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מלחמת לבנון

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מדינת ישראל

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ארגונות הבריתות, מהרקים ומשגרים

משלבריות ושבל בקשרטון.

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Meeting between President Reagan and Prime Minister Begin

The White House
Washington, D.C.
11:55 a.m.
Monday, June 21, 1982

American Side: Vice President Bush, Secretary Haig, Secretary Weinberger, Meese, Clark, Baker, McFarlane, Fairbanks, Kemp, Lewis, Teicher, Hill.

Israeli Side: Arens, Blum, Aluf Saqui, Kadishai, Nehushtan, Ayner, Hecht, Nevo.

(Preliminary to the meeting, the President and the Prime Minister met alone in the Oval Office, accompanied by Ambassadors Arens and Lewis. They met from 11:05 a.m. until 11:55 a.m.).

PRESIDENT: The Prime Minister and I had a fine meeting in which we candidly exchanged views. Mr. Prime Minister, you indicated to me that you have someone here whom you would like to make a presentation.

PRIME MINISTER: I thank you, Mr. President. I suggest that General Saqui present to us Operation Peace for Galilee. General Saqui is head of our military intelligence.

SAGUI: (explaining maps). The war started on Sunday, June 6, at 10:30 a.m. with the intention to remove the range of the katyushas from our border area. We did not consider the 40 km. line as the ultimate line because the 180 mm guns in PLO possession can, when deployed on the Heights, reach a range of 50-55 kms. We advanced on two fronts, along the seashore and along the ridge trying to avoid a clash with Syria.

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On the first day we reached Tyre and Sidon and on that same night we landed from the sea 3 or 4 kms. north of Sidon. On the main ridge we tried to bypass the Syrians by using the narrow roads and paths on the west side of Jezin. By so doing we were hoping Syria would understand our intentions. On the second day, mopping-up operations began in Tyre and Sidon and on that day the Syrians decided not to withdraw but to fight and on that same night they brought in another battalion from Beirut to reinforce the Jezin area and all the entrances from the south along the Beirut/Damascus road where they deployed tank and artillery units. On that same night the anti-aircraft batteries in the northern part of the Baaka were reinforced from 13 to 19. The second stage was the cleaning up of the Jezin area without advancing north of the Baaka, mopping up Tyre and the coastal road. In this stage the government decided to take care of the missile sites in the Baaka which threatened our forces. Had they not been destroyed, all our units operating on the ridge would have been exposed without air support. The operation took three hours and then we had the air-to-ground support that we needed. In the course of our operation with the Syrians we destroyed 250 Syrian tanks, 240 T62s and about 10 T72s. We disconnected the Beirut/Damascus road and are now deployed in West Beirut. ?

PRIME MINISTER: I thank you very much. With your permission, Mr. President, I will continue on what we found after entering Lebanon. Some say we invaded Lebanon. It is a misnomer. Invasion means that one occupies a country, conquers it and stays there. We are prepared to withdraw our forces as soon as possible after the necessary security arrangements are made so that our people in Galilee won't be harrassed

anymore. For years on end the PLO strengthened its forces, committed horrible atrocities against our people -- in Maalot they made 18 school children lay down on the floor and machine-gunned them all to death. In Naharia, they took a 6-year old child, smashed her skull before the eyes of her father, and then murdered the father. They took over a bus on the coastal road and scores were massacred, and so it went on and on. Since they got the long-range weapons from the Soviet Union, the heavy guns and the katyusha rockets (in Stalingrad the Germans feared the katyusha rockets more than anything else) - those rockets have a range of 21.6 kms., threatening the whole finger of Galilee. Also, they have there 120 mm guns with a range of 27 kms that stretch even deeper into our territory. And then there are the 180 mm guns, somewhat obsolete, but with a range of 40 kms. Most recently they got another rocket with a range of 30 kms. Whenever they perpetrated atrocities of a kind that no nation in the world would tolerate and we took measures, they kept our civilians in Galilee hostage. For days and nights they have been forced to live in shelters. Ours is a tropical country and the shelters are sweltering. And throughout all those times our people lived with the permanent terror of sudden death. One who does not have the experience of katyushas cannot understand the terror. There is a whistle and then a sudden explosion. The launcher is mobile and immediately after firing, moves on to a different spot. Ten days ago that shelling went on for four days and nights. Tens of thousands of our people in 23 townships and villages came under the shelling. Our people could not bear it anymore. They cried out to us -- put an end to it. Therefore,

to say that we "invaded" Lebanon is an absolute misnomer. We went out to fight armed bands from a neighboring country attacking our people. This is the international rule of the inherent right of self-defense against aggression. Every country has the experience of exercising that right, including the United States, the right of self-defense. I say again, Mr. President, that we want to leave Lebanon as soon as possible. We found things there we did not know about. General Saqui, you are in charge of a good intelligence service. But on this occasion, you were mistaken. We found ten times more weapons than our intelligence had predicted. Just three days ago we found an arms depot near Sidon of such a size that it will take 500 trucks to remove all the weapons and the ammunition. All in all, in Lebanon we found weapons of Soviet origin of such a quantity that it will take six weeks to remove, using ten huge Mack trucks, working day and night. Mr. President, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union has turned Lebanon as a base of its armaments in the Middle East. We did not know the extent before hand. We thought that they had just been arming the PLO. Now we know the truth that they were actually stocking up arms in Lebanon. In discovering those arms, we not only defended our people, we also did a great service to the free world.

Now, let me tell you, Mr. President, which were the countries that were involved in training and supporting the PLO. (Prime Minister lists the countries which had given training and other facilities to the PLO.).

It is a world conspirary, from one end of the world to the other. (Prime Minister displays documentation captured in Lebanon including orders to shell northern settlements, photographs of terrorists posing with Soviet officers).

Mr. President, it was an action of salvation, of which we are proud. We paid a great price -- 250 dead, many of them officers. The high casualty rate among our officers is a reflection of our tradition that their command to their troops is not "Forward" but "Follow Me". There were also casualties on the other side and I regret all of them deeply; I regret as a human-being. But we must always remember that in our generation we already gave our blood; we lost a third of our people. But we do regret other casualties, deeply. Biased and distorted information has been disseminated in the media, in Europe and here, which is absolutely unjustifiable. The stories have been prejudiced, not based on fact. For instance, this morning I received figures on the number of people left homeless -- 20,000. A biased report put out by others said 600,000. We are sorry about the 20,000 but to multiply that figure 30 times when it is totally baseless...; that is distorted reporting. Minister Meridor of our Cabinet has assumed responsibility to coordinate the humanitarian efforts. Things are being done to help; we have already started rebuilding homes: we are extending aid to the hospitals and giving every kind of human assistance, as we shall continue to do. The exaggeration of the number of people allegedly killed is also horrible. For example, in Sidon 400 were killed and yet the story was put out that 4,000 were killed, ten times the truth. The IDF took every measure possible not to hurt

civilians. Thus, in Tyre and in Sidon, we first made sure to take out the civilians to the seashore before our soldiers moved in to attack the terrorists. I myself was at a meeting at GHQ the night before and witnessed the discussion among our Generals whether to bombard the city with our airforce before going into the built-up areas, knowing that we would suffer very severe casualties in those areas. Our Generals decided not to bomb and we did suffer casualties in the house-to-house fighting, and yet, there are those who claim 4,000 were killed when in fact it was 400. Mr. President, during the last ten days biased information has been spreading around the world and I want you to know the facts.

I have here a letter, unaddressed and unsigned, sent to me by the Soviets through the Finns (Prime Minister reads letter in which the Soviets allege an Israeli shelling attack on their Embassy in Beirut). Before I left Israel I answered and told the Soviets that our most advanced forces are 5 kms. away from their Embassy, that we have not attacked their Embassy nor its personnel, and that we respect the immunity of that and all other Embassies. I also used the opportunity to remind the Soviet Union of their definition of indirect armed aggression -- a definition they have used since the days of Litvinov -- and pointed out that Israel acted in accordance with that definition.

And now, Mr. President, we come to the political stage. I had two talks with our good friend, Secretary of State Haig, and I would

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now like to report to you on our suggestion: We agree that as soon as possible I want our men back home. I express complete support for the statement you made to both Houses of the British Parliament in which you said: "Israel should bring its soldiers home and the scourge of terrorism must be stamped out". We agree. We cannot tolerate a repeat of the past situation. Therefore, a 40 km. distance must be established from our northern broder and a multi-national force should be set up to make sure the terrorists do not come back. The United States has experience of a multi-national force. We cannot overlook the fact that the United Nations by virtue of the composition of the General Assembly and the Security Council, is a hostile organization. Reston in the New York Times, writi ng about my speech in the United Nations, said that our opposition in the United Nations -- the Arab countries and Communist countries and some of the Third World countries -- did not even have the decency to listen to my speech. But this is a symbol. It is an expression of the fact that two-thirds of the United Nations is absolutely against us. They cannot even listen to us. When Ambassador Blum mounts the rostrum, they leave the hall. Therefore, a good idea was borne during the Egyptian/Israeli peace negotiations, of a multi-national force. In a way, the Soviet Union forced it upon us because of the threat to their veto. It is a fine force and we and Egypt cooperate with it; all its aims are carried out. It can be done in Lebanon too. This is what we suggest, to establish such a force and once it is deployed and operating, we will withdraw our forces. 600-800 terrorists penetrated

the UNIFIL lines. Some units operated well, like the Fijis. Others did not. UNIFIL was useful but a real solution means the establishment of a multi-national force. As far as Lebanon itself is concerned, its territorial integrity must be preserved and the Lebanese government must be enabled to function without foreign forces on Lebanese territory. I believe that if this is achieved it will soon be possible for a peace treaty to be signed between our two countries. We have no conflict with Lebanon. For 19 years it was the quietest border characterized by pastoral life with only cows who crossed the boundary and were returned by good neighbors. This is our hope. The United States can use its great influence. We will not interfere with the Lebanese government. No foreign force, no PLO, no interference in internal affairs -- this is the goal. Respectfully, Mr. President, this is our suggestion.

PRESIDENT: Well, now I had thought of asking Secretary Haig for an update on Habib's mission to Beirut or does someone here have something else they want to respond to?

HAIG: We have been in touch with Ambassador Arens this morning on the Habib effort. There were two important but tentative conclusions to be drawn. Habib met with the entire group of Lebanese factions, attempting to put together a government that will have backbone to it. It is too early to say as yet where we stand. During the last few days we have seen increasing PLO resistance to any arrangement; they have begun to get increasingly intransigent. Then, this morning Habib said that

as a result of the shelling in the last 24 hours in Southwest Beirut, they are again back in an ameniable position to strike a deal with the Lebanese government. Habib asks that we convey to you two messages: (1) Great concern because of the rumor that the IDF was taking over the airfield; and (2) that the PLO is ready to talk now if the shelling stops. As I said, I spoke to Ambassador Arens about it this morning. He got in touch with Sharon and we were informed that first, the IDF were not taking over the airfield and two, that you would be ready to stop firing if the PLO stopped firing on you. I transferred these messages urgently to Habib. That, Mr. President, and Mr. Prime Minister, is an up-to-the-minute up-dated assessment on what we know. The next hours are crucial for the Lebanese government to put its shop in order and prevent the fragmentation and further destabilization of the situation. Our basic policies have been the strengthening of the Lebanese government and the breadth of its support to include both the Moslems and Christians. Secondly, to increasingly enable them to take over growing responsibility in controlling the area to their inter= national border. Therefore, all foreign forces should be withdrawn . Habib is in Beirut and has gone in with the position that a substantial Syrian withdrawal should take place as a first stage. I emphasize the word substantial, and first they have to get the Syrians out of Beirut. The goal is ultimately complete Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. Also, in that process to avoid the linkage of Israeli withdrawal in return for Syrian withdrawal. Please note the significance of what I say. The third element relates to the PLO. The way that it

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has been presented by Habib in Beirut is that the PLO will hand over West Beirut to the Lebanese Armed Forces. This will begin the process leading to the disarming of the PLO. Exactly how, this is still very fuzzy. Next, the PLO must terminate the state of war and armed action in Lebanon, the inference being that political action can continue on Lebanese territory. Phil has asked the PLO leaders to leave Lebanon. There is consensus on the sanitized zone of 25 miles from the northern tip of Israel. On the multi-national force we maintain an open mind. In near terms UNIFIL is there and it is valuable that they continue to stay there for the time being, even recognizing its deficiencies, because of the composition of the force and its mandate. We have not rejected the multi-national force idea although we are not enthusiastic about it. Our basic premise is that it will run into massive Congressional opposition. It won't be easy to compose one after the brutal battle we had to get the Sinai force together. We think perhaps that the French and maybe the Fijis will be available. One thing I can say, this question of the prospect of a multi-national force is keeping the Soviets on good behavior. The only thing they hate more than a broadened mandate of UNIFIL is a multi-national force and even more than that, they hate the thought of an American presence in it.

We are talking about getting the Syrians ultimately out with some ambiguity with respect to the Baaka area. With regard to the PLO, there is discussion of an arrangement whereby the PLO would come under the authority of the Lebanese government and will no longer be engaged

militarily in the conflict. There is still some ambuigity about its leadership operating in Lebanon or somewhere else. We here might have mixed views on the subject. I am not sure if it is in our interest that they go to Syria or to Egypt. Certaintly Egypt would be worse than their going to Syria. We have to think about this. Our thinking is known to you and yours to us.

The last issue the President raised is extremely important. We are very concerned how we handle the humanitarian side. Our Director of AID is to head up our effort and tomorrow we will be talking with our Israeli colleagues to work out a close cooperation. This is the essence of the Lebanese update.

PRESIDENT: I guess we had better get to lunch. But before doing so, you, Mr. Prime Minister, inadvertently left out what you told me in the Oval Office about "perception" -- the bombing of the PLO Headquarters in response to the assassination attempt of your Ambassador in London which seemed to many people to be an overkill reaction.

PRIME MINISTER: I thank you Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity. Following the assassination attempt of our Ambassador, we selected two targets. One was the sports stadium in Beirut which was a PLO arms depot and training facility. We selected that target because it is far from any civilian population. The second target was a training facility also with no civilian population around. Both targets received direct hits and not one single civilian was hurt; not one single one. Then, the PLO bombarded our townships. There was another raid carried out by our airforce against PLO targets and

again, not one civilian was hurt. We all have our experience that sometimes civilians are hurt in war. This is regrettable. But in those operations I have described, not one civilian was hurt. I am gratified to you, Mr. President, that you gave me this opportunity.

(The meeting, which was held in the Roosevelt Room, was then adjourned, and participants moved to the Cabinet Room for a working lunch).

WORKING LUNCH

HAIG: I have a new update on Beirut. There is a newspaper report that the Soviet Embassy has been hit by artillery. Eyewitnesses report casualties. We have no information from our Embassy direct. The disruption around the Soviet Embassy is attributed to IDF fire. There is a report from Reuters of midnight last night which describes the fighting in West Beirut as extremely heavy (reads text). Phil just called and says that he has passed on to the Lebanese who have passed on to the PLO, the message that if the PLO stop firing, Israeli forces will stop firing. He has also passed on that the IDF is not seizing the airport but is 200 meters south of it. Phil urges that if the PLO firing drops off, that we discontinue shelling and not move into the airport installation, to enable diplomacy to run its course.

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SAGUI: About shelling of the Russian Embassy, the only source is a French network agency. There is no confirmation from any other agency. I would therefore suggest that we take it as one source only.

PRIME MINISTER: In any case, it was an exchange of fire and noone can tell if it was an Israeli shell. Have the PLO stopped shelling our forces? I understand that Sharon told our Ambassador that if they stop we stop.

HAIG: Right now this is the message that has gone to the PLO and we are waiting to hear if they have stopped.

PRIME MINISTER: I would like to refer to what you said before about if the PLO disarms and stays in Lebanon. I speak on behalf of the great teacher -- Experience. In no time they will be armed again. Nobody can stop gun-running if the Soviet Union is behind it. There are 350-400,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and of those, 15-20,000 were organized terrorists with heavy equipment. We destroyed 100 of their tanks. We did not know they had so many. If they remain, they will be armed in a week or in a month at the latest.

PRESIDENT: Would the bulk of those Palestians (not PLO), would not they, if they were told by the Government of Lebanon, that they could become legitimate citizens, would that not be a solution? They are, after all, in every other Arab country.

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PRIME MINISTER: As far as I know, at least part should leave Lebanon. It is a small country. Libya claims to be a friend of the PLO. Libya is a large country. So why should not they take people in? Iraq is a huge country with vast resources -- water and oil -- why should they not go there? This is not my thesis but I have heard it from the Lebanese themselves. It is a social and moral problem that can be resolved.

BLUM: In Lebanon there is also a problem of the religious balance that could be upset by granting the refugees permanent status. Most are Moselms. I could see why Lebanon would be reluctant to admit them permanently.

VELIOTES: Nobody is talking of mass exodus.

PRESIDENT: I understood from Habib who said that those who want to become part of Lebanese society would be welcome to do so.

HAIG: Non-voting citizens of Lebanon is the language Habib used.

ARENTS: It is unfortunate that some of the Arab countries have not been ready to absorb a significant number, Saudi Arabia, Syria and others could well have done so.

PRESIDENT: Could there be any answer until the final solution to the problem is found?

PRIME MINISTER: A solution could be found if there is a will to find it. A conference of Arab countries could convene to decide how to resettle and absorb the refugees. The Arab countries have huge territories, much water, oil and billions of dollars. All other refugee problems have been solved by resettlement. There were the seven million that were in West Poland and are now resettled in Germany, as well as the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia. Resettlement is the normal and human way of resolving refugee problems. This is how the refugee problems of Pakistan and India were solved, Turkey and Greece and all the others. One needs good will. Iraq is empty, Saudi Arabia is empty. With good will it can be done.

ARENS: Saudi Arabia has more foreign workers than there are Palestinian refugees.

PRESIDENT: Yes. And it causes them great concern. Did anybody stop to ask those Palestinian people?

BLUM: We have 300,000 Israelis from Libya, from Iraq, from Syria.

PRIME MINISTER: We took in 800,000 Jews from Arab countries. They are good, loyal, hardworking citizens.

PRESIDENT (jocularly): Perhaps in the beginning you might have made an equal trade. (to Weinberger: Cap, would you like to say a few words?)

WEINBERGER: We have tried to develop an ability to protect the oil fields and our vital interests in the Middle East based on the fact that

if the oil fields fall to the Soviets, Western Europe, Japan and indirectly Israel, would have difficulty surviving. To secure our capability we have spoken often with Saudi Arabia, Oman, Jordan, to develop the ability we need. The Soviet Union will be an oil importing nation soon and we must plan against their using nonconventional means to obtain access to sources. We have a naval station in Oman and we are discussing the establishment of bases with Egypt. Many other Arab countries are reluctant to join with us. No doubt if the Soviet Union makes a move those countries would call upon us but then it would be too late. And so we have developed rapid deployment forces and the larger appropriations have increased air and sea lifts. It is vital to the whole region. We have talked to the Jordanians many times. We have urged them, for example, to acquire American weapons, not Soviet. They have made the point that when the attempt has been made they lose in Congress and therefore, they go to the Soviet Union. This week King Hussein is going to Moscow because he feels that the United States is not a reliable supplier and this has also inhibited Saudi Arabia to offer us bases. We do not intend to impair or weaken our commitment to Israel and its technological and qualitative edge. But other countries feel the United States is not a reliable ally to supply the kind of weapons they need in face of the Soviet threat. The Soviets have the capability of moving down through Iran, through Iraq. Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Oman have a tremendous fear of Iran. Today Iraq said that it is ready to withdraw the remainder of its troops from Iran and end the war. There is a lot of turbulence in the area.

PRIME MINISTER: May I respond, Mr. President. Mr. President, the Secretary of Defense has made certain comments with which I must differ. I refer mainly to his point on Jordan. Jordan is intimately connected with Iraq. It has a virtual military alliance. There is a land bridge from Akaba to Iraq. And from Eilat one can see the ships being unloaded. Alow me, Mr. President, to read to you the list of weaponry in the hands of our neighbors, and I exclude Egypt from the list. (Prime Minister reads inventory of Arab arsenals). We are surrounded by a mass of modern weapons, with more tanks than Germany used to invade the Soviet Union. The unlimited stores of the Soviet Union are open to their clients. Saudi Arabia is armed by the West as is Jordan also. Over many years we have heard the argument that if you do not give arms they will go to Russia. They already went to Russia. If you supply Jordan with the improved hawk missiles, these will cover all the skies of Israel. And if you give them the F-16, Jerusalem is a few miles away and Tel Aviv will be reached in a matter of minutes. The supply of such weapons to Jordan constitutes the gravest danger possible to us. Whenever war comes to Israel, all the Arab countries unite against us. On Yom Kippur, on the Golan Heights, we faced Iraqis, Jordanians, Saudi Arabians, and Moroccons. We shall face nearly 10,000 tanks, 10,000 guns and nearly a thousand first-line aircraft. The proportion used to be 1-3. And if it will become 1-5, we will be in serious trouble. We will win -- of this I have no doubt -- but lots of our blood will be spilled. Therefore, this is a very serious matter to us. Iraq allied with Jordan, are both joined against Israel.

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The Iraqi proposal to stop the war with Iran is intended to prepare for war against Israel.

PRESIDENT: I spoke to the Prime Minister of a certain Arab country -- not one of those mentioned in our discussion -- and he gave me a different thesis on the Iran/Iraq war. He pointed out the division within the Islamic world -- the radicalness to the Shi'ites, their sheer numbers and how many there are in other countries. He said the great fear in Iraq is the Shi'ite victory, that even in Iraq there is a large Shi'ite community, and that this could spread to a holy war throughout the Arab world. This would be a threat to Israel ten times greater than now. The Shi'ites are the most numerous sect. His argument was, don't let the spread of Shi'ites in Iran to reach the other Arab states. This links up with what the Secretary (Weinberger) was saying about Jordan. I said to you in the Oval Office that we and you cannot go on forever as an armed camp in hostile surroundings. The answer is how to create more Egypts. We accept some responsibility in the idea that could have Jordan [redacted] follow the Egyptian path. In trying to get this point, to be able to influence matters, [redacted] you must show some confidence also. Again I repeat our pledge. We would not stand back and let those weapons be used against Israel. Therefore, we ask for your trust in us. We won't do this irresponsibly. We believe that Jordan is prepared and could be brought into the peace-loving nations and could become another Egypt. What is the alternative -- to live constantly surrounded by hostile neighbors? You know your economy.

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There is no future in constantly living in an armed camp. If we did not have confidence in our path we would not be proceeding as we are. Therefore, we embarked upon our actions towards Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Oman. I had a very good meeting recently with King Hussein. We have enough confidence in what we are doing enabling me to say to you that we are doing it responsibly and we are going to ask those countries to which I have refered, to do what Egypt has done.

PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, we do not have the concept of living in a beleagured camp. We have a concept of peace with all our neighbors. I suppose that if five years ago, sitting here, I would have said that in a few years time we shall exclude Egypt from the list of the arms in possession of our enemies, nobody would have believed me. We concluded the peace treaty with Egypt by making great sacrifices, and with your help. We gave up the Sinai oil fields and now we are paying $1.2 billion a year to Egypt for the same supply. Yet we did it. We gave up the two most sophisticated air bases in Sinai. We did it for peace. We gave up the settlements for peace. I believe that if the Lebanese problem is solved and the proper security arrangements made, we will soon have a peace treaty with Lebanon. Mr. President, rather than arm Jordan, invite Jordan to join the peace process. Jordan refused President Carter, perhaps they won't refuse you. But for that you don't have to give those arms to Jordan. If you do, it is my duty to tell you that they will pose a direct mortal danger to my country.

You may not accept this. But please understand, we are a Lilliputian country. How many more arms do we have to face? They were on the Golan Heights in 1973. In 1967 they attacked us.

ARENS: With American arms.

PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, allow me to tell you a story. Our Chief-of-Staff, General Eitan, is a valiant commander. He was on the Golan Heights during the Yom Kippur War. When the war broke out, the Syrians threw 1,400 tanks across the border and we had 77. Hundreds of our boys fell in battle defending their people with their bodies. On the third or the fourth day of the war, General Eitan's deputy said to him, it is over, we have to descend. Mr. President, had we descended, on that day, the Syrian army would have been in Haifa. We did not have a single tank on that route to stop them. General Eitan said to his deputy, give me another 5 minutes. In those 5 minutes a reinforcement of 20 tanks arrived and changed the whole course of the battle. One tank alone destroyed 20 Syrian tanks. And so we changed the tide of battle and won the war. But we were in mortal danger. Please understand it is a problem of life and death for us, not a political calculation. You will make the decision, but it is my duty to say to you what I have said. It is said that Saudi Arabia is moderate. Moderate? It is a most fanatical country. It participated in all the wars. It declares that Jerusalem must be taken over by the Arab world. Saudi Arabia financed the PLO all the time with billions. Last year Saudi Arabia earned $120 billion dollars from its oil. What does it do with its money? It actually sends millions and more to Moscow via the PLO. How? Because Moscow supplies the PLO with arms which are financed by Saudi Arabia. So, in fact, American tax payers money which you pay to Saudi Arabia for oil eventually ends up in Moscow through the acquirement by the PLO of Soviet weapons.

WEINBERGER: We established a relationship with Saudi Arabia on the ceasefire in Lebanon which Habib helped negotiate last year. It came about solely because the President was able to get Saudi Arabia to go after the Syrians.

PRIME MINISTER: Saudi Arabia did not convince the PLO to agree to the ceasefire. Sadat told me a true story in Alexandria. He told me that Saudi Arabia sent $20 million to Arafat -- I do not know if it went into Arafat's pocket personally -- and so the ceasefire came about. There were three interpretations to the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. There was our interpretation, which said no attacks anywhere. There was the PLO interpretation which said no attacks only from Southern Lebanon but elsewhere they felt totally free to attack and they did . The third interpretation, Habib's, was no attacks by the PLO in the Middle East. But attacks abroad would not constitute a breach of the agreement. I said to him, Phil, if I had agreed to that interpretation, this would have given the PLO license to kill in Rome, Athens, Paris and shed Jewish blood everywhere they wanted except around our borders. That to us was unthinkable. The Saudis were not instrumental at all. And indeed there was permanent bloodshed abroad -- in Athens, in Rome , in Paris where a synagogue was blown up. Are we to sit by and allow Jewish blood to be shed all over the world? Not when there is a Jewish state, Mr. President. It did happen in the thirties. No more. Saudi Arabia is a fanatical Moslem country and the hater of Israel. I say what I said to explain how great is the danger to us.

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PRESIDENT: You could have said the same about Egypt a few years ago. Saudi Arabia is not sitting without worries of its own, looking only to destroy Israel. That is not the case They have a worry of a possible uprising in their own country and they are also looking at that monster to the north, as is Jordan -- the Soviet Union. There was a time a little while back when people said this country has no muscle to contain the Soviet threat. The U.S. is growing muscles as opposed to the last few years. Therefore, the Soviet Union is willing to sit down with us on arms reduction. Jordan is extremely concerned. I have talked to them about the weapons -- the defensive weapons -- they bought from the Soviet Union. Why did they buy it? Because previous Administrations sold them weapons with such restrictions they were virtually useless to them. The King told me how unhappy he was with that one purchase from the Soviet Union. If you will have the confidence to let us proceed in what is aimed solely to protect the Middle East from Soviet incursions and advance the peace process in the area we can, I feel sure, make progress. We are doing it with responsibility. I would not do it with Syria, and I would not do it with the idea that if we have guessed wrong, we would say -- OK, we made a mistake. You know us better than that. We ask for your confidence in us to understand we are encouraging them to recognize Israel and lead to peace. This is our quid pro quo we give to you.

PRIME MINISTER: It is my duty to say what I said -- a mortal danger to us.

May I go back to what the Secretary of Defense mentioned. You, Mr. President, read to me a letter. I quote:

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"The Syrians passed a threshold and they must be made to go back and the status quo ante restored." When Phil Habib came to see me he volunteered a defintion of the phrase "status quo ante". He said there had been no Syrian missiles in the Baaka and so they must be removed, that new missiles had been deployed on the Syrian border and they, too, must be removed and that those missiles on the border had not attacked Israeli aircraft before and they must not attack now. Mr. President, all those missiles existed there for a whole year. I met Habib many times. He could not do anything about them. Only when our men with our technology acted, did they disappear. For us it is a matter of our security in the narrowest sense of the word to protect our civilian population. An Arab country may promise you but it may not keep its promise. For 19 years you had the promise of Jordan not to put tanks in Judea and Samaria yet in 1967 we found all those American tanks poised against us. We trust you, Mr. President, but the question is whether those who are getting the sophisticated arms will keep their promise. We have our experience, we have to care for the future; it is my duty to tell you as Prime Minister of my country, of a long-suffering people; we speak of a possible mortal danger, not of trust in you.

