

# מדינת ישראל

משרדיה הממשלה

מספר

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א.ז.א.

11/12/189- 14/12/289

מספר



שם תיק: היועץ המדיני לראש הממשלה - אורה יג

**4611/3-א**

מספר פיקוח:

סוזה כריסטוף R0003636  
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מספר

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סוד: שמור	טופס פלוק	סתור: <u>      </u>
תאריך יופן חנוך: 14 בדצמ' 1989		אל: מזרח
קס' פברק: גבסרד:		דע: ארבל 2
351	בר. 11 ?	סאת: ק. לקובנאג'ר

הסנטור וילסון והחלטה "ציוננדת גדעבות"

רציב לידייכם מכתב שייגר הסנטור וילסון בלוויית הסנטוריים קרל לוין ודקונסיני אל השגריר פיקרינגן בגושא ביטול החלטת "ציוננדת-גדעבות".

הכתב שורג עוד לפני תחבטאותו של ס/הנשיא קוויל בגושא.

הוועדה ורנאי דרנגר.

הוועדה ורנאי דרנגר

ס. 6

תפוצה:

PETE WILSON  
CALIFORNIACOMMITTEES:  
ARMED SERVICES  
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY  
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING  
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 30, 1989

351 2/3

The Honorable Thomas Pickering  
 United States Ambassador to the  
 United Nations  
 799 United Nations Plaza  
 New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

As the annual United Nations General Assembly debate regarding the Palestinian question opens this week, we are writing to strongly urge you to place the issue of repealing U.N. Resolution Number 3379 of November 10, 1975 on the agenda for a discussion and a vote.

Resolution 3379, as you know, declared that Zionism constituted a "form of racism and racial discrimination." This statement severely indicts the United Nations' credibility as an independent and objective arbiter of the Arab-Israeli conflict because it embraces the morally twisted reasoning that the establishment of the Jewish state amounted to nothing more than an act of aggression.

We understand that Arab League ambassadors will request the General Assembly to designate the Palestine Liberation Organization's U.N. Observer Mission as the "State of Palestine." While this maneuver would add yet another barrier to the reinvigoration of the Middle East peace process, the repeal of Resolution 3379 would remove one of the obstacles to the attainment of an enduring Israeli-Palestinian settlement.

Indeed, your distinguished predecessor Daniel Patrick Moynihan noted at the time that the resolution gave "the abomination of anti-semitism ... the appearance of international sanction." "The United States of America," Ambassador Moynihan went on to conclude, "does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, and it will never acquiesce in this act."

But while the General Assembly has failed to temper its passion against the political and cultural heritage of the State of Israel, it has with equal fervor legitimized the cause of the P.L.O. through resolutions passed during the 1960s and the 1970s identifying the Palestinians as a "colonial people" who could therefore violate the sovereignty even of U.N. member states in their struggle against "imperialism." General Assembly Resolution 2708 of 1970, in particular, asserted that groups fighting "colonialism" could employ "all necessary means at their disposal."

The Honorable Thomas Pickering  
November 30, 1989  
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This year's U.N. Palestinian discussion, therefore, will begin under the dark and cruel shadow of prior General Assembly actions that have approved the application of violent force against the Israeli people and their democracy. At the same time, the acceptance of the Arab League's "State of Palestine" proposal would reinforce the argument that the U.N. can only contribute inflammatory rhetoric to the diplomatic councils of the Middle East instead of making a constructive effort to foster direct negotiations among the regional parties.

On November 17, 1987, Congress unanimously adopted a joint resolution as part of Public Law 100-169 labeling the equation of Zionism with racism as "inconsistent with the charter of the United Nations." This measure also advised the U.S. government "to support efforts to overturn Resolution 3379." In light of the decisive congressional sentiment on this matter, we hope that you will find the opportunity to re-visit it in the 1989 General Assembly Palestinian debate.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Peter Wilson  
Carl Levin

Dennis DeGuerin

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לתייפות: מילוי	שגרירות ישראל/ושינגטון	ד"ל: <u>      </u> ט"ו: <u>      </u>
סניף: גלאדי	טופס פלוק	פטין: <u>      </u>
תאיליך וזכן תבנול:	אל: מספ"א, מפ"ת, חסברה.	
14.12.89		
פס' מברק: הפרשן:	הקלק	ד"ע: סר"ג.
352		פאות: עתדרות, דושינגטון.

שנוגה לבחונתי של ג'וֹן סְדֶּבֶןְדוֹ בְּדָרֶשׁ צְרוֹת חַבִּית הַלְּבָן - מַעֲזֵּב הַחְלָקָה מִזְדַּתָּה זוֹ  
של דָּבְרִינוֹ מִזְמָרָה ד', 13.12.89.

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REMARKS BY GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU, WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF  
"REVIEW OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION RECORD AFTER HIS FIRST YEAR IN  
OFFICE" THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB/ WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1989  
Q-3-1 page 1

MR. HOLMES: Does the successful test by the Iraqis of an intercontinental rocket mean that there's been an escalation in the Middle East arms race?

GOV. SUNUNU: I think I answered on the first question, one of the concerns that the President had was the destabilizing sale of arms, and frankly, arms technology, to some of the critical areas of the world, and certainly the Middle East is one of those. That's why the President was pleased when the Chinese announced that they would not be selling any medium-range rockets into the Middle East.

Any time you have the introduction, either by sale or by internal development of a weapon of that nature in a tinderbox such as the Middle East, it is a difficult issue to deal with. It is probably one of the biggest concerns that Secretary Baker, the President, have in trying to stabilize what is a very difficult region even under the best of conditions to stabilize.

There's no question that this kind of a change is not desirable, and there is no question that again, we will try and use whatever influence, direct and indirect, we might have, either to slow down such development or to curtail it entirely.

MR. HOLMES: There is now an acceptance from Israel and Egypt, although with some assumptions, on the Baker Plan, for Israeli-Palestinian talks leading to elections in the Occupied Territories. How do you assess the first year of the Bush presidency in the Middle East process and what's next?

GOV. SUNUNU: Well, Secretary Baker and the President have both, I think, made it clear that their goal has been trying to establish an effective process. What that is and how that will come about is not easy to define. It has certainly tested the negotiating skills of both the career members of the State Department and the Secretary himself. I think on the whole the Secretary feels progress has been made. I think he is a bit frustrated at not -- at perhaps the pace of that progress. But when you're dealing with a problem that is more than 40 years old, whatever pace, as long as there is movement in the right direction over a single-year period, I assume has to be treated as a very positive thing. It is hoped, again, in the context of what I said earlier in the presentation, that what has taken place in this first year has not only been movement in the right direction, but laid a foundation for even more significant and further successes in the year to come.

MR. HOLMES: Is there a concern that Secretary Baker's preoccupation with events in Eastern Europe will divert his attention from the Middle East?

GOV. SUNUNU: I have all the confidence in the world that the Secretary can juggle more than one ball at a time.

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מנכ"ל מחלקות  
שגרירות, ורשות גטאות, אומבה  
קורנכלים, צפ"א

סאט : מנהל מצל"א

הנדון: דפ\_מצל"א\_55

لتוקפה המסתורית ב - 14.12.89

1. התקנון המדריך

דוברת מומ"ד בשרה ב- 12/6 על קבלת תשובה מצרים חיובית ל"חמש הנקודות" של המזביח (אשר פורסמו באותה הזדמנות לראשונה באופן רשמי). טרוריזילר ברכה על התשובה המצרית ובהיר את הערכתו המזביח על מאצוי שרי החוץ של מצרים וישראל לקידום דתחדיר. אריה"ב תפעל עם הצדדים במשותף לבינוס מפגש של שר-י-חו-ץ ברושינגטון בחילית 1990 בחלוקת מקדים מומ"מ בין ישראל לפלסטינים. מאי הודיעו המזביח, נמנעת מומ"ד מהכנס לפרטים באשר להבנות למפגש וכן מסרבת לחתיכת ל"הנחות" המצריות או היישראליות.

בתדרור לעורבי עתונאים (12/10) אמר הנשיא ברוש כי אריה"ב לא תלחץ על ישראל לשאת ולחת עם אש"ף. המזביח, הושיך הנשיא, ערב עתה על נסחה מרכיבת להביא ישראלים ופלסטינים לשולחן מומ"מ - ומאציו אלה ימשכו.

מזביח הממשלה יוציא לשיחות ברושינגטון בשבוע הבא (המתחיל ב- 17 דצמבר).



2. פיסות בנש - גורבצ'וב במלטה

במסיבת עתונאים שערך השנאים בתרום הפסגה, התייחסו בקצרה גם למזה"ת. בוש אמר כי אין יותר בירוזמה משותת לפתרון בזזה"ת; עורך הרטיף כי לשתי המדיניות עמדות דומות הן לגבי לבנון והן לגבי עתיד השטחים. גורבצ'וב מצד הרטיף כי שוחחו בקשר המזה"ת באריכות וכי הגיעו להסכמה כי עליהם לחזור, ביחיד ולחוד, לפתרון בעית האזרה.

עורדר מזכיר המדינה ג'ון קלி בקר בישראל ב-12/4 על מנת לדוח על הפסגה; נפגש עם רווה"מ, ש"ח, שר הארץ ושב"ט. נקודת ליבורן מדבריו :

הנשיא בוש מרוצה מאוד מהשיחות. בוש בד"כ הרוביל, תוך הגשת רעדונות והצעות ואיילו גורבצ'וב הגיב. למרות שלא היה סדר יום פורמלי, התכוון בוש היטב והגיע עם רעדונות והצעות רבות : 6 "יוזמות" בתחום הכלכלי, יוזמה בתחום זכויות האדם, נ איחוד כל המשפחות המפרצלות עד קיומם היפיסגה הפורמלית בירוני 1990; העבר רשיימה של 20 סירובנידקים שאט מקרים יש לפתרור עד הקיץ הבא) . 6 "רעידות" ויעדים בתחום הפר"נ, העזה בתחום "הפטיחות העכאית", קיומ האולימפיאדה בשנת 2004 בברלין. כו' הועל העזרה בתחום איכות הסביבה וחילופי טרדרנטים.

באשר למזה"ת נידונו שני נושאים : לבנון ותהליך השלום

א. לבנון - בוש גינה רצח מזעוך, והביע תמייה בנשיא החדש. ארה"ב מעודדת אותו למצוות פתרון בדרך שלום למצב הנוכחי בביירות. הרטיף שהוא מודאג מסירובו של עוזן לשתח פועלה עם הממשלה החוקית לבנון ומודאג מאוד מהתיגבר המסייע של כוחות סוריה מסביב לבירות ולבנון בכלל.

גורבצ'וב טען שבידיהם אין מידע על תיגבור כוחות סוריאים, אך עבדו עם וועדת השלושה מטעם הligah הערבית ע"מ להשיג הסכם שאיף וכ"כ שיתפו פעולה עם צרפת והכם הקדוש בכירון זה. לדברי גורבצ'וב, לא ירפו מנסיבות קונסטרוקטיביים במגמה להפסיק מעשי האלים לבנון. "יש לבדוק את האפשרויות החדש" אמר מבל' לפרט. לדברי שברנדזה, על הסורים והנשיא החדש להחליט מה לעשות.



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ב. תהליך שלום

גורבצ'וב פתח בשואלו מה ניתן לעשות והוסיף ש"עלינו" לנсотה ולהשיג התקדמות כל עוד שהדבר נិזון. בוש ציינו כי גיתכו שמדובר והפלסטינים "FORWARD" MOVING THINGS CLOSE TO (הערה: התשובה המצרית התקבלה אחרי הפסגה) ושאל את גורבצ'וב מדוע בриיה"מ לא תחדש את היחסים הדיפלומטיים עם ישראל. בוש המשיך ואמר שיש בארץ"ב מספר "ריאקציונרים" המתנגדים לхиידוש יחסים אלה בトואנה שלארה"ב יתרו על שומר על מונופול ביחסים עם ישראל, אך ככלעטן איינו שבור בר.

בתגובה אמר גורבצ'וב שהמשתקדמת של ביזיקר ידרוות לו טוב יותר מאשר זו הנתקדמת של מובראק. לדעתו, מעולם המצב באיזור לא היה נוח יותר. חייב את הדיאלוג בין אריה"ב וראש"פ ואמר שבריה"מ תומכת בדיאלוג בין ישראל והפלסטינים. באשר ליחסים דיפלומטיים עם ישראל אמר כי "אין בעיה". כבר קיימים מנגעים רבים - שברנדזה נפגש 6 (שש) פעמים עם ארנס בעיה". כנראה התבווון גורבצ'וב לומר עם שר החוץ ישראליים. ברייה"מ תהיה נכונה לבונן יחסים דיפלומטיים עם ישראל ברגע ש-IS SETTLEMENT A "UNDERWAY" (הערה: קליע ציין שהנסיון המוצב מبينם שהכובונה הסובייטית היא תחילת דיאלוג בין ישראל והפלסטינים). (שםו לב לב שגורבצ'וב לא חוסף "תנאים בלתי נעים" כפי שעשה גרשימוב כשבוע לפני-כן באשר קבע דיקה בין חידוש היחסים לבין מפגש בין ישראל ראש"פ). עוד אמר גורבצ'וב שיש דברים מסוימים רבים ביןינו (הסובייטים) לבין הישראלים ואף חזק ואמר שיש לחזור להתקדמות בטרם העניינו ייעשו קשיים יותר.

שברנדזה העיר שהמשתקדמת של ביזיקר ו- 10 הנתקדמת של מובראק דכו לתמיכה בinementית וקיבלו על בר שהסובייטים לא קבלו נתקדמת ביזיקר בעוד מועד ושלא קורידמה כל התייעצויות עם בנדון. (הערה קליע: השתמע באילו הסובייטים היו מוכנים להירוח לעזר לו היר מקבלים את נתקדמת ביזיקר מוקדם יותר).

בתגובה ציינו בוש וביזיקר את עניינו בתתייעצויות או אמרו שקיים פרטורים מסוימים: אין לצפות שהאמריקאים יתייעצו עם הסובייטים בטרם פנו לישראלים. בוש גם גרס שלא אריה"ב ולא ברייה"מ יוכלו להכתיב את תוכאות (המור"ם) או פתרונות לסייע לבני מוסקבה עד כה מתרור קליע.

משמעות השגיר עם דניס רוס ממחמד'ובג'יטס, ס/הידיעץ לבתוון לאומי, עוללה כי דברי בוש לפיהם שתי המעצמות אינן רוחקות בעמדותיהן לגבי המזה"ת וכן תוארו את המפגש כמעודד נבעו מהגישה הסובייטית לבניית לבנו ומדובר גורבצ'וב על מציאות פתרון לסכום המז"ח בדרכי שלום.



3. ארה"ב - ישראל - או"ם

- מעמד אש"ף בעצרת : גורמי מטה"ד מהמודבר ומטה התגניזטו למען טירפודה של יוזמת אש"ף לשינוי מעמד באו"ם. דוברת מטה"ד התבטאה נחרצת וקבעה שכט שינורי במעמד אש"ף יביא לפגיעה בתמיכתה הכספית של ארה"ב בארגון. הפעילות האמריקאית כליה פניות בbijiroת השובות ובעצרת והמודבר בז'ילוף אף שוחח על כל עם שה"ח המצרי. העמدة האמריקאית הייתה פסקנית: כל שינורי במעמד אש"ף יפגע בפועל בחלילו של השлом מחד ובאו"ם מאידך.

צורידין גם מכתבו של סנטור קסטן למזכיל האו"ם ובר הוא מציין את הקשיים בקורסרים באישור תשלומי ארה"ב לאו"ם, וקובע שכט נסירן של אש"ף לשנות מעמדו באו"ם יפגע במאםץ הנ"ל והקורסר העיקרי יהיה האו"ם...

- החלטה אנטישראלית ב- S.A.F. - ארה"ב וקנדיה : ההחלטה האנטישראלית בארגון המזרע העולמי והביאה להתחבאות חריפה בירוחם של מטה"ד. ארה"ב מדגישה שהבהירה היבט לראשי סאו' שקיבלה ההחלטה תאלץ את ארה"ב לבתו באופו חמור את אשר החורש. ציינו על הפרק עומד אירום אמריקאי להפסיק הקצבות לאירגון.

קנדיה במנעה בהצעה ועל כך הערכו לשגריר הקכדי תור הדרשה שמו הדין היה שקנדיה תנתן לאור מדיניותה המסורתית למנוע פוליטיזציה של סוכנויות האו"ם.

- סגן נשיא קוריל - החלטת האו"ם על ציונות-גזענות בנאום ב"ישיבת יוניברסיטי" רכו בפגישתה עם מזכיל האו"ם (12/11) התייחס סגן נשיא להצעת ארה"ב לאו"ם לבטל את החלטת האו"ם המשוררת את הצירות לגזענות. בהודעה ששחררה מטה"ד בנושא צוילין גם כי ארה"ב פנתה לבריה"מ לשחרר פועלה בנושא אסטרם נענזה.

4. טילים במו"ה

שיגור הטיל העירקי - דובר מטה"ד אישר (12/8) כי ה- AIA (סוכנות המודיעין הצבאי) כי עיראק שיגרה טיל מסוכן להכוון למלול שביב כדור הארץ. אף שלא יוכל היה לרדת למפרטם על יכולתו הטכנית של הטיל, הביע הדובר דאגה מהרס היציבות העולמה להגרם מההפטשות טילים בליסטיים וטכנולוגיה לטילים, בפרט באיזורי מתחום כמדיים. ארה"ב הבירה דאגה הפורמבית וב欽ינורות הדיפלומטיים למדיניות האיזור. דאגה דומה הביע גם דובר הפטגון, שאל הוועס שארה"ב מקווה שמשלחת עיראק תפעיל אמצעי זהירות כדי שלא לחבל ביחסה הביניל.

טילים סיניים לסוריה - דובר מטה"ד (בתשובה לשאלת 12/11) ציין את הודעת סוכנות הידיעות הסינית שהכחישה לחולותן אפשרות מכירת טילי 9 - מטוטריה. ציין כי "ONLY TIME WILL TELL" האם סין חעמוד בדיוריה בנושא.



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5. זכויות אדם

- פינוי אל חסידיינַי - ריצ'רד האס (NSC) ודג'יסט רוס ממוחמד הביעו מורת רוחם מצעדי ישראל להגבלת תנוועתו של פיסל אל-חסידיינַי. דובר מוחמד שהתיחס לנושא בתרוכתו מ-2/7, אמר שעל ישראל זהפלסטיניים להרחיב ולא להגביל את הדיאלוג ביניהם. כך הביע צערו על החלטה, שהתקבלה כאשר המרבי הزاد מנוריות להנעת תהליכי השלום לקראת דיאלוג ישראלי-פלסטיני, מוחמד מקווה שההחלטה תשקל פעם נוספת.

- העתק פרם לארגונים "אל-חאק" ו"בצלם" - מרכז קרטר באטלנטה העניק פרם לשני הארגונים הנ"ל לאור עבורתם בתחום ד"א. סוכם שהממשלה באטלנטה ישתחף בטענה, לאחר הבעת הסתייגותם מהעתקה הפרס לארגונים הנ"ל דורך ב- 9 בדצמבר (וראו נא המכתב שבЛОט). אולם, לאחר שתברר כי מצלמיםニアירוע לצרכי תעמולה, הוחלט שלא בהנה מיויצגים.

- דוח זכויות האדם - דוח זכויות האדם של מוחמד ("דו"ח שיפטר") יוגש לקונגרס ב- 31.1.90. לגבי הפרק הישראלי, בימים אלה בודק האגף לד"א את הדוחות שהועברו מעציגיות ארה"ב ב-ם ובת"א.

6. בונגראס

אנח התקציב של הבית הלבן (OMB) הודיעו כי הקיזוץ האוטומטי בתקציב הפרלמנט (SEQUESTER) לא יחול על התקציב סרווע החוץ, כולל לישראל. אילך, ישראל קיבל את מלוא הסיווע האזרחי והឧבי (3 ביליון דולר) מלבד סכום של כ- 12 מיליון דולר שינורר לצורר המלחמה בסמים.

7. ביגנובים

- משלחת מנהיגים שחורים שהיתה בארץ בין התאריכים 11- 3 לדצמבר ובה צייגים בולטים של המנהיגות השחורה באזוריים שונים בארץ"ב. נגש עם שה"ח, צייגי משלד הפנים ומשרד הבטחון. ביקרו ביישוב צפוני וקיימו תכנית מגזרנות. התענגנו במיוחד בירושאי הזרים העבריים ודרום אפריקה - כאשר צייגו את ההבדלים ברמת החיים מגזר הערבי והיהודי, חור אנאלאגיות לפערים בין הקהילה הcoresית ולהבנה בארץ"ב. הביקור נעדר בשיתופו ה- CJU והוגדר כמוראל ע"י משותפיו.

- משלחת יועצים פוליטיים של המפלגה הרפובליקנית.

- עוזרים בכירים מצוות ועדות המשנה לפועלות זרות בועדת הקצבות בסנט וובביה"ג.

- עוזרים בכירים (מתעם המיעוט) בצוות הוועדה לשירותים מזוינים בסנט.

- המורשת ג'ים סנסנברנד מודיסקונסן.



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- המורשתה פרנק פאלונה מכיו-ג'רסי.
- משלחת פעילי בחרות מזו המפלגה הרפובליקנית.
- משלחת מנהיגי מיעוטים מניו-יורק.
- בקרו גם סיירום רואנס ומר דיק מרפי (בנפרד).

בברכה,  
יוסף למדז

טקסט הנקנתה הפרסם במרכזי קרט

אנו מברכים על פעליותם קרטן בנוסחא כה חשוב ונשגב  
כזכויות האזרח.

מדינת ישראל, מדינת העם היהודי, מדינת שארית הפליטה,  
מדינתם של הנם אשר סבל יתחר חבל עם אחר מדיניות דיכוי  
וDEMOCRATIC אודם, יודעת לזרעך את חשיבותה הפוליטית להען  
זכויות האזרח.

ישראל שכניה כפו עליה כבר חמש מלחמות ואשר הינה אי של  
דמוקרטיה בים של מדינות לא דמוקרטיות ולראב  
די-קטורי-אליטות. למורות התנאים הקיימים של איוםם גורמים  
הומו פנויים כנוגד עצם קיומה, שומרת על כללי הונאה שספקם אם  
נשмарו ע"י חברה או מדינה שנמצאו בחוץ מלחמה מתמורה מאי  
הקמתה לפני 40 שנה ומעלה.

בשנותיהם ואחריהם נאלצת ישראל לחתוך לא רק עם איוםם  
לכתחזקה בחום הפטת הטילים והשימור של חיל"כ מצד שכניה,  
אלא גם עם מציאות של אלימות ובוטסליות מצד ערבים  
פלסטינים בשטחי יהודה, שומרון ונזהה, אשר בחורו לבטא  
עצם בדרך ואליותם למורות הונאה שהיתה ועדיין קיימת  
בפניהם האפשרות לבטא עצם בדרך התרבות המקובלת בחברות  
דמוקרטיות.

לפניהם מספר חודשים יצא ממשלת ישראל עם יוזמת שלום  
שככליה נס הצעה לקיום יחסיities דיפלומטיות ורמו-קרטיות ביהודה  
שומרון ועזה כה יוכלו תושבי אזורים אלה לבחור את  
מציאותם הם ולממש את זכויותיהם הדמוקרטיות.  
בישראל יושם אידנוניים דבכים הפעלים למגע זכויות האזרה  
והאודם זה שווים רבבות. מעתה הדבר שקרן לא יצא לנצח  
לרכיבת את הרכבת לאידנונים אלה לא לאידנונים חדשים יחסית  
שאו פקי פעליהם צרים ותנחותיים, שאינם מתקנים מפורשות  
תחלו שבוחרים בדרך האליות ככלי לקידום חטרותיהם. כן  
חצער הדבר שכחורי לצירין את יום מתן הפרס ביום שבו החלטה  
הפעילות והאלימה ביהודה, שומרון ועזה.

יחד עם זאת, מפאת היותם, ובכבוד ובהזקקה שאנו דוחשים  
לנשיה ג'ימי קרטן ולמרכזי שהוא תקין, נגענו להזתונכם  
ונציג ה Kavanaugh הישראלית בטלנטה משוחף ככזה זה.



# official text

12/13/89

## BAKER OUTLINES BLUEPRINT FOR DEALING WITH NEW ERA IN EUROPE

(Text: address to Berlin Press Club)

Berlin -- Secretary of State Baker December 12 warmly welcomed changes underway in Eastern Europe and urged the West to adapt itself to the coming "new era" in Europe.

"From the Baltic to the Adriatic, an irresistible movement has gathered force -- a movement of, by, and for the people," Baker told the Berlin Press Club in a major policy address. "In their peaceful urgent multitude, the peoples of Eastern Europe have held up a mirror to the West and have reflected the enduring power of our own best values."

Baker was confident that "creative new arrangements can be devised to encourage and sustain the process of political and economic reform" in Eastern Europe while "preserving the integrity and the vitality of existing institutions" in the West.

In this effort, the secretary emphasized, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Community (EC) must play central roles.

"This new architecture must have a place for old foundations and structures that remain valuable -- like NATO" and "must continue the construction of institutions -- "like the EC -- that can help draw together the West while also serving as an open door to the East."

And, he said, the new architecture must "build up frameworks" like the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) "that can overcome the division of Europe and bridge the Atlantic Ocean."

Noting that NATO and Warsaw Pact foreign ministers will be meeting in Ottawa in February to launch the Open Skies negotiations, Baker urged them to take the opportunity to "review and give a further push to the Vienna Talks on Conventional Forces." That could clear the way for a summit meeting during 1990 to conclude an agreement limiting conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, as President Bush proposed at Malta early this month.

The secretary said the November 9 opening of the Berlin Wall was "the most dramatic" event of the post-war era and characterized it as "one of the proudest achievements of the CSCE process as the GDR fulfilled its commitment to allow its people to travel freely."



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"President Gorbachev deserves credit for being the first Soviet leader to have the courage and foresight to permit the lifting of repression in Eastern Europe," Baker said. "But the real impulse for change comes from an altogether different source: the peoples of Poland, of Hungary, of Czechoslovakia, of Bulgaria, and of East Germany," he said.

Following is the text of Baker's speech as delivered.

(BEGIN TEXT)

It is truly an honor for an American to speak at this time in this city. For me and for millions of my fellow citizens, Berlin, Freedom's City, is the crucible of half a century of history.

-- Here we have seen clearly what elsewhere hid in the shadows.

-- Here the ambiguous disclosed its true nature.

-- And here, together, we made the choices and we took the stands that shaped today's world.

In 1945, pictures of a bombed-out Berlin brought home to us the terrible cost of war.

In 1948, the Soviet Union stalked out of the Four Power Control Commission and blockaded Berlin -- a clear declaration of cold war.

In 1953, Berliners staged the first popular revolt against Soviet tyranny in Eastern Europe.

In 1961, the Berlin Wall closed the last escape hatch from the prison camp of nations which Eastern Europe had become.

In 1971, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin epitomized the terrible dilemma of detente -- the proposition that cooperation between East and West assumed the continued division of this continent.

And then in 1989, the most important event -- certainly the most dramatic event -- of the postwar era occurred, right here in Freedom City.

On November 9, the Wall became a gateway. Berliners celebrated history's largest and happiest family reunion. And all of us who watched these scenes felt, once again: We are all Berliners.

Once more images from Berlin flashed around the world, images that heralded a new reality. This new reality has its roots in those older Berlin scenes -- the scenes of West Berlin's dramatic postwar reconstruction; the scenes of allied aircraft supplying a blockaded city; the scenes if you will of American and Soviet tanks facing off at Checkpoint Charlie.

By standing together in Berlin as elsewhere, Western nations created the essential preconditions for overcoming the division of this city, the division of this nation, and indeed the division of this continent.

As these recent events have unfolded, the Soviet Union has demonstrated a remarkable degree of realism. And President Gorbachev deserves credit for being the first Soviet leader to have the courage and to have the foresight to permit the lifting of repression in Eastern Europe.

But the real impulse for change comes from an altogether different source: it comes from the peoples of Poland, of Hungary, of Czechoslovakia, of Bulgaria, and yes of East Germany.

They have in effect freed themselves.

From the Baltic to the Adriatic, an irresistible movement has gathered force -- it is a movement of, by, and for the people. In their peaceful urgent multitude, the peoples of Eastern Europe have held up a mirror to the West and they have reflected the enduring power of our own best values. In the words of Thomas Jefferson who

was the first American secretary of State, "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free."

