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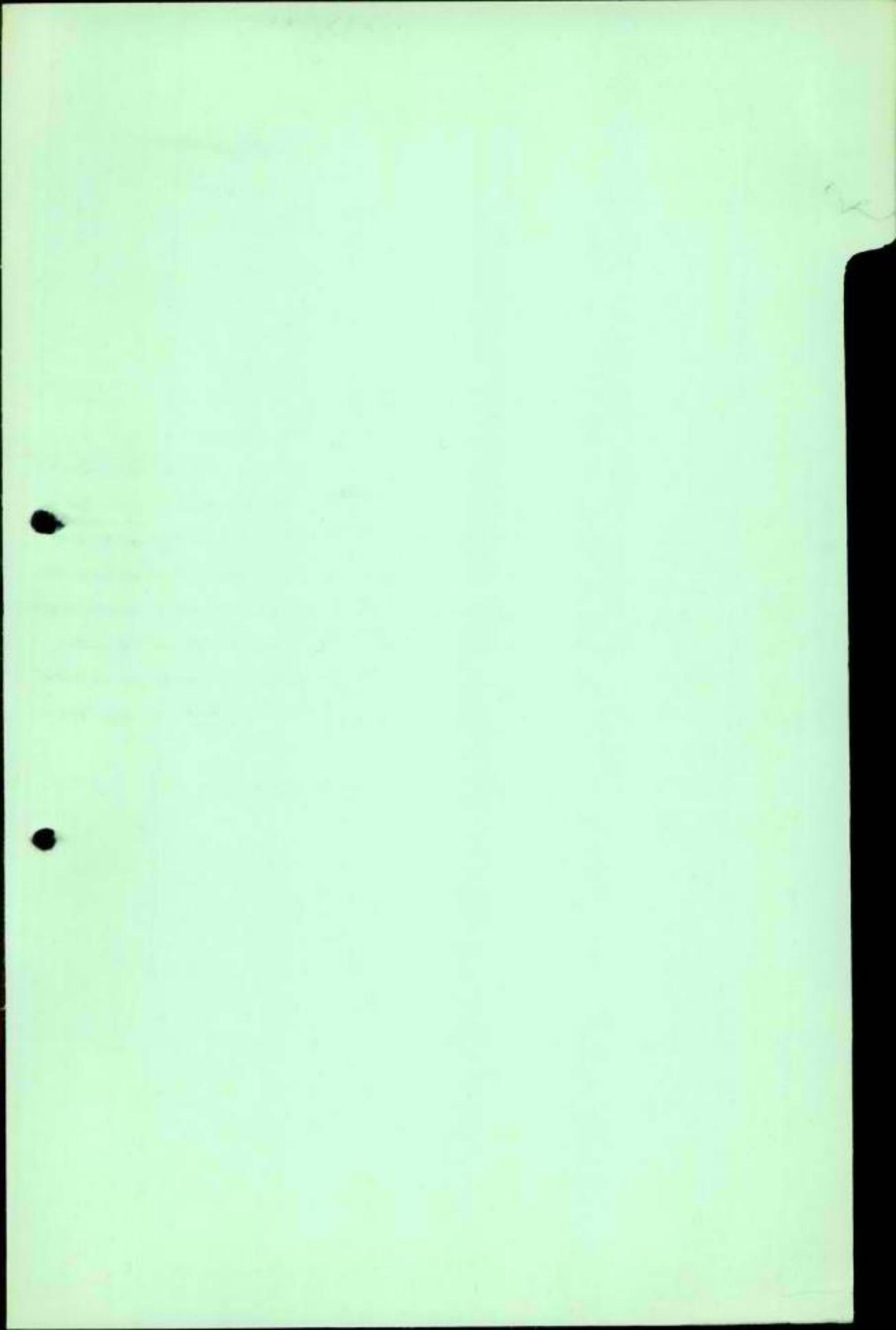


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December 22, 1977

REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTOPHER J. DODD (Democrat-Connecticut)

Term Began: 1975

Committees: Rules

Strongly supportive of Israel. Consistently votes for foreign aid. He and his wife have been actively supportive of the Soviet Jewry plight since their 1975 trip to USSR. Offered amendment to Export Administration Act containing anti-boycott legislation to insure no secret Presidential granting of exemptions from boycott policy to U.S. firms. Supported stationing American technicians in Sinai. Cosigned Oct. 6, 1977 letter to Carter expressing concern over joint US/USSR communique on Mideast. Cosigned letter to President U.S. Olympic Committee calling attention to plan by USSR/Third World to exclude Israel from 1980 Moscow Olympics by forcing Israel out of required number of federations needed to participate. Introduced resolution congratulating peoples of Egypt and Israel on Sadat/Begin meeting. Currently, Dodd is active in opposing sale of F-15 aircraft to Saudi Arabia. (See attached).

Dodd's father was a Senator from 1959-1970 who was a strong supporter. Dodd has ambitions for a Senate seat.

November 8, 1977

F-15'S TO SAUDI ARABIA—PART I

HON. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 8, 1977

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, I was disturbed to learn earlier this fall that the Defense Department had recommended the sale of 60 F-15 supersonic fighters to Saudi Arabia. I wrote to both the President and the Secretary of Defense in September urging the administration to refrain from this sale because I believed that sale of our most advanced attack fighter to Saudi Arabia would dramatically alter the military balance in the Middle East.

I have been pleased to learn that as a result of questions raised by several Members and various administration officials, the Defense Department is now reexamining its prior approval of the sale and considering various alternatives to the F-15. I believe that before we proceed further down the road toward this sale or other sales of sophisticated equipment, Congress must carefully examine what effects any sale would have on regional military balances and on the possible outbreak of war.

To this end, I have asked several organizations and individuals to prepare detailed studies of various aspects of this question for the consideration of my colleagues. Today, I am including in the Record the first part of a study prepared for me by Dr. Jo L. Husbands of the Center for Defense Information (CDI) entitled "The Proposed Sale of F-15's to Saudi Arabia." The first segment describes the F-15 Eagle, and briefly assesses the potential effect that acquisition of the F-15 would have on Saudi Arabia's air combat capabilities. It also analyzes the potential impact of a sale to Saudi Arabia of F-16's, which some have proposed as an alternative to the F-15.

Dr. Husbands draws two major conclusions in this brief segment of her analysis. In the first place, she finds that "the F-15 could deliver more sophisticated weapons over longer distances with greater precision and ordnance flexibility than any aircraft now in the RSAP. The alternative purchase of F-16's would reduce the weapons loading and the performance envelope but still equip the RSAP with considerable increases in its present capabilities."

Before proceeding with a sale of either F-15's or F-16's to Saudi Arabia, I believe that we in Congress must carefully examine the impact that this dramatic increase in military might would have on the Arab-Israeli arms balance, on regional competition in the Persian Gulf, and on potential arms races that might involve several nations.

Second, Dr. Husbands concludes that the sale of F-15's or F-16's to Saudi Arabia would almost inevitably be followed by the sale of advanced radar systems, possibly including the AWACS. Because the radar of the F-15 has a problem analogous to tunnel vision and because the F-15—like other aircraft—has unreliable IFF (Identification Friend or

Foe) beyond visual range, Dr. Husbands finds that "some sort of advanced radar capability would be required for the F-15 to reach maximum performance and therefore to function as a cost-effective aircraft." Accordingly, she concludes that any proposal to sell F-15's to Saudi Arabia "should . . . be evaluated in terms of its impact on Saudi capabilities and as the first in a series of potential sales of advanced weapons."

Mr. Speaker, in the months to come, I hope to be able to submit valuable information concerning this proposed sale to my colleagues so that we can come to a reasoned judgment if the administration should decide to proceed with the sale of F-15's or F-16's to Saudi Arabia. In my view, we in Congress must inform ourselves to the greatest extent possible about the potential effects of given arms sales before they are formally proposed so that we can avoid hasty last-minute judgments often required by the press of the arms sales process.

I hope that the information I will be providing will help elevate the level of debate in this critical area, and I welcome the assistance of other Members in this effort.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this first segment of Dr. Husbands' study and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

PROPOSED SALE OF F-15s TO SAUDI ARABIA (By Dr. Jo L. Husbands, Center for Defense Information)

THE PROPOSED SALE OF F-15s TO SAUDI ARABIA

The F-15 is an all-weather air superiority fighter with excellent capabilities for air-to-air interception and ground interdiction missions. The plane represents the highest state-of-the-art technology in the U.S. Air Force inventory. The F-15 has an exceptional thrust to weight ratio, very high maneuverability, a large sight envelope, and an impressive external payload capacity. Its sophisticated "look up, look down" radar gives the F-15 the capability to detect and engage very high altitude targets flying at high speed (e.g. MiG-25s), or low altitude targets more difficult to spot with less capable radars. The aircraft is in serial production and operational with Air Force units in the United States and Europe; limited numbers have been ordered by the Israeli Air Force.

ROLE OF THE F-15 IN THE ROYAL SAUDI AIR FORCE (RSAP)

The 60 F-15s proposed for Saudi Arabia are to replace British-made BAC Mk. 52 and Mk. 53 Lightnings, interceptors in the RSAP since the late 1960s. These Lightnings were specially equipped, but still represent 1950's aircraft technology. There are reports that the Saudi Lightnings have metal fatigue problems; they are also difficult to maintain, requiring more man-hours of maintenance than newer, more efficiently designed aircraft.

At present, the RSAP is built around the F-5, a less sophisticated lightweight fighter developed by Northrop for export to developing countries. By 1983 the Saudis will have more than 100 F-5E/F-5F for strike, ground attack, and tactical reconnaissance missions. The F-5s would have a secondary role in air defense if the F-15s are acquired.

An eventual first-line combat strength of six multi-role fighter squadrons, four of F-15s and two of F-16s, are planned. Four other squadrons, three of F-5s and one of F-15s, are for training and a back-up defense

capability. The current RSAP inventory is summarized below.

- ROYAL SAUDI AIR FORCE*
- 15,000 men and 164 aircraft (fighters and COIN).
- Fighters
- 70 F-5Es (20 F-5Fs on order).
 - 20 F-5Bs.
 - 37 Mk. 52/53 Lightnings.
 - 7 T44/55 Lightnings.
 - (Maverick ASM and Sidewinder AAM on order).
- Counter-insurgency
- 30 BAC-167 Strikemaster (11 on order).
- Helicopters
- 16 AB-206.
 - 24 AB-205.
 - 1 AB-204.
 - 12 Alouette III.
- Transport and Support
- 39 C-130 E/H.
 - 4 KC-130 tankers.
 - 2 Falcon 20s.
 - 2 Jetstar transports.
 - 1 Boeing T-47.
 - 6 Cessna T-41A trainers.

As the above shows, the RSAP is at present a relatively small, unsophisticated air force suited to a defensive posture.

CAPABILITIES OF THE F-15

The comparison of combat capabilities is a difficult task, affected by a large number of factors. One should avoid becoming attached to any static figures; at best, they represent possibilities, not actual operational data. Air Force combat radii estimates for the F-15 are still classified.

CDI estimates the intercept radius of the F-15 in an ideal mission profile (hi-hi-hi) at <2200 km; an average "in use" radius may be 1100-1500 km. If sustained high-speed is required, the F-15's combat radius drops dramatically to approximately 300 km.

In a ground strike mode (hi-lo-hi), the F-15 could reach <2200 km, carrying external Fast Pack fuel cells, and under 1000 km, without them. The aircraft's speed, the skill of its pilot, climate and weather conditions, fuel and ordnance loads, and the combat environment itself all strongly affect combat radii.

Comparable estimates for the RSAP Lightnings are not available, but CDI estimates combat radii of only 1/2 to 1/3 the F-15's. By any measure, however, the F-15 would bring a major increase in the defense and strike capabilities of the RSAP. From bases in Saudi Arabia, the F-15s would be able to reach into Iraq, Iraq, or into Israel and the Sinai Peninsula.

ARMAMENT

In deliverable armament per sortie, the F-15 would substantially increase current RSAP capabilities. The Lightning is equipped with two 30mm. Aden guns, with a total of 240 rounds. The F-15 has one 20mm. M61-A1 gun with 950 rounds. The Lightnings carry two Red-Top infra-red air-to-air missiles, with an effective range of about 12 km. The F-15 can carry four Sidewinder (AIM-9L) infra-red and four Sparrow (AIM-7F) semi-active radar air-to-air missiles, plus two Fast Packs. The effective range of the Sidewinder is 3-5 km., of the Sparrow more than 25 km.

Beyond this capability, the Lightning has a total over and under-wing possible load of 144 air-to-ground rockets or six 1000 lb. bombs. The F-15 can carry up to 14,000 lbs. of mixed ordnance on its 9 external hard points. The weapons mixes available for the F-15 are listed in the table below. Different missions would require different mixes of these weapons. The essential point is that the F-15 could deliver more sophisticated weapons over longer distances with greater

Footnotes at end of article.

precision and ordnance flexibility than any aircraft now in the RSAP. The alternative purchase of F-16s would reduce the weapons loading and the performance envelope but still equip the RSAP with considerable increases in its present capabilities.¹

ADVANCED RADAR AND THE F-15

For maximum and most effective performance, the F-15 requires the support of sophisticated ground or airborne radars. With such support, the F-15 can be vectored to targets at ranges over 100 miles, but without it may be limited to little more than visual range. This limitation results from two features of the aircraft. The "look up, look down" capacity of the F-15's own radar has "tunnel vision," with long distance focus but restricted lateral scan. The pilot thus needs the assistance of other radars to direct his search pattern and to orient him to a target "lock-on."

The second feature is the unreliability of IFF (Identification Friend or Foe), a problem common to all aircraft systems. The support and enhanced capabilities of other radars are again required if the F-15's pilot is to acquire distant targets and launch missiles against them with reasonable assurance that he is firing at his opponents.

Long range identification and tracking are a necessity if the F-15 is to achieve its full combat potential. Without such support systems, the combat performance record of the F-15 is mixed. In an Air Intercept Missile Evaluation exercise completed at Nellis, NV, Nevada in June 1977, F-5s, F-14s, and F-15s consistently "destroyed" one another during close-in engagements. Major General Frederick C. Blesse (USAF, Retired) observed the exercise and explained:

"... It doesn't make much difference how fast your airplane is or how high it will fly. Once you get inside your enemy's missile envelope you're not likely to escape."²

With advanced radar support systems, however, the F-15 has an impressive record in its combat performance tests.³ In the NATO theater, the support for the F-15 will come from AWACS and the existing ground-based radar and command and control network.

MORE SALES AFTER THE F-15?

Selling F-15s to Saudi Arabia would not necessarily mean the sales of AWACS at a later point, but some sort of advanced radar capability would be required for the F-15 to reach maximum performance and therefore to function as a cost-effective aircraft. The U.S. Navy's E-2C Hawkeye or the British Nimrod airborne systems could be used, or a network of ground radars could be constructed for the Saudis. As was discovered in Iran, however, ground radars are more costly and require thousands of American technicians to operate and maintain.⁴ In any event, either air or ground C³ would represent an addition to Saudi capabilities well beyond present capacity.

CONCLUSIONS

Any analysis of the over-all impact of the F-15 must await other components of this study. These will include an assessment of RSAP ability to absorb advanced weapons, and an estimate of the military threats perceived by Saudi Arabia which relate to its request for the F-15.

At this point, one can say that the RSAP has traditionally been a defensive force with limited capabilities. The Saudis began a modernization program in the early 1970s, largely through the purchase of U.S. weapons and services.⁵ The purchase of F-15s or F-16s would amount to grafting extremely sophisticated offensive aircraft onto a relatively unsophisticated air force. RSAP combat capabilities would increase markedly. The sale is also likely to create a demand for other sophisticated equipment to support or to complement the F-15. Any proposal to sell F-15s

should thus be evaluated in terms of its impact on Saudi capabilities and as the first in a series of potential sales of advanced weapons.

FOOTNOTES

¹ "Operational Aspects of the F-15," *International Defense Review*, March 1975.

² *The Military Balance 1977-1978*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London.

³ "Pentagon Urges Sale of F-15s to Saudis," *Washington Star*, August 31, 1977.

⁴ "Arab Air Power, IV," *Air International*, September 1977.

⁵ Center for Defense Information and *The Military Balance 1977-1978*.

⁶ Information on the Lightnings is from Jane's *All the World's Aircraft 1971-1972*, while information on the F-17 is from "Operational Aspects of the F-15," *International Defense Review*, March 1975.

⁷ The F-16 would normally carry only two infra-red air-to-air Sidewinder missiles, although more could be added as part of the over-all weapons mix for particular missions. The ground attack range of the F-16 is estimated by *International Defense Review* ("Combat Aircraft, 1976") at 700-1350 km. Their estimated ground attack range for the F-15 is 600-1100, a figure based on more conservative assumptions than that of CDI.

⁸ "Operational Aspects of the F-15," *International Defense Review*, March 1975.

⁹ Major General Frederick C. Blesse (USAF, Ret.), "The Changing World of Air Combat," *Air Force Magazine*, October 1977. Blesse describes the results of the AIMVAL exercise as support for his argument to push development of long-range identification and tracking capabilities.

¹⁰ "Operational Aspects of the F-15," *International Defense Review*, March 1975.

¹¹ A Defense Department study concluded that a ground radar system for Iran would be less effective, cost \$500 m. more, and would require 18,000 more technical personnel than an airborne system. (DOD Press Release, September 7, 1977.)

¹² GAO Report, "Perspectives on Military Sales to Saudi Arabia," October 26, 1977.

ERA—STRETCHING THE GIRDLE

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 8, 1977

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, getting old means getting broader for most creatures, and the ERA seems to be no exception. As the national courtship of this female legislative apparition approaches its seventh year, the baggy stockings and sagging girdles are beginning to show. A rush and a swirl are heard, and we see an extension of dating time now proposed in hopes of still getting this aging creature a constitutional marriage.

ERA has been embraced by many States, but her controversial charms have also caused her to be oft-spurned, even accepted and then rejected on some three occasions.

Age will not necessarily make ERA more attractive and in fact some suitors may also develop hostility if forced to keep later hours than their date originally called for.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned that the constitutional issues regarding ratification, rescission, and extensions of time be properly aired from all points

of view particularly in light of the deep-seated controversy regarding the equal rights amendment.

If ever a constitutional procedure should be precisely formulated and adhered to it is now. The Nation is torn not only by ERA but by a number of other issues of serious philosophical magnitude and the only way to preserve confidence in Government is through fairness and precise practice of the law and lawmaking.

Unfortunately there is a strong tendency by activists and specially dedicated interests to interpret law and constitutional procedure by the force of political pressure where "might makes right." This Republic provides checks and balances to preclude such mob rule and pressure tactics and I feel it absolutely essential that we make decisions by due process and eternal wisdom and not because of emotional panic.

There is substantial precedent for one-time action by State legislatures regarding constitutional amendments where a decision to ratify or not ratify is held binding. There is also substantial precedent for allowing a State to change its mind and ratify after refusing to ratify or rescind after ratification. Whichever method prevails it should be applicable uniformly, whether to allow no change or to allow both changes. This matter should be heard.

Certainly there is a question as to precedent for changing the rules in the middle of the ball game such as the requested extension for approval by the States of a constitutional amendment as proposed in the Holtzman resolution before the House Judiciary Committee. Is this fair, is it legal, does it have proper precedent? These questions can only be adequately answered after hearing both sides. In view of the efforts to gain extension of ratification time without allowing for a State legislature to change its mind, can the Congress legally and properly be a party to arbitrarily holding States hostage to actions taken under different specifications and rules?

I think not, Mr. Speaker, and to bring corrective action, I have introduced the Hostage Relief Act of 1977 which is described in the following letter I have prepared seeking support of my colleagues in the House.

HOSTAGE RELIEF ACT OF 1977

I believe it is patently unfair and contradictory to the spirit of the United States that the sovereign States of this Nation should be held hostage to hasty action taken in any cause. This is indeed the case in the thinking of those who would make legislation and constitutional processes a one-way street such as in the matter of rescissions on proposed constitutional amendments.

My State of Idaho found itself initially stampeded toward the proposed equal rights amendment and upon reconsideration has rescinded its actions. Other States have also rescinded. To suggest as the U.S. Attorney General's office has done that there is no repentance and no recourse for hasty actions in the legislative and constitutional process is an insult to the viability of the process of self-government and to the basic prin-

field-OR, Ernest P. Hollings-SC, Hubert Humphrey-MN, Edward Kennedy-MA, George McGovern-SD, Charles Mathias-MD, Howard Meehan-OH, Daniel Moynihan-NY, Gaylord Nelson-WI, Donald Riegle-MI, Adlai Stevenson-IL, Lowell Weicker-CT, Harrison Williams-IL.

Listed as undecided are 22 Senators, and 29 Senators are opposed to ratification.

I have authorized a resolution, House Concurrent Resolution No. 328, which would uphold the Constitutional authority of the Congress and allow the House and Senate to vote first on the question of disposition of property prior to the Senate's vote for ratification. Over 160 Congressmen have joined me in co-sponsoring this resolution. We expect to get over half the Congress signed up or 218.

The resolution was assigned to the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, where the Chairman, Congressman John Murphy of New York, is one of my chief co-sponsors. Congressman Murphy is eager to hold hearings on my Resolution in order for it to be reported to the floor of the House for an expeditious vote.

Significant progress has been made to expose the give-away but the fight is not over. Public opinion will win on this issue so it's important that the President as well as Members of Congress hear what you have to say.

SCANDALOUS VOTER PROGRAM SCUTTLED

President Carter's Instant Voter Registration Plan has fortunately been scuttled. On election day this past November the Ohio electorate wisely voted 62 to 38 percent in favor of abandoning same day registration.

It was well-known that the election results from Ohio would have a great effect on the Administration's Sounding bill. Thankfully the "buckeye" vote not only stopped such a program in Ohio, but also sealed the door of the national proposal for the rest of the 95th Congress and hopefully for good. The American public would not buy the administration's scheme to stack the election-day ballots and further push the nation into a one-party system. I for one say good riddance to the President's misconceived and unjust bill.

The surprising fact was not only the large percentage by which the voters of an industrialized state rejected the measure but also the fact that the largely urban and labor-dominated areas of the state rejected it by far greater margins than did the traditionally more conservative rural areas.

A TRY FOR LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 5, 1977

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House International Relations Committee, I want to commend both President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel for their intensive efforts to break the diplomatic stalemate and work toward a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The continued misuse of the United Nations General Assembly by Arab States and the series of diplomatic false starts that have frustrated efforts to solve the Middle East crisis can possibly be overcome only by a dramatic series of events as have been worked out by Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat.

I believe that meetings such as the planned session in Cairo are necessary to keep up the momentum of the peace initiative. As the parties expand their communications and negotiations, a slow but positive development of mutual trust can be realized.

President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin took calculated risks in their actions. By this I mean risks of political problems on the domestic front as well as the risks that are obvious in the long-standing bitterness that has marked the Middle East dispute.

The failure of the Soviet Union to accept the invitation to the Cairo conference shows that the Soviets do not want to help achieve a Middle East peace settlement. It also proves that the Carter administration made a mistake by bringing the Soviets into important involvement in the forthcoming Geneva peace conference.

Since Sadat and Begin have clearly seized the initiative, the United States should work with both of them as well as encourage other moderate Arab governments to give their cooperation, and ultimately a major role would have to be played by the United States to help insure the final peace agreement that would be worked out.

SALE OF ADVANCED COMBAT AIRCRAFT TO SAUDI ARABIA

HON. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 5, 1977

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, in order to better inform ourselves of the possible problems raised by the potential sale of advanced fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia, I have asked several organizations and individuals to prepare detailed studies of various aspects of this issue.

Today, I am including in the Record part one of a study prepared for me by Prof. Steven Rosen of Brandeis University entitled "Sale of Advanced Combat Aircraft to Saudi Arabia: Implications for the Arab-Israeli Military Balance."

Dr. Rosen raises several interesting points in his study. In his view, the most serious problem raised by the proposed sale of advanced fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia is the fact that "in the particular context of the Saudi/Israeli relationship, acquisition of advanced combat aircraft by Saudi Arabia would significantly increase the likelihood of . . . direct combat between forces of Israel and Saudi Arabia." Moreover, Dr. Rosen demonstrates that if Saudi forces do become involved in a future conflict they will have far greater capability to do serious damage to Israel than they have had in prior years.

This study presents evidence that is not frequently found in debates concerning the possible sale of F-15's or other advanced aircraft to Saudi Arabia, and is especially valuable in this regard. For example, Dr. Rosen examines in some detail the rapid modernization and expansion

of the Saudi armed forces that has taken place in the last decade, contending that by the end of the 1980's Saudi Arabia will "have advanced far down the road toward completing modernization of its armed forces." By 1983 there will have been a tenfold increase in the number of combat aircraft compared to 1967 and a threefold increase since 1973.

Moreover, Dr. Rosen points out that in the environment of the 1980's Saudi aircraft will be in a position to threaten Israel directly from positions well within the range of any advanced attack fighter that the United States might transfer. Beyond the modern military base at Tabuk (200 miles from Eilat), Saudi Arabia has at least six combat-worthy civilian airfields which could provide bases for advanced aircraft within the context of a short Arab-Israeli conflict.

Mr. Speaker, in the months to come, I hope to be able to submit additional valuable information concerning the proposed sale of advanced combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia. I hope that the information I will be providing will help elevate the level of debate in this critical area, and I welcome the assistance of other Members in this effort.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this study by Dr. Rosen and ask that it be inserted at this point in the Record:

SALE OF ADVANCED COMBAT AIRCRAFT TO SAUDI ARABIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ARAB-ISRAELI MILITARY BALANCE, PART I

(By Steven J. Rosen)

This paper will address some of the problems posed by the proposed sale of F-15, F-16, or F-16L combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia within the context of the Arab-Israeli military balance. As such, it is not designed to deal with all of the issues raised by this potential sale but merely attempts to cast light on one aspect of this issue.

A. POTENTIAL SAUDI INVOLVEMENT IN AN ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The most serious problem raised by the proposed sale of advanced combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia is the fact that in the particular context of the Saudi/Israeli relationship, acquisition of advanced combat aircraft by Saudi Arabia would significantly increase the likelihood of the outcome least desired by the United States, Israel, and presumably Saudi Arabia: i.e., direct combat between forces of Israel and Saudi Arabia which would make Saudi Arabia, for the first time, a full military participant in an Arab-Israeli war.

Background

Although the question of whether Saudi Arabia would actively deploy its forces in a future Arab-Israeli war is a matter of some conjecture, a considerable body of evidence suggests that Saudi Arabia would indeed deploy its forces and/or make them available to other Arab states.

In the first place, it is important to realize that Saudi Arabia has participated to some extent in previous Arab-Israeli conflicts. As early as 1948, Saudi Arabia furnished a battalion of troops under Egyptian command for the invasion of Palestine by the Arab League armies. On May 24, 1967, the Jordanian government announced permission for Saudi forces to enter Jordan as part of the Arab mobilization against Israel. Some Saudi units entered southern Jordan the same day, while others remained in readiness near the border. None were heavily engaged in the succeeding hostilities of the Six Day War, but this may have been more a function of the lightning Israeli victory

than of any lack of will on the part of the Saudis. During the 1973 war, a Saudi brigade of approximately 3,000 was dispatched to Syria, and it has been reported that several Saudi soldiers were taken prisoner by the Israelis during the fighting on the northern front. In addition, eight Saudi helicopters with Saudi pilots were sent to Egypt to participate in logistic support missions, and did not return home until a few months after the war ended. Following the 1973 war, a brigade of about 4,000 men remained in Jordan encamped near Karak, in the mountains to the east of the Dead Sea, until late 1976, and the Saudi brigade in Syria also did not return home until October 1976. In November of 1975, fifteen F-5E's that we had delivered to Saudi Arabia less than twelve months earlier flew out of a Jordanian base into Syria to participate in joint Syrian/Jordanian/Saudi maneuvers lasting several days. (Saudi Arabia explained to the U.S. that its squadron was merely participating in the "annual training cycle" of the Saudi brigade in Syria). These past actions, undertaken when Saudi Arabian capabilities were far lower than they will be in the future, seem to be clear evidence that participation in a future war is a possibility that is being considered systematically by the Saudi high command. Senior Saudi military commanders and officials now consult regularly with their counterparts in the confrontation states and make frequent visits to Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

Moreover, the top Saudi political officials have been forthright in statements that their country would commit its forces in a fifth war. King Khalid told the New York Times in May of 1976 that:

"When we build up our military strength we have no aims against anybody except those who look by force our land and our shrines in Jerusalem—and we know who that is. We also believe that the strength of Saudi Arabia is a strength for the whole Arab and Islamic world. We always intended to make use of all military equipment that might help build our military strength."

Crown Prince Fahd told the Times in April of the same year that his nation's armed forces are "a force in the defense of the Arab nation and of the Arab cause." Defense Minister Sultan, according to the Christian Science Monitor, said "All our weapons are at the disposal of the Arab nation and will be used in the battle against the common enemy." Foreign Minister Saud, in a recent Newsweek interview, said "In times of war when the interests of our brother Arab countries are involved and blood is flowing, nothing is too expensive to use . . . I am saying that we will use whatever resources we have . . . to hurt our enemy." And the Kuwaiti newspaper Al Qabas reported in March 1977 that Saudi officials "feel their country will be exposed to any new war in the area and for that reason are preparing to participate in such war by opening a new front in the Eilat area." (The Israeli port of Eilat is only 200 miles from the major Saudi airbase at Tabuk). U.S. Lt. General Howard Fish, director of D.O.D.'s Defense Security Assistance Agency, may have been right that these are merely "hometown statements made for the consumption of the people that they are addressing at the moment and are not necessarily representative of their policies and their actions," but on the evidence the possibility certainly cannot be excluded that they are in fact operative statements of intent. Indeed, it can be argued that the tenfold expansion of Saudi capabilities that is now underway with U.S. assistance may make it impossible for the Wahabbi kingdom not to participate in a fifth war. The new capabilities may generate their own inten-

tions and enhance the pressure within the country and from other Arab states to contribute to a common Arab effort against the Zionist enemy.

Implications

If Saudi intentions are ambiguous or appear to be leaning toward involvement in a war, the Israelis will have to take this into account. Should Israeli intelligence learn that advanced Saudi aircraft and paratroops are stationed at or transferred to bases in the northwest during a crisis, the Israeli Air Force, under duress in a multi-front war, might feel compelled to undertake pre-emptive strikes against these bases and aircraft even if the BSAP had not yet brought its forces into the war. The threat posed by F-15, F-16, or F-16L aircraft in Saudi possession would constitute a much greater additional burden on Israeli defenses than any aircraft now in the forces of the Wahabbi kingdom. If allowed to operate, they would divert IAF squadrons from other theatres; would complicate the IFF (identification friend or foe) problems of the IAF; would pose a threat to the survivability of the Hawkeye E-2C airborne early warning and control system on which Israel now depends heavily and force the diversion of Israeli F-15s from other tasks to expand the combat air patrol dedicated to defending the E-2C; and, most importantly, would very significantly enhance the threat of Saudi strikes against Israeli military and civilian targets on the ground. The Saudis, for their part, would have to assume that Israeli attacks on the northwestern airfields would be more likely than ever before, and might for this reason conclude that staying out of the war, an option that might otherwise have been feasible, is in the circumstances foreclosed by the logic of the new situation. Thus, the transfer of advanced combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia might set in motion a cycle of defensive/pre-emptive calculations on both sides. The consequences of such a train of events for the postwar orientation of Saudi Arabia and its posture vis-a-vis the United States must be taken into account by American planners who would otherwise favor the sale of advanced warplanes to the BSAP.

W. SAUDI CAPABILITIES IN A FUTURE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The potential involvement of Saudi forces in a future Arab-Israeli conflict would be worrisome under any circumstances. However, they are most troubling given the major development of Saudi offensive capability that will have a dramatic impact in the environment of the 1980's. Within that time frame Saudi Arabia will have advanced far down the road toward completing modernization of its armed forces; moreover, it will be in a position to threaten Israel directly from positions well within the range of any advanced attack fighter that the U.S. might transfer.

Expansion and modernization of the Saudi armed forces

The systematic expansion of the Saudi Arabian armed forces is reflected in the following allocations to the Ministry of Defense and Aviation since 1972:

	[In millions]
1972-73	\$1,002
1973-74	1,828
1974-75	2,490
1975-76	6,419
1976-77	9,912

Current Saudi defense expenditures are therefore nearly equal to those of Britain, France, and Germany, and are more than twice those of Israel. Saudi oil revenues during the coming five years are projected at more than \$35 billion per year, and given the

limitations on absorptive capacity in the civilian sector, it is reasonable to assume that military outlays will continue at high levels (as is projected in the current five-year plan).

