of Israel". Veteran Hartley-watchers are still puzzled by his current international orientation. *Arab Report* is a recently renamed version of the *Arab Libyan Friendship Program*, although it is still sponsored by the Libyan Australian Friendship Association which Hartley stated (28 January) will sponsor a tour of Libya for Australians in September, Libya paying ground costs. Hartley also claimed that Libyan-backed Chad rebel Owedi was the "legal president" of Chad (11 February). Recent *Arab Reports* have included BBC broadcast comments by the African editor of the London *Financial Times* and, incredibly, Jerusalem journalist Asher Walfish. After months of silence, too, Hartley has mentioned the Iraq-Iran war, featuring a BBC interview with a Canadian Kurdish journalist who was "highly suspicious" of Iraqi moves for Kurdish autonomy (4 February). Finally, Hartley has featured on *Arab Report* numerous interviews with participants at a recent Palestine Human Rights Committee conference in Melbourne, including Dr Irwin Hermann and former Maoist student radical Don Carson, a New Zealander who has been an officer in the New Zealand Foreign Affairs Department. Carson noted that the Saudi Ambassador to Australia was currently visiting New Zealand (where only Egypt of the Arab states has an embassy) boasted that New Zealand had no representative in Israel and that an "internal debate" on the Middle East was taking place within the New Zealand government (4 February).

Briefing is compiled by Adam Slonim, Research Associate of Australia/Israel Publications and Jeremy Jones, Director of Public Affairs for the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies.

AUSTRALIA

The UN war on Israel

Jeane Kirkpatrick

From an address by Dr Kirkpatrick, the US Ambassador to the UN, given in Melbourne on 6 February 1984 to Jewish community leaders.

Although my interest in Israel and my respect for its very vigorous democracy are longstanding, I did not really understand the extent nor the intensity of the animosity towards Israel until I arrived in the UN. I don't think it is easy to understand this or that too many people do understand it, and because I think it is terribly important and deserves the attention of all people concerned with the basic values and survival of democracy, I talk about it a good deal.

Almost all of the discussion about the Arab-Israeli problem at the UN involves in a very direct way the question of the legitimacy of Israel itself.

The United Nations was founded, to quote the language of the preamble to its charter, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has inflicted untold sorrow on mankind. How tragic that the United Nations has allowed itself to pervert the meaning of that phrase by becoming a forum for the pursuit of war by other means. In 1948 ten states surrounding Israel launched a war against Israel in an attempt to frustrate the implementation of the resolution calling for the establishment of an independent Arab state and Jewish state in Palestine. Thirty-five years later that same General Assembly resolution, has still not been accepted by all countries much less by all of Israel's neighbours.

UN bloc politics

Inside the United Nations, the debate about the Middle East has been reshaped by the emergence of bloc politics. For the African bloc the uniting issue is South Africa. For the Arabs it is opposition to Israel. For the Soviet bloc naturally it's Soviet interest. For the non-aligned movement it is very often hostility to a combination of South Africa and Israel. There is not only overlapping membership in the blocs, but also alliances formed among them and between them. Very frequently the African and the Arab blocs agree to support each other on their respective unifying issues and at times are virulent in that most obnoxious and mendacious slogan "Zionism is racism". That is, the Africans very often support the Arabs against Israel in exchange for Arab support against South Africa. The Soviet bloc often agrees to support both in order to buy votes and divert attention. The Soviets use their influence very frequently in all the blocs in order to encourage extremism wherever possible and turn the African and Arab blocs as much as possible against the West and against the United States in particular. Against this background it is not too hard to see why the Soviets, the PLO (who are very influential at the UN) and the radical Arab states are able to use the UN, not as a place for concrete resolutions but as a forum for the pursuit of the war against Israel by other means.

Real crimes ignored

Anything Israel does or can be suspected of doing is characterized as criminal while real crimes committed by others are generally ignored or even justified. For example, Libya's deep involvement in terrorism and subversion of its neighbours tends to go almost unnoticed or even entirely ignored. But Israel's excavations of archaeological sites in Jerusalem are a source of outrage, and become the subject of resolutions adopted by appropriately large majorities. The Soviet effort to attempt to absorb the people and country of Afghanistan into its empire has been accompanied by really unspeakable atrocities: true genocide, in fact, yet such behaviour arouses nothing like the uncontrollable rage and hostility inside the United Nations that is let loose when Israel is accused of poisoning girls on the West Bank.

Delegitimizing Israel

The campaign of delegitimization against Israel has had a lot of success. Its most notorious act has been the equalizing resolution that occurred equating Zionism and racism in 1975, and later reaffirmed in a number of the independent UN agencies. The same campaign succeeded in 1982 in the Golan Heights resolution, characterizing Israel formally as a non-peace-loving state. Such a characterization is, of course, a prelude to expulsion of the state and the denial of its right to sit in the UN arenas.

Basically the campaign has succeeded to some extent in isolating Israel within the UN and through a barrage of rhetoric and resolutions it has succeeded in establishing the Jewish state as a kind of pariah among nations. I call it the delegitimization of Israel. I think that is an accurate characterization.