PRESIDENT: Then what is the future?

PRIME MINISTER: I make a simple suggestion. Please influence King Hussein to join the peace process. I am prepared to go to Amman or invite the King to Jerusalem, as I invited President Sadat.

I hope also, there will emerge a peaceful Lebanon with which we will be able to conclude a peace treaty. But arming the Arabs is to create a situation in which Israel's existence is in danger. We can talk of a "qualitative edge" but when I read the figures I am very concerned. The oil-producing countries have the money to buy arms anywhere. We do not have that money. We will go bankrupt. The antisemites say that Jews are supposed to have money. It is the Arabs who have the money, not the Jews.

ARENS: The American arms to Egypt came in the wake of the peace treaty, not before.

PRESIDENT: As I understand it, what took place first was under the Nixon Administration we saw Egypt turning from the Soviet Union in our direction and we were able to influence them. The visit of Nixon to Cairo was the greatest thing that led to the Soviet departure.

PRIME MINISTER: The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel has served well the U.S. and the free world. On the basis of this treaty the Secretary of Defense says Egypt is ready to give you bases. On the basis of that peace treaty there is a U.S. armed presence at a very strategic point.

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PRESIDENT: But to change the position of many of those countries is not a matter of hostility towards Israel. I know Jordan feels threatened by Syria.

PRIME MINISTER: They fought together against Israel in the Yom Kippur War. If Jordan is so afraid of Syria, why did they fight together against us?

PRESIDENT: I am talking about this new era of the fear of the Soviet Union.

PRIME MINISTER: The armament figures speak for themselves.

PRESIDENT: Those figures are not going to change if they decide they can only turn to the Soviet Union. That would be worse for you.

PRIME MINISTER: I remember the AWACS discussion. When people said if the U.S. does not supply Saudia Arabia, the British will. There is no end to that kind of an argument.

PRESIDENT: The British told me that as long as there was a prospect of our supplying the AWACS they would not but that, with their unemployment, they would be anxious to make the sale if we did not.

PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, I would like to say to the Secretary of Defense that I did not understand the comparison you (Weinberger) made on TV yesterday between the Falkland Islands and the PLO, Lebanon and Israel.

WEINBERGER: I will be happy to explain. Essentially what I said was that whilst there were numerous provocations, there was never really sufficient provocation to use unilateral military force. I deplored it when Argentina did it and when you do it. To that limited extent there are similarities.

PRIME MINISTER: I regret I am not in a different profession, that I am not a TV interviewer. Were I your interviewer, I would have asked some questions and they would have been tough. I would like to ask some questions now: Did the Falklanders kill the Argentinians? Was there an organization called the FLO, the Falkland Liberation Organization? What happened with Lebanon, the PLO and Israel -- armed bands, operating from another country, killing another people. It was to those that we reacted in Lebanon. Where is the comparison? The provocation was constant. We exercised over-restraint. We had to go into Lebanon to liquidate those scoundrels long ago. They shot at our children, they destroyed our homes, they committed the most terrible atrocities, they threatened to destroy Israel, they got arms from the Soviet Union for that purpose. We are the Falkland

Islands. Mrs Thatcher cited Article 51 of the UN Charter -- the inherent right of self-defense, -- Do not we also have that right?

HAIG: Time is beginning to run out. The point the President is making is critical, that is to say there has been a price paid as well as a benefit from the situation created. It is our general thinking that we want to bring Jordan into the peace process and also Saudi Arabia at least to endorse the action of the peace process. We cannot be oblivious to our interests in the Arab nations. We want more Egypts. You beat the hell out of Egypt and that was another factor that contributed to its moderation. I think the opportunity that emanates from the Lebanese tragedy will afford us the opportunity to get down to the peace process. I have to tell you in all candor, as a friend, that we have been stonewalled by both parties in advancement of the peace process. Now we have to continue to see Israel's interests and to promote stability in the region. It is a mammoth task. We have much to talk about. We have to solve that crazy venue problem (on autonomy talks). We have to discuss how to get Jordan in. I think that this is what is in store for us the days and weeks ahead, (1) to optimize the consequences of the Lebanese situation; (2) how to get the peace process moving again and repair the damage. The U.S. has paid a price with a number of Arab states. We are prepared to pay a certain price if it serves the interests of peace. We have today greater assets than before to do the job. Now we have a new set of objective realities and we must exploit them to our mutual advantage.

PRIME MINISTER: I agree with you.

PRESIDENT: We have lost some ground in trying to bring nations into the realms of feelings of confidence. But there is hope in the new situation. Mr. Prime Minister, what do we want our grandchildren to say to us? Let them say how bloody history was in comparison to how tranquil their lives are. One cannot live with enemies forever.

PRIME MINISTER: I do not believe, Mr. President, in eternal enemies. Enemies become friends just as we and Egypt are now friends.

PRESIDENT: We proved that after World War II.

PRIME MINISTER: Yes, indeed. There is a German Ambassador in Israel. I have my own thoughts about it. But I fulfil my duty as Prime Minister of Israel.

PRESIDENT: You have the greatest reason for optimism in the world. After Egypt, I am convinced more than you are that there are more Egypts out there.

BUSH : We would sure like some help with Jordan if possible; clearly, they are the next candidate.

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PRIME MINISTER: Jordan's good will to join the peace process depends on Hawk missiles and F-16s?

BUSH: Rather than turning to the Soviets.

ARENS: We have already made a small contribution. I do not think that Jordan is going to think so highly of the SAM missiles. [redacted].

PRESIDENT: We recognize that. But MiGs will not be further from your border than will our planes if supplied. But Jordan wants them in a different direction, not in yours

PRIME MINISTER: I have told you, Mr. President, that American planes and Israeli pilots make a fine combination. We are grateful to you.

PRESIDENT: They do indeed.

HAIG: Let us talk briefly about the press.

PRESIDENT: I will make a brief statement on the fact that we met and talked on the need to resolve the situation over there -- just a few words.

PRIME MINISTER: I will also say a few words -- positive ones.

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: שר הבטחון - לעיניו בלבד

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מס' מברק: 313	

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בנוגע לראש הממשלה וראש אגף מסר מצבי המבוקש לנשיא, שבהל אינו יושב בשדה התעופה בירח.

אינפורמציה כזו נמסרה לו על-ידי טל ירוד שיחה טלפונית הביקר עם עדכון שמיר.

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2 of 6

TEXT OF STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT REAGAN
TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN
WHICH INITIATED THEIR PRIVATE MEETING
11:05 A.M., JUNE 21, 1982

(AS DELIVERED)

WELCOME, MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I AM DELIGHTED TO SEE YOU AGAIN HERE, THOUGH I WISH VERY MUCH THE CIRCUMSTANCES COULD BE DIFFERENT. I HAD ORIGINALLY HOPED THAT WE WOULD DISCUSS THE MANY COMMON PROBLEMS WE FACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND BEYOND. HOWEVER, EVENTS HAVE OCCURRED SUCH THAT WE ARE NOW FORCED TO FOCUS OUR ATTENTION ON THE GRAVE RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT YOUR OPERATION IN LEBANON HAVE CREATED.

WHEN I LEARNED ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 6 THAT ISRAEL'S FORCES HAD LAUNCHED A MASSIVE INVASION INTO A COUNTRY WHOSE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WE'RE PLEDGED TO RESPECT I WAS GENUINELY SHOCKED. YOU AND I HAVE COMMUNICATED PERSONALLY ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN LEBANON FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. I TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT I SHARED YOUR CONCERN FOR THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SITUATION IN LEBANON FOR YOUR SECURITY, BUT REPEATEDLY I'VE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT DIPLOMATIC SOLUTIONS WERE THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED. I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT WE WOULD BE UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND ANY MILITARY OPERATION WHICH WAS NOT CLEARLY JUSTIFIED IN THE EYES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BY THE NATURE OF THE PROVOCATION.

I WROTE TO YOU IMMEDIATELY UPON HEARING OF THE HIDEOUS ATTACK ON AMBASSADOR ARGOV IN LONDON. THERE CAN BE NO RATIONAL EXCUSE FOR SUCH TERRORISM, AND I'VE BEEN PRAYING WITH YOU FOR HIS RECOVERY. BUT ISRAEL HAS LOST GROUND TO A GREAT EXTENT

AMONG OUR PEOPLE AS A RESULT OF YOUR ACTION. THEY CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THIS VILE ATTACK -- NOR EVEN THE ACCUMULTATION OF LOSSES THAT ISRAEL HAS SUFFERED FROM PLO TERRORIST ACTIVITY SINCE LAST SUMMER -- JUSTIFIED THE DEATH AND DESTRUCTION THAT THE IDF BROUGHT TO SO MANY INNOCENT PEOPLE OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS.

OBVIOUSLY, WHAT'S DONE IS DONE. BUT I AM DETERMINED TO SALVAGE FROM THIS TRAGEDY A NEW LEBANON WHICH WILL NO LONGER CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO ISRAEL AND WHICH CAN BECOME A PARTNER IN THE PEACE PROCESS. I KNOW THAT THESE ARE ALSO PRIMARY OBJECTIVES OF YOURS. I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU MY INTERPRETATION OF THE OPPORTUNITIES NOW BEFORE US. I WOULD HOPE THAT IN GENERAL WE CAN AGREE ON THESE GOALS. IF WE WORK AT CROSS PURPOSES, ISRAEL'S OWN INTERESTS WILL BE DAMAGED.

FIRST AND MOST CRUCIALLY, THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO HELP A LEBANESE GOVERNMENT EMERGE, ONE WHICH REPRESENTS ALL MAJOR LEBANESE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL GROUPS AND ONE WHICH HAS THE STRENGTH TO IMPOSE ITS AUTHORITY AGAIN THROUGHOUT LEBANON. THIS IS A PROCESS THAT ISRAEL CAN HELP OR HINDER AND IT MUST HELP. IT WON'T DO, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR THE NEW LEADERSHIP TO APPEAR TO BE AN ISRAELI SURROGATE. THAT IS TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT. I KNOW YOU HAVE TOLD SECRETARY HAIG AND PHIL HABIB THAT YOU SEE THE PROBLEM OF REESTABLISHING AUTHORITY IN WEST BEIRUT AS AN URGENT JOB WHICH ONLY THE LEBANESE ARMY SHOULD DO. I AGREE, AND ISRAEL MUST ACT IN A MANNER THAT PERMITS THE <u>LEBANESE</u> TO ACCOMPLISH THIS OBJECTIVE.

THIS CRISIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO RID LEBANON OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY YEARS, PARTICULARLY THE SYRIAN FORCES AND THE ARMED PALESTINIAN ELEMENTS. PALESTINIAN FIGHTING UNITS MUST CERTAINLY BE DISARMED AND/OR EVACUATED. BUT I BELIEVE THAT LEBANON MUST DO IT AND LEBANON MUST DETERMINE HOW BEST TO DO IT. THOSE PALESTINIANS REMAINING IN LEBANON WILL HAVE TO LIVE AS PEACEFUL RESIDENTS OF THAT COUNTRY, RESPONSIVE TO THE AUTHORITY OF A STRENTHENED CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

AS SOON AS THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES IT IS TIMELY, IN KEEPING WITH THE OBJECTIVE YOU STATED TO ME IN YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 6, YOU SHOULD MOVE YOUR FORCES BACK TO A DISTANCE OF 40 KILOMETERS FROM YOUR NORTHERN BORDER. WE CAN THEN DISCUSS TOGETHER A REALISTIC TIMETABLE FOR THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FORCES AND THE INTRODUCTION OF A PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO MAINTAIN THE SITUATION UNTIL LEBANON IS STABLE. THERE ALSO WILL HAVE TO BE A REALISTIC TIMEFRAME FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN FORCES. WE SHOULD BEGIN PROMPTLY, HOWEVER, TO CONSIDER THE ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF A PEACEKEEPING FORCE.

AS REGARDS THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE PEACEKEEPING FORCE, AN OBJECTIVE WE SHARE, I FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT ISRAEL SEES UNIFIL AS BEING INADEQUATE TO THE TASK AND PREFERS A MULTINATIONAL FORCE. I HONESTLY BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT MAY WELL BE EASIER TO REORDER AND STRENGTHEN UNIFIL THAN TO START FROM SCRATCH ON A MULTINATIONAL FORCE. BUT I AM OPEN TO YOUR SUGGESTIONS.

MENACHEM, OUR EFFORTS TO REALIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES NOW BEFORE US IN LEBANON COMPLEMENT OUR OVERRIDING GOAL OF

ENHANCING THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. MY COMMITMENT TO THAT REMAINS ABSOLUTELY FIRM. THE QUALITATIVE SUPERIORITY OF ISRAEL, COMPARED TO ITS NEIGHBORS, WAS DEMONSTRATED BEYOND ANY DOUBT IN AND ABOVE THE BEKAA VALLEY. AS I HAVE STATED MANY TIMES, WE ARE COMMITTED TO HELP YOU MAINTAIN THAT SUPERIORITY.

BUT YOU MUST HAVE ENOUGH CONFIDENCE IN US SO THAT WE CAN PURSUE OUR BROADER OBJECTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. YOUR ACTIONS IN LEBANON HAVE SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THOSE ARAB GOVERNMENTS WHOSE COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL TO PROTECT THE MIDDLE EAST FROM EXTERNAL THREATS AND TO COUNTER FORCES OF SOVIET-SPONSORED RADICALISM AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM NOW GROWING WITHIN THE REGION. THESE GOVERNMENTS ARE PUTTING CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON ME RIGHT NOW. AS YOU KNOW, THEY WANT TO SEE ISRAEL PUNISHED FOR ITS ACTIONS IN LEBANON. U.S. INFLUENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD, OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE OUR STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES, HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY ISRAEL'S ACTIONS. NONETHELESS, I AM DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THOSE ARAB FRIENDS, PARTICULARLY SAUDI ARABIA, JORDAN AND OMAN, AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO IMPROVE THEM.

THE BASIC POLICY OBJECTIVES OF MY ADMINISTRATION HAVE NOT CHANGED -- TO STRENGTHEN THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS, AND TO HELP ISRAEL ACHIEVE PEACE WITH ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS.

I AM PREPARED TO EXPEND CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL CAPITAL IN ORDER TO HELP MEET ISRAEL'S BASIC NEEDS IN LEBANON. THIS MEANS STANDING FIRM IN THE FACE OF EUROPEAN AND ARAB PRESSURE TRYING

TO FORCE A MORE PRECIPITATE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. I AM ALSO TAKING THE LEAD IN FORGING AN INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT TO RESTORE AND STRENGTHEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN LEBANON AND TO SUPPORT A CREDIBLE PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO POLICE A BUFFER ZONE AND KEEP THE PLO OUT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THAT PROBLEM CAN BE RESOLVED.

HOWEVER, I MUST HAVE FROM YOU EXPLICIT COMMITMENTS THAT ISRAEL WILL TAKE THOSE STEPS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS. A BREAKTHROUGH ON AUTONOMY COULD PREEMPT WHAT REMAINS OF THE PLO, FURTHER ISOLATE SYRIA, AND LEAVE THE SOVIETS OUT IN THE COLD. IT COULD DEFUSE THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE IN ITS MOST TROUBLESOME ASPECTS AND SET THE STAGE NOT ONLY FOR BROADER ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE, WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD CHANGE THE OVERALL POLITICAL BALANCE IN THE AREA. WE MEAN TO PRESS HARD FOR SUCH A BREAKTHROUGH WHICH, I BELIEVE, WOULD VINDICATE YOUR MOVE IN LEBANON IN A MUCH BROADER AND HISTORIC SENSE.

NOW THAT THE PLO LEADERSHIP IN BEIRUT HAS BEEN DECIMATED, WE MUST ATTRACT SOME WEST BANK PALESTINIAN LEADERS INTO THE PROCESS. I HOPE ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION POLICIES IN THE WEST BANK WILL BE RELAXED IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS PARTICIPATION IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO DRAW JORDAN TOWARD THE ROLE WE ENVISAGED FOR IT IN THE BAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS. WE MUST MOVE WISELY IN THE PERIOD AHEAD, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF EGYPT'S GROWING INFLUENCE AMONG THE PALESTINIANS AND WITH JORDAN. FROM MY DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALI LAST WEEK, I AM

CONVINCED THAT, DESPITE THE LEBANON CRISIS, EGYPT REMAINS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE PEACE TREATY AND TO THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS.

OUR SUCCESS IN ENHANCING THE U.S. STRATEGIC POSTURE IN THE REGION AND IN MAKING STRIDES IN THE PEACE PROCESS ARE ALSO CERTAINLY IN ISRAEL'S INTEREST OVERALL. FROM TIME TO TIME I MAY TAKE ACTIONS WITH WHICH YOU DO NOT AGREE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE WILL BE PROVIDING MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO THOSE ARAB NATIONS WHO HAVE COME TO RELY ON US, SUCH AS JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA, FOR THE MEANS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. BUT I BELIEVE THIS STRENGTHENS ARAB CONFIDENCE IN US, IMPROVES OUR STRATEGIC POSITION, AND ENCOURAGES THEM TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE. I DON'T EXPECT YOU TO COME OUT AND APPROVE THIS, BUT FOR HEAVEN SAKES, PLEASE DON'T OPPOSE US. I WANT AGAIN TO STRESS MY COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE. OUR ULTIMATE PURPOSE IS TO CREATE "MORE EGYPTS" READY TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL. SIMILARLY, IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS, WE WILL HAVE DIFFERENCES ON CERTAIN KEY QUESTIONS.

BUT WE WILL CONSULT FULLY WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT ON ALL OF THESE MATTERS BEFORE WE TAKE POSITIONS OR ACTIONS CONTRARY TO YOUR PREFERENCES. OBVIOUSLY, WE WILL ONLY CONSIDER TAKING SUCH ACTIONS WHEN I AM PERSONALLY CONVINCED THEY ARE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THE OVERALL OBJECTIVES IN THE BROADER STRATEGIC ARENA OR TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IN RETURN, I WOULD HOPE THAT YOUR REACTIONS REFLECT AN APPRECIATION THAT THE VITAL INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR NATIONS ARE SERVED BY MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד.

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תאריך וז"ח.....21 יוני 1982.

מס' מברק.....481

ממנכ"ל. מצפ"א.

STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AFTER THEIR MEETING AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1982.

STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN:

IT HAS BEEN WORTHWHILE TO HAVE PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AT THE WHITE HOUSE AGAIN. ALL OF US SHARE A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED TO BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST. TODAY WE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON HOW THIS CAUSE CAN BE ADVANCED. ON LEBANON, IT'S CLEAR THAT WE AND ISRAEL BOTH SEEK AN END TO THE VIOLENCE THERE AND A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT LEBANON UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF A STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. WE AGREE THAT ISRAEL MUST NOT BE SUBJECTED TO VIOLENCE FROM THE NORTH, AND THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS AND TO SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. AND NOW OUR GUEST PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. . .

STATEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN:

MR. PRESIDENT. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, GOOD AFTERNOON. I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL TO MY FRIEND, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR HIS INVITATION TO COME TO VISIT WITH HIM AGAIN AFTER MY FIRST VISIT IN SEPTEMBER 1981, IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AND HOLD THE DISCUSSION, A VERY FRUITFUL DISCUSSION, WITH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISORS. EVERYBODY OF YOU KNOWS THAT YOU FACE NOW A SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH CALLS FOR ACTIVITY, GREAT ATTENTION, AND UNDERSTANDING. I HAVE READ HERE SOME NEWPAPERS IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY THAT ISRAEL INVADED LEBANON. THIS IS A MYSTERY. ISRAEL DID NOT INVADE ANY COUNTRY. YOU DO INVADE A LAND WHERE YOU WISH TO CONQUER IT, OR TO ANNEX IT, OR AT LEAST TO CONQUER PART OF IT. WE DO NOT COVET EVEN ONE INCH OF LEBANESE TERRITORY. AND WILLINGLY WE WILL WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS, ALL OF OUR TROOPS, AND BRING THEM BACK HOME, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE MEANS AS SOON AS ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE THAT NEVER AGAIN WILL OUR CITIZENS, MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, BE ATTACKED, MAMED AND KILLED BY ARMED BANDS OPERATING FROM LEBANON AND ARMED AND SUPPORTED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SATTELITES. THERE IS HOPE TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE AND THAT ALL FOREIGN FORCES WITHOUT EXCEPTION, WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM LEBANON AND THERE WILL BE AN INDEPENDENT, FREE, LEBANON BASED ON ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND THE DAYS NEAR THAT SUCH A LEBANON AND ISRAEL WILL SIGN A PEACE TREATY AND LIVE IN PEACE FOREVER. THANK YOU.

שי

שרה מנשרה רחל מלמד שרפל מנהל מלמד בנבנו רובינשטיין רבינוביץ מאיר רם אולמן

Meeting between President Reagan and Prime Minister Begin

The White House
Washington, D.C.
11:55 a.m.
Monday, June 21, 1982

American Side: Vice President Bush, Secretary Haig, Secretary Weinberger, Meese, Clark, Baker, McFarlane, Fairbanks, Kemp, Lewis, Teicher, Hill.

Israeli Side: Arens, Blum, Aluf Saqui, Kadishai, Nehushtan, Ayner, Hecht, Nevo.

(Preliminary to the meeting, the President and the Prime Minister met alone in the Oval Office, accompanied by Ambassadors Arens and Lewis. They met from 11:05 a.m. until 11:55 a.m.).

PRESIDENT: The Prime Minister and I had a fine meeting in which we candidly exchanged views. Mr. Prime Minister, you indicated to me that you have someone here whom you would like to make a presentation.

PRIME MINISTER: I thank you, Mr. President. I suggest that General Saqui present to us Operation Peace for Galilee. General Saqui is head of our military intelligence.

SAGUI: (explaining maps). The war started on Sunday, June 6, at 10:30 a.m. with the intention to remove the range of the katyushas from our border area. We did not consider the 40 km. line as the ultimate line because the 180 mm guns in PLO possession can, when deployed on the Heights, reach a range of 50-55 kms. We advanced on two fronts, along the seashore and along the ridge trying to avoid a clash with Syria.

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On the first day we reached Tyre and Sidon and on that same night we landed from the sea 3 or 4 kms. north of Sidon. On the main ridge we tried to bypass the Syrians by using the narrow roads and paths on the west side of Jezin. By so doing we were hoping Syria would understand our intentions. On the second day, mopping-up operations began in Tyre and Sidon and on that day the Syrians decided not to withdraw but to fight and on that same night they brought in another battalion from Beirut to reinforce the Jezin area and all the entrances from the south along the Beirut/Damascus road where they deployed tank and artillery units. On that same night the anti-aircraft batteries in the northern part of the Baaka were reinforced from 13 to 19. The second stage was the cleaning up of the Jezin area without advancing north of the Baaka, mopping up Tyre and the coastal road. In this stage the government decided to take care of the missile sites in the Baaka which threatened our forces. Had they not been destroyed, all our units operating on the ridge would have been exposed without air support. The operation took three hours and then we had the air-to-ground support that we needed. In the course of our operation with the Syrians we destroyed 250 Syrian tanks, 240 T62s and about 10 T72s. We disconnected the Beirut/Damascus road and are now deployed in West Beirut. ?

PRIME MINISTER: I thank you very much. With your permission, Mr. President, I will continue on what we found after entering Lebanon. Some say we invaded Lebanon. It is a misnomer. Invasion means that one occupies a country, conquers it and stays there. We are prepared to withdraw our forces as soon as possible after the necessary security arrangements are made so that our people in Galilee won't be harrassed

to say that we "invaded" Lebanon is an absolute misnomer. We went out to fight armed bands from a neighboring country attacking our people. This is the international rule of the inherent right of self-defense against aggression. Every country has the experience of exercising that right, including the United States, the right of self-defense. I say again, Mr. President, that we want to leave Lebanon as soon as possible. We found things there we did not know about. General Saqui, you are in charge of a good intelligence service. But on this occasion, you were mistaken. We found ten times more weapons than our intelligence had predicted. Just three days ago we found an arms depot near Sidon of such a size that it will take 500 trucks to remove all the weapons and the ammunition. All in all, in Lebanon we found weapons of Soviet origin of such a quantity that it will take six weeks to remove, using ten huge Mack trucks, working day and night. Mr. President, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union has turned Lebanon as a base of its armaments in the Middle East. We did not know the extent before hand. We thought that they had just been arming the PLO. Now we know the truth that they were actually stocking up arms in Lebanon. In discovering those arms, we not only defended our people, we also did a great service to the free world.

Now, let me tell you, Mr. President, which were the countries that were involved in training and supporting the PLO. (Prime Minister lists the countries which had given training and other facilities to the PLO.).

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Now, let me tell you, Mr. President, which were the countries that were involved in training and supporting the PLO. (Prime Minister lists the countries which had given training and other facilities to the PLO.).

It is a world conspirary, from one end of the world to the other. (Prime Minister displays documentation captured in Lebanon including orders to shell northern settlements, photographs of terrorists posing with Soviet officers).

Mr. President, it was an action of salvation, of which we are proud. We paid a great price -- 250 dead, many of them officers. The high casualty rate among our officers is a reflection of our tradition that their command to their troops is not "Forward" but "Follow Me". There were also casualties on the other side and I regret all of them deeply; I regret as a human-being. But we must always remember that in our generation we already gave our blood; we lost a third of our people. But we do regret other casualties, deeply. Biased and distorted information has been disseminated in the media, in Europe and here, which is absolutely unjustifiable. The stories have been prejudiced, not based on fact. For instance, this morning I received figures on the number of people left homeless -- 20,000. A biased report put out by others said 600,000. We are sorry about the 20,000 but to multiply that figure 30 times when it is totally baseless...; that is distorted reporting. Minister Meridor of our Cabinet has assumed responsibility to coordinate the humanitarian efforts. Things are being done to help; we have already started rebuilding homes; we are extending aid to the hospitals and giving every kind of human assistance, as we shall continue to do. The exaggeration of the number of people allegedly killed is also horrible. For example, in Sidon 400 were killed and yet the story was put out that 4,000 were killed, ten times the truth. The IDF took every measure possible not to hurt

civilians. Thus, in Tyre and in Sidon, we first made sure to take out the civilians to the seashore before our soldiers moved in to attack the terrorists. I myself was at a meeting at GHQ the night before and witnessed the discussion among our Generals whether to bombard the city with our airforce before going into the built-up areas, knowing that we would suffer very severe casualties in those areas. Our Generals decided not to bomb and we did suffer casualties in the house-to-house fighting, and yet, there are those who claim 4,000 were killed when in fact it was 400. Mr. President, during the last ten days biased information has been spreading around the world and I want you to know the facts.

I have here a letter, unaddressed and unsigned, sent to me by the Soviets through the Finns (Prime Minister reads letter in which the Soviets allege an Israeli shelling attack on their Embassy in Beirut). Before I left Israel I answered and told the Soviets that our most advanced forces are 5 kms. away from their Embassy, that we have not attacked their Embassy nor its personnel, and that we respect the immunity of that and all other Embassies. I also used the opportunity to remind the Soviet Union of their definition of indirect armed aggression -- a definition they have used since the days of Litvinov -- and pointed out that Israel acted in accordance with that definition.