The changes amount to nothing less than a peaceful revolution.

And now, as President Bush stated last week, "the task before us is to consolidate the fruits of this peaceful revolution and to provide the architecture for continued peaceful change."

The first step is for free men and women to create free governments. The path may appear difficult, at times even confusing, but we must travel it and we must travel it with understanding. For true stability requires governments with legitimacy, governments in other words that are based on the consent of the governed.

The peoples of Eastern Europe are trying to build such governments. Our view, as President Bush told President Gorbachev, is that the political and economic reforms in the East can enhance both long-term stability in Europe and the prospects for perestroika. A legitimate and stable European order will help, it will help not threaten, legitimate Soviet interests. And, of course, an illegitimate order will provide no order at all.

Free men and free governments are the building blocks of a Europe whole and free. But hopes for a Europe whole and free are tinged with concern by some that a Europe undivided may not necessarily be a Europe peaceful and prosperous. Many of the guideposts that brought us securely through four sometimes tense and threatening decades are now coming down. Some of the divisive issues that once brought conflict to Europe are reemerging.

As Europe changes, the instruments for Western cooperation have got to adapt. Working together, it is up to us to design and gradually to put into place what I refer to as a new architecture for this new era.

This new architecture must have a place for old foundations and structures that remain very valuable like NATO -- while recognizing that they can also serve new collective purposes. The new architecture must continue the construction of institutions -- like the European Community -- that can help draw together the West while also serving as an open door to the East. And the new architecture must build up frameworks -- like the CSCE process -- that can overcome the division of Europe and that at the same time can bridge the Atlantic Ocean.

This new structure must also accomplish two special purposes. First, as a part of overcoming the division of Europe there must be an opportunity to overcome through peace and freedom the division of Berlin and of Germany. The United States and NATO have stood for unification for 40 years, and we will not waiver from that goal.

Second, the architecture should reflect that America's security -- politically, militarily, and economically remains linked to Europe's security. The United States and Canada share Europe's neighborhood.

As President Bush stated in May, "The United States is and the United States will remain a European power." And as he added last week, "The United States will maintain significant military forces in Europe as long as our Allies desire our presence as part of a common security effort." This is our commitment to a common future, a recognition of a need for an active U.S. role in Europe, a need acknowledged even by President Gorbachev.

The change for us all then is to work together, to work together toward the New Europe and the New Atlanticism.

In May of this year, President Bush suggested to his NATO colleagues that it was time to begin considering some new missions for NATO.

For over 40 years, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has secured peace in Europe through both deterrence and dialogue with the East. Today, NATO is working in Vienna to build a new security structure for Europe, one in which the military component is reduced and the political is enhanced. This, of course, is NATO's first mission.

A conventional forces agreement is the keystone of this new security structure. In May, NATO adopted President Bush's suggestion to seek such an agreement and to seek it on an accelerated timetable. President Gorbachev has responded to this opportunity in a positive way. And we have moved significantly closer to concluding an agreement limiting conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. In Malta, President Bush proposed a summit meeting to sign such an agreement sometime during the year 1990.

Today, I further propose that the ministers of the 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact nations take advantage of our February meeting in Ottawa, where we will launch the Open Skies negotiations, to review the status and to give a further push to the conventional forces talks going on in Vienna.

As we construct a new security architecture that maintains the common defense, the non-military component of European security will grow. Arms control agreements, confidence-building measures and other political consultative arrangements are going to become more important. It is in such a world that the role of NATO is going to evolve. NATO will become the forum where Western nations cooperate where Western nations cooperate to negotiate, to implement, to verify and to extend agreements between East and West.

In this context, the implementation and verification monitoring of a conventional forces agreement will present a major challenge for enduring security. NATO is going to have to make an important contribution to that.

I, therefore, also invite allied governments to consider establishing a NATO Arms Control Verification Staff. Verification will, of course, remain a national responsibility. But such a new staff would be able to assist member governments in monitoring compliance with arms control and confidence building measures in Europe. A NATO organization of this sort could be valuable in assisting all allies and in coordinating the implementation of inspections. It could provide a clearinghouse for information contributed by national governments, perhaps, joining with collective European efforts through the Western European Union.

As the East-West confrontation recedes, and as the prospects for East-West cooperation advance, other challenges for European and Atlantic security are going to arise. These point to NATO's second mission. Regional conflicts -- along with the proliferation of missiles and nuclear, chemical and biological weapons present us with ever-growing dangers. Intensified NATO consultations on these issues can play an important role in forming common Western approaches to these various threats.

Third, NATO should also begin considering further initiatives the West might take, through the CSCE process in particular, to build economic and political ties with the East, to promote respect for human rights, to help build democratic institutions, and to fashion, consistent with Western security interests, a more open environment

We suggest that our discussions about this idea proceed in parallel with Europe's efforts to achieve by 1992 a common internal market so that plans for U.S.-EC interaction would evolve along with changes in the community.

The United States also encourages the European Community to continue to expand cooperation with the nations of the East. The promotion of a political and economic reform in the East is a natural vocation for the European Community. That is why we were exceptionally pleased with the agreement at the Paris Economic Summit that the European Commission should assume a special role in the Group of 24 effort to promote reform in Poland and Hungary.

The United States has worked closely with the European Community in mobilizing economic and financial support for Poland and Hungary. Indeed, the United States has authorized almost 1,000 million dollars of assistance to these two nations. This week, we look at the Group of 24 meeting to move as close as possible toward achieving the additional 1,000 million dollar stabilization fund that Poland requested to support its major move toward currency convertibility and macroeconomic reform.

That should be just the start of our common labor. Poland and Hungary have 40 years of economic stagnation to overcome, and this is going to take time and it's going to take the steady support of all of us. As Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic undertake political and economic reforms comparable to those already underway in Poland and Hungary, we believe the activities of the Group of 24, centered around the EC, should be expanded to support peaceful change in these countries as well.

As the nations of Europe achieve more open political and economic systems, they may seek new relationships with the European Community, with the Council of Europe and with other institutions serving both Europe and the broader international community. In fact, such ties could be fundamental to our strategy of rebuilding the economies of Eastern Europe through private capital and private initiative. Private investors in Eastern Europe are going to want to know that they can sell their products in Western markets.

I am confident that creative new arrangements can be devised to encourage and sustain the process of political and economic reform in the countries of Eastern Europe, while at the same time preserving the integrity and the vitality of existing institutions. We need to offer the nations of the East hope, opportunities that can be seized as they take steps toward democracy and economic liberty. Perhaps the recent work on an agreement between the EC and the six nations of the European Free Trade Association will set a pattern for improved ties with others.

We see no conflict between the process of European integration and an expansion of cooperation between the European Community and its neighbors to the East and West. Indeed, we believe that the attraction of the European Community for the countries of the East depends most on its continued vitality. And the vitality of the Economic Community depends in turn on its continued commitment to the goal of a united Europe envisaged by its founders -- free, democratic and closely linked to its North American partners.

The Helsinki Process -- The New Role of CSCE

The one institution that brings all the nations of the East and West together in Europe, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, is in fact an ongoing process launched over 14 years ago in Helsinki. There have been different perceptions as to the functions

for East-West trade and investment.

And finally, NATO may have its greatest and most lasting effect on the pattern of change by demonstrating to the nations of the East a fundamentally different approach to security. NATO's four decades offer a vision of cooperation, not coercion; of open borders, not iron curtains. The reconciliation of ancient enemies, which has taken place under the umbrella of NATO's collective security, offers the nations of Eastern Europe an appealing model of international relations.

Whatever security relationships the governments of Eastern Europe choose, NATO will continue to provide Western governments the optimal instrument to coordinate their efforts at defense and arms control, and to build a durable European order of peace. The interests of Eastern Europe, and indeed the interests of the Soviet Union, will be served by the maintenance of a vigorous North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

#### The Role of the European Community

The future development of the European Community will also play a central role in shaping the new Europe.

The example of Western cooperation through the European Community has already had a dramatic effect on Eastern attitudes toward economic liberty. The success of this great European experiment, perhaps more than any other factor, has caused Eastern Europeans to recognize that people as well as nations cooperate more productively when they are free to choose. The ballot box and the free market are of course the fundamental instruments of choice.

Naturally, the United States seeks a European Community which is open to cooperation with others. But the European experiment has succeeded not just because it has appealed to the enlightened self-interest of European producers and consumers. This experiment has succeeded because the vision of its founders encompassed and yet transcended the material. This experiment has succeeded because it also held out the higher goal of political as well as economic barriers overcome, that is of a Europe united.

This was the goal of Monnet and Schumann. This was the goal supported by the United States of Marshall and Acheson. This was the goal contained in the Treaty of Rome and more recently in the Single European Act. The United States supports this goal today with the same energy that it did 40 years ago.

We think that Americans will profit from access to a single European market, just as Europeans have long profited from their access to a single American market. However, it is vital to us all -- vital to us all that both these markets remain open -- and indeed that both become even more open.

As Europe moves toward its goal of a common internal market, and as its institutions for political and security cooperation evolve, the link between the United States and the European Community will become even more important. We want our transatlantic cooperation to keep pace with European integration and with institutional reform.

To this end, we propose that the United States and the European Community work together to achieve, whether in treaty or some other form, a significantly strengthened set of institutional and consultative links. Working from shared ideals and common values, we face a set of mutual challenges -- in economics, in foreign policy, the environment, science, and a host of other fields. So it makes sense for us to fashion our responses together as a matter of common course.

More important, these institutions are also flexible and they are capable of adapting to rapidly changing circumstances. As we adapt, as we update and expand our cooperation with each other and with the nations of the East, we will create a new Europe -- a new Europe on the basis of a new Atlanticism.

NATO will remain North America's primary link with Europe. As arms control and political arrangements increasingly supplement the still vital military component of European security, NATO will take on new roles.

The European Community is already an economic pillar of the transatlantic relationship. It will also take on, perhaps in concert with other European institutions, increasingly important political roles. Indeed, it has already done so, as evidenced by the community's coordination of a Western effort to support reform in Eastern Europe. And as it continues to do so, the link between the United States and the European Community should grow more strong, the issues we discuss more diversified, and our common endeavors more important.

At the same time, the substantive overlap between NATO and European institutions will grow. This overlap must lead to synergy, not to friction. Better communication among European and transatlantic institutions will thus become more urgent.

The CSCE process could become the most important forum of East-West cooperation. Its mandate will grow as this cooperation takes root.

And as these changes proceed, as they overcome the division of Europe, so too will the divisions of Germany and Berlin be overcome in peace and freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, this fall a powerful cry went up from the huge demonstrations in Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin. "We are the people." the crowds chanted at the party that ruled in their name. On the other side of the globe, Lech Walesa was addressing the U.S. Congress, thanking America for supporting Polish liberty. He began with words written two hundred years ago, the words that open the U.S. Constitution: "We the people."

Between 1789 and 1989, between the expressions "We the people" and "We are the people," runs one of history's deepest currents. What the American founding fathers knew, the people of East Germany and Eastern Europe now also know -- that freedom is a blessing, but not a gift. That the work of freedom is never done, and it is never done alone. Between the America of "We the people" and the Europe of "We are the people," There can be no division. On this basis a new Atlanticism will flourish, and a new Europe will be born.

(END TEXT)

of this CSCE process. Some saw the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 as a ratification of the status the equivalent if you will of a peace treaty concluding World War II, and thus the legitimization of Europe's permanent division. Others, however, saw this process as a device by which these divisions could be overcome.

The dynamic concept of the CSCE process has prevailed. In 1975, the governments of Eastern Europe may not have taken seriously their commitments to respect a wide range of fundamental human rights. But their populations did. The standards of conduct set by the Helsinki Final Act are increasingly being met through international pressure and domestic ferment. Last month, here in Berlin, of course we witnessed one of the proudest achievements of the CSCE process as the GDR fulfilled its commitment to allow its people to travel freely.

Now it's time for the CSCE process to advance further. I think we can look toward filling each of its three baskets with new substance.

First, we can give the security basket further content through the 35-nation negotiations on confidence-building measures which are currently underway in Vienna. The agreements under consideration there should help prevent force, or the threat of force, from being used again in an effort to intimidate any European nation. Apart from reducing further the risk of war, new confidence-building measures can create greater openness. They can institutionalize a predictable pattern of military interaction, a pattern that is difficult to reverse and that builds a new basis for trust.

Second, the relatively underdeveloped economic basket can assume new responsibilities. President Bush suggested to President Gorbachev at Malta that we could breath new life into this CSCE forum by focusing it on the conceptual and practical questions involved in the transition from stalled, planned economies to free, competitive markets. When our nations meet in Bonn in May of next year to discuss economic cooperation, I suggest we concentrate on this issue.

Third, the CSCE process has made its most distinctive mark in the field of human rights. One fundamental right, however, has not yet been fully institutionalized. This is the right for people to choose, through regular, free, open, multi-party elections, those who will govern them.

This, of course, is an ultimate human right, the right that secures all others. Without free elections, no rights can be long guaranteed. With free elections, no rights can be long be denied.

On May 31, in Mainz, President Bush announced a major new Helsinki initiative to help end the division of Europe. He called for free elections and political pluralism in all the countries of Europe.

Now, this is beginning to come to pass.

In June, the United States and the United Kingdom co-sponsored a free elections initiative at the CSCE human rights meeting in Paris. This proposal called on all 35 CSCE participating states to allow periodic, genuine and contested elections based on universal and equal suffrage, by secret ballot, with international observers. Individuals would be allowed to establish and maintain their own political parties in order to ensure fully democratic procedures.

Free elections should now become the highest priority in the CSCE process. In 1945, Josef Stalin promised free elections and self-determination for the peoples of Eastern Europe. The fact that those elections were not free, and the fact that those peoples were not allowed to determine their destiny, was a fundamental cause of the Cold War.

Now this Stalinist legacy is being removed, being removed by people determined to reclaim their birthright to freedom. They should not be denied and they will not be denied.

As all or nearly all the CSCE states move toward fully functioning representative governments, I suggest we consider another step. We could involve parliamentarians more directly in CSCE processes, not only as observers as at present, but perhaps through their own meetings. To sustain the movement toward democracy, we need to reinforce the institutions of democracy.

#### Germany and Berlin in a New Europe

A new Europe, a Europe that is whole and free, must include of course arrangements that satisfy the aspirations of the German people and meet the legitimate concerns of Germany's neighbors. Before the Bundestag on November 28, Chancellor Kohl laid out an approach designed to achieve German aspirations in peace and freedom. At last week's NATO Summit, President Bush reaffirmed America's long-standing support for the goal of German reunification. He enunciated four principles -- four principles that guide our policy, and I am pleased to note these ideas were incorporated into the statement issued last week by the leaders of the European Community nations at Strasbourg.

-- One, self-determination must be pursued without prejudice to its outcome. We should not at this time endorse nor should we exclude any particular vision of unity.

-- Two, unification should occur in the context of Germany's continued commitment to NATO and an increasingly integrated European Community, and with due regard of course for the legal role and responsibilities of the allied powers.

-- Three, in the interests of general European stability, moves toward unification must be peaceful, they must be gradual, and part of a step-by-step process.

-- Four, and finally, on the question of borders, we should reiterate our support for the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

President Bush concluded that "an end to the unnatural division of Europe, and of Germany, must proceed in accordance with and be based upon the values that are becoming universal ideals, as all the countries of Europe become part of a commonwealth of free nations."

As an American, ladies and gentlemen, I am very proud of the role my nation has played and will continue to play standing with you. Yet this very positive course will not be easy, nor can it be rushed. It must be peaceful. It must be democratic. And, of course, it must respect the legitimate concerns of all the participants in the New Europe.

As Berlin has stood at the center of a divided Europe, so may it stand at the center of a Europe which is whole and free -- no longer the embattled bastion of freedom, but instead a beacon of hope -- a beacon of hope to people around the world for a better life.

#### A New Europe, A New Atlanticism

And so my friends, we see changes today underway in the East which are a great source of great hope. But a new era brings different concerns for all of us. Some of these are as old as Europe itself. Others are themselves the new products of changes.

Were the West to abandon the patterns of cooperation that we have built up over four decades, these concerns could grow into problems. But the institutions that we have created -- NATO, the European Community, and the CSCE process -- are alive. Rooted in democratic values, they fit well with the people power that is shaping history's new course.

# מושד החוץ-ນוחלחת הקש

9797

תאריך: 13.12.89

נכון \*\*

סוד\*

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סודן עירין

חוזה: 12,9797

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מטבח/849, מוגרת/242,

מ-ווש, גדר: 306, תח: 131289, זח: 1100, דח: ד, סג: סז

תחום גס: צפוא

נדב: 8

degree / סודן

אל: סמנכ'יל צפ'ין

זומץ מדינ' שה'ין

מושל מם'ין

מאת: עוזרד ערן

קלי - ביקור בפזה, ת.

להלן מחרוך שיחה עם ג'ון קלי (12.12). בבקשתו לראותו עם שוכן מהזיה'ת הורו ופקיסטן.

א. מצרים.

1. קלי התensus מהרגשת הבטחונו של מובארק, מגיד ואל-באז ביכולתם לננות את התהילה בצד הערבי שלו ובמיוחד מיכולת ההשפעה שלהם על הפלשתינים. מאידך, מצא את הפקידות בדרכו הנמוך יותר נזקאה ובפרק רב אחרי ההנאה המדינית. ציון, למשל, שפקידות זו עדין מדברת על ופיודה בין'יל בעוד שהשלישיה המובייל בנוסא לא מזכירה זאת כלל. המצריים גם חשים ובצדק, כי הם נתמכים ע'י מרבית מדיניותם ערבית במלכיהם. קלי מביא בהוכחה לכך את פעלותה הנמרצת של מצרים בעצרת האו'ם בשבע שבער בנוסא ממד אש'פ. קלי העיר, שבשלב זה בוחרת מצרים לנחל את המגעים המוקדמים פרם המפגש המשולש, באמצעות אל-דריד.

2. הנושא המרכזי. השני בשיחותיו היה הוויכוח בין קרן המתבש

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ומצרים. קלוי התבקש ע"י מארחינו להפיע למשפט ארה' ב' בקרן ע"מ לרכיב תביעותיה במיזוח בוגוש שער ההיילופין. קלוי אמר שהמצריים לא צודקים בכל תביעותיהם אך הם צודקים בכך שהקרן אינה משקלת את הגורם הפליטי בצורה מספקת. קלוי הסביר לפועל בידון.

ג. קלוי הוסיף, (וקרצ'ר אמר זאת בשיחה נפרדת), שפצע דאגה במצריים מההשלכות הצפויות על תקציב סיווע החוץ של ארה' ב' לאור השינויים המתחוללים בעימות הבינומאלמת.

ב. יידון.

בשיחה עם המלך, שבה נכח גם בן-שאכר ומרואן קאנס תאך קלוי את המהשלכים האחוריים. המלך הביע תמייקה, אך קלוי הייתה תחושה שהמלך מתלוון על-כך ש"הושאר מאחור". המלך הביע גם ספקנות לגבי נכונותו של רוה'ם שפיר להשתתף בתהילה שלום רצינו. המלך הביע דאגה מסוימת מتوزאות הבחירה, אך הביע בוחון ביכולתו לטפל בבעיה. חוסיין הביע גם דאגה מהמשך ההסתננות מגבול הצפון וקלוי הבטיח שארה' ב' תמצא את הדרך לממן את הפרויקט של הצבת מערכת המדרעה מוקדמת. כמו כן הביע דאגה לגזרל הנזירים בלבנון, אך לא הייתה לו כל הצעה מעשית.

ג. ערבי השודית.

השודים תומכים בתהילה ובמהלכים לקידומו. קלוי העלה את הצורך לעשות צעדים בתחום היחסים עם ישראל והשודים עמדו, שיש צורך בהתקדמות ממשותית בתהלי השлом. בעיקר ברייר, אבל גם בירדן ובקהיר, נשאל מדווג ישראל ממשיכה לתמור בעון וקלוי הבהיר מיידע על חמייה בזו.

ד. על שיחתו בהודו בוגוש ישראל דוח נפרד.

יגון.

27

that the 1970s and 1980s were a period of relative stability in the world of international trade, with the 1990s and 2000s marking a period of significant change and uncertainty.

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1970s

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1970s

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ס. 116

ס. 116

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חו' 20: 12,10007

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/ 879, מונחת/ 250

מ-זיווש, נר: 325, תח: 1530, זח: 131289, דח: ד, סג: סז

תח: מ. גס: צפא

נד: \*

נדו: \*

ס. 116  
ס. 116

סודי / רגיל

אל: סמנכ'יל צפ'ן ובר'ן, סמנכ'יל מזא'ן

מאת: מודד עדן

מלטה.

להלן מתוך שיחה עם פול וולפוביץ.

וולפוביץ, שבסהה, התרשם מהרצון (EAGERNESS) הסובייטי להגיע להסכם בעיקר בתחום פרויקט הנשק הקונטנציאונלי. רק בדרך זו יוכל להסביר את נסיבותם שלא לכלהל את פירוק הנשק הכספי בסדר היום הבינלאומי. שיקול אחר, לדעתו, המכתיב את צמדייה של ברה'ם בתחום זה הוא המצב הכלכלי. וולפוביץ אמר, שהיקף המשימות המוטלות עליו בתחום פירוק הנשק, מחר, והתמודדות עם הבשיות הכלכליות שנוצרו באירופה מאיידר, הוא בהרב, שקרה להנימח שיתפנו בקרוב לעסוק רצוני בשאלות 'משניות' כמו יחסיהם עם איזוריהם או תחומי העומק' (היא מפה עצמה והשפעת הקוררה באירופה על יחסיהם אלו. השיקול העיקרי המכתיב את דיווחיהם הפוניימיים ביוםים אלו הוא להמנע מהחלתו ונהרתו הקשות למשל בהיקף נוכחות העתידי באירופה או גדרם של תקציבי הבתוחן, החלמות העצלות לאגרום לנזקים חמורים אם לא תתקבלנה בדרך הנכונה ועל בסיס מזקק. וולפוביץ מגיע לארץ ב- 1/8 למספר ימים (בティבול מערך הבתוחן) וביקשתיו להפגש מעבר לפגישת ששガורה'ם בז' בז'קרה עם שר החוץ, עם המנכ'יל וצוזות בכיר של המשרד. מציע שתעמדו לצורך כך בקשר עם שגארה'ם.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקה הקשר

גערן.

2.

תפ: שחח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנבל, ממנבל, ר/מרכז, רם, אהן, ממד,  
בונצור, מצפה, פרוג, גובריין, מזאר



משרד החוץ-מכוחקת הקשר

9797

13.12.89

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ביבס \*\*

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סודו

חוזם: 12,9797  
אל: המשר  
יעדים: מטבח/849, מטבח/242  
מ-1108, נר: 306, תח: 131289, זמ: 1100, דוח: ר, סג: ס  
תח: ס אס: צפא  
נד: ס

*אלה*

רגיל / סודו

אל: סמכ' אל צפ' א  
יונצ' מדיני שה' ח  
מנחל ממ' ג'

מאת: ג'ודד ערן

קל' - ביקור בזיה'ת.

להלן מתוך שיחה עם ג'ודן קל' (12.12). בבקשתו לראותו עם שוכן מהזיה'ת הודה ופקיסטן.

א. מערביה

1. קל' התרשם מהרשות הבתוחן של מובארק, מג'יד ואל-באז ביכולתם לנחות את התהילה בצד הערבי שלו ובמיוחד מיכולת השפעה שלהם על הפלשתינים. מאידך, מצא את הפקידות בדרוג הנזוץ יותר נוקשה ובערך רב אחרי ההנאה המדינית. ציון, למשל, שפיקידות זו עדרין מדברת על ועידה בין'ל בעוד שהשלישיה המובילה בנוסחה לא מזכירה זאת כלל. הטורים גם חשיכים ובצד, כי הם נחמכים ע'י מרבית מדיניות ערבי במלחביהם. קל' מביא בהוכחה לכך את פעילותה הנמרצת של מטורים בעצרת האו'ם בשבוד שעדין בנוסחה ממש אש'פ. קל' הופיע, ששלב זה בוחרת מקרים לנחל את המגנים המוקדמים טרם המפגש המשולש, באמצעות אל-גדידי.

2. הנושא המרכזי השני בשיחותינו היה הווייכוח בין קרן המטבח

卷之三

## משרד החוץ-מכוחקת הקשר

ומצריים. קלי הבהיר ע"י מארחיו להפעיל השפעת ארה"ב בקרן ע"מ לרכיב תביעותיה במילויו בגובהו שמר החילופין. קלי אומר שהמצרים לא צודקים בכל תביעותיהם אך הם צודקים בכך שהקרן אינה משקלת את הגורם הפליטי בצורה מספקת. קלי הסכים לפועל בזידון.

ג. קלי הוסיף, (וקראר אמר זאת בשיחה נפרדת), שמצא דאגה במצרים מהשלכות הצפויות על תקציב סיוע החוץ של ארה"ב לאור השינויים המתחוללים בעקבות הבינומעמת.

ב. ירדן.

בשיחת עם המלך, שבה נקבע גם בין-שאכר ומרוזאן קאסם תאר קלי את המהלבים האחרוניים. המלך הביע תמייה, אך לקלי היתה ת חושא שהמלך ממלון גל-בל ש' 'הושאר מארחו'. המלך הביע גם ספקנות לגבי נוכנותו של רוח'ם שמיר להשתתף בתהילה שלום רציני. המלך הביע דאגה מסוימת מتوزאות הבהירות, אך הביע בתחזון ביכולתו לטפל בבעיה. חוסיין הביע גם דאגה מהמשך ההסתננות מגבול הצפון וкли הבטיח שארה"ב תמצא את הדרך למן את הפרוייקט של הצבת מערך התנגדה מוקדמת. כמו-כן הביע דאגה לגורל הבזרים בלבנון, אך לא הייתה לו כל הצעה ממשית.

ג. ערבי הסעודית.

הסعودים תומכים בתהילה ובמהלבים להידומו. קלי העלה את הצורך לעשות צעדים ביחסים היחסים עם ישראל והסعودים ענו, שיש צורך ביחסים פשעתיים בטהלי השלום, בעיקר בריאד, אבל גם בירדן ובקהיר, נשאל מדוע ישראלי ממשיכה לתמוך בענו וкли הבהיר מידע על תמייה כזו.

ד. על שיחתו בהודו בזאתו ישראלי דוח נפרד.

גרן.

לב

תפ: שחח, סנהח, רהט, ממרה, שחבט, מוכל, ממכל, ר/מרבל, רם, אמן, ממד, בנטור, מצפה, סולטן, מצרים



דוחות: מידי	שגרירות ישראל/אשדוד	ד: —
טוויל: שמו	טופס פלוק	כתו: —
תאריך ומספר חנור: 12.12.89		אל: מא"מ
פס. כבirk: הבסיד:		דע: —
296	7/12/89	פאת: הצייר, וושינגטן.

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שאלתי אם קלי על שיחתו עם שהייה הודה. אמר שהעלה בפניו את נושא היחסים, אך שתהיה שבסכום לתפקידו רק יומיים לפני הפגישת לא היה מעודכן ואמר רק שגבזק הנושא. הוא התעכיבין בתחילת השלום אך בקורס כללי ביתר וcommunicן שלא היה בקשר בפרטים.

אברהם

1. *End of the road* (1971) 2. *End of the road* (1971)

סודרי

נכון \*\*

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חוזה: 12,9003

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/783, מונט/221

מ-111 אש נר: 302: 121289, תח: 0, דח: מ, סג: סטן

תחום גס: צפן

נד: 8

12/12/89

סודרי / מיידי

אל: מצב'א, ממ'ל

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטן.

התהלייך המדיני: לבנון.

משיכה עם דיוויד וולש (דסקאי מזה'ת, ס.ס.נ) ב-12.12.89.

התהלייך המדיני.

1. בביקור בעמאן (12.9) ביקש מבראך לתרוך את חוסין אוזdot הפתוחיות האזרוניות בתהלייך השלום ולהעביר לו מתחשה של תמייהה מצריית לאבי מקומו בתהלייך. הירדנים משוכנעים שרווח'ם שמייר זייף (FAKE) באחר לתוכית הבחירה, וחוששים כי המצריים משחקים עתה את המשחק שהם עצם שיחקו בעבר, קרי בזבוז זמן בניסיוון לעקוף את הבעה המרבצת: מוא'ם בין אש'ר לישראל.

