

6

מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד

חיק מ"ט

א/ 24609 / גק ו

משיב כוהנ

יועל מדינ

אורה

89/3/15 - 89/3/15

חיק מ"ט

7

מחלקה



שם תיק: היועץ המדיני לראש הממשלה - ארה"ב

מזהה פנימי: 4609/1-א

מזהה פריט: R00036

כתובת: 2-111-2-4-8

תאריך הדפסה: 31/08/2020

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13481

תאריך: 17.03.89

1121

שומר

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חוזם: 3,13481

אל: אוטובה/168, ווש/650, וינה/236, מנמת/308

מ-: המשרד, תא: 170389, זח: 1104, דח: ר, סג: שמ

תח: גס: ממד

נד: ג

אני מכתבך
למחלקת
המזרח
17.3.89

שומר/רגיל

מו'מ בין מצרים לקנדה על הקמת כור גרעיני להפקת חשמל.

היומון האופוזיציוני המצרי 'אלופד' מסר (9.3) שמתנהל מו'מ בין מצרים לחברה קנדית המתמחה בתעשיית כורים גרעיניים על הקמת כור גרעיני במצרים להפקת חשמל. הכוונה להקים במשותף (מצרים וקנדה), תוך שת'פ עם הסוכנות הבינ'ל לאנרגיה גרעינית, כור כזה בהספק של 600 אלף קילוואט.

העתון הוסיף שמצרים מעדיפה שהכור יופעל באמצעות אורניום טבעי, ונערכות בדיקות כדאיותם של כורים מסוג 'אלכאנדו' (כך במקור) המופעלים בהודו וכורים מהסוג המופעל בקנדה עצמה.

לידיעתכם, 'אלופד' הוא אמנם אחד מעיתוני האופוזיציה של מצרים, אולם הוא מוערך על ידינו כבעל נגישות טובה בד'כ לגורמים רישמיים בממשל המצרי.

ערב 1/ממ'ד

מא

אק

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, ליאור, מצרים, ממד, ואא/קשח

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13337

תאריך : 17.03.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 3,13337

אל: המשרד

מ-: נ', נר: 507, תא: 160389, זח: 1730, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: סג: אירופה

נד: 2

מיד' / סודי

אל: אירופה-1.

דע: ארבל-2. מצרים. ממ'ד.

מאת: נאו' מ-יששכרוף.

שיחת מוברק עם רה"מ' ושה"ח הולנד.

א. מוברק הביע תסכול לנוכח השקפתה של ישראל לגבי הועידה
הבינ"ל ותפקידו של אש"פ, ולדבריו, בפגישתו עם שה"ח
ארנס נשמעו מהצד הישראלי הרבה לאוויים. בהיעדר תזוזה
מישראל בנושאים הללו הוא אינו רואה תועלת בביקור
רשמי בישראל, צעד שהוא ברצון ינקוט, אם יביא הדבר
להתקדמות בתהליך השלום. להערכתו של מוברק, האינתיפאדה
תמשיך להיות ניזונה מעצמה, בלא השפעה מבחוץ וכן בלא
מימד מדיני, שלזעתו רק ועידה בינ"ל עשויה להעניק.

ב. ערפאת בשלב זה מייצג הזרם המרכזי של אש"פ וכי
מהווה המנהיג המתון ביותר בקרב ההנהגה הפלסטינאית.
ערפאת הוא היחיד שנהנה מתמיכה רחבה בקרב תושבי יו"ע,
לדעת מוברק, הרעיון הישראלי לדבר רק עם נציגים פלסטינאים
מקומיים הוא בגדר אשליה. אם אש"פ יהיה מחוץ לתהליך
השלום, משמעות הדבר תהיה טרור מחודש, ואז מדינות ערב
יתמכו כספית באש"פ כפוליטת ביטוח שהמרור לא יופנה

חסוי



חסוי

נגדן.

ג. ערפאת מתנגד לקיום בחירות בשטחים כל עוד השטחים נשלטים על ידי ישראל. גם מוברק אינו מתלהב מהרעיון הואיל וישנה סכנה שהבחירות ינוצלו על ידי ישראל כהתחלה של אוטונומיה מוגבלת במקום קירוב הסדר מדיני של קבע. לדעת מוברק חשוב להביא את ישראל וארה"ב לקבלת הרעיון של ועידה בינ"ל ואז להערכתו הכדור ישוב לעולם הערבי שיצטרך לקבוע יצוג העמדה הערבית בוועידה. לדברי מוברק מצרים ירדן סוריה לבנון ונציגים פלסטינאים מתוך השטחים ונציגי אש"פ מבחוץ, יצטרכו להשתתף בוועידה הנ"ל. אם סוריה לא תשתתף ניתן להסדר בלעדיה.

ד. מוברק ציין שהוועידה הבינ"ל תהיה בעיקרה סימבולית ונחוצה כדי להביא למו"מ ישיר. להערכתו של מוברק רה"מ שמיר מתנגד לוועידה בינ"ל הואיל וישראל בסיכומי של דבר, איננה מוכנה לוותר על אדמה תמורת שלום.

ה. מוברק דבר ברעיון של ועידה בינ"ל בחסות חמשת חברי מועבי"ם הקבועים על פני ועידה בחסות שתי מעצמות העל בלבד.

ו. לגבי פתרון קבע לשטחים, הפתרון היחידי לדעת מוברק הוא קונפדרציה ירדנית-פלסטינאית. אף מדינה ערבית לדבריו, איננה תומכת ברעיון של מדינה פלסטינאית עצמאית נפרדת. ערפאת יודע זאת היטב ולכן ההצהרה של המל"פ באלג'יר אישרה שוב הרעיון של קונפדרציה. התרחקותו של חוסיין לאחרונה מהרעיון של קונפדרציה הינה צעד טקטי בלבד, שכן בשיחות פרטיות עם מוברק, הביע חוסיין מחדש הסכמתו לרעיון.

נא'מ. =

חו

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמן, ממד, איר, ברנע, ארבל, ליאור, מצרים

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1863. It contains a report on the state of the Union and the progress of the war against the rebellion. The President mentions the recent victories of the Union forces and expresses confidence in the ultimate success of the Union cause. He also mentions the need for continued support from the Congress and the people.

2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War Department, dated January 3, 1863. It contains a detailed account of the military operations of the Union forces during the year 1862. The report mentions the battles of Antietam, Fredericksburg, and the Siege of Fort Fisher. It also mentions the capture of the city of Vicksburg and the destruction of the Confederate fleet on the Mississippi River.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 3, 1863. It contains a detailed account of the naval operations of the Union forces during the year 1862. The report mentions the capture of the city of New Orleans and the destruction of the Confederate fleet on the Mississippi River. It also mentions the capture of the city of Mobile and the destruction of the Confederate fleet on the Gulf of Mexico.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 3, 1863. It contains a detailed account of the financial operations of the Union government during the year 1862. The report mentions the issuance of new bonds and the collection of taxes. It also mentions the need for continued support from the Congress and the people. The report concludes with a statement of the Secretary's confidence in the ultimate success of the Union cause.

5. The fifth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 3, 1863. It contains a detailed account of the land operations of the Union government during the year 1862. The report mentions the sale of public lands and the collection of taxes. It also mentions the need for continued support from the Congress and the people.

6. The sixth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Agriculture, dated January 3, 1863. It contains a detailed account of the agricultural operations of the Union government during the year 1862. The report mentions the collection of taxes and the need for continued support from the Congress and the people.

7. The seventh part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Education, dated January 3, 1863. It contains a detailed account of the educational operations of the Union government during the year 1862. The report mentions the collection of taxes and the need for continued support from the Congress and the people.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13337

תאריך : 17.03.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 3,13337

אל: המשרד

מ-: נ', נר: 507, תא: 160389, זח: 1730, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: גס: אירופה

נד: 2

מידי/סודי

אל: אירופה-1.

דע: ארבל-2. מצרים. ממ'ד.

מאת: נאו' מ'-יששכרוף.

שיחת מוברק עם רה'מ' ושה'ח הולנד.

א. מוברק הביע תסכול לנוכח השקפתה של ישראל לגבי הועידה
הבינ'ל ותפקידו של אש'פ, ולדבריו, בפגישתו עם שה'ח
ארנס נשמעו מהצד הישראלי הרבה לאוויים. בהיעדר תזוזה
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להתקדמות בתהליך השלום. להערכתו של מוברק, האינתיפאדה
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ה. מוברק דבר ברעיון של ועידה בינ"ל בחסות חמשת חברי מועבי"ט הקבועים על פני ועידה בחסות שתי מעצמות העל בלבד.

ו. לגבי פתרון קבע לשטחים, הפתרון היחידי לדעת מוברק הוא קונפדרציה ירדנית-פלסטינאית. אף מדינה ערבית לדבריו, איננה תומכת ברעיון של מדינה פלסטינאית עצמאית נפרדת. ערפאת יודע זאת היטב ולכן ההצהרה של המל"פ' באלג'יר אישרה שוב הרעיון של קונפדרציה. התרחקותו של חוסיין לאחרונה מהרעיון של קונפדרציה הינה צעד טקטי בלבד, שכן בשיחות פרטיות עם מוברק, הביע חוסיין מחדש הסכמתו לרעיון.

נא ו'מ. =

חו

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, ממד, איר, ברנע, ארבל, ליאור, מצרים

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. The letter is signed by Abraham Lincoln and is addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives. The letter discusses the state of the Union and the progress of the war against the Confederacy. It also mentions the President's efforts to maintain the Union and his commitment to the principles of liberty and justice for all.

2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War Department, dated January 10, 1862. The report is signed by Edwin M. Stanton and is addressed to the President. The report discusses the military situation in the South and the progress of the war. It also mentions the Secretary's efforts to coordinate the war effort and his commitment to the principles of liberty and justice for all.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Navy Department, dated January 15, 1862. The report is signed by Gideon Welles and is addressed to the President. The report discusses the naval situation in the South and the progress of the war. It also mentions the Secretary's efforts to coordinate the naval effort and his commitment to the principles of liberty and justice for all.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury Department, dated January 20, 1862. The report is signed by Alexander C. Howell and is addressed to the President. The report discusses the financial situation in the South and the progress of the war. It also mentions the Secretary's efforts to coordinate the financial effort and his commitment to the principles of liberty and justice for all.

5. The fifth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior Department, dated January 25, 1862. The report is signed by Caleb B. Smith and is addressed to the President. The report discusses the land situation in the South and the progress of the war. It also mentions the Secretary's efforts to coordinate the land effort and his commitment to the principles of liberty and justice for all.

6. The sixth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War Department, dated February 1, 1862. The report is signed by Edwin M. Stanton and is addressed to the President. The report discusses the military situation in the South and the progress of the war. It also mentions the Secretary's efforts to coordinate the war effort and his commitment to the principles of liberty and justice for all.

נושרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשר

* 13339

17.03.89 : תאריך *

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* * * 5 עותק מתוך 28 סודי ביותר נכנס ** *

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* 74: המשרד

* 30:20, 7:17, 1600:17, 160389:17, 411:7, 111:-2*

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* 71071 ביורת/רגיל

* 78:7 שבת שה' יח, מצפ' יח

*מאת: ד"ר. לוקאס גרס, וושינגטון.

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מאגיד: 117100-מכונות, 124100-למדו (החמ"ד)

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המחלקה לטיפול במשפחה, משרד הרווחה, תל אביב, 1971.

1. 0.1% 2. 0.2% 3. 0.3% 4. 0.4% 5. 0.5% 6. 0.6% 7. 0.7% 8. 0.8% 9. 0.9% 10. 1.0%

התאחדות חסידים, תשס"ח, עמ' 100.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

מבטאים את המצב הרוחני של כל אחד מהם.

1. The first group of people who are not in the labor force are those who are not in the labor force for any reason. This group is the largest and is made up of people who are not in the labor force for any reason.

[illegible]

* צד'ס יסוד עם ארבעה ז'ב ו'ה'יה מאמץ משוחתף.

1. The first group of people who are not in the labor force are those who are not in the labor force for any reason. This group includes people who are not in the labor force because they are not in the labor force for any reason.

(3) שמדעתו ללכת אחריו, אם ידועה, לא ב' כח, הפסקת הד' א' *

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* (לג' ימצי'ה לאש'פ, פג'יעה ב'רדו, הוכחה שהטרור משתלם).

(ג*) הצורך בשתוף ירדן בתהליך מקובל, 1111 התמריצים *

* להצטרפות חוסי'יו (ג'בו'יים של ארת'ב'ב מוברק ותאצ'ר) *

* 114 יסטרולס של התמריצים השלי'ים, הממשל מוכן להשקיע מאמץ

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 3
עותק 5 מתוך 28

שכן הנושא חשוב לו ומעוניין בהצטרפות ירדן. מבינים שכניסת
אש"פ לתהליך פירושה תחילת הסוף של ירדן. כשהועלה נושא
ההדברות עם המנהיגות המקומית בשטחים ושה"ח הזכיר שהועלה
רעיון לקיומן של בחירות, שאל בייקר כיצד ניתן לעשות זאת
ללא אש"פ והסכמתו. שה"ח הבהיר כי אם חוסיין יסרב להצטרף
לתהליך יש לחפש בני שיח מקומיים. אחר הכח יש הבדל בין
קבלת סמכות ממקומי שנבחר או סמכות ממישהו היושב בתוניס.

(ד) הוסכם עקרונית שנתניהו יפגש על בסיס קבוע וממוסד עם
איגלברגר. טרם ניתן לכך פרסום מאחר ומינויו של איגלברגר
טרם אושר.

הפגישה עם הנשיא-

(א) הנשיא גילה עניין בנושא מעורבותו של אש"פ בטרור.
שה"ח פירט בנושא ועמד על 3 תחומי פעילותו של אש"פ:

(1) חדירות מדרום לבנון.

(2) הסתת האוכלוסיה המקומית.

(3) חיסול פלסטינים ('משתפי פעולה' ומתנגדי אש"פ).

(ב) שה"ח נענה בחיוב להזמנת הנשיא לרוהמ' לפוגשו ב-6.4.
בכל פגישותיו הובנה בעיית האלימות הרווחת בשטחים.

בפגישה עם סקורופט- הבהיר שה"ח כי מומ' עם אש"פ הוא -
NON
STARTER פוליטי.

2. שה"ח סקר בפני אנשי איפ"ק פגישותיו במשך היום
בקונגרס. (דיווחים בנפרד). לדברי אסתר קורץ קלטו תגובות
חיוביות ביותר לפגישת שה"ח בגבעה. הוסיפה כי ערכן של
פגישות אלה, בשעה זו, לא יסולא בפז.

3. תשובות שה"ח לשאלות איפ"ק:-

א. יש להנחיל המסר שאין אף אחד המעוניין בשלום יותר
מישראל. ובהקשר זה (בתשובה לדיין) יש להסביר טבעו של
אש"פ ודרכי פעילותו.

[illegible]

* 20 * DEUTSCHEN STADT TELER

* See GOVERNMENT COLLECTIONS for more information.

*S1: 01/01/2015 10:00:00 AM (10/10/2015 10:00:00 AM)

[illegible]

*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: 05/15/07

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 3 מתוך 3
עותק 5 מתוך 28

ב. לשאלה האם שה'ח התרשם בשיחותיו, שהממשל מעוניין לדחות את ישראל למזמ' עם אש'פ (למשל בעקבות הסקר שפורסם בישראל לפניו 54 אחוז בציבור הישראלי תומכים במזמ' כנ'ל) השיב שה'ח כי הוא דבור שבממשל חושבים שעמדתנו כלפי אש'פ איננה איתנה ומוקצה. (בעקבות הסקר והתבטאויות שונות).

ג. לשאלת דיין על המוקדים הבעייתיים השיב שה'ח כי יש להכניס הדברים לקונטקסט המלא והנכון לאור הקושי לדחוס זאת לדקה בטלוויזיה.

ד. מרידור הוסיף כי חשוב מאוד לדאוג לכך שכאשר יגיע רוהמ' לווינגטון יקבל תמיכה מידידים ומהממשל כך שבבואו לקונגרס יהנה מתמיכה מוקדמת זו.

ה. דיין אמר כי אם ביקור רוהמ' יצליח, ובוש וביקר יתמידו בתמיכתם תהיה לנו שנה טובה. וכדבריו PRECARIOUS BUT GOOD YEAR.

ו. אסתר קורץ התייחסה גם לבעייה התקציבית ולאפשרויות קיצוץ בפונקציה 150 שנדונו היום בועדת ההקצבות ב HEARINGS של ביקר.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

חו

תמ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ,
בנצור, מצפא

3. 11. 1952
2. 11. 1952

1. 11. 1952. The first of the three days of the week, 11. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

2. 11. 1952. The second of the three days of the week, 12. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

3. 11. 1952. The third of the three days of the week, 13. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

4. 11. 1952. The fourth of the three days of the week, 14. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

5. 11. 1952. The fifth of the three days of the week, 15. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

6. 11. 1952. The sixth of the three days of the week, 16. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

7. 11. 1952. The seventh of the three days of the week, 17. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

8. 11. 1952. The eighth of the three days of the week, 18. 11. 1952, was a day of great importance for the people of the world. It was a day when the people of the world were united in a common purpose, and when they were united in a common purpose, they were united in a common purpose.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13404

תאריך : 17.03.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 3,13404

אל: המשרד

מ-: ווש, נר: 444, תא: 160389, זח: 2359, דח: ב, סג: 10

תח: 8 גס: צפא

נד: 8

בהול / סודי

אל : השגריר ארד - ניו-יורק (הועבר בנר 80)

דע : סלי מרידור, סמנכל צפא

לשכת השר

מאת : הציר, וושינגטון

אחרי ביקור ארנס

א. נראה שבמחמד חוששים לתגובה חריפה לדברי המזכיר בענין אשף-ישראל. דניס רוס נפגש היום עם מל לוין והוארד ברמן עפי בקשתו בנסיון להסביר את פשר התבטאותו של המזכיר בנושא ישראל ואשף. בשבוע הבא תתקיים פגישה עם המזכיר שבה ישתתפו לוין, ברמן, לנטוס, טוריצי וסמית מהצד הדמוקרטי וובר וגילמן מהצד הרפובליקאי. בפגישה הבקר השמיע לוין ביקורת קשה על התבטאות המזכיר ורוס היה בעמדה דפנסיבית.

ב. בייקר יופיע ביום ג' הקרוב בת ועדת החוץ לפעולות בינלאומיות וידידינו מתארגנים לשאלות אליו בנושא התבטאויותיו ומדיניות ארהב בנושא אשף.

ג. רוס התקשר אחה'צ' לומר שהמזכיר קצת מופתע מהתגובה כי כל מה שהתכוון לומר הוא שאי אפשר לפסל תיאורטית את האפשרות שאי פעם ישראל תשוחרר עם אשף ותשובתו היתה במישור האנליטי ולא המעשי. הוא ציין שהמזכיר מצא עדוד בדברי ארנס בשיחה הטלפונית ביניהם אתמול. רוס מוסיף שהוא מבין את

11-20-53

TO: DIRECTOR
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK

RE: JAMES EARL RAY, AKA; ALLEGEDLY
ASSASSIN OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
MURDER

NY 100-100000

NY 100-100000 (100-100000) (100-100000)

NY 100-100000 (100-100000) (100-100000)

NY 100-100000

NY 100-100000 (100-100000) (100-100000)

NY 100-100000 (100-100000) (100-100000)

1. On 11-19-53, the New York Office received information from the New York City Police Department (NYCPD) that a letter had been received from a person who claimed to be a friend of James Earl Ray. The letter stated that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area and that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area. The letter also stated that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area.

2. On 11-19-53, the New York Office received information from the New York City Police Department (NYCPD) that a letter had been received from a person who claimed to be a friend of James Earl Ray. The letter stated that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area and that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area. The letter also stated that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area.

3. On 11-19-53, the New York Office received information from the New York City Police Department (NYCPD) that a letter had been received from a person who claimed to be a friend of James Earl Ray. The letter stated that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area and that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area. The letter also stated that Ray had been in contact with a person who was in the New York City area.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הנזק שנגרם והבקרת האפשרות על רה"מ' ושהח והוא מחפש
הזדמנות נאותה עבור המזכיר בשבוע הקרוב לתקן את הרושם
שנוצר.

ע ר ן

חו

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמן, ממד,
בנצור, מצפא

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13354

תאריך : 17.03.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 3,13354

אל: המשרד

מ-: ווש, נר: 416, תא: 160389, זח: 1100, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: 8 גס: צפא

נד: 2

סודי / מיד

אל: מצפ'א

לשכת שה'ח

מאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

(הערת קשר: תאריך חיבור המברק אורגינלי הוא 141900)

סנאט: פגישת שה'ח עם ועדת החוץ

הבוקר נפגש שה'ח עם חברי ועדת החוץ ומוזמנים נוספים.
נכחו: פל (יו"ר הועדה), קרנסטון, הלמס, צ'יפי פרסלר,
סרביינס, סיימון, רוב, הטצ', לוגר, קסבאום דה-קונסיסי,
מק, בידן, מקונל, וניקולס. פמליית השר, השגריר, הציר,
למדן, גל והח'מ. כן נכחו עוזרים בכירים מועדת החוץ.

פל- בדברי הפתיחה, קידם השר בברכה בשם הועדה. התייחס
לממשלים החדשים בישראל ובארה"ב ובצורך בפתרון פוליטי
לבעיית הפלסטינים. סכן התייחס לדו"ח מכון יפה וביקש
תגובות השר.

הלמס- (כבכיר המיעוט) חשוב לא רק להפסיק האלימות בשטח
אלא להכיר בעובדה שערפאת אינו רלבנטי משתי סיבות:

1) שייך לאלה שעזבו פלסטין לפני 1948 ולפיכך אינו מייצג
אף אחד (מאלה החיים בשטחים)

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

2) ערפאת ואנשיו הם מרקסיסטים-לניניסטים המקבלים הוראות ממרקסיסטים לניניסטים. אש"פ המהווה איום לירדן, כוויית, מדינות האיזור ובמיוחד מדינות מערביות, מעוניין בהרס התשתית החברתית-כלכלית של מדינות ערביות מחונות וכן ישראל. הגיש לשה"ח והקריא מכתב עליו חתומים 14 סנטורים (ראו בנפרד) שעיקרו: תמיכת ארה"ב בישראל מבוססת על האינטרסים המשותפים האיסטרטגיים צבאיים והמדיניים של שתי המדינות. על ישראל, בסופו של דבר, לקבל החלטותיה המבוססות על צרכיה הבטחוניים וריבונותה שלה. כל דבר פחות מזה, יחתור תחת התקווה לשלום ברקיימא.

שה"ח- לאחר שהודה על המכתב פתח בסקירה. משימתו הראשונה בתפקידו כשה"ח היתה השתתפותו בועידת פריס. סיפר שבנאומו הביע דאגה מיוחדת בנושא הנשק הכימי לא רק כיהודי (על רקע שימוש בחומרים כימיים במלחה"ע ה-2 ותאי הגזים) אלא גם לאור העובדה שנעשה שימוש לאחרונה בנשק זה ע"י מדינות כמו לוב - נגד צ'אד, ועיראק - נגד אירן. זוהי תזכורת לעובדה באיזה חלק מסוכן של העולם אנו חיים, השימוש בנשק כימי נגד הכורדים לא צריך להפריע לשימוש בנשק זה נגד יהודים, אם אנו חשים תסכול לגבי "מתקפת השלום" כביכול שמושמעת לאחרונה נובע הדבר מהאווירה באיזור. הסכם השלום עם מצרים חסר תקדים בעולם (מנה הזיתורים וההקרבות מצידה של ישראל). 10 שנים מאוחר יותר נותרנו רק עם מדינה אחת למרות שציפינו שיותר מדינות תצטרפנה לתהליך. התייחס להסכם מאי 1983 עם לבנון (בהתערבות אמריקנית) שטורפד בסופו של דבר ע"י נשיא סוריה אסד, שהבהיר לג'ומאיל כי אל לו לחתום על ההסכם עם ישראל. אם נשאל עצמנו מדוע התהליך באיזור נע באיטיות, התשובה לכך היא שלכמה משליטי האיזור אין כל עניין בשלום עם ישראל, למשל קדאפי, סדאם חוסיין ואסד. למנהיגים אלה מטרה הפוכה, והיא לחבל בתהליך, בין השאר ע"י תמיכתם בארגוני טרור.

סוריה- עומדת מאחורי ג'יבריל, החשוד בקהילת המודיעין במעורבות בפיצוץ מטוס פאן-אם. לוב - ניצבת מאחורי אבו-נידאל ואירן קשורה לחיזבללה. בנוסף לכך אש"פ, תחת ערפאת מאיימים על ירדן והאוכלוסיה המקומית בשטחים ולכן מתנהל הכל באיטיות. אין צורך לדחוק בישראל או "לגרור" אותה לשולחן המו"מ שכן אין אף אחד המעוניין יותר מישראל בשלום. הפרטנר הברור (OBVIOUS) ביותר למו"מ הוא ירדן. יש לה גבול ארוך עם ישראל וכ"כ היא מדינה פלסטינית במלוא המובן להוציא שמה. מרבית אוכלוסיתה (60 אחוז) פלסטינית והיא ממוקמת על 78 אחוז משטח המנדט. לכן, אין עולה על הדעת

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שתחול התקדמות ללא השתתפות ירדן. המלך חוסיין, היסט משך שנים, להצטרף לתהליך. הוא אינו חושש מישראל אלא מודאג מסיכונים מצד סוריה ואש"ף למקרה שיחלים על הצטרפות. חוסיין טרם שכח את ספט' 1970. היתה לו הזדמנות להצטרף לק"ד. הוא הוזמן אך לא הצטרף. היום אנו במצב בו הודיע חוסיין על סירובו לדבר בשם אוכלוסית השטחים. אנו מצידנו מעוניינים בהצטרפותו. שה"ח, שוחח על כך עם הנשיא בוש והמזכיר בייקר ודנו באפשרות של תמריצים והקניית בסחון לחוסיין כדי להביאו להדברות.

שה"ח, התייחס ל-15 חודשי האלימות בשטחים. מכוניתו של רב החובל של הוינסנס שהתפוצצה בסן דייגו היא מראה שאנו עדים לו יום יום בארץ. אשתקד נפגעו בצורה כזו 2500 רכבים שגרמו לפגיעתם של נשים וילדים. מדוע יש מקום לאלימות כזו? הרי לאוכלוסיה בשטחים יש נגישות לאמצעי התקשורת, חופשיים להפגין, נפגשים עם מנהיגים ישראלים חכ"ים ואח"מים שונים ויכולים להציג עמדותיהם. מדוע יש להציג העמדות באמצעות נשק חם. אנו מכירים בכך שיש להם GRIEVANCES ושאיפות שיש לענות עליהם. שה"ח התייחס לתנאים הקשים במחנות הפליטים שהעולם הערבי העדיף להנציח (ולא לשפר) במשך השנים והעולם המערבי לא עשה דבר בנושא. בנוסף לתנאים אלה, קיים גם בשטחים הפונדמנטליזם הקיצוני. קיימת ביקורת כלפי ישראל שאנו מפנים גם כלפי עצמנו. נעשה SOUL SEARCHING עמוק בישראל כיצד עלינו להתנהג. אולם מאידך, איננו יכולים להכנע לאלימות. בהעדר נכונות מצד חוסיין, נאלץ למצוא בעצמנו בני שיח מקרב אוכלוסית השטחים. אין זה קל לביצוע מאחר ואש"ף מחבל בכל מאמץ כנ"ל.

אש"ף- מעורב בטרור :

- (1) חדירות מדרום לבנון שצה"ל הצליח למנוע.
- (2) מסית האוכלוסיה המקומית בשטחים להמשיך בפעילות אלימה.
- (3) פעיל בחיסול פלסטינים הנחשבים או כמשתפי פעולה עם ישראל או המסרבים לשת"ף עם אש"ף. (הביא כדוגמה את פרייג'). על רקע זה הדיאלוג בין ארה"ב לאש"ף המקנה לו לגיטימיות, הינו COUNTER PRODUCTIVE. אנו נמצאים בתהליך של דיון עם ארה"ב לגבי צעדים שננקוט בשטח כדי להתחיל במו"מ וזאת בהנחה שאם מתחיל מו"מ הוא ימשך כדי להשיג תוצאות. זה מאמץ קשה וזמנים קשים לישראל.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אינתיפאדה, מהווה סכנה לאינדיבידואלים יותר מאשר לישראל, אולם בידודה של ישראל, ותפיסתה ככזו למשל ע"י אסד תחריף המצב עד כדי מלחמה. השר הסביר כי במערכת שיקוליו של אסד כלפי ישראל, חשובה מערכת היחסים בין ישראל וארה"ב וכל שינוי עלול להקרין באופן שלילי על שיקוליו אלה.

פל- ביקש לקבל תגובת שה"ח לדו"ח מכון יפה.

שה"ח- כל ישראלי נחשב למומחה למזה"ת, ויש כאלה הרבה, כפי שידוע, בגלל הפער בין בגין לסאדאת הוחלט דוקא להתחיל בהסכמי ביניים. לפיכך בכל מו"מ יש להגיע קודם כל הסכמי ביניים.

הלמס- התייחס לנשק כימי וסנקציות (הצעת סנטור דול בנושא). אם תעבור החלטת סנקציות נגד עירק לוב אירן וסוריה, מה תהיה ההשפעה על מדינות אלה ויכולת הייצור שלהן.

שה"ח - למדינות אלה אין הרי טכנולוגיה משלהן ייתכן שמאוחר כבר אך בכל זאת עדיף לפעול. המאמץ כדאי.

הלמס-ציטט מדברי פיקרינג "אש"פ נקט באיומים כדי לקיים הפגנות ושבתות".

שה"ח- אישר אמיתות הדברים.

הלמס- הצר על כך שדברים אלה אינם מופיעים בתקשורת והוסיף כי ישראל איננה מקבלת FAIR SHARE בתודעת הציבור האמריקני.

ג'נ בידן-שיבח הופעותיו של שה"ח ב-TV והביע הסכמתו לאנלוגיה שלו לפיצוץ בסן דייגו.

בדיווחי ה- J.P. והטלביזיה הישראלית מופיעים תוצאות סקר דע"ק לפיו קיים רוב (54 אחוז) בישראל התומך בהדברות עם אש"פ. האינתיפאדה DETRIMENTAL לא רק מבחינת הנפגעים אלא גם מבחינת הפגיעה ביחסי שתי המדינות (ישראל וארה"ב). לנו אין זכות לומר לממשאל מה לעשות או לא לעשות. דע"ק, לפחות זמנית, נגזכס. חזר וסיפר על התופעה שנתקל בה בהופעותיו בקמפוסים ברחבי ארה"ב, עת הושמעו קריאות בוז נגדו כאשר הביע תמיכתו בישראל. קשה להסביר השמוש בכדורי פלסטיק, מעצר נשים והריסת בתים למרות שיש הסברים לכל

THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE
CASE OF THE DEATH OF THE LATE MR. JAMES H. HARRIS,
WHO WAS SHOT BY THE POLICE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
ON THE 12TH DAY OF MARCH, 1934, AT THE CORNER OF
EAST 125TH STREET AND AVENUE C, IN THE BRONX.