Moreover, the Saudis are not merely buying an inventory of weapons but are engaged in a thorough and systematic program to develop from the ground up a complete military infrastructure, including airfields, naval port facilities, radar and communications systems, supply depots and related logistical support, and maintenance and repair facilities, as well as thorough training of personnel to maintain, operate, repair, command, and administer the weapons and facilities. Whereas the Libyans, by contrast, are acquiring large amount of equipment but lack an infrastructure commensurate with their weapons inventory levels, Saudi Arabia is acquiring basing, operating, and maintenance facilities which exceed the requirements of current inventories and lay the groundwork for future growth. The United States Department of Defense has contributed to the development of a master plan through the completion of a study in 1974 (updated in 1976) surveying Saudi defense modernization needs for the next ten years. Prior to this study, there was no overall plan for development, and modernization was proceeding in a disjointed fashion without established goals or priorities for implementation. The U.S. survey team, at Saudi request, examined the potential threat environment and the current status of existing Saudi armed forces, and, after consideration of such limiting factors as trained or trainable manpower, made recommendations for future development. As a result, \$1.75 of the \$12.1 billion in cumulative U.S. FMS orders by Saudi Arabia through FY 1976 has been for aircraft and hardware. Thus, the real capability of the Saudi armed forces for current and sustained operations will, when these programs are completed, be significantly greater than a mere counting-the-beans comparison with other states such as Libya might suggest.

The sheer quantitative expansion of Saudi air capabilities is also impressive. The following table shows the growth in the number of combat aircraft and their total weapons payload (in single sortie tons deliverable) from 1962 through 1983, assuming the sale of 60 F-15s, F-16s, or F-16Ls.

	[In tons]	(1)
1962 (est.)	16	20
1967	20	30
1973	71	124
1977	137	282
1983 (F-15)	191	826
1983 (F-16)	191	826
1983 (F-16L)	191	826

(1) Total combat aircraft.
* Total weapons payload.

By 1983, there will have been a tenfold increase in the number of combat aircraft compared to 1967 and a threefold increase since 1973. The increase in weapons payload will be even greater; in the F-15 case, for example, an increase of 2700% over 1967 and 500% over 1973. And the new aircraft will be superior in range, maneuverability, top speed, low-level penetration capability, avionics, weapons delivery equipment, electronic countermeasures, cannons, and missiles. The total single sortie missile payload with the F-15, for example, will be 450 air-to-air missiles and 240 air-to-surface missiles in 1983, compared to the 1973 total of 100 relatively primitive air-to-air missiles

and no air-to-surface capability at all. It should also be recalled that Saudi Arabia has already been authorized to receive 1660 Mavericks and 1000 Sidewinders, in addition to any future authorization that might accompany aircraft sales.

The ability of Saudi pilots to exploit the full potential of this vast arsenal will undoubtedly be limited by manpower competence factors. However, it should be remembered that the Saudi armed forces draw upon the Beduin stock out of which the British fashioned the Jordanian Arab Legion—themselves widely recognized as one of the most effective fighting forces in the Middle East. Several qualified F-15 specialists have offered the view that the F-15 is no more difficult to operate and maintain than the F-5. In fact, the F-15 is optimized for ease of maintenance and is expected to require fewer man hours per flying hour than present American aircraft. Moreover, even if the F-15 is at 50 percent efficiency, the new equipment would represent a very significant augmentation of existing Arab capabilities.

Airbases facing Israel

Within the overall context of Saudi capabilities, one of the most interesting and troublesome developments is the growing capability of Saudi Arabia to stage aircraft in an offensive mode against potential targets in Israel.

In this regard, the most important offensive staging point would be the airbase at Tabuk, which is located in northwest Saudi Arabia near its juncture with Jordan and Israel—a mere 200 miles from Eilat and 230 miles from central Sinai. The airfield at Tabuk was built some years ago by the British, originally with an orientation to defense against the western threat (i.e., Nasser's Egypt), and has at least one runway (±15-31) in excess of 10,000 feet. More recently, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has been engaged in the design and construction of expansions at Tabuk with a value in excess of \$500 million, primarily for cantonments. In addition, the Corps is building an \$83 million Airborne School at Tabuk where Saudi infantrymen will be given paratroop training to attack or land in combat areas from assault aircraft (scheduled for completion in 1980). Tabuk has not been a major center of RSAP and paratroop activity in the past, but current development plans suggest that it is being prepared for a greater role in the future.

Indeed, during the week of November 7, 1977, a squadron of F-5's took part in maneuvers at Tabuk.

In the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, a number of civilian airfields in the northwest should be considered along with the principal military base at Tabuk. At least six could provide additional bases for F-15s, F-16s, or F-16Ls within striking range of Israel, permitting the RSAP to disperse its forces rather than concentrate them at one base vulnerable to pre-emption. Those at Hadanah, Turayf, Gurayst, Sakakah, Al-Wajh, and Ha'il have runways well in excess of the takeoff and landing requirements of these advanced fighters.

Civil airfields in Northwest Saudi Arabia and runway lengths:

Gurayst	4,700
Turayf	6,507
AlWajh	10,004
Hadanah	10,004
AlJawf	10,834
Ha'il	7,576

(Courtesy International Civil Aviation Organization and the Jeppesen Company of Denver, Colorado)

In fact, the civil airfields at Gurayst and Turayf are already being expanded for military use. The takeoff and landing requirements given by Jane's All the World's Air-

craft and Aviation Week and Space Technology are as follows (though the figures should be extended marginally for hot climates):

	Takeoff in feet	Landing in feet
F-15	900	2,500
F-16	1,700	2,650
F-16L (estimate)	1,000	2,000

As for the ground support equipment required to operate from civilian airfields, according to the F-15 and F-16 program officers at the Wright Patterson Air Force Base, as well as a number of private consultants, these aircraft could operate from civilian airfields for one day with no special equipment requirements other than fuel; could

	Tabuk	Gurayst	Turayf	Hadanah	AlJawf	AlWajh	Ha'il
Central Sinai	750	250	300	350	350	300	500
Jerusalem	300	200	200	250	350	400	500
Golan Heights	350	250	200	450	400	500	500

For comparison, the combat radii of the F-15, F-16, and F-16L carrying a full air-to-air weapons suite are at least 700, 575, and 460 miles, respectively. In summary, there are at least seven bases in Saudi Arabia from which advanced American fighter aircraft could operate effectively to participate in any future Arab-Israeli War, in addition to the possibility of operating from Jordanian, Egyptian, or Syrian airfields.

European sales

It may be argued that if the United States declines to provide state-of-the-art combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia, the Wahhabi Kingdom has the option to turn to European suppliers for such alternatives as the French F-1. Too often, the thesis that "if we don't do it, somebody else will" has been accepted to justify American sales that are not warranted in themselves. In the present case, French equipment would create some additional problems for the Arab-Israeli balance (such as the greater ease of transferability to the air forces of other Arab states already contracted to receive the F-1), but in the net assessment, European sales would not be as severe in their consequences as a U.S. supply agreement.

For example, the F-1 was subjected to a rigorous technical comparison with the F-16 by a NATO committee seeking a common fighter selection for Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway. The committee concluded that the F-1 is inferior to the F-16 on most combat dimensions. It compares still less favorably with the F-15. Also, European aircraft are more difficult to operate and maintain, and a Saudi mix of American F-5s with French F-1s would compound the inter-operability, standardization, and maintenance problems of the RSAP, resulting in a lower net combat potential. And unlike American aircraft transfers, F-1 sales would be less likely to generate follow-on demands for AWACS or the Grumman E2-C. (France does not produce an equivalent airborne radar system with overland capabilities, and the United States would be under less pressure to provide what the Saudis might regard as a natural complement to the American aircraft). Also, F-1s in place of F-15s or F-16s would reduce the DEF problems of the Israeli Air Force, as the French models are not likely to be deployed by the Israeli side—and to this extent, they would lessen the necessity to pre-empt. Finally, the United States would not be in the position of supplying both sides in any hostilities that did erupt.

Conclusions

The sale of advanced American combat aircraft to Saudi Arabia is tempting for many financial and political benefits that might accompany such a relationship. In the short

operate for one week with a minimal set of organizational level aerospace ground equipment (AGE, such as loading and oil service equipment) plus an appropriate amount of fuel, ordnance, and spares; and for three weeks or more with full base-level AGE maintenance equipment. The requirements increase with the length of service, but in the most likely case of an Arab-Israeli war of less than three weeks duration, all of the required ground support could be flown into the bases on available tankers and small transport planes. The approximate distances in miles (on a straight line) between Tabuk and the six civil airfields in northwestern Saudi Arabia and possible targets in central Sinai, central Israel, and the Golan Heights are as follows:

run, it is obvious that an agreement to sell would enhance our influence with the most important state of the Arabian peninsula. But in the longer-term perspective, such an arrangement might well rebound to the detriment of American interests in the area. It would encourage Saudi Arabia to become a full-fledged confrontation state in the Arab-Israeli conflict, with all the difficulties that such a development would imply. And in the event of another round of hostilities between Israel and the Arabs, Saudi Arabia could very well emerge from a war with a changed attitude toward the United States.

The diplomatic position of the United States may make it impossible for the Carter Administration not to push the sale of F-15s or F-16s to the Saudis. But in this instance, the Congress is in a position to serve the higher interests of the United States, and to do for the Executive branch what it may be unable to do for itself: to stop an arms export agreement that can only lead to another escalation of tensions in the Middle East.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 9375, SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1978

REPORT OF

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 30, 1977

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion.

I do not lightly suggest to my colleagues that they recommit this very important piece of legislation, but I believe that not to do so would be to do an injustice to many people who depend upon rail service as their primary means of transportation. These people deserve reasonable and efficient rail service.

The conferees have wisely ordered DOT and Amtrak to provide the Congress with detailed recommendations on a complete nationwide rail passenger system, a system that would provide reasonable and efficient service to the country. This study will be available by the time that the Congress considers next year's appropriations, but it is not available to us now.

All that is now available to the Congress are Amtrak's piecemeal decisions

10/26/76 2/2

REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTOPHER J. DODD (Democrat - Connecticut)

Biographical Information

Hometown: Norwich, Conn.; born in Willimantic, Conn., May 27, 1944; Georgetown Preparatory School, 1959-62; B.A., English literature, Providence College, 1963-66; J.D., University of Louisville School of Law, 1970-72; admitted to Connecticut Bar, 1973; served in U.S. Army, 1969-75; Peace Corps Volunteer, Dominican Republic, 1966-68; married.

Political Information

The 2nd district is the eastern half of the state. The district has Yankee villages and high-income summer and retirement colonies. Traditional Yankee Republicanism has some strength in the middle-sized mill towns but the third generation ethnics in other parts makes the area a bellwether district.

Dodd, 32, is the son of former Congressman (1953-57) and Senator (1959-71) Thomas J. Dodd. The elder Dodd was a vocal anti-communist, and a major force behind gun control.

LBJ considered Dodd for Vice-President in 1964 and was later attacked for misusing government and campaign funds.

Thomas Dodd was a staunch supporter of Israel and Chris' congressional office walls are covered with pictures of his father with Israeli leaders.

Term Began:

January, 1975

Committees:

Judiciary
Science and Technology

Legislative Record:

Dodd has had a very good record in Congress on Israeli-related issues. Despite his votes against foreign aid bills in 1975, he voted for all aid bills this year.

After voting against the FY 1975 aid bill, Dodd drafted a letter to the President cosigned by 28 representatives explaining that the negative vote was not a vote against Israel but against other programs "to which we had serious objections." The letter described the U.S. commitment to Israel as "reasonable" and a "vital part of our foreign policy which should



Christopher J. Dodd
North Stonington (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

Legislative Record (Cont.)

be continued."

Although voting for the Sinai technicians resolution, Dodd issued a press release on October 22, 1975 expressing reservations about the cost of the accord and the lack of limitation on stationing U.S. civilians in the Sinai. He also voiced doubts about supplying Pershing missiles to Israel.

In July, 1975, Dodd visited the Soviet Union as part of the Judiciary Committee delegation. After he returned he cosigned a letter to Ford urging him to seek specific guarantees for human rights and freedom of movement in any declaration he signs in Helsinki.

On November 10, 1975, Dodd declared that the U.N.'s Zionism resolution "is a direct endorsement of the racist, anti-Semitism which throughout history has denied human rights to Jews..."

On July 15, 1976, Dodd applauded the Israeli rescue in Uganda.

Dodd has been extremely active on Romanian and Soviet Jewry issues. He has cosponsored numerous letters, and resolutions on the plight of Soviet Jews and on October 1, 1976 he introduced a resolution along with Rep. Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) and Rep. Edward Koch (D-N.Y.) calling on Romania to cease human rights restrictions or risk losing most-favored-nation status.

Dodd has also been active in anti-Arab boycott activities. In a September 28, 1976 press release he declared "shock and outrage" at the reported Saudi threat to impose an oil embargo owing to boycott provisions in the Export Administration Act.

Dodd sent a letter, cosigned by a number of colleagues, to the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Banking Committee urging resistance to efforts to weaken anti-boycott provisions. "We must hold firm against this blackmail, so as to reinforce our commitment to Israel..."



Handwritten signature and initials in blue ink.

יב' שבט תשל"ז
31 ינו' 77

Handwritten signature: וועלס

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

מאת: צבי רפיה, וושינגטון

הנדון: שיחה עם המורשת כריסטופר DODD

נפגשתי בשבוע החולף לצהריים עם כריסטופר DODD, חבר ביה"נ, דמוקרט, מקונטיקט, DODD היה, כידוע, מראשי הפעילים בחנועת המחאה בביה"נ נגד שחרור אבו-דאוד. את הפגישה יזמתי אני כדי להודות לו על כך.

מבאתיו ידידותי ביותר ואוהד בלהב לישראל. שמח לשמוע שאנו מודעים לפעולותיו למעננו ומעריכים אותן. סיפר כי אשתו - שאיננה יהודיה - משתוקקת, ללמוד עברית והוא שוקל שיגור ארצה בקיץ ללמוד עברית באולפן. הבטחתי לו מלוא עזרתנו והזמנתי גם אותו לבקר בארץ. אמר שישמח לעשות זאת בהזדמנות ראשונה.

נחתי לו האור טלא ומפורט של עמדתנו בנושאים המזה"תיים השונים. האזין בחשומת לב מרובה והסכים עם הכל.

DODD בן 33, פתחיל עתה את שנתו השלישית בביה"נ. יש לו אפביציות לרוץ לסינט, נגד ריביקוף, ב-1980.

בקיצור, היחה זו שיחה נעימה...

Handwritten signature and initials in blue ink.

העתק: המנכ"ל

המשנה למנכ"ל.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

19

DATE: 10/10/54
BY: [Signature]

TO: THE DIRECTOR
FROM: [Signature]

RE: [Redacted]

On 10/10/54, [Redacted] advised that [Redacted] had been [Redacted] in [Redacted] on 10/9/54. [Redacted] stated that [Redacted] had been [Redacted] in [Redacted] on 10/9/54. [Redacted] stated that [Redacted] had been [Redacted] in [Redacted] on 10/9/54.

[Redacted] stated that [Redacted] had been [Redacted] in [Redacted] on 10/9/54. [Redacted] stated that [Redacted] had been [Redacted] in [Redacted] on 10/9/54. [Redacted] stated that [Redacted] had been [Redacted] in [Redacted] on 10/9/54.

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Very truly yours,
[Signature]

[Signature]

בלתי מסווג

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס

מט 266

גשלה 171800 ינו 77

אל: המשרד

מאת: רושינגטון

מילדי

מצמא

אבו דאוד.

ב-15 דנא שלח המורשה קריסטופר סססס, דמוקרט מקונטיקנט מברק מתאח אל נשיא צרפת. המברק שובר ישירות לנשיא. אל סססס הצטרפו 28 מעמיתיו.

החוזמים:

להלן נוסח המברק ושמות

TO: H.E. VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE
ELYSEE PALACE
PARIS FRANCE

DEAR MR PRESIDENT:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WOULD LIKE TO CONVEY OUR STRONG SENSE OF INDIGNATION AT YOUR GOVERNMENT'S RELEASE OF PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ABU DAUD ON GROUNDS THAT "NO LEGAL BASIS" EXISTED FOR HIS EXTRADITION. THROUGH THIS ACT, FRANCE HAS BLATANTLY AFFRONTED THE WORLD'S SENSE OF JUSTICE, AND SHOWN A REGRETTABLE DISREGARD FOR HER OWN MORAL OBLIGATION AS A WORLD LEADER. SUCH AN ACT OF MORAL COWARDICE CANNOT HELP RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE MAKING SERIOUS EFFORTS TO PUT AN END TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. SINCERELY U.S. REPRESENTATIVES CHRISTOPHER J. DODD (CT.), JOHN BRADEMAS (IND.), MICHAEL HARRINGTON (MASS.), EDWARD I. KOCH (N.Y.), SIDNEY R. YATES (ILL.), BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL (N.Y.), ROBERT W. EDGAR (PENN.), LESTER L. WOLFF (N.Y.), PAUL E. TSONGAS (MASS.), ANDREW MAGUIRE (N.J.), CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI (WIS.), STEVE J. SOLARZ (N.Y.), MILLICENT FENWICK (N.J.), L.H. FOUNTAIN (N.C.), BENJAMIN A. GILMAN (N.Y.), CLARENCE D. LONG (MD.), DAVID OBEY (WIS.), HAMILTON FISH JR. (N.Y.), ROBERT F. DRIMAN (MASS.), DANTE B. FASCELL (FLA.), JOSHUA EILBERG (PA.), THOMAS N. DOWNEY (N.Y.), SHIRLEY CHISHOI (N.Y.), JOE MOAKLEY (MASS.), ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN (N.Y.), MORRIS K. UDALL (ARIZ.), ELLIOTT H. LEVITAS (GA.), THOMAS P. O'NEILL (MASS.), WILLIAM J. HUGHES (N.J.).

AD KAN
RAFIAC! ==

שוח רותם שהבט מנכל ממנכל סמנכל מעת הסברה מצמא אידרופת א מדתיס חקר דט אמן תעוד אילטר

רע/יל

TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 11/15/68

SUBJECT: [Illegible]

RE: [Illegible]

NY 100-100000

Reference is made to New York airtel dated 11/14/68 and Bureau airtel dated 11/14/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of a letterhead memorandum.

Very truly yours,
[Illegible Signature]

TOP SECRET
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WOULD LIKE TO CONVEY OUR SINCERE REGRETS AT YOUR GOVERNMENT'S REBuke OF ALBERTA AN BEAR RICE ABU LADON ON GROUNDS THAT "NO LEGAL BASIS" EXISTED FOR HIS EXTRADITION THROUGH THIS ACT. FRANCE HAS BEATENLY ANNOTATE THE WORLD'S SERIES OF JUSTICE, AND DOWN A REINTEGRATION BOARD FOR HER OWN MUTUAL OBLIGATION AS A WORLD LEADER, SUCH AS T. MORAN CONSIDER CANNOT HELP RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE MAKING SERIOUS EFFORTS TO PUT AN END TO THESE TERRORISM. SINCERELY OUR REPRESENTATIVES CHRISTOPHER (NY-100-100000) JOHN BRADENAS (IND.), MICHAEL HARRI, GONZALEZ, EDWARD (NY-100-100000) STONEY (NY-100-100000) BENJAMIN (NY-100-100000) ROBERT W. EDGAR (NEW YORK), ESTER J. WOLFE, W. J. (NY-100-100000) STEVE (NY-100-100000) ANDRE (NY-100-100000) CHERIE (NY-100-100000) A. SOLERS (NY-100-100000) MILITARY REVIEW (NY-100-100000) BENJAMIN A. BLISS (NY-100-100000) CLARENCE D. LONG (NY-100-100000) HAMILTON FISH JR. (NY-100-100000) ROBERT E. DRIM (NY-100-100000) PASCELL (FLA.), JOSHUA E. HARRIS (PA.), THOMAS J. DUNN (NY-100-100000) SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (NY-100-100000) DE HOLLANDY (MASS.), H. S. HOLTSMAN (NY-100-100000) MORRIS W. ADAMI (NY-100-100000) LEONARD (NY-100-100000) THOMAS P. DAMELL (MASS.), WILLIAM W. HARRIS (NY-100-100000)

AD KAL
PASCELL

cc: [Illegible]



CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL

100 MONTGOMERY STREET
SUITE 1000
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104
415-2788

קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
סן פרנציסקו

ת"ר
ק/ארכים (בלשנים)

657

יה באב חשל"ח
21 באוגוסט 1978

אל זבי רפיה, השגרירות, וושינגטון
מא הקונכ"ל, סן פרנציסקו

הנדון: קונגרסמן דלומס מאוקלנד, קליפורניה

ראה נא גזיר העתונות הרצ"ב בקשר לנ"ל.

בברכה,

מ. ארציאלי
מ. ארציאלי

העק: מצפ"א ✓

Richmond, CA
(Contra Costa Co.)
Independent
(Cir. 6xW. 33,407)

AUG 11 1978

Allen's P. C. B Est. 1888

'Dellums pro-USSR, pro-Fidel, pro-Arab'

Editor: 349

I am surprised that Rep. Ronald V. Dellums' "Report to the 8th District" for this summer has not elicited more editorial comment, particularly as to its featured foreign policy statements.

Dellums always seems to take the side of the USSR against his hated Pentagon, and he certainly is the most outspoken fan of Fidel Castro and his "stabilizing" (to quote Andrew Young) Cubans in Africa.

I just wonder how many of his constituents share Dellums' preference of the Arabs over Israel and of Rhodesia's black Marxist terrorists over the moderate blacks in the Salisbury government. The recent massacre of missionaries and their families did not even cause a raised eyebrow among Dellums and his friends in the Carter administration. I don't think it is funny when someone in Washington was quoted as saying: "What do you want? They did not even eat them."

A.C. WEINSTEIN
El Cerrito

REPRESENTATIVE RONALD V. DELLUMS (D-Calif.)

02183

Term began: 1971
Home town: Berkeley
Committees: Armed Services; District of Columbia

Negative record on Israel. Voted against \$2.2 billion emergency military authorization after Yom Kippur War for Israel. Votes against all military aid bills. Has cosponsored few pro-Israel resolutions. He did cosponsor Bingham resolution disapproving HAWK missile sale to Jordan. Did not sign Black Caucus statement on Israel and U.N. criticizing Arabs for ostracizing Israel.

In response to a 1976 questionnaire said: favours PLO participation in the Middle East negotiations; favors military and economic aid to Israel but "with limitations"; favours granting U.S. trade benefits to countries denying citizens the right to emigrate (although he did support the Jackson-Vanik freedom of emigration amendment); says "were I convinced that Israel's imminent survival depended on an American arms shipment, I would fight for that policy", but emphasizes he believes economic assistance is more positive than military aid.

816-13

Term began: 1973
Home town: Prince George's County
Committee: Armed Services; District of Columbia

Generally opposes foreign aid legislation. Did support \$2.2 billion military emergency authorization after Yom Kippur War for Israel. Mixed record on other legislation of concern to Israel. Supported the stationing of American technicians in the Sinai and the Jackson-Vanik freedom of emigration amendment. Voted against the Export Administration Act including legislation to combat the Arab boycott.

10/10/13
11/2/13

1



26 בדצמבר 1978

א ל: מר ג. רנון, מנהל מצפ"א
מאת: נ. חמיר, וושינגטון

הנדון: התבטאות סנטור דנפורת - טאיוואן

בלוטה - פרסום הודעה דנפורת בנדון. הדברים מדברים בעד

עצמם.

משיחה עם ידידי סמרק אדלמן, עוזרו של סנטור דנפורת, אני
למד כי הסנטור החליט וביודיעין לא לציין בהודעתו ההקשר בין הנושא
הטאיוואני לבין ישראל. זאת, עקב הבנתו והכרתו שאין בשימת דגש על-
כך לשרת עמדותינו.

בברכה

נ. חמיר

העתיק:

מר א. עברון, השגריר כאן
מר ח. בר-און, הציר כאן

EMBAZY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



EMBAZY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

1976-05-20

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: AMBASSADOR, TEL AVIV

RE: [REDACTED]

On 5/19/76, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had been [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] on 5/18/76.

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had been [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] on 5/18/76. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had been [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] on 5/18/76. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had been [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] on 5/18/76.

END

1976-05-20

AMERICAN LEGATION
TEL AVIV
1976-05-20

news from . . .

Senator Jack Danforth

— Missouri

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Thursday, December 21, 1978

contact: Carrie Francke
202-224-6154

DANFORTH WANTS ASSURANCES ON SECURITY OF TAIWAN

(Washington)--When Congress convenes January 15, 1979, Senator Jack Danforth (R-Mo.) will introduce a resolution to assure continued U.S. military support for the security of Taiwan. Following is Danforth's statement and resolution:

Recognition of the People's Republic of China and, with it, termination of the defense treaty with Taiwan has been anticipated since the Shanghai Communique of 1972.

I think we should have received more definite assurances from the People's Republic with respect to the future of Taiwan. I believe that the United States must continue to furnish Taiwan with sufficient arms to provide for its security. In order to enhance the future security of Taiwan, I will introduce a resolution when the Senate convenes calling for a forceful American response to support Taiwan should the People's Republic of China resort to force.

--30--

(Resolution Attached)

Senate Resolution

96th Congress

Whereas, the United States of America and the People's Republic of China have recognized each other and established diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979;

Whereas, the President notified the Republic of China on January 1, 1979 that the United States will terminate our Mutual Defense Treaty with it on January 1, 1980;

Whereas, in announcing this historic event on December 15, 1978, the President correctly stated that "we will continue to have an interest in the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue;"

Whereas, the United States has received no explicit assurances from the People's Republic of China that it will not employ force to reunite Taiwan with the Mainland: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that in the event of military aggression by the People's Republic of China against the people and territory of Taiwan, the United States must:

- Terminate diplomatic and commercial relations with the People's Republic of China,
- Provide military assistance to the people of Taiwan on an urgent basis,
- Bring the matter to the prompt attention of the United Nations Security Council with the objective of bringing the hostilities to an immediate end,
- Take what other actions are necessary to bring the aggression to an end and thereby secure a peaceful future for the people of Taiwan.



י"ח באב תשל"ח
21 באוג' 1978

מ"ן סגל
- (סגל)

א ל: מר מ. יובל, יועץ מדיני
מר ש. רמתי, מנהל המוצו.

הנדון: יזמת סנטור דנמורה
ציון השואה

1. כזכור קיבלה ועדת המשפטים של הסינט, בראשות סנטור איסטלנד, הצעה התיקון הקובעת כי ציון השואה יהול בשנת 1979.
2. בלוטה - פרסום הועדה הקובעת התיקון לעיל והמפרט מטרת ההחלטה. אנא תשומת לבך לדברי ההסבר בעמ' 3 של הפרסום הקובעים כי להחלטה מטרה כפולה, דהיינו: ציון השואה הנאצית ואיזכור מעשי הזוועה המבוצעים בהווה.

ב ב ר כ ה
נח"י המיר

העמק: מצפ"א ✓

EXTRAORDINARY
AMERICAN



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON D.C.

1978 APR 21

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: AMERICAN

RE: [Illegible]

- 1. [Illegible]
- 2. [Illegible]

APR 21 1978

[Illegible]

Calendar No. 911

95TH CONGRESS }
2d Session }

SENATE

{ REPORT
{ No. 95-980

DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE OF VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST

JULY 12 (legislative day, MAY 17), 1978.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S.J. Res. 135]

The Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 135) to authorize and request the President to proclaim the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust," having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with an amendment and an amendment to the title and recommends that the joint resolution as amended be agreed to.

AMENDMENTS

1. On page 2, lines 6 and 7, strike the words "each year" and insert "1979" in lieu thereof.
2. Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution designating the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as 'Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.'"

PURPOSE OF AMENDMENTS

The purpose of the amendments is to amend the joint resolution so as to alter the authorization from a perpetual observance to one which will be observed in 1979.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the joint resolution is to authorize the President to designate the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

STATEMENT

Senate Joint Resolution 135 establishes the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust." The resolution authorizes and requests the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the American people to honor the memory of the victims of the Nazi concentration camps and to reflect upon the pernicious nature of bigotry and the danger of tyranny with appropriate ceremonies and prayers. April 29 was the date in 1945 that the 7th U.S. Army liberated the Dachau concentration camp, one of the first concentration camps built by the Nazis. The resolution provides that the "Days of Remembrance" occur during the weekend so that those of us who wish to commemorate those days on our Sabbaths are able to do so.

The horrors of World War II and the inhumanity of the so-called "final solution" is within the personal memory of most of us in the Senate. However, many younger Americans do not have a personal memory of that period.

We must keep the memory of the concentration camps vivid; we must not forget the atrocities that were committed. We must not forget the millions of people who were murdered as a part of a planned program of extermination.

Six million Jews as well as millions of others were murdered by the Nazis. When numbers are very large, they often lose their reality. When we talk in terms of millions, it is easy for the mind to glide over the numbers—seeing only impersonal statistics. But to understand the horror of that period, we must realize that the numbers are not just statistics. Each number represents a human being—an individual who had a personal, unique history. Each person killed by the Nazis felt happiness and pain, experienced triumphs and defeats, had a network of family and friends. The victims of the Nazi holocaust were doctors, shopowners, professors, scientists, laborers—in the mainstream of European society.

While the atrocities committed by the Nazis are shocking, they are not isolated events in history. The Jews, as a people, have been the object of much persecution throughout history. It is imperative that they never again face the threat of destruction with no homeland to which to turn. But we need only to examine history to realize that the Jews are not the only ones to experience man's inhumanity. Other similar situations are occurring in the world right now.

The refugees who have escaped from Cambodia have begun to report to the rest of the world the dimensions of the Cambodian holocaust: stories of forced marches, mass killings, a rising death toll from beatings, shootings, and starvation. Phnom Penh, a thriving city of 2 million people just a few years ago has been decimated, with fewer than 30,000 still in the city. The victims in this case are not Jews, but former government employees, soldiers, and those with an education. The death toll has been estimated as high as 2.5 million people—out of a total population of 7 million. Here again, the numbers are difficult to grasp but each number represents an individual human being. And it is not just in Cambodia. In Uganda, up to 300,000 people have been ruthlessly murdered since 1971 when Idi Amin took power. And elsewhere in the world there are other persecutions and acts of terrorism.

It is important that we set aside days to reflect upon the horror of these massacres and to recommit ourselves each year to continue to stand up for the rights of the oppressed. However, it is not enough to feel horror at the massacre of millions of people.

The events in Nazi Germany, Cambodia, and Uganda are of a magnitude and degree of cruelty almost impossible to comprehend. However, they are rooted in the same intolerance and bigotry which is present to some degree in most of us. Any time we have ridiculed and degraded others or heard a derisive epithet and said nothing we have engaged in the same meanness of spirit which makes oppression possible.

A democratic form of government which rests on a mutual respect of the ideas of others and which acknowledges the equality of all serves as a check on that meanness of spirit. However, we must be vigilant always against bigotry and tyranny. We should, from time to time, reflect upon the acts of cruelty and oppression that have been committed in the past, and continue to be committed today, recognizing that none of us is truly free until all of us are free.

The "Days of Remembrance" will serve a twofold purpose. Specifically, it is a time designated to remember the Nazi holocaust—the event itself—and the individual people who suffered horribly, while the entire world watched. More generally, the "Days of Remembrance" will be a time for all of us to reflect upon the Nazi holocaust as a symbol—as a symbol of atrocities that are being committed today. The "Days of Remembrance" should be a time to reconfirm our belief in the equality of all people and to recommit ourselves each year to continue to stand up for the rights of the oppressed.

For these reasons, the committee believes it appropriate that the President proclaim the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

Accordingly, the committee recommends favorable consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 135 with amendments.

COST

The enactment of this legislation involves no direct additional expenditure to the Government.



December 22, 1977

REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE E. DANIELSON (Democrat-California)

Term Began: 1971

Committees: International Relations--Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East; Judiciary; Veterans' Affairs

Consistently supports foreign aid and pro-Israel resolutions but is not an activist. During Congressional hearing, said until Palestinian homeland question is resolved, there won't be peace. He said "at the very least, the homeland must be acceptable to the majority of Palestinians."