2. יורש העאר חסן אמר להגיא מחר (13.12) לווושינגטן. הירדנים ביקשו כי הביקור יעסוק בקשרים בארצות ובהפתוחיות באיזור. וולש מזכיר כי תחת הכוורת הכללית ה-21 ידוע חסן ה-ן בבנושא התהלייך והן בתחום הסיווע הכלכלי האמריקאי.

3. וולש חזר על הקביעה לפיה ארה'ר איבנה חותמת להכנים אש'ר לדיאלוג עם ישראל בזלות האחוות. ציין שمبرים מעוניינים להביא לדיאלוג בין ישראל לפלסטינים - בשם שארה'ר, במעוניינת



## משרד החוץ-ນוחלחת הקשר

בכל, וכי היה מוכנה בשלב זה לסייע ביקורת - כפי שסופה לאחרונה בישראל - כשם שגם הממשלה מוכן לסייע ביקורת - למשל מהתקורתה - ובלבד שתකודם מתרת קיומן הדיאלוג (לטטמי, בלטה בדברי וולש בראיבת ארה'ב ומקרים בסירה אותה - י.א.).

לבנוו.

5. ארה'ב מבקשת להגביר הלחץ על עון. לאחרונה גם הזרפתים ביקורתיים יותר בלבינו. השבע עתיד הראו' לזכות בהכרה בינו'ל גוספה.

6. הדגיש כי עון נוטה לפרש הצהרות התנגדות לעימות צבא' לבנון, דוגמת ההצהרות שניתנו בעבר ע' צרפת פסגת מלטה וישראל - בהבעות תמייכה בו. על ארה'ב וישראל להיות ערות לנקודה זו ולהציג בברור כי הצהרות התנגדות לפעלויות צבאיות סורית, אין משפטותן תמייכה בהמשך שליטה עון בלבנון. ציינו כי אין הוא מבקש להשמט בקורס ליחסו של עון וכי הוא עוזרו מתלוות במציאות הנוכחית הנכונה.

7. סוריה מוכנה עתה להנפיק זמן נוספת בצפיה כי הלחץ המדיניות יוביל להסתלקות עון. הסורים נזקמים עתה עמדה דומה מאד לערמת שעודיה.

8. עוד מהשპורותיו: אין זה מציאותי לדדרוש מהסורים לסגת ממערב ביריות, הראו' ואלהוו אינן בוגבות סוריות. (הדגים זאת בעזרת הצהרותיהם האחזרונות), הבעיה היא כיצד לשכנע את נזירים המובלעת שישום הסכם טרי'ף הוא אינטראם שלם, יש סימנים למחלוקות בתוך צבא לבנוו.

אמית'.

פנ

תפ: שחח, סשהח, רחם, ממרהם, שהבט, מונבל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמן, ממד, בנטור, מצפה, סייבל, סולטן, מזחים, לבנוו.

\*\* י. נצנ

סודיו

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12.8696: חזרם:  
 אל: 11/ש105.444.מונט/205  
 מ-:המשרד.תא: 121289.זח: 1555.דוח: מ.0:ג'ו:10  
 תח: 8 גס:צפנ  
 נד: 8

אל/זח

53242

סודיו/פידוי

10926

אל: 11/שינגן. שטינוי

ארה'ב - בריה'מ : תהלייד השלווי

לשלר 204

1. לדברי הפגנו בשגרירות, בתברר שוגר ע"י דניס רוס. המהאים  
 יחס' עבודה טוביים עם טראסוב. הוא מונה נס"ל לתקדם את  
 הסובייטים 'NIMELY FASHION A IN' (לונוכח הערוותין של  
 שברודזיה במלטה). ב'כ' הוא מזונע ל'ערב' (EVALVE OD) את  
 בריה'מ אוד כמונו לא בשותף מלא ובוורוד. לא ב-  
 'STEP-LOCK'. כדבריו. באשר לתוככו המברה. הוא כולל מעין  
 דוח' שערכו בעקבות בדلت תשובות מצרים לתוכננות ביזיר.  
 ציינו הצעיפות הבלתי נאכבי הצעדים הבאים בתהלייד (בהתאם  
 לנאכד לישראל ולמצרים) ובקשה שהסובייטים יפעלו בצורה  
 הונסטרומטביבית. עד כה.

2. משומת הלב לרצון האמריקאים ל'ערב' את הסובייטים  
 בתהלייד.

מנהל מצפ'ן

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1933-1935 51

1993-1994-1995-1996

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## משרד - החוץ- מחלקה הקשר

תפ: שחח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנבל, ממנבל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמר, ממד,  
גוברין, מאיר, בונצור, מצפה, סולטן, סייבל

адт, ким, рабин, сим, волле, федор, викт, бадис, генрих, го, илья, сан, альберт, альбр, гильер, вольф, вольф, ольб

יחסים ישראל-ותריינן

רציב מכתב ביוזמת הקונגרסמן פיהן בחתימתו זו קונגרסמנים אל נציגי הותיקן בושינגטון  
הקורא להכרת הותיקן בישראל ולכינונו יחסים דיפלומטיים מלאים עמה. ذات, על רקע נירמול  
?חמי פוטיפר עם ברהימי.

2. ביב רציב והודעה לעתונות של פיחן.

# הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְכָל־עַמּוֹ כְּפָרָה.

It is a good idea to use a map and a road map to help you find your way.

### תפוצה: 13

# CONGRESSMAN EDWARD Feighan

# NEWS

THE APN

th District, Ohio

CLEVELAND: 2901 Federal Office Building, 1240 East Ninth Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44105 216/632-4362  
WASHINGTON: 1134 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515 202/225-5731

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
DECEMBER 12, 1989

FOR MORE INFORMATION  
PLEASE CONTACT  
MICHAEL ROSENBERG  
AT (202) 225-5731

## FEIGHAN CALLS UPON VATICAN TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL

WASHINGTON D.C. -- Congressman Edward F. Feighan (D-Ohio) called upon the Vatican to establish full diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.

"If the Vatican can normalize its relations with the Soviet Union, it certainly should be able to grant the same recognition to the State of Israel."

On December 2, the Vatican and the Soviet Union announced their intention to normalize diplomatic relations. "I would view a similar development in Vatican-Israel relations as no less significant," Feighan said.

Feighan made the case in a letter to the Vatican Embassy, co-signed by 30 Members of Congress. "For years, the Soviet Union has exerted brutal control over its people's lives, including severe restrictions on the free exercise of religion," Feighan wrote. "We hope that the decision to extend diplomatic relations to the Soviet Union would also extend to the State of Israel, a democratic, pluralistic state where a belief in freedom of religious expression was a driving force behind its very creation."

"As a Catholic, I feel that the Vatican has a special role to play in the search for peace in the Middle East," Feighan said. "However, it is handicapped in that role by not recognizing a key player in that search -- the State of Israel. By establishing full diplomatic relations, the Vatican, recognized as a symbol of moral authority, can send a powerful message to those countries that refuse to recognize the reality and legitimacy of Israel."

In May of this year, Congressman Feighan introduced legislation urging the Vatican to extend full diplomatic relations to Israel. "The Feighan resolution, H.Con.Res.24109, has 40 co-sponsors and is pending action by the House Foreign Affairs Committee." Feighan plans to raise this issue with the State Department when Congress reconvenes in January.

JOHN F. FEIGHAN  
18TH DISTRICT OHIO  
MEMBER  
COMMITTEE ON  
HOUSE RULES  
COMMITTEE ON  
THE JUDICIARY

THE CONGRESSMAN'S OFFICE  
100 EAST MARKET ST.  
COLUMBUS, OH 43266  
614-226-5731

POSTAL BOX 1000  
100 EAST MARKET  
COLUMBUS, OH 43266  
614-226-5731

  
**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

292  
3  
5

December 11, 1989

Archbishop Pio Laghi  
Apostolic Pro-Nuncio  
Vatican Embassy  
3339 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Your Excellency:

We are writing to convey our observations regarding the recent reports that the Holy See contemplates extending formal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. We applaud this decision for the hope it holds for advancing the cause of world peace and religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the decision raises our level of concern over the Holy See's continued resistance to extending full formal recognition to the State of Israel. In the words of Pope John Paul II, the warming of relations between the Soviet Union and the Holy See is a "promise-filled sign for the future." A similar development in Vatican-Israel relations would be no less significant.

For years, the Soviet government exerted brutal control over its people's lives, including severe restrictions on the free exercise of religion. We hope that the decision to extend diplomatic relations to the Soviet Union would also extend to the State of Israel, a democratic, pluralistic state where a belief in freedom of religious expression was a driving force behind its very creation.

With the exception of Egypt, no Arab country has full diplomatic relations with Israel and many remain in a state of war with that country. The Vatican, recognized as a symbol of moral authority, can send a powerful message to those countries that refuse to recognize the reality and legitimacy of Israel. By establishing full diplomatic relations with Israel, the Vatican would make a lasting contribution to the search for peace in the Middle East.

Archbishop Pio Laghi  
Page Two  
December 11, 1989

292  $\frac{4}{5}$

We would appreciate your sharing our views with the appropriate officials at the Holy See and we welcome their response.

Sincerely,

Edward Feighan  
REP. EDWARD B. FEIGHAN

Peter DeFazio  
REP. PETER A. DEFAZIO

Albert Bustamante  
REP. ALBERT G. BUSTAMANTE

Wayne Owens  
REP. WAYNE OWENS

Jim Courter  
REP. JIM COURTER

William Lehman  
REP. WILLIAM T. LEHMAN

Walter E. Fauntroy  
REP. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

Jim Saxton  
REP. JIM SAXTON

Lawrence J. Smith  
REP. LAWRENCE J. SMITH

Barney Frank  
REP. BARNEY FRANK

Nancy Pelosi  
REP. NANCY PELOSI

Stephen J. Solarz  
REP. STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

Ted Weiss  
REP. TED WEISS

David E. Bonior  
REP. DAVID E. BONIOR

Chester G. Atkins  
REP. CHESTER G. ATKINS

Leon E. Panetta  
REP. LEON E. PANETTA

292 5

Archbishop Pio Laghi  
 Page Three  
 December 11, 1989

Dan Burton  
 REP. DAN BURTON

Tom Lantos  
 REP. TOM LANTOS

Gary Ackerman  
 REP. GARY L. ACKERMAN

Ben Cardin  
 REP. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Robert G. Torricelli  
 REP. ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

Martin Frost  
 REP. MARTIN FROST

John J. LaFalce  
 REP. JOHN J. LAFALCE

Mel Levine  
 REP. MEL LEVINE

Howard Wolpe  
 REP. HOWARD WOLPE

Howard L. Berman  
 REP. HOWARD L. BERMAN

Peter H. Kostmayer  
 REP. PETER H. KOSTMAYER

Robert A. Borski  
 REP. ROBERT A. BORSKI

Henry Waxman  
 REP. HENRY A. WAXMAN

James H. Scheuer  
 REP. JAMES H. SCHEUER

Sander M. Levin  
 REP. SANDER M. LEVIN

**שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון**  
**טופס פלור**

דוחות: מיידי

סוד: שמור

תאריך ייפן חנוך:

דוח: \_\_\_\_\_  
פתחון: \_\_\_\_\_

אל: מצפיה

שם: פ. פבריק:

טלפון:

/2 305

דעת:

? ? ?

כתובת: יורם אטינגר, דרג'יגאנטו.

עידן הגלקסטי ויחסי ארה"ב - ישראל.

1. לתשומת לבכם "צימוקים" שאציגו ב- 2 מחרך 5 איזוחות שתתקיימו תום ב"גבעה".
2. מייק אובגיל, עוזרו הבכיר לענייני חוץ של מנהיג הרב בבייח"ג, תומך פוליטי: אתגר מערכות הבטחון של ארה"ב לעבר מוכנותם מREL עימות וחצי (חזית אירופאית + עימות בהיקף קטן באזרע אחר) להערכות מול עימותים של INTENSIVE LOW באזרעדים שרגדים בעולם. הדבר מחייב שיגורי תפישה אסטרטגית, העזה, חדשנות, וזמן. שיגורי יהיה איטי מן הנוכחי ובכך גם מצטט החזראות. לשיגורי התפישה יש מחריר כלכלי בלתי מבוטל; אמצעים יהיה רק "ולעימות", אך החזci הזה עלול להתחרב מעבר למינדים שידענו ארכם - מתקדי חפיקוץ עלולים להיות רבים ומסוכנים יותר (חושש ממשמעוות התפתחותם הבלתי-בדרך עיראק); יהיה צורך בבריותם, אך אין שפק שידרשו דם יצע ודמותם רבים יותר מעבר לשכנוע עלותם הבלתי מערב אירופה - אמצע שיתפנו פעולה במפרץ מול חומינגי, אך עשו זאת בחירות שיגניים; לעומם ישראל אמינה וזכרונה לסייע; ישראל אין מה לדאוג בתחום השטתי האסטרטגי, אלא בתחום התדמית הציורית על רקע תחיליך השלום, ותאיינטיפאדה; אתגר הגלקסטי של ישראל הוא להסביר מדוע המזיה איבנו מתנהל לפי חוקי מד' אירופה.
3. קיטיב קורטז', עוזרו הבכיר של הרפובליקני המוביל בתה - ועדת התקציבות לבוטאי בטחון: איןנו נסחף בלחת האופוריה, ומציען כי קיטיבנס צהיר עוד יותר (בחוגים פרטיים): התקציב ב-1990 יביא לקיוץ קטן מאוד בהזאות הבטחון, ולא ילחצו על הממשל לפני שיחתום הסכמים בין שתי המעמדות - הקיצוץ המשמעותי הראשון ב-1992; נוכחות הצי בים התיכון לא תקוטץ ממשמעותיה, אך זו באוקיינוס השקט החזוגבר על חשבו האטלנטי; חיקף הכוחות באירופה יצטמצם, והצורך להפגין נחישות, חרמעה, תגובה מהירה ובוכחות מחידב שת"פ עם שותף אמיין ויעיל (ישראל); הורדת פרופיל העימות באירופה פונה 'לזרקורים'.

תפוצה: - 60 - מילון מלחמה ומלחמת אירופה ומי יזקן  
א. (ט) פ. (ט) ח. (ט) ג. (ט) ב. (ט) ד. (ט) ח. (ט) ג. (ט)

דוחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל/ושינגדון	ד"ק:
סילוג:	טופס מלאך	סתורין:
מקום ייפן חנכו:	אל:	
קס. כבוק:	דעת:	
תפסרד:	פאת:	
2/2 305		

לאתגרים אחרים ובמיוחד לכיוון הלחימה בטרור ובמקרים הכרוכים זה בזה.  
 (ישראל כארוח בכיר לאתגרו) - הפגנו יראה בכך עדיפות גבוהה עקב סיבוב  
 אסטרטגיות ודעות, חושש לגורל "חץ" על רקע סימני השאלת לאבי 105 - אמונת  
 יש ל"חץ" חשיבות גוררת לאור הפצת הטילים וראשי חץ גרעיניים וכימיניים, אך  
 לא פקול העברת תקציב הפרויקט מ- 105 ל"חמתה" מוגנת יותר.

בחקורת על חטימת חלב,

ירומם.  
 ס. ס. ס.

תפוצה:

# משרד החוץ- מוחלתת הקשר

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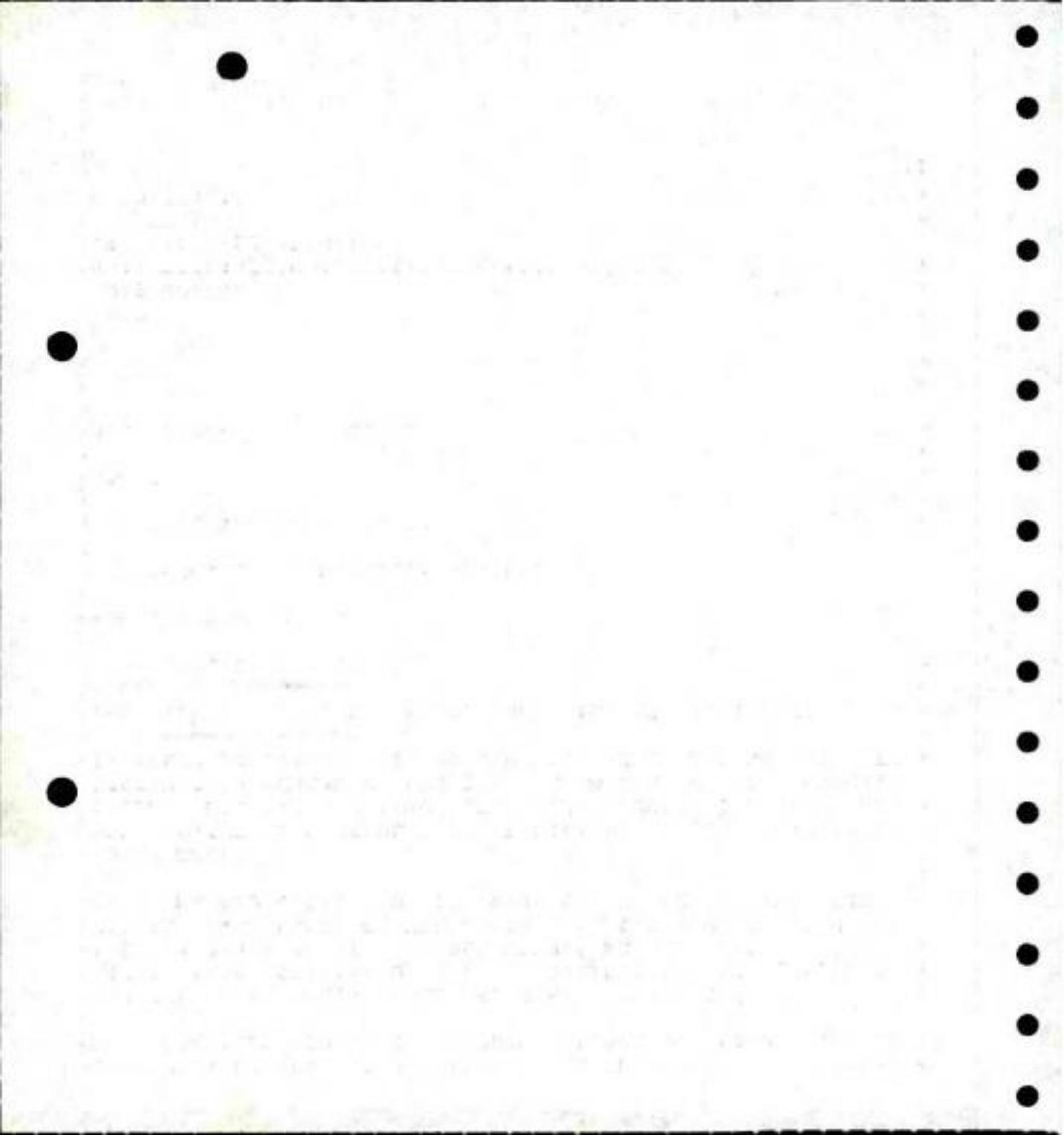
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## משרד החוץ-מחלקה הקשר

דף 2 מדור 4  
עדות 2 מדור 10

\*הריאשיים והמקרים הפומביים בתחום זה. יחד עם זאת מדברי  
\*הסינטודים והקונגרסונים שהשתתפו בפגישות עם רה'ם וכן  
\*מדוברם בשיחות שcharbi וabi קיימנו פסם ברור ש晦ידע והפרטים  
\*שונסרו להם בתדרוכים סגורים על ידי נציגי הזרועות השונות של  
\*הממשלה רק חזקו ואמתו את הרושם שהתקבל מדיוחי אמצעי התקשורות  
\*ובמיוחד בחבות דשת CNN על מרכיבת קשורים מסוימת, עמוקה  
\*וחזוניות למשטר האפרטהייד בדרא'ם.  
\*על רקע הבזק שנגרם לנו בקונגרס, מכוון בתדרוכים המדועניים  
\*הסגורים הנ'ל.

\*4) הנושא פועל חומר נפץ פוליטי בשל הרגשות האנטזינליות  
\*והפליגיות העצומה לנוASA האפרטהייד בקרב תברית הקונגרס ובקרב  
\*עדת הקהיל האפריקאית. נטל ריגושת זו, יוכל הממשלה בכל עת  
\*אשרצה בך, להפוך את מרכיבת קשורים הבלתי נוחים של ישראל עם  
\*דרא'ם לבושא ליגאות ועימות מדיוני שנוח לחשוף אותו בכל עת  
\*טמפרטת יחסינו עם רה'ם תיקלע לקשהים.

\*5) איננו יכולים לטעלם מהעוזה, שדראה רבה בנוASA זה הושמעה  
\*בדוקא פ' מיטב יידיזנו במיונם, הסינטודים אינזזה, בידון,  
\*ס' מון, קדר, ול'מי, אשר ציינו שוצמת התגובה לפרטומים  
\*בקרב המחוקקים הייתה אינטנסיבית מאד ושהנו שא דוחש מתחת לפניהם  
\*השפט משנו' ציר התרס הפליטי. דוקטרינם ורפואיים כהות.  
\*עליזו גם לזכור שהסינטודים וחברי הקונגרס היהודים מגלים  
\*רגשות רבת לבוASA הן בשל קשייהם הבודדים ושיחות הפעולה  
\*בונושאים שונים עם חברי הקוקוס השחור והן בשל שמדותיהם  
\*הבילידר ות המסורתית וביקורתם לפני משטר האפרטהייד בדרא'ם.  
\*דבידיהם של הסינטוד נסוי קשאים וחבר הקונגרס ברומפילד ( )  
\*אביר המיעוט בוגדת החוץ של ביה'ן) מציגים גם הרפובליקאים  
\*מצטרפים לשורת המקרים נגד ישראל.

\*6) איננו יכולים לטעלם מהשאלה שהפנה חבר הקונגרס ל-  
\*המילטון לשוזר המזכיר לענייני מד'ת ג'ון קל', בוגעת ליחסום  
\*סניטים מסויימים מחוק הקונגרס נגד האפרטהייד מ-1986 לגביו  
\*יחס' ישראל - דרא'ם. קל' הבהיר להגיאש דוח'ה בכתב בנוASA.  
\*תשומת לבכם לדבריו של חבר הקונגרס סולר לטעוד ערן ( דרא'  
\*מבחן של ערן מ-11/29 ) על הדילמה האינומה שהצעה אפשרויות  
\*שקיים בסיווע רה'ם למדינתה שמקיימת קשרים צבאיים עם דרא'ם  
\*תיזוז לדיודה ישראל ליבורליים בוגה'ן ( ).

\*7) פגש דה'ם בשעה ביקורו בונוינגן עם חברי הקוקוס השחור



## משרד החוץ-מחלוקת הקשר

10 7179 2 7018

- \***בונוכחות מס' חבר קונגראס יהודים ובהשתתפותם של חברי הקונגרס פאל והמלפטון הביאו להציגם זמנית חזק זמנית של חבריקות הפוּמְבִּית מצדם על ישראל. עם זאת הדרשוּם האיתנה של כל חבר הקונגרס שוכחו בפגישת ה'יא, שרה, מ' הבמיה שנטיגרים ישראליים צריכים לחזור אליהם עם תשובה ש摆脱ול פרטיהם על היקף מהקשרים הבתוּכִים ומוגדר סיום ההתקשרות הקיימת בין ישראל לברא, מ'**

\*8) אינטנו מצוין במאhot הקשרים הבוטחוניים עם דרא'ם ואינטנו \*  
\*יוזם מידת חיוני ותומם לאינטנסים הבוטחוניים של ישראל. עם זאת \*  
\*ונראה לי, שהמחשבות שהבולו ע"י חבר הكونגרס רוגאל וסולר \*  
\*בדבר בדיקה אפשרית של מתן פיצוי לישראל ע"י ארה'ם בשל \*  
\*סויימן בטרם עת של ההתקשרות עם דרא'ם אינן דציניות ואין \*  
\*לפנן על מה לטפוך.

- \* 9) לסיכון, בברוכם להחלים על אפי ומהות תרבותתנו בדוראנו,
- \* אחיזוני לחת את הדעת לאפור לעיל וכן למציאות החדשת שנוצרה עפ
- \* 10) פברסוזים אודורם גשייה של ישראל עם דרא'ם.

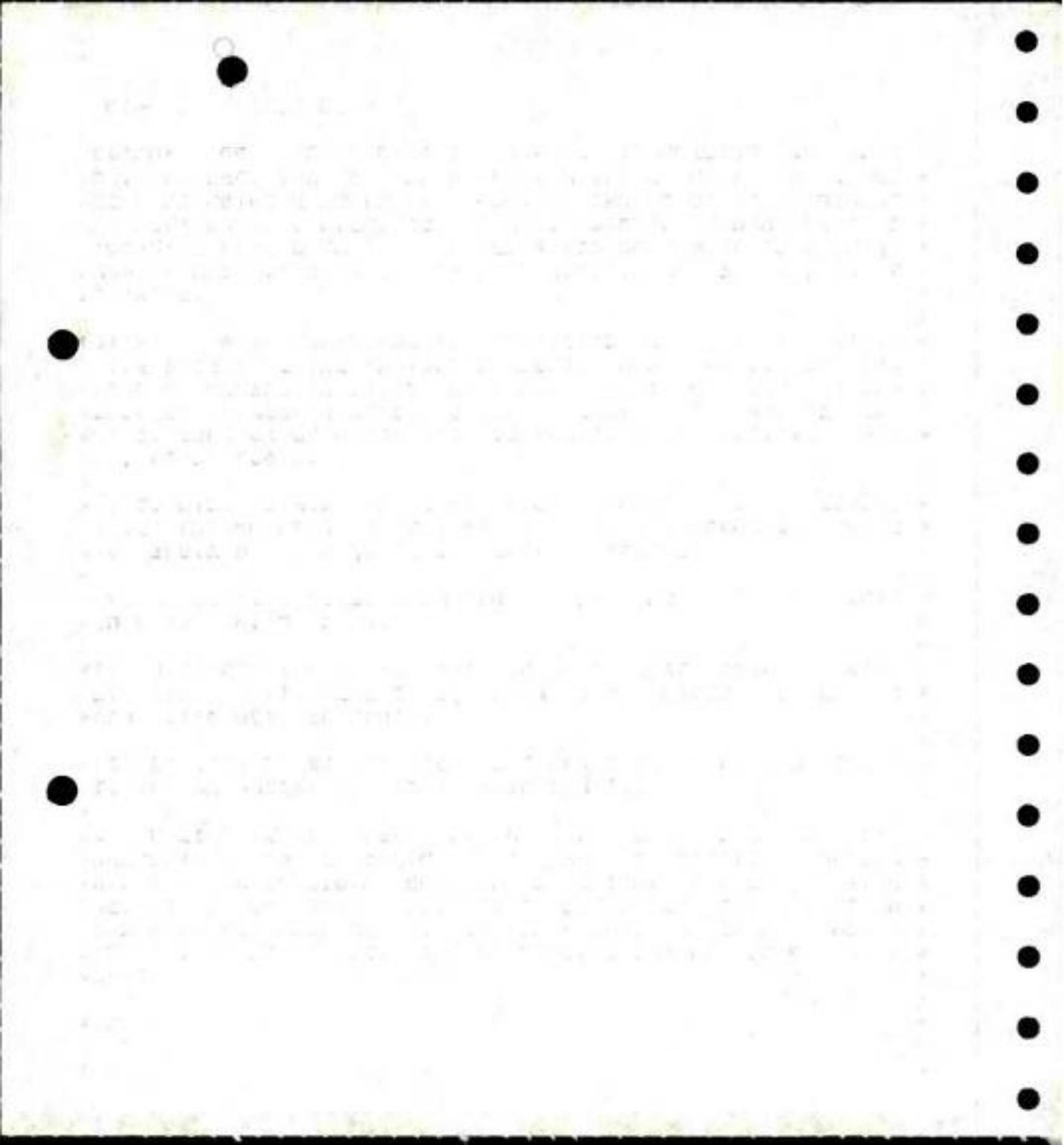
\*<sup>4</sup> (א) התחביבים נסיבות בוגושן נינן בת תלוף ומחסיד ללבותו מותנו \*  
\*<sup>5</sup> בוגושן נסיבות בוגושן בוגושן

\*12) חברי הקונגרס מיפוי לשם עם שוכם מהפירה במחצית השנה  
\*אשר נואר 0, 1990, בוטים על מהות ומשך תוקפם של החודדים  
\*הכטמינום עלה נעם דראג.

