

# מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד

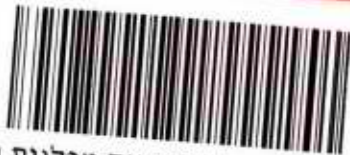
יחיד

לויטננט-קשרים עם  
מסמך ואמצעים מקצועיים

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מס' חק מקורי

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שם חק: לויטננט-קשרים עם מפלגות ואיגודים מקצועיים

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מחלקה

איוש



יא' בניסן תשמ"ח  
29 במרץ 1988  
5832

11.11.88  
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אל : השגריר, לונדון

מאת : מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : ג'רלד קאופמן - הלייבור

ח'כ ד. בן-מאיר, ס/יו"ר הכנסת, העביר לנו נוסח של מכתב ארוך ומפורט אותו הוא שלח לג'רלד קאופמן כתגובה לדבריו בברייטון בספטמבר אשתקד. הואיל והדברים נכתבו ברובם עוד לפני הארועים האחרונים בשטחים, הוסיף מר בן-מאיר בסוף המכתב הערות עדכניות אחדות.

לידיעתכם, ולכל שימוש שתמצאו לנכון.

ב ב ר כ ה.

איתן מרגלית

העתק: מנהל הסברה - רצ"ב העתק  
הציר, לונדון  
הסברה, לונדון



אלו	התאריך
מאת	חוק מס
הנדון	

היה נ באורח דורבן מקבל

הבב בן אבירי  
היה אבירי  
אם אבירי

היה אבירי

היה אבירי  
היה אבירי  
היה אבירי



long hole  
up 20.

see the entire area of the  
hole of water.  
20 ft. deep to bottom  
the filling.

long  
hole  
20 ft. deep  
to bottom  
the filling.

1 The Arab-Israeli conflict is only one of a number of conflicts in the Middle East, of which the Iran-Iraq war has been the most significant in recent months. I hope that some way can be found to resolve that terrible conflict.

2 The Labour party manifesto stressed that any Middle East initiative should take account of 1) the security of the State of Israel and 2) the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people. I shall attempt to achieve both these goals and shall not try to curry favour with one group or the other. To this end I shall be saying exactly the same thing to Poale Zion later today.

3 It is almost 40 years since the foundation of the State of Israel and Israel has become not only the most powerful military force in the Middle East, but one of the most powerful in the world. But among the States set up after the war, Israel is unique in that it is powerful but not secure. It is unique in that it has not been recognised by many countries and is technically at war with all except one of the surrounding States. One must ask: where has Israel gone wrong?

4 Some people, such as an Arab ambassador I spoke to recently, thought the problem was that Israel had been founded in the first place and from his point of view this was fair. But as Israel does exist, he admits he has to be realistic and accept the fact. I believe that Israel cannot be faulted for any of the wars before 1967. But the 1967 victory made the Israelis believe they were invincible. The victory was seen as a solution in itself. The Israelis considered themselves supreme and did not look for a lasting peace which could have been achieved. They became complacent. This led to the 1973 war where the Egyptians achieved early successes although they were later driven back. The shock of almost being invaded led, disastrously to the election of a chauvanist militaristic government in Israel which committed the crime (and a crime not only against the Lebanese but the Israelis who fell needlessly) of the invasion of Lebanon.

5 The problem now is that, as Israel failed to take advantage of her 1967 victory to achieve lasting peace, the West Bank has been occupied for over half the history of the State. Children have grown up and joined the army with no experience of any situation other than the present one.

6 The Palestinians under occupation have no civil rights and no political rights. What saddens me is that the Palestinians are now doing the work which the pioneers did in earlier times. They are a lower class of labour. They are often bussed into Israel in the morning and then bussed out again in the evening because they are not allowed to live in Israel. It may be that the standard of living in the area has risen slightly. I do not know. But the question is: do the Palestinians live as well as the Israelis, and the answer is no. The government of Israel subsidizes people to live in the West Bank and they live there and work in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. They build villas on the side of hills. Such people are "commuter pioneers".



7 I used to find it offensive when people compared the State of Israel with the Republic of South Africa. Now it is undeniable. There is an Israeli Soweto. The invasion of Lebanon was appalling, totally inexcusable. I must stress that, like any other country, I do not expect Israel to be perfect, but I do expect minimum standards.

8 What is required is a change in Israeli policy. The Palestinians and the neighbouring Arab States all want an international peace conference and I agree with them. I agree also that the PLO must take part in these negotiations. The Israelis may not like it but they must face up to reality. The PLO are the accredited representatives of the Palestinian people. The Israelis claim that the PLO is unelected. But that is because there is no mechanism available to the Palestinians.

9 The international conference must have no preconditions and that means none at all. It amazes me that the Israelis demand that Arafat recognize Israel. Is Israel so insecure that, even after forty years, recognition from the PLO makes such a great difference? The suggestion is ridiculous. Begin was a terrorist but Britain accepted him as the representative of Israel and he was received by Mrs. Thatcher. Kenyatta was labeled a terrorist, as was Mugabe, now a respected leader. One does not negotiate with friends, but with enemies, and one does not have to forgive one's enemies to talk to them.

10 The PLO are the acknowledged and accredited representatives of the Palestinian people and, in order to play my part in the peace process, I am perfectly willing to talk to, and negotiate with, representatives of the PLO. Only if one is prepared to be realistic will peace come to the Middle East.

Deputy Speaker

Jerusalem, 18 November 1987  
26 Cheshvan 5748

Dear Mr. Kaufman,

Your speech in Brighton on 30 September, 1987 concerning the Israeli-Arab conflict, has been brought to my attention and I read it very thoroughly. As a matter of fact, I was officially designated to represent my party (Labour) at your conference but I could not attend because of a previous commitment at the same time in Europe. Nevertheless, before I knew I would not be able to attend, I read a lot of material in preparation for my scheduled participation in the conference and therefore, I am well acquainted with the issues you dealt with. I would like to comment only on the Israeli-Arab conflict and the statements you made, in this regard, in your speech. As I have many comments to make, I shall deal with your speech paragraph by paragraph. First I shall quote your paragraph and then comment on it.

Paragraph No. 1

You say: The Arab-Israeli conflict is only one of a number of conflicts in the Middle East of which the Iran-Iraq war has been the most significant in recent months. I hope that some way can be found to resolve that terrible conflict.

My comments: You state that the Israeli-Arab conflict is not the only one in the Middle-East. But why do you mention only the Iran-Iraq war? You must know that there are many more such conflicts in the Middle-East that have no connection whatsoever with the Israeli-Arab conflict. Please allow me to list some of the most significant:

- a. There is a latent hatred and tension between Turkey and Syria, from the time that Turkey annexed the Alexandrette Zone. Syria retaliated by granting patronage to the Kurds who fight against Turkey in order to achieve autonomy for the Kurdish Zone.

- b. The Kurds in general want to establish an independent State and therefore they fight the Turks, the Iraqis and the Iranians. (By the way, why is nobody voicing his support for self-determination for the Kurds and their right to have a State of their own?
- c. There is constant tension between Iraq and Syria about sharing the waters of the Euphrates.
- d. There is constant tension in Syria because the ruling cast belongs to a tiny minority, the Alawites, while the Moslem majority does not agree with it, as is manifest by the terrorist activities of the Moslem brothers against the government. Only a couple of years ago, more than 10,000 citizens of Homs were killed by Assad's troops.
- e. A large number of minorities have been slaughtered in Iraq - (Assyrians about 300 thousand) and in Turkey - (Armenians about 1 million).
- f. The civil war in Lebanon has been going on for 100 years! - long before the Balfour Declaration... Druse, Moslems and Maronites continue to slaughter each other to this very day.
- g. The Jordanian Crown was, from the beginning, backed by the bayonets of the soldiers of the Arab Legion, mobilised by the British (Glub Pasha), financed by them and backed by 300 thousand Beduin who lived in the southern part of Transjordan and who were willing, if well paid, to protect the Hashemite family in Amman, though alien to the Middle East. The family and it's entourage was "imported" from the Arab Peninsula after Ibn Saud chased them out of Chigaz.



The Arabs do not love this family. They drummed Feisal (Abdulla's brother and Hussein's grandfather) out of Damascus where the British tried to crown him as the King of the Grand Arab State. Later, when the British made him King of Iraq, his dynasty did not last long: his son was killed and his corpse was dragged through the streets of Baghdad.

Therefore, the very existence of the Hashemite kingdom (though it is favoured by Israel) is actually a pain in the neck to all the Pan-Arabs of the Middle East.

- h. The Arab Emirates along the Persian Gulf, including Kuwait, were a source of unrest in the Arab world long before the war between Iran and Iraq broke out. As you may recall, Iraq wanted (and still wants) to annex Kuwait and other Emirates. It did not carry this out because of the opposition of Saudia and the threat of the U.S.A.
- i. Saudia itself poses a big problem, trying to retain the power in the hands of a decadent family against the will of its young generation to modernise not only the oil fields and the harems, but also the way of life of the population.
- j. Yemen has split into two separate countries, while the southern one, being a Marxist State, has become a nucleus of danger and a threat to its northern neighbour and to Saudia.

- k. Egypt invaded Yemen in 1964 and used their chemical weapons against the civil population. This invasion, too, had nothing to do with the Israel-Arab conflict.
- l. Lybia is at war or in a state of semi-war with Sudan, Chad, Egypt and Tunisia. It is a source of unrest for th whole of North-Africa.
- m. And last but not least Morocco has a big problem with the Polisario, who want independence for the southern part of Morocco.

As you can see, I have mentioned only 13 main conflicts (there are dozens of others) that have nothing to do with the existence of Israel in the Middle-East. They are tangible proof that the Middle East is undergoing a social, economic, cultural and political upheaval and revolution. It is their good fortune that the Jews decided, after two thousand years, to come back to their historic homeland and thus furnished them with an excellent common denominator that enables them to unite at least in one respect, their hatred of Jews and of Israel.

I well understand that having only five minutes to present your case before the Convention, you could not dwell longer on your opening point, namely that the Israel-Arab conflict is not the only one in the Middle-East, and therefore you mentioned only the Iran-Iraq war. For the sake of the record I found it necessary to help you out by showing how right you were with your opening statement....

But I cannot agree with the totally inadequate sentence that ends your first paragraph. I quote: "I hope some way can be found to resolve that terrible conflict". Come now, Mr. Kaufman. A war that has already destroyed one million young lives is a conflict that you only hope to resolve? Why don't you find it necessary to alert the attention of your party to the fact that much more than vague hopes must be expressed and that action must be taken by the modern world in the East and in the West, to stop this horrible massacre of innocent young lives?

It is most surprising that afterwards, when you deal with the Israel-Arab conflict, you are much more sure what must be done in order to resolve the conflict, and obviously, at the expense of Israel.

Paragraph No. 2

You say: The Labour party manifesto stressed that any Middle East initiative should take account of 1) the security of the State of Israel and 2) the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people. I shall attempt to achieve both these goals and shall not try to curry favour with one group or the other. To this end I shall be saying exactly the same thing to Poale Zion today.

My comments: In the this paragraph you say that the manifesto of the Labour party stresses the right of Israel to exist within secure borders and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. I cannot but agree with this manifesto, and we, the Jews, acted according to it long before your party made up it's mind about the Middle-East:

- a. We agreed to the first partition of Erez Israel in 1922, when Mr. Winston Churchill (then Minister of the Colonies) decided to cut off Transjordan from the Jewish Homeland which was promised to us in the Balfour Declaration, and which was handed over in trust to Britain as care-taker, by the League of Nations.
- b. We agreed to a second act of partition, this time of the western part of Palestine, in order to enable the establishment of a Jewish State, in accordance with the decision of the United Nations on 29 November, 1947.

And who did not agree that the Jews should have their own State? The Palestinians!! They started to shoot on 30 November because five Arab governments promised them that they would invade Palestine after its evacuation by the British and that they would throw all the Jews into the sea...



The sad fact, Mr. Kaufman, is that until this very day, the Arabs, and the Palestinians in particular, though living in refugee camps and being scattered over the whole Middle-East, do not agree with the right of Israel to exist as an independent State!

This and more. You know, just as surely as I, that Hussein had 19 years at his disposal to establish a Palestinian State on the West Bank with East Jerusalem as its capital. Why didn't he and the other Arab States carry out what they now want from us? Isn't it another trick to "correct the mistake", that you bring up in paragraph 4 in the words of an Arab Ambassador, "that Israel was founded in the first place"?

As I shall show later on, Israel was ready to agree to a Palestinian State after 1967 as well, but in the meantime, please note Mr. Kaufman: the Arabs and the Palestinians do not acknowledge the right of the Jews to self-determination until this very day. Instead, Arafat and the PLO want to establish a "Secular Democratic State" not alongside of Israel but instead of it. This is still written in the Palestinian Contract. Therefore, the Palestinian problem cannot and will not be solved, so long as their attitude towards Israel's right to exist will not change. And it will not change as long as worthy people like you, with all their good intentions and understanding, will continue blindly to back one side - the Arabs - and to demand all the concessions from the other side - the Israelis!

### Paragraph No. 3

You say: It is almost 40 years since the foundation of the State of Israel and Israel has become not only the most powerful military force in the Middle East, but one of the most powerful in the world. But among the states set up after the War, Israel is unique in that it is powerful but not secure. It is unique in that it has not been recognised by many countries and is technically at war with all except one of the surrounding states. One must ask: where has Israel gone wrong?

My comments: In the this paragraph you ask, "where has Israel gone wrong?" You wonder, but cannot understand why, such a strong country as Israel is not recognised by so many countries and is at war with most of it's neighbours.

Well, you are mistaken, Mr. Kaufman! Israel has not gone wrong. From a stage of total unacceptance by the Arab world (unacceptance that was accompanied by scorn and abuse for those "death-worthy" Jews who dared to challenge the overwhelming Arab majority), we have succeeded in establishing a Jewish State that is able not only to withstand the joint military strength of the Arab powers but is forcing the Arab world, slowly but surely, to accept the Israeli presence in the Middle-East. Countries such as Egypt, Morocco, Tunis (before the last change in power) and also Sudan (before the ousting of General Numeiri), declare it openly and behave accordingly. (Egypt made peace with us and Morocco has a de-facto peace with us). Jordan acutally observes a day-to-day peace with us through the open bridges and the normal inter-change of people, money, merchandise and matriculation examinations and the constant meetings of the heads of the two States to discuss peace.

Only recently, all the Arab States convened in Amman and acknowledged the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, by renewing diplomatic relations with Egypt while she continues to retain, and even to develop the peace with Israel! Look at what we have achieved in only 40 years, Mr. Kaufman, bearing in mind that Jewish reestablishment in the Middle East must be a very long process which will demand a lot of patience and understanding.

So why are you so impatient with us? Has the world solved, after 40 years, the problem of a divided Berlin? Are you also so impatient with Spain and France who have failed to grant autonomy to the Basques? And do you see a promising end to the bloodshed in Northern Ireland?

Please, Mr. Kaufman, give some thought to the things that have already been achieved. They are outstanding, so why do you push us so hard and especially on one side only? Can you not see that the other side also has to move towards us, and may do so if you and your friends will try persuading them instead of leaning only on us.



Paragraph No. 4

You say: Some people, such as an Arab Ambassador I spoke to recently, thought the problem was that Israel had been founded in the first place and from his point of view this was fair. But as Israel does exist, he admits he has to be realistic and accept the fact. I believe that Israel cannot be faulted for any of the wars before 1967. But the 1967 victory made the Israelis believe they were invincible. The victory was seen as a solution in itself. The Israelis considered themselves supreme and did not look for a lasting peace which could have been achieved. They became complacent. This led to the 1973 war where the Egyptians achieved early successes although they were later driven back. The shock of almost being invaded led, disasterously to the election of a chauvanist militaristic government in Israel which committed the crime (and a crime not only against the Lebanese but the Israelis who fell needlessly) of the invasion of Lebanon.

My comments: This paragraph is a mass (presumably due to lack of time) of inaccurate facts and wrong conclusions:

- a. You say: "I believe that Israel cannot be faulted for any wars before 1967". Here I must disagree with you completely. In my opinion, David Ben-Gurion made a very big mistake when he joined forces with Britain and France whose aim was to recapture their hold on the Suez Canal. This was not our war and we should not have participated in it. The culmination, a military flop on the Anglo-French side, and a hasty retreat on ours, due to American-Russian pressure, only proved the big mistake made by all the involved parties and especially by us.

If Israel had stayed at home and had not joined forces with Britain and France, Nasser would perhaps have made peace with us. The fact that the

confiscation of the Suez Canal had added to his prestige, might have encouraged him to dare to talk with us, in the same way as the Egyptian achievements in the first phase of the October war gave Sadat the courage to come to Jerusalem.

The mere fact, Mr. Kaufman, that Britain was involved in the Suez war is no justification for it.

- b. You give the impression, in this paragraph, that Israel is to be blamed for the 1967 war and especially for the complacency in Israel that followed the victory. This attitude, you argue, led to the October war and all the disasters that came after.

Once more I cannot agree with you. First of all I am sure that you are aware that we were quite happy with the 1949 borders. I can assure you that if the Arabs would have come to us prior to June 1967 and suggested total peace on the basis of those borders, the entire Jewish population in Israel would have agreed, as they agreed later, to the peace contract with Egypt.

Moreover, in June 1967 we established a National Unity Government which included Mr. Begin. That Government announced immediately after the war that, if the Arabs would agree to make peace with us, we would be ready to fall back to the 1949 borders with only Jerusalem must remaining united. This was the official standpoint of our Government until September 1967 when all the heads of the Arab countries convened in Khartoum and agreed resoundingly on the three no's:

No negotiation with Israel  
No acknowledgement of Israel  
No peace with Israel

And so the last chance to induce Israel to retreat to the 1949 borders and to solve the Palestinian problem simply evaporated.

So my dear Mr. Kaufman, no lasting peace could have been achieved during the years 1967 - 1973, because the Arabs simply did not want to make peace. They waited to become strong enough to launch another attack and to complete the job they had not succeeded in completing in 1949...

I am sure you remember how delegates of many member countries of the United Nations danced in the corridors in October 1973, when the first news reached New York that the Arabs had won the war.

- c. The 1973 war did not lead to the establishment of a chauvinist military government. The seeds of this government were sown in 1967 when the Arabs said "no" to every Israeli initiative including the Allon Plan. This negative attitude encouraged the radical factors in our society to claim that there were no Arab partners with whom to make peace, thus compelling them to "establish facts", such as Jewish settlements in the Arab population centres of the West Bank.

It is sad to relate that the Labour Party in Israel did not succeed in convincing the Jewish public that despite the refusal of the entire Arab world to negotiate with us, the hope of finding an Arab partner for territorial compromise should not be abandoned. This was the main factor which enabled a chauvinistic government, headed by Mr. Begin, to come to power.

- d. The Lebanon war as it developed after the first 5-6 days, surpassing the 45 km limit was a big mistake, I agree with you on this point. The biggest mistake was to employ "ZAHAL" (the Israel Defence Army), in order to achieve political ends. You should know that Ben-Gurion had a purpose in



calling our army, "Defence Army". This name was intended to define its role as a defending force, because we Jews came to this country to sow and to build and, only if attacked, to defend ourselves. Since then, Zahal has never been involved in missions to attain political aims.

Mr. Begin broke this unwritten law (he also used to omit the word 'defence' from the full name of Zahal so as to emphasize his disagreement with Ben-Gurion's limiting definition of the role of Zahal) and ordered Zahal to enter Beirut in order to impose a peace agreement on Lebanon.

My party, the Labour Party, backed the operation as long as it was intended to drive the PLO back (45 km) from our northern border. But once this promise to us (we were then in opposition) was broken, we opposed the war and practically forced the government to stop it. As soon as Mr. Peres became Prime Minister, Zahal was ordered to pull out of Lebanon.

Mr. Begin and all his government paid a very heavy price for this mistake: Mr. Begin has resigned and has confined himself to total isolation from public life; an inquiry committee investigating the Sabra and Shatila massacre by Christian Lebanese, forced Defence Minister, Arik Sharon, the Chief of Staff, Rafael Eitan, the commander of intelligence and the commander of the Beirut front, to resign their posts. The Likud party in consequence lost its decisive strength in the public arena and was forced to share government with the Labour party after the 1984 elections.

But, although agreeing with you on this point, it does not justify your description of the Lebanon war as a crime! First of all, I beg to remind you that for 23 years our border with Lebanon was the quietest. Our relationship with all Lebanese governments was outstandingly good. We used to ponder and say that Lebanon will be the second Arab country to make peace with us, knowing that it would not dare to be first.

Only when Hussein chased the PLO out of Jordan, after September 1970 (Black September), and they moved their headquarters to Lebanon, the border with Israel was kindled like dry straw. We had to enter Lebanon as early as 1978 (the Litani Campaign) in order to smash the PLO stronghold in the South of Lebanon. So it is not a new or surprising story. But you did not say a word about the situation that led to the Lebanon war; nor did you find it necessary to point out that the border with Jordan was hostile and flammable from 1949 until 1970 while the PLO was in that country with the Lebanese border being as peaceful during that time as the border between England and Scotland; and that since 1970 with the border between Jordan and Israel now quiet and friendly, the Lebanese border became a hell.

I want to be sure that there is no misunderstanding between us: the insurgence into Lebanon weakened the PLO while the military arrangements we made and maintain in South Lebanon enable our people in the northern settlements to live in relative quiet. We shall be ready at all times to take action against those intent on endangering us. Every government will move very swiftly to eliminate any source of danger to Israel, whatever the reaction of world opinion, just as your government did in the past so many times when British interests were involved, as in the case of the Falklands.

I also want to protest very strongly against the use of the word crime in the context of the Lebanese war. Is it your undeclared intention to connect the Israeli government, by this word, to other war crimes such as those of the second world war? If so, you are stretching out a perilous hand which will be grasped by the racist and anti-semitic forces in the world who succeeded in passing a resolution in the United Nations that Zionism is a racist movement and that the Jews behave on the West Bank as the Nazis did in Europe!

There is no greater lie and smear than this. I am amazed at your "courage" to present such a theme to Poalei Zion. If a military effort to stop cold-blooded killers of infants, women and old people from carrying on with their dastardly deeds is a crime, how would you describe the military actions of your governments during the last seventy years.



\* Yielding to Hitler in Munich and selling a whole country (Czechoslovakia) in order to gain time because no English government had prepared Britain for the forthcoming war (1938).

\* Ignoring the ongoing slaughter of Jews in Auschwitz and all over Poland and suppressing plans to bomb the camps and the railroads leading to them, an action that could have saved millions of lives during the holocaust (1944).

\* Attacking Egypt in order to take back the Egyptian held Suez Canal (1956).

These are only a few examples out of many more that could be added to "the list of crimes" that you mentioned in your speech, and that concern you country only. Now imagine how many "crimes" like the one mentioned by you have been committed by the whole family of modern and western countries.

Paragraph No. 5

You say: The problem now is that, as Israel failed to take advantage of her 1967 victory to achieve a lasting peace, the West Bank has been occupied for over half the history of the State. Children have grown up and joined the army with no experience of any other situation other than the present one.

My comments: In this paragraph you continue to blame Israel, and Israel only, for failing to achieve peace. Do you really think that only Israel is to be blamed for not achieving peace? I have already dwelt on the subject of the Arab refusal to any solution that has the slightest component of compromise, so I shall not repeat it here. But I really think that putting all the pressure and blame on Israel, in this respect, encourages the Arabs to continue to be stubborn in their refusal to approach any sort of solution.

You are right in saying that in the meantime a new generation has grown up, on both sides, who have become frustrated because of the lack of any solution, and therefore drift more and more towards extremism. And since, for the time being, we are stronger than the Arab population on the West Bank and in Gaza, time is running out for them. If people like you continue to totally justify the Arabs, and accuse only us for not making peace, the coming generation on both sides will be unable to even look at each other.

No wonder that such dreadful solutions to the conflict, as presented by the fascist Kahane, find an echo especially in the young Jewish generation, that does not see any positive solution to the conflict in the future, and therefore becomes frustrated and bitter.

Paragraph No. 6

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You say: The Palestinians under occupation have no civil rights and no political rights. What saddens me is that the Palestinians are now doing the work which the pioneers did in earlier times. They are a lower class of labour. They are often bussed into Israel in the morning and then bussed out again in the evening because they are not allowed to live in Israel. It may be that the standard of living in the area has risen slightly. I do not know. But the question is: do the Palestinians live as well as the Israelis, and the answer is no. The government of Israel subsidizes people to live on the West Bank and they live there and work in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. They build villas on the side of the hills. Such people are "commuter pioneers".

My comments: In this paragraph you lay the ideological basis for labeling Israel as a racist country, and for including her in the defiled group of nations: South Africa, Taiwan, South Korea, Chile, etc. You run away from the slightest intellectual effort to understand the day-to-day problem on the West Bank, and in order to get away with it, you maneuver the facts your way so that they fit the statements and accusations that you want to make and emphasize. Let me point out some of your fallacies in this paragraph:

- a. The civil rights of the Palestinians on the West Bank were untouched by Israel since the occupation. The Jordanian Civil Law prevails there and people receive their rights and are prosecuted for violations of this law exactly as was the case during the Jordanian occupation of the West Bank. If an Israeli commits a crime on the West Bank (including a traffic offence) he will be brought before a judge in a court on the West Bank and be tried according to Jordanian law.

It is true that apart from the civil law, the Israeli Army has also introduced a military law, in accordance with the Geneva Convention, as every other military power (for example, the British commander of Berlin) in an occupied territory. But this power is used only against those who involve themselves in terrorist activities.

This is how Hussein ruled the West Bank, and the Egyptians, the Gaza strip for 19 years (1949-1967) and nobody raised their voice (not even when Hussein slaughtered thousands of Palestinians or attacked with force and bayonets anti-Jordan demonstrations in old Jerusalem, Nablus and other cities during his rule in the West Bank).

Now, what sort of civil rights in your opinion are the Palestinians lacking? I presume that you do not point to the Jordanian civil rights because these already exist, you want the Palestinians to receive the same rights that Israelis have in Israel. As soon as we give them this it will immediately become an act of annexation. Do you want Israel to annex the territories? [Even the Histadrut, the Israeli TUC, is unable to register Arab members from the territories in its organisation (65% of the Arab workers who are Israeli citizens are members of the Histadrut) because such a step would also become an act of annexation!].

So after 1967 we had two choices: to isolate the territories from any contact with Israel and therefore to leave them in the neglected condition



that prevailed during the entire period of Jordanian and Egyptian rule or to enable them to come to work in Israel and improve their standard of living. We chose the second way.

You might also differentiate between the permanent population of the territories and the refugees living beside them in camps. The first receive every sort of help from the Israel authorities to transform their primitive agricultural methods into the most modern methods. A whole new educational system has been built up from scratch, including universities, teachers seminaries and technical schools; the municipal system has been improved, and the citizens have learned how to run their cities and care for good municipal services; tens of thousands of new houses have been built (most of them private homes and not apartment houses); electricity, sewage, running water and telephone systems have been introduced and the general standard of living has risen steeply.

It is true that the situation of the refugees in the camps has improved only moderately, and even this rise is due to the higher income they now have owing to many of them working in Israel. But the camps were not evacuated, new cities and neighbourhoods have not been built for them - mainly because they will not accept any personal solution other than a return to their previous residences. Failing a political solution to the whole problem and the stubbornness of the refugees, it is true that the Palestinians do not live as well as the Israelis. But bear in mind that when I say Israelis, I mean all of them including the 800 thousand Israeli Arabs.

What puts a question mark on the objectivity of your speech is the fact that when it comes to the good things that Israel has done on the West Bank and in the Gaza strip, you suddenly become ignorant, or as you put it, and I quote: "It may be that the standard of living in the areas has risen slightly, I don't know". But you certainly do know that the Palestinians don't live as well as the Israelis. By the way, do the Indians, the Pakistanis and all the other immigrants to your country live as well as the neighbouring white British people? English? If the answer is "yes", why do they so often burn the

slums they live in? You demonstrate such a detailed knowledge that might prove that the Palestinians are discriminated against. Why are the fences on your doorstep not mended first?

And do the Catholics in Northern Ireland live as well as the Protestants? If they do, why is the percentage of unemployed Catholics greater by 2.5 times than that of the Protestants? Why, for instance, does the large concern, "Short Brothers" which employs 7000 workers, not employ more than 5% Catholics? If one continues along your lines, one might easily come to the conclusion that Northern Ireland is the English Soweto...

But the West Bank is not an Israeli Soweto. I have already proved above that the standard of living has gone up and I want to add some figures (regarding the West Bank and the Gaza strip). Some of the figures are only from the seventies, so you can imagine in what a poor situation they were in 1967:

		<u>West bank</u>	<u>Gaza strip</u>
Number of people	1967	586,000	381,000
	1986	836,000	545,000
percentage of gas & electric ranges for cooking	1974	32.7%	12.7%
	1985	84.6%	86.1%
Percentage of electrical refrigerators	1972	13.8%	5.7%
	1985	66.3%	77.8%
Percentage washing machines	1974	13.8%	3%
	1985	37.2%	38.9%
TV - black & white	1972	10%	7.5%
	1985	66%	76.5%
TV - colour	1981	3.4%	0.7%
	1985	12.8%	8.2%
Tape recorders	1974	4.8%	2.9%
	1985	55.8%	54.7%
Solar heaters	1981	25.8%	41.1%
	1985	45%	69.3%
Number of private cars	1970	1,626	1,293
	1986	35,349	15,893



Educational institutions	1967	821	166
	1986	1,135	296
Number of classes	1967	4,402	1,746
	1986	8,647	3,940
Number of pupils	1967	142,216	80,050
	1986	290,601	166,584

Do these figures point to a decline in the standard of living on the West Bank or do they show an astonishing growth and development? Have you another example anywhere in the world of such a high rate of development in a territory that is under military occupation?

Yes Mr. Kaufman, the West Bank is under military occupation, and if the Arab countries want to develop it, they are invited to do so. But they do not care even though our Defence Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, invited western and Arab capital to invest in the West Bank and King Hussein has said that he would welcome world wide investment in the West Bank to the tune of \$500 million.

So while nobody is coming forward, Israel's military authorities do what little they can. We have no incentive to invest, because we have proclaimed to the whole world for the last twenty years, that we do not see it as our land. Now just imagine if we had started to develop the West Bank as we do in Israel. What an outcry there would have been in the world! What accusations of Israel annexing the West Bank de facto!

So we help only Jewish settlers who want to settle on the West Bank, and we help especially those who comply with the Alon Plan. This is the only reason the standard of living on the West Bank is higher among Jews than among Arabs.

Paragraph No. 7

You say: I used to find it offensive when people compared the State of Israel with the Republic of South Africa. Now it is undeniable. There is an Israeli Soweto. The invasion of Lebanon was appalling, totally inexcusable. I must stress that, like any other country, I do not expect Israel to be perfect. But I do expect minimum standards.

My comments: In this paragraph it seems to me that your unfounded accusations are repeated in the hope that repetition will penetrate the minds of your listeners.

No Mr. Kaufman, we are not South Africa: 850 thousand Israeli Arabs live together with us in complete freedom and equality. In our country we carry out the principle of "one man one vote" for all our citizens.

The West Bank is not a part of the State of Israel; we stay there in the role of a military regime because the Arabs launched a war against us in 1967 (have you forgotten?). And how we behave there and what are our achievements in the region, I have already detailed above.

Israel is not perfect in all she does, but many countries, even in Europe (and not only the Germans) can come to learn from us how to behave in a conquered territory and how to comply with correct human standards. If you do not believe me ask the Algerians about France; ask the Angolians and Mozambiquians about Portugal; ask the Zairians about Belgium; ask the Ethiopians about Italy; ask the Afghanistans about Russia - do I need to go on?

#### Paragraph No. 8

You say: What is required is a change in Israeli policy. The Palestinians and the neighbouring Arab States all want an international peace conference and I agree with them. I agree also that the PLO must take part in these negotiations. The Israelis may not like it but they must face up to reality. The PLO are accredited representatives of the Palestinian people. The Israelis claim that the PLO is unelected. But that is because there is no mechanism available to the Palestinians.

My comments: Now what you say in paragraph eight is really beyond the pale: you try to create the impression that the Arabs are the ones who invented the international convention! Have you forgotten that this is the original idea of Mr. Peres? Have you not heard about his speech in the United Nations? Have you forgotten Mrs. Thatcher's visit to Israel and Jordan in 1985, after which she invited a Jordanian-PLO delegation to visit London (with the understanding and

approval of Israel expressed by Mr. Peres). And what came of it? A PLO refusal to sign an agreement for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the peace talks!

You forget also that only recently, in November 1987, King Hussein received his final clearance (from Syria, Iraq and other countries) to go to an international conference: until then he and the PLO were the real obstacles to such a conference.

At the same time we had and still have our internal difficulties. We are struggling to overcome them and yet you do not give us the slightest credit for our efforts. Its true that Mr. Shamir does not agree to the international conference, but neither do the Russians who want to come to the table without resuming diplomatic relations with us and without letting our brothers and sisters out of the Soviet Union. And neither do the Chinese as far as diplomatic relations are concerned. Where is the international pressure on them? Their 'Chutzpa' in trying to gain access to the conference without making the slightest gesture, is not even mentioned by you. Can you imagine Mr. Shamir's situation if these two giants had changed their attitude towards us? He would have been placed in an impossible situation and would have been compelled to agree to some sort of an international conference, just as happened with the Taba dispute.

So the situation is as follows:

- \* Israel, through its then Prime Minister, Peres, creates and pushes forward the idea of an international conference.

- \* The Arabs hesitate to accept it.

- \* Russia and China do not want to resume diplomatic relations with Israel.



\* Russia does not acknowledge the right of Jews to be accepted as a nation and their right to be united with their brothers in Israel.

\* The PLO continues to fight for a Palestinian secular and democratic State instead of the State of Israel.

And you call all this an Israeli refusal to participate in an international conference!

I can and must assure you of one thing: we shall not sit or meet with the PLO as long as they terrorise our people everywhere and continue to strive to destroy Israel. This will be our standpoint notwithstanding the question if the PLO is an elected or non-elected body.

Paragraph No. 9

You say: The international conference must have no preconditions and that means none at all. It amazes me that the Israelis demand that Arafat recognise Israel. Is Israel so insecure that, even after forty years, recognition from the PLO makes such a great difference? The suggestion is ridiculous. Begin was a terrorist but Britain accepted him as the representative of Israel and he was received by Mrs. Thatcher. Kenyatta was labelled a terrorist, as was Mugabe, now a respected leader. One does not negotiate with friends, but with enemies, and one does not have to forgive one's enemies to talk to them.

My comments: When Henry Kissinger came to Israel the first time, and visited the Jordan river, which so small and unimpressive, he said "Look what public relations can do to a river". These words came to mind when I read your ninth paragraph: "Look what brain-washing can do to such an intelligent man as Mr. Kaufman".

Of course, one makes peace only with enemies, and of course we shall have to sit also with the representatives of the PLO when the time comes to make peace. But on one condition, that both sides are ready to acknowledge each other on equal terms and foreswear terrorism.

Your comparison of Begin and Kenyata to Arafat is an insult to your listeners; how can you compare? Did Begin or Kenyata ever challenge the right of England to exist. There was only the question: will they stop shooting at English targets in their countries? Once England said that it was ready to evacuate these countries they stopped shooting and came to the negotiation table.

So the precondition of powerful England to those tiny underground forces was to stop shooting, this was its precondition and nobody blamed you for it.

Here we are confronted with a two-fold problem: the PLO does not agree to acknowledge our right to exist as an independent State and its members continue to employ terrorist activities. Now Mr. Kaufman, in your third paragraph you say that it is unique, that after 40 years of existence we are technically at war with all our neighbours except one, and in this paragraph you sneer at our feeling of insecurity as far as negotiations with Arafat are concerned.

Yes Mr. Kaufman, we are worried about and afraid of partners at the negotiation table who openly say that their ultimate goal is to destroy us.

First of all, it is not ethical and not just, to accept such an attitude from a future partner to a lasting peace.... Secondly, I can not understand why peace seekers like you are ready to achieve peace only at our expense? Is it so difficult and unethical to dare to say to the PLO, that if they really want peace they should alter their covenant as far as the right of Israel to exist is concerned?

Mr. Kaufman, we are afraid of the PLO and we are not ashamed to admit it. The PLO is part of a big, frightening and hate-filled Arab world. The question is, not what are the present proportions of strength between Israel and the PLO, but how they might develop once a Palestinian State is established as a solid beginning of a constant effort to destroy Israel.

You have to use your imagination about how it is going to look, from a Palestinian capital on the West bank, packed with communist Embassies, with Russian sophisticated arms and hundreds of thousands of Iranian volunteers ready to sacrifice their lives in order to "free Jerusalem from the Jewish dogs".

Your government is not ready to sit at the negotiation table with the IRA as long as they continue to be militant, though they are no threat to the very existence of England and they do not represent blood-thirsty enemies who surround England by the hundred millions. It is much easier to demand it from others...

Paragraph No. 10

You say: The PLO are the acknowledged and accredited representatives of the Palestinian people and, in order to play my part in the peace process, I am perfectly willing to talk to, and negotiate with, representatives of the PLO. Only if one is prepared to be realistic will peace come to the Middle East.

My comments: In your last paragraph you make statements that are misleading, if not innacurate. For instance, many Arab States, including Jordan, Syria, Lihya and South Yemen, do not acknowledge and accredit Arafat as the sole representative of the Palestinians. The last summit in Amman, too, did not accept the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians but gave a decisive role also to Jordan and its King.

So as you see, the Arabs themselves have not decided yet on this crucial question, and therefore the chairman of our Party, Mr. Peres, has suggested a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the peace talks. This is a realistic approach, and if you want to play a realistic role in helping to solve the Israel-Palestine conflict please be as decisive in your advice to the PLO as you are towards us; perhaps such an approach will make them more realistic in their attitude towards Israel, especially if they are, as you say, weaker and smaller than we are.

Yours sincerely,

Dov Ben-Meir, MK



P.S. As my long letter was written in November 1987, prior to the riots on the West Bank and the Gaza strip, I find it necessary to add a few important remarks:

1. We must look upon the sad developments and riots as a part of the whole picture described above. We regret every misbehaviour of our soldiers or settlers and the army is investigating and punishing all such misbehaviour. Of course, the public and the world see only what is caught by the cameras and this is quite horrible as all such sad events are. But do not forget that this is also a collision of two scales of values: while we cannot accept a situation where soldiers shoot and beat women and children, the Arabs have no compunction whatsoever in sending women and children to the front exactly as the Iranians sent thousands of young children to be live mine detectors in front of their advancing army.

It is a tragic situation, but what can we do? We cannot start withdrawing without a political agreement because we know that the Palestinians will not be satisfied with only the West Bank and the Gaza strip. An opinion poll, conducted by Tel-Aviv University (Prof. Yaar), in January 1987 in the above territories, brought the following answers to the question: What is your ideal solution to the Israel-Arab conflict?

33% said that they want all the Jews to go back to the countries they came from.  
33% said that they want a Palestinian state according to the HLO conception: a

democratic secular state instead of Israel.

25% said that they wanted a Palestinian state alongside of Israel.

2. But a lot has to be done also on the Israeli side. As the Israeli public is divided on this issue, almost half and half and, according to my calculation, the coming elections will not bring a political breakthrough. (Even if Labour or Likud will succeed in forming a government alone, it will be a weak one. And we shall not be able to carry through a political solution without a national consensus of at least 80%!) The two parties must hammer out, together, a third plan that will enable both of them to back it. Such a plan is outlined in another article that I have written, concerning the 40th anniversary of Israel. I am also enclosing this article for your attention.

I am sorry that I am imposing so much paper on you, but the issue is very complicated and it calls for a very thorough discussion. This is what I have tried to do and ask for your forgiveness for being so lengthy.



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
2 PALACE GREEN  
LONDON, W8 4QB  
Telephone : 01-937 8050

שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

6083

נ' בניסן התשמ"ח  
24 במארס 1988

ש מ ר

32

אל : מר א. מרגלית, מנהל אירופה ב'

מאת : השגריר, לונדון

103.1  
(נ)

הנדון: שיחת היכרות עם הלורד BELSTEAD - מנהיג השמרנים בבית הלורדים

הלורד בלסטד התמנה לתפקידו לפני כחודשיים, עם התפטרותו של הלורד WHITELAW שהחזיק את התואר של סגן ראש הממשלה והיה ממקורבי רוה"מ.

הלורד בלסטד הוא צעיר יחסית (בשנות ה-40) ונחבא אל הכלים עד למינויו זה. שימש בעבר כשר זוטא במשרד החקלאות ובמשרד הסביבה.

ביקורתי אצלו ב-22.2.88 לשיחת היכרות ומצאתי אותו פתוח ולבבי באישיותו. בנימה של צחוק עצמי אמר לי שעד היום הזה הוא לא מבין למה רוה"מ ראתה לנכון לבחור בו כמנהיג השמרנים בבית הלורדים אך, מאחורי הלבביות הזאת מסתתרת חוכמה פוליטית חדה והלורד בלסטד מוכר כעת מבין העולים בשורות המפלגה. הוא מכיר אותנו רק מזוית עבודתו במשרד החקלאות (מו"מ על הפרוטוקולים החדשים) אך הוא לא היה מעודכן בפרובלימטיקה האחרונה הקשורה עם שטרסבורג.

הלורד בלסטד טרם ביקר בארץ. קיבל את הזמנתי בצורה מנומסת ובלתי מחייבת.

בברכה  
יהודה אבנר



נבנ

בלעם

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אל:הם שרדו

ת-:לונדון,נר:61,תא:040388,חז:1400,דח:ר,טג:לב

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בלנס/7617

אל: אירופה 2

מאת לשבת הציר, לונדון

לבעקת VALERIE COCKS תתקשרו נא בזהירות עם רמי  
ברקן או ג'ורג'ן שגיא בסתדרות והבקשו להעביר מידות  
מכתב מקיסר ל-AEU כפי שהובטח לה. הארגון מעביר עד  
יום ב' הקרוב פרטים העלון בו יתפרסם אגרת קיסר. על  
מנה לחסון בזמן יש אפשרות לקבל הנוסח באמצעות פקסימיליה  
938 1571.

לשבת הציר.

יג

תפ : ממנו כל איבר

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יג' בשבט תשמ"ח  
1 בפברואר 1988  
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אל : מר אלון ליאל, לשכת המנכ"ל המדיני

מאת : מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : בתיא קינן - נציגת מפ"מ ללונדון

סוף טוב - הכל טוב.

אמש ב-31.1.88 הודיעתני הגב' סקווייר מהשגרירות הבריטית כי העניין הוסדר, וכיום קבלה בתיא את האשרה המתאימה בשגרירות בת"א.

מפ"מ טפלה בעניין מלכתחילה ברשלנות מירבית ועשתה את כל הטעויות האפשריות, אך גם הביורוקרטיה הבריטית המרובעת לא סייעה. רק התערבות השגרירות מכאן ביזמתנו שהביאה להפעלת הפוררין אופיס, הצליחה להתיר הסבך.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

העתק: מר ברוך אסקרוב, יועץ לשר





**BATYA KEINAN**

UK representative of the Mapam party in Israel

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Kaxton House 213

3000

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סמל סמל סמל סמל סמל  
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מנהל מנהל

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לונדון - רביב, קרני  
דע: ליאל - לש.המנכ"ל המדיני, אסקרוב, לש.השר

בתיא קינן - נציגת מפ"ם בלונדון.

הנ"ל פנתה לד"ר ביילין ומסרה שרשויות ההגירה בבריטניה לא  
אשרו את שהותה שם כשהגיעה ב-17.12.87 להחליף את קודמה דן  
ליאון, ורק לאחר התערבותה של חברת הפרלמנט גווינט דאנוודי  
קבלה אשרה לשבועיים אך נאלצה לחזור לישראל וממתינה עתה  
מכאן לאישור משרד הפנים הבריטי לאשרת שהיה ועבודה כנציגת  
מפ"ם.

התקשרנו לשגרירות הבריטית בארץ שמסרו לנו שהם, באמצעות  
הדסק הישראלי בפוריין אופיס, המליצו בפני משרד הפנים  
הבריטי לתת האשרה המבוקשת - אך לא נענו. אינם יודעים מתי  
יקבלו תשובה, ובנימה מתנצלת אמרו שעלינו להבין שתחנות  
הבירוקרטיה בבריטניה טוחנות לאט.  
הבריקונא מה ידוע לכם על המקרה ובאם ניתן לזרז מעבר למה  
שנעשה עד כה.

אירופה 2

איתן מרגלית  
15 בינואר 1988

1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the subject of the study.

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

3. The third part of the report is a detailed description of the results of the study.

4. The fourth part of the report is a detailed description of the conclusions of the study.

5. The fifth part of the report is a detailed description of the conclusions of the study.

6. The sixth part of the report is a detailed description of the conclusions of the study.



לשבת שר החוץ

בלי סיווג

הגון ק"א

אל :

ירושלים.

11.1.88

תאריך

מאת יועץ השר

הנדון :

במ.ג. ק"מ, וליש מנה בלונדון.  
ג"ה אלס בקשר :

לגיינו, מכון גמב"מ מחזק שאלה  
בלונדון. גניחות למסור שטח -  
העבר קיוס.

בחיוב ויש טענה בענין וויס, סוף, קולור.  
גמ"מ - אנוס אצטני. וויס, גמ"מ  
נחלם קטן למי ואלס ב"ה וויס  
נחלם - שג"ל בקול.

(כנעל - נחלם בטוילס וטיג מוויס וסוף ב"ה וויס)  
ג"מ קטן גמ"מ

בברכה.

ברוך סלמן ק"מ

the

is not a

man. He is a  
man of the world

and

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100%

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phones: office:03-266231  
home: 394714.

(Mrs.) Batya Keinan,  
c/o Mapam  
4 Itamar Ben Avi St.  
Tel-Aviv.

Dr. Yosi Beilin,  
Political Director General,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Jerusalem.

Dear Dr. Beilin,

January 7, 1988.

On Dec.17 I arrived in London, with my 2 teenage daughters, to take up a two-year post of Mapam representative in the U.K.

In view of the fact that my predecessor, Mr.Dan Leon, is a British citizen and as such did not require a labour permit in Britain, it was also assumed that being in receipt of a salary from Israel, as well as all expenses, I would not require any such permit either.

But on arrival at Heathrow our passports were taken away and we were only permitted to stay 48 hours in the U.K. The letter from Mapam, my employers, presented to the Immigration officer, did not help.

In despair, I contacted The Hon.Mrs.Gwyneth Dunwoody, M.P. whom I knew from Socialist International, and she approached the Home Office on my behalf securing an extension of 14 days from the Home Office. But the fortnight did not prove sufficient to settle the matter.

During that fortnight, while still in London, I was in constant contact with the British Consulate in Tel-Aviv in the hope that they could provide me with documentation similar to that of other Israeli emissaries being sent to the U.K. and whose salaries are being paid from Israel. All the efforts of the Consulate to <sup>adopt</sup> ~~execute~~ such an simplified procedure which would have taken only a few days, proved unsuccessful and I was told the application for a full-fledged labour permit must be made in Britain by the Mapam representative. But I am the Mapam representative in the U.K. and there is no one else there to tackle the matter. The efforts of my predecessor, Mr.Dan Leon, on my arrival, to settle the matter with the help of the Israeli Embassy in London, failed. It may well be that Mr.Leon did not approach the Embassy official concerned. The outcome of all this is that the much longer and more complicated procedure must now be followed and I simply do not know how to overcome the obstacles, while in Israel.

Also, serious difficulties have been caused to my daughters' schooling in London which they had to interrupt before they even began, to my housing here and in the rented apartment in London etc.

What is most important for me at this stage is to be allowed to return to Britain and thus be able to handle all the formalities there.

Yours truly,

*Batya*

Isr.

/Passport No. ~~XXXX~~ 2972381

I arrived in London on 17.12.87, and left on 31.12.87

Mrs.G.Dunwoody, M.P.'s phones are 219-3490 or 219 4616 h.0270-666714.  
(w o will be ready to assist).

The HOME OFFICE dept.concerned is B.2(Mrs.Hurst, Group A )G.Lamb.  
File No. IMG87 9/13/19.





# הברית העולמית של מפ"ם

World Union of MAPAM • Union Mondiale du MAPAM • Union Mondiale du MAPAM



To  
The British Consulate  
Tel Aviv

Dear Sirs,

We hereby confirm that Mrs Batya Keinan has been appointed by us, for a period of two years, to Great Britain as a representative of our party in the U.K. She will be active in the framework of the Jewish community ( in the cultural, educational and political field ) and in the Socialist International whose main office is in London.

Her salary is approximately £2500 - per month, paid by our European office in Paris through our bank in Switzerland. This amount is sent from Israel by the Kibbutz Artzi Federation financial institution.

We are responsible for all her and her two daughters' (Dana and Anat) expenses during their stay in the U.K.

Yours faithfully

  
Heini Bornstein

Secretary General  
World Union of Mapam

# PLO man tells Jews to help Israel make peace

Jewish Chronicle  
29.1.88

By SIMON ROCKER

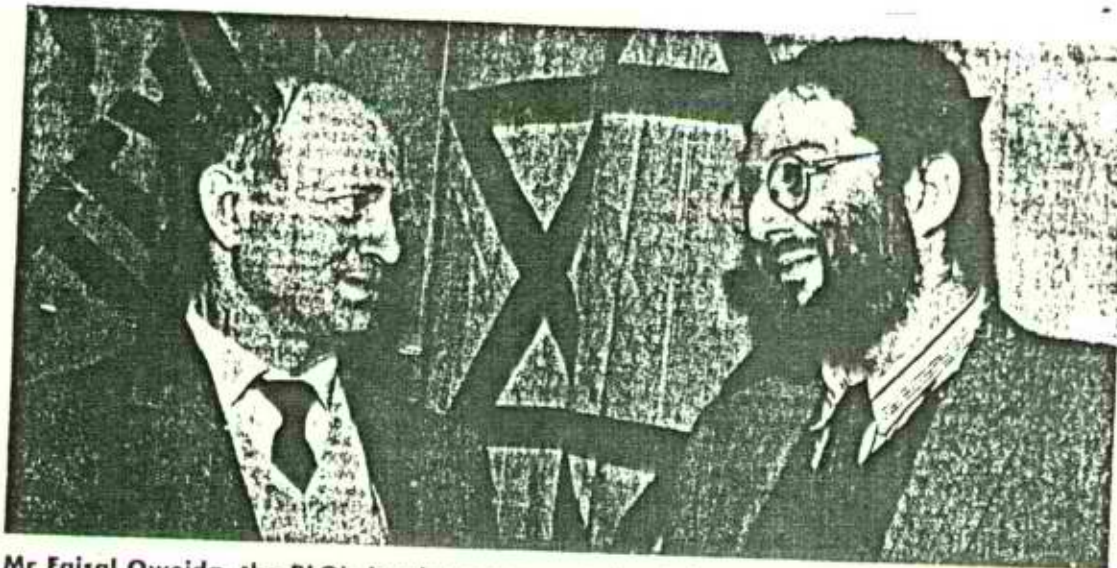
British Jews were urged by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in London, Mr Faisal Oweida, to "help Israel make peace" at a meeting on Tuesday, organised by the Jewish Socialists' Group.

Mr Oweida, speaking of the need to win over Israel's "silent majority" to support peace talks with the PLO, said:

"You have a stake in it... You have to help Israel if you're a Jew, as a Jew. Help Israel make peace. Help the Jews to survive in peace. Don't create another ghetto in Israel for the Jews."

Mr Oweida, calm throughout, was described as largely "conciliatory" by one young Left-wing Zionist present. An audience of over 150 packed into a room at Friends House, a Quaker meeting place.

The national secretary of the JSG, Mr David Rosenberg, said the meeting had been organised to present a joint Jewish-Palestinian platform calling for an end to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and supporting both Palestinians who were suffering in the territories, and Israelis, Jews and Arabs, who had protested against Israel's actions.



Mr Faisal Oweida, the PLO's London representative (left), with Mr David Rosenberg, the national secretary of the Jewish Socialists' Group at the public meeting which was attended by over 150 people

The debate was conducted in good order with only the odd outburst of protest from one or two elderly Jews.

Mr Oweida said: "I think now is the best time we ever had... where an international conference can achieve something for both of us."

The PLO would not recognise Israel beforehand, he said, while Israel "is on our territory in the West Bank." When Israel with-

drew, and negotiations toward a settlement then started, "recognition can come to be."

Ms Pauline Leavis, of British Friends of Peace Now, welcomed the meeting and later commented it was "encouraging that he clearly recognised the right of Israel to exist."

Human rights activist, Mr Richard Hauser, director of the Institute of Social Research, and a Jewish refugee from the Nazis,

who was one of the speakers, said Jews are "ashamed" of what was happening.

Mr Oweida told the meeting: "What's happening is being done to the Arab cousins of the same people who have suffered the most from the Hitler era, the people who should lead us into being tolerant..."

Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, is to visit Israel next month.

103.11

for

4929

off - Mr Hauser



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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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תאריך : 28.01.88

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Q: 71

שמור/מ' יד'

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לונדון - הציר, הקונסול

בתי הקינן, נציגת מפ"מ, שולח 290 מ-15.1.

אנא תשובתכם בחוזר.

א'רופה 2

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תפ: שהח, מנכל, ממנכל, אירב

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בלמס

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חוזם: 12,10566

אל: המשרד

מ-: לונדון, נר: 134, תא: 141287, זח: 1900, זח: מ, טג: ב

נד: 8

בלמס/מיוזי

אל: מנהל מזת'ים

דע: מנהל הסברה אירופה 2

מאת: לונדון/הסברה

משלחת המפלגה הליברלית ליוש'ע/מכתבי מיום 24.11

להלן תובן מכתב שהעביר לורד WINCHILSEA לרוה'מ תאצ'ר  
לאחר ביקורו ביוש'ע. המכתב התפרסם בחוברת אש'פ  
-:PALESTINE

צטט-

I AM TAKING THE EXCEPTIONAL STEP OF WRITING TO YOU  
DIRECT, FOLLOWING AN EIGHT DAY FACT FINDING VISIT  
I HAVE JUST MADE TO JORDAN AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES  
OF THE WEST BANK. I WANT TO CONVEY TO YOU WITH  
THE MOST URGENCY, PLEASE MADE TO ME BY AMBASSADORS  
SENIOR UN STAFF, AND OTHER EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN  
RESIDENTS IN THE AREA FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION TO PREVENT  
A HUMAN CATASTROPHE ON A SCALE THAT WILL DWARF  
SABRA AND SHATILA. THE WARNINGS THAT WE WERE GIVEN  
ABOUT THE GROWING DANGERS OF IMMEDIATE  
LARGE SCALE VIOLENCE CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:  
1. A SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN THE RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN THE OCCUPYING MILITARY FORCES AND THE UNARMED



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

CIVILIAN AND REFUGEE POPULATIONS OF THE AREA OVER THE PAST 18 MONTHS. THE DETERIORATION IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES WHICH I AND MY DELEGATION WERE ABLE TO CONFIRM FOR OURSELVES BY VISITS TO THE REFUGEE CAMPS, HOSPITALS, SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES, AND THE CIVILIAN POPULATION WHICH ARE BEING PUT DOWN BY FREQUENTLY LETHAL RESPONSE FROM THE OCCUPATION FORCES.

2. AN INTENSIVE DESPAIR ON THE PART OF THE FAILURE, THAT ANY OF THE CURRENT EXTERNAL EFFORTS WILL ACHIEVE A POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE LIKELY OUTCOME ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMANTS AND OUR OWN FINDINGS IS SOME FORM OF UNARMED CIVILIAN UPRISING BY THE PEOPLE OF THE OCCUPIED ZONES LEADING TO MASSIVE LOSS OF LIFE AND A FORCED EXODUS INTO OTHER AREAS. OUR LOCAL INFORMANTS WARNED US THAT THEY HAVE NEVER KNOWN THE AREA SO TENSE NOR THE IMMINENCE OF AN EXPLOSION SO PREDICTABLE. A SENIOR UN OFFICIAL DESCRIBED THE ATMOSPHERE AS ONE OF "TANGIBLE HATRED".

I WOULD ASK THAT AS A MINIMUM STEP YOU WOULD ASK THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE MILITARY FORCES WHO OFTEN APPEARED TO US TO BE ILL-DISCIPLINED AND INSECURE AND MORE IMMEDIATELY TO REDUCE THE DAY-TO-DAY HARASSMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE OCCUPIED AREAS. A SECOND STEP, MUCH RECOMMENDED TO US, AND WHICH WE SEE AS HAVING A DEGREE OF MERIT, WAS THAT ISRAELI MILITARY FORCES SHOULD BE REPLACED BY A UN POLICE PRESENCE IN AND AROUND THE REFUGEE CAMPS AND UNIVERSITIES WHICH ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT FLASHPOINTS.

PREOCCUPIED AS YOU RIGHTLY ARE WITH THE US- USSR SUMMIT I HOPE YOU WILL NOT OVERLOOK THE LOOMING TRAGEDY IN GAZA AND ON THE WEST BANK.

YOURS SINCERELY, THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

גמר צטט

מריאל

7A



[illegible]

1578

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ת.פ: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רט, אמנ, ממד, אירא, אירב,  
ליאור, מזתים, אביטל, מעת, הסברה, מתאסשטח יט

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TEL: 773-936-5000 FAX: 773-936-5001







3870

ט' כסלו תשמ"ח  
30 נובמבר 1987

שמור

אל: מנהל אירופה ב'

מאת: הציר, לונדון

103.11

הנדון: שיחת פרס-קינוק  
24.11.1987

השיחה עם קינוק התקיימה במשרדי מנהיג האופוזיציה בפרלמנט.  
נכחו עוזרו צ'רלס קלרק ומצדנו, השגריר, ד"ר נוביק והח"מ.  
אחרי דברי נימוסין אמר קינוק כי ד"ר בילין שוחח אתו על שיפור המערכת  
האידיולוגית של האינטרנציונל הסוציאליסטי. הוא מתעמק בנושא. שה"ח  
אמר כי ההתפתחויות בשוקי ההון בעולם פותחות אפשרויות חדשות  
לאידיולוגיה הסוציאל דמוקרטית. עד כה נראה היה שמה שמכונה "כלכלת  
ריגן" גוברת על הכל. כעת מתחילים להזכר מחדש בערכים הישנים.  
שה"ח שאל את קינוק אם מדיניות ההגנה של הליבור השפיעה באופן שלילי  
על תוצאות הבחירות. קינוק אמר כי לדעתו הבעיה המרכזית של  
הליבור בבחירות היתה שאלת ה- COMPETENCE - באיזו מידה הליבור מוכשר  
לשלוט. הציבור הבריטי גמר אומר שהליבור הוא INCOMPETENT  
על כן השאלה לא היתה באיזו עמדות הליבור נקט אלא מה מפלגת העבודה  
תהיה מסוגלת לעשות לכשתגיע לשלטון. לדעתו הליבור לא הפסיד בבחירות  
בגלל עמדתו על פירוק נשק גרעיני, נדרשות שנים כדי לשכנע את  
הציבור THAT THE B UGGERS ARE NOT IN CONTROL  
(הכוונה לשמאל הקיצוני שדעת הקהל חוששת כי השתלט על הליבור). קשה  
לתאר, אמר קינוק, איזו מפלגה רצוצה הוא ירש (ממיקל פוט). באקזקוטיבה  
הקודמת היו 16 אישים מהשמאל הקיצוני מתוך 29 החברים בה. באקזקוטיבה  
הנוכחית ישנם 4 שמאלנים מתוך 29.

ההסכם בין ריגן לגורבצ'וב ( INF ) הוא חשוב מאד כי הוא יעניק קונטקסט  
שונה לגמרי לדיון על מדיניות ההגנה של בריטניה. כעת יש לצי האנגלי  
ארבע נושאות מטוסים אך המטוסים מספיקים רק לשתים.

מ"מ רוה"מ ושה"ח העלה את עמדת הליבור בנושא אש"ף. אמר כי עלינו  
לבחור בין המלך לערפאת. בין השנים חוסין הוא הרציני יותר ושנים אלה  
לא ילכו ביחד.



- 2 -

אחד הדברים המעניינים כפיסגת עמאן היה שבפעם הראשונה לא היתה התייחסות למדינה פלשתינאית בפסגה ערבית או להגדרה עצמית. לא היו אלה סוכנים של ישראל שמנעו את האזכורים אלא חוסיין, סוריה ועירק. שברדנצה הסכים שבועידה הבינלאומית תשתתף משלחת ירדנית-פלשתינאית ולא עמד על השתתפות אש"ף. הרוסים אמנם אמרו שהם מקווים שהנציגים הפלשתינאים ייצגו את דיעות אש"ף. אין טעם שהליבור ייצמד לתמיכה באש"ף. שה"ח הזכיר במיוחד את נאום קאופמן בבלקפול.

