

01/03/2017

מדינת ישראל
משרד המשלה

מסר רה"ל -

לשכת המנהל מת"הו שמואל

מסוד
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מס' תיק - 4178/4-א
מס' תיק - 4178/4-א

6. 1982

14. 1980

מס' תיק מקורי

שם תיק: המנכ"ל מת"הו שמואלביץ - התכתבות בין רה"מ מנחם בגין לנשיא ארה"ב רונלד רייגן

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כתובת: 3-312-1-6-6

תאריך הדפסה: 05/01/2017



מחלקה

לשכת מנהל

A

20 December 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Nancy and I wish you and Mrs. Begin a Hannukah filled with great joy and happiness. The lighting of the Hannukah candles symbolizes the continuity of the Jewish people and their culture, their determination to remain free and their continuing search for peace. The United States will always be Israel's partner in efforts to secure the blessings of peace for all people in the Middle East.

We hope that the season brings you fulfillment and continued rapid recovery from your injury.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Ronald Reagan

תאריך: 17.12.77
17:50:00
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מכבודי

מכבודי

העבודה מרהיבת לנטיה רייגן כלהלן:
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HANUKAH GREETINGS WHICH TOUCHED MY HEART DEEPLY.

ALISH AND I WISH YOU AND YOUR GRACIOUS LADY A HAPPY CHRISTMAS AND A GREAT NEW YEAR IN WHICH I BELIEVE PROOF WILL BE GIVEN OF THE INDESTRUCTIBLE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY AND HUMAN DIGNITY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

YOURS RESPECTFULLY AND SINCERELY

MENACHEM BEGIN

עד כאן

שבת הטובה

7/81

50: טהח - סטהח, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, רהמ, סרהמ, רן וינטטיין, מצפא, טקס

מכתב תודה לחברי הכנסת
מכתב תודה לחברי הכנסת
מכתב תודה לחברי הכנסת

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 28, 1981

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

My close friend, Max Fisher, is traveling to Israel and is carrying my greetings and best wishes to you.

He will present to you an audio-tape of the ceremony we held in the White House on April 30th to commemorate the Holocaust. A video-tape, which is in the final stages of completion, will be given to Max when available from the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. The ceremony was a very moving occasion for everyone present and for me personally. We must never allow people to forget what happened during those dark years.

Again, my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

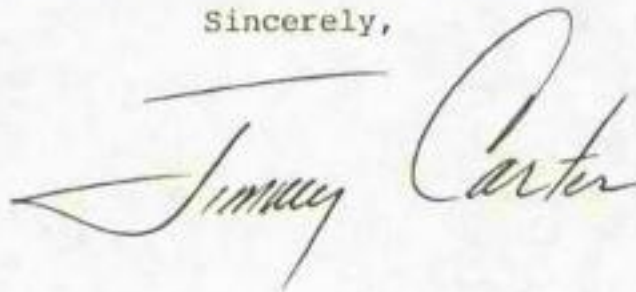
November 18, 1980

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your recent message. Since receiving it, I have had the opportunity to meet with you and to express to you personally my gratitude to you, to your associates, and to the people of Israel for the constructive and courageous actions you have taken in the pursuit of peace. The signing of the Camp David Accords and the subsequent peace treaty between Israel and Egypt is an historic step toward the comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East which all of us seek. I am pleased that our two countries, which have been linked for over thirty years through common ideals and aspirations, have continued and strengthened their strong partnership during the past four years. The United States' commitment to Israel's security and well-being is a permanent principle of our foreign policy that will, I am sure, guide future Administrations as they work with Israel to achieve and safeguard peace in the Middle East.

Rosalynn and I send our personal best wishes to Aliza and you, and wish you every happiness.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "J" and "C".

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 6, 1979

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am pleased that Ambassador Sol Linowitz will be seeing you so soon after his appointment as my personal representative to the peace negotiations. As one of my most trusted advisers, Sol has my complete confidence and will speak to you on my behalf and with full authority.

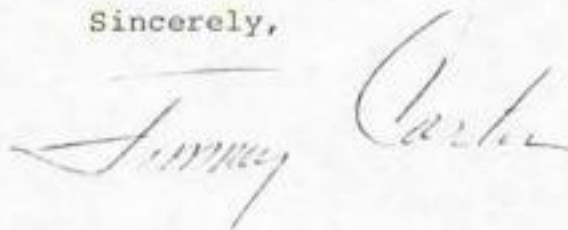
Now that we are halfway through the period for negotiating full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza, I believe we should look forward, with our Egyptian partners, to demonstrable progress that can be made in the near future. We have set a difficult task for ourselves, but one that is vitally important for the security and future of your nation and for the prospects of a just and lasting peace throughout the region. I am fully committed to support this effort.

Your courage and determination to move the peace process forward is a source of inspiration to me. You again demonstrated your commitment in turning back the oil fields on schedule -- an act of statesmanship that has not been adequately recognized.

I also want to thank you again for the constant support you have given to me and to my country during this difficult time in Iran.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Jimmy Carter".

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

June 26, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wanted you to know as I leave office that my decision to resign as Secretary of State came only after prolonged and intense deliberation in which many factors played important parts. There is no basis for the interpretation that my decision turned on differences with the President on basic U.S. policies towards Israel, or regarding the conflict in Lebanon. The President remains committed to the goals we discussed during your visit to Washington on Monday, and the administration in the weeks and months ahead will continue to work with Israel to achieve those objectives, bring stability to Lebanon, end the presence of all foreign forces in that country and secure Israel from attack from the north.

The U.S. and Israel are bound in a great alliance whose roots lie in the fundamental human values shared by our peoples. The support that Americans have given to Israel stems from our admiration for the steadfastness, creativity, spiritual strength and resourcefulness of the Israeli people. Our partnership with Israel's citizens and leaders has steadily grown as we pursued the Camp David Peace Process together, united in our resolve to heal through diplomacy the conflict that has divided the Middle East for so long. I am convinced that this historic endeavour will continue and that its eventual success is certain. This has been the enduring belief of President Reagan and myself, and you can be sure that my successor will bend every effort to these same goals.

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Mr. Prime Minister, I cannot leave this office without offering to you the most profound appreciation for your own friendship, and for your cooperation in the search for diplomatic solutions to the critical problems that concern both our countries. My meetings with you in Washington and Jerusalem will remain among the most valued aspects of my tour in office. With pride we can recall many achievements. I am confident that you will work as closely with my successor, and that Israel and the United States will always walk together in close friendship and shared beliefs.

With warmest regards to Aliza and yourself,

Sincerely,

/s/

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Personal

Jerusalem, June 28, 1982

My Dear Friend,

Your letter of June 26, at the height of world interest in your decision, is the best proof, if such were needed, of your great friendship for Israel.

As an old man with a long memory I recall the friends our real liberation movement had on our long road towards fulfilment. Yet I can say with full conviction and with the clarity of analytical perspective that none, even the most renowned among them, could be counted as a better friend of our country than Alexander Haig.

The political section of your letter gave me great satisfaction. I know with certainty that all the people of Israel regret your departure. My colleagues and I find solace, however, in your words of assurance that your designated successor will continue to follow in your footsteps, "despite ..." I, in my part, will do my best to cooperate with him wholeheartedly as you correctly urge me to do.

The concluding personal paragraph of your letter touched me deeply. Indeed, we succeeded in establishing a personal rapport and friendship between us; we kept no secrets from each other and we understood one another even by hint and nuance. It was so good working with you, dear friend.

I expect you received our six-point Cabinet communique of yesterday spelling out a fair and peaceful evacuation procedure of all the PLO members from Beirut and Lebanon. I hope it will work.

Alisa joins me in sending to you and to Patricia our best wishes. We are sure we shall all meet on many occasions in the intimacy of real friends.

Sincerely yours,

Menachem Begin

The Honorable Alexander H. Haig, Jr.
Secretary of State of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.

השגריר, רוסינגטון

סודי-כיתר

בחול

לשכת ראש הממשלה

במצורף "אגרת בעל-פה" של הנשיא ותשובתי מן הבקר. מסור-נא
בשביל הנשיא, ללא דיחוי, את מכתבי אליו. הואל-נא לדאוג לכך
שתמכתב יגיע אליו לקליפורניה - אם מותר לאמר כך - מיד.

חזק ואמץ,

ראש הממשלה

8.7.1982

SECRET, (S)

SECRET, (S)

SECRET

SECRET, (S)

SECRET, (S) - This document is classified SECRET, (S) because it contains information that is so classified. It is exempt from automatic downgrading and declassification because it is a source of information that is so classified.

SECRET, (S)

SECRET, (S)

SECRET, (S)

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE, CONVEYED AFTER YOUR CABINET SESSION TODAY, SO I KNOW THAT YOU ARE WELL AWARE, -AS AM I, THAT THIS MAY BE THE MOST SERIOUS MOMENT IN THESE MANY DIFFICULT DAYS OF SEEKING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM NOW CENTERED ON WEST BEIRUT.

OUR GOAL THROUGHOUT HAS BEEN TO STRENGTHEN THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON IN ORDER TO RESTORE AN INDEPENDENT NATION FREE OF FOREIGN FORCES AND ABLE TO CONCEIVE OF PEACE WITH ISRAEL. ISRAEL SHARED THIS GOAL; I ASSUME THAT IS STILL THE CASE.

I HAVE HOWEVER, BEEN PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE RECENT TREND OF EVENTS AND I WISH TO RESPOND TO YOUR

MESSAGE IN THIS CONTEXT.

FIRST, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO ASK AMBASSADOR HABIB TO NEGOTIATE UNDER AN ARBITRARY 24-HOUR DEADLINE. FRIENDS AND ALLIES SHOULD NOT DEAL WITH EACH OTHER THROUGH ULTIMATUMS, AND NEGOTIATIONS OF COURSE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SUCCEED UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS. WE HAVE BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE URGENTLY INVOLVED IN SEEKING A RESOLUTION TO THIS CRISIS THAT WILL SPARE ISRAELI LIVES AND STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S ABILITY TO WORK FOR THE COMMON INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR NATIONS.

NO ONE UNDERSTANDS THE GREAT URGENCY OF THIS TASK MORE THAN AMBASSADOR HABIB. THUS IT IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT FOR ME TO UNDERSTAND ISRAEL'S PURPOSE AT THIS MOMENT.

SPEAKING FRANKLY, THE ACTIONS OF THE IDF AROUND BEIRUT OVER THE PAST 72 OR SO HOURS HAVE MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR AMBASSADOR HABIB TO PROCEED WITH HIS NEGOTIATIONS. AS YOU ARE AWARE, SITUATIONS SUCH AS THIS ARE NEVER SIMPLY

STALEMATED; IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS, DETERIORATION SETS IN.

RECENT ISRAELI ACTIONS REGARDING ESSENTIAL PUBLIC SERVICES FOR WEST BEIRUT, THE CROSSING POINTS BETWEEN WEST AND EAST, AND THE CEASEFIRE IN PLACE, HAVE HAD AN EXTREMELY DELETERIOUS EFFECT ON OUR HOPES FOR PROGRESS TOWARD OBJECTIVES WHICH WE ONCE THOUGHT WERE SHARED BY ISRAEL AND THE U.S.

WE ARE, I BELIEVE, ENTIRELY REALISTIC ABOUT SITUATIONS SUCH AS THIS: A CERTAIN DEGREE OF CONTINUING PRESSURE IS NECESSARY TO KEEP NEGOTIATIONS MOVING. DIPLOMACY MUST BE BACKED BY STRENGTH AND AN AWARENESS THAT STRENGTH MAY BE EMPLOYED.

BUT THE RECENT IDF MOVES AROUND WEST BEIRUT HAVE CLEARLY BEEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. RATHER THAN KEEPING THE PLO FOCUSED ON THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE THEIR DEPARTURE UNDER REASONABLE TERMS, A SITUATION NOW EXISTS IN WHICH THE UN AND THE PRESS LAMENT THE INHUMAN CONDITIONS IN BEIRUT, THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT LEADERS HAVE BEEN RENDERED INCAPABLE OF CONDUCTING NEGOTIATIONS, AND HABIB HIMSELF IS VIRTUALLY INCOMMUNICADO.

IT TROUBLES ME GREATLY TO SAY IT, BUT THE RECENT CONDUCT OF ISRAELI FORCES AROUND BEIRUT HAS NOT BEEN IN ACCORD WITH EARLIER STATEMENTS AND ASSURANCES WE RECEIVED FROM JERUSALEM.

I MUST, THEREFORE, ASK YOU TO INSTRUCT YOUR COMMANDERS ON THE SCENE TO TURN OVER THE GALERIE SIMAAN CROSSING POINT TO THE FULL CONTROL OF THE LEBANESE ARMED FORCES AND TO DEPART FROM THAT LOCATION SO THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OF LEBANON CAN REACH THE SEAT OF HIS GOVERNMENT AND CONFER AT BAABDA WITH AMBASSADOR HABIB. UNLESS THIS STEP IS CARRIED OUT ON THE GROUND, NEGOTIATIONS SIMPLY CANNOT PROCEED.

MR. PRIME MINISTER, YOUR MESSAGE TO ME REGARDING THE ISSUES OF PERMISSION FOR A PLO OFFICE IN BEIRUT AND A TOKEN FORCE TEMPORARILY REMAINING IN LEBANON, POSES FOR ME THE TROUBLING QUESTION OF WHETHER ISRAEL CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THIS TREMENDOUS EFFORT WE ARE ENGAGED IN--TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION THAT BRINGS ABOUT THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLO LEADERS AND FIGHTERS IN BEIRUT FROM LEBANON AND HELP THE LEBANESE REGAIN CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN CAPITAL.

THE QUESTION HAS BEEN RAISED WHETHER ISRAELI FORCES MAY NOT NOW BE SEEKING TO UNDERMINE ANY HOPE OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION WHILE UNILATERALLY PRESSURING THE PLO TO EVACUATE BEIRUT WITHOUT A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.

IN THIS CONTEXT, I WANT TO STATE CLEARLY THAT A MILITARY ASSAULT ON BEIRUT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE AND WOULD HAVE THE MOST GRIEVOUS BILATERAL CONSEQUENCES.

THERE IS NO NEED FOR ME TO TELL YOU HOW DEEPLY INVOLVED THE U.S. IS IN THIS MATTER--DIPLOMATICALLY, MORALLY, AND NOW PERHAPS MILITARILY. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT THERE BE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US.

AMBASSADOR HABIB IS ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM ME AND IS ENDEAVORING TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THEM AND SUPPORTIVE OF THEIR EFFORTS AT SELF-STRENGTHENING. YOU ARE, I KNOW, AWARE OF THE NINE POINTS WHICH FORM THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF THIS NEGOTIATION. FOR THE GREATER PART, SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD SEEM TO BE HIGHLY FAVORABLE TO LEBANON, TO ISRAEL, AND TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WEST. IT SHOULD GO WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT WELCOME OR ENCOURAGE THOSE POINTS RELATING TO A PLO OFFICE OR TOKEN FORCE AND AMBASSADOR HABIB WILL SEEK TO ACHIEVE THE BEST POSSIBLE OUTCOME FOR OUR INTERESTS IN BOTH THESE REGARDS. IT REMAINS THE FACT, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT TO RID BEIRUT

OF THE PLO LEADERSHIP AND ARMED FIGHTERS. IF IT TRANSPIRES THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT MUST ENCOMPASS THESE TWO POINTS OR SOME VARIATION OF THEM IT WILL BE WELL WORTH THE OVERALL ACHIEVEMENT, AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT ALL MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO ENSURE THAT ANY SUCH ACTIVITIES BY THE PLO WILL REMAIN CLOSELY MONITORED AND CONTROLLED. TO DEPRIVE THE NEGOTIATORS OF THIS SMALL MARGIN OF FLEXIBILITY, MR. PRIME MINISTER, IN EFFECT WOULD BE TO REQUIRE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER; WE ARE NOT ENGAGED IN THIS, NOR WOULD IT BE IN EITHER OF OUR INTERESTS.

I UNDERSTAND THAT POWER AND WATER HAVE BEEN RESTORED IN WEST BEIRUT. IT IS NOW ESSENTIAL THAT A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE BE RIGOROUSLY OBSERVED. WE MAY BE VERY CLOSE TO A BREAKTHROUGH IN THESE TALKS, IF ONLY THEY ARE ENABLED TO PROCEED. TO THIS END THE GALERIE SIMAAN CROSSING SHOULD BE REOPENED AND CONTROLLED BY THE LEBANESE ARMED FORCES ALONE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

WE EXPECT ISRAEL AND ITS FORCES WILL NOT ACT IN WAYS WHICH MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR AMBASSADOR HABIB TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED OUTCOME TO THE WEST BEIRUT PROBLEM.

IF SUCH COOPERATION IS NOT POSSIBLE, THEN WE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER OTHER WAYS TO PRESERVE AMERICA'S CREDIBILITY, WHILE SEEKING TO BRING ABOUT A BEIRUT SETTLEMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES CANNOT HAVE UNHINDERED ACCESS TO HABIB, THEN WE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER OTHER WAYS TO ASSURE HABIB'S ABILITY TO DEAL WITH ALL THE RELEVANT PARTIES.

Jerusalem, July 8, 1982

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for your oral message which Ambassador Lewis delivered to me yesterday evening at 8.30 p.m., Israel time.

Ambassador Lewis was kind enough to leave with me a copy of this important communication, enabling me this morning, after some nocturnal reflection, to answer it in detail.

Mr. President, there are a number of positive passages in your message which give me profound satisfaction; there are others which call for clarification; and there are some which left me deeply and unreservedly hurt.

There has never been an Israeli "ultimatum." On the contrary, the decision of our Cabinet was of the most positive character. A day before yesterday we lost five or six men killed by PLO terrorists. A sniper cut down a young valiant captain of our Army. An APC sustained a direct hit burying four or five of our men. Because of the circumstances I do not know until this very moment the exact number of fatalities nor the identities of the dead. This is the reason why all the facts have not yet been published. We have to inform the bereaved families first otherwise were we to make public the information of five or six anonymous dead tens of thousands of families would suffer the agonies of sleepless nights.

During the week we learnt definitely that all our prisoners of war, save one, a pilot, were murdered by their PLO captors. We still have not officially published this fact which would enrage our army and our people, witness to a horrible atrocity perpetrated against prisoners whilst we treat humanely all the thousands of PLO members captured by our army, in addition, of course, to the Syrian POW's, officers and men. Again, the reason for non-publication is that we must first identify each one of the victims.

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Our commanding officers, who lead their troops into battle with the famous command: "follow me," demanded reaction to all these killings and murders. Yet, despite the provocations, the Cabinet unanimously decided to withhold our fire and to give Ambassador Habib a time of quiet to fulfil his mission. I informed the Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Brown, that we will withhold fire for the next twenty-four hours and that we shall react (only) if attacked. Thus, if we are not attacked again by the enemy the quiet may go on in order to enable Mr. Habib to continue his efforts.

In other words, Mr. President, not only has there not been any "ultimatum"; the decision taken was an exceptional one to ease the task of Mr. Habib for a number of days.

Last week I was informed that Ambassador Habib made the following declaration: "If until the end of this (current) week I do not reach an agreement I (Habib) will state publicly that the PLO only tried to mislead and deceive me."

May I say that this is, perhaps, a kind of "self-ultimatum." We made no such declaration. Now, Ambassador Habib claims that because of complications on the front he lost two or three days. I hereby inform you that he will have those days at his disposal beyond the end of this week.

With regard to the Galerie Simaan crossing, Mr. David Kimche, the Director General of our Foreign Office, who yesterday held a "good talk" with Ambassador Habib, informs me that it is open and is in no way controlled by Israeli forces. I must stress, Mr. President, that this was the situation prevailing before I received your oral message from which I feel here bound to quote: "Friends and allies should not deal with each other through ultimatums," (even if they do not include a date).

Mr. President, all your requests were fulfilled as far as the conditions of siege were concerned. In principle, may I say that all nations at war practise siege or blockade as conditions warrant.

The famous British blockade against Germany during World War I caused millions of civilians to lack food for years on end. Such a blockade was considered absolutely legitimate. Is it that laws applying to other nations be inapplicable to the little nation of Israel?

Mr. President, we do not ask for "unconditional surrender," of the so-called PLO in Beirut. Nazi Germany is and will always be to me, as Churchill said, "the embodiment of all evil in mankind." However, by 1944, I personally had my doubts about the wisdom of the unconditional surrender demand, one which might have prolonged the war and its agony and the extermination of my people.

We suggested that the PLO terrorists do not surrender to us but that they lay down their weapons and surrender them to the Lebanese army. We proposed that we do not enter Western Beirut but that the Lebanese army do so. (Now, in the wake of your historic decision, perhaps they will enter together with a multi-national force). I also took the initiative to proclaim publicly, from the rostrum of our Parliament, that the terrorists be allowed to take their personal weapons, their "kalatchnikof's," with them.

Is all that unconditional surrender?

We do continue to oppose, Mr. President, the leaving in Beirut or in Lebanon several hundreds of terrorists to be "included" in the Lebanese army which they could well destroy from within. Equally, we object to a so-called PLO political office in Beirut which, in no time, will turn into a center of unstoppable gun-running with the direct or indirect assistance of the Soviet Union.

You were kind enough to inform me that, "the United States does not welcome or encourage those points ... " Such being the case why, instead of nine points which include the above two, does not Ambassador Habib present seven points to which we gave our full agreement?

Mr. President, I appreciate deeply your efforts and contribution to solve the problem of Lebanon and assure security for our people and country. But may I respectfully say that we, too, made an effort to secure the peace of Galilee and of all Israel and, by our indispensable operation, rendered certain not-unimportant services to the free world.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

June 9, 1982

His Excellency Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

I am seriously concerned by the recent reports of further Israeli advances into Central Lebanon and the increasing frequency of Israeli-Syrian hostilities. Your forces have moved substantially beyond the objective you outlined. Whatever the tactical advantages might appear to you, they are far outweighed by the need to avoid a wider war involving Syria and perhaps the Soviets.

Today I received a message from President Brezhnev expressing serious concern that an extremely dangerous situation has been created, involving the potential for wider hostility. Obviously, I do not accept most of the points made in his letter. Nevertheless, the risk of further escalation clearly exists.

We have learned that there has been a major escalation in the fighting between Israeli and Syrian forces; I must therefore call on you, President Assad and all other parties, to agree to a ceasefire to take effect at 6:00 a.m. local (Lebanese) time, June 10. I urge that you recommend to your Cabinet the immediate acceptance of my ceasefire proposal.

Menachem, Israel's refusal to agree to this ceasefire would aggravate what is already a grave threat to world peace and place a profound strain on a relationship I truly treasure.

Sincerely,

/S/

Ron

June 9, 1982

His Excellency Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

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Sincerely,

/S/

Ron



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

June 10, 1982

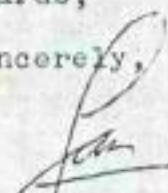
His Excellency
Menahem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As you requested, I am enclosing summary excerpts from the messages Phil Habib sent earlier tonight reporting on his two meetings with President Assad. I hope these will be of assistance to you and the Cabinet as you consider President Reagan's cease-fire proposal.