\* (ג) מדיניות הממשלה היא לثبتות בכל הרמות ובכלל המוגעים להביא לפיכך את התקשרות בחוזיות עם דרא' פ.

- \* (ד) הסכנה בנקודות צפדי עונייה נגד ישראל אם לא תביא \* ההתקשרות לסיכון מוקדם יותר או לחילופין לדלה-אסקלציה \* ההדרגתית - אינה עומדת בפתח, אך גם אם לא ניתן לומר שאין להמלות \* אפשרויות זו על הרעם. אך הנבי מילא על דינן והחלתו \* ואתאפשרה לנו המשך הדיאלוג עם חבריו הקונגורס בוגמת להשכים \* ולהציג הזרה עם שובם של חברי הקונגורס מהפגרה בסוף ינואר \* 1995.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקה הקשר

4 דצמבר 1968  
עמוק 2 מתק 10

\*תפקיד: שחזור, סשהח, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, בנצור, מצפה


  
**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

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6/10/89 (2)  
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8/22/89

December 11, 1989

Enclosed is a sampling of materials issued by the Conference of Presidents over the past few months. We feel these periodic mailings to Israeli leaders will provide insight into some of the Conference's activities and positions.

We hope you find it of interest and would welcome your comments.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Malcolm Hoenlein*  
Malcolm Hoenlein  
Executive Director

515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 752-1616 • FAX # (212) 644-4135

American Israel Public Affairs Committee	American Renaissance League of Israel	Emesah Women of America	1988	National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council	United Jewish Appeal
American Gathering Federation	Reform	Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurah	1988	Yeshiva Agudath Israel	United Synagogue of America
Jewish Holocaust Survivors	Association of Reform Zionists of America	Hadasah	1988	Rabbinical Assembly	WIZO USA
American Jewish Committee	Israel	"Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society	1988	Biblical Council of America	Women's American ORT
American Jewish Congress	Israel Friends	Home Zionists of America	1988	Religious Zionists of America	Women's League for Conservative Judaism
American ORT Federations	Israel Friends Women	Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs	1988	Union of American Hebrew Congregations	Women's League for Israel
American Sephardi Federation	Israel Zion	Joint	1988	Union of Councils for Soviet Jews	Workmen's Circle
American Zionist Federation	Central Conference of American Rabbis	Jewish Labor Committee	1988	Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations	World Zionist Organization/American Section
American Zionist Youth Federation	"Council of Jewish Federations	Jewish National Fund	1988	United Israel Appeal	Zionist Organization of America
AMIT Women	"Development Corporations for Israel	Joint Distribution Committee	1988		"Official Observer"

Contact: Richard Cohen Associates  
(212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE WELCOMES ANNOUNCEMENT  
HUNGARY, ISRAEL WILL RESUME DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations this week welcomed the announcement that diplomatic relations had been restored between Israel and Hungary, and said the news raised hopes that other countries in Eastern Europe -- including the Soviet Union -- might follow suit.

Hungary broke diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967, following the Six Day War.

Seymour D. Reich, chairman of the Conference and president of B'nai B'rith International, said in a statement:

"We are gratified by the report from Budapest that Hungary and Israel have resumed diplomatic relations, and we are hopeful that the decision may prove to be a harbinger of similar action by the Soviet Union and other East European countries before long.

"Hungary and Israel have much to offer each other in terms of trading goods and services, cultural exchange and tourism. The large Hungarian Jewish community in Israel will warmly greet the announcement, and the presence of Israeli diplomatic and other personnel in Hungary will help to strengthen Hungary's Jewish community.

"As we mark the addition of Hungary to those countries, including a number from Black Africa, that are resuming diplomatic relations with Israel, let us not forget that one East European country -- Romania -- did not break relations with Israel during the 1967 war. Romania continues to maintain diplomatic ties with Israel."

9/18/89

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CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

September 28, 1989

The Honorable James Baker III  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

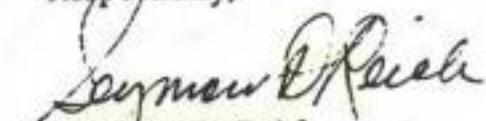
I have the honor to enclose a statement issued today by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations regarding the granting of visas to three representatives of the PLO to attend the UN General Assembly.

The three PLO representatives, organizers and defenders of terrorist acts against Israel, are among the most radical and hard-line leaders of the PLO. Their participation in the deliberations of the United Nations weakens the international community's commitment to the war against terrorism.

We object to their presence here for the same reasons that we wrote to you on September 15, 1989 in opposing a visa for Yasir Arafat: that the granting of such a visa would set back the peace process, further PLO intransigence, escalate the intifada in Gaza and the West Bank and discourage the emergence of Palestinian leadership in the territories prepared to negotiate with Israel.

We look forward to discussing this and other issues with you in the near future.

Respectfully,



Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

  
**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

For Immediate Release

**Seymour D. Reich**  
*Chairman*

**Malcolm I. Hoenlein**  
*Executive Director*

**STATEMENT BY THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS**

**ON THE GRANTING OF U.S. VISAS TO THREE PLO REPRESENTATIVES**

The three PLO representatives who have received visas to attend the UN General Assembly are among the most radical members of the PLO leadership. Their record of terrorist activity and rejectionist statements make clear that they come not in the cause of peace but of propaganda. Among the most notorious hard-liners and extremists in the PLO, they have shown an utter absence of any spirit of compromise or any readiness to move the peace process forward.

Farouk Kaddoumi, the PLO's so-called "foreign minister," has been outspoken in expressing continued support for longstanding PLO policies aimed at Israel's destruction. Defending the repeated infiltration attempts into Israel this year by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a member of the PLO, he stated: "The PLO is not prepared to condemn operations which any Palestinian organization or faction undertakes."

Last December he declared: "The PLO has established a priori the use of the armed struggle in the liberation of Palestine. It cannot be abandoned, even if there is a political settlement."

Yasser Abed Rabbu is the No. 2 man in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), identified in the 1988 Department of Defense study, "Terrorist Group Profiles," as "Marxist-Leninist and pro-Soviet." It was the DFLP that carried out the bloody raid against a schoolhouse in Ma'alot, on Israel's northern border, in which 25 persons -- mostly children -- were killed and 66 wounded. Other terrorist attacks by the DFLP in which Israeli civilians were killed took place in 1974, 1975, 1979, 1984 and 1987. Since Yasir Arafat's press conference in Geneva last December, in which he asserted that the PLO recognized Israel and repudiated terrorism, the DFLP has carried out at least three heavily-armed terrorist incursions from Lebanon against civilian targets in Israel. All were intercepted; in one, an Israeli Bedouin soldier was killed.

"We have recently launched a series of attacks against Israel and we will launch more," said Naif Hawatmeh, the DFLP leader, in May 1989. "Such attacks are a sacred right of our people." His second-in-command, Abed Rabbu, stated in June: "...the PLO policy opposing terrorism has never included any position which would view the struggle against the Israeli occupation in all its various forms as something to be rejected." Earlier (in February) he declared: "It is the right of the Palestinians to exercise all forms of struggle against the occupation; there is not a state of no-war between us and Israel."

Sulim Najab, leader of the Palestine Communist Party who heads the Communist faction in the PLO Executive Committee, is among the most radical rejectionists in the PLO leadership. His attitude toward peace with Israel may be judged by a typical statement, made to the Iraqi news agency in February, that "the renewal of the PLO-American dialogue must not be linked to a cessation of the Palestinian armed struggle."

\* \* \*

These are not words or deeds of peacemakers but rather of violent men, perpetrators of terrorist acts. That they should have been chosen to represent the PLO at the UN confirms once more that the PLO remains committed to the goal articulated in its national covenant: "...to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion...to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine."

With such men, representing such an organization, there can be no progress toward peace.

9/28/89

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→ Malcolm Hoenlein

Contact: Richard Cohen  
(212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE HAILS ITALY'S FOREIGN MINISTER  
FOR URGING REPEAL OF UN'S ANTI-ZIONISM RESOLUTION

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations has warmly praised an address to the United Nations General Assembly by Italy's Minister for Foreign Minister Affairs calling for repeal of the 1975 UN resolution equating Zionism with racism.

In a letter to the Italian Foreign Minister -- Gianni de Michelis -- the Conference voiced hope that his "forthright statement" would "lead others to reconsider their earlier support" for the resolution, "a blot on the UN."

The letter, signed by Seymour D. Reich, chairman, and Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director, said: "Your vision of a new world characterized by global integration and international cooperation is one which we share. We pray your words will be brought to fruition in the near future."

In his address, delivered earlier this month to the UN General Assembly, Foreign Minister de Michelis said in part: "Particularly out of place in a world moving toward gradual integration are, in our opinion, such resolutions, adopted in a different climate, as the one equating Zionism with racism, which should be cancelled."

10/16/89

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Contact: Richard Cohen  
(212) 758-6969



For Immediate Release

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

**'Giving Legitimacy to the PLO'**

**Seymour D. Reich**  
Chairman

**Malcolm I. Hoenlein**  
Executive Director

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS ASSAILS UNESCO FOR  
RECOMMENDING PARTICIPATION BY 'PALESTINE'**

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, an umbrella group representing 46 national Jewish groups, today (Thursday, Oct. 5) assailed as an "attempt to give legitimacy to the terrorist PLO" plans by UNESCO to invite "Palestine" to take part in its programs.

Commenting on a UNESCO recommendation "for the closest possible participation of Palestine," including financial subsidies for the fiscal year 1990-91 "for activities conducted on behalf of the Palestinian people," the Conference chairman, Seymour D. Reich, declared:

"The latest attempt to give legitimacy to the terrorist PLO is the proposal to invite participation in the activities and deliberations of UNESCO by 'Palestine.' But there is no 'Palestine.' It has no territory, it has no citizens and it has no international standing. The state proclaimed by the PLO last year as 'Palestine' does not exist, and its inclusion in UNESCO will not give it life.

"But giving the UNESCO platform to the PLO and letting it participate in the work of UNESCO could cause serious mischief. It could also serve as a precedent for further attempts by the PLO to enter into and participate in the work of other UN agencies.

"The UNESCO proposal, under whatever form, may accurately be described as a device to permit the PLO to enter the company of nations through the back door. This effort has been rejected as a subterfuge in recent months by the World Health Organization and other international organizations associated with the UN. It has been resisted successfully by our own government and other democracies.

"If UNESCO persists in this quixotic attempt to fabricate a state from the world's most notorious terrorist organization, it will condemn itself again in the eyes of civilized people everywhere. And it will surely discourage the United States from any possibility of returning to UNESCO's ranks."

10/5/89

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Contact: Richard Cohen (212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

**PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE WELCOMES UNESCO VOTE POSTPONING  
PLO'S APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP; AMERICAN ROLE IS PRAISED**

A vote by UNESCO's executive committee to postpone for two years any consideration of the Palestine Liberation Organization's application to join the international organization was welcomed this week by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, which also voiced praise for the "vigorous efforts by the American observer delegation to defeat the proposal."

But Seymour D. Reich, chairman of the Presidents Conference, voiced "strong disappointment" that the UNESCO policy-making body also provided about \$1 million for Palestinian participation in various UNESCO-sponsored activities.

"Giving the UNESCO platform to the PLO and letting it participate in the work of UNESCO could cause serious mischief and serve as a precedent for further attempts by the PLO to enter into and participate in the work of other UN agencies under the name of a non-existent 'Palestine,'" Mr. Reich said.

The Presidents Conference chairman said he was "deeply gratified" by the warning issued by the United States that if the PLO were admitted, Washington would not return to UNESCO. The U.S. quit the organization in 1985, accusing it of anti-Western bias and mismanagement.

The resolution to reject the PLO's effort to become a member in UNESCO under the name of "Palestine" was adopted without a formal vote by the organization's 51-member governing body. The resolution is expected to win final approval at UNESCO's general conference, which meets in Paris from Oct. 17 to Nov. 16.

10/13/89

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Contact: Richard Cohen Associates (212) 758-6969For Immediate Release

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

**Seymour D. Reich**  
*Chairman*

**Malcolm I. Hoenlein**  
*Executive Director*

**An Israeli Military Beret For His Collection**

**ADMIRAL CROWE, HONORED BY PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE  
FOR STRENGTHENING ISRAEL-U.S. MILITARY COOPERATION,  
PRAISES ISRAEL FOR PROVIDING 'VALUABLE INFORMATION' TO U.S.**

NEW YORK -- Admiral William J. Crowe Jr., recently retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has hailed "the role of Israel's intelligence network in providing valuable strategic information to its American ally and partner."

The retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs spoke at a reception in his honor given by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, where he was warmly praised for his role in developing close U.S.-Israel cooperation on strategic and military affairs.

Admiral Crowe has begun an international lecture tour speaking to business organizations, major universities and select Jewish groups under the auspices of Harry Walker, veteran Jewish activist and chairman of the nationally renowned Harry Walker lecture bureau.

At the reception, speaker after speaker hailed the nation's former chief military officer for his friendship and support of Israel and for his successful efforts to advance strategic cooperation between America and the Jewish state in a variety of areas.

In behalf of the government of Israel, Consul-General Uri Savir presented Admiral Crowe with an Israeli Army military beret to add to his well-known collection of military headgear. Moshe Kochanovsky, director of the Israel Defense Mission in the U.S., read a letter from Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin paying tribute to the retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

**Rabin to Crowe: 'All of Us in Israel Appreciate You'**

"All of us here in Israel appreciate you, Admiral Crowe, for your friendship and support to Israel," Minister Rabin wrote. "We always knew we could count you while you were steering the boat as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Seymour D. Reich, chairman of the Presidents Conference, who presided at the reception, presented an engraved silver kiddush cup to Admiral Crowe in behalf of the Conference as a token of the Jewish community's "gratitude and affection."

Rabbi Joseph P. Sternstein, president of the Jewish National Fund and chairman of the National Committee on Tourism to Israel, coordinated by the Presidents Conference, presented the 47-year Navy veteran with a framed JNF golden book certificate.

In response, Admiral Crowe recalled that the first mission he undertook as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Reagan Administration was to visit Israel to strengthen strategic cooperation between the two nations. "Israel's democratic values resonate with those of America, he said. "Israel deserves praise for maintaining the only democracy in the Middle East, despite external threats."

10/27/89

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CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

Contact: Carolyn Greene  
(212) 752-1616

For Immediate Release

MARKED INCREASE IN ISRAELI TOURISM  
AS COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION INTENSIFIES

Tourism to Israel from the United States and Canada continues to rise and now stands at 7 per cent higher for the first nine months of 1989 over the same period last year, it was reported this week by Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, chairman of the National Committee for Tourism to Israel. The Committee is a partnership by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the Israel Ministry of Tourism and El Al Airlines.

Rabbi Sternstein attributed the upturn to Israel's "fundamental attractiveness to tourists," along with intensive promotions by the Israel Government Tourist Office, El Al Israel Airlines, and continuing efforts by national and local Jewish organizations working with the National Committee.

Thousands of post-card size flyers promoting tourism to Israel prepared by the National Committee were distributed to synagogue members. These cards are available for distribution at organizational meetings, mailings and special events by calling (212) 752-1616. "Highlighting tourism's multi-faceted importance and impact, the card points out that tourism delivers a message of support to Israel and its people, and contributes to Israel's economic independence," Rabbi Sternstein said.

Israel's Ministry of Tourism has built its fall and winter advertising around the award-winning campaign theme "Israel -- Come Stay With Friends," according to Rafael Farber, Israel Tourism Commissioner for North America. The \$2 million campaign will run through March 1990. Three new television commercials featuring vignettes of Israelis and visiting Americans meeting and developing friendships will illustrate the theme.

El Al General Manager David Shein noted that El Al Airlines offers a number of "Milk and Honey" packages designed to cater to a variety of travel needs and budgets. One package, called "Sunsational Israel," enables the visitor to tour the country on a budget of \$8 a day plus airfare. A second package combines Israel with a Jewish "Heritage Tour" of Spain; a third offers travelers three nights in Cairo for \$359, including airfare, hotels and tours.

For further information about special events in Israel and up-to-date travel resources, call the toll-free Israel travel line -- 1-800-TRAVEL 40, a service of the Conference of Presidents.

11/2/89

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**Seymour D. Reich**  
*Chairman*

**Malcolm L. Hoenlein**  
*Executive Director*

**Contact:** Richard Cohen Associates  
Joel Saibel (212) 758-6969

**For Immediate Release**

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS WELCOMES  
ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC TIES  
BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND ISRAEL**

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations has welcomed the announcement of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Israel. Ethiopia had severed these ties in 1973.

In a statement released today (Friday, Nov. 3), the umbrella group of 46 national secular and religious Jewish organizations, said:

"We are pleased that the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has joined the growing list of African nations such as Kenya, the Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Togo, Zaire and the United Republic of Cameroon that have re-established diplomatic ties with Israel, which were broken in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War.

"We welcome this step which can only benefit both countries and the cause of international peace and hope it will expedite the speedy reunification of Ethiopian Jews with their families in Israel."

# # # #

11/4/89



## CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS

## OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

For Immediate Release

Contact: Richard Cohen Associates  
Joel Saibel (212) 758-6969

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS HAILS  
ISRAEL CABINET'S ACCEPTANCE  
OF BAKER PEACE FORMULATION

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, representing 50 national secular and religious Jewish organizations, lauded and strongly endorsed Israel's cabinet decision to accept Secretary of State James A. Baker's plan for promoting Israeli-Palestinian talks on elections in the occupied territories.

In a statement released today (Tuesday, Nov. 7), the Conference said:

"We enthusiastically support the decision by Israel's cabinet regarding Secretary of State Baker's formula for beginning an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue leading toward free elections to choose representatives of the Palestinians living in Gaza and the West Bank.

"The cabinet's action once again demonstrates Israel's continuing commitment to bring about elections in the territories, reinforces the government's peace initiative launched last May, and underscores Israel's enduring commitment to seeking peace with its Arab neighbors.

"The cabinet decision also reflects the common goals shared by Israel and United States for advancing the peace process in the Middle East. We laud this action and stand behind the joint U.S.-Israel effort to promote peace and stability in the region. We hope that Egypt will join in accepting Secretary Baker's proposal so that the peace process can move forward.

"At the same time, we urge that the other key points in Israel's May initiative also be implemented. They are: joint efforts by Egypt and Israel to reaffirm the peaceful principles of the Camp David accords and broaden the circle of Arab-Israel peace; cessation of anti-Israel propaganda and economic boycotts by Arab states still at war with Israel and their entry into negotiations aimed at achieving a comprehensive settlement, and an international effort to improve living conditions for Arab refugees in camps in the West Bank and Gaza.

"We endorse these confidence-building measures aimed at reducing tensions and promoting the stability that will ultimately lead to a resolution of all outstanding problems in the Middle East."

From: Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations  
Contact: Richard Cohen (212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

**MRS. THATCHER TELLS PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE LEADERS  
BRITAIN WILL OPPOSE ANY MOVE AT THE UN TO RECOGNIZE  
THE PLO AS A STATE; SHE ENDORSES ISRAEL'S ELECTION PLAN**

LONDON, Nov. 29 -- Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said today that a Palestinian state does not exist and that her Government will fight any effort at the United Nations by the Palestine Liberation Organization to seek recognition as a state.

The British leader made her statement during a 40-minute meeting at 10 Downing Street with Seymour D. Reich of New York, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. The Conference of Presidents is an umbrella group that represents 50 national Jewish secular and religious bodies.

Mr. Reich was accompanied by Malcolm Hoenlein of New York, executive director of the Conference, and Daniel S. Mariaschin, of Washington, D.C., director of international and public affairs of B'nai B'rith International. Mr. Reich is president of B'nai B'rith International.

During the meeting, which Mr. Reich described as "warm, friendly and open," Mrs. Thatcher also rejected the concept of a government-in-exile representing "Palestine." Such an entity can come into being only when a government already exists -- and there is no state of Palestine, she told the Jewish leaders.

On the Middle East peace process, Mr. Reich reported, Mrs. Thatcher supported the concept of free elections in the territories, as proposed by the Israeli unity government in its peace initiative, and expressed satisfaction at Israel's acceptance of the five-point plan of U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III, calling it an important step.

She also said she would like to see King Hussein of Jordan return to a more active role in the peace process at an appropriate time. The British Prime Minister expressed concern over the strong showing in Jordan's recent election by Islamic fundamentalist candidates. (MORE)

Mrs. Thatcher expressed understanding of Israel's difficulties in dealing with the intifada, with special reference to the damage done to Israel's image as a result of TV coverage of the uprising, according to Mr. Reich.

The Presidents Conference chairman said he was "deeply impressed" by Mrs. Thatcher's interest in and knowledge of the latest situation confronting the Jews of the Soviet Union. He said the British Prime Minister recognized that a continuing problem exists despite glasnost and perestroika and that impediments affecting the right of emigration and cultural and religious freedom affecting Soviet Jews remain.

Mrs. Thatcher told the group that anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is increasing and referred to the recent daubings of synagogues in the USSR. She said it was ironic that, when Jews feel free to attend religious services for the first time in many years, synagogues are coming under attack by anti-Semitic bands.

Mrs. Thatcher disclosed that the issue of resurgent anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union was raised during her talks at Camp David last week, Mr. Reich reported.

Another subject raised by the Jewish group was the continuing Arab boycott of Israel and cooperation in the boycott by private British companies. Mrs. Thatcher noted that the British Foreign Office no longer issues negative certificates of origin, which attest that goods sold to Arab countries were not made in Israel. She said she would read with interest a memorandum that Mr. Reich offered to send to the Prime Minister on further steps the British government might take to discourage British firms from participating in the Arab boycott.

At the meeting, Mrs. Thatcher was accompanied by Charles Powell, a senior foreign affairs adviser. The talks in London followed a visit by Mr. Reich and Mr. Hoenlein to Israel, where they met with Prime Minister Shamir and other Israeli government officials. On Sunday (Nov. 26) Mr. Reich received an honorary degree from Tel Aviv University.

Earlier today, Mr. Reich, Mr. Hoenlein and Mr. Mariaschin met with members of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, including its president, Lionel Kopelowitz, and executive director, Haim Pinner, and with the leaders of B'nai B'rith in the United Kingdom.



CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

September 20, 1989

TO: PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE LEADERSHIP  
FROM: SEYMOUR D. REICH, CHAIRMAN  
MALCOLM HOENLEIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

**I. ACTIVITIES UPDATE**

Following the September 11 meeting of the Conference of Presidents, a letter was sent to Secretary of State James Baker conveying the consensus view that Yasir Arafat be denied a visa to enter the United States. The text of the letter is enclosed.

A September 18 statement was issued welcoming the announcement that diplomatic relations had been restored between Israel and Hungary. The statement noted that "Hungary and Israel have much to offer each other in terms of trading goods and services, cultural exchange and tourism" and said that "the news raised hopes that other countries in Eastern Europe -- including the Soviet Union might follow suit."

**II. ACTION REQUEST**

The July issue of World Health, the monthly magazine published by the WHO, included a map of the eastern Mediterranean using the label "Palestine" to designate the entire area of Israel. The map accompanied the article entitled "The Well-Being of Pilgrims" and is enclosed for your reference. Letters noting this error should be sent to:

Dr. H. Nakajima, Director General  
World Health Organization  
20 Ave. Appia  
CH-1211 - Geneva 27  
Switzerland

515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 752-1616 • FAX # (212) 644-4135

American Israel Public Affairs  
Committee  
American Gathering Federation Jewish  
Holocaust Survivors  
American Jewish Congress  
American CRT Federation  
American Zionist Federation  
American Zionist Youth Foundation  
AMIT House

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
Association of Reform Synagogues of  
America  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
B'nai Zion  
Central Conference of American Rabbis  
Emetah Women of America  
Federation of Reconstructive  
Congregations

Hadassah  
Heschel Society of America  
Jewish Institute for National Security  
Actions  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Jewish National Fund  
Jewish Pier Foundation of USA  
FYE  
Labor Zionist Alliance  
Meretz

National USA  
National Conference of Soviet Jewry  
National Committee for Labor Issues  
National Council of American Women  
National Council of Young Israel  
National Federation of Temple  
Sistershoods  
National Jewish Community Relations  
Advisory Council

Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Religious Zionist of America  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish  
Congregations of America  
United Jewish Appeal  
United Synagogue of America

WEIZO USA  
Women's American BET  
Women's League for Conservative  
Judaism  
Women's League for Israel  
Women's Circle  
World Zionist Organization-American  
Section  
Zionist Organization of America

### **III. BACKGROUND MATERIALS**

Enclosed is a selection of materials relating to issues on the current agenda of the Presidents Conference. These materials include: Council of Jewish Federations statement regarding the Administration's proposed Soviet Jewish Refugee Program; Jerusalem Post interview with Prime Minister Shamir; "Understanding Diplomatic Terminology" (clarification of key concepts and codewords); map of Jordanian points of infiltration into Israel; and "Two Kinds of Intifada", by Yehuda Litani;

### **IV. NEW LEADERSHIP POSITIONS**

Harriet Green; President, Na'amat USA  
Lester Pollack; President, JWB  
Seymour Reich; Chairman, International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC).  
Murray Rosen; Commander; Jewish War Veterans of the USA.

### **V. BIBLIOGRAPHIC MATERIALS AVAILABLE**

The Presidents Conference has material available and a variety of excellent papers and publications are produced by member agencies. We urge you to take advantage of these.

Some materials available from the Presidents Conference are listed below. All pieces are less than five pages.

- "The Political Stands of Jews and Arabs" - results of a June Guttman Institute of Applied Social Research poll.
- Background on admitting Yasir Arafat to the US - prepared by the Consulate of Israel.
- "Reflections on a Black American's Mission to Israel - A Model of Self-Restraint" by Samuel DuBois Cook - reprinted from the Jerusalem Post. August 1989
- "Exploiting the Children" - brief analysis of the role of children in the intifada. August 1989, Britain/Israel Public Affairs Committee.

New Materials available from various organizations include:

#### Published by the American Jewish Committee

- "The Cruel Irony of the 'Organization of the Oppressed': The 222 Kidnapping and Killing of Defenseless Lebanese Jews". George Gruen, August 1989. 4 pages
- "The Fatah General Congress: A Victory for the Moderates or the Hardliners?" Riva Silverman, August 1989. 4 pages

#### Published by the American Jewish Congress

- ""The Fifth Fatah General Congress: Triumph of Moderation or Return to Radicalism". Philip Baum and Rafi Danziger. August 1989. 14 pages



Published by the Anti-Defamation League

- "The Hostage Crisis in Lebanon - A Summary and Analysis of Editorial Opinion Among the 50 Largest Circulation Newspapers in the US". August 1989. 6 pages
- "Current Perspectives on the Middle East" - a series of six short articles by Kenneth Jacobson. Articles included are: "The Middle East Conflict: Israel-Palestinian or Israel- Arab"; "An Imposed Solution: The PLO's Idea of Negotiation"; "US-Israel Ties: The Key to Middle East Peace"; "Global Change: Its Impact on the Middle East"; "Israel's Peace Proposal: A Reminder of Fundamentals"; "An Incentive to the PLO: A Counterproductive Exercise". August 1989

Published by the Committee for the Economic Growth of Israel

- "20 Ways Your Organization Can Help Build the Economy of Israel" Elmer L. Winter. 11 pages

Available from the Friends of Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress

- video on the scope of their activities

Published by Hadassah

- "Between Arab and Jew: Unraveling the Knot". Dr. Yosef Olmert. 120 Pages. July 1989. Cost: \$7.95

Published by the Jewish Labor Committee

- "Critique of Trade Union Rights in Countries Affiliated with the League of Arab States". Michael Perry, June 1989. 32 pages

Published by Near East Report

- "Myths and Facts 1989: A Concise Record of the Arab Israeli Conflict". Leonard J. Davis

Published by the Zionist Organization of America

- "Zionism in Christian-Jewish Relations". Paul Flacks, March 1989. 152 pages
- "The Campaign to Discredit Israel: The Pro Arab/PLO Strategy to Undermine the American/Israeli Alliance". Paul Flacks. 1989. 235 pages

The Information Department of the Consulate General of Israel in New York distributes information on the peace initiative, the territories, the uprising, the PLO and Lebanon. A printed "Resource Directory of Political Brochures and Pamphlets" is available from the Consulate. A Directory of Non-Political Brochures is available also.





CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm J. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

TEXT OF LETTER SENT TO SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES A. BAKER III

September 19, 1989

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The 46 constituent organizations of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, in whose name we write, share the Administration's goal of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We support the position that you and President Bush have adopted in urging acceptance of the Israeli peace initiative.