Danielson wanted to serve on the International Relations Committee in order to participate on Committee trips abroad. On last visit to Middle East, he was most affected by Egyptian poverty.

כל המסד חוק מסמך זה, כולו
או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך
לכך - עובר על החוק לתיקון
דיני העונשין (בטחון) המדינה
יחסייחוק וסודות רשמיים).
תשי"ז - 1957.

משרד החוק

מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס - מסווג

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מ/ק/א/י

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מס' 32434

נשלח : 131100 דצמ 75

אל : המשרד

מאת: רוסינגטון

מצפא.

במגשתי היום עם סנטור DOMENICI (רפובליקני מניו ז'רזי) במשרדו לפי בקשתו

ותדריכתי אותו לגבי עמדתנו ביחס לאום, החלטות מועכביט האחרונות והסיוע לישראל
הנידון עתה בקונגרס.

סנטור אמר בין השאר כי יצביע בעד חוק הסיוע "איך אוכל להצביע נגד" אם כי

ייתכנו קיצוצים בכל החוק, וכי הוא תומך במאמצי הנשיא וקיסינג'ר (לחבדיל מתאום ומועצת הבטחון)

לחשיג הסדר במזחה. עוד אמר הנשיא וקיסינג'ר אינם מעריכים נכונה את הגובה העם האמריקני.

ארחב צריכת להציב בתוקף על החנהגות בריהם באנגולה. אין הכרה לשגר חיילים אמריקניים

לאנגולה. יש שיחות טאלט ויש גם סין. אין להרחע גם פתמיכת כדרום אפריקה. העם האמריקני יכין

אמ

רפיח

שחח רחמ מנכ"ל ממנכל י. רכביב אריגוב רוזן אבידר מצפא וקר רם אמך

צג/אמ

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2072 10/26/76
October 26, 1976

Confidential

REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE E. DANIELSON (Democrat - California)

Biographical Information



George E. Danielson
of Monterey Park (30th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term

Home - Monterey Park; lawyer, California State legislator, special agent, FBI, Assistant United States Attorney; Naval Reserve officer; born Wasua, Nebr., February 20, 1915; Wayne State College, Wayne, Nebr., and graduated from University of Nebraska with B.A. (1937) and J.D. (1939) degrees; elected to California State Legislature as Assemblyman, 48th District, 1962; elected State senator 1966; U.S. Department of Justice background includes service as a special agent of the FBI (1939-44) with special assignments in Latin America and to the United States Senate; and as Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of California (1949-51); Navy veteran, World War II; lieutenant, U.S. Naval Reserve.

Political Information

Danielson's district is becoming increasingly the home of Los Angeles' middle income Mexican American community. Danielson speaks some Spanish in trying to gain votes. Since staving off a strong Chicano challenge in the 1974 primary and making an impressive showing in the impeachment hearings, Danielson has had little to worry about his seat.

Term Began

January, 1971

Committees

Judiciary
Veterans' Affairs

Legislative Record

He has voted for all foreign and bills. He voted for the Sinai resolution. He has cosponsored all major resolutions favorable to Israel. Danielson has been a cosponsor on every bill and resolution on Soviet Jewry and has spoken out in support of their cause.

He was one of 19 Representatives who went to Romania and the Soviet Union in August of 1975.

In February of 1976, Danielson introduced an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act to provide humanitarian aid to Lebanon.



גם
דאז איז געווען גענוג

19 ביולי 1978

א ל: מר מ. יובל, יועה מדיני
מר ש. רמתי, מנהל תפוצות

מאח: נ. המיר, וושינגטון

הנדון: ציון יום השואה - יוזמת סנטור דנפורת
למברקנו 199

- א. בהמשך למברקנו שבסימוכין - בלוטה פרסום רשומה הקונגרס הסוקר תהליך קבלת היוזמה במליאת הסנט ב-14 דנא.
- ב. מפנה תשומת לבכם כי וועדת החקיקה של הסנט באשוח סנטור איסטלנד - החליטה על התיקון דלהלן בהצעתו במקור של דנפורת:
To alter the observance from a perpetual observance to one which will be observed in 1979.
- ג. החקון לעיל - לדברי מרק אדלמן עוזרו של דנפורת - נובע עקב קיום תקנה הקובעת כי קיים צורך בהודש הבקשה לקיום הארוע מדי שנה בשנה.
כאשר הגיש דנפורת הצעתו - לא היה מודע לכך.

בברכה

נ. המיר

נ. המיר

העמק:

מצפ"א

1952



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

1952

TO: THE DIRECTOR
OF THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RE: [Illegible]
[Illegible]

[Illegible text block containing several lines of typed or printed text, possibly a memorandum or report header]

[Illegible signature or stamp]

[Illegible text at bottom left]

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar Order No. 911. This has been cleared on all sides.

The Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 135) designating the weekend of or preceding April 29 of each year as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust," which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary with an amendment on page 2, lines 6 and 7, strike the words "each year" and insert "1979".

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. President, I want to commend my colleague, Mr. DANFORTH, for his introduction of this important legislation and his vigorous support in its behalf.

By adopting this resolution, the Senate will help insure that future generations will be reminded of the need for vigilance in protecting basic human rights. As the Nazi experience demonstrated, the price for indifference is far too high to ever pay again.

Mr. President, it has now been more than 30 years since millions were murdered in Nazi concentration camps. But the Nazi horrors are as vivid today as when those atrocities were first uncovered.

The sheer enormity of this suffering is unparalleled in modern times. At least 6 million lives were lost—a number too large for most of us to comprehend.

But words and numbers alone are inadequate to convey the enormity of the Nazi destruction. That is why millions of Americans, including many of us here, were so captivated by the documentary, "Holocaust."

Never before had the fear and suffering of those years been dramatized so effectively. This was the story of only one Jewish family, the Weiss family, during those horrible years of terror, but this portrayal brought to life the full tragedy of those years.

Mr. President, as I watched "Holocaust," I asked myself, as millions of Americans did, what could be done to insure that this horror would never be repeated.

This resolution is an important step in keeping this memory alive. Remembering those who perished is one means of keeping us sensitive to recurrence of these acts in the future.

But there is still more that we can do. Not only should we pay tribute to the victims of the holocaust, we must also take measures to see that genocide will never occur again.

We can take a symbolic, a moral, and a constructive step by joining with other nations in affirming the United Nations Convention for the Prevention and Punishment and Genocide.

Ratification of the Genocide Convention is just the action we need to take. Supported by every administration since 1949 when President Truman first submitted the treaty for ratification, this convention seeks to make the commission of genocide—mass murder—a crime under international law.

This treaty has already been ratified by 82 nations, including all of our Western allies. At home, it has the support of nearly every major interest group.

Mr. President, this treaty cries out for ratification. Despite condemnation of the Nazi murders, genocide continues to-

day throughout the globe—in Uganda, Cambodia, and in Equatorial Guinea.

We can and should do more than dedicating one weekend each year in remembrance of the victims of the holocaust. We must see that there are no more victims. It is time that we moved to outlaw the crime of genocide.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 98-980), explaining the purposes of the measure.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE OF AMENDMENTS

The purpose of the amendments is to amend the joint resolution so as to alter the authorization from a perpetual observance to one which will be observed in 1979.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the joint resolution is to authorize the President to designate the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

STATEMENT

Senate Joint Resolution 135 establishes the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust." The resolution authorizes and requests the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the American people to honor the memory of the victims of the Nazi concentration camps and to reflect upon the pernicious nature of bigotry and the danger of tyranny with appropriate ceremonies and prayers. April 29 was the date in 1945 that the 7th U.S. Army liberated the Dachau concentration camp, one of the first concentration camps built by the Nazis. The resolution provides that the "Days of Remembrance" occur during the weekend to that those of us who wish to commemorate those days on our Sabbaths are able to do so.

The horrors of World War II and the inhumanity of the so-called "final solution" is within the personal memory of most of us in the Senate. However, many younger Americans do not have a personal memory of that period.

We must keep the memory of the concentration camps vivid; we must not forget the atrocities that were committed. We must not forget the millions of people who were murdered as a part of a planned program of extermination.

Six million Jews as well as millions of others were murdered by the Nazis. When numbers are very large, they often lose their reality. When we talk in terms of millions, it is easy for the mind to glide over the numbers—seeing only impersonal statistics. But to understand the horror of that period, we must realize that the numbers are not just statistics. Each number represents a human being—an individual who had a personal, unique history. Each person killed by the Nazis felt happiness and pain, experienced triumphs and defeats, had a network of family and friends. The victims of the Nazi holocaust were doctors, shopowners, professors, scientists, laborers—in the mainstream of European society.

While the atrocities committed by the Nazis are shocking, they are not isolated events in history. The Jews, as a people, have been the object of much persecution throughout history. It is imperative that they never again face the threat of destruction with no homeland to which to turn. But we need only to examine history to realize that the Jews are not the only ones to experience man's inhumanity. Other similar situations are occurring in the world right now.

The refugees who have escaped from Cambodia have begun to report to the rest of the world the dimensions of the Cambodian holocaust: stories of forced marches, mass killings, a rising death toll from beatings, shootings, and starvation. Phnom Penh, a thriving city of 2 million people just a few years ago has been decimated, with fewer than 30,000 still in the city. The victims in this case are not Jews, but former government employees, soldiers, and those with an education. The death toll has been estimated as high as 2.5 million people—out of a total population of 7 million. Here again, the numbers are difficult to grasp but each number represents an individual human being. And it is not just in Cambodia. In Uganda, up to 300,000 people have been ruthlessly murdered since 1971 when Idi Amin took power. And elsewhere in the world there are other persecutions and acts of terrorism.

It is important that we set aside days to reflect upon the horror of these massacres and to recommit ourselves each year to continue to stand up for the rights of the oppressed. However, it is not enough to feel horror at the massacre of millions of people.

The events in Nazi Germany, Cambodia, and Uganda are of a magnitude and degree of cruelty almost impossible to comprehend. However, they are rooted in the same intolerance and bigotry which is present to some degree in most of us. Any time we have ridiculed and degraded others or heard a derisive epithet and said nothing we have engaged in the same meanness of spirit which makes oppression possible.

A democratic form of government which rests on a mutual respect of the ideas of others and which acknowledges the equality of all serves as a check on that meanness of spirit. However, we must be vigilant always against bigotry and tyranny. We should, from time to time, reflect upon the acts of cruelty and oppression that have been committed in the past, and continue to be committed today, recognizing that none of us is truly free until all of us are free.

The "Days of Remembrance" will serve a twofold purpose. Specifically, it is a time designated to remember the Nazi holocaust—the event itself—and the individual people who suffered horribly, while the entire world watched. More generally, the "Days of Remembrance" will be a time for all of us to reflect upon the Nazi holocaust as a symbol—as a symbol of atrocities that are being committed today. The "Days of Remembrance" should be a time to reaffirm our belief in the equality of all people and to recommit ourselves each year to continue to stand up for the rights of the oppressed.

For these reasons, the committee believes it appropriate that the President proclaim the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

Accordingly, the committee recommends favorable consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 135 with amendments.

COST

The enactment of this legislation involves no direct additional expenditure to the Government.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution, with its preamble, is as follows:

Whereas, less than forty years ago, six million Jews as well as millions of others were murdered in Nazi concentration camps as part of a planned program of extermination;

Whereas, as the people of the United States of America should always remember the terrible atrocities committed by the Nazis so that they are never repeated;

July 14, 1978

Whereas the people of the United States should continually rededicate themselves to the principle of equality, recognizing that every act of bigotry is rooted in the same callousness and cruelty of spirit as the acts committed by the Nazis;

Whereas the people of the United States should remain eternally vigilant against all tyranny, recognizing that tyranny provides a breeding ground for bigotry to flourish;

Whereas the memory of the Dachau concentration camp remains a startling symbol of all the destructive acts of the Nazis and more generally, the capacity of people to be cruel, the pernicious quality of bigotry, and the danger of all tyranny; and

Whereas the liberation of Dachau is testimony to the ability of people to overcome cruelty and bigotry through vigilance and resistance; Therefore, it is hereby

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in memory of all those who perished in the Nazi concentration camps and in the hope that Americans will strive always to overcome cruelty and prejudice through vigilance and resistance, the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1978, the anniversary of the days in 1945 when the Dachau concentration camp was liberated by United States Armed Forces, is hereby designated as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust". The President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation each year calling upon the people of the United States to remember the atrocities committed by the Nazis and to observe those days with appropriate ceremonies and prayers.

The title was amended so as to read:

A joint resolution designating the weekend of or preceding April 29 of 1978 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed.

Mr. HATCH I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a brief period for the transaction of routine morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:10 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives delivered by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House disagrees to the amendment of the Senate to H.R. 10929, an act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1979 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, tracked combat vehicles, torpedoes, and other weapons and for research, development, test and evaluation for the Armed Forces, to prescribe the authorized personnel strength for each active duty component and the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces and for civilian personnel of the Department of Defense, to authorize the military training student loads, to authorize appropriations for civil defense, and for other purposes; agrees to the conference requested by the Senate on

the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon; and that Mr. PAICK, Mr. BENVENY, Mr. STANTON, Mr. ICHORN, Mr. NINZI, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California, Mr. LAMBERT, Mr. WHITE, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. BOB WILSON, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. WHITMURST, and Mr. SPENCE, and Mr. BOLAND, Mr. BURTON of Missouri, Mr. MINETA, and Mr. ROBINSON regarding intelligence-related activities were appointed managers of the conference on the part of the House.

COMMUNICATIONS

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following communications, together with accompanying reports, documents, and papers, which were referred as indicated:

EC-3958. A communication from the Secretary of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 to provide for assistance to new refugees; to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Human Resources, jointly, by unanimous consent.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a communication transmitted by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, relative to the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, be referred jointly to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Human Resources.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EC-3959. A communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Public Law 480 activities for fiscal year 1977; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3960. A communication from the Chairman, Indian Claims Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of final determination with respect to Docket No. 18-U, Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al., on behalf of the Chippewas of Lake Superior, plaintiffs, v. The United States of America, defendant; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EC-3961. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Administration), transmitting, pursuant to law, the second-quarter fiscal year 1978 report of receipts and disbursements pertaining to the disposal of surplus military supplies, equipment, and material, and for expenses involving the production of lumber and timber products; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EC-3962. A confidential communication from the Defense Security Assistance Agency, reporting, pursuant to law, concerning the Department of the Navy's proposed Letter of Offer to Saudi Arabia for Defense Articles estimated to cost in excess of \$25 million; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-3963. A confidential communication from the Defense Security Assistance Agency, reporting, pursuant to law, concerning the Department of the Army's proposed Letter of Offer to Kuwait for Defense Articles estimated to cost in excess of \$25 million; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-3964. A communication from the President and Chairman, Export-Import Bank of the United States, reporting, pursuant to law, with respect to a transaction involving U.S. exports to the Republic of China; to

the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-3965. A communication from the Vice President, Government Affairs, National Railroad Passenger Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on total itemized revenues and expenses, revenues and expenses of each train operated, and revenues and total expenses attributable to each railroad over which service is provided, for the month of March 1978; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3966. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Energy Policy and Conservation Act, as amended, to improve the States' capacity for energy planning and management, to provide a consolidated program of Federal financial assistance to the States to meet their respective goals for energy conservation, production and distribution, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-3967. A communication from the Secretary of the Interior, reporting, pursuant to law, that Mobil Oil Corporation has submitted an application to the Department for repayment of royalties totaling \$8,318.75 for lease OCS-G 2494, West Delta Block 33, offshore Louisiana; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-3968. A communication from the Acting Director for Congressional Affairs, Department of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a quarterly report on private grievances and redress issued by the Office of Administrative Review; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-3969. A communication from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a prospectus for alterations at the Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S. Post Office and Courthouse, in the amount of \$3,784,000; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3970. A communication from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of Building Project Survey for the Government Printing Office, in Washington, D.C.; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3971. A communication from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Appropriations of the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements (FIDCR); to the Committee on Finance.

EC-3972. A communication from the Chairman, Agricultural Technical Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations on Oils and Products, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Agreement on Trade Matters Between the United States and the United Mexican States, signed in Washington, D.C., on December 2, 1977; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-3973. A communication from the Executive Secretary, Agricultural Policy Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations, Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Agreement on Trade Matters Between the United States and the United Mexican States, signed in Washington, D.C., on December 2, 1977; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-3974. A communication from the Assistant Administrator for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, reporting, pursuant to law, an increase in the funding level of the proposed FY 1978 program in Guyana; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-3975. A communication from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Inaccurate Estimates of Western

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[Signature]
DANFORTH

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סנסור

היהודיית בטן לואים (רפובליקני ממיסורי) נאם ב-25 דבא כפני הקהילת

בנאומו הצדיק את הצבעתו בעד חבילה המטופים, חזר על תמיכתו לקהילתה בישראל ומח ביקורת קשה על הממשל על שהוא נוסח לצד הקרובים. בלין השאר אמר....

FURTHER DEMONSTRATING A TILT IN AMERICA'S MIDEAST POLICY, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REPRESENTED IN UNDERMINING ISRAEL'S STANDING IN WORLD OPINION BY REPEATEDLY BRANDING THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK AS "ILLEGAL". I CHALLENGE THE ADMINISTRATION TO PRESENT A LEGAL BRIEF JUSTIFYING THIS CLAIM. I DO NOT THINK IT CAN DO SO SUCCESSFULLY. BY CONTRAST, EUGENE ROSTOW, FORMER DEAN OF YALE UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL AND UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE, AS WELL AS OTHER MIDEAST OBSERVERS, HAVE MADE AN IMPRESSIVE LEGAL CASE THAT ISRAEL'S CLAIMS TO THE WEST BANK DO NOT VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW AND MAY, IN FACT, BE BETTER THAN JORDAN'S CLAIMS. WHILE THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS MAY NOT BE POLITICALLY WISE, I AM NOT CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE ILLEGAL. THE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMENTS IN THIS REGARD ARE NOT HELPFUL AND SERVE NO PURPOSE OTHER THAN TO CAST DOUBT ON OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL.

SIMILARLY, EVIDENCING A TILT AWAY FROM ISRAEL, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS INSISTED ON PLACING THE BLAME ON ISRAEL ALONE FOR LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

FEELING FREE TO PLACE ALL BLAME ON ISRAEL, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS YET TO EXPRESS EVEN THE SLIGHTEST DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS OF THE PLO, PRESIDENT SADAT OR KING HUSSEIN. IT WAS PRESIDENT SADAT, -AFTER ALL, WHO BROKE OFF THE TALKS IN JERUSALEM ON JANUARY 19 AND HAS REFUSED TO BEGIN THEM AGAIN. WORLDWIDE CONDEMNATION WOULD HAVE FALLEN ON PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAD HE TAKEN SUCH ACTION, AND THERE HAS BEEN ONLY A DEAFENING SILENCE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION FOLLOWING PRESIDENT SADAT'S RECENT NOT SO VEILED THREATS TO HIS TROOPS TO RESORT TO WAR IF ISRAEL DOES NOT SOON MEET HIS DEMANDS.

PRESIDENT CARTER'S MEDDLING ROLE IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT HAS BEEN INEPT, BIASED AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. FOR REASONS WHICH DEFY EXPLANATION, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REPEATEDLY INTERJECTED THE ISSUE OF THE WEST BANK INTO PEACE INITIATIVES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. THE FACT IS THAT THE WEST BANK DOES NOT

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LOGICALLY CONCERN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS. RATHER, IT IS A CONTROVERSY WHICH MUST BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN. ON JANUARY 1, 1978, KING JUSSEIN HIMSELF STATED THAT IT IS JORDAN, NOT EGYPT OR SYRIA WHICH MUST DEAL WITH THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. YET HUSSEIN REMAINS OUTSIDE THE CURRENT TALKS, WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION PRESSURES ISRAEL TO MAKE COMPROMISES ON THE WEST BANK WITH SADAT.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ERECTED AN UNNECESSARY OBSTACLE TO IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT BY RAISING THE WEST BANK QUESTION. MOREOVER, IT HAS CONSISTENTLY STATED THE QUESTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 IN THE MOST ONE SIDED WAY, EMPHASIZING THE WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORY, AND DOWNPLAYING THE ISSUES OF LASTING PEACE AND DEFENSIBLE BORDERS.

PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MADE THE MISTAKE OF SEEING HIMSELF AS THE MIDDLE MAN IN MIDEASTERN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH A ROLE IN ITSELF, EVEN IF DEFTLY EXECUTED, WHICH IT HAS NOT BEEN, SERVES AS A BARRIER TO PROGRESS IN MEANINGFUL ISRAEL-EGYPTIAN DIALOGUE. AS STEPHEN ROSENFELD POINTED OUT IN A WASHINGTON POST COLUMN LAST MAY 26, FACE TO FACE NEGOTIATIONS MANDATED BY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 ARE UNDERCUT BY AMERICAN INTERVENTION. INSTEAD OF NEGOTIATING WITH ISRAEL, PRESIDENT SADAT HAS USED THE TACTICS OF AVOIDING DIRECT DISCUSSION AND RELYING ON THE US TO EXTRACT COMPROMISES FROM ISRAEL. EGYPT APPEARS WILLING TO STALL NEGOTIATIONS AS LONG AS THE US CONTINUES TO APPLY PRESSURE ON ISRAEL FOR MORE CONCESSIONS.

IT IS CLEAR TO ME THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S MIDEASTERN POLICY HAS BEEN A FAILURE, AND THAT SIGNIFICANT CHANGES ARE CALLED FOR AT THE EARLIEST MOMENT. SUCH CHANGES ARE ESPECIALLY NECESSARY IN THE WAKE OF THE PACKAGE ARMS SALE AGREED TO LAST MONTH, WHILE IT IS, OF COURSE, HIGHLY DESIRABLE FOR THE US TO SUPPORT RELATIVELY MODERATE ARAB REGIMS, AND TO EXPAND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD, SUCH A POLICY SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY AT LEAST THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN OUR PRESENT COURSE:

1. THE US SHOULD STOP ACTING AS A MIDDLE MAN, CONSTANTLY INTERJECTING ITS VIEWS IN PEACE INITIATIVES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. WE SHOULD, INSTEAD, INSIST ON DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AS PROVIDED IN RESOLUTION 338. IF ENEMIES ARE NOT WILLING TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER, THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO HAVE PEACE.
2. THE US SHOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF WHATEVER STEPS TOWARD PEACE THE PARTIES CAN TAKE WITHOUT DEMANDING A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT

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TO ALL ISSUES IN THE MIDEAST, WE SHOULD NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE WEST BANK IN THE CONTEXT OF ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATIONS. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE AGREEMENT FIRST ON THOSE ISSUES WHICH CAN BE MOST EASILY RESOLVED, SUCH AS THE SINAI. A PARTIAL PEACE IS CERTAINLY PREFERABLE TO NO PEACE AT ALL.

3. WE SHOULD OPPOSE ANY ROLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION AS GUARANTOR OF BORDERS IN THE MIDEAST. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT A FORCE FOR PEACE, AND THE SOONER WE RECOGNIZE THIS, THE BETTER OFF WE WILL BE.

4. WE SHOULD PUT AN END TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S PRESENT POLICY OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AND READILY DISMISSING ISRAEL'S POSITION AS BEING UNREASONABLE AND INTRANSIGENT. WE SHOULD, IN SHORT, BRING AN IMMEDIATE END TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S TILT AWAY FROM ISRAEL AND TOWARD THE ARABS.

5. WE MUST REITERATE, AND THIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN LIGHT OF THE SENATE'S VOTE LAST MAY 15, OUR CONSTANT COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT OUR POSITION IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF SENTIMENT, BUT THAT IT IS A MATTER OF STRATEGIC NECESSITY. SPECIFICALLY, WE SHOULD BEGIN AT THE EARLIEST DATE, THE STEPS NECESSARY TO REDRESS THE ARMS DEFICIENCY FOR ISRAEL IN THE PACKAGES SALE JUST AGREED TO. WHILE WE HOPE TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARAB STATES, THE WORLD MUST BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT SUCH AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WILL NEVER BE PURCHASED AT THE COST OF ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION.

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המסדרה וקרה חוב ריז

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DANFORTH

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN C. DANFORTH
AT THE 16TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET OF THE ST. LOUIS RABBINICAL COLLEGE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
SUNDAY, JUNE 25, 1978

7/1/78

SOMETIME BEFORE THE VOTE ON THE MIDDLE EAST ARMS SALE, A DELEGATION FROM ST. LOUIS VISITED ME IN WASHINGTON TO EXPRESS THEIR OPPOSITION. AS THEY LEFT, I LOOKED RABBI EICHENSTEIN IN THE EYE AND SAID THAT MY FIRST CRITERION IN CASTING MY VOTE WOULD BE THE SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL.

WHILE FEW IN THIS ROOM WOULD AGREE WITH THAT VOTE, MY FIRST CRITERION WAS, IN FACT, THE SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL. YET, I MUST SAY, THAT ISRAEL'S FUTURE, THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES BECAME MERGED IN MY OWN ANALYSIS.

FOR ALL WHO ARE PASSIONATELY COMMITTED TO ISRAEL, IT IS TEMPTING TO SPEAK OF THAT COUNTRY'S INTERESTS AS THOUGH THEY EXISTED IN SPLENDID ISOLATION. THEY DO NOT. ISRAEL'S FUTURE IS INEXTRICABLY MESHED WITH THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE DRAMA OF MIDDLE EASTERN POLITICS IS, TODAY, BEING PLAYED ON A GLOBAL STAGE.

THE UNITED STATES DOES, INDEED, HAVE A STRONG SENTIMENTAL ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL. ISRAEL SHARES OUR DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE. BUT SENTIMENT ALONE CANNOT SERVE AS THE BASIS OF A NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. SENTIMENTS CAN BE FLEETING, AND POLICY MUST BE BASED ON WHAT IS BEST FOR THE LONG RANGE

NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. SENTIMENT MAKES AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL DESIRABLE. OUR SECURITY INTERESTS MAKE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL MANDATORY.

PARAMOUNT TO AMERICA'S SECURITY INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS TO PREVENT THAT REGION FROM FALLING UNDER SOVIET DOMINATION AND BEING MANIPULATED AGAINST THE WESTERN WORLD. THAT INTEREST COMPELS OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, WHICH IS THE MOST STABLE, FRIENDLY AND MILITARILY POWERFUL STATE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. THAT SAME INTEREST COMPELLED MY VOTE ON THE ARMS SALE. GIVEN THE TEST OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH THE SALE WAS MADE TO SYMBOLIZE BY CONSTANT ADMINISTRATION PRONOUNCEMENTS, THIS SINGLE TRANSACTION WOULD EXPAND OR CONTRACT OUR INFLUENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD, AND WITH IT, EXPAND OR CONTRACT THE CHANCE FOR PEACE.

AT THE TIME OF THE VOTE, THERE WAS NO REAL QUESTION THAT SAUDI ARABIA WOULD PROCURE SOPHISTICATED AIRCRAFT, EITHER FROM FRANCE, OR PERHAPS FROM THE UNITED STATES IN A SUBSEQUENTLY NEGOTIATED SALE. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF WEAPONRY ALONE, A STRONG CASE COULD BE MADE THAT THE FRENCH MIRAGE WOULD BE AT LEAST AS THREATENING TO ISRAEL AS THE F-15, BECAUSE OF OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY OF THE MIRAGE, AND THE TIMING OF ITS DELIVERY, AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY LEGAL OR PRACTICAL RESTRAINTS ON ITS USE OR TRANSFERABILITY.

BUT WEAPONRY IS NOT THE ONLY THREAT TO ISRAEL AND TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE. AT LEAST AS THREATENING IS THE SPREAD OF SOVIET INFLUENCE AND ITS ATTENDANT ARAB RADICALISM IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD.

THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT SIMPLY REGIONAL IN INTEREST. IN THAT VOLATILE AREA, THE MOST SERIOUS POSSIBILITY EXISTS OF A CONFRONTATION, NOT ONLY BETWEEN ARAB AND JEW, BUT BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES.

FOR SOME TIME, THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN EXTENDING ITS HEGEMONY IN THE ARAB WORLD. IN THIS LIGHT, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A VERY SERIOUS MATTER HAD THE UNITED STATES ISSUED A REBUFF TO EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA BY PULLING BACK FROM THE ARMS SALE.

LIBYA, IRAQ, SYRIA, SOUTH YEMEN AND ETHIOPIA ARE ALL WITHIN THE SOVIET ORBIT. THOSE COUNTRIES, SUPPORTED BY THOUSANDS OF SOVIET AND CUBAN ADVISERS HAVE AGGREGATE STANDING ARMIES OF MORE THAN 600,000 MEN, MORE THAN 5,000 TANKS, AND MORE THAN 1,000 JET AIRCRAFT.

FOR YEARS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS PERSISTENTLY STIRRED UP ANIMOSITIES AND INCREASED THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFLICT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. THEREFORE, THE ISSUE FACING THE SENATE LAST MAY 15 WAS NOT SIMPLY THE F-15 VERSUS THE MIRAGE. THE ISSUE WAS WHETHER, IN THE DYNAMICS OF MIDDLE EAST POLITICS, ARAB COUNTRIES WOULD BECOME INCREASINGLY MODERATE OR INCREASINGLY

RADICAL--INCREASINGLY WITHIN THE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, OR INCREASINGLY WITHIN THE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

HOWEVER, THE EXPANSION OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD SHOULD NOT BE THE ONLY FUNCTION OF OUR POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AMERICA MUST ACTIVELY RESIST ANY EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET POSITION, AND THE UNITED STATES MUST REAFFIRM, SO THAT ANY LINGERING DOUBTS ARE COMPLETELY REMOVED, THAT WE ARE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL. FURTHER, WE MUST MAKE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THIS ABSOLUTE COMMITMENT WILL NEVER BE SHAKEN BY OIL EMBARGOES, OR BY OIL PRICES, OR BY THE MANIPULATION OF DEPOSITS IN AMERICAN BANKS. PRIOR TO THE SALE, I WAS PERSONALLY ASSURED BY THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD AND BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF SAUDI ARABIA THAT NO ENERGY OR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WOULD FOLLOW A VOTE OF DISAPPROVAL BY THE SENATE. HOWEVER, FOR FUTURE REFERENCE, I THINK THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR OUR COUNTRY TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE WILL NEVER, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, BE BLACKMAILED INTO DESERTING THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

WITH RESPECT TO RESISTING A ROLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION, AND CLARIFYING OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL, THE RECORD OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN, QUITE FRANKLY, ABYSMAL.

THE JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUED LAST OCTOBER 1 SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF AN UNTHINKABLE

NEW ROLE FOR THE RUSSIANS AS JOINT GUARANTORS OF SECURE BORDERS. FAR FROM ISSUING JOINT STATEMENTS AND HOLDING OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF JOINT PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS, THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE TO MINIMIZE THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO OPPOSE ANY INTRODUCTION OF SOVIET FORCES INTO THE AREA.

INSTEAD OF CLARIFYING AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL IN TERMS WHICH ARE UNMISTAKABLE TO JEW AND ARAB ALIKE, THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION SEEMS DETERMINED TO SIGNAL AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY ITS TILT AWAY FROM ISRAEL AND TOWARD THE ARABS. INDEED, THE DETAILS OF THE ARMS SALE, AS DEVISED BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, MAY BE SEEN AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THIS TILT.

IN 1974, THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE DETERMINED THAT SAUDI ARABIA REQUIRED 40 ADVANCED AIRCRAFT TO REPLACE THE AGING BRITISH LIGHTENINGS. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION CHANGED THIS NUMBER FROM 40 TO 60. SIMILARLY, THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF RECOMMENDED THAT ISRAEL RECEIVE 50 F-15'S IN THE PRESENT TIME FRAME AND 125 F-16'S. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION REDUCED THESE NUMBERS TO 40 F-15'S AND 75 F-16'S. THIS SHIFT IN NUMBERS, CONTRARY TO THE BEST ADVICE OF OUR MILITARY EXPERTS, CANNOT BE EXPLAINED ON THE BASIS OF MILITARY NEED. THEREFORE, IT IS APPROPRIATE TO VIEW THE CHANGE IN THE NUMBERS AS EVIDENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S SHIFT FROM ISRAEL TOWARD THE ARABS.