And now, Mr. President, we come to the political stage. I had two talks with our good friend, Secretary of State Haig, and I would

now like to report to you on our suggestion: We agree that as soon as possible I want our men back home. I express complete support for the statement you made to both Houses of the British Parliament in which you said: "Israel should bring its soldiers home and the scourge of terrorism must be stamped out". We agree. We cannot tolerate a repeat of the past situation. Therefore, a 40 km. distance must be established from our northern broder and a multi-national force should be set up to make sure the terrorists do not come back. The United States has experience of a multi-national force. We cannot overlook the fact that the United Nations by virtue of the composition of the General Assembly and the Security Council, is a hostile organization. Reston in the New York Times, writing about my speech in the United Nations, said that our opposition in the United Nations -- the Arab countries and Communist countries and some of the Third World countries -- did not even have the decency to listen to my speech. But this is a symbol. It is an expression of the fact that two-thirds of the United Nations is absolutely against us. They cannot even listen to us. When Ambassador Blum mounts the rostrum, they leave the hall. Therefore, a good idea was borne during the Egyptian/Israeli peace negotiations, of a multi-national force. In a way, the Soviet Union forced it upon us because of the threat to their veto. It is a fine force and we and Egypt cooperate with it; all its aims are carried out. It can be done in Lebanon too. This is what we suggest, to establish such a force and once it is deployed and operating, we will withdraw our forces. 600-800 terrorists penetrated

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the UNIFIL lines. Some units operated well, like the Fijis. Others did not. UNIFIL was useful but a real solution means the establishment of a multi-national force. As far as Lebanon itself is concerned, its territorial integrity must be preserved and the Lebanese government must be enabled to function without foreign forces on Lebanese territory. I believe that if this is achieved it will soon be possible for a peace treaty to be signed between our two countries. We have no conflict with Lebanon. For 19 years it was the quietest border characterized by pastoral life with only cows who crossed the boundary and were returned by good neighbors. This is our hope. The United States can use its great influence. We will not interfere with the Lebanese government. No foreign force, no PLO, no interference in internal affairs -- this is the goal. Respectfully, Mr. President, this is our suggestion.

PRESIDENT: Well, now I had thought of asking Secretary Haig for an update on Habib's mission to Beirut or does someone here have something else they want to respond to?

HAIG: We have been in touch with Ambassador Arens this morning on the Habib effort. There were two important but tentative conclusions to be drawn. Habib met with the entire group of Lebanese factions, attempting to put together a government that will have backbone to it. It is too early to say as yet where we stand. During the last few days we have seen increasing PLO resistance to any arrangement; they have begun to get increasingly intransigent. Then, this morning Habib said that

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as a result of the shelling in the last 24 hours in Southwest Beirut, they are again back in an ameniable position to strike a deal with the Lebanese government. Habib asks that we convey to you two messages: (1) Great concern because of the rumor that the IDF was taking over the airfield; and (2) that the PLO is ready to talk now if the shelling stops. As I said, I spoke to Ambassador Arens about it this morning. He got in touch with Sharon and we were informed that first, the IDF were not taking over the airfield and two, that you would be ready to stop firing if the PLO stopped firing on you. I transferred these messages urgently to Habib. That, Mr. President, and Mr. Prime Minister, is an up-to-the-minute up-dated assessment on what we know. The next hours are crucial for the Lebanese government to put its shop in order and prevent the fragmentation and further destabilization of the situation. Our basic policies have been the strengthening of the Lebanese government and the breath of its support to include both the Moslems and Christians. Secondly, to increasingly enable them to take over growing responsibility in controlling the area to their inter= national border. Therefore, all foreign forces should be withdrawn . Habib is in Beirut and has gone in with the position that a substantial Syrian withdrawal should take place as a first stage. I emphasize the word substantial, and first they have to get the Syrians out of Beirut. The goal is ultimately complete Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. Also, in that process to avoid the linkage of Israeli withdrawal in return for Syrian withdrawal. Please note the significance of what I say. The third element relates to the PLO. The way that it

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has been presented by Habib in Beirut is that the PLO will hand over West Beirut to the Lebanese Armed Forces. This will begin the process leading to the disarming of the PLO. Exactly how, this is still very fuzzy. Next, the PLO must terminate the state of war and armed action in Lebanon, the inference being that political action can continue on Lebanese territory. Phil has asked the PLO leaders to leave Lebanon. There is consensus on the sanitized zone of 25 miles from the northern tip of Israel. On the multi-national force we maintain an open mind. In near terms UNIFIL is there and it is valuable that they continue to stay there for the time being, even recognizing its deficiencies, because of the composition of the force and its mandate. We have not rejected the multi-national force idea although we are not enthusiastic about it. Our basic premise is that it will run into massive Congressional opposition. It won't be easy to compose one after the brutal battle we had to get the Sinai force together. We think perhaps that the French and maybe the Fijis will be available. One thing I can say, this question of the prospect of a multi-national force is keeping the Soviets on good behavior. The only thing they hate more than a broadened mandate of UNIFIL is a multi-national force and even more than that, they hate the thought of an American presence in it.

We are talking about getting the Syrians ultimately out with some ambiguity with respect to the Baaka area. With regard to the PLO, there is discussion of an arrangement whereby the PLO would come under the authority of the Lebanese government and will no longer be engaged

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militarily in the conflict. There is still some ambuigity about its leadership operating in Lebanon or somewhere else. We here might have mixed views on the subject. I am not sure if it is in our interest that they go to Syria or to Egypt. Certaintly Egypt would be worse than their going to Syria. We have to think about this. Our thinking is known to you and yours to us.

The last issue the President raised is extremely important. We are very concerned how we handle the humanitarian side. Our Director of AID is to head up our effort and tomorrow we will be talking with our Israeli colleagues to work out a close cooperation. This is the essence of the Lebanese update.

PRESIDENT: I guess we had better get to lunch. But before doing so, you, Mr. Prime Minister, inadvertently left out what you told me in the Oval Office about "perception" -- the bombing of the PLO Headquarters in response to the assassination attempt of your Ambassador in London which seemed to many people to be an overkill reaction.

PRIME MINISTER: I thank you Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity. Following the assassination attempt of our Ambassador, we selected two targets. One was the sports stadium in Beirut which was the PLO arms depot and training facility. We selected that target because it is far from any civilian population. The second target was a training facility also with no civilian population around. Both targets received direct hits and not one single civilian was hurt; not one single one. Then, the PLO bombarded our townships. There was another raid carried out by our airforce against PLO targets and

again, not one civilian was hurt. We all have our experience that sometimes civilians are hurt in war. This is regrettable. But in those operations I have described, not one civilian was hurt. I am gratified to you, Mr. President, that you gave me this opportunity.

(The meeting, which was held in the Roosevelt Room, was then adjourned, and participants moved to the Cabinet Room for a working lunch).

WORKING LUNCH

HAIG: I have a new update on Beirut. There is a newspaper report that the Soviet Embassy has been hit by artillery. Eyewitnesses report casualties. We have no information from our Embassy direct. The disruption around the Soviet Embassy is attributed to IDF fire. There is a report from Reuters of midnight last night which describes the fighting in West Beirut as extremely heavy (reads text). Phil just called and says that he has passed on to the Lebanese who have passed on to the PLO, the message that if the PLO stop firing, Israeli forces will stop firing. He has also passed on that the IDF is not seizing the airport but is 200 meters south of it. Phil urges that if the PLO firing drops off, that we discontinue shelling and not move into the airport installation, to enable diplomacy to run its course.

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SAGUI: About shelling of the Russian Embassy, the only source is a French network agency. There is no confirmation from any other agency. I would therefore suggest that we take it as one source only.

PRIME MINISTER: In any case, it was an exchange of fire and noone can tell if it was an Israeli shell. Have the PLO stopped shelling our forces? I understand that Sharon told our Ambassador that if they stop we stop.

HAIG: Right now this is the message that has gone to the PLO and we are waiting to hear if they have stopped.

PRIME MINISTER: I would like to refer to what you said before about if the PLO disarms and stays in Lebanon. I speak on behalf of the great teacher -- Experience. In no time they will be armed again. Nobody can stop gun-running if the Soviet Union is behind it. There are 350-400,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and of those, 15-20,000 were organized terrorists with heavy equipment. We destroyed 100 of their tanks. We did not know they had so many. If they remain, they will be armed in a week or in a month at the latest.

PRESIDENT: Would the bulk of those Palestians (not PLO), would not they, if they were told by the Government of Lebanon, that they could become legitimate citizens, would that not be a solution? They are, after all, in every other Arab country.

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PRIME MINISTER: As far as I know, at least part should leave Lebanon. It is a small country. Libya claims to be a friend of the PLO. Libya is a large country. So why should not they take people in? Iraq is a huge country with vast resources -- water and oil -- why should they not go there? This is not my thesis but I have heard it from the Lebanese themselves. It is a social and moral problem that can be resolved.

BLUM: In Lebanon there is also a problem of the religious balance that could be upset by granting the refugees permanent status. Most are Moselms. I could see why Lebanon would be reluctant to admit them permanently.

VELIOTES: Nobody is talking of mass exodus.

PRESIDENT: I understood from Habib who said that those who want to become part of Lebanese society would be welcome to do so.

HAIG: Non-voting citizens of Lebanon is the language Habib used.

ARENTS: It is unfortunate that some of the Arab countries have not been ready to absorb a significant number. Saudi Arabia, Syria and others could well have done so.

PRESIDENT: Could there be any answer until the final solution to the problem is found?

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PRIME MINISTER: A solution could be found if there is a will to find it. A conference of Arab countries could convene to decide how to resettle and absorb the refugees. The Arab countries have huge territories, much water, oil and billions of dollars. All other refugee problems have been solved by resettlement. There were the seven million that were in West Poland and are now resettled in Germany, as well as the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia. Resettlement is the normal and human way of resolving refugee problems. This is how the refugee problems of Pakistan and India were solved, Turkey and Greece and all the others. One needs good will. Iraq is empty, Saudi Arabia is empty. With good will it can be done.

ARENS: Saudi Arabia has more foreign workers than there are Palestinian refugees.

PRESIDENT: Yes. And it causes them great concern. Did anybody stop to ask those Palestinian people?

BLUM: We have 300,000 Israelis from Libya, from Iraq, from Syria.

PRIME MINISTER: We took in 800,000 Jews from Arab countries. They are good, loyal, hardworking citizens.

PRESIDENT (jocularly): Perhaps in the beginning you might have made an equal trade. (to Weinberger: Cap, would you like to say a few words?)

WEINBERGER: We have tried to develop an ability to protect the oil fields and our vital interests in the Middle East based on the fact that

if the oil fields fall to the Soviets, Western Europe, Japan and indirectly Israel, would have difficulty surviving. To secure our capability we have spoken often with Saudi Arabia, Oman, Jordan, to develop the ability we need. The Soviet Union will be an oil importing nation soon and we must plan against their using nonconventional means to obtain access to sources. We have a naval station in Oman and we are discussing the establishment of bases with Egypt. Many other Arab countries are reluctant to join with us. No doubt if the Soviet Union makes a move those countries would call upon us but then it would be too late. And so we have developed rapid deployment forces and the larger appropriations have increased air and sea lifts. It is vital to the whole region. We have talked to the Jordanians many times. We have urged them, for example, to acquire American weapons, not Soviet. They have made the point that when the attempt has been made they lose in Congress and therefore, they go to the Soviet Union. This week King Hussein is going to Moscow because he feels that the United States is not a reliable supplier and this has also inhibited Saudi Arabia to offer us bases. We do not intend to impair or weaken our commitment to Israel and its technological and qualitative edge. But other countries feel the United States is not a reliable ally to supply the kind of weapons they need in face of the Soviet threat. The Soviets have the capability of moving down through Iran, through Iraq. Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Oman have a tremendous fear of Iran. Today Iraq said that it is ready to withdraw the remainder of its troops from Iran and end the war. There is a lot of turbulence in the area.

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PRIME MINISTER: May I respond, Mr. President. Mr. President, the Secretary of Defense has made certain comments with which I must differ. I refer mainly to his point on Jordan. Jordan is intimately connected with Iraq. It has a virtual military alliance. There is a land bridge from Akaba to Iraq. And from Eilat one can see the ships being unloaded. Alow me, Mr. President, to read to you the list of weaponry in the hands of our neighbors, and I exclude Egypt from the list. (Prime Minister reads inventory of Arab arsenals). We are surrounded by a mass of modern weapons, with more tanks than Germany used to invade the Soviet Union. The unlimited stores of the Soviet Union are open to their clients. Saudi Arabia is armed by the West as is Jordan also. Over many years we have heard the argument that if you do not give arms they will go to Russia. They already went to Russia. If you supply Jordan with the improved hawk missiles, these will cover all the skies of Israel. And if you give them the F-16, Jerusalem is a few miles away and Tel Aviv will be reached in a matter of minutes. The supply of such weapons to Jordan constitutes the gravest danger possible to us. Whenever war comes to Israel, all the Arab countries unite against us. On Yom Kippur, on the Golan Heights, we faced Iraqis, Jordanians, Saudi Arabians, and Moroccons. We shall face nearly 10,000 tanks, 10,000 guns and nearly a thousand first-line aircraft. The proportion used to be 1-3. And if it will become 1-5, we will be in serious trouble. We will win -- of this I have no doubt -- but lots of our blood will be spilled. Therefore, this is a very serious matter to us. Iraq allied with Jordan, are both joined against Israel.

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The Iraqi proposal to stop the war with Iran is intended to prepare for war against Israel.

PRESIDENT: I spoke to the Prime Minister of a certain Arab country -- not one of those mentioned in our discussion -- and he gave me a different thesis on the Iran/Iraq war. He pointed out the division within the Islamic world -- the radicalness to the Shi'ites, their sheer numbers and how many there are in other countries. He said the great fear in Iraq is the Shi'ite victory, that even in Iraq there is a large Shi'ite community, and that this could spread to a holy war throughout the Arab world. This would be a threat to Israel ten times greater than now. The Shi'ites are the most numerous sect. His argument was, don't let the spread of Shi'ites in Iran to reach the other Arab states. This links up with what the Secretary (Weinberger) was saying about Jordan. I said to you in the Oval Office that we and you cannot go on forever as an armed camp in hostile surroundings. The answer is how to create more Egypts. We accept some responsibility in the idea that could have Jordan follow the Egyptian path. In trying to get this point, to be able to influence matters, you must show some confidence also. Again I repeat our pledge. We would not stand back and let those weapons be used against Israel. Therefore, we ask for your trust in us. We won't do this irresponsibly. We believe that Jordan is prepared and could be brought into the peace-loving nations and could become another Egypt. What is the alternative -- to live constantly surrounded by hostile neighbors? You know your economy.

There is no future in constantly living in an armed camp. If we did not have confidence in our path we would not be proceeding as we are. Therefore, we embarked upon our actions towards Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Oman. I had a very good meeting recently with King Hussein. We have enough confidence in what we are doing enabling me to say to you that we are doing it responsibly and we are going to ask those countries to which I have refered, to do what Egypt has done.

PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, we do not have the concept of living in a beleagured camp. We have a concept of peace with all our neighbors. I suppose that if five years ago, sitting here, I would have said that in a few years time we shall exclude Egypt from the list of the arms in possession of our enemies, nobody would have believed me. We concluded the peace treaty with Egypt by making great sacrifices, and with your help. We gave up the Sinai oil fields and now we are paying $1.2 billion a year to Egypt for the same supply. Yet we did it. We gave up the two most sophisticated air bases in Sinai. We did it for peace. We gave up the settlements for peace. I believe that if the Lebanese problem is solved and the proper security arrangements made, we will soon have a peace treaty with Lebanon. Mr. President, rather than arm Jordan, invite Jordan to join the peace process. Jordan refused President Carter, perhaps they won't refuse you. But for that you don't have to give those arms to Jordan. If you do, it is my duty to tell you that they will pose a direct mortal danger to my country.

You may not accept this. But please understand, we are a Lilliputian country. How many more arms do we have to face? They were on the Golan Heights in 1973. In 1967 they attacked us.

ARENS: With American arms.

PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, allow me to tell you a story. Our Chief-of-Staff, General Eitan, is a valiant commander. He was on the Golan Heights during the Yom Kippur War. When the war broke out, the Syrians threw 1,400 tanks across the border and we had 77. Hundreds of our boys fell in battle defending their people with their bodies. On the third or the fourth day of the war, General Eitan's deputy said to him, it is over, we have to descend. Mr. President, had we descended, on that day, the Syrian army would have been in Haifa. We did not have a single tank on that route to stop them. General Eitan said to his deputy, give me another 5 minutes. In those 5 minutes a reinforcement of 20 tanks arrived and changed the whole course of the battle. One tank alone destroyed 20 Syrian tanks. And so we changed the tide of battle and won the war. But we were in mortal danger. Please understand it is a problem of life and death for us, not a political calculation. You will make the decision, but it is my duty to say to you what I have said. It is said that Saudi Arabia is moderate. Moderate? It is a most fanatical country. It participated in all the wars. It declares that Jerusalem must be taken over by the Arab world. Saudi Arabia financed the PLO all the time with billions. Last year Saudi Arabia earned $120 billion dollars from its oil. What does it do with its money? It actually sends millions and more to Moscow via the PLO. How? Because Moscow supplies the PLO with arms which are financed by Saudi Arabia. So, in fact, American tax payers money which you pay to Saudi Arabia for oil eventually ends up in Moscow through the acquirement by the PLO of Soviet weapons.

WEINBERGER: We established a relationship with Saudi Arabia on the ceasefire in Lebanon which Habib helped negotiate last year. It came about solely because the President was able to get Saudi Arabia to go after the Syrians.

PRIME MINISTER: Saudi Arabia did not convince the PLO to agree to the ceasefire. Sadat told me a true story in Alexandria. He told me that Saudi Arabia sent $20 million to Arafat -- I do not know if it went into Arafat's pocket personally -- and so the ceasefire came about. There were three interpretations to the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. There was our interpretation, which said no attacks anywhere. There was the PLO interpretation which said no attacks only from Southern Lebanon but elsewhere they felt totally free to attack and they did . The third interpretation, Habib's, was no attacks by the PLO in the Middle East. But attacks abroad would not constitute a breach of the agreement. I said to him, Phil, if I had agreed to that interpretation, this would have given the PLO license to kill in Rome, Athens, Paris and shed Jewish blood everywhere they wanted except around our borders. That to us was unthinkable. The Saudis were not instrumental at all. And indeed there was permanent bloodshed abroad -- in Athens, in Rome , in Paris where a synagogue was blown up. Are we to sit by and allow Jewish blood to be shed all over the world? Not when there is a Jewish state, Mr. President. It did happen in the thirties. No more. Saudi Arabia is a fanatical Moslem country and the hater of Israel. I say what I said to explain how great is the danger to us.

PRESIDENT: You could have said the same about Egypt a few years ago. Saudi Arabia is not sitting without worries of its own, looking only to destroy Israel. That is not the case They have a worry of a possible uprising in their own country and they are also looking at that monster to the north, as is Jordan -- the Soviet Union. There was a time a little while back when people said this country has no muscle to contain the Soviet threat. The U.S. is growing muscles as opposed to the last few years. Therefore, the Soviet Union is willing to sit down with us on arms reduction. Jordan is extremely concerned. I have talked to them about the weapons -- the defensive weapons -- they bought from the Soviet Union. Why did they buy it? Because previous Administrations sold them weapons with such restrictions they were virtually useless to them. The King told me how unhappy he was with that one purchase from the Soviet Union. If you will have the confidence to let us proceed in what is aimed solely to protect the Middle East from Soviet incursions and advance the peace process in the area, we can, I feel sure, make progress. We are doing it with responsibility. I would not do it with Syria, and I would not do it with the idea that if we have guessed wrong, we would say -- OK, we made a mistake. You know us better than that. We ask for your confidence in us to understand we are encouraging them to recognize Israel and lead to peace. This is our quid pro quo we give to you.

PRIME MINISTER: It is my duty to say what I said -- a mortal danger to us.

May I go back to what the Secretary of Defense mentioned. You, Mr. President, read to me a letter. I quote:

"The Syrians passed a threshold and they must be made to go back and the status quo ante restored." When Phil Habib came to see me he volunteered a defintion of the phrase "status quo ante". He said there had been no Syrian missiles in the Baaka and so they must be removed, that new missiles had been deployed on the Syrian border and they, too, must be removed and that those missiles on the border had not attacked Israeli aircraft before and they must not attack now. Mr. President, all those missiles existed there for a whole year. I met Habib many times. He could not do anything about them. Only when our men with our technology acted, did they disappear. For us it is a matter of our security in the narrowest sense of the word to protect our civilian population. An Arab country may promise you but it may not keep its promise. For 19 years you had the promise of Jordan not to put tanks in Judea and Samaria yet in 1967 we found all those American tanks poised against us. We trust you, Mr. President, but the question is whether those who are getting the sophisticated arms will keep their promise. We have our experience, we have to care for the future; it is my duty to tell you as Prime Minister of my country, of a long-suffering people; we speak of a possible mortal danger, not of trust in you.

PRESIDENT: Then what is the future?

PRIME MINISTER: I make a simple suggestion. Please influence King Hussein to join the peace process. I am prepared to go to Amman or invite the King to Jerusalem, as I invited President Sadat.

I hope also, there will emerge a peaceful Lebanon with which we will be able to conclude a peace treaty. But arming the Arabs is to create a situation in which Israel's existence is in danger. We can talk of a "qualitative edge" but when I read the figures I am very concerned. The oil-producing countries have the money to buy arms anywhere. We do not have that money. We will go bankrupt. The antisemites say that Jews are supposed to have money. It is the Arabs who have the money, not the Jews.

ARENS: The American arms to Egypt came in the wake of the peace treaty, not before.

PRESIDENT: As I understand it, what took place first was under the Nixon Administration we saw Egypt turning from the Soviet Union in our direction and we were able to influence them. The visit of Nixon to Cairo was the greatest thing that led to the Soviet departure.

PRIME MINISTER: The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel has served well the U.S. and the free world. On the basis of this treaty the Secretary of Defense says Egypt is ready to give you bases. On the basis of that peace treaty there is a U.S. armed presence at a very strategic point.

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PRESIDENT: But to change the position of many of those countries is not a matter of hostility towards Israel. I know Jordan feels threatened by Syria.

PRIME MINISTER: They fought together against Israel in the Yom Kippur War. If Jordan is so afraid of Syria, why did they fight together against us?

PRESIDENT: I am talking about this new era of the fear of the Soviet Union.

PRIME MINISTER: The armament figures speak for themselves.

PRESIDENT: Those figures are not going to change if they decide they can only turn to the Soviet Union. That would be worse for you.

PRIME MINISTER: I remember the AWACS discussion. When people said if the U.S. does not supply Saudia Arabia, the British will. There is no end to that kind of an argument.

PRESIDENT: The British told me that as long as there was a prospect of our supplying the AWACS they would not but that, with their unemployment, they would be anxious to make the sale if we did not.

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PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, I would like to say to the Secretary of Defense that I did not understand the comparison you (Weinberger) made on TV yesterday between the Falkland Islands and the PLO, Lebanon and Israel.

WEINBERGER: I will be happy to explain. Essentially what I said was that whilst there were numerous provocations, there was never really sufficient provocation to use unilateral military force. I deplored it when Argentina did it and when you do it. To that limited extent there are similarities.

PRIME MINISTER: I regret I am not in a different profession, that I am not a TV interviewer. Were I your interviewer, I would have asked some questions and they would have been tough. I would like to ask some questions now: Did the Falklanders kill the Argentinians? Was there an organization called the FLO, the Falkland Liberation Organization? What happened with Lebanon, the PLO and Israel -- armed bands, operating from another country, killing another people. It was to those that we reacted in Lebanon. Where is the comparison? The provocation was constant. We exercised over-restraint. We had to go into Lebanon to liquidate those scoundrels long ago. They shot at our children, they destroyed our homes, they committed the most terrible atrocities, they threatened to destroy Israel, they got arms from the Soviet Union for that purpose. We are the Falkland

Islands. Mrs Thatcher cited Article 51 of the UN Charter -- the inherent right of self-defense, -- Do not we also have that right?

HAIG: Time is beginning to run out. The point the President is making is critical, that is to say there has been a price paid as well as a benefit from the situation created. It is our general thinking that we want to bring Jordan into the peace process and also Saudi Arabia at least to endorse the action of the peace process. We cannot be oblivious to our interests in the Arab nations. We want more Egypts. You beat the hell out of Egypt and that was another factor that contributed to its moderation. I think the opportunity that emanates from the Lebanese tragedy will afford us the opportunity to get down to the peace process. I have to tell you in all candor, as a friend, that we have been stonewalled by both parties in advancement of the peace process. Now we have to continue to see Israel's interests and to promote stability in the region. It is a mammoth task. We have much to talk about. We have to solve that crazy venue problem (on autonomy talks). We have to discuss how to get Jordan in. I think that this is what is in store for us the days and weeks ahead, (1) to optimize the consequences of the Lebanese situation; (2) how to get the peace process moving again and repair the damage. The U.S. has paid a price with a number of Arab states. We are prepared to pay a certain price if it serves the interests of peace. We have today greater assets than before to do the job. Now we have a new set of objective realities and we must exploit them to our mutual advantage.

PRIME MINISTER: Jordan's good will to join the peace process depends on Hawk missiles and F-16s?

BUSH: Rather than turning to the Soviets.

ARENS: We have already made a small contribution. I do not think that Jordan is going to think so highly of the SAM missiles. [redacted].

PRESIDENT: We recognize that. But MiGs will not be further from your border than will our planes if supplied. But Jordan wants them in a different direction, not in yours

PRIME MINISTER: I have told you, Mr. President, that American planes and Israeli pilots make a fine combination. We are grateful to you.

PRESIDENT: They do indeed.

HAIG: Let us talk briefly about the press.

PRESIDENT: I will make a brief statement on the fact that we met and talked on the need to resolve the situation over there -- just a few words.

PRIME MINISTER: I will also say a few words -- positive ones.

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PRIME MINISTER: I have told you, Mr. President, that American planes and Israeli pilots make a fine combination. We are grateful to you.

PRESIDENT: They do indeed.

HAIG: Let us talk briefly about the press.

PRESIDENT: I will make a brief statement on the fact that we met and talked on the need to resolve the situation over there -- just a few words.

PRIME MINISTER: I will also say a few words -- positive ones.

DECLASSIFIED

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דף 1 מתוך 2 נבנס

עותק 8 מתוך 20 סודי ביותר

461/7/2

אל: המשרד, נד: 479, מ: ווש
דח: מ, סג: מ, מא: 210682, מח: 1800
נד: רינן-רהם

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סודי ביותר/מידי

מנכל, ממנכל, מנהל מצפא

רוהמ' נפגש היום בשעה 1100 עם הנשיא ריגן בנוכחות השגריר ארנס וכואים. פגישה זו ארכה כ-40 דקות ובמהלכה קרא הנשיא מן הכתב. על כך ישלח השגריר דווח נפרד

לאחר מכן התכנסו הקבוצות של שתי המדינות לדיון משותף ליד הנשיא השתתפו בוש, הייג, ויינברגר, מיס, בייקר, וכיאוסים, קמפי, לוואים, קלארק, מקפרלן, פיירבנקס, מיישר, ודיוור. לצד רוהמ' השתתפו ארנס, בלום, שגיא, דר' הבס, אבנר, קדישאי, פורת והמ'. בתחילת הפגישה הסביר שגיא על גבי מפות את מהלך המבצע "ישל"ג". לאחר מכן רוהמ' תאר את המניעים שבהבנה עצמית שעמדו מאחורי המבצע ורמז כל נסיון לבנות המבצע בשם "פליטה". לישראל אין בכל בוונות בנוש בלפי לבנון ולא היתה בירה בדירה אלא לערוך המבצע על מנת להגן על אזרחיה. לאחר מכן פרש רוהמ' את במוריות הנשק העצומות שנמצאו בידי אשפ' והמסמכים השונים אשר הוכיחו כי אשפ' קיים בלבנון מרכז מרור בינלי באמצעו שם מתבלים מרחבי העולם.

רוהמ' הביע צערו על הקרבנות שנפלו משני הצדדים וביחוד על הקרבנות בקרב האוכלוסיה האזרחית. הוא רמז בעור תעמוקה מדושעת את המספרים המוגזמים שפרסמו בכלי המקשורת. אחר כך הרחיב רוהמ' הדבור על המשך ההסדר בלבנון בתארו המדיניות הישראלית של הרבב בם רב-לאומי. רוהמ' נמק את המנדוט ישראל ליישם ל וצייין כי אין כוח דרישה כי אדהב משתתף בכם רב-לאומי. הבחירה בירה ועליה להחליט.

המוביל מדיה תאר גם הוא על פי בקשת הנשיא ביצד רואה אדהב את הפתרון של בעית לבנון. הוא קרא מסר של הבבב כפיו דרש הכה

דף 2 מתוך 2
עמק 8 מתוך 20 סודי ביותר

הפסקת אש בדי לנסות ולהגיע לידי הסדר בלשון. לפי דברי חביב אשפי מדבן לדבר. היינו שגד אל חביב מבדק על סמך הודעתו של ארנס כי צהל איננו נמצא בנמל התעופה של ביירות בנוגעה הכללית של ארהב היא כי כל הבחורות הורים בלבנון יסוגו. אשפי ינים את נשקו ומוקם משלה מרכזית בלבנון. והו מבן הודעתו של הנשיא רייגן לעתונות בנום השיחות. הייב דיבר בוכים ינייפיל אך הדגיש כי בנושא זה לא בונשה עדין דעה סופית אצל הממשל. הוא הדגיש כי צפויה המנגדות חריפה בקונגרס כהשתפות חיילי ארהב בבח רב-לאומי בלבנון.