Recent news reports indicate that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat may seek an entry visa to the United States to address the United Nations. It is the consensus view of all our member organizations that the granting of such a visa would set back the peace process, further PLO intransigence, escalate the intifada in Gaza and the West Bank and discourage the emergence of Palestinian leadership in the territories prepared to negotiate with Israel.

The record of PLO actions and statements since the initiation of the U.S. dialogue with the PLO, especially in recent months, shows that Arafat has not earned reconsideration of Secretary Shultz's rejection of his request last year for a visa.

The series of terrorist attacks against and within Israel by groups associated with the PLO has been accompanied by a campaign of intimidation and murder in the territories by Palestinians against Palestinians. The clear purpose of this campaign has been to torpedo any support by Palestinians in the territories for the Israeli peace initiative. These assaults, resulting in the death thus far of more than 100 Palestinians, were signalled by Yasir Arafat's call in January of this year for ten bullets in the chest of anyone who opposed continuing the intifada, and his equally threatening recent remarks in Belgrade and Amman.

Particularly disturbing was the communique issued after the Fatah Congress in Tunis last month. In its statement, Fatah, the largest branch of the PLO -- which is personally headed by Yasir Arafat -- cited the "injustice" of the 1947 UN Palestinian Partition Plan and the establishment of Israel, called for continuing "armed action and all forms of struggle to eliminate the Zionist Israeli occupation of occupied Palestinian land," demanded an escalation of the intifada, rejected Israel's peace initiative and established a committee to prevent Jewish immigration to Israel.

These are not the policies of an organization that seeks peace with Israel, that recognizes Israel or that forswears violence against Israel. No individual who heads such an organization should be permitted to enter the United States. The granting of a visa to Yasir Arafat would be seen by the PLO as a reward for its policy of violence, its rhetoric against the peace process, and its recalcitrance in its dealings with the U.S. It would, moreover, damage the credibility of our country's commitment to the war against terrorism.

For these reasons, Mr. Secretary, we urge you to reject an application from Yasir Arafat for a visa to enter the United States.

515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 752-1616 • FAX # (212) 644-4135

# The well-being of pilgrims

by Jalal Aashi

Every year, as the time of Muslim pilgrimage approaches, and pilgrims arrive from all corners of the world, every point of entry into Saudi Arabia has to cope with ever increasing work. By air, sea and road they come, motivated by faith and a long-cherished desire to pray at the Kaabah, the blessed mosque towards which Muslims turn in their prayer wherever they are, and

Dr Jalal Aashi is with the Ministry of Health, Saudi Arabia

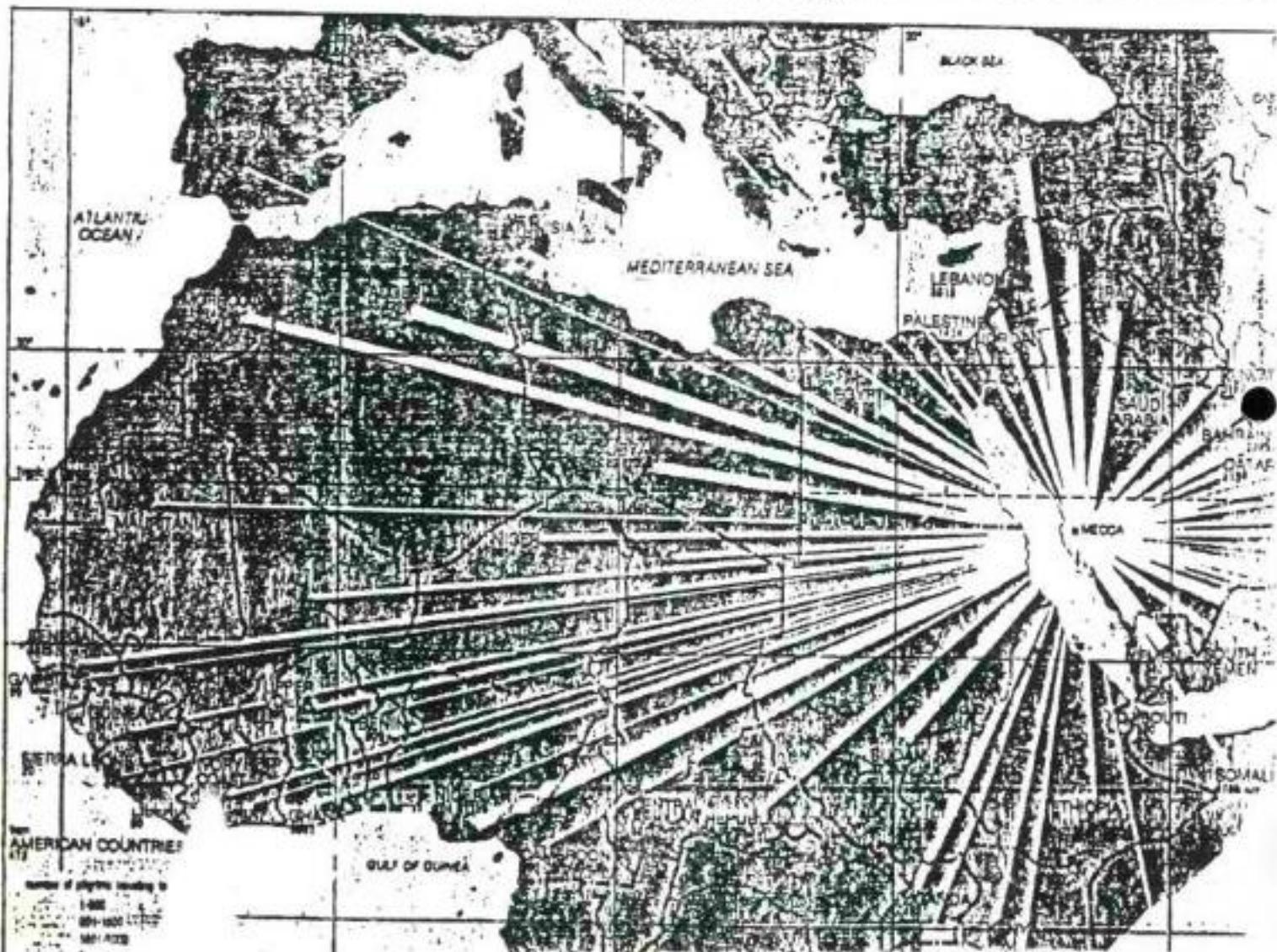
to visit Arafat, a few miles away from Mecca (Makkah).

This attendance is the most central ritual of the Haj - the Islamic pilgrimage. Around one million of them arrive from countries as far apart as Indonesia and Canada. But whether they come from China, France, Jordan, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, the United States, Yugoslavia, from anywhere else, they all have the same purpose. To them, this is the journey of a lifetime and they want to make the most of it. That is, to fulfil their pilgrimage as best as they can and to earn the reward given by God to pilgrims, namely, forgiveness of past sins. In purely Islamic terms, pilgrim-

age is a visit made at a specific time to the Inviolable House at Mecca. This is a reference to the Kaabah, the black structure at the centre of the Grand Mosque. Pilgrimage also involves the fulfilment of certain rituals at specific times and places.

*Mecca (Makkah), the focal point of Islam, attracts pilgrims from all countries where there are large numbers of Muslims. The Grand Mosque occupies the centre of the town, and within the Grand Mosque is the Kaabah, the sanctuary.*

Photos Camerapix London © Map reproduced by courtesy of Equinox, Oxford, UK. ©



COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS • 730 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NY 10003 • 212/475-5000

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS  
STATEMENT REGARDING THE ADMINISTRATION'S  
PROPOSED SOVIET JEWISH REFUGEE PROGRAM

We are continuing our close consultation with the Administration and the Congress in connection with the new refugee processing program being presented by the White House and State Department. We are in agreement with the general outlines of the program as it has been presented to us.

We agree that the capabilities of the consular section of the United States Embassy in Moscow must be increased significantly with many more adjudicators so that the thousands of persons seeking admission to the United States will be processed quickly and humanely.

We also agree that processing by our government in Rome should be phased out as capabilities in our Moscow Embassy are strengthened.

We seek the appropriate number of refugee admission slots into the United States for Soviet Jews and will seek to maximize that number in the context of the total refugee slots available to meet the needs of other refugees around the world in critical need of those numbers. We do not, under any circumstances, seek to take more than our fair share.

However, we are troubled, as is the Congress, by the October start-up date proposed for this new program to begin in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. This program should start when sufficient personnel are in place in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in order to avoid long delays in effective processing in Moscow. After the difficult experiences suffered by Soviet Jews in Rome, we cannot condone delays which would result from lack of trained personnel in place in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

Finally, we have already offered to continue working closely with the Administration and the Congress, along with our colleagues in other voluntary agencies, both in Moscow and in Washington. We wish to deal with the details necessary to assure the success of this program and to avoid the pitfalls which will result without such close cooperation between our voluntary system and the government agencies.

We have enjoyed a close working partnership with our government over many decades. In this instance, because of the complexities of the new program, cooperation between us becomes vital in order to assure that the treatment of the refugees will be with respect and dignity.

These considerations have been presented both to the Administration and the Congress and we will continue to pursue these goals.

Over.....

## MAJOR REVISION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY PROGRAMMING

### "Responding to the Challenge of Soviet Jewry"

In response to the critical nature of the Soviet Jewish Resettlement issue, CJF will devote all of Thursday, Nov. 16 from 10:00 AM - 4:00 PM, to address this issue exclusively. Never before in the history of the CJF General Assembly has the program schedule been restructured in this way. All other forums and workshops previously scheduled have either been cancelled or moved to other dates and times.

Immediately following the Thursday morning plenary session, 12 or more Workshops on Domestic Resettlement Challenges will be scheduled from 10:15 - 11:45 AM. Discussions will be held among city size and special groupings including Young Leadership, Women's Division and Community Planners. From 12 noon - 1:45 PM, six Luncheon Institutes on Soviet Jewish Issues will take place during which delegates will hear from distinguished speakers on overseas, absorption and campaign issues. Following lunch, there will be a 2:15 - 3:30 PM Plenary Session on Jewish Agency Absorption in Israel.

The Thursday evening overseas plenary session will feature Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir who will address the topic of "Livnot U'Lehibanot: Building an Enduring Partnership."

### SPECIAL SATELLITE BROADCAST

#### "Crisis and Opportunity - Freedom for Soviet Jews"

A special satellite broadcast focusing on Soviet Jewish Resettlement will be held on the CJF Satellite Network on Tuesday, September 26 from 4:30 - 5:45 PM (EDT). Among the program participants will be CJF President Mandell L. Berman, CJF Executive Vice President Carmi Schwartz, CJF Washington Action Office Director Mark Talisman, and representatives from UJA. The issues to be addressed during the broadcast will include:

- o Washington Update
- o Refugee Numbers
- o Cost Containment
- o Passage to Freedom Campaign Reimbursement
- o Planning the 1990 Campaign
- o Special General Assembly Programming

Federation lay and professional leadership are urged to attend this special broadcast. Additional satellite programs will be scheduled as needed.

# # # #

## ANALYSIS

# Understanding Diplomatic Terminology

*Certain key concepts and codewords have gained widespread currency since the outbreak of the intifada; others have gone out of vogue. In light of PLO chairman Yasir Arafat's recent threats to "rethink" his "peace drive," having rejected elections in the territories, the only peace initiative on the table, now is a good time to clarify the major ones.*

**Free and democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza.** Elections would enable legitimate Palestinians to negotiate with Israel first over interim arrangements in the territories, followed by negotiations for a permanent agreement. Because Israel and the United States are agreed that the status quo is unacceptable and that this plan offers a realistic way out, both are actively promoting it. Of the Arab states, Egypt alone has cautiously endorsed elements of the plan. The PLO continues to equivocate.

**Legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.** The signatories of the Camp David Accords—Israel, Egypt and the United States—formally recognized that the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza should participate in the determination of their own future. Of late, the United States has stressed the need for a mechanism to address the "legitimate political rights" of the Palestinians, best manifested through free, democratic elections. Both Washington and Jerusalem preclude Palestinian statehood from this category. The PLO demands recognition of its "legitimate national rights," namely, statehood.

**Strategy of phases/stages.** The PLO "strategy of stages" seeks the elimination of Israel and the overthrow of the Hashemite Kingdom in a step-by-step fashion. The first stage would be the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, culminating in the eventual dissolution of Israel, even within its pre-1967 borders. This strategy has been explicit PLO policy since 1974, when it was included in the resolutions of the Palestine National Council (PNC). Neither PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat nor the PNC has ever renounced the strategy of phases. Indeed, since Arafat's December 14 press conference in Geneva, his top deputies, including Abu Iyad and the PNC chairman, have repeatedly reiterated this longstanding PLO policy.

**Palestinian state.** In declaring statehood in November 1988, the PLO declined to delineate borders. The last four U.S. administrations have consistently opposed the idea of a Palestinian state because it would be a threat to Israel's security; it would be a threat to Jordan's existence; and it would further threaten U.S. interests since it would surely be a radical state allied with and militarily linked to the Soviet Union. Both major political blocs in Israel are strongly opposed to an independent Palesti-

nian state, reflecting the feeling of a large majority of Israelis.

**Palestinian self-determination.** In the Middle East, Palestinian self-determination is synonymous with a Palestinian state. In numerous statements Arafat and his top deputies use the terms interchangeably. The United Nations has also adopted the PLO's approach that self-determination and a Palestinian state are inseparable as demonstrated in dozens of UN resolutions. This term alludes to the strategy of phases in that Palestinian Arabs living beyond the borders of the initially formed Palestinian state—in both Jordan and Israel—must be granted "self-determination" as well.

**Right of return.** This PLO demand, incorporated into all PLO declarations and UN resolutions on "Palestine," refers to the right of Palestinian refugees from pre-1967 Israel to return en masse. The implication is that this will lead to the elimination of the Jewish presence in Israel. It does not refer to the right of return to the West Bank and Gaza, because those in the refugee camps in the territories and throughout the Middle East came from Haifa, Jaffa, and Ramle, etc.—all within the green line.

**Armed struggle.** This is the PLO's codeword for terrorism and still an operative PLO policy. According to Article 9 of the Palestine National Covenant, "Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. Thus it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase." At U.S. insistence, Yasir Arafat purportedly renounced terrorism in Geneva in December 1988. However, the Fatah Congress held in August 1989 called for "more resolve and determination to continue the struggle with all possible means—political and military—to liberate our homeland and establish our state" and for "continuing to intensify and escalate armed action and all forms of struggle to liquidate the Israeli-Zionist occupation." It proceeded to condemn "all terrorist Israeli practices." Top deputy Abu Iyad warned that the November 1988 PNC "did not cancel the option of armed struggle" (WAKH, Aug. 17). Arafat himself has justified terrorist infiltrations against Israel from Lebanon, explaining that "there is a big difference between what we condemn—terrorism—and resistance to occupation" (Reuters, Mar. 8).

**Direct negotiations.** Washington and Jerusalem agree that the only way to achieve a peace settlement between Israel and the Arab states, as well as the Palestinians in the territories, is through face-to-face bilateral negotiations—the same way Israel arrived at a treaty with Egypt.

**International conference.** The PLO is seeking a UN-sponsored international conference which would give major roles to the

Soviet Union and China, two states which do not have diplomatic relations with Israel. Instead of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states, this is a formula for imposing a solution on the Jewish State. The United States has sought all means to direct negotiations, regarding an international conference as a final resort which only if properly structured could facilitate such negotiations. At this time Washington sees such a conference as counterproductive.

**Arab-Israeli conflict.** In the wake of the intifada, there has been an on-going effort to depict the conflict as one between Israel and the Palestinians alone. But the conflict continues to be primarily a military struggle between Israel and the neighboring Arab states. The root of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the refusal of the Arab states, with the exception of Egypt, to accept Israel's existence. Recent acquisitions of ballistic missiles by states such as Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and the proliferation of chemical weapons in the region, highlight the dangers Israel faces from radical states that are still seeking its elimination. In the 16 years since the 1973 war, the countries of the Arab world have undertaken an arms buildup that is unprecedented in scope. In total, the Arab countries most involved in the Arab-Israeli dispute have taken delivery of military goods and services, or placed orders for future delivery, worth in excess of \$140 billion, eroding Israel's narrow margin of security.

Sara M. Averick □

*Averick is director of research and information at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.*

## The increasingly violent street youngsters and the 'cocktail party leaders'

TODAY THERE IS no obedience any more; every young thug organizes a group of six or seven youths in his neighbourhood and gets them to throw stones or petrol bombs at Israeli cars. They are not connected with any central organization; they do whatever they want. It's not like a year or even half a year ago - the intifada is taking a different path," a West Bank PLO leader said this week.

The leader, who has spent time in detention during the intifada, reflects the mood of those who have become accustomed to regarding themselves as the local leadership of the intifada since it started in December 1987. The street is gradually taking over; some say it has already done so. The vicious circle of violence will not, and cannot, stop as long as the political process appears to recede further.

Said a senior IDF source this week: "It seems that there are two kinds of intifada going on now, moving along two parallel lines. The first is the street intifada led by the youngsters - you could even call them thugs or hoodlums - who tend to use more and more violence, internally and externally. The second intifada, the 'clean' one, is led by the so-called pragmatic leadership, those armchair revolutionary leaders who go from one cocktail party to another. There seems to be no connection between the two, while the first kind is taking over the street and placing it under a reign of terror, the second is trying desperately to push for a political solution."

An East Jerusalem leader, reacting to this observation, says that from the start, the actions of these groups of youngsters were in many cases not directed from above. While some links did exist between the central leadership and the groups of youths

# Two kinds of intifada

in the towns, villages and refugee camps, many actions were not coordinated in advance.

But despite this view, it seems that there has been a change in the course of the intifada during the last few months. To begin with, the internal leadership in the territories is dissatisfied with the external PLO leadership, mainly because the latter is not sufficiently determined and decisive concerning the peace process. Many leaders inside the territories believe that the Israeli elections plan should have been given more positive consideration by the PLO leadership abroad.

Yet another disappointment to leaders in the territories has been the reaction of the Tunis-based PLO to private initiatives by local leaders like Jamil Tarifi from Ramallah and Asa'ad Saftawi from Gaza in meeting with Israeli officials and leaders in order to try and break the political deadlock.

The PLO leadership abroad, says a Palestinian observer, is in a delicate position: on the one hand, it wants to encourage such initiatives in order to break the deadlock and get some political process underway; on the other, it is afraid that contacts between Israeli and local Palestinian leaders may eventually create an alternative leadership that could one day replace the PLO leadership in Tunis.

It is also very difficult for the Tunis leaders to admit that they do not control the young activists in the street, the observer continues. That is why they have not publicly denounced the killing of collaborators, despite the fact that they are not gen-

erally in full agreement with such actions.

KILLING collaborators is only one issue over which the internal "political" leadership and the intifada "soldiers," the youngsters who now rule the street, disagree. About 100 Palestinians have been killed by other Palestinians since the beginning of the intifada, most during the past year. Leaflets issued by the Unified Leadership of the Intifada have called for restraint, but the killings have continued.

During the last few months there has been increased disunity among the local committees in the towns, villages and refugee camps, instead of one committee in each camp or town, there are now several committees, each representing a different faction of the PLO (from the very beginning there has been no unity between the PLO committees and the Moslem fundamentalists, who have mostly acted separately).

Meanwhile, the IDF is waging war against the masked assailants, those Palestinian activists who are on the run, move from one house to the other, never stay in one place for more than two or three days and spend most of their time in the mountains. During the last few weeks, the army has arrested more than 220 such assailants, but, according to Palestinian sources, following the arrest of such vast numbers of activists, new

ones join the struggle. And with each arrest and new recruit, the level of sophistication decreases. "It's like shaving hair; once you shave it, new hair grows - and this time, it is much thicker," says an East Jerusalem leader.

He continues: "The real problem is that, as new activists join the struggle and as more activists are jailed, the level of the 'street leadership' deteriorates rapidly. Add this to the economic and other pressures applied by the Israelis, and you'll find there is a feeling of despair among many of us, who ask ourselves: where is all this leading to?"

"I am not telling you that the intifada will all of a sudden stop or cease, but it is at a difficult stage, and hence the political solution is not visible on the horizon."

Neither the PLO leadership in Tunis nor the "political" leadership in the territories is able to force obedience on the "street" leaders. The former fails to admit that its orders may not be carried out, the latter simply cannot enforce obedience.

In many cases, the young assailants despise those "cocktail party" leaders who, in their eyes, give in to the Israelis just by talking to them. For these youths, the only solution is to continue harassing the Israelis (both the IDF and the settlers) while continuing the reign of terror against collaborators.

Collaboration, according to the masked assailants, also means working in Israel or on Israeli settlements, and that is why they do their utmost to prevent Palestinian workers, especially those from Gaza, from crossing

the Green Line to find work in Israel. On the roads leading from Gaza to Tel Aviv early in the morning, it is a common sight to see Palestinian workers hesitating over whether to accept a ride; fearful of the reaction of the young radicals.

Most of these workers support the intifada, but they also want to provide food for their families. In many cases, they have no choice but to work in Israel. But it seems that their fear has become stronger than their need to work, which is why most of them prefer to stay in the Gaza Strip rather than risk their lives.

IT IS NOW CLEAR that the intifada is now in an interim period between its first and second stage. It could take a more violent path, including the beginning of a widespread use of arms, to which the "political" leadership (both the local and the PLO in Tunis) is vehemently opposed. In the end, the use of arms will, the political leadership thinks, act against Palestinian interests. It may lead to massive arrests and deportations by the IDF.

As always, the only way out of this vicious circle of violence is the beginning of a dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis, some political process that will weaken the effect of the masked thugs who now rule the street.

But the political deadlock seems more impossible to disentangle than ever. Israel is not prepared to talk directly to the PLO in Tunis. Tunis is not prepared to let the leaders in the territories start any dialogue with the Israelis. The Americans are trying, almost hopelessly, to bring the opposing camps together. Meanwhile, growing terror and fear rule the streets of the West Bank and Gaza.

On anti-Semitism and immigration:

# Not yet 'The Jewish State'

*The Jerusalem Post:* Would you say that you deliberately restrain yourself in your reactions to anti-Semitism?

Prime Minister Shamir: No, it's not that I restrain myself, but I'm not interested in opening a lot of fronts around the world. We've got enough.

We have to fight against anti-Semitism without being the leading force in this fight. There are Jewish organizations in the world whose role that is. And they do it not badly, though they could do it better.

The government of Israel has got enough problems; its role is to worry about the state. Perhaps we can compare it - this is a bit far-reaching - to a communist state and the worldwide communist movement.

We are a small country. We cannot, with our limited strength, be active and fight on every front. You don't think that Israel should lead the struggle? In a spiritual sense, an ideological sense. But not in the sense of daily activism. From our point of view it's good that other organizations handle this. We, for our part, should try and see to it that there is coordination, that many other parties - not all of them necessarily Jewish - are involved and active. For instance, it's good that all sort of left-wing bodies are still active in the struggle. It used to be thought, didn't it, that with the realization of the Zionist programme the problem of anti-Semitism would simply evaporate... That the Jewish State would stand up for and protect all Jews, wherever they are. Apparently the Zionist programme has not yet been realized. We do defend Jews, as far as we can. But we ought not to expand our strength without careful calculation. We have to be clear where we are putting our priorities, from a severely practical point of view. We are not yet 'The Jewish State.' Barely one-third of the Jewish people live here. Zionism is far from realization. But it used to be said that the fate of the Jewish people, and of individual Jews wherever they are, is the very *raison d'être* of the Jewish state...

Certainly, that is our duty and destiny. But the question is, how. How to discharge that duty. For instance, if there were anti-Semitic riots in some place, we would have to do everything in our power to prevent them. We have to protect Jews always. But that does not mean that we, Israel, have to be as active in the

**'We cannot be as active in the struggle against anti-Semitism as in the struggle for the state's survival'**

international struggle against anti-Semitism as we are in our ongoing struggle for the survival of the state. Because there are sometimes conflicting interests? Israeli's interests as opposed to Jewish interests. For instance regarding Poland today...?

Yes, sometimes that does happen.

How do you see the disturbing fact that the more liberalization there is in the Soviet Union, the more the latent anti-Semitism there comes to the fore?

That's easy enough to understand. With greater freedom of speech, and freedom of propaganda, anti-Semitic movements re-emerge. I wouldn't blame democracy or democratization. This is a side-effect. I certainly would not oppose the process of democratization because of this side-effect.

But do you praise the Communists for having prevented the emergence of anti-Semitism for all these years? That prevention was not decisive. Not at all. After all, state anti-Semitism is far more dangerous than anti-Semitism in public opinion. With the Communists, everything was controlled. It's said, for instance that Stalin had designs to deport all the Jews to some remote area, or even to exterminate them. Government anti-Semitism is far more dangerous than the existence of anti-Semitic organizations.

Doesn't it amaze you that in Poland, where hardly a Jew is left, there should still be powerful anti-Semitism? They suck it in with their mother's milk! This is something that is deeply imbued in their tradition, their mentality. Like their loathing of Russia. The two things are not connected, of course. But that, too, is something very deep, like their hatred of Am Yisrael. Today, though, there are elements [in Poland] that are cleansed of this anti-Semitism.

There was once a faction in the Polish Communist Party, under Moczar [in the 1950's], that openly urged crude and vicious anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism doesn't fall into schematic categories...

Sometimes there are elements in a country that express rabid hatred for the Jews living in their own midst, while at the same time showing friendship for Israel. It is not that I accept or acquiesce in them. But I recognize them as a certain reality - and if I can derive any benefit, I try to do so. And if I have to defend the Jews, I try to do that too.

We, in Israel, said and believed that the "Zionism is Racism" [sic] implied, indeed expressed, anti-Semitism and not just anti-Judaism...

We still say so, and believe it.

But you today are prepared to accept, or acquiesce in, a distinction between Israel and Jewish interests...?

I don't accept or acquiesce. I merely say, this sometimes exists - and has to be taken into account. I will never accept anti-Semitism, anywhere on earth. An anti-Semite is an anti-Semite.

But regarding the Church, for instance. We are in a very delicate dilemma...

Are you suggesting that the state of Israel can declare all-out war against the Church? We have a dispute with the Church. That is not a particularly favourable fact in our life. I would much prefer if we had warm relations, close relations with the Catholic Church, recognition by the Vatican of Israel. The Vatican has influence in a great many countries.

There are certain areas of tension, of conflict between us. We do not ignore them, nor do we play them down. But nor should we mount the barricades or declare war.

Who should? The ADLT?

We don't have to have declarations of war, but everyone should play his role. The state of Israel, at any rate, will not see this, today, as a mass battle-front. That has always, in fact, been our policy, all the years. Israel can't fight the whole world.

We won't, in this interview, go into the historical episode of Herzl-Pleite, Herzl's idea that Pleite [the notoriously antisemitic Tsarist interior minister] would support the Zionist movement in order to get rid of the Jews. There was a time too, between the wars, when such a conception gained currency in Poland, under Pilsudski. There were anti-Semites in the government who were willing to back Jewish emigration. Jabotinsky was involved in negotiations with circles in the Polish government. Euzi made a deal with the Polish army.

These are historical quirks, but they can happen. They by no means change the basic attitude of every Jew to anti-Semitism as such. What? Can I kill every anti-Semite in the world? What I must try to do is to kill anti-Semitism. We have a fundamental faith that as the Jewish people gradually concentrate in their own land, anti-Semitism worldwide will wane. But that is an historic process that will take centuries. Just as anti-Semitism was not born overnight. It evolved over centuries. Hatred of Jews is something profound, profoundly inherent in Gentile societies.

Speaking of historical quirks, how do you respond to the fact that as a result of Washington's decision to limit Soviet Jewish immigration to America we are now likely to absorb many more Soviet Jewish immigrants?