קינוק השיב:

IF YOU ARE SATISFIED THAT IT MAKES A STICKABLE OUTCOME  
FEASIBLE, THEN WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO SAY OTHERWISE.

הוא הציג ששה"ח גם ישוחח על הנושא עם ג'רלד קאופמן כשיבקר בארץ. שה"ח אמר כי לנו יש בעיה עם אש"ף ולמלך בעיות אחרות אתם. המלך יודע שאש"ף רוצה להפתר ממנו והוא אינו שוטה.

לשאלת קינוק על סוריה אמר שה"ח כי הסורים גם כן מסכימים לייצוג ירדני-פלשתינאי. סוריה מכבזת 52% מהתל"ג על הגנה. אסאד אינו יכול להשאר לעולם מבודד בעולם הערבי הוא גם בצרות בלבנון. על כן החליט להשתתף בפסגת עמאן. הוא קווה לקבל תשלום כפול; מהסעודים - על השתתפותו בפסגה ומהאירנים - על העמדות בהן נקט. ידוע שאסאד עושה רושם על מבקריו אך כמנהיג חייבים לשלוט אותו על מה שהשיג ב-17 שנות שלטונו.

קינוק אמר כי הוא מקווה לערוך את ביקורו בארץ בפברואר 1988 ועוד יעמוד בקשר עם השגרירות בלונדון.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

משה רביב

העתקים: ד"ר י. בילין, מנכ"ל מדיני  
מר י. ענוג, המשנה למנכ"ל  
ד"ר נ. נוביק, יועץ מדיני לשה"ח  
השגריר

נ.ב.: קינוק הזמין את ג'רלד קאופמן להשתתף בשיחה. קאופמן טען שעסוק. עוזרו התקשר וביקש פגישה נפרדת שעקב קוצר הזמן לא יכלה להתבצע.





3763

ירושלים, ד' בכסלו התשמ"ח  
25 בנובמבר 1987  
מספר 833

א ל : ש.מויאל, יועץ הסברה, לונדון

דע : הציר לונדון

מאת : מנהל הסברה

103.11 6

פעילות מדינית והסברתית בקרב מפלגת הלייבור  
הצעת תכנית העבודה  
(תקציב 1988/9 30/10/97)  
מכתבכם לר' אמית'ק בנושא אגודים מקצועיים

קיימנו השבוע דיון משותף לאירופה 2 והסברה בנושא ההסברה באירופה.

המשתתפים תמימי דעים גם על סמך דיווחים, כי הבעיה העיקרית בבריטניה הינה מצבנו במפלגת הלייבור ובאגודים המקצועיים.

תכנית העבודה (והתקציב) לשנה הקרובה אמורים לשקף קדימיות הסברתית מדינית זו.

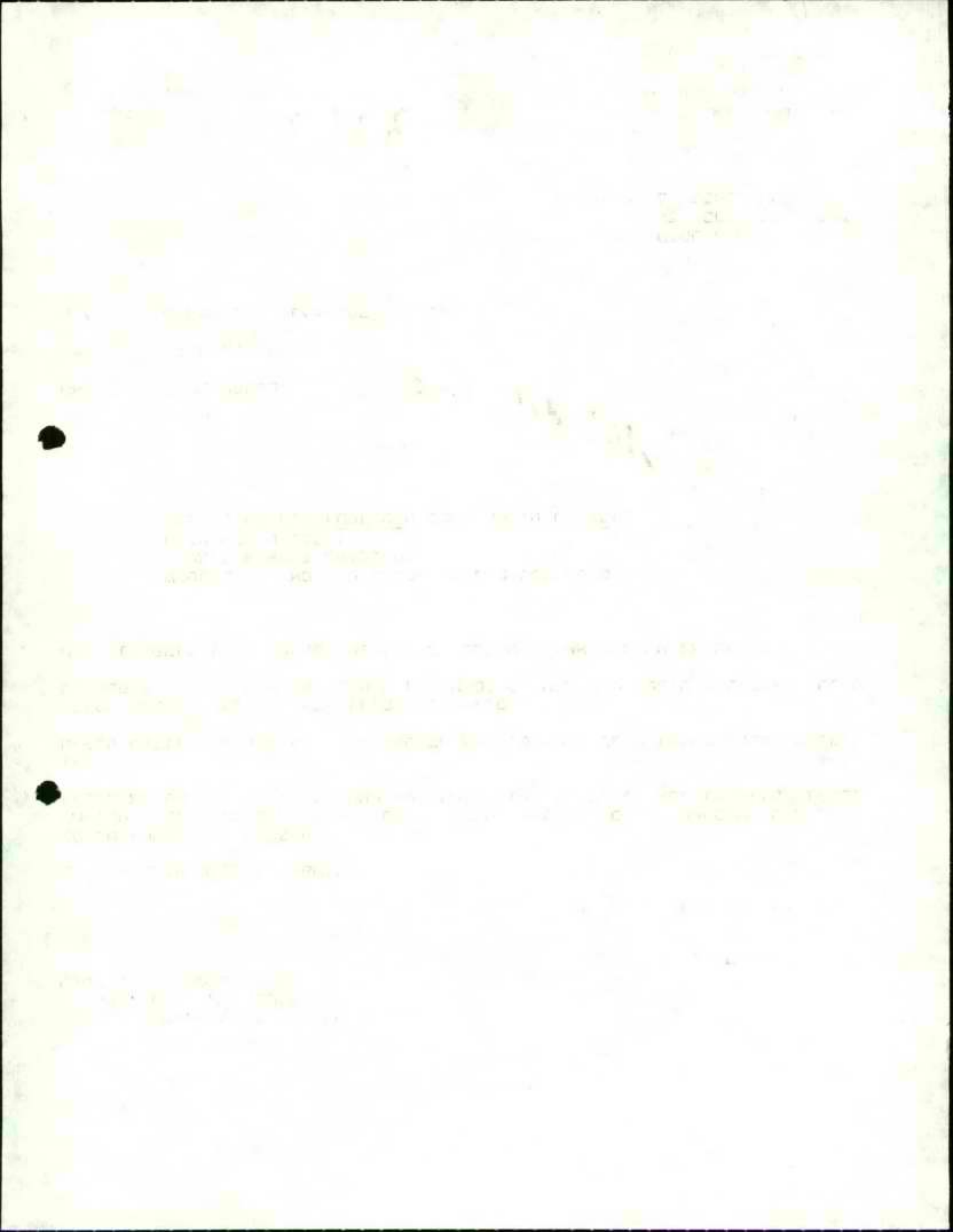
נעריך אם תקיימו התייעצות מתאימה בשגרירות ותעבירו אלינו חוות דעתכם השקולה בדבר המלצותיכם לטיפול בנושא בשנה הקרובה, כולל השלכות תקציביות במידה ומתחייבות מההצעה.

הנ"ל על דעת מנהל אירופה 2.

ב ב ר כ ה,

יעקב לוי

המקום: ר' אמית'ק  
מנהל אירופה 2  
הסברה/מרחבי - מנהלה





ב' בכסלו תשמ"ח  
23 בנובמבר 1987  
3566

103.11  
ד"ר

אל : מר יעקב לוי, מנהל הסברה

מאת : מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : בריטניה - איגודים

רצ' ב מכתבו של מר מויאל מה-17.11.87 שתכנו מתייחס לאחד הנושאים שעלו בפגישת מחלקותינו ב-22 דנא.

משום מה אינך מופיע ברשימת התפוצה של מכתב זה, ומצאתי לנכון להעבירו אליך כדי שתוכל גם כן לשקול הצעותיו והמלצותיו של מר מויאל עמן אני מסכים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

העתק: גב' עפרה בן-יעקב, הסברה



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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
2 PALACE GREEN  
LONDON W8 4QB  
Telephone: 01-537 8050

שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

כה' בחשוון תשמ"ח  
17 בנובמבר 1987

שמו  
2251

אל: הגב', קולט אביטל, ראש אמ"ח"ק.

מאת: שמואל מויאל, השגרירות לונדון.

הנדון: איגודים מקצועיים.

1. בהמשך לדיווח של יעל רובינשטיין בקשר לביקור יעקב מוריס, להלן מספר מחשבות.
2. בקרב האיגודים המקצועיים, לשון הכללה, חלה הקצנה בגישתם לישראל ומורגשת פעילות אש"פ בקרבם.
3. ספולנו לוקה מחוסר אדם מקצועי ישראלי המצוי בחוגי האיגודים המקצועיים.
4. פעילותה של ולרי קוקס טובה ומסורה אך סובלת מחוסר אמצעים כרוני. היא מסוגלת להחזיק בקיים ולשמור על סטוס קוו. אני מעריך לפי דבריה וע"פ מעמדה הנוכחי (LADY COCKS) שתוצה להשתחרר מתפקידה בקרוב.
5. פועלי ציון אירגון שקיים למעשה על הנייר בלבד וסיועו ועזרתו בנושא איגודים מקצועיים הוא אפסי.
6. החרשמותו של יעקב מוריס, בביקורו החסוף, שחלק מהאיגודים נגועים באנטישמיות.

#### המלצות.


- א. לקיים מפגש ענייני עם אנשי ההסתדרות ולחדד בפניהם את מצבנו בקרב האיגודים בכריטניה.
- ב. לשכנע את ההסתדרות לשגר אדם מתאים או לממן נספח עבודה ברמה נאותה.
- ג. נבחר בפעילי איגודים מקצועיים ונשגרים לארץ לסמינר או קורס למספר שבועות.



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Telephone: 01-937 8090

סגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

לחילופין אולי ניתן להכין סמינר מתאים לפעילים במכון וואפרו-אסיאני.  
ד. יש עיפות מסוימת בקרב מפלגת העבודה מהמיליטנטים השמאלנים ומעמד  
נחלש, זה זמן מתאים לפעילות אינטנסיבית מצידנו.  
בעה ביקורו של המנכ"ל כאן העלנו בחסך סוגיות אלו בפניו.  
אשמח לשמוע חוות דעתך.

בברכה,  
  
שמאל מריאל.

העתק: מנהל ארופה 2

הסגריר, כאן

הציר, כאן.



15903

תאריך: 11.87 משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

יוצא \*\*

שמו

3563

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חוזם: 11/15903

אל: לונדון/449

מ-: המשרד, תא: 221187, דח: 1604, מ: טג: ש

נד: 8

כח 103.11

שמו/מיוז

מוראל

משלחת מהמפלגה הליברלית. שלן 257

העובדה שהמשלחת מממנת ע"י הליגה הערבית ומארהה יהיה האירור המקצועי של עיתונאי יו"ש מצביעים כמובן הן על מגמתה והן על האנשים מהשטחים עמם היא תפגש. מכל מקום, בקשר באמצעות המתאם, להבטיח מעבר ללא בעיות בגשר 29.11.

מנהל מזתים-אירופה 2

ט.א.י

תפ: שהח, ממכל, ממכל, אירב, ליאור, מזתים, ר/מרכז, ממד

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

WASH. D.C. 20250

TO: DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

FROM: SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (100-100000)

SUBJECT: [Illegible]

100-100000

RE: [Illegible]

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103.11 60 3743

in Fitzwater, said there was

MOVIE  
a  
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article, page 15

The new scheme will come into operation next September and will be open to any adult who has been jobless for more than six months. It will absorb five unemployment schemes, including the Community Programme and the controversial new Job Training Scheme.

Its budget of £1.5 billion will not include any new money but the Government expects that by more efficient use of resources, funding will cover an incentive allowance for people joining the scheme. The level of allowance is to be fixed after consultation with the Manpower Services Commission, which will run the scheme.

At a press conference last

would now have two gateways to help: the Youth Training Scheme for school leavers and

#### Parliament ..... 4

the new programme for the over-18s which has yet to be named. There would be individual assessment and counselling by a training agent.

Mr Fowler said there was no reason why the new scheme should not reach its target of 600,000 trainees relatively quickly. He said the present community programme discriminated against the family man with children.

The new programme would involve employers and a range of other organizations, includ-

aimed to provide practical training which would give the unemployed the skills to secure a job.

The theme of the change would be to provide training through life, although it is not yet clear whether anyone who has completed a one-year programme, which will include practical work experience, and who still cannot find work will be allowed to return for further training.

At present 228,000 trainees are enrolled with the community programme and only 25,000 with the new job training scheme which has fallen far below its targets. Present budgets for the community programme and new JTS amount to more than £1.25 billion.

thousands of clients through post office box numbers and some of the mushrooming number of gyms and fitness centres.

The British market has boomed because of loopholes in the law which make it illegal for anyone except a licensed pharmacist to sell steroids, but perfectly legal for individuals to possess them for their own use. Under-policing allows the boom to continue.

The battle to destroy the network is being waged by three retired police officers working for the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. Financial restraints have prevented them from exploring Britain's international supply routes; they even have difficulty in obtaining

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### 19.11.87 Negotiations with IRA denounced

## Kinnock attacks Livingstone

By Richard Ford, Political Correspondent

Mr Neil Kinnock yesterday savagely denounced Mr Ken Livingstone and his views on Ireland, warning his parliamentary party that a British withdrawal was a recipe for spreading the slaughter to Britain.

The Labour leader launched a scathing and comprehensive critique of the former GLC leader's suggestion that the Provisional IRA would succeed in driving Britain from Northern Ireland and that negotiations should begin aimed at a withdrawal and the establishment of a united Ireland.

He described the Provisional IRA, the military wing of Provisional Sinn Fein, with whom Mr Livingstone has links, as "armed gangsters, corrupters and racketeers" who ruled by fear because they had guns.

Without actually naming Mr Livingstone once during his speech, Mr Kinnock said: "You don't negotiate with

those people. If you negotiate with the IRA, they would intensify the violence until they got what they wanted."

Mr Livingstone was not at a private meeting of the parliamentary Labour party to hear his leader's anger erupt into an unscripted and at times ferocious attack.

Mr Kinnock said it was "facile" for people to say

Fragments in rubble from the Enniskillen Remembrance Sunday massacre showed that the Provisional IRA used an electronic timer to trigger the bomb which exploded exactly when it was set to do so, the Army said yesterday.

Britain should get out to end the violence and said: "Deserting Northern Ireland would not stop slaughter. It would spread slaughter in Northern Ireland, in the Republic and in mainland Britain. Anyone who really wants to understand the agony should get

that straight, whatever else they get twisted."

He ridiculed those who made "a leap of logic" by equating Northern Ireland with colonialism, saying that they showed a "fundamental, permafrost" ignorance.

"They say: 'Negotiate with the IRA'. Anyone would think that the IRA is a liberation army. It is not. They, like the other paramilitaries, are a few hundred armed gangsters who commit political atrocities and spend the rest of their time in graft, corruption and protection rackets, ruling by fear because they have got the guns."

Mr Kinnock's speech was met with applause and no one at the meeting spoke in support of Mr Livingstone or defended his views on Ireland.

The leader's attack was seen as a further bid by Mr Kinnock to widen the gulf between the hard and soft left in the party.

## television, with tea and a cardigan

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screened after its completion later next month.

The video clip showed a grey-haired Philby looking much older than when last seen, dressed in a tweed jacket and brown cardigan and wearing a striped tie.

Sitting at a desk with a cup of tea in front of him, he spoke in English with a dubbed Latvian commentary about the alleged use of Latvian emigrants

the proclamation of Latvian independence on November 18, 1918. It was incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940.

A Latvian television spokesman told *The Times* that Philby would be playing a relatively minor role in the finished version of *Igra*.

Philby, who was described in the programme's commentary as "a legendary figure", claimed that the Latvian legation in



**BEAUJOLAIS NOUVEAU TODAY**

WEATHER PERMITTING

**PETE DOMIN**

THE WINE MERCHANT



משרד החוץ  
המרכז למחקר  
מדיני



2925

ירושלים, יט' בתשרי תשמ"ח  
12 באוקטובר 87  
362

יבא 103.11.87

אל: השגרירות, לונדון

מאת: בינ"ל 1/ממ"ד

הנדון: קטעים מראיון ג'ארלד קופמן ממפלגת הלייבור לעתון  
אלשרק-אלאוסט הסעודי היוצא לאור בלונדון

להלן קטעים מראיון שהעניק ג'ארלד קופמן לעתון אלשרק-אלאוסט  
הסעודי ב-30.9.87:

"ש - האם לדעתך הגיעה העת שבריטניה תחדש יחסיה עם סוריה?

ת - תגובת ממשלת בריטניה לגבי תפקיד השגרירות הסורית במזימה  
לפוצץ מטוס אל-על היתה נכונה באותה עת. אולם מאז עבר זמן, ואין  
אפשרות להסדר במזה"ת ללא השתתפות סוריה, שהיא שכנתה של ישראל.

ש - האם תסכים להיפגש עם ערפאת?

ת - אם ערפאת ירצה להיפגש עמי, ואנו נצליח להפגש במקום מתאים,  
הרי אז אפגש עימו. היום קיבלתי הזמנה להיפגש עם נציגים מאש"פ והבעתי  
הסכמה.

ש - מהי התייחסותכם לעתיד הגדמ"ע ועזה?

ת - אין זה האינטרס של ישראל להמשיך בכיבוש הגדמ"ע ועזה. אזורים  
אלה נתונים לכיבושה למעלה מ-20 שנה, והיא שולטת על מליון ורבע אנשים  
משוללי כל זכויות אזרחיות וללא הגדרה עצמית. מצד אחד אני סבור שאפשר  
שהיה צורך במעין שינויים איזוריים קלים כדי לסייע לבטחון ישראל  
ומצד שני אינני סבור שהכיבוש הישראלי בשני אזורים אל במצב השורר  
היום הוא תופעה טובה. איני סבור גם, שהפלסטינים החיים באזורים  
הכבושים יסכימו להסכם בין ירדן וישראל, כתחליף שלא יקח בחשבון את  
שאיפותיהם ומאווייהם".

ב ב ר כ ה,

אורי דוד

העתק: ראש המרכז  
אירופה 2  
אגף אירופה



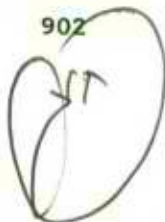
EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
2 PALACE GREEN  
LONDON W8 4QB  
Telephone: 01-837 8050



שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

יד' בתשרי התשמ"ח  
7 באוקטובר 1987

מכתב מס. 103



2910

אל : מנהל אירופה ב'  
מאת : השגריר, לונדון

הריני מצ"ב את נאומי בארוחת הצהריים של ה-CFI  
בועידת השמרנים שהתקיימה בבלקפול ב-6.10.87.

בברכה,  
יהודה אבנר

העתק: די"ר י. בילין, המנכ"ל המדיני  
די"ר ב. נוביק, יועץ מדיני לשה"ח



SPEECH GIVEN BY H.E. AMBASSADOR  
OF ISRAEL, MR. YEHUDA AVNER  
AT THE 'CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS OF  
ISRAEL LUNCHEON ON 6TH OCTOBER 1987  
IN BLACKPOOL.



Mr. Chairman, etc

I thank you, Sir Geoffrey, for your very kind words and for your thoughtful remarks.

As you probably know, it is just over a week ago that the Jewish New Year was celebrated and it is, therefore, a time to inaugurate new anniversaries.

I begin with this luncheon. This is the first post-election victory Conference C.F.I. anniversary lunch and I would therefore like to congratulate you on your electoral success.

/ It is also the second anniversary...

It is also the second anniversary - more or less - of the time when I was stuck in a lift with Sir Geoffrey Howe. It was in October 1985 that I found myself suspended with Sir Geoffrey between the main floor and the committee floor of the Knesset in Jerusalem. Abba Eban was in the lift too. It was rather overloaded - overloaded by too many protection officers - so it was said. We stood - squeezed - for what was, for me an eternity. Finally, the lift was manually cranked to the committee floor and Abba Eban said to Sir Geoffrey: "As you see, the Knesset is full of surprises". You, Sir, to the best of my recollection, responded with words to the effect that, compared with life in the British parliament nothing in the Knesset could surprise you at all.

/Another anniversary...

Another anniversary that bears on the long British-Israel experience - and this is one of a genuinely historic kind - will be commemorated in a few weeks time. November the second will mark the seventieth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. Issued by a statesman of vision, that Declaration is registered in Israel's history as the first internationally recognised document granting recognition to the national right of the Jewish people in its ancestral home after almost 2,000 years of exile and dispersion. As such it is heralded as a deed of historic justice that was to become the political prelude to the rise of modern Israel.

/Now, authentic historic...

Now, authentic historic cavalcades are comprised of many momentous moments but these are often best illustrated and better understood not by the proclamations which inaugurate them but by the human trivia and sometimes parody which accompany them.

Let me give you an example: The Balfour Declaration is issued. General Allenby conquers Jerusalem. On June 30th, 1920 British military rule is ended and civilian rule commences. On that day at the military headquarters in Jerusalem, designated as "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (South)", the officer commanding - Major General Sir Louis Bols - transfers the authority of government to Sir Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner. No doubt the legal instruments of transfer are housed in some appropriate archive.

/But those official...



But those official documents tell us nothing of the atmosphere of the occasion. What does, I hold in my hand, these two pieces of paper are the photocopies of their own private exchange of wit. Listen to what they say: (read notes).

And so back to the present and to the next anniversary which Israel together with its friends shall be celebrating this year. It is surely the grandest of them all: The Fortieth Anniversary of Israel's Declaration of Independence. Forty years! What a trek from the pit of the Holocaust to the uplands of independence. Deserts reclaimed, language revived, industries planted, refugees rehabilitated, a nation restored. No emergency could destroy the rule of law; no war could undermine our democratic freedoms.

/In a democracy...

In a democracy, politicians have to live by - and with - the judgement of those who return them to their respective parliaments. In our instance we the voters - decided upon the unprecedented shape of our present government. It was and remains a coalition of equal balance operating mainly on the basis of national consensus or cabinet majority. At times confounding itself as well as its critics who long ago predicted paralysis, the government of national unity has moved with deliberation in resolving urgent national priorities. It has rid us of a crushing inflation, it has generated renewed economic growth; it has withdrawn the Israel Defense Forces from Lebanon; it has enhanced the security of our northern border;

/It has reached an agreement...

It has reached an agreement of procedure with Egypt over Taba and an Egyptian Ambassador is back in Israel; it has bit the bullet over what was to have been the Nation's most advanced technological project - the Lavie aircraft. Each of these is a landmark decision.

And now there is the peace process.

While on the global level the superpowers seem to edge slowly towards possible accommodation, on the regional level passions still endure. Our area, the Middle East, remains gripped in convulsion. The Persian Gulf threatens to overflow its banks. Mines float in its international waterways. Fundamentalism lurks beneath the surface. Thus Israel joins in supporting the attempt, of which Britain is a major architect, to promote a durable cease-fire between Iran and Iraq.

/Closer to home...

Closer to home, the Arab-Israel dispute lingers. With the notable and blessed exception of the peace with Egypt, forty years after our independence, Israel remains in the wilderness of belligerency. Might this be the year when we shall finally reach the frontiers of the Promised Land of peace?

Mr. Chairman, in the Government of National Unity in Israel there is consensus - absolute consensus - as to the desire for peace - to open forthwith, direct negotiations without prior conditions for peace with all our neighbours. Where the Cabinet is divided is, how best to accomplish that aim. While <sup>Some</sup> ~~one-half~~ see~~s~~ an international conference as an opening to direct negotiations, the other~~s~~ ~~half~~ see~~s~~ it as an impediment to such negotiations. A decision has yet to be made.

/That decision...



That decision will depend greatly upon the nature of the proposed conference. As Foreign Minister Peres has pointed out - certainly its prospects will be enhanced if all the members of the Security Council were to follow the British example of supporting a conference that will bring the parties together in direct negotiation and which will not seek to impose solutions or veto agreements reached bilaterally by the parties.

Mr. Secretary, permit me to thank you, and through you, Prime Minister Thatcher and her Government, for you quiet and determined diplomacy in the encouragement of these efforts which have been made during these past three years.

/Permit me, too, ...

Permit me, too, to pay tribute to you,  
Sir, and to the Prime Minister and her whole  
Government for the outspoken and courageous  
championship of the rights of Jews in the  
Soviet Union, whether it be in support of their  
right to emigrate to Israel if they so wish,  
or their right to live as Jews in the Soviet  
Union if they so wish.

/In conclusion...

In conclusion, I want to thank you, the Conservative Friends of Israel, for making such a visible and noble contribution to the bridges of understanding between our peoples and which have been so notably strengthened in recent years. Your advocacy, your informed insights and your spirit of solidarity have given me personally much encouragement in my work as Ambassador and greater substance to the dialogue of friendship between our two democracies.

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נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 10/4297

אל: המשרד

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בלמס/מיד

אל: מנהל אירופה ב'

העמק: לשנת שר החוץ

מאת: הציר, לונדון

בארוחת צהריים חגיגית של ה-CFI בשולי ועידת השמרנים  
 בבלקנול נאמו שהח' - טיר ג'ברי האו והשגריר.

להלן קנעים מזברי האו:

THERE ARE, INDEED, THOSE WHO ASSERT THAT ISRAEL'S SECURITY IS FUNDAMENTALLY INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE OTHER ESSENTIAL PILLAR OF ANY JUST SETTLEMENT: THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. BUT THOSE TWO THINGS ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE. IN MY VIEW, THE UNDERLYING CHALLENGE TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY CAN BE DEFUSED ONLY WHEN THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE SATISFIED. ZIONIST PATRIOTS SHOULD BE THE FIRST TO RECOGNISE THE PATRIOTISM OF PALESTINIANS. UNLESS PATRIOTS ARE PREPARED TO SALUTE AND LIVE WITH EACH OTHER THEY RISK TURNING EACH OTHER INTO FANATICS - TERRORISTS OR TYRANTS. AN UNHAPPY CHOICE. NO-ONE DOUBTS ISRAEL'S ABILITY AND DETERMINATION TO PRESERVE HER SECURITY. BUT THE COST OF MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO ARE HEAVY.



DOI: 10.1002/for

575 P. 26425. 6125. 6126. 6127.

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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

THE MILITARY EFFORT PRODUCES ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRAINS, AS SHOWN MOST PAINFULLY IN THE DECISION TO CANCEL THE LAVI FIGHTER PROJECT AND IN THE CONTINUING MILITARY PRESENCE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON. I THINK, TOO, OF THE BRUTALISING EFFECTS OF TWO DECADES OF OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES AND THE MEASURES - SOME CONTRARY TO INTERNATIONAL LAW - EMPLOYED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THOSE TERRITORIES. SUCH MEASURES BREED RESENTMENT AND RESISTANCE, WHICH IN TURN PROVOKE FURTHER REPRESSION AND CONSEQUENT INTERNATIONAL CENSURE. THEY DO DAMAGE TO ISRAEL HERSELF. THESE COSTS WILL BE COMPOUNDED BY DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURES. THE ARAB POPULATION OF ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS RAPIDLY GROWING AND MAY REACH 45 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY.....

HOW CAN ISRAEL COME TO TERMS WITH THEM WHILE PRESERVING HER SECURITY AND THE DEMOCRATIC VALUES FOR WHICH SHE IS SO WIDELY ADMIRER? NOT, SURELY, THROUGH INHUMAN PROPOSALS FOR "RELACATION" OF THE PALESTINIAN INHABITANTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, NOR BY CLINGING ON TO THE STATUS QUO WITH ALL THE COSTS I HAVE DESCRIBED. NOR BY CONDEMNING EVERMORE MEMBERS OF THE ISRAELI SOCIETY TO SECOND CLASS STATUS.....

THIS IS WHY THIS CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT IS FULLY COMMITTED TO INJECTING NEW IMPETUS INTO THE VITAL SEARCH FOR PEACE. I HAVE REFERRED ALREADY TO THE PROPOSAL THAT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE COULD SERVE AS A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS. SUPPORT FOR A CONFERENCE HAS GROWN STEADILY. THERE IS ALSO GROWING REALISM ABOUT HOW SUCH A CONFERENCE SHOULD BE STRUCTURED AND HOW IT SHOULD PROCEED. MUCH HARD WORK HAS BEEN DONE TO DEVELOPE IT TO THE POINT WHERE I AM CONVINCED THAT IT OFFERS THE BEST - INDEED, THE ONLY PRACTICAL WAY FORWARD.

AS I SAID RECENTLY IN NEW YORK "VIRTUALLY THE WHOLE WORLD NOW ACCEPTS THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE UNDER UN AUSPICES".

A FIRM BASIS FOR A CONFERENCE HAS BEEN AGREED WITH GREAT COURAGE AND VISION BY SHIMON PERES AND KING





## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

HUSSEIN. MR. PERES HAS JUST PUT FORWARD TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY EIGHT PRINCIPLES FORMING THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT YET OF HOW A CONFERENCE MIGHT OPERATE. THE TWELVE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAVE TWICE THIS YEAR AFFIRMED THEIR STRONG SUPPORT FOR A CONFERENCE. THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL IS UNDERTAKING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AIMED AT HELPING THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT REACH THE ESSENTIAL MEASURE OF COMMON GROUND FOR A CONFERENCE TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT. WE ARE DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO HELP: I TALKED TO GEORGE SCHULTZ AND SHIMON PERES AS WELL AS TO THE EGYPTIAN AND JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS IN NEW YORK A FORTNIGHT AGO. WE LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH MANY OF THOSE CONCERNED IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. TO SUM UP, I SEE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND - LET ME STRESS THIS AGAIN - IN A MANNER WHICH, FAR FROM THREATENING ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND THAT OF THE OTHER STATES IN THE REGION, WILL PROVIDE THE ONLY DURABLE ROUTE TO THAT SECURITY. CERTAINLY MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN TO BE SOLVED. BUT THOSE MOST COMMONLY CITED - THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE TWO PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL WHO HAVE NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, AND THE NEED TO ENSURE REPRESENTATION OF THE PALESTINIANS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS - HAVE IN THEM THE SEEDS OF THEIR RESOLUTION. THEY ARE NOT EASY: BUT WE MUST NOT SHRINK THE CHALLENGE. CHALLENGE. MANY IN ISRAEL ALREADY SHARE THE VIEW THAT A CONFERENCE IS THE EXXENTIAL NEXT STEP TOWARDS PEACE. BUT SOME SEE IT AS A TRAP, A LURE TO ENTICE ISRAEL INTO A FORUM WHERE SOLUTIONS WILL BE IMPOSED AND HER RIGHT TO NEGOTIATE SUBJECT TO VETO BY OTHERS. THIS IS NOT WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT. NO PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON SUCH A BASIS WOULD DESERVE - OR GET -OUR SUPPORT. FROM THIS PLATFORM OF FRIENDSHIP AND CONCERN FOR ISRAEL'S FUTURE I URGE RENEWED EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY IS NOT MISSED. THE LAST FORTY YEARS OFFER ALL TOO MANY EXAMPLES OF FAILURE TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEP FORWARD.







REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION ON THE  
STATUS OF THE ARAB BOYCOTT

THE JOINT COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF THE ARAB BOYCOTT  
WAS CONSTITUTED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
AND THE SENATE IN 1936. IT WAS CHAIRED BY  
SENATOR CHARLES McNARY, AND HAD AS MEMBERS  
SENATORS JACOB K. ADAMS, JAMES H. DUFFY,  
AND JAMES H. HANCOCK. THE COMMISSION  
WAS DULY ORGANIZED AND BEGAN ITS WORK  
ON JANUARY 1, 1937.

THE

REPORT

THE JOINT COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF THE ARAB BOYCOTT  
WAS CONSTITUTED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
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ON JANUARY 1, 1937.



## HOME NEWS

# Making waves at Brighton

From **SIMON ROCKER**  
Brighton

Pro-Israel activists in the Labour Party have been forced to take stock after the tough-minded performance of the Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Gerald Kaufman, at last week's Labour Party conference.

Mr Kaufman's call for Israel to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organisation was eagerly received by the Palestinian lobby at the conference but angered veteran friends of Israel.

The Shadow Foreign Secretary, a long-standing member of the Labour Zionist movement, Poale Zion — which is affiliated to the Labour Party — and of Labour Friends of Israel, spoke at both Poale Zion and Labour Friends of Palestine/Labour Middle East Council fringe meetings.

His speeches — virtually identical in substance at both meetings — were described as "muddled" by the former PZ chairman, Mr Ian Mikardo, and "unbalanced" by the PZ secretary, Mr John Lebor.

The main complaint was that while he asked Israel to accept the PLO there was "not one word about what the Arabs and Palestinians should do in order to meet Israel half way," Mr Lebor said.

Mr Kaufman's comparison of Israel with South Africa by the use of the phrase "Israeli Sowetos" brought an angry reply from Israel's Absorption Minister, Mr Yaacov Tsur, who was representing the Israel Labour Party at the conference.

Mr Mikardo said Mr Kaufman had failed to recognise that there were different strands in the PLO. Which one was Israel supposed to negotiate with? he asked.

Mr Kaufman had said it was "judicious" for Israel to wait until the PLO acknowledged Israel's right to exist. "I do not believe Israel so lacks self-confidence in its own existence that

in order to continue existing it requires the validation of Yasir Arafat."

Mr Mikardo commented that the point was not that Israel was waiting for recognition by the PLO, but for its support for negotiations rather than armed struggle.

Mr Tsur, representing the Israeli Labour Party view said: "We want to open up a political dialogue with the Jordanian and Palestinian people." However he stressed any Palestinian delegate involved in such talks should not support violence.

PZ's official delegate to the conference said that Mr Kaufman's speech "will certainly open up a new debate in PZ."

The representative of the Israel Socialist Zionist Party, Mapam, Mr Muhammad Watad called Mr Kaufman's speech "wise," he felt that Mr Kaufman had stressed Israel's need to have security at the Palestinian fringe meeting "again and again."

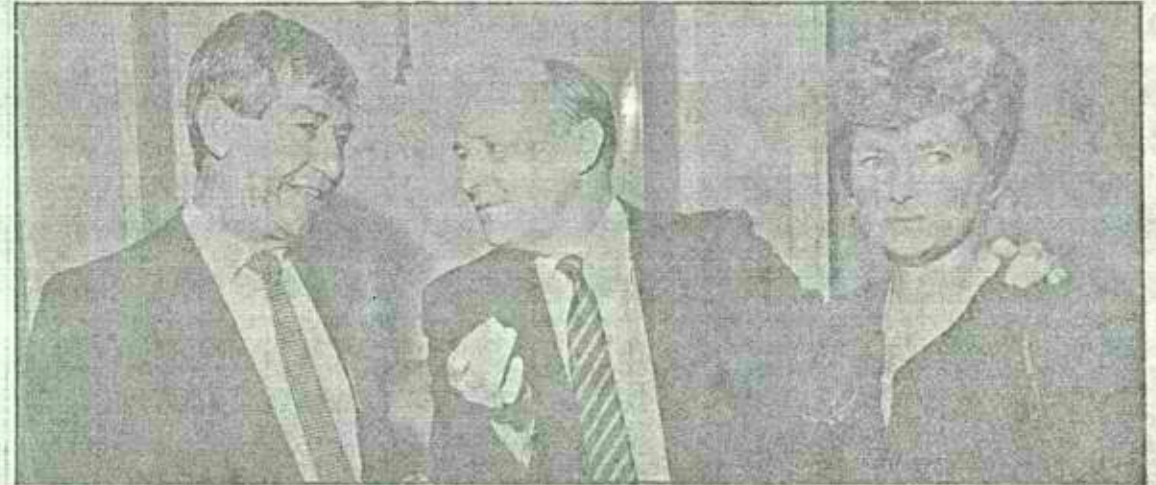
Poale Zion were more pleased with the performance of Mr Ron Todd, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union. A member said his speech at the PZ meeting justified Mr Mikardo's description of him as a "good friend, but sometimes frank critic."

Mr Watad left the conference feeling "more optimistic" after several talks with Palestinian activists. He had a "warm" hour and an half meeting with the general secretary of the Palestine Trades Union Federation, Mr Haider Ibrahim, who is based in Tunis.

Mr Watad said the conference had offered "proof that a moderate policy line has been adopted by the mainstream PLO."

He was referring to a comment made by the PLO's London representative, Mr Faisal Oweida, at the Labour Friends of Palestine meeting that the PLO accepted the "right of all states, including Israel, in the region to live in peace."

But this declaration came only after



Mr Neil Kinnock (centre), the Labour leader, and his wife, Glynnis, who made a brief appearance at the Labour Friends of Israel lunch in Brighton last week. With them is an Israeli Arab Member of Knesset, Mr Muhammad Watad. Among the guests was Mr Bryan Gould, MP

Mr Oweida spoke of Israel as a "disease" which had to be contained within its borders and attacked the Soviet Jewry campaign. More Jews coming into the country meant less land for Palestinians, he said.

The "mainstream" Palestinian supporters, grouped in the Labour Friends of Palestine and the Labour Middle East Council, were, however, determined to keep their distance from the more radical pro-Palestinian group, the Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine, led by Mr Tony Greenstein.

The radicals — who support a "democratic secular state" in place of Israel — held their own small fringe meeting, attended by MPs Mr Harry Cohen and Mr Ken Livingstone. Mapam members and Mr Lebor agreed that Mr Livingstone's was a "moderate" voice in a sea of hostility.

The secretary of the Trades Union Friends of Palestine, Mr Yousuf Allen, dissociated himself from Mr Greenstein's group.

## Designs on contest

**Jewish Chronicle Reporter**

A world-wide competition has been launched by Mr Robert Maxwell, chairman of the Mirror Group of Newspapers, for a poster design to illustrate "Remembering for the future," a three-day international conference on the lessons of the Holocaust, to be held in Oxford next year.

The competition was launched simultaneously in London, New York, Tokyo and Jerusalem. There will be a first prize of £1,000.

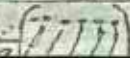
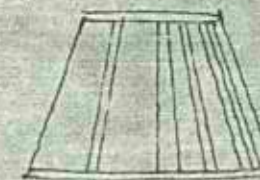
The conference, to be attended by over 400 scholars from all over the world, will examine the impact of the Holocaust on Jews and Christians. It

will culminate with a public meeting in London at which its findings will be presented.

There will also be an exhibition of Holocaust art and a concert, to be held at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden.

The conference's organising executive includes Mr Maxwell's wife, Elizabeth, a Protestant, Dr David Patterson, president of the Oxford Centre for Post-graduate Hebrew Studies; and Professor Yehuda Bauer, of the Hebrew University, a leading Holocaust scholar.

Among those taking part in the conference will be a number of Holocaust survivors, including Mr Elie Wiesel.





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ALAN DAVIDSON—ALPHA

'I just follow my prejudices': At a Piccadilly Circus street celebration

## Assault on the Establishment

Will 'Red Ken' Livingstone make a grab for power?

A London newspaper once called him "the most odious man in Britain." Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher found him such a thorn in her side that she abolished his job. In his recently published autobiography, he himself described his entry into the British Labor Party as "one of the few recorded instances of a rat climbing on board a sinking ship." Ken Livingstone revels in such dubious distinctions. As head of the now defunct Greater London Council, "Red Ken" gained national notoriety by championing the cause of blacks, gays and even the Irish Republican Army. In the British elections last June he bucked Thatcher's Conservative tide to win a seat in the House of Commons. Now, as Parliament prepares to reconvene, Livingstone faces a choice: to try to become a contender for Labor Party leadership—or, as his detractors predict, to be the chief spokesman of Britain's "loony left."

by trying to balance the facts. I just follow my prejudices."

That, his detractors would agree, is precisely what Livingstone did in his five years as head of the Greater London Council (GLC). During his tenure he worked tirelessly to improve job opportunities for blacks and women in London's inner city. He also established recreation centers for gays—in his *Who's Who* entry, he lists as his "club" the London Lesbian and Gay Center—and opened a dialogue with Sinn Féin, the political wing of the outlawed IRA. Under Livingstone, the GLC was a constant challenge to Thatcher. While the Labor Party in Parliament often resembled an impotent debating society, the GLC defied her Conservative regime in concrete ways. After Livingstone took over as head of GLC in 1981, for example, the Council introduced sharply reduced public-trans-



REX

Dialogue: With Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams

port fares in London—a move the government opposed. The courts eventually banned the cheap fares, but Thatcher had had enough. In late 1984 her government introduced a bill in Parliament to abolish the GLC altogether. Livingstone accused her of destroying democracy, but Thatcher won. In 1986 the GLC went out of existence.

Two jobs: Livingstone's critics accuse him of having brought down the GLC by exceeding his own mandate—particularly by holding highly publicized meetings with the IRA. In rebuttal, Livingstone maintains that he had two jobs: running the GLC and "changing the hearts and minds of a wider society." "The national government might have been fighting the war," says Livingstone, "but young soldiers from the GLC area were being killed in Ireland."

In spite, or because, of his controversial politics, Livingstone gained immense popularity. In a poll in 1982, Britons named him runner-up to John Paul II as man of the year. He also proved himself ruthless at political intrigue. In his autobiography ("If Voting Changed Anything, They'd Abolish It") he says, "I have often thought that Mario Puzo's 'The Godfather' is a much more honest account of how politicians operate than any of the self-serving rubbish spewed out in political biographies."

Much as he loathes her policies, Livingstone admires Thatcher as a strong-willed leader. "When you break through like Margaret Thatcher," he concedes, "you change the nation." Livingstone wants to change the nation, too—by overhauling the economy through heavy taxes on big business and by reshaping the social order. "We have to get rid of the trappings of privilege like the House of Lords and the honors system," he says. "We would have to cut back the influence of [private] schools by cutting out all their tax breaks and subsidies. And the royal family should have a reduced role, like the monarchies in Scandinavia and the Low Countries."

**Making moves:** Whether Livingstone can convert the rest of the Labor Party to his own radical view is another matter. One longtime associate predicts that Livingstone will come to nothing. "Parliament," he says, "is the ideal place for a loony like Ken. He will be able to spout all day about the IRA and news and single lesbian parents. A few of his fellow loonies will applaud and nobody will ever trust him enough to shift him off the backbenches." But Livingstone is already making his moves. At the Labor Party conference in Brighton this week, he plans to run for a spot on the party's policymaking National Executive Committee. If he succeeds, it will be a sign that Red Ken Livingstone has succeeded in an early grab for power—and that he has every intention of using it in his assault on the establishment.

ANGUS DEMING with TONY CLIFTON in London



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אל : מר א. מרגלית, מנהל אירופה ב'

מאת : השגריר, לונדון

הנדון : מר ג'ראלד קאופמן - דובר לענייני חוץ מטעם מפלגת הלייבור

כידוע, התמנה קאופמן לתפקיד בכיר ויוקרתי זה אחרי הבחירות האחרונות.  
זו הפעם הראשונה שנבחר יהודי למזכיר לענייני חוץ בממשלת הצללים.

ביקרתי השבוע בוועידת מפלגת הלייבור בבריטון ופגשתי את קאופמן מספר פעמים.  
את הדיווח אני מצ"ב מה"דיילי טלגרף" משקף נאמנה את תוכן דבריו בשני הנאומים  
לפני ידידי הלייבור של פלסטין ובכנס פועלי ציון בשולי הועידה שבו השתתפתי.  
ואמנם קאופמן הצהיר שהוא אומר את אותם הדברים בשני האירועים.

הופעתו היתה כה לא מאוזנת עד כדי השמעת ביקורת באוזניו על ידי לא יהודים חברי  
הועידה המקורבים אליו. השר יעקב צור שנכח השיב לו כדורבנות.

מאוחר יותר מצא קאופמן את ההזדמנות לגשת אלי ולהשמיע דברי פיוס, בו הוא ציין בין  
היתר שבימי מלחמת יום הכיפורים בשעה שהוא נאם בפרלמנט בתמיכת ישראל, שה"ח דאז -  
דאגלס יום - קרא לעברו "תשוב לישראל". לא ראיתי טעם להיכנס עימו לויכוח כי היינו  
מוקפים באנשים ואמרתיו שלא זה המקום. הוא נתן לי את מספר הטלפון שלו בבית וביקש  
להיפגש בקרוב.

למחרת היום הוא נשא את ברכתו בסעודת צהריים שערכתי לכבוד ידידי ישראל, צירי הועידה  
(דו"ח בנפרד) דבריו היו הרבה יותר מרוסנים.

קאופמן מסר שהוזמן ע"י יחיאל לקט להשתתף בסמינר בירושלים לקראת הקונגרס. הוא ציין  
שמתכוון להשתתף וגם נענה בחיוב להיות ציר בקונגרס מטעם פועלי ציון.

אני כמובן אשתדל להיפגש עמו בקרוב אך ברור מראש שלא נרוה נחת מהיהודי הזה בתפקיד  
הנ"ל.

בברכת מועדים לשמחה,

י. פ. אבנר  
יהודה אבנר

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ד"ר נ. נוביק, יועץ מדיני לשה"ח

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## Israel 'setting up Soweto townships'

By David Millward  
Political Staff

ISRAEL has been accused by Mr Gerald Kaufman, Labour's Shadow Foreign Secretary, of setting up Soweto-style townships on the occupied West Bank and in the Gaza strip.

Mr Kaufman, who is Jewish and a long-standing supporter of Israel, delivered his strongly-worded attack at a meeting last night of Poel Zion, the Labour Zionist movement.

"What Israel has in the West Bank and in the Gaza is a pool of labour who come across on buses in order to do manual labour, in order to do the skivvy work, in order to be waiters and to work in hotels," he said.

"You have the equivalent of Soweto in the towns of the West Bank, with its inhabitants being bused in to do jobs for Jews, and being bused back to their families at night."

### Still a friend

Mr Kaufman told his audience that he had not abandoned his support for Israel, but said it was his duty to as a friend to try and persuade its government to pursue policies that could lead to peace.

Earlier in the day Mr Kaufman addressed the Labour Friends of Palestine, and made a similar condemnation of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank.

He made it clear last night that he intends to be forthright on Middle East issues, irrespective of his audience.

He told his audience: "If it were Jews being held down by Arabs do we honestly believe that they would not strike or riot? Do we honestly believe that some Jews would not commit terrorist outrages against those occupiers?"

"I believe it is very bad for Israel to hold vast tracts of land with no idea what to do with it."

Mr Kaufman praised the efforts of the Israeli Labour party to promote an international settlement and dialogue with the Palestinians, but he said it was essential that the dialogue included the Palestine Liberation Organisation.



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(להחזרות פנימית במשרדי הממשלה)

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*After success as a diplomat, academic and journalist, Bryan Gould has recently come to prominence as the modestly reasonable public face of the new-style Labour Party. Friends wonder if Britain's fastest-rising politician can now go all the way to the top*

# GOOD AS GOULD

Interview by  
Andrew Stephen  
Photograph by  
Conrad Hafenrichter

OBSERVER  
27/9/87

# H

SMILES A MODEST, CAREFULLY SELF-DEPRECATING SMILE. 'That's the real difference,' he says. 'I travel quite a lot on public transport and it's really quite extraordinary. Just in recent weeks I've noticed the difference. I can't get on a bus or a tube without people coming up to me. I mean, if I go shopping, people will follow me into shops and say, "You're Bryan Gould, aren't you?"'

Just six months ago, the balding, ever-affable man speaking in his Westminster office was hardly recognised anywhere and certainly never followed into any shops. This week, if all goes according to plan, he will complete one of the fastest rises in post-war British politics by being elected to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party by delegates to the Brighton conference: he will thus be confirmed both as one of the most powerful and most recognised men in the Labour Party today.

Indeed, if the new generation of professional communicators now in charge of party headquarters in south London have their way, Bryan Gould will soon be deputy leader of the party – the only obstacle being Roy Hattersley. The likes of Larry Whitty (general secretary), Peter Mandelson (communications director) and Patricia Hewitt (press officer) – to say nothing of Neil Kinnock himself – think the rise and rise of Gould is the best thing to happen to the party for a long time.

In their eyes, he can do no wrong.

'The awful thing talking about Bryan,' says Mandelson apologetically, 'is that it's so terribly difficult to find a flaw. Of all the politicians I've ever met he is the most well-rounded character. Really. He has a quickness of mind...an ability to absorb information...not put a foot wrong...supreme...mastery...' And so the superlatives flow, uninterrupted, from Walworth Road.

The hope there is that he will prove to be Labour's new consensus man of the future: reasonable, articulate, modest, good on television, a front-man free of the party's dogmas and divisions of the past. Someone, above all, of comforting normality: a likeable party spokesman devoid of the staring eyes of a Benn, the roly-poly complacency of a Hattersley, the tired old cynicism of a Healey, the amiable sneer of a Livingstone, or, indeed, the airy oratory of a Kinnock. Through Gould and people like him, goes the new Walworth Road strategy, Labour will be reborn.

What makes this vision all the more appealing to the realists of the party is that Gould really is relatively untainted by all the old party feudings and divisions. He did not set foot in Britain until he was 23, having been born into a New Zealand family with distinguished colonial antecedents. Even then, he was a junior diplomat and academic in London, Brussels and Oxford before immersing himself in politics.

Then he became MP for

Southampton Test at 35, but lost the seat five years later in the 1979 general election when Mrs Thatcher swept to power; after four years as a television journalist he won a new seat (Dagenham), which he retained comfortably this year. He first stood for the shadow cabinet a decade ago and won just 25 votes; but by the time he put himself up in 1985, he had impressed 53 of his fellow Labour MPs sufficiently for them to vote for him. Last year the tally had risen to 82. This year, he was top with 173 votes – having come to national prominence (as well as the nation's TV sets) by being the particularly visible official co-ordinator of Labour's unsuccessful election campaign.

He could give, he says, 'contradictory signals' about his family background. He was born in 1939 in Hawera, in dairy country, where his father was a bank official. But his father was soon off to war and in his early years he was brought up by his mother. His great-great-grandfather had been an early prominent settler, and his father hailed from the closest there is to a New Zealand aristocracy.

But Bryan was born in a 'state house' – what is called a council house in Britain; his parents took in lodgers to supplement the bank salary. He went to a state school too (albeit probably the best in New Zealand, the Dannervirke High School). He has a younger sister (still in New Zealand and married to a farmer) and a younger brother (now a

lawyer in Hong Kong). His mother died three years ago, and his father just four months ago, right as the election campaign was getting under way; sadly, he chose to stay at his Walworth Road post and did not go to New Zealand for the funeral.

From school he won a university scholarship at 15 – 'it was a sort of nationwide sensation, in a way' – but had to wait until he was 17 before he could begin studies at Auckland University. His school, meanwhile, was boasting of a hero for future pupils to emulate: a young man who had won a Rhodes Scholarship. Gould soon realised that he could be another. It became clear – I knew, no one else knew, of course, but I knew – that I was roughly on the right track to get a Rhodes Scholarship and I did deliberately set out to get it. He got it.

He sailed to England to take up his scholarship amid much congratulation and familial pride. The boat was the Northern Star on its maiden voyage, and the journey took five weeks. He read copiously. He arrived at Oxford at the end of the Macmillan era, with the Profumo affair still ringing in many ears. A domestic wind of change was in the air, with the Beatles and Harold Wilson emerging as superstars – and what he calls the 'breaking-up of the social log jam' already in progress.

He heard that Harold Wilson had beaten George Brown to the leadership of the Labour Party while listening to the radio at Balliol with Robin Wilson. ►



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Gould fronted Labour's general election campaign

enemy of the EEC and remains so. But during his posting he did meet, court and marry a secretary in the embassy there, Gill Harrigan; she was from a Northern working-class family and had left school at 16.

Today she works as his secretary, and they have two children: Charles, 19, about to start his second year at Cardiff University, and Helen, 17, a pupil at Pimlico School.

For 29-year-old Gould, the mounting problem when he returned to London was whether he should resign from the diplomatic service, because he was by now firmly envisaging a political career. He had joined the Labour Party shortly after Harold Wilson's 1964 election victory, when Labour seemed firmly the party of the future after 13 years' Tory rule. But being a diplomat was disastrous for someone trying to make his way in local politics and hoping to win a constituency nomination, because another posting abroad was inevitable.

Fortuitously, the New Zealand social and academic mafia then came to the rescue. Gould was telephoned by his former Oxford tutor at Balliol, also a New Zealander. He told him that Worcester College was looking for a law lecturer, and suggested he apply. So Gould, diplomat, duly became Gould, academic; he spent the next six years in Oxford, becoming a local councillor in his spare time. He soon secured a nomination, too, failing to win Southampton Test by 1,403 votes in the February 1974 election – but victorious by 530 eight months later. The ambitious young man from Hawera had made it to the British House of Commons just 12 years after sailing into British waters.

In Westminster his political career moved smoothly into gear, as his others had: soberly, unsensationally, industriously. He quickly identified himself with the Left of the party. His maiden speech was on housing; he says he had been shocked by the slums he had seen when he came to Britain. He became chairman of the Safeguard Britain (ie anti-EEC) Campaign. He enjoyed mastering detail in complex subjects that others were prepared to neglect. He had an eye for good populist issues too: soccer hooliganism, City fraud, 'sexist' airline ads, tourism, even newspaper bingo were all to prove grist to the Gouldian publicity mill. He

worked hard, and was not a great socialiser in the tea-rooms and bars.

But with his background his potential was obvious, and he was soon on the first rung towards power when he was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to Peter Shore. This, though, was to prove the only distant glimpse of government so far in his career. It was relatively short-lived too, because he was sacked in a purge of anti-Marketeters two years later. Loyally (and unusually) Shore refused to appoint a successor.

Then came the first and only major setback in any of Bryan Gould's careers: he lost his seat in the 1979 election, and suddenly found himself out of work. ('That is an experience,' he now says, 'that everyone should go through once.') Immediately he embarked on a fourth career, this time as a journalist working for Thames Television's 'TV Eye'. He never regarded it as anything other than fill-in work, although it provided excellent training in TV technique. He stayed busy politically meanwhile, abandoning Southampton Test and getting himself adopted as candidate for the safer seat of Dagenham.

All of which meant that he was happily back in the House by 1983, this time with a majority of just under 3,000. With hindsight, the four years he had been away were good ones to miss; the Labour Party had been embroiled in some of its nastiest in-fighting and David Owen, Shirley Williams and Bill Rodgers had abandoned the party to form the SDP with Roy Jenkins. The effect of his absence was to make Gould seem more untainted than ever.

Perhaps as a result, Neil Kinnock quickly appointed him an Opposition trade and industry spokesman under Shore. His ambitions were now clearly directed to power; he turned down an offer (said to involve more than £100,000 a year) to become anchorman of 'Weekend World'. This year he topped the shadow cabinet poll at the same time as Shore, his old master and mentor, was ousted. For the first time observers started seeing him as a potential successor to Neil Kinnock, and by the end of the 1987 general election he had become a national figure; he was even given the ultimate accolade of being asked to appear on 'Wogan'.

The problem, though, is that what so many see as his strengths others see as weaknesses. He may be clever but he has no depth as a politician, his critics say: none of the steeping in the great British socialist traditions of trade unions and smoke-filled committee rooms and emotional party conferences. He is too much of a media man, too

southern by half in what is increasingly the party of the North, Wales and Scotland. He is not sufficiently a man of the people, they say.

His very name certainly brings snarls of rage from people like Roy Hattersley on the Right (perhaps in this case because Gould supported first Shore and then Kinnock in the 1983 leadership contest). But he also has enemies on the polycratic Left, which is more powerful in the constituencies than in Parliament. Now, in contrast to his early days in the House a decade ago, he is always lambasting the 'fanatics and fantasists' of the party or those who talk about its 'revolutionary struggle'. He says openly that he would like Labour to become the party of the yuppies.

Today he lives the comfortable lifestyle of a 48-year-old who is successful in the media and politics: a small flat in Kenning, a £200,000 country house with swimming pool in Oxfordshire. His 1987 election address mentioned the former but not the latter, and led his Tory opponent to describe him as a 'champagne socialist'. He is clearly defensive about the pool: it cost him less, he is anxious to point out, than a new decent foreign car. He enjoys gardening as well as cooking and is a connoisseur of wine. But, he carefully adds, he has no private health insurance, no property for which he receives rent, his children have never had private education, and he drives a 'clapped-out Ford Escort'.

All of which are good traditional credentials for anyone wanting to become leader of the Labour Party. He may nevertheless have become too identified with Kinnock; if Kinnock was to lose the next general election Gould would still only be 52 or 53 – but would have to explain to the party why another electoral campaign he had organised had proved unsuccessful. His and Kinnock's fortunes are now perhaps irrevocably intertwined.

Nevertheless Gould did astonishingly well when his parliamentary colleagues voted him top in the shadow cabinet election; the results of the NEC poll, which will be announced in Brighton on Tuesday, will show how much support he has in the grassroots of the party. Whatever the outcome, Britain's fastest-rising politician, the ambitious and hard-working country boy from New Zealand, will have more and more people coming up to him in the country's tubes, buses and shops in the coming years, all with that welcome but undeniable conversation-stopper: 'You're Bryan Gould, aren't you?' ●







1 The Arab-Israeli conflict is only one of a number of conflicts in the Middle East, of which the Iran-Iraq war has been the most significant in recent months. I hope that some way can be found to resolve that terrible conflict.

2 The Labour party manifesto stressed that any Middle East initiative should take account of 1) the security of the State of Israel and 2) the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people. I shall attempt to achieve both these goals and shall not try to curry favour with one group or the other. To this end I shall be saying exactly the same thing to Poale Zion later today.

3 It is almost 40 years since the foundation of the State of Israel and Israel has become not only the most powerful military force in the Middle East, but one of the most powerful in the world. But among the States set up after the war, Israel is unique in that it is powerful but not secure. It is unique in that it has not been recognised by many countries and is technically at war with all except one of the surrounding States. One must ask: where has Israel gone wrong?

4 Some people, such as an Arab ambassador I spoke to recently, thought the problem was that Israel had been founded in the first place and from his point of view this was fair. But as Israel does exist, he admits he has to be realistic and accept the fact. I believe that Israel cannot be faulted for any of the wars before 1967. But the 1967 victory made the Israelis believe they were invincible. The victory was seen as a solution in itself. The Israelis considered themselves supreme and did not look for a lasting peace which could have been achieved. They became complacent. This led to the 1973 war where the Egyptians achieved early successes although they were later driven back. The shock of almost being invaded led, disastrously to the election of a chauvinist militaristic government in Israel which committed the crime (and a crime not only against the Lebanese but the Israelis who fell needlessly) of the invasion of Lebanon.

5 The problem now is that, as Israel failed to take advantage of her 1967 victory to achieve lasting peace, the West Bank has been occupied for over half the history of the State. Children have grown up and joined the army with no experience of any situation other than the present one.

6 The Palestinians under occupation have no civil rights and no political rights. What saddens me is that the Palestinians are now doing the work which the pioneers did in earlier times. They are a lower class of labour. They are often bussed into Israel in the morning and then bussed out again in the evening because they are not allowed to live in Israel. It may be that the standard of living in the area has risen slightly. I do not know. But the question is: do the Palestinians live as well as the Israelis, and the answer is no. The government of Israel subsidizes people to live in the West Bank and they live there and work in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. They build villas on the side of hills. Such people are "commuter pioneers".



7 I used to find it offensive when people compared the State of Israel with the Republic of South Africa. Now it is undeniable. There is an Israeli Soweto. The invasion of Lebanon was appalling, totally inexcusable. I must stress that, like any other country, I do not expect Israel to be perfect, but I do expect minimum standards.

8 What is required is a change in Israeli policy. The Palestinians and the neighbouring Arab States all want an international peace conference and I agree with them. I agree also that the PLO must take part in these negotiations. The Israelis may not like it but they must face up to reality. The PLO are the accredited representatives of the Palestinian people. The Israelis claim that the PLO is unelected. But that is because there is no mechanism available to the Palestinians.

9 The international conference must have no preconditions and that means none at all. It amazes me that the Israelis demand that Arafat recognize Israel. Is Israel so insecure that, even after forty years, recognition from the PLO makes such a great difference? The suggestion is ridiculous. Begin was a terrorist but Britain accepted him as the representative of Israel and he was received by Mrs. Thatcher. Kenyatta was labeled a terrorist, as was Mugabe, now a respected leader. One does not negotiate with friends, but with enemies, and one does not have to forgive one's enemies to talk to them.

10 The PLO are the acknowledged and accredited representatives of the Palestinian people and, in order to play my part in the peace process, I am perfectly willing to talk to, and negotiate with, representatives of the PLO. Only if one is prepared to be realistic will peace come to the Middle East.