לאחר מכן דובר על הצעדים ההומניטריים שיש לנקוט כדי להקל על סבל האזרחים על נושא זה יקיים מחר דיון מפורט עם היינ וצוותו.

הנשיא בקש מרוהמי להסביר את עמדת ישראל בכפי השעה באילו הגיבה ישראל בחריפות ידה בבנישה לבנון. רוהמי הסביר כי לאחר ההתנקשות בארגוב הופצצו על ידי חאי שתי מטרות צבאיות שבהן לא נפגע אף אורח. לאחר מכן הומשרו מטחי הקטיושות והמוחים על ישובי ישראל ולא היתה ברירה אלא לבצע ''שלילנ''

לאחר מכן נערבה סעודת צהרים ועליה נשגר דוח נפרד

נחושן==

מפ: שהם,סשהם,מנכל,ממנכל,רהם,סרהם,מנכל,ממנכל,מצפא,
ר/מדבו,רובינשטין,אליצור,שהנשבנפרד),רסנבנפרד),אמן
נבנפרד)

טופס מברק גלוי

מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

דף 1 מתוך 8 דפים

סיווג בטחוני: בלמ"ס

רחיפות:

תאריך ושעה:

מס. נוס. ב:

אל: הבשרד

דע:

מאת: נאו"ם

לשכת רוה"מ, אליצור, מע"ת.
הופעת רוה"מ בעצרת.
פדרנגר.

להלן כתבות וצילומים בנדון כפי שהופיעו בניו יורק טיים ו
בוושינגטון פו סט ובניוזדיי.

נאו"ם

אלעזר ארבל ג גאת פורת רחמ טרי לפיד
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תאריך 21.6.82 השולח: י. דרנבר מיסור מנהל המחלקה: _____ חתימה: _____

Combat in Lebanon: Israeli Premier Calls Self-Defense 'Noblest Concept'

Two-Thirds of the U.N. Delegates Shun Begin's Speech

By BERNARD D. NOSSITER

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., June 18 — Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel told the United Nations today that wars of self-defense "were the noblest concept of mankind."

Addressing the special session on disarmament, the Israeli leader faced a sparse audience as two-thirds of the delegations either boycotted the session or walked out. In addition, some West European countries declined to send their chief delegates, reportedly on instructions from their governments.

As a rule, when Israelis address the General Assembly, Asian, African and Soviet bloc diplomats refuse to attend. But veteran United Nations officials could not recall a comparable snub to any other head of government.

An unofficial count found 102 of 157 delegations absent.

'Demonstration of Displeasure'

"It was a demonstration of displeasure over what is happening in Lebanon," said Hugo Scheltema, the head of the Dutch mission and one of only three of the 10 Common Market chief delegates in the hall.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the chief American delegate, led a full United States delegation to hear Mr. Begin.

She said that "of course" she was disturbed about the boycott. "It was unnecessary and unbecoming to the spirit of the United Nations, an institution devoted to peace," she said.

Mr. Begin, however, seemed unruffled, smiling at applause from the carefully restricted public gallery.

In his address, he assailed "pacifism" as a "beautiful idea" that "is the greatest provocation inviting attack, subjugation and destruction" in a world of "aggressive totalitarianism."

He did not directly mention Israel's invasion of Lebanon, which is in progress, but his praise of self-defense as "a most sacred right and duty of man" appeared to refer to the events there.

Of the European Economic Community nations, only Ireland and Denmark along with the Netherlands sent their delegation chiefs. Britain was represented by its third-ranking envoy, Marrack I. Goulding. Spokesmen for the British, French and West German delegations said no political significance should be read into the absence of their chief delegates.

Some Nations Walk Out

Most of the boycotting nations stayed away from the hall until Mr. Begin left. Some, however, conspicuously got up and walked out as he entered, including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Oman.

Ismat Kittani of Iraq, the Assembly's President, who has frequently snubbed or ruled against Israel, was not in his chair. An aide said he was away on business.

The only direct attack on Mr. Begin came in a statement issued by the Arab League, which comprises 21 Arab nations and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Arab League statement said Mr. Begin "personifies the ghettoization of the Israeli psyche, the institutionalization of Israel's self-destructive racial paranoia and fascistic Zionist militarism."

The statement said Mr. Begin was "inspired by one of Zionism's primary concepts, which is the racial purity of the Jewish state."

Mr. Begin's address in part echoed that of Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, who pledged earlier in the week that Moscow would not use nuclear weapons first in any war. Mr. Begin proposed that all nuclear powers agree to use their weapons only if they or their allies were subjected to nuclear attack.

Mr. Begin also renewed his nation's support for negotiations to free the Middle East of nuclear weapons. Such an arrangement would compel Arab nations to recognize Israel's existence.

Trudeau Rebuts Gromyko

In another address today, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada rebutted Mr. Gromyko on the first use of atomic weapons. Mr. Trudeau observed that a pledge against the first use of any one weapon diminished the United Nations Charter, which prohibits the use of all force except in self-defense.

Mr. Trudeau, noting that thousands of marchers have demonstrated against nuclear weapons in North America and Western Europe, warned Moscow against "a grave miscalculation." He said NATO's negotiating position, which demands that the Soviet Union remove its SS-20 intermediate-range missiles from Europe in return for a Western pledge to forego the installation of the new cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, had in no way been weakened.

The Canadian Prime Minister urged a freeze on new weapons, a deep cut in those already in arsenals and the closing of loopholes in the existing agreement barring weapons of mass destruction in outer space. Noting that the treaty permits antisatellite weapons and antimissile laser systems, he called for a ban on all weapons in outer space.

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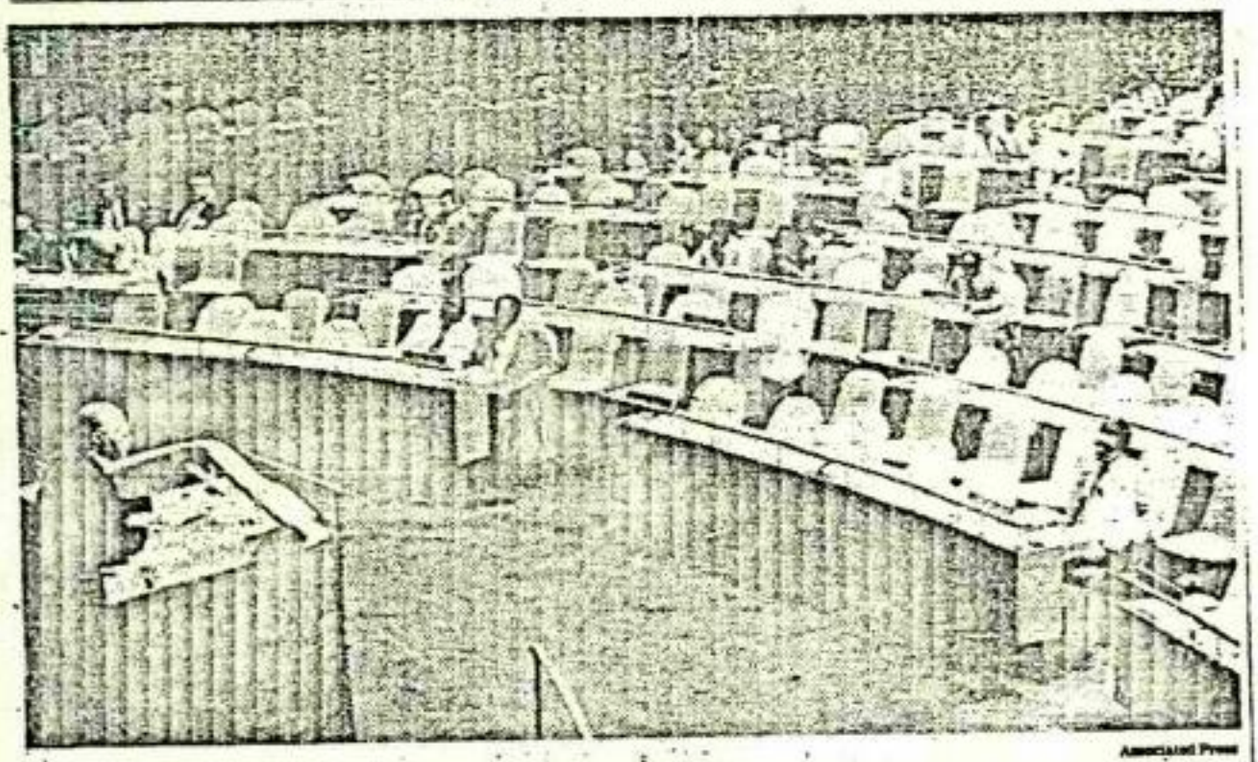

Associated Press

ISRAELI CALLS WARS OF SELF-DEFENSE "NOBLEST CONCEPT": Prime Minister Menachem Begin at U.N. special session on disarmament. Two-thirds of delegates either boycotted or walked out on his address. Page 7.

NY. Times 19 June 1982

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Washington Post
19 June 1982

Begin Ignores Massive Boycott Of U.N. Speech

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, June 18—Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, speaking against the background of the fighting in Lebanon, today ignored a massive boycott by anti-Israel delegates to tell the U.N. disarmament conference that "self-defense is a sacred right and duty."

In his address to the U.N. General Assembly's special session on disarmament, Begin spoke largely about the dangers of nuclear war and made no direct mention of his country's 2-week-old invasion of Lebanon.

But the hostility that Israel's action has provoked among Arab countries and their allies in the Third World and communist bloc was underscored by the fact that 93 of the 157 delegations here were absent from the assembly's vast chamber during his speech.

Most simply stayed away. But more than 30 delegations that were present when the prime minister was introduced stood up and walked out as he began to speak.

They included the representatives of all Arab countries except Egypt, which has made a separate peace with Israel, all the European communist nations except Romania, the majority of African countries and a scattering of radical-leaning regimes from other Third World regions.

As a result, in the same chamber where President Reagan spoke on Thursday before an almost full house, Begin was left with an audience that consisted largely of delegates from the western industrial countries and from Latin America.

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., who had a breakfast meeting with Begin before the speech, did not attend because he was preparing for a meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei F. Gromyko. U.N. Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick sat in the chief U.S. delegate's chair.

The thrust of Begin's speech was to contend that while "aggressive war should be banned, denounced and renounced" every country has an inherent right to self-defense. Israel has justified its strike against Palestinian forces in Lebanon on the grounds that it is defending the northern border regions of the Jewish state from terrorist attacks.

About 2,000 pro-Israeli demonstrators welcomed Begin on his arrival at the United Nations, while at the Israeli consulate a few blocks away about 1,500 people protested Israel's invasion.

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Associated Press

Begin addresses disarmament conference. About 30 delegations walked out as he began speech.

Washington Post

19 June 1982

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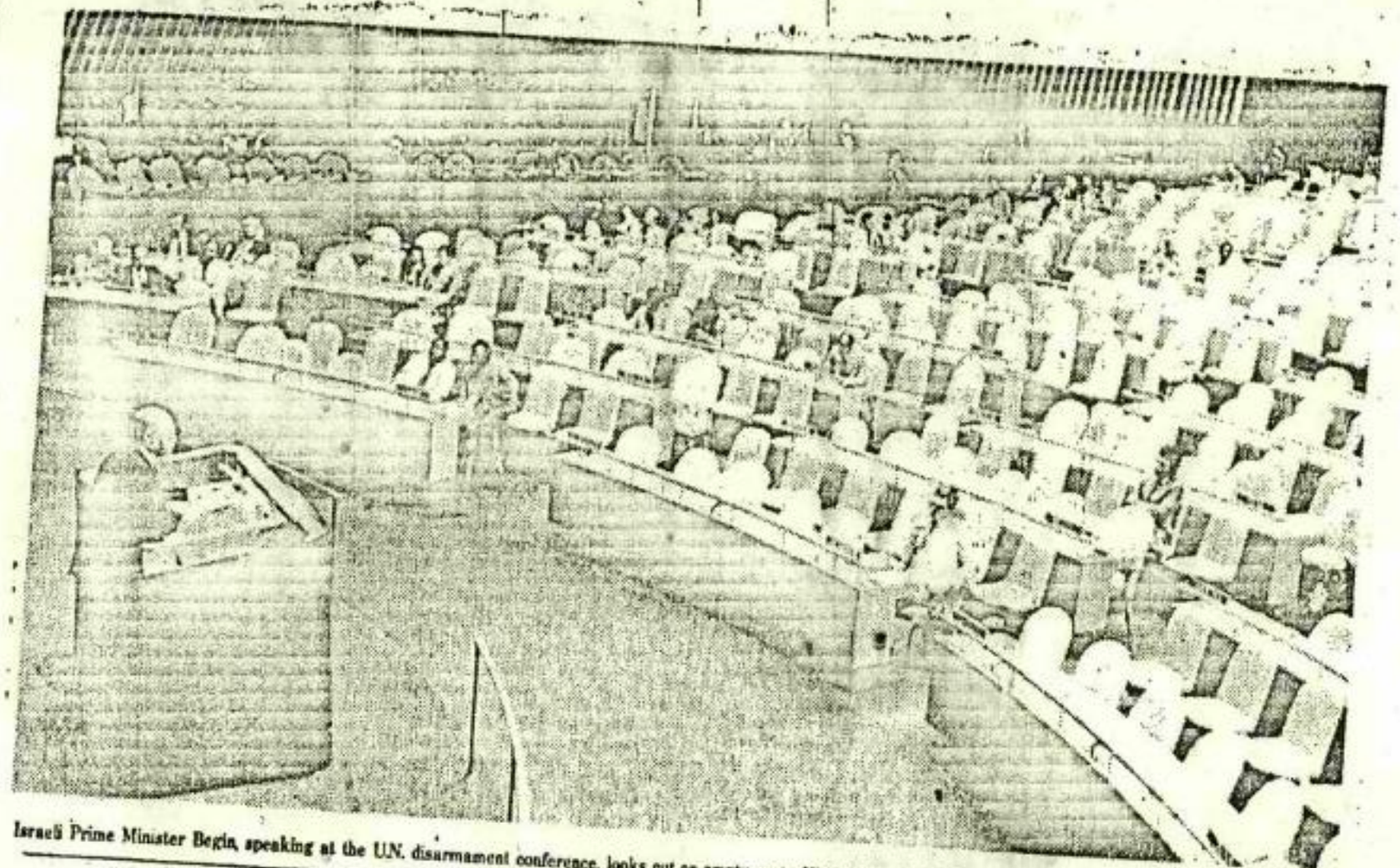

Israeli Prime Minister Begin, speaking at the U.N. disarmament conference, looks out on empty seats. Ninety-four of 157 delegations were absent for his speech. Story, A21.

Associated Press

Wash. Post 19 June 1982

Newsday

THE LONG ISLAND NEWSPAPER • SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1982 • 25 CENTS • NASSAU

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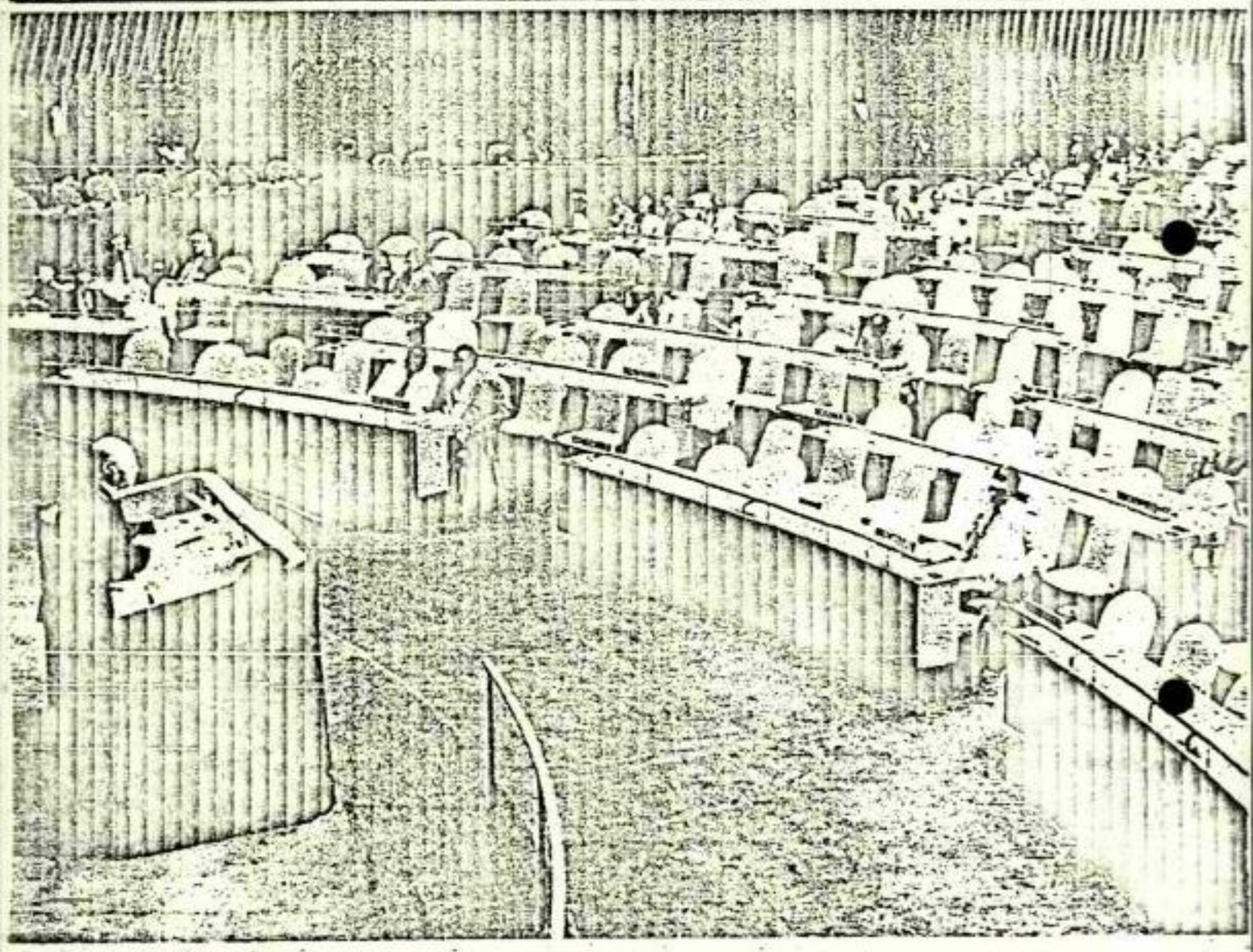

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin delivers address at UN disarmament session, but two-thirds of delegations boycotted s

A Mideast Message

Begin is snubbed at United Nations, cheered at meetin with Jewish Americans and pressed by Haig on cease-fir

Begin Snubbed at UN Address; Haig Seeks Extended Cease-Fire

Israeli leader asks envoys to ban 'aggressive war'

By Arnold Abrams

New York — The complexity of Menachem Begin's political world was illuminated yesterday as the Israeli prime minister received a cold shoulder from the diplomatic community and a warm welcome from Jewish supporters in America.

A midmorning appearance at the United Nations, where he addressed the special General Assembly session on disarmament, was boycotted by 94 of the 157 delegations, many of whose members collected their papers and strode from the modernistic hall as Begin was introduced.

But a subsequent luncheon gathering of more than 2,000 American Jewish leaders gave the Israeli leader a joyous greeting, avid support and a generous contribution to his government's treasury.

Begin took the differing developments — as well as noisy, traffic-snarling demonstrations by thousands of demonstrators for and against his nation — in stride. At the UN, he paid no heed to the diplomatic snub, led by the Soviet and Arab blocs.

Instead, he invited them: "Let us meet. Let us shake hands, talk peace to each other, make agreements and all of us will change the course of history."

Evoking the ancient Hebrew prophets, he urged the world body to ban "aggressive war," and, in a veiled reference to Israel's conflict with the Arab world, described self-defense as "a most sacred right and duty."

"Pacifism is a beautiful idea," the prime minister told the attending diplomats, who, led by the U.S. and European delegations, were overwhelmingly outnumbered by empty seats. But, he continued, facing "aggressive totalitarianism, it is the greatest provocation, inviting attack, subjugation and destruction. This bitter truth we all learned in the thirties and forties of our century."

At the luncheon, Begin bowed his head and stood silent, his face solemn, as an overflow crowd of American Jewish leaders paid him homage with prolonged rounds of thunderous applause, whistles and cheers more apropos of a ballpark than the stately grand ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

AP Photo

Begin, left, with UN chief Javier Perez de Cuellar

Begin's supporters paid him more than homage. In the course of the two-hour luncheon session, which was sponsored by the Israel Bond Organization, the prime minister was presented with personal checks and pledges totaling about $35 million — and a promise by the fund-raising agency to generate another $100 million within several months.

Begin expressed appreciation for the moral and financial aid by alluding to an exchange at a breakfast meeting with Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. "A good American friend of mine asked me if I have any problem with the Jewish community in this country," he said. "I told him that you never had been so united with Israel."

Begin put the financial support in perspective, however, by noting that Saudi Arabia alone earns about $122 billion annually in oil sales. "Even if all of you wonderful, well-to-do people lived to 120 years," he said with a smile, "you wouldn't be able to match that."

Nevertheless, the Israeli leader added: "Our enemies outnumber us in manpower and money, but we have Jewish *sayehel* (brains) and with that we shall prevail."

Alternately drawing applause, tears and laughter, Begin enthralled his audience by recounting the joy of recent Israeli military successes in Lebanon, describing the burden and sorrow of sending several hundred young Israeli soldiers to death in battle, and offering the promise of a brighter future for his state.

Asserting that the Palestine Liberation Organization had been devastated by the Israeli action, the Israeli leader brought his listeners to their feet by pledging: "Never again will Jewish blood be shed with those shedding it enjoying impunity."

He drew a distinction, however, between the military struggle in Lebanon, which he described in the past tense, and the resulting political struggle — which he described as "a campaign about to begin."

"If anybody tries to use pressure, even friendly pressure," he said, referring to expected U.S. efforts to temper Israeli actions, "let me tell you how we will behave. We will behave as the Czechs should have behaved in 1938 — and didn't."

He was alluding to the Czech decision, under pressure from its allies, to yield territory rather than fight Nazi aggression.

Newsday 19 June 1982

AFGHANISTAN;

5. CALLS ON THE COMMISSION TO REPORT TO PARLIAMENT WITHIN THREE MONTHS ON NEW MEASURES THAT COULD BE ADOPTED TO ASSIST THE AFGHAN REFUGEES;

6. INSTRUCTS ITS PRESIDENT TO FORWARD THIS RESOLUTION TO THE COUNCIL, THE COMMISSION, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE COMMUNITY MEETING IN POLITICAL COOPERATION.

(END TEXT)

ITEM

NESA-106 (6/21/82)

TEXT: REAGAN, BEGIN DEPARTURE REMARKS (650)

U.S. SEEKS TO INSURE ISRAEL'S SECURITY, LEBANON WITHDRAWAL

WASHINGTON -- PRESIDENT REAGAN PROMISED AT A WHITE HOUSE DEPARTURE CEREMONY JUNE 21 FOR PRIME MINISTER BEGIN OF ISRAEL THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TO SEE THAT ISRAEL IS NO LONGER THREATENED FROM THE NORTH AND TO SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON.

MR. REAGAN FURTHER ASSERTED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL BOTH SEEK AN END TO THE VIOLENCE IN LEBANON "AND A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT LEBANON UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF A STRONG, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT."

IN REPLY, MR. BEGIN SAID THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT "COVET EVEN ONE INCH OF LEBANESE TERRITORY." HE PROMISED THAT ISRAEL WOULD BRING BACK ALL ITS TROOPS FROM LEBANON "AS SOON AS ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE THAT NEVER AGAIN WILL OUR CITIZENS -- MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN -- BE ATTACKED, MAIMED AND KILLED BY ARMED BANDS OPERATING FROM LEBANON, AND ARMED AND SUPPORTED

PAGE 02 -- REMARKS

BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SATELLITES."

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRIME MINSTIER BEGIN:

(BEGIN TEXT)

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PAGE 00 -- REMARKS

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(BEGIN TEXT)

PRESIDENT REAGAN: IT HAS BEEN WORTHWHILE TO HAVE PRIME MINSTER BEGIN AT THE WHITE HOUSE AGAIN. ALL OF US SHARE A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED TO BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

TODAY, WE'VE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON HOW THIS CAUSE CAN BE ADVANCED. ON LEBANON, IT IS CLEAR THAT WE AND ISRAEL, BOTH, SEEK AN END TO THE VIOLENCE THERE AND A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT LEBANON UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF A STRONG, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

WE AGREE THAT ISRAEL MUST NOT BE SUBJECTED TO VIOLENCE FROM THE NORTH, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS AND TO SECURE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON.

AND, NOW, OUR GUEST, PRIME MINISTER BEGIN.

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN: THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT.

PAGE 03 -- REMARKS

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. GOOD AFTERNOON.

I'M DEEPLY GRATEFUL TO MY FRIEND, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR HIS INVITATION TO COME TO VISIT WITH HIM AGAIN AFTER MY FIRST VISIT IN SEPTEMBER 1981 IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AND ALL THE DISCUSSION -- A VERY FRUITFUL DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISORS.

EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT WE FACE NOW A SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH CALLS FOR ACTIVITY, GREAT ATTENTION AND UNDERSTANDING. I HAVE READ IN SOME NEWSPAPERS IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY THAT ISRAEL INVADED LEBANON. THIS IS A MISNOMER. ISRAEL DID NOT INVADE ANY COUNTRY. YOU DO INVADE A LAND WHEN YOU WANT TO CONQUER IT, OR TO ANNEX, OR, AT LEAST, TO CONQUER PART OF IT. WE DON'T COVET EVEN ONE INCH OF LEBANESE TERRITORY. AND, VEHEMENTLY, WE WILL WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS -- ALL OF OUR TROOPS AND BRING THEM BACK HOME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE MEANS AS SOON AS ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE THAT NEVER AGAIN WILL OUR CITIZENS -- MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN -- BE ATTACKED, MAIMED AND KILLED BY ARMED BANDS OPERATING FROM LEBANON, AND ARMED AND SUPPORTED

PRESIDENT REAGAN: IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN ONCE TO HAVE PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AT THE WHITE HOUSE AGAIN. ALL OF US SHARE A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED TO BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. GOOD AFTERNOON.

I'M DEEPLY GRATEFUL TO MY FRIEND, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR HIS INVITATION TO COME TO VISIT WITH HIM AGAIN AFTER MY FIRST VISIT IN SEPTEMBER 1981 IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AND ALL THE DISCUSSION -- A VERY FRUITFUL DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISORS.

EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT WE FACE NOW A SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH CALLS FOR ACTIVITY, GREAT ATTENTION AND UNDERSTANDING. I HAVE READ IN SOME NEWSPAPERS IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY THAT ISRAEL INVADED LEBANON. THIS IS A MISNOMER. ISRAEL DID NOT INVADE ANY COUNTRY. YOU DO INVADE A LAND WHEN YOU WANT TO CONQUER IT, OR TO ANNEX, OR, AT LEAST, TO CONQUER PART OF IT. WE DON'T COVET EVEN ONE INCH OF LEBANESE TERRITORY. AND, VEHEMENTLY, WE WILL WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS -- ALL OF OUR TROOPS AND BRING THEM BACK HOME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE MEANS AS SOON AS ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE THAT NEVER AGAIN WILL OUR CITIZENS -- MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN -- BE ATTACKED, MAIMED AND KILLED BY ARMED GANGS OPERATING FROM LEBANON, AND ARMED AND SUPPORTED

BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SATELLITES.

THERE IS HOPE TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE, AND THAT ALL FOREIGN FORCES WITHOUT EXCEPTION WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM LEBANON. AND THERE WILL BE AN INDEPENDENT, FREE LEBANON BASED ON ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. AND THE DAY'S NEAR THAT SUCH A LEBANON AND ISRAEL WILL SIGN A PEACE TREATY AND LIVE IN PEACE FOREVER.

THANK YOU. (END TEXTS)

ITEM

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BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SATELLITES.