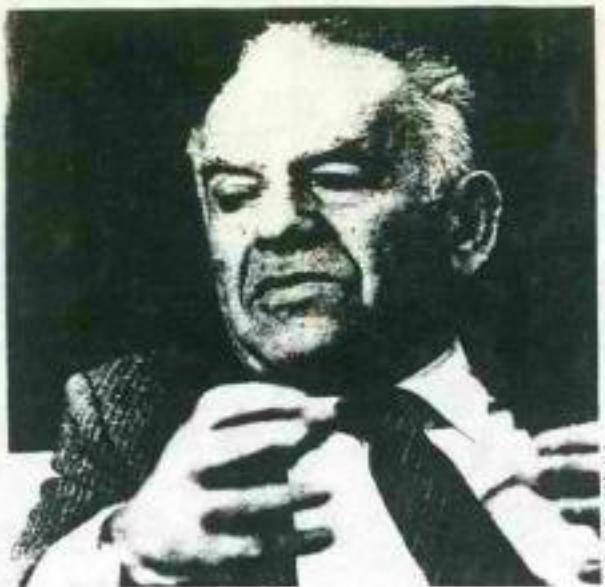
By the same token, we "benefited" - and I use the word in inverted commas - from the fact that the gates of the United States were closed to Jewish emigration between the two World Wars. None of us can know today what would have happened if the gates of the U.S. had been open to waves of potential immigration from Eastern Europe. I saw it myself, and we all know, how in Poland, Rumania, the Baltic States, masses of people wanted to get out - and would have gone to America rather than to Eretz Israel had it been open.

So what? These are historic processes that can flow from objective factors. America's policies are not determined by anti-Jewish, or indeed pro-Jewish, motivations. But you, as Israel, benefit or suffer from their objective consequences.

There is no cynicism here. Jews want to leave the Soviet Union. Let's say they would prefer America to Israel, but they can't go to America. So they'll come to Israel. So? Are we doing them harm? We're helping them. And helping the Jewish people as a whole. We need them. And in America many of them just lose their Jewishness and fade out of our people.

After all, we all know that many people came to Israel not out of a positive desire to go and live in Israel, but out of their desire to flee from lands of distress.

That is embedded in our history. Why did they leave Egypt? Because they particularly wanted to go to Canaan? But that's how we were born, our nation.



(G. Tishman / Nofot)

On the peace process:

## ‘The Arabs must change attitudes’

THE PEACE process, says Prime Minister Shamir, is a slow and evolving process, which requires, above all, patience. This commodity, he believes, is sorely lacking in his Labour Party cabinet colleagues.

Labour ministers who claim that the peace process has reached deadlock "are mistaken", Shamir says. And by saying so, he adds, they cause grave damage to Israeli interests and encourage Arab extremism.

They are wrong because it was an illusion to think that such an initiative, which I believe is a very serious one, can produce results in such a short time, of a few weeks, a few months. It's simply too early. It takes time before it can be absorbed in the consciousness.

**The Jerusalem Post:** Why does it have to take long?

Prime Minister Shamir: As in everything, you have to take the time element into account. In the Middle East, especially. It is revolutionary that Israel, with all its differing components in the government, comes and proposes a far-reaching proposal for the Arab side.

This requires that the Arabs change attitudes; that they argue amongst themselves; that they draw new conclusions. This takes time.

And such talk by ministers is harmful, because, if some of us are already losing their patience, and say that the peace process is stuck – this strengthens all of those on the Arab side who are pressing for more extreme positions. Those who are confused because of this initiative.

After the initiative was made public, the Palestinian terrorist organizations were put on the defensive. They had to find, they still have to find, counter measures. And this is very difficult for them: look at the difficulties in their dialogue with the U.S.

So if, on the other side, Israelis come along and say "something new has to be found" this encourages the extreme elements.

What should be said to the Arabs today is "why don't you take this outstretched Israeli hand? Why don't you come to the negotiating table, this is an opportunity."

They come and say "no, let's prepare something else." Why, there's no end to it. I think this is political short-sightedness.

You haven't yet given up hope that Palestinians in the territories will come forth without the PLO? Not at all. I knew that the PLO would oppose the initiative. Because at its root, it is aimed against the PLO, against the trends of the PLO.

I realize it isn't easy to sever a part of the population here from PLO influence. It's not easy, especially after the U.S. decided on this step, of opening a dialogue with the PLO. So a Palestinian here really must be a hero to risk himself, to risk his life. What about the possibility that the PLO would accept the initiative on the basis of the 10 Egyptian points? These are journalistic speculations. These points, other points.

What we know from all that we hear, from talks with the PLO and with people who identify with them, is that they do not take seriously the whole aspect of the peace proposal which deals with the elections, with the system of elections, with the authority of the proposed self-government.

They put their entire weight behind the demand from Israel and from the U.S. to recognize in advance, to determine in advance, before the process even begins, that at its end a Palestinian state will be established.

But the Egyptians did not include such a demand in their points. There is, if you will notice, a condition there of peace for territories and so forth. It's aimed at the same thing.

But I am not at all sure that Arabs who are identified with the PLO or the PLO itself would accept the 10

(Continued on page 6)

# INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER SHAMIR

(Continued from page 5)

points. Not at all sure. Well, we ourselves, after all, told the Egyptians that we do not exactly accept the 10 points?

Our position to this day is that we are first waiting for a general positive response to the initiative, and then we can talk about the details, about the implementation of my initiative. This has been my response all the time, and this is the response, as far as I know, of the others.

If someone sometimes threw out something, then he was only expressing his private views.

I believe that once Foreign Minister Arens once told (U.S. Ambassador to the UN Thomas) Pickering – and this was the only time – that we don't agree to the right of East Jerusalem residents to vote. But this doesn't mean anything.

*Interviewer's Note.* The above cannot adequately convey the dramatic tone which Shamir used. Arens should rightfully be concerned at the tone, as he should be at the prime minister's assertion that talks which he has held with both American and Egyptian ambassadors "don't mean anything."

**Who are we seeking a positive response from?**

From any Arab side. It could be Arabs who can, for example, claim that they are supported by part of the population of Judea, Samaria and Gaza; it could be a group of Arab countries.

**But there is no such thing**  
It could be organized with the help of Arab countries.

**But on the one hand we say that** terror and violence in the territories make it impossible to create a leadership, and on the other hand we base our hopes for progress on the creation of exactly such a leadership. The fact is that we proposed the elections; we need such a group before we go to elections, because those who participate have to agree in advance what their roles will be, they have to be representative.

**So the Egyptians come back and say,** if you already have a representative delegation, what do you need elections for?

We need the elections to confirm this, for, after all, there may be different opinions. There could be differences of opinion, let's say, more to the left, more to the right, more religious, less religious. Who knows. There is a logical inconsistency here. There is a difficulty, we know about it, we did not ignore it. I don't want to determine who will represent them, and I can't just say that people will go to the polls. What if they won't go?

We have to be sure that whoever presents himself for elections takes upon himself in advance his rights and privileges. He has to know that he is being elected in two stages: first stage, self-government; second stage, the permanent solution.

**How can you hope that anyone will come when you want to impose upon him in advance?**

I don't want to impose. He has to be convinced that this is the way.

In interviews with *The Post* since the adoption of the government's peace initiative, Shamir has consistently grappled with the Catch-22 of the process by which Palestinian rep-

resentatives will be chosen. One needs representatives to talk about the elections, which, in turn, are needed in order to select representatives.

**Have we become used to the intifada and indifferent to its moral implications?**

It's true that we don't get so excited about it anymore. I once said that we could live with it for years. Well, what has actually happened? Doesn't the IDF still control the area? Have the settlements ceased to exist? I read last Saturday in one of the weeklies that the number of settlers has even increased.

But we are not complacent. Do you think it is pleasant when you hear that people are getting killed and injured? Who can accept such a thing? We don't want it. Of course you get used to things – people can get used to the most awful things.

As a government, we do not accept it and we are working against it. On the one hand, we are combating the intifada, and on the other hand we are proposing a way for peaceful co-existence.

*The increase in the number of settlers was reported prominently in Ne'uda, the publication of the Council of Settlements of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. On the other hand, Shamir confessed that on Saturdays he does not watch the British television series about Lord Mountbatten and the last days of Imperial India.*

He is asked whether Israel does not risk the same developments that took place then. Indian negotiators thought they were entering discussions about one, undivided India, and they emerged from the talks with an India and a Pakistan. Shamir replies that Israel must take care that "changes" in the proposed process do not take place. "We have the army for that," he says.

The situation will change for the better. I am sure that a very sizeable portion of the Arab inhabitants are yearning for the situation to calm down. They will of course be happier if this calm is achieved as a result of a political process. They want to live normal lives – regular work and their children going to school. They don't want to have to worry whether they will come back home safely, or whether they won't come home at all.

We hear what the PLO says. They are not perturbed by the sufferings of the population. On the contrary – they are delighted. Their human solidarity is highly dubious. They think things will get better the more the population suffers. In accordance with the adage that the worse things are, the better they are.

(Former U.S. Secretary of State George) Shultz conceived his theory of the quality of life in the territories out of his belief that the PLO does not care about the fate of this population.

How did he put it? "They don't give a damn for them," he would say.

Again here, something is lost in the transcription to text. It sounds surprisingly like wistful longing for the long-lost days of Shultz. Shamir's rendition, in English, of Shultz's "They don't give a damn" is delivered with absolute relish.

He felt it, and we sense it all the time. I haven't spoken about this with the Americans in quite a while, but I am sure that the Americans who are conducting the talks in Tunis can feel it.

**Are you continuing with your talks with Palestinians?**

Not these days, but I will continue with them in a short time. Weren't you deterred by the festival surrounding your meetings about whether or not they were sanctioned by the PLO?

It cannot be avoided. One thing that can be said of (Palestinian leader Yassir) Arafat, when he came, he did not get prior authorization. It's true that following our meeting he reported to the PLO, and he said so in public. OK. And that's all right?

It's his position. I have to give him legitimization? If I say he's all right, I will damage him. Why should I? You said last week that the negative attitude of the Soviet Union towards Israel has not changed. Is that really the case, when one looks at the developments that have taken place in the past two or three years?

At the basic level, at the substantive level, it has not changed. We have not come any closer to formal recognition, to diplomatic relations.

There are, I admit, positive developments, but they are incidental. There has been some positive television coverage, and the existence of the consular delegation; these are positive signs. About economic ties there's a lot of talk.

But when you talk to the Soviet foreign ministry today you cannot sense any change. They tell you: "We won't change the nature of our relationship with Israel until Israel changes its policy." They say it quite clearly.

Glasnost seems to have skipped over the Middle East, and has yet to reach Israel. The Soviet Union maintains its intimate relations with the terrorist organizations. All the communist countries, to this day, have intimate and supportive relations, including operative support, with terrorist organizations.

In the communist world, this is the only thing that is left of the Leninist theory about the alliance with the anti-imperialist war. To this day the Soviets maintain a special relationship with the PLO, because of this.

It could also be that the people of the Soviet foreign ministry also see the positive aspects of this policy, because they are interested in close relations with the Arab countries, and they can see that in the Arab states there is great sympathy for the Palestinian terrorist organizations. It's a fact that public opinion in these countries supports Palestinian terrorism, enthusiastically supports the intifada and the terrorist organizations, supports all the anti-Israeli terrorist activities.

So it's possible that Soviet statesmen say "why not?"

**Does this policy of the Soviets bar an understanding between them and the U.S. on a joint course of action in the Middle East?**

It is definitely an obstruction. Because the Americans also say that if the Soviet Union wants to be part of any diplomatic process towards peace between Israel and the Arab states, it must change its attitude towards Israel. This is the official policy of the United States, to this day.

And in Europe you hear the same thing: In all my meetings with Andreotti, today the Italian Prime Minister, he says consistently that the Soviet Union must first establish normal diplomatic relations with Israel, and then she can have her say.

Andreotti says this very extremely, and he is, after all, typical from the point of view of his positive attitude towards the Arab side.



This map depicts the escalation of violent acts launched against Israel along the Jordanian border. A September 8 *Ha'aretz* report attributed the most recent attacks to a resumption of PLO activities in Amman, where King Hussein has sanctioned the August re-opening of the PLO fund. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has said that Jordan must bear responsibility for preventing future incidents.

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

August 16, 1989

**TO: PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE LEADERSHIP  
FROM: SEYMOUR D. REICH, CHAIRMAN  
MALCOLM HOENLEIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

As part of our ongoing effort to provide selected background material as well as to keep you apprised of Conference activities, we are pleased to enclose: a summary of a Conference meeting with Israel's Minister of Environmental Affairs and former Deputy Foreign Minister, Ronnie Milo; a statement on the meeting with President Bush in Washington which was discussed at the special Conference session on August 8; statements by Seymour D. Reich on Undersecretary Goulding's call for Israel to unilaterally release Sheik Obeid and on Al Fatah's continuing anti-Israel militancy; a joint statement by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry chairwoman Shoshana Cardin and Seymour D. Reich on the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee's denunciation of the Zionist Union in the USSR; a synopsis by Richard Cohen on the wrap-around show for "Days of Rage;" excerpts from an important address by President Chaim Herzog; a summary of military activity in the Arab world; and a letter from Congressman Gary Ackerman to the Japanese and South Korean Prime Ministers protesting their violation of free trade practices (by refusing to establish business relations with Israel).

Under separate cover, we have sent a mailing including a summary of our meeting with the Prime Minister's Advisor on terrorism, Yigal Carmon, along with a confidential report.

We have also been in touch with the Swiss Ambassadors regarding the PLO's request to be included in the Geneva Convention. Respectful letters should be sent to the Washington and UN Ambassadors of Switzerland.

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American Israel Public Affairs Committee  
American Gathering of Religious Jews  
Holocaust Survivors  
American Jewish Congress  
American OET Foundation  
American Zionist Federation  
American Zionist Youth Foundation  
AMIT Women

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
Association of Reform Synagogues of America  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
B'nai Zion  
Central Conference of American Rabbis  
Emancipation Women of America  
Federation of Reformed Jewish Congregations

Hadassah  
Herzl Zionist of America  
Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs  
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JWF  
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Manhattan USA  
Marine Corps Council on Soviet Jewry  
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Marine Corps Council of Jewish Women  
National Council of Young Israel  
Sisterhoods  
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Reform Zionist of America  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Union of Councils for Soviet Jews  
Union of Orthodox Jews  
Congregation of America  
United Jewish Appeal  
United Synagogue of America

WIZO USA  
Women's American OET  
Women's League for Conservative Judaism  
Women's Circle  
World Zionist Organization-American Section  
Zionist Organization of America



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For Immediate Release

#### STATEMENT ON MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT

Following a meeting of a small group with President George Bush in the Oval Office today (Tuesday, Aug. 8), Seymour D. Reich, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, described the discussion as an informal, off-the-record conversation on a variety of issues.

"The meeting was positive and productive," Mr. Reich said. "The President reaffirmed the strong and close relationship that binds the United States and Israel."

In addition to Mr. Reich, those present included Ed Levy, Jr., president of AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee; Max M. Fisher, honorary chairman of the Republican National Jewish Coalition; Dick Fox and George Klein, co-chairmen of the Coalition; and Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Joining the President were Vice President J. Danforth Quayle; John Sununu, chief of staff; Gen. Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to the President, and others.

8/8/89

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X

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
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For Immediate Release

**'Disqualified Himself from Role as Mediator'  
CHAIRMAN OF PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE  
ASSAILS PROPOSAL BY UN ENVOY GOULDING  
URGING ISRAEL TO RELEASE SHEIK OBEID**

Commenting on news reports that Marrack Goulding, the UN's envoy to the Middle East, had asked Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin to release Sheik Obeid, the chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, Seymour D. Reich, said Wednesday (Aug. 9):

"I am appalled that the representative of the United Nations in the Middle East should have displayed such ignorance of the crimes of Sheik Obeid, and so little understanding of the Middle East, as to call for the unilateral release of one of the most notorious terrorists in the region.

"His proposal represents nothing less than the cowardly and abject appeasement of terrorist demands. It has properly been rejected by Israel. It should also be repudiated by our own government, by all those Western states whose innocent hostages are in Hezbollah hands and by UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

"The answer to terrorism is not surrender -- which Mr. Goulding recommends -- but forceful resistance. Israel struck a major blow against terrorism in capturing Sheik Obeid. Returning him to Lebanon, without requiring that the Hezbollah branch he heads release the hostages and prisoners they are holding, will only encourage further acts of violence, further kidnappings, further executions of innocent Americans and other Westerners.

"It is profoundly depressing that the envoy of the United Nations in the area does not understand this elemental truth or is intimidated by the Hezbollah. In either case, he has disqualified himself from any usefulness as a mediator in the region."

8/9/89

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JOINT STATEMENT OF SHOSHANA S. CARDIN, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON SOVIET JEWRY; AND SEYMOUR D. REICH, CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF  
PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

We are outraged that the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, an organization which Soviet officials have for months claimed is to be disbanded, continues to be given a media platform for its vitriolic, anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic rhetoric.

A case in point is the Anti-Zionist Committee's statement, released by Tass on August 8, which not only denounces the formation of a Zionist Union in the USSR, but invokes the language of the United Nations' infamous "Zionism is Racism" declaration, which is rejected by all people who espouse democratic ideals.

In light of the Soviet Government's desire to advance its relationship with the community of democratic nations, we seek assurances that "the spirit of glasnost" will not be used as an excuse for encouraging the baiting of Soviet Jews as being "anti-Soviet," and that such an attitude will never reflect official policy.

It is ridiculous to assert, as the Anti-Zionist Committee does, that the creation of a Zionist organization in the USSR represents an effort to damage the success of perestroika. Finally, it is a statement such as the one of the Anti-Zionist Committee, and not the formation of a Zionist organization, which risks fanning the ugly flames of anti-Jewish sentiments in the Soviet Union.



CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Contact: Richard Cohen Associates  
(212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY SEYMOUR D. REICH, CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF  
PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, ON U.S.  
CRITICISM OF EL FATAH'S CONTINUING ANTI-ISRAEL MILITANCY

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein  
Executive Director The Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

has lauded the Bush Administration for its criticism of El Fatah's "derogatory rhetoric" and continued militant stance against Israel.

In a statement released today (Friday, August 11), Seymour D. Reich, chairman of the 46-member umbrella group, praised a statement by Margaret D. Turweiler, the State Department spokeswoman, indicating that the United States would try to ascertain if the PLO was still committed to the undertaking it made last December which prompted the United States to open "diplomatic dialogue" with the PLO.

Mr. Reich said: "El Fatah, at its general congress in Tunis this week, revealed its true purpose by advancing a venomous political program which refers to Israel as a 'barbarous Zionist entity,' calls for an escalation of armed struggle to 'liquidate the Israeli-Zionist occupation of our occupied Palestinian land' and seeks to 'prevent the arrival of Jewish immigrants in our occupied homeland.'

"Yasir Arafat, has made abundantly clear that any pretensions about renouncing terrorism and recognizing Israel's right to exist are mere rhetoric -- and should be summarily dismissed as such. In Paris earlier this year, Arafat told French President Francois Mitterand the PLO Charter was 'caduc.' Yet this week, his Fatah group, the PLO's largest faction, adopted a political program that reiterates some of the major points in the PLO charter, which the terrorists refuse to amend or revoke. The latest Fatah program refers to Israel as a 'barbarous Zionist entity' and calls for an escalation of armed struggle to 'liquidate the Israeli-Zionist occupation of our occupied Palestinian land.'

"It is heartening that the Administration has condemned Fatah's bloody rhetoric and confrontational tone as 'unhelpful.'

"The four-point peace initiative put forth by the Israeli government still remains the best hope for peace. We urge the Palestinians in the territories to come forth and not let this opportunity for peace slip away."

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8/11/89

Contact: Israel Levine  
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**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**

For Immediate Release

Seymour D. Reich  
Chairman

Malcolm L. Hoenlein  
Executive Director

**LIKUD MINISTER: SUPPORT OF MODERATE ARAB STATES  
FOR ISRAEL'S PEACE PROPOSAL COULD HELP PERSUADE  
LOCAL PALESTINIAN LEADERS TO COME TO THE TABLE**

A Likud minister with close ties to Prime Minister Shamir said Monday (Aug. 7) that Israel is currently making an intensive effort to win support for its peace initiative among the more moderate Arab nations in order to counter PLO pressure on Palestinian leaders in the administered territories.

Roni Milo, minister of the environment, told members of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations: "If we can get the more moderate Arab countries involved, like Morocco, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, we believe it will help motivate the local Palestinian leadership to recognize and accept Israel's peace initiative."

He confirmed that the current plan for elections in the territories is the same one originally proposed by the government. "There is no change," he said. "We're going on with the same program, the same peace plan." He said Mr. Shamir had a solid majority of support in the government for the plan as it stands.

Mr. Milo said he had met with Secretary of State Baker, whose response to Israel's effort to persuade the moderate Arab countries to support the peace initiative was "positive." The Secretary told him the U.S. was working with Britain, France and other Western nations, as well as with the Soviet Union.

On the hostage issue, Minister Milo said: "Israel should be judged not on whether its actions to free hostages and fight terrorism succeed or fail, but on the fact that it must act this way on behalf of its people." He emphasized that Israel, like other nations, is obliged to defend its own national interest but also takes into account the interests of its allies.

The Israeli minister said Israel could not agree to any trade that did not include the release of Israel's soldiers now being held in Lebanon. "We must wrap the non-Israeli hostages with the Israeli hostages in one package," he said, "because it would be difficult to free any of the hostages without cooperation with the U.S. and other countries."

8/7/89

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# Richard Cohen Associates

PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

August 16, 1989

To: Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein

In re: "Days of Rage"

When Channel 13, the public television station in New York, accepted an invitation from the Public Broadcasting System to present the 90-minute "documentary" film titled, "Days of Rage -- The Young Palestinians," to its viewers and to the PBS network, it probably did not realize the uproar it would cause and the complaints that would result. Channel 13 had planned to broadcast the film in June. Instead, responding to criticism, the TV station said it would postpone its presentation until the evening of September 6, 1989. It would use the time until then to prepare a "wrap-around" aimed at placing the film in perspective. This was explained to Seymour D. Reich and me in an hour-long conference we held in mid-July, at Channel 13's invitation, with William Baker, president of the station, and Arnold Labaton, senior executive producer (who also was the producer of the widely-praised "Heritage" series with Abba Eban in 1985).

Baker and Labaton told us they agreed the film did not present the whole picture, and that it was one-sided. For this reason, they said (and also because they were clearly worried about the effect on the station's fundraising), Channel 13 would make the 90-minute "Days of Rage" part of a two and one-half-hour package and distribute it to PBS stations in this form. "Days of Rage," they explained, would be preceded by a 15-minute segment to be taped in Israel, which would seek to redress the imbalance that characterized the film itself. Following "Days of Rage" there would be a 45-minute panel discussion presenting a variety of viewpoints about the film itself, the intifada, the possibilities of Arab-Israel peace and the role of the United States. Thus, the broadcast would deal not only with the film itself but with the whole Palestinian issue.

(It has since been decided that the 15-minute introduction will be divided into two 7-minute pieces -- one on Israel's security problems, to be shown immediately before "Days of Rage," the other on human rights issues, to be presented immediately following the film.)

The panel discussion was taped at the Channel 13 studios Tuesday morning, July 25. I was present and took notes on the discussion.

Hodding Carter III served as moderator. Members of the panel were Richard Murphy, retired Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs; Walter Ruby, New York correspondent for the Jerusalem Post; Alan Keyes, a former member of the staff of UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick; James J. Zogby, executive director of the Arab American Institute in Washington; and Seymour Reich.

I found the discussion to be on a very high level. All of the participants had ample opportunity to express their views, and did so thoughtfully, cogently, even eloquently. No one attempted to dominate the conversation -- in part because Hodding Carter had a firm grip on the proceedings; the atmosphere was mutually-respectful, although views differed sharply. Nevertheless, it seemed clear to me that the critics of the film were more persuasive and conducted themselves with greater confidence.

Some general impressions:

**Alan Keyes**, who is Black, was perhaps the most passionate and the fastest talker. He advanced the argument that the chief villain was King Hussein, that the United States was letting him get away with murder for his abandonment of the West Bank and his refusal to grant self-governance and democracy to the majority of his citizens who are Palestinians. He came down extremely hard on "Days of Rage," on the intifada and the P.L.O.

**Seymour Reich** was forceful without being shrill. His opening and closing statements (each panelist was given this opportunity) were extremely effective, right on target and most telling. He and Keyes supported each other and worked well together.

**Ambassador Murphy**, calm and soft-spoken in his demeanor and in his comments, brought an air of neutrality to the proceedings. As a longtime architect of the American position in the Middle East, he did not attack American policy, although he did feel that the P.L.O. should be brought into the negotiations. All told, however, I felt he was a neutral factor in terms of the debate and did not hurt us.

**Walter Ruby** struck me as serious in his attempt to be fair-minded. He made several effective points for our side; for example, it was he who pointed out that "Days of Rage" had falsified the origin of the intifada: it did not start with Arab anger over "Israel's shooting of four Arabs" (as the film claims) but rather over an unfortunate automobile accident in which four Arabs were killed. While cautious on how representative of Palestinian opinion Arafat's "magic words" (Ruby's phrase) uttered in Geneva were, he did say he supported a two-state solution.

James Zogby must have been satisfied with his own performance -- he got in his digs but in my judgment the careful listener would not conclude that he had won the argument.

Hodding Carter was fair, straight down the middle and a highly effective moderator.

Two cautions: (1) The taping was done on July 25; the show will be broadcast September 6. All kinds of things can happen in the Middle East before the air date. (2) The actual taping lasted about 70 minutes; it will be boiled down to 45 for broadcast purposes. This may mean some effective arguments on our side (and we had most of them) could be lost.

Rather than give a play-by-play of the discussion, I thought I would list here the arguments advanced by James Zogby, so that replies to them might be formulated by Jewish community groups, and highlights of comments by the others on the major issues raised during the discussion.

#### James Zogby

Zogby described the intifada as an "18-month Boston Tea Party." He assailed the "cruel and evil occupation." The Palestinians, he said, demanded "nothing less than the right to live free." He defended "Days of Rage" by asserting that the film shows Israel's "iron fist" for the first time. After "decades of banality of the 'Exodus' type" and "40 years of propaganda," he said, "our story is being told" for the first time. Why did all hell break loose when the film was announced? Why all of a sudden the cry to "be fair?" Because Israel's supporters are afraid to let the other side be heard. Nevertheless, "Israel cannot squash the truth of what is going on."

In answer to a statement by Walter Ruby that the film should have presented a wider range of Palestinian opinion, instead of giving the impression that all the Palestinians want to live in peace, side by side with Israel -- for example, Ruby said, 25 percent of the residents of Gaza support the extremist Islamic group known as Hamas -- Zogby replied: "That may be true, but how many Israelis want to give back 'not one inch'?"

Replies to a comment by Carter that it may already be too late for resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, in view of Meron Benvenisti's statement some time ago that the extent of Israeli settlement in the West Bank all but precludes large-scale withdrawal, Zogby said: "It is not too late. There is one reality: Israel exists and Palestine exists. Israel cannot sustain its subjugation of the Palestinians. America must help pry them apart. Two peoples require two states."

Responding to a comment by Richard Murphy that the moment had arrived in which all sides to the conflict (including the PLO) must be brought into the negotiations, Zogby said: "I agree. The PLO must be included in the talks as the representative voice of the Palestinian people. Let's listen to what the intifada is saying, which is that we want a state, we want the PLO to represent us, and we want elections. Israel says everything is open to negotiation, but Israel has ruled out a Palestinian state and refuses to accept the right of the PLO to enter the talks; what kind of 'open to negotiation' is that? Israel has a choice: to kill the Palestinians, to expel them all, or to live with them. The Palestinians demand respect for what they are; and they insist on the principle of land for peace."

In response to an argument, strongly advanced by Alan Keyes, that the West Bank and Gaza are not enough to satisfy the Palestinians, that claims to Palestinian self-government would be best satisfied in Jordan, and that Jordan has failed to acknowledge its responsibility to the Palestinians, Zogby said: "Jordan has a separate identity from Palestine. There should be two states -- a Jordanian state and a Palestinian state." He also compared the PLO, as the representative body of the Palestinians, with the Jewish Agency in pre-independence Israel.

In response to Seymour Reich's charge that Arafat's true intentions were exposed by his public threat to "pump 10 bullets" into the chest of anyone opposed to the intifada, following Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij's suggestion for a truce in the intifada so negotiations could proceed, Zogby insisted that the story was not true, that Arafat never uttered those lines and that the State Dept. never produced the tape on which Arafat had allegedly been heard making those remarks.

In his closing statement, Zogby urged that the United States insist that Israel improve its human rights practices in the territories. The Palestinians, he said, hold the United States responsible for these human rights violations because Israel gets the lion's share of U.S. foreign aid -- \$8 million per day and because the United States requires that aid recipients (but not Israel) adhere to a certain standard of human rights. "There are limits to what America should accept in terms of Israeli behavior. America can stop the bullets and the beatings by insisting that Israel stop its human rights violation. We should not limit our concern to polite diplomatic representations."