What this campaign of delegitimization means is that the political assault on Israel is aimed really at the destruction of the state of Israel. It's that simple. The doctrine that Israel is an outlaw state without right to membership in UN bodies bases itself on the proposition that Israel has no right to exist. It means that Israel is a kind of fair game for all and, what's even worse, not allowed self-defence.

Oppose lies

I believe, and our government believes very deeply, that the campaign of lies and calumny against Israel in the United Nations is dangerous and that it should be met with firm opposition and that it should be met above all with truth. We believe that leaving lies unanswered is dangerous. We believe it is very dangerous to leave on the record unanswered assertions, for example, that the Holocaust has been exceeded by Israeli policy on the West Bank.

We believe, finally, that it is an important policy to answer accusations because we believe the Holocaust started not in the hands of the SS but when the words of anti-Semites were left uncontested.

Outside the UN our government is looking hard to aid and abet peace in the Middle East. We think that peaceful resolution in the Middle East can be brought about, built upon the foundations of Camp David and on the basis of UN resolutions 242 and 338 providing for secure borders and direct negotiations and peace for all nations in the region. We think that there is no other reasonable basis for peace in the Middle East. I want to say also that we do not regard Israel as an inconvenience or an embarrassment to our government as is often suggested in the United Nations. We regard Israel as a cherished friend and a very valuable ally. We believe that Israel is an important strategic power in the region. We believe that Israel is a vigorous democracy which has demonstrated a vigorous attachment to democratic principles and deserves as such our warm support and reliable friendship.

The *Australia* page is edited by Yvonne Shafir.

Australia/Israel Review, 584 St. Kilda Road, Melbourne 3004. Telephone: 529 5922. Telex: 32541.

Editorial Committee: Rabbi John Levi, Dr W.D. Rubinstein and Dr Colin Rubenstein. Research Associate: Adam Shmith and Yvonne Shafir. Publishers: Australia/Israel Publications. Co-Chairmen: Isaac Magid and Robert Zablud. Printer: Polk Print, Collingwood. Typesetter: Town & Country Typesetters Pty. Ltd., Abbotsford. ISSN No. 0313-0727.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION $18.

משרד המדע והפתוח

לשכת השר

THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

יז' אדר ב' תשמ"ד

21 מרץ 1984

ב/ 990/ 2298

(8)

לכב'

מר מ. יגר

סמנכ"ל משרד החוץ

השר פרופ' י. נאמן בקשני להעביר אליך הספרון המצ"ב בנושא: "מורי הוראה מוסלמיים על ישראל והיהודים" לכל שימוש בתמצא לנכון.

בברכה,

בקל שמעוני

ראש הלשכה

ירושלים, משרדי הממשלה, הקריה המזרחית טל. 02-277096/7

תשמ"ח

משה לוי 13/3/88

שוחחתי עם מר הפסרה.
נמסר לי שהיצאה היתה של
קונסוליית ישראל בבוסטון.
בינתיים התברר ש-כל הפרוטוקולים
לא יוצרו ומצורר רק בפרוטוקול
ני. אם לא ברור לא בטוח עדיין
אם יוצא או לא.
בהזדמנות זו אדבר בנושא - יבוא
עוד קשר.

בברכה.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

2106

יוצא בלמ"ם

אל: שונות, נר: 52, מ: המשרד
דח: מ, סג: ב, תא: 020364, רח: 1900
נד: פרופור נ"י

נתקבל
11.3.84
ביום

מ"ר/בלמ"ם

אל: 1) סנב"ל משרד האנרגיה - ירושלים
2) סנב"ל משרד הסעד והפנים - ירושלים
3) דקנור האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים הר הצופים.
4) דקנור אוניברסיטת תל אביב /רמת אביב
5) דקנור אוניברסיטת חיפה - הר הכרמל

מלא! יונסליה ישראל מפלגלן

לפני לא-מה היתה יומה להוסיף קבוצת 5 פרופסורים - מאוניברסיטת הארוארד בנוסחון לבקור בארץ. בגין נסיבות שונות נותר רק אחד היבול לבוא והוא PROF. JOSEPH NYE ל-
GOVERNMENT.
משרד החוץ אינו נוהג כארח סבקר יחיד, אולם יוכל להשתתף והוצאות אם גם נמצני סברק זה ישתתפו. פרופ' NYE הוא גם
NATL. SECURITY COUNCIL GROUP ON NON-PROLIFERATION יו"ר
TRI-LATERAL COMISSN AND INTERNTL. INSTITUTE OF חבר ב-
TRATEGIC STUDIES AND OF THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

סדור בקור של שונות. השיבו-נא עד יום חמישי 8 דנא. טל. 02-634849.
מחלקת הסדרה/משרד החוץ.

אל: סנב"אנרגיה, סעסד, הסברה

יצאה ב"ר?
אם יבוא אשה לשאר מקו
(ולא אלינו) אין לנו
יכים לו שום
מין בהתאם

לכבוד
השר פרופ' יובל נאמן
שר המדע והפיתוח

המצ"ב יעניינך בודאי.

ב ר כ ה

מ א ת

דר' משה יגר

סמנכ"ל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

West Bank: Israeli Settlements, May 1983