With warmest personal regards,

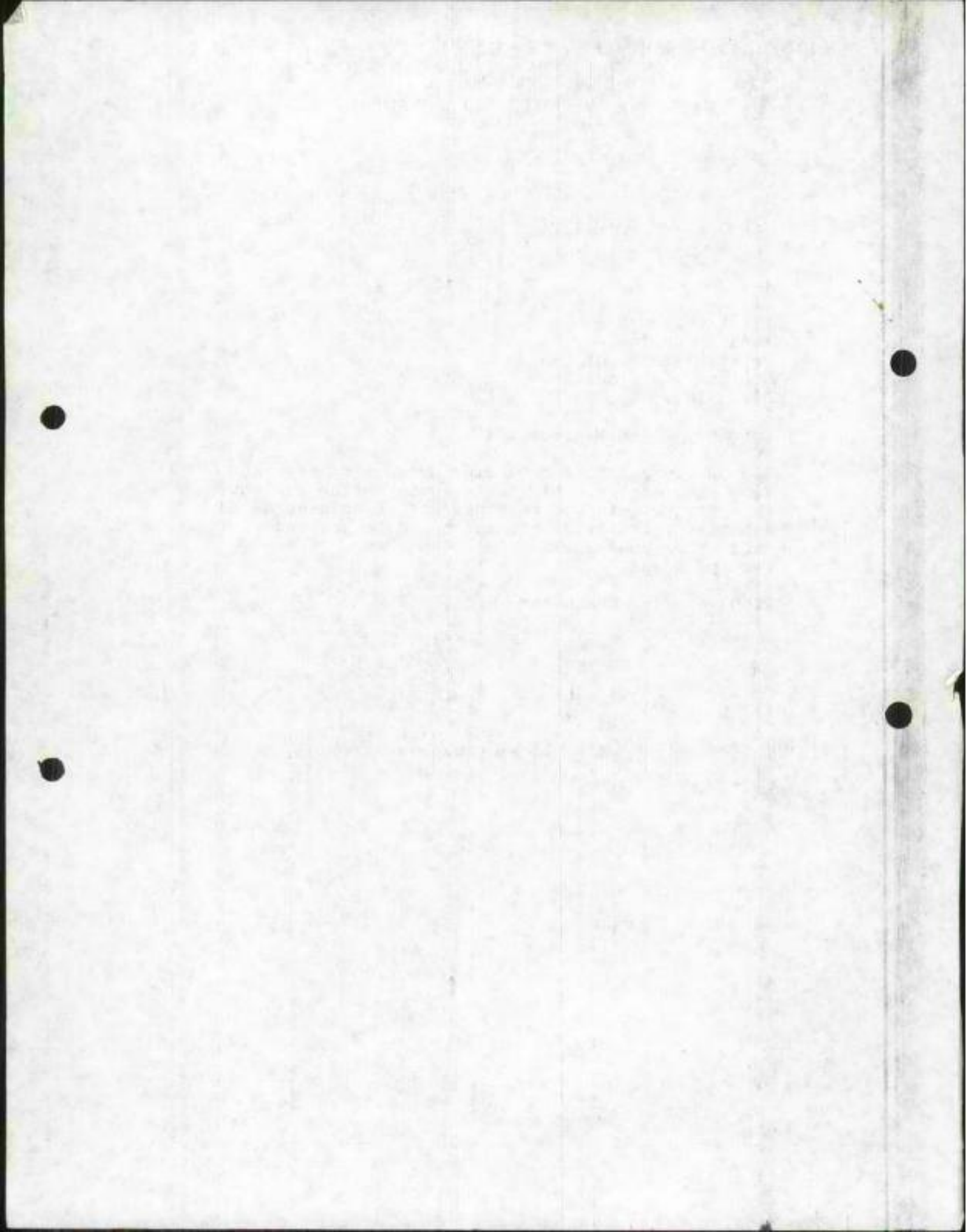
Sincerely,



Samuel W. Lewis
American Ambassador

Enclosure:

As stated





EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tel Aviv, Israel

June 9, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister
of the State of Israel
Jerusalem

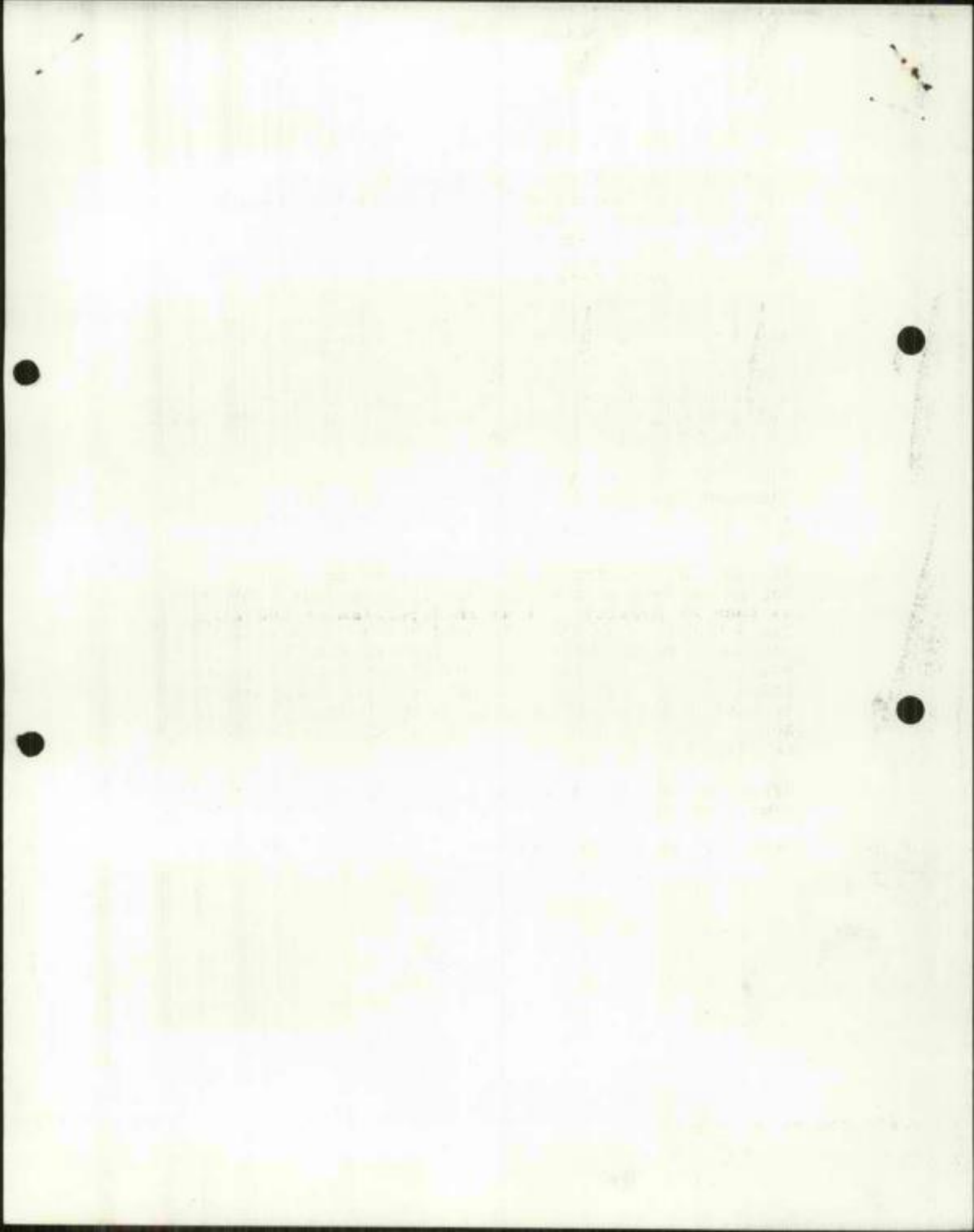
Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am very sorry to disturb you so late at night, but I have received a most urgent letter from President Reagan for you which I was asked to deliver immediately. The text of President Reagan's letter is enclosed.

Phil Habib had a lengthy meeting tonight with President Assad in Damascus. Unfortunately, I have not yet received the cable reporting on that meeting. I have only a very fragmentary report by secure telephone which Habib called into Washington. Since the connection was a poor one, I was cautioned that we cannot rely too heavily on this telephone report for any details. However, I understand that Phil felt that he had a basically positive meeting with President Assad and that he may see a formula emerging which would meet the requirements you outlined to Phil last night and again this morning, a formula which would get the PLO forces back beyond the forty kilometer line. However, Phil is convinced he will have to go to Beirut as soon as he can get there to work on this formula and he hopes to do so early tomorrow.

The President had asked me when I delivered the letter to you to add a few points orally. Those points are as follows:

--Phil Habib is conveying to Assad the President's call for a halt to the fighting at 0600 Lebanon time June 10. The message will also be passed to the others involved in this conflict. We are not repeat not approaching the PLO directly.



--In pursuing the twin U.S. goals of a rapid end to the current fighting and a just resolution of the tragic problems in Lebanon, the U.S. has tried to consider Israeli security concerns and international position. We are convinced that our approach also serves Israel's interests.

--Our position in the UN was thus to support UNSC Resolutions 508 and 509 calling for a ceasefire and Israeli withdrawal. Last night, however, we vetoed a Security Council resolution which we believed was unbalanced and unfair to Israel. In brief, while not agreeing with Israel's actions, we have done what we could to assure a balanced approach.

--Our goal has been and remains a rapid end to the fighting and a just outcome that serves the legitimate interests of those involved in Lebanon and its tragic problems.

As you can well imagine, President Reagan and Secretary Haig will be anxious to know your reaction as soon as possible. I am in Jerusalem at the King David Hotel, Room 336. I would be very grateful if you could telephone me there after reading the President's letter and give me whatever preliminary response you might wish to make so that I can provide it tonight to Washington and to the President in Bonn. The telephone number at the King David Hotel is 221111.

Again let me say how sorry I am to disturb you at this hour, but the urgency of the matter speaks for itself.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,



Samuel W. Lewis
Ambassador



SECRET

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS JUNE 9, 1982 BETWEEN PRESIDENT ASSAD AND AMBASSADOR HABIB

1. IN RESPONSE TO PHIL HABIB'S PRESENTATION BASED ON HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 8 AND THE MORNING OF JUNE 9, PRESIDENT ASSAD'S REPLIES MAY BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

-- ASSAD AGREED THAT CONTINUED ESCALATION IS UNDESIRABLE;
-- ASSAD AGREED TO READJUST THE DEPLOYMENT OF SYRIAN FORCES IN THE LOWER BEKAA TO POSITIONS THEY OCCUPIED JUNE 5 WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THEY CAN REMAIN IRRESPECTIVE OF THE 40 KM ZONE;
-- ASSAD SAID HE COULD NOT DECIDE QUESTIONS FOR LEBANON OR THE PLO. WHILE HE DID NOT ADMIT THE REASONABLENESS OF A PLO PULLBACK IN THAT REGION, NEITHER DID HE REJECT IT. HABIB CONCENTRATED ON ENCOURAGING HIM TO THINK IN TERMS OF THE TOTAL EQUATION AND TO USE HIS CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE WITH THE PLO AND OTHERS. ASSAD CONCURRED THAT HE CAN LEGITIMATELY TALK WITH OTHER PARTIES WITHOUT FORESHADOWING WHAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO THEM. HE SPECIFIED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WOULD DO NOTHING TO IMPEDE MY EFFORTS WITH OTHERS.

2. AS THE DISCUSSION PROCEEDED, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT A FURTHER KEY WILL BE HABIB'S CONTACTS WITH PRESIDENT SARKIS TO SECURE HIS COOPERATION AND PARTICIPATION AS WELL. IN RESPONSE TO ASSAD'S SUGGESTION THAT HABIB NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO, HABIB REMINDED HIM THAT HE COULD NOT, BUT WOULD LEAVE THAT ASPECT TO HIM AND SARKIS. ASSAD SAID SARKIS COULD TALK TO ARAFAT AND DID NOT REJECT HABIB'S SUGGESTION THAT HE USE HIS "PERSUASIVE INFLUENCE" ON THE PLO. HABIB TOLD ASSAD THAT HE WOULD THEREFORE PROCEED TO LEBANON FOR TALKS WITH SARKIS WHILE HOPING HE WOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY USE HIS OWN CONTACTS.



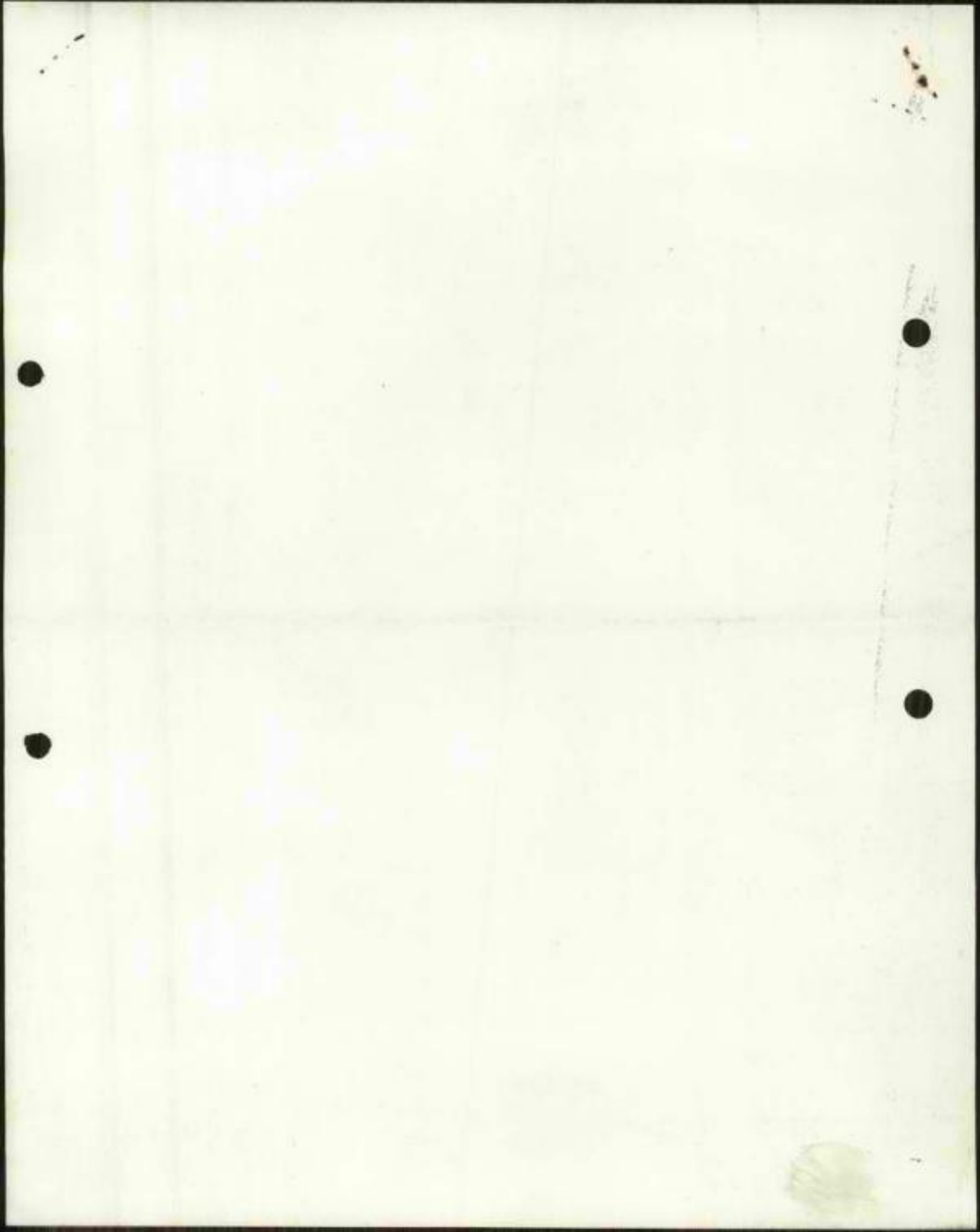
SECRET

3. IN A LATER MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ASSAD ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 9, HABIB SET FORTH PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR A CEASE FIRE AT 0600 HOURS LOCAL TIME ON JUNE 10 AND TOLD HIM THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WAS MAKING THE SAME REQUEST OF ALL THE PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT. ASSAD'S RESPONSE MAY BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS: ASSAD SAID THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR THAT NEEDED TO BE RESOLVED. THE CEASEFIRE SHOULD ALSO PROVIDE FOR THE ISRAELIS TO BEGIN TO WITHDRAW TO THE 40 KILOMETER LIMIT OF WHICH THEY HAD SPOKEN, EVEN THOUGH SYRIA DID NOT RECOGNIZE THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD A RIGHT TO SET SUCH LIMITS.

HE SAID THAT, WITHOUT WITHDRAWAL IN THE FIRST STAGE, THE CEASEFIRE WOULD NOT BE PRACTICAL BECAUSE THE OPPOSING FORCES WERE IN CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER AND THERE WAS A DYNAMIC TO THE SITUATION WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO MAKE A CEASEFIRE EFFECTIVE. MOREOVER, HE ADDED, IT HAD TO BE CLEAR THAT IN THE END ISRAEL HAD TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM LEBANESE TERRITORY.

4. HABIB URGED ASSAD IN STRONG TERMS TO ORDER HIS TROOPS TO CEASE FIRING AT SIX O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING IF ALL THE OPPOSING PARTIES WOULD DO LIKEWISE. ASSAD COMMENTED THAT, OF COURSE, IF PRESIDENT SARKIS DIDN'T AGREE, HE COULDN'T AGREE BUT RECOGNIZED THAT THIS WAS NOT LIKELY. HABIB TOLD ASSAD THAT HE WOULD TRY TO GET WORD TO HIM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN REGARD TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF OTHER PARTIES TO THE PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE.

SECRET



1st copy

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 28, 1982

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I had a very useful two and one-half hour meeting with Defense Minister Sharon earlier this week. I'm sure he will be reporting to you the wide range of issues we discussed. During this meeting, Ambassador Arens also gave me your letter to the President.

As I have reflected further on my conversation with Minister Sharon, and your letter to the President, I hope there is no ambiguity about the extent of our concern about possible future Israeli military actions in Lebanon. The President and I recognize and admire the very real restraint Israel has shown in recent months in the face of repeated pressures to respond to violations of the cessation of hostilities by the other side. At the same time, we want to make it very clear that we sincerely hope Israel will continue to exercise complete restraint and refrain from any action which would further damage the understanding underlying the cessation of hostilities. Israeli military actions, regardless of size, could lead to consequences none of us can foresee at this time. We recognize, as I feel sure you know, how deeply we understand the very real threat of violence Israel faces. As Minister Sharon said, no one has the right to tell Israel what decision it should take in the defense of its people. We are only expressing our belief that nations facing threats, including the U.S. and Israel, should carefully weigh the consequences of how such challenges are handled.

On a related matter, Minister Sharon said in our meeting on Tuesday Israel has "decided not to allow Syria to fly over Lebanon." We, of course, have accepted the fact that Israel will be flying reconnaissance over Lebanon. I assume that Minister Sharon's remark does not mean that Israel intends to initiate action against Syrian aircraft over Lebanon when such flights do not threaten Israel's own air activity there. Again, I raise this purely in the spirit of seeking to avoid serious repercussions for our mutual interests in the area.

His Excellency
Menachem Begin,
Prime Minister of Israel.

As I informed Minister Sharon, the President has asked Phil Habib to return to the region in early June. He will be carrying new ideas aimed at developing a more lasting solution to the Lebanon problem. We hope to establish, over the long run, a new and promising avenue toward addressing Israel's concerns about terrorists' acts from Lebanon against its citizens. After getting an update on the situation in Lebanon from the leadership in Beirut, Ambassador Habib would like to visit Israel to exchange ideas with you before going to other countries in the region.

Mr. Prime Minister, I write this letter in the same spirit of candor and deep friendship which prompted you to inform us that you did not want to surprise the United States over Lebanon. The President joins me in expressing our joy at hearing Mrs. Begin is out of the hospital. We all look forward to seeing you in a few short weeks.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



Alexander M. Katz, Jr.

28.5.82

הוד מעלתו מנחם בגין

ראש ממשלת ישראל

ראש ממשלה נכבד,

בראשית השבוע קיימתי פגישה מועילה מאוד בה שעתיים וחצי עם
שר הבטחון שרון. אני בטוח שהוא ידווח לך על המכלול הרחב של הנושאים
בהם דנו. במסך פגישה זו גם מסר לי השגריר ארנס את אגרתך לנשיא.

משהוספתי להרהר על סיחתי עם השר שרון ומכתבך לנשיא, אני
מקוה שאין טום אי-בהירות בדבר מידת דאגתנו בקשר לפעולות צבאיות אפשריות
של ישראל בלבנון בעתיד. הנשיא ואני מכירים ומעריצים את ההחאפקות הממשית
מאוד שגילתה ישראל בחודשים האחרונים לנוכח לחצים חוזרים ונשנים להשיב על
הפרות הפסקת פעולות האיבה על-ידי הצד השני. בד בבד, אנו חבקים להבהיר
שאנו מקוים מאוד שישראל תמשיך לגלות החאפקות מוחלטת ותימנע מכל פעולה אשר
תוסיף לפגוע בהכנה שביסוד הפסקת פעולות האיבה. פעולות צבאיות ישראליות,
יהיה היקפן אשר יהיה, עלולות להביא לתוצאות אותן אין איש יכול לחזות עתה.
אנו מכירים, כפי שאתה בודאי יודע, מה עמוקה הבנתנו את האיום הממשי מאוד
באלימות, בפניו ניצבת ישראל. כפי שאמר השר שרון, אין לאיש הזכות לומר
לישראל מהי ההחלטה שעליה לקבל להגנת עמה. אנו רק חביעים את אמונתנו,
כי על אומות הניצבות בפני איומים, לרכוש ארצות-הברית וישראל, לשקול בזהירות
את התוצאות של דרך הטיפול באתגרים כאלה.

בענין הקשור לכך, אמר השר שרון במגישתנו ביום שלישי, שישראל
"החליטה לא להרשות לסוריה לטוס מעל לבנון". אנו, כמובן, קיבלנו את
העובדה שישראל חטוס לצרכי סיוור מעל לבנון. אני מניח שהערתו של השר שרון,
אין פירושה שבדעת ישראל ליזום פעולה נגד מטוסים סוריים מעל לבנון, טעה
שטיסות כאלה אינן מסכנות את פעילותה האווירית של ישראל שם. טוב, אני
מעלה זאת אך ורק כרוח של רצון להימנע מחוצאות חמורות לאינטרסים המשותפים
שלנו באזור.

כפי שמטרחי לשר שרון, ביקש הנשיא מפיל חביב לחזור לאזור בחחילת
יוני. הוא יביא עמו רעיונות חדשים, שמטרתם לפתח פתרון בעל קביעות רבה
יותר לבעיית לבנון. אנו מקווים להקים בטווח הארוך אפיק חדש ומבטיח
המכוון לענות (ADDRESS) על דאגותיה של ישראל בקשר פעולות טרוריסטים
מלבנון נגד אזרחיה. לאחר שיעודכן בדבר המצב בלבנון מפי מנקיגיה בבירות,
מבקש השגריר חביב לבקר בישראל, כדי להחליף אתן דעות, לפני שיסע לארצות
אחרות באזור.

אדוני ראש המחשלה, אני כותב מכתב זה באותה רוח של גולוי לב
וידידות עמוקה, שהניעה אותך להודיענו שאינך רוצה לחפתיע את ארצות-הברית
בענין לבנון. הנשיא מצטרף אלי בהנעת שמתה, בשומענו שגב' בגין יצאה מבית
החולים, כולנו מצפים לראותהם בעוד שבועות מעטים.

איחולים חמים,

ב ב ר כ ה

אלכסנדר מ. היזג

Jerusalem, May 30, 1982

ע"מ ר 122

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Thank you for your letter dated May 28, 1982.