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SIMILARLY, THE PACKAGING OF THE SALES TO ISRAEL, EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA MAY BE EXPLAINED IN TERMS OF THE TILT. IN 1975, WE HAD ASSURED ISRAEL OF ADVANCED AIRCRAFT IN RETURN FOR TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWAL UNDER THE SINAI II AGREEMENT. NOW ISRAEL'S NEEDS HAVE BEEN PACKAGED WITH THOSE OF EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA.

IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE VOTE, I TOOK THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE TO ANNOUNCE MY POSITION AND TO EXPRESS MY STRONG CRITICISM OF THE NUMBERS, PACKAGING AND SYMBOLISM OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONTRIVED ARMS TRANSACTION. I STATED, "IF THE POSSIBILITY OF ALTERING THE PACKAGE WERE AVAILABLE TO ME, I WOULD NOT HESITATE TO DO JUST THAT." HOWEVER, AMENDMENTS WERE NOT POSSIBLE, AND THE SENATE WAS LEFT WITH AN EITHER/OR PROPOSITION.

THIS ADMINISTRATION'S TILT AWAY FROM ISRAEL DID NOT BEGIN WITH THE ARMS SALE. IT FIRST BECAME VISIBLE ON MARCH 16, 1977, WHEN THE PRESIDENT DECLARED IN CLINTON, MASSACHUSETTS THAT, "THERE HAS TO BE A HOMELAND FOR THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES." NO PRESIDENT HAD PREVIOUSLY EMBRACED SUCH A POLICY WHICH UP TO THEN HAD BEEN A SECONDARY ISSUE AMONG THE MODERATE ARAB LEADERS. THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION WAS REITERATED IN THE FOOLISH JOINT U.S.-SOVIET STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 1 WITH SUPPORT FOR WHAT WERE CALLED "THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE."

IN THIS ATTEMPT TO CURRY FAVOR OF THE RADICAL ARABS AND THE SOVIET UNION, THE ADMINISTRATION SUCCEEDED IN RAISING THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE BEYOND THAT DESIRED BY EGYPT AND JORDAN WHICH HAVE SHOWN LITTLE CONCERN FOR THE PALESTINIANS IN THE PAST.

NOT ONLY HAD EGYPT AND JORDAN MADE NO EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A SO-CALLED HOMELAND DURING THE PERIOD OF THEIR CONTROL OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, BUT THEY REFUSED EVEN TO ALLOW THE REFUGEES TO EMIGRATE TO JORDAN OR EGYPT, OR TO IMPROVE THEIR LIVING STANDARDS, PREFERRING INSTEAD TO KEEP THEM IN REFUGEE CAMPS FOR 20 YEARS TO BE USED FOR ANTI-ISRAELI PROPAGANDA.

IT IS CLEAR THAT A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND LOCATED ON THE WEST BANK WOULD BE CONTROLLED BY THE PLO, A RADICAL GROUP RIGHTLY DESCRIBED BY GEORGE WILL AS "A CONSPIRACY MASQUERADING AS A NATION." SUPPORTED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE REJECTIONIST ARABS SUCH AS IRAQ AND LIBYA, A PALESTINIAN ENTITY IN THE HEART OF THE MIDDLE EAST COULD NOT POSSIBLY BE A FORCE FOR STABILITY OR BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, ISRAEL, EGYPT, JORDAN, OR SAUDI ARABIA. BUT BY ENDORSING THIS HIGHLY CONTENTIOUS CONCEPT, THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, FOR EGYPT AND JORDAN TO SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS. HOW CAN THOSE TWO ARAB COUNTRIES NOW AGREE TO ANY PROPOSAL WHICH PROVIDES THE PALESTINIANS WITH AN ARRANGEMENT GRANTING THEM FEWER RIGHTS THAN THOSE ALREADY ACCEPTED BY ISRAEL'S CLOSEST ALLY?

FURTHER DEMONSTRATING A TILT IN AMERICA'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS PERSISTED IN UNDERMINING ISRAEL'S STANDING IN WORLD OPINION BY REPEATEDLY BRANDING THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK AS "ILLEGAL." I CHALLENGE THE ADMINISTRATION TO PRESENT A LEGAL BRIEF JUSTIFYING THIS CLAIM. I DON'T THINK IT CAN DO SO SUCCESSFULLY. BY CONTRAST, EUGENE ROSTOW, FORMER DEAN OF YALE UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL AND UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE, AS WELL AS OTHER MIDDLE EAST OBSERVERS, HAVE MADE AN IMPRESSIVE LEGAL CASE THAT ISRAEL'S CLAIMS TO THE WEST

BANK DO NOT VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW AND MAY, IN FACT, BE BETTER THAN JORDAN'S CLAIMS. WHILE THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS MAY NOT BE POLITICALLY WISE, I AM NOT CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE ILLEGAL. THE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMENTS IN THIS REGARD ARE NOT HELPFUL AND SERVE NO PURPOSE OTHER THAN TO CAST DOUBT ON OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL.

SIMILARLY, EVIDENCING A TILT AWAY FROM ISRAEL, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS INSISTED ON PLACING THE BLAME ON ISRAEL ALONE FOR LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

FEELING FREE TO PLACE ALL BLAME ON ISRAEL, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS YET TO EXPRESS EVEN THE SLIGHTEST DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS OF THE PLO, PRESIDENT SADAT OR KING HUSSEIN. IT WAS PRESIDENT SADAT, AFTER ALL, WHO BROKE OFF THE TALKS IN JERUSALEM ON JANUARY 19 AND HAS REFUSED TO BEGIN THEM AGAIN. WORLDWIDE CONDEMNATION WOULD HAVE FALLEN ON PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAD HE TAKEN SUCH ACTION. AND THERE HAS BEEN ONLY A DEAFENING SILENCE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION FOLLOWING PRESIDENT SADAT'S RECENT NOT-SO-VEILED THREATS TO HIS TROOPS TO RESORT TO WAR IF ISRAEL DOES NOT SOON MEET HIS DEMANDS.

PRESIDENT CARTER'S MEDDLING ROLE IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT HAS BEEN INEPT, BIASED AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. FOR REASONS WHICH DEFY EXPLANATION, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REPEATEDLY INTERJECTED THE ISSUE OF THE WEST BANK INTO PEACE INITIATIVES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. THE FACT IS THAT THE WEST BANK DOES NOT LOGICALLY CONCERN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS.

RATHER, IT IS A CONTROVERSY WHICH MUST BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN. ON JANUARY 1, 1978, KING HUSSEIN HIMSELF STATED THAT IT IS JORDAN, NOT EGYPT OR SYRIA WHICH MUST DEAL WITH THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. YET HUSSEIN REMAINS OUTSIDE THE CURRENT TALKS, WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION PRESSURES ISRAEL TO MAKE COMPROMISES ON THE WEST BANK WITH SADAT.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ERECTED AN UNNECESSARY OBSTACLE TO IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT BY RAISING THE WEST BANK QUESTION. MOREOVER, IT HAS CONSISTENTLY STATED THE QUESTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 IN THE MOST ONE-SIDED WAY, EMPHASIZING THE WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORY, AND DOWNPLAYING THE ISSUES OF LASTING PEACE AND DEFENSIBLE BORDERS.

PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MADE THE MISTAKE OF SEEING HIMSELF AS THE MIDDLE MAN IN MIDDLE EASTERN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH A ROLE IN ITSELF, EVEN IF DEFTLY EXECUTED, WHICH IT HAS NOT BEEN, SERVES AS A BARRIER TO PROGRESS IN MEANINGFUL ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN DIALOGUE. AS STEPHEN ROSENFELD POINTED OUT IN A WASHINGTON POST COLUMN LAST MAY 26, FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS MANDATED BY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 ARE UNDERCUT BY AMERICAN INTERVENTION. INSTEAD OF NEGOTIATING WITH ISRAEL, PRESIDENT SADAT HAS USED THE TACTICS OF AVOIDING DIRECT DISCUSSION AND RELYING ON THE UNITED STATES TO EXTRACT COMPROMISES FROM ISRAEL. EGYPT APPEARS WILLING TO STALL NEGOTIATIONS AS LONG AS THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO APPLY PRESSURE ON ISRAEL FOR MORE CONCESSIONS.

IT IS CLEAR TO ME THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY HAS BEEN A FAILURE, AND THAT SIGNIFICANT CHANGES ARE CALLED FOR AT THE EARLIEST MOMENT. SUCH CHANGES ARE ESPECIALLY NECESSARY IN THE WAKE OF THE PACKAGE ARMS SALE AGREED TO LAST MONTH. WHILE IT IS, OF COURSE, HIGHLY DESIRABLE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO SUPPORT RELATIVELY MODERATE ARAB REGIMES, AND TO EXPAND OUR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD, SUCH A POLICY SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY AT LEAST THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN OUR PRESENT COURSE:

1) THE UNITED STATES SHOULD STOP ACTING AS A MIDDLE MAN, CONSTANTLY INTERJECTING ITS VIEWS IN PEACE INITIATIVES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. WE SHOULD, INSTEAD, INSIST ON DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AS PROVIDED IN RESOLUTION 338. IF ENEMIES ARE NOT WILLING TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER, THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO HAVE PEACE.

2) THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF WHATEVER STEPS TOWARD PEACE THE PARTIES CAN TAKE WITHOUT DEMANDING A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT TO ALL ISSUES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE SHOULD NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE WEST BANK IN THE CONTEXT OF ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATIONS. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE AGREEMENT FIRST ON THOSE ISSUES WHICH CAN BE MOST EASILY RESOLVED, SUCH AS THE SINAI. A PARTIAL PEACE IS CERTAINLY PREFERABLE TO NO PEACE AT ALL.

3) WE SHOULD OPPOSE ANY ROLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION AS GUARANTOR OF BORDERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT A FORCE FOR PEACE, AND THE SOONER WE RECOGNIZE THIS, THE BETTER OFF WE WILL BE.

4) WE SHOULD PUT AN END TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S PRESENT POLICY OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AND READILY DISMISSING ISRAEL'S POSITION AS BEING UNREASONABLE AND INTRANSIGENT. WE SHOULD, IN SHORT, BRING AN IMMEDIATE END TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S TILT AWAY FROM ISRAEL AND TOWARD THE ARABS.

5) WE MUST REITERATE, AND THIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN LIGHT OF THE SENATE'S VOTE LAST MAY 15, OUR CONSTANT COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT OUR POSITION IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF SENTIMENT, BUT THAT IT IS A MATTER OF STRATEGIC NECESSITY. SPECIFICALLY, WE SHOULD BEGIN AT THE EARLIEST DATE, THE STEPS NECESSARY TO REDRESS THE ARMS DEFICIENCY FOR ISRAEL IN THE PACKAGE SALE JUST AGREED TO. WHILE WE HOPE TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARAB STATES, THE WORLD MUST BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT SUCH AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WILL NEVER BE PURCHASED AT THE COST OF ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WHEN I TOOK THIS JOB, I NEVER DREAMED I WOULD VOTE FOR A SALE OF SOPHISTICATED AIRCRAFT TO AN ARAB COUNTRY. I DID SO VOTE, WITH GREAT ANGUISH; AND FOR THE REASONS STATED, I THINK THAT VOTE WAS THE BEST OF THE TWO AVAILABLE ALTERNATIVES. I KNOW THAT MANY OF YOU HAVE YOUR DOUBTS ABOUT ME--ABOUT MY JUDGMENT, PERHAPS ABOUT MY PRINCIPLES. TO YOU, I WOULD ONLY ADD THE FOLLOWING COMMENT.

LIKE MILLIONS OF OTHER AMERICANS, I WATCHED THE TELEVISION PROGRAM, HOLOCAUST, WITH MY FAMILY. AFTER ITS CONCLUSION, I DRAFTED A RESOLUTION TO CREATE ANNUALLY NATIONAL DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST. I SECURED 72 SENATE COSPONSORS FOR THAT RESOLUTION. AT MY URGING, THE SAME RESOLUTION HAS BEEN INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COSPONSORED BY BOTH THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY LEADERS. I WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT AMERICANS, FOR GENERATIONS TO COME, DO NOT FORGET WHAT HAPPENED TO 6 MILLION JEWS IN EUROPE IN THE 1940's. WE CAN NEVER LET THAT HAPPEN AGAIN--NEVER.

THAT OF COURSE IS THE ORIGIN--AND THE ABIDING PURPOSE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL--NEVER AGAIN.

YET FOR THAT NOBLE MISSION, WE IN AMERICA CANNOT SIMPLY DELEGATE OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO 3½ MILLION PEOPLE HALF WAY AROUND THE WORLD. WE IN AMERICA MUST MAKE IT OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT ISRAEL LIVES--THAT DECENCY ITSELF SURVIVES AND PROSPERS.

THAT IS WHY I AM IN THIS JOB. THAT IS WHAT MAKES IT ALL WORTH DOING. AND, BELIEVE ME, I TAKE THIS JOB VERY SERIOUSLY.

July 1, 1977

which is wholly American and far too academic. It is easy for us, here in this air-conditioned forum surrounded by District policemen, to assert that the Israelis should allow Palestinians on their borders. It is another thing altogether for the citizens of Maalot and Kiryat Shimona to accept such a "solution."

My reservations do not merely concern the administration's style, however. The major problem which I see in the Carter peace proposals is the imbalance of demands on Israel as compared to those on the Arabs.

Although the implementation of both Israel's territorial concessions and the Arabs' political concessions would be on a phased-in basis, the nature of these concessions would be inherently unequal. Political concessions, whether they involve recognition and diplomatic contact or even trade and open borders, are easily reversible. No written agreement would prevent the Arabs from renegeing on the political terms of any agreement, if they consider it necessary to do so.

The concessions being demanded of Israel, however, since they involve the transfer of large tracts of land, are, for all practical purposes, irreversible. Israel's lightning success during the Six Day War is unlikely to be repeatable as the power of the Arab nations continues to grow.

I am not declaring that the exchange of "territory for peace" policy is doomed to failure. I am clearly stating my position that for the United States to give the impression of pushing Israel into such an agreement constitutes a great disservice to a faithful and valuable ally.

I believe that the bottom line of any American policy in the Middle East must be an unwavering support for the continued existence and prosperity of the State of Israel. All peace proposals must be judged in that light and espoused with that goal in mind.

MIDDLE EAST POLICY

11.7.77 6/10/73

Mr. DANFORTH. Mr. President, I want to present my views on the Middle East today, not in an attempt to contribute to any partisan dispute on the administration's proposals, but in an effort to contribute to the recent dialogue on this crucial issue, which has been significantly advanced by Senator Javits' comments last Monday.

I have serious reservations about the policy being espoused by the Carter administration and about the tactics currently being employed.

These reservations were increased by this week's State Department news release. To say as it did, that the United States considers Israeli withdrawal from all three fronts—Sinai, Golan Heights, and Gaza—to be necessary to a successful solution of the conflict and then to follow that statement with the assertion that the negotiations "must start without any preconditions for either side" is the height of obfuscation and contradiction.

The signals which are transmitted to the Arab nations by the administration's assertion of the need for withdrawal to "approximately" the pre-1967 borders are bound to raise expectations on one side and prejudice the course of the negotiations.

The reservations which I have about the style of diplomacy, however, run deeper than the apparent contradiction described above. The specificity of the administration's proposals, even if neutral, which I do not believe these have been, could have the effect of forcing the parties involved to take firm positions prematurely, which would be difficult to rescind during the actual negotiations.

I believe that the administration's plan puts a perspective on the conflict

Trip Set by U.S. Jews Draws Israeli Criticism

vided they do not present themselves as speaking on Israel's behalf. He says he would prefer Arab leaders to meet with him rather than with U.S. Jews.

Israel refrained from voicing open official opposition to the Jacobson group's visit, however, apparently feeling it might be accused of hindering an attempt at deeper Arab-Jewish understanding.

In other Middle East developments: Israeli troops arrested 10 persons and imposed a curfew on the occupied West Bank town of Nablus after using tear gas to disperse hundreds of Arab youths protesting Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and the imposition of a new value-added tax.

Two leading Christian politicians narrowly escaped separate assassinations attempts in Beirut. Rightist leader Camille Chamoun escaped unhurt, but three of his bodyguards were wounded, when shots were fired at Chamoun in a crowded street. A few hours earlier, moderate Christian politician Raymond Ede escaped the third attempt to kill him in a year with a minor leg wound, according to Beirut Radio.

Five new cases of cholera were reported in the Gaza Strip, bringing to 28 the number of people treated for the disease in the past few months.

Members of the radical Rejection Front boycotted a meeting of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Damascus. Moderate leaders Yasser Arafat and Zuhair Hussain were present, reportedly after a reconciliation earlier in the day.

The Egyptian foreign debt stands at \$11 billion and the current balance of payments deficit at \$2.6 billion, Premier Mamdouh Salem told the Parliament.

TEL AVIV, Israel, Dec. 12—A plan- ned trip to several Arab countries by an American Zionist leader is drawing sharp criticism in the Israel press and reports of displeasure on the part of Israeli leaders.

The Israeli press has objected to the planned journey this week to Egypt, Syria and Jordan of a Jewish group headed by Charlotte Jacobson, chairwoman of the U.S. Zionist Federation.

The purpose of the trip is to study health conditions in the Arab world, and while an aide to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said, "This is none of our business," informed sources said Rabin was annoyed.

The Israeli state radio said Israeli diplomats in Washington were worried that Jacobson's trip would hurt Israel.

Rabin was reported to believe that the invitation to Jacobson's group is part of an Arab diplomatic campaign to project a peaceful image and weaken support among U.S. Jews for Israeli policies.

The conservative newspaper Miflav accused Jacobson of "extending a hand to Arab propaganda." The paper said in an editorial that by inviting her the Arabs were "trying to prove that they have nothing against Jews, even if they are Zionist functionaries, and that only Israelis are their enemies.

If the Arabs want peace, they know the right address. But searching for alternative addresses does not prove pacifism. It is aimed at creating a mirage of false Arab moderation."

An aide to Rabin said that Jacobson had asked Rabin's approval before deciding whether to make the trip, and was told that Israel had no position on the activities of foreign Jews.

Rabin has said that he does not mind if Jews meet Arab leaders, pro-

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POLITICAL TRIALS IN THE
SOVIET UNION

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

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I must express my great alarm at the decision of the Soviet Union to bring to trial two well-known Russian dissidents, Anatoly P. Shcharansky and Alexandr I. Ginzburg.

Mr. Shcharansky's apparent "crime" was simply his desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union while Mr. Ginzburg managed a fund to aid the families of Soviet political prisoners.

These two political trials, scheduled to begin this week, constitute a serious setback to human rights in the Soviet Union and threaten major damage to United States-Soviet relations as well.

I wish to commend Secretary of State Vance for having made clear to Soviet

officials that future ties between our two nations can only be harmed by this sort of behavior on their part.

These trials remind us, Mr. Speaker, if reminders were necessary, of the tragedy of totalitarianism as practiced in the Soviet Union—a nation in which people can neither live free, nor feel free to leave.

I join all Americans committed to the defense of human rights throughout the world in the hope that reason will prevail in these two tragic cases and that true justice will triumph.

PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL SHOCKED

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 10, 1978

• Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, the trial of Anatoly Shcharansky which began today in the Soviet Union has shocked people of good will around the world.

Clearly Mr. Shcharansky is being punished only for his attempt to emigrate to Israel and his attempt to monitor Soviet compliance with the Helsinki agreement.

To register a serious protest to the Congress against the Soviet Union's treatment of Anatoly Shcharansky, Senator RISTICOFF and I have introduced today the following resolution:

Whereas the Soviet Union in 1975 signed the Helsinki Final Act, which stipulated the observation of basic human rights, including the right to "leave any country"; and

Whereas Anatoly Shcharansky has since 1973 been denied permission by the Soviet authorities to emigrate to Israel; and

Whereas Mr. Shcharansky now faces trial because he dared to protest this denial and to monitor the compliance of the Soviet Union with the international human rights guarantees of the Helsinki Agreement; and

Whereas the formal charge of treason against Mr. Shcharansky is without legal basis and has been repudiated by the government of the United States; and

Whereas the United States takes seriously its commitment to the Helsinki Agreement and especially to the human rights provisions thereof; and

Whereas the trial of Anatoly Shcharansky constitutes a gross violation of the Helsinki Final Act and minimum universal standards of humanity and justice; Now, therefore be it

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

(1) Congress hereby condemns the trial of Anatoly Shcharansky and calls upon the Soviet Union to comply with the Helsinki Agreement by immediately releasing Mr. Shcharansky and permitting him to emigrate to Israel; and

(2) conviction of Anatoly Shcharansky, in contradiction of international human rights guarantees which the Soviet Union has pledged to uphold, can only adversely affect relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. •

portionately as colleges and universities scale back their budgets and enrollments.

In short, if white America wants to back away from this struggle, if it is sufficiently angry and tired of pursuing racial equality, then the Bible decision certainly offers a spiritual blessing for retreat. The next question is whether Congress will also provide a financial incentive. •

TRIALS OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS
ARE MOCKERY OF JUSTICE

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 10, 1978

• Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, today in the Soviet Union the campaign of repression against members of the Helsinki Watch Groups has reached its pinnacle. The trials of no less than four—possibly five—group members begins this week. Two founding members of the Moscow group—Anatoly Shcharansky, and Aleksandr Ginzburg—and the wife of another Moscow group member, Mariya Slepak, started today. Shcharansky, a Jewish refusenik who has been separated from his wife in Israel for over 4 years, is charged with treason which carries the maximum penalty of death. Ginzburg is being charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for his activities as a Helsinki monitor and administrator of the Solzhenitsyn Fund for the Aid of Families of Political Prisoners. Because Ginzburg had been convicted earlier for his human rights activism, he faces a possible 10-year prison term to be followed by 5 years in exile. Mrs. Slepak is being charged with "malicious hooliganism" for hanging a banner outside her Moscow apartment which proclaimed her family's desire to emigrate to Israel to join their son. Last month her husband, Vladimir Slepak, was sentenced to 5 years internal exile for this so-called offense. The Slepaks, who have already waited over 6 years for exit visas, will probably be forced to serve their sentences separately in remote areas of Siberia.

This incredible repression is not limited to the Moscow group. In Lithuania, Viktoras Petkus, a founding member of the Helsinki Watch Group there, is being tried under the same charges facing Ginzburg. He, too, faces an especially harsh sentence of 10 years in prison followed by 5 in exile because of a former conviction. Aleksandr Podrabinek, the young founder of the subgroup on psychiatric abuse, is also scheduled to be tried later this week in Moscow on charges of "anti-Soviet defamation and slander" which carries a maximum sentence of 3 years.

It is clear, Mr. Speaker, that the Soviet Union, by harassing, arresting, and convicting the members of the Public Groups To Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreement in the U.S.S.R., is directly violating the pledge it made at Helsinki confirming "that organizations and persons have a relevant and positive

role to play in contributing toward the achievement" of the final act provisions. Furthermore, the Soviet Union specifically agreed to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms" and confirmed "the rights of the individual to know and act upon his rights." It is evident that the Soviet Union has no intention of honoring these commitments. This behavior calls into question the intention of the U.S.S.R. to adhere in good faith to any international treaties and agreements. I vehemently protest the trials of the members of the Helsinki groups and urge that my colleagues in the Congress do so. The Soviet Government must be made to understand that their treatment of men and women like Shcharansky, Ginzburg, Slepak, Petkus, and Podrabinek, profoundly affects the future of U.S.-Soviet relations. •

HELSINKI COMMISSION TO HOLD
HEARING ON DISSIDENT TRIALS
IN THE U.S.S.R.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. PASCCELL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

• Mr. PASCCELL. Mr. Speaker, this week, the Soviet Union is undertaking a massive crackdown on those brave men and women who took it upon themselves to monitor their government's compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. In three cities in the U.S.S.R., no less than five members of associates of the Public Groups To Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreement in the U.S.S.R. will be brought to trial this week. Of the Moscow Group, three trials commenced today. Anatoly Shcharansky, the computer scientist and Jewish refusenik who has become an international cause celebre, is being tried in a closed courtroom on charges of treason which carries a possible death sentence. Aleksandr Ginzburg, a long-time human rights activist who has previously spent a total of 7 years in prison, is being tried in Kaluga on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and faces a maximum sen-

tence of 10 years in prison followed by 5 years in exile. The wife of exiled Moscow Group member, Vladimir Slepak, also goes on trial today in Moscow for the same offense of which her husband was convicted last month. Maria Slepak faces a possible 5-year prison term for expressing her family's desire to emigrate to Israel to join their son, a desire which has not abated despite 8 years of refusals.

Unfortunately, the crackdown is not confined to the Moscow Group. One of the founding members of the Lithuanian Group, Viktoras Petkus, who has spent nearly 16 years in the Soviet Gulag for his activism, is being charged with the same offense as Ginzburg—"anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Aleksandr Podrabinek, the courageous young man who formed the group affiliate, the Working Commission to Investigate the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, will apparently be tried later this week on charges of "anti-Soviet slander" and, if convicted, faces a 3-year prison term.

This blatant, systematic repression on the part of the Soviet Government aimed at the Helsinki monitors must be protested. The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which I chair, will hold a public hearing to do just that tomorrow at 9 a.m. in room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building. Mrs. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, wife of the exiled author and a founding member of the Aleksandr Ginzburg Defense Committee, will testify before the Helsinki Commission. Joining her will be Mrs. Lyudmila Alekseeva, a founding member of the Moscow Group and a spokesman for the group in the West, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs William Leurs, a number of my colleagues in the Congress, Dr. William Korey of B'nai B'rith, and Mr. Jerry Goodman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. The hearing is open to the press and the public. •

SENATE RESOLUTION 506—SUBMISSION OF A RESOLUTION WITH RESPECT TO THE SCHARANSKY-GINZBURG TRIALS

Mr. DOLE submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 506

Whereas Anatoly Scharansky and Alexander Ginzburg, two Soviet dissidents, are scheduled to go on trial today in the Soviet Union;

Whereas Yuri Orlov, a prominent Soviet scientist, was convicted by the Government of the Soviet Union of selling "slandering material to the West" after a trial in which he was denied the representation of his choice and the right to call witnesses on his own behalf;

Whereas during the trial of Yuri Orlov, the family of Yuri Orlov was harassed and abused by Soviet authorities, and Mrs. Orlov was denied the right to visit her husband;

Whereas Valdimir Slepak and Ida Nudel, two Soviets requesting the right to emigrate, were tried and given maximum sentences of imprisonment and exile; and

Whereas the history of Soviet justice portends ill for the future of Scharansky and Ginzburg, and news reports suggest repression of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union will be increased in the near future: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President should—

(1) begin an intensive effort aimed at suspending all bilateral scientific and cultural exchanges with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

(2) reevaluate the participation of the United States in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Accords,

(3) suspend indefinitely the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

until the President determines that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has demonstrated by its actions its willingness to comply with the provisions on human rights of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Accords.

THE SCHARANSKY-GINZBURG TRIALS

Mr. DOLE, Madam President, in a statement issued last week, the Carter administration said that the outcome of the Scharansky-Ginzburg trials must be treated as an important indicator of American-Soviet relations. In full agreement with the President's statement, I am submitting today a resolution directing the President to begin an intensive effort aimed at suspending all bilateral, scientific, and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, reevaluating our participation in the Helsinki agreement, and suspending indefinitely SALT negotiations until the outcome of the trials of the Soviet dissidents is known.

Six weeks ago, following the conviction of Yuri Orlov for selling slanderous material to the West, I introduced a Senate resolution condemning the abortion of justice and the unconscionable personal abuse of Orlov's wife and family by the Soviet authorities. As disgusting as the Orlov trial was, in my statement to the Senate I warned my colleagues that Orlov's trial would pale in comparison to the trials being prepared for Scharansky and Ginzburg. And to avert still another travesty, I urged that the Senate call on President Carter to begin an intensive and careful evaluation of international conferences and exchanges of scientists with the Soviet Union—and such an evaluation should continue until the Government of the Soviet Union expresses its willingness to comply with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

I cannot claim that my proposal aroused a great deal of support in the administration and elsewhere. The Washington Post, for example, objected to my resolution, feeling it was not the time to bring the U.S. Government into the act.

On June 28, less than 2 weeks ago, on the floor of the Senate, I again pointed out that time was running out for Scharansky and Ginzburg, that our attempts to reason with the Soviet Union in the area of human rights are falling on deaf ears, that the time has come for the United States to respond decisively in terms the Soviets could understand.

In light of the campaign of terror directed at so many Soviet scientists, I felt it was time for us to put the Soviets on notice that the scientific exchanges it

values so highly are in jeopardy. In an amendment to the authorization bill for the National Science Foundation, I proposed that scientific collaborative activities with the Soviet Union and other countries should not be subsidized by the NSF with taxpayers' dollars when the human rights of potential participants are known to have been violated. Under the circumstances, I saw no reason for our Government to sponsor these bilateral exchanges when it is well known that we give away so much and receive so little.

Although I knew the amendment had little chance of passage, I wanted to bring these issues to the attention of the Senate. By introducing the amendment, I hoped to raise the sensitivity of all Americans to the plight of Scharansky and Ginzburg and all the oppressed people in the Soviet Union.

I was shocked to learn of the intensive efforts of the administration to defeat the amendment. Without knowing the specific contents of the amendment and without attempting to contact my office, the White House Science Adviser mounted a large-scale campaign opposing the amendment. The next day, on the desk of each Senator, there appeared a letter signed by Dr. Frank Press, in which he expressed his personal opposition to the measure, arguing that it would preclude contacts between Soviet dissidents and visiting U.S. scientists. Additional opposition to the amendment, I learned, was coming from segments of the organized scientific community as well as agencies of the Government, including the NSF and NIH.

Naturally I was disappointed that several agencies of the Government and part of the scientific community did not support the amendment. Respecting the views of the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. Javits) and the distinguished Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Riegan) that the measure would be counterproductive to the interests of the Soviet dissidents, I withdrew the amendment.

Here we are, less than 2 weeks later, witnessing the culmination—or perhaps the commencement—of the Soviet Union's calculated policy directed at trampling the very existence of a small band of men, women, and children, many of whom are of Jewish ancestry, whose only crime has been to express unpopular opinions or to ask to emigrate.

Now moved by the horror of the Scharansky-Ginzburg trials, the administration has finally begun to take a definitive position. Indeed, as I understand it, the administration is implementing the very policies I advocated 6 weeks ago. Two scientific visits, including one by Dr. Press, have been canceled by the Secretary of State. And, we are told, the administration is initiating a review of all bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union.

While I strongly support the administration's action, I cannot help but wonder if, 6 weeks ago, we had clearly spelled out for the Soviets the repercussions of their human rights violations, the atrocity we are now witnessing could have been averted. Probably not, but we will never know.

History has taught us the futility of

THE ANATOLY SCHARANSKY TRIAL

HON. TED WEISS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 10, 1978

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, not since the purges of the Stalin era has the Soviet Government launched such a violent attack on human rights as it has in the past year culminating with the bringing to trial of Jewish dissident Anatoly Scharansky. As today's New York Times stated,

No case against a human rights advocate has been seen as such a vivid indicator of the direction in which Soviet policy, both domestic and foreign, is headed.

Just over a year ago, Scharansky was imprisoned on charges of treason. But his real crimes are that he has spoken out against the Soviet Union's repressive emigration policies and has repeatedly tried to join his wife in Israel, where she was forced to emigrate the day after their marriage. His arrest is a chilling reminder of the oppressiveness of the Soviet regime. The message to Soviet Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union is that they risk branding as traitors, imprisonment and perhaps even death,

falling to deal directly with oppression. In the past, we have been reluctant to become involved with events that, at first blush, appear not to affect us directly, for fear of intervening in the internal affairs of another country. But I say to you that, so long as there is such blatant disregard of human rights, none of us can hide behind national borders. The holocaust was a case in point. Today, in the Soviet Union, we are witnessing another such event.

Today in Lebanon, there is abundant evidence of the senseless slaughter of civilian Lebanese Christians by occupying Arab forces. The response of the Israelis to this massacre should not go unnoticed. For 6 days last week, defenseless Christians in Beirut were subjected to unrelenting shelling as the free world was quietly watching the events unfold. Unable to find a single country willing to speak out in opposition to these useless killings, Israel, risking its very existence, demonstrated graphically that it would not stand by and watch its Christian brothers slowly eliminated. Is the United States going to bear silent witness to the demise of the courageous dissidents in their hour of need?