IT IS THE POLICE DEPARTMENT'S OPINION THAT THE

DEATH OF MR. HARRIS WAS CAUSED BY A SINGLE SHOT
FIRED AT HIM BY A POLICE OFFICER WHO WAS
STANDING AT THE CORNER OF EAST 125TH STREET AND
AVENUE C, AT THE TIME OF THE SHOOTING.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS CONDUCTED A THOROUGH
INVESTIGATION OF THE CASE AND HAS FOUND THAT THE
OFFICER WHO FIRED THE SHOT WAS NOT AT THE CORNER
OF EAST 125TH STREET AND AVENUE C AT THE TIME OF
THE SHOOTING.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS CONDUCTED A THOROUGH
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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

האמצעים הללו. (סיפר שב-82' התייצב לימין ישראל והצדיק השמוש בפצצות המצרר). אינני יודע מה אתם צריכים לעשות, אולם אני משוכנע שעליכם ליטול היזמה מבחינת דע"ק העולמית. האם קיימת תחושה בקרב עמיתך בליכוד ובמפלגות אחרות שיש לעשות דבר מה, גם למען היחסים בין שתי המדינות. האם הנושא נדון. האם קיימת מחלוקת ומהי ?

שה"ח- ישראל מדינה דמוקרטית מאד. עמד על שיטת הבחירות. המשאל הטוב ביותר במדינה דמוקרטית הוא הבחירות. קיים ויכוח בישראל לגבי מידת האפקטיביות של האמצעים בשטחים ואילו מהם נחוצים. ייתכן שבריטניה וצפון אירלנד הן המדינות המערביות היחידות הקרובות במצבן למצבנו.

להלן סוף חלק א' של נר 416 ההמשך יגיעכם בנר 452.

חן

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, ממד, בנצור, מצפא

THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH
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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13319

תאריך : 17.03.89

נכנס **

טודי

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חוזם: 3,13319

אל: המשרד

מ-: וו, נר: 427, תא: 160389, זח: 1500, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: גס: צפא

נד: ג

טודי/מיידי

אל: מצפ' א'

דע: לשכת שה' ח

מאת: ק. לקונגרס.

ביהנ' ב: שיחת השר עם הספיקר (15.3)

א) כללי.

1) השר נפגש קצרות עם הספיקר, ג'יים רייט, שקיבל אותו בלבביות רבה כידיד ותיק. נכחו אחד מעוזריו הבכירים ומצדו השגריר והחמ'.

2) עיקר השיחה נסב על שתי נקודות: איתור בני שיח פלסטינאים מקומיים שיהיו מוסמכים לנהל עמנו שיחות, והחזרת חוסיין לתהליך השלום. רייט קבל על עצמו לדבר עם מזכיר המדינה בייקר בקשר לנקודה השנייה.

ב) אשפ' ובני שיח מקומיים.

השר מסר לרייט על שיחותיו עם נציגי הממשל. העריך שהיו טובות ולכן הופתע והתאכזב לשמוע על דברי בייקר בשימועים בבית הנבחרים ב-14.3 (ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות, בראשות דייוויד אובי-דיווח בנפרד). רייט ביקש לדעת למי אנו מתכוונים כשאנו מדברים על בני שיח מקומיים. שמע הסברי השר אך נשאר סקפטי לגבי האפשרות של פתיחת

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שיחות עם מקומיים לנוכח איומי אש'פ ולאור מה שכינה
"מום" באמצעות טרור". בהקשר זה העלה זכרונות משיחה
שקיים עם פלסטינאים בירושלים ב-1978: כולם הביעו
דעות "סבירות" עד שנכנס ראש עיריית חברון, ממנו
פחדו. עקב נוכחותו, חדלו מלהשמיע עמדות מתקבלות על
הדעת ולמעשה שתקו, או ליתר הדיוק הושתקו.

(ג) חוסיין וטהליך השלום.

בתשובה לשאלת רייט, אמר השר שעלינו לעשות כל מה שניתן
כדי להגיע להדברות עם חוסיין (חיזוק התמריצים החיוביים
והסרת התמריצים השליליים, גבויים של מובארק ותאצ'ר,
סיוע אמריקאי ובינלאומי ועוד). רייט התעניין בסיבות
המונעות שיבת חוסיין לטהליך השלום לע"ע, גילה הבנה
להסברי השר, ושאל מה ניתן לעשות עמ' לחדש מעורבותו
של חוסיין בטהליך. הזכיר שלפני שנים אחדות נפגש עם
חוסיין (יחד עם בן רוזנטל המנוח) בווינגטון, והוא
(רייט) "ירד עליו קשות".

אמר לו שהוא זוכה לתמיכה אמריקאית רחבה אך אינו תומך
בטהליך השלום ואינו תורם לו ואנו (האמריקאים) איננו
מבינים למה לא. חוסיין הופתע ואף זועזע כי איש מעולם
לא דיבר עמו במונחים ברורים כאלה. עדיין מובן מאליו
שירדן הינה מפתח לטהליך השלום ולכן נשאלת השאלה באם
אין זו שעת כושר שתאפשר לבייקר לפנות לחוסיין ולשאול
אותו באם רצונו להמשיך התמיכה באמריקאית או לא.
רייט הוסיף שהוא עומד לראות את בייקר בשעות שקרובות
ויעלה הנושא עמו.

(2) השר חייב הצעה 11.

למדן

חו

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, ממד,
בנצור, מצפא

THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH
CONDUCTED BY THE RESEARCHERS IN THE
FIELD OF THE RESEARCH. THE RESEARCHERS
WANT TO SHARE THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH
WITH THE RESEARCHERS IN THE FIELD OF THE RESEARCH.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13345

תאריך : 17.03.8

נכנס **
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100

חוזם: 3,13345

אל: המשרד

מ-: ווש, נר: 426, תא: 160389, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: גס: צמא

נד: 0

ידי/סודי - ללא תפוצה

אל: לשכת שה'ח (לשכת שה'ח תקבע התפוצה).

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

שיחת השר עם הסנטור דן אינווה (15.3)

שיחה זו (בהשתתפות השגריר, ריצרד קולינס והחמ') התנהלה בסימן הביקור הקרב של הסנטור אינווה בארץ בסוף החודש.

להלן הנקודות העיקריות:-

א) מובארכ' ותהליך השלום.

השר סקר את שיחתו האחרונה עם מובארכ' בקהיר והציע שהסנטור, בפגישתו עם מובארכ', יעודד אותו להיות HELPFUL לשם החזרת חוסיין לתהליך. אינווה אמר שטרם שוחח עם המזכיר על הסיור ואינו יודע אם בכוונת בייקר לתת לו הנחיות. עם זאת נדמה לו שיש להזכיר למובארכ' כי 'לא במקרה' הסיוע עבור מצרים נע 'INTANDEM' עם הסיוע עבור ישראל. כך שכל פעם שהסיוע לישראל עולה כך הדין לגבי הסיוע עבור מצרים, מה גם שהם נהנים מאותן הטבות הניתנות לישראל (דוגמת פריסה מחדש של חובות הסיוע, FAIR PRICING עוד). הסדר זה נקבע עם לאותת למצרים את תמיכת ארה'ב ביחסים קרובים וידידותיים עם ישראל. הקונגרס לא כך הסיוע עבור ישראל לסיוע עבור מדינות אחרות (כגון ירדן) ולכן יש מקום לומר למובארכ' שהקונגרס יעריך הידוק היחסים הטובים עם ישראל.

מושרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשר

יתר על כן: בפועל, חוק סיוע חוץ אינו אלא מעין חוק
לטובת ישראל ומצרים ולפיכך ניתן לדרוש ממובארכ' להפגין
תמיכה בתהליך השלום ולהבהיר לחוסיין שעליו להיות
FORTHCOMING.

(ב) עשר שנים לחוזה השלום.

השר מסר על חוסר העניין מצד מובארכ' בציון האירוע
הנ"ל. אינווה הופתע (לא היה ער להתקרבות המועד)
וחייב מאד פעולה כלשהי לרגל האירוע. לדעתו, לא צריך
להיות חגיגה משותפת אך טוב וחשוב יהי אם מובארכ'
ורוהמ' שמיר יקיימו שיחת טלפון שיינתן לה הפירסום
המתאים. אמר שידבר עם שג מצרים בנדון ועוד יציין
באוזניו שטוב יהיה עם מצרים וישראל יתנהגו כ'שותפים
אמיתיים', דבר שחברי הקונגרס יקבלו בעין יפה.

(ג) אש"פ, כלי התקשורת ויוזמות השלום.

(1) לאחר שהשר סקר את שיחותיו עם הממשל ואת יסודות
הגישה התלת-מסלולית שלנו (ירדן, בני שיח מקומיים, ומעורבות
מדינה/מדינות ערב נוספות), העיר אינווה שהוא תוהה
לגבי הצעדים המדיניים המתבקשים כעת. בכל מקרה ברור
ש'מדיניות יחסי הציבור' של אש"פ מועילה מזו של
ישראל (בהנחה שקיימת מדיניות כזו אצלנו). יש להכיר
בכך שעורפאת מפוכח מאתנו בתחום יחסי הציבור, ולכן אולי
הגיע הזמן שישראל תציע הצעה שתפתיע את הצד שכנגד (מבלי
לגרם לעצמנו בעיות), במגמה - TO CATCH
THEM OFF-GUARD

(2) אינווה ציין בהקשר זה שהמגרעות (ה- DISADVANTAGE)
בביקורים רשמיים היא שמארח יכול להציע הצעות ואם
האורח ימלא אחריהן, נראה כאילו הוא נכנע להוראות.
זאת ועוד: הענות להצעות המארח (שיחרור עצורים, לדוגמא)
תתפרש לא רק כציות לארה"ב אלא גם כרפליציה של עצם
מערכת היחסים בין שתי המדינות בכלל. מובן מאליו שאין
זה רצוי.

(ד) ההצעות האמריקאיות כביכול, וגישתו של מזכיר המדינה.

השר ציין את דאגתו מזאת שבמקום להעלות הצעות בשיחתם
העדיף בייקר (או מחמ"ד) להדליפן לעתונות. ריצרד
קולינס תהה לגבי גישה זו ושאל (רטורית) באם שיטת עבודה

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

של ביקר תהיה קיום " FEEL GOOD MEETINGS
בעוד שינצל את התקשורת כמסגרת לקידום PUBLIC POLICY

קולינס המשיך ושאל באם בייקר דבר עם השר בדבר המגעים עם אש"ף כפי שהתבטא ב-14.3 בפני הוועדה לפעולות זרות בבית הנבחרים. כשהשר השיב בשלילה, אינווה הביע פליאה. אמר שבמידה מסוימת ייתכן שהתנהגות תמוהה זו נובעת מחוסר נסיון מצד בייקר. אך בכל זאת בייקר הינו "בחור חכם ופכח" המתמצא בווישינגטון ובדרכיה, כדבריו של הסנטור.

ה) התנחלויות.

1) אינווה מסר שנפגש ב-14.3 עם שגארה'ב בישראל, ביל בראון. הוא נראה להוט מתפקידו החדש וחיובי למדי כלפי ישראל. עם זאת הוא הצביע על מדיניות ההתנחלויות של הממשלה החדשה כבעלת פוטנציאל לבעיות. הוא (בראון) סבור שאלה הם ימים קשים לישראל ולכן מוטב לא לעשות דבר בתחום ההתנחלויות כעת, מה גם ש- "SILENCE IS A POWERFUL MESSAGE".

2) השר העיר שבוש ובייקר העלו נושא זה וציינו שארה"ב לא תוכל לתמוך בישראל אם תידון החלטה בנדון באומ'. השר הצביע על ההבדלים בין המצב כיום לבין המצב לפני כעשרים שנה, הסביר שהוא רואה בהתנחלויות מעין גשר לשלום, והזכיר את הלחצים הפוליטיים בארץ להמשך הקמת התנחלויות חדשות ועבוי הקיימות. אינווה גילה הבנה לטיעוני השר ובמיוחד לשיקולים הפוליטיים של הממשלה. עם זאת הביע דעתו שבשעה זו על הממשלה לכלכל צעדיו בזהירות, ובעוד שיהיה קשה לממשיראל להודיע על שימת קץ למדיניות ההתנחלויות, נראה לו שעניין זה הוא אחד מהנושאים שהשקט יפה להם. במזה'ת שקט מצדנו "ישמע" ויהיה בו מסר ברור. בהתלוצצות העיר השר שכנראה יש לאינווה הערכה גבוהה מאד לתייחכום שיטת העברת מסרים במזה'ת.

ה) התכנית לביקור אינווה בישראל.

על זאת בנפרד.

למדן

רש

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13313

תאריך : 17.03.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 3,13313

אל: המשרד

מ-: נוש, נר: 417, תא: 160389, זח: 1100, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: פ גס: צפא

נד: @

סודי / מיד

אל: לשכת שה'ח

מצפ'א

מאת: ק' לקונגרס

פגישת שה'ח עם סנטור ליהיה

היום (14,3) נפגש שה'ח ליהיה. נכחו מצדנו השגריר והח'מ ומצידם: עוזרו של ליהיה - ניוסוס. כל השיחה הוקדשה לצורך בקידום תהליך השלום ובמיוחד לקראת ביקורו של רה'מ.

שה'ח סיפר כי פגישותיו אתמול עם בוש וביקר היו טובות והוסיף כי נקבע מועד לפגישת רה'מ- בוש ל-6.4.

ליהיה: בעת פגישתו בינואר בישראל עם רה'מ אמר לו כי מקווה שתהיינה לו תכניות-לעיונות שיגישם לנשיא בוש. ביקש לדעת האם עלה הנושא בשיחה עם הנשיא.

שה'ח: השיב בחיוב ואמר כי אנו שוקלים מספר יוזמות שתקדמנה התהליך ושתוגשנה לבוש. חשוב שנקבל תמיכה אמריקאית ויש צורך במאמץ משותף.

ליהיה: חשוב לדאוג לתמיכה אמריקאית. אמנם בסופו של דבר זו חייבת להיות החלטה ישראלית אולם

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

חשוב מאד שכל מה שיאמר רה"מ בביקורו יקבל לא רק ברכת הממשל אלא גם תמיכה BIPARTISAN בקונגרס ובעתונות. שכן לאור בעיות ה-P.R. של ישראל הצעות טובות יוכלו TO TURN AROUND PUBLIC OPINION.

שה"ח: הדגיש כי התמיכה האמריקאית וידידותה כלפי ישראל חשובה, אולם מעבר לזאת התמיכה האמריקאית מהווה חלק מכוח ההרתעה של ישראל. הביא כדוגמה את סוריה הבוחנת את מידת הקשר בין ישראל לארה"ב כחלק משיקוליה כלפי ישראל. מבחינת תמיכת הציבור האמריקאי ותיקון הסחף שחל לאחרונה כלפי ישראל אין הדבר קל. שכן הרושם המתקבל מהתמונות הוא של אוכלוסיה אזרחית מסכנה וחפה מפשע המתמודדת מול חיילים, וקשה מאד לדחוס ב-2 דקות של כתבה בטלוויזיה הקונטקסט הנכון של הארועים. בנוסף לכך ישנם באזור מנהיגים שאינם מעוניינים כלל לבוא לשולחן המו"מ ויש אחרים החוששים.

ליה"י: לישראל היתרון של ערבות אמריקאית לבטחונה וזה מאפשר לה ליטול סיכונים. מבין בעיית הגבולות (בניגוד לוורמונט השקטה) וקורא דוחות מודיעין. עם זאת יש לישראל ה- LEVERAGE

של SOLID US BACKING. אמנם אינו מדבר בשם הממשל אך מבקש לומר לשה"ח כי לא היה מאבד ההזדמנות עתה, הזדמנות שיתכן שלא תהיה בעוד שנה-שנתיים. ליה"י התיחס למצב בשטחים - האינתיפדה, לדעת כל המומחים לא תיעלם. הצבא שלכם, שאתם יכולים להיות גאים בו במורל ירוד בשל הצבתו בשטחים והמתנחלים חוששים מיציאה אפשרית של צה"ל. בעיות אלה מובנות בהחלט. אמנם אין בכוונתו לומר לישראל מה עליה לעשות, אולם מוכן לומר שעתה היא ההזדמנות לפעול.

שה"ח: מודה על ההצעה. איננו מעוניינים להחמיץ ההזדמנות. סיפר כי בפגישתו עם בייקר אמר שחשוב שתהיה עמדה מתואמת בכוונתו לעבוד על כך. בהקשר למצרים סיפר שה"ח על פגישתו עם מובראק, המחוייב מאד לשלום עם ישראל.

תיאר ביקורו בפרויקט החקלאי הישראלי במצרים. הטכנולוגיה המומחים והציוד הם ישראלים. המצרים תולים תקוות רבות בהפרחת השממה עפ"י שיטה זו. מובראק מתעניין אישית בפרויקט ושר החקלאות ליווה באופן אישי את שה"ח. למרות הנ"ל, אין המצרים נותנים לכך פרסום פומבי.

TO THE PUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES
BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
DOES HEREBY ORDER THAT THE LANDS

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FOR THE PURPOSES HEREIN SET FORTH

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

על אף הסכם השלום, הם חוששים. שה'ח הציע למובראק להפגש עם רה'מ ערב עשור לחוזה השלום המהווה הזדמנות טובה. מובראק הביע חששו מתגובות האינתיפדה, הפונדמנטליזם והעולם הערבי.

ליי'ה: סיפר כי אף הוא בביקורו האחרון העלה הנושא עם מובראק וזכה לאותה תשובה תוך שהוא מוסיף כי לא יקיים פגישה כזו עד שלא יושגו הישגים חיוביים בתהליך.

שה'ח: הוסיף כי גם הוא שמע כך. אולם במערכת יחסים בילטרליים אין מקום להתניית תנאים לצורך קיום מפגשים שוטפים.

ליי'ה: חזר לנושא היוזמה המדינית. לדבריו אמר לבוש ולבייקר כי חיוני שלממשל תהייה מדיניות מזהתי'ת מקיפה שמנהיגי הועדות החשובות בקונגרס יעניקו לה תמיכה BIPARTISAN. בהעדר תמיכה כזו עלולה מדיניות הממשל להכשל.

לגבי השטחים אמר כי מעוניין לראות בתכנית שתפחית האלימות. כפי שכבר אמר בביקורו לרה'מ ולשהב'מ, כידיד ישראל הוא מודאג ומסרד עמוקות בנוגע לבטחונה של ישראל. הוא רוצה לראות בקיומה של ישראל ומחוייב לכך באופן נמרץ. כמו-כן מחוייב לישראל דמוקרטית בעלת סטנדרטים גבוהים.

ליי'ה סיכם ואמר שעל שתי הממשלות לעבד במשותף פתרון.

שה'ח: הודה לליי'ה ואמר כי תיעשה עבודה בנדון.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

חן

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, ממד, בנצור, מצפא

AT THE TIME OF THE DEATH OF THE DECEASED, THE DECEASED WAS A SINGLE PERSON, AND WAS NOT MARRIED, AND WAS NOT A MEMBER OF ANY RELIGIOUS OR OTHER SOCIETY, AND WAS NOT A MEMBER OF ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION.

THE DECEASED WAS A SINGLE PERSON, AND WAS NOT MARRIED, AND WAS NOT A MEMBER OF ANY RELIGIOUS OR OTHER SOCIETY, AND WAS NOT A MEMBER OF ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13397

תאריך : 17.03.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 3,13397

אל: המשרד

מ-: 1105, נר: 452, תא: 160389, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו

חח: גס: צפא

נד: 2

סודי/מיידי

להלן המשך נר 416

בשיחתו עם המזכיר, אמר שה'ח' כי אנו שמחים לשמוע כל הצעה שנועדה להפחית האלימות, בארץ, בהחלט קיימת תחושה שיש לפעול שכן אין המצב נוח לנו.

אולם עלינו לחשוב כיצד לגרום לשינוי שיביא לשיפור (ולא יחריף המצב). אינו סבור שיש מקום לתכנית שלום שכן זאת תוצאת מומ' אולם אנו בודקים יוזמה שתניע המומ'.

לוגר- ארה'ב זוכה לביקורת על כך שאינה תקיפה מספיק במזה'ת. תחושתו, מהפרספקטיבה הישראלית, שהמצב MANAGEABLE, שישראל תבקש מהממשל לא ללחוץ עליה וכי ישראל זקוקה לזמן. האם אין מקום לדאגה מצד ארה'ב ומעורבות יתר מצידה ב- SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY כי משתמע ששה'ח מציע שבשלב זה ארה'ב לא תהיה מעורבת.

שהח- המצב אמנם אינו נוח. תמיכת ארה'ב חיונית מאד. יש להזהר שלא להיכנס למצב ולהתריפו אלא לשפרו. למשל קיומה של ועידה בינ'ל בהשתתפות סובייטית לא תשפר המצב אלא רק תחריפו. הנשיא והמזכיר לא האיצו בשיחותיו. סיפר על פגישתו עם שברנדזה והצעתו שבריהמ' תעודד

'לקוחותיה' להתמתנות וכניסה למומ' עם ישראל. בסופו של דבר תפעלנה ארה'ב וישראל במשותף ורק שתפ' כזה יביא להתקדמות.

סרביינס- יש למצוא דרך להוריד האלימות בשטחים כי אחרת ישראל תמשיך להפגע בדעה'ק. ידידיה של ישראל בגבעה מבינים

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הבעיה. אולם קשה למנוע שיפוט ישראל בדע'ק, אין לו תשובות או הצעות: אולי יש לשקול אימון חיילים אימוץ צעדים פשוטים כמו יציאה ממרכזי אוכלוסיה וכו'.

שה'ח- פירט פעולות וצעדי ישראל בשטחים המבוצעים ע'י חיילי מילואים- ע'ת הכוננות וע'ח יעודם הבסיסי של החיילים- אימונים לצרכי הגנת ישראל. נעשית בדיקה של חלק מהצעדים שהציע סרבינס אך אין הדבר קל.

קטבאום- סיפרה על ביקורה בינואר בישראל. מצדדת ב' צעדים קטנים' לפני כינוסה של ועידה בינ'ל ומציעה דרכים שיביאו ל- DISENGAGEMENT בין ישראל לפלסטינים. לגבי חוסיין אינה סבורה שיפעל לפי ציפיותינו. שאלה מה הצעותיו של שה'ח לגבי תמריצים למלך.

שה'ח- דאגתו האמיתית של המלך היא ערפאת ולא ישראל. שוחח עם בייקר על מספר אפשרויות כמו תמיכת מובארק ותאצ'ר במלך כדי להבטיח לו גיבוי.

קטבאום- לגבי החשיבות של נטילת יוזמה מציעה שרוהמ' בביקורו יציע מסגרת חדשה ואלמנטים שונים מהרגיל.

קרנסטון- הביע תמיכתו בדברי בידן וציין כי גם הוא נתקל בנסיונות לא נעימים כביידן. יש בבירור סחף בתמיכה לישראל אם כי עדיין לא משתקף בקונגרס. נעשית לאחרונה השוואה בין ישראל לאפרטהייד בדראפ' זוהי תופעה מסוכנת מאד. השאלה היא כיצד ישראל תישאר בטווח הרחוק דמוקרטית וחמשיך לזכות בתמיכה ואהדה. כיום לאשפ' תמיכה רחבה בציבור, אין לו הצעות ממשיות אולם על ישראל לשכנע את העם האמריקאי שישנה יוזמה בדרך ועל ממשלת ישראל האחריות
TO REACH OUT AND FIND
A SOLUTION

שה'ח- יש לנו אכן אחריות זו, ובראש ובראשונה כלפי עצמנו. הבעיה להסביר עמדתנו לדע'ק אינה קלה. שכן הבעיה במזה'ת סבוכה, מאד קשה לדחסה ל-2 דקות ב- TV ללא הקונטקסט הנכון.

ההשוואה לדראפ', איננה רלבנטית. אני מייצג גם את ערביי ישראל וגם את היהודים. האינטגרציה של הערבים בחברה הישראלית מוצלחת מאד. התייחס לבחירות המקומיות ובחירת ראש עיריית אום-אל פחם- נציג הפונדמנטליזם האיסלמי. זו אמנם

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תופעה מדאיגה אולם קיימים אחרים הגאים להיות חלק מהחברה הישראלית.

פרסלר- נשק כימי, שאל לגבי נושא הסנקציות וביקש להעביר לשה'ח הצעת חקיקה שהוא יוזם.

רוב- ברך השר והביע תמיכתו בישראל.

מקונל- ביקש לשמוע מהשר על מצב היחסים עם מצרים.

שה'ח- אכן, לא כל מה שקיוונו ביחסים עם מצרים התממש. מצרים שאפה לחזור לעולם הערבי ולכן התרחקה מ ישראל אולם משיתתו עם מובארך התרשם שהלה מחוייב לשלום. שה'ח הביע תקווה שיחול שיפור במצב היחסים.

קוני מק- ברך השר והביע תמיכתו ונכונותו לשתף.

הפגישה ארכה כשעה והתנהלה באווירה ידידותית מאוד.

יהודית ורנאי-דרנגר

חו

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

12285

תאריך : 16.03.81

נכנס **

שמו

**

**

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חוזם: 3,12285

אל: המשרד

מ-: אוטבה, נר: 54, תא: 150389, זח: 0930, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: גס: צפא

נד: 8

שמו/מיידי

אל: סמנכל צפ'א

אמש והבוקר בכל רשתות הטלביזיה והעתונות קטעים מדברי
רוה'מ מלרוני הנמצא כעת בבקור באנגליה בנושא אש'פ.

להלן ציטוט מתוך כתבה ב-'אוטבה סיטיזן':

ANY CHANGES IN CANADA'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY WILL
BE DECIDED BY CABINET, NOT EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER
JOE CLARK, PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY SAID TODAY.
LAST WEEK, CLARK SAID CANADA WAS LOOKING TO IMPROVE
CONTACTS WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION.
"WE'RE NOT GOING TO JUMP ON ANYBODY'S BANDWAGON
" MULRONEY TOLD REPORTERS ON THE LAST DAY OF HIS
FIVE-DAY, TWO-NATION TRIP TO EUROPE. "WE'RE REVIEWING
OUR POSITION IN REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND
VARIOUS PLAYERS THERE...AT AN EARLY MOMENT MR. CLARK
WILL BE CONSULTING WITH CABINET COLLEAGUES."
MULRONEY SAID HE AGREED WITH CLARK THAT ARAFAT'S
STATEMENTS DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS "MARKED
A SUBSTANTIAL DEPARTURE FROM HIS PREVIOUS POSITIONS."
HE CALLED ARAFAT'S INITIATIVES "CONSTRUCTIVE AND
HELPFUL." BUT THE PRIME MINISTER WAS UNIMPRESSED
BY SUGGESTIONS CANADA WAS LAGGING BEHIND OTHER
WESTERN NATIONS IN UPGRADING RELATIONS WITH THE
PLO. "WE HAVE A DEEP COMMITMENT TO OUR FRIENDSHIP

THOMSON'S PATENT. TRADE MARK. 1880

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת,
סברה, ר/מרכז, ממד

יוצא

בלמס

חוזם: 3,11801
אל: וו/ש, 559/מנמח/263
מ-: המשרד, תא: 150389, זח: 1653, דח: ב, סג: בל
חח: 8, גס: ממד
נד: בנפרד לקהיר

בלמ'ס/בהול

אל: קהיר

וושיןגטון - בהול

סביב הקפאת הסיוע האמרי למצרים

מקור מצרי רשמי רם דוג אמר לעתון הבחריני 'אלא'אס' (עפ"י סימ'פ, 14) כי צפוי שמבארכ יקיים התייעצויות בשבוע הבא עם ההנהגה הכלכלית והמדינית ועם ממשלתו, על העמדה האמריקנית בנושא הקפאת הסיוע הכספי למצרים.

המקור הרשמי ציין כי הממשל המצרי רואה בחומרה את עיתוי ההודעה המפתיעה של הממשל על הקפאת הסיוע למצרים בסך 230 מליון דולר בשעה שמבארכ עורך סיור במטרה לזכות בתמיכה אירופית בעמדת מצרים ביחס לקרן המטבע הבינ"ל. החוגים המצריים הבהירו כי בעקבות ההודעה האמריקנית והדיבורים על קוצר ידה של הכלכלה המצרית, מתעורר הרושם שהממשל האמריקני מתכוון להביך את הנשיא המצרי.

ערב 1 / ממד

טד

לש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצבא, ליאור, מצרים

דחיפות: מידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קף: 1
סוג: שמור		פתוך: 4
תאריך וזמן מעור: 1800 14 במרס '89		אל: מצפ"א
כס' פרוק: המסרד:		דע: לשכת השר
410		פאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

סנט: שיחת השר עם מנהיג הרוב (14.3)

(א) כללי

השר נפגש היום עם מנהיג הרוב, הסנטור ג'ורג' מיטצ'ל. נכחו השגריר וח"מ; מצד מיטצ'ל, עוזרתו לענייני חוץ, השיחה (שארכה כ-25 דקות) התנהלה באווירה לבבית, כאשר מיטצ'ל תירבה לשאול שאלות ולהקדיש ידידות. אמר לשר, כפי שאמר לשגריר לא מזמן, שלהערכתו לא (אלא) נראה צימצום בתמיכה לישראל בקונגרס.

(ב) שיחות השר עם הממשל

- (1) בתשובה לשאלת מיטצ'ל, אמר השר שהשיחות עם הממשל "חיו בסדר". לשני הצדדים מגוון רחב של נושאים לשקול ושל אינטרסים משותפים לקדם. השאלה המרכזית היא כיצד לקדם את תהליך השלום. העניין קשה, כי הרי חאיזור ותסביבת קשים, מה גם שקיימים גורמים שאינם רוצים להצטרף לתהליך ובנוסף ישנם אחרים הרוצים לטכנול. עוד אמר השר שאנו מעריכים מאוד את תמיכת ממארה"ב וחקונגרס. ייחנן שמצרים וגורמים נוספים יכולים לעזור לקידום בתהליך, אך לעומת זאת העזרה האמריקאית "איננה ניתנת לשיעור". כך היה בעבר וכך יהיה בעתיד. יש אחרים החותרים לשחק תפקיד, כגון הסובייטים, אך אחד מהם לא יכול לעשות כמו האמריקאים.

(ג) התסריט לגבי הצעדים הבאים וכיו"ב

- (1) בעניין זה, השיב השר לסנטור שהצד תראשון חייב לחיות קיום מגעים שיאפשרו פתיחת מו"מ לשלום. יידון מהווה אחד מהמפתחות ("KEY ELEMENT") מסיבות היסטוריות ודמוגרפיות כאחת. אפילו אם נקבל כעובדה שלע"ע אין ברצון חוסיין לדבר עמנו, מובן מאליו שבבוא העת נצטרך לדבר עמו והוא יצטרך לדבר עמנו.
- (2) השר המשיך ושוב פעם בתשובה למיטצ'ל, עמד על הסיבות המרתיעות את חוסיין מהדברות עמנו.

..2

תפוצה: 36

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including names like "S. M. ...", "M. ...", and "S. ...".

דמיסות:	סגריחות ישראל/וויסינגטון טומס פבוק	דף: 2
סוג:		מתוך: 4
תאריך וזמן העבור:		אל:
פס' פבוק:		דף: 5
הפסד:		פאת:
410		

(מאזן שלילי של DISINCENTIVES מול INCENTIVES כאשר חנסיין רואה אש"ם כאיום הגדול. היה ואלה הדוחקים להשתתפות אש"ם בתהליך השלום, יצליחו בכך, יהיה זה "תחילת הסוף" עבור חוסיין וכן תמריץ להגברת אי-היציבות במזה"ח כולו. ארצה"ב יכולה לעודד את חוסיין לחזור לתהליך; השר דיבר בנדון עם מובראכ ועק הגב' תאציר וייתכן שיוכלו לעזור אף הם.