Deputy Speaker

Jerusalem, 18 November 1987  
26 Cheshvan 5748

Dear Mr. Kaufman,

Your speech in Brighton on 30 September, 1987 concerning the Israeli-Arab conflict, has been brought to my attention and I read it very thoroughly. As a matter of fact, I was officially designated to represent my party (Labour) at your conference but I could not attend because of a previous commitment at the same time in Europe. Nevertheless, before I knew I would not be able to attend, I read a lot of material in preparation for my scheduled participation in the conference and therefore, I am well acquainted with the issues you dealt with. I would like to comment only on the Israeli-Arab conflict and the statements you made, in this regard, in your speech. As I have many comments to make, I shall deal with your speech paragraph by paragraph. First I shall quote your paragraph and then comment on it.

Paragraph No. 1

You say: The Arab-Israeli conflict is only one of a number of conflicts in the Middle East of which the Iran-Iraq war has been the most significant in recent months. I hope that some way can be found to resolve that terrible conflict.

My comments: You state that the Israeli-Arab conflict is not the only one in the Middle-East. But why do you mention only the Iran-Iraq war? You must know that there are many more such conflicts in the Middle-East that have no connection whatsoever with the Israeli-Arab conflict. Please allow me to list some of the most significant:

- a. There is a latent hatred and tension between Turkey and Syria, from the time that Turkey annexed the Alexandrette Zone. Syria retaliated by granting patronage to the Kurds who fight against Turkey in order to achieve autonomy for the Kurdish Zone.

- b. The Kurds in general want to establish an independent State and therefore they fight the Turks, the Iraqis and the Iranians. (By the way, why is nobody voicing his support for self-determination for the Kurds and their right to have a State of their own?
- c. There is constant tension between Iraq and Syria about sharing the waters of the Euphrates.
- d. There is constant tension in Syria because the ruling cast belongs to a tiny minority, the Alawites, while the Moslem majority does not agree with it, as is manifest by the terrorist activities of the Moslem brothers against the government. Only a couple of years ago, more than 10,000 citizens of Homs were killed by Assad's troops.
- e. A large number of minorities have been slaughtered in Iraq - (Assyrians about 300 thousand) and in Turkey - (Armenians about 1 million).
- f. The civil war in Lebanon has been going on for 100 years! - long before the Balfour Declaration... Druse, Moslems and Maronites continue to slaughter each other to this very day.
- g. The Jordanian Crown was, from the beginning, backed by the bayonets of the soldiers of the Arab Legion, mobilised by the British (Glub Pasha), financed by them and backed by 300 thousand Beduin who lived in the southern part of Transjordan and who were willing, if well paid, to protect the Hashemite family in Amman, though alien to the Middle East. The family and it's entourage was "imported" from the Arab Peninsula after Ibn Saud chased them out of Chigaz.



The Arabs do not love this family. They drummed Feisal (Abdulla's brother and Hussein's grandfather) out of Damascus where the British tried to crown him as the King of the Grand Arab State. Later, when the British made him King of Iraq, his dynasty did not last long: his son was killed and his corpse was dragged through the streets of Baghdad.

Therefore, the very existence of the Hashemite kingdom (though it is favoured by Israel) is actually a pain in the neck to all the Pan-Arabs of the Middle East.

- h. The Arab Emirates along the Persian Gulf, including Kuwait, were a source of unrest in the Arab world long before the war between Iran and Iraq broke out. As you may recall, Iraq wanted (and still wants) to annex Kuwait and other Emirates. It did not carry this out because of the opposition of Saudia and the threat of the U.S.A.
- i. Saudia itself poses a big problem, trying to retain the power in the hands of a decadent family against the will of its young generation to modernise not only the oil fields and the harems, but also the way of life of the population.
- j. Yemen has split into two separate countries, while the southern one, being a Marxist State, has become a nucleus of danger and a threat to its northern neighbour and to Saudia.

- k. Egypt invaded Yemen in 1964 and used their chemical weapons against the civil population. This invasion, too, had nothing to do with the Israel-Arab conflict.
- l. Lybia is at war or in a state of semi-war with Sudan, Chad, Egypt and Tunisia. It is a source of unrest for th whole of North-Africa.
- m. And last but not least Morocco has a big problem with the Polisario, who want independence for the southern part of Morocco.

As you can see, I have mentioned only 13 main conflicts (there are dozens of others) that have nothing to do with the existence of Israel in the Middle-East. They are tangible proof that the Middle East is undergoing a social, economic, cultural and political upheaval and revolution. It is their good fortune that the Jews decided, after two thousand years, to come back to their historic homeland and thus furnished them with an excellent common denominator that enables them to unite at least in one respect, their hatred of Jews and of Israel.

I well understand that having only five minutes to present your case before the Convention, you could not dwell longer on your opening point, namely that the Israel-Arab conflict is not the only one in the Middle-East, and therefore you mentioned only the Iran-Iraq war. For the sake of the record I found it necessary to help you out by showing how right you were with your opening statement....

But I cannot agree with the totally inadequate sentence that ends your first paragraph. I quote: "I hope some way can be found to resolve that terrible conflict". Come now, Mr. Kaufman. A war that has already destroyed one million young lives is a conflict that you only hope to resolve? Why don't you find it necessary to alert the attention of your party to the fact that much more than vague hopes must be expressed and that action must be taken by the modern world in the East and in the West, to stop this horrible massacre of innocent young lives?

It is most surprising that afterwards, when you deal with the Israel-Arab conflict, you are much more sure what must be done in order to resolve the conflict, and obviously, at the expense of Israel.

Paragraph No. 2

You say: The Labour party manifesto stressed that any Middle East initiative should take account of 1) the security of the State of Israel and 2) the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people. I shall attempt to achieve both these goals and shall not try to curry favour with one group or the other. To this end I shall be saying exactly the same thing to Poale Zion today.

My comments: In this paragraph you say that the manifesto of the Labour party stresses the right of Israel to exist within secure borders and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. I cannot but agree with this manifesto, and we, the Jews, acted according to it long before your party made up its mind about the Middle-East:

- a. We agreed to the first partition of Erez Israel in 1922, when Mr. Winston Churchill (then Minister of the Colonies) decided to cut off Transjordan from the Jewish Homeland which was promised to us in the Balfour Declaration, and which was handed over in trust to Britain as care-taker, by the League of Nations.
- b. We agreed to a second act of partition, this time of the western part of Palestine, in order to enable the establishment of a Jewish State, in accordance with the decision of the United Nations on 29 November, 1947.

And who did not agree that the Jews should have their own State? The Palestinians!! They started to shoot on 30 November because five Arab governments promised them that they would invade Palestine after its evacuation by the British and that they would throw all the Jews into the sea...



The sad fact, Mr. Kaufman, is that until this very day, the Arabs, and the Palestinians in particular, though living in refugee camps and being scattered over the whole Middle-East, do not agree with the right of Israel to exist as an independent State!

This and more. You know, just as surely as I, that Hussein had 19 years at his disposal to establish a Palestinian State on the West Bank with East Jerusalem as its capital. Why didn't he and the other Arab States carry out what they now want from us? Isn't it another trick to "correct the mistake", that you bring up in paragraph 4 in the words of an Arab Ambassador, "that Israel was founded in the first place"?

As I shall show later on, Israel was ready to agree to a Palestinian State after 1967 as well, but in the meantime, please note Mr. Kaufman: the Arabs and the Palestinians do not acknowledge the right of the Jews to self-determination until this very day. Instead, Arafat and the PLO want to establish a "Secular Democratic State" not alongside of Israel but instead of it. This is still written in the Palestinian Contract. Therefore, the Palestinian problem cannot and will not be solved, so long as their attitude towards Israel's right to exist will not change. And it will not change as long as worthy people like you, with all their good intentions and understanding, will continue blindly to back one side - the Arabs - and to demand all the concessions from the other side - the Israelis!

### Paragraph No. 3

You say: It is almost 40 years since the foundation of the State of Israel and Israel has become not only the most powerful military force in the Middle East, but one of the most powerful in the world. But among the states set up after the War, Israel is unique in that it is powerful but not secure. It is unique in that it has not been recognised by many countries and is technically at war with all except one of the surrounding states. One must ask: where has Israel gone wrong?

My comments: In the this paragraph you ask, "where has Israel gone wrong?" You wonder, but cannot understand why, such a strong country as Israel is not recognised by so many countries and is at war with most of it's neighbours.

Well, you are mistaken, Mr. Kaufman! Israel has not gone wrong. From a stage of total unacceptance by the Arab world (unacceptance that was accompanied by scorn and abuse for those "death-worthy" Jews who dared to challenge the overwhelming Arab majority), we have succeeded in establishing a Jewish State that is able not only to withstand the joint military strength of the Arab powers but is forcing the Arab world, slowly but surely, to accept the Israeli presence in the Middle-East. Countries such as Egypt, Morocco, Tunis (before the last change in power) and also Sudan (before the ousting of General Numeiri), declare it openly and behave accordingly. (Egypt made peace with us and Morocco has a de-facto peace with us). Jordan acutally observes a day-to-day peace with us through the open bridges and the normal inter-change of people, money, merchandise and matriculation examinations and the constant meetings of the heads of the two States to discuss peace.

Only recently, all the Arab States convened in Amman and acknowledged the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, by renewing diplomatic relations with Egypt while she continues to retain, and even to develop the peace with Israel! Look at what we have achieved in only 40 years, Mr. Kaufman, bearing in mind that Jewish reestablishment in the Middle East must be a very long process which will demand a lot of patience and understanding.

So why are you so impatient with us? Has the world solved, after 40 years, the problem of a divided Berlin? Are you also so impatient with Spain and France who have failed to grant autonomy to the Basques? And do you see a promising end to the bloodshed in Northern Ireland?

Please, Mr. Kaufman, give some thought to the things that have already been achieved. They are outstanding, so why do you push us so hard and especially on one side only? Can you not see that the other side also has to move towards us, and may do so if you and your friends will try persuading them instead of leaning only on us.



Paragraph No. 4

You say: Some people, such as an Arab Ambassador I spoke to recently, thought the problem was that Israel had been founded in the first place and from his point of view this was fair. But as Israel does exist, he admits he has to be realistic and accept the fact. I believe that Israel cannot be faulted for any of the wars before 1967. But the 1967 victory made the Israelis believe they were invincible. The victory was seen as a solution in itself. The Israelis considered themselves supreme and did not look for a lasting peace which could have been achieved. They became complacent. This led to the 1973 war where the Egyptians achieved early successes although they were later driven back. The shock of almost being invaded led, disasterously to the election of a chauvanist militaristic government in Israel which committed the crime (and a crime not only against the Lebanese but the Israelis who fell needlessly) of the invasion of Lebanon.

My comments: This paragraph is a mass (presumably due to lack of time) of inaccurate facts and wrong conclusions:

- a. You say: "I believe that Israel cannot be faulted for any wars before 1967". Here I must disagree with you completely. In my opinion, David Ben-Gurion made a very big mistake when he joined forces with Britain and France whose aim was to recapture their hold on the Suez Canal. This was not our war and we should not have participated in it. The culmination, a military flop on the Anglo-French side, and a hasty retreat on ours, due to American-Russian pressure, only proved the big mistake made by all the involved parties and especially by us.

If Israel had stayed at home and had not joined forces with Britain and France, Nasser would perhaps have made peace with us. The fact that the



confiscation of the Suez Canal had added to his prestige, might have encouraged him to dare to talk with us, in the same way as the Egyptian achievements in the first phase of the October war gave Sadat the courage to come to Jerusalem.

The mere fact, Mr. Kaufman, that Britain was involved in the Suez war is no justification for it.

- b. You give the impression, in this paragraph, that Israel is to be blamed for the 1967 war and especially for the complacency in Israel that followed the victory. This attitude, you argue, led to the October war and all the disasters that came after.

Once more I cannot agree with you. First of all I am sure that you are aware that we were quite happy with the 1949 borders. I can assure you that if the Arabs would have come to us prior to June 1967 and suggested total peace on the basis of those borders, the entire Jewish population in Israel would have agreed, as they agreed later, to the peace contract with Egypt.

Moreover, in June 1967 we established a National Unity Government which included Mr. Begin. That Government announced immediately after the war that, if the Arabs would agree to make peace with us, we would be ready to fall back to the 1949 borders with only Jerusalem must remaining united. This was the official standpoint of our Government until September 1967 when all the heads of the Arab countries convened in Khartoum and agreed resoundingly on the three no's:

No negotiation with Israel  
No acknowledgement of Israel  
No peace with Israel

And so the last chance to induce Israel to retreat to the 1949 borders and to solve the Palestinian problem simply evaporated.

So my dear Mr. Kaufman, no lasting peace could have been achieved during the years 1967 - 1973, because the Arabs simply did not want to make peace. They waited to become strong enough to launch another attack and to complete the job they had not succeeded in completing in 1949...

I am sure you remember how delegates of many member countries of the United Nations danced in the corridors in October 1973, when the first news reached New York that the Arabs had won the war.

- c. The 1973 war did not lead to the establishment of a chauvinist military government. The seeds of this government were sown in 1967 when the Arabs said "no" to every Israeli initiative including the Allon Plan. This negative attitude encouraged the radical factors in our society to claim that there were no Arab partners with whom to make peace, thus compelling them to "establish facts", such as Jewish settlements in the Arab population centres of the West Bank.

It is sad to relate that the Labour Party in Israel did not succeed in convincing the Jewish public that despite the refusal of the entire Arab world to negotiate with us, the hope of finding an Arab partner for territorial compromise should not be abandoned. This was the main factor which enabled a chauvinistic government, headed by Mr. Begin, to come to power.

- d. The Lebanon war as it developed after the first 5-6 days, surpassing the 45 km limit was a big mistake, I agree with you on this point. The biggest mistake was to employ "ZAHAL" (the Israel Defence Army), in order to achieve political ends. You should know that Ben-Gurion had a purpose in

calling our army, "Defence Army". This name was intended to define its role as a defending force, because we Jews came to this country to sow and to build and, only if attacked, to defend ourselves. Since then, Zahal has never been involved in missions to attain political aims.

Mr. Begin broke this unwritten law (he also used to omit the word 'defence' from the full name of Zahal so as to emphasize his disagreement with Ben-Gurion's limiting definition of the role of Zahal) and ordered Zahal to enter Beirut in order to impose a peace agreement on Lebanon.

My party, the Labour Party, backed the operation as long as it was intended to drive the PLO back (45 km) from our northern border. But once this promise to us (we were then in opposition) was broken, we opposed the war and practically forced the government to stop it. As soon as Mr. Peres became Prime Minister, Zahal was ordered to pull out of Lebanon.

Mr. Begin and all his government paid a very heavy price for this mistake: Mr. Begin has resigned and has confined himself to total isolation from public life; an inquiry committee investigating the Sabra and Shatila massacre by Christian Lebanese, forced Defence Minister, Arik Sharon, the Chief of Staff, Rafael Eitan, the commander of intelligence and the commander of the Beirut front, to resign their posts. The Likud party in consequence lost its decisive strength in the public arena and was forced to share government with the Labour party after the 1984 elections.

But, although agreeing with you on this point, it does not justify your description of the Lebanon war as a crime! First of all, I beg to remind you that for 23 years our border with Lebanon was the quietest. Our relationship with all Lebanese governments was outstandingly good. We used to ponder and say that Lebanon will be the second Arab country to make peace with us, knowing that it would not dare to be first.



Only when Hussein chased the PLO out of Jordan, after September 1970 (Black September), and they moved their headquarters to Lebanon, the border with Israel was kindled like dry straw. We had to enter Lebanon as early as 1978 (the Litani Campaign) in order to smash the PLO stronghold in the South of Lebanon. So it is not a new or surprising story. But you did not say a word about the situation that led to the Lebanon war; nor did you find it necessary to point out that the border with Jordan was hostile and flammable from 1949 until 1970 while the PLO was in that country with the Lebanese border being as peaceful during that time as the border between England and Scotland; and that since 1970 with the border between Jordan and Israel now quiet and friendly, the Lebanese border became a hell.

I want to be sure that there is no misunderstanding between us: the insurgence into Lebanon weakened the PLO while the military arrangements we made and maintain in South Lebanon enable our people in the northern settlements to live in relative quiet. We shall be ready at all times to take action against those intent on endangering us. Every government will move very swiftly to eliminate any source of danger to Israel, whatever the reaction of world opinion, just as your government did in the past so many times when British interests were involved, as in the case of the Falklands.

I also want to protest very strongly against the use of the word crime in the context of the Lebanese war. Is it your undeclared intention to connect the Israeli government, by this word, to other war crimes such as those of the second world war? If so, you are stretching out a perilous hand which will be grasped by the racist and anti-semitic forces in the world who succeeded in passing a resolution in the United Nations that Zionism is a racist movement and that the Jews behave on the West Bank as the Nazis did in Europe!

There is no greater lie and smear than this. I am amazed at your "courage" to present such a theme to Poalei Zion. If a military effort to stop cold-blooded killers of infants, women and old people from carrying on with their dastardly deeds is a crime, how would you describe the military actions of your governments during the last seventy years.

\* Yielding to Hitler in Munich and selling a whole country (Czechoslovakia) in order to gain time because no English government had prepared Britain for the forthcoming war (1938).

\* Ignoring the ongoing slaughter of Jews in Auschwitz and all over Poland and suppressing plans to bomb the camps and the railroads leading to them, an action that could have saved millions of lives during the holocaust (1944).

\* Attacking Egypt in order to take back the Egyptian held Suez Canal (1956).

These are only a few examples out of many more that could be added to "the list of crimes" that you mentioned in your speech, and that concern you country only. Now imagine how many "crimes" like the one mentioned by you have been committed by the whole family of modern and western countries.

Paragraph No. 5

You say: The problem now is that, as Israel failed to take advantage of her 1967 victory to achieve a lasting peace, the West Bank has been occupied for over half the history of the State. Children have grown up and joined the army with no experience of any other situation other than the present one.

My comments: In this paragraph you continue to blame Israel, and Israel only, for failing to achieve peace. Do you really think that only Israel is to be blamed for not achieving peace? I have already dwelt on the subject of the Arab refusal to any solution that has the slightest component of compromise, so I shall not repeat it here. But I really think that putting all the pressure and blame on Israel, in this respect, encourages the Arabs to continue to be stubborn in their refusal to approach any sort of solution.



You are right in saying that in the meantime a new generation has grown up, on both sides, who have become frustrated because of the lack of any solution, and therefore drift more and more towards extremism. And since, for the time being, we are stronger than the Arab population on the West Bank and in Gaza, time is running out for them. If people like you continue to totally justify the Arabs, and accuse only us for not making peace, the coming generation on both sides will be unable to even look at each other.

No wonder that such dreadful solutions to the conflict, as presented by the fascist Kahane, find an echo especially in the young Jewish generation, that does not see any positive solution to the conflict in the future, and therefore becomes frustrated and bitter.

Paragraph No. 6

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You say: The Palestinians under occupation have no civil rights and no political rights. What saddens me is that the Palestinians are now doing the work which the pioneers did in earlier times. They are a lower class of labour. They are often bussed into Israel in the morning and then bussed out again in the evening because they are not allowed to live in Israel. It may be that the standard of living in the area has risen slightly. I do not know. But the question is: do the Palestinians live as well as the Israelis, and the answer is no. The government of Israel subsidizes people to live on the West Bank and they live there and work in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. They build villas on the side of the hills. Such people are "commuter pioneers".

My comments: In this paragraph you lay the ideological basis for labeling Israel as a racist country, and for including her in the defiled group of nations: South Africa, Taiwan, South Korea, Chile, etc. You run away from the slightest intellectual effort to understand the day-to-day problem on the West Bank, and in order to get away with it, you maneuver the facts your way so that they fit the statements and accusations that you want to make and emphasize. Let me point out some of your fallacies in this paragraph:



- a. The civil rights of the Palestinians on the West Bank were untouched by Israel since the occupation. The Jordanian Civil Law prevails there and people receive their rights and are prosecuted for violations of this law exactly as was the case during the Jordanian occupation of the West Bank. If an Israeli commits a crime on the West Bank (including a traffic offence) he will be brought before a judge in a court on the West Bank and be tried according to Jordanian law.

It is true that apart from the civil law, the Israeli Army has also introduced a military law, in accordance with the Geneva Convention, as every other military power (for example, the British commander of Berlin) in an occupied territory. But this power is used only against those who involve themselves in terrorist activities.

This is how Hussein ruled the West Bank, and the Egyptians, the Gaza strip for 19 years (1949-1967) and nobody raised their voice (not even when Hussein slaughtered thousands of Palestinians or attacked with force and bayonets anti-Jordan demonstrations in old Jerusalem, Nablus and other cities during his rule in the West Bank).

Now, what sort of civil rights in your opinion are the Palestinians lacking? I presume that you do not point to the Jordanian civil rights because these already exist, you want the Palestinians to receive the same rights that Israelis have in Israel. As soon as we give them this it will immediately become an act of annexation. Do you want Israel to annex the territories? [Even the Histadrut, the Israeli TUC, is unable to register Arab members from the territories in its organisation (65% of the Arab workers who are Israeli citizens are members of the Histadrut) because such a step would also become an act of annexation!].

So after 1967 we had two choices: to isolate the territories from any contact with Israel and therefore to leave them in the neglected condition

that prevailed during the entire period of Jordanian and Egyptian rule or to enable them to come to work in Israel and improve their standard of living. We chose the second way.

You might also differentiate between the permanent population of the territories and the refugees living beside them in camps. The first receive every sort of help from the Israel authorities to transform their primitive agricultural methods into the most modern methods. A whole new educational system has been built up from scratch, including universities, teachers seminaries and technical schools; the municipal system has been improved, and the citizens have learned how to run their cities and care for good municipal services; tens of thousands of new houses have been built (most of them private homes and not apartment houses); electricity, sewage, running water and telephone systems have been introduced and the general standard of living has risen steeply.

It is true that the situation of the refugees in the camps has improved only moderately, and even this rise is due to the higher income they now have owing to many of them working in Israel. But the camps were not evacuated, new cities and neighbourhoods have not been built for them - mainly because they will not accept any personal solution other than a return to their previous residences. Failing a political solution to the whole problem and the stubbornness of the refugees, it is true that the Palestinians do not live as well as the Israelis. But bear in mind that when I say Israelis, I mean all of them including the 800 thousand Israeli Arabs.

What puts a question mark on the objectivity of your speech is the fact that when it comes to the good things that Israel has done on the West Bank and in the Gaza strip, you suddenly become ignorant, or as you put it, and I quote: "It may be that the standard of living in the areas has risen slightly, I don't know". But you certainly do know that the Palestinians don't live as well as the Israelis. By the way, do the Indians, the Pakistanis and all the other immigrants to your country live as well as the neighbouring white British people? English? If the answer is "yes", why do they so often burn the

slums they live in? You demonstrate such a detailed knowledge that might prove that the Palestinians are discriminated against. Why are the fences on your doorstep not mended first?

And do the Catholics in Northern Ireland live as well as the Protestants? If they do, why is the percentage of unemployed Catholics greater by 2.5 times than that of the Protestants? Why, for instance, does the large concern, "Short Brothers" which employs 7000 workers, not employ more than 5% Catholics? If one continues along your lines, one might easily come to the conclusion that Northern Ireland is the English Soweto...

But the West Bank is not an Israeli Soweto. I have already proved above that the standard of living has gone up and I want to add some figures (regarding the West Bank and the Gaza strip). Some of the figures are only from the seventies, so you can imagine in what a poor situation they were in 1967:

		<u>West bank</u>	<u>Gaza strip</u>
Number of people	1967	586,000	381,000
	1986	836,000	545,000
percentage of gas & electric ranges for cooking	1974	32.7%	12.7%
	1985	84.6%	86.1%
Percentage of electrical refrigerators	1972	13.8%	5.7%
	1985	66.3%	77.8%
Percentage washing machines	1974	13.8%	3%
	1985	37.2%	38.9%
TV - black & white	1972	10%	7.5%
	1985	66%	76.5%
TV - colour	1981	3.4%	0.7%
	1985	12.8%	8.2%
Tape recorders	1974	4.8%	2.9%
	1985	55.8%	54.7%
Solar heaters	1981	25.8%	41.1%
	1985	45%	69.3%
Number of private cars	1970	1,626	1,293
	1986	35,349	15,893



Educational institutions	1967	821	166
	1986	1,135	296
Number of classes	1967	4,402	1,746
	1986	8,647	3,940
Number of pupils	1967	142,216	80,050
	1986	290,601	166,584

Do these figures point to a decline in the standard of living on the West Bank or do they show an astonishing growth and development? Have you another example anywhere in the world of such a high rate of development in a territory that is under military occupation?

Yes Mr. Kaufman, the West Bank is under military occupation, and if the Arab countries want to develop it, they are invited to do so. But they do not care even though our Defence Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, invited western and Arab capital to invest in the West Bank and King Hussein has said that he would welcome world wide investment in the West Bank to the tune of \$500 million.

So while nobody is coming forward, Israel's military authorities do what little they can. We have no incentive to invest, because we have proclaimed to the whole world for the last twenty years, that we do not see it as our land. Now just imagine if we had started to develop the West Bank as we do in Israel. What an outcry there would have been in the world! What accusations of Israel annexing the West Bank de facto!

So we help only Jewish settlers who want to settle on the West Bank, and we help especially those who comply with the Alon Plan. This is the only reason the standard of living on the West Bank is higher among Jews than among Arabs.

Paragraph No. 7

You say: I used to find it offensive when people compared the State of Israel with the Republic of South Africa. Now it is undeniable. There is an Israeli Soweto. The invasion of Lebanon was appalling, totally inexcusable. I must stress that, like any other country, I do not expect Israel to be perfect. But I do expect minimum standards.

My comments: In this paragraph it seems to me that your unfounded accusations are repeated in the hope that repetition will penetrate the minds of your listeners.

No Mr. Kaufman, we are not South Africa: 850 thousand Israeli Arabs live together with us in complete freedom and equality. In our country we carry out the principle of "one man one vote" for all our citizens.

The West Bank is not a part of the State of Israel; we stay there in the role of a military regime because the Arabs launched a war against us in 1967 (have you forgotten?). And how we behave there and what are our achievements in the region, I have already detailed above.

Israel is not perfect in all she does, but many countries, even in Europe (and not only the Germans) can come to learn from us how to behave in a conquered territory and how to comply with correct human standards. If you do not believe me ask the Algerians about France; ask the Angolians and Mozambiquians about Portugal; ask the Zairians about Belgium; ask the Ethiopians about Italy; ask the Afghanistans about Russia - do I need to go on?

#### Paragraph No. 8

You say: What is required is a change in Israeli policy. The Palestinians and the neighbouring Arab States all want an international peace conference and I agree with them. I agree also that the PLO must take part in these negotiations. The Israelis may not like it but they must face up to reality. The PLO are accredited representatives of the Palestinian people. The Israelis claim that the PLO is unelected. But that is because there is no mechanism available to the Palestinians.

My comments: Now what you say in paragraph eight is really beyond the pale: you try to create the impression that the Arabs are the ones who invented the international convention! Have you forgotten that this is the original idea of Mr. Peres? Have you not heard about his speech in the United Nations? Have you forgotten Mrs. Thatcher's visit to Israel and Jordan in 1985, after which she invited a Jordanian-PLO delegation to visit London (with the understanding and

approval of Israel expressed by Mr. Peres). And what came of it? A PLO refusal to sign an agreement for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the peace talks!

You forget also that only recently, in November 1987, King Hussein received his final clearance (from Syria, Iraq and other countries) to go to an international conference: until then he and the PLO were the real obstacles to such a conference.

At the same time we had and still have our internal difficulties. We are struggling to overcome them and yet you do not give us the slightest credit for our efforts. Its true that Mr. Shamir does not agree to the international conference, but neither do the Russians who want to come to the table without resuming diplomatic relations with us and without letting our brothers and sisters out of the Soviet Union. And neither do the Chinese as far as diplomatic relations are concerned. Where is the international pressure on them? Their 'Chutzpa' in trying to gain access to the conference without making the slightest gesture, is not even mentioned by you. Can you imagine Mr. Shamir's situation if these two giants had changed their attitude towards us? He would have been placed in an impossible situation and would have been compelled to agree to some sort of an international conference, just as happened with the Taba dispute.

So the situation is as follows:

- \* Israel, through its then Prime Minister, Peres, creates and pushes forward the idea of an international conference.

- \* The Arabs hesitate to accept it.

- \* Russia and China do not want to resume diplomatic relations with Israel.



\* Russia does not acknowledge the right of Jews to be accepted as a nation and their right to be united with their brothers in Israel.

\* The PLO continues to fight for a Palestinian secular and democratic State instead of the State of Israel.

And you call all this an Israeli refusal to participate in an international conference!

I can and must assure you of one thing: we shall not sit or meet with the PLO as long as they terrorise our people everywhere and continue to strive to destroy Israel. This will be our standpoint notwithstanding the question if the PLO is an elected or non-elected body.

Paragraph No. 9

You say: The international conference must have no preconditions and that means none at all. It amazes me that the Israelis demand that Arafat recognise Israel. Is Israel so insecure that, even after forty years, recognition from the PLO makes such a great difference? The suggestion is ridiculous. Begin was a terrorist but Britain accepted him as the representative of Israel and he was received by Mrs. Thatcher. Kenyatta was labelled a terrorist, as was Mugabe, now a respected leader. One does not negotiate with friends, but with enemies, and one does not have to forgive one's enemies to talk to them.

My comments: When Henry Kissinger came to Israel the first time, and visited the Jordan river, which so small and unimpressive, he said "Look what public relations can do to a river". These words came to mind when I read your ninth paragraph: "Look what brain-washing can do to such an intelligent man as Mr. Kaufman".

Of course, one makes peace only with enemies, and of course we shall have to sit also with the representatives of the PLO when the time comes to make peace. But on one condition, that both sides are ready to acknowledge each other on equal terms and forswear terrorism.

Your comparison of Begin and Kenyatta to Arafat is an insult to your listeners; how can you compare? Did Begin or Kenyatta ever challenge the right of England to exist. There was only the question: will they stop shooting at English targets in their countries? Once England said that it was ready to evacuate these countries they stopped shooting and came to the negotiation table.

So the precondition of powerful England to those tiny underground forces was to stop shooting, this was its precondition and nobody blamed you for it.

Here we are confronted with a two-fold problem: the PLO does not agree to acknowledge our right to exist as an independent State and its members continue to employ terrorist activities. Now Mr. Kaufman, in your third paragraph you say that it is unique, that after 40 years of existence we are technically at war with all our neighbours except one, and in this paragraph you sneer at our feeling of insecurity as far as negotiations with Arafat are concerned.

Yes Mr. Kaufman, we are worried about and afraid of partners at the negotiation table who openly say that their ultimate goal is to destroy us.

First of all, it is not ethical and not just, to accept such an attitude from a future partner to a lasting peace.... Secondly, I can not understand why peace seekers like you are ready to achieve peace only at our expense? Is it so difficult and unethical to dare to say to the PLO, that if they really want peace they should alter their covenant as far as the right of Israel to exist is concerned?

Mr. Kaufman, we are afraid of the PLO and we are not ashamed to admit it. The PLO is part of a big, frightening and hate-filled Arab world. The question is, not what are the present proportions of strength between Israel and the PLO, but how they might develop once a Palestinian State is established as a solid beginning of a constant effort to destroy Israel.

You have to use your imagination about how it is going to look, from a Palestinian capital on the West bank, packed with communist Embassies, with Russian sophisticated arms and hundreds of thousands of Iranian volunteers ready to sacrifice their lives in order to "free Jerusalem from the Jewish dogs".

Your government is not ready to sit at the negotiation table with the IRA as long as they continue to be militant, though they are no threat to the very existence of England and they do not represent blood-thirsty enemies who surround England by the hundred millions. It is much easier to demand it from others...

Paragraph No. 10

You say: The PLO are the acknowledged and accredited representatives of the Palestinian people and, in order to play my part in the peace process, I am perfectly willing to talk to, and negotiate with, representatives of the PLO. Only if one is prepared to be realistic will peace come to the Middle East.

My comments: In your last paragraph you make statements that are misleading, if not inaccurate. For instance, many Arab States, including Jordan, Syria, Libya and South Yemen, do not acknowledge and accredit Arafat as the sole representative of the Palestinians. The last summit in Amman, too, did not accept the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians but gave a decisive role also to Jordan and its King.

So as you see, the Arabs themselves have not decided yet on this crucial question, and therefore the chairman of our Party, Mr. Peres, has suggested a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the peace talks. This is a realistic approach, and if you want to play a realistic role in helping to solve the Israel-Palestine conflict please be as decisive in your advice to the PLO as you are towards us; perhaps such an approach will make them more realistic in their attitude towards Israel, especially if they are, as you say, weaker and smaller than we are.

Yours sincerely,

Dov Ben-Meir, MK



P.S. As my long letter was written in November 1987, prior to the riots on the West Bank and the Gaza strip, I find it necessary to add a few important remarks:

1. We must look upon the sad developments and riots as a part of the whole picture described above. We regret every misbehaviour of our soldiers or settlers and the army is investigating and punishing all such misbehaviour. Of course, the public and the world see only what is caught by the cameras and this is quite horrible as all such sad events are. But do not forget that this is also a collision of two scales of values: while we cannot accept a situation where soldiers shoot and beat women and children, the Arabs have no compunction whatsoever in sending women and children to the front exactly as the Iranians sent thousands of young children to be live mine detectors in front of their advancing army.

It is a tragic situation, but what can we do? We cannot start withdrawing without a political agreement because we know that the Palestinians will not be satisfied with only the West Bank and the Gaza strip. An opinion poll, conducted by Tel-Aviv University (Prof. Yaar), in January 1987 in the above territories, brought the following answers to the question: What is your ideal solution to the Israel-Arab conflict?

33% said that they want all the Jews to go back to the countries they came from.  
33% said that they want a Palestinian state according to the PLO conception: a

democratic secular state instead of Israel.

25% said that they wanted a Palestinian state alongside of Israel.

2. But a lot has to be done also on the Israeli side. As the Israeli public is divided on this issue, almost half and half and, according to my calculation, the coming elections will not bring a political breakthrough. (Even if Labour or Likud will succeed in forming a government alone, it will be a weak one. And we shall not be able to carry through a political solution without a national consensus of at least 80%!) The two parties must hammer out, together, a third plan that will enable both of them to back it. Such a plan is outlined in another article that I have written, concerning the 40th anniversary of Israel. I am also enclosing this article for your attention.

I am sorry that I am imposing so much paper on you, but the issue is very complicated and it calls for a very thorough discussion. This is what I have tried to do and ask for your forgiveness for being so lengthy.



Surprise victory clouds Kinnock's success on policy overhaul

# Livingstone gains Labour NEC seat

By John Carvel and Keith Harper

Mr Ken Livingstone's surprise success in the elections for Labour's national executive yesterday raised a question mark about the commitment of Labour Party members to the programme of reform which Mr Neil Kinnock began to drive through his party conference on its opening day in Brighton.

Mr Livingstone, left-wing former leader of the Greater London Council, nosed ahead of Mr Bryan Gould, the most forceful exponent of Labour's attempt to recapture the loyalty of prospering sections of the electorate.

Both won places on the NEC — at the expense of Mr Tam Dalyell and Mrs Audrey Wise — but their conflicting recipes for the future of British socialism highlight the arguments which have to be resolved before Labour goes to the electorate again in the early 1990s.

The vote cast a cloud on an otherwise successful day for Mr Kinnock. The conference passed with overwhelming majorities the leadership's proposals for a thorough-going policy review and for giving every party member a vote in selection of parliamentary candidates, subject to an electoral college arrangement which preserves the union's existing voice.

The first stage of a reform of the party's youth section, which is designed to wrest it from Militant control, also went through. And in spite of Mr Livingstone's election, the NEC results as a whole will bring a further strengthening of Mr Kinnock's domination — largely because of the defeat of two leftwingers in the women's section, which is controlled by the union block vote.

Mr Kinnock's most difficult task when he makes his leader's address to the conference today is to lift its morale. Four years ago the party was easily able to find scapegoats for its electoral defeat in the shambling organisation of its machine.

This time the delegates have run out of simple excuses. As a result, yesterday's debate on the need to re-examine all policies, without exception, appeared to be hesitant and lifeless.

There were no protests when the general secretary, Mr Larry Whitty, architect of the current round of cutbacks in party organisation, warned that Labour

Mr Kinnock last night welcomed the vote on reforming the candidate selection procedures. "Every member of the party now has a direct vote. It opens a new opportunity for broadening our appeal and increasing our membership."

Mr Kinnock's elation at the success of his campaign to extend the franchise, which would allow the unions a 40 per cent share of the vote in local electoral colleges, was tempered by the fact that many unions consider that it will be unworkable in practice and could involve them in expensive legal wrangles. Mr Kinnock's achievement was greatly assisted by the support

Mr Bill Jordan, the engineers' leader, was in no doubt that the public would regard the extension of the franchise as a "halfway house to democracy." He and others saw a danger that the electoral college system would be regarded as a fudge.

The author of the report on the party franchise, Mr John Evans, promised the unions help if they needed assistance in drawing up model rules setting out their contribution to local electoral colleges.

He presented a startling account of the state of democracy at constituency level. In one third of constituencies, less than 30 people voted last time at each reselection meeting, while the selection of candidates nationally for the 1987 election was made up of only 8.4 per cent of individual party membership. In London, it was even lower, at 5.8 per cent.

Most delegates at Brighton felt that the present system is inadequate. It was felt that if the unions fail in efforts to work out a suitable scheme between now and the time for re-selection, the party would be forced to come to terms with one member, one vote.

Mr Livingstone's election to fourth place on the constituency section of the NEC, behind Mr David Blunkett, Mr Tony Benn and Mr Dennis Skinner, was the big surprise of the conference. In recent months, since his election as MP for Brent East, he has been more or less ostracised in the Commons.

He has been criticised by the Labour right as the most prominent exponent of London's "loony left" whose performance was blamed for Labour's bad electoral image. On the hard left he continued until recently to be criticised for failing to act robustly enough during the rate-capping crisis of 1985.

Debate reports, page 5; Leader comment, page 12; Hugo Young's commentary, page 21; Sketch, back page

had "a massive uphill task" if it was to win power again.

Mr Kinnock's speech today is not expected to pre-empt the policy review, but his supporters accept that he needs to provide some distinctive democratic socialist vision to prevent the reappraisal from becoming a search for the lowest common denominator of electoral acceptability.

Behind-the-scenes discussions have cleared the way for Mr Kinnock to add the chairmanship of the party to his duties as leader. Tomorrow's NEC will elect him to the job.

Concerns on the left that Mr Kinnock would try to block the left-winger, Mr Dennis Skinner, from taking up the vice-chairmanship, to which his seniority on the NEC entitles him, were being discounted last night. If normal procedures are followed, Mr Skinner would become chairman in a year's time and would chair the 1989 conference, when the policy review process will reach its peak.

of the three large unions, the Transport Workers', and the National Union of Public Employees, and the GMB, which together hold almost half the union block votes.

A vote of 4.5 million to 1.6 million on the electoral college looks impressive on paper, but the unions admitted last night that they have a difficult task in the next 12 months to work out a system which will be fair and free from abuse. The reservations are shared by constituency party workers.

The main adherents of the idea, Mr Ron Todd (TGWU) and Mr John Edmonds (GMB) are confident that development of computerised lists of members will remove many obstacles. But others, including the engineers and the electricians, as well as those on the far left, who are opposed to any change in the system, emphasised that the party had more important things to do than to become embroiled in an unnecessary argument about constitutional matters.



Ryan's home in Southview or to let an ambulance take away an injured man from Priory Road.

At 3.15 pm they heard a shot from inside the school. At 5.25 pm Ryan threw his Kalashnikov rifle out of the third floor window.

Sergeant Paul Brightwell had opened negotiations. At 6.30, the inspector said, "Sergeant Brightwell was issuing instructions about the method Ryan was to adopt when he left the school. He maintained a dialogue with Ryan that was only broken by the odd silence."

Inspector Lambert said: "At 6.52 pm during one such break of silence a soft, muffled shot was heard. Sergeant Brightwell attempted to make contact on

several occasions but without success." Ryan had shot himself.

At 8 pm armed police entered and found the body in classroom six.

The inspector said he was not aware of a call warning of an armed gunman that had gone to Swindon police — in Wiltshire, not the Thames Valley area — from the cashier of the Golden Arrow garage at Foxfields at about 12.40.

The information he was given at 11.10 pm was that a gunman was shooting people near Hungerford Common. He knew the man had a high-velocity rifle with an accurate range of 300 metres or more.

"It was dangerous to get

police within that distance of him," he said. "Bullets could continue up to four miles. Everywhere in Hungerford was dangerous. The difficulty was to observe the gunman without putting our lives in danger."

Asked whether a local policeman without a gun should have approached a man like Ryan who was known to be armed and dangerous, the inspector said any policeman had to exercise his own initiative. He added: "One exercises a caution when firearms are involved at all times."

Police Constable Roger Brereton, called to the scene from traffic duty, was shot and killed by Ryan as he drove up Southview Road where the gun-

man was shooting indiscriminately.

A serviceman visiting his parents in Hungerford was commended by the coroner, Mr Charles Hoile, for the "brave and selfless way you acted that afternoon. You behaved in a way that brings credit on you and the service you belong to."

Lance Corporal Carl Harries of the Royal Engineers, based at Maidstone, ran from one victim to another calming people and administering first aid. He came face-to-face earlier on with Ryan but jumped through a hedge. He remembers "a blank face, semi-smiling."

He helped to get Mrs Sandra Hill, aged 22, out of her car



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## All-party amendment removes some

# A louder voice for child in abuse cases

By Malcolm Dean

A reform giving more weight to the testimony of children is included in an all-party amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill to make it easier to secure convictions in child abuse cases.

The amendment, put down by Lady Faithful, chairman of the parliamentary committee on children, gives judges more discretion where there are child witnesses.

Judges will no longer be required to warn juries about all evidence — sworn and unsworn — given by children. Instead, they will give "such warning that seems necessary". They will still be able to stop the case if they think it is unsafe to continue.

This is in line with a recent ruling in the Lords that judges should be given more discretion in the admissibility of evidence from mentally ill patients.

Debate has so far concentrated on the ban on video evidence but, according to the Cambridge law don John Spencer the rules regulating the competency of child witnesses are even worse.



Lady Faithful: put down the amendment

John Spencer suggests that young children are frequently able to provide useful information although unable to grasp "the duty of speaking the truth." Until the age of five a child is usually unable to grasp the abstract concept of "duty" and "truth."

The result has been that it is under eight children under never called. real has ruled ad five should s witnesses. not give evi- the hearsay



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שגרירות ישראל  
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ה' בתשרי תשמ"ח  
28 ספטמבר 1987  
סימוכין : 2097

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מאת : הסברה/לונדון

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הנדון : סיור לימודי - משמרת צעירה של מפלגת השמרנים

מזה זמן מה אנו משתדלים לטפח קדר של צעירים במפלגה השמרנית ולקרבתם לנושא ישראל. ערכנו סמינר בשגרירות בהשתתפות השגריר אשר תוצאותיו מצדיקות השקעה נוספת בציבור זה. התרשמנו מהרמה והידע של המשתתפים בסמינר בנושא מז"ת בכלל וישראל בפרט.

מתארגנת קבוצה ששמות חבריה לוטים בזה. פגשתי אישית את כל חברי הקבוצה והתרשמתי מהפוטנציאל הטמון בצעירים אלו.

ברצוני לארגן סיור לימודי עבור הקבוצה שתכלול 12 משתתפים. תנאי הביקור: הטיסה ע"ח חברי הקבוצה, אירוח על חשבוננו.

אודה מאוד על אישור הצעתי וקביעת מועד לראשית שנת 1988.

בברכה,  
  
שמואל מויאל

העתק : ראש אמית"ק  
מנהל אירופה 2 ✓  
השגריר  
הציר



October 1987

November.

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הציר

ועידת הליובור. שלן 283

אנו במגע מתמיד עם משרדו של מתאם המעולות בשטחים. שם  
טוענים שההחלטה בעניין נאטשה הועברה לשהביט. ברגע  
שתקבל החלטת השר נעבירה לכם בבהול.

מזתים-אירופה 2

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תפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמן, אירב, ליאור,  
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בלמס/מידוי

אל: מנהל אירומה 1

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שרמן הודיע על ביטול הרמעתו של לה-פן בבלקפורל.

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*Journal of Management Education*

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כ"ג באלול התשמ"ז  
17 בספטמבר 1987

103.11  
ק"ר

אל: הציר, לונדון  
מאת: מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון: רֹבֶרט מקלנז - S.D.P.  
מכתבך מה-15.9.87

תודה על מכתבך.

אודה אם נוכל לקבל פרופיל של האיש ובעיקר הערכותיך לגבי  
עמדתו בענייננו.

בברכת שנה טובה,

איתן מרגלית



1987 JANUARY 17  
CITY OF NEW YORK

103-11  
402

NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
JANUARY 17, 1987

RE: NEW YORK CITY  
OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

TO: THE COMPTROLLER

FROM: THE COMPTROLLER  
SUBJECT: NEW YORK CITY

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

NEW YORK, NEW YORK





EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
2 PALACE GREEN  
LONDON W8 4QB  
Telephone: 01-937 8050

שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

כ'א באלול התשמ"ז  
15 בספטמבר 1987

אל : מר א. מרגלית, מנהל אירופה ב'

מאת : הציר, לונדון

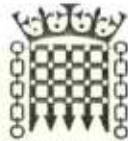
רצ"ב העתק מכתב שקיבלתי מהמנהיג החדש של ה-S.D.P. מר ROBERT MACLENNAN  
בתשובה למכתב ברכה ששיגרתי אליו.

בברכת שנה טובה,

שלום וא"כ

משה רביב

Robert MacLennan, M.P.



HOUSE OF COMMONS  
LONDON SW1A 0AA

10th September, 1987

Mr. Moshe Raviv,  
Minister Plenipotentiary,  
Embassy of Israel,  
2 Palace Green,  
LONDON, W8 4QB.

Dear Mr. Raviv,

I have just returned to London from my constituency to find your note of 3rd September awaiting me. I very much appreciate your kind personal remarks and warm words of encouragement.

I certainly recognise the very difficult task that lies ahead but I have been greatly heartened by the many expressions of support and goodwill I have received from those both within and outside the SDP.

My wife joins with me in sending you and Hana our very best wishes for the New Year.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert MacLennan".

\*\* נכנס

שמוד

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חוזט: 9,8234

אל:המשרד

מ-:לונדון,נר:120,תא:110987,זח:1600,דח:מ,טג:ש

נד:א

שמוד/מידוי

אל:מנהל אירופה ב'

מאת:לונדון/הציר

קונגרס האיגודים המקצועיים TUC .

לראשונה מזה שנים הועברה אתמול ברעידת ה- TUC החלטה  
אנטי- ישראלית. נוסח ההחלטה בנפרד.

היוזמים על ההחלטה היה איגוד קטן יחסית יי'איגוד מכבי  
האש'י שבאשר עומד קמרון הידוע בשנאתו לישראל. איגודים  
ידידותיים ניסו להוריד את הצבעת ההחלטה מסדר היום  
ע"י הצעות תיקונים אולם ללא הועיל. ההחלטה הועברה  
ברוב ע"י הרמת ידים כשלא היה טעם לדרוש הצבעה.

נראה כי המאמץ המתמיד של הליגה ואש"פ להזמין משלחות  
של איגודים מקצועיים ליו"ש ועזה כותן את תוצאותיו.  
עד כה נהגה ההסתדרות לרוב להחרים משלחות אלה.  
השאלה היא אם לא רצוי לעמוד על כך שהמשלחות תקיימנה  
יום או יומיים של מגישות עם אנשינו כדי שניתן יהיה  
לאזן במקצת את התמונה השלילית.

ידוע לנו כי לאוקטובר הוזמנה כבר משלחת נוספת.

במשך הרעידה התקיימה ארוחת צהריים שאורגנה ע"י ה-  
TRADE UNION FRIENDS OF ISRAEL

גוריון

בה נאמו לן קירקלנד ראש ה AFL-CIO



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מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ליורד ונציג ההסדרות אלי שגיא.

רביב.

אף

תמ: מנכל, מסנבל, אירב

THE FLORIDA BROTHERHOOD OF MERCHANTS

1914.

1

THE FLORIDA BROTHERHOOD OF MERCHANTS



נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 9,8161

אל: המשורד

מ-: לונדון, נר: 121, תא: 110987, זח: 1500, דח: ר/סג: ב

נד: 8

103.24  
70

בלמס/רגיל

אל: אירומה ב'

מאת: לונדון/הציר

TUC

להלן הצעה התחלטה שהועברה ב-10 בספטמבר בוועידת ה-  
TUC בולקמול.

PALESTINE.

CONGRESS NOTES THE DESTRUCTION CAUSED BY THE CAMP  
WAR TO THE PALESTINIANS REFUGEE CAMPS IN LEBANON  
AND CONGRATULATES MEDICAL AID FOR PALESTINIANS  
( MAP) FOR THE WORK OF THEIR VOLUNTEERS ESPECIALLY  
DR. PAULINE CUTTING, NURSE SUSAN WIGHTON AND DR.  
SWEE ANG, AND CONGRESS THEREFORE URGES AFFILIATED  
UNIONS TO SUPPORT MAP.

CONGRESS ALSO NOTES THE CINUAL ISRAELI HARASSMENT  
OF THE PALESTINIAN TRADE UNIONS IN THE OCCUPIED  
TERRITRIES, AS WELL AS WAS STATED IN THE ILO REPORTS  
AND URGES THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES TO LIFT THE  
RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES.  
CONGRESS CALLS ON THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES TO  
FACILITATE THE GAZA TRADE UNIONS HEALTH PROGRAMME  
WHICH WAS FOUNDED BY THE BRITISH TRADE UNIONS





## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

AND TO END THEIR OBJECTIONS TO THE GAZA UNION ESTABLISHING SUCH PROJECTS IN SUPPORT OF THE BASIC RIGHT TO HEALTH OF ITS MEMBERS.

CONGRESS ALSO WELCOMES THE EEC DECISIONS TO SUPPORT THE CONVENING OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPONSORED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AS THE WAY TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE ALL PARTIES CONCERNED INCLUDING ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION- THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE - AND THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL CAN PARTICIPATE IN WORKING OUT THE SOLUTION.

CONGRESS RECOGNISES THE RIGHT OF THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO STATEHOOD AND SELF-DETERMINATION AND RECOGNISES THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES IN THE REGION TO EXISTENCE WITHIN SECURE AND INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED BOUNDARIES WITH JUSTICE AND SECURITY FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION.

THE FIRE BRIGADES UNION.

1711

7A

תא: מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, אירו, ליאור, מזכ"ת, ר/מרנז, ממד



[illegible]

525

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

5379

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר תאריך: 09.07.87

\*\* יוצא

שמו

24/48

חוזם: 9,5379

אל: לונדון/113, מריס/199

מ-: המשרד, תא: 080987, זח: 1657, דח: ר, טג: ש

נד: 8

103.11

כ"א

שמו / רגיל

לונדון, מריס

רביב. לשלן 52 שרמן - לה-מן

אם אמנם סוסטל וחליט לבוא ארצה קרוב לודאי שיוכל למגוש  
האנשים שירצה בגלל עברו וזאת ותנאי שזמנם פנוי, מאידך  
אין להניח שיעלה בידם לשכנע אותנו לתת איזו שהיא  
לגיטימציה ללה-מן ולכן מוטב שזה יובהר הן לשרמן והן  
לסוסטל לפני שמתכננים נסיעה.

ישראל לא תקיים קשרים עם לה-מן ומפלגתו בישראל או  
בצרפת לא רק משום התנגדות הקהילה אלא משום שבעינינו  
הוא נדעויתיו מוקצים.

מנהל אירופה 1

מ/א

תפ: שהח, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, אירא, איר ב





4735

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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נכנס

שמו

2445

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חוזם: 9,4735

אל: המשרד

מ-: לונדון, נר: 63, תא: 070987, חז: 1600, דח: מ, טג: ש

נד: פ

דב 24/4/80

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103.11

כ"א

מידוי/שמו

אל: אירופה 1 אירופה 2

וע: שגריר ציר- השג פריס

מאת: הציר לונדון

סיר אלפרד שרמן- לה-פן

א. הנל הזמין את לה פן לנאום ב FRINGE MEETING ברעיוה של המפלגה השמרנית. הבורד ארץ דפיוטיס מחה בפני מרכז המפלגה השמרנית על כן. המרכז השיב כי אינו מתערב במפגשים שלא מטעם המפלגה ושסירבו לאפשר ללה פן להיות אורח ברעיוה.

ב. לפני זמן קצר התקשר איתי שרמן ואמר שנוסע לפריס ויפגוש גם את לה-פן. אמרתי כי אני מציע שיהיה בקשר אם שגרירותינו בפריס בכל הנושא. בעניין לה פן אמרתי לו שמדינת ישראל אינה יכולה להסכים למשהו שאינו מקובל על יהדות צרפת וכידוע יש התנגדות ניכרת ללה-פן.

ג. הבורד התקשר שרמן ואמר שסטטל והוא החליטו לנסוע ארצה בראשית נובמבר כדי לשוחח עם רהם וממ רהם ושהח על הנושא.

אנא תגובתכם.

רביב

א

חפ: שהח, רהם, מנבל, ממנבל, אירא, אירב, תפוצות

10-2-91



## HOME NEWS

# Trade unionists intensify campaign against Israel

By DAVID WINNER

A motion on the order paper of the Trade Union Congress conference in Blackpool next week condemns Israeli harassment of trade unions in the occupied territories.

It has been proposed by the Fire Brigades' Union and by its own standards is mild in tone. In the past, it has branded the Israeli Government as "fascist and genocidal."

It reflects the change in the attitude of the trade unions towards Israel. Only twelve years ago, a pro-Arab group in the Labour Party was complaining that the Israeli case "is well known in the Labour movement... the Arabs have a case, too."

These days, the boot is definitely on the other foot and it is the pro-Israel voices which are, sometimes vainly, struggling to make themselves heard. One by one, major trade unions are abandoning their traditionally sympathetic attitudes to Israel and adopting pro-Palestinian positions.

Earlier this summer, much to the surprise of its own leaders, Nalco, the local government officers' union, severed its links with the Trades Union Friends of Israel (Tufi) and the Histadrut (the Israeli labour federation). Its conference, also in Blackpool, was marred by some of the worst intimidation and harassment which the director of the Labour Friends of Israel and of Tufi, Mrs Valerie (now Lady) Cocks, has had to face. Police had to be called in to protect her. She compared the experience to the early days of Nazi Germany.

Following the retirement of its general secretary, Mr David Basnett, anti-Israel activists are beginning to make their presence felt in another previously friendly union, the General, Municipal Boilermakers' and Allied Trades Union.

Trade union influence in Britain has waned considerably since the 1970s but

the unions are still politically important because of their close links with the Labour Party.

While most union leaders remain pro-Israel, there has been a profound shift in attitudes at the grass roots.

Mr Ken Cameron, general secretary of the Fire Brigades' Union and chairman of Trade Union Friends of Palestine (TUFPP), blames the Israeli Government of Mr Menachem Begin which came to power ten years ago. "Traditionally, the Labour Party supported Israel and Israel had a Socialist government.

"The Begin government and governments since then have taken a very hard line in the occupation of the West Bank. Support for that by prominent members of the government hasn't helped in putting across the Israeli message with a human face."

Others would attribute the change to the efforts of Mr Cameron and the work of the TUFPP, set up in 1980, which has organised dozens of trips to the West Bank and Gaza and co-ordinated a lobbying campaign.

It is linked to the Palestine Trades Union Federation, which itself is closely linked with the Palestine Liberation Organisation. TUFPP's representative in Britain, Mr Yousef Allan, sees the shift in different terms, as a move towards a "more balanced approach" to the Middle East.

"Unions are now supporting the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and to statehood," he says. "But all unions also are supporting the right of Israel to exist. No one can expect trade unions or any other organisations in this country to go further than that."

"If I wanted to go further, my side would lose. But it is equally impossible to reverse the position to what it was."

His tone is conciliatory but he refuses to be drawn on the subject of the events at the recent Nalco conference. "It is an internal matter for Nalco. It is up to the unions how they want to take any



From left to right: Mr Alan Sapper, general secretary of the film technicians' union, the ACTT; Mr Jacob Ecclestone, general secretary of the National Union of Journalists; and Mr Ken Cameron, general secretary of the Fire Brigades' Union and chairman of Trade Union Friends of Palestine

decision on such matters."

For a less partisan view, I turned to Mr Jacob Ecclestone, a prominent Left-winger and general secretary of the National Union of Journalists. He turned down an invitation to the Labour Friends of Israel lunch at Blackpool next week on political grounds.

"I think there has been a shift in attitude," he told me. "The Palestinians have probably put much more effort into public relations and are presenting their case more fully and more ably."

"Among activists in my union, there is almost complete hostility to the behaviour of the Israeli Government. I can't think of anyone who is active who puts a counter view, though I don't think it's a particularly big issue at the moment."

"For myself, from being generally well disposed to the idea of a homeland for the Jewish people, I now think the behaviour of the Israeli Government has been pretty bad in the way it treats Arab journalists and Arabs in the occupied territories. And Israel is one

of the few countries in the world that seem to lend support to apartheid."

"But I don't hate Israel. I grew up with a Jewish refugee boy whose family died in Auschwitz. I feel very strongly about what happened. The tragedy is that it was set up to be in some way better than the societies Jews were trying to get away from but it has replicated some of the very worst features of those societies."

According to Mr Alan Sapper, general secretary of the film technicians' union, ACTT, the majority of trade union members and most activists are not interested in Israel and the Middle East.

ACTT's own notorious resolution urging its members not to work in Israel is still on the books but has become "a bit passé." It was passed in the wake of the Lebanon war—the lowest point in Israel's reputation in this country—and the union has moved on to other issues.

Israel's friends in the trade union movement face an uphill struggle if they are to tilt the balance.

"A lot of unions which were friendly with us are not so friendly any more," says Lady Cocks. "There is a well-orchestrated anti-Israel campaign. Militants take over positions of power and put out the propaganda."

"The Palestinians do their job very well. They are very well organised and well financed. In some cases, they have written to every trade unionist in an area. They get articles in all the papers. It's like water dripping on a stone. Finally it has an effect."

She believes the pro-Palestinian surge was triggered in part by the success of Tufi, which was launched in 1983. But she is also angry at what she sees as a lack of support for Tufi's work in the Jewish community.

"There are so many different Jewish groups all doing 150 different things instead of concentrating on what we should be doing," she says.

"I am sitting in an office without an assistant and with very little money. I would like to retire in six months. I am getting too old for this. If I go, there will be no one doing this job."

*Handwritten notes:*  
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שמור/רגיז

אל: אירופה 2

מאת: הסברה/לונדון

ועידת הסוציאל דמוקרטים בפורטסמות 30.8-2.9.87

1. נושא מרכזי בדיוני הוועידה היה ההחלטה על קיום שיחות (ההתחברות) MERGE עם המפלגה הליברלית.

2. הוועידה הסתיימה כאשר שורות המפלגה הצוירות.

3. מנהיג המפלגה דויד אוואן כינה מקומו לרוברט מקלינג אשר נבחר לנהל את השיחות.

4. יריות אוואן מראשות המפלגה התקבלה בהרגשה של אובדן מנהיג ואישיות בעלת נסיון פוליטי רב.

5. הערכות בין חברי המפלגה שקיימת סבירות גבוהה שהסוציאל דמוקרטים יחזרו לאחר תקופת זמן להיות מפלגה עצמאית.

6. בנושא הגרעיני נשארה התמיכה בכוח הדתעה גרעיני מחוץ והמלצה שלא להגדיל את הארסנל הגרעיני. מאידך.

7. במשך תקופת הוועידה לא הועלו ונדון נושאי חוץ ולא הייתה כל התייחסות לנושא מזה"ת.

8. בפגישת פוליטיים של ידויד ישראל של המפלגה הסוציאל דמוקרטית דיברה ועל דויד על סיכויי השלום בפני קהל

4511

OFFICE OF THE  
DIRECTOR  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: [illegible]

1. [illegible]

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## מושרד החוץ-נחלקת הקשר

של 200 אנשי המפלגה, אזהדים וחברי פרלמנט.

9. קשה לצפות מה יקרה למאגר האהדה לישראל בקרב חברי הס.די. פי. לאחר ההתחברות.

10. קטעי עתונות בדיפ.