To turn away from the suffering of the unfortunate dissidents in the Soviet Union, in their greatest moment of need, is to defile the memory of those who have perished for similar acts of courage. Now is the moment to register our revulsion in no uncertain terms. To those who say now is not the time to jeopardize détente, I say, "If not now, when?" History will judge us more by our actions than by our words. X X X

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 94—SUBMISSION OF A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE TRIAL OF ANATOLY SCHARANSKY

Mr. RIBICOFF submitted the following concurrent resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 94

Whereas the Soviet Union in 1975 signed the Helsinki Final Act, which stipulated the observation of basic human rights, including the right to "leave any country," and

Whereas Anatoly Scharansky has since 1973 been denied permission by the Soviet authorities to emigrate to Israel; and

Whereas Mr. Scharansky now faces trial because he dared to protest this denial and to monitor the compliance of the Soviet Union with the international human rights guarantees of the Helsinki Agreement; and

Whereas the formal charge of treason against Mr. Scharansky is without legal basis and has been repudiated by the Government of the United States; and

Whereas the United States takes seriously its commitment to the Helsinki Agreement and especially to the human rights provisions thereof; and

Whereas the trial of Anatoly Scharansky constitutes a gross violation of the Helsinki Final Act and minimum universal standards of humanity and justice; Now, therefore be it

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

(1) Congress hereby condemns the trial of Anatoly Scharansky and calls upon the Soviet Union to comply with the Helsinki Agreement by immediately releasing Mr. Scharansky and permitting him to emigrate to Israel; and

(2) conviction of Anatoly Scharansky, in contradiction of international human rights guarantees which the Soviet Union has pledged to uphold, can only adversely affect relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. X X X

The Soviet Government's insistence on bringing Scharansky to trial is an ominous sign that the Soviet Union is reverting to the closed, intolerant society it had seemed to be moving away from during the growth of détente. This trial, in fact, will be construed by many to be as much of an attack on détente as it is on Scharansky and the causes he symbolizes.

By ignoring Western appeals for Scharansky's release and timing the trial so that it coincides with an arms limitation meeting between Secretary of State Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, the Soviet Government has made it clear that it wants to limit the boundaries of détente to arms control. But the Soviet Government is totally misguided if it does not understand that the people of the United States will inevitably consider Soviet conduct in relation to human rights when arms control comes up from consideration.

Although there may be no direct connection between the two issues, it is perfectly logical to ask "If the Russians find

TED WEISS

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CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL
BOSTON

ס"ב בלב תל"ו
1976 סוכן 18

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מל: תל אביב

מל: תל אביב

(Orinan)

הערות: סוכן על ספר הנושאים, האם דרישה
America's commitment to Israel

סוכן תל אביב - על האם דרישה, לראות למסמכים הקשורים

doubleday

ל, סוכן תל אביב, סוכן תל אביב, סוכן תל אביב

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NO. 24

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CHAPTER TWELVE

CAN ZIONISM BE THE BASIS OF A MODERN STATE?

In his autobiography "Present at the Creation", Dean Acheson relates that "Zionism was the only topic that Felix (Frankfurter) and I had by mutual consent excluded from our far-ranging daily talks." Acheson conceded that he had learned from Frankfurter "to understand, but not share, the mystical emotion of the Jews to return to Palestine and end the diaspora". Acheson felt that those who had urged Zionism as an American governmental policy had allowed "their emotion to obscure the totality of American interest".

If President Truman's Secretary of State failed to understand Zionism, there is perhaps reason to feel that more misunderstandings than have occurred over the past 30 years might have developed. Nonetheless, the massive global misunderstanding of Zionism since the United Nations General Assembly branded it as racism on November 10, 1975, is a development which can only be described as ominous for the future of Israel.

It seems clear that the Arab nations and the PLO, assisted by the USSR, having failed to defeat Israel on the battlefields on separate occasions, have transformed their struggle into one that seeks the sanction of world public opinion for the destruction of Israel.

One would hope that the PLO could never have obtained 72 nations in the General Assembly to have condemned Judaism or the existence of Israel. The employment of the allegation that Zionism is a form of racism permitted the proponents of this sentiment to deny that they were enemies of Israel or that they were opposed to Judaism as a religion. The adoption of a resolution equating Zionism with racism might have been politically successful for its advocates, but there is some hope that finally the Christian churches have been able to identify as never before with the religious and mystical elements of Zionism.

All of the events leading to the castigation of Zionism at the United Nations by the representatives of some two-thirds of humanity deserve the most careful recounting and analysis.

In the proclamation of Israeli independence, issued on May 14, 1948, those who subscribed indicated that they represented "the Zionist movement of the world". The declaration of independence traced the origin of Israel directly to the First Zionist Congress convened in 1897.

The relatively sparse/number of references to Zionism in the official documents of Israel is probably traceable to the universal acceptance of Jews everywhere that the one term used in Jewish literature to describe the last 19 centuries

of Jewish experience before the establishment of Israel was "Galuth" or exile. Throughout the period of that exile, Jewish tradition employed virtually every resource of prayer and ceremony and every opportunity to remind the Jew of his identification with the land of Israel. Every Jewish ritual from the cradle to the grave -- at birth, puberty, marriage and death -- brought forth rituals expressing an ardent hope not only for a spiritual return to Zion but a political restoration of a Jewish homeland in Israel.

Jewish commentators appear to be in agreement that in Jewish tradition there is no distinction between the aspiration for a spiritual return to Zion and a political restoration of a Jewish state. In the so-called "silent prayer", recited three times each day, Jews have always prayed: "May our eyes behold Thy return to Zion in mercy." The same prayer beseeches, "Restore our judges as at the beginning and our counselors as in the past".

The prayerful aspiration for the return of the Jewish people to its homeland developed into action at least on a few occasions in the first few centuries of the Christian era. In the year 115, some 50 years after the calamitous defeat of the Jews by the Romans in the year 70, the Jews fought another war of liberation against the Roman Empire.

Once again, in the year 132, a third war was launched against Rome in Palestine. After the war raged for three years, Roman strength prevailed and Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem.

During the centuries that followed, the Jewish dream of liberating Palestine never died and frequently emerged as, for example, in the messianic movement initiated by Shabbetai Zevi (1626-76). The influence of this charismatic individual was so great that people wagered in London that he would be King in Jerusalem within two years. But the subsequent abject surrender of Shabbetai Zevi to the Turkish Sultan and his final conversion to Islam constituted a catastrophic blow to Jewish aspirations for a nation of their own. But even the hard skepticism of Spinoza did not prevent him from expressing the conviction that the Jews might one day reconstitute their state.

The aspirations of the Jewish people for a homeland of their own are visible through the centuries by the constant Jewish pilgrimages to the Holy Land. These journeys persisted through the Middle Ages, stimulated by the crusaders, ^{the} massacres of Jewish communities in Europe and the successive expulsions of the Jews from England, France, Spain and Portugal. After the Middle Ages in the 16th Century a community of mystics and intellectuals emerged in Safed in Galilee. From that time forward there were always Jewish communities of

significant dimensions in all of the terrain that eventually became known as Palestine.

The unique dual aspiration of the Jewish people for a spiritual return to Zion as well as a political re-establishment of a Jewish commonwealth makes it impossible to impose on the Jews any definition applicable to any other ethnic or religious group. Rabbi Robert Gordis puts it this way: "None of the categories variously proposed as definitions of the Jewish group are satisfactory; neither one 'nation', one 'nationality', one 'religious denomination', nor the meaningless and dangerous term one 'race' does justice to the unique and complex character of Jews in the modern world." Rabbi Gordis has pointed out that in the ancient world "each human group possessed a sense of a common kinship, a special culture and language and a distinctive religion". This was true, he notes, of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, the Greeks and the Romans. But while all of these peoples have faded away, the Jews have retained the organic relationship of ethnicity, culture and religion. These three elements are linked in the Jewish psyche by unbreakable bonds to the land of Israel where all three of these characteristics originated and came to flower. Rabbi Gordis points out that the only term which can describe the Jews is the biblical word "'am" meaning "people". This Hebrew word comes from a semitic root denoting in all probability

"togetherness".

The "togetherness" of the Jewish people goes back to and depends upon in a mysterious way the actual land of Israel. The identification of Jews with the Holy Land does not in any way mean that they have some exclusive claim to its possession. All three of the theistic religions have a genuine concern for and identification with the Holy Land. For Islam the religious significance of the land is secondary, and for Christianity it is historical. For Judaism, however, the land of Israel is crucial and central. The Jewish people have had an unbroken relationship with the land of Israel, during 13 centuries of occupation and more than 19 centuries of aspiration. But this abiding relationship of the Jews does not negate in any way the authenticity of the claims of the Arabs who have lived in this land for over 1,000 years.

Although the dimensions of Zionism are not always clear to even its most ardent advocates, the nationalistic elements of Zionism are almost self-evident. The children of Israel believe that the Lord chose them to be his people and, as a result, the notion of a distinct peoplehood or nationhood is endemic to the Jewish religion. But conceding the possibility of an undesirable nationalism developing from the implementation of Zionism does not serve as evidence for the proposition that Zionism leads to or constitutes a

form of racism. This charge, endorsed by 72 nations of the UN General Assembly and rejected by only 35 (with 27 nations abstaining) is unique in all of the annals and centuries of anti-Semitism.

The two grievances which are most frequently mentioned by those who claim that Zionism is a form of racism are the Law of Return and the disability of non-Jews to acquire land in Israel that has been bought by the Jewish National Fund. The Law of Return means simply that any Jew from anywhere in the world may come to Israel and be granted automatic citizenship. If non-Jews migrate to Israel they must apply for citizenship as was required in the celebrated case of Brother Daniel, a man born a Jew who became a Catholic priest.

The contention that this policy is "racist" derives from the feeling that the Law of Return should be extended at least to those Palestinians who once lived in the area which is now Israel. If Israel gives preference to Jews who migrate to that nation such a policy can hardly be called racism, which teaches that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority within a particular race. The Law of Return has as its major premise the assumption that Jews living in the Diaspora would frequently be denied

religious freedom and that the only refuge available to them is Israel. The Palestinians, who claim that they have a right to return to land which 30 years ago their ancestors may have owned or occupied, can hardly be deemed to have a moral right equal to that of some 800,000 Jews who were quite literally driven out of Arab lands after the establishment of Israel in 1948. Palestinians who have a legitimate claim to monetary damages can obtain such restitution if repatriation is not feasible. The fact that Arab authorities have made it impossible for the government of Israel to negotiate individually or collectively with dispossessed Palestinians does not raise their provable claim for financial reparation to the same moral level as that of Jews who have been oppressed or persecuted.

It should be noted, moreover, that virtually all of the Jews who have come to Israel have been fleeing from actual, potential or prospective harassment or worse.

The Law of Return is not grounded on any theory of racism or on any notion that Judaism is superior to other religious faiths. The Law of Return is based on the fundamental notion that Jews are being persecuted or are likely to be persecuted in the Diaspora. There should be one place in the world where they can go and become citizens automatically because they are Jews.

If Israel's practice of being responsive to the exodus is a form of racism, then the very establishment of the State

of Israel by the United Nations was itself the result of racism. It may well be that the PLO and others who worked so strenuously to obtain a resolution of the UN General Assembly condemning Zionism as a form of racism were utilizing this technique to proclaim to the world that Israel should never have been established. Indeed, the drawing of such an inference from the UN resolution condemning Zionism as racist is inescapable.

Early in the 1900's, the founders of the Zionist movement established a fund to acquire land in Palestine and to establish settlements on it. Regulations were developed which specified that the land could be developed only by Jews. This restriction became more universal in Israel as the nation developed -- with the consequence that the Arab minority or 11 percent of Israel's three million citizens were under a legal disability in that they could not own land acquired by the Jewish National Fund. This disability was particularly applicable to the kibbutzim which are situated on the lands acquired by the Jewish National Fund.

Dr. Edmund Hanauer, an American Jewish political scientist and the director of an organization known as "Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine", has commented that if Jews or blacks were excluded from land in America in

a similar way we would call the arrangement anti-Semitic or racist.

There is no analogue to the Israeli situation in America except perhaps the lands which the United States government has set aside for Indian tribes. No person who is not a descendant of American Indians may purchase this land since it is held in trust for those whose ancestors were wrongfully deprived of this land. Those who are anxious to demonstrate that Israel or Zionism is a form of racism might suggest that the Arabs were dispossessed of their lands in the same way that the American Indians were. Clearly, the most feasible settlement of Arab claims should be made, but if the truculence of Arab leaders, sometimes made more difficult by the adamant stand taken by some Israeli officials, makes an immediate settlement impossible, it does not follow that Israel is indulging in a racist policy.

There is no doubt that Zionism as the basis for the establishment of a nation is unique in the annals of mankind. But so is the whole history of the Jewish people. Consequently, it is improper to adopt a procrustean attitude and insist that Israel conform to the usual model of a contemporary state.

Those who seek to downgrade Zionism necessarily operate on the assumption that Israel is not the product of Judaism

but only of a political movement called Zionism. But every attempt to disassociate Zionism and Judaism ends up with a caricature of both. From the beginning Judaism was conceived as the inter-linking of a people, a Torah and a land. The Hebrew scriptures, medieval and modern Jewish literature, the Talmud and the Jewish liturgy are replete with the idea of possession of or return to Zion. Attempts made in the 19th Century by early reform Judaism to de-Zionize Judaism, in appreciation for emancipation, have not succeeded. Zionism and Judaism have always been integral parts of each other. Since the holocaust and the founding of Israel the inseparability of Judaism and Zionism has never been clearer.

In the volume "A Psychohistory of Zionism" by Jay Y. Gonen, published in 1975, the startling point is made that Zionism, conceived by its founders "as the only logical answer to Christian anti-Semitism" had become by the second half of the 20th Century the occasion for the rise of Arab anti-Semitism. Nonetheless, Gonen asserts, that "psychologically Zionism is the Jewish reassertion of manhood". In Israel, this author notes, post-holocaust Jews "proved their overwhelming superiority in both spirit and technology". Nonetheless, the author raises the question: "Will the trauma of the holocaust result in a chronic sense of inferiority?" He apparently answers that question in the negative and asserts that "many Jews feel intuitively that Israel is a

place where either a regeneration or a final collapse will take place." Gonen feels that "creative Jewish life is likely to take place only in Israel". He would hope for a flourishing Israel interacting with a creative Diaspora but realistically expects that the "prospects are for a vigorous Israel interacting with an anemic Diaspora". He concludes, consequently, that "most Jewish hopes...are pinned on the State of Israel".

It is curious that the Arab and other nations in the UN General Assembly who desire to degrade and defame Israel should have chosen the concept of Zionism as their target. Before the organized assault on Zionism began in the UN in 1973, the very word itself was hardly known. The selection of Zionism rather than Israel or Judaism can have no other explanation except that the nations who desire to expel Israel from the UN or at least censure Israel within that body did not want to risk the possibility that they would be charged with open anti-Semitism.

The practice in the Third World of equating Zionism with racism and colonialism emerged for the first time in the UN General Assembly when that body voted in 1973 to declare that there was "an unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism". The first official use in the United Nations of the juxtaposition of Zionism with racial discrimination appeared in Mexico in July, 1975 at the world conference of the International Women's Year. A

resolution adopted on Palestinian and Arab women recommended "the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, Zionism, apartheid and foreign occupation, alien domination and racial discrimination in all its forms..." In the following month the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries meeting in Peru utilized in their declaration the same identification of colonialism, racism and Zionism.

On September 4, 1975, the Third or Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee of the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly opened debate on one of its agenda items -- A Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The 1973 General Assembly had designated the ten year period beginning on December 10, 1973 as the Decade for Action Against Racism. Those who established this worthwhile project never contemplated that under ^{its} aegis a body of the United Nations would have a bitter debate between September 15 and October 17, 1975 -- with the unprecedented result of a condemnation of Zionism as the principal effect of the projected decade-long evaluation of racism.

The complete transcript of the debate on Zionism in the so-called Third Committee of the UN General Assembly contains astounding declarations against Israel and Zionism made by Arabs and Third World nations. The unremitting animosity towards Israel is scarcely concealed even though the representatives of many nations spoke diplomatically only about Zionism.

The essential gravamen of the anti-Zionist cause is the allegedly political nature of Zionism and the exclusively theological nature of Judaism. The United Nations debate that led up to the condemnation of Zionism as racism on November 10, 1975 heard dozens of times the contention that all Jews are not Zionists and all Zionists are not Jews.

Ambassador Baroody of Saudi Arabia said, for example, that the "Arab world had no quarrel with Judaism" but rather "with Zionism, a political movement which had originated in Europe and not in the Orient, where the Jews had never been discriminated against and where many persons in the Arab culture happen to be Jews". Ms. Bihi of Somalia asserted that her country and others "were involved in a moral war with the Zionist regime in the Middle East and opposed that regime because Zionism, like apartheid, was used as an instrument for perpetuating oppression and discrimination against one group of people by another, by depriving the Palestinians of their homeland and of their property for believing and professing another religion and for being Arabs". The representative from Iraq, Mr. Zahawie, suggested that Zionism was in fact incompatible with orthodox Judaism; he claimed that "most orthodox Jews denounce Zionism as a blasphemy and as an arch-enemy of the Jewish people". To the representative of Iraq Zionism was not a liberation movement but rather "an act of colonial aggression".

The 45 African nations were deeply divided in the deliberations about Zionism in the UN's Third Committee. All of the African states (except South Africa, which is never considered as a part of the African bloc) wanted to preserve and enhance the impact of the Decade Against Racism. The African states in the Third Committee reflected the deep division which had been present at the meetings in Kampala when the Organization of African States had met there in the Summer of 1975. On the final vote in the Third Committee 25 of the 45 African nations or 56 percent voted in favor of the resolution with two against, 14 abstaining and four absent. The several comments by representatives of the African nations suggested on several occasions that they were really not certain about the nature of Zionism and that they wished to disassociate resolutions concerning the Decade Against Racism from the resolution concerning Zionism. But the fact that only two of the 45 African states ultimately voted against the anti-Zionist resolution indicates the economic and ideological dependence or intimidation of the African states by the Arab bloc.

Ambassador Herzog of Israel was eloquent in his explanation and defense of Zionism. Similarly/ the representative of the United States along with at least a few highly / defenders of Zionism, such as Ambassador Waldron-Ramsey of Barbados. But it is uncertain whether any rational argument based on the

historical uniqueness of Zionism could have altered the eventual vote of the Arab, African and Asian nations whose representatives lashed out at all forms of colonialism and linked Zionism with this despised form of oppression.

But the eloquent remarks of Ambassador Chaim Herzog of Israel will remain as solid evidence on which history can judge the justice or injustice of the United Nations' condemnation of Zionism. Ambassador Herzog noted early in the debate in the Third Committee that the world was witnessing "the first organized attack on an established religion since the Middle Ages". The Ambassador noted that support for Zionism had been written into the League of Nations mandate and that in 1947 Zionism had been endorsed by the very General Assembly of the United Nations which now sought to undermine the very centerpiece of the political architecture of Israel.

Ambassador Herzog declared that he was proud to live in a nation that had Arab ministers in the government and Arabs as elected members of the Knesset. Israel, he noted, has Arab officers and men in the armed forces by their own volition and not by compulsion. In addition, he stated, hundreds of thousands of Arabs visit Israel each year and thousands of Arabs from all over the Middle East come to Israel regularly for medical treatment.

Mr. Leonard Garment, speaking for the United States, declared that to "equate Zionism with racism was to distort

completely the history of the Zionist movement, born of the centuries of oppression suffered by the Jewish people in the Western World and designed to liberate an oppressed people by returning them to the land of their fathers". Mr. Garment warned the members of the Third Committee that the United Nations "was at the point of officially endorsing anti-Semitism, one of the oldest and most virulent forms of racism known to mankind". Mr. Garment continued by stating that the adoption of the resolution would encourage anti-Semitism and group hostility and "would make it impossible for some countries to cooperate in the elimination of racism and racial discrimination as a part of the work of the Decade (against racism)".

Public television in New York filmed the entire debate in the Third Committee of the UN. It is distressing that the people of the United States saw so little of this debate. Several networks in Europe played the whole debate or large parts of it on national television. The complete transcript of the debate makes clear to the reader the force and vehemence of the passions underlining the convictions of the speakers. The debate as televised offers an even more dramatic revelation of the profound misunderstandings, unbelievable misapprehensions and the titanic emotions which possessed the minds and hearts of the representatives of 72 nations who voted that Zionism cannot form the ideological

basis of any nation acceptable to the family of man.

The debate within the Third Committee will be viewed in the future by scholars and historians. The debate in the Plenary Session of the General Assembly is and will be the easily available record for all of mankind to view. It can be described without exaggeration as the most public trial of Jews and Judaism in the history of mankind.

Ambassador Herzog of Israel noted for the representatives of the 140 nations in the UN General Assembly that their deliberations on Zionism occurred precisely 37 years after "the night of November 10, 1938, when Hitler's Nazi storm-troopers launched a coordinated attack on the Jewish community in Germany, burned the synagogues in all these cities and made bonfires in the streets of the holy books and the scrolls of the holy law and the Bible". Ambassador Herzog stated that that occasion, the Kristallnacht, or the night of the Crystals, "led eventually to the crematoria and the gas chambers...to the most terrifying holocaust in the history of man". Israel's ambassador pointed out the irony that the United Nations, which began its life as an anti-Nazi alliance should, 38 years later, find itself on its way to becoming the world center of anti-Semitism. Herzog recalled that Judaism gave to the world "the Bible, with its Ten Commandments, the great prophets of old, Moses, Isaiah, Amos...and the great thinkers of history, Maimonides, Spinoza,

Marx, Einstein..."

Israel's spokesmen at the UN pointed out that the term "Zion" appears 152 times in the Old Testament referring to Jerusalem. During the centuries the term "Zion" expanded to mean for Jewish communities everywhere the whole of Israel. The return of those Jews who so desire to Israel need not in any way collide with the rights of 100 million Arabs settled in 20 states embracing 4. million square miles.

Ambassador Herzog concluded by asserting that "Over the centuries it has fallen to the lot of my people to be the testing agent of human decency, the touchstone of civilization, the crucible in which enduring human values are to be tested." Herzog opined that "a nation's level of humanity could invariably be judged by its behavior towards its Jewish population..." Israel's ambassador closed with this dramatic challenge:

The vote of each delegation will record in history its country's stand on anti-Semitic racism anti-Judaism. You yourself bear the responsibility for your stand before history...We the Jewish people will not forget.

Father Benjamin Nunez, the Ambassador of Costa Rica to the UN, cited Catholic and Protestant church leaders who had recently met in Memphis and declared in a joint

statement that "to compare Zionism with racism is a calumny against the Jews and a return to the old anti-Semitism that was a scourge of mankind for centuries". Father Nunez asserted that "so long as there exists in the world manifestations and vestiges of anti-Semitism, the Zionist movement has a goal to pursue". If the resolution is adopted, Father Nunez predicted, it "will serve as a warning to the Jewish people to intensify their Zionist activities and as a warning to all the free peoples of the world that the Hitlerite and fascist evil have not yet been eradicated from the face of the earth".

In addition, Father Nunez called the resolution "an unbridled invitation to genocide against the Jewish people". The resolution will, he said, "reopen chapters of history of pain and persecution for that people". Concluding with "a few words to my Jewish brothers", Father Nunez urged them not to be disheartened since "your long history...has permitted you to survive worse resolutions than this, and you will also survive this one".

The statements by national spokesmen in the General Assembly of the UN reflected closely what had been enunciated in the Third Committee. The principal exception was the presence in the full General Assembly of U.S. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan. His angry outbursts cannot be said to be unjustified, although the language and methods of diplomacy were not exactly complied with. Ambassador Moynihan said that "what we have here is a lie, a political

lie of a variety well known to the 20th century and scarcely exceeded in all the annals of untruth and outrage. The lie is that Zionism is a form of racism." Moynihan added that "the damage we now do to the idea of human rights and the language of human rights could well be irreversible".

Before adopting the anti-Zionist resolution the General Assembly defeated by a narrow vote of 67 to 55 an attempt to postpone consideration of the proposed resolution for one or two years.

The final vote on the resolution (72 yes, 35 no, 32 abstaining) demonstrates the immense power of the bloc of Arab countries at the UN. The total population of these 20 states is 137 million, just three percent of the world's people. The total output of this Arab bloc is about \$100 billion a year -- not even a tenth of the output of the United States alone. Despite the severe limitations of a very small population and a modest if growing economic output, the Arab bloc swayed a majority of the 142 nations in the General Assembly -- 104 of which come from the Third World.

Twenty-seven of the 35 nations voting against the anti-Zionist resolution were democracies. Only 14 of the 72 members of the UN who voted for the condemnation of Zionism were genuine democracies.

It is baffling to anyone seeking to empathize with

Zionism to see that the nations which voted against Zionism included Brazil, Mainland China, Mexico, the Soviet Union and Portugal. One perhaps can take some consolation in the fact that although only 29 nations opposed the resolution in the General Assembly's Third Committee, 35 nations opposed it in the full Assembly. Consequently, neither the vote on October 17 of the Third Committee or the vote of November 10 of the full General Assembly reflected the previous automatic majority of 80 percent or more which the Arab states had always attained up to that moment when they had proposed a resolution that would denigrate Israel.

Asia, with 33 states, was more solidified against Zionism than Africa. Of the 33 states, 24, or 73 percent, voted for the resolution, no nation voted against the proposal and nine nations abstained.

All of the 26 Latin American nations in the UN voted for the proposition, eight voted against, and twelve did not vote.

Of the twelve socialist states, only Rumania abstained. Of the 23 Western European nations, four voted in favor of the resolution, 18 opposed it and one was absent.

It is indeed disconcerting to note that a total of 86 percent of the 25 African, 24 Asian and 11 socialist nations voted in favor of the resolution that Zionism was a form of racism. There is no denying the fact that the vast majority of mankind voted for the condemnation of

Zionism. Mainland China, with one-fourth of humanity, voted for the resolution as did India, Pakistan and Indonesia. Add the population of these vast nations to the peoples of the African and Asian nations which rejected Zionism and one must conclude that well over 60 percent of humanity voted for the declaration that Zionism was somehow a racist philosophy.

The United States was clearly the staunchest and most powerful friend which Israel had in its struggle to fight back the anti-Zionist resolution in the General Assembly. Although the United States lost, it is significant that public opinion in America did not question or quarrel with the vigorous policy pursued by the United States in rejecting all anti-Zionist moves in the UN. Indeed, it may well be that public opinion favorable to Israel within the United States was deepened rather than diminished by Israel's humiliation at the UN. A Harris Poll released on December 15, 1975 revealed overwhelming disapproval of the UN action. A 66 to 12 percent majority of college educated persons disapproved of the resolution, as does an even higher 70 to eight percent majority of professional people. In fact, no where in the country does approval of the resolution reach a mark higher than 14 percent. The reaction of the public is that the UN resolution was aimed more at Jews than at the concept

of Zionism. No more than nine percent believed that "Zionism is racism". The only qualification that should be put on this poll is that some 42 percent of the people questioned were either not sure of the issue or simply had not followed the controversy at the UN.

The anti-Zionist resolution elicited more Christian support for Israel than in all probability any previous event in the history of that nation. Dr. Robert V. Moss, President of the United Church of Christ, issued these moving words:

Since the beginning of the biblical story, the history of humankind, the very souls of whole populations have been corrupted by the evil presence of those who would destroy the Jews. We should not be deceived by the use of the term Zionism. Sponsors of the resolution meant by it Jews and Judaism as well as the State of Israel.

The United Methodist Bishops of America called the anti-Zionist resolution "one-sided...indefensible...and irresponsible". They said the resolution "solves nothing, adds anguish to Jews...endangers support for the United Nations...dulls the edge of hopes for combating racism wherever it exists, precisely because definitions of racism and nationalism are now blurred".

Thirteen non-governmental religious organizations accredited to the UN jointly expressed fear that the anti-Zionist resolution would hurt chances for peace in the Middle East. The 13 organizations covered a broad spectrum of religious groups in America.

Jan Cardinal Willebrands, the Vatican's top ecumenical relations official, stated that he was amazed that the resolution made no effort to describe the meaning of Zionism and racism. The Cardinal stated that "with this way of acting, in my opinion, one cannot certainly help either justice or peace, which we all desire, in the Middle East".

John Cardinal Carberry of Saint Louis asserted that the UN in labeling Zionism as racism has "put itself on record as racist itself".

A significant statement on the anti-Zionist resolution emerged in November, 1975 from the Second Annual Christian-Jewish Workshop sponsored by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. The 60 participants signed a letter to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim denouncing the resolution as a "slander against Jews everywhere". The letter continued:

Zionism is a sacred word and concept in Judaism and as such, it merits the respect and understanding of all Christians aware of their Judaic roots and heritage.

Just prior to the approval of the resolution on November 10, the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, Claire Randall, deplored the resolution stating that it would "undermine the struggle against racism" and could revive "anti-Semitism in many places in the world".

Similarly, the non-denominational Protestant weekly, "The Christian Century", deplored the resolution in its November 5, 1975 issue. Its editorial stated:

Many Jews, as well as Christians, opposed the creation of a state based on the Jewish faith. But that was 30 years ago. The existence of Israel is no longer debatable. Israel is a reality...it (the resolution) is a hostile propagandistic action that has nothing to do with the question of racism.

The World Council of Churches urged the UN General Assembly to "reconsider and rescind" its endorsement of the resolution equating Zionism with racism. Dr. Philip A. Potter, General Secretary of the World Council, asserted that Zionism is "a complex historical process, expressing many different aspirations of the Jewish people over the years and is subject to many understandings and interpretations". None of these, he added, "can properly be used to condemn Zionism as racism". Dr. Potter commented that "Zionism has historically been a movement concerned with

the liberation of the Jewish people from oppression, including racial oppression".

"America", the national Catholic weekly, edited by Jesuits, editorialized that the anti-Zionist resolution meant that "an essential condition for peace in the Middle East -- the recognition of Israel's right to exist -- has been denied".

The national board of the YWCA lamented that "the ancient and historic longing of the displaced and persecuted people for homeland has been equated with racism...this distortion of Zionist aspirations can only serve to encourage anti-Semitism..."

After all of the sound and fury caused by the anti-Zionist resolution, one goes back and searches for some clue that would yield light as to the ultimate convictions and motivations of those who worked so diligently to bring it about that the United Nations would denounce Zionism as racism. One can search in the weekly news digest entitled "Swasia", a publication sympathetic to the Arab-Palestinian cause published by the National Council of Churches, but will find no support for the alleged link of Zionism with racism. The bulletin "Middle East Perspective", issued by Alfred M. Lilienthal, openly proclaims that Zionism is racism but can give only the arguments of automatic citizenship

in Israel for Jews, the alleged built-in expansionism necessary if Israel is to accommodate all of the Jews in the Diaspora and the alleged eviction of Palestinian Arabs by Israel.

Other groups sympathetic to the Arab case, such as the National Association of Arab Americans or the Washington-based Middle East Institute appear to be very reluctant to defend or even analyze the charge that racism is an inherent part of Zionism.

Unfortunately, there are very few individuals or organizations representing the Arab point of view with which the Congress or the country can interact. As TIME magazine stated on June 23, 1975, "Arab Americans have long been among the nation's least visible and vocal minorities." Arab Americans in the United States number between one million and 1.5 million; they are dispersed throughout the nation and divided by their various nation/^{al}and religious origins. One would hope that it need not be stated that criticism of those Arab leaders in the UN General Assembly who initiated the anti-Zionist resolution is compatible with the highest admiration and respect which every person, including this writer, should and does have for the venerated traditions of the Arab people and the magnificent contributions which Arab culture has brought to humanity.

The passage by the UN General Assembly of the anti-Zionist resolution was a far less drastic development than the Arab nations originally intended. It was clear in early 1975 that they hoped to expel or suspend Israel from the General Assembly just as South Africa was suspended in 1974. Arab governments launched a drive to isolate Israel diplomatically as a third alternative to the warfare which they lost and the negotiation after the October War of 1973 where they did not want to yield on their traditional positions. Strong assertions by members of the U.S. Congress to the effect that they would cut off American assistance to the United Nations may have caused several countries to back away from joining in the Arab nations' desire to eliminate Israel from the international body which created that country.

Although one cannot be certain, it seems highly probable that the adamant position of the government and Congress of the United States might well have prevented greater disasters to Israel and to the United Nations than actually occurred in the Zionism resolution on November 10, 1975.