(3) מעבר לזאת, עלינו לאתר אנשי שיח מקומיים בישי"ע, המייצגים CONSTITUENCY מקומי. אנו יוצאים מזהנחה שאם נתחיל במו"מ, נגמור עם הסכם. מיטציל העיר שקשה לדעת אם משתו יצא משיחות, ושאל אם יהיה ניתן לאתר בני שיח מתאימים. השר השיב שיש צורך לחפש אותם באופן רציני ומובן מאליו שיש להבחין בין אישים שונים בישי"ע. אפילו אם יחיו הטוענים שהם אוהדים את אש"פ, קנה תמידה בשבילנו יהיה באם יש להם בסיס (CONSTITUENCY) מקומי, ואינם מייצגים אש"ם בתוניס.

(ד) המצב הפוליטי בארץ
לבקשת מיטציל חיאר השר המצב הפוליטי (תוצאות הבחירות, המערכת הפוליטית הישראלית, האפשרויות לרפורמה אלקטוריאלית).

(ה) המצב במזה"ח
מיטציל התעניין במצב במדינות שונות באיזור.

(1) לבנון
השר הגדיר את המצב שם כטרגי. הזכיר את המעורבות חגוברת של העיראקים שם ואף ציין שאין לדעת באם העם הלבנוני עדיין קיים כיום.

(2) סוריה
בעבר חלא-רחוק מצאנו עידוד בכך שברח"מ לא העניקה לסוריה תמיכה מוחלטת וראינו בזאת גורם מייצב. בעקבות ביקור שורנדזה אין אנו בטוחים שהמצב עדיין כך היום. הסובייטים מזרימים כמויות אדירות של נשק לסוריה ויש בידה מלאי לא קטן של נשק כימי.

.../3

תפוצה:

דחפנות:	שגרירות ישראל/וויסינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 3
סוג:		כתוב: 4
תאריך וזמן העבר:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		
410		פאת:

(3) עיראק

לנוכח הפסקת האש, אנו מודאגים מחסם גם כן. עיראק חשתמשה בנשק כימי בחופשיות, וכמעט לא היתה מחאה בינלאומית, ובוודאי לא חוטלו עליה סנקציות.

(4) איראן

איש אינו יודע מה יתיה לאחר מותו של חומייני וחשד לא היה רוצה להתנבא. רוב המשקיסים טעו בעבר, מה גם שקיים באיראן גורם של ברוטאליות ושל "חוסר-יציבות תוסס" המקשה על תחזיות פוליטיות ואחרות.

(1) שונות

(1) ביקור רה"מ: השגריר מסר שרה"מ נענה לחזמנת הנשיא לבוא לביקור בוויסינגטון שיחליל ב-6 באפריל. מיטציל העיר שירצה לערוך פגישה בין רה"מ וסנטורים בדומה לפגישה המוצלחת שנערכה לפני שנה ביוזמת מנח"ג הרוב דאז, הסנטור בוב בירד.

(2) ביקור בארץ ובמצרים

מיטציל ציין תקוותו לבקר בארץ ובמצרים לקראת סוף השנה הזאת או בתחילת חשנה הבאה. התעניין במצבה הכלכלי של מצרים. השר עמד על מצוקות המשק שם ובין היתר, הזכיר שהמצרים תולים תקוות גבוהות על הפרוייקט החקלאי הישראלי במצרים. (מיטציל חוסיף שהיה רוצה לבקר גם בלבנון אך בגלל חאלימות שם, מנסה מחמ"ד למנוע ביקורי סנטורים בארץ זו).

(2) לסיכום

(1) לקראת תום השיחת חזר מיטציל על התיזה שהעלה בפני השגריר בשיחתם האחרונה, לפיה הפלסטינאים החמיצו כל חזמנות לשלום במשך 40 השנה האחרונות, ואף קבלו את ההחלטות הלא-נכונות בכל נקודת קריטית בתולדות הסכסוך, כך שמצבם הלך ונעשה גרוע יותר במשך השנים. השר העיר שהסבר היחידי לתופעה זו טמון בגורמי הפטאליות והסנאטיות השוררים בחברה הפלסטינית בפרט והערבית בכלל.

קד: <u>4</u>	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דחילות:		
פתוק: <u>4</u>		סוג:		
אל:	תאריך וזמן חבור:			
דע:	פס' פרוק: הפסד:			
פאת:	410			
<p>(2) מיטציל ציין בחיוב את הכרחנו בכך שתטטטוס קרו אינו קביל ואינו לטובת אף גורם, והשו העיר שבראש ובראשונה אינו קביל עלינו כי הרי אנו הנפגעים העקריים. אנו רוצים בשנוי אך כמובן מאליו לא בשנוי שיביא להרעת המצב.</p> <p>(3) מיטציל גרס שהוא - וחסנאט - ישמחו להיות לעזר אך חדבר ניתן. בהקשר זה ציין שהסגריר ארד מקיים קשר טוב עמו ועם הקונגרס בכלל ושחוא אפקטיבי מאד.</p> <p>10/11/89 למדן</p>				
תפוצה:				

Baker Says PLO Talks Still Option

'Disappointed' Arens Outlines Israeli Plans

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State James A. Baker III, defending his statement that Israel might eventually have to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization, told Congress yesterday that the United States "could be faulted" if it failed to explore all reasonable ways of achieving Middle East peace.

For the second day in a row, Baker hinted that U.S. policy could shift toward prodding Israel to deal with the PLO if Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's government fails to persuade independent Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to negotiate with it about the future status of the territories.

"You're not going to have peace without direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians," Baker told a Senate Appropriations subcommittee in response to questions about statements he made Tuesday. "If that can be accomplished through a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians in the occupied territories, that would be, of course, a preferred approach."

"But we ought not to rule out categorically, absolutely and unequivocally consideration of going beyond that if it's necessary to move toward peace in the Middle East. That's all I said, and that's what I mean and that seems to me to be an eminently reasonable position to take."

However, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, completing three days of talks here with Baker, President Bush and other U.S. officials, clearly was unhappy with Baker's position. In an interview with editors and reporters of The Washington Post, Arens said he had "read carefully" press accounts of Baker's statements Tuesday and added: "I was disappointed to see it. It's something that he did not say to me in our conversation." Arens continued, "I told him that a very serious effort is being made to try to identify interlocutors from the Palestinian population [of the territories]... If we are going to make an effort to identify interlocutors from the population in the territories, it's not helpful to say that if this doesn't work out, we're now going to the PLO."

Arens said Shamir will come here April 6 for White House talks with Bush and Baker and present a plan that is expected to call for talks with non-PLO Palestinian leaders on electing a limited self-government in the territories.

U.S. officials have said they will wait to hear Shamir. But last week, the administration revealed that it wants both Israel and the PLO to reduce tensions in the territories to improve the climate for negotiations. On Tuesday, Baker hinted to a House Appropriations Subcommittee that U.S. patience with Israel's refusal to talk to the PLO is not unlimited.

"If you can't have direct negotiations that are meaningful, that do not involve negotiations with the PLO," he said, "I suppose we... would then have to see negotiations between Israelis and representatives of the PLO."

Despite Baker's assertion that he was talking about possible future situations, the remark was a clear departure from the stance U.S. officials long have maintained in the face of Israel's contention that the PLO is a terrorist organization with which it never will deal.

At the Senate subcommittee yesterday, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) suggested that Baker's position was "an open invitation" for the PLO to terrorize other Palestinians to prevent their negotiating with Israel. "I don't think so," Baker replied.

the situation that we now are experiencing in the occupied territories is totally unsatisfactory for all parties... My view is that we ought to explore all reasonable options that might move us in the direction of peace and that we could faulted if we did not."

He said the administration is under pressure from moderate Arab states and America's European allies to support "some high-level, high-visibility international conference or other initiative." But he added that the United States for now will concentrate on trying to improve the atmosphere so that negotiations will have a better chance of success.

Arens said Baker had not asked for specific steps by Israel and added: "This really is a non-issue because no one is more interested in reducing tensions than Israel. The only thing we're talking about, and certainly not arguing about, is what kind of steps would not be counterproductive."

2/2 415

WP

*שהמצרים עובדים בכוון זה. רוס הודה בדילמה הניצבת

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[illegible]

***תפ: שהח**

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* 11118

* תאריך : 14.03.89

* דף 1 מתוך 5

* עותק 1 מתוך 4

* ** נכנס

* סודי ביותר

* **

* **

* **

* חוזם: 3,11118

* אל: המשרד

* מ-: ווש, נר: 360, תא: 140389, חז: 1340, דח: 1, סג: 10

* תח: 9 גס: צפא

* נד: 9

* בהול / סודי ביותר - ח.ר.ב.

* אל: שה'ח - לעיניו בלבד

* השיחת שה'ח עם הנשיא בוש. 13.3.89 בשעה 14:00. השתתפו
* מזכיר המדינה, היועץ לבטחון לאומי סקורופט, ראש מטה הבית
* הלבן סוננו, השגריר בראון וריצ'רד האס מהמועצה לבטחון
* לאומי. מצינונו סלי מרידור והחתום מטה.

* הנשיא קדם בברכה את שה'ח וביקש לשמוע ממנו על ההתפתחויות
* האחרונות ועל מחשבותיו בתחום התהליך המדיני. שה'ח פתח
* בדבריו בצינונו כי בעוד ימים מספר נציין עשר שנים להסכם
* השלום עם מצרים שהושג בתווכה של ארה"ב. יהיה זה נאה
* וסמלי אם בעת ביקוריהם של רוג'מ ונשיא מצרים ניתן יהיה
* לציין ארוע זה. הנשיא השיב כי איננו יודע אם לוח הזמנים
* יאפשר זאת. הוסיף כי בשיחותיו עם הנשיא הרצוג בטוקיו וכן
* עם הנשיא מובראק התרשם מרצונן של שתי המדינות להניע מחדש
* את תהליך השלום. לא היתה התקדמות במשך עשר השנים האחרונות
* אך לאור מה ששמע הוא מאוד אופטימי. "שמעתי שלרה"מ יהיו
* רעיונות חדשים." "אנו כמיהים (EAGER) לשמוע רעיונות
* אלה."

* זה שנים שהתהליך הפוליטי איננו זוכה לקדימות גבוהה
* (IT IS NOT ON THE FRONT BURNER)

* ולכן רצוי שבקרוב נביא לתחילתו של התהליך. "אני מצפה
* לראותו כדי לשמוע ממנו מחשבותיו". שה'ח השיב כי ישראל
* איננה זקוקה לתמריץ כדי לפעול למען השגת השלום והיא תמיד
* פעלה מתוך הכרה ותחושה שהשלום הוא חיוני לאינטרס של
* ישראל. ישנן מדינות כמו סוריה ולוב שאינן רוצות בשלום.
* אש"פ ומדינות ערביות מנסות לאיים (INTIMIDATE) על כל

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* דף 2 מחוך 5
* עותק 1 מחוך 4

* אלה הרוצים במו"מ עם ישראל. הגישה הישראלית היא שיש
* לפעול בשלושה מישורים כדי לקדם את תהליך השלום.
* א. יש לפעול למען צרופם של ירדן וחסיין לתהליך, חוסיין
* הוא דמות מפתח ויש לעודדו להצטרף לתהליך. המלך סבור שע"י
* עמידה מהצד ואי השתתפותו הוא בטוח יותר אך זוהי רק אשליה.
* ב. אנו מעונינים לראות את הפלשתינאים החיים בשטחים
* מצטרפים למו"מ. אפשר לדון גם בקיום בחירות, אך אין
* ברצוננו לנהל מו"מ עם כאלה שהם SELF DESIGNATED או
* SELF APPOINTED.

* ג. יהיה מאד חשוב להביא מדינות נוספות להצטרף לתהליך
* המו"מ.
* הנשיא: "איזה מועמדים אתה רואה?"
* שה"ח: "ערב הסעודית ויתכן גם מרוקו. שוחחתי על הנושא
* עם מובראק ולמצרים עמדה חשובה בתחום זה. אמרתי לו שחשוב
* שיעודד את חוסיין שיצטרף למו"מ.
* הנשיא השיב כי משיחה שקיים עם חוסיין בטוקיו התרשם
* שחוסיין מרגיש שיש צורך במטריה בינלאומית AN INTERNATIONAL
* L UMBRELLA IS NECESSARY ודאי שמת לב כי לא חל שינוי
* בעמדת בממשל שלי לעומת ממשל רייגן. ידוע לי כי בנושא זה
* יש חילוקי דעות בישראל. אך אם ועידה כזו תביא את חוסיין
* למו"מ ישיר עם ישראל (ONE ON ONE) אינני רואה מה
* רע בעניין."

* שה"ח השיב כי המטרה היא מו"מ ישיר ואיננו רואה מדוע
* צריך להביא את הסובייטים לתוך המו"מ ולתת להם עמדה זהה
* למעמדה של ארה"ב. האם לא ניתן להציע לחוסיין מחשבות
* אחרות שאל שה"ח.

* הנשיא השיב כי הוא וממשלו יהיו פתוחים להקשיב לרעיונות
* חדשים אם רוה"מ יביא עמו הצעות חדשות. "איננו רוצים
* להחמיץ שום הזדמנות לקידום תהליך השלום ואנו מוטרדים
* עמוקות (DEEPLY TROUBLED) לגבי המתרחש במזרח
* התיכון". יצירת אווירה חיובית יותר בשטחים תהיה מאד
* מועילה כאשר רה"מ יבוא הנה.

* שה"ח השיב כי ארועים כפי שקרו בסן דייגו לפני יומיים ()
* כתוצאה מפעולת טרור (הם מחזה יום יומי בישראל.
* "אנו זקוקים לעזרתכם כדי לקדם את התהליך."

* הנשיא שאל את שה"ח האם הינו מוצא משהו חיובי בהצהרותיו

נושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* דף 3 *
* מתוך 5 *
* עותק 1 *
* מתוך 4 *

* של ערפאת ובמהלכי אש"פ האחרונים. *

* שה'ח השיב כי הינו סבור שהשלילה עולה על החיוב. *
* THE NEGATIVES OVERWEIGH THE POSITIVES . אנו עדים לרבו *
* התקפות טרור היזומות ע"י אש"פ מלבנון בכוונה לקחת בני *
* ערובה. הם ממשיכים לעודד טרור בשטחים ומטילים אימתם על *
* ערביי השטחים המעוניינים בדיאלוג עם ישראל. *

* הנשיא שאל 'האם זה חל על סיעות באש"פ או על ערפאת *
* עצמו?'. *
* שה'ח 'המדובר הוא בערפת ובארגונו'. *

* מזכיר המדינה בייקר שאל 'אם כך כיצד תוכלו להגיע לדו *
* שיח עם ערביי השטחים?'. *
* שה'ח השיב אולי ע"י בחירות ניתן יהיה להתגבר על איומים *
* אלה. 'לדעתי, המשיך שה'ח, גם חוסיין חושש להצטרף למו"מ *
* מפחד ערפת ואש"פ'. *

* הנשיא אמר כי מצא את המלך חוסיין נלהב מאד ממהלכיו של *
* ערפת, גם ארה"ב רואה בחיוב הצהרות אלה אך כמובן שאם נמצא *
* שהוא מעורב ישירות בטרור נצטרך לפעול. נמשיך לדון אתכם, *
* אמר, על המצב. שה'ח השיב כי העובדות בשטח אינן תואמות את *
* ההכרזות. סקורקופט, היועץ לבטחון לאומי, שאל את שה'ח האם *
* אין לישראל ראיות שמעשים אלה הינם מעשיהם של אלה *
* המעוניינים להביך את ערפת. *

* הנשיא המשיך וציין שהוא מעוניין שגורמי המודיעין של שתי *
* המדינות יבררו את העובדות לאמיתותן ואולי ניתן יהיה להגיע *
* לסילוק חלוקי הדיעות לגבי המצב האמיתי בשטח. *
* TO ELIMINATE THOSE DIFFERENCES. *
* לאחר מכן השיחות הסובסטנטיביות שביננו יתבססו על הערכות *
* משותפות. *

* הנשיא המשיך וציין כי איננו רוצה לעשות דמונסטרציות של *
* פעילות מדינית 'לא אסכים שידחפו אותנו לפעילות אך אינני *
* רוצה להפסיד שום הזדמנות' (I DON'T WANT TO BE STAMPEDED *
* BUT I DON'T WANT TO MISS AN OPPORTUNITY) *
* 'אינני רוצה שארה"ב תהיה צופה פסיבית. מחויבותנו *
* לישראל היא חזקה כתמיד. עלינו להגדיר את כוון פעולתנו: *
* ומהו הדבר הטוב ביותר שעלינו לעשות. *

נושדד הדוץ-נחלקת הקשר

דף 4 מתוך 5
עותק 1 מתוך 4

* אינני יכול להוציא מכלל חשבון צורה כלשהי של ועידה
* בינלאומית תהיה דרושה, אך אינני רוצה במעורבות הסובייטית
* עתה. עלינו לעקוב אחר הנעשה בברית המועצות. יש בה שינויים
* ואפשרי שתהיה לנו הזדמנות אמיתית (A REAL OPPORTUNITY)
* יהיה עלינו להעריך זאת.

* הבה נמצא דרך להזיז את העניין הזה קדימה.
* .LET US FIND A WAY TO MOVE THIS THING FORWARD*

* אינני
* אוהב את הויברציות הנשמעות עתה מדעת הקהל בארה"ב. דעת
* הקהל היא כח רב עוצמה, דעת הקהל היא בתהליך של שינוי
* PUBLIC OPINION IS IN TRANSITION שיחות ישירות הן
* התשובה: אני מצפה לביקורו של רוה"מ.
* שה"ח השיב כי כל התקדמות בתהליך המדיני בעבר הושגה
* באמצעות ארה"ב ואי לכך עלינו לעבוד בשיתוף פעולה ולנסות
* להגיע למסקנות משותפות. בעמדה הסובייטית לא חלו שינויים
* מהותיים. נאומן של שברנדזה בקהיר יש בו אותה נימה כמו
* שכרנו בימיו של ברז'נייב. חידוש היחסים הדיפלומטיים ע"י
* ברה"מ איננו כל כך חשוב לנו.

* הנשיא אמר שרצה שהמזכיר ישוחח עם שה"ח בנושא ההתנחלויות
* ובאפשרות שהנושא יידון באו"מ.

* שה"ח השיב כי אכן הנושא נדון בינו לבין מזכיר המדינה
* והוא ציין כי 10 אחוז מאוכלוסית יהודה ושומרון היא יהודית
* וכי היהודים והערבים חייבים ללמוד לחיות ביחד.

* הנשיא אמר כי הוא מבקש להבהיר את מדיניותה של ארה"ב
* בנושא ההתנחלויות. "אנו מתנגדים להתנחלויות ולא נוכל
* להצביע בניגוד למדיניותנו. אינני רוצה להפתיע אותכם
* WE DON'T WANT YOU TO THINK THAT THERE IS
* A CHANGE IN OUR POLICY *

* בסיום הפגישה הנשיא הבהיר שוב נקודה שלדבריו הבהיר אותה
* גם בפני ראשי הקהילה היהודית שבאו לבקרו - ואשר הביעו
* בפניו את הדאגה שמא ארה"ב תפעל בחפזון :
* "אינני רוצה להפסיד שום הזדמנות ולא אתן לשום הזדמנות
* לחלוף מבלי לבדוק אותה. יחד עם זאת WE ARE NOT GOING
* TO BE MOVED BY THE MEDIA ארה"ב תמשיך להיות הגורם
* המאיץ האמיתי למען קידום השלום. לקידום תהליך זה יהיה
* עלינו לבקש גם את שיתוף הפעולה שלכם.

* ארד*

* פא*

נושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 11268

(

* תאריך : 15.03.89

* דף 1 מתוך 7

* עותק 1 מתוך 4

* ** נכנס

* סודי ביותר

* **

* **

* חוזם: 3,11268

* אל:המשרד

* מ-: ווש, נר: 377, תא: 150389, חז: 0100, דח: ב, סג: סב

* תח: 8 גס: צפא

* נד: 8

* סודי-ביותר- בהול

* אל:שה' ח'-לעיניו בלבד (עבור לשכת שהח-טובה הרצל)

* מאת:השגריר וושינגטון.

* שיחת שה' ח' - בייקר(13.3)

* מרבית השיחה התקיימה בארבע עיניים. עם כניסת השגריר
בראון ודניס רוס מצידם, סלי מרידור והח'מ מצידנו.סיכמו
שה' ח' וביקר את שיחתם כלהלן:-

* המזכיר- שוחחנו על אפשרות שיפור האוירה בשטחים כדי
להביא ליצירת תנאים משופרים לקראת מו'מ. אמרתי
לשה' ח' את מה שאמרתי כבר לשרי החוץ האירופאיים כי
הועידה הבינל' אינה הדרך הטובה ביותר והענין הוא
(PREMATURE) ולא נסכים לוועידה כזו בעתיד
אלא אם היא תהיה בנויה בצורה נאותה. דרושים לכן
צעדים הדדיים לפני המו'מ על הסדרי ביניים ..

* שה' ח' ארנס-הסיכויים להצליח יגברו אם נעבוד בצורה
מתואמת.

* המזכיר- אמרתי לשה' ח' כי לא תהיינה הפתעות כמו
ב-1982 ולא ניתן יהיה להצליח אלא אם נעבוד בשת'פ.

* שה' ח'- צריך להווצר דימוי של עבודה משותפת: המטרה
המיידיה היא להגיע לרגיעה בשטחים בטרם ניתן יהיה
להתחיל המו'מ.אמרתי למזכיר כי צריך לפעול באופן

נושדד הדחץ-נוחלקת הקצו

*
* דף 2 מתוך 7
* עותק 1 מתוך 4
*

*סימולטאני ב-3 מסלולים מקבילים .

* (1) עם ירדן כדי לשלבה בתהליך ולכן חשוב שיהיה ברור
* כי אנו רוצים להתרכז במציאת INCENTIVES שיביאו
* את ירדן לתהליך.

* המזכיר- ציין כי בפגישה שהיתה לו עם רה"מ בריטניה
* מצא אותה תומכת יותר מאשר אחרים בגישה המחייבת שילובו
* של חוסיין בתהליך, וכן בעמדת ארה"ב בנושא הועידה
* הבינלאומית.

* שה"ח- ציין כי הסובייטים כמהים להיות מעורבים
* בתהליך אך נראה שהם די CLUMSY וחסרי תחכום בדרך
* טיפולם.

* המזכיר- הוסיף כי הוא אמר לסובייטים כי אם הם באמת
* רוצים בתפקיד קונסטרוקטיבי בתהליך השלום כי אזי
* עליהם לחדש היחסים עם ישראל להשפיע על אירגוני המחבלים
* בכוון של התמתנות. וכן להפעיל את השפעתם על דמשק
* ולוב.

* שה"ח- ציין כי המטרה המרכזית היא שילובה של ירדן
* בתהליך. אנו נשתדל להגיע לתיאום עם ארה"ב ועם
* ירדן לגבי הצעדים.

* המזכיר השיב כי זוהי עובדת חיים שיהיה זה בלתי אפשרי
* לנהל מו"מ ללא הסכמת מכלל של אש"פ.

* דברים אלה נכונים גם לגבי חוסיין במידה מסוימת ולא
* רק לגבי הפלסטינאים בשטחים ולכן לדעת חוסיין
* יהיה זקוק לאיזו שהיא ועידה בין לאומית פתיחה
* בינלאומית למו"מ ישיר כדי שיוכל לקבל ממנה כיסוי.

* דניס רוס- הוסיף כי אם המלך יראה כי מתחיל תהליך
* מדיני רציני הוא ירצה להצטרף לתהליך.

* שה"ח - חשוב ליצור תמריצים עבור המלך. אולי גם המצרים
* יוכלו לעזור ודאי גם ראש ממשלת בריטניה וניתן
* לדבר על פרויקטים משותפים כמו בתחום המים אשר
* לחוסיין יש ענין בהם.

מושרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשו

דף 3 מתוך 7
עוהק 1 מתוך 4

* שה'ח המשיך וציין כי המסלול השני בו אנו מעוניינים
* להתקדם הוא ההדברות עם הפלסטינאים ביו"ש ועזה
* איננו רוצים לשחק אש'פ בתהליך ולתת להם הכרה
* כלשהי משום שהם ממשיכים בהפחדה וחיסול כל המעוניין
* להדבר עם ישראל. אפשרות אחת היא בחירות, אם נחליט
* בכוון זה רוח'מ ירצה לדבר עימכם.

* המזכיר- ציין כי חשוב שישראל תעשה משהו בשטח בהקשר
* לביקור רוח'מ כדי לשפר את האווירה.

* יש לכם ידידים חזקים ורבים בממשל הזה אני מאמין
* שידידות זו תמשך. אני מודאג שעם הזמן מתפתחים תהליכים
* שנוגדים את האינטרס הישראלי וגם לאינטרסים של
* ארה"ב. ההזדמנויות שהיו קיימות לפני חמש שנים
* לא קיימות עתה ואילו הסיכויים שקיימים היום לא יהיו
* בעוד חמש שנים.

* אנו מאבדים את המאבק על דעת הקהל ולכן חשוב שינקטו
* צעדים. ברצוני לציין כי מאז שהממשל החדש נכנס לתפקידו
* הטלנו וטו באו"מ בכל דיון במועבי"ט שבו רצו לגנות
* את ישראל. אני רוצה להבהיר כי בענין ההתנחלויות
* לא נוכל להטיל וטו. זה יהיה מאד קונטרפרודוקטיבי.

* שה'ח- אני רוצה להשיב לך לפי הסדר. ראשית אנו לא
* נוקשים בתהליך השלום ורוצים לנוע בכוון זה יותר
* מכל אחד אחר. השאלה הינה מה אנו רוצים לשוחח עימכם
* בנושא ההתנחלויות, חשוב שתהיה לנו הזדמנות להסביר לכם
* את עמדתנו. קחו בחשבון שך-10 אחוזים מהאוכלוסיה
* בשטחים הינם יהודים.

* אנו סבורים שבסופו של דבר זהו גורם חיובי בדרך לשלום.
* איננו מאמינים בטרנספר של אוכלוסיה ובבנית חומות.
* החיים המשותפים של יהודים וערבים משמעותיים בדרך
* לשלום. כמי שמבינים ומודעים לבעיות הפוליטיות עליכם
* להבין מה מצבנו ומהם הלחצים המופעלים על רוח'מ
* בנושא זה. חשוב שנשוחח גם אם לא נסכים בסיכומו של דבר.
* הערוץ השלישי שבו אנו מעוניינים להתקדם בתהליך השלום
* הוא להביא ליצירת קשרים עם מדינות ערב אחרות
* אשר תכרנה בישראל. יתכן והסעודים הם המתאימים לכך

משורד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* דף 4 מתוך 7 *
* עותק 1 מתוך 4 *

* וזה גם יקל על חוסיין . *

* המזכיר - השיב כי העלה נושא זה עם הסעודים אך לא
* אזכה לתגובה עד כה.

* ששה'ח- ציין כי לגבי הזמן שעבר אל נשכח שחלק מהבעיה
* הוא שלקח המון זמן למדינה כמו מצרים להגיע
* להשלמה עם ישראל. רק לאחר חמש מלחמות הם השלימו .
* ואז נא מה העירקים עשו במלחמה האחרונה כאשר לא הססו
* להשתמש בנשק כימי לא רק נגד הצבא האירני אלא גם
* נגד אזרחיהם.

* המזכיר - השיב כי מה ששה'ח אמר לא נוגד דבריו שהזמן
* אינו פועל לטובתנו. בשלב זה הופסקה השיחה ועברנו
* לארוחת - צהרים .

* שיחת שהה ארנס עם המזכיר בעת ארוחת הצהרים . *

* ששה'ח- מובראק אמר לי שהוא מאמין בשיחות ישירות
* אך קיימת בעיה פסיכולוגית.

* בייקר-גם אני מאמין שזו כוונתו.אני חושב שאי אפשר
* לנהל דיאלוג עם חוסיין מחוץ למטריה בינלאומית.
* איני חולק על דעתך שחוסיין הוא
* המתפתח והשאלה היא איך להביאו לשולחן הדיונים .

* ששה'ח- יש בינינו לירדנים מידה רבה של שת'פ הנובע
* מכך שיש לנו אויב משותף.

* בייקר-קיים ש'פ אסטרטגי נרחב בין ישראל וארה'ב.
* פונה לבראון ומבקשו לפרט.

* בראון- ש'פ זה התפתח בצורה ניכרת בשנים האחרונות
* כאשר שירת לפני 6.5 שנים בישראל ביקרו עשר אוניות
* צי אמריקאי בישראל.עכשיו מבקרות 65 בשנה וכל יום
* ביקור שווה למיליון דולר הכנסה לישראל. בראון סיפר
* על המטווח בנגב שבו משתמשים האמריקאים . אח'כ עבר
* בראון לתיאור הרכישות של מערכת הביטחון האמריקאית
* בישראל. הוא העריכן בביליון דולר בשנים האחרונות
* והוסיף כי הוקמה מחלקה מיוחדת בנספחות ובשגרירות

מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 5 מתוך 7
עוֹתֵק 1 מתוך 4

* בתל אביב לצורך איתור מקורות לרכישות אלו. לדבריו
* מעיינת עתה המחלקה באפשרויות לרכישות בשווי של 950
* מליון דולר והגידול ברכישות הוא של 10 מיליון דולר
* בחודש.

* שהח- עבר לשות'פ בין ישראל ומצרים והתייחס במיוחד לפרויקט
* בנובריה, פרויקט שבו מגלה מוברק ענין אישי.

* בייקר- מתעניין האם מדובר בניצול אינרגיה סולרית.

* שה'ח- המדובר בעיקר בשיטות חקלאיות חדשות וזרעים
* מיוחדים.

* בראון- עומד על הש'פ בין ישראל ומצרים בתחום האוקיינוגרפי
* ומסר על שמונת מומחים מצריים שהגיעו למרכז האוקיינוגרפי
* הישראלי. הוא היה רוצה לראות יותר ש'פ ביליטרלי
* בין שתי המדינות. שאחר כך ניתן יהיה להרחיבו לש'פ
* איזורי.

* בייקר- שואל את שה'ח האם קיים שיחות עם רה"מ תורכיה
* בנושא צינור המים המז'תי שהוא הוגה.

* שה'ח- אומר שלא פגש את רה"מ תורכיה אך פגש את
* שה'ח אף כי לא דן עימו בנושאים ביליטרליים.

* השגריר ארד-התכנית היא של העברת מים מתורכיה למדינות
* הצחיחות באיזור.

* בייקר שואל על המצב הכלכלי בישראל.

* שה'ח-מתאר בהרחבה את המאמצים להורדת האינפלציה אף
* כי עדיין לא הגענו לרמה המקובלת בארצות המערב. חלה
* גם פגיעה ניכרת ברמת ההכנסה והחיים בישראל.

* בייקר- שואל האם בוטלה ההצמדה בישראל.

* שה'ח והשגריר ארד- מסבירים את הביטול החלקי.

* בייקר- שואל להשפעת הסכם אס'ח.

נושד-החזק-כחלקת הקשר

דף 7 מתוך 7
עותק 1 מתוך 4

*יתקשר אליו ישירות טלפנית.