As usual, it is a friendly, heartwarming communication for which I am grateful.

However, it is my duty, dear Mr. Secretary, to tell you that several passages in your letter hurt me deeply.

In Proverbs 27:6, it is written, Ne'emanim Pitse'i Ohev, which, translated freely, means: "Painful are the wounds inflicted by a friend". I am your friend and have profound respect for you, and this is the reason for my real pain.

"At the same time, we want to make it very clear that we sincerely hope Israel will continue to exercise complete (my emphasis) restraint and refrain from any (my emphasis) action which would further damage the understanding underlying the cessation of hostilities."

This is a quotation from your letter. What does it mean in reality? You know there is in Lebanon a neo-Nazi terrorist organization which constantly proclaims its design to kill our people, in Israel and abroad - men, women and children - and, with the use of modern weapons, puts that design into operation. Under these circumstances you advise us to exercise complete restraint and refrain from any action. In other words, plainly stated, we should let them kill our citizens and brethren - and do nothing.

Mr. Secretary, my dear friend, the man has not yet been born who will ever obtain from me consent to let Jews be killed by a bloodthirsty enemy and allow those responsible for the shedding of this blood to enjoy immunity, to say nothing of luxury (Sadat used to tell me that Arafat's henchmen spend their time in luxurious hotels and nightclubs).

I do hope that there will never be a Prime Minister of the Jewish State who will ever succumb to such a demand.)

But it is my duty to stress that such an idea is absolutely inconceivable in a generation in which millions of Jews perished mainly because of two reasons:

- (a) because they did not have the instruments with which to defend themselves;
- (b) because nobody came to their rescue.

For the last four decades we have had those instruments, and we are not asking anybody to fight our battles.

The Honorable
Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
The Secretary of State of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.

I will, later in the day, ask my friend and colleague, the Defence Minister, what he meant by the sentence you quote in the second passage of your letter. At this time I can only tell you that our policy has been, and remains, as follows:

We shall continue with our reconnaissance flights over Lebanon. Should Syrian Mig's try to shoot down our planes, they (the Syrian planes) may be downed.

Thank you for your good wishes for my wife's health. She is indeed recovering at home. We hope to be together in Washington on June 20 and 21.

Yours sincerely,

Menachem Begin

ירושלים, 30.5.82

לכבוד

אלכסנדר מ. הייג

מזכיר המדינה של ארצות-הברית

וושिंगטון

אדוני המזכיר הנכבד,

חודה על מכתבך מיום 28.5.82.

כרגיל, זהו שדר ידידותי ומחמם לב, עבורו אני אסיר חודה. מכל מקום חובתי היא, מזכיר יקר, לומר לך שמספר קטעים במכתבך פגעו בי קשות. במטלי כ"ז, 6 כחוב: "נאמנים פצעי אוהב" (מתורגם). אני ידיך ויס לי הערכה עמוקה אליך וזוהי סיבה כאבי הממשי.

"בד בבד, אנו מבקשים להבהיר שאנו מקוים מאוד שישראל תמשיך לגלות התאפקות מוחלטת (ההדגשה שלי) ותימנע מכל (ההדגשה שלי) פעולה אשר תוסיף לפגוע בהבנה שביסוד הפסקת פעולות האיבה".

זוהי ציטטה ממכתבך. מה פירושה במציאות? אהה יודע שכלבנון יש ארגון טרוריסטי ניא-נאצי המצהיר, דרך קבע, על תוכניתו להרוג את בני עמנו, בישראל ומחוצה לה - אנשים נשים וטף - ועל-ידי שימוש בכלי נשק מודרניים מבצע את תוכניתו. בנסיבות אלה אהה מיעץ לנו לגלות התאפקות מוחלטת ולהימנע מכל פעולה. לשון אחר, בפשטות: עלינו להרשות להם

להרוג את אזרחינו ואחינו - ולא לעשות דבר.

אדוני המזכיר, ידיד יקר, טרם נולד האדם אשר אי פעם יקבל את הסכמתי למצב שבו יהודים ייהרגו על-ידי אויב צמא-דמים ואלה האחראים לשפיכות דם זו ייהנו מחסינות, שלא לרבר על מותרות (סאדאח נהג לספר לי שעוזריו של עראפת מבליט את זחנם במלונות פאר ובמועדוני לילה).

אני מקווה שלעולם לא יהיה ראש מחסלה של מדינת היהודים אשר ייכנע לדרישה כזאת. אך חובתי היא להדגיש שרעיון כזה כלל איננו עולה על הדעת בדור בו הושמדו מיליוני יהודים, בעיקר בגלל שתי סיבות:

א. מפני שלא היו להם הכלים להגן על עצמם,

ב. מפני שאף אחד לא בא להצילם.

במשך ארבעה העשורים האחרונים, היו לנו כלי נשק אלה ואיננו מבקשים מסום אדם ללחום את מלחמותינו.

מאוחר יותר היום אשאל את ידידי ועמיתי, שר הבטחון, למה התכוון במשפט שציטטת בקטע השני של תכתובך. ברגע זה אני יכול רק לומר לך כי מדיניותנו הייתה, והיא נשארת, כלהלן: אנו נמשיך בטיסת הסיוור מעל לבנון. אם ינסו מיגים סוריים להפיל את מטוסינו, הם (המטוסים בסוריים) עלולים ליפול.

תודה לך אל איחוליך לבריאות אחי. אכן היא סבריאה בבית.

אנו מקווים להיות ביחד בווינגטון ב-20 וב-21 ביוני.

שלך בברכה

מנחם בגין

1227 1213

June 4, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

The cowardly and unconscionable attack on Ambassador Argev in London left me with a deep sense of shock and outrage, and a heavy heart. I pray with you that the day will soon arrive when this mindless violence will no longer plague the earth. My thoughts are very much with the family of Ambassador Argev and the people of Israel at this time of anguish.

With best wishes always,

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald

1205 217

June 4, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

You can imagine how appalled I was to hear of the brutal and cowardly attack on Ambassador Argov in London yesterday. It is a vivid reminder of the senseless violence which endangers all of us today and which is so often directed at Israel. I pledge to you my continuing efforts to assure that our common search for a more peaceful world will not be diverted by such criminal acts.

My heart goes out to the family of Ambassador Argov in this time of trial, as well as to his brave colleagues in the Israeli Diplomatic Corps.

With sincere regards,

Respectfully,

/s/

Alexander Haig

Handwritten note: 2:11 PM 6/6/82

June 6, 1982

Nis Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

Following the abominable shooting of Ambassador Argov and the subsequent escalation of violence, I am sure you are aware of our efforts with interested parties in Europe and the Middle East to urge that no further actions be taken against Israel that could only worsen the situation. As we continue our efforts, I hope you will give the most serious consideration to the message Ambassador Lewis conveyed to you late Saturday evening and will do what you can to avoid military steps that could lead to a widening of the conflict and even greater Israeli casualties.

Secretary Haig and I will be consulting with Ambassador Habib today. Following those discussions, if the situation permits, we will ask him to proceed on his mission to the area as scheduled. I hope you will agree on the need to work together to bring about those conditions which, over time, will recreate a stable and secure Lebanon and ultimately lead to security on Israel's northern border.

I pray our efforts will succeed to ensure that the situation does not go beyond the violence of recent hours. As you know, the security of Israel remains of the utmost concern to me.

With warm regards,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

הוד מעלתו מנחם בגין
ראש ממשלת ישראל
ירושלים

הוד מעלתו מנחם בגין
ראש ממשלת ישראל
ירושלים

מנחם היקר,

בעקבות הירי הנתעב כשגריר ארגוב וההסלמה באלימות שבאה בעקבותיו, אני בטוח שאחה ער למאמצינו עם צדדים מעוניינים באירופה ובמזרח-התיכון, להשפיע כי לא תינקטנה פעולות נוספות נגד ישראל העלולות דק להתמיר את המצב.

כאשר אנו ממשיכים במאמצינו, אני מקוה שתישקול, במלוא כובד-הראש, את המסר אשר השגריר לואיס מסר לך בשעות המאוחרות של מוצאי-שבת.. ותעסה מה שתוכל כדי למנוע צעדים צבאיים העשויים להביא להרחבת הסכסוך ואף למספר רב יותר של קורבנות ישראליים.

המזכיר הייג ואני נקיים היום החלוצות עם השגריר חביב. בעקבות דיונים אלה, אם המצב ירשה, נבקשו להמשיך בשליחותו לאיזור, כמתוכנן.

אני מקוה שתסכים כי צריך, לפעול יחד כדי להביא ליצירת החנאים, אשר במשך הזמן, יוצרו מחדש לבנון יציבה ובטוחה ובסופו של דבר יביאו לבטחון בגבולה הצפוני של ישראל.

אני תפילה כי מאמצינו יצליחו להבטיח שהמצב לא יחרוג מעבר לאלימות של השעות האחרונות. כידוע לך, בטחונה של ישראל נשאר בראש דאגותי.

באחולים חמים,

(-)

רונלד רייגן

Jerusalem, June 6, 1982

Dear Mr. President, Dear Friend,

I thank you for your letter of June 4. Your words of sympathy, friendship and understanding touched me deeply.

I am in permanent contact with the surgeon - a wonderful man - who operated on Ambassador Argov. His last call from London came yesterday evening; ~~when~~ the good doctor informed me that he still cannot make a definite prognosis. It seems already clear, however, that if the Ambassador survives the assassination attempt he will be left paralyzed. Nothing can be determined as yet about how his intellectual faculties will function.

Very early this morning, Mr. President, I received your second letter dated June 6th which I thank you. I feel it my duty, in answering it, to describe to you the real situation.

For the last seventy-two hours, twenty-three of our towns, townships and villages in Galilee have been under the constant shelling of Soviet-supplied heavy artillery and katyusha rockets by the "PLO" terrorists. Tens of thousands of men, women and children remain day and night in shelters. We have suffered casualties. The terrorists are aiming their guns exclusively at the civilian population. There are many military targets in the area; these are completely "immune". The purpose of the enemy is to kill - to kill Jews, men, women and children. Is there a nation in the world that would tolerate such a situation which, after the cessation of hostilities agreement, has repeated itself time and again?

The question is clearly answered in the most recent action of the United Kingdom which is now waging a full-fledged war eight thousand miles from its shores in the name of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Mr. President, the bloodthirsty aggressor against us is on our doorstep. Do we not have "the inherent right to self-defense?" Does not Article 51 of the Charter apply to us? Is the Jewish State an exception to all the rules applying to all other nations? The answer to these questions is enshrined in the questions themselves.

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, the Government of Israel decided to do its best to put an end to this intolerable situation. The army has been instructed to push back the terrorists to a distance of forty kilometers to the north so that all our civilians in the region of Galilee will be set free of the permanent threat to their lives.

- We do not covet one inch of Lebanese territory. We wish to sign a peace treaty with a free, independent Lebanon that will preserve its territorial integrity. But it is our duty to make sure that our citizens and their families can live peacefully and carry on their daily lives without the lurking permanent threat of sudden death.

I do hope, Mr. President, that you will take into consideration the unique situation in which we find ourselves as a result of the repeated aggression against us perpetrated by a Soviet-promoted terrorist organization bent on shedding the blood of our people in the Land and abroad.

We shall do our sacred duty. So help us God,

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem

נשיא בכבר, ידיר יקר,

אני מודה לך על מכתבך מ-4 ביוני. דברי ההשתתפות, הידידות וההכנה שלך נגעו מאד ללבי.

אני מקיים מגע ישיר עם הזנחה - אדם נפלא - אשר נחח את הסגריר ארגוב. שיחת הטלפון האחרונה שלו מלונדון הגיעה אמש; הרופא הטוב הודיעני שעדיין אינו יכול לקבוע פרן גנוזה ברורה. מכל מקום, כבר נראה בבירור, שאם הסגריר יתגבר על נסיון הרצח, הוא יישאר משותק. אין אפשרות לקבוע עדיין כיצד יפעלו תפקודיו האינטלקטואליים.

השכם בבקר, אדוני הנשיא, קבלתי את מכתבך השני מיום 6 ביוני, אשר עכרו אני מודה לך. אני חש, בחשובתי אליך, שחובתי היא לתאר לפניך את המצב לאשורו.

במשך 72 השעות האחרונות 23 מערינו, עיירותינו וכפרינו בגליל נמצאו תחת הפגזה מתמדת של ארטילריה כבדה וטילי קטיושה שסופקו על-ידי הסובייטים, ואשר הופעלו על-ידי הטרוריסטים (אש"פ).

עשרות אלפי גברים, נשים וילדים נשארים יום ולילה במקלטים. סבלנו נפגעים. הטרוריסטים מכוונים את נשקם אך ורק לאוכלוסיה אזרחית. נמצאות כאזור מטרות צבאיות רבות. הן "חסינות" לחלוטין. מטרת האויב היא להרא - להרוג יהודים, גברים, נשים וטף.

הישך עולם אומה, אשר חסלים אם מצב כזה, אשר חוזר ונשנה לאחר הסכם הפסקת פעילות האיבה? התשובה לשאלה ניתנת בהחלט בפעולה האחרונה של הממלכה המאוחדת, המנהלת עתה מלחמה בהיקף מלא, 8,000 מילין מחופיה, כשם סעיף 51 למגילת האו"ם.

אדוני הנשיא, התוקפן נגדנו צמא-המים, נמצא על סף דלחנו. האין לנו "הזכות הטבעית להגנה עצמית"? האם אין ¹²⁰51 לנוגילה חל עלינו? האם המדינה היהודית הנה יוצאת מן הכלל לכל הכללים החלים על כל האומות האחרות? התשובות לשאלות אלה מצויות בשאלות עצמן.

אדוני הנשיא, ממשלת ישראל החליטה לעשות ככל יכולהה כדי לשים קץ למצב בלתי נסבל זה. הצבא קבל הוראה להרוף אחורה את הטרוריסטים למרחק של 40 ק"מ צפונה, כך שכל אזרחינו באזור הגליל ישוחררו מהאיום המתמיד על חייהם.

איננו חומדים אפילו סנטימטר אחד מארמת לבנון. אנו שואפים לחתום חוזה שלום
עם לבנון חפשיה ועצמאית, אשר תשמור על שלמותה הטריטוריאלית. ואולם חובתנו היא
להכטיח שאורחינו ומשפחותיהם יוכלו לחיות בשלום ולנהל את חיי היום-יום כלי האיום
המחמיר של מות פתאומי המרחף מעליהם.

אני מקוה, אדוני הנשיא, שתביא בחשבון את המצב המיוחד שבו אנו מוצאים את
עצמנו, כחוצאה של התוקפנות החוזרת ונשנית כנגדנו, המבוצעת על-ידי ארגון טרור,
בעידודה של ברית-המועצות, שהחלטתו נחושה לשפוך את דם עמנו בארץ ומחוצה לה.
נמלא את חובתנו הקדושה. כה יחן לנו אלהים וכה יוסיף.

בהערכה ובכבוד,

מ. בגין

June 6, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

Thank you for your letter and its prompt response. I do not need to emphasize the gravity of recent events in Lebanon. Clearly, we will be faced with some difficult decisions in the hours ahead. Therefore, Secretary Haig and I have just instructed Ambassador Phil Habib to proceed to Jerusalem to present my concerns to you first hand. I am confident you will agree to see him at the earliest opportunity upon his arrival. Phil will share with you my thinking and seek to explore with you in greater detail our concerns.

Sincerely

/s/

Ron

June 9, 1982

His Excellency Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

I am seriously concerned by the recent reports of further Israeli advances into Central Lebanon and the increasing frequency of Israeli-Syrian hostilities. Your forces have moved substantially beyond the objective you outlined. Whatever the tactical advantages might appear to you, they are far outweighed by the need to avoid a wider war involving Syria and perhaps the Soviets.

Today I received a message from President Brezhnev expressing serious concern that an extremely dangerous situation has been created, involving the potential for wider hostility. Obviously, I do not accept most of the points made in his letter. Nevertheless, the risk of further escalation clearly exists.

We have learned that there has been a major escalation in the fighting between Israeli and Syrian forces; I must therefore call on you, President Assad and all other parties, to agree to a ceasefire to take effect at 6:00 a.m. local (Lebanese) time, June 10. I urge that you recommend to your Cabinet the immediate acceptance of my ceasefire proposal.

Menachem, Israel's refusal to agree to this ceasefire would aggravate what is already a grave threat to world peace and place a profound strain on a relationship I truly treasure.

Sincerely,

/S/

Ron

2778

מְשֵׁל הַמְּשָׁלָה
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem, 10 June 1982

Dear Mr. President, Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter dated June 9th, 1982, which reached me at 2 o'clock in the morning.

I convened immediately a session of our Cabinet; the earliest possible hour was 4 o'clock in the morning.

I will deliver this letter to Ambassador Lewis without delay after the end of the Cabinet's deliberations.

Mr. President, we accept the concept of cease-fire. In fact we initiated it in our talks with your personal emissary, Mr. Philip Habib.

I met with him in the Knesset on Tuesday, the 8th of June in the afternoon. I brought to him the following 4 proposals to be presented to President Assad:

- a) We don't want any fighting with the Syrian Army.
- b) If the Syrian forces do not attack or do not try to attack our Army, no Syrian soldier will come to harm.
- c) During the last 3 days, the Syrian Army advanced several kilometres from the north southward and from the east westward. Those troops should withdraw eastwards and northwards.
- d) Members of the PLO on the eastern sector who are under control and supervision of the Syrian Army should withdraw a distance of 25 kilometres northwards, and so the civilian population the area called the Galilee Finger like Kiryat Shmona, Metulla, etc. will, at last, be outside the range of their rocket and artillery fire.

Our friend Philip Habib agreed to present those demands to President Assad. From Ambassador Lewis, I got, at 4 o'clock in the morning, minutes of the Habib-Assad dialogue. It transpires from them that, in fact, Assad did

His Excellency
Mr. Ronald Reagan
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington

מְנַחֵם בֵּיִן
THE PRIME MINISTER

- 2 -

not accept the concept of such a cease-fire. He does not agree to the aforementioned withdrawal of the Syrian Army, nor that of the PLO members. Instead, he demands a withdrawal of the Israeli forces for, as he put it, "a disengagement". Therefore, as we can see, President Assad practically rejected your proposal.

As far as we are concerned, we are prepared for an immediate cease-fire in the wake of the renewal of the status quo ante concerning the position of the Syrian Army and of the positioning of the PLO members and their guns outside the range of Galilee and its inhabitants.

Early in the morning, before writing this letter addressed to you, we learned that Soviet supplied Syrian S A missiles are advancing from Syria into Lebanon to replace those we succeeded in destroying by a unique effort, accompanied by one of the greatest air battles in which we had the upper wing. Those SAM's, of course, cannot be placed again in the Beqa, endangering our Army and our Air Force.

In summing up, Mr. President, dear friend, you can see that there is no reason whatsoever that the friendly relationship that we established between us and our countries and which we both cherish should be to the tarnished. To the contrary, at this juncture, so important to the free world and to the effort "to stamp out the scourge of terrorism" our friendship and cooperation can and should be deepened.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem

חסוי



חסוי

חסוי



חסוי

ירושלים, 24 במאי, 1982

נשיא נכבד, ידיד יקר,

אני מודה לך מקרב לבי על מכתבך מיום 22 במאי 1982.

הריני מקבל בתודה את הזמנתך הנדיבה לבקר - אני מקווה, יחד עם עליזה - בבית הלבן ב-21 ביוני. אני מצפה לדיונים מפורטים על הבעיות הניצבות בפנינו בעולם, באזורנו, ביחסינו הדו-צדדיים. וכו'. אני בטוח כי יהיו אלה דיונים ידידותיים ופוריים ביותר, כיאה ליחסים שבין שתי ארצותינו, ובין שנינו.

ואולם, מאחר שבקורי אצלך ייערך בדיוק בעוד ארבעה שבועות, חובתי היא לומר לך, ידיד יקר, שאין ביכולתי לחזות מה עשוי להתרחש מעתה ועד אז, במאבקנו הקבוע להגנה-עצמית נגד הטרוריסטים העראפאתיים.

טיקולינו בנוגע לארצות-הברית הם שניים:

א. איננו רוצים להפחיעכם.

ב. איננו רוצים שארצות-הברית תהיה מעורבת בהחלטתנו בדבר מבצע צבאי, העלול להיות לבלתי-נמנע לחלוטין, פן תואטמו על-ידי כמה ארצות במה שהן מכנות "קנוניה" עם ישראל.

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לכן מוצאים אנו את עצמנו בדילמה, אשר אותה אני חייב לתאר בפניך בכנות גמורה: כמה זמן יכולה אומה לחיות תחת איום מתמיד באלימות? אינני מתכוון לאיום פוטנציאלי או תאורטי, כמו האיום שבטילים בין-יבשתיים נושאי ראשי חץ גרעיניים, המיוצרים על מנת שלא ישתמשו בהם, אלא לאיום אקטיבי, כמעט יומיומי, המלווה במוקשים, בפצצות, בחומרי תבלה, בחדירות וכן הלאה.

כמה זמן יכולה אומה לחיות, כשאוכלוסייתה האזרחית חשופה, יום ולילה, להתפרצות אפשרית של הפגזה ארטילרית?

עניננו יוצג בפניך ובפני יועצך על-ידי שר הבטחון שלנו, מר שרון, ואנחנו נמתיך, כמובן, עד לאחר שיפגש עם מזכירי המדינה וההגנה, ואולי אף איתך - אם תחליט בטובך לקבל את ידידי ועמיתי. אינני יודע מה עלול להעשות על-ידי הטרוריסטים לאנטינו במסך שלושה הימים הקרובים, עד שובו הנה ביום חמישי בלילה. ואולם בודאי אין איש מסוגל לחזות את ההתפתחויות במסך שלושה השבועות שלאחר מכן.

זוהי בעיתנו הקשה, אני אכן מקוה שארבעה השבועות הקרובים יהיו תקופה של שקט, אך איש אינו יכול לערוב כי כך יהיה. אנו עלולים להיות נאלצים לפעול להגנתנו העצמית. בהקשר זה תמיד אזכור את האימרה הנאה: "מרדף חסד - עד להנגרים שלהסו"

חדשות טובות, ידידי היקר: עליזה שבה הבוקר מבית החולים הביתה.
הרופאים טרם קבלו החלטה סופית. שנינו מקוים לנסוע לארצות-הברית
יחדיו ולהנות מהכנסת האורחים הנפלאה שלך ושל הגברת הראשונה האדיבה.

שלך בהוקרה ובברכה

מנחם

25-1014 y
ישראל

May 22, 1982

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His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

A little less than a month ago, on the historic occasion of April 25, 1982, I said that ".....withdrawal represents a truly major sacrifice by Israel and I admire its courage in taking the great risks which true peace requires." In a region so long beset by war and tension, the Israel-Egypt treaty of peace refutes those who believe in the inevitability of perpetual strife.

More important, such statesmanship restores the faith of those who seek a better future. We must foster this atmosphere of hope and build on this magnificent achievement, so that the promise of the days ahead can be bright indeed. Before us lie many challenges which call for our best creative efforts and for deep mutual understanding and cooperation: the advancement of the Camp David peace process; dealing with the root issues in Lebanon; and security concerns throughout the region as well as globally.

It is my hope and belief that a close personal, substantive dialogue between us could lead to a new beginning. If you agree, I hope that following your attendance at the United Nations special session on disarmament in New York, you will be able to join me at the White House for a meeting and working luncheon on Monday, June 21. At that time, we will engage in thorough discussions on the full range of our thinking on the fundamental issues of concern to both our countries. The meetings which Minister of Defense Sharon will be having on May 25 with Secretary Haig and Secretary Weinberger can serve as a prelude to our discussion on some of those issues. I have asked them to initiate at that time consideration of specific measures relating to strategic and defense cooperation in the hope that we can address more concrete decisions on this cooperation as one agenda item during the talks I propose we have here in Washington next month.