מריאל

תפ: שהח, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, אירא, אירב, אביטל, הסברה, מעט, ר/מרכז, ממז



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כ"ב א"ב תשמ"ז

17 אוג' 1987

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אל: מנהל אגף הכספים.  
מאת: קצין מנהלה, לונדון.

הנדון: ועידת מפלגת השמרנים

בבכל שנה, יתקיים באוקטובר ש. ז. ארוע ישראלי במסגרת  
הועידה השנתית של השמרנים בעיר בלקפול.

מאחר ושה"ח ג' פרי האו יטול חלק בארוע זה יחד עם רעייתו,  
יצטרך גם השגריר (שאף הוא אורח הכבוד בארוע) לצרף  
את רעייתו.

... רצ"ב מכתבו של מנהל ה - CFI, מר מייקל פידלר,  
לשגריר בנושא, על צרופיו.

נודה עבור אישורך להצטרפות רעיית השגריר לארוע הנ"ל.

ב כ ר כ ה,  
צבי כהן

העתק: מנהל אירופה 2. ✓

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י"ט באב תשמ"ז  
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אל : ראש אמית'ק

מאת : מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : קבוצת שמרנים צעירים

יש חשיבות להעמיק הקשרים עם צעירי המפלגה השמרנית בבריטניה, בעיקר מפני שעם שכבת גיל זו קשרינו בעבר היו מאד רופפים, ועם חברי פרלמנט צעירים מתוכם אנו נתקלים לא אחת באדישות ואף בעוינות.

"שותף" מתאים ניתן למצוא בהסתדרות הציונית שגם בעבר שתפה עמנו פעולה (ואף התחלקה תקציבית) בביקורים דומים.

רצ'ב מוחזר החומר.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

העתק: גב' עפרה בן-יעקב, הסברה/מרחבי



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103.11.01

ד' באב חתשע"ז

30 ביולי 1987

908

אל : העטונה, דיגה

טאת: טנהל אירופה 1.

הנדון : ישיבת הנחלת ואינטרנציונל חליבורלי.

ראה נא דיווחו של ח.כ. י. ארצי על הישיבה שנערכה  
בלונדון ועל חקטע ל- PPO האוסטרי.

יחול

בברכה,

מ. בבלי.

העתק : ש. שטעין, לש' מנכ"ל.



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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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מזכר

24

## התואר

28. 7. 84

מאת:

ת"ק ב"ס'

ההבדוק:

[illegible]

מש"ד המוץ

א-תפ"ד

W 133 7 N 17

29 -07- 1987

רצ"ק. מס' 1

18. 10. 1913  
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Herrn Dr. ...  
Herrn ...

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## הכנסת

חבר הכנסת  
יצחק ארצי

כב' חמוז חשמ"ז  
19.7.87

לכבוד  
ד"ר יוסי ביילין  
מנכ"ל מדיני  
משרד החוץ  
ירושלים

שלום רב,

הנני ממציא לך ר"ב דו"ח מכנס האינטרנציונל  
הליברלים שבו השתתפתי.

דומני שתוכנו של הדו"ח עשוי לעניין את נציגנו  
בוינה. באם אתה סבור כך, אנא העבר אותו אליו.

בכבוד רב,  
יצחק ארצי

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## הכנסת

חבר הכנסת  
יצחק ארצי

כב' חמוז חשמ"ז  
19.7.87

### דו"ח משיבת ההנהלה של האינטרנציונל הליברלי

שנערך בלונדון ב-11.7.87

(מוגש ע"י ח"כ יצחק ארצי)

ישיבת ההנהלה של האינטרנציונל הליברלי בלונדון, ב-11 ביולי 1987, הייתה האחרונה בסדר הכנס השנתי של האינטרנציונל שיערך השנה באוטווה (קנדה) ב-12.9.87 - 9. הסעיף הכולט בסדר היום בלונדון היה מעמדה של המפלגה הליברלית האוסטרית (FPO) במסגרת האינטרנציונל.

העובדה שזה היה הדיון הרביעי בנושא זה במשך השנה, מעידה על חשיבותו של הסעיף. הדיון בלונדון היה הדיון השלישי לאחר שוועדה מיוחדת לקביעת עובדות, יצאה לאוסטריה והגישתה את הדו"ח שלה. דו"ח זה שימש יסוד לדיון. על ישראל היה להשתתף בדיון זה כיוון שהתערבבו בו גם מספר אלמנטים הנוגעים לנו במישרין.

הישיבה זומנה כדי להכריע בין שתי עמדות קיצוניות :

(1) הוצאתה של המפלגה האוסטרית משורות "האינטרנציונל"

(2) השארתה בשורות הארגון

בכנס השתתפו 40 נציגים.

הדיון על המפלגה האוסטרית היה מותח, דרמטי שנמשך שש שעות רצופות. לישיבה

הגיע גם יו"ר המפלגה האוסטרית, ד"ר יורג הייזר (בן 37). בבחירות האחרונות המפלגה

בהנהגתו הכפילה את מספר קולותיה. עם זאת, מפלגת F.P.O היא היתירה שנשארה באופוזיציה.

מלבד הח"ם השתתף מישראל גם הנציג הקבוע של הליברלים בליכוד, עו"ד יצחק נמר.

סינוי - שהוזמנה - לא הייתה מיוצגת.

בראש המאבק על פתיחת צעדים להוצאת המפלגה, עמדו ההולנדים.

מה היו הטענות העיקריות שהושמעו נגד המפלגה ונועדו להצדיק עמדה קיצונית?

היא מפלגה לאומנית, שוביניסטית, פופוליסטית.

במאמרים ובנאומים הם הביעו ספקות בקשר לשואה. פושעי מלחמה הוצגו על ידם

כאנשי צבא שמילאו חובתם כחיילים.

הם נקטו עמדה אזהרת כלפי מדיניות האפליה בדרום-אפריקה של המיעוט הלבן כלפי

הרוב השחור

את מעשי ההפצצה של כנות הברית על הטבורג ודרזדן הם הגדירו כפשעי מלחמה.





## הכנסת

- 2 -

חבר הכנסת  
יצחק ארצי

עמדות אלו באו לידי ביטוי בבטאון המפלגה בקרינטיה והופעות חברים אחדים במערכת הבהירות.

הח"מ טען בויכוח שהעמדה כלפי השואה היא ערך יסוד בפילוסופיה הליברלית. מי שמתכחש לשואה, מבטל אותה, מקטין חד-פעמיותה ומתייחס בסלחנות כלפי פושעי מלחמה, אין לו מה לחפש במסגרת פוליטית ליברלית.

גם האנגלים יצאו כאיש אחד ובהריפות נגד עמדות האוסטרים. הקור הכללי בויכוח היה ביקורתי. 20 איש דיברו נגד האוסטרים.

בתשובתו, מנהיגם ד"ר הייזר ציטט מראיון שלו בשבועון האוסטרי רב-היוקרה "פרופיל", שבו הוא קורא לשואה - הפשע הגדול ביותר של האנושות. הוא מבחין שם בין פושעי מלחמה לפטריוטים.

הייזר הביע צער על התבטאויות הריגות בעתון המפלגה (שהוא בטאון אזורי ולא על-מפלגתי), דיבר על הרקע ללאומנות באוסטריה, וטען שהם רואים את עצמם ליברלים ויזאנקו למען הידוק העניינים הליברליים באוסטריה.

היו"ר מלגודי והמזכיר שטלי הזהירו מפני התקדים של הוצאת מפלגה בגלל סיבות של טוהר אידיוולוגי. הם רמזו שאצל מפלגות רבות ניתן למצוא עמדות או מדיניות שאינן עולות בקנה אחד עם הטהור האידיוולוגי.

בהצבעה היו 8 קולות (הולנדים, ישראלים, ספרדי אחד ונורבגי אחד) לסען הוצאת האוסטרים, נגד - 14 (ביניהם הגרמנים, האיטלקים). נמנעים - 12 (ביניהם האנגלים, השוודים).

כל הנמנעים היו כאלה שדיברו נגד.

הצעת הפסדה שלי להשתתפותם לשנה ולעקוב אחרי ההתפתחות הפנימית, לא הובאה להצבעה. היו"ר טען שהיא נוגדת את התקנון.

אחרי ההצבעה אמר לי הייזר שהוא למד רבות משיבה זו.

אם לשפוט לפי דברי המשתתפים בויכוח, הכל גינו את האוסטרים. הדברים היו משום אזהרה המופנית כלפיהם. אבל גם רבים מהמתנגדים לא יכלו להתעלם מדברי הייזר, שהיה בהם משום הזרה בתשובה וכן השטו מפני תקדים של הוצאת המפלגה מטורות הארגון.

כדי לפצות את הישראלים נחקבלה פה-אחד הצעה מיוחדת שהוגשה ע"י השוודי ד"ר האג, המבנה את תופעות האנטישמיות באירופה, תוך שימת הדגש על אוסטריה. כל הליברלים קראים להלחם נגד תופעה זו שפילסה בשעתו את הדרך לעלייתו של הנאציזם לשלטון.

סעיף נוסף שנדון : ועידת אוטוה. היא חוקדת לנושא "חירויות האדם". הקנדים מעוניינים בהשתתפות גדולה.



# הכנסת

- 3 -

חבר הכנסת  
יצחק ארצי

כבר ברור שאלו ויזל שהיה אמור להיות אחד הדוברים, לא ישתתף. בהעדרו יהיה עלינו להעלות שם בצורה מתאימה את בעיית יהודי ברית-המועצות וחופש העליה. בישיבה נכח גם מנהיג הליברלים בדרום אפריקה - קולין ליגום. קיימתי אתו שיחה. היה שם גם בריאן אטווד, מנהל המכון הדמוקרטי לחינוך פוליטי. הוא התעניין בנעשה בישראל. רבים מהנוכחים גילו התעניינות בשאלת ההתקדמות של המו"מ בין שיבוי ל-ל"ע. עלינו להתכונן להופעה מכובדת, איכותית וכמותית בדועידת אוטורה.

ב ב " א'  
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יצחק ארצי

העתק:

מר משה קול - סגן נשיא האינטרנציונל

משרד החוץ  
המרכז למחקר  
מדיני



ירושלים, יא' בתמוז תשמ"ז  
8 ביולי 1987  
289

אל: השגרירות לונדון, יורם שני

מאת: בינ"ל/ממ"ד

הנדון: ידיעה בנוגע לאפשרות מפגש רשמי בין יו"ר מפלגת הלייבור  
ניל קינוק לבין ערפאת

1. להלן ידיעה שהתפרסמה בתאריך ה-3/7 בעתון אלתחאד המופיע במאע"ס: "נודע ממקורות מהימנים כי בימים אילו מתקיימים מגעים והתיעצויות מדיניים בין מספר ראשי איגודים בריטיים התומכים בבעיה הפלסטינים ובין ראשי מפלגת הפועלים, להסדרת מפגש רשמי בין יו"ר מפלגת הלייבור ניל קינוק ובין ערפאת. המפגש עשוי להתקיים באוקטובר הבא. המקורות הבהירו כי מגעים אילו החלו להתקיים בפועל בחודש מרס אולם הנהגת מפלגת הלייבור דחתה את הדיון בנושא עד לאחר הבחירות. כמו כן הדגישו כי קינוק הסכים עקרונית לפגוש את ערפאת".

2. נודה על בירורך בנדון ועידכונוך אותנו במידה ויהיה בידך מידע נוסף בנושא.

ב ב ר כ ה,

33  
אורן דוד

העתק: ראש המרכז  
אירופה ב' ✓  
ערב 2/ממ"ד





ו' בתמוז תשמ"ז  
3 ביולי 1987  
1473

כ"מ.מ.ס

אל : גב' עפרה בן-יעקב, הסברה/מרחבי

מאת : מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון: ביקור לימודים - שמרנים צעירים מבריטניה  
מכתב ש. מויאל מלונדון 1837 מ-26.6

אני ממליץ על הצעתו של מר ש. מויאל מלונדון לקיים ביקור  
לימודים בארץ לקבוצה נבחרת של המשמרת הצעירה של המפלגה השמרנית  
בבריטניה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

העתק: גב' קולט אביטל, ראש אמית'ק



EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
2 PALACE GREEN  
LONDON W8 4QB  
Telephone: 01-937 8050

שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

כ"ט בסיוון תשמ"ז  
26 ביוני 1987  
סימוכין : 1837

אל : הסברה/מרחבי  
מאת : הסברה/לונדון

הנדון : סמינר הסברה לקבוצה של  
המשמרת הצעירה - מפלגת השמרנים

ביום חמישי, 25.6.87, ערכנו סמינר הסברה בשגרירות לקבוצה בת 25 חברים במשמרת הצעירה של מפלגת השמרנים. זה סמינר שני בסדרה של פגישות שאנו מקיימים לצעירי המפלגות.

מסגרת הסמינר כוללת דברי ברכה של השגריר, הצגת שאלות לדיון, הרצאת אורח בנושא מזה"ת ופאנל הכולל את היועץ המדיני, היועץ לתקשורת, יועץ ההסברה, יועץ כלכלי וגב' רובינשטיין. לוטה בזה תוכנית הסמינר.

ההתרשמות של כל המשתתפים היתה שרמת "הצעירים", כולם בוגרי אוניברסיטה וחברי פרלמנט בפוטנציה, במפלגת השמרנים היא גבוהה, ידיעותיהם בנושא מזה"ת והמאבק באזורנו רחבות ביותר.

כדי להעמיק את מעורבותם בענייננו ברצוני להציע לארגן ביקור לימודים לקבוצה נבחרת של המשמרת הצעירה. אודה לכם על אישור עקרוני על אירוח בארץ כאשר המשתתפים נושאים בהוצאות הטיסה.

בברכה  
שמואל מויאל

העתק : ראש אמית"ק  
✓ אירופה 2  
השגריר, כאן

Thursday 25th June 1987

PROGRAMME

- 18.10 - 18.30                      Greetings: H. E. The Israeli Ambassador,  
Mr. Yehuda Avner.
- 18.30 - 19.00                      Presentation given by Professor Aaron  
Layish, Hebrew University, Jerusalem  
on the issue of: The Arab-Israeli  
Conflict - The Arab Position.
- 19.00 - 20.00                      Pannel:  
Participants:  
Mr. Abraham Natan, Economic Minister  
Mr. Yoram Shani, Political Counsellor  
Mr. Shmuel Moya, Information Counsellor  
Mr. Eviatar Manor, Press Counsellor  
Mrs. Yael Rubinstein, Second Secretary for  
Information  
Mr. Muhammed Nasser.



# שם המשחק: הזן

ה'תש"ז  
24.6.57



קינוק, לפי שעה

שם המשחק הזה בכריטינה הוא הזן. מי שמיטיב לשחק את משחק הזן — מנצח, ולוקח את הקופה. מרגרט ת'אצ'ר ויהודה מוקדם יותר את שם המשחק, ואת כללי המשחק, ולפיכך היא המנצחת, לפי שעה. אנשי הלייבור הבריטי, כמו חלק גדול מן המפלגות הסוציאליסטיות האחרות בעולם המערבי, שכחו זה כבר כי הזן הוא בעצם המשחק העיקרי — ולפיכך הם הפסידו, לפי שעה.

קרל מרקס יהודי חכם היה, וכשהוא הניח אצבע על הזן — הוא הפסידה בשפת הל"ז שלו — הוא לא עשה זאת אלא כדי להודיע לעולם כולו שזה המפתח הגורל. זה המפתח לכל שיערי תיקון החברה, וכיוון חברה חדשה ויותר צודקת — וזה גם המפתח לניצול בו את שיערי הכניסה לעולם טוב יותר, ולשמר בעזרתו את כל הישגיו והמסורות והעתיק והבלתי-צדור. השמרנים בכריטינה הבינו זאת היטב והם כבר סובבו את המפתח הזה שני סיבובים אחורה, אל כיוון הנעילה, ועכשיו יש להם קרנציה שלמה נוספת לעוד סיבוב נועל אחר, חזק, אולי מכריע, לדעתם, ועל-פי מיטב תקוותיהם.

מה היה בעבר היתרון הסוציאליסטי אשר בעזרתו הם סחפו אחריהם המונים נלהבים והקימו על רגליה את השמאל במערב אירופה? היתרון היה בהבטחה שנתנו הסוציאליסטים להמוני הללו לשלוט בעצמם, במדיניותם, על הזן. השליטה בהזן היא השליטה בחברה — ומי שמעניק הזן לאזרחים מעניק להם שליטון על גורלם. הזן הוא המצוי שבקורות העושר מיוצר, והוא תכונת העושר להיות נצבר ונחשק, והוא המבטחה לכל אישה ואיש, המחזיקים בו, כי עתידם יהיה מוגן, וזרם הכנסות עתידיות מובטח להם לשנים רבות, והוא חומת-מגן על כל אורח מפני תחפוכות הגורל ותגורות מצב המשק, ולכן ההזן הוא גם משאת-נפש אישית ומקור לרגיעה ושלווה להמוני הבורחים.

מה היתה חולשתם העיקרית של הכוחות השמרניים כל אותה תקופה? חולשתם היתה בכך שהם סירבו להתחלק בהזן שבבעלותם. חולשתם היתה בכך שהם היו מסוגלים להבטיח, לכל היותר ולא תמיד, אך ורק עוד ועוד אמצעי-צריכה, עוד אפשרויות-יכונות, עוד יכולת-קניה, הימין השמרני, כמיטבו, יכול היה להבטיח היישועה ופתרון מצוקות של רגע — ואילו השמאל הבטיח לפתור את כל המצוקות הללו לזמן ארוך על-ידי הזן הייעול, עולם יפה עכשיו.

אך הבטיח השמאל הרמוקרטי הייעול? כאן טמונה המכשלה, שנורעה בשנות הארבעים, והניכה פירות באנשים עכשיו, בשנות השבעים והשמונים. השמאל הבטיח להמונים שליטה על חייהם באמצעות מנגנון המדינה, על יסוד ההנחה שהמנגנון הזה מפותח ומבוקר על-ידי הממשלה הרמוקרטית, וממשלה זו היא ממשלת-ההמונים, כלומר ממשלת השמאל, כאשר השתלט מנגנון המדינה הבריטית על נתחים עצומים מההזן הלאומי, בכיכובל בשם העם, מיד לאחר מלחמת העולם השני, היתה זו מהפכה של ממש. סוציאליסטים הסתובבו ברחובות לונדון, גלזגו ובירמינגהם כהלומי יו-יוניצחון, והיו בשמאל בריטי אנשים שהתנבאו אז, בסתם ובצלילה, כאילו הם בשיערי אחרית הימים, לאחר תקופה קצרה הסתבר כי אחרית הימים עדיין רחוקה. מנגנון המדינה, הסתבר, איננו האיש ברחוב, והוא איננו יכול להיות אוטוריטרי של האזרחים. למנגנון הזה תוקים משלו, ודינאמיקת התרחבות והתפרנסות-עצמית, ועל הרוב הוא מסודר וכלתרי יעיל. ההזן לא הועבר לשליטת האזרח: כיוון שהיה ההזן של בילם — הוא לא היה של אף אחד. השמרנים כבשו את השליטון בשנות השבעים, ועדיין הם מחזיקים בו, משום שהשכילו לאמץ לעצמם את היתרון שהיה בשעתו נחלתו הבלבדית של השמאל: הם הבטיחו ונתנו לאזרח הבריטי הזן, הזן ממשי, הם העניקו לו דירה משלו, במקום הדירה המושכרת שהיתה לו, ומכרו לכל דורש מניות של החברות המולאמות, הם אמרו לבוחר: אמצעי הייצור בידך, אדוני האזרח, ועוד מעט תוכל להרשות לעצמך גם רופא פרטי ומורה פרטי ממש כמונו, העשירים הגדולים. בוחרי המעמד הבינוני התפתו להאמין שהם קונים עכשיו הייעול-שמרני, אחיות איתנה בעתידה עם דירה ונכסיהן, וסיכוי לעוד תרבה יותר. העברת נכסים מן הזן הלאומי לשוק הקמעוני — זוהי ההברקה הימנית-שמרנית של המאה הזאת, והיא הלמה בשמאל בעוצמה מכאיבת והביסה אותו.

העברת נתחי הזן לאומי לשוק הקמעוני הביסה את השמאל הבריטי, משום שהשמאל הזה בלתי-רסוּן היום, פחות מוכן אפילו משאר המפלגות-האחיות בעולם הרמוקרטי. השמאל הבריטי, כמו הימין של פעם, מבטיח היום רק הישגי צריכה וקנייה לא שליטה אפקטיבית בהזן, השמאל הבריטי לא תפס עדיין את שם המשחק, עדיין הוא מסתפק בהגנה על ההלאמה של סוף שנות הארבעים, ועל השירותים הציבוריים שהוא כונן באותם ימים — ועדיין הוא איננו מוכן להבטיח ולעשות את הרפורמות האמיתיות בהזן הלאומי, את הרפורמות האמיתיות הללו יכול לעשות השמאל בלבד — אבל הוא מתמהמה ומתלבט, ושבו ביקורי המסורת, ובמגבלות השיגרה ובכבלי חוסר המעוף ובחיעור-הדמיון, את הרפורמות יכול לעשות רק השמאל — משום שאלו הרפורמות שטובות בעצם מהותן של הסוציאליזם, בעצם הגדרתן משכבר הימים, הרפורמות של הימין לא יקיימו — בשום אופן לא יקיימו — את ההבטחה לתת לאזרחים הייעול. העברת נתחי הזן הלאומי אל השוק תכניב את ההמונים ותגרום לה מפחית-נפש משום שהשוק עתיד לרכוש את המניות הללו בידי המעטים. חברות לאומיות, שפורקו ופורזו בידי מאות אלפי בני-אדם, תהיינה שוב, בעוד מספר לא רב

של שנים, בידי העשירים-המעטים שידעו היטב כיצד לרכוש אותן, ולהשתלט עליהן ועל כל מה שהן מייצגות, העברת נתחיהן לשוק איננה דמוקרטיזציה של הזן, אלא אסלידה-ליברליזציה. את האשליה הזאת צריכים לקרוע אנשי הלייבור וככל שישכילו לקרוע אותה מהר יותר, כן תיפתח בפניהם הדרך להציע את האלטרנטיבה שלהם, קשה מאוד להעריך היום כמה זמן יקח לאנשי הלייבור בכריטינה לקרוא את האשליה הימנית ולהציע לבוחרים את האלטרנטיבה שלהם, אבל ברור כי רק כאשר יעשו זאת, ישובו לשחק במגרש האמיתי ששם מחלקים נקודות למפלגות פוליטיות, וברור גם כי כאשר יעשו זאת סוף-סוף, יהיו לשחק במשחק הריאלי, במשחק הזן, ובמשחק הזה ינצח השמאל כאשר יגשים את הדמוקרטיזציה של הזן, ובתנאי שיגשים את הדמוקרטיזציה בצורה כזאת ובשיטה כזאת שכל אורח ירגיש ויבטח כי מכאן ואילך הוא באמת זוכה לחייעול מפני שהוא אדון על הזן וריבון אמיתי על עולמו. מתי יקרה כל זה? קשה מאוד להיות אופטימי כאשר הדברים אמורים בשמאל הבריטי, אחרי הכל, זה השמאל השנייה-כיסמית ומאובן בעולם הרמוקרטי, וחוז' מהשמאל הישראלי, אין עוד שמאל ישן ונרשן בתפוסתיו החברתיות כמותו.

הסוציאליסטים  
דמוקראטים  
בבריטניה  
על סף פירוק

מאת שאול גריקא  
סופר "הארי" בכריטינה  
לונדון (מיוחד ל"הארץ") המפלגה  
הסוציאלי-דמוקרטית בכריטינה,  
אשר נחלה תבוסה בבחירות הכלליות  
לפני שבועיים עמדה בסוף  
השבוע על סף פירוק, בשל  
המחלוקת על הצעת הליברלים  
להתאחד עמה.  
רוב ראשי המפלגה מצדדים באי  
חד מלא עם הליברלים ובבחירות  
מנהיג אחד לגוש המאוחד, אולם  
דויד אוון, מנהיג הסוציאלי-דמוקרטי,  
אטים מתנגד לכך בהחלט.

Handwritten signature and date: 29/6/57

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כ"ג 103.11

# איגוד מקצועי בריטי ניתק קשר עם ישראל

מאת י. פינקלסטון,  
סמ"ר "משיב" בלונדון

18/4/74

איגוד מקצועי חשוב בבריטניה ניק  
תק את קשריו עם ישראל ואיסף  
החלטה אנטי-ישראלית חריפה.  
את הצעדים הללו נקטה האגודה  
של מקידי כמשלה ורשויות מקומיות.  
חרף התנגדות ההנהגה הארצית שלה.  
ההחלטה לנתק את הקשרים עם  
חברי איגודים מקצועיים אנהדי ישרי  
אל ועם ההסתדרות ותקבלה ברוב  
גדול בוועידת האגודה בכלאקמול.  
הצירים אימצו החלטה הקוראת  
לנקוט מדיניות ברורה של התנגדות  
לכל צורות הציונות, שאותה הנדירו  
כ"אידיאולוגיה המבוססת על דיכוי  
של האוכלוסיה המקורית של מלשתי  
נה - אפריקנים וערבים." ההחלטה  
קוראת לתמוך ב"מאבקם של בני  
מלשתינה לשיחרור".  
ואלרי קוקס, ראש קבוצת ידידי  
ישראל בליובר, ניתקלה בחרפות וגיי  
דומים, כאשר חילקה כרוזים המבי  
עים תמיכה בארגון שחורים. היא  
תיארה את החווייה כ"מפחידה".

3/3  
אנטי-ישראלי  
אנטי-ישראלי  
אנטי-ישראלי



2 20/7/87

# News Release

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Direct Line 01-703 4370

Director Peter Mandelson

PR/144/1987

17 June 1987

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NEW LABOUR MP'S ELECTED

JUNE 11th, 1987

# We'll win with Labour



1. Diane ABBOTT (Hackney North & Stoke Newington) (33) Member, Westminster Council, 1982-86. Home tel: 01 286-3231.
2. Graham ALLEN (Nottingham North - seat gained from C.) (34) Trade Union organiser. Home tel: 0602 292445.
3. Hilary ARMSTRONG (Durham North West) (41) Researcher. Member, Durham County Council since 1985. Home tel: 0388 7670651 - 01 834-5470.
4. Harry BARNES (Derbyshire North East) (50) Politics lecturer. Home tel: 0246-412588.
5. John BATTLE (Leeds West - gained from L) (46) National co-ordinator, Church Action on Poverty. Home tel: 0532 789094.
6. David BLUNKETT (Sheffield Brightside) (40) Leader of Sheffield City Council since 1980. Member of the Labour Party National Executive Committee. Office 0742 734101.
7. Paul BOATENG (Brent South) (36) Solicitor. Member, GLC, 1981-86 and chair, GLC Police Committee. Office: 01 403-3166.
8. Keith BRADLEY (Manchester Withington - gained from C) (37) Manchester city councillor since 1983. City Council director of the Manchester Ship Canal and Manchester Airport plc. Home tel: 061 881 6809.
9. George BUCKLEY (Hemsworth) (52) miner at South Kirby colliery. Wakefield District councillor since 1973. Home tel: 0977 42445
10. Ronnie CAMPBELL (Blyth Valley) (43) former miner. Blyth Valley councillor for 18 years. Home tel: 0670 355242.
11. Jim COUSINS (Newcastle Upon Tyne Central - gain from C) (43) researcher and lecturer. Deputy leader, Tyne Wear County Council, 1981-85. Home tel: 091 281 2235.
12. Bob CRYER (Bradford South) (52) MP for Keighley, 1974-83. Currently MEP for Sheffield. Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Department of Industry, 1976-79. Home tel: 0535 42595.
13. John CUMMINGS (Easington) (43) Electrician at Murton Colliery, where he has worked since 1958. Leader of Easington District council since 1976. Home tel: 091 526 1142.
14. Alistair DARLING (Edinburgh Central - gain from C) (37) solicitor. Home tel: 031 332 3384.
15. Frank DORAN (Aberdeen South - gain from C) (37) solicitor. Home tel: 0382 22197.
16. Jimmy DUNNACHIE (Glasgow Pollok) (56) Engineer. Shop Steward for 33 years. Strathclyde Regional Councillor since 1982. Home tel: 041 638 2900.
17. Paul FLYNN (Newport West - gain from C) (52) Researcher. Member of Newport Council for nine years. Home tel: 0633 62348.

18. Maria FYFE (Glasgow Maryhill) (49) Lecturer. Member of Glasgow District Council since 1980. Home tel: 041 946 5637.
19. Sam GALBRAITH (Strathkelvin & Bearsden gain from C) (41) neuro-surgeon at the Institute of Neurological Sciences, Glasgow. Home tel: 041 339 0200.
20. George GALLOWAY (Glasgow Hillhead gain - from SDP) (32) General Secretary of War on Want since November 1983. Home tel: 01 403-2266.
21. John GARRETT (Norwich South - gain from C) (55) Management Consultant. MP for Norwich South, 1974-83. Shadow Treasury spokesman, 1979-83. Home tel: 01 850-0369.
22. Mildred GORDON (Bow & Polar) (63) retired teacher. Home tel: 01-455 0823.
23. Tommy GRAHAM (Renfrew West & Inverclyde - gain from C) (43) former engineer at Rolls Royce. Strathclyde regional councillor for nine years. Home tel: 0303 31238.
24. Bernie GRANT (Tottenham) (44) Leader of Haringey council since 1983. Senior district housing officer, Newham council, since 1985. Home tel: 01-885-5879.
25. Nigel GRIFFITHS (Edinburgh South - gain from C) (32) Information and welfare rights officer for a mental handicap pressure group. Home tel: 031 225 2424.
26. Win GRIFFITHS (Bridgend - gain from C) (44) MEP for South Wales since 1979. Methodist lay preacher since 1966. Home tel: 0656 740526.
27. Bruce GROCOTT (The Wrekin - seat gain from C) (46) TV journalist. MP for Lichfield and Tamworth, (1974-79) Home tel: 088 93 4029.
28. Douglas HENDERSON (Newcastle Upon Tyne North) (28) GMB official. Former engineering worker. Home tel: 091 267 2427.
29. David HINCHCLIFFE (Wakefield) (38) social work tutor. Wakefield Metropolitan District councillor since 1979. Home tel: 0924 256922.
30. Jimmy HOOD (Clydesdale) (38) Miner. Labour councillor for 14 years. Former NUM official. Home tel: 0623 840729.
31. John HUGHES (Coventry North East) (62) Unemployed. Former warehouse man. Home tel: 0203 618633.
32. Eric ILLSLEY (Barnsley Central) (32) Chief administrative officer, Yorkshire area NUM. Home tel: 0226 294705.
33. Adam INGRAM (East Kilbride) (40) Full time district official of NALGO. Leader, East Kilbride district council). Home tel: 035 32 35343.



34. Martyn JONES (Clwyd South West - gain from C) (40) Sociology lecturer. County councillor since 1981. Home tel: 0978 263236.
35. Joan LESTOR (Eccles) (55) MP for Eton and Slough, 1966-83. Former member of the Labour Party NEC, for 15 years. Junior Minister in the Foreign Office, 1974-75, and the Department of Education, 1975-76. Home tel: 01 672-3280
36. Ken LIVINGSTONE (Brent East) (42) Leader of the GLC, 1981-86. GLC member, 1973-86. Home tel: 01 625-6120.
37. Calum MACDONALD (Western Isles - gain from SNP) (31) Crofter on the Isle of Lewis. Former teaching fellow, University of California. Home tel: 0851 870 520.
38. Alice MAHON (Halifax - gain from C) (49) College lecturer. Calderdale district councillor. Home tel: 0422 202984
39. Jim MARSHALL (Leicester South - gain from C) (46) MP for Leicester South, October 1974-1983. Government Whip. 1977-79. Front bench spokesman on Home Affairs, 1982-83. Home tel: 0533 708237.
40. Eric MARTLEW (Carlisle) (38) personnel manager at Nestles, Carlisle. Cumbrian County Councillor since 1973. Chair, Cumbria Area Health Authority, 1977-79. Home tel: 0228 20077.
41. John McALLION (Dundee East - gain from SNP) (39) convenor Tayside Regional Council. Home tel: 0382 826678.
42. Tommy McAVOY (Glasgow Rutherglen) (59) Engineer and shop steward. Strathclyde Regional councillor since 1982. Home tel: 041 643 1954.
43. Ian McCARTNEY (Makerfield) (36) Full time Labour Party organiser in Wigan. Former seaman and local government manual worker. Son of the former MP for Clydebanks and Milngavie. Home tel: 0942 864712.
44. John McFALL (Dumbarton) (42) Assistant Head Teacher. Home tel: 0389 37 31437.
45. Henry McLEISH (Fife Central) (39) Leader, Fife Regional Council. Local Government officer. Tel: 0592 755330.
46. Alan MEALE (Mansfield) (37) political adviser to Michael Meacher. Home tel: 0623 660 531 or 01 267-5382.
47. Alan MICHAEL (Cardiff South & Penarth) (43) Founder of Cardiff and Vale Enterprise; Cardiff Co-operative Development Agency; and 'New Openings'. Cardiff councillor since 1973. Home tel: 0222 67938.
48. Lewis MOONIE (Kirkcaldy) (40) specialist in community medicine, Fife Health Board. Fife Regional councillor since 1982. Home tel: 0592 201873.

49. Rhodri MORGAN (Cardiff West - gain from C) (47) EEC representative in Wales. Former research and development officer in the Welsh Office and Department of Trade & Industry. Home tel: 0222 514262.
50. Elliott MORLEY (Glandford & Scunthorpe - gain from C) (34) Remedial teacher. Head of the Industrial Learning Centre, Hull. East Hull councillor since 1979. Home tel: 0724 734510.
51. Majorie MOWLAM (Redcar) (37) Administrator at the Northern College, Barnsley. Tel: 01 834-5470.
52. Chris MULLIN (Sunderland South) (39) Author and journalist. Editor of Tribune, 1982-84. Tel: 0783 671922.
53. Paul MURPHY (Torfaen) (38) lecturer. Torfaen borough councillor since 1983. Home tel: 06333 67145.
54. Dawn PRIMAROLO (Bristol South) (33) research student. Avon County Councillor since 1985. Home tel: 0272 635 948.
55. Joyce QUIN (Gateshead East) (43) MEP for Tyne and Wear since 1979. Former lecturer in French and Politics, Durham University. Home tel: 091 259 1006.
56. John REID (Motherwell North) (40) full time organiser of Trade Unionists for Labour, Scotland. Researcher adviser to Neil Kinnock, 1983-85. Home tel: 0259 212349.
57. JOAN RUDDOCK (Lewisham, Deptford) (43) Chair of CND, 1981-85, Vice-chair, 85-86. Home tel: 073 529 2343.
58. Andrew SMITH (Oxford East - gain from C) (36) officer with the Oxford and Swindon Co-operative Society. Oxford city councillor since 1976. Home tel: 0865 772893.
59. Gary STEINBERG (Durham City) (42) Headmaster of a special school. Durham city councillor since 1976. Tel: 0385 720444.
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61. Dennis TURNER (Wolverhampton South East) (44) Deputy leader Wolverhampton Borough Council. Member, West Midlands County Council. Home tel: 0902 41171.
62. Keith VAZ (Leicester East - gain from C) (30) Solicitor Home tel: 0533 768834.
63. Pat WALL (Bradford North -gain from C) hardware buyer for a mail order firm. President, Bradford Trades Council, since 1974. Home tel: 0535 272436.
64. Joan WALLEY (Stoke on Trent North) (38) full time parent of two young sons. Tel: 0782 542139.

65. Alan WILLIAMS (Carmathen) (41) college lecturer. Home tel: 0267 235825.
66. Brian WILSON (Cunninghame North - gain from C) (38) journalist. Winner of the first Nicholas Tomalin Memorial Award for outstanding journalism. Home tel: 041 334 2573.
67. Audrey WISE (Preston) (52) member of the Labour Party NEC. Former MP for Coventry South West. Home tel: 0785 59490.
68. Tony WORTHINGTON (Clydebank & Milngavie) (45) Sociology lecturer. Clydebank/Kilpatrick regional councillor. Home tel: 0389 37 73195.
69. James WRAY (Glasgow Provan) (49) HGV driver. Strathclyde Regional councillor for 11 years. Home tel 041 639 7596.

ends

Further information from Andy McSmith at the Labour Party Press Office. Tel: 01-703-0833 ext 240



~~103.11~~  
103.11-11/10/78  
NEIL KINNOCK

LEADER, LABOUR PARTY

GREAT BRITAIN

103.11

677

DEAR NEIL,

IT IS PRECISELY AT SUCH A TIME, WHEN THE ELECTION RESULTS PROVED LESS FAVORABLE TO THE LABOUR PARTY THAN HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED, THAT I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY ENCOURAGEMENT AND MY ADMIRATION FOR YOUR HONESTY AND SINCERITY, AS WELL AS FOR THE COURAGEOUS WAY IN WHICH YOU HAVE FOUGHT FOR YOUR PRINCIPLES.

I HAVE NO DOUBT -- AND I SPEAK FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE -- THAT PERSISTENCE, RATHER THAN COMPROMISE ON PRINCIPLES, IS THE ONLY FORMULA FOR SUCCESS.

FRATERNALLY,

SHIMON PERES

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1003-4-1



כ' בניסן תשמ"ז  
19 באפריל 1987  
604

דין 11.11

אל : מנהל מאו"ר  
מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : קן ליבינגסטון

רצ"ב העתק האישור התקציבי שניתן להשתתפותנו בארוח הנ"ל, ומכתבה של מפ"מ אלינו מה-22.3.87.

נודה אם תוכלי להעביר למפ"מ את הסך הנ"ל.

בברכת מועדים לשמחה,

איתן מרגלית



# מפלגת הפועלים המאוחדת-מפ"ם

حزب العمال الموحد - مپام

UNITED WORKERS PARTY OF ISRAEL

Department of International Relations

Departement des Relations Internationales



22 במרץ 1987

לכבוד

איתן מרגלית

מח' אירופה 2

משרד החוץ

ירושלים

א.ב.,

הנדון: ביקורו של קן ליוינגסטון כאורח מפ"ם.

בהמשך לסיכו בין מחלקתכם וקודמי בתפקיד, ד"ר אברהם רוזנקיאר, בנושא השתתפותכם במימון ביקורו של קן ליוינגסטון בארץ, הננו מבקשים להעביר לנו בהקדם את הסכום של 200 דולר.

נראה לנו שביקור זה תרם לראיה יותר מבוגרת ומאוזנת של מדינת ישראל והתנועה הלאומית של העם היהודי מצד האורח, והוא אף נתן לכך ביטוי פומבי.

הננו מעריכים מאוד את עזרתכם ומודים לכם על כך.

בכבוד רב,

אריה יפה

מזכיר המח' לקשרי חוץ.

Mapam/4 Itamar Ben-Avi Street, Tel-Aviv/Israel.

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לונדון

יט' באיר תשמ"ז

18 במאי 1987

סימוכין: 1755

216-4.103

✓ אל: ארופה 2.

מאת: יועץ מדיני לונדון.

דגל

הנדון: מר ד. סטיל על המזה"ת.

לוטה עותק של קטע מנאום בחירות של מר ד. סטיל מיום 13/5

שניתן בצ'טאם-האוס. העותק מבטא את סה"כ התיחסותו לנושא המזה"ת.

בברכה,  
יורם שני.

103-N-935



### Britain as a European Power

Britain is a European country. It is also, in foreign policy terms, a European power. No politician in Britain would have disputed either of those statements a century ago. Sadly, they became highly contentious in the thirty years after the Second World War, when the myth of the Special Relationship - of the intrinsic priority of the ties between the English-speaking peoples over those which linked us with the European continent - took such firm hold.

While France revived with the benefit of what French writers now call 'the thirty glorious years' in which their country accepted the necessity of opening its economy to European competition and adapted its foreign policy to the hard bargaining of European collaboration, Britain floundered after the symbols of world status, privileged access in Washington, and easier markets within the Commonwealth. Our governments, Labour or Conservative, have notoriously acted as if they thought the Atlantic were narrower than the Channel.

We are at last coming back to an acceptance that Britain is first and foremost a European power, and that British foreign policy must be firmly placed within a European perspective. For Labour, and for some within the Conservative government and party, this acceptance remains reluctant, even grudging. For Liberals, and for our partners within the SDP, the European commitment has been willingly embraced. My party, as you will recall, argued for British entry into the European Community as soon as the Treaty of Rome was signed. Their commitment to West European cooperation was one of the central issues which led the founders of the SDP to break away from Labour and seek alliance with the Liberal Party.

Let me move briefly on to the extra-European dimension of British foreign and security policy. I believe that American policy towards the Middle East, and in particular the Arab-Israeli conflict, is as mistaken today as British policy was at the time of Suez. The Americans rightly criticised Britain and France then; we ought to differentiate our approach from theirs now.

Once again, West European interests are more convergent. The Mediterranean is our southern sea, as the Caribbean is to the United States. The terrorism which spills out from the Middle East conflict splashes on to our soil, not that of the United States. We accept the intractable local and historical dimensions of the conflict, without overlaying it too heavily with an East-West global dimension. We should not therefore hesitate to express a distinctive view.

But we should recognise - and point out to our French partners, in particular - that the weakness of European security co-operation in the Mediterranean leaves us unduly dependent on the American military presence, and therefore hesitant to pursue any independent political role. A more effective European foreign policy towards the Middle East will not be possible without real progress in integrating European defence and security policy towards that region. The Lebanon intervention has lessons for us here. The majority of the troops intervening, Italian, French, and a handful of British, came from West European countries, but the political leadership remained American, in the absence of a concerted and coherent European view.





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# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, רחמי, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, מרכז, דס, אמן, ממז, ליאור, מזתים,  
רד, ארבל, אידב, מתאם שטחים, מינרבי, כלכליתב'

אל: לונדון, אתונה, נר: חורם 204, מ: המשרד  
 דח: ר, סג: ש, תא: 310387, זח: 1700

די 11.11

רגיל/שמור

קשור

שלך 332

המקרה המצער היה טעות אנושית ולא יותר מזה.  
 גם אני הייתי בקשר עם ההסתדרות כאן וביקשתי מחווה - אך לא  
 היה עולה בדעתי לקשור המקרה שאותו האיש מנצל לקידום מטרותיו  
 כדי להזמין אותו ואם קבוצתו לביקור בארץ. זה יפגין מצפון רע  
 והוא איננו מוצדק במקרה זה.

לא לשכוח שביקורם היה מיועד לפלסטינאים בלבד והם לא התקשרו  
 כאן ולא רק מטעמי נימוס עם גורם ישראלי כלשהו בולל עמיתיהם  
 בהסתדרות.

ענוג

טף

תפ: שהח, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, אירב



WEEKEND

# As Boy David prepares his coming of age party

These are pleasant times to be a leader of the Alliance. Two famous victories at Greenwich and Truro have been chalked up. And now the opinion polls are holding out the possibility of the long-awaited breakthrough which will sweep the Alliance from the bleak fringes of political debate into the broad and sunny uplands of political power.

It has all made an enviable pre-birthday present for David Steel who is 49 on Tuesday. The birthday is an important milestone. Mr Steel is said to be hoping that the approach of his half century will enable him to start shaking off his image as the Boy David of British politics.

Having been involved in the political game far longer than many around him, he finds it slightly irritating to be portrayed as a gauche youth — an impression strengthened by the *Spitting Image* caricature of Mr Steel as David Owen's puppet. The portrayal of the Liberal leader tucked in the pocket of the SDP leader has a certain malicious charm, but it is essentially false and misses the point about Mr Steel.

Although he may lack the mysterious quality called "bottom" possessed in abundance by Dr Owen, Mr Steel is one of the most shrewd and astute politicians at Westminster. His boyish looks may have been an advantage in the past but they have become a depreciating asset as he tries to establish his half of the Alliance as a serious alternative to Thatcherism and socialism.

Those close to the Liberal leader regard him as a tough, at times ruthless, politician, with an inner hardness. Where Dr Owen is strong on political philosophy, Mr Steel's strength lies in the essential art of politics — making it possible. He is a "fixer", a political operator, with a long record of successful deals — even if they often upset those around him.

His greatest achievement was reviving the Liberal party after the lacerations of the Thorpe affair. When Jeremy Thorpe resigned, Mr Steel defeated John Pardoe for the leadership in a contest which was not entirely free from mud-slinging — there was sniping about Mr Pardoe as "the toupee candidate". But within a year, Mr Steel gave the Liberals their first taste of power since the war.

His support for the Lib-Lab pact, which broke down before the defeat of the Callaghan Government in the 1979 General Election, was criticised by the purists in the Liberal Party, of whom there are many. Their sometimes maddening inability to accept the compromises which might take them out of the wilderness prompted one of Mr Steel's outbreaks of asperity — he told the Liberal Assembly: "We must be prepared to soil our hands with the responsibilities of sharing power."

Liberal rebels are handled with patience, up to a point. After that, he responds with autocratic firmness. However, he has never been allowed to forget the importance of bringing the party with him. Mr Steel has pointed the way for the Liberal Party and its disparate supporters, but he has been careful not to march too far ahead of it.

After the disaster of the 1979 General Election when his party was reduced to 11 MPs and jokes about the Liberals holding their weekly meetings in telephone booths at the Commons, Mr Steel began the most important political moves of his career.

The genesis of the SDP is rightly attributed to Roy Jenkins, who first spoke of the need for a new radical centre party



## PROFILE: David Steel, shrewd politician with deceptively boyish looks

to break the mould of British politics in the Dimpleby lecture in 1979. However, Mr Steel was closely involved in preparing the ground for the breakaway from the Labour Party of the SDP's founders, including Dr Owen.

It was not the first time that Mr Steel and Mr Jenkins had worked closely together. When Mr Jenkins was Home Secretary he collaborated with Mr Steel to make sure that Mr Steel's Private Member's Bill legalising abortion reached the statute book in 1967.

By 1980, Mr Jenkins was considering joining the Liberal Party, but here Mr Steel's shrewdness came into play. Although Mr Jenkins would have been a considerable coup for the Liberal Party, Mr Steel advised him to form a new party of like-minded pro-Europeans.

His critics have suggested this was a ploy to prevent Mr Jenkins threatening Mr Steel's position as leader, but that would have been a highly unlikely prospect given the clannishness of the Liber-

als. The creation of the SDP and the Limehouse Declaration had a far greater impact on British politics than the desertion to the Liberals of a handful of Labour dissidents.

Few of Mr Steel's party knew what was being planned. In 1981, when he visited Egypt to meet President Sadat, Mr Steel had domestic politics on his mind. One who accompanied him recalls that after the meeting, Mr Steel relaxed in a restaurant in Alexandria which they were told had been visited by Churchill, Eisenhower and Montgomery when they were planning the battle of El Alamein. As he unwound, Mr Steel spoke at length about his own battle-plan: the possibility of a breakaway group from the Labour Party forming a new party.

The creation of the SDP brought his biggest test. Mr Steel was determined to bring about a "marriage" with the new party in the face of stern opposition from the Liberal purists. By a combination of cajolery and courage, he won over his

critics. Cyril Smith, who said the SDP should have been strangled at birth, has now warmly embraced them.

Mr Steel, after-dinner, with a large cigar and a brandy, would enjoy talking about the possibility of an Alliance breakthrough at the next election. In an emotionally-charged speech, he told the Liberal Assembly to "go out and prepare for Government".

When it became obvious during the 1983 general election campaign that the Alliance were not going to achieve their breakthrough, there was an unsuccessful attempt to dump Roy Jenkins as the SDP leader. It took place at a secret Alliance summit in Mr Steel's Ettrick Bridge home. His colleagues say he was agnostic, but he was disappointed when Mr Jenkins stood down so quickly after the election.

Mr Steel, suffering from flu and post-election blues, went on his celebrated sabbatical, allowing his opponents to say he was finished. He returned refreshed, but some of the old fire — and vision — seemed to have gone.

Dealing with the Doctor has never been easy. They rub along together reasonably well but have never become close friends. Mr Steel was cast in Dr Owen's shadow but by perseverance, he secured some of the ground he wanted within the Alliance: Dr Owen wanted no joint selection of candidates, no joint programme, and no joint spokesmen — but they have all happened.

In return, Mr Steel has had to concede the battle-plan to Dr Owen. The Alliance now aims to hold the balance of power in the next Parliament at Dr Owen's insistence. His view was that it would risk its credibility by pretending it could hope to secure a working majority in the Commons.

Ironically, the two Davids have been closest on defence where the Liberals have had their most damaging split. After rejection of the leadership line on defence at the Liberal Assembly in Eastbourne last year, there was an emotional inquest by Liberal MPs.

Mr Steel's wife, Judy, was said to have been deeply annoyed at the "betrayal" of her husband by some Liberal MPs who voted against the leadership on defence. Judy Steel, like David, does not suffer fools lightly and has a reputation for straight-talking. They met at university and married in 1962. They share many political views, particularly over social issues and racial equality.

Mr Steel, a son of a Moderator of the Church of Scotland, has a dour streak in him, but he courted controversy in the Sixties, sometimes at great risk to his majority in his Borders constituency. The year after winning a by-election to become the youngest MP at 26, he introduced the Abortion Act. He then demonstrated in rugby-loving Galashiels against the South African Springboks tour in 1969-70 and saw his majority cut to 550 in the June general election. Brought up on a mission station in Kenya, he condemned the Wilson Government in his book *No Entry* for ending the automatic right of Ugandan Asians to come to this country.

Judy Steel has carried on his constituency business during his long periods at Westminster and has made no secret that she would like him home in the Borders more than his leadership allows. This has led to the mistaken belief that she hates London. It is true she prefers the countryside of the Borders but she would forsake it for a flat in Downing Street. If he could fix that, even his opponents would recognise that the Boy David had come of age.



ARCHITECTURE students usually get it wrong: they arrive at architecture school thinking that architecture is about building, and they often persist in this misapprehension for the rest of their working lives. (It is a reasonable enough mistake: architecture is certainly not about hop picking or knife grinding.) They also assume that modestly famous buildings have some sort of independent authority which can be absorbed by emulation.

But buildings are not what counts. Nor are ideas. What matters is the power to persuade, for the most heroic buildings are not the most monumental but those realised against the biggest odds. On this count, architectural design is a form of self-expression, and its realisation a triumph of the will.

James Stirling has not worked in this country for ten years, and with his earlier buildings embroiled in legal rows and threats of demolition, there was a time when it looked as if he might never do so again. His come-back has therefore been eagerly awaited, and the Tate Gallery and Mrs Vivien Duffield, daughter of the property developer Sir Charles Clore, are to be thanked for giving him the opportunity to show why he is now so highly thought of abroad.

Designed to house the collection of paintings and drawings that Turner left to the nation, the Clore Gallery is compulsively eccentric. The main entrance revels in a sham Minoan gateway, portcullis and lunette window, set into a sham solid stone wall. Other facades contain panels of yellow plaster and pink brick; greenhouse walling with green window frames; a wall that looks like a face with two square eyes and dentures; and an Elizabethan parapet.

The interior is equally quixotic. The foyer is brusquely interrupted by a staircase which cuts sideways across the axis of entry and then leads in the wrong direction. It is surrounded by oculus windows, triangles, more yellow panels, an illuminated globe that you have to sidestep to get past, and a tall wedge-shaped oriel window set behind a round-headed niche painted a lurid green and purple. The vaguely classical galleries are squat and undersized.

The Clore Gallery, in other words, is a grotesque — a private joke to be relished by an inner circle of Stirling admirers. Admiration is ensured by a self-elected group, while staff who work there reportedly regard themselves as the victims of a monstrous tease. Unlike Ralph Erskine, who this week won the Royal Gold Medal for Architecture, Stirling has ignored his users, and flung the qualities that might have been invoked in Turner's name back in his face.

## The Turner Collection's new home opens next week. Stephen Ga A house for Mr Tur



"The main entrance revels in a sham Minoan gateway, portcullis and lunette window, set into a sham solid stone wall." the Clore Ga

In the past, it was hard to take seriously similar complaints from the staff at Stirling's History Faculty Library, built twenty years ago in Cambridge. It was easy to assume that their objections to this aggressively modern building were arguments after the event — a deeply conservative resentment about questions of style that were aggravated

into questions of performance. In the case of the Clore, though, Tate staff who were quite properly invited to serve on the building sub-committee found themselves mere spectators at Mr Stirling's more operatic performances.

Stirling was lucky to have had the support of a board of trustees, including his patron Peter Palumbo, prepared to

usurp decisions that in the past would have been left to the director and the curators. In 1979, the Tate had drawn up a brief which required the new building to have a strong identity, and this gave Stirling considerable leeway. His ten-year absence meant there was unstated pressure to let him have his way, almost as an act of national penitence, and his

international cult to resist to borrow fr

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## RECORDS & MUSIC / Bayan Northcott on recent recordings of Beethoven Symphonies. Plus a new work by

### Heroic echoes

Beethoven Symphonies Nos 2 & 8. LCP/Norrington. HMV EL 27 0563 1 (LP) 27 0563 4 (MC) CDC 7 47696 2 (CD)  
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Beethoven. Piano Concertos Nos 1 & 2. Perahia, Concertgebouw/Haitink, CBS IM 42177 (LP) IMT 42177 (MC) MK 42177 (CD)  
Beethoven. The Creatures of Prometheus. Orpheus CO. 419 608 1 (LP) 419 608 4 (MC) 419 608 2 (CD)

allowance has to be made for their security or ensemble.

In the Second Symphony, the relation of transparent textures to incisive attack is especially fresh and natural, with an almost shocking immediacy in Beethoven's wilder contrasts. And if the period instruments threw up a few balance problems in the Eighty of ten years later, this may be because Beethoven's orchestral imagination was racing ahead as his hearing declined. The recorded sound is unobtrusively excellent. One awaits Norrington's Ninth, the next release in the series, with keenest anticipation.

Meanwhile, Abbado has chosen

to launch his new Beethoven cycle for DG with the Ninth and the "Eroica". His orchestra is the Vienna Philharmonic: a body "wise in tradition" if recorded here in their golden hall from a little too far back so that sharp attacks tend to set off Brucknerian echoes — the tensions of the "Coriolan" Overture suffer especially. And the performances are a bit of a puzzle, not self-effacing enough to stand as readings, nor consistent enough in their mannerisms to suggest an interpretative angle. The opening movement of the "Eroica" in particular seems to pull its punches. In fact there are moments of wavering pulse where it

is difficult to decide if Abbado is making some point or merely failing to hold his tempo. Or is this the result of editing together a number of different takes?

There are also some spacious paragraphs and much beautiful playing but it is only where the voices enter in the Ninth — a clearly-milked group led by Hermann Prey — that Abbado, the natural operatic conductor, strikes real Beethovenian fire. Indeed, Gunther Wand's new EMI version of the Ninth with the ostensibly less glamorous North German Radio Symphony Orchestra and Chorus is preferable on almost every count: played and recorded with a grainy clarity, unfailingly purposive in phrasing and losing tension only a little in the Adagio, where Abbado is more on-going. The soloists, including our own Keith Lewis, are no less dependable than Abbado's stars and despite the almost 40-minute length of the second LP side there is surprisingly little loss of quality.

The Concertgebouw Orchestra under the spacious sway of Bernard Haitink also come with a fair amount of reverberation on a new disc of Beethoven's First and Second Piano Concertos, but the CBS engineers have had better success than Abbado's in clarifying detail. A pity they have also pushed the piano too much into the foreground, but at least this allows one to catch every pellucid nuance of Murray Perahia's relatively intimate interpretations. Incidentally, he adds an extra passage to the finale cadenza of the First for which a Beethoven sketch has only recently turned

THE ROYAL Northern College of Music has fully earned its high reputation for singing in general and opera in particular. The new production of Massenet's *Manon* is in association with Opera North, whose musical director, David Lloyd-Jones, conducts the student forces; otherwise the programme only credits the Leeds company with the wigs. But this trans-Pennine co-operation is also presumably responsible for granting the students the valuable training of work with an expert production team led by Richard Jones. The students also gained experience in using the original French, in which nobody was immaculate though the diction was generally good.

Richard Hudson's set consists of massive walls perfect for Act 3 (Cours-La-Reine and St Sulpice) and sufficiently adaptable to work in the other scenes. An oppressive sense of enclosure is balanced by use of the deep stage, by stylised movement of the choral mass, and by a remarkable array of costumes. The production, while not entirely without gimmicks like the innocent Manons who haunt Des

THE IDEA of constructing a set of variations backwards, so that the subject is only revealed at the end, is an intriguing but tricky one. Unless the theme is already well-known, or the composer has derived some striking tags from it to plant at the beginning, the listener is liable to feel a bit lost. Britten gets round the problem in such sets as the *Nocturnal* for guitar by starting from a fully worked-out melody of his own which is gradually transformed



THE INDEPENDENT



Hybrid T Roses:



שמור

י"א באדר התשמ"ז  
12 במארס 1987

דיט 11.11.87

אל: השגריר, לונדון  
חציר, לונדון  
מאת: אירופה 2

הנדון: עוזי ברעם

מפגישה שקיימנו עם ישראל גת ואברהם הצמרי במפלגת העבודה:

1. מזכ"ל מפלגת העבודה ח"כ עוזי ברעם יגיע ב-30.3.87 ללונדון כאורח הפורייין אופיס. יגיע בטיסת 357 LY ב-22.25 ויעזוב לפאריס ב-2.4 בערב.
  2. מפלגת העבודה שוקלת להזמין כבר בפסח לביקור בארץ את ג'רחלד קאופמן. התבקשנו לסייע במימון חלקי והסכמנו עקרונית.
- מחכוונים להעלות עמו בין היתר את עניין הזמנת קינוק ארצה תוך בדיקת האפשרויות השונות בהתחשב בתאריך הצפוי לבחירות ובחוצאותיהן האפשרויות.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

איתן מרגלית



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IS BEING SENT

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
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SUBJECT: MURDER OF  
JAMES EARL RAY

RE: NEW YORK

URGENT 11/11/68 10:00 PM

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חוזם: 4579/3

אל: המשרד

מ-: לונדון, נר: 100, תא: 090387, זח: 1400, דח: ד, טג: ש

נד: @

שמור/דחוף

אל: אירופה 2

מאת: ברוט קשין

בגישת היכרות עם אלברט ריינולדס מצמרת  
פינה פויל.

1. אלברט ריינולדס נחשב כיום לאחד מאנשי המפתח במפלגת  
הפינה פויל שהיא המפלגה שזכתה ברוב בבחירות האחרונות.  
הוא אחד האנשים הקרובים למנהיג המפלגה ומי שצפוי  
להיות ראש הממשלה הבא צארלס דוהי ונחשב כאחד המועמדים  
הרציניים לנשת את מקומו במנהיג המפלגה.

2. בממשלה החדשה אשר תרכז את האמציה בשיפור הכלכלה  
אחד השרים הבכורים אוצר או מסחר ותעשייה.

3. בגישה שהתקיימה ביוזמתי ונמשכה כשעה וחצי עלו נושאים  
הקשורים לשיתוף פעולה והידוק הקשרים בין שתי המדינות  
בעיקר בתחומי המסחר והתעשייה.

4. תחומים אפשריים לשיתוף פעולה תעשייתי בין אירלנד  
וישראל עוררו את התענינותו של מר ריינולדס וכן פרויקטים  
של מחקר ופיתוח במימון השוק האירופי המשותף.  
כדוגמא הצגתי בפניו מספר פרויקטים של מחקר ופיתוח  
בשטח החקלאות והתכנות אשר כבר נמצאים בשלבי ביצוע.

5. מר ריינולדס הדגיש כי הממשלה החדשה תציב את הפיתוח  
הכלכלי והבואת המשק בראש סולם העדיפויות שלה ולכן

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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הידוק הקשרים עם ישראל בתהום זה חשוב מאד.

6. בסיום הפגישה הבטיח מר ריינולדס את תמיכתו המלאה  
בהידוק היחסים בין אירלנד וישראל והזמין אותי להתקשר  
אתו בכל זמן שיעלה הצורך.

ברוס.

תפ: שהח/מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, אירא, אירב, מינרבי, כלכליתב', ר/מרכז, ממז



2264

תאריך: 05.03.87 מסד-החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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חוזט: 2264/3

אל: המשור

מ-: לונדון, נר: 48, תא: 040387, זח: 1200, דח: מ, טג: ש

נד: 8

המשור

שמור/מידו

אל: אירונה ב' - עבור לשכת השר גד יעקבי

מאת: השגריר, לונדון

קינדק יבקר באהב' בעת שהות השר כלונדון.