*ארנס- מעריך זאת וציין כי הדבר פועל בצורה טובה ביותר
*עם שה'ח מגיד.

*ביקר- היכולת להתקשר ישירות עושה הבדל גדול.

*שה'ח- שואל על ביקורו של ביקר במוסקבה.

*ביקר- יערך ב-14-15 במאי .

*שה'ח והשגריר ארד- מציינים שלפני המזכיר הזמנה לבקר
*בישראל.

*המזכיר- אשמח לעשות זאת בהזדמנות הקרובה ביותר.

*השתתפו מהצד האמריקאי: המזכיר, השגריר בראון, בוב
*זליג, רג'י ברתולמיו, מרגארט טאטוילר, דניס רוס
*אפול הייר וריצ'רד האס.

*מהצד הישראלי: שה'ח השגריר ארד, סמנכ"ל א, בן צור
*יועץ מדיני, סלי מרידור, יועץ תקשורת דני נווה,
*עודד ערן, אלי אבידן ושמעון שטיין .

לח

*תפ: שהח

מדינת ישראל

15/3/89

תאריך

אל: ~~המנכ"ל~~

מאת: לשכת ראשיהממשלה.

הכנסת נשא אי"י

פכ"פ . ב"ר - סימן ט/דו

מן האוניברסיטה, למען

ע"ש בלשון

כ"ח

חלק

וידאו חתומה

An American Jew Talks to Arafat in the Quest for Peace

by
Dr. Robert O. Freedman

In mid-February 1989 a group of six senior American specialists on the Middle East, including three former high ranking U.S. government officials, went to Tunis for 3-1/2 days of intensive talks with the top PLO officials, including Yasser Arafat and Abu Iyad, in an effort to determine if the PLO was serious about its newly proclaimed peace initiative which calls for an independent Palestinian state alongside of Israel. If the PLO was indeed found to be serious about peace, the American specialists would then present their views on how the Palestinian-Israeli peace process could be fostered. This was the first such extensive top-level meeting of American Middle East specialists with the PLO, and its outcome was, in my view, encouraging.

As the only Jew in the American delegation, I had prepared for the trip by asking a number of Jews, including Israelis both inside and outside the Israeli government, professionals in American Jewish Community Relations Councils and other Jewish organizations, as well as Rabbis and fellow Jewish academics to tell me the issues they would raise if they had the opportunity to speak to PLO officials. From this list I obtained no fewer than 21 different questions, the most important of which I planned to raise with senior PLO officials.

The first opportunity to raise these questions came the night we arrived, when none other than Yasser Arafat himself hosted a dinner for the delegation (I had informed the Palestinians in advance that I kept kosher so I was always able to get suitable food). Arafat, in person, is a very engaging individual who has in common with Israelis the habit of clicking his tongue just before he says no. He served some of the food to us himself and when we left at midnight after almost 4 hours of talks, he personally escorted us to our cars, despite the fact that it was raining outside and that he had three more interviews (one with Mike Wallace of CBS) still awaiting him inside.

Dr. Freedman is Peggy Meyerhoff Pearlstone Professor of Political Science and Dean of Graduate Studies of the Baltimore Hebrew University. He is the author of Soviet Policy Toward the Middle East Since 1970, now in its 3rd edition, and editor of Israel in the Begin Era, The Middle East Since Camp David, and The Middle East Since the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon.

At the beginning of the evening's discussion, we talked about the peace process, and Arafat was rather simplistic in his statements and quite defensive when challenged. Thus he said that while the PLO was talking to individual Israelis to promote the peace process, what was needed was "another Eisenhower" to pressure Israel, America's "naughty child". When he was told by the American delegation that another Eisenhower was extremely unlikely, he seemed somewhat taken aback. The most heated part of the discussion came when, after introducing myself as an American Jew, I pointed out to Arafat that while the Palestinian National Council statement of November 1988 and Arafat's speech at the U.N. meeting in Geneva in December 1988 were positive steps, much more had to be done to convince Israelis and American Jews that the PLO was indeed serious about peace. I raised three main points with Arafat -- 1) that the Palestine National Covenant which calls for Israel's destruction had to be changed (this issue was at the top of the list of virtually every Jew with whom I spoke), 2) that PLO officials such as Abu Iyad (who is the second highest ranking official in the PLO) had to stop being quoted about a policy of two-stages (first to get a West Bank/Gaza Palestinian state and then to use it as a base to attack Israel), and 3) the PLO had to explain in detail the measures that a Palestinian state would take, such as agreeing to limit its armaments, to convince the Israelis that it would not be a military threat to Israel.

Arafat reacted emotionally and a bit angrily to my assertions, claiming that Palestinian as well as Israeli security had to be assured in any settlement and listing the massacres perpetrated on the Palestinian people. In this list he mentioned not only Israeli-supported actions like Sabra and Shatilla, but also the actions of his "Arab brothers" such as Jordan and Syria. Once he calmed down, however, and I pressed the subject, he noted that when PLO-Israeli negotiations began, the PLO would be happy to discuss any kinds of security arrangements the Israelis wanted, including having a multinational European force on the border between the two states (Israel and Palestine), and he said that the force could remain as long as the Israelis wanted it to.

We then broke for dinner and Arafat, as host, became much more genial. He noted that he had heard what I had said about further PLO steps to reassure the Israelis and would think about them, but noted in respect to the Palestine National Covenant he had two problems. First, to change it would alienate

Islamic fundamentalists who are already highly critical of what he had done, claiming that all of Palestine is sacred Islamic territory, not his to give away. Secondly, he complained that Herut (a component of Likud) still had its charter, which called on Israel to obtain both banks of the Jordan, that is not only present-day Israel and Gaza and the West Bank, but also the state of Jordan. And, he noted, the Israeli flag has two blue lines which indicate that the natural borders of Israel run from the Nile River (in Egypt) to the Euphrates River (in Syria and Iraq). At this point I was able to give him a brief lesson in Zionist history, noting that the origin of the flag was the Jewish Talit (prayer shawl) not the hope of conquering the territory from the Nile to the Euphrates. From this incident, as well as others during our four days of discussions with the PLO leadership, I concluded that an Israeli-PLO dialogue is necessary if only to clear up the misconceptions which have accumulated over the 40 years of Israeli-Palestinian hostility.

Following the dinner we continued the discussion and Arafat outlined his concept of peace which included economic, diplomatic and cultural relations between Israel, the Palestinian state, Jordan and Lebanon on the model of the European Benelux system (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg). Since I and a number of other people, including Israelis and Palestinians, had long been calling for just such an arrangement as part of the solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, I considered this a major step forward.

A discussion also took place about the nature of the peace process. Arafat indicated that an international conference could come at the end of the peace process and that Israeli-PLO negotiations could take place before it. He also noted that he was opposed to the plan for elections on the West Bank and Gaza as currently proposed by the Israeli government because he saw them both as a device for splitting the Palestinians living on the West Bank and Gaza from the PLO and Palestinians living in the Palestinian Diaspora, and also as a means of stalling for time at the stage of a very limited degree of Palestinian "autonomy" instead of allowing full Palestinian "self-determination" which meant an independent Palestinian state. He did note, however, and other Palestinian spokesmen later developed the idea more thoroughly, that elections on the West Bank and Gaza could be a positive step if they were connected to a genuine peace process.

By the time the discussion turned to terrorism, Arafat was in a particularly receptive mood. When I suggested that he agree to proclaim that he would punish

any Palestinian terrorist attacking Israel from the Palestinian state and would expect that the Israeli government would punish any Israeli terrorist attacking the Palestinian state from Israel, he nodded his head, said "why not" and told one of his aides to write that down (a subsequent discussion of the definition of terrorism with the number 2 man in the PLO, Abu Iyad, clarified the definition with Abu Iyad stating that the PLO already prohibited attacks on Israeli civilians inside and outside of Israel proper, but did not consider the Intifada a form of terrorism since a population under occupation was rising up against an occupation army. Our delegation, however, asserted that the throwing of Molotov Cocktails was both inhumane and very politically counterproductive both in Israel and the U.S.)

The evening ended with Arafat coming over to me, shaking my hand and saying "We need to dialogue not only with the United States but with our cousins (Jews) too". The importance of the role of American Jewry in the PLO dialogue with Israel was also raised during the remaining discussions with PLO leaders. When I pointed out to them that just as they did not want the United States or Israel to try to drive a wedge between the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza and those in the Diaspora, so too the PLO should not try to drive a wedge between the American Jewish community and the State of Israel. I was assured that this was not the goal and was repeatedly told that they hoped the American Jews would be a bridge to Israel, telling the Israelis that the PLO was sincere about peace and that Israel should enter into a dialogue with it. As one of Arafat's advisers, Bassam Abu Sharif, bluntly told me "We would much prefer to talk to the Israelis than with you, but until they are willing, you will have to do."

All the Palestinian leaders with whom we talked showed great flexibility in their approach to the peace process and shared Arafat's version of what peace with Israel would look like. They also emphasized the need for an Israeli-PLO dialogue leading to a comprehensive peace conference in which all the Arab states involved in the conflict, including Syria, would participate. (Arafat said he could not be "another Sadat" and make a separate peace with Israel, but that if Syria chose not to attend the conference, once invited, that would be Syria's problem.) Nonetheless there were differences of opinion on a number of issues expressed by Palestinian leaders. These including whether or not Shamir would be able to stay in power for his full term of office, the relative strength of the Labour party in the Israeli political system, and whether time was working for or

against the Palestinian cause.

I came away from the discussions cautiously optimistic. I think the PLO genuinely wants to talk to the Israelis and that they are seriously interested in having their Palestinian state, once it is established, live in peace alongside Israel. Indeed, a number of PLO officials offered to make the new Palestinian state Israel's bridge to the rest of the Arab world. The problem lies in the fact that they feel that they made a major concession in November 1988 when they came out for the two-state solution and feel that now it is the Israeli turn to respond, particularly since, they claimed, it would cause major political problems within the loosely federated PLO if the organization made further concessions to Israel -- such as formally abolishing the Covenant -- without having received Israeli concessions in return. My colleagues and I strongly made the point that further PLO concessions and clarifications would have to be made if the PLO hoped to convince the Israelis to enter into a serious political dialogue with the PLO.

On the final day of our discussions, I left my list of 21 questions with the PLO leadership who promised to study them carefully. If they can respond to the questions to the satisfaction of the Israelis, the peace process may take a significant step forward.



official text

03/07/89

U.S. URGES SOVIETS TO JOIN MOVE AGAINST CHEMICAL WEAPONS (Text* Baker statement at CFE meeting)

Vienna -- Secretary of State Baker announced March 6 that the United States is laying plans to remove chemical weapons from Europe, and he urged the Soviet Union to join the initiative by destroying its "enormous stockpile" of chemical weapons.

Baker told the opening session of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) talks that the United States is exploring ways "to accelerate the removal of our existing chemical weapons from Germany."

The early removal of these weapons, he said, "will require available safe storage and the development of practical plans to destroy them."

But, he added, "unilateral action is not enough. The Soviet Union has enormous stocks of chemical weapons threatening Europe. We therefore call on the Soviets to join us, to accelerate the destruction of their enormous stockpile of these frightening weapons."

Baker also urged the international community to "address the threat of chemical weapons proliferation." He proposed that "we bring together governments and representatives of the international chemical industry...to discuss the growing problem of the movement of chemical weapons precursors and technology in international commerce."

He announced that Australia has agreed to take the initiative in organizing such a conference.

On the subject of ending disparities in conventional ground forces, the secretary said the United States and other Western nations have developed proposals that focus "on the achievement of significant reductions in key military capabilities that are designed for invasion."

Following is the text of Baker's remarks, as delivered*
(begin text)

My Fellow Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen*

We meet here today in an historic setting. Vienna, of course, is a living monument to the creativity of Western culture. This city is also a crossroads of civilization. It reminds us that Europe and the achievements of Europe have always gone beyond the limits of geography to influence the wider world.



United States Information Service
Tel Aviv, 71 Hayarkon Street, 63903 Tel. 654338
Jerusalem, 19 Keren Hayesod Street, 94188 Tel. 222376

But Vienna also bears witness to vanished hopes. Negotiations and agreements intended to bring enduring peace to Europe have been discarded too often in war. Too often the lack of security in Europe has meant a lack of security for the entire world. That is why we are meeting here to negotiate. Our purpose is to improve the security of Europe, thereby also strengthening the foundations of world peace.

I believe that we need a larger perspective, a common vision of where we are headed and why, if we are to succeed.

After the Second World War, Europe and the world were confronted by two distinctly opposing views. The United States and its allies in Western Europe held the vision of free peoples, living under the rule of law, their individual freedoms protected, and their democratic governments responsible to those people.

We believed, and we continue to believe, that freedom of speech, and of religion, freedom from fear and freedom of opportunity, were and are the natural rights of free men everywhere. We were certain, and we continue to be certain, that free markets and individual initiatives are the surest routes to social and economic progress. We sought, and we continue to seek, our security in a coalition of free nations, drawn together by common values, not only mutual interests. And we envisioned then as we envision now, a Europe at peace, its nations free to develop in diversity but united against war.

Our vision was not the only vision. There was another view, opposed to the values most cherished by the West. And the competition between the two visions gave us the difficult legacy with which we live today. A Europe, forcibly divided against the will of its peoples. A Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world.

Now, as we approach the end of this decade new horizons are beckoning, horizons that offer us the opportunity to go beyond the conflicts of the past. The other vision is changing. It is changing because we in the West have been faithful to our own vision. And it is changing because realism has begun to triumph in the Soviet Union.

"Perestroika," "glasnost," democratization are the slogans of the "new thinking." There are encouraging developments in human rights, and in the emphasis upon the rule of law. Economies once rigidly fixed in the grip of centralized control are being loosened and a role for individual initiative has been decreed. Recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has declared, "world politics, too, should be guided by the primacy of universal human values." The rhetoric of Soviet foreign policy is being reshaped with less emphasis on the use of force. Minister Shevardnadze affirmed that again today and that's very good.

No one can foretell where this process will lead or even whether it will endure. Yet we cannot deny the reality of what is actually happening in Europe today. Dostoevsky, in his novel, "The Possessed," wrote, that "The fire is in the minds of men, not in the roofs of buildings." The revolutionary changes in that part of Europe still behind a rusting Iron Curtain are changes above all in the minds of men, in their vision of the future. People want freedom* freedom of the mind, freedom in the home, freedom in the workplace and free governments. And these freedoms will heal the wounds inflicted by stagnation and tyranny.

I propose that we dedicate ourselves to creating a new Europe -- a Europe based on these freedoms:

-- The freedom of all Europeans to have a say in decisions which affect their lives, including freedom of the workplace. The legality of Solidarity, for example, should really be the norm, and not the

subject for negotiations.

-- The freedom of all Europeans to express their political differences, when all ideas are welcome and human rights are truly inviolable. Monitors of the Helsinki agreements, for example, should be honored, and not hunted by their governments.

-- The freedom of all Europeans to exchange ideas, and information and to exercise their right to freedom of movement. The researcher in Prague, for example, should be able to find the books he needs. Barbed wire should not separate cousins in Hamburg from cousins in Dresden. And a wall should not divide Berlin, continuing, as we've seen just in the past month, to cost the lives of people seeking freedom.

-- Finally, the freedom of all Europeans to be safe from military intimidation or attack. Those in the West should be free of the fear that the massive forces under Soviet command might invade them. Those in the East should be free of the fear that armed Soviet intervention, justified by the Brezhnev Doctrine, would be used again to deny them choice.

"New thinking" and the Brezhnev Doctrine are in fundamental conflict.

We call today upon General Secretary Gorbachev to renounce the Brezhnev Doctrine -- beyond any shadow of a doubt. Let the "new thinking" sweep away this vestige from the era of stagnation.

These four freedoms are inseparable. They are the principles for the new Europe, they are the keys that open the door to the European house of the future. As the American President Abraham Lincoln said, "a house divided against itself cannot stand." A continent divided by a wall cannot be secure. A secure and prosperous Europe can never be built on the basis of artificial barriers, fear and the denial of independence.

I am happy to report that we have made some progress toward realizing the new Europe of the Freedoms -- progress upon which we all can build. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, through the Helsinki, Madrid, Stockholm and now the Vienna documents, has defined ever more precisely the obligations of States. We have emphasized anew freedom for individuals, and the expanded concept of openness and confidence-building measures in the field of security. We support this process. The Helsinki Final Act embodies our vision of Europe. And NATO's security dimension has always had the prevention of war as its only purpose.

Economic change is also a marked feature of the new Europe. The creation of a single market by 1992, looking outward to benefit all who wish to trade, would surely fulfill the hopes of those postwar visionaries who rightfully saw economic union as a buttress of peace and freedom. Centralized economies are slowly divesting the straightjacket of outmoded Marxist-Leninist theories. And the desire for increased commercial contact is strong and growing ever stronger.

There is also a genuine possibility for all industrialized nations, both East and West, to work together on newly recognized transnational problems. Dangers to our environment, for example, risk the most fundamental security of all the earth's citizens. Just last week, to protect the globe's ozone layer, the European Community and the United States decided to end the use of all chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) by the year 2000, assuming adequate substitutes can be found as we believe they can. We hope the Soviet Union will consider joining us, in the spirit of "new thinking."

This is progress. But while the old era apparently recedes

before the horizons of the new Europe, those horizons are still too distant. The arms and the armies still face each other. An Iron Curtain still divides this Continent. Too many governments have followed their solemn signature on human rights pledges with violent suppression of dissent.

And so, as we eye the horizon, important questions remain unanswered. Will the new rhetoric be translated into new actions or will we see a repetition of the past, of hopes disappointed once more?

Will East and West together be able to dismantle the barriers thrown up by the old era of competing visions? Will these barriers finally be removed, will the Berlin Wall and the barbed wire and the watch towers finally be relegated to history?

Will the Soviet Union demilitarize its foreign policy in Europe, will it cease to threaten democracy's house with tens of thousands of tanks?

I was encouraged by what Minister Shevardnadze said earlier today as he spoke of far-reaching reductions.

In recent years, we have seen reason to be hopeful about the new Soviet thinking. But, both realism and prudence require that we test the new thinking to make sure that it means new policy and above all, changes in military deployments. We have sought to discover whether East and West could take steps together -- irreversible steps -- that lead toward the Europe of the Freedoms. And we have also sought to reduce the level of military confrontation.

Here, too, there is progress to report. Responding to an American proposal, the Soviet Union joined the United States in achieving an Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty that provides for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear-capable missiles. The treaty contains important precedents, especially in the areas of verification and asymmetrical reductions to equality. We have also made encouraging progress in the S.T.A.R.T. talks toward reducing strategic forces. And we look forward, once our review is completed, to further steps on the road toward arms reduction and arms control.

President Bush has declared that the control and elimination of chemical weapons is a high priority for the United States. Since 1984, when he tabled a draft treaty to eliminate chemical weapons from the face of the earth on an effectively verifiable basis, the United States has exercised leadership in the Geneva negotiations. We will continue to be at the forefront of these efforts in the future as well. However, until we eliminate these weapons in a verifiable way, the United States will maintain a minimal chemical deterrent.

Recently, we were gratified by the response to President Reagan's call for a conference on the use of chemical weapons -- and the success of that conference under the leadership of the government of France. Clearly, some nations are ready for action.

The United States is prepared to lead in dealing with this problem.

And I am happy to announce that as one of his first acts, President Bush has directed our new administration to explore ways to accelerate the removal of our existing chemical weapons from Germany. The early removal of these weapons will require available safe storage and the development of practical plans to destroy them. But unilateral action is not enough. The Soviet Union has enormous stocks of chemical weapons threatening Europe. We therefore call on the Soviets to join us, to accelerate the destruction of their enormous stockpile of these frightening weapons.

Finally, we must address the threat of chemical weapons

proliferation.

We can build on our recent success in Paris.

We propose that we bring together governments and representatives of the international chemical industry. We have been discussing with Australia the general question of proliferation and the importance of holding such a conference. For a number of years, Australia has played a leading role internationally in trying to prevent the spread of chemical weapons, including as leader of the Australia group of Western chemical producing states. I am pleased to tell you, therefore, that the government of Australia, has agreed to take the initiative in organizing such a conference.

Its purpose will be to discuss the growing problem of the movement of chemical weapons precursors and technology in international commerce. We hope to establish better means of communication about this deadly trade.

Progress on nuclear arms control and chemical weapons, however, is not sufficient. We shall never be able to set East-West relations on an irreversible course toward enduring improvement unless we deal with the huge conventional military imbalances in Europe. We can define the issue simply. A vast force, spearheaded by heavily armored units and supported by massive firepower, has been fielded by the Soviet Union and its allies. That force points West.

We in the West have faced this threat since the dawn of the Cold War. Today, Soviet and Warsaw Pact military forces go far beyond those conceivably needed for defense. Warsaw Pact tanks outnumber NATO tanks by over 3 to 1. Warsaw Pact artillery exceeds NATO's artillery by 3 to 1. And the Warsaw Pact holds more than a 2 to 1 advantage over NATO's armored troop carriers.

These ratios speak for themselves. And as NATO has pointed out, these are the forces best suited to an invasion of Western Europe.

It is this array of Soviet armed might that divides Europe against its will and holds European hopes hostage to possibly hostile Soviet intentions.

Lately, we have heard that Soviet military doctrine is changing to meet a standard called "reasonable sufficiency." And in December, at the United Nations, General Secretary Gorbachev declared the Soviet intention to withdraw 50,000 men, 5,000 tanks and other selected equipment from certain areas of Eastern Europe. Several East European governments have also announced unilateral force reductions.

That's a start, a very good start. It's a very hopeful start and of course we are watching to see the words become deeds. And equally clear is the necessity to go further. Even after these reductions, the Warsaw Pact would retain a 2 to 1 edge in tanks and artillery. The Warsaw Pact's conventional military preponderance, especially in the spearheads of attack, is, in fact, what makes an invasion possible.

These are hard facts. These are the facts that have to be changed if our negotiations are to be successful and if the foundations of a new Europe are to endure. The arms control process must now be focused strongly on this East-West imbalance.

The United States, together with the other Western participants in these talks, has developed serious proposals to end disparities in conventional ground forces and to introduce far-reaching confidence building and stabilizing measures.

Our approach focuses on the achievement of significant reductions in key military capabilities that are designed for invasion. For example, we propose an overall limit on the total armament in Europe

and that no more than 40,000 tanks should be deployed by the 23 participating states in the CFE negotiations. In addition, Western participants are prepared to introduce new confidence-building measures in the near future, aimed at increasing transparency and reducing the possibility of surprise attack. Ultimately, of course, stability will be achieved when no country is able to dominate by force of arms.

Let me emphasize once more, however, that change in the military balance is only one part of the process. Only when the causes of the historic division of Europe have been removed, when we have achieved the free flow of people and information, when citizens everywhere enjoy free expression, only then will it be possible to eliminate totally the military confrontation. In other words, we cannot remove the symptoms, unless we deal fundamentally with the causes. I am encouraged that increasingly people from both East and West understand that relationship. We must all work to bring about far-reaching changes that end the division of this continent.

The United States is committed to working with reasonable men and women in all countries to achieve success. We approach the negotiations which will begin a few days from now in these very halls, with a clear goal, solid principles and well-defined objectives.

Our goal in these negotiations, as in all arms control negotiations, will be to prevent war -- any war, nuclear or conventional -- deter aggression and increase stability at lower levels of armed forces. We shall judge every proposal not simply by the numbers of weapons reduced but by the impact on deterrence and stability.

To achieve this goal, we reaffirm the unity of purpose between the United States and its European allies. We have long recognized, as NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner said, that "Europe needs America as America needs Europe.... Separate, we would become victims of world historical developments; together we can determine the course of world history for the better.

"Our negotiating objectives are well-defined.

First, as I mentioned earlier, the NATO allies have called for equal ceilings in key items of equipment at levels below current NATO forces. This would be the best step toward a secure Europe at lower levels of arms.

Second, no state should possess capabilities designed primarily for invasion.

Third, a regime of mutual openness and transparency about military matters should be expanded which can foster confidence, clarify intentions, and thereby strengthen stability.

In addition, we hope that all states will adopt doctrines and force structures which faithfully reflect defensive intentions.

As these negotiations unfold, we and our allies will explore every opportunity for progress. The current force levels and force structures in Europe are not engraved in stone. They are the product of history, the results of conflict. And they can be changed.

If the past is any guide, however, we can expect many proposals that promise the perfection of disarmament if we would only abandon the pragmatism of deterrence. To paraphrase Winston Churchill, the counsel of perfection is admirable in a clergyman but impractical in a statesman. The opportunities are too precious to be squandered in sweeping but impractical proposals. Instead, let us do the work of peace carefully, progressing step by step and verifying each step.

I have spoken today of the new Europe of the Freedoms, of the new

horizons beckoning to a continent divided 40 years ago because of a conflict of visions. As that conflict weakens, it may be possible to remove the old obstacles thrown up in Europe's path. That is our task. We must remove at last the conventional force imbalances and curtains of secrecy that have so long imperiled European security and with it, world peace.

This essential step will not be easy. It will produce new challenges, and perhaps some difficult moments. But we cannot desist from the task.

I have argued that a clearer understanding of the Europe of the future will ease the burden. Already, we can glimpse part of that horizon of a peaceful and prosperous Europe for which so many have sacrificed. Yet though it beckons, we know that nothing can be taken for granted. It falls to us to take the next step, if not the final one, on this journey.

Prophecy is God's gift to but a few, yet imagination is the birthright of every human being. We can but dimly see the future through the mists of change yet we can all imagine the world we would like to see. That is the summons of our undertaking.

Let us therefore go forward together to build that Europe we would like to see, a free, open, secure, and prosperous Europe, a whole Europe, ennobling by example all mankind.

(end text)

ת"ר הד"ר / 14/2/89
1777
KIRK DOUGLAS

February 15, 1989

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am honored to receive an invitation to attend such an important conference. Unfortunately, my schedule will not enable me to participate, but I appreciate your invitation.

Please extend all my best wishes to the Prime Minister. I had the opportunity of talking with him several years ago in Israel for a short time, and it would have been wonderful to see him again.

Sincerely,

Kirk Douglas

KD: km

Ambassador Moshe Arad
Embassy of Israel
Washington, D.C.
c/o The Honorable Noam Semel
Consul for Cultural Affairs
Consulate General of Israel
800 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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* תח: גס: משרדים

* נד: 8

* סודי ביותר / בהול

* שר החוץ, מר משה ארנס (לעיניו בלבד)

* (ללא תפוצה)

* דברי מזכיר המדינה על הצורך שלנו לנהל מו"מ עם אש"ף
* מדא"גה מאוד. עצם פרסום הדברים עלול לבטל את הסיכוי של
* מו"מ עם תושבי יו"ש בעתיד, שכן, המשמעות היא שאש"ף, לשמע
* הדברים, יגביר עוד יותר את לחצו השלילי עליהם.

* כדאי לבדוק נקודה קריטית זאת עם המזכיר, אם אתה עוד יכול
* לפני צאתך.

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אל: וושינגטון, אבידן, ק. קונגרס

דעו יועץ מדיני לשר.

הסיוע האמריקני למצרים.

1. בנוסף לעיכוב הסיוע בסך 230 מליון דולר, צעד המפגין תמיכה אמריקנית חד משמעית בדרישות IMF ממצרים, מאיים עליה תיקון BROOKE, אם תפגור מעבר לשנה בתשלום חוב בסך כ- 600 מיליון דולר לארה"ב שמועד פירעונו היה 1/7/88. איום שפרושו הפסקת הסיוע לסוגיו.

2. מדיעות ראשוניות על תוצאות בקורו הנוכחי של מובארק במערב אירופה ושיחותיו עם ראשי הקהילה, מתרשמים שלא הובטח לו בנושא החובות הרבה מעבר לשתדלנות אצל הנהלת הקרן (שהעדר הסכם עמה מונע פריסת חובות מצריים במסגרת מועדון פריס).

3. מעריכים:

א. שעמדת הממשל נובעת מחששות כנים לעתיד כלכלתה של מצרים ולצורך הדחוף בנקיטת צעדים מהירים להבראתה.

ב. מבחינתה של מצרים העדר הסכם עם ה-IMF או לחילופין אי פירעון החוב המצרי בסך כ- 600

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מיליון דולר לארה"ב עד ה-1.7.89, הינו הימור על כל קופת הסיוע, שמצרים לא תוכל להרשות לעצמה.

4. מבקשים התייחסותכם והערכתכם באיזה מדה מתכוון הממשל להרחיק לכת בלחציו על מצרים, מהלך שעלולות להיות לו מבחינתה השלכות משמעותיות בתחומי הפנים והחוץ כולל כלפי ישראל.

היבטים כלכליים/ערב 1 ממ'ד

רח

לש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, ליאור, מצרים, סייבל

1. The first part of the report, which is the most important, is the one that deals with the results of the investigation.

2. The second part of the report, which is the most important, is the one that deals with the results of the investigation.

3. The third part of the report, which is the most important, is the one that deals with the results of the investigation.

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ABC "GOOD MORNING AMERICA"
INTERVIEW WITH:

MOSHE ARENS, ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER

MARCH 14, 1989

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JOAN LUNDEN: As we heard on the news, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens met yesterday in Washington with President Bush and Secretary of State Baker. The Bush administration had let it be known that it wanted Israel to take some concrete steps to ease tensions in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank, steps such as releasing some Palestinians arrested during the 15-month uprising in the occupied territory and also, opening schools there. After the meetings yesterday, Foreign Minister Arens said no finalized or defined positions had been arrived at between him and the American leaders. Mr. Arens is still in Washington for speeches and meetings with members of Congress, and I talked with the Israeli Foreign Minister early this morning. I asked him what specific steps Israel is prepared to take.

FOREIGN MIN. ARENS: Well, you know that we're about to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty. And most of us in Israel thought that upon signing that treaty, for which we paid an unprecedented price, it would be a matter of months or maybe a year or two before the rest of the Arab countries came to the peace table and negotiated a peace treaty with us. But that didn't happen. Many of the Arab countries do not want peace with Israel; others are afraid to approach the peace table and, as a result, negotiations never really got going after that treaty was concluded. I think the problem that we face today is to see if we cannot come up with incentives, maybe eliminate some disincentives that exist in the Arab world, to get negotiations going, and that's a subject that we primarily discussed in the meetings with the President and the Secretary of State.

MS. LUNDEN: Is Israel considering taking such steps as reopening schools in the Gaza -- and in the West Bank? Or perhaps releasing some of the Palestinians that were taken during the uprising.

FOREIGN MIN. ARENS: Well, you know, we're dealing with violence on a fairly large scale in Judea, Samaria and Gaza these past 15 months. I saw the gutted car of the skipper of the Vincennes in San Diego the other day and I said to myself, "These kind of pictures we see in Israel almost every day." We had 1500

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376
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ABC-ARENS
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cases like that the past year -- people burned to death, women and children -- and we are the first that will want to reduce the scope and the scale of that kind of activity.

Unfortunately, it's not easy to do. We're dealing with fanaticism, with brutality, with Moslem fundamentalism, and we're looking for ways and are happy to hear advice as to how best to approach this matter. We would like to reduce the number of Israeli troops in the area but the violence has to be put down.

MS. LUNDEN: Of course, we see those pictures here in our country, too, and consequently a poll taken by ABC News and the Washington Post last month showed that most Americans now have an unfavorable view of Israel and, for the very first time, a majority believe that your country is not a reliable ally. How much does public opinion in this country concern you?