Let me mention once again, my friend, my admiration for Israel's inspiring qualities of patience, perseverance, and commitment to lofty goals which have been so strikingly reaffirmed to the world in recent weeks. Let me reaffirm once again my unswerving commitment and that of my administration to Israel's security and well being. I look forward very much to seeing you again soon. Nancy and I hope that Alisa is now back in good health and that you both will be able to accept our invitation to be here in Washington with us on June 21.

With warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

Ronald

הוד מעלתו
מנחם בגין
ראש ממשלת ישראל
ירושלים

מנחם היקר,

לפני קצת פחות מחודש, בהזדמנות ההסטורית של 25 באפריל 1982, אמרתי כי "...נסיגה מסמלת קרבן כבוד באמת מצד ישראל ואני מעריץ את אומץ-ליבה, בנוסלה את הסיכונים הגדולים אותם דורש שלום אמתי". באזור, המוטרד על-ידי מלחמה ומחזק זמן כה רב, מפריך חוזה השלום הישראלי-מצרי את טענת אלה המאמינים כי סכסוך מתמיד הוא בלתי-נמנע.

חשוב עוד יותר: מדינאות כזאת מחזקת את אמונתם של אלה המבקשים עתיד טוב יותר. עלינו לטפח אגירה זו של תקווה ולבנות על הישג כביר זה, כך שהתקווה לימים יבואו תהיה מזהירה באמת. בפנינו ניצבים אחגרים רבים, המחייבים אותנו למיטב מאמצי היצירה שלנו ולהבנה ולשתוף פעולה הדדיים עמוקים: קידום תהליך השלום של קמפ-דיוויד; טיפול בנושאי היסוד בלבנון; וענייני בטחון הן באזור כולו והן בעולם.

אני תקווה ואמונה שדו-שיח מהותי, אישי וקרוב בינינו עשוי להוביל להתחלה חדשה. אם חסכים, אני מקווה שבעקבות ביקורך במושב המיוחד

של האו"ם בענין פירוק הנשק בניו-יורק, תוכל להצטרף אלי בבית הלבן לפגישה וארוחת-עבודה בצהרי יום שני, 21 ביוני. כמועד זה נקיים דיונים מלאים על כל היקף מחשבותינו לגבי הנושאים היסודיים המעניינים את שתי ארצותינו. הפגישות, שיקיים שר הבטחון שרון ב-25 במאי עם המזכיר הייג והמזכיר ויינברגר, יכולות לשמש מבוא לדיונים שלנו על כמה מנושאים אלה. בקשתי מהם לשקול ביוזמתם במועד זה אמצעים מסויימים הנוגעים לשיתוף פעולה אסטרטגי ובטחוני, בתקוה שנוכל להתייחס להחלטות יותר קונקרטיות בענין שיתוף הפעולה הזה, כאחד מנושאי הדיון במסך השיחות, שאני מציע כי ננהל בווישינגטון בחודש הבא.

הרשה לי להזכיר שוב, ידידי, את הערצתי לסגולותיה הטרומיות של ישראל: הסבלנות, ההתמדה והמחוייבות למטרות נשגבות, אשר הומחשו מחדש לעולם באופן כה בולט בשבועות האחרונים. הרשה לי לאשר מחדש המחוייבות הבלתי-משתנה שלי ושל ממטלי לבטחון ישראל ולרווחתה. אני מצפה מאוד לראותך שוב בקרוב. ננסי ואני מקוים שבריאותה של עליזה שוב טובה וששניכם תוכלו להענות להזמנתנו ולהיות כאן בווישינגטון אחנו ב-21 ביוני.

אחולים חמים.

ב ב ר כ ה

רונלד

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

JUNE 7,

1982.

ORAL MESSAGE

FROM PRESIDENT MUBARAK
BEGIN

TO PRIME MINISTER

1- IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT ISRAELI OPERATION IN LEBANON, PRESIDENT MUBARAK WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND THE ISRAELI CABINET HIS PROFOUND CONCERN AND ALARM.

2- SUCH ACTION, REGARDLESS OF ANY JUSTIFICATION, IS BOUND TO DEAL A DEVASTATING BLOW TO THE VIGOROUS EFFORTS WE ARE EXERTING AT THIS CRUCIAL CROSSROADS IN ORDER TO WIDEN THE SCOPE OF PEACE AND REINFORCE THE FAITH OF ITS SUPPORTERS IN THE REGION. A LASTING PEACE REQUIRES IN THE FIRST PLACE MAXIMUM SELF- RESTRAINT AND A GENUINE RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE.

3- THIS PERSISTENT ESCALATION OF THE USE OF FORCE WOULD CERTAINLY GENERATE MORE VIOLENCE AND TENSION AT A TIME WHEN WE SHOULD BE DOUBLING OUR EFFORTS TO PERSUADE ALL THE PARTIES TO REFRAIN FROM ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION. THIS CALL FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE WILL BE DROWNED BY THE VOICES OF RETALIATION AND VENGEANCE. WE MUST BREAK THIS VICIOUS CIRCLE WITHOUT DELAY.

4- THE SUFFERING AND ACHRY CAUSED BY THESE ACTS WOULD ONLY DEEPEN THE FEELING OF BITTERNESS AND LAY NEW EMPHASIS ON THE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS AND INCOMPATIBILITY OF PURPOSE.

5- THE PRESIDENT REPEATEDLY URGED YOU TO LOOK AHEAD AND GEAR YOUR POLICY TOWARDS THE FUTURE RATHER THAN MAKE IT CAPTIVE TO THE PAST WITH ITS ACCUMULATED FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS QUITE IMPORTANT TO PROJECT A NEW IMAGE FOR ISRAEL AND ITS POLICY IN THE REGION AND THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD. ACTS OF VIOLENCE CAN HARDLY SERVE THIS CAUSE.

6- IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVEMENTIONED, THE PRESIDENT URGES YOU TO HALT THE OPERATION IMMEDIATELY AND WITHDRAW YOUR TROOPS FROM LEBANON. ANY PROLONGATION OF THESE BLOODY CLASHES MEANS A CONTINUOUS DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION TO THE DETRIMENT OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED. IF YOU HAVE ANY CLAIMS OR GRIEVANCES, YOUR CASE WILL BE WEAKENED BY THIS TOTALLY EXAGGERATED REACTION WHICH IS CONSIDERED OUT OF PROPORTION WITH THE ACTION COMPLAINED

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

OF.

7- THE PRESIDENT HOPES THAT YOU CONSIDER THE SITUATION WITH A SENSE OF URGENCY AND CONCERN FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION.

תפ: שהח, טשהח, להמ, סרהמ, שהנמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכו, רס, אמן,
טמח, דיבונן, מצרים, רונינשמייך

מסר בעל-פה מהנשיא מובארק לראש הממשלה מר בגין

1. בהתייחס למבצע הישראלי הנוכחי בלבנון, הנשיא מובארק מבקש להביע בפני ראש הממשלה בגין וממשלת ישראל את דאגתו וחרדתו העמוקות.

2. פעולה כזאת, בלי להתייחס להצדקה כלשהי, חייבת להנחית מכה אנושה למאמצים הנמרצים שאנו עושים בפרשת דרכים חשובה זו, כדי להרחיב את מעגל השלום ולחזק את האמונה של תומכיו באזור. שלום בר-קיימא דורש בראש וראשונה ריסון עצמי מירבי וויתור אמיתי על שמוש בכוח.

3. ההסלמה המתחדדת בשמוש בכוח תוביל בודאי ליותר אלימות ומתיחות בשעה שבה עלינו להכפיל את מאמצינו לשכנע את כל הצדדים להמנע מצעדי אלימות והפחדה. קריאה זו לויתור על שימוש בכוח מטבע בתוך קולות התגמול והנקמה. עלינו לטבור מעגל קסמים זה ללא דיחוי.

4. הסבל והיסורים הנגרמים על-ידי מעשים אלה, רק יעמיקו את רגשות המרירות וישיחו דגש חדש על גיגוד אינטרסים ואי-ההחשמה של המטרה.

5. הנשיא חזר והפציר^{בר} להביט קדימה ולכוון את מדיניותך כלפי העמיד במקום לעשותה שנויה בידי העבר, על החטכולים המצטברים והיאוש שבו. מצד שני, די חשוב הוא ליצור תדמית חדשה לישראל ומדיניותה באזור ובמרחב העולם הערבי כולו. מעשי אלימות לא ישרתו מטרה זו.

6. לאור האמור לעיל, הנשיא מפציר בך לעצור את המבצע לאלתר ולהסיג

את כוחותיך מלבנון. כל הארכה של התנגשויות דמים אלה, פרושה המדרדרות
נמשכת של המצב, לרעה כל הצדדים הנוגעים לענין. אם יש לכם תביעות
או טענות, ענינכם יוחלט על-ידי תגובה זו, המוגזמת ביותר, הנחשבת תגובה
ללא יחס למעשה שעליו נסבה החלונה.

7. הנשיא מקווה שתשקול את המצב המחושב דחיפות ודאגה לענין השלום
והיציבות באזור.

131
Jerusalem, June 9, 1982

Dear President Mubarak,

I thank you for what, in diplomatic jargon, is called an "oral message," dated June 7. By its nature I was supposed to hear it, but I read its contents attentively.

I feel bound, in response, to open with an introductory request, dear friend. Any communication between us, and especially at a time of crisis or difficulty, is intrinsically important and dear to me, but let it not be couched in language that is almost an "ultimatum." The term, "immediately," and other such categorical phraseology is both superfluous and fruitless. Each of our two countries has its vital interests. I respect yours, Mr. President; please respect ours.

I will share with you an authentic story:

It was Jerusalem, November 1977. At the King David Hotel two men faced each other. Their countries had waged five wars. They were still in a state of war but the two men talked peace with each other. The one, the visitor, recalled to his host the conflict between his country and Libya and he voluntarily proffered the remark: "The Libyans attacked my country several times. That Kadaffi is impossible but I taught him a lesson. We caused him two thousand casualties."

My guest, of course, was the late President Sadat on his first visit to Israel and to Jerusalem. I have never made that episode public and I shall not do so now. I recite it for your attention only.

When President Sadat made that remark I did not utter a word of criticism nor did I ask him any questions. I understood what he was saying, that Egypt had the right of self-defense - the reaction, the retribution - against the aggressive acts directed against it. I did not speak to him about a "totally exaggerated reaction" or a response that was "out of proportion with the action complained of." I simply understood my neighbor who faced

His Excellency
Mr. Mohammed Hosny Mubarak
President of the Arab Republic of Egypt
Cairo

attacks and who decided to defend his people through counter-attack.

May I now describe to you our situation, ~~and hopefully, what will be~~
~~the result~~. There are in Lebanon between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand members of the so-called PLO (so-called because of the erroneous, "L"). They are equipped with Soviet katyusha missiles (range: 21.6 kilometers and 35 kilometers); with the most modern Soviet 130 m artillery (range: 27 kilometers); and with the Soviet 180 m heavy gun which, though somewhat obsolete, has a range of 43 kilometers. A few days ago they resumed their fire against twenty-three of our towns, townships and villages in northern Israel. These attacks caused us casualties. Their chosen targets are always the civilian population. Military targets remain "immune". This has been going on intermittently for the last seven-eight years with ever mounting casualties. The organization which perpetrates these crimes declares openly and brazenly that they will continue attacking us, that this is their road to victory and that, for them, victory means hoisting their flag over Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa. Their goal is our destruction.

Faced with these facts and declarations, what should a nation do? Should it keep its men, women and children - tens of thousands - day and night in sweltering shelters for fear of sudden death? Should it expect help from the Insecurity Council? Did Britain wait for such help in regard to the Falkland Islands conflict? Did it accept a United Nations resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire in and around the Falkland Islands? Did it not reject that resolution, its vote amounting to a veto of it? What, indeed, are we expected to do - especially by our friends - in face of permanent bloodshed, repeated attacks, promises of destruction?

Mr. President, dear friend, the answer is as clear as the light of day. Not only is it our right but also our sacred duty to defend our men, women and children, the targets of bloodthirsty aggression. Our task is to make sure that no more shells and rockets will fall on the twenty-three towns, townships and villages in the northern sector of our country. This is the objective of our recent operation and, I assure you, it will be achieved.

The children of Cairo and Alexandria go quietly to school and return home peacefully to their loving parents. The children of Nahariya and Kiryat Shmona have the same right - no more, but no less, to go peacefully to school and return peacefully home.

The fighting in Lebanon will stop soon. Then, once we have made absolutely sure that the enemy will not be able any more to shed the blood of our men, women and children we will withdraw our forces from Lebanon. We don't covet an inch of its territory. We want a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon on the basis of the international boundary between our two countries. For nineteen years it was the most tranquil of borders; it then became the bloodiest one. It can again become as pastoral as it once was, when only sheep would transgress the boundary to be returned by one neighbor to another.

Such a cause, Mr. President, should not be condemned; it should be upheld, supported.

My wife joins me in sending to you and to Mrs. Mubarak our best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Menachem Begin

1910 - 1911

1910 - 1911



June 9, 1982.

Mr. Prime Minister,

With Israeli air-raids in Lebanon and rocket attacks on northern Israel already in progress, my letter to you on June 5 counselled restraint to avoid the dangers that further military action would bring. In that same letter I said we deplored and condemned as heinous crimes acts of terrorism against targets in Israel and elsewhere - but I also said that it was important to avoid actions which fuel rather than dampen the flames of violence and hatred in the Middle East. I am dismayed by the subsequent escalation of the conflict represented by the massive movement of Israeli forces into Lebanon. Great human suffering is being caused, and the rapid northward expansion of Israeli operations is posing an increasing risk of a wider war. We in Canada understand your natural concern for Israeli lives in the Galilee, and believe that acts of violence against Israel and its citizens as well as against all others in the area must cease. But we cannot accept the proposition that the present military activities are justified or that they will provide the long term security which you seek for the Israeli people.

I appeal to you to respond positively to the unanimous Security Council Resolution by agreeing to a cease fire and withdrawing immediately and unconditionally from Lebanese territory so that the difficult but necessary tasks of working for reconciliation in the area can begin again.

Pierre Trudeau.

H.E. Menachem Begin,
Prime Minister of Israel.

Jerusalem, June 15, 1982

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I thank you for your two letters of May 30 and June 9.

In both you use the term, "dismay," when casting judgement on Israel's action. I wonder,

But before I react to this descriptive expression I feel it my duty to put to you, Mr. Prime Minister, several non-rhetorical questions:

a) When King Hussein trained his artillery on refugee camps, killing thousands of people, men, women and children, in order to be rid of the PLO, did you write to him telling him of your "dismay"?

b) When the PLO perpetrated the massacre of all Christian civilians in Damur, Lebanon, (which we have now returned to the Christians) did you, Mr. Prime Minister, condemn the murderers?

c) When President Assad massacred, by our information, six thousand men, women and children in Hammat - and by the London "Observer's" report, 25,000 - did you issue a protest either directly to the Syrian tyrant or, indirectly, from any public platform?

And, now, to the facts:

In Judea and Samaria there stalks a neo-Nazi organization called PLO. By its own brazenly declared testimony and brutal record it is bent on the destruction of the Jewish State and the Jewish people. This, it proclaims openly in its "Charter" and resolutions. Under that organization's incitement youngsters are sent out into the streets to rain rocks on our soldiers with the clear intent to severely injure and to kill. You have not seen those rocks in Canada; I have seen them here. Would you, Mr. Prime Minister, tolerate such rock-throwing at your Mounted Police or at soldiers of the Canadian Army?

Let me make it clear that in the State of Israel we have no order, "Shoot to kill," as there was when the British ruled Palestine. If an Israeli soldier is attacked and finds himself in dire danger his orders are to shoot into the air. If that proves of no avail he is instructed to aim at the legs to extricate himself

The Rt. Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau
Prime Minister of Canada
Ottawa

from the danger. And yet, you find it necessary to preach to us and to express "dismay".

Perhaps it stems from geographical differences. Yours is a huge country, virtually a continent, stretching between two oceans and bordered by a friendly neighbor. Ours is a Lilliputian country, almost completely surrounded by enemies who vastly outnumber us, who are armed to the teeth and who connive at our destruction. Respectfully, may I say to you, Mr. Prime Minister, that rather than preach to us you should try to understand our unique position.

Thus far, my response to your first letter. And now to the second: Again, "dismay," and, with it, a lack of understanding.

The Children in Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver go to school and return home safely and smilingly. The children of Kiryat Shmona, Nahariya, Metulla, Kfar Giladi and the other townships and villages in Galilee could not go to school at all. For days and weeks on end they lived in sweltering shelters. Some were wounded and killed. Why? Because they were born Jewish and on the other side of the Israeli-Lebanese border was a neo-Nazi organization which, night and day, rained their deadly katyusha rockets and artillery shells on their homes.

What should we do? What would Canada have done under similar circumstances? What would any nation have done?

After many months of restraint - indeed, of over-restraint - we exercised our inherent right of self-defence and went out to smash the sources of evil, which we have now done. Instead of hearing a good word from a free man who believes in justice and liberty - we hear "dismay".

Mr. Prime Minister, I cannot finish my letter without telling you in complete candor that I read the two relevant passages with profound dismay.

Menachem Begin

נושרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשר

9966

יוצא

טורי ביוטר

דף 1
טומק 5
חמוך 3
חמוך 32

Handwritten notes: 63/1, 1/2

מל: האנ. נר: 294, ח: המשרד
דח: ב. ס: ח. מא: 160682, ח: 1730
נד: מסר טו ביטי

טורי ביוטר/בהולכי

הטגרי

המחנה של סנפיננד בארץ (המייצגת עניני בריה"מ) הביא לנו
ב-15 מסר טוניטי שהועבר אליו טיי שגריה"מ בהלסינקי,
לאחור:

THE ISRAELI ARMED FORCES HAVE BY ARTILLERY SHELLINGS AND
BOMBINGS CREATED A DIRECT THREAT TO THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN
BEIRUT AND TO THE LIVES AND SAFETY OF SOVIET CITIZENS
BOMBS, MISSILES AND ARTILLERY SHELLS ARE FALLING TO THE
IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF THE EMBASSY. THESE ACTIONS BY THE
ISRAELI FORCES ARE IN A FLAGRANT CONTRADICTION WITH
GENERALLY RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL NORMS. THE SOVIET UNION
REQUIRES RESOLUTELY THAT ISRAEL WILL TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION
TO END AND PREVENT ALL SUCH ACTIONS THAT THREATEN THE
SAFETY AND UNVIOLABILITY OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN LEBANON.
WE WARN RESOLUTELY THAT ALL WHT RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CASE
THESE MEASURES ARE NOT TAKEN WILL BE BORNE BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL.

עד כאן במשובה בקשנו היום (16) המחנה הפיני להעביר באותה
דרך המסר דלהלן:

IN REPLY TO AN UNADDRESSED AN UNSIGNED VERBAL MESSAGE:
THE ISRAELI DEFENSE FORCES ARE IN LEBANON ONLY BECAUSE
ARMED BANDS CALLING THEMSELVES PLO OPERATING FROM LEBANON

22/

Ottawa, Canada.

May 30, 1982.

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your welcome letter of April 30. I have passed on your best wishes to my sons. I am grateful for your warm invitation to return to Israel; the happy memories of my earlier visit are still fresh in my mind. I regret that a number of commitments for foreign travel make it impossible for me to take up your offer in the near future. As you are aware, however, Mark MacGuigan, our Secretary of State for External Affairs, expects to visit Israel in the early autumn. I hope that he will have an opportunity to meet you at that time to discuss not only bilateral relations but also some of the basic problems facing Israel and the Middle East.

Our governments have exchanged ideas over the past few months on a number of important, but specific, issues. I should like in this letter to take up in broader terms some of the themes previously discussed. As a new chapter opens in the Middle East it might be useful for me to set out in a frank way some of the hopes and fears of Israel's friends.

I need not rehearse at length the history of Canada's support for Israel - it has been constant and firm. Canadians have always been impressed by the dedication and hard work of its citizens that have allowed Israel, as a Jewish State in the Middle East, not only to survive in the face of adversity but to grow strong and prosper. In many respects, Israel has been an inspiration to other countries in the decades since its creation. As I said in my April 25 message, Canadians admire your courage in leading Israel to take the momentous step of withdrawing from the Sinai. I fear, however, that a number of recent Israeli political and military actions may have begun to weaken the fund of international support for Israel. Even among those of us who feel closest to Israel, there is a feeling that certain Israeli policies, some of which have been recently

H.E. Menachem Begin,

Prime Minister of Israel.

re-emphasized, are making still more difficult the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the region.

I think that this unhappy situation arises from two basic differences of view between Israel and its friends in the international community. Canada (and I believe most, if not all, of Israel's other supporters) cannot accept the position that Israel has already gained the right to retain permanent control over the West Bank, the Golan Heights and the Gaza Strip. We increasingly hear the assertion that Israel will never withdraw from these territories; this is coupled with the announced determination to increase the number of Jewish settlements and to reject any suggestion about the removal of settlements in any future negotiations. We believe that such statements undermine confidence about the possibility of successful negotiations and are, therefore, very unhelpful to the peace process.

We support the position in the Camp David Agreement that the status of the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 must be settled, after a transitional period of autonomy, by negotiation between Israel and its neighbours. Thus the Canadian Government has year after year withheld support from Arab-sponsored resolutions in the U.N. which appear to prejudge the outcome of these negotiations. But we have similarly opposed Israeli actions which also seem to prejudge these negotiations. These actions include measures such as the Jerusalem Law of 1980, the Golan Law of 1981, and the ongoing practice of establishing Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories, often in close proximity to populated Arab areas. Such policies serve to increase rather than diminish a feeling of hostility between Israeli and Arab; they strengthen the hand of the enemies of Israel who argue that negotiations can yield nothing and that mutual accommodation is impossible.

The second basic difference of view concerns the use of force in the region. It is obvious that a common aim should be a transition from a state of mere absence of outright warfare to a state of peace and security based on mutual agreement and tolerance among the States of the region. Only the latter situation provides a lasting basis for the security and well being of Israel. If this state of affairs is to be reached, resort to force by all sides must be avoided. Thus Canada deplored the shelling of Israeli towns and villages in the Galilee but also opposed Israel's "pre-emptive" air and ground attacks into Southern Lebanon, the bombing of Beirut which caused so many civilian casualties and the bombing of the nuclear reactor under construction near Baghdad. We opposed these actions because they were out of proportion to the provocation involved and because they fuel rather than dampen the cycle of violence and hatred in the region. A quite different kind of violence, of course, is represented by the acts of terrorism directed against targets in Israel and elsewhere. These we deplore and condemn for the heinous crimes they are.

Against this background I have noted with concern recurring reports in recent months of a possible outbreak of major hostilities across the Israel-Lebanese border. An action of this kind might, among many negative results, bring Israel into full-scale armed conflict with Syria. It would be fraught with danger to peace in the region and could well have very grave consequences outside the Middle East as well. We therefore attach the greatest importance to the maintenance of the cease fire arranged last July through the mediation of Mr. Habib.

The Canadian Government has already conveyed its concern at the Israeli air attacks in Lebanon on April 21. We have also informed the PLO of our concern at its violations of the cease fire. May I express to you the wish that Israel exercise the greatest restraint in the use of armed force in Lebanon. Failing such restraint there is a more serious risk of escalation into full-scale war in the region with consequences which it is impossible to foresee.