The controversies about Israel's continued participation in UNESCO appear to involve more questions of fact than the anti-Zionist resolution and to that extent did not involve a total confrontation between Israel and the United Nations. Similarly, the difficulties concerning Israel's relationship with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International

Labor Organization (ILO) center not so much on the intrinsic essence of Zionism but rather on the unyielding position which Israel has adopted concerning the participation of the PLO in the affairs of the United Nations.

It is difficult to arrive at a balanced prediction of the long-range effect throughout the world of the anti-Zionist resolution of November 10, 1975. One can fear that its adoption by a world body might well mean a curtailment of the liberties of Jews who reside in the 72 countries that voted for the anti-Zionist resolution. On the other hand, the resolution is so vague and ungrounded in fact or reality that there is some possibility or hope that its impact could be minimal and its remembrance brief. In any event, the global dissemination of this frightening resolution should remind Christians that the centuries long struggle of the Jews for freedom and decency has by no means ended. Christians should remember the searing words of Father Edward Flannery, one of the few world experts on Jewish-Catholic relations, in an article entitled "Anti-Zionism and the Christian Psyche" Father Flannery wrote these sentiments:

"...it is the Christian above all who is expected to react more strongly to attacks on Jews. It is especially the Christian who is expected to rejoice at the upturn in the fortune of Jews that Zionism, or any other agency, has brought about in our own time.

The distance we appear to stand from this horror
and rejoicing is the measurement of that estrangement
which separates us on the deepest level of our souls."

ח' טבת תשל"ו
12 בדצמבר 75

אל: מר ח. הרצוג, השגריר, נאו"ם
מאת: צבי רפיה, וושינגטון

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הנדון: הצהרה המורשה דריינאן על דיון
עצרת או"ם בנושא הציונות

D-Mars

המורשה (האב) דריינאן, אחד מידידיה המובהקים של ישראל,
נשא ב-8 דנא במליאה ביה"נ נאוט בו הגיב על דיון עצרת האו"ם
בנושא הציונות. הוא מפרט אה עיקרי נאוטן, מנתח אה הרכב
המצביעה בעד ונגד ההחלטה ומסייט בהבעה דעתו על המדיניות שעל
ארה"ב לנקוט ביחס לאו"ם.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

צ. רפיה

התק: הקונכ"ל, בוסטון
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rhetoric in the General Assembly debate frequently characterized Zionism as apartheid since, according to this logic, granting citizenship by the law of return to Jews was an exaltation of Jews over non-Jews.

Ambassador Baroody of Saudi Arabia sought to make it clear that he had "no quarrel with Judaism—but with Zionism." He characterized the latter as a political movement "which originated in Europe and not in the Orient." The representative of Kuwait added to this idea by stating that Zionism, born as a political movement in 1897, is not inherent in the theology of Judaism. The spokesman from Kuwait inferred somehow from those who support the resolution against Zionism "direct attention away from the link because it gives preference to Jews."

The ambiguity and vagueness of the case of the proponents for the resolution that Zionism is racism was noted in brilliant language by Ambassador Waldron-Ramsey of Barbados. This distinguished gentleman pointed out that there was absolutely no evidence or proof of the allegation and that the resolution was, as a result, "intellectually dishonest." The spokesman from Barbados noted that those who support the resolution against Zionism "direct attention away from the fight against racism."

Ambassador Chaim Herzog noted early in the debate that the world was witnessing "the first organized attack on an established religion since the Middle Ages." The Ambassador noted that support for Zionism had been written into the League of Nations mandate and that in 1947, Zionism had been endorsed by the very General Assembly of the United Nations which now sought to undermine the very centerpiece of the political architecture of Israel.

Ambassador Herzog retaliated to the charge that Zionism is racism by asking the delegates from the Arab nations about the persecution of the 800,000 Jews who had lived for 2,000 years in the Arab lands. Those Jews were slaughtered, persecuted, driven into exile or, if they still remain in Arab countries, are subjected to the most outrageous forms of racism.

Ambassador Herzog stated that he was proud to live in a nation that has Arab ministers in the government and Arabs as elected members of the Knesset. Israel, he noted, has Arab officers and men in the armed forces by their own choice and not by compulsion. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Arabs visit Israel each year and thousands of Arabs from all over the Middle East come to Israel regularly for medical treatment.

On November 10, 1975, Ambassador Herzog in a moving statement noted that it was precisely 37 years ago, on November 10, 1938, that Hitler launched the stormtroopers in a coordinated attack on all of the synagogues of Germany. It was a night, the Ambassador stated, that led to the crematoria and the gas chambers and, "to the most terrifying holocaust in the history of man." The United Nations, the Ambassador continued, began its life as "an anti-Nazi alliance" but that now the General Assembly was operating in an atmosphere in which Hitler would feel very comfortable in the midst of the debate.

CONGRESSMAN DRINAN'S REFLECTIONS ON THE DEBATE ON ZIONISM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DRINAN) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, it is distressing that the people of the United States saw so little of the debate that led to a U.N. General Assembly resolution on November 10 stating that Zionism is a form of racism. Public television in New York, Channel 13, televised the entire debate and has replayed the debate six times. Several networks in Europe also played the whole debate or large parts of it. As a result of the very scant treatment given by either the written or the electronic press in America, the people of this country unfortunately know all too little about the deliberations of the Third Committee of the General Assembly and how and why its resolution on Zionism was accepted on November 10 by the Plenary General Assembly.

Arab spokesmen predominated among the relatively few who spoke in the General Assembly in favor of condemning Zionism. The principal contention made by Arab spokesmen was that Zionism had, in their judgment, expelled Palestinians and that, as a result, Zionism was a form of racism. The assumption of Arab proponents was that the Zionists allegedly expelled and expatriated a population in order to replace that population with a superior kind of person. Arab

Ambassador Herzog pointed out that in the Bible in the 10th century before Christ, the name Zion was given to the eastern-most of the two hills of ancient Jerusalem. The term Zion appears 152 times in the Old Testament and always refers to Jerusalem, the royal city and the city of the Temple. Zion was the place where the Lord had David installed as King.

In the 3,000 years since the term Zion was first placed in the sacred literature of the Jewish people, the concept of Zion has grown to mean the whole of Israel. Zion is central to Judaism because, as Ambassador Herzog observed, every Jew while praying wherever he is in the world, faces toward Jerusalem.

The Ambassador from Israel excoriated the proponents of the anti-Zionist resolution—a proposition which, in his judgment, denied the very central precepts of the United Nations. Ambassador Herzog concluded that "a nation's level of humanity can invariably be judged by its behavior toward its Jewish population."

Some very trenchant arguments against the anti-Zionist resolution were made by Father Joseph Nunez, the delegate from Costa Rica. Father Nunez, a Catholic priest, spoke about Christian leaders, who, at a recent meeting in Memphis, stated that "to compare Zionism with racism is a calumny against the Jews * * * and a return to the old anti-Semitism that was a scourge of mankind for centuries." Father Nunez stated that the resolution is "an unbridled invitation to genocide against the Jewish people * * * which will reopen chapters of history of pain and persecution for that people."

Father Nunez stated that the resolution blatantly violated the very U.N. Charter itself where in article I, the key purpose of the U.N. is described as "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems * * * and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." The anti-Zionist resolution consequently violated the very first article of the U.N. Charter where protection for religion is guaranteed.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE VOTING ON THE ZIONIST RESOLUTION

Although there is very little evidence to justify an optimistic view of the anti-Zionist votes cast by the 72 nations, an analysis of the various blocs is revealing. The African bloc is badly split. Of 45 African nations in the General Assembly, 25—or 56 percent—voted for the proposition. Two nations voted against, and 18 abstained. The African delegates were, of course, torn, since they desired to preserve the program of the decade against racism.

Asia, with 33 states, was more solidified against Zionism than Africa. Of the 33 states, 24, or 73 percent, voted for the resolution, no nation voted against, and 9 abstained.

Five of the 26 Latin American nations in the U.N. voted for the proposition, eight voted against, and 12 did not vote.

Of the 12 socialist states, only Romania abstained. Of the 23 Western European nations, 4 voted in favor of the resolution, 18 opposed it, and 1 was absent.

It is indeed depressing to note that a total of 86 percent of the 25 African, 24 Asian, and 11 socialist nations voted in favor of the resolution that Zionism was a form of racism. On the other hand, it is encouraging to note that of all of the Western European nations, 89 percent voted against the resolution.

There is no denying the fact that the vast majority of mankind voted for the condemnation of Zionism. Mainland China, with one-fourth of humanity, voted for the resolution as did India, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Add the population of these vast nations to the peoples of the African and Asian nations which rejected Zionism, and one must conclude that well over 60 percent of humanity voted for the declaration that Zionism was somehow a racist philosophy.

It is interesting to note that Chile, which had voted "Yes" in the Third Committee, abstained in the Plenary Session of the General Assembly. Spain followed an identical course of action. There appears to be no public explanation or justification for the votes of Mexico and Brazil in favor of the anti-Zionist resolution.

BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS SWIFTLY PASSED A CONDEMNATION OF THE ANTI-ZIONIST RESOLUTION

The House of Representatives by a vote of 384 to zero enacted House Resolution 855, which stated that the U.N. resolution "encourages anti-Semitism by wrongly associating and equating Zionism with racism—thereby contradicting a fundamental purpose of the U.N. Charter."

The press in America and elsewhere has been overwhelmingly opposed to the resolution on Zionism. Christian religious bodies have, as never before, reacted with total abhorrence to the resolution condemnatory of Zionism. The World Council of Churches meeting in Africa denounced the resolution on Zionism in unusually strong terms.

Countless people in the Congress and in the country are thinking of ways by which the unfortunate resolution of the General Assembly on Zionism could be rescinded or reversed. To reopen a question in the General Assembly, a vote of two-thirds or 96 nations would be required. It may be, nonetheless, that already some of the socialist nations are wondering whether their vote against Zionism may impede their efforts for detente. Similarly, some developing nations may be having some second thoughts about the way in which they voted in solidarity with the Arab nations.

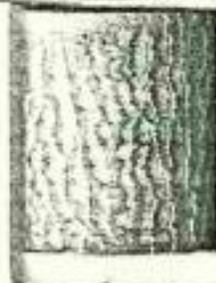
No one at this moment can predict with any degree of certainty what might transpire in the future concerning this dark moment in the history of the United Nations: 104 of the 142 nations in the U.N. are from the Third World. Those from this bloc that voted against Zionism have many motives that led them to this decision. It would seem logical to

feel that the pressure of the Arab nations, their chief supplier of oil, might well be the principal motivation for the anti-Zionist vote. If this is so, both the United States and the United Nations can put pressure on the Arab nations to desist from such coercion.

In the days to come, many voices will be urging a reappraisal of the U.S. involvement in the United Nations. In 1973, the United States provided \$405 million or 31 percent of all contributions to the United Nations. Since the establishment in 1945 of the U.N., the United States has contributed \$5.5 billion to the United Nations.

Despite all of the disappointments which all of us have had concerning the United Nations, the fact remains that it is the one international agency capable of being developed into a unit which will guarantee the rule of law among all nations. Israel has announced that it has absolutely no intention of withdrawing and has in fact urged the United States to set aside any thought of a lessening of U.S. participation. We must remember that the Arab Nations have a total of 137 million people, just 3 percent of the world's total population. There simply have to be ways by which their economic and political warfare against Israel be controlled so that it does not bring about deterioration and paralysis within the United Nations.

The United States should work actively to secure a reversal of this vote by the General Assembly by providing objective information on Zionism to nations who supported the resolution on the basis of emotion rather than reason. At the same time, we should refuse to participate in or finance any U.N. activity aimed at implementing this abhorrent resolution. Moreover, the United States should propose changes in the U.N. Charter and bylaws to separate completely political issues from cultural, health, scientific, and economic development programs operated under U.N. auspices. No nation should be excluded from participation in these important programs of international cooperation on any political grounds. These and other measures will hopefully help stem the tide of irrationality at the United Nations and begin to restore that organization to its original principles of world peace and respect for human rights and human dignity.



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כל המוסד תוכן מסמך זה, כולו
או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך
לכך - עובר על החוק לתיקון
דיני העונשין (בסחון המדינה
יחסי חוץ וסודות רשמיים),
תשי"ז - 1957.

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס-משווג

שמו

מס' 7021
17/13

אל: המשור

מאה: וושינגטון

מס. 205

נשלח: 131700 דצמ 78

נתקבל: 140037 דצמ 78

מצפא, מזאר, דע: גבריאל-כאן

סנטור JOHN DURKIN. דמוקרט מניו המפשייר, שהשתתף במשלחת הסנטורים לבריהם שיגר לי, עם סובו
המכתב שלהלן. הנוסח המלא של דבריו שולח בדים הבא.

AS YOU MAY KNOW, I WAS ONE OF ELEVEN SENATORS WHO RECENTLY
RETURNED FROM A TWELVE-DAY U.S. DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO THE
SOVIET UNION.

KNOWING YOU SHARE MY GRAVE CONCERN ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF
SOVIET JEWS AND RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR FREEDOM TO EMIGRATE BY
THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, I THOUGHT YOU WOULD BE INTERESTED IN MY
LEAD-OFF ADDRESS ON THIS SUBJECT TO MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET
SUPREME.

MY REMARKS SET FORTH IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THE UNITED
STATES' DEEP COMMITMENT TO JEWS WHO WISH TO EMIGRATE FROM THE
SOVIET UNION AND TO THOSE WHO REMAIN THERE. IT WAS MADE CLEAR
TO SOVIET OFFICIALS THAT IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO
GOVERNMENTS WOULD REMAIN CONTINGENT UPON THEIR IMPROVED
TREATMENT OF SOVIET JEWS AND SOVIET EMIGRATION POLICIES.

OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS WERE FRANK, AND I
BELIEVE THEY CAME AWAY FROM OUR MEETINGS WITH A BETTER
UNDERSTANDING OF AMERICAN POLITICAL REALITIES AND THE DEPTH OF
THE AMERICAN PUBLIC'S CONCERN ABOUT THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWS.

SINCERELY,

JOHN A. DURKIN.-

ADKAN

RAFIACH.-

הנה המס' 7021
17/13

כל המוסר תוכן מסמך זה, כולו או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך לכך - עובר על החוק לתיקון דיני העונשין (בטחון המדינה יחסי-חוק וסודות רשמיים). תשי"ז - 1957.

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס-מסווג

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מס' 133
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מס 133
משלח 081900 מס 76

אל : תמסר
מאת : וושינגטון

אל: משה רביב

נפגשתי היום, יוזמתי, לצדדים עם סנטור ג'ון דמוקרטי מניו-המפשייר. כזכור היה בין הבודדים שהצביעו בשעתו נגד הטכנאים בסיני וכנ השתתף בארוחה שערכ לאדוונה אבורזק לשפיק אלחות. השבתי לשאלותיו הרבות בעניני סוריה, לבנון, הגוד הטובה, ירדן, פלשתינאים, אשייפ, הנשק לסעודיה, הסיוע האמריקני לישראל ועוד. להלן מתוכ הדברים שאמר:

- א. חזר ואמר כי יש לאהייב מחוייבות כפולה לקיומה ובטחונה של ישראל - הנ מוסרית והנ מתוכ אינטרס אמריקני. ללא ישראל יוצר חלל ריק באזור שיהא מסוכן מאד גם לארהייב.
- ב. התנגד בשעתו למכירת ההוקים לירדן. מסתייג גם מהמכיה הגדולה לסעודיה. (דוקין הצטרף פומבית להחלטות הסירוב שהגיש אתמול פרוקמאיר ל- עסקות הנשק לסעודיה, איראן, פקיסטאן, הפיליפינים, וסינגפור).
- ג. התנגדותו להצבת הטכנאים לסיני לא נבעה מתוכ התנגדות לישראל או לחסכם אלא מתוכ התנגדות לצורה בה הביא אאת הממשל לידיעת הקונגרס. ייאנינו מאמטנ לקסינגיריי.
- ד. אל לנו לדאות בתשתתפותו בארוחה לשפיק אל חות הזדהות או אהיה לאשייפ. אלחות דייב בלשונ קיצונית נגד ישראל. דוקין החשמ ממנו כי אפשרות פתרון בין אשייפ לישראל היא כפתרון בין הקתולים והפרוטסטנטים באירלנד.
- ה. הזמנתיו לבקר לישראל, אמר שיבוא בדצון, בהן שיפו כי אבו-רזק פועל עתה לארגון נסיעות סנטורים לארצות ערב.
- ו. על קארטר אמר כי ינצח בבחירות אבל בהפרש קטנ הדיבה יותר מכפי שהעריכו תחילה. יש לקארטר בעיות קשות עם הקתולים בעיקר בניו-אינגלנד וגם במדינות כנסילבניה, ניו-גירסי ואוהיו. האירים האיטלקים והצרפתים אינם מבינים אותו. הוא אינו מדבר אל לבם ואינו חש אותם כהלכה.

הערה: מאתי אצלו אהיה והכנה בסיסית לישראל שיש לטפחה. נדברנו כי אוסיף לתדרכו.

רפ"ד
שהח רחם מנכל ממנכל ממנכל מצפא מזתים חקר רים
מא/גא

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

י"ח אייר תשל"ו
18 במאי 1976

249

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: צבי רפיה, וושינגטון

הנדון: פנסור דרקין - דמוקרטי פניו-המפשייר
טכתבט 19 מ-12 דנא

הנ"ל נכנס להפקידו רק בספטמבר 1975, לאחר שהבחירות בניו-
המפשייר נערכו מחדש. הוא חבר ועדות המסחר, העבודה-והרווחה
והחיילים המשוחררים. מצ"ב גם קיצור הביוגרפיה שלו מהוך מדריך
הקונגרס ל-1976. בנושא המזה"ה טרם הספיק להתבטא. הצביע נגד
הטכנאיט בסיני.

באשר לטורשה קרבס : אכן הוא יליד הארץ, דובר עברית וידידותי.

בבכ"ה
צ. רפיה

12/5 Levi
A.J.C

JOHN A. DURKIN, Democrat, of Manchester, N.H.; born March 29, 1937; graduated: St. John's High School, Worcester, Mass., 1955; Holy Cross College, Worcester, 1959; and Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C., 1965; served in the U.S. Navy and JAG Corps Reserve; admitted to the Massachusetts Bar, 1966; New Hampshire insurance commissioner, 1968-73; New Hampshire assistant attorney general, 1967-68; past president, Merrimack Valley Navy League; P.E.R. Manchester Lodge of Elks; Common Cause; Council for Better Schools; married to the former Patricia Moses, 1965; three children: Andrea E., John E., and Sheilagh; was a candidate on November 5, 1974, to the United States Senate, which election was contested, resulting in the Senate declaring the seat for the 6-year term commencing January 3, 1975; vacant as of August 8, 1975 (Senate Resolution 54, 94th Congress); elected in a special election, September 16, 1975, for the term ending January 3, 1981; sworn into office September 18, 1975.

013

1255173

7

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

~~115735~~

ה באב חשל"ח
8 באוג' 1978

פיקסאז

א ל : מצפ"א

מאת : צ. רפיה, וושינגטון

טק דרוינסקי

הנדון: ביטול הסיוע הכלכלי לסוריה

החקרתי עם אד דרוינסקי והבעתי הערכתנו על הנאום שנשא במליאת ביה"נ, בעת הגישו את התיקון לשלילת הסיוע לסוריה, ובמיוחד על התייחסותו לנושא יהודי סוריה.

דרוינסקי סיפר כי במחמ"ד הופתעו ואף נדהמו מהעובדה שהתיקון אושר, וברוב כה גדול.

בתחילה חשבו במחמ"ד להניע חברי ביה"נ לדרוש הצבעה חוזרת ואולם דרוינסקי הניא אותם מלעשות זאת, באמרו שיהיה טאבק קשה נגד מחמ"ד בענין זה והממשל יפסיד.

הטקטיקה של הממשל עתה היא להשתדל למנוע אישור תיקון דומה בעת הדיון שיקויים במליאת הסינאט ולאחר-מכן להכשיל זאת בקונפרנס.

ואולם, לדברי דרוינסקי, תיקון שנתקבל בביה"נ ברוב כה גדול יקשה על נציגי ביה"נ להסכים לביטולו.

בדיכוד
צבי רפיה

העתק : תפוצה

מרכז

י. בן אהרן, נ"י

ד. הורגמן, כאן

RECEIVED
1975



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON D.C.

1975
JAN 15

TO : DIRECTOR
FROM : AMBASSADOR

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible text block]

[Handwritten signature]

RECEIVED

1975

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

למנין

כ" בכסלו תשל"ח

30 בנובמבר 1977

א ל: מר צ. רפיה, וושינגטון

מאת: מנן מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: ביקור המורשה ריגס

להלן דוחות הקטורים בנושא הכושים העבריים.

בנפרד תקבל דו"ח נוסף הנוגע לשיחותיו על

דרום אפריקה.

הצחק:

בברכה,

מ. בבלי

מר י. לוי, הקונסוליה הכללית
ניו יורק

מר ב. גבון, הסגרירות,
וושינגטון

10/20/50

10/20/50

10/20/50

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10/20/50

משרד החוץ

אגף 3

אמריקה הלטינית - אסיה - אוקיאניה - אפריקה

447

שמור

ירושלים, י"ט בכסלו תשל"ח
29 בנובמבר 1977

אל: מר מיכאל בבלי, ס/מנהל מצפ"א

שר הפנים
מר מ. ארד, סמנכ"ל
לשכת המנכ"ל

הנדון: הכושים העבריים - שיחה עם גב"ד"ר צ'לנאור

ב-20 דנא ליוותי את גב"ד"ר צ'לנאור לנמל התעופה ובדרך מירושלים לנתב"ג שוחחתי איתה בנדון.

היא אמרה שבקהיליה השחורה בארה"ב יש התענינות בנושא. מר דיגס מעריך מאד את נכונותו של שר הפנים לשוחח איתו בנדון. צריך להיות ברור לנו שטיפול לא נכון בבעיית הכושים העבריים יכול לגרום לנו צרות בקרב דעת הקהל הכושיה בארה"ב. גם מר דיגס וגם היא עצמה סבורים שיחס שלנו אל הכושים העבריים הוא יחס מפלה (discriminatory). (היא לא אמרה שמפלה כשל צבע עורם, אך לדעתי התכוונה לכך). מר דיגס והיא עצמה אינם מוכנים לקבל שחוק ההגירה שלנו מפלה את הכושים העבריים לרעה.

אמרתי לה שטוור שהיא משתמשת במונח "מפלה" כי ההיפך הוא הנכון. למעט יהודים שחוק השבות מקנה להם זכות שיבה למולדתם ושחוק מיטודות מסד של מדינת ישראל הריבונות, הרי חוק ההגירה וההתאזרחות הנו שווה לכל. אין הוא מתייחס כלל לקבוצות אלא לכל פרט כאשר הוא פרט. לכן גם אין אנו יכולים לקבל ההנהגות של פרטים (ובודאי שלא כאשר הם מתארגנים לצורך זה), המנטיים לרמות את השלטונות החוקיים בנוגע לכוונתם בכואם אלינו ולא נוכל להסכים שפרט כלשהו יבוא כתביעה מיוחדת כלפי המדינה, תביעות לזכויות שאינן מוענקות לאחרים.

גב"ד"ר צ'לנאור לא השיבה על כך אלא אמרה שבארה"ב אין אפליה כלפי קבוצות מהגרים ועובדת היא שקיימת בה קהילה יהודית גדולה וחשובה. גב"ד"ר צ'לנאור אינה מוכנה לקבל שכמדינה בעלת גודל אוכלוסייה כמו ישראל אין נכונות לאפשר הגירתם אליה של אנשים המאמינים שזוהי זכותם הטבעית והמאמינים שהם שבים לארצם.

ניסיתי לשוב ולהסביר שאין מדובר כאן במספרים מסוימים של מהגרים, כי כאשר מדובר בקביעה מעמד משפטי, הרי אין הדעה טובלת לקבוע כללים מיוחדים וחורגים כלפי קבוצות מסוימות. דווקא בכך הייתה משום אפליה. אמרתי שהיא ומר דיגס הרי מודעים לעובדת ההטרובגניות של אוכלוסייה ישראל, בה ניתן למצוא אנשים בעלי רקע הרבותי וצבעי עור שונים ושאינן קיימת כאן שום הפליה שהיא. לזה היא הסכימה, אך לא ויתרה על הטענה וציינה שזוהי דעתו של מר דיגס, כי עצם חוק ההגירה שלנו הוא מפלה.

היא אמרה עוד שמר דיגס יכתוב, לאחר שובו לארה"ב לשר הפנים שלנו, יודה לו על השיחה ויזכיר שהוא מצפה לחומר התעודי המובטח. השיבותי שאנו נעביר חומר תעודי זה בצינורות הדיפלומטיים שלנו, אך, כפי שכבר הזכיר שר הפנים בשיחתו עם מר דיגס, ביקורו של נשיא מצרים בארץ עלול לדחות דחית מה הן את משלוח החומר המובטח והן כל שאר הדיונים בנדון שיהיו עם שגרירות ארה"ב בארץ.

ב ב ר כ ה,
יואל אלון

128
1277

October 21, 1951
Washington, D.C.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Re: James Earl Ray - alias of Eric Starvo Galt

Enclosed for you are two copies of a letterhead memorandum prepared by the

San Francisco office on October 18, 1951, regarding the activities of James Earl Ray, alias Eric Starvo Galt, in the San Francisco area. The letterhead memorandum is being furnished to you for your information and for your files.

The letterhead memorandum is being prepared by the San Francisco office as a result of information received from a confidential source in the San Francisco area. The information received from this source indicates that James Earl Ray, alias Eric Starvo Galt, is currently residing in the San Francisco area and is engaged in various activities.

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J. Edgar Hoover
Director

446
שמו

ירושלים, י"ט בכסלו תשל"ח
29 בנובמבר 1977

אל: מר מיכאל בבלי, ס/מנהל מצפ"א

שר הפנים
סר.מ. ארד, סמנכ"ל
לשכת המנכ"ל

הנדון: שיחת שר הפנים עם מר Charles Diggs, יו"ר תת הועדה לעניני
אפריקה של קונגרס ארה"ב

השיחה החקיימה ב-18 בנובמבר וערכה כ-40 דקות. אל מר דיגס נילוו גב' Dr. Herschelle
Challenor עוזר בכיר בוועדה ומר Kerr, ראש המדור הקונסולרי בשגרירות
ארה"ב בישראל.

מר דיגס פתח וסיפר שהוא מגיע אל השר ישר מביקור שערך בדימונה אצל הכושים העבריים.
התרשם שמצבם קשה. לשאלת השר מדוע הוא מתעניין באופן מיוחד בנושא, השיב מר דיגס שהוא
פעיל במה שקרוי the black caucus, אך גם משום קשרים שיש לכושים העבריים
לבני הקהילה השחורה בדיסרויאים שהיא מחוז הבחירה שלו.

שר הפנים אמר שקיימות הרכה אי הבנות בנושא הכושים העבריים ושהוא שמח לשוחח בנודון עם
מר דיגס.

מר דיגס מען כי קיימת חוסר קומוניקציה בנושא. איננו מכיר את המכניזם הקיים בישראל
בענין זה ומה בכלל ידוע לנו על אנשים אלה. אמר שלדעתו היתה צריכה לקום ועדה מיוחדת
לבדוק את המצב. לדעה מר דיגס יש בעיה של image profile לכושים העבריים,
כלומר שיש להם דימוי הן בעיני ממשלת ישראל והן בפני הציבור הישראלי כאילו מדובר
בקבוצת רדיקלים עושי צרות. מכוודים אותם. מר דיגס הוסיף לדוגמא שאפילו למר קר
מהשגרירות האמריקניה שהוא איש הקשר איתם היו קשיים לקיים איתם הקשר. לכל הקהילה
בדימונה אין מכשיר טלפון. כאשר מר קר ניסה להתקשר למטמרה דימונה כדי שזו תעביר
ידיעה, המטמרה סרבה. לבסוף העביר מר קר הידיעה במברק.

השר שאל את מר קר אם הוא רוצה לטעון כאילו הוא אינו חופשי להתקשר איתם. מר קר אמר
שהבעיה היא שכושים העבריים אין כחובות ברורות, אך הוסיף כי אכן קיימות בעיות בין
המטמרה לבין הכושים העבריים. השר העמיד את מר קר על העובדה שבארץ ובדימונה יש רבים
שאין להם טלפון.

מר דיגס אמר שהבעיה העיקרית של הכושים העבריים הוא חוסר מעמד חוקי (status)
כלשהו. כשבאו הראשונים קיבלו מעמד, אך עם בוא הקבוצות הנוספות נשלל מהם מעמד חוקי
כלשהו. החדשים כבר לא זכו לשום מעמד. בהיותם חסר מעמד חוקי, הם אינם מקבלים שום
שירותים כגון חינוך לילדיהם בבתי הספר, טיפול רפואי. מר דיגס שמע מהם על מקרה שכאשר
אם חולה הובהלה לבית החולים בבאר שבע, הטיפול נשלל ממנה.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To: _____
From: _____

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am writing to you regarding the information received from _____ concerning the activities of _____ in the _____ area.

The information indicates that _____ has been active in the _____ area, and it is believed that this activity is of a _____ nature.

It is requested that you advise this Bureau of any further information you may receive concerning this matter.

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosed for your information are _____ copies of _____ and _____ copies of _____.

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

- 2 -

גם המטרה נוגעת בהם הטרדות (harassments) שונות. לרובם, הופיעו שוטרים ללא הודעה בשיכוני הכושים העבריים לעריכת חיפושים, דבר שהפחיד את הילדים.

מר קר ציין שמקרים כאלה שייכים לעבר.

מר דיגס הוסיף וטען שמנעו מכושים עבריים אשר ביקשו לנסוע לארה"ב לביקור קרובים חולים לעשות כן וכמו כן מונעים ביקורי קרוביהם אצלם בארץ, אפילו כאשר מדובר בביקור חולים.

השר השיב: כל ענין הכושים העבריים החל ב-1968 כאשר הגיעה הקבוצה הראשונה, 7 משפחות מה"ב. אלה טענו אז שהם יהודים ורוצים לבוא לארץ. למעשה לאיש לא היה ברור מה הם בדיוק. מטעלת ישראל הסכימה לכניסתם לארץ, כלומר של אותן שבע משפחות. יחד עם זאת חייבים להבין שישראל אשר היה במצב שאיננו שלום ושאין לה גבולות מוכרים נוגעת במדיניות הגירה קפדנית. בכל זאת הסכימה כאמור הממשלה לכניסת 7 המשפחות הראשונות. איש לא טבע בהן והוענקו להן כל השרותים המקובלים. לאחר מכן הגיעו אחרים שנכנסו לארץ באמתלה שהם חיירים. נסעו לדימונה וטרבו לעזוב את הארץ כפי שמחייב מאנשים להם אשרת תייר. חלק מהם קרעו את דרכניהם האמריקנים.

השר הוסיף שלפעמים אנו מבחינים עם כניסת אנשים לארץ שהם בעצם אינם חיירים וטענתם שהם כאלה אינה אלא אמתלה. גם הגיעו קבוצות חדשות לדימונה באמתלות שונות ומפוקפקות. למעשה החישוב ב-deep south של ישראל מושג שבארץ אינו אלא מושג גיאוגרפי. ישיבתם בדימונה אינה רצויה לנו כשל בעיות אבטלה שהם עלולים לגרום בעידת פיתוח כזאת.

הכושים העבריים טרבו להבהיר מה הם ומי הם. ברור שהם אינם יהודים. לפעמים טענו אפילו טענות גזעניות, דהיינו שהם היהודים האמיתיים הבלעדיים. זה הגיע לבית המשפט העליון שדחה טענה זו. אלה שיושבים בדימונה או מנהיגיהם ניסו במקרים אחדים לפעול בכפייה (coercion) ובלחץ (pressure) נגד אותן המשפחות שהסכימו לשוב לארה"ב. שר הפנים ציין שיש בידינו חומר תעודי המוכיח נסיונות כפייה ולחץ כאלה והוא מוכן להעביר אותו לרשות מר דיגס.

כדי להמחיש את האמתלות המשונוה שכושים עבריים המבקשים להכנס לארץ משחששים בהן, סיפר השר שלפני חודשיים באה קבוצה שטענה שהם חייבים לבוא ארצה כדי להטביל את ילדיהם. השר אמר שמעולם לא שמע על חובה איזושהי לבוא ארצה משיקנו לשם הטבלת ילדים. עובדה היא שכאשר הגיעו לדימונה קרעו את דרכניהם ואח כרטיסי הסיסה (לשיבה לארה"ב) שבידיהם. זוהי הוכחה, אמר השר, שיש מאתוריהם יד מארגנת הדואגת שהכל יפעלו בדרך אחידה. התוצאה הנובעת מקריעה דרכונים שאין אנו יכולים לזהותם כלל. מי שרוצה לוותר על אזרחותו האמריקנית שלא יעשה זאת בארץ דה אלה הגיע והורשה לבוא כתייר.