THERE IS HOPE TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE, AND THAT ALL FOREIGN FORCES WITHOUT EXCEPTION WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM LEBANON. AND THERE WILL BE AN INDEPENDENT, FREE LEBANON BASED ON ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. AND THE DAY'S NEAR THAT SUCH A LEBANON AND ISRAEL WILL SIGN A PEACE TREATY AND LIVE IN PEACE FOREVER.

THANK YOU. (END TEXT5)

ITEM

news report

JUNE 21, 1982

POLLS SHOW AMERICANS MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ON MIDDLE EAST

AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE UNDERGONE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE PAST NINE YEARS. THERE IS A CONTINUED BASIC SYMPATHY FOR ISRAEL, BUT SINCE THE 1973 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR THE U.S. PUBLIC HAS BECOME MUCH MORE SENSITIVE TO DIFFERENCES AMONG ARAB STATES, MORE AWARE OF AND CONCERNED ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE PALESTINIANS AND FAR MORE CRITICAL OF SELECTED ISRAELI POLICIES AND LEADERS.

THESE FINDINGS WERE REPORTED IN THE APRIL/MAY ISSUE OF "PUBLIC OPINION" MAGAZINE BY WILLIAM C. ADAMS, WHO EXAMINED THE FINDINGS OF SEVERAL POLLING ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PERIOD 1973-AND-ON FOR THE MAGAZINE. THE ARTICLE WAS PREPARED BEFORE THE CURRENT OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING IN LEBANON.

ADAMS REPORTED THAT THE IMAGE OF EGYPT AND ITS LEADER, ANWAR SADAT, UNDERWENT A DRAMATIC TRANSFORMATION AFTER SADAT'S 1977 TRIP TO JERUSALEM. SADAT'S PERSONAL POPULARITY

SOARED, AND BY 1980 A HARRIS STUDY CONCLUDED THAT AMERICANS VIEWED SADAT AS THE MOST RESPECTED AND MOST TRUSTED LEADER IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

EGYPT'S IMAGE ALSO WAS CHANGING. BY 1980, 71 PERCENT VIEWED EGYPT FAVORABLY. AMERICANS SAW SADAT'S DEATH AS A BLOW TO PEACE PROSPECTS, ACCORDING TO AN NBC NEWS/AP POLL. YET, THE AMERICAN VIEW OF EGYPT DID NOT DETERIORATE WITH SADAT'S DEATH. A 1982 HARRIS POLL DETERMINED THAT OF THOSE AMERICANS EXPRESSING AN OPINION, 85 PERCENT SAW EGYPT AS A "CLOSE ALLY" OR "FRIEND."

AMERICANS NOW MAKE A SHARP DISTINCTION BETWEEN ARAB STATES. IN 1976, AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD EGYPT, JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND NON-ARAB IRAN WERE CLOSELY CLUSTERED, WITH FAVORABLE VIEWS FROM THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BETWEEN 32 AND 35 PERCENT. BY 1982, HARRIS FOUND AMERICANS OVERWHELMINGLY VIEWED EGYPT AS A FRIEND, SIX OF TEN SEE JORDAN FAVORABLY. IRAN, ALONG WITH SYRIA, IRAQ AND LIBYA ARE SEEN AS FRIENDLY BY FEWER THAN ONE-FOURTH OF RESPONDENTS.

THERE IS AN INCREASED RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIANS

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PAGE 03 -- POLL
WITH SYMPATHY FOR SOME PALESTINIAN CLAIMS. MOST AMERICANS CONTINUE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PALESTINIANS AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, WITH 55 PERCENT AGREEING THAT THE P.L.O. DOES NOT REPRESENT MOST PALESTINIANS, ACCORDING TO AN ABC NEWS/AP SURVEY. AS FOR A PALESTINIAN STATE, AN NBC NEWS/AP POLL LATE LAST YEAR FOUND THAT TWO THIRDS OF AMERICANS EXPRESSED NO OPINION. THOSE EXPRESSING AN OPINON WERE ABOUT EVENLY DIVIDED -- 15 PERCENT FAVORING A SEPARATE STATE, 18 PERCENT OPPOSED.

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ALSO ASSESSES CURRENT ISRAELI LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES DIFFERENTLY THAN IT DOES THE STATE OF ISRAEL. A JANUARY 1982 NBC/AP STUDY FOUND 42 PERCENT OF AMERICANS THOUGHT BEGIN'S RECENT POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTIONS HAVE BEEN TOO AGGRESSIVE, WHILE 37 PERCENT DID NOT. A LOS ANGELES TIMES SURVEY SHOWED 33 PERCENT VIEWED BEGIN FAVORABLY WHILE 34 PERCENT DID NOT. THE OTHER 33 PERCENT WERE NONCOMMITAL.

THE ARTICLE SAYS ISRAEL'S GENERAL IMAGE HAS BEEN STRONG AND POSITIVE ENOUGH TO HAVE WITHSTOOD THE "SHORT-TERM"

PAGE 04 -- POLL
DAMAGE OF CERTAIN ISRAELI POLICIES.

IN JULY 1981, GALLUP FOUND THAT SYMPATHIES WERE WITH ISRAEL IN DISPUTES WITH ARAB NATIONS BY 44 TO 11 PERCENT (THE REST WITH NO OPINION). IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR, AN ABC NEWS/WASHINGTON POST SURVEY REPORTED INCREASED SUPPORT FOR BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES. THOSE SIDING WITH ISRAEL INCREASED TO 55 PERCENT, THE PRO-ARAB SEGMENT WENT UP TO 18 PERCENT. THE ARTICLE NOTED THAT THE PROPORTIONAL INCREASE IS GREATER FOR THE ARAB SIDE EVEN THOUGH THE ABSOLUTE PERCENTAGE INCREASE IS IN ISRAEL'S FAVOR.

THE ARTICLE ALSO REPORTED THAT IN THE MIDST OF RECENT BUDGET CUTTING, ONLY 28 PERCENT OF AMERICAN TAXPAYERS WANTED THE UNITED STATES TO REDUCE MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL; 51 PERCENT WANTED IT KEPT AT CURRENT LEVELS, AND 9 PERCENT WANTED IT INCREASED, ACCORDING TO AN ABC/WASHINGTON POST SURVEY. A MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC ALSO OPPOSED THE SALE OF AWACS SURVEILLANCE PLANES TO SAUDI ARABIA, WITH A PLURALITY FEARING THE RADAR PLANES WOULD THREATEN ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

IN AN ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE, "PUBLIC OPINION" NOTED THAT

PAGE 05 -- POLL
U.S. TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE OF THE MIDDLE EAST HAS UNDERGONE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES SINCE 1973.

SINCE 1973, THE ARTICLE SAID, THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN THE MOST PROMINENT FOREIGN REGION ON NIGHTLY NETWORK TV NEWS.

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ITEM

official text

JUNE 21, 1982

U.S. INCREASES SUPPORT FOR LEBANON REFUGEE RELIEF

WASHINGTON -- THE WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCED JUNE 18 THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS APPROVED AN ADDITIONAL TEN MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE LEBANESE REFUGEE RELIEF EFFORT. THE TEN MILLION IS IN ADDITION TO FIVE MILLION DOLLARS GIVEN A FEW DAYS AGO AND ANOTHER 20 MILLION DOLLAR REQUEST CURRENTLY BEFORE CONGRESS.

AS THE PRESIDENT WAS MAKING THE ANNOUNCEMENT, HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR U.S. DISASTER ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON, PETER MCPHERSON, WAS IN NEW YORK MEETING WITH U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR TO INFORM HIM OF THE ADDITIONAL U.S. AID AND TO COORDINATE RELIEF EFFORTS.

MCPHERSON, WHO IS ADMINISTRATOR OF THE U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, TOLD REPORTERS AFTER THE MEETING THAT HE UNDERLINED THE U.S. DESIRE TO WORK THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON IN THE EFFORT.

PART OF THE ORIGINAL FIVE MILLION DOLLAR CONTRIBUTION HAS ALREADY BEEN GIVEN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, WHICH HAS WORKERS ON THE SCENE, AND THE REST OF THE AID SHOULD BE ARRIVING IN LEBANON WITHIN A FEW DAYS, MCPHERSON SAID. "THE GREATEST URGENCY IS TO DETERMINE MORE PRECISELY WHAT THE FACTS ARE AND WHAT IS NEEDED IN THE TUMULTUOUS SITUATION,"HE SAID.

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT:

(BEGIN TEXT)

THE PRESIDENT TODAY DECIDED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL TEN MILLION DOLLARS IN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO PERSONS AFFECTED BY THE STRIFE IN LEBANON. THESE FUNDS WILL COME FROM EXISTING APPROPRIATIONS. THEY ARE IN ADDITION TO THE FIVE MILLION DOLLARS THE PRESIDENT MADE AVAILABLE LAST WEEK AND THE 20 MILLION DOLLARS THE PRESIDENT HAS REQUESTED FROM CONGRESS.

EARLIER THIS WEEK, THE PRESIDENT APPOINTED PETER MCPHERSON, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AS HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR U.S. DISASTER ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON. MR. MCPHERSON IS REVIEWING THE U.S. LEBANON RELIEF EFFORTS WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR, THIS AFTERNOON IN NEW YORK.

(END TEXT)

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

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דף 1 מתוך 6 דפים	
פוזג בטחוני סודי	
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ח: 21 יוני 82	1450
מס' מברק	98/500

מסנכ"ל, מצפ"א

פגישת רה"מ עם חברי הסנט.

1. ועדת החוץ של הסנט ארחה את רה"מ לתה. נכחו הרפובליקנים: אבדנור, איסט, בושביץ, מטינגלי, פרסי, קסבאום, דאמאטו, תורמונד, ג'יסי הלמס, מק-קלור, פקווד דומיניצי, סימפסון, מטיאס, גרסלי, פרסלר, קוויל, האיאקאווה, בריידי, ניקלס, וורנר, כהן, ארמסטרונג, אנדריוס; הדמוקרטים: מצנבאום, פל, ליהי, איגלטון, ביידן, איגויה, גלן, צונגאס, באוקוס, בומפרס, בורן, דה-קונסיני, רנדולפ, מויניהן, פריור, לוין, אקסון, ברדלי, ג'ונסטון.

2. פרסי פתח באומרו שהוא מבקש לדון בצורה הגלויה והכנה ביותר בבעיות האחרונות סביב לבנון. יש המביעים דאגה, ויש התומכים בפעולה הישראלית. אנו מבקשים לשמור הכל בחדר זה. פל: הזכיר בקורו בראשית החודש בישראל ובדרי לבנון. ידידי ישראל לא ינהגו בגילוי לב באם לא יאמרו לך, רה"מ, שאנו מודאגים מהמצב. הלכתם רחוק מדי, מודאגים לנוכח הפגיעה באזרחים. לדעתי לפלסטינים שאיפות מוצדקות ל - statehood כפי שלכם היתה שאיפה כזאת. תמכתי בסיוע לישראל בעבר. אני שואל עצמי שאלות קשות הפעם; כיצד ניתן לספק את הדרישות הפלסטיניות.

3. רה"מ: הציג את השתלשלות האירועים שהביאה לפעולה הלבנונית תוך דגש על כך שפעלנו מתוך הגנה עצמית, לא פלשנו ללבנון, אלא באנו להצילה. ציין כי אין עוד אומה שהיתה מוכנה לסבול כה רבות. רה"מ הצביע על הדיווחים המנופחים בעתונות לגבי פגיעה באזרחים והביע צער על אבדן חיי אדם. כל אחד יודע שמלחמות יוצרות תופעת פליטים, אולם אין להגזים במספרם. כמו כן עמד רה"מ על היות אש"ף טוכן סובייטי ומקבל סיוע מארצות רבות אחרות. רה"מ הציע לשקול רעיון של הקמת כר"מ שבמסגרתו תהיה גם השתתפות אמריקנית. ציין כי שמע שיש התנגדות בקונגרס לכך. להערכתו, זהו רעיון טוב והגיוני לנוכח המצב האסטרטגי באזור (נוכחות סובייטית מאסיבית). הפתרון לבעיה הפלסטינית מצוי באוטונומיה. מדינה פלסטינית עצמאית מהווה סכנת מוות למדינת ישראל ואנו דוחים פתרון כזה.

4. פרסי: אמר כי שוחח עם הסנטור לשעבר יעבץ אשר הציע שאולי ישראל צריכה לעשות מחווה חיובי ולזרז שיחות האוטונומיה כדי למצוא פתרון לבעיה הפלסטינית. פרסי ציין כי יעבץ טבור שאם ישראל מתחייב שבעת המו"מ על אוטונומיה לא יקומו התנחלויות הדבר יספק תמריץ למצרים ויחולל התקדמות. עוד ציין פרסי כי לדעתו ישראל חרגה ממטרתה

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ס ר ק ס מ ב ר ק

דף 2 מתוך 6 דפים

סדר בטחוני .....

דחיפות .....

תאריך וז"ח: .....

מס' מברק: 98/500

המקורית של יצירת תגורה של 40 ק"מ ופגיעה באזרחים. לנוכח התקדמותכם נראה כי האיום הפלסטיני התנדף במהירות. רה"מ: ציין כי לפרסי הזכות להשתמש במונח פלישה, אולם הוא משריין לעצמו הזכות להשתמש במונחים משלו. פעולתנו בלבנון לא היתה פלישה אלא, הצלה. הביע הפתעה לעצם השאלה. בפנותו לפרסי הדגיש כי נהלנו מלחמה וחובת נו להגן על חיילנו. באשר לאוטונומיה רה"מ ציין כי הוא מוכן לחדש שיחות האוטונומיה אם יפתרו בעית מקום השיחות. באשר להתנחלויות ציין רה"מ כי ישראל לא הפקיעה אדמה מעובדת ופרטית. מדוע לא יוכלו יהודים וערבים לחיות בדו-קיום בשלום ביהודה והשומרון. אינו מבין מדוע התנחלויות מוצגות כמכשול לשלום.

5. צונגאס: ציין הרקע היוני שלו וזכרונות הרדיפות בידי הנאצים שליוו קרובי משפחתו. בשל כך הוא מבין למנטליות של עמים שנרדפו. התייחס להסכם שדיין חתם ב-1978 ולפיו מתחייבת ישראל שלא להשתמש ב- CBU על מטרות אזרחיות או מטרות שהינן קרובות לריכוזים אזרחיים. הדגיש כי ההסכם חל גם על CBU המיוצרים בישראל. בהסתמך על וושינגטון פוסט ציטט שני מקרים בהם ישראל השתמשה כביכול ב- CBU. האם הדבר מהווה הפרת הסכם 1978, ובאם הסוגיה הועלתה בשיחות עם הנשיא. רה"מ: הסוגיה לא עלתה בשיחות עם הנשיא. מציע שלא להסתמך על וושינגטון פוסט כמקור מוסמך. ישראל בודקת הידיעה. עם שובי לישראל נבדוק ונודיעכם אם יתברר שהשתמשנו ב CBU אתנצל על ה-blunder. ברם קודם כל עלינו לבדוק אמיתות הידיעה. בפנותו לצונגאס ממוצא יווני הזכיר לו את הסדר ישוג הפליטים עם תורכיה בשנות ה-20 המוקדמות.

6. בושביץ: ביקש מידע מוסמך על הצרכים בסיוע הומניטרי. כמו כן ציין שגם הוא שו עם יעבץ לאחרונה והנ"ל מסר לו שישראל עושה בלבנון את עבודת העולם החופשי כולו. בקש נתונים מוסמכים על פגיעה באזרחים. רה"מ: הביע צער על שלא יוכל למסור מספרים מדוייקים של הרוגים ופצועים. תבטיח להשתדל להמציא נתונים אלה, אולם הדגיש כי יימסרו רק מספרים בדוקים.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

ט ל ג ר ם מ ב ר ק

דף...3...מתוך...6...דפים

סדוג בשחדני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך דז"ח:.....

מס' מברק..988/500

7. סנטור אבדנור (מוצא לבנוני) התעלם מהצגת רה"מ וטען כי ישראל פגעה באזרחים רבים תוך שמוש בציוד שארה"ב סיפקה לה. שידורי הטלויזיה מראים הטרגדיה האנושית של המלחמה. הזכיר את הדודה שלו, אשה בת 88, שמתגוררת בשטח שנשלט על ידיד צה"ל והביע חרדה לגורלה. אבדנור הביע אהדה לסבל הישראלים כתוצאה מטרור אולם אין זה מצדיק פגיעה באלפי אזרחים. רה"מ הדגיש כי גם הוא רגיש לאבדן היי אדם. אש"פ רצח הנוצרים בדאמור, בנבטיה, איפה היו השואלים אז, מי הרים קולו לגנות. סוריה רצחה אלפי אזרחים בחמת; מי גינה זאת. אנו לא מצדיקים פגיעה באזרחים אולם יש לזכור שזו תופעת לוואי של כל מלחמה. זה קרה באירופה ובמזרח הרחוק וההצדקה שניתנה-ההובה לצמצם הפגיעה בחיילים. בפנותו לאבדנור הדגיש רה"מ כי אין זה מוצדק לשאול שאלות כאלו מישראל. רה"מ דחה בתוקף מוסר כפול. מלחמת הינה טרגדיה. ישראל לא רוצה להרוג אנשים היא שואפת להבטיח שלום עמה ולכן אין זה הוגן ומוצדק להעמידה על שולחן הנאשמים. זכור מי התגרה במי וגרם לטרגדיה הזו.

מפגיע אושר מאמצים מאת אנשי הנוכחי

8. פל הדגיש כי רה"מ נמצא בקרב ידידים ועליו לקבל בהבנה שאלות הנשמעות ביקורתיות. ביקש לדעת אם ישראל מכעה הגשת סיוע הומניטרי לצור. רה"מ הזים הדיווחים המזוייפים בנדון. האיאקאווה הביע תמיכה בלתי מסוייגת בפעולת ישראל ואפיין אותה כצעד גדול בדרך לכינון שלום בר-קיימא במזה"ת. בירך את רה"מ, את ישראל ואת צבאה.

9. מטיאס הביע חששו שדברי האיאקאווה לא מייצגים תחושת הרוב בסנט. לדעתו ישראל ביזבזה האשראי הרב שנצבר עקב ההחלטה האמיצה לסגת מסיני. הסביר כי בארה"ב יש כלל הדורש פרופורציה בין התגרות לבין התגובה. הצביע כי ראשי הממשלות הקודמים של ישראל הבחירו כי אין הם רוצים חיילים אמריקנים במזה"ת. עתה מדברים על אפשרות כזו. רה"מ המך בדברי ראשי הממשלה הקודמים והדגיש כי ישראל לא רוצה שצבא זר יגן עליה. ישראל מסוגלת לעשות זאת בעצמה. כשמדברים על כר"מ הכוונה ללבנון. הבוח חייב להבטיח שלא תהיה חזרה למצב הקודם בלבנון. רה"מ הסתייג מקביעת מטיאס כי ישראל ביזבזה האשראי בעקבות הנסיגה מסיני. סיפר כי פגש רבים בארה"ב שתמכו במבצע בלבנון. עם זאת ישנה בעייה של פרסמציה. הסברתי זאת לנשיא והוא קיבל הסברי. סנטור, שאל שאלות לפני שהנך שופט מעשים של אחרים.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ט ל ג ר ם מ ב ר ק

דף 4 מתוך 6 דפים

סווג בטחוני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח:.....

מס' מברק... 5551/90

10. ביידן: טען כי אינו מוכן להכנס לויכוח מי מייצג יותר את דעת הרוב בארה"ב, בדברו ברוגז רב קבע ביירן כי יש כרסום בתמיכת הקונגרס בישראל. אין לישראל התמיכה שהיתה לה בעבר. לא אוהבים אתכם בשל מעשיכם. בעוד כמה דקות הסנטורים יעזבו את החדר ויגידו שהם מוטרדים לנוכח מעשי ישראל. ביידן ציין בהקשר זה את שהב"ש אשר בפגישתו עם סנטורים פעל בצורה שלא מתקבלת על הדעת. ישראל רוצה סיוע מאתנו. אני סבור שלגיטימי לשאול שאלות קשות. אנו לא שואלים את הסורים ואת אש"ף משום שלא תומכים בהם. אנו שואלים השאלות משום שתורמים כל כך הרבה בסיוע. ביידן הביע רוגז לנוכח האפשרות שכתוצאה מפעולות מסויימות של ישראל אי אפשר יהיה להשיג הרוב -

to produce what we believe it is right

(כאן התייחס ביידן כנראה לסיוע חוץ). אני במקרה, תומך בפעולה שלכם בלבנון. הגיון שלנו אמו לנו בשבוע השנה האחרונה שתיכנסו ללבנון. איננני סבור שארה"ב יכולה להתחשד ולומר שהיא טובה יותר ומוסרית יותר. עם זאת, מדיניות ישראל בשטחים גורמת נזק -

The folks here are not going to buy it. ביידן התנבא שאם מדיניות ההתנחלויות תימשך ישראל לא תקבל 50 קולות בסנט בעד סיוע. ביידן הבחין כאן בין התנחלויות אזרחיות לבין התאחזויות צבאיות. אדונז רה"מ, אוי חורך כי הסיוע האמריקני חשוב לישראל, חשוב לבטחונה. רבים מעמיתי מנומסים ולכן לא יאמרו לך הרבה בפנים, אולם בחדרי ההלבטה יגידו:

11. רה"מ ציין את תכונותיו של ביידן כאורטור גדול. טען כי לרגע חשב שביידן מגנה פעולת ישראל בלבנון. באשר להתנחלויות - לא אקבל איומים. אני גאה כמותך, אינני רועד. נכון שארה"ב תומכת בישראל פיננסית ומוכרת לנו נשק. אנו מודים לה על הסיוע. עם זאת זכור סנטור, אין זה רחוב חד-צדדי. אנו שומרים על האנטרס של העולם החופשי במזה"ת. לולא ישראל הייתם שולחים חיילים אמריקניים לאזור. ישראל הביסה הנשק הסובייטי(רה"מ פירט הציוד הסובייטי המתקדם שהושמד). זו תרומה חשובה לבטחון המערב ואנו נתחלק אתכם בכך. גם אנו תורמים לבטחונה של ארה"ב האדירה. לכן, אל תאיים עלי עם אפשרות של הפסקת סיוע חוץ

We shall stand by our principles and accept the cutoff of American aid.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ס ד פ ס	מ ב ר ק
דף 5 מתוך 6 דפים	
חדרו רשתרוי	
דחיפות	
תאריך דז"ח:	
מס' מברק 98/500	

אף אחד לא נחלץ לעזרת היהודים בשואה. אתם לא התנסתם מעולם בטראומה זו. אנו למדנו הלקח ההסטורי . עלינו להשען על כוחנו אנו. אל תאיים אלינו. הסיוע האמריקני לא ניתן לשוא. יש לנו אינטרס משותף. אנו ידידים ובעלי ברית. זכור שגם אנו מסייעים לכם.

12. גלן לא אחת דיברתי אתך על השמוש ההתקפי וההגנתי בציוד האמריקני שסופק לישראל. הופתעתי בעבר שהנשיא לא העלה סוגיה זו בשיחותיו אתך. שאלתי-האם הפעם שוחחת על כך עם הנשיא. האם יש הבנה כיצד להשתמש בציוד האמריקני בעתיד. רהיים-התשובה סנטור גלן הינה שוב לא. לא דנו בכך עם הנשיא (הערה- ישבתי בין ליהי לבין פקוד. בזכות תשובה זו התפרץ ליהי ואמר לפקוד שהוא נדהם שהנשיא לא העלה סוגייה זו בינזמתו. ליהי סבור שאין זה אחראי מצד הנשיא לנהוג כך. פקוד הסכים עם הערה זו)

13. מויניהן-הייתי שגאר הייב באויים כשסוריה פלשה ללבנון. השגריר הלבנוני בא אלי וביקש סיוע מערבי. אמרתי לו שאין אפשרות להגן על לבנון הדמוקרטית. המערב לא יוכל לעשות מאומה כדי להגן על הרס הדמוקרטיה הקטנה הזו. כעת יש סיכוי שוב לבנות מסגרת דמוקרטית בלבנון החפשית. בפנותו לרהיים ביקש הערכתו לגבי התרומה המערבית להגשמת יעד זה. רהיים הדגיש כי ישראל מעוניינת בהסדר שיאפשר פינויכל הזרים. הביע תקוה שלבנון תבנה את עצמה מחדש ותהיה המדינה הערבית השניה שתחתום על שלום עם ישראל.

14. בורן - ננית שכריים לא יקום, כיצד ניתן להוציא את אשיפ מלבנון ולהבטיח שלא יחזור אליה. רהיים אם אשיפ יכריז שמוכן לצאת מלבנון ניתן להם מעבר בטוח. לא רוצים לתפוס מנהיגות אשיפ. באשר לנוכחות הפלשתינים בלבנון חשובתי שניתן לייישבהפליטים בארצות ערב אחרות, להן שטח ומשאבים רבים (למשל לוב, עירק). במילה אחת- יישוב הפליטים מחדש בארצות אחרות זה הפתרון. ישראל הקטנה והעניה קלטה 800,000 פליטים יהודים אחרי עצמאותה.

כאן נסתיים המפגש.

15. במהלך הפגישה יצא סנטור פרסלר לעתונאים הרבים אשר המתינו בחוץ וציין כי הפגישה מתקיימת באוירה מהוחה מאוד ושמעולם לא היה עד לחילופי דברים כה קשים ועימות כזה. צונגס אשר זאת בצאתו מהפגישה. פרסי סיפר לעיתונאים כי הסברי רהיים

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

טלפס	סברק
דף 6 מתוך 6 דפים	
סווג בטחוני	
דחיפות	
תאריך דז"ח	
מס' מברק 500/98	

לא שנכנו אותו. בתשובה לשאלת עיתונאים האם הברית הישראלית אמריקנית בצרה.
ציין פרסי כי ה יחסים מתוחים כרגע אולם בעבר היו עליות ומורדות רבות.
עם זאת הדגיש פרסי כי אין ערעור על מחוייבות ארה"ב לבטחון ישראל.

קני-טל

(1.ן)

שהם סלטהם הדגל ארהב שהם נלנגל בגפו סגנם גמר רק
אלן

המשרד

סודי
בהול לבוקר
211130יוני82

472/325

שר ה[illegible]/דע: מנכיל האוצר, ממנכיל, יועץ כלכלי, משהביט

להלן הנייר שרוה[illegible]ח עמו לפגישה עם הנשיא במטרה להגישו כחזכיר המרכז בקצרה צרכינו הכלכל[illegible]

[illegible]ין

תפוצה: שגריר, נספח, ציר, רמשין ניי, יועץ מדיני, ארכיב, ה[illegible] רוה"מ

.3 page 2

21 June 1982

MEMORANDUM ON ECONOMIC NEEDS

1. AID

Israel requests the implementation of the resolution of the Foreign Relations Committee on the Foreign Aid Bill, FY 82, namely:

Increase of military assistance to the sum of 1.7 billion dollars, of which one half ($850,000,000) would be in the form of grants. The economic aid (ESF) to be increased to $910,000,000, covering the debt service by Israel to the USG.

2. FREE TRADE AREA

In order to decrease its dependence on foreign aid Israel is striving to expand its exports worldwide and particularly to the United States. To facilitate the trade between the two countries Israel proposes the establishment of a Free Trade Area (FTA) arrangement between them. By this arrangement both Governments would reduce customs tariffs on a reciprocal basis. This was to have been one of the subjects for discussion with Ambassador William Brock during his planned visit to Israel which was unfortunately postponed. The Government of Israel hopes that the visit will take place in the very near future.

../2

3 מתוך 3

3. DEFENSE TRADE

It is Israel's hope that the economic sanctions in the area of defense trade will be soon rescinded, enabling Israel to thereby export to the United States on a competitive basis military hardware amounting to no less than $200,000,000 per annum.

4. USE OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR LOCAL PROCUREMENT

Faced by the continuing inflow of sophisticated weaponry to Arab countries from both the West and the East, Israel must further develop its own arms industry to sustain its qualitative edge. To contribute to this goal the USG is asked to agree to the conversion of $150,000,000 in FY 82 and $250,000,000 in FY 83 from its military assistance loans into Israeli Sheckels. This will enable Israel, inter alia, to proceed with the development of the Lavi fighter aircraft.