I have watched recent events in the West Bank and Gaza with increasing dismay. As the Secretary of State for External Affairs said on March 25, Canada deplores this tragic loss of life, injury and severe disruption of normal daily activity. We are concerned about the dismissals of the Mayors and the violent demonstrations but we are particularly concerned at the frequency with which efforts to control and disband student and other demonstrations have resulted in death or serious injury by gunfire. We are not privy to the results of the investigations into the specific incidents but, as a general observation, it would seem that rock-throwing demonstrators could be subdued without loss of life.

Resolution 242, the Camp David Accords and, most important, the realities of the situation dictate that the only kind of regional settlement in which one can have any long term confidence is one based upon the mutual agreement of the States in the region to live together in peace. Israel repeats that it is willing to negotiate, without preconditions, with all of its neighbours. Egypt responded to this invitation and the result is the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty, in the achievement of which you played such an important, indeed an indispensable, role. For many years the rest of the Arab world refused to accept Israel on any basis. It is a tragedy that some Arab countries still hold this view.

More recently, however, there have been signs that more moderate elements of the Arab world may be prepared to accept Israel on certain conditions. The challenge now facing those striving for Arab-Israeli peace is to secure Arab recognition and acceptance of Israel in a way which would respect Israel's sovereignty and security. We have talked repeatedly to Arab Governments and have also made use of contacts we have had for the past several years with the PLO in an effort to persuade them to a course of moderation,

involving an understanding of Israel's fundamental concern for its security and explicit recognition of its permanence and legitimacy.

It is necessary for all of Israel's western friends, including those such as Canada which are not directly involved in the negotiating process, to intensify their efforts in this direction. To have any hope of success, however, we need help from Israel. In particular, we think it is important that Israel signal to the Arab countries and to the world at large, by its acts as well as by its words, that it remains willing to negotiate an equitable and lasting peace with its neighbours, and that it does indeed recognize, in the words of the Camp David Agreement, "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements". In this context, I was particularly interested in the Israeli position on autonomy as set out in the document enclosed with your letter of April 30.

In the negotiations on interim autonomy which are to be resumed shortly, Israel could demonstrate its acceptance of the principles and the spirit of the Camp David framework by adopting a forthcoming attitude toward the Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza on basic issues such as land, water and settlements and by finding ways to indicate that acceptance of transitional arrangements would not per se foreclose options for the future. Of equal importance over the longer term will be Israel's position on the shape of a permanent settlement in the area and the practical and legal steps in this context which it takes or refrains from taking on the ground.

I firmly believe that a policy which clearly reflects considerations of this kind is the one best calculated to assure to Israel the same level of public support in the western countries that it has enjoyed in the past. Such action would also help reverse the increasing tension both within the West Bank and Gaza and between Israel and its neighbours, most notably Lebanon and Syria. This tension threatens to lead toward a renewed outbreak of major hostilities in the region.

As you formulate policies to make further progress toward a resolution of the Arab-Israeli problem following the completion of your withdrawal from the Sinai, I hope that the observations in this letter will figure in your thinking. They come from a country whose government and people share with you the objective of a Middle East at peace and an Israel living in permanent security and harmony with all its neighbours.

It is our profound belief that only in a political settlement, negotiated freely between Israel and the Arabs, will Israel be able to find the true security which we all

so fervently desire. We appreciate the immense difficulties you face in moving towards this objective. In the efforts you make to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement you can be sure of the on-going support of the Canadian Government and the Canadian people.

Shalom.

P.E. Trudeau.



June 9, 1982.

Mr. Prime Minister,

With Israeli air-raids in Lebanon and rocket attacks on northern Israel already in progress, my letter to you on June 5 counselled restraint to avoid the dangers that further military action would bring. In that same letter I said we deplored and condemned as heinous crimes acts of terrorism against targets in Israel and elsewhere - but I also said that it was important to avoid actions which fuel rather than dampen the flames of violence and hatred in the Middle East. I am dismayed by the subsequent escalation of the conflict represented by the massive movement of Israeli forces into Lebanon. Great human suffering is being caused, and the rapid northward expansion of Israeli operations is posing an increasing risk of a wider war. We in Canada understand your natural concern for Israeli lives in the Galilee, and believe that acts of violence against Israel and its citizens as well as against all others in the area must cease. But we cannot accept the proposition that the present military activities are justified or that they will provide the long term security which you seek for the Israeli people.

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23/

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The Children in Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver go to school and return home safely and smilingly. The children of Kiryat Shmona, Nahariya, Metulla, Kfar Giladi and the other townships and villages in Galilee could not go to school at all. For days and weeks on end they lived in sweltering shelters. Some were wounded and killed. Why? Because they were born Jewish and on the other side of the Israeli-Lebanese border was a neo-Nazi organization which, night and day, rained their deadly katyusha rockets and artillery shells on their homes.

What should we do? What would Canada have done under similar circumstances? What would any nation have done?

After many months of restraint - indeed, of over-restraint - we exercised our inherent right of self-defence and went out to smash the sources of evil, which we have now done. Instead of hearing a good word from a free man who believes in justice and liberty - we hear "dismay".

Mr. Prime Minister, I cannot finish my letter without telling you in complete candor that I read the two relevant passages with profound dismay.

Menachem Begin

Jerusalem, 10 June 1982

Dear Mr. President, Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter dated June 9th, 1982, which reached me at 2 o'clock in the morning.

I convened immediately a session of our Cabinet; the earliest possible hour was 4 o'clock in the morning.

I will deliver this letter to Ambassador Lewis without delay after the end of the Cabinet's deliberations.

Mr. President, we accept the concept of cease-fire. In fact we initiated it in our talks with your personal emissary, Mr. Phillip Habib.

I met with him in the Knesset on Tuesday, the 8th of June in the afternoon. I brought to him the following 4 proposals to be presented to President Assad:

- a) We don't want any fighting with the Syrian Army.
- b) If the Syrian forces do not attack or do not try to attack our Army, no Syrian soldier will come to harm.
- c) During the last 3 days, the Syrian Army advanced several kilometres from the north southward and from the east westward. Those troops should withdraw eastwards and northwards.
- d) Members of the PLO on the eastern sector who are under control and supervision of the Syrian Army should withdraw a distance of 25 kilometres northwards, and so the civilian population in the area called the Galilee Finger like Kiryat Shmona, Metulla, etc. will, at last, be outside the range of their rocket and artillery fire.

Our friend Phillip Habib agreed to present those demands to President Assad. From Ambassador Lewis, I got, at 4 o'clock in the morning, minutes of the Habib-Assad dialogue. It transpires from them that, in fact, Assad did

His Excellency
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The White House
Washington

not accept the concept of such a cease-fire. He does not agree to the aforementioned withdrawal of the Syrian Army, nor that of the PLC members. Instead, he demands a withdrawal of the Israeli forces for, as he put it, "a disengagement". Therefore, as we can see, President Assad practically rejected your proposal.

As far as we are concerned, we are prepared for an immediate cease-fire in the wake of the renewal of the status quo ante concerning the position of the Syrian Army and of the positioning of the PLC members and their guns outside the range of Galilee and its inhabitants.

Early in the morning, before writing this letter addressed to you, we learned that Soviet supplied Syrian S.A. missiles are advancing from Syria into Lebanon to replace those we succeeded in destroying by a unique effort, accompanied by one of the greatest air battles in which we had the upper wing. Those SAM's, of course, cannot be placed again in the Beqa, endangering our Army and our Air Force.

In summing up, Mr. President, dear friend, you can see that there is no reason whatsoever that the friendly relationship that we established between us and our countries and which we both cherish should be to the ^{U.S.}tarnished. To the contrary, at this juncture, so important to the free world and to the effort "to stamp out the scourge of terrorism" our friendship and cooperation can and should be deepened.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN TO THE PRIME MINISTER, 6.6.82, COMMUNICATED
TO PRIME MINISTER'S BUREAU AT 20 hrs.

Dear Menachem,

Thank you for your letter and its prompt response. I do not need to emphasize the gravity of recent events in Lebanon. Clearly, we will be faced with some difficult decisions in the hours ahead. Therefore, Secretary Haig and I have just instructed Ambassador Phil Habib to proceed to Jerusalem to present my concerns to you first-hand.

I am confident you will agree to see him at the earliest opportunity upon his arrival. Phil will share with you my thinking and seek to explore with you in greater detail our concerns.

Sincerely,

Ron

✓
Jerusalem, June 6, 1982

Dear Mr. President, Dear Friend,

I thank you for your letter of June 4. Your words of sympathy, friendship and understanding touched me deeply.

I am in permanent contact with the surgeon - a wonderful man - who operated on Ambassador Argov. His last call from London came yesterday evening; ~~when~~ the good doctor informed me that he ~~still~~ cannot make a definite prognosis. It seems already clear, however, that if the Ambassador survives the assassination attempt he will be left paralyzed. Nothing can be determined as yet about how his intellectual faculties will function.

Very early this morning, Mr. President, I received your second letter dated June 6 ~~for~~ which I thank you. I feel it my duty, in answering it, to describe to you the real situation.

For the last seventy-two hours, twenty-three of our towns, townships and villages in Galilee have been under the constant shelling of Soviet-supplied heavy artillery and katyusha rockets by the "PLO" terrorists. Tens of thousands of men, women and children remain day and night in shelters. We have suffered casualties. The terrorists are aiming their guns exclusively at the civilian population. There are many military targets in the area; these are completely "immune". The purpose of the enemy is to kill - to kill Jews, men, women and children. Is there a nation in the world that would tolerate such a situation which, after the cessation of hostilities agreement, has repeated itself time and again?

The question is clearly answered in the most recent action of the United Kingdom which is now waging a full-fledged war eight thousand miles from its shores in the name of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Mr. President, the bloodthirsty aggressor against us is on our doorstep. Do we not have "the inherent right to self-defense?" Does not Article 51 of the Charter apply to us? Is the Jewish State an exception to all the rules applying to all other nations? The answer to these questions is enshrined in the questions themselves.

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The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, the Government of Israel decided to do its best to put an end to this intolerable situation. The army has been instructed to push back the terrorists to a distance of forty kilometers to the north so that all our civilians in the region of Galilee will be set free of the permanent threat to their lives.

We do not covet one inch of Lebanese territory. We wish to sign a peace treaty with a free, independent Lebanon that will preserve its territorial integrity. But it is our duty to make sure that our citizens and their families can live peacefully and carry on their daily lives without the lurking permanent threat of sudden death.

I do hope, Mr. President, that you will take into consideration the unique situation in which we find ourselves as a result of the repeated aggression against us perpetrated by a Soviet-promoted terrorist organization bent on shedding the blood of our people in the Land and abroad.

We shall do our sacred duty. So help us God.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem

June 6, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

Following the abominable shooting of Ambassador Argov and the subsequent escalation of violence, I am sure you are aware of our efforts with interested parties in Europe and the Middle East to urge that no further actions be taken against Israel that could only worsen the situation. As we continue our efforts, I hope you will give the most serious consideration to the message Ambassador Lewis conveyed to you late Saturday evening and will do what you can to avoid military steps that could lead to a widening of the conflict and even greater Israeli casualties.

Secretary Haig and I will be consulting with Ambassador Habib today. Following those discussions, if the situation permits, we will ask him to proceed on his mission to the area as scheduled. I hope you will agree on the need to work together to bring about those conditions which, over time, will recreate a stable and secure Lebanon and ultimately lead to security on Israel's northern border.

I pray our efforts will succeed to ensure that the situation does not go beyond the violence of recent hours. As you know, the security of Israel remains of the utmost concern to me.

With warm regards,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

.. ..
.. .. 3 תמוז 24
.. .. 32 תמוז 5
.. ..
.. ..
.. ..

..1. WE DO NOT WISH TO TAKE YOU BY SURPRISE.
..2. WE DO NOT WANT THE UNITED STATES TO BECOME INVOLVED IN
..OUR DECISION ABOUT A MILITARY OPERATION, WHICH MAY BECOME
..ABSOLUTELY UNAVOIDABLE, LEST SOME COUNTRIES ACCUSE YOU OF
..WHAT THEY USUALLY TERM 'COLLUSION' WITH ISRAEL.
..WE THEREFORE FIND OURSELVES ON THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA,
..WHICH I MUST DESCRIBE TO YOU WITH COMPLETE CANDOUR.
..HOW LONG CAN A NATION LIVE WITH A PERMANENT THREAT OF
..VIOLENCE? I REFER NOT TO A POTENTIAL THREAT, OR A
..THEORETICAL ONE, LIKE THAT OF INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES
..WITH ATOMIC WARHEADS, WHICH ARE PRODUCED IN ORDER NOT TO
..BE USED, BUT TO AN ACTIVIZED, ALMOST DAILY THREAT,
..ACCOMPANIED BY MINES, BOMBS, EXPLOSIVES, INCURSIONS AND SO
..FORTH. HOW LONG CAN A NATION LIVE WITH ITS CIVILIAN
..POPULATION EXPOSED, DAY AND NIGHT, TO A POSSIBLE FLARE-UP
..OF ARTILLERY BARRAGES?
..OUR CASE WILL BE PRESENTED TO YOU AND TO YOUR ADVISERS BY
..OUR DEFENCE MINISTER, MR. SHARON, AND, OF COURSE, WE SHALL
..WAIT UNTIL AFTER HE MEETS WITH THE SECRETARIES OF STATE
..AND DEFENCE, AND PERHAPS WITH YOU, IF YOU KINDLY DECIDE TO
..RECEIVE MY FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT MAY BE
..DONE BY THE TERRORISTS TO OUR PEOPLE DURING THE NEXT THREE
..DAYS, UNTIL HE RETURNS HERE ON THURSDAY NIGHT, BUT SURELY
..NOBODY CAN FORESEE THE DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE FOLLOWING
..THREE WEEKS.

..THIS IS OUR GRAVE PROBLEM. I DO HOPE THAT THE NEXT FOUR
..WEEKS WILL BE A PERIOD OF CALM, BUT NO ONE CAN GUARANTEE
..THAT. WE MAY BE COMPELLED TO ACT IN OUR SELF-DEFENCE. IN
..THIS CONNECTION I WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER THE MASTERFUL
..SAYING: 'HOT PURSUIT? UP TO THEIR HANGARS!'

..GOOD NEWS, DEAR FRIEND: ALISA CAME HOME IN THE MORNING,
..BACK FROM HOSPITAL. THE DOCTORS HAVE NOT YET TAKEN A FINAL
..DECISION. WE BOTH HOPE TO MAKE THE JOURNEY TO THE UNITED
..STATES TOGETHER, AND TO ENJOY YOUR WONDERFUL HOSPITALITY
..AND THAT OF THE GRACIOUS FIRST LADY
..YOURS RESPECTFULLY AND SINCERELY.

מכתב - מכתב

May ²², 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Menachem:

A little less than a month ago, on the historic occasion of April 25, 1982, I said that ".....withdrawal represents a truly major sacrifice by Israel and I admire its courage in taking the great risks which true peace requires." In a region so long beset by war and tension, the Israel-Egypt treaty of peace refutes those who believe in the inevitability of perpetual strife.

More important, such statesmanship restores the faith of those who seek a better future. We must foster this atmosphere of hope and build on this magnificent achievement, so that the promise of the days ahead can be bright indeed. Before us lie many challenges which call for our best creative efforts and for deep mutual understanding and cooperation: the advancement of the Camp David peace process; dealing with the root issues in Lebanon; and security concerns throughout the region as well as globally.

It is my hope and belief that a close personal, substantive dialogue between us could lead to a new beginning. If you agree, I hope that following your attendance at the United Nations special session on disarmament in New York, you will be able to join me at the White House for a meeting and working luncheon on Monday, June 21. At that time, we will engage in thorough discussions on the full range of our thinking on the fundamental issues of concern to both our countries. The meetings which Minister of Defense Sharon will be having on May 25 with Secretary Haig and Secretary Weinberger can serve as a prelude to our discussions on some of those issues. I have asked them to initiate at that time consideration of specific measures relating to strategic and defense cooperation in the hope that we can address more concrete decisions on this cooperation as one agenda item during the talks I propose we have here in Washington next month.

Let me mention once again, my friend, my admiration for Israel's inspiring qualities of patience, perseverance, and commitment to lofty goals which have been so strikingly reaffirmed to the world in recent weeks. Let me reaffirm once again my unswerving commitment and that of my administration to Israel's security and well being. I look forward very much to seeing you again soon. Nancy and I hope that Alisa is now back in good health and that you both will be able to accept our invitation to be here in Washington with us on June 21.

With warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

Ronald

Jerusalem, April 29, 1982

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you from the heart for your message on the occasion of the thirty-fourth Independence Day of the State of Israel.

I belong to the generation, which is steadily disappearing, of those who remember the black days that preceded our fight for liberation, who remember the miracle that those who lost their dearest and nearest did not lose, by God's grace, their minds, but found the courage to lead a fight for the rebirth - literally, from human ashes - of our decimated, indeed "exterminated," people.

Then came the spring - the like of which we shall never have - the spring of redemption, of statehood, of the Israeli declaration of independence, of sunshine, of a new hope.

Sometimes, Mr. President, dear friend, I ask myself two contradictory questions:

Is it only thirty-four years that have passed since that spring?

Have thirty-four years already elapsed since that renaissance?

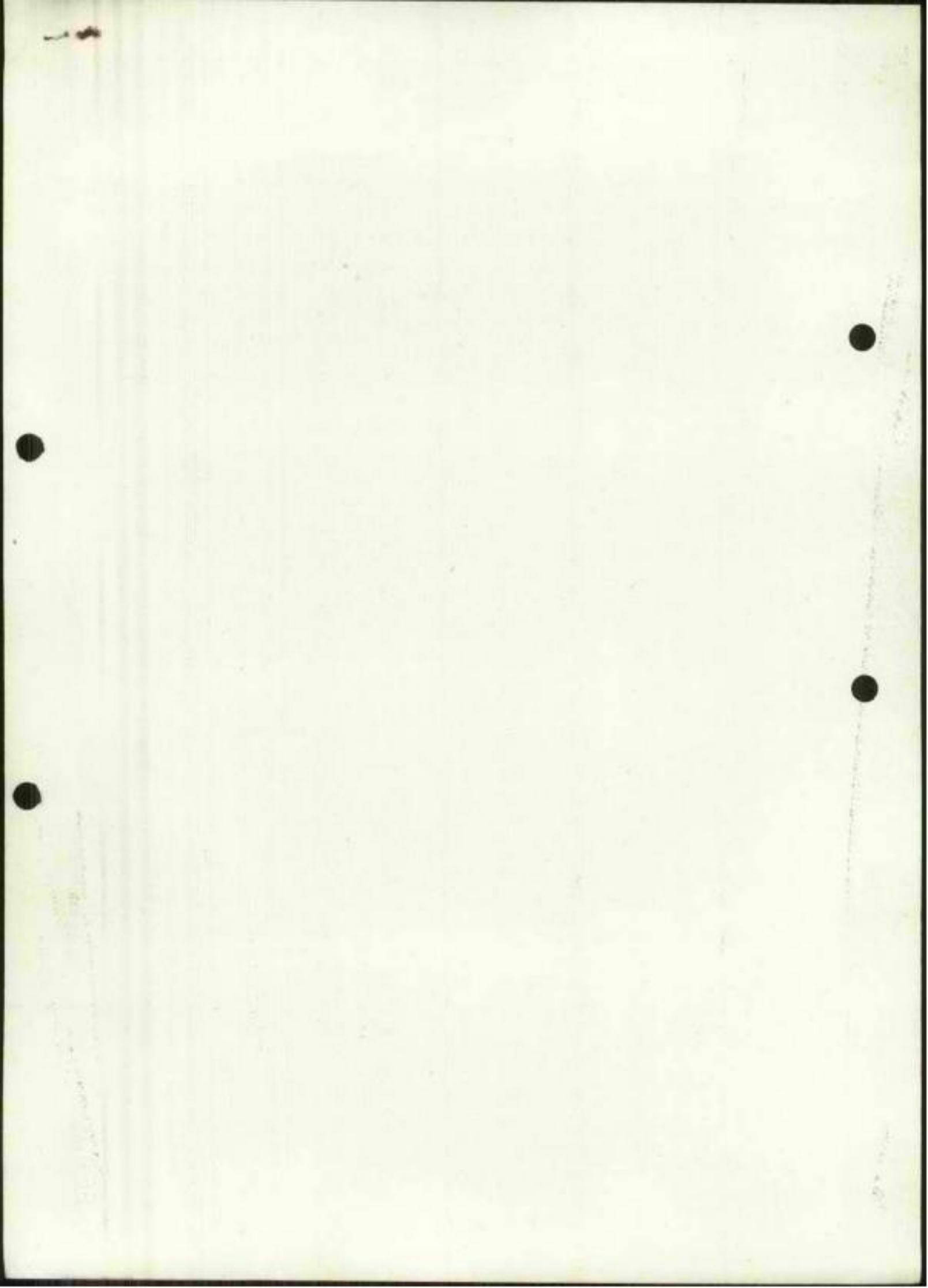
In fact, however, there is no contradiction. Both statements are true: It is so short a time - in the annals of a people and its remnants, which have survived for 3700 years; and already two generations have been born in this Land of our Forefathers since they proclaimed their freedom, for themselves and their progeny, as we believe, forever and ever.

This year, perhaps, a new era will open. For over thirty years we have not had one day of peace. In addition to World War II and the fight for liberation, five wars have been thrust upon us. We won, but we paid, in the generation of our unspeakable bereavement, with the blood of our finest young men. Other nations have had their wars - and their periods of peace. We have had the former; never the latter. Now, we do hope, we will also enjoy a historic period of peace, of "No more war; no more bloodshed."

So entering the thirty-fifth year of our statehood, we have much to be grateful for, to our Heavenly Father.

Mr. President, our friendship with the American people is a cornerstone in our foreign policy; but it is much more. It is a source of strength and of comfort in difficult times. You symbolize, for us, this friendship, this strengthening of our spirit, the recognition that our alliance is like a rock on which both nations can build their future.

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.



We cherish the same values. We stand for the same ideals. Your Fourth of July is our Fifth of Iyar, and vice-versa. And so we shall always stand together, in peace, as we hope, in defence of freedom, whenever necessary.

Alisa is still in hospital. I told her about the good wishes of Mrs. Reagan and yourself, Mr. President. She is very grateful. I hope she will be able to travel with me on June 15th. And, please God, we may all meet in a circle of friendship.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem

April 27, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As Israel celebrates the thirty-fourth anniversary of its independence, I wish to convey the heartfelt congratulations of the American people as well as my own personal greetings to you.

On that historic day in 1948, the United States was proud to be the first nation to extend recognition to the new State of Israel. The suffering of the Jewish people through the ages and the catastrophe of the Holocaust brought anguish to Americans of all faiths. We witnessed your re-emergence into nationhood and freedom with profound joy and satisfaction. Americans recognized in Israel the same spirit of liberty, respect for rights for all individuals and hope for peaceful development that motivated our own struggle for independence. In the years that have followed, the ties between our nations have grown stronger as Americans and Israelis have pursued the same goals of peace and security.

Mr. Prime Minister, today's celebration marks the opening of a new and inspiring chapter in Israeli history. In the past weeks Israel has faced challenges that few other nations could have overcome. The spirit of the Israeli people has been tested by hard sacrifice and difficult choices. But the ancient themes of Israeli history have endured, and the faith of the Israeli people in a future of peace and opportunity has prevailed. The statesmanship shown by you and your government has inspired your people and led the nation to a reaffirmation of its deepest beliefs. Posterity will record that at the moment of its greatest trial, the State of Israel upheld its highest ideals and sought through sacrifice to ensure a true peace. Your personal efforts, Mr. Prime Minister, have been indispensable in this regard.