האם ברצון השר להיפגש עם דניס הילי או רוי הטסלי.

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# Ridley cuts ratization

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Webster, Chief Political Correspondent

to oblige local authorities to permit private firms to compete for a wide range of local authority services, to ban political propaganda on the rates and to stop councils imposing political conditions on the granting of contracts were being reluctantly postponed.

He said that work on the Bill was running late, would not be ready for introduction for another month or more, and that to wait until then would make it virtually impossible to get it through in the present session of Parliament.

Parliament 4

Although some Conservative councils are unhappy about the plans to put more work out to private tender, it was clear last night that the delay in getting the legislation ready was caused by Mr Ridley having unexpectedly to introduce a local government finance Bill in December.

That plugged a legal loophole which would have left the government's rate support grant settlements open to legal challenge. The Bill, now in the Lords, has since been subject to considerable amendment and addition, which appears completely to have occupied the time of the one local gov-

ernment parliamentary draftsman. During that time, it is understood, work was stopped on the controversial clauses dropped yesterday. Only a week or so ago Mr Ridley received an assessment that the Bill would not be ready till the end of March.

His decision not to press on with the controversial items was seen by MPs of all parties, however, as the clearest clue yet that ministers are clearing the decks for an election.

He is pushing ahead with the remainder of the Bill, including the curbing of creative accounting by left-wing councils to circumvent government spending controls and new powers for local authorities to encourage rented housing using private finance, in the confident expectation of getting it through before the summer.

After Mr Ridley's announcement, Mr John Cunningham, Labour's chief spokesman on the environment, said it was a major climbdown which represented the abandonment of three major political promises.

Mr Ian Gow, the former minister, told Mr Ridley in the Commons that his announcement was as unwelcome to backbenchers as it was to him.

Another indication that the Conservatives are ready to go the polls came yesterday when it was disclosed that Central Office researchers have now completed their 10-page candidates' guide for the next election.

The so-called "bible" details the Government's record in all policy areas since 1983. It has been programmed into a head office computer, so that the way to swift consultation to Tory candidates on polling day is named.

In 1983 the production schedule for the guide was cut four months to enable publication in April. The election was called only a month

conservative strategists yesterday closely studied the MORI/The Times poll of the party's comfortable over its challengers in 73 final seats.

They judged that the poll, which pointed to a Tory

## rate cut expected

By David Smith  
Economics Correspondent

The signals from the economy and financial markets are pointing firmly towards a June general election. Yesterday, interest rates on the London money markets fell in readiness for a cut in base rates around Budget day, March 17.

Rates on the money markets dropped by up to a quarter of a point because of the low public borrowing figures announced on Tuesday and the Government's strong opinion poll showing.

Dealers believe that, similar to the past six Budgets, base rates will be cut whether or not the Chancellor announces a

Market record 20

reduction in his borrowing target. A one-point cut would permit a reduction in mortgage rates to take effect from the beginning of May.

The latest figures for growth in the economy show there was no increase between the third and fourth quarters of 1986, but that, overall, the economy grew by 2.6 per cent last year.

The apparent pause in the fourth quarter was due to a fall in North Sea oil output, partly due to a pipeline leak and weak output of other forms of energy. Officials said it did not point to any slowdown in the economy.

The growth rate for all of last year - 2.6 per cent - was slightly better than the 2.5 per cent forecast by the Treasury last November. Figures released this week showing that manufacturing industry is recovering, suggest the economy is on course for growth of at least 3 per cent this year.

The economy's break out of its pause in the first part of last year, the continued strong growth in real incomes and the robust performance of the stock market and pound are all highly encouraging signs for the Chancellor.

Yesterday, the pound, regarded as Mr Lawson's Achilles heel, was strong. It rose by a quarter of a cent to \$1.5322 and by 2.5 pfennigs to DM2.8021. The sterling index rose by 0.3 to 69.3.

Mr Mike Osborne, chief economist at Kleinwort Greaveson, the broker, said: "The first half of the year looks a safer bet for the election than the second half. All the hard economic numbers point to a June election."

City economists fear inflation will move substantially higher by the middle of the year, but that the rate will still be below 5 per cent by May, the last announced figure before a June election.

The expected income tax cuts in the Budget will find their way into pay packets in the second half of May.

Shares in London rose to new highs yesterday, encouraged by the Government's improved re-election prospects. But a drop in Wall Street prices - at midday the Dow Jones industrial average was 11 points down at 2,227 - pulled London shares down from the highs. The Financial Times 30 share index closed 2.7 points up at 1,555, still a record close.



Mrs Glenys Kinnock replied yesterday to the accusation from Mrs Edwina Currie, the junior health minister, that she and not her husband Neil was the real leader of the Labour Party. Speaking on TV-am, she defended her right to an opinion.

Later, she accompanied her husband to launch Labour's new charter for overseas development.

Asked about Mrs Currie's remarks, Mr Kinnock said he was not interested in triviality.

(Photograph: Tim Bishop)

## Tory knives are out for Kinnock

By Richard Evans, Political Correspondent

An unprecedented and highly personalized attack was launched against Mr Neil Kinnock last night with the blessing of the Conservative party hierarchy.

The Labour leader is being accused of a string of political and character defects said to make him unsuitable as Leader of the Opposition.

In what amounts to one of the most detailed and documented assaults against a party leader, senior Tory backbenchers distilled the controversial aspects of Mr Kinnock's career into a series of Commons motions which are bound to lead to a furious parliamentary row.

Apart from criticizing his "fundamental and longstanding hostility" to the Monarchy, his "approval" of the Militant Tendency, and his eagerness to request advice which damaged national security, Mr Kinnock is the target of even more damaging personal charges.

In a carefully constructed onslaught, planned meticulously by senior Conservative MPs, he is attacked for "his inability to exercise self control" with reference being made to a "scuffle" with a fellow Labour MP in the Commons and the recent

"fight" outside an Indian restaurant near his Ealing home. It is also implied that Mr Kinnock has not been truthful, and he is chided for accepting Mr Duncan Campbell as an adviser on security and defence matters as Mr Campbell had been convicted under the Official Secrets Act and "under the Theft Act in 1972."

The decision to unleash such a 17-paragraph attack on Mr Kinnock was defended by the Conservative MP who drafted the early day motions.

Sir Marcus Fox, vice-chairman of the 1922 backbench committee, said: "We have had a year of unprecedented campaigning by Labour against Mrs Thatcher as Prime Minister in which they have used any and every opportunity to sling mud at her. Well now the worm has turned."

It is understood that Mr John Wakeham, the Chief Whip, was informed in advance of Sir Marcus's plans.

The carefully-timed campaign against Mr Kinnock has all the hallmarks of support from official Conservative Party officials. Up to 100 Conservative MPs were expected to have signed the Commons motions by late last night.

## threat

Beirut (AP) - Druze militiamen stormed Beirut's Commodore Hotel and occupied a TV station yesterday routing Shia Muslim militiamen, as fierce fighting raged for a fourth day in west Beirut despite Syrian threats to send in troops with shoot-to-kill orders.

Police said at least 28 fighters were killed and 80 wounded in street battle around the seven-story Commodore and the American University of Beirut in the city's Muslim sector. At least 65 people have been killed and 280 wounded since fighting erupted on Sunday.

The fighting pitted the Shia Amal militia headed by the Justice Minister, Mr Nabih Berri, against a leftist alliance of the Druze leader, Mr Walid Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party and the Moscow-oriented Lebanese Communist Party.

The PSP militiamen stormed into the Commodore's lobby and in close-quarter fighting wrested control of the hotel, once the base of foreign correspondents covering Lebanon's civil war. Pools of blood in the lobby testified to the fierceness of the fighting. None of the hotel's occupants was hurt.

Retreating Amal militiamen took up positions in an apartment building facing the hotel. The two sides traded barrages of rocket-propelled grenades and shoulder-fired armour-piercing rockets.

Police said Druze fighters also besieged the eight-storey state-run television station which is controlled by Amal in west Beirut's Talle Khayyat district.

Amal communiques said the Shias repulsed a PSP attack on the TV station and "improved" their positions throughout the city.

Some of the fiercest combat flared around the Commodore's seven-story annex.

## Haughey independent

By Richard Evans

Mr Charles Haughey will be the Irish Republic's next Prime Minister but last night's early results in the country's general election indicated that his Fianna Fail party may be without an overall majority.

The transfer of votes under the proportional representation system in a number of key marginal seats will decide whether the Fianna Fail leader will need the help of independents to form an administration.

Support for Dr Garrett FitzGerald's Fine Gael party dropped by as much as 20 per cent in some areas as voters deserted it to support the Progressive Democrats whose

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## Aids fight centres on contraception

By Martin Fletcher, Political Reporter

British Medical Association called last night for free, extremely low cost" condoms to be supplied through

## Trawler 'caught US sub'

By Michael Evans  
Defence Correspondent

## Home Office fights Tamils' reprieve

By Peter Evans, Home Affairs Correspondent

The Government will contest the High Court order

A commentary  
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## Public tough on rape

Of adults believe the minimum sentence for rape is 10 years and a quarter think it should be 20 years, according to a National Opinion Poll survey. The survey also found that 32 per cent of Labour voters wanted longer sentences and 32 per cent of Conservative voters wanted 20-year sentences or more. A per cent disagreed with the judge in the Ealing rape case, who gave shorter sentences than the gang leader. A former Liberal MP, said on Saturday that an understandable public protest starting this handwaggon calling for retribution.

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The Times 16.2.87

## Alliance threat is growing

By Robin Oakley, Political Editor

With 10 days campaigning to go, the Greenwich by-election is building up into a crucial contest which could have an important influence on the timing of the next general election.

Doorstep indications of a gathering SDP/Liberal Alliance bandwagon which could put at risk a seat held by Labour for more than 50 years await confirmation from an opinion poll with a convincing sample size.

But while Labour and Conservative campaigners are dismissing such talk as a successful hype by the SDP on the basis of what they regard as the flimsiest of evidence, seasoned psephologists believe they see all the signs.

All three parties are planning a drive on the constituency this week, with further visits from the Alliance leaders, appearances by both Neil and Glenys Kinnock for Labour, along with Denis Healey, and a string of visiting senior ministers for the Conservatives.

Greenwich, a Thameside borough with some fine Georgian terraces, the Royal Observatory and the National Maritime Museum, should be natural Labour territory at this time.

It was last won by the Conservatives in 1935 and it was held by the late Guy Barnett from 1971 until his death on Christmas Eve. Although his majority steadily diminished, the 1,211 margin at the last election does not really represent Labour's hold on a seat which has a much larger proportion of council tenants than the average and unemployment at 12 per cent.

But two things have happened to put Labour's continued tenure at risk: the first is the choice of Miss Deirdre Wood, a former GLC councillor and left-wing member of

nothing in the book that breaches the Official Secrets Act, although it is obviously politically sensitive.

The general, he said, was a controversial figure in the ministry establishment. "Sir Frank wanted it published so that it would be part of the defence debate during the election time."

Sir Frank, who is an acknowledged expert in counter-insurgency, aims his most cutting comments at the ministry's system which, he claims, allows senior staff officers to win promotion based on age not qualifications, just to keep them in employment. That denied advancement for younger, more able officers.

...potentially far more damaging than anything that has been pinpointed in recent instances.

• The Conservatives plan to launch a huge cost-cutting drive within the Ministry of Defence if they win the next election, it was disclosed yesterday (Nicholas Wood writes).

Ministers say they are appalled by the waste, inefficiency and duplication of effort but have held back from taking action now for fear of precipitating political controversy in the election run-up.

They believe that many jobs being done by service personnel could readily be switched to civilians at lower salary levels.

By Jonathan Miller  
Media Correspondent

The BBC has postponed showing a thriller about the infiltration of the Irish Republican Army by security forces to eliminate scenes glorifying the IRA and denigrating the security authorities.

Internal BBC guidelines were broken when producers failed to clear the script for the five-part *Crossfire* series with the BBC head in Northern Ireland, according to official sources in London and Belfast.

Mr Bill Cotton, managing director of BBC Television, delayed transmission after receiving a complaint from Mr James Hawthorne, controller of BBC Northern Ireland, sources said.

Mr Hawthorne presented a list of complaints, singling out the fourth episode for particular criticism and expressing concern about the fifth.

He said the fourth episode portrayed the IRA as an intelligent, honourable and romantic organization, while showing the Royal Ulster Constabulary as cynical, unprofessional and panicky.

He also said he had received cassettes of the almost-finished series three weeks ago, and had not been consulted from the inception of the series, as required.

At no time has the BBC consulted the Government about the programme, or received official or unofficial representation from outside the corporation, it was emphasized.

*Crossfire* was produced by the BBC drama department in London. The series was written by John O'Neill and produced by Ron Craddock under the overall authority of the head of BBC Drama, Mr Jonathan Powell, and director of programmes, Mr Michael Grade.

## Strikers go

By Jonathan Miller

A few BBC electricians have begun crossing picket lines, easing the pressure on television news that has been building during a seven-week strike by colleagues seeking a 20 per cent pay rise.

At the same time, the strike by 550 members of the EETPU appeared to be biting into several big drama productions. The £6 million production of John Le Carré's *A Perfect Spy* appears certain to lose its place on the BBC's autumn schedule.

Mr Harry Hughes, entertainment industry organizer of the EETPU, acknowledged that his members may now have lost as much in wages as they stand to gain if the BBC accepts demands for a 20 per cent pay increase. But he said the strike was over "a matter of principle".

• A third trade union ballot its members willingness to strike against the plan to impose the teachers' pay rise in England and Wales. The 75-strong Association of Teachers' Assistants unanimously recommended members in a strike for half a March.

Strike ballots have been ordered by the Union of Teachers' National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers. • Air traffic controllers voted to turn down a productivity drive from the Civil Authority, and the

the Inner London Education Authority, as Labour's candidate, the second is the increased sophistication of the British electorate in using the tactical vote.

Miss Wood is not the dragon she has been made out to be in some sections of the press. Certainly as packaged at her morning conferences she appears no extremist.

But on such litmus tests as support for invitations to Sinn Féin delegations to visit London and for councils defying the law over rate capping she is clearly well to the left of the Kinnock leadership and the label has stuck with the electors.

The combination of Mr Kinnock's image polishing of his party and the efforts of the other Greenwich contestants

### • A Labour loss would be a disaster for party morale •

have made Miss Wood an issue if not the issue in the by-election.

The Conservative candidate, Mr John Antcliffe, aged 25, is a Greenwich councillor who knows his local bus routes and is rarely stumped for an adequate holding answer on national policy issues.

But as a corporate finance manager with Rothschilds he is not helped by current alarms about the state of the City and the doorstep evidence is that people blame government cuts more than they do the Labour-controlled Greenwich council for the depressing state of much of the borough's housing.

Mr Antcliffe is having to struggle to stop Tory votes slipping away to the Alliance as the best tactical means of getting Labour out.

For the Alliance Mrs Rosie

Barnes, aged 41, has had all the luck so far in this campaign, with a January poll showing her trailing at 15 to 25 per cent behind the Tories, then a BBC *Newsnight* poll cutting the margin and a much-disputed although well-publicized telephone recall poll of only 270 respondents putting her in a clear second place at 31 per cent to Labour's falling 43 and the Tories' 25.

Mrs Barnes, a friendly doorstep performer who positively exudes cheery common sense, is making no bones about pitching herself as the moderate between two extremes, and never mind too much about the policy. The question for her is whether she has the time to overtake Labour.

For all the parties there is much at stake in Greenwich. For the Alliance, a win or even a good second place will confirm a revival.

What is more, if they can win a seat from Labour in the inner cities they will destroy the main argument the Conservatives mean to use against them at the general election - that they have failed to hit Labour as they have hit the Tories and that a vote for the Alliance is likely to let Labour in.

For Labour the loss of such a bastion would be a disaster to party morale and would raise questions about the national appeal of Mr Kinnock's leadership.

As for the Conservatives, placed as they should be to challenge in Greenwich at a time when the opinion polls show them back in the lead nationally, a third place in Greenwich would scotch much of the excited talk about an early election.

General election: G. Barnett (Lab) 13,561; A. Roffe (C) 12,150; T. Ford (SDP Lib) 8,783; I. Dowd (BNP) 259; P. Mallone (Fellowship) 242; T. Brooks (Comm) 149; Lab. mar. 1,211.

Poll bandwagon: page 12



## for a kibbutz



...er, of the Chigwell and Hainault Synagogue, who died a year  
...h raised £42,000 for a children's playground in Mr Schneider's  
...er in the picture are Sir Monty Finniston (left), former chairman  
...nnis, chairman of the appeal committee

## out in distress

...which helps 4,000  
...quest of honour at  
...dinner and ball at  
...er Hotel on Sunday,  
...raised £24,000.  
...which will help finance  
...entering programme and  
...nes in Mill Hill, topped  
...amount, £22,000. A pre-  
...for the smaller amount

...was presented to the executive  
...director of the Central Council, Mr  
...Sam Brier.

"But for Norwood, hundreds of  
...Jewish children in London alone  
...would go hungry, nearly 500 families  
...with a mentally handicapped child  
...would have to carry their burden  
...alone, single parent families would  
...be neglected, and the increasing  
...number of battered children would be  
...abused further," said Mr Bloch.

Mikardo quits  
top PZ post

By JENNI FRAZER

A major split in Poale Zion, the Labour Zionist movement, was made public this week with the resignation of the chairman, Mr Ian Mikardo, MP.

Although the resignation was officially on the grounds of "increased commitments, both personal and public," the Jewish Labour caucus, whose leading member, Mr Steve Erlick, has also resigned, claims the resignations were prompted by protests at "the persistent blocking of attempts to restructure the movement and the continued 'cover-up' of the crisis that PZ faces."

Mr Erlick, who resigned in support of Mr Mikardo, said of "the real crisis": "The majority of PZ branches are still inactive or moribund. Activity in the Labour Party is conspicuous by its absence, while the World Zionist Organisation campaign is a disaster. Further, the administrative and financial affairs of PZ are in chaos." Mr Erlick is the editor of the PZ publication, "Vanguard."

There has been a long-simmering feud between the "old guard" and the caucus "young Turks."

PZ's general secretary, Mr John Lebor, described the caucus claims as "nonsense." The movement would continue its campaign work "to help to achieve a Labour victory in the general election," he said.

A meeting of PZ's secretariat is scheduled for Sunday.

Meanwhile, the caucus is putting forward a motion of no confidence in the secretariat at the next national executive committee meeting on March 8. The caucus is said to be considering whether to form a breakaway



Mr Ian Mikardo, MP

Labour Zionist grouping. The chairman of the World Labour Zionist Organisation, Mr Yehiel Leket, is understood to be coming to London at the end of the month.

Meanwhile Mr Mikardo, who steps down at the next general election as MP for Bow and Poplar, said this week: "Any statement made which is different from the official one is incorrect."

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society: it is a party to an incipient civil war.

Communists have won high positions in the organisation, not least because of their access to money and weapons from the Soviet Union. But they are still not paramount: many of the ANC's present leaders are uncomplicated patriots who want a multiracial, multi-party democracy for South Africa. By no stretch of the imagination of reasonable people can Mr Tambo or Mr Nelson Mandela be called a doctrinaire Marxist.

The organisation will eventually have to sort out which version of South Africa's future it believes in. This is why western governments need to stop cold-shouldering Mr Tambo into the hands of the Soviet Union. Snubbing the ANC may have been practical politics when there was hope of white South Africa reforming itself peacefully from within; but a settlement now will almost certainly have to mean negotiations

with the ANC. Many of South Africa's businessmen say so, which is why a group of them visited the ANC in Lusaka in 1985. Some parliamentarians of the ruling National party are beginning to say so too.

It is therefore nonsense for countries like Britain and America to keep the ANC at arm's length. "Constructive engagement" need not mean formal recognition. Regular, unembarrassed talks between western leaders and Mr Tambo could help to tug the organisation towards the better, democratic side of its nature. They would make it easier for western governments, some time in the future, to help mediate between blacks and whites. And, by giving added diplomatic legitimacy to Mr Tambo, they would make it harder for South Africa's government to maintain its refusal to talk to the ANC. Like apartheid, the ANC will not go away simply because some people disapprove of it.

## A modern Alliance

David Owen and David Steel are more in tune with modern Britain than the Labour party they should aim to replace



To judge by almost all the public-opinion polls, Britain's next election will give Margaret Thatcher her third victory. This is partly because the opposition to her government is divided between Labour, the SDP/Liberal Alliance and several small nationalist parties. Under the British electoral system, a divided opposition is no challenge at all.

For the health of its democracy, Britain needs a stronger opposition to the Tories. For the health of its economy, that opposition needs to be free of the ideology of socialism. The objective facts, as Marx might have put it, are certainly pointing away from socialism. At the turn of the century, Britain's industrial working class was the biggest in the world. That class has now dwindled and aged. Britain is becoming increasingly classless and individualist, rather than classbound and collectivist (see page 26). In the 1986 social-attitudes survey, 48% of Britons saw themselves as working-class, while 59% said their parents were. Compared with 30 years ago, twice as many people (62%) now own or are buying their houses. Trade-union membership, that politiciser of the young, has fallen from 13.3m in 1979 to less than 11m.

These changes have been hastened by the decline of factory jobs, down by 30% over the past 15 years, and the rise of service employment, up by 20%. Working on a production line, doing the same task at the same time as everybody else, people are encouraged to think collectively. Delivering packages on a motorcycle, they are not. Notions of "exploitative capitalism" mean little to the four-fifths of Britons who work outside manufacturing. Even in their spare time, the British are more individualist than they were: increasingly, they would rather go jogging or swimming than play team games like football.

The Labour party's efforts to catch up with these

social changes are fettered by its links with the old-fashioned, collectivist trade unions who finance it and help to determine its policies; and by its faith in a centralist state as the best provider of all social and many commercial services. The Alliance has no such handicaps. Its policies more accurately reflect the trend in public opinion: increasingly hostile to state ownership, increasingly liberal on issues such as hanging.

### Surviving the short term

The basis of Alliance opposition to the Conservatives is not a sterile argument about capitalism versus socialism, but a sensible one about whether Britain distributes wealth and incomes fairly enough. Although there has been equalisation in things provided by the market (most millionaires will spend their main leisure hours this evening doing the same thing as most unemployed Merseysiders: watching the same programmes on television sets of astonishingly equal quality, on broadly as comfortable sofas, in much the same warmth), poorer Britons still get worse health care, much worse education, more bullied jobs, live in nastier environments and are more likely to be mugged.

When the SDP was set up, this newspaper hoped it would devise modern policies to meet these inequalities (more competition to improve Britain's failing hospitals and schools, but geared to serving customers with greater needs rather than more money), and that it would strive for tomorrow's industrial concepts rather than mutter yesterday's Liberal catchphrases (talking about profit-related pay instead of incomes policy). In this the consensus-seeking Alliance has failed, but more people would probably feel that their interests and prejudices were better protected under it than under Mrs Thatcher or Mr Kinnock. If the British voted for the government that annoys them least, the Alliance



might scrape into power at the next election.

They don't, and it won't. One reason is a first-past-the-post electoral system which makes many people think that a vote for the Alliance is a wasted vote. The two big parties win seats in Parliament precisely because their support is so polarised. Labour has safe seats in the north and the deprived inner cities; the Conservatives in the south and the prosperous countryside. The Alliance comes second almost everywhere, so wins hardly any seats.

Given time, a modern approach by the Alliance might capture the electorate's imagination as the Labour party's did in 1964. It might then be able to muster enough support, even under the present electoral system, to oust Labour as the second party. In the shorter run, the party's best hope lies in a Labour defeat

at the next election. Having lost thrice in a row, Labour would be demoralised and introspective. Then 50 or so Labour members of Parliament, matching realism to ambition, might join forces with the Alliance. At the following election, the centre-left party could emerge as the main opposition, with the far left trailing behind. That has happened in France, which is not a good enough reason for it never to happen in Britain.

Labour will not, however, feel depressed if the next election produces a hung parliament. Dr David Owen, the SDP leader, would be tempted to seek a coalition with the Tories. If Alliance politicians are in government, he would argue, the party will gain credibility. He should beware. If the Alliance wants to replace Labour, it must retain its left-of-centre credentials. A pact with the Tories would lose them on the spot.

## IBM humbled

The world's biggest computer company can recover—but only by changing its business strategy

The way in which market forces have humbled IBM is a lesson to trustbusters everywhere. Only a few years ago the American Justice Department and the EEC Commission threatened to break it up or maim it, so as to end its near-monopoly of the computer market. Today it is struggling to remain a blue-chip. In 1986 it suffered a 27% fall in net profits to \$4.8 billion, while increasing its sales by a tiny 2.4% to \$51 billion. Can IBM now mount as successful a counter-attack against its competitors as it did against too-hasty trustbusters?

The first tell-tale signs of corporate sclerosis come when a company stumbles, blames others, and then tries to get back on its feet as if nobody has noticed and nothing has happened. Car, steel and aerospace firms have all displayed these symptoms as their industry has matured. If IBM is to recover, it will need to change its business strategy as radically as a few others in mature industries have done. Although this will astonish anybody who wrote industrial obituaries in the 1970s, IBM will need to imitate Chrysler and Lockheed.

At present, IBM does not seem set to do so. On January 26th, it announced additions to its mainframe computers—which once accounted for half its sales and two-thirds of its profits. With the market for all computers set to grow by perhaps only 10% this year, against the 30% the industry has come to expect, the market leader has far more urgent things to do than offer more large mainframes. Demand for mainframes, the giant computers that live in air-conditioned rooms in the basement, is growing slowest of all.

The exciting markets are minicomputers, which sit in corners and serve 20-60 terminals, and microcomputers, the machines that go on people's desks. In minicomputers, nimbler firms like DEC have wrong-footed IBM by bringing cheaper, faster and more flexible machines to market quicker. In microcomputers, rivals used to wait for a new IBM machine to set technical

standards before producing work-alike clones. Today, with standards standardised, the clone-makers no longer wait. The market now belongs to a hundred smaller firms that make computers from off-the-shelf components and sell them for half the price.

IBM's share of the market for microcomputers has fallen from 70% when its PC was launched to around 27%. It will fall further. Since the first microcomputers based on Intel's powerful 386 chip were launched six months ago, more than a dozen suppliers have come into the market. IBM is not one of them—and orders are not being delayed until it makes its appearance.

### The way out of a box

IBM needs to change both the way it markets products and the way it invents them. In the old days of mainframes the decision to buy an IBM computer was taken at board level. IBM's salesmen concentrated on the *Fortune* 500 and emphasised reliability and service, not price. Since then, advances in silicon-chip technology have let small, cheap computers do what only big, expensive ones used to do. The aphorism "nobody ever got fired for buying IBM" no longer applies. The decision to buy is taken by managers out of their own budgets. They are solely concerned with cost and price.

As the market has changed, so must IBM's approach to innovation. IBM has always had abundant engineering skill, and it has occasionally set it free to innovate. Once it even let a small team loose to develop new products in a woodshed far from the stifling habits and hierarchies of corporate headquarters. But recently the arteries at Big Blue have been hardening. If IBM is not to go the way of other sclerotic companies, it must relearn the lessons of youth. That means rewarding individual innovation and effort, and thinking small again. It is a hard somersault for a proud giant to make. It is also a necessary one.





# Soaring support for SDP in new election forecast

A sharp swing to the Social Democrats recorded in a recent opinion poll suggests that the party will rise from fourth to a convincing second largest at the Althing after the spring 1987 general election — and speculation as to who will form Iceland's next coalition has been thrown wide open.

The survey of 1,500 voters in all eight constituencies, conducted by the University of Iceland Institute of Sociology, revealed that 24.1% of respondents supported the

Social Democrats, as against the 15.5% it clocked up in a similar survey in May. Most of this gain is at the expense of present coalition member the right-wing Independence Party, whose following has dropped from 39.8% to 33.6% in six months.

The swing to the SDP is in keeping with the outcome of the May municipal elections, although coalition members the centrist Progressive Party, which lost ground then, has won close on 2% at a national level to reach 17.3%. From the opposition benches, very slight falls were recorded in the following of the left-wing People's Alliance (now 15.4%) and the Women's Alliance (8.7%).

What this means in terms of strength at the next Althing is complicated by electoral reforms which add three new seats to the present 60. On the basis of the latest findings, the IP will lose one seat to end up with 22, and the Progressives three to return 11 members. The SDP's parliamentary caucus will jump from its present 6 to 15, although some of this increase must surely be due to the decline of the Social Democratic Alliance, a splinter group which

won 4 seats in the 1983 election but has since been to all intents and purposes reunited with the SDP. Five MPs are forecast for the Women's Alliance instead of its present three, qualified by the fact that the all-female slate only stood in three constituencies in 1983 but is now mounting a nationwide campaign.

Even more problematic, however, is predicting the type of government which such an election outcome would produce. On the basis of these figures, the current centre-right coalition would still enjoy a majority, but little mention has been made of it continuing. IP leader Thorsteinn Pálsson, who is Minister of Finance, has described the survey, and the swing it shows, as "a clear pointer to a left-wing government." The outspoken SDP number one, Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson, nonetheless refuses to rule out a coalition with the right-wing IP. Apparently objecting on principle to sharing the government with the regionally-orientated Progressives, Hannibalsson has also greeted overtures from the People's Alliance farther to the left of his party with an uncharacteristic silence.

## Indices of inflation

Economic indices for three-month periods this autumn showed that inflation in Iceland was running at an annual rate of between 11.5% and 14.9%.

The cost-of-living index rose by 0.43% between September and October, and by 15.6% in the twelve months up to October. In the three months up to October it had risen by 2.8%, equivalent to an annual rate of 11.5%.

Increases in the construction costs index were as follows: 0.61%

between September and October, 18.6% in the twelve-month period leading up to October, and 3.5% in the three months up to October, equivalent to an annual rate of 14.9%.

The credit terms index for November rose by 0.53% from the month before. It rose by 16.6% in the preceding twelve months and by an annual rate of 12.8% in the three months leading up to November.

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R. Tomasson, who is now Ambas-  
sador in Brussels.

Óskar Vigfússon has been reelect-  
ed Chairman of the Federation of  
Seamen's Unions.

Svava Bernhardsdóttir, who has  
studied at the Juilliard School of  
Music in New York for the past



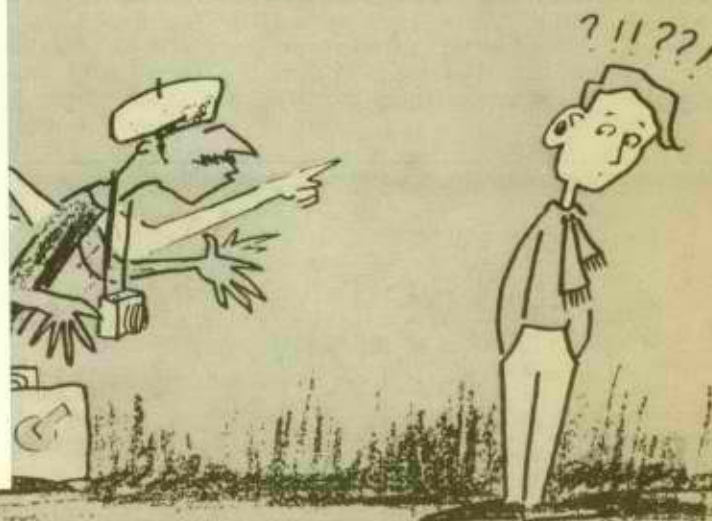
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Albert Hall

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world. After the ceremony,  
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outside Reykjavík.

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# celandic

## kly and effectively



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Ananaust 15, Reykjavík,

Died at 69: Dr Hinrik Frenen,  
Catholic Bishop of Iceland since  
1968.

קוט 11.11



משרד החוץ

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

VISIT TO ISRAEL



PARLIAMENTARY GROUP  
OF  
THE CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL  
GREAT BRITAIN

4 - 12 JANUARY 1987

PROGRAMME ARRANGED IN COOPERATION WITH  
THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT  
OF  
THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

2

MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION:

THE RT. HON. PETER THOMAS, QC, MP, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE  
C.F.I.

MRS. MARION ROE, MP

MR. DAVID BEVAN, MP

MR. MALCOLM THORNTON, MP

MR. MICHAEL FIDLER, DIRECTOR OF THE CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL

SUNDAY, 4 JANUARY

21.55            ARRIVAL AT BEN-GURION INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, BY EL-AL  
                 FLIGHT NO. 316

PROCEED TO JERUSALEM

OVERNIGHT AT THE LAROMME HOTEL, JERUSALEM



MONDAY, 5 JANUARY

08.00           SIGHTSEEING OF JERUSALEM

09.30           VISIT THE "LUZ" INDUSTRIES LTD. (SOLAR ENERGY  
INDUSTRY)

11.00           CALL ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, MR.  
CHAIM HERZOG

12.30           LUNCH WITH MR. Y. YAACOV, DIRECTOR, EAST JERUSALEM  
DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (AT THE LAROMME HOTEL) TO BE  
FOLLOWED BY A TOUR OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS  
OF THE CITY OF DAVID AND THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM

20.00           DINNER WITH DR. YOSSE BEILIN, DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (AT THE  
PLAZA HOTEL)

OVERNIGHT AT THE LAROMME HOTEL, JERUSALEM

TUESDAY, 6 JANUARY

09.00 VISIT "YAD VASHEM" MARTYRS' AND HEROES' MEMORIAL OF  
THE HOLOCAUST

10.30 VISIT THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD MODEL OF JERUSALEM

12.15 LEAVE FOR THE KNESSET

12.30 MEETING WITH MRS. CHAYKA GROSSMAN-ARKIN, MK, DEPUTY  
SPEAKER OF THE KNESSET

13.30 LUNCH HOSTED BY DR. DAVID LIBAI, MK, CHAIRMAN OF THE  
ISRAEL-BRITAIN PARLIAMENTARY FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION

RETURN TO HOTEL

TUESDAY, 6 JANUARY (CONT.)

- 16.00 MEETING WITH MR. SHIMON PERES, VICE-PREMIER AND  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (AT THE MINISTRY)
- 17.00 TOUR OF THE KNESSET
- 17.30 MEETING WITH MR. ABBA EBAN, MK, CHAIRMAN OF THE  
KNESSET DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
- 18.15 MEETING WITH MRS. MIRYAM GLAZER-TASA, MK,  
CHAIRPERSON OF THE KNESSET, IMMIGRATION AND ABSORPTION  
COMMITTEE, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE
- 20.30 VISIT THE ISRAEL MUSEUM AND THE SHRINE OF THE BOOK

OVERNIGHT AT THE LAROMME HOTEL, JERUSALEM



WEDNESDAY, 7 JANUARY

08.30 LEAVE FOR MEVASSERET ZION

09.00 VISIT THE IMMIGRANTS ABSORPTION CENTRE

10.30 PROCEED TO BETHLEHEM

11.00 VISIT THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

13.30 LUNCH WITH MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO, MR. EZER  
WEIZMAN

- AT LEISURE

18.00 MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. YITZHAK SHAMIR

- EVENING FREE

OVERNIGHT AT THE LAROMME HOTEL, JERUSALEM

THURSDAY, 8 JANUARY

07.30	LEAVE HOTEL
09.00	VISIT THE JOE ALON CENTRE, MUSEUM OF BEDUIN CULTURE (KIBBUTZ LAHAV)
10.15	PROCEED TO SDE BOKER
11.30	VISIT THE PAULA AND DAVID BEN-GURION TOMBS
12.00	LUNCH WITH DR. FRANK STUART, THE JACOB BLAUNSTEIN INSTITUTE FOR DESERT RESERCH, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A GUIDED TOUR OF THE INSTITUTE
14.30	VISIT THE BEN-GURION HUT AT KIBBUTZ SDE BOKER
15.00	VISIT THE RUNOFF WATER FARM IN AVDAT (A RECREATION OF NABATEAN FARMING METHODS)
16.00	LEAVE FOR THE DEAD SEA AREA

FRIDAY, 9 JANUARY

09.00            MEETING WITH MR. SHLOMO DRORI, DEAD SEA WORKS, LTD.

10.30            VISIT MASADA

12.00            LUNCH AT THE 5-5 RESTAURANT

13.00            LEAVE FOR THE NORTH VIA THE JORDAN VALLEY

15.30            VISIT THE HOLY SITES ON THE SHORES OF THE SEA OF  
GALILEE

                 PROCEED TO KIBBUTZ GINOSSAR

                 DINNER WITH MEMBERS OF THE KIBBUTZ

OVERNIGHT AT THE NOF GINOSSAR GUEST HOUSE



- 10 -

SATURDAY, 10 JANUARY

08.00	TOUR OF THE KIBBUTZ
-	TOUR OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS
12.30	PROCEED TO NAZARETH
13.30	LUNCH WITH JUSTICE CHALIL ABUD, PRESIDENT OF THE MAGISTRATE COURTS, NORTHERN REGION
15.30	VISIT THE BASILICA OF THE ANNUNCIATION
-	LEAVE FOR TEL-AVIV
20.30	DINNER GIVEN BY H.E. THE AMBASSADOR OF GREAT BRITAIN AND MRS. CLIFFORD WILLIAM SQUIRE, CMG, LVO (AT HIS RESIDENCE)

OVERNIGHT AT THE DAN HOTEL, TEL-AVIV

SUNDAY, 11 JANUARY

09.00 MEETING WITH DR. ARIEL MERARI, DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON  
TERRORISM, THE JAFFE CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES,  
TEL-AVIV UNIVERSITY

10.30 VISIT BETH HATEFUTSOTH, MUSEUM OF THE JEWISH DIASPORA

12.30 LUNCH WITH ALUF-MISHNE (COL.) EPHRAIM KAM, AN  
INTELLIGENCE OFFICER, I.D.F.

AFTERNOON AT LEISURE

20.00 DINNER HOSTED BY MR. NACHUM SCHUTZ, DIRECTOR GENERAL  
OF THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT OF THE WORLD  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

OVERNIGHT AT THE DAN HOTEL, JERUSALEM

- 12 -

MONDAY, 12 JANUARY

08.00            LEAVE FOR BEN-GURION INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT  
10.20            DEPARTURE BY EL-AL, FLIGHT NO. 315

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, PLEASE CONTACT:  
MRS. TZVIA SHAHAR  
DIVISION OF OFFICIAL GUESTS  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JERUSALEM -, TEL: 235111



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תאריך : 12.86 תצד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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תוצא: 12,12793

אל: המשרד

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ד"ר מ.ו.מ.

שמו/מיו

אל: מנהל אירוע ב' מא"ר

מאת: הציר לונדון

משלחת השמרנים

א. חבר המועצה JERRY WIGAN ביטל את ביקורו

בארץ ועל כן הקבוצה תכלול ארבעה איש.

ב. מטרתו לפיזור שהמשרד לא יוכל לשאת בהוצאות ביקורו

בארץ. ביקש שבכל אופן יוזמן לו מלון.

ג. מיטת תומס מבקש לכלול בתוכנית הביקור מגישה עם

2-3 ערבים מיוש.

רביב.

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# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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אל: לונדון, נר: 834, מ: המשרד  
דח: ר, סג: ש, תא: 251286, וח: 1200

ג.ל. 11.11

שמו,רגיל

הציר.

מסלחת ה- CFI

העברונא מיידית קורות חיים של הבאים והטרבות. מה כענין  
פידור?

אירופה 2 - מאויר

רד

תפ: ענוג,אירב,שמוק,אורחים





# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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דח: מ, סג: ש, תא: 181286, רח: 1500

34 קיט 11.11

שמו/מיד

הציר. משלחת CFI . שלך 175.  
הסבדנו וחרנו והסבדנו שתקציבנו מוגבל. בלית ברירה, מאשרים  
בואה של משלחת בח חמישה שטבורה נוכל להקציב רק מכונית אחת.  
אין כל הצדקה ששוב נארח על חשבוננו את פידלד, אשר היה השנה  
שלוש פעמים בארץ ואשר התלווה למשלחות כאלה פעמים רבות על  
חשבוננו.

מנהל אירופה 2.

גיא

תפ: ענוג, אירב, שמוק, אורחים, אירא

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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דח: מ, סג: ש, תא: 161286, רח: 1830

ד"ר  
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שמור/מיד

הציר.

משלחת השמרנים.

שלנו 643 מ-9 דנא.

אנא החישו תשובותיכם כדי שנוכל להתחיל בהכנת התוכנית.  
מאור-אירופה ב

לח

תפ: ענוג, אירב, שמורק, אורחים

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שגרירות ישראל  
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7.11.86

אל: אירופה ב'  
מאת: השגריר, לונדון

הנדון: ביקור ליאון בריטן בארץ

ביום חמישי, 4.12.86 הייתי אורחו של ליאון בריטן לארוחת ערב אצלו בבית. שוחחתי איתו מייד לאחר שובו מ ישראל בנובמבר, וארוחת הערב איפשרה לנו להמשיך לשוחח על ענייני דיומא בעקבות הביקור.

הן הוא והן רעייתו (ביקורה הראשון) הביעו הערכה עמוקה על תכנית הביקור ועל הארוח הנדיב. הוא התרשם מהפתיחות, מההזדמנות להפגש עם ראשי השלטון ולערוך שתי פגישות עם ערבים מהשטחים.

המסקנה שהסיק משיחות אלה היתה שיש בסיס לטענה שיש פלסטינאים המוכנים לומר בשקט שאין הם רואים בערפאת את מנהיגם הבלעדי. מכאן, הוא מצדד במאמץ לש"פ עם הירדנים ליצור תשתית של הנהגה חליפית ביוש"ע, אם כי התהליך הינו ארוך ואין התוצאות בטוחות. הוא אומר שבתדריך שקיבל בעמאן, התחזקה אצלו התרשמות זו.

אין ספק שהביקור נגע לליבו היהודי. הוא דיבר בהתלהבות על פיתוח הארץ לעומת ביקורו הקודם ועל הלבביות במפגשים בהם הוא נתקל עם חברים מימי נעוריו כחבר בתנועת בני-עקיבא. לגבי ארוחת בלפור, הוא הביע סיפוק מעצם המעמד ודעתו היא שיש להתמיד בארוע זה כבמה פומבית שנתית.

הערה: בריטן אמר לי באופן אישי שמאז פרשת ווסטלנד, מגעיו עם תאצ'ר רופפים יותר. תקוותו היא שבהתקרב הבחירות יתוקנו היחסים האישיים. הוא הגדיר את המצב כך:

"I was the fallguy for the Westland affair but I, for my part, am ready for bygones to be bygones".

רבים מצפים שאם תאצ'ר תרכיב את הממשלה הבאה, לבריטן יהיה מקום בה.

ב ב ח ה,  
י  
יהודה אבנר



אל: לונדון, נר: 554, מ: המשרד  
 דח: מ, סג: ש, תא: 041286, רח: 1400

דיל 11.11

שמור/מיד

הציר

משלחת השמרנים. שלך 33.

א. מאשרים התאריך המוצע למשלחת.

ב. בשלנו 915 ביקשנו שהמשלחת תהיה בת לא יותר מ-3 חברים בשל  
 אילוצים תקציביים.

כבר טהה יש במשלחת ארבעה וצירופו של פידלר שיחייבנו בהוצאות  
 נוספות נרכב נוסף, מלון וכו' לא מקובל עלינו ולא נוכל לשלם  
 הוצאותיו.

אירופה 2

תפ: ענוג, אירב, שמורק, אורחים



1489

תאריך : 03.12.86 מסד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שמור

נכנס \*\*

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חוזט: 12,1489

אל:המשרד

מ-:לונדון,נר:33,תא:031286,זח:1600,זח:מ,טג:ש

נד:ג

שמור/מיוז

אל:מנהל אירופה ב' מנהל מאור

מאת:הציר לונדון

משלחת השמרנים

א. תודה עבור אישור משלחת חברי הפרלמנט מטעם הלייבור.

ב. התאריכים המתאימים לשמרנים הם 12-4 בינואר 1987.

ג. ראש המשלחת יהיה יור ה C.F.I. דר גו'הן בלקבורן.  
חבריה יהיו:

MALCOLM THORNTON MP, MARION ROE MP, CHARLES IRVING MP

ואולי YAN GOW שהיה מזכירה של תאצר.

מידלר יצטרף למשלחת אך ישלם בעצמו הכרטיס.

א

תנ: שהח,מנכל,ממנכל,ענוג,אירב,שמורק,מאור,יורכנסת

C/3  
ה'ק'ק'ר

די  
Ms.11





# Unions strengthen their position

## Kinnock wins backing for policy review

By George Jones, Political Correspondent

**THE TRADE UNIONS** yesterday tightened their grip on the Labour party as Mr Kinnock secured the overwhelming backing of its conference for a drastic overhaul of policies and a wider franchise for selecting parliamentary candidates.

### Executive setback for Left

By David Millward  
Political Staff

**MR KINNOCK** emerged from yesterday's elections to the party's ruling national executive with his leadership strengthened.

But one major surprise was the success of Mr Ken Livingstone, who came fourth in the constituency section — one place ahead of Mr Bryan Gould, a key Kinnock ally.

The Left appears to have been reduced to five members of the executive, one less than last year, with the defeat of Miss Joan Maynard.

The banner of the Labour Left will be carried by Mr Tony Benn, Miss Jo Richardson, Mr Dennis Skinner, Linda Douglas from the Young Socialists and Mr Livingstone.

But although Mr Livingstone, the newly elected member for Brent East, will be expected to vote with the Left, he could prove to be a mercurial member of the executive.

#### Welcome victory

At Brighton the former Greater London Council leader has shared platforms with both the hard Left Campaign for Labour party Democracy and with Kinnockites, including Mr Gould.

The two new members of the trades union section, Mr Andy Dodds of the National Union of Railwaymen and Mr Colm O'Kane of the health workers' union, Cohse, are both seen as Kinnock supporters.

Another welcome victory for Mr Kinnock will be the election of Mrs Joan Lester, the party's new overseas development spokeswoman, who increased her vote fivefold compared to last year to take top place in the women's section.

### Hattersley 'rival'

Mr John Prescott, Shadow Energy Secretary, indicated last night that he was giving "serious consideration" to challenging Mr Hattersley next year for the deputy leadership of the Labour party.

On the opening day of the conference at Brighton, Left-wing opposition crumbled as the unions swung decisively behind Mr Kinnock's efforts to broaden Labour's appeal and produce vote-winning policies in time for the next General Election.

The Labour leader's ability to force through radical changes was further strengthened last night when elections to the party's national executive reduced the hard Left to a five-strong rump — its lowest level of support for many years.

The only setback on a day of successes for Mr Kinnock was the election of Mr Ken Livingstone, Left-wing former leader of the now-abolished GLC, to the executive.

The vote confirmed that Mr Livingstone, who became an MP in June, is poised to succeed Mr Wedgwood Benn as the leader of the Left.

But Mr Bryan Gould, co-ordinator of Labour's highly-acclaimed election campaign and leading advocate of the party's policy re-think, also gained a place on the executive.

Mr Gould's election was seen by the party leadership as confirmation of rank-and-file support for a sweeping review of Labour's electoral strategy. There had been fears of a possible backlash against Mr Gould, the target of Left-wing criticism of the so-called "yuppification" of the party.

### Call to face reality of defeats

Mr Kinnock will address the conference today confident that he has overcome Left-wing opposition to embarking on a radical review of the policies which have led to three election defeats in a row.

He has said nothing is to be excluded from the rethink, not even Labour's non-nuclear defence policy. He intends to tell the party it must face the realities of its string of defeats and the need to attract more support, particularly from better-off voters.

The Labour leader had been expecting a more-vociferous and organised rebellion by the Left, which yesterday kept up fringe meeting criticism of what Mr Benn has termed the leadership's "panic-stricken rout."

But the policy review was overwhelmingly endorsed on show of hands after a lively debate in which union leaders, MPs and rank-and-file party members acknowledged that the party had to seek a wider appeal while not losing its basic socialist principles.

Although there was more spirited opposition from constituency activists to extending the franchise, the intervention of

#### Conference reports — P10; Sketch — Back P

the unions provided Mr Kinnock with a decisive majority for involving all party members in the selection of candidates and re-selection of Labour MPs.

But the price of their support was the adoption of a "second best" electoral college system, in which the unions will retain an influential role, rather than a straightforward one member, one vote formula.

Under the new system, all party members will have a vote in selecting parliamentary candidates, but local union branches will be allocated a 40 per cent share of the vote on behalf of their affiliated members. The unions already have a 40 per cent of the votes in an electoral college for electing the Labour leader.

### 'Administrative nightmare'

Many of Mr Kinnock's closest associates believe the electoral system is too complicated and may prove to be unworkable at constituency level. Some union leaders are also concerned that the system will be difficult to run.

Mr Bill Jordan, president of the engineering workers' union, said the electoral college, would prove to be an administrative nightmare for the party, unworkable for the unions and unacceptable to the electorate.

But Mr Ron Todd, general secretary of the country's largest union, the Transport and General Workers, warned the conference not to weaken the unions' "legitimate influence" in the selection of MPs.

"The exclusion of the unions from the new procedure would herald the start of a process of overall weakening of the links between the trade union movement and the Labour Party," he said.

The electoral college formula was approved by 4.4 million votes to 1.7 million as the unions used their block votes to maintain their role in selections.

Mr Kinnock, who had left the final decision to conference.

Continued on Back Page



# sports centres

By Quentin Cowdry, Political Staff

THE GOVERNMENT yesterday renewed its civic efficiency drive by declaring its intention to put the management of council sports facilities out to tender.

The proposal affects municipal facilities such as sports centres, leisure centres, swimming pools, golf courses and putting greens throughout Britain.

Issuing a green paper on the proposal, Mr Ridley, Environment Secretary, predicted that open tendering would "greatly reduce" the cost of providing such facilities with "no reduction in quality".

"Direct labour organisations will be required to submit tenders on the same basis as outside contractors, and local authorities will have to account separately for any work they obtain," he said.

## Street cleaning

The Government wants to introduce the change as soon as possible, but recognises that a phasing-in period may be needed.

If the proposal is introduced, Mr Ridley would also be empowered to set financial targets for councils who retain control of the facilities.

Councils are already preparing to open to competitive tender a range of services, including refuse collection and street cleaning—a requirement laid down by the Local Government Bill, now in committee stage in the Commons.

If Mr Ridley receives a positive reaction to his latest proposal, the Bill could be amended to embrace sports and leisure facilities.

The Sports Council said it would be wary of any change which threatened its "Sports for All" policy, but said it could not comment further until it had seen the green paper.

## Two Pcs went for a Burton

Two Bristol policemen sent to Burton-on-Trent to collect a prisoner, sampled so much local beer that they were put in the cells to sober up, Burton magistrates were told yesterday.

Pc Mark Tuckwell, 25, was found not guilty of driving an unmarked police car to the police station while almost three times over the legal limit. Pc Dave Edwards, 29, was fined £15 with £15 costs after admitting being drunk and disorderly.

# Car drinks ban on passenger

By Terence Shaw  
Legal Correspondent

A GIRL of 19 who allowed her boyfriend to drive her home in her car after a party because she thought she had drunk too much, was convicted yesterday of being in charge of the vehicle while over the legal limit.

The RAC described the case later as "very worrying and a matter of extreme concern."

A spokesman said: "If people have the social conscience to avoid driving when they know they are over the limit, it indicates positive social behaviour and we think they should not be penalised for it."

Helen Hughes, of Star L. Hooley, was fined £250 banned for four months and pleading guilty at Croydon being in charge of the vehicle with an alcohol level of 47 microgrammes per 100 millilitres of breath, compared with legal limit of 35.

## Some surprise

Police breath tested her and her boyfriend, Trevor Mason, 20, of Rutherford Road, Croydon, had crashed through a road works, said Miss F. King, prosecuting.

Miss King told the court while Mason had first police Hughes was driving. Hughes later said it was Mason.

Mason was fined £150 banned for four months for driving while uninsured. The court was told that he was not covered by Hughes's insurance.

Motoring law experts expressed some surprise last night that Hughes had been charged by police with being in charge of the vehicle when she had handed over the driving to Mason.

They were also surprised that she had not contested the charge.

# Parkinson daughter

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1987 3

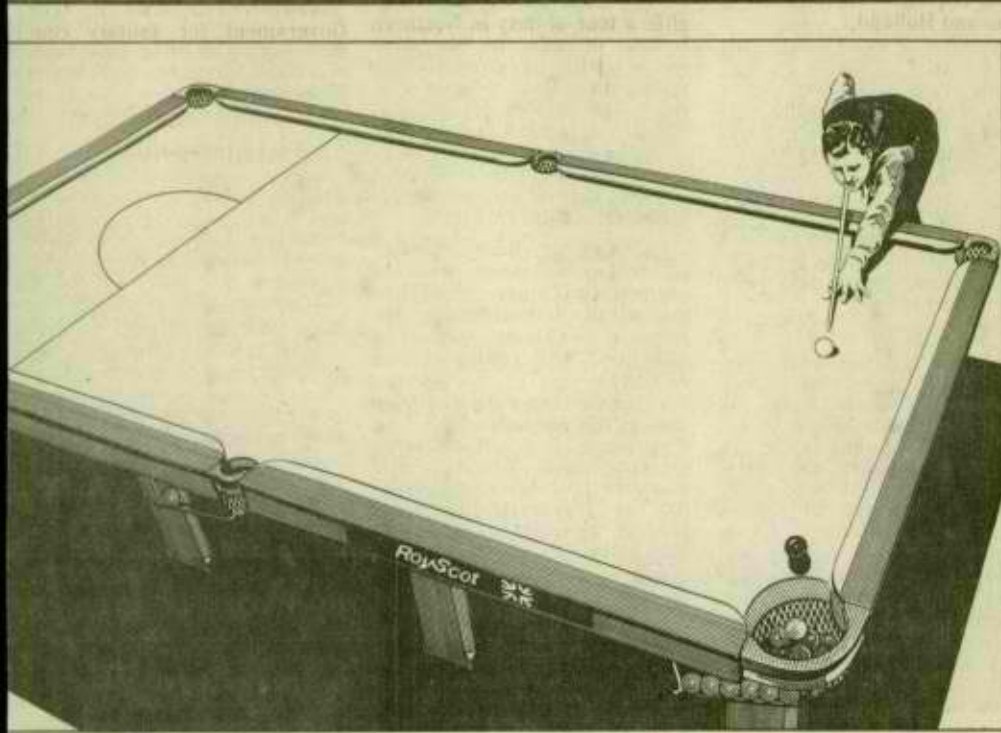
# Thatcher to miss science meeting

MEMBERS OF an important new body advising on science and technology policy will be disappointed today when Mrs Thatcher fails to attend its first meeting.

This is despite an appeal by leading scientists and astronomers who want her to take a personal interest in science policy.

When the formation of the Advisory Council on Science and Technology was announced in July, it was said the Prime Minister would take the lead in deciding priorities for science and technology.

However, Downing Street confirmed yesterday that Mrs Thatcher would not attend today. She was due to meet Ministers instead.



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סימוכין: בר-1  
עותק מס' 6

THE RT. HON. NEIL KINNOCK, MP.

ניל קינאק - ראש מפלגת הלייבור מאז 1983

יב 103.11

יליד וולס בשנת 1942.

אביו היה פועל ואימו אחות.

קיבל תואר ב.א. בתחום יחסי עבודה.

תחביבים: משחק רוגבי, שירה וולסית קלאסית.

#### הערות:

המבחן הגדול שהוא עמד בו מאז קבלתו את הנהגת המפלגה בשנת 1983, היה התמודדותו עם הזרמים השמאלניים הקיצוניים של המפלגה. ואמנם, הצלחותיו במיוחד לאחר גמר שביתת הכורים הן מרשימות. גם הופעותיו בפרלמנט מול תאצ'ר הן ב-ד"כ יותר מתוחכמות וחריפות מאשר בעבר.

היום, גם הוותיקים והמנוסים ממנו בקרב מפלגתו מכירים בו כ"מנהיג" ללא עוררין. יחד עם זאת, יש רבים המפקפקים בכושרו לשכנע את הציבורים מחוץ למפלגה.

בשיחות פרטיות הוא שופע הומור ובעל-שיח חביב.

ידיעותיו עלינו ועל הסכסוך הן שטחיות למדי, אך הוא מגלה ידידות.

כאשר הוא נשאל פעם: "מאין הרצון הטוב הזה נובע?" השיב: "אני התחנכתי בבית וולסי, שבו קראנו את התנ"ך כל יום א'. קראתי את כל ספריו של איזיק בשביס זינגר וראיתי את כנר על הגג פעמיים אולי שלוש".

בכוונתו לממש את ההזמנה שהוא קיבל בשעתו מ-רה"מ לבקר בארץ במהלך 1986.



## BRITAIN

cluding charges for sight tests and dental check-ups, need legislation. Mr Newton was ready with a draft bill, which will be crawled over by an opposition keen to justify its claims that the Tories are privatising the NHS by the back door. Their claims were bolstered when it emerged that the government, hoping to gain £70m, had included in the bill provisions to enable health authorities to act commercially, for instance by letting out space in hospitals for shops and restaurants or making a profit from private-patient charges. Health authorities may be cautious, though. In the past they have often seen hard-won savings clawed back in lower central-government spending.

### The Labour party

## Adjusting to a colder climate

WAGS used to say the British army was always fighting the previous war. The Labour party is determined, in 1991 or 1992, not to be caught fighting the general election of 1987. So it has borrowed a bevy of sympathetic market researchers and advertising men to tell it what Britain will look like at the turn of the decade. Together with two years' worth of interviews with past, present and potential Labour voters, this is designed to help the party's new policy-review groups make suggestions for winning more votes in four years' time.

On November 20th the party's shadow cabinet and national executive committee met to look at the results. They were not encouraging. Britain in the 1990s will have fewer trade-unionists and young people, but more old-age pensioners and home-owners; fewer people in the Labour-held inner cities and more in the Tory shires; more people paying for privately provided education and health; and more women in the workforce, with men wanting to spend more time at home with the family.

The media men also produced an analysis of where Labour went wrong in 1987. Policies—with the notable exception of defence—were not a great problem. Labour scored well on the "caring" issues; but many people voted Tory even when they did not like Conservative policies. As Mr Gerald Kaufman, Labour's shadow foreign secretary, said at the meeting, people may want Labour's policies but they do not trust the vehicle meant to deliver them. The obstacle is the party.

Voters are worried about extremism in the Labour party. And they doubt that Labour is competent to run the country, in particular its economy. Neither worry will be easily set at rest. Newspapers delight in writing stories about left-wing dissent in the

party; left-wingers delight in delivering the facts for them to embroider. Mr Neil Kinnock is torn. Should he strengthen his image—but also deepen divisions within the party—by rebuking his left-wingers? Or should he shut up and appear weak? The research does not tell Mr Kinnock which course voters would prefer.

Credibility is as hard to attain as an image of unity. Mr Bryan Gould, who is chairing the policy-review group on the economy, is the man whom Labour hopes will look credible. At least he appears genuinely to want to run an efficient, competitive and wealth-creating economy. There are plenty of people in the party who do not. A world recession might turn voters against the Conservatives, but Mr Nigel Lawson probably gave a greater impression of competence than did Labour's front bench at



Credible Gould

the time of Black Monday's stockmarket crash.

Events may provide more of a solution to Labour's third problem: its unilateralist nuclear defence policy, which some people claim knocked five percentage points off the party's vote in the general election in June. A recent Gallup poll, conducted for a right-wing group called Policy Research Associates, found that 68% of people thought Britain should keep nuclear weapons as long as the Soviet Union had them; even for Labour voters, the figure was 50%. Yet Mr Gorbachev's disarmament initiatives may help to give Labour a let-out. The party will probably enter the next general election with a more popular, and plausible, policy: perhaps proposing that Britain should offer to put its nuclear weapons into multilateral negotiations.

Labour has one weakness it can do little about: social change. Labour's traditional base of support—manual workers, council-house tenants and trade-union members—is

shrinking. The report given to the shadow cabinet/NEC meeting guessed that just under half the decline in Labour's share of the vote since 1979 was due to sociological factors. An article in the current issue of the *Political Quarterly* reckons that between 1964 and 1986 the decline of the working-class and rise of the middle-class should have given the Tories four percentage points and cost Labour five. But it agrees that social change is only part of the story. Labour has lost more than twice that amount.

### Child abuse

## Epidemic?

IN THE county of Hereford and Worcester, roughly three times more suspected cases of child sex abuse—about 130 of them—have been referred to the social-services department so far this year than last. The social-services department responded sensibly, not with the catch-all removal of the children from their parents seen in Cleveland. Yet one couple got their five children back only after three weeks during which the parents maintained absolute innocence. Another three children spent ten days in care before it was decided that two were suffering not from sexual abuse but worms. Have doctors uncovered previously hidden abuse—or merely adopted new and disputable methods of spotting it?