On the diplomatic level, Zogby said, the United States should support truly "unconditional" negotiations and abandon the conditions spelled out in current U.S. policy, to wit: no redivision

of Jerusalem, no Palestinian state. The proper role of the U.S. is to facilitate direct Israel-PLO talks, and to drop all conditions except the right of Palestinian as well as Israeli self-determination.

#### About 'Days of Rage'

**Walter Ruby** called the film "powerful" and "compelling." It suggests the texture of the lives of the Palestinians and offers many dramatic moments -- the Arab family in Gaza that lost its home, the sense of dust, etc. But he said he was bothered by the film. Producer Jo Franklin-Trout had all but subverted the Palestinians' cause by engaging in such blatant advocacy. He was bothered by the "obvious inaccuracy" in the explanation of how the intifada began (see above) and by the fact that the Israelis interviewed in the film were unrepresentative: Gen. Matti Peled speaks for the extreme left, and Mrs. Weiss, the Gush zealot, for the extreme right. From the great mass of Israelis in the middle, who are frightened by the intifada and where it might lead, the viewer saw and heard nothing. The filmmaker clearly had no interest in presenting this aspect of events.

**Richard Murphy** said that the film clearly represented the Palestinian position, but this did not trouble him. He felt it made a powerful statement, and that the film succeeded in showing the effect of the "brutalization" of the occupation on both Israeli and Palestinian youth.

**Seymour Reich** called it "propaganda, not journalism." The Arabs, he said, want to go back to Haifa and not only Hebron; this the film hides. Israel, a democracy, wants peace and has security concerns; this the film did not show. A two-state solution? Maybe, but the Palestinians want more than that. PLO terrorism has not stopped. None of this is shown in the film.

**Alan Keyes** compared the film to the kind of paid political advertising, occasionally seen in The New York Times or Wall Street Journal, that a foreign country such as Italy or South Africa might publish; but at least such material is labeled as what it is. "Days of Rage," however, is presented as a documentary, which it is not. It will be seen as "powerful" only by those ignorant of the subject. The film tells lies to the viewers by fabricating a false picture of the situation.

**James Zogby** defended the film as an accurate representation of the Palestinian viewpoint. It reveals the "iron fist" that the mighty TV news does not show. (See Zogby's comments above.) In response to the suggestion by Hodding Carter that the film would have greater credibility if it gave a more rounded picture, Zogby said: "This film doesn't tell only one side of the story....I resent the implication that we need Israeli voices to tell the truth. Let the children tell their story. This film helps the American people learn the truth after 60 years of propaganda."

**Alan Keyes** said the film presented itself as history but it was false history -- for example, the charge that it was the 1948 war that "drove the Palestinians out from their homes." The great flaw in this film, which in fact hurts the Arab cause, is that there is no sense of Arab responsibility for the present condition. The events of 1948 and 1967 are falsely portrayed; the perpetuation of the refugee problem by the Arab states themselves is not presented.

**Walter Ruby** said the film should have shown a broader range of Palestinian opinion. He was troubled by the air of sweet reasonableness attributed to the Palestinians. For example, he said, 25 percent of the residents of Gaza support the extremist Islamic group Hamas. Other Palestinian terrorist groups like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine do not accept the Arafat position about recognizing Israel.

**James Zogby** said the film dealt with the root cause of the Palestinian issue; it did not distort history but compressed it. Each side has its own history and its own view of history. We see the events of 1948 differently from the way you do. There are different realities.

**Seymour Reich** noted that Palestinians are killing Palestinians, those whom they suspect of being willing to live in peace with Israel. And when a Palestinian seized the wheel of the Tel Aviv-to-Jerusalem bus and drove it over a cliff, the PLO failed to condemn it. (Zogby denied this.) Prime Minister Shamir has put all the issues on the table; everything is negotiable. But the Palestinians are not coming forward. That is because the shots are called in Tunis.

\* \* \*

I believe Channel 13 knows it erred in agreeing to distribute "Days of Rage" for PBS. I also believe that the heads of the station responded positively to the Jewish community by preparing the wrap-around described above. If "Days of Rage" had to be shown on TV, it is better for the Jewish community and Israel that it be presented as Channel 13 will than if some other local PBS station (WGBH in Boston comes to mind) had agreed to distribute the film to the PBS network. WGBH would have done nothing to soften the blow. Channel 13 acted irresponsibly and responsibly to the outrage voiced at "Days of Rage."

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CHAIM HERZOG  
ISRAEL RADIO, JULY 28, 1989

(...) In Canada, I was afforded a rare opportunity of bringing Israel's message before both houses of the Canadian Parliament which had convened together, as a large Jewish public crowded the gallery and did not succeed in hiding its feelings. In my address, broadcast live on TV from coast to coast not only in Canada but in the U.S. as well, I was afforded a golden opportunity to introduce a dimension of balance into the distorted picture which is portrayed throughout the world. Our enemies tried to demonstrate everywhere, but the warm and proud Jewish community mobilized itself and appeared in multitudes, and quickly brought to naught plots by extremists groups which attempted to disturb.

I felt this same wave of Jewish pride at the first event I attended upon return from my state visit to Canada -- the glorious Maccabiah opening at the Ramat Gan Stadium, which excelled in its beauty, its exemplary organization, colorfulness, wonderful atmosphere, artistic level, and especially, in the Jewish pride and feeling of Jewish unity which pervaded the air which infected the great audience present.

The excitement which gripped me as well as the entire audience when we saw the flag of the Soviet Union at the head of the Lithuanian delegation entering the stadium, was great. It seems everyone's heart skipped a beat in that immense crowd -- we all felt that the moment that each of us had hoped for but did not believe would be lucky enough to see, had arrived. And here it is happening: a moment signifying the revolution taking place among the Jewry of silence. An unforgettable moment. ~~Especially~~ exciting was the sight of sportsmen from throughout the world who were already on the field and who burst out onto the track and embraced the Lithuanian sportsmen as they marched along it. There was something refreshing and joyous in those unforgettable moments.

The spectacle of about 4,000 Jewish sportsmen from around the world gave expression to the real Jewish might of today. If we only knew how to encourage that same feeling and give it proper expression. To my great sorrow, we do not always succeed in this. I asked myself, has enough energetic and organized action been taken to encourage thoughts of aliyah among this splendid public? And if not, why not? Because here we saw in a tangible way that specialty of the Jewish people.

(...) True, we are presently in a period of difficulty and unemployment at levels unknown for many years. But, all in all, we have attained wonderful achievements, such as sending a satellite into orbit, producing a supersonic jet fighter, developing sophisticated nuclear medical equipment, advanced utilization of solar energy as well as other remarkable developments; and if we export products and services on a yearly

basis of about \$16 billion, this is only because we have a healthy economic infrastructure, a fertile human brain and professional and highly trained personnel. We may be sure that all of these will get us out of the straits.

(...) And if this is not enough, I received another source of pride: the IDF medical delegation which had flown to Moscow to treat burns caused in the train disaster in the Ural mountains, came to my office. They screened the film of their trip to me, and described their experiences. They described the professional encounter. They showed me a film portraying an operation, by which they displayed to the Russians how to use artificial skin, an Israeli invention. The stories about the meetings with the Jewish doctors at the hospital, were especially meaningful. I thought to myself, here I see for myself how the doctors of a mighty power gather around a small group of IDF officers, doctors and a nurse from Israel, and are learning from them how to save lives in methods which are partially original, products of original Israeli development.

As a colorful addition to last month, I visited the Arab village Sha'ab in the Galilee several days ago, and I was received, as usual, according to all the traditional Moslem rules and splendid manners of hospitality, with honor and respect, and mainly, with warmth and openness. I addressed a Moslem crowd which included heads and representatives of many settlements in the area, who had gathered to receive my blessings in honor of the Holiday of the Sacrifice, Id Al-Adha.

There is no need to elaborate on the significance of such meetings during days difficult as these. We all know the painful problems of Jewish-Arab relations. We are all aware of the dangers lurking for us in this field. All over the world, where an extreme picture of black and white, of a conflict without compromise, of a supposed total severance is depicted, nobody would believe their eyes had they seen this event during these days. And indeed, with this thought in mind, the Government Press Office invited the representatives of the foreign press who are in Israel, to participate in the event. (Incidentally, perhaps you do not know that we host in Israel the highest concentration of worldwide media representatives in the world, after Washington.) Maybe this is of no surprise to you. None of them saw it necessary to present this side of the relationship between Jews and Arabs in Israel. This central problem in our society has negative and dangerous sides to it, but it also has positive ones. I realized that these do not receive any kind of emphasis when the subject is presented by the worldwide media.

Several months ago I had a similar experience, when student councils of four Nazareth schools -- two Christian and two Moslem -- came for a free and open discussion with me. The candid and fascinating meeting was of no interest to anyone. For some reason it was not congruent with the accepted picture, and therefore, why should a different viewpoint which is liable to contradict the accepted picture be presented?

On the following day I visited the Druze community at Nebi Shueib, Jethro's Tomb, the community's holy site, in order to greet them on the occasion of the holiday. Among those who greeted me were senior Druze officers in the Border Police and the IDF, including

brigade commanders. Who knows that there are men like this in the IDF, one of whom is a brigadier general? People abroad would not believe that this is true.

(...) Occasionally over the years I would stand on the podium at the United Nations General Assembly auditorium, look at the large audience representing 160 countries seated in it, and try to figure out what this crowd stands for regarding poverty, disease, absence of any kind of freedom: the absence of freedom of speech, freedom of choice, freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of movement? I would observe this great audience and think about our small country, with all of its problems, difficulties and suffering. The only country in the world threatened with annihilation by anyone. I thought of the progress in our society, about the debating in the Knesset, about the freedom of press and expression, about the magnificent legal system protecting the citizen. I looked at them and thought about us. Believe me, I was very proud to represent such a nation, such a people, such a country. (...)

# For Your Information



June, 1989  
Issue 101

## MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE ARAB WORLD

### MILITARY BALANCE

#### Iran -- USSR

A \$3 billion transaction is pending, including 200 - T-72 tanks, surface to air missiles, long range missiles, surveillance equipment and armed personnel carriers. ("L'Express," France, May 30)

#### Syria - USSR

Su-24, Mig-31 and early warning aircraft will be supplied during 1989. ("al-Ittihad," May 22)

Advanced Soviet military industries will be constructed in Syria, as concluded during the visit to Damascus by Defense Minister Yazov. ("al-Qabas," May 15)

#### Egypt -- France

Mirage-2000 and Gazelle helicopters are manufactured, through licensing agreements in Egypt. (MENA, Egypt, May 14)

### MIDDLE EAST CONFLICTS

#### Egypt -- Sudan

Sudan's Prime Minister, Sadiq al-Mahdi, has accused Egypt of using the toppled President Numeiri in order to undermine the stability of the Sudanese regime. (French News Agency, May 23)

#### Iraq -- Kurds -- Syria -- Lebanon

Masoud Barazani, a leader of the Kurdish opposition claims that Iraq's former defense Minister and Saddam Hussein's uncle was killed during an attempt on the life of Saddam Hussein, and not during an accident, as claimed by Baghdad. (French News Agency, May 21)

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....when dissidents began taking refuge in the Sinjar hills in the late 1970's, the government in Baghdad destroyed the villages... Our land was confiscated, our honor disgraced, our women raped. The inhabitants of 300 villages were put in ten large villages. To exert their control over us, they put us on the plains... I was told stories and shown scars by dozens of people who had survived Iraq's prisons... torture of men, women and children; summary executions; arrests of relatives of suspected dissidents; seizure of land and houses, mass deportations; and the use of chemical weapons in violation of international conventions... Syria was permitting them for the first time to launch operations directly into Iraq. Iraq was, after all, arming Syria's enemies in Lebanon and attempting to destabilize the government in Damascus... There is a brutality in Iraq that surprises the other Arabs, who are meek by comparison. Syrians who served in the army during the 1973 war against Israel still recall their shock at seeing Iraqi troops, who had come to Syria's assistance, cutting the ears off Israeli dead. When the Ba'ath Party seized power in Iraq in 1963, more than 10,000 people died..." ("The Spectator," London, May 20)

Lebanon -- Internal

Hassan Khaled, the Lebanese Mufti who was recently murdered, caused grave concerns due to the different views which he professed, among others, for the establishment of a Greater Beirut as a nucleus for Greater Lebanon. The intent of the murderers was to get rid of Khaled and Muslim Prime Minister Selim al-Hoss. (Paris-based Lebanese weekly, "al-Mukharir," May 20)

Egypt -- Internal

40 Islamic Jihad activists were rounded up by the security forces. (Reuters, May 17)

Bahrain -- Internal

The body of a known dissident, with signs of torture, was found in the capital city of Manama. ("al-Mukharir," April 29)

Syria -- Iraq

It is implied by Syria that Iraq has commissioned the western media -- for \$60,000 -- to publish reports on Israeli preparations to unleash its airforce against Iraqi sensitive targets, and thus draft overall Arab support of Baghdad. ("al-Kifakh" weekly, Lebanon, April 24)

Kuwait -- Internal -- Iraq

There have been growing disputes within the ruling Saban family over Iraqi claims to the Kuwaiti islands of Warba and Babiyan. (London-based "Saut al-Rafrin," April 4)

Libya -- Internal

900 students were rounded up during a series of demonstrations at Benghazi University. (London-based "al-Gharaba'a" monthly, April)

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**Gary L. Ackerman**  
**Congress of the United States**  
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COMMITTEE ON  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
SUBCOMMITTEE:  
ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS  
EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST  
HUMAN RIGHTS AND  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
TASK FORCE ON  
INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL  
COMMITTEE ON THE  
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE  
SUBCOMMITTEE:  
CHAIRMAN,  
COMPENSATION AND EMPLOYEE BENEFITS  
POSTAL OPERATIONS AND SERVICES  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER  
REGIONAL WHIP

July 17, 1989

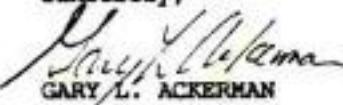
PROTEST JAPANESE AND KOREAN TRADE BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL

Dear Colleague,

I hope you will join us in sending the attached letter to the Prime Ministers of Japan and South Korea. The self-explanatory letter states Congressional concern about these nations' flagrant violation of free-trade practices by their refusal to buy from or sell to Israel. If you have any questions or would like to add your signature to this important letter, please call Laurel Watts of Representative Ackerman's staff at 5-2601 or Tim Newell of Representative Mineta's staff at 5-2631 BY WEDNESDAY, JULY 26.

  
NORMAN Y. MINETA

Sincerely,

  
GARY L. ACKERMAN

Dear Mr. Prime Minister, (same letter to Korean Prime Minister, substituting text in parentheses)

As Members of Congress who are strong supporters of both free trade and expanded United States-Japanese (Korean) relations, we write about an issue of grave concern--your nation's trade relations with Israel.

United States policy on free trade is clear. The 1989 Foreign Aid Authorization Act states, "It is the policy of the United States to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts imposed by foreign countries against countries friendly to the U.S.." In direct contradiction to these guidelines, however, many Japanese (Korean) companies have accepted the Arab boycott of Israel. We feel this position seriously undermines your country's stated support for international free trade.

We understand that your government has refrained from criticizing--in some cases it has even condoned--major Japanese (Korean) corporations that have refused to sell to Israel or buy Israeli products, in flagrant violation of free trade principles. Other Asian nations with vibrant economies have rejected this ill-guided policy. Hong Kong and Singapore have forsaken the Arab boycott and enjoy strong economic relations with Israel. We urge your government to send a powerful, unambiguous signal to your business community, encouraging free and open trade with Israel and rejecting the discriminatory Arab boycott.

(Japan only: We would also like to see the direct encouragement of trade with Israel by the establishment of a government trade promotion office there. This would send a clear message to your industrial community about Japan's seriousness regarding increased trade with Israel.)

(Korea only: We would also like to see the Korean government support the re-opening of the Israeli Embassy in Seoul as a step towards normalizing relations. Reestablishing the Embassy, which was closed for purely economic reasons, would greatly benefit both nations.)

We have noted and appreciate recent improvements in your trade and diplomatic relations with Israel, but we feel that the above steps would be helpful in clarifying Japan's (Korea's) position on the Arab boycott.

Thank you for your consideration. We look forward to your earliest possible reply.

Sincerely,

1989-12-11

16:03

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## הkonסוליה חכליות של ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

(212) 351-5200

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אל : תפוצות, מצה"א  
לשכת שיד הקליטה, אברטוב

דעת : פלג - 11 מאינטראנס

### טראם : סגן הקונסב'יל ג'ו' יורק

יהודי ברהמִינָה

במהלך ביקורו, נפגש שר הקליטה גם עם צמרת הפדרציה היהודית  
הנ"ו-יורקית בראשות הובנרג ומטייב סולנדר וודיעו להם על  
ההערכות לקליטת יהודים ברא"ט.  
בנסיבות דברי הэр, הביע ספייב סולנדר דאגה אין לו ורויין  
טראבך מסודרת מתקלוט את השולטים עם הגישם, ביקש והאיים פטוקם  
וסדרם מוחמים שחררקב מנצחיו הסוכנות, הפטלה והשולח היהוד  
ווארה חפבל בסוגיות חמיכו והתשסוקה. לדעתו י"ש שדיין

ספרדי יידיש

## סגן הקונטנבר ניו יורק

י' יידיד

11 בדצמבר 1989

ט' ט' ט' ט'

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השלחת הקבועה  
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות  
PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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111902

9244  
בלמ"ס/ר גיל  
215.16

אל : ארבל 2

מאת : נאותם, טלי בן-צבי

חדרור דובר חפ"צ 12/11 - אינט-גזנות

1. רצ"ב הורדעה לעתוניות מטעם הממשלה האמריקנית בנושא פגיעה  
ס/חנשיה עם מוציל האו"ם.  
ב-1975 הציג בפני המוציל את הצעתו בדבר פניה לבריה"מ  
ולמדיניות נוספות להצטרכן לאלה"ב להסרת החלטת העצרת 3379  
מ-1975 בנושא ציונות - גזענות.
2. הדבר הוסיף כי נשאל ע"י כתוב, האם ישנה אפשרות לביטול  
ההחלטה, ועל בר הגיב כי לא ידוע לו על החלטה שנתקבלה  
בעצרת ובוטלה. לדבריו אין תקדים כזה באו"ם, אך אין  
להוציאוatham מכלל אפשרות שכן SI  
"THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS  
A MASTER OF ITS OWN PROCEEDING".
3. יש לציין כי הערת הדובר היה מוטעה, שכן ישנו קודמים אחד  
לביטולה של החלטה שנתקבלה בעצרת וזוהי החלטה 39  
מ-1946/12/12 הקוראת לאי שיתופה של ספרד בארגונים  
בינלאומיים והחרת שגריריהם ונציגיהם ממוריד. החלטה זו  
בוטלה ב-1950/11/4 (החלטה 386). אגב, ישראל הצביעה נגד  
ביטולה יחד עם הגוש המזרחי.

גאומטלי בן-צבי

11 בדצמבר 1989

### אישור:

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Gra. 60



## UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

0 0316 2/2

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

## PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Press Release USUN 185-(89)  
December 11, 1989NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS:

Meeting of The Honorable J. Danforth Quayle, Vice President of the United States, with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, United Nations, December 11, 1989

Vice President J. Danforth Quayle met with United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar this morning and discussed a range of issues, including the Malta Summit and developments around the world, especially Central America.

The Vice President outlined the proposal he made in a speech Sunday at Yeshiva University, calling on the Soviet Union and other nations to join the United States in repealing the 1975 General Assembly resolution declaring the "Zionism equals Racism."

The Vice President also presented the Secretary-General with a check for \$65 million as a further payment of the United States assessed contribution to the United Nations.

In so doing, he noted the importance we attach to the United Nations and the key role the United Nations can play, consistent with the letter and spirit of the Charter, in promoting peace, security and international cooperation.

\* \* \* \*

משרד החוץ- מחלקה הקשר

7887

תאריך 12.12.89

נכון

בלטם

חו"ם: 12,7887

אל: המשרד

יעדים: 111289, מצב/697, 397, מצב/69

מ-: מיאמי, נור: 37, תא: 111289, זח: 0, דח: ר, סג: בל

תח: 0 וס: צפנו

נד: 0

(לכט)

בלטם/רג'ל

אל: צפנו, תבוצות, הסברה

דט: 111289/טטן/בלטם

מאת: מיאמי

ומידת AOZ - אמצעי התקשרות וישראל.

1. במסגרת ומידת AOZ במיامي התקיימים ב-8 דצמבר פאנל בנוסא אמצעי התקשרות ויחסם לישראל, בהשתתפות אנשי תקשורת וחוקרים וכן נשיא הארגון פילטמן שפירוא וסגןו.

2. הויימה הכללית של הדיוונים שנערכו בפני קהל של מאות ביתה של ביהדות מוחצת כל יחסם הלא מואזן של אמצעי התקשרות לישראל בכלל ובאשר לב'ו, "הניצפהה" במילוי.

3. השתוון "מיامي הראל" המכשה את דיווני הזעידה פירסם ב-9 דצמבר דיווח מפורט על הפאנל ואף קיים ראיונות עם פילטמן שפירוא והמנהלה PAUL FLACKS. שנייהם קרואו ליהודי העולם לעמדות ללא פשרות לימין ישראל, הדגישו שישראלי יודע מה' אווייביה ("אם ישראל אומרת ששה, יפ' מהו זה איזום לבטחונה, אם יהודי לא צריך לומר: אנו יודעים טוב יותר"), וגינו קבוצות התומכות בהרבה, ובשהיא לוחצת על ישראל לוחל מושם עט אש' ב.

4. זודגש שהתוון הציע את הכתבה המפורשת הנו'ל בעמודים

1

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## משרד החוץ-כוחיקת הקשר

הפנימיים (מדור „החדשנות המקומית”).

227

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תפקיד: שחקן, טלוויזיה, קולנוע, מংকה, מংকা, באנצ'ור, מצלמה, תպוקות, רבייב, הסברה, מעתה, מרכז, פוד

RECEIVED JAN 17 1968 LIBRARY DIRECTOR

CLB

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RECEIVED JAN 17 1968 LIBRARY DIRECTOR

משרד החוץ-כוחיקת הקשר

7884

תאריך 12.12.89

ביבס

בלטס

חוזם: 12,7884

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/אש/11,696/395

מ-מ-מ-י-א-מ-י, נ-ר: 34, ת-ה-נ: 111289, ז-ה: 001200, ד-ח-מ, ס-ג-ב-ל

ת-ח-מ א-ס: צ-פ-א

נ-ה-ו

ס-ל-ס-ל

בלטס/פ-י-יד-י

אל: מ-צ-פ- 'א

ד-ע- ו-ו-ש- ' - פ-ל-ג

מ-ה-ה: מ-י-א-מ-י

ב-כ-ס- ש-נ-ח-י ש-ל A02

ב-ה-מ-ש-ר ל-ש-ל-נו נ-ר 32.

ב-מ-ס-ג-ר-ת ה-כ-נ-ס ה-ז-מ-ן ל-ה-ר-צ-ו-ת

DR. DANIEL J. KURTZER  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, STATE DEPARTMENT

הנ'ל נתן סקירה כרונולוגית על ההתפתחויות הקשורות  
למהליך השלום החל מהיזמת הישראליות בת ארבעת הנקודות  
והתייחס לעמדת ארה' ב' בשלבים השונים של המהלך. הנקודות  
המרכזיות היו:

- ממשלה ארה' ב' תומכת בתוכנית ישראל ופעלת למען  
קידומה.



## משרד החוץ-כוחלקת הקשר

- הצלחה למגעים שאש"פ יתקבל כمدיננה משקיפה באו"ם.
- לקבל התשובה החיובית של מצרים להצעות בייקר.
- ארה"ב לא תחוייב את ישראל לדבר עם אש"פ, במונע כון אין כוננה לקיים אות аш"פ.
- אין זה נכון שארה"ב תומכת בוטידה בדילאומית.
- ארה"ב פועלת למונע שיתופם של מדינות ערביות אחדות במה כון, מקדמת את שיתופם בריה, מ בתהילך.

ראנטו

פנ

תפ: שחת, סחהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, מונכל, מונכל, בונצור, מצפה, תפוצות, דביב, הסברה, ר/מרכז, ממד





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טַלְמָדִים 3244

7.12.1989 תשל"ג

53094

ר' יונה ר' יונה - ר' יונה ר' יונה

### כראן: מיצפ"א

### הנדון: הרצ"ב

מצורף מכתבו של פרופ' אלפרד באלייזר העוסק בשינויים בפוליטיקה האמריקנית והשפעתם על הקהילה היהודית. וראי תמצאו בו עניין.

ב ב ר ב ה

אורלי גיל

העתק: לשכת שה"ח  
לשכת רוחה"מ/דור גרבית  
מדביר המשלה  
סמככ"ל הסברה  
יריעת תפרצות

October 22, 1989

The Honorable Eytan Bentsur, Deputy Director General  
Foreign Ministry of the State of Israel  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Eytan:

I want to share a few thoughts with you about political changes in the United States that are already having or are shortly to have a significant effect on the political influence of the Jewish community.

Let me begin with the simple principle--well understood in Israel--that population is power. This is particularly true in the United States because our Constitution institutionalizes population growth and shifts in the allotment of Congressional seats and state legislative districts.

Momentous demographic changes are occurring in the United States. These changes will have a direct and immediate effect on American politics and government and on the future influence of the American Jewish community. The processes that will convert these changes into new political realities are called reapportionment and redistricting.

In April the United States will conduct its decennial census. Shortly thereafter Congress will reapportion Representatives according to population shifts. Soon after, the fifty state legislatures will redraw congressional and state legislative districts, a process that must be completed in most states--except where there are legal challenges--in time for the 1992 election cycle. Because of the year, 1992, reapportionment and redistricting will directly impact the election of Congress and the presidential election.

California, presently with 45 seats in Congress (approximately 10% of the House of Representatives) will gain a minimum of five seats--some even predict seven seats, although I am skeptical of that number. This also greatly magnifies California's role in the Electoral College, the institution by which we elect our presidents. New York will lose two seats, possibly three, Illinois one or two, Pennsylvania two, while Florida gains at least two seats and Texas two. Power will shift even more dramatically than it did in 1980 to the West and the South. With intermittent exceptions, this change will continue the Republican hegemony in the White House into the next century, and introduce into Congress Members with a different political culture and set of interests than those who represent the industrial Northeast and Mid West. The great urban centers of New York City and Chicago, already in decline, will become increasingly less influential in our national life as Atlanta, Dallas, Los Angeles and Miami rise in prestige and influence.

What are the implications of this population shift?

1. The population gains of California are almost exclusively the result of Asian and Hispanic immigration. One example will serve to make my point. Over the last ten years Los Angeles County has lost over a million residents to Orange, San Bernardino, San Diego and Riverside Counties. Those leaving Los Angeles County are exclusively Anglo residents, including Jews. During the same period Los Angeles County gained two million new residents, exclusively Asian and Hispanic. Furthermore, because the Anglo population of California is not replacing itself by new births, California would have suffered a net loss of population except for Asian and Hispanic immigration.

The political implications of this new demographic reality are significant and I am not sure that the Jewish community either recognizes them or, where it has taken cognizance of them, knows how to deal with them. For instance, the Black population of Los Angeles County, which has remained relatively stable over the last ten years, is finished as a significant factor in California politics. It has been overwhelmed by new populations which care little for it and which do not identify with its interests. In the redistricting that took place in the early 1980's, Congressional lines were drawn in Southern California giving the Jewish community five "Jewish seats" (Waxman, Berman, Levine, Fiddler and Beilenson) because a "deal" was "cut" with black legislative leaders in Sacramento. The same "deal" will be impossible to "cut" in the 1990's, and it is almost certain that at least one "Jewish seat" will be lost. Waxman's seat has been overwhelmed by Filipinos, and he needs significant Jewish population to prop up his seat. My guess is that that will be accomplished at the sacrifice of Beilenson's district. A likely scenario is that Beilenson will be forced to face another strong Democrat incumbent in the California Democrat Primary in 1992.