As you know, I have been following developments moment by moment, and the American people have been supporting Israel with prayer and understanding. Americans have always stood

with Israel in brotherhood, in shared ideals and values and in seeking security and peace for all nations in the Middle East. The United States will always support the security and well-being of Israel.

Indissoluble bonds between our nations will endure forever, and we will follow similar paths towards our common objectives. There can be no doubt that Israel will remain strong, vital and free, and that the United States will always be Israel's closest friend.

Nancy joins with me in sending Aliza and you our very warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

23/

5
10/

April 20, 1982

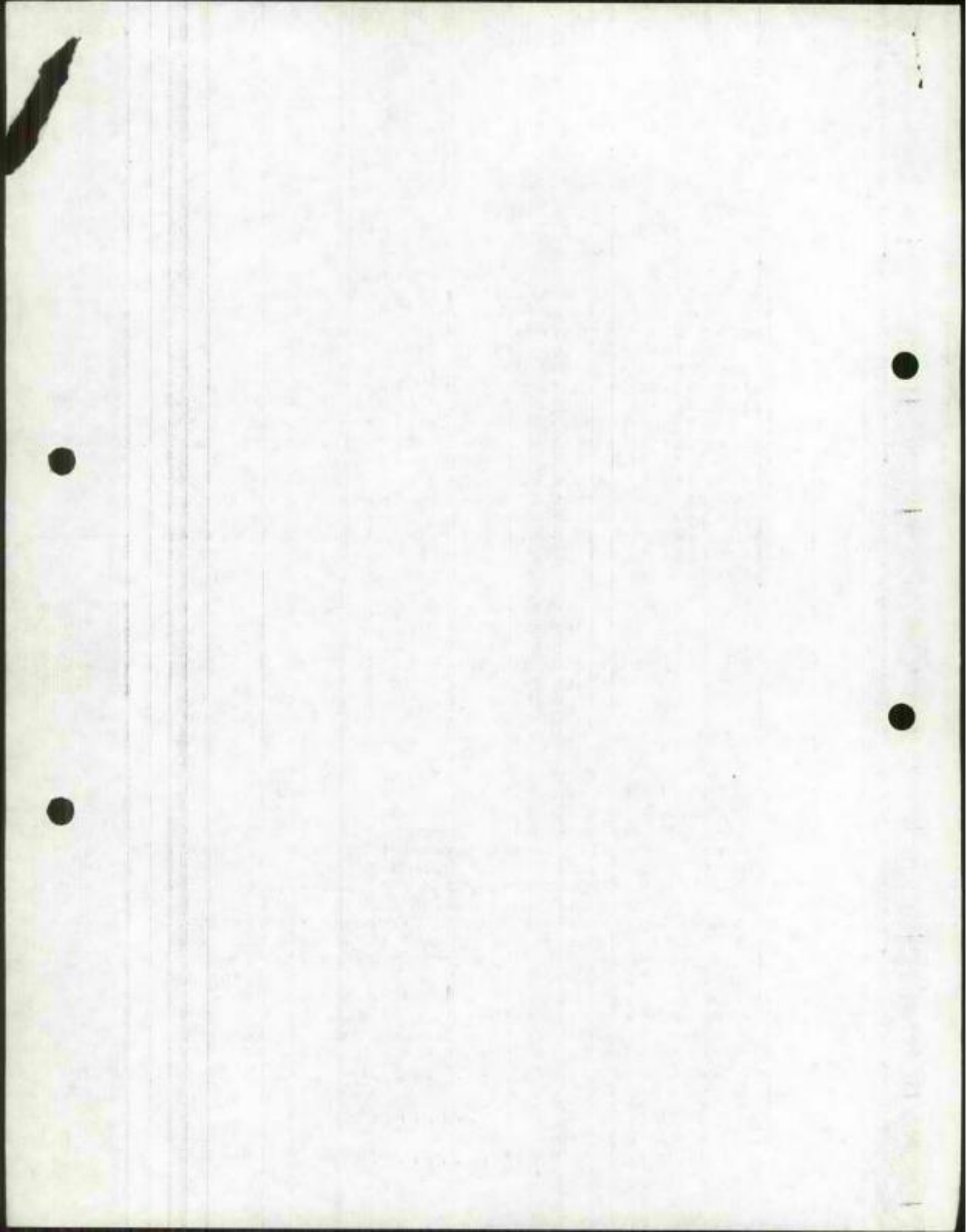
Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The pursuit of peace among nations represents the foremost goal of American foreign policy, for only through peace can the peoples of the world achieve security, prosperity and hope for future generations. I know that the Egyptian and Israeli peoples, having suffered the ravages of war for so many years, share this vision of peace and hope. Thus it was that the Egyptian and Israeli peoples, through their leaders, broke the psychology of war and embraced in peace. In these times of tensions and violence throughout the world, the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty therefore represent the highest standard against which other efforts to achieve peace must be measured. As we approach the completion of the first stage of the Camp David Framework, I therefore wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm with you the commitments of peace.

As you know, the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel and the Camp David Framework Agreement continue to be central elements in the security policy of my Administration for the region. It is therefore in the United States' abiding security interests to ensure that the Treaty of Peace is rigorously applied and respected and that challenges to it from whatever quarter are met and overcome. I am committed to this end.

The Multinational Force and Observers created by the Protocol between Egypt and Israel can play an important part in ensuring respect for the Treaty of Peace. The Multinational Force and Observers is instructed by the Protocol to supervise the implementation of Annex I of the Peace Treaty and to employ its best efforts to prevent any violation of its terms. The Protocol also provides for MFO arrangements ensuring the freedom of navigation through the Strait of Tiran in accordance with Article V of the Treaty of Peace. I realize that the effective implementation of these MFO duties is of critical importance to Israel. I therefore reaffirm our full support for the MFO and the effective implementation of its responsibilities, in accordance with the letter of the United States to you at the time of the signing of the Protocol.

His Excellency,
Menachem Begin,
Prime Minister of the State of Israel,
Jerusalem.



The ability of the State of Israel to provide for its self-defense is a vital interest of the United States. Accordingly, as I have previously stated, I am determined to see that Israel's qualitative technological edge is maintained and am mindful as well of your concerns with respect to quantitative factors and their impact upon Israel's security. It goes without saying, Mr. Prime Minister, that fulfillment of the binding obligations contained in the Agreements entered into between the United States and Israel, particularly since 1973 in the context of the peace process, remains a central aspect of our policy.

It is equally in our security interest to resolve the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. You, President Mubarak, and I are in agreement that the Camp David Framework Agreement is the only agreed plan to resolve this problem. It is for this reason that the United States remains committed to make its best efforts to pursue an early and successful conclusion of negotiations for full autonomy and the establishment of a Self-Governing Authority (Administrative Council) for the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, as called for in the Camp David Framework Agreement.

In order to succeed in this task, all sides must maintain the spirit of friendship and cooperation which has marked our efforts to date. As a full partner in this effort, let me assure you of America's commitment to peace and continuing support.

Mr. Prime Minister, I am fully sensitive to the anguish you and the people of Israel are experiencing in these difficult days and the weight of responsibility you bear in facing the risks which remain. I am convinced that history will show that your sacrifices have ensured the security of the State of Israel and the Jewish people.

With my highest regards,

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan



חסוי



חסוי

Jerusalem, April 12, 1982

Dear Mr. President, Dear Friend,

I thank you from the heart for your Pessach message. It is one of the most moving I have ever received in my life.

Indeed, the Passover is, as we say in the ancient text, "a night different from all other nights." I sometimes ponder in awe the meaning of the word, "Tradition". I know its terminological Latin source, but how great is its strength when it is able to sustain a people, a nation, an unaccountable number of men and women throughout the millenia even as they underwent almost indescribable suffering - and yet make their survival a reality. For some three-thousand-three-hundred years the children of Israel sit together at the Seder service and meal in the most wonderful atmosphere of family and remember the "white" night of bursting forth out of bondage into liberty, into the desert toward the Promised Land. I don't deny, Mr. President, dear friend, that it is a source of great innermost pride to belong to such a people, to speak its language, to know the greatness of the social justice enshrined in the Seventh Day of Rest universally proclaimed for all and to answer the children and say on Passover night: "Once in Egypt we were slaves and God brought us salvation and liberty."

Thus does it go on from generation to generation and so do we believe it will continue for all ages to come. This is spiritual eternity and happy are those who know it, even though it is sometimes a heavy burden.

This Pessach is unique even in the history of the Jewish people. We gave sacrifices, we made peace, we have our deep worries, we want to believe in a better, indeed, in a bright future for our people, for our neighbors, for all mankind. One of our profound consolations is the friendship of the great American people, of your personal friendship, dear Mr. President.

My wife is again in hospital. She asked me to send to you and Mrs. Reagan her thanks and warmest wishes. I join Alise in extending to you those wishes wholeheartedly.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Jerusalem, March 7, 1982

Dear Mr. President , Dear Friend,

I thank you for your message which touched me deeply.

The thought that over the Ocean there is a man, a friend, the leader of the mightiest power on earth and of the free world who cares for your health is a source of additional moral strength.

I now feel fine. On Thursday night, during the reception given in honor of Israel's President by the President of the French Republic, I suddenly felt I had to leave the room otherwise I may pass out. It transpired later in the night that my blood pressure had dropped 70/60 - apparently too low to function. My good doctor "revived" me and, in the morning, he ordered me to stay in bed for two or three days. It was sheer exhaustion. Nothing serious. I hope tomorrow to be back at my work.

Alisa is in hospital but she, too, is recovering. With God's help she will be back home during the week.

Both of us send to Mrs. REagan and to you our heartfelt thanks for your good wishes.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem ~~Begin~~

Mr. Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Tel Aviv, March 5, 1982

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have been asked to convey to you the following message from
President Reagan.

"Dear Menachem:

"I was most distressed to hear that you were
suddenly taken ill. The subsequent news that
you were well enough to meet with French Foreign
Minister Cheysson Friday morning came as a great
relief. Nancy joins me in extending our warm
personal regards to you and to Aliza. We wish
both of you a speedy return to complete health.

"Sincerely,

/s/

"Ron"

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,


Samuel W. Lewis
Ambassador

Jerusalem, February 17, 1982

Dear Mr. President,

It seems that as I was finishing,
Several hours after I had ~~finished~~ writing my letter to you, you
evidently, ^{*with other*} ~~compared~~ yours to me and they both crossed over the Atlantic. ~~And~~
Indeed, shortly after I had cabled my message I received a phone call from
the Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Brown, at the American Embassy, who read to me the
text of your important communication. I sense that even had you received my
letter beforehand the ^{*essence*} ~~essence~~ of your message would have ^{*not*} ~~remained the same~~.

Your words, ~~Mr. President~~, are reassuring indeed and it is my hope
that the assurance you ^{*have*} give will continue to apply in the future as well.

R. E.
I cannot but thank you, dear friend, for your understanding and friendship
which I shall treasure and cherish always.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 16, 1982

Dear Menachem:

Recent press reports have presented incorrect and exaggerated commentary regarding U. S. military assistance policies for the Middle East.

I want you to know that America's policy toward Israel has not changed. Our commitments will be kept. I am determined to see that Israel's qualitative technological edge is maintained and am mindful as well of your concerns with respect to quantitative factors and their impact upon Israel's security.

The policy of this government remains as stated publicly by me. Secretary Haig's and Secretary Weinberger's statements on the public record are also clear. There has been no change regarding our military supply relationship with Jordan, and Secretary Weinberger brought me no new request. Any decision on future sales to Jordan or any other country in the region will be made in the context of my Administration's firm commitment to Israel's security and the need to bring peace to the region.

Israel remains America's friend and ally. However, I believe it is in the interest of both our countries for the United States to enhance its influence with other states in the region. I recognize the unique bond between the United States and Israel and the serious responsibilities which this bond imposes on us both.

Sincerely,

Ron

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

Jerusalem, February 16, 1982

Dear Mr. President,

The Knesset yesterday adopted the following resolution:

"The Knesset:

1. Expresses its profound concern at the U.S. Defense Secretary's offer to supply F-16 aircraft and improved ground-to-air I-Hawk missiles, from which the ban on their mobility will be lifted.
2. Declares that the supply of such sophisticated weaponry to the forward state on the eastern front, of the states refusing even to negotiate peace with Israel and maintaining a state of war with her, constitutes a grave threat to Israel's security.
3. Calls on the U.S. Government to refrain - in keeping with the President's declarations ^{and} the resolution of Congress - from thus gravely imperilling Israel's security."

Eighty-eight members voted in favor, three Communist members cast their vote against and seven members abstained. I am able to state that in absolute figures the eighty-eight yeas actually represent ninety-nine. This is a rare case in our free, democratic and rather vociferous Parliament of non-partisan consensus and, in fact, a vote of national unity. It demonstrates, as stated in the Knesset resolution, the deep concern of our people and its elected representatives.

Permit me to say, Mr. President, that I do not understand why it was necessary for the Secretary of Defense to make his worrying statements and, indeed, his anti-Israel declarations or, at least, innuendos, whilst he was visiting Arab countries all of which, but for one, are in a state of war with us and ^{are} even preparing

President Roland Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

for war against us. But, of course, if Secretary Weinberger sees fit to make such statements (so negative from our point of view) in such places, it is not for me to ask him to refrain from doing so, at least in the future.

What is decisive for us in the actual subject matter. Allow me to elaborate.

Jordan and Iraq are now joined, in fact, by a common command. Jordan is supporting Iraq in the war against Iran even going so far as to resort to the well-known technique of mobilizing "volunteers" for the battle-front on the side of the Iraqi forces. Those "volunteers" are, in truth, trained soldiers. We witness the old Russian practice first adopted during the Spanish civil war.

The hostility of Iraq towards Israel is unlimited. When Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria signed armistice agreements with us in 1949 Iraq stood alone in refusing to do so even though its forces fought on many fronts against the State of Israel. Now, for the benefit of Iraq, Jordan has established an Akaba-Baghdad land-bridge and is actually sending its troops to the Iraqi-Iranian front. And who has the decisive influence in Baghdad? As we know, it is Russia not the West.

Moreover, we dare not ignore Saudi Arabia which a week ago declared, on its own initiative, that it is a confrontation state against Israel.

Syria, for its part, is in conflict with Jordan. Damascus supports the Khoumeini regime. Long experience has taught us, however, that whenever war is thrust upon us all our enemies join forces in carrying out their aggression. Thus, during the Yom Kippur War, Saudi forces as well as those of Jordan and Morocco fought against Israel on the Golan Heights, aided by Cubans and North Koreans.

In speaking, therefore, of our northern and eastern fronts we are obliged to take account ^{of} at least four potential enemies who may attack us - Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Syria. It is for this reason, Mr. President, that I wish to share with you the following basic facts and figures:

Jordan will have in the near future one-thousand-and-seventy-two tanks, one-hundred-and-seventy first-line aircraft and six-hundred-and-seventy-seven heavy guns.

Iraq - four-thousand tanks, four-hundred-and-ninety-six first-line aircraft and two-thousand-six-hundred-and-sixty heavy guns.

Saudi Arabia - four-hundred-and-eighty tanks, one-hundred-and-seventy first-line aircraft and seven-hundred-and-eighteen heavy guns.

Syria - four-thousand tanks, six-hundred-and-ten first-line aircraft and two-thousand heavy guns.

In aggregate, those four countries, all of them hostile towards Israel, refusing to make peace with Israel and maintaining a state of war against our country will, in the near future, possess the following inventory:

Tanks - nine-thousand-five-hundred-and fifty-two.

First-line aircraft - one-thousand-four-hundred-and-fifty-six.

Heavy guns - six-thousand-and-fifty-four.

Mr. President, should Jordan receive from the United States a quantity of F-16 aircraft and an additional supply of I-Hawks which will be mobile (contrary to the recommendation of Congress) we, Israel, will be in direct, real and severe danger. We do not speak of this grave potential problem out of fear. If attacked we shall defend ourselves under all circumstances by counter-attack and, with God's help,

we shall again win the day. Our concern, Mr. President, is not victory. It is casualties. And I do not have to explain what, in this generation of the Holocaust, casualties mean to us. I am, therefore, bound to ask, can there be justice or justification in enabling our enemies to shed our blood en-masse?

Forgive me, Mr. President, my candor, but it was out of this concern that we in Parliament yesterday joined hands, supporters of the administration of the day and its opponents alike, because all of us are deeply perturbed. If those sophisticated weapons are to be supplied to Jordan, just as similar ones have already been committed to Saudi Arabia, what will become of the qualitative and quantitative edge you were so kind to promise me to maintain so that Israel might deter aggression and prevent war which is what all of us so deeply wish.

I can only repeat, dear friend, the appeal I ^{made} made to you yesterday from the Knesset: Let it not happen, I speak, perhaps, of one of the gravest issues we have faced ever since the renewal of our statehood.

I have no option but to share with you on behalf of the people of Israel - as demonstratively attested to in our Parliament yesterday - our deep concern. I rely upon your understanding and friendship, Mr. President, that the danger of which I write will not come into being.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem

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PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR BIRTHDAY PLEASE ACCEPT MY
HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU, TO MRS. REAGAN, TO ALL
YOUR FAMILY AND YOUR FRIENDS WHO ARE SO MANY NOT ONLY IN
THE UNITED STATES BUT THROUGHOUT THE FREE WORLD OF WHICH
ISRAEL IS A PART I WISH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, MANY HAPPY
RETURNS AND I PRAY TO GOD THAT YOUR TENURE WILL BE MARKED
BY VICTORY OF LIBERTY IN MANY COUNTRIES IN WHICH PEOPLE
LIVE UNDER THE YOKE OF TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP, AS A
PERIOD OF PROSPERITY FOR THE GOOD PEOPLE OF THE UNITED

נוסדד החוץ-נוחלקת הקטר

STATES AND THE EVER DEEPENING OF THE FRIENDSHIP, ALLIANCE
AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS.

I WISH YOU, DEAR MR. PRESIDENT, A LONG LONG LIFE UP TO ONE
HUNDRED AND TWENTY. THIS WISH IS AN OLD TRADITION PRACTICE
BY THE JEWISH PEOPLE FOR CENTURIES. ITS ORIGIN IS THE AGE
OF MOSES
ONE DAY PERHAPS WE SHALL PREFER THE AGE OF ABRAHAM.

YOURS RESPECTFULLY, SINCERELY AND IN FRIENDSHIP,
YACHEK BEGIN

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1982

Dear Menachem:

Thank you for your letter of January 18, 1982. I read it with great interest. Secretary Haig and I are studying the text, and he will address some of the issues on my behalf with you during his visit next week.

Sincerely,

Ron

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

Jerusalem, January 18, 1982

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter dated January 8, 1982. Ambassador Lewis advised me that I answer it after the conclusion of the visit to Jerusalem of Secretary Haig. I accepted that good advice. We now have a clearer perception of the problems on our common agenda.

The visit of the Secretary of State has been most useful. My colleagues and I held detailed discussions with him and his advisors. We all admired his wisdom and his unusual ability to analyze the issues, and to locate and formulate the crux of a problem for which we either found a solution or admitted candidly that we shall have to make an additional intellectual effort in order to find one.

As we shall all be looking for such solutions in the near future, let us, for a while, look back at some bilateral problems which have arisen between the United States and Israel. I know, Mr. President, that you will wish me to speak, or to write, with complete candor.

The wine I took from the White House in September 1981 travelled well. It did not sour. It is not only tasty; it is "toasty." The friendship you were so gracious to offer me is reciprocated with all my heart. I know, Mr. President, the burden you carry on your shoulders, and I would like to do whatever is in my power to help and, if possible, to lighten that burden.

However, Mr. President, I too face problems, albeit of a very small country; and my responsibility, I sometimes feel, is awesome. To put it in simple, short sentences: We are a nation surrounded almost entirely by enemies. These enemies continue to connive at our destruction. Through Syria, the PLO, Libya and Iraq, the Soviet Union has become our close neighbour in the military and even the geographical sense of the word.

My colleagues and I were democratically elected by the people of Israel. (I was therefore astonished how the Secretary of Defense tried on television, within hearing distance of millions of Americans, to distinguish between the People of Israel and the Government of Israel) to take care of their future and that of their children. Quite simply stated, we must make sure - insofar as is humanly possible - that our children and children's children can live in safety and freedom, in the land of their ancestors. Nations have many problems; in our case life itself is our main problem and our permanent preoccupation. It is, perhaps, a unique situation. But so is the whole history of the Jewish People.

Is peace not dear to us? Have we not yearned for it for 33 years? Mr. President, I am the sixth Prime Minister of Israel; I would like to stress that my five predecessors made the greatest efforts possible to achieve peace; their portion was five wars, two of which endangered our very existence as a people, not only as a state. I have continued with those endeavours. For the sake of peace with Egypt, we made the greatest possible sacrifices, giving up strategic depth, oil (discovered and developed by us), airfields built by us and considered to be among the most sophisticated in the world - and, yes, even a populated area, which our pioneering young men, with their labour, snatched from the desert and, in a very real sense, made into a blossoming garden. Now, we have a severe problem with the stiff-necked farmers and with another group of citizens. I do hope that we shall solve the problem; but it is very painful.

We are determined to fulfil our commitments under the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty - to the dot and to the date. But I feel it is my duty to tell you, Mr. President, that our Egyptian neighbours and friends are not making it easier for us. In the case of the year 1967, they suddenly launched a campaign, which is still

going on, advocating the Palestinian Arabs must be given self-determination - in translation, ^{another} ~~another~~ Palestinian state - in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. No wonder that the question is being asked in Israel: What is going to happen after April 26, 1982?

Egypt's demand is in contradiction to the Camp David accord. During the first day of our deliberations at Camp David, President Sadat of, blessed memory presented a document to President Carter and to me, in which "self-determination" was one of the demands. You will find, Mr. President, this term on page 7 of this document - a copy of which I enclose. But what happened to that document? Having listened attentively to President Sadat (with whom we developed, during the years of controversy and agreement, a deep personal friendship), I said: "Totally unacceptable." Later, President Carter told me: "Don't worry, Mr. Prime Minister, it is unacceptable to Israel; it is unacceptable to the United States as well." Consequently, President Sadat withdrew his document, and the three delegations began working on the idea of autonomy suggested by the Israeli delegation. For thirteen days and nights we worked on what is now known as the Camp David accord. There is no "self-determination" there; there is no Palestinian state there; there is no participation of the PLO there. There is autonomy, (full autonomy, for the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria (generally but mistakenly called "West Bank") and the Gaza District. And that commitment, too, we intend to fulfill, as the document which we gave to the Secretary of State proves in unmistakable terms. What the Egyptians are trying to do now is to go back to the document Sadat withdrew in September 1978. That is, of course, impossible. With that document, there would not have been a Camp David accord.

Meanwhile, our Parliament adopted, by an overwhelming majority, at the suggestion of the Government, the Golan Heights Law. And the United States, inter alia, suspended the Memorandum of Understanding our two countries signed a short time ago.

As you will remember, Mr. President, you and I reached an agreement in principle on strategic cooperation between our countries in the face of Soviet expansionism in the Middle East. The Ministers of Defence met and commenced detailed discussions of the issue. In the course of those friendly exchanges, the Israeli delegation presented its draft; the American delegation rejected it. It is normal procedure. But when I read the American draft, I was astonished. Mr. President, I do not complain; I never mentioned this problem to you. But now it is my duty to present to you the facts, which may clarify a certain attitude.