מר קר התערב כאן וציין שחוק הדרכונים של ארה"ב מרשה ויתור כזה על האזרחות האמריקנית.

השר אמר שהוא מוכן להתווכח על כך ויעלה את הענין עם שגריר ארה"ב.

השר הוסיף שישראל מוכנה לשלם כרטיס טיסה לצורך שיבה לארה"ב לכל מי שיביע רצונו לעשות כן. כינתיים אנו אפילו לא יודעים מי הם בני הקהילה כאן, מה הרכב המשפחות, מי מהם חי ולא במסגרת נישואין (promiscuity) וכמה ילדים נולדו ולמי מהם. אין השר רוצה לערוך חקירה בנדון באמצעות המטרה. אין אנו רוצים בשימוש בכוח בדימונה, אך הבעיה קיימת והיא קיימת טעום שאנשים שבאו כחיירים רוצים לכפות על המדינה להעניק להם מעמד ושרותים שאינם מביעים לחיירים.

מר דיגס השיב: חייבים לעשות משהו. האנשים האלה חייבים לקבל מעמד (status) כלשהו. הם חייבים להשאר בישראל כי הם רואים את הארץ ככיתם. (homeland). הם לא חובעים בלעדיות כאשר לזכות השיבה לארץ ולישיבה בה. מר דיגס שאל אם קיים איזושהו מכניזם שאפשר להם זאת? הוסיף שהוא שמע מהם שהם מוכנים להיכנס להסכם עם ממשלת ישראל של פיקוח

The first part of the report is a general description of the project, its objectives, and the scope of the work.

The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study.

The third part of the report is a detailed description of the results of the study, including the data collected and the analysis performed.

The fourth part of the report is a discussion of the results, including an interpretation of the findings and a comparison with previous research. The fifth part of the report is a conclusion, summarizing the main findings and the implications of the study.

The sixth part of the report is a list of references, including books, articles, and other sources used in the study. The seventh part of the report is an appendix, containing additional information related to the study.

The eighth part of the report is a list of figures and tables, including a description of each figure and table. The ninth part of the report is a list of abbreviations and acronyms used in the study.

The tenth part of the report is a list of acknowledgments, thanking those who provided assistance and support during the study. The eleventh part of the report is a list of appendices, including a description of each appendix.

The twelfth part of the report is a list of references, including books, articles, and other sources used in the study. The thirteenth part of the report is an appendix, containing additional information related to the study.

The fourteenth part of the report is a list of figures and tables, including a description of each figure and table. The fifteenth part of the report is a list of abbreviations and acronyms used in the study.

The sixteenth part of the report is a list of acknowledgments, thanking those who provided assistance and support during the study. The seventeenth part of the report is a list of appendices, including a description of each appendix.

משרד החוץ

אגף 3

א מ ר י ק ה ת ל ט י נ י ת - א ס י ה - א ו ק י א נ י ה - א פ ר י ק ה

- 3 -

על תנועת הגירה נוספת הן לארץ והן ממנה על בסיס של החלופה (replacement) .

השר אמר שהוא מעולם לא שמע על הצעה זו .
השר סיכם שאכן הוא ישלח את כל החומר התעודי שהבטיח לשר דיגס, לרבות הוכחות על לחצים של הקהילה על כושים עבריים והמגיעים הנה לפעול בדרך מאורגנת .

כמו כן יספול, יחד עם סמנכ"ל גב' היבנר ועם מר קר משגרירות ארה"ב, בפחרון בעיה זיהוי הנמצאים כאן .

השר חזר על הבטחתו לשלם כרטיס טיסה לארה"ב לכל אחד שיסכים לשום שמה .

השר חזר על נכונותו להוכיח לשגרירות ארה"ב כאן שאין תפיסה בישראל לחוק האמריקני של ויתור על האזרחות .

השר אמר לבסוף שבשכועות הקרובים יבדוק את כל הבעיות אשר מר דיגס העלה, כדי למצוא פתרון, לרבות את טשטעות ההצעה של הכושים העבריים עליה שמע השר ממר דיגס בדבר הסכם בין הכושים העבריים לבין המטטלה על תנועת ההגירה .

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יואל אלון

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

- 1 -

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1





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קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
סן פרנסיסקו

846

20.11.78

כ" חסון תשל"ט

ת"ס קונסיס דנקן

אל: צבי רפיה, הסגרירות ואשינגטון
טאט: הקונב"ל, סן פרנסיסקו

הנדון: קונגרסמן דנקן - דחיית ביקור

בהמשך לשיחה'נא עם נתי המיר:

ר' נא ברצ"ב העתק מכתב מנהל הפדרציה בפורטלנד
לקונגרסמן דנקן המדבר בעד עצמו.

בכוח

מ. ארציאלי

✓
העתק: טטפ"א
טאור

מ. ארציאלי, תפוצות.

3.10.75

ש מ ר

גלן

אל : הקונסול הכללי, סן-פרנסיסקו
מאת: מנהל מצ"א בפועל

הנדון: המורשה רוברט דנקו (ד-אורגנון)
מכתב 966 מיום 25.8.75

1. קראתי בענין את הדוח מיום 14.8.75 אשר צורף אל מכתב הנ"ל על מנישת מנהיגים יהודיים בפורטלנד עם הנ"ל (12.8.75) אני מסכים עמך שהנו מדויב.
2. הרשה לי לנקוב בכמה המרשמויות בנוסף להערות שהשגת ^למכתבך מיום 26.8.75 אל דוד רוברט.

3. להלן כמה הערות:-

נראה שהמנישת עם ארגון האמריקנים ממוצא סורי בפורטלנד השפיעה כמצופה לרעה. עובדה זו משתלבת עם המידע על הגברת פעילותם של ארגונים ערביים שונים כלפי חברי קונגרס.

אין היכא איטוא שלרעה דנקו מגלה הקונגרס רגישות מופרזת לאינטרסיה של ישראל.

נדמה ש"הסורים" הסיתו אותו בענין חלחלים של הלובי היהודי (וכן ודאי של אילי ההון היהודיים וכולי).

הרפזים ללובי היוני היו כנראה דו-משמעותיים.

את הדעה שהשטיק בענין הקון ג'קסון (3.1.75) והגידה יהודי כרה"ם שמעתי גם מפי אנשי קונגרס אחרים (לא ירדותיים במיוחד), כגון סנטור סקוט מוירגיניה או המורשה אובי מויסקונסין. נדמה שבירתה זו קנתה לה יתר אריזה מאד הסתלקותה הפורטליה של כרה"ם ב- 10.1.74 מהחכם הסחר ^למקני - הסוביטי מ- 1972.

כן ברור שהוא קבל שטיפה מוח בענין הפלמטינים (אף כי מושגיו כדברין בנושא זה לוקים בשטחיות-תודעה די נפוצה).

4. איני בטוח שזוהו הסטוחים עמו היה לצויד" כחלכה לעמדה.

5. מכל מקום הנ"ל סוכית שוב לדעתי את החשיבות הנודעת לחפול במורשים במחוזות הבחירה שלהם ובמדינותיה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

דוד בן-דב

העתיק: מר צבי רפיה, רושינגטון

1944

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK DURING THE YEAR 1944

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK DURING THE YEAR 1944

The work of the Institute during the year 1944 has been devoted to the study of the properties of the various types of...

The first part of the report deals with the study of the properties of the various types of...

The second part of the report deals with the study of the properties of the various types of...

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The tenth part of the report deals with the study of the properties of the various types of...



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קונסולות כללית של ישראל

סן פרנציסקו

966

י"ח אלול תשל"ה
25 אוגוסט 1975
362;422.1

100

אל: מר צ. רפיה, וושינגטון.
מאח: הקונסול הכללי, סן פרנציסקו.

הנדון: קונגרסמן רוכס דונקן, דמוקרט, אורגון.

1. מצורף בזה דו"ח מעניין ביותר (וקצה מדאיג) על מפגש בין הנ"ל וקבוצת מנהיגים יהודיים בפורטלנד.
2. במקום לכתוב לך הערות אני מצרף בזה אח מכתבי לדוד רוברטס ששלח לי את הדו"ח.
3. באיזה מידה אתה מתחלק במידע מסוג זה עם מורי אמיתי?
4. שים לב בעיקר לסי/פא של הדו"ח - כנראה שמישהו, לא משלנו, כבר הספיק לקחה את דונקן בידיים.

בברכה,

[Handwritten signature]
ד"ר שלמה חדמור.

העוק:

מר א. עברון, משנה למנכ"ל.
מר מ. ארד, ציר, וושינגטון.
מצפ"א ✓

MEMORANDUM

TO: Community Relations File

FROM: David Roberts, Assistant Director

SUBJECT: Meeting with Representative Robert Duncan, August 12

DATE: August 14, 1975

A breakfast meeting organized by the Community Relations Committee was held with Congressman Duncan on Tuesday morning, August 12, at 8 a.m. in the Jewish Community Center Board Room.

PRESENT:

Leonard Barde, Karensue Dobrow, Richard Dobrow, Phil Feldman, Mrs. Nathan Gottesman, Mrs. Harriet Lohman, Jim Meyer, Lora Meyer, Mort Simon, Dr. Alfred Sugarman, Norman Wapnick and David Roberts.

GUESTS:

Representative Robert Duncan and Joe McInerney.

The meeting was opened with a statement on the Middle East.

Congressman Duncan reacted to a number of specific points in the statement. He asked who in fact had suggested that any one was willing to trade Israel for oil and who had ever called Prime Minister Rabin or Mrs. Meir intransigent. In response, it was noted that this was a general feeling that some members of the Jewish community had. Representative Duncan next commented that Congress had in fact demonstrated its concern for Israel, perhaps to an extreme. He then requested specific questions from the group and asked whether we had ever conducted a dialogue with Syrian Americans living in Portland. He mentioned that after his appearance before the Community Relations Committee last summer, he attended a meeting with Syrian Americans. There, he heard about their concerns regarding the Palestinian situation in the Middle East.

Representative Duncan then digressed and began discussing the Greek and Turkish situation. He stated that Congress could not allow ethnic groups to shape United States foreign policy.

At this point, Dr. Sugarman told Congressman Duncan that "you make me a little uncomfortable when you talk about pressure from the Jewish community". He asked the Congressman whether he felt that undue pressure was being placed upon him. Duncan responded that he did not feel it personally but added that you can't have 435 secretaries of state shaping American policy

8/14/75

In response to another question he replied that Congress had not taken any position detrimental to United States interests because of Jewish community pressure. He again referred to the pressures that Greek Americans had recently subjected members of Congress to and expressed a desire to be able to make his decisions based on the merit of issues free from any such pressure.

He cited the issue of the Suez Canal as one which was perhaps taken and blown out of proportion. He asked whether any one in the group had any knowledge that Israel was not now receiving goods through the re-opened Canal.

In response to the Soviet Jewry presentation, Representative Duncan expressed his abhorrence at the problems facing Soviet Jews. He added that he also was concerned about things that were happening in Chile, Portugal or anywhere in the world where persons were being oppressed. He added that he felt the United States was not in a position to deal with these internal matters wherever they exist and that this required quiet diplomacy.

He then commented on some recent Soviet naval maneuvers which he noted had covered all the straits in the world. He added that there was no way we could have gotten supplies through to Israel without some Russian cooperation. He said that the opening of the Suez Canal had provided even more access to the Soviet Union's naval forces.

Representative Duncan questioned whether economics was an effective weapon in combatting the USSR's anti-Jewish policy.

Health and welfare was the next issue discussed. Representative Duncan stated that he was committed to a national health plan and at the same time pessimistic over chances of one being enacted either this year or next. He felt that our presentation on this issue called for more services and little or no support for an increase in taxes to pay for them. (He confused this with our point that proposed legislation could discourage charitable giving.) He expressed concern over the present \$68 billion deficit and noted that he voted against three education bills recently, not because he was against education, but because he questioned the allocation of these funds at this time. He stated that he would vote for bills that would get the economy moving again.

The Congressman then expressed the feeling that the United States was now faced with maintaining an atmosphere that would allow for continued political freedom. He felt that in the near future we would begin to see more and more no votes on bills that might cost the American taxpayer more money.

8/14/75

He commented that we have done little to open up domestic oil production and that we would never really become independent of oil as our primary source of energy.

In a general response to the health issue, Duncan felt that there should be less rather than more Government involvement in providing services. He felt that the Federal Government should however audit funds that they allocate.

At this point Congressman Duncan requested a paper from some one defining the role that the United States should play with regard to the internal affairs of other countries.

Afterwards, the Representative was asked what differences he found in Congress today compared to eight years ago. He said that the pace had quickened and that power which formerly had been in the hands of committee chairmen now resided in the caucuses. He also commented that the freshman class of Congressmen was not consistent in its philosophical approach to procedural matters. He cited the example of their wanting to strip the Rules Chairman of authority in February and their support of the same Chairman's action in July when he did not permit the Greek - Turkish issue to re-enter the floor for further discussion.

In a final comment, Representative Duncan observed that the AFL/CIO seemed to be one of the great stabilizers in the country today. He credited the social program which labor had helped enact as helping to keep the United States relatively free from unrest, even in the face of high unemployment. He further commented that his CCC Bill for young people was a move in the right direction for putting persons back to work.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

It was the feeling of a number of members of the Committee that Representative Duncan was not prepared to discuss any of the issues raised because he had simply not done his homework. His basic response to the philosophy of questions raised was to digress and to talk about things that were of interest to him. Following the meeting, a number of us talked with Representative Duncan about Israel and the need for him to see things first-hand. (He has never been to Israel.) He responded that he wanted to go to the Middle East and then went on to stress his concern for the plight of Palestinians living in all of the Arab countries. He noted that none of the current Arab nations wanted to allow the Palestinians to live in their countries. He felt that the Palestinian question had to be resolved and the Palestinians had to be given their own land.



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Personal

קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
סן פרנסיסקו

August 26, 1975
Elul 19, 5735

Our ref: 362

Mr. David Roberts
Assistant Director
Jewish Welfare Federation
6651 S.W. Capitol Highway
Portland, Oregon 97219

Dear David,

Thanks a lot for sending me a copy of the memorandum dealing with the meeting with Duncan.

It is a very interesting document, though a little bit worrying.

Herewith my comments.

1. Israeli cargo definitely did not go through the Canal until now. Pity that nobody among those present couldn't point that out and thereby remove the pretext behind Duncan's evasiveness.
2. I am amazed at Duncan's sensitivity to "ethnic pressures". Couldn't anyone point out to him how the American system works?
3. His remark about Portugal is distressing, though not surprising given the present mood of Congress & the American people. It worries me a great deal when somebody chooses to hide behind "internal matters" when the Russians are doing worse - and overtly!
4. His comment about Russian "cooperation" (page 2 paragraph 4) is nothing short of amazing.
5. Re. paragraph 5 on page 2: couldn't Duncan be made aware of the fact that economics is a weapon? As a matter of fact it is the major weapon at the disposal of the west!
6. Is it your impression that his request in paragraph 3, page 3, is a gimmick, or just a display of naivete?
7. Finally, if, as you say, he did not do his homework, I think a good opportunity was passed up to put him on the spot and have him do it next time.



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קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
סן פרנסיסקו

- 2 -

Thanks again for the illuminating report.

With best wishes for a happy New Year,

Cordially yours,

Dr. Shlomo Tadmor
Consul General

CC. Mr. Morris Stein, Exec. Dir., J.W.F., Portland



3

CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL

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קונסוליה כללית של ישראל

סן פרנציסקו

ש מ ר

1215

י"ט חשוון תשל"ו
24 אוקטובר 1975
422.1;362

אל: מר צ. רפיה, רושינגטון.
מאת: הקונסול הכללי, סן פרנציסקו.

(D-One) Appropriations Com
הנדון: קונגרסמן רוברט דונקן.

לידיעתך: לפני ההצבעה על שיגור הסכנאים החבטא בשלילה
ובזכות כוחות האו"ם כפי שהם. הביע דעתו שנוכחות אמריקנית
בסיני איננה חלק חיוני או אינסגרלי של ההסכם.

בברכה,

ד"ר שלמה חדמור.

העחק:
מצפ"א ✓

היינה

היום

הנה

הוא

הוא

11

PK
(מלך'ה) 078/7

S.F. CHRONICLE
APRIL 1, 1978

Planes for Saudis

He Stirs Them Up



UPI Telephone

SENATOR S.I. HAYAKAWA
Unusual pitch to a Jewish group

Los Angeles

Senator S. I. Hayakawa (Rep.-Calif.), who habitually does things differently than most politicians, went before a Jewish group Thursday to urge support for the sale of U.S. jets to Saudi Arabia.

Hayakawa argued that the United States should worry more about arming the Saudis to resist Russia than the possibility the planes would be used against Israel.

Most members of the audience, the Jewish Federation Council, reacted angrily and reminded Hayakawa of Saudi Arabian hostility to Israel.

The senator said he would take their comments into account when deciding whether to vote for the Carter administration's arms package to the Middle East, which calls for the United States to sell 60 F-15 bombers to Saudi Arabia, 50 F-5s to Egypt and 75 F-16s and F-15s to Israel.

The real threat to Middle East stability is not the Palestine Liberation Organization, he tried to convince them, but the Russians, particularly in Saudi Arabia, where he said the Soviets intend to overthrow the pro-U.S. government.

Hayakawa said he believes the arms sales should be postponed, however, until the Middle East negotiating process is "on the right track."

Our Correspondent



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 881-2708

קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
 סן פרנציסקו
 1287

ש ו ר

ח' סבת תשל"ז
 29 דצמבר 1976
 101.2

אל: מר צבי רפיח, וושינגטון.
 מאת: הקונסול הכללי, סן פרנציסקו.

הנדון: הסנטור ס.י. הייקאוה.

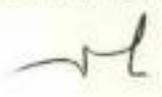
1. כידוע לג"ל אין כל רקע או עבר בענין שלנו.
2. בגלל נסיבות היבחרותו וגילו הגבוה אין הוא חייב דבר לאיש ובודאי יפעל לא רק באופן עצמאי אלא, כדרכו, באופן שלא ניתן לצפות מראש.
3. לפיכך הוחלט כאן לספל בו בזהירות, בעיקר באמצעות שני אנשים שהוא מקשיב להם: ד"ר ג'ון באנזל, נשיא אוניברסיטת קליפורניה בסן חוזה. באנזל הוא יריד ישראל וכן הוא יריד אישי משלי והוא יחזיק אותי בתמונה. האיש השני הוא עו"ד אמיד וצעיר, ששירת כמה שנים ב"כח השלום", ושמו צ'רלס פרנקל. המימסד היהודי מחפש מנעים נוספים אבל בגלל הא-פוליטיות של הסנטור החדש קשה למצוא אותם.
4. לידיעתך: שמעתי כאן שהוחלט במזרח שפאט מוילהן ייקח את הייקאוה "תחת חסותו".

בברכה,

 ד"ר שלמה הדמור

העתיק:
 מר ב. נבון, ציר, וושינגטון.
 מצפ"א ✓
 נ.ב.

בהקשר לטעיף 3: באנזל עמד לצאת עם משלחת הנשיאים מצפון מערב ארה"ב בסוף אוקטובר. ייצא עם הקבוצה השניה באביב.



חסוי



חסוי

כל המסר תוכו מסמך זה, כולו
או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך
לכך - עבר על החוק לחיסון
דיני העונשין (בטחון המדינה
יחסי-חוץ וסודות רשמיים),
תשי"ז - 1957.

משרד החוץ
מחלקת הקשר

מברק נכנס - מסווג

Handwritten note:
מס' 130/60

מס' 168
נשלח: 091300 11 נוב 76

שמו
מידי

אל: המשרד
מאת: וושינגטון

מצפא, מאור
הדלסטון.

זה עזה התקשר סטיב קולר, מיוזמי נסיעת הסנטור, והודיע כי הדלסטון
ביטל נסיעתו.
קולר הסביר כי בשבועיים האחרונים התעוררה בקנטקי סערה ציבורית סביב
אישיותו ופעולותיו של בוב מילר, השני ביוזמי נסיעת הדלסטון.
עתוני קנטקי תוקפים את מילר בחריפות והדלסטון אינו מעוניין ששמו
יקשר לזה של מילר דווקא עזה. בשבוע שעבר ניסה מילר להציל את הנסיעה
מגטול, בהודיעו כי הוא עצמו מוותר על הצטרפותו אליה, אך עזה החליט
הדלסטון שאינו ביכולתו למשש את תכנית הנסיעה, מקווה לבקר בארצ בהזדמנות
אחרת.
כל האסור לעיל אינו נו לייחוס.
נציגת אל על בסינסינטי משפלת בביטול סידורי האיכסון
והתיור. קולר מבקש שרפיח ידאג לביטול הפגישות.
אורג

שחח מנכל ממנכל ארגוב מצפא אורחים
מכ/כש

AND 1/1 02/10
REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM J. HUGHES (Democrat - New Jersey)



William J. Hughes
(Ocean City (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

Biographical Information:

Home: Ocean City, N.J.; born in Salem, N.J., October 17, 1932; A.B., Rutgers University Men's College, 1955; J.D. Rutgers Law School, 1958; first assistant prosecutor, Cape May County, N.J., 1960-70; four children; Episcopalian.

Political Information:

Hughes unseated Republican Charles Sandman in 1974 after Sandman had defended Nixon in the impeachment hearings to the bitter end. The district includes Atlantic City, the biggest resort area in New Jersey, known for the Miss America beauty pageant; but recently a fast-decaying city in need of some kind of boost. The biggest issue in the campaign was gambling casinos for this area.

Curiously, one of the Judiciary subcommittees Hughes serves on is Monopolies and Commercial Law. Atlantic City is known for, among other things, the game Monopoly which is played worldwide and which has a gameboard with all the street names of Atlantic City.

Term Began: January, 1975

Committees: Judiciary; Ad Hoc Select Committee on Outer Continental Shelf; Select Committee on Aging

Legislative Record:

Hughes generally supports foreign aid bills. He voted for the Sinai Resolution. He was a cosponsor of the Bingham Resolution of disapproval on the HAWK missile sale to Jordan.

In July of 1975 Hughes privately criticized the Administration for pushing Israel to make unwise concessions in March 1975 for no Egyptian move toward non-belligerency. However, in October of 1975, he cosigned a letter [initiated by Rep. Helen Meyner (D.-N.J.)] to Kissinger praising his efforts in negotiating the Sinai agreement and urging "persistent and imaginative" efforts to initiate a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue.

Hughes cosigned a letter with 55 others, circulated by Rep. Joshua Eilberg (D.-PA) which was sent to Kissinger deploring the increased tax on parcels sent to the Soviet Union. Hughes has been outspoken on other matters concerning Soviet Jews as well.

In August of 1976, Hughes declared: "Tied to Israel by philosophy affection, and an identity of interests, the United States must maintain and strengthen its bonds with Israel...Congress must insure that Israel has the financial aid and assistance in addition to the moral support that is necessary for her continued independence...This means Congressional opposition to huge arms sales and massive grants of aid to those nations which have

sworn to make war on Israel." In line with this, Hughes has always espoused the idea of separating votes on military assistance grants and military sales credits. "Israel must live and we hold the key to her future. We dare not let her down."

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

24 מרץ 1978

למרה"ק

הגריה ויל ערין - לנשיא (ולסיון)

אל : מצפ"א
סרכז

פאת: צ. רפיה, וושינגטון

הנדון: הגובות סנסורים על המזה"ח

האנכ

בצאתם מפגישתם עם הנשיא בבית הלבן ב-23/3, שוחחו
כמה סנסורים עם עוזנאים שהמתינו להם.

להלן רישום כחוך הקלטה שנערכה.

בברכה

צבי רפיה

העתק:

הקונכ"ל, שיקבו

REMARKS OF SENATORS MCGOVERN, HART, JAVITS, AND TERRY AFTER EMERGING FROM
A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER March 23 1978

MCGOVERN: I just want to say for myself that on this issue he (the President) has my full sympathy and support. I think the president is doing everything humanly possible to keep the peace negotiations alive and that is the most important issue right now in the middle east. It is more important than the arms sale or the issues associated with it. What is important is to keep all the parties in the middle east in a flexible, reasonable position and that is what president Carter is trying desperately to do.

Q: But there is inflexibility, isn't there?

A: Well, there is some inflexibility...on the part of all the parties. There is not the degree of flexibility that is going to take to bring about a settlement, if there is ever a time when the president of the US needs sympathy and understanding on an issue that is right now in the middle east. He is not being unfair to either side. There is no question on my mind that he is dedicated to the long range security of the state of israel. He emphasized that over and over again, but he believes that part of israel's security depends on the influence we have on the Egyptian, Saudis and other arab states.

SENATOR HART (GARY HART)

Q: What is your mood on the arms sale?

A: I agree completely with Senator McGovern's assessment of the discussion this morning. I don't think we can make a judgement on the arms sale proposal outside the context of where the peace negotiations stand now. We are now in a posture of the fourth quarter of the game. Both sides or all the sides are digging in. I think particularly the Begin government and as was suggested by one or more members in the discussion this morning, we may be closer to a settlement as a result of the crystallization of some of these positions. I think the committee, particularly the senate is going to take a very hard look at these arms sale.

myself I am not an advocate of arms sales generally, and although I think that if we are going to provide arms in the middle east the airplane proposal, the package approach does make sense.

MC GOVERN

Q: How pessimistic are you (inaudible)

A: The situation does not look as good to me as I had hoped it would. I think ~~that there has been a hardening of the lines rather a surprising~~ ening of the lines in view of the optimism that we had six months or a year ago. ~~Although~~ The situation does not look as good today as it did then.

On the optimistic side, when issues come into sharp focus that means you are nearing a better understanding of what is at stake and I suppose it could be argued that would open the hope of the settlement. But there is no question that the moment of truth is close at hand.

Q: Are you suggesting that it is Prime Minister Begin who is intransigent?

A: Well, I don't want to say that. I think it is very difficult for all of the parties in the middle east, I would only say this, that unless there is more flexibility on the part of Israel, on the part of all of the parties in the middle East, I think I don't see any hope for a settlement. The thing I would like to emphasize is that I think the US government position is sound today. I think President Carter's position is sound. It is very unfair to label him as being unreasonable towards Israel, ~~and~~ he is not unreasonable towards Israel. He is taking a position that he believes is not only in the best interest of Israel but also in the best interest of peace in the middle east.

JAVITS

Q: Inaudible

A: I think the prospects are ~~generally~~ discouraging. Israel feels that its security is in ~~danger~~ difficulty, President Sadat feels that he has been as forthcoming as he can be. Our president feels that he has played the mediating

GARY HART
COLORADO

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
PUBLIC WORKS

COLORADO OFFICE
620 WILLIAM STREET
DENVER, COLORADO 80202
(303) 437-4421

United States Senate
June 8, 1978

05/21/78
U10

Burton M. Joseph
Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Mr. Joseph:

Thank you for your letter on the arms sales package to Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia which was voted on in the Senate on May 15. I appreciate hearing from you.

As you may know, I voted against the arms sales package. In my view, the major consideration was whether the sales would enhance the chances for peace in the Middle East. The proponents of the arms sale did not convince me that the chances of war in that region would be reduced by selling advanced aircraft simultaneously to the opposing sides.

I have enclosed my statement from the Congressional Record which discusses the issue in greater detail.

Again, I appreciate your taking the time to share your views on this issue.

Sincerely,

Gary Hart
Gary Hart
U.S.S.

Enclosure



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 95th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 124

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, MAY 15, 1978

No. 71

● Mr. HART. Mr. President, I am voting against the proposed arms sales package because I do not feel it clearly advances the interests of the United States in the Middle East.

First, and most importantly, I believe any foreign policy action we take in that area must advance, rather than retard, the chances for peace between Israel and the Arab states. No persuasive case has been made by the proponents of the arms sale that, under present circumstances, chances of war in the area are reduced by selling advanced aircraft simultaneously to the opposing sides. The transfer of high technology U.S. weapons to multiple states in the region represents such a major shift of U.S. policy in the Middle East that the burden of proof on how this change advances the prospects of peace must be on those who advocate it. They have not convinced me that these sales will restimulate the movement toward negotiations, rather than freezing what I hope is a momentary stalemate.

Second, the issue, as framed by the administration, has confused two separate, but urgent, policy questions. One is the guarantee of the security of Israel through the consistent and continuous commitment by the United States to provide advanced military equipment. In the case under consideration, the commitment of advanced fighter planes for Israel was made by the Ford administration as part of the so-called Sinai agreement in 1975. I must note that I opposed the Ford administration proposal at that time, principally on the grounds that the United States undertook a number of secret commitments in that agreement to various parties that could lead to the kind of controversy in which we are presently involved.

The other policy issue, possibly of even more crucial long-range implication to United States' interests, is that of the security of non-Communist interests in the entire region.

Thus, tragically, the proposal before us confuses these two imperative foreign policy problems. Consequently, each has suffered at the expense of the other and to the detriment of long-term U.S. security interests on both fronts. Unhappily, voting for the "package" promises merely to exacerbate this terrible confusion and to prevent resolution of either serious problem.

Confusion between these two policy problems also runs the risk of sending signals on U.S. policy that will be misread by the U.S.S.R. Cuba and each Middle eastern and African nation.

One signal that I earnestly hope will not be misread is my vote in favor of disapproving these sales. It does not mean we should turn our backs on the security needs of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. I am convinced both Egypt and Saudi Arabia have raised strong arguments in favor of our military support for each of them.

Had each sale proposal been presented separately, and had peace negotiations not been at such a crucial point, I could have given each proposed aircraft sale strong support. It is in the United States' best interest to establish solid relationships with both Saudi Arabia and Egypt. If the pending proposal fails, the Senate would be unwise to consider subsequently a unilateral proposal to provide arms to any single participant in the "package." Instead, I hope that the administration will submit individual proposals which can be considered, each on its own merits, separately but concurrently. This would permit those who share the administration's Middle East concerns to support their laudable efforts to expand our mutually advantageous friendships with

Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as well as maintaining our unshakeable commitment to Israel. ●

security of non-Communist interests in the entire region. Communist activities, led, financed, and promulgated by the Soviet Union—with considerable direct assistance from Cuban military forces—have become consequential enough to engender real concern, particularly by those in the area who are strongly adverse to Communist ideology. Saudi Arabia and Egypt share this aversion, as does Israel.

כל המוסר תוכן מסמך זה, כולו או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך לכך - עובר על החוק לתיקון דיני העונשין (בטחון המדינה יחסיחוץ וסודות רשמיים). תשי"ז - 1957.

דף מספר _____ מתוך _____ דפים

עותק מספר 4 מתוך 22 עותקים

סודי ביותר 461

אל: המסדר

גשלה 271800 ינוי 77

מאת: וושינגטון

אל: עברון, מ.רביב

נפגשתי היום לבקשתי בקפיטול עם סנטור גארי HART דמוקרט סקולורדו חבר ועדת השרותים המזויינים, הארט הצטרף כזכור לפגישת משלחת ריביקופ עם רוהם רביב בירושלים ולאחר פגישות נוספות בשגארהוב תל אביב הנשיכ כעבור יום לאיראן.

הארתי בהרחבה נכונותנו למוס ב-1977 התנגדותנו ושתופ אשפ בגנבה, הצורכ בפתרון השאלה הפלשתינאית במסגרת ירדן והסכנות הנוכעות מהקמת מדינה פלשתינאית עצמאית בגדמייע ועזה. להלן דברי הארט:

החלק המזתי בסירורנו בנובמבר כלל רק את ישראל (ביקור חטופ, בדצוננו לבקר אצלנו בשנית אודי הבחירות) ואיראן. בדצמבר ביקור בנאטו ובמפקדת הצי השישי בימ התיכונ. אינן הוא רואה עצמו מוסחה בנושאי מדיניות חוצ אבל אלו דעותיו וההחשמויותיו: א. הוא מאמין שישראל בכנות רוצה שלום. הוא לא שמע מאיש בקונגרס או מחוצה לו שאנו כאילו משתמשים בנימוק הבחירות אצלנו כדי להתמהמה. הוא בדעה שההגנה על קיום ישראל ובטחונה הינה אינטרס מדיקני ברור.