FOREIGN MIN. ARENS: It concerns us a great deal because Israel and the United States have a very close relationship. Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. We share common values and ideas with the United States and therefore, also strategic interests. But we know that this relationship upon two democracies is, in the final analysis, based on the feelings and the opinions of the citizens of the two countries.

MS. LUNDEN: Well, you were your country's ambassador to Washington. You know that Congress is probably the first place that public opinion is really reflected the most. And there are now people within the Congress who say that your peace process will be harmed if you don't take immediate steps at this time. What can you say to them to help assure them?

FOREIGN MIN. ARENS: Well, I will be in Congress today and maybe it's a good thing that you're helping me prepare for the meetings there. But those who know Israel and Israel's short history and the fact that we had to fight five wars just to survive know that our hand has been outstretched to peace for all these years. It took the Egyptians 30 years and five wars, I might say, to come to the peace table. We're looking for ways to continue that peace process, to expand the circle, but it takes two to tango and there must be a readiness on the Arab side to come forward and negotiate with us.

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MS. LUNDEN: Well, on that note, this past weekend some members of the Israeli Parliament met with some representatives of the PLO here in New York, in fact, and they said that they felt this had to be done as some kind of a response to the PLO overtures for a dialog. Under what circumstances would Israel consider having a dialog such as that?

FOREIGN MIN. ARENS: Well, you know, Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. We have proportional representation. As a result, in our Parliament we have factions that enjoy the support of one or two percent of the population. We're talking here about groups that are on the fringes of Israel's political spectrum. The vast majority of Israelis understand that the PLO is a roof organization for 10 or 12 different terrorist organizations; has committed some of the worst atrocities the world has seen in the last 40 years; hijacked airlines; blown airlines out of the sky. They want to impose themselves on the situation. They want to move King Hussein aside. They almost got rid of him in Jordan in Black September -- in September of 1970. They carry out terrorist acts against the Palestinian population in the area at the present time. They continue terrorism against Israel. Negotiating with them or talking to them will only increase the level of violence. It will not lead us to peace and that's our considered opinion.

We have to talk to the Jordanians, to King Hussein. We have to talk to authentic representatives of the population in the area. We have to talk to the countries around us that insist that they're still in a state of war with us. We think that once we start talking, there's a good chance that there will be good results.

MS. LUNDEN: Mr. Arens, thank you very much for joining us this morning.

FOREIGN MIN. ARENS: Thank you.

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(If we want to put momentum into the process, momentum means starting negotiations, establishing contacts. We have to change some of the incentives and maybe try to cancel out some of the disincentives for the parties involved so they come forward to negotiations. This is what we're thinking about very seriously and discussing with the US as well as others, Thatcher, Mubarak and we will make a very serious attempt. We don't need any urging and we appreciate the desire in interest in peace in the area that exists in many parts of the world and especially here in the US and without US help it will be very difficult if not impossible to make progress but the party that is most interested in bringing tranquility and removing the dangers of war is Israel.

Q: Re: Bush-Baker proposal...The US-PLO dialogue... Israel's reaction:

Arensi: We think that dialogue with the PLO is counterproductive in many ways the major obstacle to peace in the area. I believe they are the ones keeping Hussein from coming to the table. They are actively engaged in terrorizing the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza and hardly a week goes by without a Palestinian leader being assassinated. So, I think giving them any kind of premium or sense of legitimacy allows them to pursue their angle of imposing themselves into the Middle East and will make the peace process more difficult and perhaps impossible. They are encouraging the Palestinian people to violent acts in Judea, Samaria and Gaza (i.e. car of skipper of Vincennes) we can see this in Israel everyday. In the past year, 1500 acts: women and children were burnt alive. Providing any kind of encouragement to this violence cannot promote the peace process.

The fact that we are good friends doesn't mean we always agree and it might be unusual if we always had exactly the same opinion as to how we ought to pursue our common interests. So there's a difference of opinion here. Other countries have had contacts with the PLO for many years and as far as they're concerned, it isn't a serious matter to them and it doesn't affect the security or peace or tranquility of the countries involved. For Israel, it's a matter of utmost importance because it reflects the peace process.

Re: Meeting with Thatcher in London: "I don't think she's a great supporter of the PLO."

Re: Jordan and King Hussein: It's impossible to see the peace process advance without getting negotiations going between Israel and Jordan not only because Jordan is Israel's eastern neighbor and is a country having the longest border with Israel and is at present in a state of war with Israel (not active warfare), but also because Jordan is a Palestinian state in everything but name. It is 78% of the original Palestine mandate if you take East and West Palestinians, 60% of Jordan's population are of West Bank Palestinian origin. There are more West Palestinians of Jordanian origin than West Palestinians in Judea and Samaria. We'd want to see what we can do to increase incentives for Hussein ...It is more important to see if we cannot cancel out some of the disincentives that have brought about the ????? that has been in effect has been its policy for many many years now

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His best bet is to stay in the sidelines. He is not under threat of being invaded by the Israeli army for very good reason. He doesn't have to hurry up and sign a peace treaty with us so that they don't go to war against them. He knows we won't do that. At the present time, as he sees the disincentives, he's concerned that he would be taking upon himself some pretty severe risks. However, staying on the sidelines, we'll see how we can change that. It is not a question of concepts but concrete ideas. Other countries, the US first and foremost, also Britain and possibly Egypt. I think that they can be helpful.

Q: Momentum in peace process:

Arens: The question of peace making is difficult as there are very large gaps that exist between the parties to the conflict and aspirations and fears and anxieties in the eventual conflict that they foresee. Problem: how do we narrow the gaps? The action to be taken is negotiations, contacts, talking to each other.

Q: Aspirations:

Arens: If I'm right that the accent should be put on contacts on exchange of views and informations then I think that it's probably correct that it would be counterproductive at this stage of the game before contacts undertaken to put on the table the vision or plans of what the final settlement should be because that would accentuate the gaps that already exist and in our interest is trying to narrow.

I think you know what we want and that is for Israel to live in peace and not have to fight another war.

Q: Poll: 54% wanted Israel to talk with PLO 17% still distrusted PLO... is there anything the PLO can do to earn a dialogue? Why not talk with anyone of Palestinians on the West Bank that is ready to accept Israel's right to exist.

Arens: First of all, everyone would agree that the poll that counts are the elections. We just had elections, the Likud won. We today have the broadest based government in Israeli history. The policy guidelines of that government which the Labor party participates is a clue of the position that will not talk to the PLO. And we had local elections, and Likud won a landslide victory. So if anyone wants to probe the feelings that exists in the population and the strength of the leadership in present govt., I think you don't have to look any further on.

The question about the PLO is not a trivial question. It is not a question of who it is you engage a dialogue in but whether talking to them can promote the peace process or have the opposite result. We have to talk to the Palestinian population or representatives of the Palestinian population. We have to address their aspirations. It is important to understand who these Palestinians are and where they are. As I said earlier, the largest Palestinians are in Jordan. There is a conflict between Jordan and the PLO. I think if we were to engage the PLO in this dialogue that would be the end of Jordan and would contribute

nothing to the peace process. We have 700,000 Palestinians living in Israel itself, Israel's Arabs. They are Palestinians, we don't need to negotiate with them; they are part of the Israeli body politic. They're part of Israel's society, they vote in Israel's elections. The PLO is carrying on subversive activities amongst Israel's Palestinian populations. And they would like to see the same kind of violence that we presently have in Judea, Samaria and Gaza take place in the Galilee, in Jaffa, in Israel's cities, we don't want to encourage that. As for the Palestinian population in J, S, and Gaza, most of whom by the way are Jordanian citizens, if King Hussein sticks by his guns, and does not take it upon himself the burden or the risks involved of speaking for them, then we have to find representatives among them that population that speak for them that will have constituency among them in that population.

Q: Faisal Husseini: as Palestinian representative for dialogue.
Arens: There are contacts between Israeli officials and Palestinians in the area and we will find ways to identify interlocutors with whom we can negotiate.

Q: Changes taking place within the PLO.
Arens: I think we have to judge the organizations, which an umbrella organization for 10 or 12 different terrorist groups that is responsible for some of the worst atrocities since World War II. That has invented the idea of hijacking aircrafts, of blowing up aircraft in the sky, taking women and children hostages, of executing athletes at the Olympic games. I think you want to judge them by their actions. -the PLO, that part of it, Arafat the anatomy- There's PLO breakaway organizations, there's PLO organizations under the umbrella of Arafat, and there's PLO orgs. somewhere in no-mans land purposely not leaving it clear whether they do or don't accept the authority of Arafat. And this leaves degree of freedoms for everything. But the PLO under Arafat's leadership is actively engaged in terrorist activity right here and now. ie-Highest frequency of attempts to infiltrate Israel's border from southern Lebanon than we've had in years. Now we know the purpose of these infiltrations. Their instructions are to enter into Israeli villages. We remember only too well what happened when PLO terrorists entered Israeli villages in the Northern part of Israel. Not only men were killed, but women and children were killed in the process. So that goes on it is not being stopped. Fire-bombing of cars, stabbing people to death in the streets, actively urged on by the PLO by Arafat, actively... terrorizing the Palestinian population in the area. Freij was just one example, because everyone knows about because he's mayor, he's been to America a number of times. It's not only, its hundreds of Palestinians, anyone who steps out of line, knows he has a death sentence put on him.

Q: Distinction between intifada and Palestinian terrorism.

Arens: I think the car bombing in San Diego was terrorism, and if that's terrorism, then I don't see why firebombing of cars in Israel is not terrorism.

Q: Is the intifada anything beyond terrorism,

Arens: massive violence in area for three reasons: aspirations, the feeling of frustration and aspirations. I think we can understand that because in effect that population has been ignored for the last 20 years. It's a population that has lived not only alongside Israel, but in many ways in Israel itself. It is a tiny country; 100,000 Palestinians come and work in Israel everyday and return in the evening, most speak Hebrew, they have access to Israeli media, in many ways they are a part of us, but of course they don't enjoy the rights of citizenship. They are mostly Jordanian citizens. And they have not been addressed and you might say their aspirations have not been addressed because the assumption has been that Jordan would speak for them. Most of the people living here are Jordanian citizens. Dayan in those days said we're waiting for the telephone call. Hussein didn't pick up the phone and we know why. We understand that better today. I think that is part of the reason for the frustration.

Add to that the squalor in which a large part of the population lives in refugee camps. 300,000 Palestinian Arabs in Gaza, Judea, and Samaria living under untenable conditions at least in Western standards in refugee camps.. The Arab world does not want to do anything about that, does not want to change that. They want to keep that sore open as it is at the present time. I think that needs to be addressed. I don't see making real progress until you address the problems at the human level as well. And then add to that Moslem fundamentalism, Palestinian radicalism, a tradition of violence and brutality, a lack of respect for human life, and it must be a lack of respect when someone throws a firebomb into a car with children that unfortunately does exist. That's the intifada.

Q: Meetings with Admin; asked to come forward with new ideas.

Arens: We don't need any urging as I said before the problem is first and foremost our problem and it is a problem that goes to the root of Israel's very existence and the physical security of the people living there. And we are racking our brains we are making every effort possible not because someone urges us to do that..., because we have that need and we are eager to talk to our friends we don't think we have a monopoly on new ideas. Although unfortunately we have the experience. And how do you deal with this kind of action on so massive a scale? I don't think that anyone has the easy prescription. The British have a problem in Northern Ireland, although not as severe the case as with us. It certainly doesn't go to the heart of the country as what's involved here. It on the borders of Israel's population centers. It's part of the reality of the Middle East. I think that reality is changing, but it's changing very very slowly. Where else do you have countries ruled by people like Kaddafi and Saddam Hussein, and Assad who have no interest in making peace. This is the environment in which we live.

Q: Not enthused by the terminology that you use that the PM must come over here with a list. The Israeli cabinet and the whole Israeli establishment is seized with this problem and its working out this problem. And since we haven't made the kind of progress that we want to make clearly we're saying to ourselves that everything that's been said so far that everything that's been put forth so far are not sufficient and we must see that we must find

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Arens: The PM and the

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some other moves and some other initiatives that will have a chance of moving the process forward.

Arens:

PM Shamir has that responsibility not because its expected in Washington and London. He has that responsibility as PM of Israel first and foremost, responsibility for Israel's security and for advancing the peace process in the area.

And he will be measured by how he meets that responsibility by the Israeli electorate first and foremost. I'm not suggesting that until such time where we can get some movement in contacts with the Jordanians, nothing should happen. We have to address the problem of finding interlocutors amongst the Palestinian population in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. We have to take as a fact of the present time that King Hussein will not talk for them. And that is not enough to say that therefore there will not be any doves. But I think it's realistic to assume that Jordan is a key element in the process. It's kind of difficult to make significant progress without its participation. I don't think the int'l conference should be seen as any kind of a trade off. I think you want to judge that per se. Is it likely to encourage progress or is it likely to be counterproductive. We'll get the Soviet Union, we'll get China, we'll get everybody into the act, I don't see that that's going to move peace in the area.

Q: Methods to open up channels to Palestinians in the WB

US administration's list of measures...Do you regard that as a positive approach in the area.

Arens: First of all, unlike some of the stories I've seen in the press, I was not given any such list. We discussed with Baker the desirability of the reduction of tension and violence and I said to him we don't need any urging, we will be the first beneficiaries of the reduction of tensions and the scope of violence and a reduction of the victims of that violence. The question is how to do it. One Q that has to be addressed is how to make sure that the people involved realize that violence doesn't pay off. I don't know if anybody has a prescription on how to reduce the violence, but we're looking at it all the time. And, I don't think we have a monopoly on the answers, but unfortunately we've gained very considerable experience in dealing with that sort of phenomenon. And we're happy to sit with representatives of the US to discuss that matter.

Faisal Hussein has met with a significant number of Israelis. The real question to be addressed is how do we identify interlocutors on the ground that can represent the interests and aspirations of the Palestinian population in JS and Gaza to people in Israel and the US. the obvious answer is elections. We don't believe in self-appointed representatives. We believe in people who have a constituency. We'd rather authority from that constituency. It's a proposal that's been built by our Defense Minister, Mr. Rabin, as you know. It has not as of yet been discussed in the Israeli government. It is an alternative that certainly will be considered. It is not something easy to carry out 1- in a population that does not have a tradition of democratic processes and 2- when people are being terrorized and intimidated. But it needs to be considered.

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Q: US-PLO dialogue. Did Israel tell the US to break off contacts?

Arens: I didn't feel that it would be appropriate on my part to tell the US what it should do or should not do. I think our position that the contact with the PLO is not helpful is well known. It was elaborated again on my part I felt that there was certainly an interest here in the administration to get all the relevant information on the extent and level of terrorism still practiced by the PLO and to what extent this terrorism is practiced by organizations that are not under Arafat's authority and to what extent it is being practiced by organizations that are under Arafat's authority. Whether the fact that this continues to be done is an indication of the fact that Arafat is not telling the truth or ultimately that Arafat does not have the kind of control that he pretends he has.

...The violent activity is sparked by anticipation that it's going to produce results, it is going to produce political results and in our opinion, these talks, this extent of recognition that Arafat thinks he's gotten has served as a shot in the arm. Not that the intifada and the violence did not occur and begin before the talks. But I don't believe that these talks are in any way a damper on that violence. I'm concerned that it'll do the opposite.

Q: Comments on change from Shultz ME framework to Baker and new admin:

Arens: I'm not sure that I can be the judge of the changes in the policy of the US administration, you can better judge that.

The objective of Shultz was to try to get negotiations going. He saw that as the most important step - a necessary condition for there to be any kind of progress. In our view, the question is how do you do it.

Q: Assessment of where Israel stands in terms of Congress, press, risks, etc..

Arens: Again, your opinion is probably worth more than mine. I've been in the US for a few days and it's been months since I've been here last, and I'm not at the tail end of my tour yet. I've met with the administration yesterday and will meet with Congress today and tomorrow and maybe I'll have a better estimate of the situation at that time. The feelings and opinions of the US are very important to us. Not only because the US gives Israel such a large measure of assistance but because of the very close relationship that we have with the US and the values we place on the feelings and opinions of the American people in and of itself. We are also fully aware that Israel's ability to deter aggression and we are faced with the longest odds in the known history of nations. To add, parathetically, Shevardnadze said to me in Cairo, in trying to emphasize how urgent it is to make peace in the area... And to that I said to him it is too bad he didn't come to Israel because if he had, that there isn't a family in Israel that hasn't lost somebody, and that therefore we need no urging to make peace. He said to me...the number of arms in the area is fabulous, it's got to be diffused right away (read statistics) [Arens told Shevardnadze that less than 10% of that equipment belongs to Israel and 90% is in Arab armies.] If you understand that you, understand the difficulties that we face.

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Israel's deterring capability in the area is based on the IDF, its equipment, capability, courage, etc.. It is based on no small measure on the US-Israeli alliance. If that in any way gets eroded, then Israel is going to be weakened, its support in the ME will be weakened and the peace process will be weakened. We attach supreme importance to the feelings and opinions of the people in the US. I don't doubt that when people in the US watch on TV confrontations with women and children (seemingly unarmed) with Israeli soldiers, if you didn't understand or don't know the context of these situations or if you don't have the historical perspective of what this is all about, intuitively your support is going to go to the civilians. Putting these scenes into context and perspective is not an easy thing to do.

Q: Rita Hauser: Arens expressed that her meeting with Arafat was harmful.

Arens: I don't believe that everybody must agree with us and I don't believe that everybody will agree with us. This is a pluralistic society and people have different opinions. But seeing people line up to pay homage to Arafat. Incomprehensible to Arens to see Arafat embraced by i.e. the Pope, the King of Spain, King Hussein, Rita Hauser...

I really don't want to suspect her motives and what you're suggesting is that they were the best, and maybe they were but I would expect that for somebody in her position, that if she felt that strongly about it, that she would come to Israel and try to convince us.

Arens: I don't doubt for a moment that it's possible (to find Palestinian interlocutors) because your dealing with a population that has interests that feels it has rights that wants to advance

these rights that, by the way many ways, has advanced greatly as a result of contacts with Israel as well as contact with the Western society. And I think that most of the population wants to advance its cause and I think they realize this must be done by contacts and negotiations. The intimidation and terrorism that is being practiced against the population is a fact of life that we will have to contend with.

.....But there is a world of difference between someone who draws his authority from a constituency and someone who's been appointed from Tunis.

Q: Measures mentioned in NYT and WP articles of Sunday:

Arens: Yes, the measures are under active consideration and were under active consideration before I saw them here in the American press. To the best of my knowledge the schools in the Gaza Strip have been reopened - universities not. The problem has been that in the past, the schools have been centers of violence by young people and who leave classes and go out and throw rocks into the windshield of passing cars. But it is certainly in our interest

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to bring about a situation where normal life can be restored and where the presence of Israeli troops can be reduced. People doing policing action against violence in the area are not policemen. They are young conscripts. We are a small country, we have a small police force. A police force which ordinarily wouldn't be dealing with these kind of matters. The conscripts should be training. We would like nothing better than to bring about situation...

Question: Re: Idea of a Two-State solution...put onus on PLO

Arens: You have to differentiate between the PLO and Palestinians. The PLO is trying to impose themselves as the only representatives; not Hussein, not the interlocutors on the ground, but the people living in Tunis. We want to talk to people on the ground, we want to talk to Jordan. ...I don't think we can make significant progress.

Q: What to say to WB Palestinians that might be attractive to take some risks to take some gamble on..

Arens: First of all what is to gamble on unless the risks is the risk of getting a blow in the head by the PLO. Other than that there's no gamble. Things can only get better for the Palestinian population. Assume, for a moment that these negotiations were to follow the concept of the Camp David Accords, that we would first go to an interim arrangement, then negotiations for a final settlement, the assumption being the gaps and fears and aspirations are too large to lay a permanent settlement at the present time and this interim arrangement would take the form as envisioned in the Camp David agreement of giving a large measure of autonomy of self rule to the Palestinian population in the area, I can easily see whether or not there would be some very significant differences as to what the shape and form of what the self-rule should be. That would be a hard nut to crack in negotiations but no doubt in my mind, it could bring about very significant progress from the point of view of the Palestinian population in the area.

The very idea of the interim arrangement was that detail views of the parties about the shape and form of the final arrangement would not be helpful in coming to an agreement on the interim agreement. But the best stage at this point of the game would be to leave the opinions of the parties about the final settlement aside and to try to work on something that would bring about an interim arrangement that would helpfully improve the atmosphere...

Re: talks between US and PLO

Arens: I did not ask for any information on the context of these talks nor was information on the context of these talks offered to me.

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חוזם: 3,12167

מל: 584/וש

מ-: המשרד, תא: 150389, זח: 2124, דח: ב, סג: סו

תח: 8 גס: משרדים

נד: 8

סודי/בהול

אל: השגריר

להלן תכנית טנטטיבית וראשונית לבקור רה"מ.
אנא הערותיך והצעותיך המפורטות.

יום ג' 4/4

הגעה לניו יורק

20:00 - עצרת המונית של יהודים באולם מרכזי.

יום ד' 5/4

הגעה ללוש'

פגישות: מזכיר המדינה

מזכיר ההגנה

במלון: חברי קונגרס

סנטורים

יום ה' 6/4

פגישה עם הנשיא

אחה'צ - הופעה במכון מחקר
(AEI או, HERITAGE FOUNDATION)

מס'ע

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תקשורת ישראלית ואמריקאית

יום ו' 7/4

פגישות בקונגרס

א'ב עם ועדת החוץ של הסנאט
א'צ עם ועדת החוץ של בית הנבחרים
14:00 - המראה ללוס אנג'לס

שבת 8/4

בערב: ארוע יהודי גדול
(ישנו רעיון שקירק דוגלס יערוך ק'פ - אנא חוות דעתך).

יום א' 9/4

א'ב עם המנהיגות היהודית
מסע'ת

לבדיקתך וחוות דעתך:

א. פגישה ו/או ארוע לכבוד הנשיא לשעבר, רייגן.
ב. ארוע מטעם הסנטורים קרנסטון ופיט ווילסון, בשתוף חברי
קונגרס מקליפורניה.

14:00 - המראה לטכסס

א'ע מטעם סנטורים וחברי קונגרס (פיל גראם, ג'ים רייט -
לבדיקתך וחוות דעתך).

יום ב' 10/4

א'ב עם מעצבי דעת קהל (פוליטיקאים, פרשנים).
מס'ע

המראה לדאלאס

פגישה עם ראשי הפונדמנטליסטים
מס'ע
פגישה עם מנהיגות יהודית

ה'תשנ"ח תמוז

א"י י"ד

ה'תשנ"ח תמוז

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בערב - המראה לניו יורק

יום ג' 11/4

א'ב עם WALL ST. JOURNAL
ועידת הנשיאים

צהריים: COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

אחה'צ - ראיונות לתקשורת
ערב - עצרת גדולה

יום ד' 12/4

א'ב - עם אינטלקטואלים
מנהיגים יהודים

א'צ - מפגש עם ישראלים

בלילה - המראה לארץ.

אריה מקל

רע

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11288

* תאריך : 15.03.87 *

* דף 1 מתוך 1 *

* עותק 1 מתוך 6 * סודי ביותר יוצא **

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* חוזם: 3,11288 *

* מא: 534/ש *

* מ:- המשרד, תא: 150389, זח: 1037, דח: ב, סג: סב *

* תח: 8 גט: משרדים *

* נד: 8 *

* סודי ביותר / בהול *

* שר החוץ, מר משה ארנס (לעיניו בלבד) *

* (ללא תפוצה) *

* דברי מזכיר המדינה על הצורך שלנו לנהל מ'מ עם אש'ף
* מדא'גה מאוד. עצם פרסום הדברים עלול לבטל את הסיכוי של
* מ'מ עם חושבי יו'ש בעתיד, שכן, המשמעות היא שאש'ף, לשמע
* הדברים, יגביר עוד יותר את לחצו השלילי עליהם.

* כדאי לבדוק נקודה קריטית זאת עם המזכיר, אם אתה עוד יכול
* לפני צאתך.

* רה'מ *

* פא *

* תפ: רהמ *

מס' תאריך

סודי

חוזם: 3,11780

אל: 564/טו

מ-: המשרד, תא: 150389, זח: 1647, דח: מ, סג: סו

הח: 8 גס: צמא

נד: 8

סודי/מיידי

ע.ב.ש. 4839

ווש'נגטון.

שגריר, ציר, למדן.

דיק צ'ייני. לשלכם 325.

להלן חומר נוסף על עמדות הנ"ל בשנים האחרונות.
בבקורו במצרים וב'ישראל ב- 1983 התרשם מטעוני מצרים
שמבצע של'ג פוגע בתהליך השלום, ומכך שבישראל הצבור
מפוכה דיו לגבי מגבלות השמוש בכוח שיופעל להבא רק
כשיחוש באיום ממשי.

בישראל התרשם ממימדי הבניה בשטחים והביע חשש שתיווצר
מציאות חדשה שאין חזרה ממנה.

ראה את עמדת הממשל לגבי נסיגת הכוחות הזרים מלבנון
ב- 1976 בכלתי ריאליסטית וציין שסוריה קבלה הסכמה
שבשתיקה ממשל פורד ומישראל לכניסת כוחותיה ללבנון.
גרס שאין לממשל נכסים כלשהם למשוך סוריה להסכם
ולנסיגה וגרס שטוב לנצל חששות דמשק מפני ישראל
כמרכיב מרכזי באסטרטגיה לנסיגת כל הכוחות מלבנון.

גרס שהעברת שגרירות ארה"ב לירושלים תפגע באמינות
ארה"ב והגדיר את תומכי החוק כאופורטוניסטים.

הצביע בעד עסקת הטילים הסעודיים במאי 1986 שנכשלה
ברוב מוחץ של 356 נגד 62.

צדו בעמדה שהבית הלבן רשאי לנהל מדיניות חוץ ללא
הפרעות הקונגרס.

אמנם הסתייג מעסקת הסטינגרים עם ירדן אך היה קשור

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

לטעוני הממשל שדחית חוסיין חביא לפנייתו לרכש מברכה'מ.
חשש שסלוק חוסיין מהתהליך המדיני תעלה גורמים
רדיקלים אתרים.
סעודיה להערכתו מדינה בלתי יציבה ושנוי המשטר בה
בעתיד סביר.
רואה בהדגשת הקשר האסטרטגי - ישראל-ארה'ב גורם מרתיב
חשוב הן כלפי ברה'מ והן כלפי סוריה.

מצב'א

נס

לש

תפ: שהח, ששהח, רהב, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, שהבט, בנצור, מצפא, ר/מרכז,
ממד

11780

11780

חוזם: 3,11780

אל: 564/ש

מ-: המשרד, תא: 150389, ח: 1647, דח: מ, סג: ס:

תח: 8 גס: צמא

נד: 9

סודי/מיידי

ע.ב.ש. 4839

וושיןגטון.

שגריר, ציר, למדן.

דיק צ'ייני, לשלכם 325.

להלן חומר נוסף על עמדות הנ"ל בשנים האחרונות. בבקורו במצרים וב-1983 החרשם מנעוני מצרים שמבצע של'ג פוגע בתהליך השלום, ומכך שב-1983 הצבור מפוכח ויו לגבי מגבלות השמוש בכוח שיופעל להבא רק כשיחוש באיום ממשי.

בישראל החרשם ממידי הבניה בשטחים והביע חשש שתוצר מציאות חדשה שאין חזרה ממנה.

ראה את עמדה הממשל לגבי נסיגת הכוחות הזרים מלבנון ב-1976 בבילתי ריאליסטית וציין שסוריה קבלה הסכמה שבשתיקה ממשל פורד ומישראל לכניסת כוחותיה ללבנון. גרס שאין לממשל נכסים כלשהם למשוך סוריה להסכם ולנסיגה וגרס שטוב לנצל חששות דמשק מפני ישראל כמרכזי מרכזי באסטרטגיה לנסיגת כל הכוחות מלבנון.

גרס שהעברת שגרירות ארה"ב לירושלים תפגע באמינות ארה"ב והגדיר את תומכי החוק כאופורטוניסטים.

הצביע בעד עסקת הסילים הסעודיים במאי 1986 שנכשלה ברוב מוחץ של 356 נגד 62.

צוד בעמדה שהבית הלבן רשאי לנהל מדיניות חוץ ללא הפרעות הקונגרס.

אמנם הסתייג מעסקת הסטינגרים עם ירדן אך היה קשור

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

לטעוני הממשל שדחית חוסיין תביא לפגישתו לרכוש מבריה"מ.
חשש שסלוק חוסיין מהתהליך המדיני תעלה גורמים
רדיקלים אחרים.
סעודיה להערכתו מדינה בלתי יציבה ושנוי המשטר בה
בעתיד סביר.
רואה בהדגשת הקשר האסטרטגי - ישראל-ארה"ב גורם מרתיע
חשוב הן כלפי ברה"מ והן כלפי סוריה.

מצב"א

אס

לש

תפ: שהח, ששהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, שהבט, בנצור, מצפא, ר/מרכז,
ממד

אל : השגריר, ווש'

דף _____ מתוך _____ דפים
סיווג בטחוני :

סודי

דחיפות :

בהול

לשימוש } תאריך וזמן רישום: _____
מח' הקשר } מס. מברק : _____

655 014111

אל: השגריר ווש'

להלן תוכנית טנטטיבית וראשונית לביקור רה"מ. אנא הערותיך והצעותיך המפורטות:

יום ג' 4/4

הגעה לניו - יורק

20.00 - עצרת המונית של יהודים באולם מרכזי.

יום ד' 5/5

הגעה לווש'

פגישות: מזכיר המדינה

מזכיר ההגנה

במלון: חברי קונגרס

סנטורים

יום ה' 6/4

פגישה עם הנשיא

אחה"צ - הופעה במכון מחקר (AEI או, HERITAGE FOUNDATION)

מס"ע

תקשורת ישראלית ואמריקאית

יום ו' 7/4

פגישות בקונגרס

א"ב עם ועדת החוץ של הסנאט

א"צ עם ועדת החוץ של בית הנבחרים

14.00 - המראה ללוס אנג'לס

שבת - 8/4

בערב: ארוע יהודי גדול

(ישנו רעיון שקירק דוגלאס יערוך ק"פ - אנא חוות דעתך)

יום א' 9/4

א"ב עם המנהיגות היהודית

מסע"ת

לבדיקתך וחוות דעתך: א. *פגישה ו/או ארוע לכבוד הנשיא לשעבר ריגן.

ב. *ארוע מטעם הסנטורים קרנסטון ופיס ווילסון, בשיתוף חברי קונגרס מקלפורניה.

14.00 - המראה לטכסס.

א"ע מטעם סנטורים וחברי קונגרס, (פיל גראס, ג'ים רייט - לבדיקתך וחוות דעתך).

יום ב' 10/4

א"ב עם מעצבי דעת קהל (פוליטיקאים, פרשנים).
מס"ע.

המראה לדאלאס

פגישה עם ראשי הפונדמנטליסטים

מס"ע

פגישה עם מנהיגות יהודית

בערב - המראה לניו-יורק

יום ג' 11/4

א"ב עם WALL ST. JOURNAL.

ועידת הנשיאים

צהר יום: COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.

אחה"צ - ראיונות לתקשורת

ערב - עצרת גדולה

יום ד' 12/4

א"ב - עם אינטלקטואלים

מנהיגים יהודיים

א"צ - N.Y.T.