Apparently, the wire we prepared in the Cabinet Room did not travel well on its short route to the Pentagon. The original American draft included the phrase "Israel will provide the United States with military assistance ... (in case of operations, etc.)". I ~~just~~ asked Ambassador Lewis: "And what will the United States provide Israel with?" The Ambassador understood. I suggested to write the obvious: "The United States and Israel will provide each other with military assistance (in case, etc.)". I received a second draft from Washington. It read: "The Parties will provide military assistance ...", the obvious intention being to avoid the expression "each other," which means simply reciprocity of the main commitment. I then asked the question, "What does the proposal mean?" By the rules of grammar, it could mean that the two parties would provide military assistance to a third party. Ultimately, the text was corrected, and we agreed that "the United States and Israel will provide each other with military assistance."

The American counter-proposal also contained a clause to the effect that each side can, at any ^{time} ~~moment~~, "cancel, or abrogate, or renounce (I quote from memory) the agreement" - the Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation against the danger of Soviet expansionism. I wondered: at any time? And where is the usual, generally accepted formula of serving notice? We therefore suggested one year's notice. The American team did not agree, and eventually a compromise emerged: six months. But the very idea that a bilateral agreement can at any moment be thrown out struck me as extraordinary. After the enactment of the Golan Heights Law, the Government of the United States announced, *inter alia*, that the Memorandum of Understanding was "suspended." But, Mr. President, the term "suspension" does not appear at all in our agreement. The accepted rule is that whatever may happen with an agreement should be written in the agreement itself. The agreement, in point of fact, states clearly under what conditions it may be abrogated. ~~It never occurred to~~ Neither of the Contracting Parties ~~to~~ ^{to} mention ^{of} suspension.

Undeniably, Mr. President, these developments caused some problems in our country. I can only say that I share your hope that we shall overcome them.

Let me now say a few words about Lebanon. You will remember that in your letter dated May 3, 1981, you wrote to me: "We agree fully with Israel that Syria crossed a threshold with its recent actions. Syria must be moved back, and the status quo ante must be restored." Mr. Philip Habib, a brilliant diplomat, took the initiative to tell me that restoration of the "status quo ante" means: (a) the removal of the Syrian missiles from Lebanese territory; (b) the withdrawal of Syrian forces from the Na'im Ridge; (c) the removal of the additional missiles Syria deployed on the border between Lebanon and Syria and the Syrian air

and (d) that the Syrians will not use their "old" missiles, which will be left where they are, against Israeli planes carrying out their legitimate reconnaissance flights. Many, many months have passed since then; the status quo "post" is in force. And we, Mr. President, have exercised over-restraint. I do not know of a more precise expression.

My friend, Senator Percy, reported to you about our very helpful discussion. But I must remark, Mr. President, that in the sentence, in your letter of January 8, 1982, "Israel will not move militarily against targets in Lebanon unless attacked on a significant scale," that last four words were not uttered by me. We discussed the matter with the Secretary of State and agreed to suggest to you the following formula: "... unless attacked in clear provocation." I hope that these unequivocal terms will be acceptable to you.

The letter has become long, perhaps too long. But the problems are so many, and I felt that in response to your kind and most friendly letter, I ought to go into some of these problems in a measure of detail.

Mr. President, you have in Israel a true friend, a faithful ally and the inherent stability of a free democracy, of which we all can be proud at a time when Communism is going through a structural crisis signifying its complete ideological bankruptcy.

So we shall stand together and work together for the values which have made us partners in a permanent effort for liberty, justice, peace and human dignity.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1982

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I read carefully your statement of December 20 and have given it considerable thought. Secretary Haig has also shared the contents of Foreign Minister Shamir's letter to him dated December 24, 1981. In view of these communications, it is important to review recent events from my own perspective.

I have been happy with what I believe was a bond of friendship we forged during our meetings here in September and was proud to learn that you had expressed the belief that you had now a better understanding with us than you had ever known before. I thought it was well understood, as a result of our discussions, that the commitment of the United States to Israel's security and well-being is firm and unshakable; that it is a permanent fixture of American foreign policy.

Some wines do not travel well. I hope as you returned to Israel that has not been the case with our friendship, for it has not soured here. This friendship incorporates my pledge to do all we can to bring about a just peace in the Middle East.

In this regard, I have been deeply concerned by Foreign Minister Shamir's letter to Secretary Haig, and by the other numerous public remarks made in recent days by prominent Israeli officials about the state of our relationship. These portrayals of the American position towards Israel simply do not coincide with my own outlook.

To me, Mr. Prime Minister, the American call for peace is not "an empty and irrelevant" statement. Peace has been and remains a priority of first

rank for my Administration. Nothing is more important to me than to see the strict fulfillment of the Treaty of Peace by its signatories, and to carry out America's responsibilities faithfully and objectively. Equally important is our progress beyond this treaty to the further stages of the Camp David process. While we intend to pursue the Camp David process and the autonomy negotiations vigorously and with commitment, we cannot impose a peace settlement, nor would we try. Israel is an ally, not a "vassal state." My belief is that a just peace is the greatest boon that could be bestowed upon the people of Israel. We want to be of help in bringing that about.

Our task has not been made easier, however, by the Israeli decision about the Golan of December 14. I felt I had no choice thereafter but to take the limited decisions about which you have been informed. The Israeli action has brought international focus on this issue in a way that will continue to pose problems for us both. We are now about to face a Security Council debate on Israel's position. The U.S. will resist and, if necessary, will vote against any effort in the Security Council to impose Chapter VII sanctions against Israel; however, I continue to believe that Israel in the period ahead should help ameliorate the current situation and also view the relationship with the United States in its true light.

In this regard, I was pleased to learn of how you received Senator Percy despite the discomfort you must still feel in the aftermath of your injury. It was good to hear from Senator Percy about statements you had made to him that the unproductive public rhetoric of recent days can be put behind us. I was particularly gratified to learn from Senator Percy of your assurances that Israel will not move militarily against targets in Lebanon unless attacked on a significant scale. Your undertakings in this regard render important support for the mission which Ambassador Habib will continue to undertake on

my behalf in the coming weeks. For our part, I want to say that the United States will continue to seek diplomatic solutions which will restore stability and security to Israel's northern border, and throughout Lebanon.

It is my hope that the spirit in which our Memorandum of Understanding was signed can be restored over time. It is important that each of our governments take into consideration the broad policy concerns of the other, as explained by Secretary Haig in his December 17 message to Foreign Minister Shamir.

For my part, Mr. Prime Minister, my government will work earnestly to overcome the damage which this situation has caused.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

January 13, 1987

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I read with interest your letter of November 18, concerning the status of the Ethiopian Jews called Falashas. As you know, we are deeply committed to assisting suffering Jewish communities everywhere in the world. This concern includes the Falashas.

We have briefed Foreign Minister Shamir on President Nimeiri's visit to the United States in November. During our briefing with Mr. Shamir, we outlined why we felt it might jeopardize future movement of Falashas to raise the issue with President Nimeiri.

We wish to do whatever we can to assist the Falashas, and will continue to monitor this situation carefully. Please be assured that freedom of emigration for Jewish minorities everywhere remains a goal of this Administration.

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

Tel Aviv, November 27, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have been asked to convey to you the following message
from President Reagan.

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

"Word has just reached me of your most unfortunate
accident. I sincerely hope that your incapacita-
tion will be brief and your discomfort minimal.

"Nancy joins in wishing for you a full and speedy
recovery.

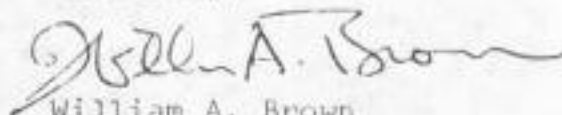
"Sincerely,

/s/

"Ronald Reagan"

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,



William A. Brown
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

Jerusalem, November 18, 1981

President Ronald Reagan
 The White House
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

Permit me to address you on a most urgent humanitarian issue:

There are now in Sudan, in various camps, nearly three thousand refugees from Ethiopia who are traditionally called Falashas. They are Jews. The legend goes that they reached Ethiopia during the period of the ~~Second~~ ^{First} Temple, meaning two-and-a-half millennia ago. For centuries they underwent great suffering and many disappeared among the Ethiopians. It is estimated that only some 25,000-30,000 are left. This remnant has guarded their faith and their ancient spiritual and national heritage. Like the Ethiopians, they are of dark complexion and as sons of our people we are dutibound to save them and give them a haven.

The immediate issue on which I address you relates to those ~~few~~ ^{5,000} thousand Falashas I have already mentioned who have fled to Sudan. Could you, Mr. President, on purely humanitarian grounds, raise this matter with President Numeiry of Sudan whom, I am told, you are going to meet on Friday, November 20. ~~My~~ ^{My} request is that you approach President Numeiry to instruct the proper authority ~~to let those nearly 3,000~~ ^{in Sudan his country} refugees ~~to~~ legally leave Sudan. Several countries in various parts of the world have expressed their ~~readiness~~ ^{readiness} to provide these Falasha refugees with temporary permits for transit until we bring them home, which we will do within a relatively short period of time.

.../..

Mr. President, what I write to you today is a matter of salvation for these human beings. I am convinced you will wish to do all you can in order to obtain from President Numeiry a positive response. Allow me to express my gratitude in advance for your help in this, so vital and urgent a matter.

Alisa joins me in sending to Mrs. Reagan and yourself our best wishes and regards.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

Jerusalem, October 30, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for your letters dated October 22 and 28.

In its official communique of October 29, the Government of Israel decided to quote the following passage from your last letter:

"Mr. Prime Minister, you have my reassurance that America remains committed to help Israel retain its military and technological advantages. The security of Israel remains an essential factor in our decisions on strategic issues in the region. This Administration has a continued interest in working with Israel on a wide dimension of strategic issues, efforts which serve our mutual interests."

Our communique added:

"We hope that these words of the President will be carried into realization."

I submit that the first step towards realization should be the holding in November of the meeting between the Secretary of Defense and our Minister of Defense. You will recall that during my stay in Washington in September our two Defense Ministers announced the planned meeting in their joint official communique. Its proposed agenda - mutual strategic problems about which you were kind enough to write to me - needs to be thoroughly discussed with a view to drawing up a Memorandum of Understanding which the two Ministers at the time determined should be the principal purpose of their talks.

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Permit me now, Mr. President, to turn to another important matter. It is my duty to tell you with full candor that I am deeply troubled by certain voices emanating from Washington in recent days commenting on the so-called Saudi "peace plan." I have carefully studied the eight points formulated by Crown Prince Fahad and I categorically declare they do not constitute a peace plan. They add up to an old formula of our enemies how to bring about the liquidation of the State of Israel in stages. I state this in full knowledge of the facts.

There are some people who read into the eight points the recognition of Israel by Saudi Arabia. Nowhere does this appear. Israel is totally familiar with the well-tested mental reservation of Arab rulers who, with carefully chosen semantics, speak about "recognition of all states in the region." They resort to such language since Israel, to them, is not a "state" but "the Zionist entity." And so, in making the kind of declaration as in the Saudi eight points they reason to themselves: recognition of all states in the region - yes - but not of Israel which is no state.

I go further. Even were Israel to be expressly ~~recognized~~ by name in that paragraph of the Saudi plan, this would not alter by one iota its goal. For all the other seven points mean exactly what I said at the outset: the ultimate liquidation of Israel, even if "recognized."

Thus, the Saudis ask us to withdraw to the June 4, 1967, lines - eight miles from the sea shore. This, in itself, would pose a mortal danger to Israel. With the new long-range modern weapons possessed by all our neighbors on the eastern and north-eastern fronts more than two-thirds of our civilian population would be held hostage by our enemies. Soon, because of the massive shipments of armaments by both the East and the West to the

Arab countries we may reach that critical weapons ratio, as for instance in armor which has become so intolerable to the free world (60,000:11,000), compelling you, Mr. President, to decide upon the production of the neutron bomb to right the defensive imbalance.

Moreover, the Saudis ask for the dismantling of our settlements in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. This, equally, is an absolutely unacceptable demand. It would mean a dire threat to our cities and towns should the hills of Judea and Samaria and the plain of Gaza be denuded of the Israeli young men and women who have built their homes in these areas on rocky and barren land uncultivated for centuries and without evicting even one Arab from his village or town.

Thirdly, the Saudis demand the creation of a Palestinian state (with Jerusalem as its capital!) I do not have to repeat, Mr. President, what I said to you during our meetings in Washington about the deadly peril to us that would stem from a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District.

Indeed, may I say it would equally be a most serious threat to the free world itself. Allow me a brief quote: "The strengthening of the strategic alliance with the Socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union." This is the exact wording of a resolution adopted not long ago by the Fatah organization which is the main component of the PLO and which is under the direct command of Yasser Arafat. The language is a euphemism for declaring complete subservience to Moscow. For such an Arafatian state to arise would provide in no time a Soviet base in one of the most strategic points in the very heart of the Middle East.

After all that has happened - in Angola, in Mozambique, in Ethiopia, in Afghanistan, in Southern Yemen, in Vietnam - should yet another Soviet base be planted on a piece of territory from which aggression can readily be spread eastwards, northwards and southwards into some of the most strategic heartlands of the world? It is enough to ask the question to find the answer.

Mr. President, among all the one-hundred-and-twenty members of the Knesset you will find none but the four Communist members who will support all or part of the Saudi demands.

~~The~~ This national consensus is heightened by the Saudi support of terror in our region, expressed in the financial bank-rolling of the PLO with scores of millions of petro-dollars. During my last meeting with the late President Sadat in Alexandria he told me that only recently the Saudis had sent to Arafat a check of \$20,000,000. He was in a position to know. If my memory serves me correct, you, Mr. President, said: "Some people hesitate to call the PLO a terrorist organization. I have no such hesitation." Beirut, with the active help of the Saudis, has, in fact, become a center of world terror. One cannot discount the possibility that those who assassinated the American General in Germany were trained in one of the PLO camps in Lebanon or even in one of the PLO camps functioning in Russia itself.

And yet, as I said at the outset, we hear those voices in Washington speaking about a so-called Saudi "peace plan;" I repeat, I am deeply troubled.

Mr. President, I thank you for the kind words you wrote me in your last two letters. Alisa joins me in sending to you and to Mrs. Reagan our very best wishes.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

October 28, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As you know, the Senate has voted to sustain my decision on arms sales to Saudi Arabia. We understand the difficulties this sale poses for Israel. Israel clearly had a right and obligation to express its concerns; we in turn sought to address them. At the same time, as was mentioned during your visit in September, this sale is of great importance to America's policy of strengthening the strategic consensus in the region.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have my reassurance that America remains committed to help Israel retain its military and technological advantages. The security of Israel remains an essential factor in our decisions on strategic issues in the region. This Administration has a continued interest in working with Israel on a wide dimension of strategic issues, efforts which serve our mutual interests.

I want also to underscore that our effort to strengthen our strategic position is dedicated to, and serves, our hopes for peace. In the next few months we all must do everything we can to achieve the vitally necessary progress needed to advance the Camp David peace process.

Mr. Prime Minister, it is in the spirit of close cooperation and friendship that has characterized our Israeli-U.S. relations over the past thirty-three years that this letter is directed. I look forward to continuing and building further on this relationship.

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1981

Dear Menachem:

Nancy and I were delighted to welcome you to Washington and I was particularly pleased to have the opportunity to establish a close personal association with you. We hope you enjoyed your stay.

Once again, I want to say how well I believe our meetings progressed. We all benefitted from having your personal assessment of the wide range of issues that confront us and I am sure we now have a better understanding of our mutual concerns. No matter what our differences may be, I can only repeat that the United States remains fully committed to Israel's security and that we look forward to a productive outcome of our continued discussions on strategic cooperation.

Thank you for the handsome 18th century map of Judea depicting the sites of the twelve tribes of Israel. It is a most imaginative gift which will serve as a special reminder of your thoughtfulness and friendship.

Nancy and I were very sorry that Alisa could not join you. We hope that she will be feeling better soon and will be able to accompany you on your next trip to our country.

With our warm best wishes to you and your family,

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT.

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 7 WHICH AMBASSADOR LEWIS SUBMITTED TO ME TODAY, THE EVE OF YOM KIPPUR. I RESPOND TO YOUR MESSAGE WITHOUT DELAY. THESE ARE DAYS OF SORROW AND SADNESS. THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT SADAT IS A GRAVE LOSS TO US ALL. I MAY ADD THAT I LOST NOT ONLY A PARTNER TO THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS BUT ALSO A PERSONAL FRIEND. WE, INDEED, BECAME CLOSE TO EACH OTHER DURING OUR MANY MEETINGS WHICH WE USUALLY CONDUCTED IN PRIVATE. THE BEST OF THEM WAS THE LAST ONE IN ALEXANDRIA. THERE WE REACHED AGREEMENTS CONCERNING THE FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND THE SECURITY OF OUR REGION. WHEN THE DAY COMES I WILL INFORM PRESIDENT SADAT'S SUCCESSOR OF THESE UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH ARE OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND TO OTHER NATIONS.

I AM HAPPY, MR. PRESIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES DECIDED TO ASSIST EGYPT AND ITS GOVERNMENT IN THESE TRANSITIONAL DAYS OF NATIONAL MOURNING AND CRISIS.

IN MY CABLE TO VICE PRESIDENT MUBAREK, WHOM I KNOW WELL, I EXPRESSED ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL OUR HOPE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE IN THE SPIRIT OF THE MORAL TESTAMENT OF PRESIDENT SADAT, NAMELY, 'NO MORE WAR. PEACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL FOREVER'. IN THESE DAYS OF GRIEF, THIS IS INDEED OUR HOPE.

YOURS RESPECTFULLY AND SINCERELY,

MENACHEM BEGIN.

October 7, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The United States views the death of President Sadat as a grievous loss, not only for Egypt but for the entire world and, in particular, for the forces of peace and stability in the Middle East. As we mourn the loss of this great man, we at the same time reaffirm our support for the people and Government of Egypt. I want you to be assured, Mr. Prime Minister, that America will do whatever is appropriate and necessary to assist the Government of Egypt in the period of transition which it now faces. We are certain that Egypt's other friends will join us in supporting it as the constitutional process of succession unfolds and as the new Egyptian leadership shapes its policies for the future. The United States remains committed to its close relationship with Egypt, to the Camp David peace process begun by President Sadat and you, and to the security of Egypt and of its friends and neighbors who share President Sadat's vision of regional peace, stability and prosperity.

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

Jerusalem, October 2, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you from the heart for your warm message on the occasion of the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashana.

The friendship of the American people which you express is most dear to us all. Our partnership and cooperation; our common belief in the same moral values; our community of interests in preserving liberty and human dignity - all of these we cherish deeply.

I fully share the hope, Mr. President, that since our meeting and our serious exchange of views, our cooperation will deepen in the future.

Alisa is better but still not completely well. In her name and in mine I send respectful greetings to Mrs. Reagan and to you, Mr. President.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

September 28, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

On behalf of the people of the United States I extend my warmest greetings to you on the occasion of Rosh Hashanah 5742. Americans of all faiths share the pride of Jews in Israel and throughout the world as you celebrate the new year.

The relationship between the United States and Israel is rich and enduring. Our commitment to Israel's security and well-being reflects the deep attachment of the American people to Israel.

I look forward to the year ahead, hoping that our personal relationship will become closer and more productive as we work together in the cause of peace. Nancy joins me in wishing you, Mrs. Begin and your family every personal blessing and happiness on Rosh Hashanah and throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Ronald Reagan

Jerusalem, August 30, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter dated August 22, 1981, which Ambassador Lewis brought to me directly upon his arrival at Lydda Airport.

I am looking forward, Mr. President, to our meeting next week during which we shall discuss, together with our colleagues, the serious international and bilateral issues which are on our common agenda. I wholeheartedly hope that the discussions will be constructive and fruitful.

I am sorry that my wife, Alisa, will not be able this time to accompany me on this important visit to the United States. Such is the ultimate decision of her doctors; She has recovered from her serious illness but, in the doctors' opinion, not enough to make a long journey overseas. We have to obey the doctors. They studied medicine. We did not. I apologize on ~~her~~ her behalf to Mrs. Reagan and to you for her absence. Usually, we travel together but this time, regretfully, we shall not be able to do so.

I believe, Mr. President, we shall have time to discuss the double arms deal between the United States and Saudi Arabia, a matter that is of great concern to all citizens of Israel without distinction and regardless of party affiliation. I asked our best aviation experts to provide me with a memorandum on the dangers to Israel's security evolving from the sale to the confrontation state (by its own decision), Saudi Arabia, of enhancing equipment to the F-15 and the most sophisticated

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

surveillance planes in the Middle East,
~~surveillance planes in the world,~~ Mr. President, you will wish
to study the document I shall be bringing with me.

The meeting in Alexandria was really successful; the personal
friendship between President Sadat and myself played a great role
both in creating the warm atmosphere for our talks and in reaching
serious agreements on many issues. We have identical views on the
international situation, on the danger of Soviet expansion, either by
proxy or directly. I shall be able to give you more details about
some aspects of our agreements during our personal talk.

Thank you again, Mr. President, for your kind invitation
and for the opportunity you are giving me and my colleagues to have
a serious exchange of views during our talks next week.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Santa Barbara

August 21, 1981

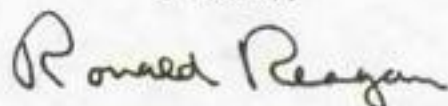
Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

When Secretary Haig met with you and your colleagues in early April in Jerusalem, he described for you the complex considerations which had led us to agree to sell AWACS air surveillance aircraft to Saudi Arabia. I know he also assured you that we would take into account in every way possible Israel's understandable security concerns arising from our decision.

When he returned, Secretary Haig told me of your request that we reconsider our decision. He described in detail your government's point of view, which I can readily understand. During subsequent weeks, my colleagues and I have considered this issue from every angle. I have finally concluded that United States strategic interests in the region make it essential for us to provide these surveillance aircraft to Saudi Arabia, under arrangements which will, I am convinced, meet to a substantial degree Israel's concerns. Accordingly, we will be sending the AWACS sales package to the Congress formally within the next few days. Although I am sure you will not be pleased at this news, I know you will understand that I have reached this decision only after the most careful weighing of the views you and your government have expressed. Ambassador Lewis will be returning soon to Israel and will explain further the background for the decision. However, I wanted to inform you personally about it in light of the close ties which bind our two nations, and to assure you that I thought long and hard about the issues you raised before reaffirming our earlier decision.

Nancy and I are looking forward greatly to having you and Mrs. Begin as our guests early next month. I feel certain that your visit can lead to a further strengthening of the uniquely close bonds between our governments and our peoples.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

August 15, 1981

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As you celebrate your birthday amidst your family and friends, please accept my warm best wishes on this happy occasion. Nancy joins me in extending greetings to Mrs. Begin and you. We wish you a year of happiness and fulfillment, and we look forward to your visit in September.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency

Menachem Begin

Prime Minister of the State of Israel

Jerusalem

Jerusalem, August 17, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

Alice and I are deeply grateful to you and Mrs. Reagan for the heartwarming congratulations on the occasion of my 68th birthday.

Mr. Brown, the Charge d'Affaires, brought me your message on Saturday night when the celebrations with my family and friends were at their height. He read out your words aloud and they were received by the hundreds of our guests present with thunderous applause. Thank you.

Sixty-eight years! They were not the easiest to live through nor - considering all that took place since World War I, etc. etc. - to survive.

Thank God, my friends and I can still serve our people who deserve and need love and devotion - as do human liberty and dignity.