There will be blood on the floor in the Sacramento legislature where Blacks, fighting to hold on to their present seats, will be facing an exceedingly strong challenge by Asians and especially Hispanics. With whom should the Jews align themselves? The old Black/Jewish coalition is dead. Hispanics, strongly under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, will not give the Jewish community the same support on Israeli-oriented issues as the old Black/Jewish coalition once did. (The recent controversy over the Carmelite nunnery at Aschowitz played "hard" and "strong" in the Hispanic community, especially in Hispanic media, and revived public expressions of anti-Semitism.) I personally favor a Jewish/Asian alliance--the two communities have much in common with respect to socio-economic and family values--but this requires a special effort that has so far failed to materialize. And there are other factors to be considered here.

Asians have exceedingly strong ties to their native lands. There are over a million Chinese in Southern California (now many more than in San Francisco), over 400,000

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Japanese, the largest Filipino population anywhere outside of Metropolitan Manila, and approximately 53,000 Malays. Koreans, one of the fastest growing Asian populations, have reached close to a quarter of a million. The Vietnamese population of Orange County totals nearly 65,000, and is increasingly playing an important role in this area of the state. These groups, who have few impressions of Jews other than what their governments have taught them about Israel (as far as they are concerned Jews are Anglos), will be guided politically by future developments in Israel/Asian relations.

One last point to be made with respect to Asians: As they register to vote, Asians tend to register in favor of the Republican Party. This means that Jews will have to become increasingly sensitive to the GOP in order to build a coalition.

What I have said about California pertains to the Southwest and to the Southeast. Population growth in Florida, Texas, Arizona and New Mexico has much to do with Hispanic immigration, although Anglo population shifts to such cities as Atlanta and Dallas, and to the states of Florida and Texas have, unlike California, boosted their populations significantly. Southern legislators are not as familiar with Jewish populations and Jewish interests as their Northern and Mid Western counterparts. Since Southern Congressman most often are elected to office after having served in their state legislatures, it would be prudent of Israel to immediately begin encouraging "missions" to Israel of Southern and Southwestern state legislators. I can think of nothing more important for Israel to encourage in order to insure the future of its relations with the United States.

2. It is important to recognize that New York is no longer the seat of American political power with respect to the involvement of the Jewish community. Although New York has approximately three and one half million Jews, New York's influence in Congress and in the Electoral College has diminished--is continuing to diminish--to the benefit of such states as California, Florida and Texas. To be blunt, California's one million Jews are now more important than New York's three and one half million because of the electoral strength of California over New York. This is not to say that New York is unimportant. It is still a big state. But Israeli leaders should be sensitive to the new configuration of political power in America with respect to their travels and with respect to building friendships with important political, economic and cultural interests.

Another point to consider! The "old politics" of ethnic voting groups that characterized the Northeast and Mid West is today a poor strategy from which to protect the interests of Israel in the United States. Jewish voting blocks as such are increasingly disappearing as Jews move to the suburbs as part of their reach for a better life. As Jews move to the suburbs they are more difficult to identify

as to life style and for purposes of community organization. Traditional Jewish organizations and leaders, which have been in decline throughout the last decade, will continue to lose influence among Jews and Anglos.

Rather than depending on voting blocks for the election of pro-Israel office holders, Jews must now field candidates--such as Mel Levine--who are attractive to a wide electorate and who can be elected not because they represent a "special interest" but because of their wider public appeal. This will of necessity become the basis of the election of future pro-Israel voices in our legislative bodies. The cultivation of these candidates must be a top priority of the American Jewish community, and candidates must be recruited on a bi-partisan basis.

Finally, we must employ new technologies to reach key opinion-making elites with the message of Israel. Relying on AIPAC and other traditional Jewish organizations to deliver a message will only accelerate what everyone is thinking in political circles today--that the Jewish lobby is really impotent, and, therefore, that there are no significant political risks to criticizing Israel. Employing new technologies will also assist us with identifying and mobilizing Jews who reside in our otherwise anonymous suburbs. I will talk to you about this technology at some future date.

I would also like to talk to you about the role of Jewish money, which is diminishing because of campaign limitation laws, but I will save this subject for another letter.

Sincerely,

  
Fred Balitzer

תבונת

שם נושא

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חוזם: 12,8015

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/705, מצב/192, אגמ/1, אב/ב/96  
מ-דווש, נד: 259, תא: 111289, זח: 2000, דח: ד, גז: שפ  
תח: א גז: צפנ  
נד: ב

/ן/ק

שם נושא/רגיל

אל: פדר, מצב, ממד

דע: מקש/ח-משהב/ט

[REDACTED]

מאת: האגדיות, ווושינגטן

סינ - סוריה - מבירת טילים

1. רמפה עם עתונאים בביון לבן (12/11) ציין הנשיא כי בעקבות ביקור היונצ' לבטחון לאומי סקוורופט שמה (שםו הבודהה משה סין על בר שאין בכוונת למכור טילים למאהת).

2. הנשיא אישר שהנושא העלה בשיחותיו של סקוורופט.

3. התייחסות הנשיא לנושא באה לאחר שדוברו נמנע מהשיב לשאלת שפנותה אליו במהלך תדרוך יומי גם דובר מטעם בתדרוכו המתמקם לשאלת האם נושא המילים היה הנושא בעיקרי (אותו העלה מלחשיב בשיחותיו). במקום זאת, התייחס הדובר (כמפורט בפרק סקוורופט בשיחותיו). תדרוך דובר מטעם ב-12/11) למג' ארב-סין בשנותיים לאחרוניון בנוושא ולהודעת סוכנות הידיעות הסינית שהגדירה את הידיעות בדבר מכך של סיל. 9-A כחומר יסוד.

4. הערכה: הודעת משה סין (והפרסום בסוכנות הידיעות הסינית) במודר לסיום ביקור סקוורופט אפשרות לנשיא להסיט במעט

חוציא



חוציא

## משרד החוץ-מחלקה הקשר

הביבליות על החלטתו. לאחרי הכל, ההזדמנות הסיניות יכולת לחשב בהישג שיש בו כדי להצדיק הביקור. יחד עם זאת, יש להניח שהקונוגראס (ואלה שנושא ז'א קרוב ללייבט) ישבם לדין בנסיבות הביקור לאחר שובר מהפכארה. במידה וחתובו יוחזק של חבר הקונוגראס סולר – היון אמרת מידה לתחום הרים על החלטת הנשיא יש להביח שהקונוגראס "נסה להקשות (באמצעות התקינה בונגוא הסנקציות ובהארכת משך שהות הסטודנטים). על הנשיא בונגוא לשיפור הדרגתן של היחסים מוביל שהסיגים ישלמו מהיר בתמורה.

שם 11

רשות

תפ: שהח, שהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמן, פמד, בונצור, פאנא, פרג, הרס, אסיה



8002

8120

四九四

ב-ל-מ-ב/ב-ג-י-ל

MAY 1978

לען הילא ברכות

סימן: ה-837-ב-718 מ-878

1. בכתבה בל.א. טיימס (11 דנו) מושע' מספרים כתבי העיתון על האפשרות שברהם מוכנה ככל הנראה להיות ה 8030-00 של נסיך אמריקני חדש להביא לביטולה של החלטת האום ציונות גזנות מ-1975. אפשרות זו ורמזה עי' סגן הנשיא קורוויל בנאומו בישיבת יוניברסיטת בניין-יוניברטי.

2. בכתבבה מצוין שהצעיר הולם כי פקסיו בעקדתו מצביה על שפ' הדיפלומט בין אריה וברה'ם וכצעיר דרמותי. לקרהת חידוש היחסים בין ברה'ם וישראל.

3. בכתביה מצומצמים פקידים אמריקניים בואומרים שגם מספר מדיניות  
ערביות הובילו סגונים לפיהם גם הם לא יתנונו לנוסין  
האמריקני-סובייטי החדש.

4. בכתבה מצויהן פואם אכן היוזמה הצל מתקיים תהיה זו דוגמת  
שניה לש'פ' דיפלומטי אמריקני-סובייטי בזירה גלאומית -  
הראשונה הייתה פעולה משותפת להסרת ההצעה לשינוי מועד אשך  
כאותם,



## משרד החוץ-מחלקה הקשר

הציגו הצעה הndl במוסקבת וכי הסובייטים הביעו נכונותם לדין  
בהתreffה בהנחת ההצעה על סדר היום של האום.

ายילן מודר

לשם

תפ: שחח, סחהח, מנכ"ל, ממכ"ל, בנטצ'ור, מצפה, דביב, מעת, הסברה, גוברין,  
מצאר, ברונע, ארבל, פזנור, לעם, ר/מרבץ, ממד



2378

9303

卷之三

ט'ז נס

את ג' קופיה ופצעות נזרך.

בשזהה עם ליז הרמן, עוזרת של הקונגרסן ברמןattiופיה למידה שקיבלה מהנשי מחקר העוסקים ומעודים בענין. attiופיה לפיו ישראל מוכרת פצחות מצרר לאתיופיה. לא ידעה עדין על שנות פירסום הבודאי. לדבריה, במידה ויגיעו לקונגרס דיווחים או תוצאות על הרג אזרחים attiופיים עז, פצחות אלה, מצבה של ישראל ייבח חפוף בזותם.

בבדրיה, לאחר נושא דראָפּ, זהו הטעשאָ הייחיד בו 'רָאָן דלאָס צוֹרָה הקוֹקוֹס החַחְוָר' ופָּרָבָּה דָּוָתָה (קוֹנוֹאָרָסְטָן רְפּוּבּוּלִיקָן שְׁמָרָנָן) יַלְכֵן יַד בִּידָה. הדגשאָה השְׁנָאָה הַרְבָּה הַרְבָּה בְּקוֹנוֹנָה בְּלַפְּנֵי אַגְּזָה 1000 וכַּאֲמֹר כל בְּרָסְטָוּם שֶׁל הַתְּמִדְבָּרוֹת מַצְיָּהָן שְׁוֹקָל מַלְכָּה.

גנדיים וכאבי לב



# משרד התחזוקה-כוחיקת הקשר

8014

תאריך: 12.12.07

תכונת

מכתב

חוזם: 8014

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/704, רומא/160, מונט/191

מ-וונצ, נר: 256, מ: 111289, זמ: 2000, דח: ר, סג: שמש

תחזק אירופה גז

נד: 8

2/8/2

שם/or/רג'יל

אל: אירופה 1, מצב/8

למ: רומא

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטן

שיחת קרקסי-בוש

במהלך ליבורק 223 7.12.07

1. בשיחה עם דסקיי מע' אירופה במוועצת לבטחון לאומי  
התباحثים קדרכות לתוכנו שיחת בוש-קרקסי.

2. כפי שמשמעות בדוחות רומא (דוח מברק לעיל) העלו שני  
הצדדים אמדות מנוגדות. השיחת ציינו לא הביאה לשינוי  
עמדות.

3. שני הצדדים הסכימו בדבר הצורך להתחילה (ובמידה האפשר)  
לסייעם הדריאלאג.

4. סיפר בהקשר לדיאלוג כי מזכיר המדיננה ביזיקר הבביר  
כי התעקשות אש'פ לזכות בהכרה פורמלית כשותף לתהילה  
לא טוב אש'פ קייזר חונזין.

5. קרקסי דיווח על מסר שקיבל מערפאת וזו בקשה (מרקקסי)  
לפייע בקידום מועד אש'פ בתהילה. ומסר נמחמת ביקורת



## משרד החוץ-מחלקה הקשור

על כך שיישראלי מסדרת להכיר במשפט אש"פ.

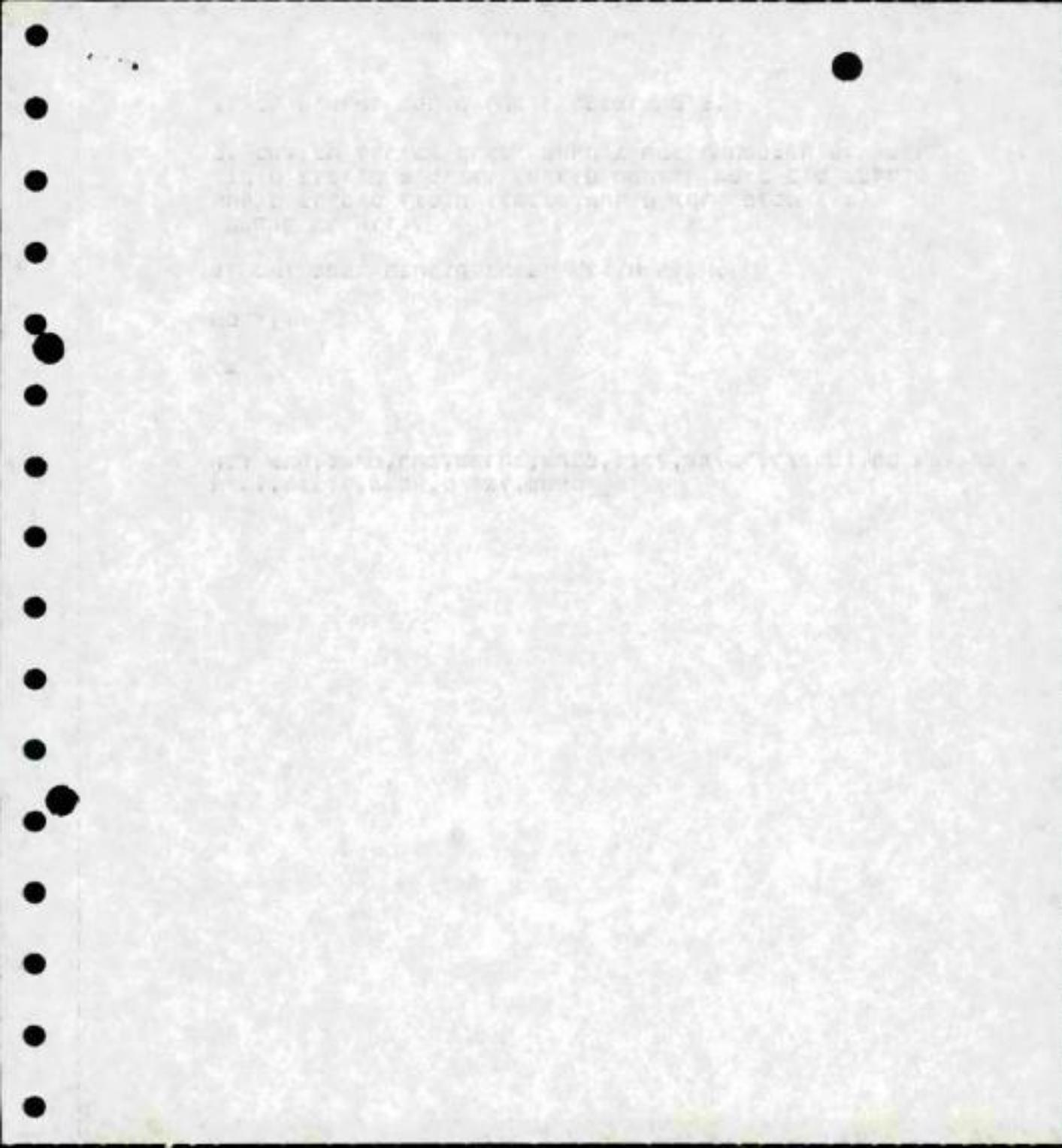
6. בתקופה לוריאשת קורסי אדרה ובתפיעל השפעתה על יישראלי נזקים בצדדים שישינו לקידום התהילה השיב בוש שצדדים אחרים צריכים לנסות ולשכונם אחרים (קרי פלסטינים) להשתתף בדילוג.

עד כאן מספר הבהירות בהקשר לדמות רוגא.

שטיין.

רשות

תפ: שחת, סחה, רהט, ממראם, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ד/מרכז, רם, אמן, מגד, אירן, בונצור, פצמא, סייבל, משפט



נכון

בלמס

טולען

חוזם: 12,7988  
אל: המשרד  
יעדים: מצב/807  
מ-: לוסאנגלוס, נרו: 44, תא: 111289, זח: 0001500, דח: מ, סג: בל  
תח: מ גס: צפנא  
נד: מ

בלמס/מיד

מצפנא  
סמס

1. בכתבה בעמוד הראשון של הל.א. סיימס מדווח כתוב העיתון מפי מקורות ערביים וערביים פקחיר שבסיסי התמיינה האימונים (HAVENS) ו好似ו של ארגוני הטרור הפלסטיניים בזאת ובמזהה אירופה נסגרו למעשה לשנה לאחרונה.

2. להלן קטעים מהכתבה: פתיחותה של ברהם לערבי, והירידה במילון שuditן לארגוני האלה מדיניות דידיקליות כמו עיראק סוריה ולוב תרמו למעשה להמתנות אחד ארגוני הטרור הירודיות לשמה, וארגוני אחרים אולצו להסתיר בברית עם איראן וקבוצות איסלאמיות דידיקליות אחרות עם המשיך את פערילותן.

3. התוצאה - ירידת דרמטית בפיגילות הטרור הבינלאומי של הפלסטיינים השנה והנכח בקרוב מוחמים רבים בעולם העברי - ולו רק עקב קשיים כלכליים לחץ חיצוני וכלה. מוריד את רמת ה- STATE SPONSORED TERRORISM הסכוסר בזאת.

4. בכתבה מצוטט איש מודיעין ערבי. כאותו שישנו הוכחות חותבות לכך שקדامي סגר, בחודשים לאחרוניים, את כל בסיסי האימונים - לפט שלושה - של ארגוני הטרור, ואר בטל את המיכון הקבוע שנותן לשני ארגוני טרור פלשתינים וקבוצת אופוזיציה פזאל.

5. עוד בכתבה שמומחים ישראליים ואמריקאים סומכים שמדובר



## משרד החוץ-מחלקה הקשורה

הגוש המזרחי, כמו פולין מזרחית גרמניה הונגריה וציקסלאדיה – חלק מפתוחותן למערב – הפסיקו להיות בסיס לאימוני טרוריסטים. וכן שאין המדינות הנל מספקות עוד בת' מחסה מסלולי בריחה והמלומות וכן לטרוריסטים וקב' טרור כמו זו של ابو נידל. השינויים ברבוקטיניות הפלשתיין, בקר כתבה, נובע מהאיינטיפאדה בשטחים, והעוברה שמדינותו ערבה התומכות בטרור מעדריפות כתת להמתין לתוכאות המהלבים הפוליטיים.

9. כתבה עוד הנחה שקב האמור לעיל יוציאו ארגוני המדור הפלשטיינים בחיבושים אחר' בסיס תמייה ואימוניים למדינות המולם השלייש. זכורה לכם בזוזאי כתבה על פעילות השיעים הפלשטיינית במערב ובמרכז אפריקה לפני שלושה שבועות שהופיעה בל. א. טירמס.

7. כתבה כולה בונפרד.

איין מוד

רשות

תפ: שחח, סחהח, מונכל, מונכל, בונצור, מצפה, דביב, מנת, הסברה, ר/מרבז,  
מד, פזנו, לנעם



שרירות ישראל/ 11/8/1989  
טופס פלוק

ד: 1  
כתרון: 2

דוחיפות: בהול לבוקר

סוד: בلمים

תאריך וזמן חיבור:

11 בדצמבר 1989 18:30

11/12/89

אל: מצפיה, מעית, ממ"ד

ס. כביר:

דע: יועץ רוחני לתקשות, יועץ שהבייט לתקשות

לעתים, דוח'ץ, ניו-יורק

מספר:

12

33 25 953

פאת: עתונות, וושינגטון

רציב דברי הנשיא בוש בخصوص התהילה המדינית במסגרת תדרוך שנתן לעורכי עתונות.

רות ירושה

היא סוללה רהה נורית נורית נורית נורית  
היא נסלה רהה נסלה רהה נסלה רהה  
היא נסלה רהה נסלה רהה נסלה רהה

תפוצה: ה-

Y | 67 | P  
33 | 175 | 253

Q Mr. President, Tom Biermore (ph) of the San Francisco Examiner. Do you think the PLO is inspiring or orchestrating at least part of the intifada riot activity? And if so, do you think Israel should be pressured or obliged to negotiate on any more than elections until this violence subsides?

**PRESIDENT BUSH:** I don't think Israel should be pressured into negotiating with the PLO. Is that the question?

Q Yes.

**PRESIDENT BUSH:** No, they should not be. Jim Baker is working with the Egyptian people out a very difficult formulation with the Israelis, and the representatives of been very difficult. Mubarak, you remember, had his ten points; Baker came up with five points. There has been progress on that, incidentally, but I don't think it is the role of the United States to force Israel to negotiate with the PLO.

\*

לחייפות: בחול לבוקר	שם: שגירות ישראל/וושינגטון	טלפון: 1
סוד: שטורס	טלפון: 1	טלפון: 1
תאריך וזמן חיבור: 11.21.89	אל: פר"ג, מצל"א	
פס. כבוק: הפשרה: ? 249 172 100	דעת: נספח אבגד-כארז .. משבב"ט/טקסט"ח, זיהע תקשורת שבח"ט.	כתובת: עתונאות, דושינגטัน.

## חטיל תעילאקי

הדורות אגדות אגדות השילוח מאיכותם אוניברסליות אוניברסליות רבת-נשיאות רבת-נשיאות.

בימי אחדרנים הגיעו בקשות רבות לכך לגדירות רשותות וטראליות ומן (ובעicker) בשרות למדרכות רקע בקשרו שגור התיל ומשמעותיו לזרירה המסתהית".

נוזdem למתוך היסודותם - הן לגביהם תגבורת רשמית והן לעודר תדרוכי-רקע.

ר' ירמיה

לפואזה:

9150  
שטיין/רגיל  
261.04

1  
3

0274 0  
22 נובמבר ?  
52 ג'נואר ?

11330

אל : מע"ח  
מצפ"א  
הסברת

בע : יונצ'ז וקסנזה ליזה'ה  
יונצ'ז תקשורת לשחבי'ט

לע"מ

דו"צ

קשי'ז

מזכיר הממשלה  
וושינגטן

מאת : עתונות/נו-ירום

מצבג בתקורת- סקירה תקופתית

1. הרו"ת סוקר התקופה מ-25 נובמבר ועד היום 10 דצמבר 1989.

2. נושא החוץ הינו הנושאים המרכזים בשכונת האחוריוניס, כמו בכל התקופה האחוריונה. המתרחשויות בזירה אירופת המשיכו להוליך הכוורות בתקורת האלקטרוגיט וחכובות. ברם, יסיקור האינטנסיבי על מז' ארגנטינה נספה צ'בוסלבקיה ובמיוחד מחותמת יותר פולין.

לאורך התקופה הוזן נסקרו ארבעה נושאים נספחים במיוחד הראוויות לצין :

א - עמידת הפיסגה במלחת בכוח השבוש שעבר.

ב - נסינו החפיקה בפיליפינים

ג - הקרים המתעצמים בוחני אל-עלברדר.

ד - המזה"ה

3. הסיקור הנרחב בנסאיו זו צינה מקומו. בשוליותו, נושא פניות בולט אחר, התארגנות הצוות של דינקינס בראש העיר הנבחר של ניו יורק וב'ב' חקירות של דוחוון בזאתם על הצרות שיקריות בהקשרי הון.

4. נושאנו אם שזרו ליטיקון לא ונרנו נאשווים האחוריוניס בתקורת האינטנסיבית והכוורת. בשלהי מישורי נידונו:

א. מהליך המדריך הנושא דוחה בשכונת האחוריון, אין כי בזירה צונעה למדי. בתקורת האלקטרוגיט הובאה התשובה המצרית כדרוווח לא פרשנות, וכבר בכתובה הנושא וכשהחתומת ליב אונגה במיוחד זהה. הוזכר בכל העתונים כיריעת פרט ל-דיאן ו-AN שנדרש לושא בפרשנות שניתו להגדרה כאופטימיות זהירותו למשרדו דוחות.

תקורת ומשיחות ניתן למדוד שאין התחבות יתרה מהמשובת המצרית הנובעת:

1. השלב הבא יתרחש רק בעוד חודש.

274

22

52

2. בכל ואפקודות הינה אוטית. ברוכיה בהתחווה של הצדרים.  
 3. האינטיפאדה היה הנושא החשוב בשבעת האחראן.  
 4. עדרין לא בירור כמה ממקיר ומחייב מטעוניים לעטוק בנוושאיו, אף שצל פניו מציגים עניינו להתקדם.  
ו.או. לייזין שאנו אמרנו מפרק וטור עטם במהלך המדריך למנהג  
שבועיים.

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3

ב. שותים לאינטיפאדה

1. היקת הדרכו  
 במידה זו או אחרת נדרשו לכך כל אמצעי התקשרות. כל הושתות שירדו כתבות נרחבות במספרות מהדרות הערב ב-8 דצמבר (ABC גם ב-7 דנא). ANS בבל אחת מהמדרדרות וחקיק מהבתבות שודר בשעת 9 דנא. מקייל/להר הקריש את חלקה הראשי של מהדרות החדשות ב-8 דנא לנוסח. את הצד הישראלי הציג העתונאי הירש גודמן.  
 לאורר כל השבוע כתובות בכל ועתונאים. יצא הנויש בשעת שבעה נאמר מערכת בנושא בה קרא לפשתינאים לאמא ה tally המדריך ולזנוח דרר האינטיפאדה. ביום ראשון האחראן, מירענן לואיס בטורי, קרא לישראל לאמא דרר ריאלית לשם השגת מטרו. ב-9 דנא ברינקל הביא מראיינו עם שבביס.  
 תחנות הרדיו והשבועונים התקיישו לנושא אף הם.

2. חכמים  
 ריב חזזחים נשאו אופי מכוכב של וושאים וכשוויניות לכל אחד מהצדדים. תוך שהשתמש באירוחים בוגטים ובתומנות מארכיבם להמחשת טיעוניהם. מהתקשות ופשיחות ניתן לוחחים במאגרות הסיכום ברלקמן:  
 א - האינטיפאדה איבדה מכוחה הักษורה ואיננו מעוניינו  
ברפוי הפעולה שלה העשויים.

ב - בשנה השניה לא השיאו הפלשtinyאים היישג מודיעין/פוזיטוי וקיים חשש שהרבב ישחק לידי הCONDIMENTISTS. כאשר מאן הבחירה בירדן נראה שכוחה האמיטי של החמאם מעסיק האנשין במירה רבה יותר.  
 ג - והישג הבולט בעבור הפלשtinyאים הינה התגברות התחבורה הפלשtinyית והנכונות הקולקטיבית לסלב.  
 ד - התמורות התקשורתי במיוחד לאחרונה בהיבטים של זכויות-ארם, ובמיוחד לאור המתרחש במו' אירופה - זכות מודיעין ועמים לקביע עתיות. - מחייב אונזו בצד הלא טוב של המתרש בשנואה זה השענין והעיסוק הבינלאומי בו גוברים.  
 ה - עפ"י פתונאי ומפיק עטם שותתי בשבע שער קיימת התרששות עלי אף העובה שאנו פועניהם ממשיכים געולם מערבי אנחנו נחפסים קצת חותם "מערבים". לטענת והפיכים זהה גם מסקנת האקונומיסט הבריטי.

ו - גורם המאזן קמען לנאמר לעיל הינו אסן מטוס 103 AA PAN שמלאו לו שנה בשבע שער ותקשורת --בעיקר האלקטרונית-- התייחסו לו בהרבה רבה ואשר החזיר את הפלשtinyים לטעמם של חזוריים עירקיים במשחה טירוד נוראי.  
 ז - החשש הבולט הנוכחי כחוט הש�י בשיחות ומהתקשות הינה אפשרות שהמצב הנוכחי ישר במתה שהוא תוך יצירה טאטול כוון חדש, שישראל תוכל להיות בו. החשש הינו התחזקות המהנה האיסלמי ע"ח המוניות האחרים הפלשtinyים שיקשת עד מאוד וו התקומות מדינית.  
 ח - רצח פלשtinyים ע"י פלשtinyים זוכה לחשומת לב יפהיה בולט.

## ג. העלאת מעמד אש"פ בחו"ם

הנושא דוחה בהיקף רחוב יחתית לעניין שמעורר כו"כ או"ם  
בתמורתה המקומית. מאמרי מערכת (איאו, אמ) יאנו חוצץ נגר  
המגמה. פרט לכך והנושא דוחה לרוב לא פרשנות. חריג היה  
ה-צא שהרבה לסקור ההתרחשויות. פרדוקסלית, דוגא ההישג  
המרני, שלא, הפחת העניין והתקשרותי.

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עתונאות/ניו-יורק יי/י  
יובל רותם 11 בדצמבר 1989

אישור:

$$\frac{3}{3}$$