אחה"צ - מפגש עם ישראלים

בליכה - המראה לארץ

אריה מקל

השולח : אריה מקל אישור מנהל מחלקה :

אישור לשכת המנכ"ל : (לציין תאריך וזמן העברה לקשר)
תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא ע"י השולח) 15.3.89

לשימוש הקשר בלבד

התפוצה :

הנושא :

אל : השגריר, ווש'

דף _____ מתוך _____ דפים
 סיווג בטחוני :
 סודי
 דחיפות :
 בהול
 לשימוש } תאריך וזמן רישום: _____
 מח' הקשר } מס. מברק : _____

אל: השגריר ווש'
 להלן תוכנית סנסטיבית וראשונית לביקור רה"מ. אנא הערותיך והצעותיך המפורטות:

יום ג' 4/4

הגעה לניו - יורק
 20.00 - עצרת המונית של יהודים באולם מרכזי.

יום ד' 5/5

הגעה לווש'
 פגישות: מזכיר המדינה
 מזכיר ההגנה
 במלון: חברי קונגרס
 סנטורים

יום ה' 6/4

פגישה עם הנשיא
 אחה"צ - הופעה במכון מחקר (AEI או, HERITAYE FOUNDATION)
 מס"ע
 תקשורת ישראלית ואמריקאית

יום ו' 7/4

פגישות בקונגרס
 א"ב עם ועדת החוץ של הסנאט
 א"צ עם ועדת החוץ של בית הנבחרים
 14.00 - המראה ללוס אנג'לס

שבת - 8/4

בערב: ארוע יהודי גדול
 (ישנו רעיון שקירק דוגלאס יערוך ק"פ - אנא חוות דעתך)

יום א' 9/4

א"ב עם המנהיגות היהודית
 מסע"ת
 לבדיקתך וחוות דעתך: א. *פגישה ו/או ארוע לכבוד הנשיא לשעבר ריגן.
 ב. *ארוע מטעם הסנטורים קרנסטון ופיט ווילסון, בשיתוף חברי קונגרס מקלפורניה.
 14.00 - המראה לטכסס.
 א"ע מטעם סנטורים וחברי קונגרס, (פיל גראס, ג'ים רייט - לבדיקתך וחוות דעתך).

יום ב' 10/4

א"ב עם מעצבי דעת קהל (פוליטיקאים, פרשנים).
מס"ע.

המראה לדאלאס

פגישה עם ראשי הפונדמנטליסטים
מס"ע

פגישה עם מנהיגות יהודית
בערב - המראה לניו-יורק

יום ג' 11/4

א"ב עם WALL ST. JOURNAL.
ועידת הנשיאים

צורייס: COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS.
אחה"צ - ראיונות לתקשורת
ערב - עצרת גדולה

יום ד' 12/4

א"ב - עם אינטלקטואלים
מנהיגים יהודיים

א"צ - N.Y.T.

אחה"צ - מפגש עם ישראלים
בלילה - המראה לארץ

אריה מקל

השולח : אריה מקל אישור מנהל מחלקה :

אישור לשכת המנכ"ל : (לציין תאריך וזמן העברה לקשר)
תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא ע"י השולח) 15.3.89

לשימוש הקשר בלבד

התפוצה :

הנושא :

15 מרץ, 1989

פ8312

ה"ח
ע"ל סוד

נשירת יהודי בדה"מ לארה"ב
נייר רקע לקראת נסיעתו של רה"מ לארה"ב

1. בשל פעילות מכלול גורמים אינטרסנטים בשאלת הגירת יהודי בדה"מ מחאפסות כיום נשירה מאסיבית לארה"ב של יהודי בדה"מ, היוצאים מדה"מ באשרות ישראליות (ראה נספח א').
2. במצב זה ולאור היותה של ארה"ב יעד ההגירה הסופי של מרבית יהודי בדה"מ, מודגש משקלה המכריע של ארה"ב בסוגיה. לפיכך, הודך המועדפת לטיפול בנשירה הינה השגת הסדר עם ארה"ב. להלן המלצותינו להצגת עמדת ישראל בסוגיה.

נתונים ותהליכים

3. הביקוש להגירה מדה"מ לארה"ב ב- 1989 עשוי להגיע לכדי 70,000 נפש ויותר (מהם כ- 45-55,000 יהודים). אם ישונה חוק ההגירה הסובייטי (שיאפשר הגירה חופשית) המספר עשוי לגדול פי כמה וכמה.
4. כמענה לביקוש הנוכחי קיימת אפשרות להגדלת מכסת המהגרים מדה"מ לארה"ב (1). במקרה ויגדל הביקוש יחייב הדבר את ארה"ב להתמודד מחדש עם סוגיית מכסות ההגירה ולהגדילן פי כמה.
5. נכון להיום, ההגירה מדה"מ לארה"ב במסלול הנשירה (על יסוד אשרות ישראליות) קלה יותר מההגירה ישירות לארה"ב (זאת, בין היתר, בשל חוקי ונוהלי ההגירה של ארה"ב המקלים על היוצאים באשרות ישראליות יחסית ליוצאים באשרות אמריקאיות).
6. הגידול הקיים והצפוי במספר המבקשים להגר מדה"מ לארה"ב יטיל מעמסה כספית כבדה הן על הממשל והן על הארגונים היהודיים. הקשים בהגירה פוגעים ויפגעו בתדמיתה של ארה"ב, דבר המנוצל בהסברה סובייטית. לא מן הנמנע שהעדפה בולטת של יהודים המהגרים לארה"ב על פני מהגרים מארצות אחרות תנוצל ע"י גורמים אנטישמיים בארה"ב ובעולם.

משמעויות

7. מטעמי מדיניות פנים ושיקולים כלכליים ופוליטיים האינטרס האמריקאי הינו צמצום, או אי-הגדלה של מספר המהגרים מדה"מ, יחסית לקבוצות הגירה אחרות.

(1) כ- 60,000 מכסות לדה"מ, לכל הלאומים, מהם להערכתנו כ- 50,000 יהודים. קיימת אפשרות להגדלת המכסות עד לכ- 80,000. (בתוך כך, המכסה במעמד "פליט" מסתכמת בכ- 21,500, מהם כ- 15,000 יהודים).
ראה נספח ב'.

8. ארה"ב, במדיניותה (המסייעת לניצול לדעה של האשרות הישראליות) גורמת ליצירת לחצים וסיבוכים פוליטיים - מחד ומתקשה להענות לציפיות המהגרים - מאידך.
9. הגידול הצפוי במספר המהגרים מברזה"מ מטיל מעמסה כבדה על משלם המסים האמריקאי ועל הארגונים היהודיים בארה"ב - בין היתר על חשבון הקצאות המגבית היהודית המאוחדת לישראל.
10. נראה שהממשל האמריקאי חותר לצמצום מספר הזכאיים להגירה מברזה"מ לארה"ב במעמד "פליט" ולהגדלת מספר המהגרים במימון פרטי או במימון הארגונים היהודיים.

המלצות

11. מבחינתנו, הבעיה המרכזית אינה מכסות ההגירה של ארה"ב (שהינן עניינה הפנימי של ארה"ב) אלא השימוש לדעה באשרות ישראליות, בסיוע ובגיבוי אמריקאי, לצורך הגירה לארה"ב.
12. יודגש כי חוק ההגירה הסובייטי הצפוי עשוי להשוות את תנאי היציאה ישירות לארה"ב עם תנאי היציאה לישראל, עובדה שתבטל כליל את טענת העדר יכולת ל"חופש בחירה" אצל היהודים יוצאי ברזה"מ.
13. הפתרון העונה לאינטרסי מדינת ישראל וממשל ארה"ב (המעוניין בצמצום מספר המהגרים מברזה"מ) הינו:
- א. הטיפול בתהליך ההגירה של יהודי ברזה"מ לארה"ב יתבצע בברזה"מ בלבד ועל יסוד זרישות אמריקאיות.
- ב. יהודים סובייטים המצויקים בחזרי-כניסה לישראל יגורו לישראל בלבד.
14. גם בממשל ארה"ב וגם בקרב הארגונים היהודיים יש רבים ותומכים בפתרון זה (בשיטת - "TWO TRACK" SYSTEM), אך הם נתונים ללחצים פוליטיים כבדים. היה ורוה"מ יטיל את כובד משקלו בעד פתרון זה - ייקל על הגורמים בממשל ועל הארגונים היהודיים לקבלו ולבצעו.

נספח א' - יציאה, עליה / נשירה

1. בשנת 1988 יצאו את בדה"מ, באשרות ישראליות, 22,403 איש, מהם 18,961 יהודים.
2. ההחפלות לעליה / נשירה בקרב היהודים היוצאים באשרות ישראליות היתה 11.5% לעליה ו- 88.5% לנשירה למערב, רובם המכריע לארה"ב.
3. יודגש, כי בשנת 1989 ההחפלות לעליה/נשירה בקרב היהודים היוצאים באשרות ישראליות היתה כ- 8% עליה וכ- 92% נשירה.

נספח ב' - הערכת פוטנציאל מכסות ההגירה לארה"ב מברה"מ (לכל הלאומים)
לשנת התקציב 1989 (1/10/88 - 1/10/89)

| הגדרת המהגר | ברה"מ |
|--|--|
| מעמד "פליט" (1) | מכסה בסיסית - 12,000
הקצאה ממכסות אחרות - 7,000
הקצאה אפשרית ממכסה בלתי מוגדרת - 2,500
(4) 21,500 |
| מעמד מהגר (2) | בלתי מוגבל לקרובים מקרבה ראשונה (לפי הביקוש)
לאחרים - הגבלה ל- 20,000 לכל מדינה (לפי הביקוש) |
| מעמד פארול (3) | לחודש - כ- 2,000
עד תום שנה תקציבית - כ- 16,000 |
| אפשרויות לאשרות מהגר מיוחדות בהוראת נשיא ארה"ב | כ- 25,000 |
| סה"כ כללי | כ- 80,000 נפש (5) |

(1) כולל הטבות מימון ואחרות.

(2) הגירה ללא הטבות יתר.

(3) בניסה לארה"ב במעמד נחות (בין היתר באשר לקבלת אזרחות ארה"ב).

(4) פוטנציאלית רובם יהודים.

(5) מהם, להערכתנו, כ- 50,000 יהודים.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13694

תאריך: 17.03.89

יוצא **

**

**

**

שמואל (ס.)
10.12.89
10.12.89

חוזם: 3,13694

אל: וווש/659, לונדון/314, נ"י/617, פריס/439, גנבה/255, בון/325,

בריסל/257, קהיר/261, אנקרה/153, מזמת/311

מ-: המשרד, תא: 170389, זח: 1329, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: & גס: ממד

נד: &

שמואל/מיידי

הנציגות

דע: ארב'ל, הסברה.

א. החלטות ועידת שה'ח האסלאמיים (16.3).
נקודות עקריות (לפי סימז'ת) :-

1. תמיכה במדינת 'פלסטין', ודרישה להעמדת יש'ע תחת פקוח
האו"ם להבטחת נסיגת ישראל. תמיכה בג'יהאד של
ההתקוממות. גנוי נוכחות צה'ל בדרום לבנון.

2. קריאה לועב'ל בחסות מועבי'ט (חמש הקבועות) ועדוד
לתמיכת אירופה ב'פלסטין'.

3. גנוי איחוד ירושלים וקריאה לאי-שת'פ בינ'ל עם ישראל
בנושא העיר.

4. ערעור על חברות ישראל באו"ם, ועל כתבי ההאמנה, משום
שנופקו בירושלים.

5. קריאה לארה'ב להעמיק הדו-שיח עם אש'ף, גנוי הברית
האסטר' ישראל-ארה'ב.

6. דרישה לפקוח על הפיתוח הגרעיני בישראל, גנוי שת'פ
ישראל-דרא'פ.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

7. דרישה לבטול ספוח הגולן וקריאה לסנקציות נגד ישראל אם תסרב.

8. גנזי חטיפות מטוסים בצד אישור למאבקי 'שחרור לאומי'. קריאה לועידת או'ם בנושא הטירור.

9. גנזי לספרו של רושדי.

10. הענקת המושב האפגאני לנציג המג'אהדין.

11. (בנושא איראן-עיראק, לא נמסר שהגיעו להחלטה)

12. פעילות אסלאמית בינ'ל לבצוע החלטות דלעיל, הועידה הבאה (בדרג פסגה) בקהיר ב-1990.

ב. להלן הערכה ראשונית:-

1. הועידה - הצלחה סעודית וכשלון איראני, בנושא רושדי נתקבל הקו הסעודי (גנזי הספר תוך התעלמות מהמחבר וגורלו) וזאת על אף מאמצי הנציג האיראני (מנהל מחלקה במשה'ח בטהראן) שבנגוד לאשחקד, לא פרש הפעם מהועידה.

2. ניתנה סטירת-לחי לבריה'מ בנושא האפגאני, להערכתנו התנגדו להחלטה זו גם איראן, סוריה ורד'ת.

3. התיצבות אסלאמית ריטורית ועוינת נגד ישראל, כולל מצרים ותורכיה (לא ידוע לנו עד כה שהיו הסתייגויות מצדן).

4. העדר כל רמז בהחלטות למה שהמערב מגדיר 'מתינות' ערפאחית, כגון הסכמה לדו-קיום עם ישראל, או מו'מ ישיר. להיפך, מושם הדגש על עידוד ההתקוממות בתור 'ג'יהאד'. נושא ירושלים מובלט כצפוי.

5. צפוי מאמץ דיפלומטי מחודש מצד המדינות האסלאמיות מול אירופה וארה'ב בענייננו.

מנהל ערב 3/ממ'ד

אק

1. The first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.

2. The second part is a detailed account of the work done during the year.

3. The third part is a summary of the work done during the year.

4. The fourth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

5. The fifth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

6. The sixth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

7. The seventh part is a summary of the work done during the year.

8. The eighth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

9. The ninth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

10. The tenth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

11. The eleventh part is a summary of the work done during the year.

12. The twelfth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

13. The thirteenth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

14. The fourteenth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

15. The fifteenth part is a summary of the work done during the year.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: ששה, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, ממד, רס, אמ, ,
מזתיים, מצריים, ארבל2, משפט, מצפא, איר1, איר2, הסברה

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The Eastern Question: Peace in Our Times

John Morley, Viscount Blackburn described the "Eastern Question" as "that shifting, intractable, and inter-woven tangle of conflicting inter^{es}acts, rival peoples and antagonistic faiths. . ."

Stratford Canning, who was for some time British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte wrote in the Times (September 9, 1876), "The Eastern Question has by degrees assumed such large proportions that no one can be surprised at the space it occupies in all public discussions whether of the tongue or of the pen." He was writing in a small kingdom, the seat of a mighty empire, some 3,500 miles by sea from what we call the Middle East," a distance to be covered in that time by a fast steamer in 2 weeks. In our day the small kingdom yet survives, but the mighty empire of which it was the seat has disappeared. What has not disappeared is the intractable and inter-woven tangle which still occupies a large space in all public discussion whether of the tongue or of the press. In our day any daily American newspaper of important pretension sees its space occupied on front page, inside, in editorials and letters to the editors with pre-occupations of the course of events in the Middle East. And this in a Republic whose closest port to the Middle East is over 5,000 miles away and whose most distant port is near to 10,000 miles away. Yet the immediacy of the problems presented by circumstances in the Middle East in places so distant from there are manifest by the space they occupy in prominent newspapers as far from the scene as Seattle, San Francisco or Los Angeles. The discussion is not just in terms of academic discourse or social commentary, but in issues of dramatic concern over each ^{new} turn of

events and how those events must bear on what must, can or should be done, in and toward the Middle East.

It seems inevitable that countries and peoples distant from the center of contention in the Middle East, whether those centers be Jerusalem, Beirut, Baghdad, Istanbul, Damascus or Teheran, will be led by their interests to attend events in the region. For the region since times ~~immemorial~~ ^{immemorial} has exerted its influence over peoples outside the region, while peoples outside the region have with varying degrees of success, attempted to subdue, control or to exploit the conflicts within this region, as a matter of necessity or in hopes of gain.

Great civilizations have arisen, flourished and disappeared in the Middle East. Some have left hardly a trace and others an imprint that exists to this day, whether through art, commerce or philosophy. The history of the Middle East is as much about war-like peoples from ~~there~~ ^{there} venturing out of the region as it is about peoples from elsewhere seeking some advantage or confronting some problem therein:

"At the ^adawn of authentic history it ('the 'Eastern Question') is represented by the ~~contact~~ ^{contact} between Greeks and Persians... In the early Middle Ages the problem was represented by the struggle between the forces of Islam and those of Christianity."¹

¹. J.A.R. Marriott The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917) Fourth (1940), p. 1.

Out of the Middle East sprung the inspiration that would lead to the spread of Islam in the 7th century throughout the Mediterranean world by a people rendered at once militant, creative and energetic. In the West, perhaps only the Frankish Mounted men ^{and where} at Tours and Poitiers (732) prevented Northern Europe falling beneath the Crescent of the Saracens. But Spain would be the scene of the struggle for another four centuries. And by that time the Seljukian Turks, a now^N-Arab people, under the mantle of Islam would have an empire south of the Black Sea and they in turn would be followed by the ^{Osmanli} ~~Osmani~~ Turks who, as the Arabs before them would, with sword and book carry the Crescent as far north as Vienna and construct an Empire whose ^{disintegration} ~~decay~~ would pose the "Eastern Question" in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Just over 600 miles north of the birthplace of Mohammed, the Prophet of Allah, but seven centuries before that birth, an earlier religion arose that spread, at least at first, not by fire and sword but by preaching, ascetism, and martyrdom. And its influence would subdue the mighty Romans, extend to the farthest corners of the globe and in its name would be founded kingdoms, empires, principalities and republics whose administrations and laws would reflect to some degree that organization of the Christian church that sustained the faith in the centuries after the fall of Rome.

Christianity, first opposed and then adopted by the Roman Empire spread throughout that empire by preaching, example, sacrifice by martyrdom and alternately through teaching, leaving no continent untouched by its influence or unpeopled by its communicants. For

Christianity had as its mission to bring humanity into God's grace through evocation of revelations and later by force of civil authority, the latter not always without fire and sword.

But if Christianity spread throughout the world, it would be all but extinguished in the lands of its origins by the vigor of Islam, exercised first by the Arabs and later by the Ottomanian Turks. This despite the Christian crusades and the tenacity of the Christian Roman Empire in the East. The first would in every case fail and the second would fall, submerged and subdued by the Ottomanian Turks. Neither the Orthodox East nor the Roman or Protestant West would permanently restore the birthplace of Christianity to Christian hands, leaving therefore only some small islands of Christian communities to be barely tolerated by Islam.

Of the three religions whose roots lay in the Middle East and whose progress has been throughout the world, the eldest Judaism spread not by fire and sword nor by proselitization, but because those of the faith were scattered, and adhering to their teachings and practices, carrying those with them wherever they sought refuge from the persecution so often their lot since ^{ancient} times. ~~-----~~. The peoples who were its communicants ^{were} driven and scattered, to build their temples on alien soil but longing always as a folk for the day of return.

For most of the Christian West, religion has become a matter of solely private concern; under the influence of liberal democratic tenets, science, divergent philosophies and as a matter of practical politics. Christianity has been secularized and has lost the zeal

that once characterized it. It is difficult to imagine that any western democracy would consider going to war to preserve any Christian community that was under assault, because the community was Christian.

Under the great totalitarian regimes, religion of whatever origin is at worst a social nuisance to be extirpated or at best an instrument through which to manipulate affairs to suit the requirements of party and state, but in any case one more matter to be subjugated to secular control for secular purposes.

Yet it is not religion or religious questions that leads the Soviet Union to interest itself in the Middle East as it once may have been an important part of Imperial Russia's interest in the region. And the Christian West has departed too far from the old faith to concern itself with the Holy Land, as such, but looks fearfully on the Middle East as an arena where the great clashes of our time may lead to war.

If neither East nor West is much moved by concern for Christians, Jews or Moslems as religious beings, it yet is true that the turmoil in the Middle East is one in which Islam and Judaism tend to define issues and protagonist. That is religion cannot be set aside in any consideration of the fate of the peoples of the Middle East.

The Middle East, when drawn on a map as a simple geographic region, comprises Arabia and the lands and waters immediately adjacent to, ^{the} Oman, the two Yemens, ^{the} Bohrain, ^{wait} Kunesit, the Emirates and the lands North to the Turkish straits and westward to include the Sudan and Egypt, and eastward to include Iran. But the Middle

East is not so simple as it may seem on a map. For wherever the Arabs conquered and stayed, maintaining the faith pronounced through Islam, is now so closely connected to Arabia as to constitute an extension of the Middle East. No better expression of this can be seen than in the membership of the League of Arab States. The members of the Arab League extend from the Atlantic Ocean, Mauretania and Morocco, across the Magreb to include Iran in the East, and south in Africa to include Djibouti and Somalia. While the membership comprises sovereign states, it includes as ^{well} as the Palestine Liberation Organization. The founding of the Arab League has been attributed to "the Arab awakening of the 19th century... to re-create and reintegrate the Arab community which, though for 400 years a part of the Ottoman Empire, had preserved its identity as a separate national group held together by memories of a common past, a common religion and a common language, as well as by the consciousness of being part of a common cultural heritage."²

It is true that the states belonging to the Arab League often quarrel amongst themselves, when disparate interests are at issue, but such quarrels in no way indicate a fundamental disunity on those matters important to the Arab-Islamic world.

But our simple map of the Middle East has its anomalies. Turkey, a distinctly Middle East country in geographical terms, is a European power as well. While its people are predominantly Muslim, they are not Arabs, the language spoken is Turkish not Arabic, and

². The Statesman's Yearbook, 1971-1972 (London: Macmillan London, Ltd., 1971), p. 52.

the Republic of Turkey is a secular state. It shelters within its territory the Orthodox Church, the Armenian Church, the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Nestorian Uniats, the Syrian Uniats, the Greek Uniats and the Latin Church, along with a Grand Rabbi for the Jews.

The Turkish constitution is more western than Middle Eastern and Turkish foreign policy is oriented to the West as Turkey is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and an ally of the United States.

A second anomaly is the state of Israel, a western state in every respect save for its ancient history and its location. If Israel is not entirely a secular state, its constitution, politics and proclivities are western.

The Lebanon is one more anomaly where nearly half the population are communicants of one of the seven Christian Churches represented in the Country. Some Christians have been indigenous in Lebanon since the earliest organization of the Christian Church. The rest are ³Druzes, Sunni Moslem or Shi'ites Moslems. The politics and constitutions of the country when it was at peace reflected the religious divisions, and since the Civil War, the conflict has been drawn along religious lines. While Arabic is spoken the people are principally Lebanese and not Arab. Until the recent Civil War, still in progress, Lebanon was more western in its outlook, than Middle Eastern.

The Middle East has been an arena of conflict since the earliest times of history. Its location at the juncture of Europe, Asia and Africa has left it exposed to outsiders seeking advantage within the

region or moving across it as a bridge to elsewhere. But indigenous forces have been ^{no}~~one~~ less tumultuous at times, as ^{potentates}~~potentials~~ extended their territory in the face of resistance, to be subdued later by others more powerful and capable. Rome maintained order in parts of the region for a time as did Rome's successor the Byzantine Empire. The latter sustained itself, perilously at times, until swept away by the Ottoman Turks in the 15th century. It was the disposition of the lands held from Turkish ^{Constantinople}~~Constantinople~~ in the 19th century that would exercise the great European powers over the answers to the "Eastern Question." And the issues raised by conflicting religious faiths was seldom far from the center of the struggle, from the birth of Christianity through the rise of Islam. The secularization of Christianity in the West and the overthrow of autocracy and orthodoxy by the Russian Revolution, evident by the end of the First World War, ^{had}~~had~~ conflicts in the Middle East ^{to cease}~~ceased~~ to have the tenor of a struggle by Christians against Islam. But one outcome of that great war in the region, the final dissolution of the Ottoman Empire divorced Islam from the protection of any one great state, to leave the fragments medium from which would grow the movement of the various Arab states toward national independence.

One more legacy in the Middle East of the Great War was the recognitions by the powers of the right of Jews to possess a national homeland in Palestine. That the Balfour Declaration should lay the foundation for the eventual establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was not the intention of Great Britain. But then it had not been British policy to accomplish the break-up of the

Turkish Empire. For British interests had for long been to preserve that Empire to maintain good order in an area that stood ~~along~~^{along} Britain's lines of communication with the British Empire in the Far East. But the Turkish Empire joined the Central Powers in their war on Russia, France and Great Britain in October 1914. That decided the fate of the Ottoman Empire and raised the problem of the division of the Middle East among the principal allied powers while lending support to the Arabs' aspirations for independence. For in a war ^{in which} that the Western Front consumed manpower and munitions at an enormous rate, the efforts of Arab guerrillas fighting for independence from Turkey constituted a welcome strategic addition to over-stretched allied resources, while reducing the Turkish threat to the Suez Canal.³

If the necessity of war on the allied side lent a certain practicality to encouragement of national aspirations among subjects-peoples of the Central Powers, liberal sentiment in Great Britain, the French Republic and later the United States when it entered the war, reinforced necessity. The defeated Ottoman Empire therefore was dismantled under the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres, and the Treaty of L^ousanne. The territory known as Palestine became a mandate of the League of Nations for which Great

3. A useful background to understanding the consequences, in the middle East of the Great War in Europe, is in Trevor Wilson, The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War, 1914-1918 (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), Parts eight and ten, and pp. 622-625; for precise description of the Jewish homeland in Palestine and of the conditions and extent of the Palestine mandate held by Britain under the League of Nations, see Captain D. H. Cole, Imperial Military Geography, Sixth Edition (London: Sifton Praed S. Co., Ltd., 1980), pp. 254-257.

Britain was the mandatory power. Palestine, as a mandate, included the territory that in 1947 became Israel, as well as Transjordan.

As early as the last quarter of the 19th century, Jewish people, began the migration to Turkish Palestine, in particular from Russian Poland and Russia itself, under the programs which seemed such a part of Russian rule. In 1897, the World Zionist Organization was founded lending a further impetus to migration into Palestine, so that by 1914, the Jewish community in Palestine numbered around 85,000 people. The Balfour Declaration declaring that a Jewish homeland should exist in Palestine and the break-up of the Turkish Empire in the Middle East, accelerated the process as Jews fled the disorders in Eastern Europe and the uncertainties that stemmed from the ^{emergence} ~~enseigne~~ of new national states from the wreckage of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires. By 1927, there were 150,000 Jews living in Palestine under the British mandate.

Even the most cursory review of the history of the Middle East can leave little doubt about the susceptibility of the region to forces generated outside the region; they took the form of folk immigration, nomadic marauders, armies bent on conquest in the region or beyond, the exertions of commerce, or the clashes of will of nations on the region's periphery. The First World War was no exception to this historic fact. For the settlement of that war in Europe facilitated the foundation of the present Arab states of the region and opened the opportunity for the realization of the ancient dream of the Jewish Folk of once more possessing a homeland within the region of their origins.

In those areas of the Middle East freed ^{from} indifferent Turkish rule or Nominal Turkish oversight the ending of the Great War heralded a new era, one greeted by thoughtful Arab statesmen as a kind of re-birth for their peoples. That the Jews were to be included as part of this renewed world seemed to follow logically. King Hussein of the Hejaz wrote:

"We saw the Jews...streaming to Palestine from Russia, Germany, Austria, Spain and America... The cause of course could not escape those who had the gift of deeper insight; they knew that the country was for its original sons, for all of their differences, a sacred and beloved homeland."⁴

Such noble and intelligent sentiment could hardly be expected to prevail in a region where social conditions promoted political instability. If the Middle East was infected by the drive toward national independence unleashed by the Great War throughout the world, it was no less susceptible to the circumstances created by the conflict between national aspirations and the rights of ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities. None of the new nations that emerged at the end of the Great War ~~were~~ ^{were} able to escape the consequences of that conflict. The Middle Eastern countries, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, despite their being mandated territories were no

⁴. See Al Qibla (Mecan) no. 183, 23 March 1918 as cited in Facts about Israel 1967 (Jerusalem: Government Press Office, N.D.), p. 14.

exception, Palestine least of all. By 1927, it was a British conclusion that "racial and religious antagonisms between the Jewish and Moslem communities are so strong that the prospect of Palestine becoming a self-governing nation is very remote."⁵

That antagonism prevented the foundation of any institutions of genuine self-government by Britain as the mandatory power. Unlike Transjordan and Iraq, which were ruled by indigenous leaders ^{and} British supervision, that portion of Palestine exclusive of Transjordan was under direct British rule, which, because of persistent disorder, amounted to military occupation. While Iraq, also a British mandate, became independent by 1932, it was hardly more peaceful than Palestine. Syria, a mandate of France, cannot be said to have fared better, despite the best French efforts to separate conflicting religious communities in order that each "might maintain its identity and institutions."⁶ The difficulty in Syria was not between Jews and Arabs, but between Sunni Moslems and Shi'ite Moslems, and smaller Moslem sects as well, and between Moslem and Christian groups, of which there were four. And then Arab nationalist cared little for French administrations, which seemed to them to prefer religious peace to national unity.

But for a time at least, the Eastern Question, in its latest version rested in the hands of Britain and France, and for that short period of time, perhaps 15 years, the heart of the Middle East

5. Cole, Imperial Military Geography, p. 256.

6. "Syria", in Norman J. G. Pounds and Robert C. Kingbury, An Atlas of Middle Eastern Affairs (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1964), p. 62.

was insulated from political events abroad nor did events in the Middle East translate themselves into matters of grave concern for any save the two mandatory powers, France and Great Britain.

It must be evident from all of this that ^{the} Middle East has been for long a place where peace has seldom reigned. When it did reign it was the work of some power able to ~~assert~~ ^{assert} its authority in such a fashion that the discomforts engendered by religious differences were of small consequence when measured against the ruthless application of that authority.

It is inevitable because of the location of the Middle East at the juncture of Asia, Europe and Africa, that the principal European powers at any particular time would have interests to pursue in the Middle East. There ^s might be strategic, imperial, commercial or religious; and, where one kind of interest ended and another began has not always been clear. What is clear is that when some great struggle ^{was} ~~was~~ underway in Europe, the adversaries whenever capable of doing so would seek whatever strategic advantage that could be gained through alliance with a Middle Eastern power.

In that clash of wills between Bourbon and Hapsburg for supremacy in Europe, that reached its most intense from 1535 to 1559, it was Christian France that allied with the Moslem Turks against the equally Christian Holy Roman Empire, over whether the Bourbons or the Hapsburgs would enjoy supremacy in Europe. And for the Ottoman Empire, the Alliance served to strengthen the Ottoman Empire's quest

for supremacy in the Balkans and North Africa.⁷ French interests and efforts in the Middle East would continue with varying success until our own time. And almost invariably those interests and efforts would ^{come to be} ~~be~~ connected with struggles elsewhere.

⁷. See in particular Chapters in J.A.R. Marriott, The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy 4th Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940).