2 pc

TEXT OF STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT REAGAN
TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN
WHICH INITIATED THEIR PRIVATE MEETING
11:05 A.M., JUNE 21, 1982

(AS DELIVERED)

WELCOME, MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I AM DELIGHTED TO SEE YOU AGAIN HERE, THOUGH I WISH VERY MUCH THE CIRCUMSTANCES COULD BE DIFFERENT. I HAD ORIGINALLY HOPED THAT WE WOULD DISCUSS THE MANY COMMON PROBLEMS WE FACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND BEYOND. HOWEVER, EVENTS HAVE OCCURRED SUCH THAT WE ARE NOW FORCED TO FOCUS OUR ATTENTION ON THE GRAVE RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT YOUR OPERATION IN LEBANON HAVE CREATED.

WHEN I LEARNED ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 6 THAT ISRAEL'S FORCES HAD LAUNCHED A MASSIVE INVASION INTO A COUNTRY WHOSE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WE'RE PLEDGED TO RESPECT I WAS GENUINELY SHOCKED. YOU AND I HAVE COMMUNICATED PERSONALLY ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN LEBANON FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. I TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT I SHARED YOUR CONCERN FOR THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SITUATION IN LEBANON FOR YOUR SECURITY, BUT REPEATEDLY I'VE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT DIPLOMATIC SOLUTIONS WERE THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED. I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT WE WOULD BE UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND ANY MILITARY OPERATION WHICH WAS NOT CLEARLY JUSTIFIED IN THE EYES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BY THE NATURE OF THE PROVOCATION.

I WROTE TO YOU IMMEDIATELY UPON HEARING OF THE HIDEOUS ATTACK ON AMBASSADOR ARGOV IN LONDON. THERE CAN BE NO RATIONAL EXCUSE FOR SUCH TERRORISM, AND I'VE BEEN PRAYING WITH YOU FOR HIS RECOVERY. BUT ISRAEL HAS LOST GROUND TO A GREAT EXTENT

AMONG OUR PEOPLE AS A RESULT OF YOUR ACTION. THEY CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THIS VILE ATTACK -- NOR EVEN THE ACCUMULTATION OF LOSSES THAT ISRAEL HAS SUFFERED FROM PLO TERRORIST ACTIVITY SINCE LAST SUMMER -- JUSTIFIED THE DEATH AND DESTRUCTION THAT THE IDF BROUGHT TO SO MANY INNOCENT PEOPLE OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS.

OBVIOUSLY, WHAT'S DONE IS DONE. BUT I AM DETERMINED TO SALVAGE FROM THIS TRAGEDY A NEW LEBANON WHICH WILL NO LONGER CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO ISRAEL AND WHICH CAN BECOME A PARTNER IN THE PEACE PROCESS. I KNOW THAT THESE ARE ALSO PRIMARY OBJECTIVES OF YOURS. I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU MY INTERPRETATION OF THE OPPORTUNITIES NOW BEFORE US. I WOULD HOPE THAT IN GENERAL WE CAN AGREE ON THESE GOALS. IF WE WORK AT CROSS PURPOSES, ISRAEL'S OWN INTERESTS WILL BE DAMAGED.

FIRST AND MOST CRUCIALLY, THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO HELP A LEBANESE GOVERNMENT EMERGE, ONE WHICH REPRESENTS ALL MAJOR LEBANESE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL GROUPS AND ONE WHICH HAS THE STRENGTH TO IMPOSE ITS AUTHORITY AGAIN THROUGHOUT LEBANON. THIS IS A PROCESS THAT ISRAEL CAN HELP OR HINDER AND IT MUST HELP. IT WON'T DO, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR THE NEW LEADERSHIP TO APPEAR TO BE AN ISRAELI SURROGATE. THAT IS TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT. I KNOW YOU HAVE TOLD SECRETARY HAIG AND PHIL HABIB THAT YOU SEE THE PROBLEM OF REESTABLISHING AUTHORITY IN WEST BEIRUT AS AN URGENT JOB WHICH ONLY THE LEBANESE ARMY SHOULD DO. I AGREE, AND ISRAEL MUST ACT IN A MANNER THAT PERMITS THE <u>LEBANESE</u> TO ACCOMPLISH THIS OBJECTIVE.

THIS CRISIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO RID LEBANON OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MANY YEARS, PARTICULARLY THE SYRIAN FORCES AND THE ARMED PALESTINIAN ELEMENTS. PALESTINIAN FIGHTING UNITS MUST CERTAINLY BE DISARMED AND/OR EVACUATED. BUT I BELIEVE THAT LEBANON MUST DO IT AND LEBANON MUST DETERMINE HOW BEST TO DO IT. THOSE PALESTINIANS REMAINING IN LEBANON WILL HAVE TO LIVE AS PEACEFUL RESIDENTS OF THAT COUNTRY, RESPONSIVE TO THE AUTHORITY OF A STRENTHENED CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

AS SOON AS THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES IT IS TIMELY, IN KEEPING WITH THE OBJECTIVE YOU STATED TO ME IN YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 6, YOU SHOULD MOVE YOUR FORCES BACK TO A DISTANCE OF 40 KILOMETERS FROM YOUR NORTHERN BORDER. WE CAN THEN DISCUSS TOGETHER A REALISTIC TIMETABLE FOR THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FORCES AND THE INTRODUCTION OF A PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO MAINTAIN THE SITUATION UNTIL LEBANON IS STABLE. THERE ALSO WILL HAVE TO BE A REALISTIC TIMEFRAME FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN FORCES. WE SHOULD BEGIN PROMPTLY, HOWEVER, TO CONSIDER THE ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF A PEACEKEEPING FORCE.

AS REGARDS THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE PEACEKEEPING FORCE, AN OBJECTIVE WE SHARE, I FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT ISRAEL SEES UNIFIL AS BEING INADEQUATE TO THE TASK AND PREFERS A MULTINATIONAL FORCE. I HONESTLY BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT MAY WELL BE EASIER TO REORDER AND STRENGTHEN UNIFIL THAN TO START FROM SCRATCH ON A MULTINATIONAL FORCE. BUT I AM OPEN TO YOUR SUGGESTIONS.

MENACHEM, OUR EFFORTS TO REALIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES NOW BEFORE US IN LEBANON COMPLEMENT OUR OVERRIDING GOAL OF

ENHANCING THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. MY COMMITMENT TO THAT REMAINS ABSOLUTELY FIRM. THE QUALITATIVE SUPERIORITY OF ISRAEL, COMPARED TO ITS NEIGHBORS, WAS DEMONSTRATED BEYOND ANY DOUBT IN AND ABOVE THE BEKAA VALLEY. AS I HAVE STATED MANY TIMES, WE ARE COMMITTED TO HELP YOU MAINTAIN THAT SUPERIORITY.

BUT YOU MUST HAVE ENOUGH CONFIDENCE IN US SO THAT WE CAN PURSUE OUR BROADER OBJECTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. YOUR ACTIONS IN LEBANON HAVE SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THOSE ARAB GOVERNMENTS WHOSE COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL TO PROTECT THE MIDDLE EAST FROM EXTERNAL THREATS AND TO COUNTER FORCES OF SOVIET-SPONSORED RADICALISM AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM NOW GROWING WITHIN THE REGION. THESE GOVERNMENTS ARE PUTTING CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON ME RIGHT NOW. AS YOU KNOW, THEY WANT TO SEE ISRAEL PUNISHED FOR ITS ACTIONS IN LEBANON. U.S. INFLUENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD, OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE OUR STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES, HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY ISRAEL'S ACTIONS. NONETHELESS, I AM DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THOSE ARAB FRIENDS, PARTICULARLY SAUDI ARABIA, JORDAN AND OMAN, AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO IMPROVE THEM.

THE BASIC POLICY OBJECTIVES OF MY ADMINISTRATION HAVE NOT CHANGED -- TO STRENGTHEN THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS, AND TO HELP ISRAEL ACHIEVE PEACE WITH ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS.

I AM PREPARED TO EXPEND CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL CAPITAL IN ORDER TO HELP MEET ISRAEL'S BASIC NEEDS IN LEBANON. THIS MEANS STANDING FIRM IN THE FACE OF EUROPEAN AND ARAB PRESSURE TRYING

TO FORCE A MORE PRECIPITATE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. I AM ALSO TAKING THE LEAD IN FORGING AN INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT TO RESTORE AND STRENGTHEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN LEBANON AND TO SUPPORT A CREDIBLE PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO POLICE A BUFFER ZONE AND KEEP THE PLO OUT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THAT PROBLEM CAN BE RESOLVED.

HOWEVER, I MUST HAVE FROM YOU EXPLICIT COMMITMENTS THAT ISRAEL WILL TAKE THOSE STEPS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS. A BREAKTHROUGH ON AUTONOMY COULD PREEMPT WHAT REMAINS OF THE PLO, FURTHER ISOLATE SYRIA, AND LEAVE THE SOVIETS OUT IN THE COLD. IT COULD DEFUSE THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE IN ITS MOST TROUBLESOME ASPECTS AND SET THE STAGE NOT ONLY FOR BROADER ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE, WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD CHANGE THE OVERALL POLITICAL BALANCE IN THE AREA. WE MEAN TO PRESS HARD FOR SUCH A BREAKTHROUGH WHICH, I BELIEVE, WOULD VINDICATE YOUR MOVE IN LEBANON IN A MUCH BROADER AND HISTORIC SENSE.

NOW THAT THE PLO LEADERSHIP IN BEIRUT HAS BEEN DECIMATED, WE MUST ATTRACT SOME WEST BANK PALESTINIAN LEADERS INTO THE PROCESS. I HOPE ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION POLICIES IN THE WEST BANK WILL BE RELAXED IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS PARTICIPATION IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO DRAW JORDAN TOWARD THE ROLE WE ENVISAGED FOR IT IN THE BAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS. WE MUST MOVE WISELY IN THE PERIOD AHEAD, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF EGYPT'S GROWING INFLUENCE AMONG THE PALESTINIANS AND WITH JORDAN. FROM MY DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ALI LAST WEEK, I AM

CONVINCED THAT, DESPITE THE LEBANON CRISIS, EGYPT REMAINS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE PEACE TREATY AND TO THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS.

OUR SUCCESS IN ENHANCING THE U.S. STRATEGIC POSTURE IN THE REGION AND IN MAKING STRIDES IN THE PEACE PROCESS ARE ALSO CERTAINLY IN ISRAEL'S INTEREST OVERALL. FROM TIME TO TIME I MAY TAKE ACTIONS WITH WHICH YOU DO NOT AGREE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE WILL BE PROVIDING MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO THOSE ARAB NATIONS WHO HAVE COME TO RELY ON US, SUCH AS JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA, FOR THE MEANS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. BUT I BELIEVE THIS STRENGTHENS ARAB CONFIDENCE IN US, IMPROVES OUR STRATEGIC POSITION, AND ENCOURAGES THEM TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE. I DON'T EXPECT YOU TO COME OUT AND APPROVE THIS, BUT FOR HEAVEN SAKES, PLEASE DON'T OPPOSE US. I WANT AGAIN TO STRESS MY COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE. OUR ULTIMATE PURPOSE IS TO CREATE "MORE EGYPTS" READY TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL. SIMILARLY, IN THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS, WE WILL HAVE DIFFERENCES ON CERTAIN KEY QUESTIONS.

BUT WE WILL CONSULT FULLY WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT ON ALL OF THESE MATTERS BEFORE WE TAKE POSITIONS OR ACTIONS CONTRARY TO YOUR PREFERENCES. OBVIOUSLY, WE WILL ONLY CONSIDER TAKING SUCH ACTIONS WHEN I AM PERSONALLY CONVINCED THEY ARE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THE OVERALL OBJECTIVES IN THE BROADER STRATEGIC ARENA OR TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IN RETURN, I WOULD HOPE THAT YOUR REACTIONS REFLECT AN APPRECIATION THAT THE VITAL INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR NATIONS ARE SERVED BY MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND KEY ARAB NATIONS.

50 ב.3

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

טלגרם	מברק
דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים	
סדר בטחוני שמור	
דחיפות	
תאריך דו"ח: 21.1.44 יוני 82	
מס' מברק 495	

אלון

ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א

פגישות רה"מ בקונגרס.

1. רה"מ קבל במלונו את המורשים היהודים. נכחו בובי פידלר, ברני פרנק, מרטין פרוסט, סאם גיידנסון, בן גילמן, דן גליקמן, ביל גרין, ביל ליהמן, לויטס, מרקס, ריצ'מונד, בן רוזנטל, גיים שוייר, סטיב סולרז, וולפה, לנטוס וטד וייס.

2. רה"מ סיפר למשתתפים על רוח שיחתיו עם הנשיא ושבח את הצהרת הנשיא לגבי פתרון הבעיה הלבנונית. רה"מ התמקד בדיווחים המעוותים של התקשורת שניפחו את מספר הנפגעים והדגיש כי ישראל פעלה מתוך הגנה עצמית. רה"מ ציין כי התרשמותו הינה כי העם האמריקני מקבל פעולת ישראל בהבנה והקהילה היהודית מאוחדת ונלהבת בתמיכתה בישראל. עמד על משמעות הנצחון הצבאי כנגד הנשק הסובייטי והביע נכונות להתחלק במידע ולקחים עם ארה"ב. נצחונה של ישראל הינו של כל המערב. רה"מ פנה למורשים וביקשם לדבר בקול רם כנגד הדיווחים המעוותים ולהציג את האמת בפני הצבור הרחב. רה"מ אמר כי כוח רב לאומי תחת פקוח או"ם איכזב מאחר והארגון הינו אנטי ישראלי. רה"מ מצדד בכוח רב לאומי עם השתתפות אמריקנית. השתתפות אמריקנית הגיונית לנוכח הנוכחות הסובייטית באזור ולנוכח ה - prepositioning של ציוד סובייטי בארצות ערב.

3. המורשה מרקס ציין כי אם חייל אמריקני יהרג במזה"ת:
Many of us ,here,in this room are going to be in a lot of trouble
רה"מ השיב כי מבין הדאגה לאפשרות נפילת חיילים אמריקניים. ישראל לא רוצה שחיילי ארה"ב ימותו עבורה. אנו מבכים אבדן חיי אדם, אולם עלינו להיות נכונים לקבל החלטות קשות. פגיעה בחיילנו קשה מאד עבורי. נכון, אני עדיין חי את הטראומה של השואה. עם זאת, אנא תשקלו השתתפות אמריקנית אם הממשל יבקש זאת. זו החלטתכם, אולם היו אמיצים.

4. סולרז שיבח הופעת רוה"מ בבית ושאל אם ישראל תבקש נסיגת סוריה. רה"מ ציין כי דרישה זו מקובלת על כולם, לרבות נשיא ארה"ב.
רוזנטל רצה לדעת מה גודל הכוח הרב לאומי הדרוש. רה"מ השיב שמדובר על - 10,000 חייל אולם אפשר להסכים גם על - 6-7,000 חייל. כוח זה חייב לסייע בהבטחת הבטחון הפנימי ולמנוע הסתננות אש"פ. ישראל רוצה במו"מ עם הממשלה הלבנונית. רוזנטל ביקש לדעת אם ישראל תיסוג רק אם יוקם כר"מ. רה"מ - אפשר לדבר על נסיגה במקביל להקמת הכוח.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ט ל ק ס ס ב ר ק

דף. 2 מתוך. 2 דפים

סוג בטחוני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך דז"ח.....

מס' מברק.....495

5. ברני פרנק התמקד במצב בשטחים, הגורמים לדבריו לכרסום בתמיכה בישראל. זהו זמן מתאים להשיג התקדמות בתהליך המדיני. רה"מ טען כי התשובה שלו הינה אוטונומיה. גם לויטס ביקש לדעת השלכות המבצע הלבנוני על סכויי האוטונומיה ומה תהיה תגובת ברה"מ והגורמים האיסלמיים הפונדמנטליסטים. בתשובתו רה"מ סיפר על חילופי השדרים עם ברה"מ. באשר לסכנת הפונדמנטליזם האיסלמי רה"מ הסכים כי הוא מציב סכנה. כאן סיפר רה"מ על הנשק שנמכר לאירן, תוך האום עם ארה"ב. באשר למצב בשטחים, רה"מ מעריך כי עתה יותר גורמים מתונים ירצו לשתף פעולה כדי לכונן האוטונומיה.

6. גילמן ביקש לדעת מה תגובת מדינות ערב לנוכח החלטתו הצבאית של אש"פ. רה"מ ציין כי מלבד מס שפתיים הוא מעריך כי ישנה שמחה והקלה במדינות כגון: מצרים, ירדן, סעודיה, עומאן. כולם שמחים משום שחששו מאש"פ.

בתום השיחה שוחח רה"מ קצרות עם וולפה, טולרז על נושא זאיר.

עד כאן.

קני-טל

ת א

מאבי

שיה קשה מאד סרה שהבל גנב אגנב בקשו
בגר רק אמן

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

טלפס	מברק
דף 1 מתוך 1 דפים	
סדר בטחוני שמור	
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ח: 21.1133 יוני 82	
מס' מברק 490	

אמ"ן

מצפ"א

לבנון - קונגרס.

ועדת החוץ של הסנט המליצה על סיוע הומניטרי ללבנון בסך 50 מיליון דולר (ב-30 מיליון יותר מבקשת הממשל אשר אושרה על ידי ועדת הבית).

במהלך הדיון לחצו סנטורים, ובמיוחד גלן, על נציג הממשל בשאלה מתי יקבע הממשל מסקנתו אם ישראל הפרה החוק האמריקני או הסכמים. נציג הממשל לא ידע להשיב ותחת לחץ אמר אולי תוך חודש. סנטור זורינסקי התלונן שאין לממשל מנוף לשליטה על ההתפתחויות.

לשאלות רבות על מצב האוכלוסיה בלבנון השיב נציג הממשל שאין לו מידע, כולל המצב בבית החולים האמריקני (האוניברסיטאי) בבירות.

סנטור צונגאס העלה שאלות בדבר שמוש בידי ישראל בפצצת מצרר (C.B.U) טען שזה נוגד הבטחה של ישראל לא להשתמש בפצצות אלו. נציג הממשל השיב ששאלו את ישראל אך עוד לא קבלו תשובה.

אולקלה.

שלח אלוהה רחמ אחרים בתוך מנוע המלא מתבו אלדר אחלב בדיבון שמחים בהתנפיין. נמחה, בלמ מחר רמ אמן אהבתו/מנגבה

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

325/477

ט ו ס ב מ ב ר ה

דף 1 מתוך 3 דפים

סוג נושאני סודי

דחיפות בהול לבוקר

תאריך ד"ח 62בינואר11130

מס' שברק

שר האוצר/דע: מנכ"ל האוצר, המנכ"ל, יועץ כלכלי, משהביט

אבי

להלן הנייר שרוהים לקח עמו לפגישה עם הנשיא במטרה להגישו כתזכיר המרכז בקצרה צרכינו הכלכליים.

הלפרין

שהה סלטהה רהב סלרהב אנל אלאנל אלפו בנאוין בלכלי שבהאולי אנל אולי רבינטין

3 pgs 2

21 June 1982

MEMORANDUM ON ECONOMIC NEEDS

1. AID

Israel requests the implementation of the resolution of the Foreign Relations Committee on the Foreign Aid Bill, FY 82, namely:

Increase of military assistance to the sum of 1.7 billion dollars, of which one half ($850,000,000) would be in the form of grants. The economic aid (ESF) to be increased to $910,000,000, covering the debt service by Israel to the USG.

2. FREE TRADE AREA

In order to decrease its dependence on foreign aid Israel is striving to expand its exports worldwide and particularly to the United States. To facilitate the trade between the two countries Israel proposes the establishment of a Free Trade Area (FTA) arrangement between them. By this arrangement both Governments would reduce customs tariffs on a reciprocal basis. This was to have been one of the subjects for discussion with Ambassador William Brock during his planned visit to Israel which was unfortunately postponed. The Government of Israel hopes that the visit will take place in the very near future.

../2

3 עמ' 3

3. DEFENSE TRADE

It is Israel's hope that the economic sanctions in the area of defense trade will be soon rescinded, enabling Israel to thereby export to the United States on a competitive basis military hardware amounting to no less than $200,000,000 per annum.

4. USE OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR LOCAL PROCUREMENT

Faced by the continuing inflow of sophisticated weaponry to Arab countries from both the West and the East, Israel must further develop its own arms industry to sustain its qualitative edge. To contribute to this goal the USG is asked to agree to the conversion of $150,000,000 in FY 82 and $250,000,000 in FY 83 from its military assistance loans into Israeli Sheckels. This will enable Israel, inter alia, to proceed with the development of the Lavi fighter aircraft.

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ס ר פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 1 דפים

סדרג בסתרנ.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך דז"ח.....

מס' מברק 478

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING JUNE 21, 1982

U.S. POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL

STATEMENT: No change in American position. We want a strong central Lebanese authority; we want the foreign troops out. We do note, however, that this is a delicate moment in discussions within Lebanon, there is a risk that if the various parties cannot come to terms the fighting will be renewed, under these circumstances it would not be productive to comment further from here.

PERTINENT RESPONSES TO ABOVE STATEMENT AND RELATED ISSUES.

--- Romberg discharges the allegation that Habib has met with PLO officials. He elicits that U.S. policy remains unchanged toward discussions, negotiations with PLO representatives. No direct talk nor contact has been initiated with the Palestinians about anything.

--- Question was raised in reference to a report which stated Weinberger yesterday on T.V. said it was incorrect to assume that Mr. Haig who has refused to criticize Israel was speaking for the administration.

Romberg's response to the above: "Other than that I don't think he addressed himself in those terms, I looked through the record of what he said and I did not see any inconsistencies between what he said and what secretary Haig has said."

Question: Lets take it beyond Weinburger; does the Secretary speak for the administration?

Romberg's response: " Of course".

--- U.S. is looking into a variety of opportunities to maintain the cease fire. Refuses to comment further as to the details.

--- U.S. is not facilitating an evacuation of Lebanon; the evacuation per se has been of a voluntary departure.

***

- ל' -

שרה סלשרה רמה סלרמה שמיע מנכל מנכל מנכל מנכל מנכל מנכל מנכל
רמ אמן

16

מחלקת הדשה - ניו - יורק

אל: סגנכ"ל, מנהל הפרצות, מנהל מצפ"א

דע: השגריר, חורוביץ - וושינגטון

מאת: מ/קונכ"ל ניו יורק

כופס מברק צפון

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סיווג בטחוני: עמבר

דחיפות: מיידי

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

תאריך תז"ח: 21/4/05

מס' מברק: 757-135

פגישת רוה"מ עם נציגי הארגונים היהודיים

ב-19 ביוני נפגש רוה"מ עם 21 ממנהיגי התנועה הציונית בארה"ב בהסות ח-איי.זי.אף. ראש המשלחת היה הרב מילר והשתתפה בה בין השאר פרידה לואים, נשיאת חדסה.

להלן עיקרי הפגישה

1. צה"ל גילה כמויות אדירות של נשק בשטח שנכבש על ידו בלבנון. הכמויות הפתיעונו . בכירון שהם מגיעות לפי עשר מהכמויות שאותם חזינו מראש.
2. בכשל התגבשות שתי קבוצות : האחת ידידותית מאד כלפינו (המזכיר הייג והשגרירה קירפטריק) והשניה ממש עוינת ומעונינת שנוותר על פרות הנצחון (ויינברגר ואחרים). סגן הנשיא בוש גילה ידידות בשלבים ראשונים, אך בימים האחרונים השתנתה גישתו מקום מה. בשלב זה יד הידידים על העליונה.
3. הקהילה היהודית מאוחדת בתמיכתה במישראל והתרשמות רוה"מ היא שכליוני נוצרים (בעיקר אנגליסטים) תומכים בנו גם כן. רוה"מ ציין שהתרשמותו נובעת מפגישה עם קבוצת מנהיגים נוצריים ביום ששי ה-18.6.
4. רוה"מ ציין שבפגישתו עם מזכיר המדינה ב-18.6 הביע המזכיר חשש שלרוה"מ עלולה להיות בעיה בקהילה היהודית ושאלו מה התרשמותו. רוה"מ ענה שהתרשמותו הברורה היא שהקהילה היהודית מאוחדת בתמיכתה בישראל. תגובת המזכיר היתה שהוא שמח לשמוע זאת.
5. בהלך הפגישה אמר נציג הנועה הנוער שהקהילה היהודית מאוחדת ביחסה לפעולת צה"ל להסרת האיום מהצפון, ובהכרה שצה"ל פעל בצורה הומנית ביותר. מאידך, קיימה אי נוחות בקרב הקהילה לגבי השלבים האחרים של פעולת צה"ל, ולגבי עמדת ממישראל כלפי פתרון הבעיה הפלשתינאית בכללותה. אחד הנציגים שאל האם הציבור בישראל מאוחד מאחורי המשלה. רוה"מ ענה בחיוב וציין את דברי ח"כ אמרי רון על טוהר הנשק של צה"ל. רוה"מ קרא לקהילה היהודית, ובעיקר לארגונים הציוניים, לפעול בקרב הממשל באמצעות מכתבים, מברקים ושיבור משלחות, וכן ע"י מתן מודעות בעתונות הגדולה כגון הניו יורק טיימס. רוה"מ ציין שהממשל התרשם חיובית מפעילות זו.
6. אוטונומיה - רוה"מ הדגיש שישראל הציעה אוטונומיה מלאה ומעונינת להגשימה. רוה"מ ציין שצרפת העניקה אוטונומיה לקורסיקה, אספניה - לסירול ובלגיה לוולונים , ושהאוטונומיה שישראל מציעה מרחיקה לכת אף יותר מ-3 דוגמאות אלו. בתשובה לאחד

תאריך: _____ השולח: _____ אישור מנהל המחלקה: _____ חתימה: _____

בחלקת הקשר ניו יורק

טופס מברק צפון

אל: _____

דע: _____

מאת: _____

דף 2 מתוך 2 דפים

סיווג במהרני: שמור

דחיפות: מיידי

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

תאריך הז"ח:

מס' מברק: 757-135

השואלים - כיצד הוכל ישראל להתקיים עם שני מליון ערבים, ענה רוה"מ שערביי א"י ביו"ש ובעזה לא יהיו אזרחים ישראליים(פרט לאלו שיבחרו בכך) ולכן הסכנה הנ"ל אינה קיימת. רוה"מ ציין שניסיוננו מלמד שערביי א"י מצביעים בעד מפלגות יהודיות שונות וכך בודאי יעשו ערביי יו"ש ועזה שיבחרו באזרחות ישראלית. רוה"מ הוסיף שלדובמא ישנם בישראל מאה אלף אזרחים אמריקאיים ואחרים שאינם מצביעים. זה יהיה המצב גם לגבי תושבי האוטונומיה.

7. האוכלוסיה האזרחית בלבנון - רוה"מ הבהיר שהמספרים מוגזמים ביותר וישראל עושה מעל ומעבר כדי להקל עליהם ולהחזיר החיים להקנם.

8. צרפת - מיטראן הינו ידיד אמיתי, אך לצערו בהקשר לבנון עמדתה של צרפת נוגדת לשלנו. רוה"מ העביר בקורת על דברי רוה"מ של אנגליה שהשווה פעולת של"ג לפלישת ארגנטינה באיי פוקלאנד.

בר נר

שהיו מושחתת והלא מורה אנחנו אינם אנשי תפיסות

בר נר 21.6.82 8

תאריך: _____ חשולה: _____ אישור מנהל המחלקה: _____ החתמה: _____

1461
** יוצא סודי
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אל: וש, נר: 750, מ : המשרד
דח: מ, סג: ס, מא: 200682, רח: 1900
נד: נשק אמריקאי-שלייג

אבי

סודי/מיידי

ארנס.

ראה נא את מרבדו של היועץ המשפטי לגבי סוגית השמוש בנשק אמריקאי במבצע שלייג:-

''1. נציג מחמיד אמר ליועץ שגרירותנו (נר 371) כי ש לחץ על מחמיד למסור הודעה לפיה '' יתכן והיה שמוש בלתי חוקי בנשק אמריקני'' וכי יתכן ויאלצו למסור הודעה כזו. לעומת זאת דובר הבית הלבן (נר 374) נתן לכאורה להבין שתגובת הממשל איננה שלילית.
2. בוכור, על השמוש בנשק אמריקני, לפי הסכם 23.7.1952, להיות בין השאר ל- LEGITIMATE SELF - DEFANCE של ישראל, וזה המיעון שבו אנו משתמשים לגבי פעולותינו.