Until recently, British doctors examined—and identified—only the most obvious cases of abuse. Now children are referred to paediatricians even if the grounds for suspicion are slight. This means that many more genuine cases are being revealed. It also means that, if the methods of detection used are mistaken or wrongly used, more families will suffer.

Dr Christopher Hobbs and Dr Jane Wynne were the pioneers, in Britain, of the reflex anal dilatation (RAD) method for detecting child sex abuse which is at the centre of the Cleveland affair. This week they described their methods at the Cleveland inquiry. It was at one of their regular seminars that Dr Marietta Higgs, the Cleveland paediatrician at the centre of the inquiry, learned their technique. So have other paediatricians across the country. Yet evidence from America already suggests that the anus of a "normal" child can sometimes react in precisely the same way (ie, involuntarily dilate) as that of a child who has been sexually abused. This is what may have happened in Cleveland.

Some paediatricians and child psychiatrists were dubious about the RAD technique long before the Cleveland case erupted. They do not deny that child sex abuse has often gone undetected or may now be on the increase. But few would place as much reli-





כה' בחשון תשמ"ז  
27 בנובמבר 1986  
1.504

אל : השגריר - הציר, לונדון

מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : קן ליבינגסטון

ק"מ 11.11

ליבינגסטון שביקר בידוע בארץ (14-20.11) כאורח מפ"מ, נפגש במשרד עם המנכ"ל המדיני, ד"ר י. בילין ועם ראש אגף אירופה, מר י. ענוג. (את פרטי הראיון הטלביזיוני שערך לו רם עברון לבטח ראיתם ב-JEWISH CHRONICLE מה-21 דנא).

ליבינגסטון בא לפגישות עם נציגי מפ"מ וגילה כלפי חוץ קשר מנומס. עם המנכ"ל המדיני הוא עורר בעיקר שאלות הקשורות לתהליך המדיני באזור ועמדות ישראל באשר לפתרון הסכסוך והבעיה הפלשתינאית. עם מר ענוג נסבה השיחה בעיקר על מדיניות פנים בבריטניה, מצב המפלגות הסוציאליסטיות באירופה ומעמד ישראל בקהיליה. הוא לא ניסה להסתיר עמדותיו, אך הן נוסחו בצורה מאופקת.

למותר להוסיף שאיננו משלים את עצמנו שהביקור, כולל פגישותיו במשרד הביא לשינוי ממשי אצלו.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית





ירושלים, כא' בחשוון התשמ"ו  
23 בנובמבר 1986  
374

3.11/86

ס.ג.ד.ג

א ל : מנהל מאו"ר

מאת : אורן דוד, בינ"ל 1, ממ"ד

הנדון : דו"ח ליוני. מר. ליאון בריטאן, וכעיסה, ממנהיגי המפלגה  
השמאלית בבריטניה

1. הסכמה - האורח ורעייתו הגיעו לארץ ביום א' ה- 2.11.86 בשעה 22.35. את האורחים ליוויתי החל מיום ג' ה- 4/11 ועד חום סיום בארץ בליל יום א' ה- 9/11, במהלך הביקור התלוויתי אל האורחים לפגישות וסיורים ברחבי הארץ. מר בריטאן, שהינו יהודי, כבר ביקר בישראל פעמיים קודם לביקורו הנוכחי. לגב' בריטאן, שאינה יהודיה, היה זה ביקורה הראשון בארץ. (בני הזוג נישאו לפני כ- שש שנים. למר בריטאן אלה הם נישואין ראשונים. הגב בריטאן כבר היתה נשואה בעבר).

2. פגישות בשמירת שאובכגו לאורחים - במהלך סיורם אורגנו לאורחים פגישות עם גורמים שונים מהמערכת הפוליטית והצבאית. הקונכ"ל הבריטי בירושלים אירגן לאורחים מפגש עם מנהיגים פלסטינים.

א. מפגש עם מנהיגים פלסטינים - יום ד' 5.11.86 שעה 1700  
המפגש התקיים בביתו של הקונכ"ל הבריטי בי"ס, מר דה-קורסי אילאנד. במהלך המפגש, נועדו האורחים בנפרד עם קבוצת פלסטינים מתומכי אש"פ וקבוצת פלסטינים מתומכי ירדן. על מהלך המפגש בו לא נטלתי חלק, נודע לי למחרת היום מתיאורי האורח ורעייתו.

ב. מפגש הכאשונ. השסתפו פלסטינים תומכי אש"פ  
בין המשתתפים היה גם חנא סניורא עורך העתון אל-פאג'ר. מר בריטאן הופתע מכך, שתומכי אש"פ ציינו, שלא היו מתנגדים לפתרון במסגרת איחוד עם ירדן, במקרה והשלטון בירדן היה דמוקרטי. תומכי אש"פ טענו, שיקשה עליהם להסתגל מחדש למשטר הבלתי דימוקרטי הקיים בירדן. מר בריטאן, ציין בפני המשתתפים, שאילו היה אש"פ מוותר על האלימות כאמצעי להשגת היעד, היה הדבר משיג יתר רצון טוב מצד הישראלים. מר בריטאן הישורה באותו מפגש בין האלימות בה נוקט אש"פ לבין התנהלויות ישראל ביו"ש וציין ששני אלה מרחיקים את השלום באותה מידה.



- 2 -

במפגש השני השתתפו אישים פלסטינים מתומכיו יחד  
במהלכו הוגשה ארוחת ערב חגיגית מטעם הקונס"ל הבריטי. בין  
המשתתפים היו גם מספר רופאים וביניהם מנהל ביה"ח  
אוגוסטה-ויקטוריה, לדברי האורח הירבו המשתתפים  
הפרו-יירדנים להתלונן כל אחד על בעיותיו הספיציפיות  
היום-יומיות. כך למשל הירבו הרופאים להתלונן על רמת  
השירותים הרפואיים ביו"ש ועל כך שאין הם מקבלים מספיק  
כספים לשכרול ביה"ח. משתתפים אחרים התלוננו באוזני האורח  
על רמת החינוך הירודה. (מצאתי לנכון בנקודה זאת להפנות את  
תשומת לב האורחים לכך, שביו"ש לא היו מוסדות אקדמיים כלל  
תחת השלטון היירדני ואלה נוסדו לראשונה תחת שלטון ישראל.  
עובדה זאת לא היתה ידועה קודם לכן לאורחים. יחד עם זאת,  
משצינתי את עובדת עליית תוחלת החיים ביו"ש מאז 1967  
והירידה המשמעותית בתמותת תינוקות, העירו האורחים,  
שגם הרופאים הפלסטינים ציינו עובדה זאת בפניהם).

מ. בריטאן ציין, שאישית הוא לא התרשם ביותר מקבוצת אוהדי  
ירדן. לדעתו הם אינם מספיק קונסטרוקטיביים ובניגוד לקבוצת  
תומכי אש"פ כל אחד מהם הינו אינדיבדואליסט הנותן דעתו  
לבעיותיו האישיות הספיציפיות בלבד.  
שאלתי אם העובדה, שהקבוצה הפכו-יירדנים הייתה זו שהוזמנה לארוחת  
הערב, מלמדת על העדפתו האישית של הקונס"ל הבריטי. לכך השיב מ. בריטאן, שהוא אומנם התרשם, שאהדתו האישית של מ. דה-הוכס  
אילאוד נחונה לקבוצה הפכו-יירדנים.

ב. פגישה עם שר-הבטחון יום ו' ה- 7/11 שעה 0815  
בפגישה נכחו: מר רבין, מר בריטאן ורעייתו, השגריר הבריטי  
והח"מ.

מר בריטאן טען בפני שר-הבטחון, שיש תועלת ביתר מעורבות  
מצד מדינות הקהילה בעידוד היצוא מיו"ש ועזה. מכך רבין  
המעט מצידו ביכולת הממשלה של האירופאים והדגיש שהמפתח  
לפתרון כלכלי ופוליטי של יו"ש ועזה תלוי בשיתוף פעולה  
ישראלי-יירדני. שר-הבטחון ציין שהאירופאיות אינן מסוגלות  
לתרום את מה שירדן מסוגלת מבחינה כלכלית, ואפילו לא את מה  
שיש בכוחה של ארה"ב לתרום. מר בריטאן והשגריר הבריטי  
טענו, שאפילו המעט שהאירופאיות מסוגלות לתרום עשוי להיות  
מועיל. הם הדגישו שיוזמת האירופאיות בנוגע לשטחים אינה  
כרוכה בפגיעה כלשהיא. במיכסת היצוא של ישראל לקהיליה,  
שר-הבטחון החמיד בדעתו לפיה הפתרון מותנה בשיתוף פעולה עם  
ירדן ואילו התערבות מצד מדינות הקהילה הינה חסרת ערך.  
הרושם בתום הפגישה עם שר-הבטחון היה, שהאורחים התאכזבו  
ממה שהגדירו כחוסר תשומת לב מצד מר רבין לדבריהם. האורחים  
ציינו, שניתקבל אצלם הרושם כאילו ממעט שר-הבטחון ביכולתם  
להבין את המצב באזורנו בשל היותם זרים.

ג. פגישה עם ראש אמ"ן יום ו' ה- 7/11 שעה 11.00  
בפגישה השתתפו: ראש אמ"ן, קצינים מאמ"ן, מר בריטאן,  
השגריר הבריטי והח"מ. (הגב' בריטאן לא השתתפה בפגישה  
וערכה באותה שעה סיור בבורסת היהלומים ברמת-גן).



- 3 -

1. ראש אמ"ן פתח בסקירה על המצב בארצות ערב השכנות. האורח והשגריר הבריטי גילו התעניינות רבה בדבריו.

סוכנם - ראש אמ"ן הביע בפני האורח את דאגתו מחינוך הילדים בסוריה לשנאת ישראל עיוורת והדגיש שהבעיה בסוריה אינה קשורה לעדה העלאונית בלבד. יחד עם זאת, הביע ראש אמ"ן הערכה, שלא צפויה מלחמה עם סוריה בחודשים הקרובים. כן ציין שהסורים מבינים היטב שאם יפתחו היום במלחמה נגד ישראל, תעמוד סוריה בודדה במערכה.

גובאג - הובעה בפני האורח דאגה, שעיראק עשויה להעמיד את משאביה לרשות סוריה וירדן, לאחר סיום מלחמת המפרץ.

מצבם - הובעה דאגה מהתחזקות האופוזיציה במצרים המתנגדת להסכם השלום עם ישראל.

לבנון - הובהר לאורח, שהמחבלים חזרו להתבסס בדרום-לבנון, שם הם מאמנים טירוריסטים מארצות זרות. כמו כן, התייחס ראש אמ"ן לארגון החיובאללה וקשריו עם איראן.

לבנון - יו"ש - ראש אמ"ן ציין, שלהערכתו תושבי יו"ש מעדיפים פתרון במסגרת האופציה הפלסטינית על פני האופציה הירדנית. לשאלת האורח על אופיה של התמיכה בערפאת, ענה ראש אמ"ן, שהתמיכה בערפאת אינה על רקע אישי אלא על רקע לאומי. השגריר הבריטי ציין, שהוא מסכים בפירוש להערכה זאת. יחד עם זאת, הבהיר ראש

אמ"ן, שגם אם האופציה הפלסטינית הינה אמנם הרצויה ביותר מבחינת תושבי יו"ש ואזד"ע, הרי להערכתו רבים מהם יסכימו, בסופו של דבר, גם לפתרון במסגרת ירדנית. כה נמאסה עליהם, לדבריו המציאות, הנוכחית עד שהם מוכנים לקבל אפילו את פתרון האופציה הירדנית, בבחינת הטוב הפחות רצוי.

2. ראורח והשגריר הבריטי הביעו שביעות רצון רבה מהפגישה עם ראש אמ"ן. הם הגדירו הפגישה כמאלפת וציינו שהתרשמו מניחותיו של ראש אמ"ן ומכנותו כלפיהם.

7. מפגש עם הו"ב הנעדרים יום 11-2/11 שעה 12.00  
הפגישה התקיימה במלון רמדה בת"א. השתתפו בה: האורח, הח"מ, שני סא"ל מטעם צה"ל, הורי הנעדרים וביניהם האדונים באמ"ל, פינג ובא.

1. הורי הנעדרים פתחו בבקשה, שבדיטניה תביע נכונות לשחרר את המחבל הינדאווי תמורת שחרור בניהם ובני ערובה אחרים בלבנון. האורח השיב, שהענין אינו בא בחשבון, באף נסיבות שהן. האורח גילה שבהיותו שר-הפנים החליט על מדיניות לפיה כל טירוריסט, שנידון בבדיטניה ליותר מחמש שנות מאסר, לא יהיה בשיר כמו"מ בלשהוא בנוגע לשחרורו. האורח ציין, שלטיפולו הרב ממשיך מחליפו בתפקיד במדיניותו זאת.

2. הורי הנעדרים בקשו ממר בדיטאן לסייע להם להפגש עם המחבל הינדאווי. הם טענו שעשוי להיות בידי הינדאווי מידע בנוגע לבניהם. מר בדיטאן הבטיח שעם שובו לבדיטניה יעביר את בקשתם זאת לטיפול הדרג המחאים.





- 4 -

3. מר יונה באומל ביקש, מהאורח בשם שאר הורי הנעדרים, שיספיע על הארכיבישוף מקאנטרברי ושליחו טרי וויט לפעול גם למען שחרור הנעדרים הישראליים. מר באומל ביקש שטרי וויט יבטיח לשובי הנעדרים הישראליים "תמורה הולמת" מצד ישראל במקרה שישוחררו הנעדרים. מר בריטאן הביע את נכונותו לפעול בתנאי שיקבל אישור מגורם ישראלי רשמי, בנוגע ל"תמורה הולמת" בנדון. נתבקשתי אישית להעביר הפניה הנ"ל לטיפול הגורם המתאים במשרד-החוץ. הוצע שהאישור מצד ישראל יועבר למר בריטאן ע"י שגרירנו בלונדון, מר אבנר.
4. עם שובי למשרד בגמר הליווי ביום ה' ה- 10/11, העברתי הענין לטיפולו של מר עוזי מנור מארב"ל 3. מר מנור אף נפגש באותו היום עם מר יונה באומל ודן איתו בנושא.

### 3. מיוכנים וביקורים בלחי בשטחים

- א. מצבה 4.11.86 - האורחים היו מרותקים במשך הביקור באתר. מר בריטאן ציין, שחל שינוי רב באתר מאז ביקר בו לאחרונה ב- 1964. במהלך ארוחת הצהרים, בתום הביקור, נסבה השיחה על "פלישת הפה" של הנסיך פיליפ בביקור המלכותי בסין, בנוגע ל"עיניים המלובסנות". מר בריטאן ציין, שלדעתו היה הנסיך פיליפ נהנה הנאה רבה מביקור בישראל. הנסיך פיליפ מתעניין רבות בנושא מדע, תעשייה, חקלאות ופיתוח, ולדעת האורח הישגי ישראל בתחום זה היו מרתקים אותו. לעומת זאת, הביע האורח ספיקות בנוגע לעד כמה היתה המלכה נהנית מביקור בישראל. המלכה איננה מתענינת בהיסטוריה, אומנות או מדע וספק רב לדעתו עד כמה ביקור בישראל היה מרתק אותה אישית.
- ב. מוזיאון-ישראל 4/11 - האורחים התרשמו ביותר מן המגילות הגנוזות. מר בריטאן הפגין את שליטתו בעברית ובקיאותו בתנ"ך, הן בהיכל הספר והן במוזיאון. מר בריטאן עודד התפעלות מצד מבקרים אחרים במוזיאון משתרגם לאנגלית את הפרק הראשון מתוך מגילת-אסתר, משפט אחר משפט. האורחים הביעו את הערכתם לתכנון היעיל של מבנה המוזיאון ולאוסף העשיר והמגוון.
- ג. ביקור בסעששים האוניברסיטה (6/11) - האורחים התקבלו בלבביות ע"י ראש צוות המנהלים ועוזריו. בסיום במקום הם התעכבו במיוחד בביתו פרוייקט הלבאי ובאגף המזל"ים. רלוונטיות מיוחדת היתה לביקור זה, בהתחשב בעובדה שמר בריטאן כיהן כשר המסחר והתעשייה עד ינואר 1986 והתפטרותו אירעה בשל אירוע הקשור בתעשייה האווירית הבריטית (פרשת ווטלאנד).
- ד. מכון-גוויצמן (6/11) - נתקבלנו ע"י הלורד סמואל, שליחה אותנו במשך שהותינו במקום. במהלך ארוחת-הצהרים שמעו האורחים הסבר על המחקרים הנערכים במכון. גב' בריטאן התרשמה ביותר והחליטה להמליץ לביתה הבכירה, המצטיינת בתחום מדעי הטבע, להצטרף לתוכנית המיוחדת של המכון לסטודנטים מלימודי קדם-דוקטוראט. (לגב בריטאן שתי בנות מנישואיה הקודמים).



- 5 -

- ה. ביקור בבית-הספוצים (5/11) - בפני האורחים הוקרו, באופן מיוחד, סרט שצולם בוילנה ימים ספורים לפני הכיבוש הנאצי. מר בריטאן, שהוריו הגרו מוילנה ללונדון, צפה בסרט בענין רב. משהוברר למר בריטאן, שבנוסף לפס-הקול באנגלית יש גם פס-קול באידיש, הוא עמד על כך, שיקבל את ההסבר באידיש, והאזין לו עד תום הסרט.
- ו. סיכום, במסכום, סיפס, שכו, צפת (8/11) - על אף מזג-האוויר הסוער, נהנו האורחים הנאה רבה מן הביקורים במקומות הנ"ל. האורחים התרשמו במיוחד מעתיקות קיסריה ועכו, והתעכבו זמן ממושך באתרים אלה.
- ז. כפר בלום (9/11-8) - השהיה בקיבוץ היתה אחד משיאי הביקור. וותיקי הקיבוץ הרשימו את האורחים, שהאזינו לדבריהם בריתוק. האורחים הפגינו סקרנות רבה והירבו לשאול את בני שיחם בנוגע לכל הקשור בחיי הקיבוץ. גב' בריטאן הודיעה על כוונתה להמליץ בפני ביתה הצעירה לשהות כמתנדבת לקיבוץ כפר-בלום.
- ח. כמת הגולן (9/11) - לאחר הביקור במצפה גדות ציינה גב' בריטאן, שהיא יכולה להבין היטב מדוע ישראל אינה מוכנה להחזיר את כל רמת-הגולן חזרה לסוריה. מר בריטאן הסתייג וציין, שפירוש, ערבויות-בין"ל וכוח-בין"ל עשויים להיות תחליף לשליטה על השטח.

#### 4. סיכום והערכה

- א. מר בריטאן הפגין בקיאות ראויה לשמה בנוגע לבעיות האיוור ועמדות הצדדים המעורבים בסכסוך. עמדותיו בנוגע לפסכונ סכסוך הישראלי-ערבי היו מנוגשות עוד קודם לביקורו. במי שכבר ביקר פעמיים בישראל, לא היה עבורו ביקורו הנוכחי בארץ בגדר חידוש. מבחינה זאת, גם לא הוסיף הביקור מהותית לדאיתו של האורח את המציאות הפוליטית באזורינו. במהלך הביקור חזר והזכיר מר בריטאן, שהוא לעולם לא ישבח כיצד בביקורו הראשון בישראל ב-1964, הטעין בפניו בני-שיחו הישראליים, שאין ישראל מעונינת כלל וכלל בעוד שטחים, אלא בהשגת שלום בלבד. להתרשמותו, יש לעובדה זאת, אותה חזר והזכיר מר בריטאן בפני ובפני רעייתו, השפעה על עמדותיו בנוגע לפיתרון הסכסוך.
- ב. במהלך שיחותיו איתו הציג מר בריטאן בפני את רעיונותיו בנוגע לכיצד לדעתו, צריכה ישראל לפעול ליישוב הסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי:
1. לדעת האורה על ישראל להתור להידבר עם פלסטינים מתונים, שאינם נאמני ירדן דווקא. האורח טען, שקיים היום מחנה מתון באש"פ השואף לדיאלוג והסדר, במסגרת של קונפדרציה עם ירדן. ישראל צריכה להידבר עם הנמנים על מחנה זה, שכן רוב תושבי יו"ש ועזה מזדהים, בסופו של דבר, עם אש"פ ואינם רואים במלך חוסיון את מנהיגם הבלעדי. לדעת האורח, הפלגים המתונים באש"פ וויתרו על דרך האלימות נגד אורחים. הפיגועים נגד מטרות אזרחיות מתבצעים היום ע"י ארגוני טרור פלסטינים אחרים. אמנם, קיימת עדיין אלימות מילולית רבה גם בהתבטאויות המתונים באש"פ, בנוגע לישראל, אך מבחינה את המלך חוסיון בהתבטאויותיו הפומביות אינו טוב מהם. אנשי

# משרד החוץ המרכז למחקר מדיני



- 6 -

לחיהם, בדיוק כמלך חוסיין. על ישראל לחזק את אנשי המחנה המתון באש"פ החותרים לפיתרון בדרכי שלום ובמסגרת של קונפדרציה עם ירדן.

2. לדעת מר בריטאן ישראל צריכה להיות זהירה בנוגע לעניין הקונפדרציה ולדאוג לכך, שקונפדרציה זאת תהיה עניין ממשי ולא פיקטיבי בלבד. ענייני בטחון, מדיניות-חוץ, וכלכלה, צריכים להיות, במסגרת של קונפדרציה כזאת, בידי הממשלה המרכזית בעמאן.

3. במקרה וישראל אכן תפעל להידברות עם פלסטינים שאינם ממחנה ירדן, יהיה עליה להשקיע לעשות זאת מבלי לפגוע במלך חוסיין. בעניין זה, תידרש ישראל להוכיח יכולת תמרון והליכה על חבל דק. על המלך חוסיין אי-אפשר לוותר, שכן הוא חינוך לכל סוג של פיתרון, בין אם קונפדרציה עם ירדן ובין אם אינטגרציה מלאה בירדן.

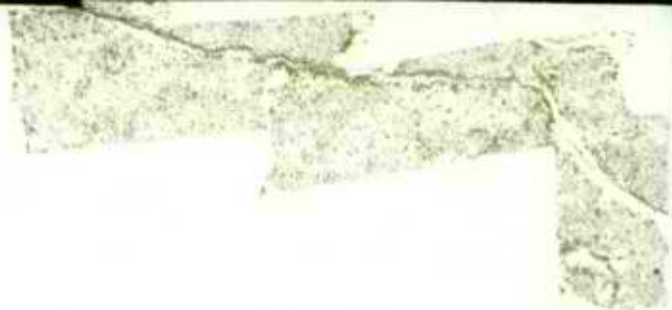
4. לדעת האו"ם היום "משבר של אימון" בין ישראל לפלסטינים והחשדנות ההדדית ביניהם גוברת. חוסר-אימון זה מונע אפשרות לדיאלוג ופיתרון. האו"ם היום מצפה מישראל שתפעל להפגת טענות זאת ולהשגת יסוד ראוי מובן כלפיה מצד אוכלוסיות יו"ש ועזה. ישראל תוכל להשיג זאת, אם תפעל לסעלאת במסגרת הסנים באינטרסים אלה. האורח מודע לשיפורים בדמות הרפואה והחינוך, שהיו בתקופת השלטון הישראלי, אך לדעתו אין זה מספיק. עזרה אירופית ליו"ש ועזה משתלבת היטב באינטרס זה, ולכן אאל לה לישראל לדחות את העזרה האירופית המוצעת לשטחים. בסופו של דבר, מתן עזרה כזאת צריך להיות האינטרס של ישראל עצמה.

ג. הסכשטמני מן האו"ם

מר בריטאן

1. הסכשטמני מתוועד הסוכנים של מר בריטאן, שהירבה להפגין את בקיאותו בדת היהודית ומסורת ישראל.
2. החרשטמני מתוועד הסוכנים את השפה העברית. מר בריטאן הבין את רוב מה שנאמר בעברית והפגין גם יכולת התבטאות טובה למדי בעברית. כמו כן, גילה כשרון לחרגם סימולטניות מעברית לאנגלית ולהיפך.
3. החרשטמני מהשכלתו הכללית הרחבה של האורח. האורח שולט גם בגרמנית, איטלקית, צרפתית ולטינית.
4. הסכשטמני מהינדוס הסמט והעמוסה הקיטם בין האו"ם לבין שב-החוף הבריטי, סיר ג'פרי האן. בני הזוג בריטאן נישאו בלשכתו של סיר ג'פרי, בדאוננינג סטריט 11. מר בריטאן ציין בנוגע לסיר ג'פרי, שאין הוא רומנטיקן ביחסו לערבים. זאת, בניגוד ללורד קרונגטון ועובדים בכירים רבים ב"פורין-אופיס".







- 7 -

גב' בכיטאן

בניגוד למר בריטאן, הושפעה הגב' בריטאן מן הבקור, שהיה ביקורה הראשון בישראל. האורחת ציינה, שלא ציפתה למצוא ארץ בה מתקדמת ומשגשגת. (במצויין, ציינה שתמליץ לביתה הבכירה ללמוד במכון-וויצמן ולביתה הצעירה לשהות במתנדבת בקיבוץ כפר-בלום). הגב' בריטאן הפגינה חשדנות עמוקה בנוגע לערבים וציינה, שעל ישראל לסמוך על כוחה בלבד ולא לתת אימון בשכנותיה. התרשמתי מאישיותה של הגב' בריטאן, תפיסתה המהירה ושנינותה. כמו כן, התרשמתי מהכבוד הרב שרוכש מר בריטאן להן ולדיעותיה.

אישית, נהניתי ביותר מן הליווי ומן השהיה הנעימה במחיצתם של בני הזוג בריטאן.

ב ב ר כ ה,

אורן דוד

בינ"ל 1 - ממ"ד

הערה: השגריר, לונדון  
השגרירות לונדון, הסברה  
- סמנכ"ל אירופה  
אירופה ב'  
ראש המרכז  
גב' יעל ורד, סמנכ"ל ארב"ל  
מר עוזי מנור, ארב"ל  
מנהל מזחי"ם

717"ף

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JERUSALEM

ץ 4



משרד החוץ  
ירושלים

1986

כא' בחשון תשמ"ז  
23 בנובמבר 1986  
2.977

ק"י 63.11

אל : מר אורי סביר, מנהל לשכת השר

מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : הלייבור בבריטניה

לוטה בזאת מכתבו מה-18.11.86 של הציר בשגרירותנו בלונדון, בו הוא מפרט בדבר הופעתו של מנהיג הלייבור קינוק בארוע מטעם פועלי ציון, והנוסח המלא של נאומו.

תשומת לבך לדבריו של קינוק לשר יעקובי (שנכח בארוע) כי הוא מתכנן ביקור בארץ בשנה הקרובה, אם התנאים המדיניים בבריטניה יאפשרו זאת.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

העתק: הציר, לונדון





כא' בחשון תשמ"ז  
23 בנובמבר 1986  
2.978

לכבוד  
מר ישראל גת  
מנהל המח' לקשרי חוץ  
מפלגת העבודה  
רח' הירקון 110  
תל-אביב

לישראל שלום,

אנו מניחים שקיבלתם מהשר יעקובי את נוסח נאומי של קינוק  
בארוחת הערב של פועלי ציון, אך לשם בטחון יתר אני שולח לך  
את הנאום וזאת במצורף למכתבו של מר משה רביב משגרירותנו  
שעשוי לעניינך.

תשומת לבך לשיחתו של מר משה רביב עם מזכ"ל הלייבור לרי  
ויטי, והזמנתו לבקר בארץ כאורח מפלגת העבודה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית  
סגן מנהל  
מחלקת אירופה 2

העתק: הציר, לונדון

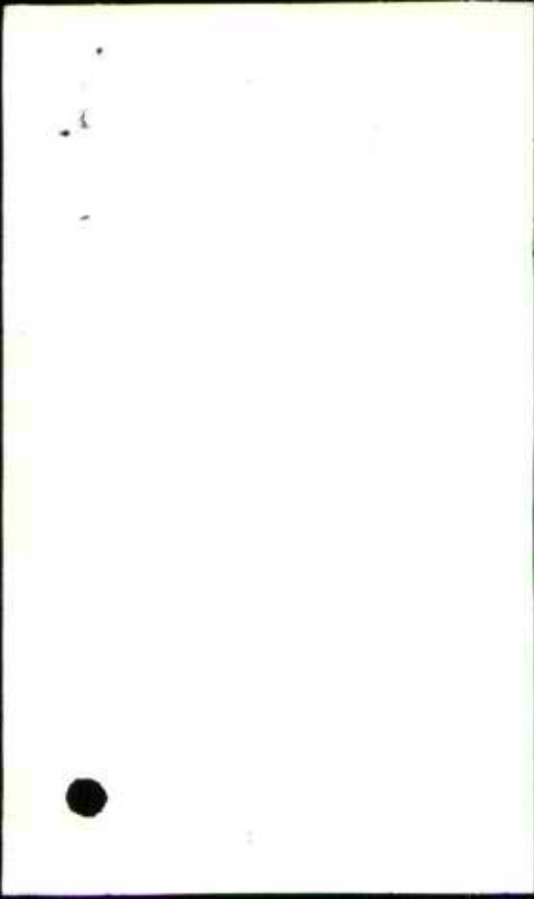


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~~all your  
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1. 1/3 of 1/4 = 1/12  
 2. 1/4 of 1/3 = 1/12  
 3. 1/12 of 1/3 = 1/36  
 4. 1/36 of 1/4 = 1/144

11/11/11







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שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

ש מ ר

ט"ז בחשוון התשמ"ו  
18 בנובמבר 1986

397

אל: מנהל אירופה ב'  
מאת: הציר, לונדון

### הנדון: הלייבור

#### א. קינוק

הופעתו של ניל קינוק בארוחת הערב של "פועלי ציון" מסמנת התענינות גוברת של צמרת הלייבור בקול היהודי ובמיוחד בתמיכה הכספית של יהודים במפלגה.

האירוע התקיים ערב לפני פתיחת הפרלמנט ע"י המלכה. מטבע הדברים מנהיג האופוזיציה מקדיש את הימים שלפני פתיחת הפרלמנט להכנת ההתקפה על מדיניות הממשלה. קינוק בחר לבלות ערב שלם עם קבוצת יהודים ציונים (כ-200 איש). הופעתו מהווה גם מעין אות הערכה לחבר הפרלמנט הותיק יאן מיקרוו שאירגן את הערב ועמד בראשו.

קינוק ניצל את ההזדמנות להשמעת נאום שהיה בו גינוי לאנטישמיות: שבחים למ"מ רה"מ ושה"ח על נסיונותיו בשנתיים האחרונות לקדם השלום והבעת עמדה תקיפה ומפורטת נגד טרור. למען הדיוק להלן הקטע בנושא הטרור במלואו:

The effort to overwhelm those who employ the weapon of terror has to be long, arduous and painstaking. It requires action by national governments and international organisations that is more intensive, extensive, co-ordinated and effective than that undertaken so far.

It must include the following components:-

- (1) At the national level, it is necessary constantly to improve capability and to attain a very high degree of co-operation between civil and service agencies concerned in the fight against terrorism.
- (2) Internationally the treaties and conventions which govern relations in the field of terrorism, political asylum, and extradition need much tighter definition in order to match the modern realities of speed and ease of international basis would clearly greatly assist the possibilities of preventing terrorist activity.



- (3) There is room for vast improvement in the international co-operation between national police and security organisations. More efficient systems of gathering data and intelligence on an international basis would clearly greatly assist the possibilities of preventing terrorist activity.
- (4) We need to use strong multilateral economic sanctions against countries which, demonstrably, have sought to sponsor terrorism. In the wake of the Hindawi case against Syria the present Government has rightly followed this course. It should also, as we in the Labour Party have argued, be pursued against South Africa and against Libya. Whilst the imposition of strict sanctions is obviously a serious step the credibility of action against one source of terrorism is diminished by not taking it against others.
- (5) A convention on international terrorism, drafted to seek the widest possible international support, is needed to protect international travellers on all types of conveyance by land, sea or air and which would require the signatories to take the strongest possible action against terrorists engaged in hijacking, taking hostages and committing murder.
- (6) The support systems for terrorists must be weakened, and in particular states must be made responsible for their actions. The state funding that exists must be brought into the open and the abuse of diplomatic privileges must be ended - if necessary by changing some of the international treaties which govern diplomatic representation.

Every one of these components obviously represents a great challenge of international co-operation and action.

קינוק בחר לא לפרט את עמדתו בנושא המז"ת וטוב שכך עשה כי כל עוד עמדת המפלגה מעורפלת, ניתן בשעת הצורך לשפר אותה. ברגע שהיא קבועה במסמרים קשה לשנותה.

באותה הזדמנות שוחח השר יעקבי ארוכות עם קינוק. מנהיג הלייבור אמר לו כי הוא מעריך שהבחירות בבריטניה תהיינה ביוני 1987. ולא-הוא מתכוון לבקר בישראל מצרים וירדן. כן שוחחו השנים ארוכות על דרום אפריקה ועל המצב הפנימי בארץ.





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שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

-3-

ב. LARY WHITTY-מזכ"ל הלייבור

באותה ארוחה שוחחתי עם מזכ"ל הלייבור לרי ויטי. האיש בשנות הארבעים המוקדמות. חסר צבע או מנהיגות אך חכם מאוד.

ויטי הסביר לי שקינוק חייב לצאת בהקדם לווישינגטון כדי לחדש את הדיאלוג שלו עם ארה"ב ולהסביר לאמריקנים שאם הלייבור יעלה לשלטון לא יבצעו את החלטות הועידה (על פירוק נשק חד צדדי) בשנה הראשונה לשלטונם... קינוק יסע לארה"ב כ-10 ימים אחרי שובה של גב' תאצ'ר מווישינגטון.

ויטי גילה התעניינות בנושא המז"ת ובנסיונותינו לקדם את השלום. הזמנתי אותו לבקר בארץ בתאריך שנוח לו ולהיות אורח של מפלגת העבודה.

ג. כ-10 בנובמבר קיים השגריר ארוחת צהרים עם חברי פרלמנט של הלייבור בה דווחו דונלד אנדרסון וגב' מקדונלד על ביקורם בארץ. שניהם שיבחו מאוד את תוכנית הביקור. הביקורת היחידה היתה שהיו רוצים להקדיש יותר זמן לפגישות עם ערבים ולא ערבים "מטעם" (אנדרסון). אנדרסון גם לחץ בנושא וענונו וקיבל את התשובות הידועות בנושא.

רצ"ב נאום קינוק במלואו.

ב ב ר כ ה,  
משה רביב

העתק:מר י. ענוג, סמנכ"ל אגף אירופה



THE RT. HON. NEIL KINNOCK, M.P. SPEAKING TO THE ANNIVERSARY  
DINNER OF POALE ZION ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11TH 1986

I am honoured to be invited to your dinner this evening which celebrates the 80th anniversary of your establishment in Britain and the 65th anniversary of your affiliation to the Labour Party.

I want first of all to pay tribute to the role that Poale Zion has played in our Party over the years.

Throughout your existence you have mobilised support for the Labour Party both in the Jewish community and outside. Your commitment, which has on occasion been decisive, will, I know, continue to strengthen support for our Party.

You have striven consistently and courageously against racism and fascism in all of their vile varieties. You have understood that neither can be fought silently or ignored in the complacent belief that their very repulsiveness will somehow prevent them from securing influence.

You know and rightly show that even in Britain today there is a constant need to safeguard against anti-semitism, a sickness which still infects our continent and menaces the values which are central to democracy and security.

For your work in securing support for the Party and for your vigilance and guidance I thank you.

And I register gratitude too for your assiduous efforts to build within the British Labour movement understanding of the Middle East conflict.

You have stated repeatedly - indeed the Third Basic Principle of Poale Zion states explicitly - that a lasting peace in the Middle East can only be based upon a mutual recognition between Jews and Arabs of each others rights to self-determination and safe borders.

That, as you well know, is the view of the Labour Party too. It is the basis upon which our policy is built.

And as you also know, if that policy is to be turned into practice it will be necessary not only to gain and retain the spirit and the operation of dependable co-existence between the countries and peoples of the Middle East, but also to ensure that external powers do not regard the area as a bearpit where they can focus their global rivalries.

These are obviously huge inhibitions to the peace-making process - but I do not consider that they are prohibitions to progress.

First, because the alternative to an enduring settlement that secures common and mutual security is so wasteful and bloody that no sane person can resign themselves to it.

Secondly because the history of the last two years under the Government of Shimon Peres shows that there are people and movements who, in the very middle of the maelstrom, still have the courage and vision to seek that common and mutual security.

And the fact that Shimon and his colleagues have sustained that course against all of the odds and all of the limitations imposed by coalition show a strength of will and a persistence of purpose that would attract our support even if we did not have the family ties of international socialism with the Labour Party of Israel.

In September 1984, Shimon said of that Coalition that it was "a government born on divided ground" - a view which testified not only to his determination but also to his gift for understatement.

I believe that the achievements of the past two years certainly demonstrate that first quality of determination.

They also prove that Shimon's repeated views - that the best testament of positive intentions is positive action and that the best way to make a situation better is not to permit it to get worse - were practical convictions and not mere slogans. And the fact that his Government so frequently refrained from provocation was evidence of strength, not of weakness, proof of consistency, not of equivocation.



I am confident that now as Foreign Secretary, Shimon will strive to carry through that same commitment with the same intelligence and the same dignity and will remain as an impressive influence on the Government of Israel.

That is just one of the reasons why I look forward to working in Government in Britain with such a Government in Israel.

We will have many common tasks. Indeed in this interdependent world, no country can be politically, technically, scientifically or economically "an island entire of itself".

And one of our common tasks is and will be to push back the tide of terrorism.

A recent report of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Alliance - published last week - estimates that in the ten year period up to 1983, 5,175 terrorists incidents were recorded world-wide, which resulted in nearly 4,000 deaths and nearly 8,000 wounded. Since 1983 the number of these incidents has increased - for example by 30% in 1984. In the first half of 1986 alone, there were 488 incidents accounting for just over 400 deaths and nearly 1,000 injuries.

The results of these acts are, of course, appalling. The personal losses and fears can never be forgotten, the physical and mental wounds inflicted by such atrocities never fully healed.

Terrible though they are, those deaths and scars are not the only consequences. As terrorism intensifies it distorts democracy, undermines personal liberty and instils fear - the most debilitating of all human emotions.

And as the Hindawi case has recently shown it also suborns all values of personal love and respect to the tyranny of extremism. The attitudes of this particular terrorist, coldly planning to sacrifice his own unborn child and its mother, represent such a deep debasement of humanity.



In the struggle against zealots of that kind and those who support or protect them it is obvious that there will never be instant miracle victories

The effort to overwhelm those who employ the weapon of terror has to be long, arduous and painstaking. It requires action by national governments and international organisations that is more intensive, extensive, co-ordinated and effective than that undertaken so far.

It must include the following components:-

- (1) At the national level, it is necessary constantly to improve capability and to attain a very high degree of co-operation between civil and service agencies concerned in the fight against terrorism.
- (2) Internationally the treaties and conventions which govern relations in the field of terrorism, political asylum, and extradition need much tighter definition in order to match the modern realities of speed and ease of international transport and communication, and the greater diversity of the "causes" pursued by terrorists.
- (3) There is room for vast improvement in the international co-operation between national police and security organisations. More efficient systems of gathering data and intelligence on an international basis would clearly greatly assist the possibilities of preventing terrorist activity.
- (4) We need to use strong multilateral economic sanctions against countries which, demonstrably, have sought to sponsor terrorism. In the wake of the Hindawi case against Syria the present Government has rightly followed this course. It should also, as we in the Labour Party have argued, be pursued against South Africa and against Libya. Whilst the imposition of strict sanctions is obviously a serious step the credibility of action against one source of terrorism is diminished by not taking it against others.

- (5) A convention on international terrorism, drafted to seek the widest possible international support, is needed to protect international travellers on all types of conveyance by land, sea or air and which would require the signatories to take the strongest possible action against terrorists engaged in hijacking, taking hostages and committing murder.
- (6) The support systems for terrorists must be weakened, and in particular states must be made responsible for their actions. The state funding that exists must be brought into the open and the abuse of diplomatic privileges must be ended - if necessary by changing some of the international treaties which govern diplomatic representation.

12) 9) Every one of these components obviously represents a great challenge of international co-operation and action.

No one can think otherwise.

And none of these individual components need or should distract anyone from any efforts to uproot the causes of terrorist action and to deprive terrorism of nourishment and support.

But if the only or the main reaction to the results of terrorism was to await a resolution of the multiple causes of the variety of terrorism, it would be an endless wait.

There are those who will insist that by adopting such a view we are dealing with the symptoms rather than the origins of the illness. I answer them by saying that the treatment of the pain need not - indeed must not - be regarded as an alternative to a cure, but that surely no one would seriously argue for inactivity that allows the pain to spread and worsen whilst we search for the complete antidote for the cause of the pain.

We have to deal with the threats and possibilities of terrorist action as well as trying to deal with the causes.

That is the course we must follow. Nationally and internationally, it is the course that we will follow.

END



Chris Harris



Outlook uncertain: but Geoffrey Pattie, at a weather computer, believes the storm forecasters are being overly pessimistic

enthusiastically supported by Gosling. And he feels the idea of guaranteed initial purchase by the Government of certain new hi-tech products would help bring new ideas to market.

Gosling, an academic turned industrialist, has decided views about where extra Government money for university research should go. "We've always been good at doing basic science. That's great. But the results of that are available to the world, and don't really bring us any economic advantage."

"Now we should be placing the emphasis on strategic research, research which sees a real economic and industrial pay-off."

"It's true that our pure science funding is giving some cause for anxiety, but the basic trouble with Britain is the chain, from science, through technology, to productive industry, which we haven't firmly established."

He is convinced that the need to tackle British neglect of R & D is urgent. "Every branch of industry is now threatened by lack of technology, even quite surprising ones like food processing or even agriculture. We are facing a radical revision of the way in which we make things and the way in which we create wealth."

"We have to change to a whole new set of rules. If we don't, we have no future in manufacturing. I don't believe that our country can survive as a purely service economy."

And the priority? "In Japan, it is sometimes said that there is a conspiracy between Government and industry to make sure the right things get done. It is a conspiracy we could do with now."

## Catalyst for change

Geoffrey Pattie, Minister of State for Industry and Information Technology — and a robust Thatcherite — has the task of shaping the new technologies against the background of accelerating change, tight cash constraints, increasingly vociferous and weighty forecasts of impending economic doom and a political ideology deeply sceptical of the merits of planning.

That is one charge he is quick to counter: "The market approach doesn't mean leaving everything to market forces. If that were the case, we wouldn't have the DTI."

The minister for tomorrow, responsible for a budget of £363 million devoted principally to promoting new ideas in science and technology, Pattie sits in his seventh floor office and defends his Government's record against the rising tide of criticism — most recently and authoritatively articulated by the Lords science and technology committee.

He finds their conclusion — that the science base is crumbling and the country has one last chance to work its passage into the 21st century — "unnecessarily apocalyptic."

He explains: "It's very important that we have the right level of technological and scientific activity in the country. My main quarrel would be that the problem is more to do with effectiveness, how we do what we do, the exploitation factor, how we manage R & D and how we target it, and how we relate to basic science."

"I'd want to be satisfied about these first before I said the only way to hack any particular problem is to stick a nail on the end of the budget."

Pattie points out that the relatively affluent Fifties and Sixties, when science and technology budgets boomed and Britain reinforced its reputation for scientific excellence, hardly led to the promised land. The country that gave the world radar, the jet engine, penicillin, the computer and liquid crystal display failed to reap the commercial benefits of its backroom ingenuity.

Britain must overcome that endemic failing if it is to regain its place alongside the industrial giants. That, Pattie says, means switching from the old emphasis on "upstream" work — basic science and disinterested R & D — to efforts

The minister for tomorrow is trying to concentrate academic minds on hard priorities

"downstream" — concept, design, quality, production consistency, price and after-sales service. It is here, where the babbling brook of the laboratory meets the foaming seas of the marketplace, that the Government is concentrating its efforts.

"It is effectiveness that counts. If you increased the R & D budget tenfold you would have a tremendous increase in activity, but I don't think you would see an upsurge in marketable products, with all that that implies."

Pattie sees his department's role as being essentially "catalytic", bringing together potential suppliers and users, for example, to generate a process whereby research and development are integrated

'Institutions scream blue murder if you try closing one'

into design, production and marketing operations.

It has also embarked on "awareness" programmes, especially in the field of information technology, where strenuous efforts have been made to help industrialists and educationalists appreciate the consequences of the silicon chip revolution.

"We have looked at the pressure points and said: 'What is impeding our economic recovery?' People, skills, training, attitudes, management cultures, investment, the City, long-term attitudes to R & D and the relationship between the academic world and industry."

Pattie likens tackling such problems to building the infrastructure of the hi-tech future. It's a long, slow and ultimately unglamorous business, not calculated to capture the headlines or raise the interest of the pundits.

But, he insists, the DTI does not always adopt such a low profile. Mention of Japan's

Ministry of International Trade and Industry, in which government and industry are pouring huge amounts of money and manpower into building the fifth generation of computers, brings him to Britain's Alvey programme.

It was set up in 1984 with a budget of £350 million over five years. It links companies, universities and Whitehall in a series of ventures aimed at ensuring that Britain is in the first division of advanced information technology.

The Government is expected to reply within the next month to the report of the committee under Sir Austin Bide, chairman of Glaxo Holdings, which has called for a £550 million extension of the Alvey programme. The core would be right hi-tech commercial projects, agreed between information technology users, suppliers and academic institutions, backed by £125 million of state money over five years. Among the ideas floated by Bide are computer-controlled homes and railway signalling.

Pattie is bullish about the prospects for the British National Space Centre, set up in 1985 to act as a policy focus. Its plan, concentrating on the needs of users, is currently with ministers and a response is expected soon.

Yet, for all that, there is not a national policy, or at least not one that can be written in a "leather-tooled" book and handed down from the DTI.

Pattie readily concedes that there is a "yearning" in many quarters for such an approach; he accuses past administrations of failing to take the hard decisions about priorities it implies; and then, as if in two minds himself, he insists that the current mix (some would say muddle) is the best way.

"We are still some way away from saying there are certain technologies which we feel we should not be in. We are still prisoners of our history of being involved in everything — we have got lots of institutions and they scream blue murder in the correspondence columns of great newspapers if you try to close one down."

"We say to bodies like the Science and Engineering Research Council: 'Given the funds we have, what about a list of priorities?'"

"And a list of priorities is the hardest thing we can get a group of human beings to agree on."

## Spraying cash won't work

Georgie Walden, the minister responsible for civil science, is a former Foreign Office high-flyer. But, as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Higher Education, his main role is as minister for the universities. By his own admission, his higher education responsibilities are so pressing that he is able to devote only "about 25 per cent" of his time

been closed 10 years ago because they had done their work," Walden says. "There has been a tendency to say, 'Keep it all going, and give us money for the new stuff too.' We are going to come out of the reforms which are under way with stronger, better equipped centres of excellence."

"The scientific community knows as well as I do that

## in the Kinnock household is leading the Labour Party'

Edwina Currie's attack on Glenys Kinnock this week is a foretaste of a campaign in which political spouses could be fair game

If Labour wins the next general election, it will be a case of one strong-minded woman following another into 10 Downing Street. Glenys Kinnock is a political personality in her own right in a sense that no prime minister's partner has been since the time of Margot Asquith.

As such, she is obviously vulnerable to attacks like Edwina Currie's in the Commons on Tuesday. But Glenys Kinnock has shown no sign of asking for any favours. At last year's Labour Party conference she was prominent at fringe meetings. During the couple's visit to the United States she had her own programme of visits to a semi-political kind, to women's conferences, educational projects and the like. Yesterday she was on the platform when Labour launched a policy document on overseas aid, a subject close to her heart.

On Mrs Currie's lips, mockery of the person who

strong opinions and forceful expression of them come from the Leader of the Opposition himself. As a relatively untired political leader whose nerve has never been tested in the trials of office, he is vulnerable to claims that he lacks the willpower to stand up to a relentless barrage of politically-motivated pillow-talk.

The truth is less simple. They met and married young, and in the context of a shared political commitment. Glenys Elizabeth Parry's father was a railway signalman at Holyhead, and secretary of the Anglesey Labour Party. Political arguments were, a family pastime — her brother will be standing as a Labour candidate in the general election. She joined CND at 16 — "it was my first and greatest passion" — and came to Cardiff in 1962 to study history and education.

Soon after arriving, she approached a fellow undergraduate handing out political leaflets and asked him:

Tom Bishop



Glenys Kinnock: "Neil and I have a very equal relationship"

makes the breakfast in the Kinnock household escapes the charge of sexism. It is evident to party managers on both sides that the Neil-Glenys theme is potentially an important aspect of electoral image-making. But the spectacle of a young and personable married couple beating at the doors of Downing Street is such an unfamiliar one that it is difficult to foresee who can best exploit it.

The probable deployment of stereotypes is already clear enough: on one side, the marriage of equal partners, the lively family with whom voters can identify; on the other, the malleable husband dominated by a virago of extreme views. What will the voters make of a husband who listens to his wife, does the shopping for her and talks about the importance of hugging the children?

On one point, Mrs Currie is no doubt well-informed: the Kinnock household is in general likely to make the breakfast. She is good at making bread, too. The couple's feminism is not of the sort which holds out for a wholesale reversal of customary roles. As a lad from the valleys, he remains strongly influenced by the old-fashioned working-class image of a husband's and a father's role, even while trying to discard the elements of discrimination in that tradition.

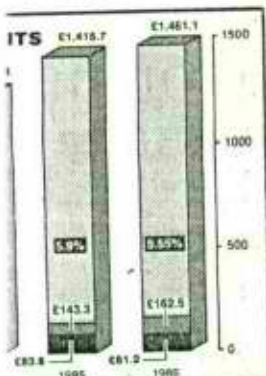
She once said: "He won't sell out when I get to the top — I won't let him." Some of the best stories about her

"Are you the man from the Socialist Society?" He was; he was instantly smitten; and they were allies from that day on. She became a teacher, he a WEA tutor; they married in 1967. She insisted that the ring be silver, because if it had been gold she could never have been sure that the gold had not come from South Africa.

She might then have deflected Mrs Currie's other charge — that she "never stood for election for anything" — but scarcely had the chance. Soon after their son Stephen came along, Neil was adopted as parliamentary candidate for Bedwellty, and in 1970 he was elected. Their daughter Rachel was born while he was spending his weeks in a bedsitter within reach of the division bell, and commuting home at the weekend — a trying time for his wife. The family moved to London in 1973, and she took a part-time job in a Brent primary school, teaching children with reading difficulties.

"Neil and I have a very equal relationship. It's not one where either of us feels it necessary to impose will on the other," she has said. Now aged 42, she is still a strong CND supporter; but so is her husband. She is said to be inclined to cough noisily when he goes on too long at the rostrum; but this is a traditional prerogative of the political wife, and rather more necessary in this instance than in most.

George Hill



CONCISE CROSSWORD NO 1186

ACROSS



# Kinnock praises Peres policies

## Jewish Chronicle Reporter

Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader, paid tribute on Tuesday to Mr Shimon Peres and the Government of National Unity in Israel, and told the leaders of the Labour Zionist movement, Poale Zion, that its policy of "mutual recognition" between Jews and Arabs was the basis on which Labour Party policy on Israel was built.

Mr Kinnock and Israel's Minister for Economic co-ordination, Mr Gad Yaacobi, were the guests at the double anniversary dinner of Poale Zion at London's Glaziers' Hall, celebrating 80 years since PZ's establishment and 65 years of affiliation to the Labour Party.

It was also a fund-raising event which the PZ chairman, Mr Ian Mikardo, MP, said would give the movement a chance to organise in at least 12 constituencies where the "Jewish vote" meant the difference between winning or losing a seat.

Mr Kinnock, in a warm and witty address which he began with the words "Chaverim vechaverot," said that Israel and Britain had many "common tasks," one of which was "the fight against terrorism." He also told the guests that PZ throughout its existence, had "mobilised support for the Labour Party both in the Jewish community and outside... for your work in securing support for the party and for your vigilance against racism and fascism, I thank you."

Mr Yaacobi was standing in for Mr Shimon Peres, Israel's Foreign Minister who is in America.

Telling Mr Kinnock that he looked forward to seeing him "next year in Jerusalem," Mr Yaacobi praised the Labour Party for its attitude and support over the Syrian affair and the battle against terrorism. Israel hoped for "a new kind of partnership and understanding" with the British Labour Party, he said.

Guests at the dinner included the Shadow Leader of the House, Mr Peter Shore, MP, the Labour Party's general secretary, Mr Larry Whitty, and actor and entertainer Chaim Topol.

Mrs Yaacobi attended the state opening of Parliament on Wednesday.



The Labour leader, Mr Neil Kinnock (left), with the Israeli Minister for Economic Co-operation, Mr Gad Yaacobi (centre), and the Israeli actor, Chaim Topol, at the Poale Zion anniversary dinner on Tuesday

## UK link to bomber

From YORAM KESSEL  
Jerusalem

"The deed is done," are the words which one of the members of a four-man Arab terrorist gang is said to have telephoned through to a contact in London, the morning after the gang carried out a grenade attack on soldiers and their families near the Western Wall in Jerusalem last month, killing one man and wounding 69 other people.

The charge sheet filed at a Lod military court says that Ibrahim Hussein Alian, 22, of East Jerusalem (like the other three members of the gang), had phoned information through to London about the "success" of the operation, after making their getaway.

They are understood to have acquired Israeli Army uniforms

## MPs still pressing for Vanunu probe

By JOSEPH FINKLESTONE  
Foreign Editor

Despite strong pressure by a number of MPs, the British Government is still reluctant to become involved in a controversy with the Israeli Government over the mysterious arrival in Israel of Mordecai Vanunu, the nuclear technician whose revelations in "The Sunday Times" about the alleged production at Dimona of over 100 atom bombs caused an international furore.

After disappearing in London at the end of September, Vanunu is now acknowledged by the Israeli authorities to be facing legal charges in Israel.

Service) in London, has been denied both by 10 Downing Street and Mr Peres.

After insisting that Britain had no evidence of any illegal seizure of Vanunu, the Foreign Office did instruct Mr William Squire, the British Ambassador in Tel Aviv, to make an inquiry at the Israeli Foreign Ministry. However, the meeting was deliberately low-key.

Mr Itzhak Shamir, the Israeli Prime Minister, said this week that he did not see any reason for a failure of trust or a rupture between Israel and Britain over the Vanunu affair.

However, a number of MPs are not satisfied and intend to press for a debate in the House of Commons and for an investigation into the affair.

pressure group, which has criticised Britain's breaking of diplomatic relations with Syria.

There are three theories concerning Vanunu: that he was seized by the Mossad while enjoying a holiday with his girlfriend on a yacht in the Mediterranean; that he was seized in London and sent back to Israel in a crate in diplomatic luggage; or that he is a Mossad agent who leaked information about Israel's nuclear strength to frighten the Arabs. The third theory can now be discounted.

Asher Wallfish cables from Jerusalem: The Labour Alignment, Mapam and the Citizens' Rights Movement reacted with fury to remarks on Israeli television by the Right-wing Knesset member, Mrs

## Sharansky row

From our Correspondent  
Jerusalem

Anatoly (Natan) Sharansky became the focus of political controversy this week, following his meeting in Jerusalem with a group of Palestinian Arabs who are seeking to prevent the expulsion to Jordan of an Arab journalist. The Arabs are known to be close to the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

He is said to have told the Arabs that he would examine the emergency regulations under which, they claimed, Israel clamped down on their political activities. He made no

commitment to the Arabs.

The campaign to rescind the expulsion order against the editor of a radical newspaper published in East Jerusalem, Mr Akram Haniye, is being led by Jerusalem Arab intellectuals.

When news of the meeting leaked out, there was immediate criticism by Right-wing politicians. One of them, Rabbi Haim Druckman, said that although he was sure that Mr Sharansky had acted in innocence, because of lack of knowledge of the situation, he should recant and ensure that he did not give succour to the enemies of Israel.

Mr Sharansky later condemned the PLO.

## Clergyman held

From YORAM GAZIT  
MYRA NOVECK

illegally granting favours to West Bank residents.

א"י קור

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
2 PALACE GREEN  
LONDON, W8 4QB  
TEL. 01-937 8050



שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

1986

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*The Ambassador of Israel*

שגריר ישראל

יהודה אבנר

ישראל



דו"ח מועידת הלייבור בבלקפול 3.10.86 - 28.9.86

הג' 11

ארועים בינלאומיים ונושאי ישראל:

השתתפנו-החבר ל. אליאב ואני כנציג מפלגת העבודה.  
השגריר י. אבנר ייצג את המדינה.

קיימנו שיחות עבודה עם גרביל ג'אנר, יאן מיקרדו, השגריר י. אבנר ועם חנה סניורה אורח מפלגת העבודה הבריטית ונציג הפלסטינאים. (עורך "אל-פג'ר).  
ארועים:

1. אספה בארגון פועלי ציון בנושאי הגזענות.  
ישיבה שלקחו בה חלק:

נואם מצד אגודת הסטודנטים היהודיים, חברת הפרלמנט קלייר שורט, ומועמד מפלגת העבודה, מר קיט באז (צבעוני).  
כולם ביקרו קשות מדיניות ישראל, והישיבה הפכה למעשה להתקפה קשה על מדיניות ישראל כלפי הפלסטינאים, והצגת ישראל כגזענית.  
כמה מהמשתתפים בויכוח הציגו גישה חיובית כלפי הציונות וישראל.  
מיקרדו, כיו"ר הישיבה סיכם והסביר כי ישראל הוקמה כהמשך לציונות ולאפליה הנמשכת כלפי העם היהודי בגולה.

2. ערב ישראל.

אורגן ע"י L.F.I, ידידי מפלגת העבודה בבריטניה.  
ערב מוצלח. בין האורחים בלטו ניל קינוק, ניל ברנדט, מר VAANERAN, מזכיר האינטרנציונל הסוציאליסטי וצירי פרלמנט ומועמדים רבים.  
הצלחה רבה להצגת ענינה של ישראל. חנה סניורה השתתף והצטלם עם לובה אליאב ומיקרדו.

3. פגישת FRINJE של-LABOAR MIDDLE EAST CONCIL.  
ישיבה בראשותו של ארני רוס, MP מצירי סקוטלנד (דנדי).  
הנואם המרכזי היה DONOLD ANDERSON; שזה עתה חזר מביקור בישראל.  
יצג גישה פרו-פלסטינאית חזקה, אם כי הודגש ענין הצורך בשלום עם ישראל.  
חנה סניורה דיבר אחריו, כנואם מרכזי, מתון.

4. ארוחת צהרים ואספה שאורגנה ע"י L.F.I.  
ארוע מוצלח ביותר. מיקרדו פתח. דיברו השגריר י. אבנר, דניס הילי, שר החוץ בממשלת הצללים של הלייבור ולובה אליאב. בלט המסר של אליאב-הרצון העז של ישראל להגיע לשלום תוך כדי פשרה טריטוריאלית.  
דניס הילי קרא לשיחות עם P.L.O והכרה בזכות לפלסטינאים להגדרה עצמית.  
יש עוד לציין:

1. פגישות עבודה של לובה אליאב ושלי עם חנה סניורה (לובה נפגש גם גם ביחידות עם חנה סניורה ויוסף אלן נציג אש"ף בלונדון).
2. שיחות קצרות עם ניל קינוק (שהביע שוב את רצונו לבקר בארץ).
3. שיחה עם דניס הילי שדיבר על הצורך במשא ומתן ופשרות עם נציג אש"ף (כנציג העם הפלסטינאי).
4. יש להתכוון למפגש עם נציגי הפלסטינאים שיוזמנו ע"י האינטרנציונל לוועידה שתערך בבון (שיחה עם VAANERAN).
5. יש רצון מצד כמה נציגים בכירים בפרלמנט לבקר בארץ וליצור קשרים.

בסיכום, הקו המקובל עתה על הלייבור הבריטי הוא קו שהודגש ע"י שמעון פרס ראש הממשלה: הכרה בישות הפלסטינאית ובזכויות שלהם.  
יש לשבת איתם בהקדם למשא ומתן לדיאלוג וזה צריך להיות רק עם ההנהגה הפלסטינאית המקובלת על יו"ש.