British interests in the Middle East were no less long-standing than those of the French. French interests were those of a Catholic, Imperial and continental power engaged in a struggle for supremacy in Europe. Britain's interests were those of a Maritime power whose chief impulse was that of fruitful commerce abroad. But first the Spanish and then the French drive for supremacy in Europe compelled British intervention in the international relations of Europe in order to maintain British control over the Eastern approaches to the British Isles. While it was from the pursuit of commerce that Britain's maritime strategy developed, that strategy had also to consider the safety of the British Isles themselves as well as the commerce upon which the prosperity of the islanders depended. So both commerce and the struggle for supremacy on the continent of Europe compelled British intervention in the Mediterranean. And the waters of the Mediterranean wash the western shores of the Middle East. As Britain became a commercial and eventually an imperial power in the Far East, matters in the Middle East became a compelling British concern. The relationship between the safety of the British Isles and matters in the Middle East were no better expressed than in the words of Talleyrand to the French Directory:

"Our war with this power (England) represents its most favorable opportunity for the invasion of Egypt. Threatened by an ^{immediate} landing on her shores she will not desert her coasts to prevent our enterprise (in Egypt). This further

offers us a possible chance of driving the English out of India by sending hither 15,000 troops from Cairo via Suez."⁸

And Napoleon in his effort to destroy England, asserted,

"The day is not ^{far} ~~for~~ distant when we should appreciate the necessity, in order really to destroy England, of seizing Egypt."⁹

Indeed, as Napoleon indicated to the army embarking from Toulon for Egypt, "You are a wing of the army of England."¹⁰

British interests in the Middle East did not cease with the defeat of the Empire of Napoleon but continued to be a dominant factor in British foreign policy. Britain had acquired Gibraltar and Minorca by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Malta and Cyprus would become British possessions in the 19th century. The acquisition of the Suez Canal company by Disraeli merely confirmed and extended British policy in the region for that lay along the most direct maritime route to India and to Australia and New Zealand, upon whose supply of foodstuffs England to a large degree depended for feeding the population of the British Isles, and upon which the prosperity of Australia and New Zealand and the defense of India depended.

Between 1815 and 1914, there was no reason for Britain to lessen its interests in the Middle East. France, British competition in

⁸. Cited in Marriott, The Eastern Question, p. 168.

⁹. David G. Chandler, The Campaigns of Napoleon (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 210.

¹⁰. Marriott, The Eastern Question, pp. 168-169.

North Africa, the Imperial Russian advance into Central Asia toward India and Against the Turkish Empire all gave cause for British anxiety. France and Britain would not again go to war, but there were new actors on the stage of the Middle East. Russian involvement with the Turkish Empire would lead both Britain and France to intervene in the Crimea, while the last war between the Russian Empire and the Turkish Empire would lead the principal powers of Europe, Britain, France, Germany and Austria to intercede with Russia to hold off the final break-up of the Turkish Empire.

The unification of Germany, its rise as a powerful industrial power, and its accumulation of imperial possessions in China, the Central Pacific and Africa all fostered a challenge to British imperial interests. The most serious challenge was that posed by the German construction of a high seas fleet that in British eyes raised a direct threat to the defense of the British Isles. Out of Anglo-German naval rivalry came an additional and vital ^{British} ~~Middle-Eastern~~ concern in the Middle East. To meet the German naval challenge, increase the mobility and sea-keeping endurance of the British line-of-battleships and battle-cruisers, Great Britain converted to oil fuel from coal. At the time, there was no known deposits of oil in the British Isles. But there was oil to be had in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf where a British subject held concessions for oil-drilling. In order to obtain a secure reserve of oil for naval and merchant marine use, the British Government acquired controlling interest in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. That meant that the oil fields in Southwest Persia, the pipelines and ports for the delivery

of the oil to the sea, and the lines of communication from the Persian Gulf to Britain became a strategic concern bearing directly on the capability of the British Home Fleet to defend the British Isles and to control the North Sea.

It would seem inevitable that with the Unification of Germany and the great contest that power would enter for supremacy in Europe that German interests would come to extend into North Africa and the Middle East.

On the 15th of June with the death of Kaiser Friedrich III, who had ruled for only 99 days, Wilhelm II became Emperor of Germany. On the 1st of November 1889, the Hohenzollern, the imperial yacht carrying the Emperor and his wife, steamed through the Dardanelles to pay an official visit at Constantinople to the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid. It had been 700 years since a German Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, had set foot in Constantinople.

In 1898, the German Emperor visited Jerusalem and Damascus. In the latter city the Emperor spoke:

"The 300,000,000 Mohammedans who, dwelling dispersed throughout the East, reverence H. M. the Sultan Abdul Hamid their Khalif, may rest assured that at all times the German Emperor will be their friend."¹¹

While the Emperor on his latest visit to the Middle East came, as it seemed to found a Protestant Church at Jerusalem, there were other matters of even greater importance to be dealt with. In 1880 a

¹¹. Cited in Marriott, The Eastern Question, p. 386.

corporation had been founded in Berlin capitalized at 50 million marks with the purpose to promote the commercial penetration of the Middle East. The Kaisers visit marked the concessions to a German company for the construction of a railway between Konia and Baghdad, to extend that one from Istanbul to Konia.¹²

But there were reasons beyond commerce or religion that seemed to motivate German policy. As Pastor Friederich Naumann who attended the German Emperor at Damascus observed:

"It is possible that the Caliph of Constantinople may fall into the hands of the Russians. Then there would perhaps be an Arab Caliph, at Damascus or elsewhere and it would be advantageous to be known not only as the friend of the Sultan but as the friend of all Mohammedans. The title might give the German Emperor a measure of political power which might be used to counteract a Russophilic Ottoman policy."¹³

Once again a power in Europe, bent on supremacy in that continent, found reason from its commercial and imperial interests, to enter the realm of the Middle East, and would find there an ally that would make of the Middle East a strategic theater of that war waged by Germany for supremacy in Europe. If in the Great War between 1914-1918, the decisive theater, where the war could be won or lost was Flanders, Artois and Picardy, the stalemate on the Western front would lead

¹². Hans Dillinger (ed), Das Kaiserreich: Seine Geschichte in Texten, Bildern und Documenten (Munich: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1966), p. 246.

¹³. Quoted in Marriott, The Eastern Question, p. 403.

Britain and France to attempt to force the Turkish Straits to help their ally Russia, and perhaps force Germany to expand its strength away from the decisive theater. And for Britain, the defense of the oil field of the Persian Gulf upon which British maritime supremacy depended and the safety of the Suez Canal vital to communications and defense of India, would lead to British encouragement of and support for the Arab Revolt against the Turkish Empire.

The defeat of the Central Powers and the dissolution of the German Empire recessed for a time the grander aspects of German policy in the Middle East. Yet with the defeat of France in June 1940, German policy toward the Middle East was re-awakened, for here once again were opportunities for the advancement of German strategic interests, interests that dictated an appeal to Arab Nationalism to foster resistance to Britain in the Palestine Mandate and Iraq, and resistance to France in Syria. Haj Amin Al-Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem, anti-British and sympathetic to German policy toward the Jews, "proposed that the Axis powers should recognize the independence of all the Arab states and come to a secret agreement with the Iraqi government..."¹⁴

The defeat of France had left Syria under the oversight of the Vichy government in France, and, in January 1941, units of the German Air Force began to reinforce Italian operations in the Mediterranean. The Italian forces in Libya having suffered a serious defeat at the

¹⁴. Major General I.S.O. Playfair, The Mediterranean and Middle East, Volume II; History of the Second World War, United Kingdom Military Series (London: H.M.S.O., 1956), p. 193.

hands of the British in Egypt, elements of the German Africa corps arrived in Tripoli under General Rommel to assist the Italians in their advance on the Suez Canal. In April, the Wehrmacht began operations to smash Yugoslavia and to invade Greece. On April 3, Rachid Ali, and his generals of "The Golden Square" seized power in Baghdad, encouraged by pro-Axis elements. The revolt, in the spirit of the Mufti of Jerusalem's sentiments--he was resident in Berlin--received German sympathy. In a directive on the Middle East, the German Fuhrer stated,

"The Arab Liberation movement is our natural ally against Great Britain in the Middle East. In this connection particular importance must be attached to the rising in Iraq. It is strengthening the anti-British forces in the Middle East beyond the frontier of Iraq, disrupting communications and containing British forces and shipping space at the expense of other theatres.

I have therefore decided to hasten developments in the Middle East by supporting Iraq."¹⁵

Once again, as so often in the past, a power attempting to achieve supremacy in Europe would find the Middle East a lucrative arena in which to engage the forces of those who opposed such supremacy, and the Middle East would become a strategic arena for the immense struggle.

¹⁵. See OKW/WFST/AbTL(IOp) hr. 44772/41 g K Chiefs, Fuhrer Headquarters, 23 May 1941, Directive 30 -- The Middle East, as Appendix 2 in I.S.O. Playfair, op. cit., p. 333f.

The European Axis would fail in the Middle East as elsewhere. The immense exertions of Britain in the Second World War and the devastating defeat of France in 1940 added to the unrequited human cost paid by France and Britain in the earlier struggle against Germany, together with the nationalism unleashed in the world by both great wars would end the British and French Empires. For all practical purposes, the French defeat in Indo-China and Algiers and the defeat of the Anglo-French operations to save the Suez Canal in 1956, abetted by the allies of France and Britain, and by the Soviet Union, rendered French and British influence over events in the Middle East barely nominal. The number of Great Powers in the world had been reduced to three: the Soviet Union, the Peoples Republic of China and the United States. And the Peoples Republic of China was not a Mediterranean power. The United States and the Soviet Union were. How they became so had to do with matters in the Middle East but elsewhere as well.

The thirteen British North American colonies that became the United States pursued their commercial interests abroad as part of the British Empire. Upon independence, those colonies now formed into a federation of states, constituted a commercial republic. That is the general citizenry, in one way or another, made its living from what they could produce, sell to one another and sell abroad. The product of forest, field, stream, ocean and mine were the articles of commerce. The transport and shipping that moved the articles of commerce and the enterprises that supported such activities and upon which commerce depended were as important as the commerce itself in

providing livelihood for the citizens of the new republic. No market was too distant to which to carry American goods. China, India, the East Indies, Europe, Africa and the Middle East. And the goods returned to the United States whether necessities not yet within the capability of the American economy to produce or luxuries to furnish psychic satisfaction, added to the commercial vigor of the new nation while laying the foundations of great national and individual wealth. If commerce was a matter for private enterprise its protection was a public concern. American trade abroad called for the protection of the national government. For it seemed in those days that an obligation of the national government was to accord protection to American citizens engaged in lawful activities abroad and to demand respect for the flag which sheltered those citizens and the ships they sailed to foreign ports. It was not alone respect for the nation as a sovereign state equal in respect due it to all other sovereign states, nor the prosperity of Americans at home. In an era when American citizens were exceedingly resistant to taxes imposed by governments, a chief source of federal revenue came from duties imposed on imports. So protection of American trade abroad was not merely an obligation of government based simply on the merits of such trade, but a necessity if the government was to perform those functions it was obliged to carry out.

The principal issues that dominated American foreign relations from 1776 then, aside from winning the war for independence, were those that dealt directly or indirectly with American commerce abroad.

The "Plan of 1776" having to do with a model treaty for

negotiations with foreign powers dealt with "certain fundamental concepts of maritime law and neutral rights" and that had to do with American shipping and foreign trade.¹⁶ And the first treaty made between the United States and a foreign power, was that with France, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1778. It incorporated the principles set forth in the "Plan of 1776" and included "most favored nation trading privileges."

It is notable then to observe that the first overseas war fought by the United States, outside the coast^{of waters} of North America was that with^{the} Barbary powers for the protection of American merchant shipping in the Mediterranean.

George Washington had proposed "a permanent protecting force for America's Mediterranean commerce" in 1796. Thomas Jefferson had, at the end of the war with Tripoli, ~~had~~ asserted that the United States "would 'ever' be obliged to keep a squadron in that sea."¹⁷

After a naval confrontation with Algiers in 1815, a U.S. Naval squadron of five ships was left behind "to watch the conduct of the Barbary Powers, particularly that of Algiers."¹⁸ And that squadron would ultimately operate from a base ~~on port~~ ^{at Port Mahon} ----- on the Spanish island of Minorca. The object of all of this was to safeguard

¹⁶. Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States Fifth Edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 25.

¹⁷. James A. Field, Jr., American and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 104.

¹⁸. Ibid.

trade with the Levant, Syria, and the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Never after this were ships of the U.S. Navy, for long, absent from the Mediterranean.

The purpose of the government of the United States was not to dispute for territory or to intervene in European and Middle Eastern politics but to protect American commercial enterprise. But private American citizens in their groups would wish to extend their missionary zeal to those receptive to it in the Middle East; not just Christianity but medical care for those in need and education for those denied it in the Middle East. And the United States Navy, within the limitations of its strength, would lend the protection of the American flag. Private citizens might extend their sympathy and help for the Greeks in their revolt against the Ottomans, but it was not the policy of the American government to intervene in these matters when the safety of Americans and of their commerce was not an issue.

In 1827, the American squadron pursued a campaign against the pirates infesting the islands of the Cyclades off Greece, at one point putting ashore a landing force of marines and sailors to burn a pirate stronghold on the island of Mykonos.¹⁹

In 1882, marines and blue jackets went ashore at Alexandria, Egypt under the guns the U.S.S. Nipsic, U.S.S. Lancaster and U.S.S. Quinnebaug to protect American lives during anti-foreign riots in the

¹⁹. A Chronology of the U.S. Marine Corps, 1775-1934, Volume I (Washington, D.C.: Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1965), p. 67.

city.²⁰

²⁰. Ibid., p. 95; and, William M. Still, Jr., American Sea Power in the Old World: The United States Navy in European and Near Eastern Waters, 1865-1917 (Wesport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 83f.

Americans traded in the Ottoman Empire, some fostered, where they could, hopeful progress in education, medical care and Christian teachings; others worked for governments in the area bringing American technology or contributing in some fashion to administrations or government. American officers, veterans of the Civil War, surveyed and mapped Kordofan, Darfur and helped push the borders of Egypt southward and westward: "a brave overture of civilization to barbarism."²¹ Remington Arms Company constructed an arsenal for the Khedive of Egypt, at Alexandria. Later Cramp of Philadelphia would construct ~~or later the Philadelphia shipyard, Cramp,~~ would construct a protected cruiser for the Ottoman Navy.²² But all of these things were the actions of private Americans and not the implementation of any policy of the United States government. The U.S. Naval squadron in the Mediterranean would see to the safety of Americans in the region when disorder threatened, assist other innocent victims of political violence and show the flag. But that was all. When the Suez Canal was opened amid great maritime festivity, no American naval vessel was present. Only a member of the Boston Board of Trade represented the United States at the celebration.²³

Even in the course of the First World War with U.S. Naval forces deployed in the Mediterranean and American soldiers in Italy, the

²¹. James A. Field, Jr., America and the Mediterranean World, pp. 406-407.

²². Jones's Fighting Ships, 1914 3rd edition (London: Sampson, Low, Marston I. Co., Ltd., 1914), p. 415.

²³. James A. Field, Jr., op. cit.

United States demonstrated no territorial interests in the outcome of the war. At the Paris Peace conference, the Allies wanted the United States to accept a colonial mandate around Constantinople and for the Turkish province of Armenia as a barrier between Anglo-French controlled territory and Bolshevik Russia. The United States refused.²⁴

Even the discovery of oil and its exploitation in Saudi Arabia by American oil companies in 1936 lent no strategic importance to the Middle East, in American eyes.²⁵

Strategic concern for the Mediterranean and Middle East did not become reflected in the policy of the United States until after France, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark and Belgium had been seized by Germany, Italy had entered the war and full-scale battles were taking place in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean. Joint British-American staff conversations were held in Washington, D.C. in January and February 1941, the product of which was ABC-1. While the United States was not at war, the two sides agreed that the principal allied effort would be directed toward the defeat of Germany, that the decisive theatre of war would be Europe and that efforts elsewhere would be undertaken in such a manner as to facilitate the defeat of Germany. It was agreed that a major strategic objective was "The maintenance of British and allied positions in the Mediterranean

²⁴. Martin Gilbert, First World War Atlas (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970) p. 146.

²⁵. Aramco and Its World (Dhahrain: Aramco, 1980), p. 196.

area." Necessary to the accomplishment of the objectives was the "elimination of Italy from the war. . . (securing) bases in the Mediterranean."²⁶

This American strategic concern was ^{lent}~~but~~ substance by the passage of the Lend-Lease Act on 11 March 1941 and further impetus was lent by the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. For Britain and the United States agreed that Lend-Lease supplies be extended to the Soviet Union.

There were three possible routes for the movement of such supplies: across the North Atlantic in the face of German submarines and around the North Cape of Norway which was in German hands to the port of Murmansk; the second through Vladivostok in the Far East, rendered impossible after Japan began war in the Pacific; and, through the Persian Gulf into Russia, along the Persian corridor. This last route was the least susceptible to interruption by the Axis powers. In September 1942, the United States Army was given control of the movement of munitions and supplies to the Soviet Union, through the Persian Corridor.²⁷

Once again the Middle East has become an important strategic area to prevent the supremacy of a single power over Europe. For the United States and Great Britain, it was vital to keep the Soviet Union

²⁶. Louis Morton, "Germany First: The Basic Concept of Allied Strategy in World War II," in Command Decisions (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1960), pp. 11-47.

²⁷. Robert W. Cookley, "The Persian Corridor as a Route for Aid to the USSR," in Command Decisions, pp. 225-253.

in the war to tie down major axis forces away from Western Europe, if Western Europe was to be liberated from the Nazis. The opening of the Second Front in Normandy and then in Southern France could not have been accomplished so early or so cheaply had the Soviet Union been defeated.

Henceforth, because of the fundamental conflict between totalitarianism and democracy, the United States could only ignore events in the Middle East at the peril of itself and its allies. For within two years after the ending of the Second World War in Europe, the United States became virtually an ally to Greece and Turkey. The former beset by a Civil War and Communist infiltration from Yugoslavia, and the latter exposed to pressures and threats from the Soviet Union directly. Within two years more the United States would be directly allied with both powers in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Russian interests in the Middle East and the Mediterranean led directly out of the final stages of "the re-assembling of the Russian lands after the Mongol conquest, establishing a state that could protect itself from foreign invasion, and extending their (the Russian) dominion across Siberia to the Pacific."²⁸ It was at the time of Tsar Peter (the Great) that Russia began to enter seriously on the European diplomatic scene. France in competition with the Hapsburgs, sought as natural allies Sweden, Poland and the Ottoman Empire. And those allies were also a useful barrier to the Russian policy in Central Europe. It was under Tsar Peter that Russia began a policy of expansion toward the Black Sea, the defeat of Sweden and intervention in Poland.²⁹ In effect, Tsar Peter laid out the principal lines of Russian foreign policy which would be followed by his³⁰ successors.

The principal enemy blocking Russia's drive to the southward was the Ottoman Empire. In a succession of wars with ^{that} Empire, Russia gained the Crimea, the Kuban and Bessarabia and extended its frontiers to the borders of Persia and took Armenia, Georgia and the region of Kars and Ardahan. By 1829, Russia had extracted from the Ottoman Empire the right of free passages for merchant ships through the Turkish straits. In 1768, Catherine the Great sent the Russian Battle

²⁸. Barbara Jelwich, A Century of Russian Foreign Policy, 1814-1914 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1964) p. 4.

²⁹. Ibid., p. 7.

³⁰. See Robert K. Massie, Peter the Great: His Life and World (New York: Ballantine Books, 1980), parts IV and V.

Fleet into the Mediterranean to encourage the Greeks and Serbs in their rebellion against the Turks. She could not send the Black Sea fleet because Turkey controlled the Turkish straits.³¹ Access to the open^{sea} has since the time of Tsar Peter been a principal thrust of Russian policy: (Speaking of Russia)

Over these rivers and portages went representative members and groups of several types of society: the hunting-pastoral, the patriarchal, the feudal-self and the modern. Each, whatever its ideology, utilized them . . . the elements of its process always remained. The urge to the sea always dominated.³²

Russian policy toward the Middle East and Balkans might at times be impelled by Christian concern for Christians languishing under Turkish mis-rule or an ethnic concern for Slavic peoples under Austrian or Turkish control, but always there was the Mediterranean with its access to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean and its exit to the Atlantic through the strait of Gibraltar.

The opportunity to enter the Mediterranean was presented to Tsar Paul. The first convention signed with a foreign government by the new Tsar, was that between Russia and the Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem--the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. Tsar Paul saw that order as a "means by which an ideological and political union of all nations, classes and confessions might be

³¹. Martin Gilbert, Atlas of Russian History (Dorset Press, 1972), pp. 46-47.

³². Robert J. Kerner, The Urge to the Sea: The Course of Russian History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942).

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³¹. Martin Gilbert, Atlas of Russian History (Dorset Press, 1972), pp. 46-47.

³². Robert J. Kerner, The Urge to the Sea: The Course of Russian History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942).

forged, not only to resist revolution, but also to lead a counter revolution against liberal and ~~athistic~~ movements."³³ In December 1798, Tsar Paul was installed as Grand Master of the Order, and Russian policy became "committed to remove the French from the Eastern and Central Mediterranean," as part of the Second Coalition against Napoleon.³⁴ In 1799, Russia and Turkey now allied against the French, set up in the Ionian Islands, the Republic of the Seven United Islands under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire and the protection of the Russian Empire.

In 1827 a Russian fleet combined with a French and English fleet to defeat the Turkish fleet at Navarino in the course of the Greek war for independence during which Turkish forces had conducted against their Greek subjects a war of unparalleled ferocity, to awaken Christian outrage throughout the civilized world.

As imperial Russia extended its territory southward it came into conflict not only with the Ottoman Turks but Britain as well. First, because Turkey was an ally whose break-up the European powers viewed as a likely cause of war amongst the European powers, because British interests in Persia bore on the safety of India, and because Russia appeared to look forward to the removal of Britain from India. As Alfred Thayer Mahon observed in his "The Problem of Asia and Its Effects upon International Policies" (Harper's New Monthly Magazine,

³³. Norman E. Saul, Russia and the Mediterranean 1797-1807 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 37.

³⁴. Ibid., p. 52.

March, April, May 1900)

(Russia) in obedience to natural law and rare instinct, is working, geographically, to the southward by both flanks, her center covered by the mountains of Afghanistan and the deserts of east Turkestan... India is the one [base] best fitted, by nearness and by conformation, both for effect on Central Asia and for operations upon either extremity of the long line over which the Russian front extends.

And, Captain D.H. Cole in his Imperial Military Geography: General Characteristics of the Empire in Relation to Defence (London, 1930)

The last 300 years have witnessed the steady advance of Russia into the less strongly organized lands to her east and south... the search for a "warm water port" uncontrolled by neighboring naval powers has therefore for a century been a pronounced factor in Russian foreign policy. . . It explains the stretching out to the south and the menace to Persia and Afghanistan. . . the most serious clouds on the strategic and political horizon of India.

That would be echoed 41 years later by the Beijing Review:

Kampuchea and Afghanistan are only staging posts for the Soviets in their thrust to the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific to realize the dreams of the Old Tsars. . . (May 18, 1981, p. 3)

The Russian conflict with Turkey would continue throughout the 19th

century while the conflict with Britain over Persia and Afghanistan would halt, for a time, when Imperial Germany loomed as a threat to Britain, France and Russia.

Whether activated by religious interests, concern for Slavic peoples, concern for defense or ideological drive, the Middle East and the lands that environ~~y~~ it would be a region compelling the geopolitical attention of those who rule in Russia. The Russian Revolution, the Civil War and the consolidation of communist power in the Russian Empire would occasion a hiatus of a score or more of years in the application of the Russian answer to the Eastern Question. The consequences of World War II with its destruction of the British and French Empires and its impetus to nationalism in Africa, the Middle East and Asia would open new opportunities for the application of the Russian solution to the problems of the Middle East. But the solution is only one part of what Yuri Andropov, Soviet Party First Secretary called a "momentous struggle" of "two competing social systems."³⁵ As Pravda so boldly expressed it, "the struggle between the world proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue until the final victory of world communism."³⁶ The Middle East then is but one more arena in which the momentous struggle is taking place.

It must be evident by now that the Soviet Union entered the Hitler-

³⁵. "Andropov Vows Military Build-Up," Los Angeles Times, June 16, 1983, p.1.

³⁶. F. Ryzhenko, "Peaceful Coexistence and the Class Struggle," Pravda, August 22, 1973, cited in Albert L. Weeks and William C. Bodie (Eds.) War and Peace: Soviet Russia Speaks (New York: NSIC, 1983), p. 16.

Stalin Pact of August 1939 as part of its policy to see the West disorganized and defeated. For Hitler's aim was the defeat of France and Great Britain two imperial powers that governed--kept order in--vast areas of the world. The leaders of the Soviet Union understood that Russia and Germany would one day clash over who should control Europe. If Germany defeated France and England, Soviet interests would be served and therefore the Soviet Union allied itself with Germany to defeat the Western allies. Whether Germany won or lost, however, the Soviet Union would end with Eastern Europe. If Germany won there would be war with Germany, if Germany lost that country would be divided, exposing Western Europe to increasing Soviet influence.

In the Far East, the Soviet-Japanese Non-Aggression treaty of March 1941 reduced the threat to the eastern part of the Soviet Union, freeing Soviet forces for the coming struggle with Germany, and permitted Japan to go southward, ^{into} ~~Southward~~ by the Asia empires of France, Great Britain and the Netherlands, as well as the Philippine Commonwealth, a U.S. protectorate. The first entry of Japanese forces into a part of those empires was the occupation of French Indo-China facilitated by the German defeat of France in 1940, in which the Soviet Union was an active, if non-military partner. Whether Japan won or lost, its military operations would weaken the hold of the British, Dutch and French on their empires and expose those territories to the rise of nationalist movements that the Soviet Union was prepared to abet, through indigenous communist parties.

In all of this, the traditional anti-colonialism of the United

States served Soviet interests as the two powers became allies to defeat Germany and in the final hours of the war, against Japan as well. For the war loosened the imperial ties of Britain, France and the Netherlands to their territories abroad, creating the conditions for the movement toward independence. And newly-independent nations were susceptible to Soviet influence in a manner not possible when imperial control was being effectively exerted:

In their struggle with imperialism and internal reaction the patriotic forces of the young states rely on the fraternal support of the socialist system... the forms and effectiveness of this support, all embracing Soviet assistance to the developing countries in the economic, political, cultural and military fields.³⁷

And the spirit of that view could be seen in the material assistance lent Ho Chi Min in Indo-China, to the rebellion in Algeria, and the communist civil insurrection in Greece. It was Algeria where the National Liberations Front opened warfare against the French administration and armed forces. Supplied with weapons and equipment from the Eastern Bloc through Egypt leading to the British, and French and Israeli interventions against Egypt, the war in Algeria led nearly to Civil War in France. And the intervention of Britain and France in Egypt, opposed by the United States, the nations of the British Commonwealth abroad, and by the Soviet Union, led to the defeat of France and Britain and to the loss to Egypt of the Suez Canal. And

³⁷. Colonel V. Zuharev, "Struggle for Social Progress," Soviet Military Review (Moscow), Number 4(28), April 1967, pp. 55-56.

Algeria, became in effect a Soviet foothold in the Western Mediterranean, while Britain began its final withdrawal from the Middle East and the Far East. In the process, the United States became the principal Western Power exerting influence in the Middle East. Instead of Britain and France exerting influence in the area in support of their vital interests and in support of the western struggle against the East, it was the United States exerting influence from 5,000 miles away. And then it would become a Soviet policy to disconnect the United States from that region, to permit the Soviet Union the freedom to settle matters in the area according to its particular ideological and strategic interests.

Izvestia, the Soviet governments newspaper nicely summarized the objectives of Soviet policy in the region.

It urged the United States to withdraw from the Mediterranean to turn that body of water into a "sea of peace":

The Soviet Union is a Black Sea power and as such a Mediterranean power too . . . The Soviet Fleet is a factor which contributes toward consolidation of security of the whole Mediterranean area.³⁸

Vice Admiral N. I. Smirnov who became First Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy wrote in 1968:

The Soviet Fleet, unlike that of the NATO countries, is not a demonstration of military power . . . our ships are envoys of peace and friendship . . . The Soviet Fleet

³⁸. "Izvestia Suggests U.S. Leave Mediterranean," Los Angeles Times, 12 November 1968, p. 15, pt. II.

represents a threat only to the lovers of military adventures and to nobody else . . . our state is, as is well known, a Black Sea and therefore a Mediterranean power. . . . Nobody can be allowed to turn the Mediterranean into a hot-bed of war which could plunge humanity into the abyss of a world nuclear catastrophe . . . ³⁹

It is hardly a coincidence that the Mediterranean lies on the southern flank of NATO Europe. There is in this a strategic reality, the Soviet presence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East is intended to deny NATO the option to defend its southern flank. Once again, as so often in the past, the Middle East is a factor in the struggle for supremacy in Europe, a struggle that now extends beyond the confines of that continent into Asia, Africa, and Central America.

The changes in the Middle East and the Mediterranean since the "liberation" of Algeria have not in any way favored the West. The overthrow of the government of the King of Libya in 1969, was viewed by Pravda as a strategic defeat for the United States:

Liquidation of the (American) bases in Libya would without doubt narrow the opportunities of American military circles for operations in the Mediterranean, the near East and Africa. The demands of the Libyan government have for this reason been welcomed, not only

³⁹. Vice Admiral N. I. Smirnov, "Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean," Red Star, 12 November 1968, cited in Survival (London), Volume XI, No. 2 (February 1969), pp. 65-66.

by Arab people but by all those who are struggling against imperialist policies of the Western Powers in the Near East.⁴⁰

Libya did not just ~~expect~~^{expect} the Americans and British from their bases in the country. Libya became a military client of the Soviet Union and a base for the export of terrorism wherever that phenomenon would serve the Arab cause and that of the Soviet Union.

Since the Soviet Union began its first address to Egypt and through Egypt to Algeria in the 1950s circumstances have developed in the region to favor Soviet ideological and strategic purposes. Algeria, Libya, South Yemen, Iraq and Syria have become Soviet clients to whom are extended military, economic and ideological assistance. The objective of such a Soviet policy is to gain that freedom of action in the region that, without alarming the West, will leave the Soviet Union as the paramount power throughout the region. In order to accomplish that the Soviet Union has pursued~~ed~~ those policies most likely to disengage the West, in particular the United States from the region. When Western influence is absent because Western interests have been dissolved or rendered too dangerous to support, events in the Middle East and North Africa can be permitted to develop with only a minimum of Soviet exertion to guide them in a favorable direction, without any external interference, save that by the Soviets.

⁴⁰. "No Bases! Libya's Arab Republic," Pravda, November 3, 1969, p. 5; and, "British Start Evacuating Two Bases in Libya," Los Angeles Times, December 15, 1969, p. 21, "Wheelus Flyers Dip Farewell to Libya: U. S. Military Role in North Africa Slims Down," The Christian Science Monitor, December 20, 1969, p. 3.

The simple strategic fact is that over the past thirty years, Turkey has become a NATO island in a Pro-Soviet or anti-Western Sea. North of Turkish Thrace lies Bulgaria, the shores of the Black Sea are in communist hands from North of Istanbul around south of the Caucasus. Eastern Turkey abuts on the Soviet Union and Iran, an anti-Western power since the overthrow of the Shah. To the south of Eastern Turkey lies Iraq and Syria, both client-states of the Soviet Union. And just south of where the Turkish-Syrian border reaches the Mediterranean, is the Soviet Mediterranean naval base at Tartus whence the Soviet and Syrian fleets engage in joint exercises.⁴¹ To the West of Turkey lies Greece, traditionally hostile to Turkey and an uncertain ally of NATO, where communist penetration is notorious.⁴² Imagine in a war between West and East, how difficult aid to Turkey would be to deliver with land-based communist air forces ~~eliminating~~ ^{dominating} the approaches to the Turkish Straits.