3. מאז 1970 היו התייחסויות הממשל לנושא זה. בנראה הראשונה התייחסה לשימוש במתואר להלן בלבנון. בוכור, בקיץ 1981 היו התיחסויות לנושא זה בקשר להפצצת הבור העיראקי ולהפצצה בביירות.
4. א. בעקבות מבצע ליטאני שלח הממשל (5.4.78) לקונגרס, מכתב בחתימת המזכיר וואנס (אל יוייר ביהיינ) לגבי שמוש בנשק אמריקני בלבנון
בפיסקה הרלבנטית נאמר בלהלן:

IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES , I MUST REPORT THAT A VIOLATION OF THE 1952 AGREEMENT MAY HAVE OCCURED BY REASON OF THE ISRAELI OPERATIONS IN LEBANON

הוסבר ע''י מזכיר המדינה לשגריר דיניץ כי זו לשון ''ספסוטרית'' (דהיינו, מתאימה ללשון החוק האמריקני).

עם זאת לא המליץ המציר לקונגרס על שום פעולה נוספת.
ב. הנוסח MAY HAVE OCCURED הוא בנראה ה"יתכן" שאליו מתייחס מברק וושינגטון (והו נוסח ששימש מאז ואילך).
ג. המאמצים ב- 1978 למנוע פרסום זה לא עלו יפה. אך לפי דיווחי השגרירות דאז רוכן הנוסח במידה מסויימת. מנוסח קודם קונקלוסיבי יותר.
ד. הנוסח המקורי בשיומה האמריקנית אי דיבר על SUBSTANTIAL VIOLATION (הפרה מהותית) שהיא בעצם לשונו המדוייקת של סעיף החוק לפיקוח על ייצוא נשק, האוסר על מתן אשראי למדינה המפרה "הפרה מהותית את ההסכם עימה בקשר לשימוש בנשק. לעומת זאת בסעיף המדבר על מכירות במומן או אספקות. מציר "הפרות" בלי התוספת של המילה " SUBSTANTIAL ".

ה. על הנשיא חובת דיווח לקונגרס במקרה של הפרות גאלא אם כן לדעתו לא היתה הפרה והשימוש היה בחוק למשל ב"הגנה עצמית לגיטימית".
ו. נדמה לי שבדאי להנחות את השגרירות להביע עמדתנו ולהסביר ענין ההגנה העצמית הלגיטימית ויתר ניסוקינו.
ז. הדבר רצוי כדי להשיג אולי שהעמדה שהציג הבית הלבן תשמר, ויחליטו שלא היתה הפרה, או לבל היותר תהיה הודעה מרוכבת של מתמ"יד לקונגרס".

אני תמים דעה עם היועץ המשפטי לגבי הנאמר בסעיפי ו' ו' ונראה לי שבדאי לפעול בהתאם.

בראון.

אא/מפ/=

מפ: שהח,קשהח,רהמ,מרהמ,שהבס,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרבי,רמ,אמן,
ממת,מצפא,רובינשטיין

1444
** יוצא סודי
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אל: וש , ני , נר: חורם 954, מ : המשרד
דת: ר, סג: ס, תא: 200682, ות: 1500
נד: לבנון-סיוע ביל"

סודי/דגיל

שג' וושינגטון

דע:נאו"ם

לבנון-סיוע בינלאומי.

מפי היועץ הבכיר של שג' ארה"ב המקיים איתי קשרי תאום בנוגע לסיוע לדרום לבנון:

1.דיבר מחמ"ד נמנע מכניסה לפרטים בכל הנוגע למצב האוכלוסיה בלבנון ומסתפק באמירה שנפגעו (AFFECTED) אלפים רבים בכורבו יחד הרוגים פצועים וחסרי בית.
סיפרתי לו על דברי פיטר מקפרסון ב- A.B.C NIGHTLINE בליל שבת שעליהם שמעתי במיקרה.

2.בהמשך למיוע הקודם נשלח מ/756 הביא לידיעתי ההנחיות שגובשו בינתיים:

א.מטארה"ב החליטה לפעול תחת מטריה בינלאומית כשראש"ים התפקיד הראשי (LEADERSHIP ROLE) ארה"ב לא תעשה דבר בפני עצמה. רק תישאר הגישה האמריקנית עד אשר מטבנון תוכל לקבל עצמה את האחריות ואז במובן עשויים להשתנות הדברים.
ב.שאל ביצד הגבנו על בקשת האו"ם לשגר קבוצת סקר (SURVEY

TEAM) השבח' מה שכתוב בטבתב בדום למרכ'יל. אמר: U.S.G.
URGES G.O.I. TO COOPERATE WITH UN EFFORT AND TO GIVE
RAPID AND POSITIVE RESPONSE TO UN REQUEST FOR SURVEY TEAM

ג. שאל מה המצב עם פניות מסו'ית ואוניפיל בנוגע להושמת סיוע מצידם. נענית: מסו'ית לא ניתנת עדיין תשובה. אוניפיל רשאי להגיש כל סיוע שהוא רוצה בתחום פעולתו אך לא מתוצה רו.
ד. שאל האם עובדי שג' ארה'ב מביירות יודשו להכנס לשטחים שבהחזקת צה'ל בלבנון כמילוי תפקידם הבטחתי לבדוק.
ה. שאל האם נתנגד ליציאתם מטערב ביירות של עובדי מסו'ית המבקשים לערוב ולעבור למקומות אחרים (עובדי מסו'ית הם פלסטינים, עובדי אקונ'יא הם בעלי רקע מגוון). הבטחתי לברר.
ו. סיפר לי על פעלתנות בינלאומית מדהימה ללא כל קשר עם המציאות בלבנון, בגון תוכנימה של קרן המרון העולמית להביא מרון ללבנון.

ז. הערבה: הרשמתי שההחלטה על ההשתלבות האמריקנית במאמץ האו'מ' אינה מ'קרית. לא נובל לצפות לסיוע אמריקני במאבקנו נגד השמצות. לסיוע בגין מצב האוכלוסיה האזרחית אלא אם נשתף פעולה עם גורמים בינלאומיים בעניני סיוע. מאו הבטחת ראש הממשלה לתביב לשתף פעולה עבר כבר יותר משבוע. בקרוב מאד נצטרך גם לפעול ברוח הבטחה זו
אליצור. ===

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהם, סרהם, שהבם, מנכל, מסנכל, סמנכל, ממת, רם, אמן, ארבו1, ארבו2, ארבו3, מצפא

ריסוק ישראל

סלם

15 ש ר 1/1615

בהול

ט' 181400 2927 יוני 82 בהול - אר בטי אם ני משנ===

סודי ביותר/בהול

אר יקבלו סודי ביותר

סגנ דהמי ארליכ

הנדון: שיחת רהמי עם המזכיר הייג, ניו יורק 18.6.82 במלון וולדורף אסטוריה בשעה 8:00 בבוקר.

בצד האמריקני: לואיס, וליוטיס, פישר. בצד הישראלי: ארנס, בלום, שגיא, פורת, אבנר נבו.

מאחר חילופי ברכות ביקש רהמי מאלוף שגיא להסביר את מהלך מבצע שלום הגליל מראשיתו. שגיא, תוך התייחסות למפות, ניתח את מהלך הקרבות והלחימה הצבאיים של צהיל. תוך כדי ההסבר פיבל רהמי שדר משר הבטחון ביטר העדכניות של מאות מחבלים (מבנגלדש ואיראן) האזור עכ"ל. רהמי מדר על כך למזכיר. שגיא הסביר את המשמעות האפשרית של חתפתחות זו. הוא הדגיש בין היתר שיתכנו צעדים דומים מעבר לקוי הנוצרים שנועדו סדש את הקשר בין המחבלים הנצורים בבירות לבין הצבא הסורי שבבקעה.

רהמי הסביר כי הבעיה האמיתית המשותפת, לנו ולאמריקנים, היא הצורך סקמת ממשלה לבנונית יציבה שתוכל להשליט סדר. בהתייחסו מבירות הדגיש רהמי שוב כי אין לישראל כל כוונה להכנס לתוך בירת לבנון, הן בגלל לתחייבותנו לא לנקוט בצעד זה והן מאחר ולדעתנו המתרחש עתה תעדים בירות הוא בגדר אחריותה של ממשלת לבנון. אמנם הצבא הלבנוני אינו חזק דיו אך מתפקידו להשליט סדר באותו חלק של הבירה אשר מוחזק בידי כח זר. ישראל נענתה לבקשת ארזיב לנצור את נשקה למשך יומיים ועל כך קיימת החלטת ממשלה. אבל אין ישראל יכולה לשאת באחריות לפעילותם של כוחות מזויינים אחרים (צבא לבנון או כוחות בשיר). השאלה היא האם לתת למעוז הטרוריסטי הזה להמשיך ולהתקיים. עמדת ישראל היא סובנ שאין לאפשר זאת ולדעתה ניתנ לסלו. רק בדרך זו יהיה אשפי מנורק מנשקו, וגורם הזמנ הוא חיוני ביותר.

הייג העיר כי המאמצ הלבנוני במגעים עם אשפי נועד לנצל את 48 השעות כדי להגיע לעסקה שתאפשר לצבא הלבנוני להכנס לשטח תוך נסיגה שקטה של המחבלים. אך התנגדות המחבלים החריפה וחביב עוסק בנושא זה עכשיו מוקדם עדיין לדעת אם עמדת המחבלים תשאר קשוחה. הייג הביע דעה כי תודעות הפומביות של הימים האחרונים תרמו לעמדה זו. גם חיזוק הכוחות בכביש בירות-דמשק לכיוונ מזרח הביא לכך שהמחבלים יקשיחו עמדתם. הייג אמר כי הכי רצוי הוא שסילוק שבעת אלפי המחבלים בדרום בירות יבוצע עיי ממשלת לבנון בשקט אך הוא הביע ספק אם הדבר ניתנ.

שלום טגיא אמר שמצבו של עדפאת בכי רע וכי אנו שומעים בכיותיו בשדורי חידיו בקריאותיו לעזרה. השאלה הקיימת היא איך להגיע את עדפאת לסגת מזירות ללא אלימות. ישראל הציע לו יציאה מהמקום מכביש בירות-דמשק. הוא גם יכול לצאת מהצפון דרך גיוני לכיוון מדיפולי. לואיס שאל כמה זמן יעבור עד אשר יחליטו המחבלים על צעדיהם הבאים. טגיא השיב כי התשובה ככך היא פוליטית, לאחור, כי אם הם יסיקו שאתם לוחצים עליהם זה יהווה גורם בהלך מחשבתם.

רהמי עבר לנושא המדיני במקירת נושא כח בינלאומי והאפשרות שארהיב תשתתף בו. הוא הדגיש את הצורך שכח זה יהיה העל עצמה. הוא הזכיר כי לפני זמן מה נתנו לו להבין כי יתכן וארהיב תהיה מעוניינת להחזיק יחידות משלה בלבנון, אך עדב צאתו מהארץ, נרמז לו כי ארהיב איננה מעוניינת להשתתף בין היתר בגלל התנגדות אפשרית של הקונגרס. רהמי אמר כי ישראל איננה דורשת השתתפות כח אמריקני. רהמי הרחיב בהסברו מדוע ישראל מתנגדת ליוניפיל. הוא אמר שהוא מזדהה לגמרי עם דברי הנשיא דיגן בפרלמנט הדרומי שם אמר בין היתר כי יש לעקור את מגיפת הטרור אך אין ביכולתו של יוניפיל לשרת מטרה זו הן בגלל הרכבו והן בגלל הרכב עמדת האו"ם ומועביט. בכל מקרה לדעת ישראל מנכיל הכח צריך להיות אמריקני וישראל רוצה לחתום הסכם הן עם הכח בכללותו והן עם כל מדינה המשתתפת בו. רהמי אמר שישראל תגיש הצעות מפורטות בנדון. ישראל ביקשה מהמזכיר שישראל וארהיב יפעלו יחד לקדם הקמת הכח הבינלאומי. הייג הודיע כי הבעיה המיידית היא להבטיח את חידוש המנדט של יוניפיל מיטוי של האחריות הבינלאומית. באשר לכח הרב לאומי הייג הזכיר כי לאור נסיונו בהקמת הכח בסיני יודע הוא עד כמה קשה להקים כח מעין זה. הוא אמר שהוא אינו יכול לדבר עכשיו בשם הנשיא בנושא זה אך הוא בטוח כי הנשיא יעשה כל הדרוש אם יהיה בכך כדי להביא לידי שינוי. הוא אמר כי קיימת התנגדות חזקה בקונגרס למעורבות ארהיב בלבנון. גם במקרה של סיני היתה התנגדות כזו אך הצלחנו להתגבר הודות לנסיבות. הוא הביע דעה כי ארהיב תהיה מוכנה להצטרף לכח הרב לאומי ויתכן כי גם הפיגיים. הוא אמר כי אם תקום ממשלה לבנונית חזקה תהיה לכך השלכה חיובית על עתיד שיטור השטחים בכל מקרה הוא חושב שמוקדם עדיין
להחלטה החלטות סופיות בדבר הפתרון הכולל של בעית חגורת הבטחון.
הקמת ממשלה לבנונית חזקה, והוצאת המחבלים והסורים, אני רואה כבית חיל חשובה. הייג אמר שאלה יהיו מהנושאים שרהמי בודאי ירצה לשוחח ישירות עם הנשיא. הייג גילה כי הנושא כבר נדון במועצה לבטחון לאומי. עמדת ארהיב היא שיש צורך להשיג פתרונות קונקרטיים בעתיד הקרוב ביותר.

בתום השיחה נוודו רהמי והמזכיר הייג לשיחה בארבע עיניים.

אנר====

שיחה פרטית ולא סודית שרהמי מנהל אונלל.

55

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד, ניו-יורק

טלפס מברק

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סווג בשתדני. גלוי....

דחיפות....

תאריך וז"ח: 18.06.1700 יוני 82

מס' מברק 86/455

ממנב"ל, מצפ"א, רוה"מ, ניו-יורק

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING -- JUNE 18, 1982

ON THE ISRAELI OPERATION IN LEBANON

In response to questions:

--Habib is still in Beirut, but I don't have anything further on that.

--(On an Arab-American delegation to see Mr. Abrams)--The Executive Director of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, the Reverend Donald Wagonner and the organization's director, Dr. James Zagbi, raised a number of concerns related to the current situation in Lebanon, including the problems of the civilian population in Beirut, Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners captured by the IDF and relief and rescue operations in Southern Lebanon. Mr. Abrams discussed the matters with Rev. Wagonner and Dr. Zagbi, shared information available to him on the situation in Lebanon, and agreed to check into the questions that they had raised with him at the meeting.

--(On the US viewing Palestinian prisoners as P.O.W.'s) -- The Israeli government, to my understanding, has announced that despite the fact that they legally do not consider them POW's, they will give them the same treatment. But I don't know what Mr. Abrams said specifically, and I don't have a position to give you on that.

--(On the US inquiry to ISRAEL on the use of cluster bombs) -- Nothing beyond the fact that as Deputy Assistant Secretary Clevarius said on the hill yesterday, we are making inquiries.

We are trying to confirm whether or not they have been used.

--(On the Israelis preventing the International Red Cross Committee from bringing any supplies, medical treatment to Beirut) -- I wasn't aware personally of that particular report, and I don't have a reaction to it. Obviously we are concerned with the humanitarian efforts in the wake of the fighting and I think we have made some announcements in recent days about what we ourselves will be doing in cooperation with the I.C.R.C., but I just don't have any information about that.

-- Obviously there have been many thousands of people in Lebanon who have been affected, and we are very concerned about it and we have expressed that

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ט ל ק ס ס ב ר ק

דף 2 מתוך 2 דפים

סיווג בטחוני .....

דחיפות .....

תאריך וז"ח .....

מס' מברק 86/455

concern in concrete terms and going forward, with our humanitarian assistance program. We have not offered from here casualty figures of any sort, and I'm not prepared to do it.

—(On the evacuation —departures— of Americans from Beirut) -- I don't think that we would characterize the military departures which have taken place thus far as an evacuation. There has been, as I understand it, perhaps 30 to 50 Americans leaving daily on commercial ships and so on. But there have been no use of US naval vessels for that purpose.

עתונות

שרה סלפרה רחה סלחה מעט מלא שהם סמעם מאת רם אמן
אולם אולם מעל הסברה סיירת

52

מחלקת רחב - בין - יורק

אל: תמשרד

דע:

באה: נאו"ם

טופס מברק צפון

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סיווג ממהונים: סודי

דחיפות: מיידי

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

האריך תז"ח: 181530

מס' מברק: 678

לסנ"ל - אליצור , ארב"ל 2

דע: סש רוה"מ

מלוין.

רוה"מ קיים הבוקר שיחה עם מזכ"ל האו"ם פרז דה קו"ר. השיחה נערכה טרם נאם רוה"מ בעצרת סירוק הנשק. נכחו בה מגן המזכ"ל ארקהרט ומצדנו השגרירים בלום, ארנס ולוין וכן ה"ה קדישאי, אבנר והכט.

1. בפתח השיחה התענין רוה"מ לדעת כיצד מעריך המזכ"ל את המצב שנוצר בארגנטינה בסיום מערכת הפוקלנד. המזכ"ל השיב כי קיימות שלוש אפשרויות: מינוי לנשיאות של גנרל בריסום או אחד משני מפקדי הזרועות האחרים או אפילו אזרח - ייתכן כי החוץ קוסטה מנדס, אשר לו שאיפות מדיניות כנראה. אולם החדשה המעודדת היא הסכמת ארגנטינה לשיבתם של השבויים באוניות בריטיות וארגנטיניות. אולם, הוסיף, בעית הריבונות על האיים בעינה. אתמול ההבטא נשיא ארה"ב ריגן בשיחה עם המזכ"ל שהדרך היחידה היא מו"מ. רוה"מ העיר כי המאורעות המפחיעים של משבר זה מאשרים מחדש כי האדם הוא יותר יצור של רוח מאשר בשר ודם בלבד.

2. רוה"מ ציין ביחס לבעיות ההומניטריות של המצב בלבנון כי דובר על-כך עם ידידנו האמריקאים; חצורך תיאום עמהם מרגו מנכ"ל וסמנכ"ל משה"ח. רוה"מ הוסיף כי הוא מבין שגם האו"ם רוצה להיות שותף - האפשרות קיימת ומזכ"ל משה"ח יתאם זאת. רוה"מ ציין עוד שכמויות גדולות של סיוע רפואי נשלחו ללבנון על-ידינו, כי מספר רב של אנשים הזקוקים לטיפול נקלטו בבתי-חולים בישראל. רוה"מ הוסיף לסיבה המניעה פירסום מספרים כה מוגזמים של נפגעים. ארקהרט ריגיב כאן שהמספרים שפירסמו מתייחסים ללבנון כולה. המזכ"ל התערב באמרו זאת למזוכיזם של התושבים ואילו רוח יוניפיל נתון כולו עתה בטיפול ההומניטרי בלבנונים.

3. רוה"מ שאל מתי מתכוון המזכ"ל להגיע למזה"ת וחציע שיביא עמו את ארקהרט. על-כך הגיב המזכ"ל שאינו רוצה לבוא לאיזור מבלי שתהיה לו האפשרות "להכתיר" ביקורו בהישג. זאת גם לאור הציפיות הגדולות ממזכ"ל או"ם. רוה"מ ציין שכל המזכ"לים הקודמים הגיעו לישראל. דה-קו"יר אמר שיבוא אם "יקבל הדשה טובה". רוה"מ הגיב שמוכן לתת לו החדשה הטובה ביותר, והוסיף שהמזכ"ל יתקבל בישראל בכל הכבוד הראוי לסזכ"ל האו"ם. המזכ"ל ציין שלא היה רוצה לבוא כתייר בלבד הגם שגוף ארץ ישראל קשור אצלו. כמו אצל עמו הפרואני, בהשתית התרבות.

4. המזכ"ל שאל כיצד רואה רוה"מ את עתיד לבנון. רוה"מ הגיע החקוה שהמשבר יתלוף במהרה ויוקם שם ממשל מרכזי בעל יכולת. בשחון ישראל, הוסיף, יכול להיות מובטח רק עם כוח רב-לאומי חזק. המחבלים חדרו דרך יוניפיל . היו אמנם יחידות שפרקו את נשק המחבלים אך לא היתה כל בעיה להשיג קלצ'ניקובים נוספים. אולם לבנון צריכה להיות חופשית וריבונית; אנו מצדנו נכונים להתום עמה מיד הסכם שלום. רוה"מ ציין שהסכם השלום עם מצרים עמד בסבתן למרות כעס המצרים. המזכ"ל העיר כאן שליוניפיל בעיות גדולות: מצד אחד מאשימים אותם באי התנגדות למעבר צה"ל -

תאריך: _____ השולח: _____ אישור מנהל המחלקה: _____ הערה: _____

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סופס מברק צפון

דף 2 מתוך 2 דפים

סיווג בסתרנים:

דחיפות:

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

תאריך תז"ח:

מס' מברק: 678

מחלקת הקשר - ניו - יורק

אל:

רע:

מאת:

- 2 -

מאידך מאשים אותם רוה"מ בחדירת המחבלים. כיצד יהיה זה עם הכות הרב-לאומי? תמרכז בוודאי לקבל אישור לבנון. רוה"מ השיב כי וודאי הדבר וכי הסכמת לבנון דרושה בראש וראשונה. יש עם זאת בעיה עם הסורים והצבא האכזר שלהם. לדוגמא, צירן רוה"מ את ההרס וההרג בעיר חמה כפי עדותו הדבר בעתונות הבינלאומית. רוה"מ סיפר שסאלח היה מתאר אז הנשיא אסד (העומה רושם טוב לדעת מר בגין) כעלוי - איש כה מיעוט הבנוא על שיעים (סוניים) כאחד ויחד עם זאת שולט בסוריה. הסזב"ל התנגדן אם נשארו רק מעט סורים בבירות. רוה"מ השיב כי אכן נשארו לא רבים ששרדו מן המטיבה שהיתה מוצבת שם.

5. השיחה נמשכה כמחצית השעה והתנהלה באווירה רגועה וידידותית.

נאו"ט

שהם מקשרים עם מנהיג שיעי בנמל בלבנון סבנטל בשם רס אלמן
אריבל 2 בלבנון

תאריך: [illegible] השולח: [illegible] אישור מנהל המחלקה: [illegible] חתימה:

55

טרפס מברק	שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
דף..נ..מתוך..נ....דפים	
סדרג בטחוני.גלוי....	אל: המשרד, ניו-יורק
דחיפות....מיידי.....	
תאריך וז"ח: 18 יוני 82	
85/454 עמ' מברק:	

ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, רוה"מ, ניו-יורק

WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING -- JUNE 18, 1982

ON THE ISRAELI OPERATION IN LEBANON AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETINGS WITH SECRETARY HAIG AND PRESIDENT REAGAN:

--I don't know of any meeting that have been scheduled specifically for briefing of the President, but I am sure Reagan will get together with Haig, probably Monday morning, although it is nor formally scheduled yet and with Bill Clark to discuss what the Secretary's talks in New York amounted to. I would guess they will probably talk by phone over the weekend.

--The Middle East and the meeting with Begin is not something that has come to us out of the blue. The Middle East situation has been pending for some time. There is a constant review of Middle East policy within the government, constant detailed review that continues. It is such an issue that has been on the forefront for so long, that it does not require several hours of preparation. He will be updated by phone over the weekend.

--The Secretary met with Prime Minister Begin this morning, Ambassador Habib is meeting on a steady basis with all parties in the Middle East, and I think our views are well known, that we want a cease-fire there, and we are insisting upon a cease-fire.

--We would like a withdrawal of all foreign military operations in Lebanon.

--We are in the process of very sensitive talks on matters relating to that: the overall peace process, the cessation of hostilities and a permanent solution there. So I would not like to address any soecifics at this time.. Because there are talks going on both in New York and the Middle East on that subject.

עתונות

שרה סופר רדה סורדה שמע אולי סמוך מאד רק אמן מלפנו אלא
ניתן הסברת פרטים

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד ירושלים

ט ר פ ס	מ ב ר ק
דף 1 מתוך 1 נפים	
סדר בטחוני סודי	
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ח: 181100 ביוני 1982	
מס' מברק 446	

אל-ל

ב נ צ ו ר .

מייק גייל (צוות הבית הלבן) מוסר כי מדברים אצלם על אפשרות שבמאמצים דיפלומטיים של חביב , מעילי אש"ף יצאו מביירות לדמשק ותוניס.

ס ב ל

שהיה מישהו בדרום סלחה שהיה מנע אלמ מדמו רלבינ מאר רם אמן חבינטאין

BAIB 2

חלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

טופס מברק גלוי

אל: מנכ"ל, יו"ר, מ"מ מנכ"ל, מנהל מבצעים, תפעול, הסברה

רע: השגריר, הפורום - וושינגטון

מאת: א. מר אורי ברנר / ניו יורק

דף ____ מתוך ____ דפים

סיווג בטחוני: בלמ"ס

דחיפות: מיידי

תאריך ולו"ז: 18.8.00

מס. ציר: 130/701

אלפ

נקור רהמי

להלן עקרי דברי רהמי בהופעותיו בפני מועדון הנשיאים, המגבית והבונדס.

1. רהם תאר במפורט הרקע למבצע שלום לגליל: ההפרות המתמידות של אשף מאז יולי 1981, נסיון ההתנקשות בארגוב, תגובת חיל האויר, ההפגזות על ערי הצפון.
מועדון הנשיאים בלבד ציין רהם את פרוש אשף להסכם הפסקת הלוחמה מיולי 1981, וגם את פרוש פיליפ חביב לפיו אסור לאשף לתקוף מדרום לבנון, סוריה ומירדן, אך ההסכם אינו חל על אירופה ועל ארצות חול.
הם ציין שישראל מעולם לא קבלה פרוש זה של חביב, האומר הפקרת ישראלים ויהודים בחול.

2. רהם פרט את השגיו וגבורתו של צהל המבוססים על המוטיביציה של החייל הישראלי. השכל היהודי והוונקן האמריקאי.

3. רהם פרט את טוהר הנשק של צהל ואת המאמצים הגדולים שנעשו שלא לפגוע באזרחים, תוך סכון חיי חיילי צהל.

4. רהם ציין שמבצע שלום לגליל דחא את הטראומה של מלחמת יום הכיפורים.

5. רהם ציין את עליונות שנע"ה המרכבה על ה - T-72, ושמאחר מאמצ של שלוש שנים מצאנו אמצעי מסויים להשמדת הטילים, מבלי שהפסדנו אף טוס אחד, ושבבוא הזמן נתחלק במידע זה עם ידידינו האמריקנים.

6. רהם והדגיש שהסכם השלום עם מצרים עמד במבחן.

7. רהם חזר והדגיש שישראל לא תכנע ללחצים כולל מידידים ושאף לחצ לא יעזור, כי ישראל תתנהג כפי שציכוסלובקיה היתה צריכה להתנהג ב- 1938.
הוא אמר: I BROKE MY LEG BUT MY KNEE IS UNBEND

תאריך: _____ השולח: _____ מיון ענהל המחלקה: _____ חתימה: _____

אל:
דע:
מאת:

דף 2 מתוך 2 דפים
סיווג בטחוני: בלתי מסווג
דחיפות: מיידי
תאריך ושעה: 18.8.100
מס. מברק: 301/301

8. רהם מנה את היעדים המדיניים:

א. הסטטוס קוו אנטה לא יוחזר. אין להרשות לאשם לחזור ולאפשר לו להפגיז ישובינו.
ב. יש להקים ממשלה לבנונית עצמאית וריבונית.
ג. ישראל איננה חומדת אף שעל אדמה לבנונית.
ג. הכרחי לעשות סדורי בטחון שיבטיחו את חיי תושבי הצפון. לשם כך יש ליצור אזור בטחון באזור הנע בין 43-48 קים.
ה. כל עוד סדורי בטחון כאלו לא יעשו, צהל לא יסוג, וישראל תצטרך לשמור על בטחון אזרחיה משני צידי הגבול.
רהם ציין שמקבל את דברי הנשיא רייגן בלונדון, במלואם ולא בחלקם שעל צהל לסגת אך רק לאחר שהטרור יחוסל.
חזר והגדיר את רייגן כ - DEVOTED FRIEND OF ISRAEL
ו. ישראל הציעה אוטונומיה לערביי אי וטעונינת לקדם המום.
רהם ציין שהוא שאל את נשיא צרפת מדוע העניקה צרפת לקורסיקה אוטונומיה ולא עצמאות. הוא שאל את רהם איטליה מדוע העניקה איטליה אוטונומיה לטירול ולא עצמאות. גם בלגיה העניקה לולונים אוטונומיה ולא עצמאות.