בפני הוועידה הונחה בין השאר הצעת החלטה (501) שקוראת להכרה באש"ף וקוראת להקמת מדינה פלסטינאית .  
להצעת החלטה זאת הוגשו כמה הסתייגויות (פועלי ציון, סניף שלנו בלונדון וכו' ).  
מפאת קוצר זמן הוועידה לא הגיעה הדיון להחלטה ולכן סעיף זה הועבר ל - NE C - האקזקוטיבה של הלייבור.

יש להזכיר גם כן, הצעת החלטה על חרום שהוגשה ע"י ידידנו ( EMERGENCY ) שהוגשה לוועידה בענין הטרור בלונדון, קרצ'י ואיסטנבול .  
גם הצעה זו מועברת אוטומטית לאקזקוטיבה .  
יש לציין, ששני נושאים בינלאומיים תפסו את רוב זמנה של הוועידה (בדיון הבינלאומי): דרום אפריקה ( והמלצה לחרם, פה אחד) וניקרוגואה (התקפה על האימפראליזם האמריקאי) .  
הצעות נוספות בענין אירן פקיסטן, פלסטינה ועוד לא הגיעו לדיון כללי , הוועידה נתנה חיזוק רב לעמדותיו של קינוק והבליטה אותו כמנהיג בלתי מעורר של המפלגה .  
הוועידה אישרה את הוצאת הפלגים הקיצוניים השמאלניים (בעיקר סניפי ליברפול) מהמפלגה - ברוב מכריע .  
המפלגה "חזרה לעצמה" במובן של היותה מאוחדת ובעלת רצון חזק להגיע לשלטון בבחירות הבאות .  
המלצות ה - N.E.C נתקבלו כולם כהחלטות .  
ראוי לציין ההחלטה לבטל בשלבים את השימוש באנרגיה אטומית, הרצון של בריטניה להתפרק מהנשק האטומי ולהוציא את הטילים האמריקאים מבריטניה (כמדיניות לטווח ארוך) תוך כדי המשך חברותה בנטו, לחזור לצמיחתה והתחייבות להקטין את מספר המובטלים במשך השנתיים הראשונות לשלטון הלייבור ב- 1 מליון איש .  
היה ויכוח חריף על הדרכים להחזיר רוב ההון הבריטי שנמצא בחוץ לארץ להשקעות בבריטניה. דברו על פיקוח על מטבע זר הכוונת כספי קרנות הפנסיה להשקעות ומדיניות יזומה של השקעות בתעשייה הבריטית (שנהרסה על ידי ממשלת תאצ'ר) .

ב ב ר כ ה ,

יורם ברזילי

A hand-drawn diagram of a cell. It consists of a large, irregular oval outline representing the cell membrane. Inside this oval, there is a smaller, more circular structure representing the nucleus. Within the nucleus, there is a small, dense, dark-colored dot representing the nucleolus. The drawing is done in black ink on a light-colored background.

מבריטניה

103.11 67

מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון: ביקור קן ליבינגסטון מבריטניה

ליבינגסטון מועמד להכנס בקרוב לפרלמנט הבריטי ב"מירויץ" באחד מאזורי הבחירה הבטוחים של הלייבור בבחירות-משנה קרובות, והוא נחשב במפלגתו לאחד מהמנהיגים בפוטנציה של אגפה השמאלי.

למותר לציין שמטרותיה של מפ"ם בהזמנת האורח אכן חשובות, מה גם שעמדתנו במפלגת הלייבור בכלל, ובאגפה השמאלי בפרט, נחות ביותר בשנים האחרונות, וחשוב לנסות וליצור גם עם חוגים אלה אפשרות לדו-שיח כלשהו.

רצ"ב סיכום נאומו של ליבינגסטון בוועידת הלייבור שהתקיימה ב-30.9 השנה בבלקפול בו הוא מתייחס לביקורו הקרוב בארץ, ולכך שטרם גיבש סופית עמדותיו בשאלות קארדינליות הקשורות לסכסוך באזורנו.

היום המתאים לפגישות מבחינת התכנית הוא ה-19.11 בשעות לפנה"צ, ואם בלתי אפשרי ה-17.11 אחה"צ.

נודה אס תודיעונן.

ב/ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

העתק: ראש אגף אירופה  
השגרירות, לונדון



ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
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115

1. Содержание книги: «Полное собрание сочинений  
А. С. Пушкина», т. 1-10, изд. 1909-1912, СПб.  
Издательство «Лань».

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השם המלא של המעורר הוא: הרב משה יהודה בן-דוד, תא  
תאריך לידה: 1911.11.11.

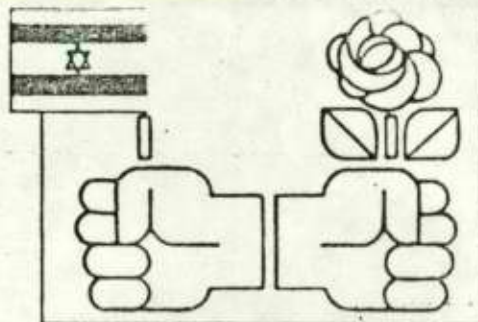
Д Л Г С Б

REMARKS: TWO MAPS LOCATED  
BUT NOT FOUND. SEE PAGE



# mapam

— FOR A PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL



NOTES ON SPEECH BY KEN LIVINGSTONE TO THE 'LABOUR MOVEMENT CAMPAIGN FOR PALESTINE' FRINGE MEETING AT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE, BLACK-POOL 30.9.86.

The Israeli invasion caused a gut reaction of revulsion and this was the background to the about-turn in Labour's attitude to Israel, as expressed by the last Conference's acceptance of the Palestinian cause and of the PLO as its only legitimate expression.

Today, there is much less interest in this issue and it is tragic that it took a war to change the Party's stand. The N.E.C. has in fact ignored the Conference resolution. We must therefore push our principles in order to put the Palestinian question back on the agenda.

Many Labour MP's attacked opposition to the Lebanese war. I was the subject of a smear campaign. The Rabbi in Brent East attacked me from his synagogue pulpit as a symbol of evil. In the GLC, anti-Arab and anti-Black racism became acceptable. I was accused of being on Gadaffi's pay-roll and won a Court case against this.

Today, Labour has no Middle East policy. As regards the discussion which took place here between a two-State or a secular-democratic State solution, I remain in favour of the latter.

There can't be double standards for Socialists so one cannot fight for the exodus of Soviet Jews and deny the rights of the Palestinians to return to their Homeland. I am shortly going to Israel as the guest of Mapam (but paying my own ticket) and I may be convinced of a two-State solution but don't favour it now.

The talk of 'secure borders' is meaningless because only a solution to the conflict guarantees security. The alternative to a political solution is a continued arms race and war. There will only be security when the Palestinians can go home in addition to those Jews who want to go to Israel.

As a Socialist, I am not prepared to die for this country, because it isn't mine. I don't feel I 'belong' to any nation-State.

Dan Leon

*Dan Leon*  
1.10.86

37 Broadhurst Gardens · London NW6 · 01-328 2554 5451

Affiliations: World Union of Mapam, Zionist Federation, Board of Deputies

ד' תש"ז



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Telephone: 01-937 8050

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לונדון

יא' בתשרי התשמ"ז  
14 באוקטובר 1986

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ח' - משה

103.10.86

א. נ

אל : מר ע. גנור, מנהל אירופה ב'

מאת: השגריר, לונדון

הריני מצ"ב את כיסוי של הי"ג' ואיש כרוניקליי על האירועים הישראלים שנתקיימו  
במסגרת ועידת הלייבור שהתקיימה ב-3.10.86 - 29.9.86.

ערב הארוחה שערכתי לראשי המפלגה (ראה הקטע למעלה של העמוד) פנו אלי איאן מקרדו  
ואחרים מהצמרת היהודית וביקשו ממני שאזמין את מר *Hanna Siniora*. את זאת סירבתי  
לעשות.

סיניורה כן בא לי"ערב הישראלי" שמארגניו היו ידידי ישראל בלייבור.  
לא השתתף באירוע זה נציג מהשגרירות.

בברכת מועדים לשמחה,

י' קס  
יהודה אבנר



## HOME NEWS

# Kinnock will visit Israel next year



A warm embrace from Mr Neil Kinnock for the Israeli Ambassador, Mr Avner

From JENNI FRAZER  
Blackpool

Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock gave an undertaking to visit Israel next year when he paid a brief visit to the Labour Friends of Israel lunch at the party's conference last week.

It was a high-flyers' lunch for the LFI: although Mr Kinnock was unable to stay for the meal, his deputy, Mr Roy Hattersley, was there, listening with evident approval to the speakers, Shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Denis Healey and the official Israel Labour Party representative, Mr Lova Eliav. Others present included Mr Gerald Kaufman, MP, Mr Peter Shore, MP, Mrs Barbara Castle, MEP, Mr Tam Dalyell, MP, and Mr Neville Hough, chairman of the Labour Party.

Guests were welcomed by the Israeli Ambassador, Mr Yehuda Avner. Mr Healey summed up the attitude of the Labour Party to the Middle East conflict: It was "immensely encouraging and refreshing," he told guests, "to see at this Labour Party conference both an Israeli socialist who sacrificed his job in the cause of reconciliation (Mr Eliav) and equally impressive to have Hanna Siniora (editor of the East Jerusalem daily, 'Al Fajr') risking not just his job but his life and doing an unprecedented thing in coming to a Labour Friends of Israel reception."

Mr Eliav struck an emotional note which reduced some guests — including Mrs Edna Healey — to tears. He spoke of the need for Israel to base itself firmly on Jewish morals and values.

The strongest of these was the desire for peace, Mr Eliav said, to applause.



A toast to peace? Mr Hanna Siniora (left) with Poale Zion chairman Mr Ian Mikardo, MP, at last week's Labour Friends of Israel's "Israel night"

## Palestinian editor: 'We have to learn to share'

Mr Hanna Siniora, the editor of the East Jerusalem daily "Al Fajr" and a leading Palestinian activist, told the "Jewish Chronicle" in Blackpool that the major stumbling-block to peace in the Middle East was "stereotyping and misconception" on both sides. "I perceive myself," he said, "as someone whose main role is to change attitudes."

It was a first for the Labour Party to invite Mr Siniora as an official Palestinian observer; and certainly a first for Mr Siniora as a known supporter of the PLO to attend the Labour Friends of Israel's fringe reception, the Israel night.

He was given a warm welcome at the Israel night and at the Labour Middle East Council fringe meeting, where he also spoke. Socialist International president Mr Willi Brandt made a special point of going to see him at the LFI reception and if Blackpool seemed a strange venue for reconciliation, nevertheless it was in the air.

Mr Siniora spent long hours with Mr Lova Eliav, the local Israel Labour Party's official representative to the conference; and it was perhaps symptomatic of a new image of the Labour Party in Britain that when its international committee decided to invite Palestinians to its Blackpool conference, it turned to the Israel Labour Party to nominate those Palestinians. In other words, the Labour Party was looking for people who had the approval of the Israelis as well as the PLO.

It was clear that Mr Siniora would not have come to Blackpool without the authorisation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation's chairman, Yasir Arafat. "I speak in my capacity as a resident of the occupied

territories, bearing in mind that both I and Fayed abu Rahme (a Palestinian lawyer also invited to Blackpool but who decided not to attend), were named by Yasir Arafat to be members of the proposed Joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegation to an international conference on peace in the region."

Mr Peres gets one plus from Mr Siniora: "He is the first Israeli Prime Minister to recognise the existence of a Palestinian people. But up till now he has not addressed the national and political rights of the Palestinians — he is trying to solve the Israel/Palestinian conflict through third parties like Jordan, while ignoring the wishes of the Palestinians who want him to negotiate with their representatives — the PLO."

He accepts that there are problems of stereotyping. "Palestinians think Israel is like the Ugly American, a regional superpower after our lands and homes. Israel has the idea that we are not a people, that we are synonymous with terror and that we are out to drive them into the sea."

"We have to perceive each other as two national movements which have affinity to the same homeland and which have to learn to share."

He uses, he says, "every opportunity" to speak to audiences in Israel, "to assure them that Palestinians are human beings whose aspirations are not at their expense. The future Palestinian state is not going to be a stepping stone for the destruction of Israel. We could be working together to make the region the most prosperous and stable in the area."

How could the PLO deliver peace if there is no control over the rejectionist front? "I think the PLO is like the

Knesset — there is a full spectrum of Palestinian views. But in the Palestinian camp the consensus behind Arafat is 70 per cent. How could we control Abu Nidal? We don't condone what he does. In order to defeat him I believe we have to work harder to reach understanding between our two people. We should not allow him to win — he is threatening those who pursue peace."

The PLO, said Mr Siniora, was so concerned about the effect of Abu Nidal on peace negotiations that it was giving security information and intelligence to Western governments, particularly France and Greece.

He was encouraged by his discussions with Mr Eliav. "We are trying to reverse trends, especially those caused by a lack of understanding. The bottom line is ignorance — our worst enemy."

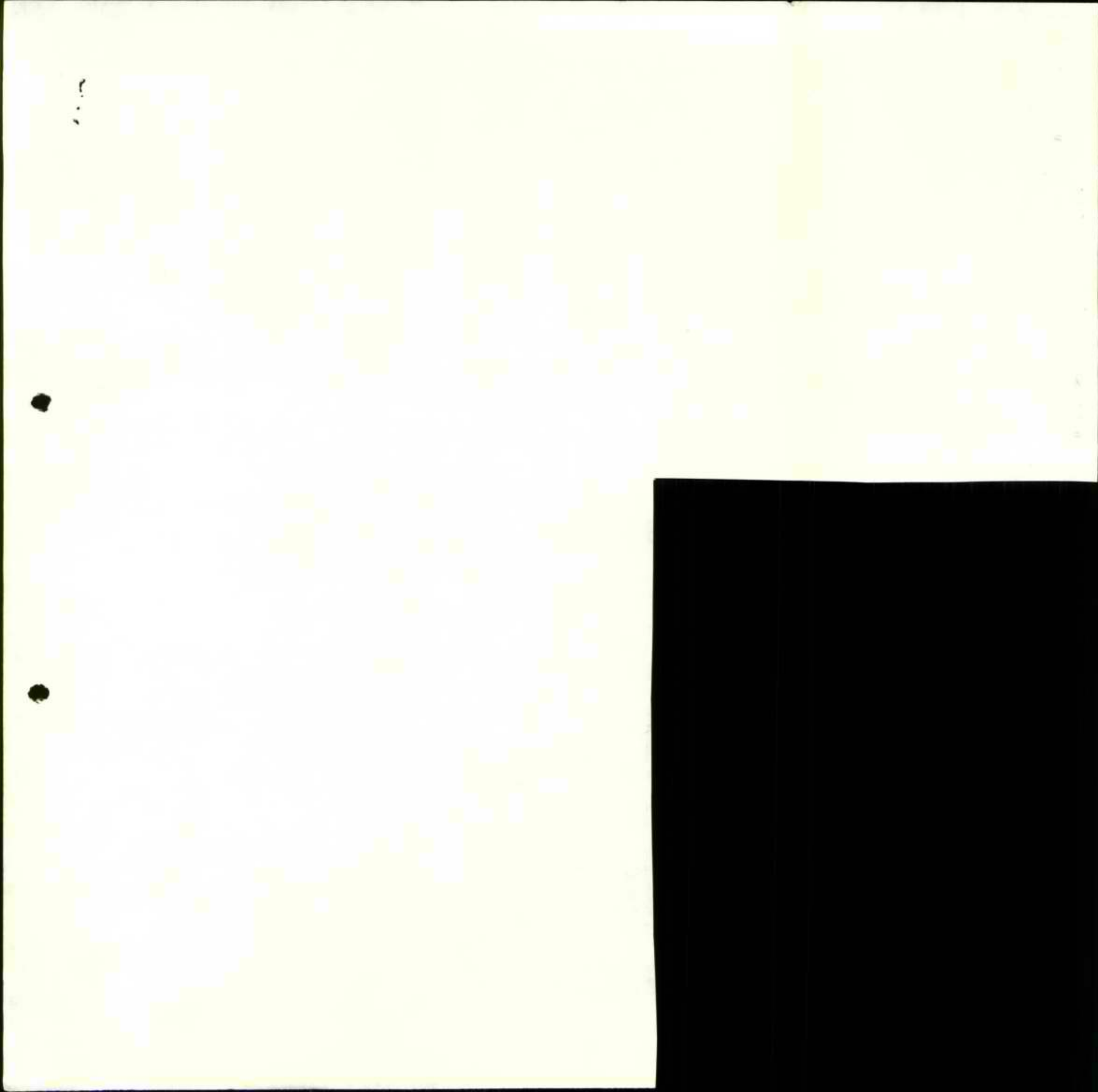
And he gave a stark warning to Israel. "If the Israeli government doesn't want to talk, our support will diminish for peaceable negotiations. Lack of success means that we will go back into the wilderness."

Violence, the final option, was unvoiced but lay unmistakably behind the warning.

•Mr Fayed abu Rahme, a Gaza Strip lawyer and a leading Palestinian moderate, was initially refused an exit visa from Gaza by the military governor of the Gaza Strip. After protest by the Labour Friends of Israel and what is thought to be direct intervention by Mr Peres, Mr abu Rahme was granted a visa. Eventually, he decided not to travel to Blackpool since he was unlikely to arrive in time for any relevant sessions of the Labour conference.

JENNI FRAZER







# COUNTER-ATTACK

## Tories bid to tarnish the Kinnock gloss

● Neil Kinnock carried all before him at Blackpool, exercising leadership muscle in a way Mrs Thatcher herself would approve. This week, at her own party conference, Thatcher's task is to stem the surge in his confidence and spell out her next move to the voters. MICHAEL JONES, Political Editor, reports

MRS THATCHER will give the Tory faithful their pre-election marching orders on Friday, beneath a conference slogan proclaiming The Next Move Forward. Tory strategists hope that her speech, will make clear what that move will be, for the party's private opinion polls show that floating voters have little idea. They want to know: Where does Thatcherism go from here? What would she do with a third term in office? What now are the Tory priorities?

It is a challenge made all the more acute by Neil Kinnock's barnstorming performance in Blackpool last week. In asserting so dramatically his authority over Labour's conference, he changed the nature of the next election. His triumph means that he is now as dominant a figure on the left of British politics as Thatcher is on the right. He left Blackpool on Friday in undisputed command of Labour's policy, its party machine and its electoral strategy.

Despite their loathing of him, even hard left critics are forced to admit the scale of his achievements. In three years, he and his allies have taken over every organ of Labour power — its parliamentary leadership, its national executive, its trade union liaison committee and its annual conference, long the stamping ground of fist-raised extremists who looked unstoppable in their bid to win Labour for revolutionary Marxism.

For the moment, they are in retreat. It was Kinnock's conference and his reward was a display of adulation unknown since the days of Ramsay MacDonald, who became Labour's arch-traitor when he left the party to form a national government with the Tories.

Kinnock and his wife, Glenys, acknowledged their prolonged ovation last week with unfeigned delight. They are the most image-conscious couple Labour has ever had at the top. To their advisers, they have a kind of Kennedy

appeal without the riches — a combination of folksy sincerity, parental youth and Glenys's glamour. Tory Central Office is well aware of the obvious comparisons with Thatcher, who rates well on gutsy leadership but is weak on the softer attributes.

All the same, Kinnock was not slow to exploit his own strengthened grip on his party last week. After putting Liverpool's Militant 7 on to the street, Kinnock ensured his triumph over the hard left by lining himself up for the party chairmanship, a post not held by a Labour leader since MacDonald in 1924. It was a blatant use of leadership muscle that Thatcher would approve and David Steel, freshly bruised by the Liberal assembly, could only envy.

As Kinnock carried all before him, the party's old guard, who privately regard him as a lightweight, vied with trade union bosses to pay tribute. Denis Healey described Kinnock's keynote speech as the greatest leader's oration in 40 years. Roy Hattersley spoke of it as an unparalleled display of patriotism. Bill Jordan, the engineering union leader, said it was the speech of a man with one foot in Downing Street already. Kinnock's closest allies were even more gushing.

John Prescott, who exemplifies the Kinnock style as its smooth-dressing, blunt-talking employment spokesman, declared that Kinnock had not only stamped his authority on the party but had established his independence as leader. It was a view Kinnock did not discourage.

He has long maintained that party policy is subject to his personal veto. Last week he went further. Ending years of controversy, at least until the election, he endorsed the right-wing view that Labour's conference has no policy-making rights at all.

The shadow cabinet and national executive will decide the election manifesto, he said; and they are both under his control. Such is Labour's

yearning for power that nobody demurred. Even Tony Benn, Kinnock's long-standing enemy, stood to applaud the man who helped wreck his own leadership bid in 1981.

But Benn had good cause for delight. Kinnock is still a Bannite on defence and foreign policy and the Bannite agenda here is now official party policy. By accusing the United States of terrorising Nicaragua and warning it against bullying a Labour Britain, Kinnock gave succour to Benn's deep-rooted anti-Americanism.

KINNOCK tried hard, however, not to inflame his growing war with the Americans over Labour's plans to disarm its nuclear deterrent and eject US nuclear forces from their British bases. He began the week by clinging to the illusion that Caspar Weinberger, the American defence secretary, had been disowned by the White House for speaking out of turn in warning Labour that its unilateral disarmament policy threatened Nato and the Anglo-American alliance.

He never expected the Americans to go public in such a way. He began by complaining that Weinberger should have kept his views private and not interfered in Britain's domestic politics. He went on to argue that no American administration would be foolish enough to cold-shoulder a Labour government. It would remember the value of Anglo-American intelligence-sharing around the world, from Cheltenham's GCHQ to Hong Kong.

Shortly after becoming Labour leader, Kinnock explained his attitude to Anglo-American relations in an interview with the Washington Post.

He reckoned that because the "special relationship" predated nuclear weapons, they could pick up where they left off without them. A "variety of bonds" would remain, he said. And Americans could rest assured that US non-nuclear bases in Britain were not at risk.

But Kinnock also touched on the wider implications for Britain's international role in that interview. By going non-nuclear and removing US nuclear bases, Britain would have "the capacity to pursue greater independence in foreign policy", he said. This crucial area of his strategy has never been clarified, but Kinnock's anti-Reagan stance on Nicaragua and South Africa are indicative.

THE Tories will accuse Kinnock this week of risking the break-up of the Western alliance and jeopardising East-West arms negotiations. They will give warning that Kinnock's platform smile masks a spendthrift and extremist programme for government that will isolate Britain and throw its economy into chaos. But Labour leaders are already prepared for such an attack.

Kinnock loses no opportunity to stress his moderation. He did so last Wednesday in listing his priorities in a Channel 4 News interview. They were, in this order, to generate economic growth, to fight unemployment, to restore public services "and to see that our country is properly defended".

The overriding importance given to growth follows a bruising summer row with Tory ministers over the cost of Labour's spending programme. Kinnock sought to underline his economic realism in his conference speech: "Britain has literally to make its way to recovery, produce its way to recovery, sell its way to recovery" — a theme straight from the Thatcher repertoire.

Kinnock also recognises the electoral perils of letting egalitarianism, particularly among skilled manual workers who deserted Labour in droves in both 1979 and 1983. Taxation, he agreed, had no intrinsic virtue. To use it to penalise those earning £15,000-£20,000 a year had "no merit". Labour



Coming up roses: the most image-conscious couple Labour has ever had at the top enjoy the conference cheers

has, in fact, targeted a group well above this level for increased taxation — those earning £27,000 a year and more.

All the same, Labour's spending commitments remain contentious and the party will come under heavy pressure to defend its protestations of fiscal and monetary orthodoxy.

It will also have to show its hand on legislative priorities. Tory Central Office has kept a close watch on Labour commitments to repeal Thatcher legislation and the list is daunting: 17 acts covering employment, wages, trade unions, immigration and nationality, the prevention of terrorism, police and criminal evidence, public order, education, transport, British Aerospace and civil aviation, telecommunications and gas privatisation, and rates.

Douglas Hurd, the home secretary, opened fire on this exposed flank in Bradford last Tuesday. Recalling The Sunday Times's disclosure of the civil-war ratings of Pat Wall, recently confirmed as

**"The Tories' one undeniable strength is Thatcher's power to call the election when she chooses"**

Bradford North's Labour candidate, Hurd probed behind Labour's image.

"How would a Labour government protect the British people against terrorism?" Hurd asked. "They are pledged to repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act, an act whose powers are crucial for the police."

And, referring to the Wapping dispute, he asked how people who wanted to work would be allowed to do so once mass picketing again became legal under a Labour government?

THE Thatcher government badly needs to draw blood with such attacks if it is to stem Labour's surge of confidence. Tory doubters are telling the party that they are no longer sure where the government is going. Ministers accept that the Thatcher appeal has lost its shine and that many voters consider her more of a liability than an asset.

Those close to the prime minister, however, have seen such troughs in her popularity before. They are more worried about the fighting abilities of Tory Central Office than Downing Street and want them to develop

her third-term appeal on three lines:

● That the government's record shows that it has the only comprehensive and distinctive approach to Britain's deep-seated problems;

● That Labour, for all the Kinnock gloss, has policies that are dated and failed;

● That the SDP-Liberal Alli-

ance "is prepared to get into bed with anybody".

While Thatcher's aides worry about the party's ability to match Labour's presentational skills, they draw comfort from their belief that "there is a dawning feeling that if Labour is elected, God help us".

They also have one undeniable strength: Thatcher's

power to call the general election at a time of her choosing. While her inclination, say her advisers, is not to cut and run, she is determined to secure the country against socialism at all costs. In choosing her moment, that ambition will be decisive.

The Downing Street timetable looks like this. First, the

cabinet must settle next year's public-spending limits for each department. That will not be easy. Ministers who believe in the electoral merits of defending high-cost services will clash once more with the Treasury-Downing Street axis which wants a tax-cutting budget.

Departmental disputes will end up in the annual star chamber adjudication chaired by Lord Whitelaw, the deputy prime minister. In a gesture to the cabinet's compromisers, John Biffen, the Commons leader who fell out with the prime minister in July over his appeal for a broad-based election appeal, is expected to keep his star chamber place.

The latest forecasts complicate the cabinet's economic options. Oil prices are likely to rise further during the winter and the Treasury has warned the prime minister that it will be difficult to contain inflation at its present level.

Unemployment remains the other worry. If it were to fall decisively next year, Kinnock's chances could be written off. But the demographic trends of more young people looking for work than the number of people retiring continue to be adverse.

The upshot is that, despite the opposition of Nigel Lawson, the chancellor, Thatcher's inner circle has its eyes on a spring election. "If we're well-placed in the opinion polls next March, the economy is in good shape and we have a modest budget, the pressure could be irresistible," said one confidant.

Meanwhile, Thatcher will exploit her advantage as Ronald Reagan's most favoured ally and as the Western leader who made the first overtures on détente to Mikhail Gorbachev. She has been invited to visit Washington in the next few months to consult the president in advance of Gorbachev's US summit and plans to visit Moscow next spring.

There will also be a visit to France before the year's end and an EEC summit under Thatcher's chairmanship in Britain. Apart from that, Thatcher intends to stay close to home and domestic issues.

This week the Tories come under the spotlight in Bournemouth. While Kinnock plans to capitalise on his conference success, they have to show whether they can live up to their platform slogan and convince the electorate that they have the ideas and willpower to make The Next Move Forward.

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נד: 8

1986

שמו/מיו

אל: אירופה ב'

מאת: השגריר לונדון

ועידת הליובור.

ב-2.10.86 ערכתי צהריום לצירי הועידה שבתקיים בבלקפול.  
השתתפו קרוב ל-150 איש. קינוק השתתף בקוקטיל ואמר  
לי: "בשנה הבאה אני באמת מבקר בישראל".

היה ייצוג נכבד של קבינט הצללים וחברי האקדקוטיבה  
ביניהם דניס הילי, רוי הטסלי, ג'ראלד קאומן (רשימה  
מלאה בדינ').

הנאמים היו הילי ולונה אליאב - נציג מפלגת העבודה.

אליאב ביטא בדברו את הכמיהה של ישראל לשלוט וציין  
את המאמצים שנעשו בשנה האחרונה. דבריו התקבלו בתשואות.

דוח' מלא בדינ'.

אבנר.

יור



# RESOLUTIONS

for the  
85th Annual Conference  
of the Labour Party

Empress Ballroom  
Winter Gardens  
Blackpool

Sunday 28 September  
to Friday 3 October, 1986

ps.11 6.7

501

## Palestine

This Conference, recognising the continued crisis and threat to world peace in the Middle East in which the Palestinian question is the core, calls upon the future Labour Government to press for the convening of the United Nations sponsored international conference on the question of Palestine, on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions, in which all parties to the conflict and the permanent members of the Security Council participate.

Conference believes that no just solution is possible which does not:

- (a) recognise the need for Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied since June 1967;
- (b) achieve the attainment by the Palestinian people of its legitimate, inalienable right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish an independent state in Palestine;
- (d) recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians;
- (d) recognise the right of all states in the region, including Israel, to existence within secure and internationally recognised boundaries, with justice and security for all people, for which the recognition and attainment of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is a necessity.

SUREBITON CLP



11.24

This Conference recognises the continuation and grave violation of human rights by the Khomeini regime, as condemned by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution of December 1985, and the publications by the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran of a list containing the names and particulars of over 12,000 of the total of 50,000 political opponents murdered by the Khomeini regime.

It urges the National Executive Committee to:

- (a) strengthen relations between the Labour Party and the Iranian Resistance and to restrain the repressive and warlike policies of this regime;
- (b) take the necessary steps to cut off the supply of arms and finances to the regime in order to curb the Khomeini regime's policy of "exporting revolution" which manifests itself in the form of international terrorism.

Conference also urges the Party leadership to co-ordinate a campaign, along with other socialist parties and governments, to boycott the purchase and import of Iranian crude oil and to impose other economic and trade sanctions on that country.

DAGENHAM CLP

This Conference, recognising the continued and grave violation of human rights by the Khomeini regime, as condemned by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution of December 1985, and the publication by the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran of a list containing the names and particulars of over 12,000 of the total 50,000 political opponents murdered by the Khomeini regime, urges the National Executive Committee to:

- (a) strengthen the relations between the Labour Party and the Iranian people's resistance and use all necessary facilities to restrain the repressive and war-like policies of this regime;
- (b) take the necessary steps to cut off the supply of arms and finance to the regime in order to aid the struggle of the Iranian masses;
- (c) to take similar steps against the Iraqi Baathist regime.

Conference urges the Party leadership to co-ordinate a campaign along with other socialist parties and governments to boycott the purchase and import of Iranian crude oil and to impose other economic and trade sanctions on that country.

BATTERSEA CLP

This Conference, recognising the continuing violation of human rights by the Khomeini regime, including the murder of 50,000 political opponents, the suppression of women, encompassing a programme to set up "rehabilitation camps" for women, and the closure of universities and the forced despatch of students and schoolchildren to the war front, condemns the Khomeini regime for its repression of the Iranian people in pursuing policies that belong to the middle ages.

Conference urges the National Executive Committee:

- (a) to strengthen links between the Party and the Iranian People's Resistance, and to use its influence in promoting an end to the repressive and warlike behaviour of the Khomeini regime;
- (b) to make it the policy of a Labour government to cease arms supplies and financial assistance to Iran to counter the regime's policy of "exporting revolution" which has made its mark in international terrorism.

BEACONSFIELD CLP

This Conference vehemently condemns the Khomeini regime's policy of exporting the revolution which manifests itself in the continuation of the devastating war with Iraq on the western borders of the country and its export of turbulence as well as its material and financial support for terrorism beyond its borders.

Conference urges the international bodies to marshal their efforts towards further international exposure and isolation of the Khomeini regime, and notes and appreciates the role of the People's Mojahedin of Iran in exposing the terrorist activities and human rights violations of the regime.

Conference calls upon the National Executive Committee, the Parliamentary Labour Party and Labour Peers to take all necessary steps to prevent the sale of all arms and equipment which could facilitate the continuation of the Khomeini regime's policies of repression and belligerence.

Conference further urges the National Executive Committee to strengthen the relationship between the Labour Party and the Iranian People's Resistance, led by Massoud Rajavi, and to use all viable and practical means to constrain the Khomeini regime and its support for terrorism and abuse of human rights.

BRISTOL SOUTH CLP

This Conference:

- (a) noting the protraction of the devastating war between Iran and Iraq, which the Iranian side alone has led to the death and injury of one million people, created three million refugees and caused at least \$250 billion in material damages;
  - (b) bearing in mind that the war is jeopardising peace and stability in the region and allowing the regime to export terrorism and spread sedition;
  - (c) recognising the continuation and grave violation of human rights by the Khomeini regime, as condemned by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution of December 1985, and the publication by the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran of a list containing the names and particulars of over 12,000 of the total 50,000 political opponents murdered by the Khomeini regime;
- urges the National Executive Committee to:
- (i) strength relations between the Labour Party and the Iranian People's Resistance and to use all necessary facilities to restrain the repressive and warlike policies of this regime;
  - (ii) take necessary steps to cut off the supply of arms and finances to the regime in order to curb the Khomeini regime's policy of "exporting revolution" which manifests itself in the form of international terrorism.

ORPINGTON CLP

This Conference, recognising the need to achieve an immediate end of the Iran-Iraq War, supports all efforts to terminate the conflict, and to this end stresses the need for a broad international consensus in support of the peace plan of the National Council of Resistance of Iran.

Conference deplores the suppression of women and the programme of "rehabilitation camps" and urges the National Executive Committee to take measures in conjunction with the National Council of Resistance of Iran to formulate a policy of active opposition to the Khomeini regime and to submit a report to next year's annual Party Conference on the steps it has taken to oppose the policies of the Khomeini regime and to support the just resistance of the Iranian people for peace and liberty.

RAVENSBORNE CLP

This Conference, observing the oppression of women and others by the Khomeini regime in Iran and the regime's proposal to set up "rehabilitation camps", urges the National Executive Committee to:

- (a) confirm support for the resistance groups;
- (b) set up a working party to examine ways of supporting the resistance groups;
- (c) commit the next Labour Government to preventing the sale of arms and military equipment to the regime.

CHERTSEY AND WALTON CLP

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שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

יא' באלול התשמ"ו  
15 בספטמבר 1986

749



ד"ר  
מ.א.מ.

אל : מנהל אירופה ב'  
מאת : השגריר, לונדון

הנדון : הועידה הארצית של האיגודים המקצועיים (T.U.C)

ב-3.9.86 נסעתי לבריטון כדי להשתתף בארוחה מטעם ידידי ישראל ב-T.U.C שנתקיימה בשולי הועידה הארצית.

לכל הדעות האירוע היה מוצלח מאוד בעיקר בזכות ההשתתפות של הבכירים מהאיגודים המקצועיים העיקריים.

אורח הכבוד מטעם ההסתדרות היה ניסן הרפז - מזכיר מועצת פועלי ירושלים. נאווה היה טוב מאוד והתקבל בתשואות. יו"ר היה מיועדנו GAVIN LAIRD - מזכ"ל איגוד מהנדסי החשמל.

נאום ספונטני ממש ננאם ע"י RON TODD - מזכ"ל האיגוד הגדול בבריטניה ה-TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION. כידוע, למחרת הועידה נסעו טוד ורעיתו לישראל כאורח ההסתדרות. אני אמור להיפגש איתו בקרוב ולשמוע ממנו על רשמיו. האיש הוא בעל השפעה רצינית הן באיגודים המקצועיים והן במפלגת הלייבור ואהדתו חשובה לנו.

הארוחה אורגנה ע"י הגב' וולרי קוקס על הצד הטוב ביותר ואני מצרף את מכתבה אלי בו רשימת המשתתפים העיקריים.

הועידה בכללותה עברה בשקט מבחינתנו. שלושה נושאים עמדו במוקד הדיונים:

1. בעית האבטלה.
2. ההערכות לברית בין האיגודים המקצועיים למפלגת הלייבור לקראת הבחירות הבאות.
3. דרום אפריקה (הכשרנו את ידידנו בטיעונים במקרה ויקשור אותנו בענין הדרא"פ אך, לשמחתנו, כמעט ולא הזדקק להם).

ראה שני קטעי עתונות המבטאים משהו מהווי הועידה.

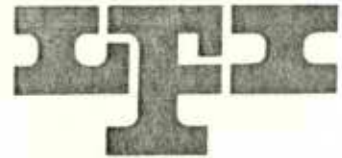
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DIRECTOR: VALERIE COCKS

4th September 1986

H.E. The Israel Ambassador,  
Mr. Yehuda Avner,  
Embassy of Israel  
2, Palace Green,  
Kensington W.8.

Thank you for your note. We were indeed very pleased with the success of the Lunch yesterday.

If I may say so, you were superb and everyone adored you! All the Trade Union Leaders are just mad about you.

Nissan Harpaz was very good. His speech just struck the right note.

Charlie Turnock was very good. He is a highly respected figure in the Trade Union Movement and, his words about peace in Israel reached more of them than practically anything else - because he is one of them. I take the liberty of pointing this out to you, as it was only by chance that I discovered he had been out to the Labour Party Congress in Israel as the official delegate from the British Labour Party and asked him to speak at our Lunch.

I understand that there will soon be a new Director of the International Committee of the Israeli Labour Party. I would be most grateful if you can endeavour to see that we are kept informed of such things in the future.

The assembled guests at our Lunch were probably the most prestigious group of Trade Union Leaders gathered together at any time in the whole year.

The enormous added bonus was Ron Todd's spontaneous contribution. (I have written a note to him to thank him and to wish him a good trip to Israel.

I have also written to Gavin Laird but, what else can one say to that fabulous man but thank you.

There were 150 leading Trade Unionists at the lunch. They included:-

Neville Hough (G.M.B.A.T.U.)

N.E.C., Labour Party.

This year's Chairman of the Labour Party.

David Basnett and Moss Evans

who want to work with us now and

Tudor Thomas

the retired General Secretary of A.P.E.X.

He also told me he would like to work with us.

Garfield Davies

General Secretary of U.S.D.A.W.

Sheila Smith

President of N.A.L.G.O.

Leif Millis

General Secretary of B.I.F.U.

John Daly

General Secretary of N.A.L.G.O.

George Wright

Who will be the next General Secretary of  
T.G.W.U. when Ron Rodd retires in 3 years.

Bill Jordan

President of A.E.U.

Ken Cure. A.E.U.

National Executive Committee - Labour Party

Cyril Ambler

The President of C.O.H.S.E.

Alan Tuffin

General Secretary of U.C.W.

Tony Clarke U.C.W.

National Executive Labour Party

Roy Evans

General Secretary of I.S.T.C.

Mr. J.A. Graham

Mr. Raywood

Mr. Ellis

The three senior men in C.P.S.A.

John Newman

Deputy General Secretary of N.U.M.A.S.T.

More than half of the Regional Organisers  
of the T.G.W.U.

I think we could safely say that our Lunch is now considered one of the highlights of the T.U.C.

I was pleased when Nissan Harpaz told me that he was a friend of the new Director of the Bank Hapoalim and would pass on the message that their money was being well spent but, I was worried to hear from the new U.K. Manager, Mr. Michael Siemion, that they are not certain that they can continue our £5,000 allocation - without which there will be no future lunches.

It is an enormous plus for us that you are present on such occasions.

All best wishes,

Valerie

Valerie Cocks  
Director  
Labour Friends of Israel



# We work together or decline without work separately'

## Job creation top priority for Kinnock

● Mr Kinnock called for a return to consensus politics and pledged the creation of a million jobs

● Mr Ray Buckton, the rail union chief, became the latest left-winger to be voted off the TUC council

● Leaders of moderate unions revived Mr Terry Duffy's proposal for a centre-right alliance of 1.8 million members

● Motions on increased pensions, tax reform and an occupational pension fund review were carried **Page 4**

By Nicholas Wood, Political Reporter

Mr Neil Kinnock yesterday fleshed out the thinking behind Labour's tough proposals to create one million new jobs within the first two years of taking office.

Union leaders and delegates at the Trades Union Congress conference in Brighton welcomed his call for a renewed consensus embracing all sides of industry to tackle unemployment.

The Labour leader was warmly received after making job creation his top priority and lashing the Conservatives as "the architects of the country's ruin."

But in a key passage of his address to the conference, aimed at heading off the politically damaging charge that Labour is set to become the prisoner of the trade union barons, Mr Kinnock said he would not bow to sectional interests and would not be diverted from his course if the unions failed to co-operate with him.

He said: "In this movement we hold to the fundamental belief that government must

strive to serve all of the people, that government exists to serve the wide public interest and not narrow vested interests".

A tough, uncompromising Mr Kinnock savaged the Conservatives and derided them as the "enemies of consensus", contemptuous of give and take and eager to impose their will on others.

He said: "For the sake of the whole country we want government with agreement. Shared objectives. Consensus. It doesn't call for dumb deference, for regimentation: that is not consensus."

"It doesn't call either for a cosy, cosmetic embrace that isn't worthy of the name consensus. That wouldn't outlive the first test of reality, take the first strain."

"It does call for this movement and for everyone else to understand that our common condition in this country is such that we either live and work together or decline without work separately."

The Labour leader backed up his rhetoric by promising

short and long-term plans to fight unemployment:

● A two-year emergency policy to generate a million jobs.

● A five-year medium-term employment strategy of investment to promote industrial reconstruction and modernization so that new jobs last.

● A 10-year planning horizon to establish the "coherence and continuity of economic policy" needed by the country.

Trade union leaders, local authority chiefs, private employers, and heads of nationalized industries would all be drawn into the process of establishing a programme of concerted action.

Mr Kinnock struck a cord running deep through this week's deliberations at Brighton: the necessity for practical policies that will convince the electorate that Labour is serious about regaining power and capable of galvanizing the economy and restoring the public services.

His tone, sombre yet determined, was in tune with the

Continued on page 4, col 1

## Unions in talks for super alliance

By Our Political Reporter

Leaders of moderate trade unions yesterday held secret talks aimed at forming a conglomerate of 1.8 million members, eclipsing even the left-dominated Transport and General Workers Union, the country's biggest.

The meeting during the Trades Union Congress conference in Brighton was set up by Mr Bill Jordan, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and Mr Eric Hammond, general secretary of the Electrical, Electronic and Plumbing Trade Union.

The move for a centre-right alliance revives a plan drawn up by the late Mr Terry Duffy when he was president of the engineers. It is thought to stand a good chance of success given the determination of the two men to counter the influence of the left in the TUC's upper echelons.

With membership falling throughout the labour movement, all unions are under pressure to cut costs and amalgamations are becoming increasingly common.

Among the other general secretaries present at the meeting were Mr Roy Grantham of the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff and Mr Albert Williams of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians.

Mr Roy Evans, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, was prevented by his national executive from being present but remains keen to forge an alliance with the engineers.

The talks will continue in coming months and if the moderates can succeed in their balancing act, they would end the traditional dominance of the 1.4 million-strong TGWU over the labour movement.

The move will worry Mr Ron Todd, the leader of the transport workers, who has been trying to stem a slide in his membership by trying to woo the 250,000-strong UCATT. But these plans have collapsed with the hard left's loss of control of the building workers' executive.

Union power politics lie behind the move to create the so-called "super union". With the left-wing unions massing to forge new alliances, their opposite numbers on the right feel they must respond in kind.

## Buckton loses seat on general council

By Tim Jones

Moderate union leaders yesterday consolidated their control over the TUC when Mr Ray Buckton, a veteran left-winger and former chairman of the congress, was voted off the body's policy making general council.

Mr Buckton, general secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, became the fourth hardliner in as many years to fall to the march of the moderates within the movement. He was ousted by Mr John Morton, general sec-

retary of the Musicians' Union.

Mr Buckton is still recovering from an operation and was not present in Brighton to witness his defeat.

Left-wing union leaders were furious at the outcome, as they believed they had an unwritten agreement that they would not oppose the election of Mr John Lyons, of the Engineers and Managers' Association, in return for the moderates dropping opposition to Mr Buckton.







WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 3 1986

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone: 01-481 4100

## MR KINNOCK SPELLS IT OUT

Not even the Labour leader's most hostile opponents have ever said that he is a poor platform speaker. And he is getting better all the time.

His courage — so often found wanting during the miners' strike — is growing too. Last year at Bournemouth Mr Kinnock finally found the words to assault his Militant Tendency. Yesterday he stared the trade union barons full in the face and told them that, if necessary, a Labour government could do without their help.

His vision spanned the generations. With all the passion of a good conservative, he told his audience that societies exist in time, that the present generation has obligations to the generation past and to generations to come — pensions and schools, in crude electoral currency. His theme was national unity, focussed in this speech on what he sees as the need to rebuild industry and reconstruct employment.

As always the Kinnock new deal was presented with little arithmetic, scant attention to the international dimension, and faint understanding of the wellsprings of economic activity. There was, substantively, little new in his speech. There was nothing to boost the sceptics' confidence in his competence to govern the country. Yet as an exercise in revisionism, as a part of his campaign to fit his party for government, it ranks with his performance at the Labour conference last year.

Its point was the audience to which he was speaking. Yesterday Mr Kinnock showed his greatest mettle in forcing on the general secretaries the antagonism between national objectives as set out by an elected government and the organized self-interest of the unions. And — for yesterday at least — the general secretaries had little choice but to accept his words.

Interviewed afterwards, Mr Ron Todd of the Transport and General Workers as good as admitted that the Kinnock definition of the unions as sectional interests was correct. When it came to it, a Prime Minister (Labour or Conservative) could deal with the unions only as factions. The unions stand outside the circle of legitimacy in governing Britain. Twenty years on, the point of Harold Wilson's bid to redefine the relationship of a Labour government and the unions looks to have been almost realised.

What the practical consequence of yesterday's linguistic accommodations will be has yet to be worked out in the TUC-Labour Party liaison committee and other such forums. Mr Kinnock has, however, set out the heads of agreement. They demand great concessions from the unions. He emphasized investment, which can only take place at the expense of consumption, and wages. A new Kinnock word is efficiency, which surely means management's right to manage. Self-disci-

pline was asked of the unions yesterday: a one-sided incomes policy?

In the light of previous failures of Statements of Intent and Social Contracts, perhaps formulae as vague as yesterday's are safer. How many times before have general secretaries emerged from a sea-side debate promising fealty only, months later, to lead their members in pursuit of rewards unjustified by output measures and (in the public sector) unaffordable?

But the most important implication of Mr Kinnock's speech goes beyond the sticking power of any one particular deal. It is that This Great Movement of Ours is reaching the end of its useful life. For individual trade unionists to belong to the Labour Party and to work within it for ideological objectives is legitimate. For them to equate trade unionism and some great emancipatory movement is dishonest. The political objectives of trade unionism grow more and more obscure.

Mr Kinnock, it seems, begins to see that, and what it means for the Labour Party in the country at large. The union general secretaries are reluctant to contemplate the marginal position in the nation's life which they occupy. Mr Todd spoke yesterday of individual unionists fighting for policies within the Labour Party — but would they forgo the block votes? The logic of Mr Kinnock's "national" Labour Party is, sooner rather than later, an end to their grip.



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תאריך : 29.08.86 משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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חוזם: 8,7194

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נד: 6

שמו/מידוי.

אל: מאור אירובה ב

מאת: הקונסול הכללי לונדון

ביקור משלחת הליובור

לשלי 240.

דר מקדונלד הארינה שהותה עד ל-12/9 בבוקר  
 הבטיחו בא מקום במלון עד אז, והבטיחו מיוזמת שם המלון  
 ובהנחה שאנו מכסים 7 הלילות הראשונים, כמה עליה לשלם  
 עבור 4 הלילות הנוספים

שא

ת שמוק, מאור, ענוג, אירוב

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שמו

אל: המשרד, נר: 240, מ: לוונדון  
 דח: מ, טג: ש, תא: 280886, רח: 1600

שמו/מיד

אל: מאורי, אירופה 2

מאת: הקונסול הכללי, לוונדון

ביקור משלחת הלייבור.

1. דר' מקדונלד הודיעה שאיננה צריכה עוד להקדים צאתה, וכה"פ, מבקשת להשאר עוד כמה ימים אחרי ה-8.9 על חשבונה. אמא הבטיחו המשרד ההרמנה במלון.

2. גם אנדרסון התקשר וביקש להבטיח שיום ד' 3.9 בערב יישאר פנוי לפגישה הנערכת ע"י הקונסול הכללי שלהם. הוא לא הצליח להתקשר עם קלרק, אך משוכנע שלא חל כל שינוי בתכניתו.  
 דגם.

יו

תפ: שהח, מונבל, ממנובל, ענוג, אירב, שמורק, אורחים

# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

6260

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יציא

שמו

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\*\*

אל: לונדון, נר: 714, מ: המשרד  
דח: ר, סג: ש, תא: 180886, רח: 1500

גיל וול

שמו/רגיל

השגריר

ועידת האיגודים המקצועיים וועידת הלייבור. שלכם 279 מ-30.7.  
1. כנציג ההסתדרות לוועידת האיגודים המקצועיים מונה ניסן  
הרפז מוכיר מועצת פועלי ירושלים וחבר הוועדה המרכזת של  
ההסתדרות.

2. לוועידת הלייבור מרס מונה נציג.

אירופה 2

תפ: שהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ענוג, אירב



20

1984 年 6 月 1 日 星期日



ץ 4

ח' באב תשמ"ו  
13 באוגוסט 1986  
2.652/886

לכבוד  
מר ישראל גת  
המחלקה לקשרי חוץ  
מפלגת העבודה  
רח' הירקון 110  
תל-אביב

מס. 11

ד"ר

הנדון : הועידה של הברודרסקאפ

נבקש להעביר לתשומת לבך את מכתבו של שגרירנו בשטוקהולם  
מה-24.7.86 ומצורפיו, וזאת על פי בקשתו.

בכבוד רב,

איחן מרגלית  
סגן מנהל  
מחלקת אירופה 2

mark

ה'תשנ"ב/ג' אלול

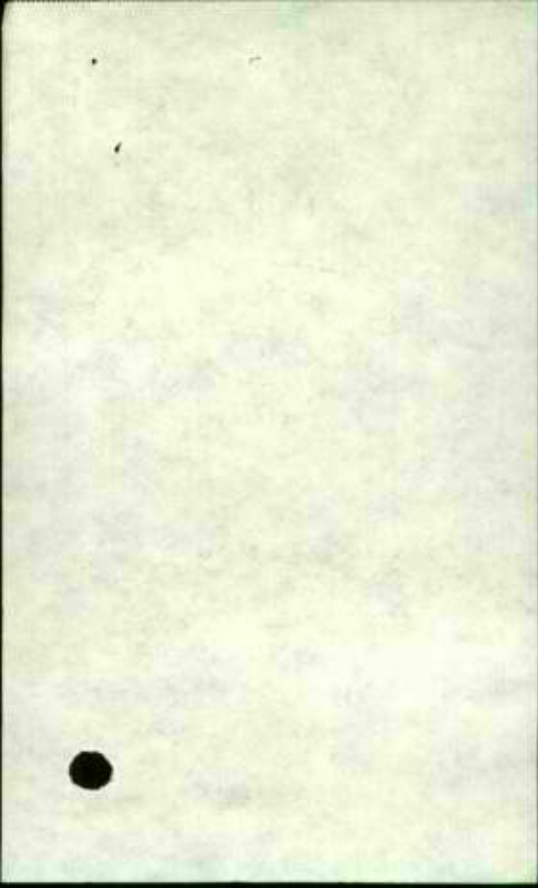
י"ח אדר ה'תשנ"ב

ה'תשנ"ב - י"ח אדר

ה'תשנ"ב - י"ח אדר

28







AMBASSADE D'ISRAEL

ש נ ר י ר ו ת י ש ר א ל

י'ז תמוז התשמ'ו

שטוקהולם

738

24 יולי 1986

אל:אירופה 2

מאת:מ.לוי, שטוקהולם.

הנדון: לקראת הועידה השנתית של הברודר סקאפ

הארגון הנ"ל יקיים ועידתו בסולנה במועד 3.8.1986 - 30.7. מעיון בחוברת של הועידה, אותה השגנו בעוד מועד, מתברר כי מתוך כ-80 הצעות החלטה שהוגשו לשבעה יש נגיעה לעניננו.

ישראל - דרא'פ.

בנושא האפרטהייד הוגשו הצעות מס.9 - 4 המוקדשות ליחסי שבדיה - דרא'פ. הצעות מס. 10 - 15 מוקדשות ליחסי ישראל - דרא'פ. מעיון בנוסח הצעות מס.10 ו-11 (תרגום מצ'ב) תוכלו ללמוד על המגמה המעוותת של *SINGLING OUT* לגבי ישראל. להצעה מס.10 סיכויים עדיפים להתקבל בשל תמיכתה של הועדה המרכזת בראשותו של א ברט סבנסון, העומד לפרוש מתפקידו בוועידה זו.

אש'פ.

הצעה מס.16 נוגעת להכרה באש'פ ומענינת לא פחות עמדת הועדה המרכזת המתיישרת עם עמדת המפלגה והממשלה בנדון. (תרגום מצ'ב) ראוי לתשומת לב ההקשר של גישתם לאש'פ לקיום הסימפוזיון המזה'תי (עליו דיווחתי במכתבי מה-11.6). שם האירוע יהיה "הועדה של התנועה העממית על פלשתינה." וכפי שנודע לי היא תתקיים ב-25.10 (לתשומת לבכם כי באותה תקופה אמזרה להתארח בשבדיה משלחת המשמרת הצעירה - ר' מכתבי מה-2.5) אבקשכם להעביר המידע הנ"ל למחלקה לקשרי חוץ במפלגת העבודה, הן בשל מגמת הברודרסקאפ להפעיל הצנור המפלגתי בסוגית ישראל - דרא'פ והן בשל הרקע הנוסף לסימפוזיון המזה'ת שבענינו טרם קבלנו תגובה מהותית מהארץ. במישור האופרטיבי ציידנו בעוד מועד באמצעות ועדת הסולידריות את ס/יור



AMBASSADE D'ISRAEL

ש נ ר י ר ו ת י ש ר א ל

-- 2 --

הברודרסקאפ טורה ידסטיג (העומד אף הוא לפרוש) ועוד 9 מחברי הארגון, שהומלצו  
כמהימנים, בחומר מתאים על מנת לסייע להם בדיוני הועידה בסוגיות הנ"ל.  
דיווח נוסף נשגר לאחר הועידה.

בברכה  
  
מרדכי לוי.

העתק: הסברה/מרחבי.

מ.פ.



TRANSLATION

bs

THE SWEDISH ASSOCIATION OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATES

CONGRESS IN SOLNA 30 JULY - 3 AUGUST 1986.

PROGRAM

ANNUAL REPORT

MOTIONS.

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...

Motion No 10. Israel-South Africa cooperation

Ever since its birth the State of Israel has had a close cooperation with South Africa. Since 1976, this cooperation has become intensified mainly in the military, technological and nuclear fields.

Thereby Israel has broken against all UN resolutions concerning the combating of apartheid in South Africa. Concrete cases of Israeli violations of the arms export ban have been proven on several occasions.

Today, the liberation struggle in South Africa is being intensified. The popular resistance has since long looked for support in world community and in the repudiation of other states of the racist regime.

With reference to the above, the Congress is recommended to resolve that SKSF shall work for:

that SAP (Swedish Labour Party) shall use its contacts with the labour party in Israel (e g through the Socialist International) to use pressure on Israel to respect the UN resolutions against apartheid and to cease its cooperation with South Africa in the military and technological as well as the economic and political fields.

Stockholm February 28, 1986

Sven Lindberg

Motion No 11. Israel-South Africa cooperation

Ever since its birth Israel has had a close cooperation with South Africa. Since 1976 this cooperation has become intensified mainly in the military, technological and nuclear fields.

Thereby Israel has broken against all UN resolutions concerning the combating of apartheid in South Africa. Concrete cases of Israeli violations of the arms embargo have been proven.

Today, the conflicts in South Africa are greater than ever. ANC is looking for support in the world community and in the repudiation of other states of the South African apartheid regime.

Therefore Israel's deceitful acting against the black in South Africa appears more clearly than ever.

With reference to the above the Congress is recommended to resolve that SKSF shall work for:

that the Swedish government shall use its contacts with the labour party in Israel (e g through the Socialist International) to use pressure on Israel to respect the UN resolutions against apartheid and to cease its cooperation with South Africa in the military and technological as well as in the economic and political fields.

Asja Granath

Norrköping February 26, 1986

Motion No. 12. (same)

Bollnäs March 12, 1986

Carl-Gustav Olshammar

Motion No 13. (same)

Upplands Väsby February 23, 1986

Lena Lönnqvist

Motion No. 14 (same)

Uppsala February 23, 1986

Christer Gustavsson

Motion No. 15. (same)

Karlstad

Jan-Erik Ingvall

Statement by the Executive Committee with reference to Motions 10-15.

Presenter: Evert Svensson

In 1977 the United Nations decided about a binding arms embargo against South Africa. Israel has undertaken to follow this resolution 418. In the United Nations has been proven several occasions when Israel both exported arms to and developed arms together with South Africa. This concerns e.g. the spy plane "Israel Robot Warrior" which was shot down over Mocambique in May 1983, 155 mm haubitses equipped with nuclear warheads and the Gabriel missile used by the marine. Probably this cooperation means that South Africa's military capacity is on a level that the country would otherwise not maintain.

Most serious in the context is the nuclear cooperation between these two states, whereof none of them signed the non-proliferation agreement. Israel has played a big role on the development of South African nuclear technology, both for civilian and military usage.

All military cooperation with Israel must of course be condemned. When the situation in South Africa now more and more is marked by violence, the military force of the apartheid regime will become a horrible obstacle for a transfer to majority rule.

In the United Nations Sweden is working for a boycott of South Africa in all fields. Measures in that direction must be taken by all states, each one by himself and together, the relations of which can influence the development of events in South Africa.

In Israel there is an opinion within the Labour party and Histadrut demanding that Israel shall interrupt the military cooperation with South Africa. It is important that our party uses the contacts we have to support this opinion.



The Executive Committee thus agrees with the recommendation of the movers. The Executive Committee wants to work for that the Swedish labour movement's organizations brings up contacts with Israel's Labour Party of the kind avocated by the movers. An opportunity to do this is offered at the beginning of Autumn 1986 when a major popular movement conference on Palestine will be held in Stockholm on the initiative of SKSF. The Executive Committee also in a longer perspective wants to work for maintaining such contacts.

The Executive Committee recommends the congress to resolve

- to support the motion no 10 and
- to consider motions nos 11-15 answered.

#### Motion No 16. Recognition of the PLO

The last period has been difficult for the Palestinian people and its representative, the PLO. Many attempts are being made to create "solutions" over the head of the Palestinians. "Solutions" which do not satisfy the rights of the Palestinian people.

To achieve a lasting and just peace in the Middle East it is necessary that the demands and rights of the Palestinian people are satisfied.

I therefore recommend the congress to resolve to support the following demand on the Swedish government:

- recognize the PLO as have countries like e g Austria, Greece and Spain,
- develop the contacts between the Swedish and Palestinian peoples.
- work for a solution which satisfies the national and democratic rights of the Palastinians,
- work for a UN conference on the Middle East where all parties concerned participate on equal terms, and where the Palestinians are represented by the PLO.

Upplans Väsby March 27, 1986

Carl-Ejnar Blesser

The Executive Committee:

Presenter: Evert Svensson

No lasting or just peace in the Middle East is possible without the participation of the Palestinians and without the right of the Palestinians to their own territory being recognized. We support the efforts for an international peace conference on the Middle East under UN auspices. The PLO is thereby the legitimate spokesman of the Palestinian. Already at the congress in Karlstad in 1978 the SKSF determined this.

A peace settlement in the Middle East can only take place through negotiations. This means that Israel and the PLO must recognize each other de facto. The Swedish government should thereby both in direct contacts with the parties and in the UN continue to work on diplomatic way for a negotiation settlement.

When it comes to recognizing the PLO the Swedish government has never before recognized an organization diplomatically. According to the so called universal principle applied by Sweden governments which control the territory of its country and have achieved political stability are recognized. Other countries, as those mentioned by the mover, have a different practice.

In this connection we would like to emphasize the importance of that PLO's leader Yassir Arafat was invited to Sweden in 1983. It is important that the Swedish government in the future maintains and makes use of the contacts with the PLO, including the information office in Stockholm.

The Executive Committee also in the future intends to maintain this line in its contacts with the government and the party board.

The Executive Committee would also like to point at the initiative taken as proposed by the IU in March 1985 when SKSF invited a number of Swedish assistance organizations to discuss the future supervision of the situation of the Palestinians on occupied territory. SKSF's initiative

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was then welcomed by the organizations invited, among which some will play hosts to a corresponding meeting at the end of 1986. On this occasion, as on the popular movement conference on Palestine that will take place during the Autumn of 1986 on the initiative of the Association, the SKSF will bring up, within popular movements and assistance organizations, the problems of the Palestinian people.