⁴¹. "Syria's Friend," Foreign Report (London), No. 2052, February 16, 1989, p. 6.

⁴². See for example, "E. Germany, Through Luxembourg, Shown to Aid Greek Communists," International Herald Tribune (Zurich), 8 October 1982, p. 2; and, "Greek Publisher is Slain in his Car: Leftist Group Says It Carried Out Killing of Conservative," New York Times, February 22, 1985, p. 4.

Enter into all of this the state of Israel populated by Jews and Arabs living and working side by side, struggling to maintain itself in a constantly hostile environment. Here Israel lies in a region where there have been a dozen or more wars or civil wars since the ending of the Second World War. As a region of peace the Middle East just doesn't make it. The last time the Middle East could be described as peaceful, with any accuracy, was during the time of Ottoman supremacy.

Of the major disturbances in the region since 1945, the one between Iraq and Iran lasted eight years, the war in Yemen lasted seven years, and that in the Dhofar ten years. The Civil War in Lebanon began in 1958, recessed for 17 years to break out again in 1975 and last until the present. Amongst all the wars in the region since 1945, the most notable have the four between Israel and its Arab neighbors: the Israel War of Independence, 1948-1949; the Suez War of 1956, the Sixday War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973.

A common characteristic of all the major disturbances in North Africa and the Middle East since at least 1956, has been the presence of Soviet military equipment, Soviet military or other advisers, Soviet money and at times Soviet prop^aganda support dedicated to one side or the other in the many struggles. And sometimes, as in the Dhorfar war the Chinese communists would make their presence felt. And it is worth observing that of those conflicts that turned out badly for the West, Soviet military advisers and sometime military formations remained behind:

Algeria: 1,000 personnel, 6 naval vessels and a maritime reconnaissance squadron

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Iraq: | 600 personnel |
| Libya: | 2,000 personnel |
| Syria: | 4,000 personnel including air defense troops
and a Soviet naval base |
| North Yemen: | 500 personnel |
| South Yemen: | 1,000 personnel and naval and air bases at Aden
and Socatra |

East German military advisers are present in Algeria, Iraq, Libya, South Yemen and Syria. Cuban military personnel are present in South Yemen.⁴³

As an interesting comparison, there are 5,700 American military, naval and air personnel in the Middle East and that includes 3,800 in Turkey as part of NATO, 1,100 in the Sinai as part of the multi-lateral observer force, 1,300 in Egypt, and 390 in Saudi Arabia. In Israel there are no U.S. military personnel stationed save for those attachés who are part of the U.S. Embassy staff. In the countries that are the sworn enemies of Israel and lie on or close to its borders, there are 4,000 communist military personnel stationed.⁴⁴

In a way it suggests the comparative strategic importance in which the West and East hold the Middle East. But it also suggests how important Israel is in Soviet strategy and policy.

Israel, from its founding as a state, has had a sentimental attraction for the United States. The existence of Israel, has never, save in the narrowest circles where geopolitics and strategy are of

⁴³. See by country under "Forces Abroad" category in Military Balance (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, annual).

⁴⁴. Handbook of Economic Statistics, 1988 (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, September 1988), p. 187.

major concern, been considered to be of vital importance to the United States. Western access to Middle Eastern oil is something that can be measured in terms of barrels delivered or denied. But that is more a commercial and economic interest far removed from anything the United States would consider important enough to go to war for. The American Congress and administration demonstrated that during the Arab oil embargo. They preferred to ration gasoline at the pump than to confront the Arab powers. For as a commercial people, the seller has no obligation to sell anymore than the buyer has an obligation to buy. And certainly Soviet penetration of the Middle East has not been considered of sufficient importance to exercise American strategic concern. For if there is no real East-West struggle save that conjured in the minds of anti-communists, who is paramount in the Middle East is of little importance.

But the United States sees some merit in the preservation of the independence of small states and would prefer such small states to be friendly to other powers. The nature of the regimes in such states is sometimes a matter of concern but chiefly if those regimes are Western in their sympathies. One's friends ought to be above reproach when it comes to civil and human rights, if they are to deserve friendship. Those states that adhere to the two great totalitarian dictatorships are a different matter, for there is no clear political agreement within the United States, that totalitarianism, save that of a Nazi Germany, is worth the trouble and danger of challenging. Political repression in Tibet, Nicaragua, Cuba, Ethiopia, Indo-China, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and anywhere that Marxist governments hold

sway is a matter of only nominal concern. If there is genocide in such places so long as it is carried out with decent discretion then it is only a matter for those directly affected. Political repression in South Africa, a stench in the nostrils of decent men everywhere, is of course another matter altogether. South Africa isn't marxist and is pro-western.

But the United States has sentimental ties to Israel. Those ties are compounded of the active sympathy of many Americans for a state that has fought for survival, defying its enemies at every turn. There is the fact that many Jewish-Americans see Israelis as religious brethren who ought to be protected from their Arab enemies. And since it is considered in high places in the American government that the Jewish vote is not unimportant, there is some interest in American attachment to Israeli survival. And one cannot neglect the fact that amongst the community of American intellectuals are those that believe the United States did not exert itself to prevent the extermination of the Jews in Europe by the Nazi regime. Pervasive guilt about American action or lack of it anywhere in the world is a feature of American policy. Even the slaughter of a million or more Cambodians by the communists has been happily attributed to the United States for having had the bad taste to oppose the communist seizure of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam.

So the thrust of American policy toward Israel has little to do with any struggle between East and West, between democracy and communist totalitarianism. While the survival of Israel is and has been an American concern, that survival is seen to be dependent on

peace in the Middle East. U.S. influence can be exerted over Israel because that nation depends on the United States for its sinews of war. The United States cannot however exert similar influence over those Arab states who would destroy Israel, because those states are armed, trained and advised by the Soviet Union and its allies. That leaves the burden of making peace on Israel. For as Assistant Secretary of State Richard W. Murphy expressed it, "the threat to international peace and stability" is the chief concern arising out of the conflict between Israel and the states that would destroy her.⁴⁵ It is much similar to French and British concern over Czechoslovakia in 1938, where the real fear of the two western powers was that Czechoslovakia would resist German demands and thereby cause a European war. As Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain told the British cabinet, after the Munich crisis:

Our foreign policy is one of appeasement. We must aim at establishing relations with the Dictator Powers that will lead to a European settlement and a sense of stability.⁴⁶

So the threat to peace before the Munich settlement was Czech resistance to Hitler's demands, not German determination to destroy Czechoslovakia. Only Germany recognized the strategic importance of the Czech army and Air Force to the defense of France.

⁴⁵. "U.S. Role in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East Peace Process," Speech in Charleston, South Carolina, March 22, 1988, Department of State, Current Policy No. 1062, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁶. Ian Colvin, The Chamber Cabinet (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1971), p. 173.

Where Israel is concerned, United States policy, "the principle of land for peace (is) the fundamental basis for achieving a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace settlement."⁴⁷ And the land to be given as the price for peace is not that held by Egypt, Syria, Iraq or Jordan, but that held by Israel.

Five nations, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Jordan with a total land area of 1.72 million square kilometers, require that Israel with a land area, including Gaza and the West Bank, of 26,350 square kilometers, give up a fifth of the territory it holds. Any strategic importance of that territory to the defense of Israel, is of course discounted, since giving up the territory will ensure peace and therefore defense will be unnecessary. That is a fragile principle upon which to base the safety of a people who have had to fight four wars for national survival in the last forty years, and that in a region of the world where peace has been the exception rather than the rule over the last 4,000 years.

While the United States has been prepared to support Israel's defense by supplying military equipment to that country, it has not been prepared to fight alongside Israel. Often times, military actions undertaken by Israel in its own defense have been viewed as provocative to the Arabs by the United States. That to a considerable extent helped set the stage for Israel's defeat in the 1973 war. Israel's strategic circumstances--the number of enemies it must confront, their location in respect to Israel, and the long borders

⁴⁷. "U.S. Role in the Persian Gulf" op. cit., p. 3.

and small land area of Israel itself--impose certain military imperatives. The principal one is that Israel must not lose the first battle. In simple military logic, that means when a military threat of any dimension develops toward Israel, Israel must strike first, if it is not to fight on its own soil and amongst its own civilian population. Thus in the 1968 war, the Israeli Air Force pre-empted, destroying the Egyptian Air Force on the ground and gaining air superiority over the Sinai and Egypt in a matter of two hours and fifty minutes. Then the Israeli Air Force accomplished the same feat against the Syrian, Iraqi and Jordanian Air Forces. By the second day of the war, the Israelis had destroyed 416 Arab aircraft, 393 of them on the ground, while losing only a handful of Israeli aircraft.⁴⁸

What is interesting about the 1967 war, is that the Russians warned Cairo in early May 1967 that there were heavy Israeli troop concentration on the Syrian border. Although that report was untrue according to the United Nations' observers on the scene, Cairo responded by moving forces up to the Sinai border with Israel and by blockading the Straits of Tirhan. In order to avoid war on their own territory and to defeat enemies facing them on three fronts, the Israeli's pre-empted. Was that a dreadful mistake in intelligence on the part of the Soviet Union, or was it Soviet policy at work?

⁴⁸. "Israel considers the Results of the Six-Day War," International Defense Review (Geneva), 111967, pp. 1629-34; Peter Yound, "The Arab-Israeli War: June 1967-I," and Charles Douglas Home, "The Arab-Israeli War: June 1967-II," The Royal United Services Institution (London), Vol. CXII, No. 648 (November 1967), pp. 324-39.

The end of the war found Israel on the east bank of the Suez Canal with no Egyptian forces left across the canal to contest possession of the Sinai. The 1956 war had demonstrated Israel's military superiority and the 1967 war confirmed it. It was easy for a certain complacency to arise in Israel and the United States about Israeli military competence and about Arab inability to wage successful war. It was equally easy to assume that the Arabs would be unlikely to expose themselves to another such defeat on the battlefield when harassment and diplomacy seemed to promise more favorable consequences for the Arab powers.

But there was another important factor at work: the Soviet Union and its allies. The Soviet Union had been the principal supplier of arms and military advisers to Egypt, Syria and ultimately Iraq. After the 1967 war, the Soviet Union had replaced the military equipment lost by Syria, Iraq and Egypt. It did more.

Early in 1970, the Soviet Union began an extensive improvement of Egyptian air defenses. By April 1970, it had become clear that not only was Soviet material moving into Egypt at a great rate but that Soviet personnel were actually manning the new air defense system being installed on the Egyptian side of the canal and flying interceptor missions over Egypt. The new works included not only surface-to-air missiles and attendant radars, but bomb proof shelters for combat aircraft.⁴⁹ The Israelis concluded that they should or could do nothing to interfere with the Soviet build-up: "We don't

⁴⁹. "Soviet SAM - 3 Missiles Reportedly in U.A.R. . ." Los Angeles Times, March 20, 1970, p. 5.

want to be acused of aggravating the situation."⁵⁰

On 8 August 1970, a U.S. sponsored cease-fire went into effect along a 31-mile strip on both sides of the Suez Canal, under which Israel and Egypt agreed not to move additional forces into the cease-fire zone, "not to introduce, move forward, construct install missiles, concrete structures for the emplacement of missiles or establish new sites or improve existing sites." During the cease-fire, the Soviet Union increased the number of missile batteries in the cease-fire zone from 16 to almost 50. What was militarily significant about these installations was that they provided air-defense coverage right across the canal well into Israeli held territory from north of Qantara south to Suez. On September 17, 1971, an Israeli C-97 intelligence aircraft was shut down by a Soviet SA-2 missile 17 miles inside the Sinai.⁵¹

What that meant was that Israel intelligence collection on the Egyptian front was crippled by Israeli reluctance to give an impression that it was provoking the Arabs and by a Russian air defense system along the Canal installed to deny Israeli air reconnaissance a View of Egyptian military dispositions in the area.

Despite reports in 1972 that Egypt had expelled Soviet forces from

⁵⁰. Cited in "Soviet Take Over Air Defense of Egypt...State Department Says it Proof Russians Fly Combat Missions," Los Angeles Times April 30, 1970, p. 1.

⁵¹. "Israel Says Egypt Has 50 Missiles Batteries at Suez," New York Times, October 27, 1970, p. 5; and see "Both Sides of the Suez," an Aviation Week and Space Technology Special edition (no date), p. 42.

Egypt, the Soviet Union supplied the Egyptian Army with bridging equipment with which to cross the Suez Canal and trained and rehearsed the Egyptian army in its use. Meanwhile the Soviet Union was air-lifting and sea-lifting enormous quantities of military equipment into the Middle East, rivaling it was said, the amount sent in before the 1967 war.⁵² And the Soviet Union began publishing its journal Soviet Military Review in Arabic.⁵³ But with the reports that Soviet military personnel had been ousted from Egypt, it was easy to conclude as did the San Francisco Chronicle that the Soviet Union didn't want a war in the Middle East.⁵⁴

The U.S. Secretary of State reported to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in February 1973,

When one compares the situation in the Middle East today with the situation four or even two years ago there can be no doubt that it has been greatly improved... the rush of major power confrontation in the Middle East is substantially reduced.⁵⁵

In August 1973, although Morocco and Algeria were at odds with one another, a contingent of Moroccan troops left Algerian ports in Soviet ships en route to Syria.⁵⁶ In June Libya began ^{laying} ~~buying~~ mines in its

⁵². "Soviet Accelerating Mid East Drive," Aviation Week and Space Technology, May 18, 1970, pp. 14-18.

⁵³. Soviet Military Review (Moscow), No 8 (68), August 1970, p. 62.

⁵⁴. "Soviet Leaders Don't Want Middle East War," S.F. Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, Feb. 19, 1970, p. 2, Section A.

⁵⁵. Department of State Bulletin No 46, February 21, 1973, p. 5.

⁵⁶. "Impact of Mid East War Around the World," Los Angeles Times, October 9, 1973, p. 12.

coastal waters; in March the Libyans had fired on a U.S. Air Force transport aircraft operating in international air space off Libya.⁵⁷ In this period, the Soviet Union increased its satellite coverage of the United States achieving 354 days of photo coverage in 1972, and on October 3, 1973, had begun a series of five launches of photo-reconnaissance satellites to cover the Middle East, with the first to be recovered after a flight of six days.⁵⁸ At the same time, the Soviet Union moved another squadron of twin-jet bombers to Iraq.⁵⁹

The Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency each concluded that Syrian and Egyptian military readiness were not designed to lead to major hostilities. Even after the Egyptians began crossing the Suez Canal, the Middle East Watch Committee "(could) find no hard evidence of major coordinated offensive across the canal and in the Golan heights area."⁶⁰

In the event Israel was taken by surprise:

Large, sand-banked enclaves were bull-dozed to hide the (Egyptian) tank forces and mechanized bridging equipment and motorized ferries from Israeli observers on the canal banks and the potent Egyptian missile belt covering the canal kept Israeli reconnaissance aircraft away... Egyptian armored divisions ostentatiously conducted daily practice. . . and then rumbled at ---- with bright headlights tracing their homeward path. But each day only two-thirds went home and

⁵⁷. "Libya Reportedly Sows Mines in Mediterranean off Sicily," Los Angeles Times, September 8, 1973, p. 1.

⁵⁸. "Soviets Using Satellites in Mideast," Aviation Week and Space Technology, October 23, 1973, p. 16.

⁵⁹. "Fast Soviet Bombers Show Up in Iraq," The Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 2, 1973, p. 21.

⁶⁰. "Texts of Mistaken Intelligence Reports," Los Angeles Times, September 13, 1975, p. 9.

one-third doused their lights and stayed concealed in the sand bank corrals.⁶¹

The Egyptians achieved complete surprise sending assault troops across the canal, constructing ferries and bridges and in six hours had ten ^{position} ~~position~~ bridges built across the canal. By October 7, there were 70,000 ^{Egyptian} ~~troops~~ and 800 tanks across the canal. Three out of five Israeli aircraft operating to destroy the bridges were knocked down by the Soviet installed air defenses.

Despite the superb Israeli counter-attack that crossed the canal to roll up Egyptians defenses, Egyptian forces were never expelled from the east bank of the canal. And the Soviet Union threatened to enter the war if the United States did not compel the Israelis to cease operations against Egyptian forces west of the canal. The U.S. Chief of Naval Operations reported, "The Soviet Navy outnumbered the U.S. Sixth Fleet by a factor ^{of} 3-2, and could bring overwhelming air power to bear," Air power deployed from Syrian, Egyptian, Libyan and Yugoslav air bases.⁶²

The upshot was that Israeli lost the Sinai, civilly of course, through the Camp David "Peace Process."

The Soviet Union's efforts had been decisive in determining the outcome of the war. And what did the Soviets get for their efforts, besides the defeat of Israel?

⁶¹. Major General S.K. Sinha, "The Suez Crossings," The Journal of the United Service Institute of India, Vol. CIV, no. 436 (July - September 1974), pp. 219-26.

⁶². "Soviet Threat Used in 1973 Middle East War," Palo Alto Times, July 30, 1975, p. 1.

The Soviet Consul in S^{app}~~app~~^{er}~~er~~, Japan answered that question in a briefing to his staff on June 4, 1975:

What I consider the most joyous occasions at this time is the reopening of the Suez Canal for the first time in eight years. What it means is that the great sacrifice made by the Soviet Union from the time it supported Israel's war of independence to the cease fire when it supported Egypt are finally being rewarded with the re-opening of the Suez Canal. The long cherished ambitions of advancing southward by the Soviet people is finally materializing after more than fifty years since the founding of the U.S.S.R. What the Soviet Union expects to realize through the use of the Suez Canal is to secure command of the sea in order to carry out its security concept in Europe and Asia. The use of the Suez Canal will permit the Baltic Fleet, Northern Fleet, Mediterranean Expeditionary Fleet and Black Sea Fleet to link with the Pacific Fleet and the Indian Ocean Expeditionary Fleet in the Indian Ocean.

And the Beijing Review of the Peoples Republic of China would describe Soviet strategy, "to lay down a strategic cordon around the continent stretching from the Mediterranean . . . to Vladivostok . . . controlling the major sea routes linking Western Europe and the United States and those linking the two with Africa and Asia."⁶³

Thus it would seem that once again affairs in the Middle East were made to play their part in another struggle for supremacy elsewhere, this, the struggle between East and West. It is, perhaps, only incidental that the United States Navy and a U.S. Salvage Company played one of the principal roles in clearing the Suez Canal of explosives and obstructions so that it might be re-opened. Thus did the "peace process" and a decent concern for international cooperation further the aims of that power with most to gain from warfare in the

⁶³. "Socialist - Imperialist Strategy in Asia," Beijing Review, January 19, 1979, pp. 13-16.

Middle East.

Soviet policy has with unflagging zeal been applied to disengage the west from the Middle East: help to Egypt and Algeria in 1956 that led to French and British disengagement; material support for Iraq and Syria in the creation of regimes hostile to the West; the encouragement lent Libya under the Khadaffi regime to pursue policies designed to alienate the United States; and considerable encouragement of those bent on overthrowing the Shah in Iran, and his replacement by an anti-Western regime.

The principal target of Soviet policy is, of course, the United States. For only the United States, as leader of the West and as a powerful nation, can be considered capable of frustrating the realization of Soviet aims. The American connection to the Middle East rests on Turkey's membership in NATO; on the American policy of securing the survival of Israel and friendly relations with the Arab states in the Gulf. The American connection, at one time, extended to Iran and in the Horn of Africa to Ethiopia. Under the sponsorship of Cuba and the Soviet Union, expressed by direct military intervention, Ethiopia has become a Marxist state.

The wide-spread discrediting of the Shah of Iran in the United States and his overthrow at home by Moslem fundamentalists eroded American connections to Iran. The seizure of the American Embassy in Teheran and the holding of embassy personnel hostage for an extended period of time not only discredited an American president but rendered it politically impossible for the United States to continue diplomatic relations with Iran. In attempting to foster and strengthen the Iran

of the Shah as a strategic outpost of the West, it was inevitable that Soviet concern would be aroused. What a happy set of circumstances for the Soviet Union that Islam's extremists, hostile to the West, should come to power. For the Soviet Union need not take any action toward Iran that might alarm the West. The extremists performed the function quite well. And the sheer coincidence of the publication of a book by an obscure Moslem author, The Satanic Verses has hardened Iran's policy toward the West.⁶⁴

The Civil War in Lebanon has served a similar purpose for Soviet policy. The Civil War led in 1982 to an Israeli drive into Beirut, Lebanon to deal with the Palestinians to whom the Soviet Union and Syria had furnished great quantities of heavy weapons. The Lebanese Phalange Militia attacked Palestinian refugee camps massacring a thousand or more refugees, for which Israeli forces were considered to be to blame. The Israelis had moved to protect themselves both from the Palestinians and the Syrians who had moved into Lebanon. Having been discredited at home and abroad because of the Phalange Massacres, the Israelis were enjoined to evacuate Lebanon but the withdrawal of the Israelis was tied to the dispersal of the Palestine Liberation Organization out of Lebanon. The Civil War continued, Syrian forces continued in Lebanon and a multilateral peace-keeping forces, Italians, French, British, and Americans took up positions in Beirut. But terrorists using explosives transported from Czechoslovakia, through Bulgaria to Syrian intelligence, killed 223

⁶⁴. "Iran Regime Appears Bent on Deliberately Cutting Itself off From Western Nations," Los Angeles Times, March 12, 1989, p. 12.

U.S. marines and 58 French soldiers. The British, French, Italian and American forces were withdrawn leaving Syria to deal with ^{its} Civil War and incidentally to become dominant in Lebanon, the whole purpose of Syrian intervention in the first place. Thus did the detonations of a few hundred pounds of high explosives disconnect Lebanon from the West. ⁶⁵

The Syrians and their allies in Lebanon pose a new strategic threat to Israel, since it puts them in a position to the West of the Golan Heights, a critical set of ^{locations} ~~eloquentist~~ in the defense of Northern Israel. It is now reported that the Syrians have received MIG-29s from the Soviet Union and are practicing for assaults against Israeli fortifications on the Golan Heights.

The Soviet Union, meanwhile, has demonstrated its sympathy for Iran in the Satanic Verses affair and the Soviet Foreign Minister visited Tehran at the end of February 1989, leading a Tehran newspaper to remark.

There's wide scope for Iran and the Soviet Union to cooperate on the regional and international scene. ⁶⁶

An altogether interesting nation since throughout the Iraq-Iran war the Soviet Union ^{is} ~~was~~ arming and advising the Iraqi armed forces. But then the Soviet Union's allies, North Korea and Libya were supplying arms to Iran, while the Soviet Union and its European allies had 625

⁶⁵. See Tom Hartman with John Mitchell, A World Atlas of Military History, 1945-1984 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985), pp. 16-19.

⁶⁶. "Soviet Minister arrives in Tehran," The Daily Report/Progress Bulletin, February 26, 1989, p. A9.

"economic" technicians and 100 military advisers in Iran.⁶⁷

Soviet concern about Israel is dictated by the American connection to the Middle East that comes from American commitment to the preservation of Israel. That commitment is dictated by sentiment in the United States and respect for the courage of the Israelis in defending their country. ^{And} ~~But~~ the Soviet government seems to understand that such sentiment and respect motivates American policy for more than the strategic interests of the West in the Middle East. That was certainly demonstrated when the United States turned its back on the Shah of Iran when world opinion became focused on the defects of the Shah's regime. And the United States has frequently shown itself willing to submerge strategic interests in favor of almost anything that promises the promotion of international peace and stability. Therefore, if the Soviet Union can discredit Israel in American eyes, the American commitment to the defense of Israel--a commitment that has never meant more than supplying Israel the means to defend itself--may be weakened and American sentiment rendered ambivalent. The instrument for discrediting Israel in American eyes is ready to hand in the Palestinians. Grown-up Arabs resisting Israel in Gaza and in the West Bank territories would not exercise Americans nearly so much as Palestinian children being resisted by well-armed Israeli soldiers. Even Jewish-Americans find their liberal sentiments aroused by the spectacle of children being roughed-up by Israeli soldiers. And even

⁶⁷. "How the Russians are Helping Iraq," in Foreign Report no 1651, October 15, 1980, p. 2; "The Gulf War: The Russian Connection," no. 1648, September 24, 1980, p. 3; and Handbook of Economic Statistics, 1988, p. 187.

in Israel, away from the occupied territories, at least, sentiment has been divided by the intifida.

To suppose that the children's uprising is a spontaneous phenomenon generated by Israeli oppression, is to suppose that the Mullahs in their masques are disinterested spectators in a natural uprising. What is really happening is that the children are being used as the first waMe in the assault on Israel in order to discredit the Israeli government. For it seems to be a fact that the Palestinians are being used as the hammer with which to render Israel indefensible.

The organization that has been created to facilitate that is the Palestine Liberation Organization. And those who support that organizations believing it will create a Palestine nation are by extension a tool of Soviet policy in the Middle East. In 1979, Zehdi Terzi, the P.L.O.'s chief representative at the United Nations expressed it well, "The Soviet Union has supported us morally, politically and materially. I think our national council has made it very clear that we are proud of our relations with the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union."⁶⁸ The concerted effort in the West and elsewhere to sanitize the image of Yassar Arafat of any tendencies toward terrorism ought therefore to awaken some skepticism. The February 1989, edition of Vanity Fair whose advertisements indicate toward whom in the United States the magazine is aimed carried a just lovely interview with Mr. Arafat. Here is a down-trodden Palestinian who made a fortune in construction in Egypt and

⁶⁸. "Interview (with Thalif Dean of Asia Week: "We're Part of Liberation Movements", Asia Week, Vol. 5, No. 25, 29 June 1979, p. 34.

has dedicated his fortune and himself to the liberation of his people. He wears a fine Rolex watch, travels in chartered aircraft, has an intense schedule and is altogether a regular guy. He is someone with whom the rich or hope to be rich Americans can all relate to and an idealist as well. Terrorist? My goodness there has been a bit of that by elements of the P.L.O., but one has to remember that the P.L.O. is merely an umbrella organization for diverse factions, some of which out of sheer frustration may have on occasion blown-up an aeroplane or two, or reluctantly engaged in other violence--but in a good cause. Yet that umbrella organization claims to speak for the Palestinians and would create a national state out of the flesh of Israel. The interview was conducted by T.D. Allman, a noted critic of U.S. policy in Vietnam, in Central America and now in the Middle East.⁶⁹ Our friendly interviewer did not ask how Arafat, who now so much opposes all violence save that by the intifida has managed to remain alive and the leader of all those other P.L.O. groups that find terrorism so persuasive.

It is an article of fashion in the West that Islam and Communism are thoroughly incompatible with each other, so that Arab states could never embrace Communism. That does not appear to be anything more than an article of fashion:

"The speeches by the representatives of the U.A.R., Syria and the Sudan contained an interesting analysis of the new experience added by their countries to the development of national liberation movement particularly with respect to creating conditions for the unification and gradual rapprochement of revolutionary democracy and scientific

⁶⁹. T.D. Allman, "On the Road with Arafat," Vanity Fair, February 1989, pp. 110f.

socialism. Unremitting dogmatists and open enemies of the struggling peoples are making every effort to break up the natural political alliance that has gradually developed over the course of many years between Marxist-Leninists and national democrats."⁷⁰

One must face the fact that Soviet policy is to array Islam against the West. It would not be the first time that ~~the~~ fanaticism was used as a tool of political gain:

Three great waves impelled the living tide against the tattering house founded on the desert sand. The Arabs suffered acutely from poverty, misgovernment and oppression. Infuriated he looked up and perceived the cause of his miseries was a weak and cowardly foreigner . . . The antagonism of races increased the hatred sprung from social evils. The movement was at hand. Then, and not till then, the third wave came--the wave of fanaticism. Rumors, loud-tongued carried it about the land that a great Reformer was come to purify the faith and break the stont apathy which paralyzed the hearts of Islam.⁷¹

That was an account of the founding of the Dervish Empire in 1898. And far away on the Northwest Frontier of India was raised the Pathan Revolt by the Mullah of Swat:

"He could work miracles . . . the heavenly hosts were on his side and with their aid he would sweep the British from Chakdarka and the Malakand Pass."

And the agents of the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid II, spread inflammatory rumors along the frontier. The Armir of Afghanistan addressed the Mullahs from the frontier and all parts of Afghanistan,

⁷⁰. "National Liberation: Results of the International Symposium in Alma-Ata: Leninism is the Banner of Freedom and Progress," Pravda, October 25, 1969, p. 4 in Current Digest of the Soviet Press..., Volume XXI, No. 43, November 19, 1969, p. 19.

⁷¹. Winston S. Churchill, The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan (London: Thomas Nelson & Son, ---, p. 38-39.

while the Sudan was aflame, proclaiming himself "The Light of the Nation and of Religion to encourage and justify a Jihad--a holy war."⁷²

It is interesting to note that the first violent reaction to the Salmon Rushdie work, Satanic Verses occurred in Pakistan, an Islamic Republic and took the form of an assault on the U.S. Cultural Center in Islamabad.⁷³ A curious happening for the book was published in England. Pakistan's population is 26% literate. The languages spoken by the ordinary folk are Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Pashtu and a bit of English in official and educated circles. So how did the "thousands of protesters" come to hear of a book published in England in English?

And the "blasphemy" against Islam aroused the Iranian fundamentalists as well. And that fundamentalism strikes fear in those Arab nations not yet anti-western.

One must not suppose that the Soviet Union is deaf to the cry of fundamentalism. In Egypt in 1981, there was a riot led by the Muslim Brotherhood to express objections to construction of a Coptic Christian Church in a Cairo neighborhood.⁷⁴ Anwar Sadat, concerned about the Islamic fundamentalists brought all of Egypt's 40,000 private mosques

⁷². Arthur Swinson, Northwest Frontier: People and Events, 1839-1947 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), Chapter 10.

⁷³. "5 Pakistani's Die in Anti-American Riot," Los Angeles Times, February 13, 1989, p. 6.

⁷⁴. "Still the Boss," Los Angeles Times, September 9, 1981, p. 6, pt. II.

under government control.⁷⁵

On September 14, Cairo Government television showed documents and photographs linking Soviet and East European Intelligence services and embassy personnel to fundamentalist agitation against the Egyptian government. The government ordered the expulsion of the Communist officials. Three weeks later Sadat was assassinated.⁷⁶

It would be careless to assume that in the struggle of the Communist world for supremacy over the West, that the Middle East and Islam have no role to play in Soviet policy. The Middle East is ^{an} area of immense strategic value in the struggle. The conflict between the hard-line Arab states and the no less hard-line P.L.O. is part of the struggle. The defense of Turkey in NATO and the security of Israel are the connections that link U.S. power to the Middle East. To foster peace and stability in the region is a noble American undertaking. But it flies in the face of the history of the Middle East and its cost to accomplish is the sacrifice of Israel. That sacrifice will not however bring "peace in our time."

⁷⁵. "Sadat Taking Over Mosques," Ibid., September 8, 1981, p. 1.

⁷⁶. "Television Links Sectarian Suspects with Soviets," Cairo MENA in Arabic 2245 G M T, 14 Sept. 81, Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Vol. V, 15 SEpt. 1981, p. D2; "Cabinet Expels Soviet Diplomats, Others," Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic, 1525 G M T 15 Sept. 1981, Ibid., 16 Sept. 81, p. D28; and "Interior Minister Discusses Soviet Expulsion," Cairo MENA in Arabic, 2038 G M T, 15 Sept. 1981, Ibid., 17 Sept. 81, p. D1.