ב. גם סאדאת ומנהיגים ערביים אחרים רוצים שלום והוא שמח שיש נכונות הדדית לצעוד לקראת שלום.

ג. די לי שאתם אומרים לי כי במסגרת ההסדר במזותת צריכ לפתור גם את הבעיה הפלשתינאית. אני מאמין לדבריכם ומאמין שאתם תדאגו לכך. אני מבחין בהחלט בין פלשתינאים לבין אשפ. אינן לי כל עניין מיוחד באשפ. הצדה של הפלשתינאים שהם לא פיתחו מנהיגות מדינית

כל המוסר תוכן מסמך זה, כולו או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך לכך - עובר על החוק לתיקון דיני העונשין (בטחון המדינה יחסי-חוץ וסודות רשמיים). תשי"ז - 1957.

לכם **מברק נכנס - במסווג צני** טרור. אמ תחפזה תנהיגות מדיניות מחלקת הקשר

ז"א שתעודדו אותה.

הא"ט מפריד את **מיתון** ואגם הי"ט **רפים** בתו של ואנס עובדת מזה שנתיים **עיתק מסמך** בעוזרת אישית שלו והדבר תדמ להכירותו **עיתקים** מ ואנס. אמנם אינ ואנס כהנרי קיס"נגר אבל הוא יכול בהחלט לקדם

סיוני ביותר

הסדר במזהת בדרכו שלו. תמיכת שני בתי הקונגרס זהה נתונה לו מאמציו אלו.

אחת הבעיות המרכזיות במזהת היא מכירות הנשק במוגזמות. צריכ

מנוע את מרוצ החימוש באזור שאנו האמריקנים אחראים לו במידה

רובה. אני מחייב מכירות נשק רק כשזה מתחייב מהאינטרסים הבטחוניים

לנו או של בנות בריתנו. אני מתנגד למכירות נשק משעמ"מ כלכליים

וכדי לשפר את מאזן התשלומים או כדי לספוג סכמי נפט. רבים

ינגרס שותפים לעמדתו זו. אני מציין במיוחד את איראן אבל הספקת

רוצ החימוש צריכה לחול על כולם. כמובן שאסור לאיזה לעשות

עד חד צדדי אלא הדבר צריכ להיות מקובל ומתואם גם עם בריהם צרפת

תפקות נשק ואחרות.

מפקדי הצי השישי אמרו לו בדצמבר שהם מודאגים מחולשת הצי האמריקני

אגנו המזרחי של הי"ט התיכון לעומת הצי הסובייטי. החולשה מתבטאת

במחסור בנמלי עגינה לתיקונים ולירידה לחופ באזור, והג בגידול

אספר ימי/אניות של הצי הסובייטי באזור זה. מפקדי הצי השישי אמרו

ל שנמלי יוון ותורכיה שוב אינם מובטחים. לצי הסובייטי יש לעומת

את גישה חופשית נוחה לים השחור וממנו. מפקדי הצי בדעה

כדאי שהצי יוכל לעגון באוקסנדוזה, הנ משום שזה נחוצ להם לתפעול.

הינ של הצי והנ כמחווה של רצון טוב לאחר שהמטרים סלקו משם את

הסובייטי. הארט חזר ואמר לי כי האדמירלים בדעה שזה טוב גם לישראל.

וארט אמר לי כי טרם דנ בנושא זה עם איש אבל חשב שטוב שאדע זאת.

שאלתיו אם המפקדים העלו גם אפשרות של עגינה בחיפה והוא השיב-

לכ לא. שאלתי אם המפקדים דיברו עמו על הצורך באספקת נשק

למצרים. ואיזכרתי בקשות סאדאת כפי שנאמרו למשלחות הקונגרס השונות

השונות המעוררות) צלנו דאגה. הארט אמר כי המפקדים לא העלו זאת

לכ.

יזרתי והזמנתיו לביקור בארצ.

רפ"ח-

זוח רהמ מנכל שחבט(בנפרד) ממנכל י רכיב רוזן ארגוב אביודי (צביב/מצפא אפרתי/חקר

רמ אמר (בנפרד)

אב/חמ



קונסוליה כללית נגל ישראל
 CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL
 ATLANTA GEORGIA 30306

PHONE 875-7851

805 PEACHTREE ST., N. E.
 SUITE 656

אטלנטה, 1 בדצמבר 1975
 כז' בכסלו תשל"ו

אל: מר צבי רפיה, וושינגטון

מאח: הקונסוליה הכללית, אטלנטה

Senators

Hollings

הנדון: סנטור הולינגס

רצ"ב הצלומי מכתבו של הסנטור הולינגס לרב קריגל
 מקולומביה, דרום קרולינה ומכתבו של הרב לסנטור.

בברכה,

[Handwritten signature]

מאיר רומם
 קונסול

[Handwritten signature]

העוק:
 מצפ"א ✓



CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL
 ATWATA TEL-AVIV 2008

FOR INFORMATION OF U.S.
 CONSUL

1968 FEB 11

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: CONSUL, TEL-AVIV

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

ISRAELI

CONSUL

[Illegible]

ERNEST F. HOLLINGS
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICES:

SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
202-224-6121

FEDERAL BUILDING
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
803-765-3731

FEDERAL BUILDING
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA
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CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA
803-723-3211

A
United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

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November 10, 1975

COMMITTEES
APPOINTMENT
LEADERSHIP CHAIRMAN
INTERNAL
LABOR, HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC WORKS
STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, AND
THE JUDICIARY
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POSTAL OPERATIONS CHAIRMAN
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BENEFITS
DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE
OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT

Rabbi Aaron Kriegel
Beth Shalom Synagogue
5827 North Trenholm Road
Columbia, South Carolina 29206

Dear Rabbi Kriegel:

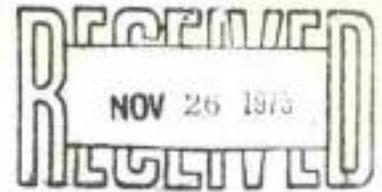
Many thanks for your letter of November 5. What's going on is that Kissinger made a clap-trap agreement which cost too much and calls for the physical involvement of Americans in the Sinai. I voted against the agreement for several reasons the principal one being that I do not think it is to the interest of Israel to have Americans in the Sinai. The Knesset took a decidedly divided opinion on this score and I happen to agree with the leadership in Israel that has said from the beginning that they want all the aid we can give them but they do not want the Americans. The great strength of Israel is that she has done her own fighting.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

E. F. Hollings
Ernest F. Hollings

EFH:cpr



November 5, 1975

Senator Ernest F. Hollings
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hollings:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of October 23. I was most pleased to receive your short, but warm statement that you will continue to support Israel with military and economic aid.

Could you please explain to me the reasons why you did not vote in favor of sending U.S. technicians to the Sinai. Personally, I cannot say that I am over-joyed with the proposal, but it seemed to me a closer step to peace. Each step closer I am in favor of. Were your reservations founded on the belief that the interim settlement does not promote peace in a troubled area of the world?

With best regards,

Rabbi Aaron Kriegel

RAK/dal

د. ل. هانغيت

REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM L. HUNGATE (Democrat - Missouri)



William L. Hungate
of Troy (9th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term

Biographical Information

Home; Troy, Mo.; born in Benton, Ill., December 14, 1922; Central Methodist College; University of Michigan; graduated from Missouri University, Harvard Law School, LL.B. degree 1948; partner in the law firm of Hungate & Grewach, Troy, Mo., 1956-68; served three terms as prosecuting attorney of Lincoln County and special assistant to the attorney general, 1958-64; a veteran of World War II, served in Europe, First Christian Church; married, (two children)

Political Information

Hungate is retiring from Congress. He was known for his sense of humor during the Nixon impeachment hearings. His remarks did, however, offend some T.V. viewers and he apologized for them when he announced he would vote for impeachment. At one time Hungate was considered as a candidate to run against the Governor of Missouri, Christopher Bond.

Term Began

January, 1965

Committees

Judiciary
Small Business

Legislative Record

Hungate has generally voted against all foreign aid bills. He voted for the Obey amendment this year which sought to cut military aid to Israel by \$200 million. In recent years he has cosponsored some of the resolutions favorable to Israel.

He voted for the Jackson-Vanik freedom-of-emigration amendment. He has cosponsored bills to combat the Arab economic boycott. He voted against the Sinai resolution.

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CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL

105 MONTGOMERY STREET
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801-2786

קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
סן פרנציסקו

ש מ ר

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י"ט חשוון תשל"ו
24 אוקטובר 1975
422.1;362

אל: מר צ. רפיח, וושינגטון.
מאת: הקונסול הכללי, סן פרנציסקו.

Mara Hatfield (A-Ose)

הנדון: סנטור הספילד.

להלן נקודות עיקריות משיחה שקיימה קבוצה מנהיגים יהודיים
מפורסלנד עם הסנטור מארק הספילד. ג'רלד פרנק גם כן היה נוכח.

1. על מנת להבין את הפילוסופיה הפוליטית של אדם יש להבין את דרך
מחשבתו בכלל.

2. הוא אינו מאמין שאפשר למדוד אומות לפי כוחן הצבאי. (אני מזכיר
לך את הערכתו של ידידי, נשיא ה"סטייט קולג' אוף אדיוקשיון" של
אורגון, שאמר לי בשעתו שאת שורש יחסו של הספילד אלינו יש להפש
באמונותיו.)

3. לדעתו אומות נמדדות לפי הנהגותיהן.

4. הצביע על עקביותו בהצבעות נגד חימוש ארצו וכן ישראל, ירדן,
וערב הסעודית.

5. מייחס את כל הצרות הכלכליות של ארה"ב להוצאות הצבאיות הגדולות
 שלה.

6. קרא לתקציבי החימוש, הן שלנו והן של ארה"ב - "אקסטר ווגנסיות".

7. לא רואה עצמו כאויב ישראל.

8. השווה, ללא הבדלים, את החלטת טונקין עם ההחלטה לשלוח סכנאים לסיני.

9. מרוגז על כך שקיסינג'ר לא גילה את כל ההסכמים לקונגרס.

10. במקרה חירום, טוען הסנטור שהסכנאים יצטרכו להחליט בעד צד אחד
או שני ומשום כך לא רלוונטית העובדה שהם הוזמנו ע"י שני הצדדים.



CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL

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קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
סן פרנציסקו

- 2 -

doubly loyalty

11. צופה שיהיו עשרת אלפים אנשי צבא אמריקניים במזה"ת.
12. הקהל הרחב בארה"ב אינו מבין את כפילות האינטרסים של הקהילה היהודית.
13. זה יגרום לאנטישמיות גוברת והולכת.
14. האמריקאי הממוצע מודאג מן הכלכלה ויחקומוס נגד מענקים.
15. עזרה אמריקאית למדינות אחרות עושה לעיתים קרובות מדי.
16. הביא כדוגמא את המחלוקת על טילי פרשינג.
17. שונא את תפקיד ארה"ב כסוחר נשק עולמי.
18. לדעתו יש להחרכז במאמצים חברתיים והומניטריים ובשטח זה מעולם לא הצביע נגד ישראל.
19. בתים ומזון לערבים ולישראל עדיפים על סנקים.
20. מאמין בחיזוק דמוקרסיות אחרות בעולם.
21. רוצה לראות את ישראל חזקה.
22. רואה בהחלט את ההסכם האחרון כהמשך מדיניות שנכשלה.
23. בקשר ליהדות רוסיה: יש לפעול דרך האו"ם, מכיון שלא רק היהודים נרדפים.
24. הערכתו על אוקטובר 1973: ישראל לא הייתה בסכנה והעובדה היא שעמדנו בשערי דמשק.
25. לו קיבלו דעתו בשנות ה-50 וה-60 לא הייתה פורצת מלחמת יום הכפורים.
26. מבדיל בין אמצעי הרתעה ואמצעי תגמול. בהקשר לכך חזר והדגיש שעוצמה צבאית אינה בהכרח בטחון ושעמדת ישראל אקסטרווגנסית.
27. אח סירוב הערבים לשאת ולתת איתנו הוא רואה כחולשה שלהם. אולם אין זה רלוונטי כי ככל שיעבור יותר זמן תתקשה העמדה הערבית.



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קונסוליה כללית של ישראל
סן פרנסיסקו

- 3 -

28. על ארה"ב ללחוץ על הערבים לשאת ולחת.
29. את הישג קיסינג'ר כינה "פתרון לסווח קצר", שהסכנה בה היא דחיית מו"מ ישיר.
30. לגבי הפליטים הערביים: ייחס את אדישותם לתרבותם.
31. ירדן היא השותף ההגיוני לפתרון בעיית הפליטים.
32. ציין שהוא מוקיע אנטישמיות אבל הסביר אותה (כמעט בצורה הקלאסית) כחיפוש אחר שעיר לעזאזל לקשיים הכלכליים.
33. בעד הגבלת חיטוש קבל המזה"ת. האשים את ממשלתו הוא שלא ייחסה לזה עדיפות במגעים עם רוסיה ומדינות אחרות.
- הקבוצה החרשמה שהטפילד היה כנה. השיחה התקיימה ב-14.10.75.
- במכתב לאחת ממנהיגות הקהילה כתב הטפילד שיצביע נגד מענקים צבאיים הן לישראל והן למצרים.

בברכה,

ד"ר שלמה הדמור.

העתק:

מר ש. דיניץ, השגריר, וושינגטון.
מר מ. ארד, ציר, וושינגטון.
מצפ"א ✓

REPRESENTATIVE HENRY J. HYDE (Republican - Illinois)

Henry J. Hyde
of Park Ridge (6th Dist.)
Republican—1st term

Biographical Information:

Home town, Park Ridge, Ill.; born in Chicago, Ill., April 8, 1924; graduated St. George High School, Evanston, Ill., 1942; B.S.S., George University, 1947; J.D., Loyola University School of Law, Chicago, Ill., 1949; ensign, U.S. Navy, 1944-46; commander, U.S. Naval Reserve (retired); admitted to the Illinois Bar, January 9, 1950; State representative in Illinois General Assembly, 1967-74; married, three sons and one daughter.

Political Information:

The 6th congressional district is a suburban Chicago constituency but unlike most suburban areas, it is mostly a series of older, established communities west and northwest of the city. Oak Park is still a quiet middle-class community just across the city limits from part of the West Side Chicago ghetto. To the South, the city of Cicero has scarcely changed since the 30s when it was a Mafia stronghold and a bedroom community for Eastern European factory workers.

In the mid-60s Cicero made headlines when its citizens forcibly resisted Dr. Martin Luther King's efforts to integrate the city. Cicero's politics is dominated by a working-class ethnic-based Republican machine.

The town of Maywood in the district has a large black community; Melrose Park is predominately Italian-American. Rosemont is situated near O'Hare airport.

Hyde, a conservative and defender of the suburbs, came to Congress in 1975 and was one of the few Republican freshmen. His election victory was over Daley's candidate, Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan.

Hyde, 52, is likely to be in Congress for a long time.

Term Began:

January, 1975

Committees:

Judiciary
Banking, Currency and Housing

Legislative Record:

Although not active on Middle East issues, Hyde has supported most resolutions, declarations and legislation supporting Israel. He was cosponsor of the Bingham resolution of disapproval on the sale of Hawk missiles to Jordan, supported the Sinai technicians resolution and has voted for all foreign aid bills except the measure which was later vetoed by Ford over the arms control policy provisions.

Representative Henry J. Hyde (Republican - Illinois)

Legislative Record (Continued)

Hyde has been critical of the ascending role of Congress in foreign affairs.

"Our ability to make guarantees in the Middle East is eroded because no one can speak for the new partner in foreign policy - the U.S. Congress," he declared on April 22, 1975.

Comments:

Hyde is tall, heavy-set and enjoys smoking cigars.



ספור

יז' אב-אלול תשל"ז
1 אוגוסט 77

332

אל: מנהל מצפ"א
מאה: צבי רפיח, וושינגטון

הנדון: לי המילטון על פגישותיו במזה"ת

ביקשהי אה מורי כץ, מנכבדי קהילה אינדיאנפוליס,
לבקר אה לי המילטון במשרדו ולמחות בפניו על שגש אה ערפאח וכן
לשמוע אה אשר בפיו.

כץ אכן פגש אה המילטון ושוחח עמו בהתאם לנ"ל.

בעקבות השיחה שיגר המילטון לכץ מכתב, אשר הצלוטו
מצ"ב, בו הוא מסכם רשמי שיחותיו עם מנהיגי ישראל וערב.

המכתב נשלח באורח פרטי ואין להתיחס להמצאותו

בידינו.

ב ב ר כ ה,
צ. רפיח

העחק: לשכה רה"מ
לשכה שה"ח
המנכ"ל
הציר, כאן



SEE

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LEE H. HAMILTON
9TH DISTRICT, INDIANA

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
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AURORA, INDIANA 47001
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COMMITTEES:
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
JOINT ECONOMIC

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
July 25, 1977

Mr. Morris Katz
7020 North Delaware
Indianapolis, Indiana 46220

Dear Morrie:

As you know, I took my first trip to the Middle East July 5 to July 15. Congressmen Mikva, Rosenthal, and Obey joined me.

During the course of our study mission we had a unique opportunity to explore peace prospects with a range of high ranking officials and leading citizens in Israel, Egypt, Syria and Jordan. We all came away with a strong conviction that all parties want peace and want to go to Geneva.

We met as a group with Prime Minister Begin of Israel, President Sadat of Egypt, President Asad of Syria, and King Hussein of Jordan. Each of these leaders expressed a desire to go to Geneva and through negotiations reach a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

I would like to make the following general observations about our trip:

First, the issue for the United States in the Middle East today is less whether we go to Geneva but how, given the enormous differences among the parties, can we sustain Geneva without prior agreement of the parties and without extensive preparations.

We will need in the next few months to focus on such questions as:

- how to avoid a Geneva conference from failing;
- how to keep a Geneva process going through working groups, etc.;

- how to lower expectations that Geneva will be a panacea for solving the problem; and that it will produce quick results;
- how to persuade the parties that there is a need to lower rhetoric in the coming weeks. Israel, Egypt, Syria and Jordan should agree to stop all provocative actions.

Second, in Israel, Prime Minister Begin stressed three points:

- a. Israel is prepared to go to Geneva without any prior conditions and he gave no indications that the West Bank was excluded from that comment;
- b. That his coming visit to the United States was extremely important and that he was looking forward to meeting President Carter, discussing peace issues with him, and developing a personal rapport. I think he accomplished his purposes during his recent visit. People around Begin feel that right after the elections, his story did not receive a sympathetic hearing in the United States;
- c. Israel wants to have direct negotiations with the Arabs for the purpose of achieving a peace treaty and Israel does not want to negotiate through the media. Begin refused to discuss his peace proposals prior to seeing President Carter.

One key to the attitudes of the new Israeli Government on both internal and foreign policy issues is whether the Democratic Movement for Change, headed by Yigal Yadin, will join the Likud Party and give the government a wider base.

On the basis of our trip and talks with both Likud officials and Mr. Yadin, I feel it is highly likely that the DMC will join the government after Begin's visit here. This addition could significantly modify many of the domestic and foreign policies of the Likud based government.

Third, for Israel the key issue in the process is the nature of the peace and normalization of relations with its Arab neighbors. For the Arabs, it is return of the territories captured in 1967. The United States has taken the position

that implicit in UN Res. 242 is a trade-off of territory for peace.

Israel's position is that under no circumstances will it return to the 1967 lines and that its definition of peace means normal relations among states, including recognition and diplomatic ties. The Arabs, on the other hand, insist on a return to the 1967 lines with minor changes. They dislike the concept of a trade-off of territory for peace because they do not see their own territory as a negotiable item.

The Arabs make a distinction between the end of the state of belligerency and full normalization of relations with Israel. They see themselves agreeing to end the state of belligerency in a peace treaty with normalization of relations and recognition to follow. They compare the situation to the US and Vietnam -- we ended the state of belligerency but normalized relations and extension of formal recognition will follow later when sovereign states decide to make those moves.

Fourth, despite these enormous differences in positions, we did find some encouragement in that the Arab leaders are beginning to focus more seriously on this issue of greatest importance to Israel, the normalization of relations. Arab leaders with whom we spoke did not rule out trade after a peace agreement. One leader talked of extensive steps toward full relations in a period of five years with some specific steps, perhaps, outlined in an agreement. There needs to be a further evolution of Arab thinking on this issue but I hope I am right that the process has started.

Fifth, if territory and normalization of relations are two of the key Middle East peace issues, the Palestinian issue is the third core issue. Israel remains firmly against a Palestinian state and against dealing with the PLO and the United States says that it will not recognize or negotiate with the PLO until it recognizes the right of Israel to exist and accept UN Res. 242 and 338.

The Arabs, on the other hand, believe that the issue of Palestinian representation at Geneva can be worked out. The timing and nature of a PLO-Jordan link will help determine

whether this is possible.

Sixth, there is among the parties a certain misconception about the United States' role in the peace process which we need to correct constantly. Israel believes that when we even raise ideas about the peace process in public that we are trying to impose a certain type of settlement.

In Arab capitals, there is a tendency to sit back, do nothing and wait for the United States to produce peace. Some Arabs look to our role in the Sinai negotiations and see the US again taking differing positions and producing a compromise.

The United States has to be careful in what it says. I feel the less said prior to Geneva the better. We have to continue to encourage the parties to modify their positions. Naturally, the line between encouraging and imposing can be a fine distinction but we should always err on the side of encouragement.

Finally, the delegation met with several Palestinian leaders. We met with the Mayors of Gaza and Bethlehem and the Deputy Mayor of Nablus as well as the Mayors of some smaller towns on the West Bank. While in Cairo, Congressman Obey and I also met with Yasir Arafat of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

Mr. Arafat was friendly and somewhat forthcoming although his answers were circuitous. He occasionally became bitter when talking about the history of the Palestinians over the last fifty years and the way they were treated in Jordan in 1970 and in Lebanon in 1976.

He said in various ways that he accepts Israel and is willing to live in peace with Israel although he never said it in those explicit terms. I pass no judgments on his statements.

All these meetings with Palestinian leaders are based on the premise that if there is to be a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict there must be Palestinians involved, otherwise

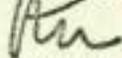
there can be no lasting peace.

I will be writing a detailed report on the trip and will naturally send you a copy of it when it is printed.

It was good to see you again and I look forward to continuing our discussions on the Middle East.

With best regards.

Sincerely,



LEE H. HAMILTON, M.C.

LHH:dlme

המילטון
אריה אגרון

14.7.77

אלו מנהל מאו"ד

מאת: אריה אגרון, מאו"ד

הגדרון: משלחת המילטון אוני - ביה"ג האמריקאי

המשלחת הגיעה אור ליום ד' 6.7.77 כמתוכנן ונסעה סיד למלון המלך רוד למנוחה.

הקונב"ל האמריקאי בירושלים הסדיר למשלחת ביקור בבית להם בצהרים בהדרכתו. מסתבר שכנושא הרכב, לניה-להם היה אי תאום בין השגרירות והקונסוליה - האחד ססר על השני בגדרון ובשל כך אחרגו לצאת ליד וסם. מן הקונב"ל הבינתיבי כי היה משובצע שהאוטובוס שלנו יסיע את המשלחת לניה-להם. - הדבר לא תואם אתנו ואף אינו מופיע בהכנית הטודפסת.

ההסבר בידרושם היה מצוין ובכר שהמשלחת התרשמה מאד מן הביקור. היתה סברה שמה הביקור הפעם מיותר היות ומרביתם כבר היו בארץ - מסתבר שרק מיעוטם היו ביד וסם לפני כן. לרוזבטל למשל, היה זה ביקור ראשון במקום.

התדרוך בקונסוליה האמריקאית היה כמובן ללא השתתפות המלווים מספח"ה.

בארוחת הערב של המנכ"ל השתתפו, ה"כ טרופ* משה ארנס, שגריר ארה"כ, טרופ* חיים ברקאי, טרופ* מרדכי אביר והס/מנכ"ל לפ ששה אלון. האורחים הפנו למוזמנים טאלות בתחום התמחותם, אך עקר השיחה נסב על גורמי מפלת המערך בבחירות ובצחון הלכוד. - הנשים סעדו בנפרד עם ה"כ תמר אשל. אחרי הארוחה הן יצאו לסיור לילי מסביב לתחנות בהדרכת נב* אשל.

לקראת הנסיעה לעזה (יום ה' 7.7.77) התמיס המורשה אוניי את חברי המשלחת והפנה לבו דרישה לקצץ את הסיור בעזה ולהיות חזרה בירושלים בשעה 14.00 על מנת להקדים 4 שעות לסיור בעיר העתיקה (אחרת הוא לא יסע לעזה) כמו כן דרש שנסע לעזה דרך חברון. במסעין "בוררות" של היו"ד המילטון ויתרו על הנסיעה דרך חברון (שפרושה מוספת שעתיים וותור על הביקור ביד מרדכי) וסוכם לקצץ את הביקור בעזה במדת האפשר.

ביד מרדכי צפו כשהזור והאזינו להקלטה על עמידת הגבורה של הספק בגר הפלישה הסצרית ב-1948. בדיעבד שימש הביקור לביסרוול חלק מדבריו של ראש עיריית עזה. בשל יציאת הקבוצה באחור מירושלים וקצוץ לוח הזמנים, היה הביקור במסע קצר ביותר, וכלל ביקור בבתי הילדים ושיחה, בבית התרבות עם חבר הספק. ענינה אותם בעקר המוסיבציה להצטרפותם של אנשים לקבוץ. בנושא הקבוץ קבלה הקבוצה מעט סדי, אך גם מעט זה כמעט ונבנוז בגלל לחצו של אוני.

לסיור ברצועת עזה הצטרף המתאם כשסחים תא"ל א. אודלי ובסיועו ערכנו סיור בזק בשאסי ובאזור הסכובים החדשים של יוצאי המחנות כמו כן נכחו כיצד מקבלי וסעד מאונררא מוכדים את סגיוחיהם בו במקום.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

INVESTIGATION OF THE ACTS OF VIOLENCE

On the 1st day of June, 1964, at the City of New York, New York, I, the undersigned, a Special Agent in Charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of the report of the Special Agent in Charge of the New York Office, dated and captioned as above.

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

Witness my hand and the seal of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the City of New York, New York, on the 1st day of June, 1964.

Special Agent in Charge

Special Agent in Charge

Special Agent in Charge

בפגישה עם ראש עיריית עזה בכה צורת טלויזיה וראש אסאווה כלכל את דבריו כך שיקבל ציורים טובים הן מחופין והן מאש"ף. הודה לנשיא קרטר על ה"מולדת לפלשתינאים" דרש את פגיו "הכובשים הישראלים", וצרוף הרצועה לירדן באמצעות פרודדור, בפקוח בן לאומי (ולא סתם כנדש) תקף את מדיניות הממשל שהנה טובה לערבים לסווח קצר, אך מזיקה לאינטרסים הערבים לסווח ארוך. הישראלים מהיטבים על אדמתם, מגבילים את השמוש במי המקום, מחייבים אותם לשלם מיסים הנועדים לחזק צה"ל - וכיו"ב, ובכלל מדוע לא לקיים את החלטת החלוקה של האו"ם - 1947 (בהזדמנות הזכרתי לכמה מחברי המפלגה כי ביד מרדכי הם ראו מה קרה להחלטת החלוקה של האו"ם). בסיום השיחה הזמין ראש העיר את האורחים לארוחת צהרים, בהשתמכו על האום כביכול עם שגרירות ארה"ב בת"א - המלווה מן השגרירות דחה את ההזמנה וקבע שהיתה כאן אי הבנה של ראש העיר.

ארוחת הצהרים תואמה עם הממשל והתקיימה במלון קזינו על חוף הים בהשתתפות תא"ל אורלי, המושל וכמה קציני ממשל. האווירה היחה מצוינת והקצינים הסיבו לשאלות ואף הזימו בעקפסין כמה מדברי ראש העיר.

המפלגה הגיעה הזרה למלון המלך דוד השעה 15.00 לשביעות רצון הקבוצה וסיד יצאו לסיור בעיר העתיקה - בהדרכת הקונב"ל האמריקאי ניי-ס. הפעם הצעתי את השמוש באוטובוס והקונב"ל קיבל את ההצעה בשמחה. הצטרפתי לחלק המוסע של הסיור (מסביב לחומה והר-הזהים). בחלק הסיור בו השתתפתי לא ששמתי השמעות מפי הקונב"ל, אורבא הוא הצביע על נקבי הכדורים בכנין עיריית ירושלים ודבר על הסרת קירות הסגן ואחוד העיר. בסיור הרגלי בעיר העתיקה לא הצטרפתי לקבוצה אך הקונב"ל ביקש שהאוטובוס שלנו יבוא לאסוף את הקבוצה משער האריות.

מאבטי הקבוצה גודע לי שהסיור כלל את האתרים הרגילים וכן סיור בהפירות הכותל (של משרד הדתות) בהדרכת רב הכותל.

הפגישה עם פרופ' ירון גמטכה כשעה ובסבה כולה על ד"ש, מכבירותיה, צפיותיה ואכזבותיה וכן מהפך המו"ם להצטרפותה לממשלה.

על ארוחת הערב בבית הקונב"ל אין לנו פרטים מלבד הידיעה שהשתתפו בה ראשי ערים מן הגדה וכן אנוואר גוטיבה. אחד העוזרים אמר לי אח"כ, שלו כל הפלשתינאים היו כמו אלה שהשתתפו בארוחת הרי שלא היה לנו מה לדאוב.

בפגישה עם ראש הממשלה בכה מנהל מצפ"א והוא בודאי ידווח עליה בנפרד.

הפגישה עם ה"כ י. רבין התקיימה בלשכתו החדשה בת"א. הוא סזכם את פעילותו כראש ממשלה, ציין שהנו מצדד במדיניות צעד אחר צעד וכי היתה זו למעשה יזמתנו ולא יזמת קייסינג'ר. הוא סרב להתייחס לכסלון המערך בבחירות.

הפגישה עם סגן ראש אמ"ן בוסלה מאחר שהוא הופיע בועדת חוץ ובטחון.

הארוחת עם ראש עיריית תל-אביב היתה לבניית והשתתפו בה גם סגני ראש העיר.

בפגישה עם ה"כ ט. פרס נמכה בעיקר על הוצאות הבחירות.

הפגישה עם שר הבטחון היחה קצרה - בה סקר שר הבטחון את כמויות הנשק שיפעילו נגדנו ארצות העיסות כולל סעודיה, לוב ועיראק. בפגישה השתתף סגן ראש אמ"ן לסקרה וחברי הקונגרס ירצו לקיים את הפגישה שבוסלה אך הם לא עמדו על כך.

שגרירות ארה"ב הסדירה למשלחת פגישה עם ה"כ ליונה אליאב והטילטון ביקשני לא, להשתתף בה. אחד העוזרים העיר לי שליונה הוא "נצל חלומות".

בארוחת הערב של השגריר השתתפו מן המשרד המבכ"ל, המשנה למבכ"ל ומנהל מצפ"א, חברי הכנסת ששה ארנס ושמואל תמיר, כן השתתפו פרופ' עמוס פרלמוטר, הרצל רוזנבלום וכתבים אמריקאים.

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בשבת בנוקר בפגשה מנהל "מזתי" עם מר רוזנטל והמילטון והעוזרים בפגשו עם מר מ.
בן-פורת וד"ר מ. רוטני - השניים הדגישו בן היתר את העובדה שישראל איננה גוף
זר במזח"ח, באשר מחציתאוכלוסיתה הגם יוצאי מדינות ערב. והעלו את נושא הפיצויים
על הרכוש שהשאירו.

מן העוזרים למדנו שתכנית הביקור תאמה את ציפיותיהם של חברי המסלחת, אף כי
התאכזבו מן העובדה שלא בפגשו עם שר החוץ. כפי שציינו חייבים חברי הקונגרס לדוח
לבוחריהם וכן לקונגרס כי בפגשו אישית עם כל המנהיגים החשובים במדינה בה בקרו,
ואין זה משנה אם היתה כפילות בדיונים.

אובי ציין בפני מנהל מצפ"א את שביעות רצונו מתכנית הביקור.

בדרך לשדה התעופה קבעו ביניהם אנשי המסלחת כי יסיירו ביום ראשון בנוקר (10.7.77)
ברובע היהודי של דמשק.

ב נ ד כ ה

אריה אגרון

העתק: מנהל מצפ"א
הסגרירות וושינגטון

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