Yours in gratitude,
Sincerely and respectfully,

Simcha D. Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Jerusalem, August 9, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for your heartwarming congratulations on the formation of the new Government of Israel.

Indeed, Mr. President, to be democratically elected by a free people is an honor, ~~but~~ to be re-elected is an invaluable prize. The confidence of Parliament emanates from the confidence expressed by the people and, by its mandate, my colleagues and I will continue in Government to serve our nation and the ideals of freedom, peace and justice which are shared by the United States and Israel both.

Many problems face us but we are hopeful that we shall solve them.

I look forward, Mr. President, to my visit to Washington at your kind invitation in September.

Again, I thank you for your kind words.

Yours sincerely and respectfully,

Menachem Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

August 5, 1981

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Please accept my sincere congratulations on the formation of your new government, approved today by the Knesset.

The recent Knesset elections are a demonstration of the strength of the democratic ideals which our two countries share. Indeed, the closeness of the results is a testament to the vitality of Israel's democracy. We can be proud of the commitment of both of our peoples to democracy and individual rights.

I look forward to working with you on the momentous issues confronting us. Our two countries must continue to work closely together in the cause of peace and security.

I am particularly pleased that we will have the opportunity to meet here in Washington on September 9 and 10.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

(signed)

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the State of Israel
Jerusalem

July 24, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Your good wishes on our Independence Day are deeply appreciated by the American people and by me. The special ties of friendship and common purpose between our two countries ensure that the United States and Israel will always stand together in defense of liberty and peace.

Nancy joins me in sending Alisa and you our warmest personal wishes.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Ronald Reagan

Jerusalem, July 2, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I extend to you on behalf of the Government of Israel and in my own name sincere and warm greetings on the occasion of the 205th Day of Independence of the United States of America.

Israel shares in your mighty nation's celebration of liberty for its foundations rest on the same bedrock of human dignity and individual freedom that fashioned the rebirth of democratic Israel. The people of Israel, faithful friend and ally of the United States, salute you, Mr. President, not only as the leader of your great nation but also of the free world.

Alisa joins me in extending our warmest best wishes to Mrs. Reagan and to yourself.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

W. W. W.

Jerusalem, June 10, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

"Since the two days, when President Truman recognized the State of Israel and President Nixon ordered the air-lift (to Israel), we have never had a more friendly President in the White House as we have now."

This is what I said last Sunday on "Face the Nation"; I quote from memory.

It is to ^{the} ~~the~~ friendly ^{the} I respectfully address myself today:

The French delegate to the U.N. Security Council suggested yesterday that Israel should be condemned for its raid against the Osirac atomic-bomb-producing reactor and that Israel should pay compensation to Iraq. As you are aware, Mr. President, ^{the} France of Mr. ~~Edward~~ ^{W. S.} d'Estaing ~~is~~ the main builder of that reactor; the supplier of know-how of scientists, of technicians and of twelve kilogrammes of enriched Uranium (twenty kilogrammes of enriched Uranium produce a bomb of twenty kilotons). ~~and how~~ ^{should I call this?} The French representative, demands that Israel, having saved the lives of its citizens and its children should ~~compensate~~ ^{compensate} the would-be masskiller. One only wonders why he did not ask for indemnities to be paid to France? ^{as well?}

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

It was last December, Mr. President, that your Ambassador, Mr. Sam Lewis brought to me a secret United States document, which said inter alia:

- "A. The United States shares Israel's serious concern about Iraq's nuclear development program.
- B. Although we have no hard evidence that Iraq intends to build nuclear weapons, the pace and scope of the program, which ultimately would include development of a re-processing capability exceed Iraq's apparent needs and, we believe, are intended to give that country's Government the option of developing nuclear explosives (my underlining) in the future.
- K. The Italians are supplying several nuclear facilities, including a 'hot cell', which could be capable of re-processing spent fuel from a reactor to obtain small quantities of Plutonium and irradiated enriched Uranium. They also are providing training for Iraqi scientists in the technology of basing reprocessing, including separation of Plutonium."

As you know, Mr. President, seven kilograms of Plutonium produce an atomic bomb of 20-30 kilotons. I did not yet hear the Italian representative to the Security Council, but I can imagine what he is going to say, during that festival of international hypocrisy.

Mr. President, we all learn that the United States will veto a resolution recommending mandatory sanctions against Israel. If this is your resolve, we are grateful; however, in the face of the facts supplied to us

by the United States six months ago, I ^{trust} I have the right to put before you the following request:

Let a no-vote be cast by the American delegation in the Security Council against any resolution condemning Israel, or demanding of her "compensation" to be paid to Mr. Saddam Hussein.

Mr. President, I ask simply for the ^{overriding} ~~prevalence~~ of that rule in which we all believe and to which we ^{have} consecrated our lives:

LET JUSTICE BE DONE!

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

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Jerusalem, June 7, 1961

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you from the heart for your message of June 5th, 1961. Yesterday, I read it to my wife in hospital; she was very touched and is grateful.

Forty-two years ago I married a nineteen-year-old young girl; since then she was always with me (except, of course, the period of Soviet prison and concentration camp), "to take care of me." Last Thursday, she needed to be taken care of and I was hundreds of kilometers away. It hurt.

The doctors' suspicion of a stroke is ultimately removed. So, with God's help, she will recover soon.

Alise joins me in expressing our profound thanks to Mrs. Reagan and to you, Mr. President, for the noble sentiments you expressed in your letter. All of us know what it means, in time of trouble, anxiety and pain, to be together.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Tel Aviv, June 5, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have been asked to convey to you the following message
from President Reagan.

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

"Mrs. Reagan joins me in expressing our
heartfelt concern about Mrs. Begin's
illness. We pray for her rapid recovery,
and hope she will very soon be able to
return home to her family.

"Sincerely,

/s/

"Ronald Reagan"

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Samuel W. Lewis
Ambassador

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 28, 1981

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

My close friend, Max Fisher, is traveling to Israel and is carrying my greetings and best wishes to you.

He will present to you an audio-tape of the ceremony we held in the White House on April 30th to commemorate the Holocaust. A video-tape, which is in the final stages of completion, will be given to Max when available from the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. The ceremony was a very moving occasion for everyone present and for me personally. We must never allow people to forget what happened during those dark years.

Again, my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

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SECRET

Jerusalem, May 12, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter dated May 7th, 1981, which my friend Philip Habib delivered to me yesterday.

I know Mr. Habib for many years. He is one of the ablest and most experienced diplomats I have ever met, and what is more important: he is a wonderful man.

Today, Mr. Habib and I will continue our talks about the crisis and the ways to solve it. I did not lose hope that it will be solved. But, Mr. President, it is my duty again to stress, as I did in my previous reply to your important message, the grave responsibility we, here, take upon ourselves with every day of delay, of the inescapable action, if the diplomatic efforts fail, as they indeed may. We started with three batteries of SA missiles. As for today (8⁰⁰ local time) we already face fourteen batteries amongst them four of the most dangerous, namely: two SA-2 and two SA-3. And, what is going to happen tomorrow? I am not ashamed to admit to you, Mr. President, that I feel deeply disturbed and my thoughts are with our young men, the pilots, about whom I wrote to you in my last message. Should some of them - and they are wonderful young men - be doomed, to either death or torture?

Thank you, Mr. President, for your attention, your efforts and your support.

With my best wishes,

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Benachem Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Tel Aviv, May 7, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am extremely gratified that you have agreed on such short notice to receive my personal emissary Ambassador Philip Habib and to exercise restraint and caution while the Ambassador's mission continues. I know that this was not an easy decision for you but I believe it is the right decision. It will give us the opportunity to work together to resolve this crisis by diplomatic means and, thereby, prevent escalation and needless bloodshed. I am sure you will agree with me that it is in no one's interest, other than the Soviet Union, that this crisis escalate further.

I have the greatest confidence in Ambassador Habib. He has my full support for his mission.

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

May 3, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The United States is strongly committed to the closest possible relationship with Israel. I hope you will agree that my own and my Administration's commitment to Israel's security is deep, firm, and enduring. Above all, we want Israel to feel it can depend on the United States for understanding, sympathy, and support.

Consistent with this position, in recent days and weeks we have been making sustained major efforts to forestall new and dangerous developments in Lebanon, which could bring Israeli and Syrian forces into wider, direct hostilities. We have been making and are continuing to make vigorous representations to the Syrians concerning their recent attempts to change the status quo in Lebanon. We have been in touch with virtually every government and those appropriate leaders or factions having any degree of influence on the evolving situation to urge that they play their own part in bringing about a satisfactory solution to the situation. Other governments have joined us in making representations to the Syrians, the Lebanese, and the Soviets.

Unfortunately, we have not yet had the positive results for which we are striving. But we are determined to continue our efforts to obtain the goals that you and I both seek. In order to have a chance for success, however, we will need time. Specifically, it is obvious that the satisfactory resolution of this problem will not be possible in the next few days, given the complexity of the situation and the number of actors involved. In this connection, political meetings have been taking place between the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, in which independent Christian leaders have been involved to some degree.

5 41116
1 SA 2
1 SA 3

At this time it is important that the various initiatives now underway to resolve the situation be given a full chance to succeed. It is also essential that nothing be done to give the Soviets opportunities to spread their influence in the Middle East. The Soviets are making increasingly vigorous efforts to reinsert themselves into the Middle East as a major factor. I know you share my views that these efforts must be resisted.

We agree fully with Israel that Syria crossed a threshold with its recent actions. Syria must be moved back and the status quo ante must be restored. At the same time, Mr. Prime Minister, I firmly believe that we must pursue and seek out every possibility for a peaceful solution to this problem.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

Jerusalem, May 5, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for your letter of May 3 which was delivered to me by Ambassador Lewis.

I wish to say at the outset that I am deeply gratified by the following sentences contained in your letter:

"I hope you will agree that my own and my Administration's commitment to Israel's security is deep, firm and enduring. Above all, we want Israel to feel it can depend on the United States for understanding, sympathy and support."

And last but not least:

"We agree fully with Israel that Syria crossed a threshold with its recent actions. Syria must be moved back and the status quo ante must be restored."

Mr. President, I am writing to you after we held a specially convened session of the Ministerial Committee on Security Affairs to consider your request. I will start from the end: We accept your personal request.

And now, it is my duty to explain the acute dilemma we face. At this moment, according to the best information we have - and our sources of information are usually good and reliable - there are in Lebanon five batteries of SA-6 missiles whilst on the Lebanese-Syrian border there are concentrated another four SA-6 batteries, one SA-2 battery and one SA-3 battery. All in all, since this issue was first exposed, there are now poised against us - our pilots and planes - eleven missile batteries whereas at the outset we faced only three. This creates, of itself,

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

SECRET

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a new and even more dangerous situation for us and in the days ahead the number of Syrian missile batteries may grow even more.

And what, indeed, is the danger? In addition to all else, when our pilots embark to do what they will have to do for the sake of the most vital interests of our security which is an integral part of the security of the free world, some of them may be downed, killed or taken prisoner. If any of them fall into captivity they will suffer the most cruel torture which, sometimes, the most valiant soldier on the battlefield is incapable of withstanding. I speak, Mr. President, in the name of experience.

These are dangers and risks we take upon ourselves by accepting a further delay of action which we do in consideration of your personal request. As you see, Mr. President, we do not on this occasion suggest any date. But it is my solemn duty, responsible as I am for the lives of our citizens and soldiers, to emphasize that it cannot but be a relatively short period of time. I must add that the responsibility which I take upon myself is grave indeed and the risks involved are awesome. Yet, as I have already said, we have decided to inform you that your representatives have, from our point of view, additional time to try the diplomatic route.

With my warmest personal regards and best wishes for good health and further masterful leadership of the free world.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menachem Begin

Jerusalem, May 8, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I

It is with deep gratitude that I acknowledge your warm message of greeting of May 6 on the occasion of Israel's thirty-third anniversary of independence.

May I say how moved I was by your expressions of profound friendship and understanding. Indeed, the rebirth of the State of Israel in our own times in our ancient homeland marks the momentous turning point in the annals of our nation after so many cruel centuries of homelessness, helplessness and defenselessness culminating in the most unspeakable tragedy ever to have befallen a people, the Holocaust. What we celebrate on our Independence Day is life itself - in freedom, in dignity and in security.

Mr. President, I can assure you that free democratic Israel shall forever remain a loyal ally of the great United States of America. For the very same human values and principles enshrined in your country's Declaration of Independence are embodied in the Declaration of Independence of Israel. Herein, I believe, lies the source of our unbreakable spirit of unity which we in Israel shall forever cherish.

Mrs. Begin joins me in conveying to Mrs. Reagan and yourself our very best wishes,

Yours sincerely and respectfully,
Menachem Begin

President Ronald REagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

May 4, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The people of the United States join me in extending good wishes to you and the people of Israel on the thirty-third anniversary of Israel's independence. After centuries of prayer, dedication and effort, the Jewish people saw their dreams realized in the establishment of a nation in the ancient homeland. The Jewish state now is a symbol to the world of what a brave and resourceful democracy can achieve.

Our commitment to Israel's security and well-being flows from shared principles, shared strategic interests and our history of profound mutual friendship. That commitment is firm and enduring. Israel can depend on the United States for understanding, cooperation, and support.

I am confident that in the years ahead the United States and Israel will continue to work closely in the defense of liberty and in the achievement of an enduring peace in the Middle East.

My wife and I send our best regards to Mrs. Begin and you on this happy and important occasion.

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

Jerusalem, April 21, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I am deeply appreciative of your kind and warm letter of April 15 in which you extend greetings on the occasion of Passover. In Jewish tradition this is a season of renewal and rededication inspired by the timeless message of the Passover saga. For indeed Passover is a celebration of the liberty of the human spirit in face of subjugation and an affirmation that justice must eventually triumph however great the odds. I believe it is this optimism and faith, Mr. President, that have sustained our people throughout every ordeal and have enabled us to rebuild our nationhood in our ancient homeland after so many years of exile and suffering. It is this same faith and optimism that shall eventually enable us to complete the journey we have already begun towards the full peace and security to which we ceaselessly dedicate ourselves.

Mrs. Begin joins me in extending to Mrs. Reagan and yourself our warm best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Menachem Begin

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Tel Aviv, April 15, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have been asked to convey to you the following message
from President Reagan.

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

"I deeply appreciate your thoughtful message of
concern for my welfare. It is particularly
comforting for Nancy and me to know that your
thoughts and prayers are with us during this
period.

"Please be assured that the United States
Government will continue to work closely with
Israel during my recuperation, as we consult
together on how we can best reach our mutual
goals of peace and security in the Middle East.

"Sincerely,

/s/

"Ronald Reagan"

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Samuel W. Lewis
Ambassador

April 15, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

At this joyous and blessed Passover season, I want to extend to you on behalf of the people of the United States our sincere wishes for peace and happiness for the people of Israel. We celebrate with you the remembrance of the deliverance of the Jewish people from bondage and trial in ancient times, as we do the beginning of a new era of Jewish achievement as a free people. Through centuries of persecution and exile, the Jewish people never abandoned their dream of building a free and just society in Israel.

The people of the United States deeply admire Israel's dedication to liberty, peace and human welfare, values that spring from your time-honored traditions and that form the common heritage that binds our two countries so closely together. Nancy and I extend to you and your family our warmest greetings on this occasion.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

Jerusalem, April 12, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I thank you for your letter of April 3 which was transmitted to me through the United States Embassy.

Your communication was, of itself, evidence of your ~~power~~^{power} of recovery for which, as I cabled you, all the people of Israel prayed. We have since learnt of your release from hospital and I wish you from the heart, Mr. President, a speedy recuperation as you return to your full duties. I offer the same wish and prayer for your faithful and devoted aides.

May I say how deeply I appreciate the warmth of your letter and especially its closing sentence concerning the relations between our two countries.

The visit of Secretary of State Haig and his colleagues, although too brief, was nevertheless very fruitful. He assured me of your abiding friendship for Israel reinforcing a conviction we have always held. It was, however, deeply gratifying to hear this important statement from the Secretary of State himself and we value it greatly.

Mr. Haig displayed understanding of our problems and expressed his readiness to assist in the strengthening of Israel's defensive capacity. He spoke of our "permanent alliance" and his replies to questions put to him during our meetings with the media were gratifying.

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

The problems we discussed with full candor, as befits friends and allies, were important and manifold. We started with the situation in Lebanon where, even as we were meeting, the slaughter inflicted by Syrian heavy artillery, tanks and missiles continued unabated. The Secretary clearly felt the urgency of the situation and made, as you know, strenuous efforts to bring about a ceasefire thus saving many lives of men, women and children.

We went on to discuss our common adherence to the Camp David agreement, the renewal of the autonomy negotiations and, together with our military experts, the question of the strengthening of Israel's military security, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in light of the unprecedented arms race in the Middle East and the consequent widening gap between the strength of the surrounding hostile forces and our own.

Obviously, we discussed the dangers of Soviet expansionism and, as was natural, we were in complete agreement on this issue.

We did not hide our differences with regard to Saudi Arabia. It was, Mr. President, our solemn duty to emphasize the peril to Israel's security emanating from this matter.

I wish to say, in conclusion, that all our exchanges were conducted in the spirit of your gracious letter. We are grateful to you and to the Secretary of State for your attitude and for your understanding of our major problems. I believe, wholeheartedly, that the closing sentence of your communication will, indeed, constitute the basis for the relationship between our two nations.

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My wife joins me in sending to Mrs. Reagan and yourself our
very best and warmest wishes.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Menuchem Begin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 3, 1981

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am very pleased Secretary Haig will be meeting with you and with high officials of the Israeli Government in a few days.

It had been my hope that you and I could have met together during the first months of my Administration, but I decided after careful consideration that it would be best that the United States not be viewed in any way or from any quarter as having become involved in your electoral process; moreover, I am heavily occupied with my domestic economic programs and must devote much of my attention to it.

On my behalf, however, Secretary Haig will share with me your thoughts and proposals about the great challenges which together face us in the region.

It is important that we examine together the dangers and threats we foresee in the Middle East, particularly those arising from the growth of Soviet power and influence. Equally important, I want Secretary Haig to explore with you the problems and opportunities we will confront in our common search for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We remain committed to building on what has been achieved at Camp David and in the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. There is unfinished business ahead. You can rely on the full cooperation and always friendly understanding of the United States in a common search for the peace and stability that will assure Israel's security and its well-being through the ages.

I will look forward to Secretary Haig's report to me on his talks with you and your colleagues. I am confident that -- under my Administration -- the historic and enduring relationship between the United States and Israel will become even closer and more intimate.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of Israel

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סודג בטחוני...בלמים

אל:

דחיצות

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תאריך דפוס
מס' סדרה

לראש הממשלה

להלן חשונה יועץ הנשיא לבטחון לאומי בעם הנשיא רייגן על שוד איחולי ההברא
משלחת לו.

עברון.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1981

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

On behalf of the President, I should like to acknowledge the message sent by Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

The President and Mrs. Reagan will appreciate receiving this message of friendship, and I ask that you transmit the gratitude of the President to Menachem Begin.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard V. Allen
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

His Excellency
Ephraim Evron
Ambassador of Israel
3514 International Drive, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

הנשיא רייגן (הנשיא) (הנשיא) (הנשיא) (הנשיא) (הנשיא)

Jerusalem, March 31, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

It was with the deepest shock and horror that we learnt about the attempt on your life. All the people of Israel pray for your speedy recovery and for the recovery of your aides.

Yours sincerely,

Jonathan Sarna

President Ronald Reagan

The White House

Washington, D.C.

February 18, 1981

His Excellency
Menachem Begin
Prime Minister of the
State of Israel
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful message of congratulations on my inauguration, and for your kind wishes for the success of my administration.

I begin my tenure as President with the strong conviction that a close partnership between the United States and Israel is fundamental to our mutual efforts to bring comprehensive peace and security to the Middle East. The common ideals of our countries and the parallel aspirations of our peoples insure that the United States and Israel will always stand united in the defense of liberty. Our two governments must work closely together to realize the full potential of our countries' relationship.

The reward of peace must be security for all the people of the Middle East. Israel's security and well being has been and will remain a paramount concern of the United States. All freedom-loving peoples must join together to end the scourge of lawlessness and terrorism to which the world has been subjected. The United States will be in the forefront of this effort, which is of such importance to both our countries.

Nancy joins me in sending very best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Ronald Reagan

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REPUBLICAN PARTY CARD
07074

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DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

PLEASE ACCEPT MY warmest congratulations on your
SEVENTH BIRTHDAY MAY GOD GRANT YOU HEALTH AND SUCCESS
IN LEADING THE UNITED STATES IN DEFENDING LIBERTY
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

MY WIFE JOINS ME IN SENDING TO YOU AND MRS. REAGAN
BEST WISHES.

YOURS RESPECTFULLY AND SINCERELY
HENRY W. BROWN

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JERUSALEM, FEBRUARY 6, 1981

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

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DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

PLEASE ACCEPT MY HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES ON YOUR ASSUMPTION OF THE GREAT OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL, I WISH YOU SUCCESS IN ALL YOUR ENDEAVOURS AND UNDERTAKINGS FOR THE WELFARE OF YOUR GREAT PEOPLE AND COUNTRY, AND IN THE VITAL CAUSE OF THE PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY.

WE ARE GRATEFUL TO YOU MR. PRESIDENT, FOR THE IMPORTANT STATEMENTS YOU MADE CONCERNING ISRAEL AND ITS ROLE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT, UNDER YOUR GUIDANCE AND ADMINISTRATION, THESE PRONOUNCEMENTS WILL BE FULLY REALIZED.

YOUR NATION AND OURS ARE ALLIED IN A LONG STANDING, DEEP ROOTED FRIENDSHIP AND A STRONG COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS. WE CHERISH THE SAME IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM, THE SAME HIGH ESTEEM FOR ELEMENTARY HUMAN VALUES.

ISRAEL HAS PROVED ITS LOVE OF PEACE AND LIBERTY- NOT WITH WORDS ALONE, BUT WITH DEEDS AND WITH GREAT SACRIFICES, STRIVING ALWAYS TO PRESERVE THESE ESSENTIAL VALUES IN OUR REGION AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Jerusalem, December 29, 1980

Dear Mr. President-Elect,

As we enter the season of the New Year, 1981, I wish to take this opportunity to convey to you my heartfelt greetings and very best wishes. I do so in the knowledge of the great task you are shortly to assume and in the spirit of the close bonds of friendship and alliance which characterize the relations between your great country and Israel.

May the year 1981 witness the strengthening of freedom everywhere, and may it bring good fortune to you and to all who labor to bring peace and fellowship to our troubled world.

My wife joins me in extending to Mrs. Reagan and yourself our very best New Year wishes.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,
Menachem Begin

President-Elect Ronald Reagan
Washington, D.C.

5.11.80

ממִישראל ושינגטון

לשכה ראש-הממשלה

השגריר.

חואל נא להעביר את המברקים הבאים לנשיא קרטר ולנשיא הנבחר רייגן כלחלן:

GOVERNOR REAGAN, PRESIDENT ELECTED

DEAR GOMERNOR REAGAN,
PLEASE ACCEPT ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL
HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR ELECTION TO THE GREAT POST OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. THE DECISION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
IS AN EXPRESSION OF ITS DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT; AN EXAMPLE TO ALL NATIONS
LIVING IN FREEDOM OR STRIVING TO ACHIEVE IT. WE BELIEVE IN YOUR
FRIENDSHIP TO ISRAEL AND LOOK FORWARD TO CLOSE AND FRUITFUL COOPERATIO
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND LIBERTY.

RESPECTFULLY AND SINCERELY,
MENACHEM BEGIN