The Executive Committee recommends the Congress to resolve

to consider the motion answered.





# מפלגת העבודה הישראלית

ה מ ר כ ז

המחלקה לקשרי חוץ

10.8.86

תל-אביב

ל י"ב/ו - נ"ע

11.11.86

ד"ר

אל : מנהל מחלקת  
משרד החוץ  
יב"מ

ה.י.

הנידון : מינוי אברהם הצמרי כמנהל המחלקה לקשרי חוץ

אברהם הצמרי (מושקה) נתמנה החל מ- 1.8.86 כמנהל המחלקה לקשרי חוץ.

מושקה עוסק שנים רבות בנושאים שונים הקשורים עם יחסינו בינלאומיים בהסתדרות ושנים רבות ריכז במחלקה את הקשרים עם אמריקה הלטיבית.

עם כניסתו לתפקיד אני מאחל לו הצלחה (יהיה זקוק להתרבה איחולים).

בברכה

ישראל גת  
יו"ר המחלקה



The Times

7.8.86

Editor 7<sup>th</sup>

# Papering under the Tory cracks

## THE TIMES PROFILE

CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE

**C**onservative Central Office, the London HQ of the Tory party machine, is used to abuse from its friends. It is always an easy scapegoat for frustrated MPs, voluntary workers, even Cabinet ministers. If things go wrong, blame the party bureaucrats, goes the cry. Words like "idle", "out-of-touch" and "spendthrift" permanently battle for space in the political air.

This week, with the stories of the rift between Mrs Thatcher and the man who currently runs Central Office, Mr Norman Tebbit, the abuse has hit an unusually high point, even for the inured inhabitants of Smith Square.

The best way to understand the Tories' elegantly fronted office in Westminster is to liken it to a lock on a canal. Around the middle of the parliamentary term, it begins to fill with people and money as the level of election readiness rises. It peaks at the campaign itself and then the process goes into reverse. The people and the money drain away until it is time for the cycle to start all over again.

With such a degree of ebb and flow it is perhaps not surprising that the party which likes to stand for solid British virtues seems often - and particularly this week - to have so volatile an HQ.

It is the largest and - for all the occasional rows over staff-cutting economies - the best-financed of the four party organizations. But it has an oddly-assorted mixture of people behind its doors. A section of its staff are long-term retainers, untouched by the feverish entrances and exits and resigned to the poor pay and frequent changes of style, management and dogma. They work side by side with a quick-change cast of short-termers of whom the most senior is the chairman himself.

Chairmen bring in their own people; there is a rapid turnover of younger researchers who may stop only long enough to get their footing on the political ladder; election build-ups bring in yet more specialists on temporary secondment. The inside of the building reflects this turnover: it is a warren of small, poky rooms divided by often very temporary partitions.

High policy coexists with humdrum doorstep politics. The chairman at Central Office may be one of a Prime Minister's closest political confidants; his colleagues

may be arbitrating disputes in far-flung constituencies about coffee-morning accounting. On the same day a watchful (but not overdominating) eye has to range over 650 parliamentary constituencies which have to be brought to the election start line with a presentable candidate, and a minister may have to be briefed for *Question Time* in the midst of a crisis like Westland.

For three weeks every five years, party headquarters has the world at its feet: its media hammer on the door while Cabinet ministers listen humbly to explanations of target voters and market segmentation. The moment it has helped put the leader in Downing Street, its power and influence begins to evaporate.

**D**esigning an election-winning strategy is always harder when a party is in government: much policy-making will be done in Whitehall, much presentation is out of Central Office hands. There is the old Catch-22 facing incumbents campaigning for another term: presenting a new plan to the electorate is liable to provoke questions about why the Government hasn't thought about it or done it before.

At the moment, the Conservatives are feeling the force of this over both education and crime rates. Public dissatisfaction has generally helped the Conservatives on these issues in the past but that is now offset by scepticism about the government's ability to make an impact after failing to do so after seven years in office.

Worse than this are the interconnected problems which lie behind the recent rash of stories suggesting that Norman Tebbit's relations with Downing Street had deteriorated to the point where he might be about to resign. At the heart of this is unmistakable evidence that Mrs Thatcher does not share her party chairman's view of the strategy which the party needs now.

These snippets of information about secret meetings at Chequers to consider new research findings have made already uncomfortable Tory MPs in marginal seats even more uneasy. The huge parliamentary majority delivered in 1983 by the collapse of the Labour vote brought in dozens of pleasantly surprised new MPs who - short of a very dramatic turnaround



Mrs Thatcher's image makers past and present (clockwise from bottom left): Norman Tebbit, present party chairman; Cecil Parkinson, party chairman at the 1983 election; Lord McAlpine, party treasurer; Sir Gordon Reece, communications adviser in the 1979 and 1983 campaigns; Michael Dobbs (left), deputy chairman of Saatchi and Saatchi on secondment as Tebbit's chief of staff, with Harvey Thomas (right), yesterday announced as director of promotions and presentation; and Jeffrey Archer, deputy chairman

- will not be in the next parliament. They have little else to do except ponder the nuances of culpability for the Westland and British Leyland debacles.

The conclusions drawn by many of them are similar to those drawn inside the circle of non-Central Office advisers around the Prime Minister.

Tebbit's electoral analysis, and that of his key lieutenants, is firmly rooted in making sure that the party is not distracted by the threat

from the Alliance. Those who disagree with this, including the MPs directly challenged by the Alliance and not by Labour, are worried by the unreflectively traditional extremism-bashing aimed at Labour.

Occasionally this battle pops up in the coded utterances of ministers; Douglas Hurd, in the wake of Westland, said pointedly that a third term would not be won by "scrapping our opponents". "The problem", one dissenter said, "is

that our guns are simply pointing in the wrong direction".

Tebbit is confronted by a genuinely new problem. Every wheel and cog in the Conservative and Labour party machines has been designed and maintained for years on the assumption of a two-party fight. The slick 1983 campaign, masterminded by Cecil Parkinson hit a tempting Labour Party target where it hurt most and sidelined the Alliance.

Now the scene has changed. The

Alliance has steadily enlarged its hold on local councils: its opinion poll rating refuses to go below 20 per cent; talk of coalition and hung parliaments is incessant.

Central Office projects a clear outlook on three-party politics which amounts to the view that it is a temporary phenomenon. This philosophy defines Labour as the "main threat" - in the words of one key planner - while acknowledging that many Conservative voters were in fact defecting to the Alliance. But he added that this was a short-term tactical problem.

**A**fter the council elections last year, Central Office encouraged its council and parliamentary candidates to apply to London for help in countering the Alliance. The burst of energy quickly fizzled out and has reappeared only recently. Virtually its only tangible effect on the ground has been to divide the regular "know-your-enemy" briefing into separate Labour and Alliance newsletters.

Central Office is poised to unveil several new campaigning weapons which have been in preparation for most of this year. They will look and sound impressive - a massive direct mail campaign, upgraded computers, greater regionalization of campaigning, new membership benefits - but the message which these are designed to convey remains fuzzy.

The Central Office defence against the charges that its stance is out of date and too static relies on the counter-charge that the rest of the party leadership cannot deliver a clear enough line for the headquarters machine to go out and sell. The counter-attack will be carried on to the party conference at which many of the enhanced campaigning techniques will be unveiled in full.

Norman Tebbit suffers two disadvantages. First, with the arrival of Cecil Parkinson to succeed Lord Thorneycroft as chairman, the job suddenly became massively visible. The Falklands war gave him a ready platform. Tebbit is undiplomatic with the media, mistrustful of it, and was not born with looks which come across as friendly and reassuring on television.

Second, his intellectual appetites are for policy and not presentation. He regards himself as one of the last guardians of Thatcherite radicalism in a Cabinet which is tending to forget how it all began. Some of the criticisms of the complacency of the current Saatchi & Saatchi plans for the run-up to the election simply reflect the fact that Tebbit finds selling a good deal less congenial than designing.

George Brock

## Trident and the taxman

A growing number of people opposed to nuclear arms are withholding the taxes that fund them

Every evening, Edward Stanton waits for a visit from the bailiffs. They have been once this month already and taken away his electric typewriter. He doesn't believe that it can possibly fetch quite enough when they auction it, so they are bound to be back for more.

Stanton is a contractor in Cumbria and owes the Inland Revenue precisely £250, the sum he has calculated that the average British taxpayer contributes annually towards Trident.

It's not that he cannot pay the money he owes: he has simply decided not to. He says that the weapons of genocide are illegal, and believes there should be an alternative tax fund for those who oppose nuclear warfare.

Stanton has been pursuing his cause through the English courts for three and a half years. He has quoted the Bishop of Lincoln's refusal to pay a levy towards Richard the Lionheart's wars in



Paying for peace: Edward Stanton awaits the bailiffs

France, and a 1917 High Court ruling that, where two statutes are in conflict, the one which follows Christian law prevails. But no judge has been prepared to take him seriously.

Stanton is not alone. Arthur Windsor, a retired librarian from Gloucester, spent three weeks in prison this spring for refusing to pay £109.05 to the Inland Revenue. He had sent them a cheque for the money he owed, but had made it out to the Overseas Development Administration. They sent it back to him.

As a formal lobby, the



Ms. 11.87





כ"ט בתמוז תשמ"ו  
5 באוגוסט 1986  
2.550/852

היט 11.11

אל : גב' יעל ורד, שטחים

מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : איגודים מקצועיים בשטחים

רצ"ב לידיעתך צלום מאמר שהופיע בביטאון האיגודים בבריטניה  
על איגודים מקצועיים בשטחים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית



## Not quite Jerusalem

The visit by a delegation from the Palestine Trade Union Federation (PTUF) last December was fraught with difficulties from the start. NALGO had visited Jordan and the West Bank in April 1984, and had invited a return visit in May 1985. The Israeli authorities twice refused exit visas for the Palestinian delegation, claiming that they were a security risk, despite protests from NALGO and the TUC.

Following this Mussa el Jenes, Kader Burgan, Haider Anabtani and Mahmud al Dweek took the risk of slipping over the Allenby Bridge into Jordan before the Israeli authorities could stop them, and made their way to Britain. Here, they travelled around many NALGO districts and held talks with the NALGO president.

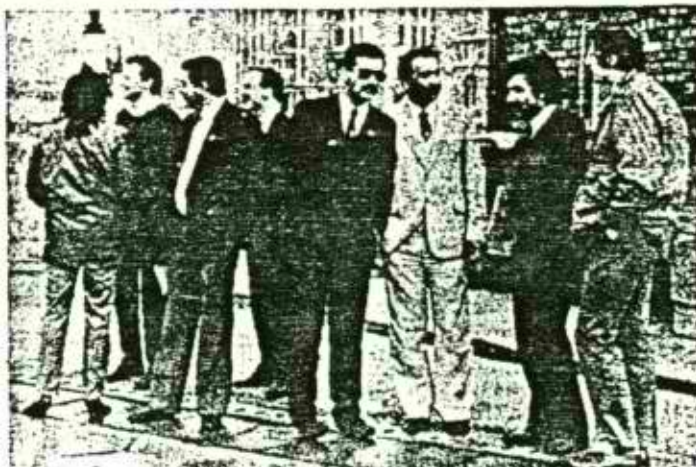
Israeli treatment of organized Palestinian labour is considered repressive by the

### Iron fist policy

PTUF and has been brought to the attention of both the ILO and TUC. 12 trade unionists are among more than 100 people held in administrative detention, the so-called "Policy of the Iron Fist". Under this provision, individuals can be detained without charge or trial for up to six months, and can have their sentence arbitrarily renewed by a military judge.

The only criterion that need be satisfied under Israeli law is that the authorities have "reasonable cause to believe that reasons of state or public security require that the person be detained". This makes no distinction between violent terrorists and people concerned only with the peaceful expression of their beliefs. Furthermore, review hearings are held *in camera*, neither the detainee nor their lawyer being allowed to see the evidence against them, let alone refute it.

Mahmud Ahmed Ziada, for example, is a 28-year-old hotel worker, and deputy chairman



Palestinian delegates with Liverpool branch members.

of the Hotel and Catering Workers' Union in Behron, near Bethlehem. He had been imprisoned for six months in 1981 for membership of an illegal organization, and twice placed under town arrest in Hebron. On August 29 or 30 1985, he was taken to Jnaid Prison in Nablus; no information about the charges against him are known.

In 1984, 31 unions were registered in the West Bank, and seven in Gaza, though many more operate without official recognition. Trade Unions, as well as working for improved working conditions for their members, also play an important role in the political life of the occupied territories, a fact which has led to many being refused recognition. Many trade unionists under administrative detention were engaged in peaceful activity in defence of their legitimate rights, and have been adopted as prisoners of conscience.

In less severe cases, trade unionists have been placed under "town arrest," initially for three to six months, and sometimes for up to four years. Amnesty knows of at least 11 cases where this has

### 'town arrests'

happened to trade unionists. It is effectively a form of "preventative detention" — all that is needed is that the Israeli authorities suspect that a person might get involved in acts of violence or breaches of the peace.

Although appeal to the High Court is in principle open to Palestinians, such appeals are often held *in camera* (again "for reasons of security"), and

in any case the High Court will not in general interfere in matters involving the military. Such restrictions have the advantage for the authorities of disrupting a person's activities, without the necessity of a trial or imprisonment. Town arrests often confine people to their place of birth, rather than to where they now live. This makes it impossible for the person to travel to work, causing great hardship to their families. Similar effects are obtained by denying activists work permits (necessary for Arabs), and by the law forbidding West Bank workers to lodge in Israel, where many of them work. Despite having to pay taxes, including, ironically enough, a special one to cover the cost of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, West Bank workers are not entitled to health or pension insurance.

However, it is not only individuals who are subject to harsh treatment by the Israeli government; trade unions as organized bodies are subject to considerable discrimination.

Union offices are frequently raided, officials arrested, and property destroyed or confiscated by the army. Many unions are refused recognition because of alleged political aims. Curfews are imposed on union headquarters on May Day and on Palestinian holidays to prevent the buildings becoming centres for activism. The Histadrut, the government-approved Israeli trade union federation, systematically ignores pleas of racial discrimination and is of very little help to the Palestinian unions.

Despite the difficulties of their position, however, the PTUF has been attempting to

improve the conditions of its members. In the absence of public health care, the PTUF delegation to Britain asked for support in setting up health clinics; there are at present only 668 hospital beds on the West Bank to cater for 850,000 Palestinians. NALGO was told their money is desperately needed to set up an education centre, language programmes and political training, to organize sports activities, and to conduct an investigative study into the status of Arab workers under Israeli occupation. NALGO was asked by the delegation to sponsor "twinning" between its branches and West Bank unions, a move which should allow much more intensive monitoring of the situation there.

The PTUF called upon all human rights organizations, labour federations and trade unions to take note of the

### 'twin' unions

cause of the Palestinian Labour Movements under Israeli occupation, to investigate the conditions under which they live, and to support their desire to enjoy their rights as individuals under the UN Declaration of Human Rights. They also requested appeals for the release of a number of PTUF members held without charge or trial in detention by the Israeli authorities.

Amnesty International is aware of the following trade unionists being held under administrative detention in Israel at the moment:

Muhammad al Labadi, Majid al Labadi, Khamis abu Adhab'at, Rimon abu Farha, Adnan Ibrahim Hassan Sabab, Salah Ibrahim Ayyad, Musah Muhammad Musitif al Hujjaj, Yasin al Qawaame, Yusuf Muhammad Ja'afar, Mahmud Ahmad Ziada, Husain al Fuqaha'i, and Bashir al Shaikh.

An appeal for their immediate and unconditional release unless charged and tried may be sent to:

Mr. Yitzhak Rabin  
Minister of Defence  
Ministry of Defence  
7 'A' Street  
Hakirya  
Tel Aviv 67659  
Israel



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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נכנס

שמו

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מזר/מיד

אל: מנהל אירופה ב

מאת: השגריר לונדון

הועידות השנתיות  
1. ממברקדאני / מזו שהשר ממנון רובינשטיין / הסכים להיות מורה  
בועידת ה-S.O.P.

2. ועידת האגודים המקצועיים C.U.T. בתקיים ב-3.9 ובדיטון  
ועידת הלייבור תהיה בין ה-3.10 - 29.9 בבלקפול דניס היל  
הודיע כבר ל I.F.I שירצה להשתתף בארוחת הצהרים שלנו בכלל  
יש הטעריכים שיתכן ואלה תהיינה הועידות האחרונות לפני  
הבחירות הבאות.  
אבקש שתודיענו בהקדם מי יהיו נציגי ההסתדרות ומפלגת העבודה  
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תפ: שהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ענוג, אירב



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# Tory ranks diminish as election nears

By George Hill

This week's decision by Mr Patrick Jenkin to leave Parliament at the next election brings to six the number of Mrs Thatcher's former Cabinet ministers who have decided to end their parliamentary careers.

It raises to at least 31 the list of Tory members who have declared that they will not be standing again — one in 12 of the party's current parliamentary strength.

Whatever the Conservative Party's fortunes at the next election, it is already clear that many members prominent in its councils for many years will be absent when the House meets again.

For some, the decision simply rests on their age at the end of the next parliament, which could still be sitting in 1992. For others who have run out of hope for political advancement, the opportunities open to former Tory MPs in the world of business grow more alluring.

Although six of Mrs Thatcher's former Cabinet ministers mean to go, at least four of the seven others whom she has dropped since 1979 are planning to remain.

Some, like Mr Cecil Parkinson and Mr Leon Brittan, have hopes of being restored to her favour, while others, like Sir Ian Gilmour and Mr Michael Heseltine fasten their ambitions on a post-Thatcher era.

Of the six who mean to go, only Sir Keith Joseph, former Secretary of State for Social Services, and Secretary of State for Education until this year, departs in the full glow of the Prime Minister's goodwill.

Sir Humphrey Atkins resigned from the Foreign Office with Lord Carrington after the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands.

Mr Francis Pym, appointed as Lord Carrington's short-term replacement although he was making no secret of his lack of sympathy for the Government's economic poli-

cies, has become an active focus of backbench dissent. Mr James Prior showed too little combative spirit for Mrs Thatcher when he served as Secretary of State for Employ-

ment, after the 1979 election. He was banished first to Northern Ireland and then to the backbenches.

Mr Norman St John-Stevas, former Leader of the

## TAKING OFF



Sir Keith Joseph



Sir Humphrey Atkins



Mr Francis Pym



Mr James Prior



Mr Norman St John-Stevas



Mr Patrick Jenkin

## HANGING ON



Mr Cecil Parkinson



Mr Leon Brittan



Sir Ian Gilmour



Mr Michael Heseltine

House and Minister for the Arts, was dropped for making jokes.

Mr Jenkin was discarded after his loyal struggles to give shape to the local government legislation, on a just but cold calculation that he had exhausted his political utility in the process.

Mr Geoffrey Rippon, who was Secretary of State for the Environment before Mrs Thatcher's day, Sir Edward du Cann, former party chairman and Economic Secretary to the Treasury, and Mr Peter Thomas, Secretary of State for Wales from 1970-1974, also plan to depart.

So do several former junior ministers, including Mrs Sally Oppenheim, Consumer Affairs Minister from 1979-

1982, Sir Anthony Kershaw, former junior minister in the Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence, and now chairman of the backbench committee on foreign affairs, and Sir Peter Mills, a junior minister in the Northern Ireland Office from 1972-1974.

In addition, a growing list of backbenchers have announced that they will not be standing again.

They include Lord Cranborne, MP for Dorset South, Sir Edward Gardner, MP for Fylde and chairman of the Society of Conservative Lawyers, and Sir William Van Straubenzee, second Church Estates Commissioner, as well as pillar of the 1922 Committee like Sir Walter Clegg and Sir John Osborn.

## Passengers robbed as gang take over bus

Police are hunting a 25-strong gang of teenagers who took over the top deck of a London bus and attacked and robbed passengers.

The gang got on the 171 bus in Camberwell at about 9pm on Sunday. Some of the gang blocked the stairway to allow the rest to move on to the upper deck. Passengers and a bus inspector were punched and other passengers were robbed of money, credit cards and jewellery.

The attackers ran off in the direction of Peckham when the bus stopped in Dagmar Road, Camberwell. Police believe the gang had an airgun and are linking the takeover of the bus with an attempted robbery by a gang in an underpass at the Elephant and Castle five days before.

## Pension fund paper money

The £319 million pension fund for Derbyshire County Council employees has become the largest stakeholder, so far, in the new left-of-centre national Sunday paper, *News on Sunday*, with a £260,000 investment.

Manchester City Council said yesterday it could pay up to a further £270,000 to help to set up the newspaper, which is due to be launched in the spring. The council has already paid £63,000 towards a feasibility study.

## Murder police arrest man

A youth aged 19 was arrested yesterday by Bournemouth police hunting a double murderer.

The murder inquiry was launched on Monday evening when the body of Mrs Alida Goode, aged 49, was found in Shelton Road, Southbourne. A little later, Mr Clive Rattue, a

Chemical weapons dilemma for Nato

US plans wartime bases

Council to

'Plot' to

Handwritten notes: "hs. 11 G.2" and "Nelson 75"



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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יוצא

שומר

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מכ: כונדון, נר: 359, מ: המשרד  
דח: מ, סג: ש, תא: 240786, זח: 1700

7-11 103

שומר/מיד

הציר.

ביקור חברי פירמנט מהמפלגה השמרנית. שך 216.  
פולר יודע על הביקור אך לא א לא נתבקש להסדיר עבורם פגישות  
כלשהם. לדבריו ביקורם הוא בירדן וביו"ש ומאורגן עם ארגון  
פלשתינאי (נאשפ'?) ואולי יסתייעו בקונביל' הבריטי. יברר  
כונדון ויודיענו.

עמא תברר גם אחת מי הומינים, מי מממן ומארגן הסיור ואף  
תודיענו מי ביקש ממך להסדיר הפגישות שפורטו במברקך.

אירופה 2=

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תפ: שהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ענוג, אירב, ששומר, אורחים



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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
2 PALACE GREEN  
LONDON W8 4QB  
Telephone: 01-937 8050



שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

ל"ז בתמוז התשמ"ו  
24 ביולי 1986  
723

הע. 11.11

אל: אירופה ב'  
מאת: השגריר, לונדון

הנדון: ביקור ב- SOUTHAMPTON כאורח  
TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION

ב- 21.7 ערכת ביקור ב-SOUTHAMPTON כאורח של האיגוד המקצועי הנ"ל.

המארח היה JOHN ASHMAN שהוא יו"ר האזור הדרומי של האיגוד.  
המארח הנלווה היה MOSS EVANS המזכ"ל לשעבר והמוכר היטב באישיותו  
הבולטת בציבור הבריטי.

כארוחת הצוהרים שבה השתתפו כ-100 נציגים של האיגוד, דיבר MOSS EVANS  
בהתלהבות על ביקורו כאיץ בועידת ההסתדרות האחרונה.

הארוע שימש לי כבמה נאותה להסביר את עינינו.

היוזמה להזמנה היתה פרי פעולתם של ידידי ישראל באגודים המקצועיים  
שבו אנו משקיעים מאמץ להרחיב את פעולתם בקנה מידה ארצי.

הביקור ב-SOUTHAMPTON במסגרת ידידי ישראל באגודים המקצועיים בה בעקבות  
ארועים דומים בלונדון ובמנצ'סטר בחודש האחרון.

בברכה,  
20/7  
יהודה אבנר

רצ"ב תוכנית הביקור

SOUTHAMPTON

P R O G R A M M E

21ST JULY 1986

9.30 am "Transport House" - Welcome by John Ashman  
Mr Yehuda Avner, Israeli Ambassador  
Accompanied by Valerie Cocks, Gordon Lee and  
Yoram Barzilal  
Mr and Mrs Moss Evans, Retired General Secretary,  
T.G.W.U.

9.50 am Depart for "Dock House" to be received by  
Mr Dennis Noddings, Southampton Port Director,  
Associated British Ports

10.15 am Tour of Southampton Docks  
Guests to be accompanied by Dennis Harryman,  
Divisional Officer, T.G.W.U.

12.15 pm Civic Reception - Civic Centre, Southampton  
To be received by the Mayor of Southampton,  
Councillor Jack Candy

12.30 pm Reception - Polygon Hotel

1.00 pm Luncheon

2.15 pm Presentation to Moss Evans

2.30 pm Address by Israeli Ambassador



↑ ק"ר

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JERUSALEM



מ/רד החוץ  
ירושלים

ב' בתמוז תשמ"ו  
9 ביולי 1986  
2.415/798

אל : הציר, לונדון  
הסברה, לונדון

מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

ק"ר 11.11.86

הנדון : איגודים - הסתדרות

רצ"ב לידיעתכם צלום מאמר מ"דבר" מה-8.7 בנושא.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

# סיוע הסתדרותי למיתון ה"לייבור"

8-7-86 123

מאת דליה שרון, לונדון

לעמדות קיצוניות יותר כלפי ישראל ואף לצמצום הקשרים עם ההסתדרות ועם תנועת העבודה. עיקר הביקורת על ישראל נעוץ בדידי שלם עם ארה"ב ועם הגוש הפרואמריקאי ובהתעלמות מהפלישתנים ומצוקתם.

לאחרונה, על רקע המשבר הכלכלי והאבטלה המתרחבת, ואידיהת הכללית מן הממשלה השמרנית, התחזקה מאד מפלגת הלייבור בכריסטיה. בבחירות לרשויות המקומיות איבדו השמרנים מקומות רבים לטובת הלייבור.

הערבים, בעיקר לונדון וסוריה, פועלים בכריסטיה באינטנסיביות רבה: הם מושיטים תמיכה כספית מאסיבית לפעולות תעמולה כלליות, בעיקר בנסיון להשפיע על מנהיגי האיגודים המקצועיים. הם מנצלים את האבטלה הקשה וכממוצע 71% מכוח העבודה, ובאזורים מסוימים, מוכי אבטלה, יותר מ-50% להסתה נגד ישראל. לאש"ף יש משרד כלונדון, שמבטו הוא מנהל תעמולה אנטיישראלית. כשנים האחרונות הגביר אש"ף את פעילותו כשנים האחרונות המקצועיים. אנשיו הקימו גוף בסם באיגודים המקצועיים.

זה יותר משנתיים שאין להסתדרות משרד כלונדון. עתה, כיוזמתו של מוכ"ל ההסתדרות, ובלחצם של שגרירות ישראל בלונדון ומשרד החוץ בירושלים, החליטו בהסתדרות להפעיל מחדש את המשרד כלונדון. לאיגודים המקצועיים הכריזים יש השפעה רבה על מוסדות בידלאומיים של האיגודים המקצועיים ועל תנועת העבודה האירופית והעולמית. זה שנים מקיימים האיגודים ומפלגת העבודה בכריסטיה קשר הדוק עם האיגודים המקצועיים ועם ההסתדרות בארץ. הקשר החבטא בעיקר בחילופי משלחות ובביקורים הדדיים.

בדרך כלל, תמכו האיגודים המקצועיים הבריטיים במדיניותה של ישראל, תוך גילויי סולידריות וידידות עם ההסתדרות, אבל כשנים האחרונות התפתחו בכריסטיה מגמות של שמאל חדש, בעיקר באיגודים המקצועיים ובשולי הלייבור וכן מחוצה להם. הביטוי הקיצוני ביותר למגמות אלה הוא השבאל הטרזקיסטי.

הסחף השמאלני המתגבר מקשה על הנהלת הלייבור לנקוט מדיניות מתונה, ודוחף אותה

ג"ם מרסר וגאונין ליארד מוכ"ל איגוד פועלי המתכת. רבים מן המנהיגים של הלייבור והאיגודים המקצועיים, כמו דיויד בנט, מי שעמד בראש איגוד עובדי הרשויות המקומיות, מזדהים עם הפעולה ותומכים בה.

שני הגופים עוסקים, במסגרת מפגשים של תנועת הלייבור והאיגודים המקצועיים, בהרחבת ההכנה לעבודתיה של ישראל ותנועת העבודה בארץ. בכינוסים שמארגנות קבוצות אלה דנים בבעיות באזורנו, מנסים להסביר את העמדה הישראלית הרשמית ולקשור קשרים אישיים בין מנהיגי תנועת העבודה בארץ ובכריסטיה. כאן מקוים שמינויו של יורם ברוזילי, מי שהיה עד לאחרונה הכלכלן הראשי של ההסתדרות, לתפקיד נציג ההסתדרות בכריסטיה, ידרבן את הפעולה הזאת. משה רבנו, המזכיר הראשון בשגרירות ישראל בלונדון, עשה עד היום רבות בתחום הזה, אך התגברות ההסתדרותית היא בעלת חשיבות רבה. ברוזילי עושה להעמקת הפעולה בקרב מנהיגות האיגודים והלייבור, מתוך ידיעה כי תהיה לכך השפעה הן בכריסטיה והן בשאר מדינות הקהילה

פלשתינא טרייד יוניין פרנס" (תומכי פלשתינא באיגודים המקצועיים), השוכן במשרדי אש"ף בלונדון וזוכה למימון של אש"ף. גוף זה מנסה להשפיע על קובעי המדיניות באיגודים המקצועיים הבריטיים לנקוט עמדות אנטיישראליות ואנטיהסתדרותיות. הוא אירגן משלחות של איגוד עובדי הרשויות המקומיות ושל איגוד עובדי התחבורה לביקור בירדן ובגדה המערבית, ואנשי המשלחות נפגשו עם איגודים פלשתינאיים. גורמים פלשתינאיים, וגורמים אחרים אותם בקרב מדינות ערב, אימצו לעצמם תדמית שמאלנית פועלית והם מציגים את ישראל ככדינה אימפריאליסטית קאפיטליסטית, בעלת יבירתו של הקפיטאליזם המערבי.

בכריסטיה פועלות שתי שדולות למען חיזוק העמדות הפרויישראליות בקרב תנועת העבודה הבריטית: לייבור פרנס אופ ישראל, (ידידי ישראל במפלגת הלייבור), ו-טרייד יוניין פרנס אופ ישראל (ידידי ישראל באיגודים המקצועיים). בראש גופים אלה עומדים אלרי קוקס, דני לקסטון, חבר הפרלאמנט יאן מיקארדו, לורד גלנאבארה

## ג'פרי האו דוחה

### ביקורו בדרא"פ

לונדון (ער). שר החוץ הבריטי סר ג'פרי האו, הודיע אתמול על חזית ביקורו בדרום אפריקה למועד מאוחר יותר. האו עמד לבקר בנפריטוריה במהלך שבוע זה, ובני תיים יבקר בזמביה ובזימבאבואה. ביטול הביקור קשור ככל הנראה בדו"ע הביטחון האנגליקני השחור בדרום אפריקה, דסטומד דה טוטו, כי הוא ומנהיגים אחרים של הש חורים אינם מוכנים להיפגש עם האו במהלך הביקור. הם הביעו רוגז על חוסר נכונותה של ממשלת בריטניה להכריז על סנקציות כלכליות נגד דרום אפריקה.

א

17/7

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JERUSALEM



משרד החוץ  
ירושלים

כה' בסיוון תשמ"ו  
2 ביולי 1986  
2.348/781

Handwritten initials: MS.11 and 71

אל : המנכ"ל  
מאת : מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון: מפלגת העבודה בבריטניה  
למזכר מה-29.6.86

אכן משאלי דעת הקהל מורים על התחזקותה של מפלגת העבודה הבריטית ואף שהבחירות מתוכננות לאביב 1988, אנו תמימי דעים עמך כי יש להגביר הפעילות בקרב ראשי מפלגה זו ומעצבי מדיניותה.

במסגרת זאת הוזמן ניל קינוק ארצה, אך הביקור שאמור היה להתקיים ב-17-13 לחודש זה נדחה למועד מאוחר יותר.

מפ"ם מצידה הזמינה לביקור בארץ את קן ליבינגסטון, ראש העיריה לשעבר של לונדון וממנהיגי השמאל בליבור. עם כל ההסתייגויות הנובעות מהיותו דמות השנויה במחלוקת בקהילה היהודית (הואשם בעבר אף באנטישמיות) הערכתנו היא שביקורו חשוב לצורך יצירת קשר עם האגף השמאלי-רדיקלי של המפלגה.

מכל מקום, העברנו מכתבך לשגרירות בלונדון ולבטח ידווחו לנו בקרוב על פעילותם המוגברת כהצעתך.

ב ב ר כ ה  
(-) ע. גנור

עמוס גנור

העתק: ממנכ"ל  
ראש אגף אירופה  
מנהל המרכז  
היועץ המדיני למ'מ רה"מ ושה"ח  
שגריר-ציר, לונדון





↑

כב' בסיון התשמ"ו  
29 ביוני 1986  
לשמ/145

אל: מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון: בריטניה

1. מדי חודש מתחזק הרושם שבריטניה צועדת לקראת שינוי ושמפלגת העבודה תזכה בבחירות הבאות.
2. אמנם לישראל הרבה ידידים במפלגה זו, אך יש גם אישים בולטים המסתייגים מישראל (כדניס הילי, למשל) ואחרים שטרם קבעו את גישתם כלפיה.
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4. בדוק נא באיזו מידה מתבצע כבר מאמץ כזה, ובמידה שלא מתקיים, אנא הנחה את השגרירות בהקדם. אנא דווח לי על המצב כיום בנושא זה.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

(-) דוד קמחי  
דוד קמחי

העתק: ממנכ"ל  
סמנכ"ל אירופה ✓  
מנהל המרכז  
היועץ המדיני למ"מ רוה"מ ושה"ח



כה' בסיוון תשמ"ו  
2 ביולי 1986  
2.346/779

אל : השגריר, לונדון  
מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : הליבור

רצ"ב מכתבו של המנכ"ל מה-29.6, ותשובתו של מנהל אירופה 2.  
להשלמת התמונה, נודה אם נקבל דיווחכם לגבי מצב הפעילות  
כיום ביחס למפלגת העבודה.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית

העתק: לשכת המנכ"ל

# Branson captures the Blue Riband

By Nicholas Beeston

Mr Richard Branson captured the Blue Riband title for the fastest Atlantic crossing when his power boat, Challenger II, raced past the finishing line off the Isles of Scilly at 7.34 yesterday evening.

Mr Branson and his five-man crew made maritime history by recording a time of three days, eight hours, 31 minutes, cutting two hours, nine minutes off the previous record, set 34 years ago by the American cruise liner the SS United States.

A small flotilla of pleasure craft from the port of St Mary's in the Scillies greet Challenger by blowing fog-horns as the vessel shot past the line at the Bishop Rock lighthouse, eight miles south-west of the island.

When Challenger II crossed the finishing line, Mr Branson unravelled the six-foot-long blue pennant to fly from the boat's masthead. The Blue Riband emblem is the symbol of the fastest transatlantic vessel. Moments before, he said: "We are throwing down the gauntlet for anyone else to make a transatlantic challenge and try to beat it."

Mr Branson's girlfriend, Miss Joan Templeman, his daughter Holly, aged four, his son Sam, aged one, and his parents and grandmother were on hand at the quayside in St Mary's to greet the 72ft vessel.

Mr Edward Branson, the entrepreneur's father, said that Challenger could have knocked more time off the record if it had not been dogged by engine and weather problems. In the final stages the boat had to make a 30-mile detour to avoid bad weather.

Challenger II's engine problem began on Friday when the fuel tanks became contaminated with sea water and two engineers, Mr Stephen Lawes and Mr Eckhard Rastig, worked around the clock to keep fuel lines open.

The boat lost nine hours because of the contamination and new fuel filters were dropped by parachute from an RAF Nimrod.

But Challenger's progress was again dogged by heavy seas which at times forced the boat to reduce speed to 34 knots from its 50-knot maximum. The next hurdle was a tricky night-time refuelling with the Irish Navy vessel LE Aoifa. The Irish sailors managed to complete the operation in 30 minutes.

Challenger II's crossing has rekindled interest in the 148-year-old challenge.

The title originates from the blue ensignia of the British Order of the Garter, when it was first established in 1838 by the steamer Great Western which crossed from Bristol to New York in 15 days.

# Tebbit losing Tory support

By Philip Webster and Richard Evans

Mr Norman Tebbit has suffered a severe loss of support among Conservative MPs, who, only a year ago, regarded him as the natural successor to Mrs Margaret Thatcher as leader of the Conservative Party.

At the same time, Mr Kenneth Baker, who entered the Cabinet less than a year ago, has emerged as the leading contender to take the party leadership, if the contest to replace Mrs Thatcher takes place after the next general election.

These were the key findings of a survey conducted by *The Times* last week of three-quarters of the Conservative backbench intake of 1983.

Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mr Peter Walker are the leading candidates to replace Mrs Thatcher, in the highly unlikely circumstance, of the leadership becoming vacant before the next general election.

Last year, a similar survey gave Mr Tebbit, chairman of the Conservative party, 52 per cent support and a massive lead over all other contenders.

*The Times* last week interviewed 75 of the Conservative MPs who first entered parliament in 1983.

Only 16 per cent of those stating preferences — a handful were undecided or refused to co-operate — said they would back Mr Tebbit as Mrs Thatcher's successor if her position became available during the next parliament. The same figure said they would support him in the event of an earlier contest.

Most of those switching votes from Mr Tebbit have done so with reluctance. But they were virtually unanimous in declaring, with sadness, their belief that he is no longer the force he was before the Brighton bombing at the 1984 party conference.

Few believe he has made a full recovery from the physical injuries and emotional trauma of the attack, which also left his wife paralysed.

But there was also a strong belief that Mr Tebbit's abrasive style has had its day and the party would be ready for a new, softer image. More than one MP also spoke of a bitterness in Mr Tebbit which they had not previously noticed.

"I think the bomb at Brighton has taken rather too much out of him. It has put a bitterness into him that was not there before," one MP said. Another remarked: "I was a Tebbit man until the day he wound up a serious Commons debate on the plight of the inner cities and tried to use his speech to knock hell out of the Militant Tendency."

*The Times* survey confirms the rumours that have been

Continued on page 20, col 8

*The Times*

30.6.86

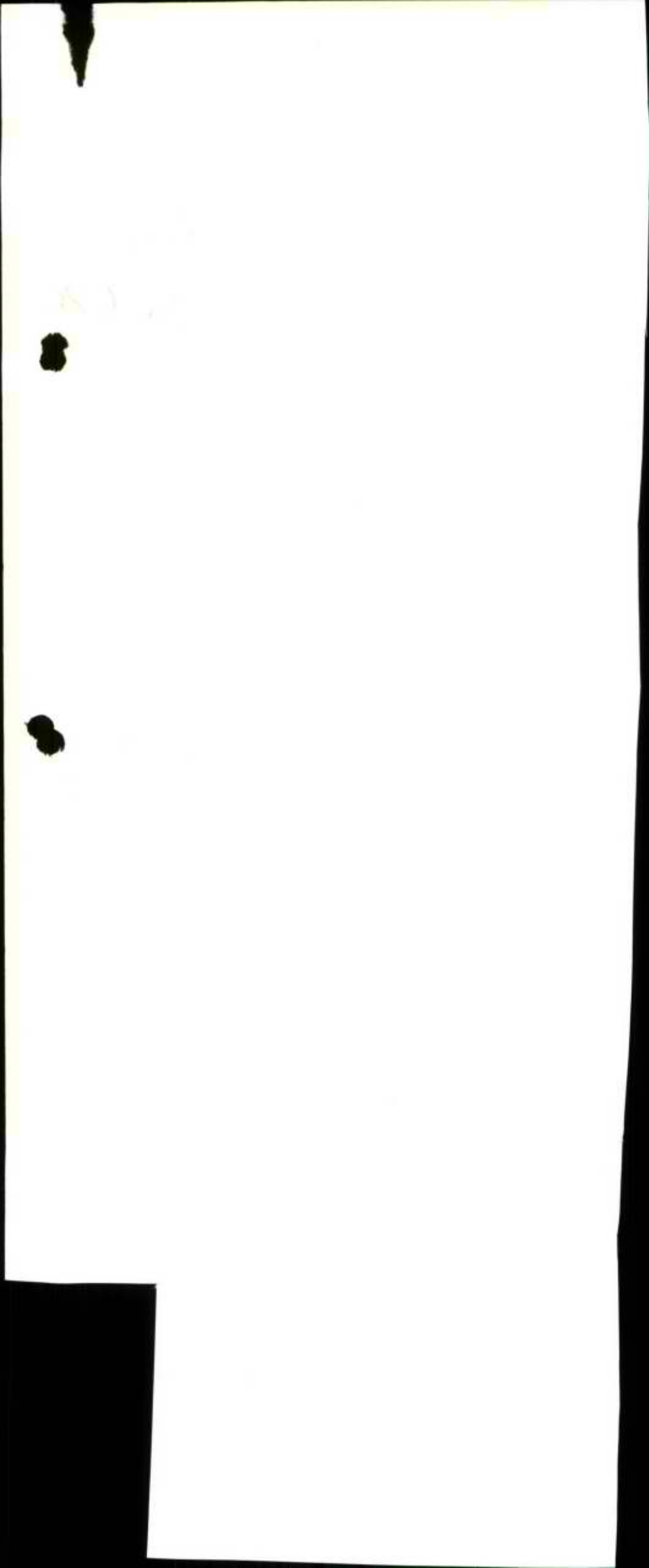
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# Tebbit is losing support of Tory MPs

Continued from page 1

sweeping Westminster for several weeks about the decline in Mr Tebbit's standing among MPs. Even members of the right wing 92 group, now the biggest backbench faction, have been talking of finding a suitable replacement for Mr Tebbit as the standard bearer for Thatcherism.

They have not given up hope that he will regain his spark, but they want a clear sign from him that he believes he has the energy and will to go for the ultimate prize.

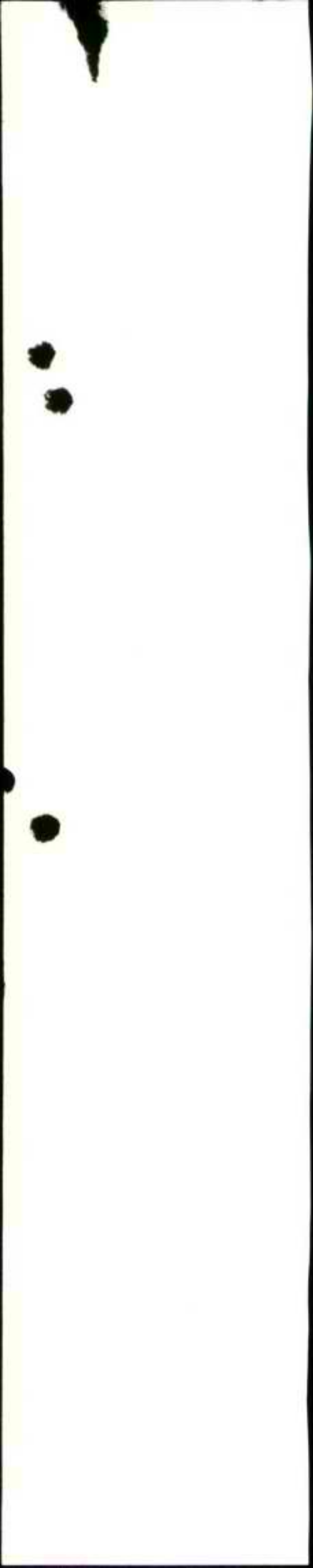
Mr Baker's dramatic surge forward comes after an impressive spell as Secretary of State for the Environment when he earned the respect and thanks of his Cabinet colleagues for defusing the rates timebomb, a success which prompted Mrs Thatcher to promote him to the electorally crucial post of Secretary of State for Education and Science in May.

Mr Baker attracted 35 per cent support from backbenchers stating whom they would support in a contest taking place after the general election. Mr Tebbit on 16 per cent was second, with Mr Walker on 9 per cent, and Mr Douglas Hurd, Mr Michael Heseltine, Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mr Kenneth Clarke, all on 7 per cent. Mr John Moore, seen by some as a long term right wing candidate, won 5 per cent. Other names receiving a single vote were Mr John Biffen, Mr John Wakeham, the chief whip, and Mr Cecil Parkinson.

It is clear that Sir Geoffrey's and Mr Walker's best hopes of ever assuming leadership of the party depend on an early contest.

When MPs were asked whom their preferred candidates would be in a sudden, unforeseen contest, Sir Geoffrey won with 21 per cent; Mr Walker was second with 18 per cent, Mr Tebbit third with 16 per cent, Mr Baker fourth on 15 per cent, with Mr Hurd on 13 per cent and Mr Heseltine on 7 per cent.

A notable feature of the survey is that Mr Heseltine does not appear to have benefited from his resignation from the Cabinet







כב' בסיון התשמ"ו  
29 ביוני 1986  
לשמ/145

הוט 11.11

אל: מנהל אירופה 2 ✓

הנדון: בריטניה

1. מדי חודש מתחזק הרושם שבריטניה צועדת לקראת שינוי ושמפלגת העבודה תזכה בבחירות הבאות.
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בברכה,

דוד קמחי

העתק: ממנכ"ל  
סמנכ"ל אירופה  
מנהל המרכז  
היועץ המדיני למ"מ רוה"מ ושה"ח

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# מושרד החוץ-נחלקת הקשר

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מייד/שמור

אלי: אירופה ב'

מאת: השגריר

ניל קינוק

לשלבס 222 מה-19.6.86

התקשרנו ב-17.6.86 ללשכתו של קינוק לתאם פגישה לתיאום  
 התכנית. הודיעו כי הם מתכוונים לגשת לנושא בימים הקרובים  
 ויתקשרו אלינו.

ואבנר

פף

ת: 9: ענוג, אירב, שמורק, אורחים

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שומר

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דח: מ, סג: ש, תא: 160586, וח: 2300

שומר/מיד

הסגריר

קינזק. שלכם 123.

חודה.

אם חיובי, נסה נא בשיחתכם הבאה לקבל הצעת מועד מדוייקת, והצעה  
חילונית

אירופה 2

תפ: שהח, דהמ, מנכ, ממנכ, ענזג, אירב

יב  
ms. 11



THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DISTRICT COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

2 Palace Green  
London W8 4QB

Tel: 01-937 8050



שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

~~אל: אירופה 2~~

~~ישראל + אקס (מכירות)~~  
בברכות מאת

*With the Compliments of  
the  
Consul General*

דלר

ס' 107

8/5/86



HOUSE OF COMMONS  
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the  
Leader of The Opposition

14th April, 1986

Dear Hayim

*Ms. 11/67*

Thank you for your letter of 24th March. I naturally regret the fact that my meeting with Farouk Khaddoumi caused you the concern which you express.

Let me first of all assure you that the Labour Party's "long - standing friendship for Israel" is inviolable, that our commitment to the existence of the State of Israel is unconditional and that our condemnation of terrorism and violence is absolute.

Denis Healey and I of course strongly pressed upon Mr Kaddoumi the need for the PLO to accept the UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, to which you refer. We stated categorically that no solution could ever be achieved which was not founded upon the right of the State of Israel to exist and enjoy security. And we urged the PLO to go further in condemning terrorism and seeking to destroy it.

We do believe that dialogue with the PLO is a necessary part of the process of achieving peace in the Middle East. Of course, dialogue does not mean condoning terrorism - past, present or future. Nor does it mean accepting the arguments of the PLO. Our meetings do not "boost the image of a terrorist organisation" or "encourage further acts of violence". Our purpose, and we believe the effect, is exactly the opposite.

I am sorry that we cannot agree and well understand your position. Could you let me know whether you would be prepared to invite Denis Healey to meet your Board to discuss the issues involved more closely.

Yours sincerely

*Charles Clarke*

NEIL KINNOCK

*R.*

Hayim Pinner  
Secretary General  
The Board of Deputies of British Jews





2.5.86" פ"ח" ע.מ"מ, עמ"מ

## 'Dismay' over Heath

The executive of the Conservative Friends of Israel is to meet in the next few days to discuss the attacks on Israel made by several of their Tory colleagues in the Commons debate on the American bombing of Libya.

Dr John Blackburn, chairman of the executive and of the CFI's parliamentary branch, told the "Jewish Chronicle" he was "dismayed" at many of the comments.

There was particular concern over the speech of the former Prime Minister, Mr Edward Heath.

In the debate, Mr Heath said that the root of the problem was "the future of the Palestinians."

Not all the troubles in the area came from the Arab world, he said. "What about the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon? No one has been able to justify that. The Palestinians and the relationship between Israel and the Arab world form the crux of the matter."



# Livingstone views 'exploited'

By SIMON ROCKER

Mr Ken Livingstone, Labour's parliamentary candidate for Brent East and former leader of the Greater London Council, believes that the opinions of Jews are being manipulated by the Board of Deputies, whose leaders are anxious to discredit him for their own political motives.

In an interview with the "Jewish Chronicle," Mr Livingstone said: "I get the strong feeling that elements on the Board of Deputies have skilfully exploited things I have said, have twisted them round, to give them quite contrary meanings."

Mr Livingstone, who has been on a collision course with Anglo-Jewish leaders for several years, announced at last month's National Union of Students' conference that he hoped to visit Israel with Mapam. Dissociating himself from the hard left line that "Zionism is racism," he told the students: "To say Zionism is racism is very close to being antisemitic because it leads you to expect a higher standard of behaviour from one nation than from others."

Since then, Mr Livingstone has met representatives of Mapam in London. Mr Dan Leon, the party's shaliach, said: "There is every reason to believe Ken Livingstone will be going to Israel at the invitation of Mapam quite soon."

But Mr Livingstone says he has not altered his views on the Middle East. "I still remain committed to the idea that Israel should negotiate directly with Arafat and open its borders and let all Palestinian refugees come back and be a secular state. I'm not asking for the state to be removed, I'm asking for it to be expanded and to absorb the group that has been dispossessed by it."

Israel, as the stronger party, should make a "bold, imaginative offer" to the Palestinians, preferably of a

"unitary state for both peoples, at second best a statelet on the West Bank which the Palestinians would run — even if it were to be demilitarised."

Mr Livingstone puts his bad relations with the Board down to his rejection of their wish "to have the power of veto" over any Jewish groups getting a grant from the GLC's ethnic minorities unit. "I was not prepared to give the Board of Deputies some sort of godfather role in the community."

Since then, he feels, "elements in the Board" have tried to whip up anti-Livingstone feeling because a substantial block of opinion on the Board of Deputies wants to shift the political allegiance of the Jewish community more away from the Labour Party.

He rejects the argument that his proposed visit to Israel is a ruse designed to curry favour with Jewish voters in Brent East. "I have no doubt



Mr Ken Livingstone — preparing for a trip to Israel

that most of the Jews who won't vote for me at the next general election have not voted Labour for years."

However, he expects Board "elements" to make "a major attempt

to try to defeat me as the parliamentary candidate for Brent East. Only when they fail to do that and I have been elected will they come to terms with the reality and want to deal with me. I am prepared to deal with them now."

He would like the opportunity of sitting and talking with Jewish constituents, but "every Jewish group that has at some point invited me to speak to them over the past two years has cancelled."

The cause of this boycott was remarks he allegedly made to an Israeli newspaper during an interview in London in 1984. He reportedly accused the Board of "being taken over by Jews who hold extreme right-wing views" and commented that "after Begin's emergence on to the political stage, suddenly the Jews became reactionaries, turned Right, nearly to be fascists."

But Mr Livingstone told me: "Had I said that, I would regret saying it. As I maintained all the way through, I hadn't said it."

He does not recall exactly what he did say, but believes that his words to the Israeli reporter were along the lines that the Board had always been a

"painfully cautious, conservative force."

His replacement of the sitting MP in Brent East, Mr Reg Freeson, who is a vice-president of the Labour Zionist group, Poale Zion, had nothing to do with the Middle East, Mr Livingstone said. It was to do with Mr Freeson's record when he was serving as Housing Minister in the last Labour government.

Commenting on speculation that Mr Freeson might stand against him as an independent, he said: "I would prefer working with Reg Freeson for an orderly transfer so the constituents don't suffer. I have no desire to see him harassed and beleaguered. I think he has done a lot for the constituency."

Mr Livingstone applauds the defeat of attempts to expel Poale Zion from the constituency party. "I was completely happy with the decision of the Brent East party not to expel PZ. I can see no reason why you should expel Poale Zion for having the same strand of strident nationalism when we have just been through the orgy of strident nationalism called the Falklands war."

Jewish activists have argued that the boycott of Mr Livingstone has proved counterproductive, limiting his contact to mostly anti-Zionist Jews. This influence is evident when he says: "Judaism is so deeply influenced by the thousands of years of wandering diaspora. Would Judaism have been the same religion today if, for the last 2,000 years, there had been the need to defend the state? I doubt it."

Creating a state means that Judaism will become like "other nation states." After 100 years of statehood, Judaism will be a "different thing" and "that for me is a tragedy because the core of Judaism culture and tolerance and humanity has set the Jews apart throughout the last 2,000 years — much more progressive, in advance of their times..."

## Bernstein: 'No regrets'

Jewish Chronicle Reporters

Rabbi Isaac Bernstein, of the Finchley Synagogue, has no regrets over the controversial remarks he made about Reform Judaism.

The remarks, contained in a letter published in the "Jewish Chronicle" on April 11, resulted in a flood of correspondence, almost all of it critical of Rabbi Bernstein; a public rebuke from the president of the United Synagogue, Mr Victor Lucas; and criticism even from some of his own rabbinic colleagues.

In his letter, Rabbi Bernstein described Reform Judaism as "a public convenience" and "a cancer on the body of our people."

Talking to the "Jewish Chronicle" about the reaction, he said that the

letters critical of him "in no way even attempted to refute the substance of my argument. They misunderstood that my attack was not on Reform Jews but on Reform Judaism, which has never been and will never be a serious theological movement."

"What is particularly sad is that the authentic Orthodox viewpoint has been condemned by persons who are entrusted to preserve the Orthodox way of life."

"The purpose of the Orthodox rabbi is to present Orthodox viewpoints and not to keep the Board of Deputies happy" — a reference to the attack on him by a leading Reform Jew, supported by Mr Lucas, at last week's plenary session of the Board.

Stressing that he had "no regrets at all," the 46-year-old Dublin-born rabbi, who has been at Finchley since 1981 and was previously also minister at Hampstead Garden Suburb, added: "I have always maintained that you say what you feel and I have never



# מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ  
ירושלים

תאריך: ט"ז בניסן התשמ"ו

25.4.1986

מספר: 114

אל : הסברה לונדון

מאת : יעל ורד, יועצת לשר החוץ/שטחים

## הנדון: ביקור משלחת איגודים מקצועיים בריטים בשטחים

ב-16.4 הסתיים ביקור משלחת איגודי העובדים בשרות הצבורי באיזש ובעזה. בין השאר ביקרה בעיריית שכס ונפגשה עם ראש העיר, שתאר לפניה את מצבה העגום של העירייה לאחר ניהולה ע"י קצין ישראלי. האג"א

בקה באל-נג'אח, נפגשה בשכס עם חאתם אבו גזאלה מפעילי "פת"ח בעיר, בבית האיגודים המקצועיים בבית חנינא, בתיאטרון אל חנואטי ובחברת החשמל המזרח ירושלמית.

ב-15 בקרה בעזה.

בסיום הביקור פורסמה הודעה משותפת למשלחת ולמארחיה שעיקרה: גינוי מטעם המשלחת הבריטית להיקף הפגיעה בזכויות הפרט, תמיכת המשלחת בעמדות "הפת"ח בשאלת המו"מ העתידי לשלום באזור. הסכמה וחילופי ביקורים ומידע בין שתי ההתאחדויות ("אלשעב", 17 אפר').

אנא העבירו לנו מה שיפורסם לבקורה באנגליה בהמשך לביקור.

ב ב ר כ ה,

י. ורד

י. ורד

המקביל אינו צריך  
העברה/גנ'ים

5198

י"א

# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בלמ"ס

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דח: ר, סג: ב, תא: 220486, וחי: 1400

ג.י.ל. / מ.י.

בלמס/רג"כ

מ"א"כ

איגודים מקצועיים

אין כל אפשרות לאתר האנשים לפי השמות שבשכנים 235 בדקו נא  
והנריקו איות מדוייק.

חג שמח.

==.רד

תפ: ורד, אירב

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# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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10 די

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אלי כונדון, נד: 236, מ: המשרד  
רח: ד, סג: ס, תא: 170486, וח: 1500

10 די / רגיל

שמחנו על התערבותו של צד הית בוויכוח. הניתן להעביר לו מסר  
באמצעות ידיד משותף שהתפלאנו לשמוע כי הוא מנהל מאבקו האישי  
נגד רוהמי תאצ'ר על גבנו?

ענוג

מ/א

דין ו.מ.א

תפ: ענוג, אירב

103.11 G.2 2 22/10/86

DAVID STEELE

Well I think that the question that the House of Commons will want answered is what made Mrs Thatcher think that this would be an affective way of combatting terrorism, and that I agree with you is her motivation. My view, and I think it is widely shared, is that it won't in fact have that effect. The terrorist cells that exist are already spread throughout Europe and if anything, this action will provide more support for terrorist activity and I think it has all sorts of other consequences as well but on the specific issue of has this done something to stop terrorism, I think it's very questionable whether it has and it has brought in its wake a whole lot of other damage to British interests.

PRESENTER

Do you think there's any element of anti-Americanism in the criticism we are hearing?

STEELE

No. What worries me is that there is a good deal of anti-Reaganism, which I understand. I think one is against President Reagan's policy decisions in this matter which spills over into anti-Americanism, and what worries me from the visits I was making during the Easter recess both in the Gulf States and more recently in Europe, is that that anti-Americanism will spread throughout the Middle East and in Europe and therefore I believe actually that this has been very damaging to America's long term interests and my criticism of the American administration is that they are terribly inward looking. The look quite understandably, to American public opinion, they've been very frustrated by these appalling terrorist attacks on their citizens and they haven't looked at the wider world at all and this is a disturbing aspect of American policy at the moment and I think it will give rise unhappily, to more anti-Americanism.



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שגרירות ישראל  
לונדון

כ"ד אדר ב' התשמ"ו  
4 באפריל 1986

199

ס ו ד י

אל : מר ע. גנור, מנהל אירופה ב'

מאת: השגריר, לונדון

הנדון: צהריים עם SIR BASIL FELDMAN ב-1.4.1986

הנ"ל הוא יהודי ממקורבי תאצ'ר אשר שימש כיו"ר ועידת השמרנים האחרונה, בסתיו אשתקד.  
הוא מבכירי הפעילים המתנדבים במפלגה ושואף להיבחר ביוני שנה זו כיו"ר מועצת המפלגה. הוא מתמודד מול שלושה מועמדים אחרים ולדבריו: "האנטישמיות מרחפת מעל פני התמודדות".

שיחתנו גלשה לכוחות הפעילים בפוראו"פ וסיפרתי לו על שיחותי האחרונות עם שר המדינה - TIMOTHY RENTON. פלדמן סיפר שהוא מכיר את רנטון זה שנים והמוניטין שלו במפלגה אינו מהטובים במיוחד. לדבריו, יש האומרים ששר החוץ האו שגה במינוי רנטון לתפקיד בכיר בפוראו"פ מחוסר נסיונו במדיניות חוץ.

פלדמן פעיל בתחומי קידום המסחר הבריטי והתיירות.  
הוא עומד בראש גוף הנקרא BETTER MADE IN BRITAIN שעיקר ייעודו הוא לשכנע קניינים בריטיים לקנות סחורה מקומית. הוא העלה לפני כמה וכמה רעיונות אשר הוכיחו את עצמם בבריטניה ועשויים להיות לנו לעניין במסגרת המבצע "כחול-לבן".  
הוא התנדב לסייע לנו בדבר והריני מקים קשר בינו ובין המח' הכלכלית בשגרירות. כן הדבר לגבי קידום התיירות לישראל והוא יפגש בעתיד הקרוב עם נציג לשכת התיירות שלנו בלונדון.

ב ב ר כ ה,

י' 9/4  
יהודה אבנר

העתק: לשכת השר  
מר מ. רביב, הציר





כא' באדר ב תשמ"ו  
1 באפריל 1986  
2.94/586

שמור  
אישי

ג"פ 11.11

אל : הציר, לונדון  
מאת : ס/מנהל אירופה 2

הנדון : ביקור קינוק

כזכור, הזמין רה"מ בביקורו את קינוק לביקור בארץ עוד השנה.  
נודה על הצעותיך כיצד לקדם העניין ולהביא למימוש ההזמנה  
כבר בחדשים הקרובים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

איתן מרגלית