9. רהם הדגיש את זכותה של ישראל להגנה עצמית לפי סעיף 51 למגילה. אל מדוע גברת תאצ'ר סבורה שלה הזכות לפעול לפי סעיף זה המרחק 8000 מילים מאנגליה ולרהם אין זכות לעשות זאת מייל אחד מבתי אזרחיו. ישראל אינה מכירה בעקרונות מוסר לפולים מסוג זה.

10. רהם הדגיש את האחדות הלאומית הקיימת בישראל ובהקילה היהודית בהתיכה לישראל.

ד-נר

שרה מושה רחיל מרהם מנכ. ממנכ אדם ל
מ"מ הסברה תפוצה פרטי

תאריך: 18.08.82 השולח: מרגי מיפור מנהל המחלקה: חתימה:

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד ירושלים

ט ו פ ס ס ב ר ק

דף.....מתוך.....דפים

סווג בטחוני ס מ ו ר .....

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח 181500 ביוני 82

מס' סברק 449 .....

רובינשטיין .

ענינים משפטיים - של"ג (שלך 676)

1. שוחחתי עם מייק מטסון ס/יועה"מ"ש מחמ"ד לענינים צבאיים.

2. סיפר כי התעוררה אצלם גם שאלה של העברת "שבויי" אש"ף מלבנון לישראל. לדבריו אם אכן אנו מעבירים אותם למחנות בישראל ניתן לראות בזה הפרה של האמנה הרביעית.

3. אישר לבקשתי שארה"ב לא מתייחס לפרוטוקולים לאמנת ג'נבה ולא יושמע טענו כאילו סעיף שבויי המלחמה בפרוטוקולים נהפך לכלל מקובל או רצוי.

ס ב ל

שהיה מעניין הוא מדוע שרים ענבל ומנבל מפני אידור. אולי רובינשטיין נשמט מדיבר, מביב רם אמן

NESA - 501

HEREWITH NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA WIRELESS FILE NO. 116

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1982. ITEM

~~EXCLUDE INDEXING~~

NESA-502 (6/18/82)

(FOLLOWING FS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

NO SOUTH ASIA REPORTING IN THE U.S. PRESS (30)

THERE WERE NO SOUTH ASIA ITEMS OF AREA-WIDE INTEREST IN THE JUNE 18 PRESS.

(PRECEDING FS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION) ITEM

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NESA-503 (6/18/82)

LEBANON CRISIS DOMINATES HAIG TALKS IN NEW YORK (500)

NEW YORK -- LEBANON DOMINATED THE TALKS U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE ALEXANDER HAIG HAD WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS AND AMBASSADORS JUNE 17 AFTER ATTENDING THE UNITED NATIONS SECOND SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN.

AFTER THE U.N. SESSION, HAIG MET WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF JORDAN, KENYA, AND YUGOSLAVIA AND THE LEBANESE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

BRIEFING REPORTES AT THE END OF GR76 STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN DEAN FISCHER SAID THAT BOTH HAIG AND PRESIDENT REAGAN "PAID CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION IN LEBANON AND WERE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH U.S. SPECIAL ENVOY PHILIP HABIB."

"IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE PRESIDENT AND TH SECRETARY HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THAT SITUATION CLOSELY," FISCHER SAID. "THE LEBANESE SITUATIONCLEARLY DOMINATED THE DISCUSSION THAT THE SECRETARY HAD BOTH WITH LEBANESE AMBASSADOR GHASSAN TUENI AND WITH THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN

NESA - 501

HEREWITH NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA WIRELESS FILE NO. 116

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1982. ITEM

NESA-502 (6/18/82)

(FOLLOWING FS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION
NO SOUTH ASIA REPORTING IN THE U.S. PRESS (50)

THERE WERE NO SOUTH ASIA ITEMS OF AREA-WIDE INTEREST IN THE
JUNE 18 PRESS.

(PRECEDING FS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION) ITEM

NESA-503 (6/18/82)

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AMBASSADOR GHASSAN TUENI AND WITH THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN

MINISTER." (MARWAN AL-KASIM).

"AMBASSADOR HABIB CONTINUES TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO WORK TO AVOID FURTHER BLOODSHED AND IS TRYING TO BE AS MUCH ASSISTANCE AS POSSIBLE IN DISCUSSING WITH THE LEBANESE LEADERS MEANS BY WHICH THE AUTHORITY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT CAN BE STRENGTHENED," HE ADDED.

FISCHER REFUSED TO COMMENT ON THE SPECIFICS OF THE TALKS, SAYING ONLY THAT THE SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH TUENI AND THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER "TOUCHED ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION." THE MEETINGS WITH THE TWO MIDDLE EAST ENVOYS LASTED MORE THAN TWO HOURS.

FISCHER SAID THE NUMBER OF CONTACTS THROUGHOUT THE DAY WITH HABIB AND THE NEW HORK MEETINGS WERE NOT AN INDICATION OF ESCALATING U.S. CONCERN OF A BREAKDOWN OF THE HABIB MISSION. THE SITUATION IS A COMPLEX ONE AND THE UNITED STATES HAS HAD A HIGH LEVEL OF CONCERN ALL ALONG, HE EXPLAINED.

THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE INTENTION

OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 508 AND 509, HAIG TOLD TUENI AND KASIM, FISCHER SAID, AND THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT THE AUTHORITY OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT MUST BE STRENGTHENED AND BE APPLIED TO ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

"RESOLUTION 509 CALLS FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL (TO) BE ACCOMPLISHED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE," FISCHER POINTED OUT. (THE TWO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS PASSED WITHIN TWO DAYS OF EACH OTHER EARLIER THIS MONTH ALSO TOOK NOTE OF THE DETERIORATING SITUATION BOTH IN LEBANON AND IN THE LEBANON-ISRAELI BORDER AREA AND CALLED ON ALL PARTIES TO CEASE HOSTILITIES IMMEDIATELY BOTH IN LEBANON AND NORTHERN ISRAEL.)

THE SPOKESMAN ADDED THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE EXTENSION OF THE U.N. INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL), WHOSE MANDATE WAS TO BE DISCUSSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL

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3/

PAGE 04 -- LEBANON

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"I AM SURE THERE IS NO QUESTION IN THE MINDS OF THE P.L.O ABOUT THE CONDITIONS WE ATTACH TO OPENING DIRECT DIALGOUE WITH THEM," FISCHER SAID.

HAIG ALSO TALKED WITH KENYAN FOREIGN MINISTER JOHN OUKO ON THE STATUS OF THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS. "BOTH THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN ACCLERATITN OF EFFORTS TO BRING THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS TO A HEAD AND THEY WELCOME THAT," FISCHER SAID.

DURING HIS MEETING WITH YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER LAZAR MOJSOV, HAIG DISCUSSED "A RANGE OF BILATERAL ISSUES" AS WELL AS THE MIDDLE EAST AND ARMS CONTROL. HAIG ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST AND CONCERN ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

PAGE 05 -- LEBANON

AND ITS DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING FOREIGN FINANCING, FISCHER SAID.

HAIG ALSO ASSURED MAJSOV OF "U.S. SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING FOR A GENUINE NON ALLIGNED MOVEMENT" THE SPOKESMAN ADDED.

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VV
SA-509 (6/18/82)

PAO ADVISORY NOTE:

ARAB-AMERICANS URGE U.S. TO HELP END SEIGE OF BEIRUT (550)

WASHINGTON -- THE AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE JUNE 18 CALLED ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO LIFT THE SEIGE OF

VV
SA-509 (6/19/82)

PAO ADVISORY NOTE:

ARAB-AMERICANS URGE U.S. TO HELP END SEIGE OF BEIRUT (370)

WASHINGTON -- THE AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE JUNE 19 CALLED ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO LIFT THE SEIGE OF

BEIRUT, TO ACCOUNT FOR PRISONERS TAKEN IN LEBANON AND TO OPEN SOUTH LEBANON TO INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION TEAMS AND RELIEF WORKERS.

JAMES ZOGBY, DIRECTOR OF THE COMMITTEE, TALKED TO REPORTERS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING A MEETING WITH ELIOT ABRAMS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS.

ZOGBY SAID THAT IN THE MEETING WITH ABRAMS THAT "WE CALLED FOR AN IMMEDIATE LIFTING OF THE SEIGE SURROUNDING THE WESTERN PART OF BEIRUT."

"SECONDLY," ZOGBY SAID, "WE CAME TO ASK OUR GOVERNMENT

PAGE 02 -- BEIRUT

THAT THE POW'S -- THE PRISONERS OF WAR -- WHO HAVE BEEN CAPTURED BY THE ISRAELIS BE IDENTIFIED, THEIR LOCATION BE GIVEN AND THAT INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION TEAMS...BE ALLOWED TO SUPERVISE THEIR TREATMENT." AND, HE SAID, "WE CAME TO ASK THAT THE SOUTH OF LEBANON BE OPEN TO INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION TEAMS AND RELIEF WORKERS."

THE REVEREND DONALD WAGNER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS, ALSO PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETING WITH ABRAMS.

ASKED ABOUT THE REACTION FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WAGNER DESCRIBED IT AS "VERY MIXED."

"WE HAD INFORMATION THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE," WAGNER SAID. "WE HAVE SOURCES THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE." WAGNER SAID HE HAD BEEN IN BEIRUT DURING THE FIRST FEW DAYS OF THE FIGHTING WITH A GROUP OF CLERGY AND CHRISTIAN RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS, AND HE IS IN TOUCH WITH PEOPLE STILL IN LEBANON OR WHO HAVE JUST RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES FROM LEBANON.

DESCRIBING THE MEETING WITH ABRAMS, WAGNER TOLD REPORTERS, "THERE WERE POINTS OF CONTENTION, BUT THERE WAS

PAGE 03 -- BEIRUT

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CONCERNS THAT THE CAMPS BE OPEN, THAT THE NAMES OF PRISONERS BE MADE AVAILABLE, THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE PRISONERS BE LOCATED."

22

ITEM

EL SALVADOR'S DEFENSE MINISTRY JUNE 18 CONFIRMED THAT DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER -- COLONEL FRANCISCO ADOLFO CASTILLO -- WAS KILLED IN A HELICOPTER CRASH.

THE MINISTRY SAID THE HELICOPTER WENT DOWN NEAR THE REBEL-HELD HELD TOWN OF PERQUIN IN MORAZAN PROVINCE -- 120 KILOMETERS NORTHWEST OF SAN SALVADOR, THE CAPITAL. THE MINISTRY SAID THE CRASH WAS CAUSED BY A TECHNICAL FAILURE. THE LEFTIST RADIO VENCEREMOS SAID THE HELICOPTER WAS SHOT DOWN BY THE GUERRILLAS.

FOUR PERSONS DIED IN THE CRASH, INCLUDING A PROVINCIAL ARMY COMMANDER.

(PRECEDING FS MATERIAL BASED ON PRESS REPORTS IS FOR

PAGE 06 -- NEWS
DISTRIBUTION TO MISSION STAFF ONLY AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

ITEM

NESA-508 (6/18/82)

U.S. 'MEDIA CENTER' OPENS WITH HELP FROM SAUDI ARABIA (750)

WASHINGTON -- WOLF TRAP FARM PARK, AMERICA'S ONLY NATIONAL PARK DEDICATED TO THE PERFORMING ARTS, OPENED ITS SUMMER SEASON ON JUNE 15.

TWO MONTHS PREVIOUSLY, IT WAS THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO 1982 SUMMER SEASON. ON THE NIGHT OF APRIL 4, THE PARK'S FILENE CENTER THEATER WAS DESTROYED BY FIRE.

BUT THE SAUDI ARABIAN EMBASSY PROVIDED A RAY OF HOPE. LESS THAN TWO WEEKS AFTER THE BLAZE, THE EMBASSY OFFERED TO PAY THE COST OF SHIPPING TO WOLF TRAP A TEMPORARY TENT STRUCTURE THEN LOCATED IN ITS NEIGHBOR TO THE EAST, THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.

THE STRUCTURE, CALLED "THE MEADOW CENTER," ACCOMMODATES 2,000 PEOPLE WHO CAN BE SEATED UNDER A COVERED ORCHESTRA

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SECTION. THE NATURAL LAWN AMPHITHEATER OF WOLF TRAP PARK PROVIDES SPACE FOR AN ADDITIONAL 4,500 PATRONS.

"THE MEADOW CENTER" RESEMBLES AN ARCHED AIRPLANE HANGER.

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PAGE 02 -- WOLF TRAP

IT CONTAINS FULL SOUND AND LIGHTING CAPABILITIES AS WELL AS DRESSING ROOMS AND STORAGE AREAS.

THE RECENTLY ERECTED WOLF TRAP CENTER WILL SERVE AS A THEATER UNTIL A NEW PERMANENT STRUCTURE IS FINANCED AND BUILT. WOLF TRAP PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICIALS ESTIMATE THAT THE WOLF TRAP FILENE CENTER, WHICH WAS ORIGINALLY BUILT FOR 2.5 MILLION DOLLARS, WILL COST AT LEAST 17.5 MILLION DOLLARS TO REBUILD.

ACCORDING TO BOB WITECK, A SPOKESMAN FOR THE WOLF TRAP FOUNDATION, "WOLF TRAP RECEIVED LETTERS, CABLES AND TELEGRAMS FROM EVERYONE AFTER THE FIRE, BUT THE SAUDIS WERE THE FIRST TO STEP UP WITH FUNDS."

"I'LL TELL YOU ONE THING," WITECK CONTINUED, "WITHOUT THE SAUDIS, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THIS YEAR'S SEASON WOULD HAVE BEEN HELD AT ALL. EVERYBODY HERE IS IN THEIR DEBT."

HE EXPLAINED THAT THE FILENE CENTER HAD BEEN A GIFT TO THE UNITED STATES BY PHILANTROPIST CATHERINE FILENE SHOUSE. AMONG HER FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF WOLF TRAP ARE AMBASSADOR FAISAL ALHEGELAN OF SAUDI ARABIA AND HIS WIFE.

PAGE 03 -- WOLF TRAP

WITECK SAID THAT THE SAUDIS KNEW THERE WAS A PRIVATELY-OWNED TENT-LIKE STRUCTURE IN DUBAI. IT HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN USED BY ITS OWNER, A BUSINESSMAN, AS A TRADE SHOW EXHIBITION HALL.

THE BUILDING HAD BEEN SOLD BY ITS OWNER BACK TO THE COMPANY THAT MANUFACTURED IT -- A CANADIAN FIRM CALLED SPRUNG INSTANT STRUCTURES, LIMITED. THE FIRE-RESISTANT POLYESTER PANELS TAUTLY STRETCHED BETWEEN ALUMINUM ARCHES WERE DUE TO BE DISMANTLED BY SPRUNG AND SENT TO HONG KONG. BUT ACCORDING TO WITECK, "WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT IT WAS AN APROPRIATE STRUCTURE AND COULD BE IMMEDIATELY USED AT

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OLF TRAP, THE SAUDIS CALLED US. WOLF TRAP BOUGHT THE STRUCTURE, LOCATED AND CHARTERED A PLANE, AND LOADED THE STRUCTURED ABOARD IN PIECES UP TO 30 FEET LONG. THE SAUDIS PICKED UP THE 100,000 DOLLAR MOVING BILL."

WHEN THE 100 TONS OF ALUMINUM ARCHES REACHED WOLF TRAP ON MAY 20, THERE WERE ASSEMBLED WITH BOLTS AND LATER THE TENT FABRIC WAS STRETCHED ACROSS THEM.

ACCORDING TO LARISA WANSERSKI, A WOLF TRAP PUBLIC

RELATIONS OFFICIAL, "THE SAUDIS KNEW HOW TIGHT OUR PRODUCTION SCHEDULE WAS. THEY ASSUMED CORRECTLY THAT THE STRUCTURE IN DUBAI WAS THE ONLY FEASIBLE CHOICE."

WANSERSKI ADDED THAT THE TENT PART OF THE STRUCTURE WAS SHIPPED DOWN FROM CANADA AND CONNECTED TO THE SUPPORTS FROM DUBAI. "WE ARE ALL VERY GRATEFUL TO THE SAUDIS," SHE SAID. "IT WAS QUITE A SURPRISE TO HAVE SUCH A QUICK AND GENEROUS RESPONSE."

WOLF TRAP FARM PARK IS LOCATED IN SURBURBAN VIENNA, VIRGINIA, A THIRTY-MINUTE DRIVE FROM WASHINGTON. THE FILENE CENTER WAS OPENED IN 1971 AND FOR TEN YEARS THE THEATER AND LUSH SURROUNDING GRASSLAND HAVE BEEN ENJOYED BY THE RESIDENTS OF THE WASHINGTON AREA AS WELL AS VISITORS FROM THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND ABROAD.

ITEM

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NESA-504 (6/18/82)

2-3U

U.S. SURPRISED BY ISRAELI STRIKE INTO LEBANON (600)

WASHINGTON -- THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT WAS CAUGHT BY SURPRISE BY THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON, ACCORDING TO WHAT T. OLUVERIUS DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS.

OLUVERIUS SAID IT WAS OBVIOUS "FOR MANY MONTHS" THAT ISRAEL MIGHT BE PLANNING SUCH A MOVE BUT "WE DID NOT EXPECT THAT INVASION TO TAKE PLACE SUNDAY MORNING. I WAS SURPRISED."

HE DESCRIBED THE COLLAPSE OF THE CEASE-FIRE WHICH HAD BEEN IN PLACE SINCE LAST YEAR AS A TRAGEDY. "WE TRIED TO PREVENT IT HAPPENING," OLUVERIUS, SAID, THROUGH DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAEL, SYRIA AND LEBANON.

OLUVERIUS APPEARED BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST TO SUPPORT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST FOR 20 MILLION DOLLARS IN EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING FOR ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON.

PAGE 02 -- INVASION

HE SAID HUMANITARIAN RELIEF IS A MAIN U.S. OBJECTIVE IN LEBANON AT PRESENT.

BUT, HE SAID, "ULTIMATELY LEBANON MUST BE FREE FROM ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES."

ASKED IF THIS INCLUDED ISRAELI TROOPS, OLUVERIUS SAID, "THERE MUST BE AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL... IN COMPLIANCE WITH 508 AND 509," THE TWO UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR A CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM LEBANON.

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OLUVERIUS ALSO REVEALED THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS CHECKING REPORTS ABOUT THE USE OF ANTI-PERSONNEL CLUSTER BOMBS BY ISRAELI FORCES IN LEBANON. OLUVERIUS SAID THAT ISRAEL HAD BEEN ASKED JUNE 16 ABOUT THE REPORTED USE OF THE CLUSTER BOMBS, BUT AT THE TIME OF THE HEARING THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 17, NO ANSWER HAD BEEN RECEIVED.

OLUVERIUS DECLINED TO SPECULATE ON WHETHER THE REPORTS WERE TRUE; NOR WOULD HE SAY WHAT ACTION THE UNITED STATES

MIGHT TAKE SHOULD IT BE FOUND THAT CLUSTER BOMBS HAD BEEN USED. THE U.S.-MADE WEAPONS WERE SUPPLIED TO ISRAEL WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THEY WOULD BE USED ONLY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES.

ASKED IF THE DELAY IN NOTIFYING CONGRESS OF THE PROPOSED SALE OF 75 F-16 MILITARY AIRCRAFT WAS RELATED TO ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON, OLUVERIUS SAID THE DECISION ON THE F-16 SALE IS BEING MADE IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND HE WOULD NOT SECOND-GUESS WHAT DECISION MIGHT BE MADE.

HOWEVER, HE TOLD THE SUBCOMMITTEE THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO DECSION TO DELAY AID TO ISRAEL.

OLUVERIUS SAID THE UNITED STATES IS TALKING TO SYRIA AND TALKING TO ISRAEL IN A EFFORT TO REINSTATE A CEASE-FIRE IN LEBANON. HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPECIAL ENVOY, PHILIP HIBIB, NOW IS IN BEIRUT WORKING FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND THAT HE WILL REMAIN THERE AS LONG AS HE CAN BE HELPFUL.

ASKED IF HABIB WAS TALKING WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, OLUVERIUS SAID HE WAS NOT. BUT HE SAID HABIB IS TALKING TO PEOPLE WHO TALK TO THE P.L.O. AND "I THINK

THEY (THE P.L.O.) CAN FIND OUT WHAT WE ARE THINKING."

QUESTIONED ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL), OLUVERIUS SAID THAT "UNIFIL CERTAINLY IS A FOUNDATION ON WHICH WE CAN BUILD." HOWEVER, HE WOULD NOT SAY

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THE SUBCOMMITTEE UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST FOR 20 MILLION DOLLARS IN SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING FOR RELIEF, REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN LEBANON. THE RESOLUTION WAS REPORTED TO THE FULL HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTE, WHERE IT WILL BE CONSIDERED JUNE 21.

THIS SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDING WOULD BE IN ADDITINAL TO THE REGULAR ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS FOR LEBANON, WHICH TOTAL SIX MILLION DOLLARS IN THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR.##

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THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ALREADY HAS PROVIDED FIVE MILLION DOLLARS FOR LEBANON FROM EMERGENCY FUNDS, AS WELL AS 25,000 DOLLARS FROM THE U.S. AMBASSADOR'S ACCOUNT FOR THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL IN BEIRUT.

ITEM

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ITEM

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ט' 2927 181400 יוני 82 בהול מר בטי מר ני משנ===

בהול

סודי ביותר/בהול

מר ינבלם

סגן רחמי ארליך

סודי ביותר

הנדון: שיחת רחמי עם המזכיר הייג, בניו יורק 18.6.82 במלון וולדורף אסטוריה בשעה 8:00 בבוקר.

מצד האמריקני: לואיס, וליוטיס, פישר. בצד הישראלי: ארנס, בנום, שגיא, פורת, אבנר נבו.

אחר חילופי ברכות ביקש רחמי מאלוף שגיא להסביר את מהלך מבצע שלום הגליל מראשיתו. שגיא, תוך התייחסות למפות, ניתח את מהלך הקרבות והיעדים הצבאיים של צהיל. תוך כדי ההסבר קיבל רחמי שדר משר הבטחון בדבר הערכויות של מאות מחבלים (מבנגלדש ואיראן) האזור עליי. רחמי מוד על כך כמזכיר. שגיא הסביר את המשמעות האפשרית של התפתחות זו. הוא הדגיש בין היתר שיתכנו צעדים הומים מעבר לקוי הנוצרים שנועדו לזרוע את הקשר בין המחבלים הנצורים בבירות לבין הצבא הסורי שבבקעה.

רחמי הסביר כי הבעיה האמיתית המשותפת, לנו ולאמריקנים, היא הצורך בהקמת ממשלה לבנונית יציבה שתוכל להשליט סדר. בהתייחסו לבירות והדגיש רחמי שוב כי אין לישראל כל כוונה להכנס לתוך בירת לבנון, הן בגלל התחייבותנו לא לנקוט בצעד זה והן מאחר ולדעתנו המתרחש עתה בבירות הוא בגדר אחריותה של ממשלת לבנון. אמנם הצבא הלבנוני אינו חזק דיו אך מתפקידו להשליט סדר באותו חלק של הבירה אשר מוחזק בידי כח זר. ישראל נענתה לבקשת ארזיב לנצור את נשקה למשך יומיים ועל כך קיימת החלטת ממשלה. אבל אין ישראל יכולה לשאת באחריות לפעילותם של כוחות מזויינים אחרים (צבא לבנון או כוחות בשיר). השאלה היא האם לתת למעוז הטרוריסטי הזה להמשיך ולהתקיים. עמדת ישראל היא סובבן שאין לאפשר זאת ולדעתה ניתן לסלו. הק בדרך זו יהיה אשפי מנורק מנשקו, וגורם הזמן הוא חיוני ביותר.

הייג העיר כי המאמץ הלבנוני במגעים עם אשפי נועד לנצל את 48 השעות כדי להגיע לעסקה שתאפשר לצבא הלבנוני להכנס לשטח תוך נסיגה שקטה של המחבלים. אך התנגדות המחבלים הוריפה וחביב עוסק בנושא זה עכשיו מוקדם עדיין לדעת אם עמדת המחבלים תשאר קשוחה. הייג הביע דעה כי הודעות הפומביות של הימים האחרונים תרמו לעמדה זו. גם חיזוק הכוחות בכביש בירות-דמשק לכיוון מזרח הביא לכך שהמחבלים יקשיחו עמדתם. הייג אמר כי הכי רצוי הוא שסילוק שבעת אלפי המחבלים בדרום בירות יבוצע עיי ממשלת לבנון בשקט אך הוא הביע ספק אם הדבר ניתן.

אלוף שגיא אמר שעצבו של עדפאן בכי רע וכי אנו שומעים בכיותיו בשדורי תידיו בקריאותיו לעזרה. השאלה הקיימת היא איך להניע את עדפאת לסגת מבירות ללא אלימות. ישראל הניע לו יציאה מהמקום מכביש בירות-דמשק. הוא גם יכול לצאת מהצפון דרך גיגני בכיוון טריפולי. לואיס שאל כמה זמן יעבור עד אשר יחליטו המחבלים על צעדיהם הבאים. שגיא השיב כי התשובה ככך היא פוליטית, לאמור, כי אם הם יסיקו שאתם לוחצים עליהם זה יהווה גורם בהלך מחשבתם.

חמי עסר לנושא המדיני במקירת נושא כח בינלאומי והאפשרות שארהיב תשתתף בו. הוא הדגיש את הצורך שכח זה יהיה העל עצמה. הוא הזכיר כי לפני זמן מה נתנו לו להבין כי יתכן וארהיב תהיה מעוניינת להחזיק יחידות משלה בלבנון, אך עדב אתו מהארץ, נרמז לו כי ארהיב איננה מעוניינת להשתתף בין היתר בגלל התנגדות אפשרית של הקונגרס. רהמי אר כי ישראל איננה דורשת השתתפות כח אמריקני. רהמי הרחיב בהסברו מדוע ישראל מתנגדת ליוניפיל. הוא אמר שהוא מזדהה לגמרי עם דברי הנשיא ריגן בפרלמנט הבריטי שם אמר בזן היתר כי יש לעקור את מגיפת הטרור אך אין ביכולתו של יוניפיל לשדת מטרה זו הן בגלל הרכבו והן בגלל הרכב עדת האו"ם ומועביט. בכל מקרה לדעת ישראל מנכיל הכח צריך להיות אמריקני וישראל רוצה לחתום הסכם הן עם הכח בכללותו והן עם כל מדינה המשתתפת בו. רהמי אמר שישראל תגיש הצעות מפורטות בנדון. ישראל ביקשה מהמזכיר שישראל וארהיב יפעלו יחד לקדם הקמת הכח הבינלאומי. הייג תאיב כי הבעיה המיידית היא להבטיח את חידוש המנדט של יוניפיל סיטוי של האחריות הבינלאומית. באשר לכח הרב לאומי הייג הזכיר כי לאור עזיונו הקמת הכח בסיני יודע הוא עד כמה קשה להקים כח מעין זה. הוא אר שהוא אינו יכול לדבר עכשיו בשם הנשיא בנושא זה אך הוא בטוח כי הנשיא יעשה כל הדרוש אם יהיה בכך כדי להביא לידי שינוי. הוא אמר כי קיימת התנגדות חזקה בקונגרס למעורבות ארהיב בלבנון. גם במקרה של סיני היתה התנגדות כזו אך הצלחנו להתגבר הודות לנסיבות. הוא הביע דעה כי ארהיב תהיה מוכנה להצטרף לכח הרב לאומי ויתכן כי גם הפיג'יים. הוא אמר כי אם תקום ממשלה לבנונית חזקה תהיה לכך השלכה חיובית על עתיד שיכור השטחצ בכל מקרה הוא חושב שמוקדם עדיין
מחלטה החלטות סופיות בדבר הפתרון הכולל של בעית חגורת הבטחון.
בהקמת ממשלה לבנונית חזקה, והוצאת המחבלים והסורים, אני רואה כבית חיל חשובה. הייג אמר שאלה יהיו מהנושאים שרהמי בודאי יראה לשוחח ישירות עם הנשיא. הייג גילה כי הנושא כבר נדון במועצה לבטחון לאומי. עמדת ארהיב היא שיש צורך להשיג פתרונות קונקרטיים בעתיד הקרוב ביותר.

בסוף השיחה נוותרו רהמי והמזכיר הייג לשיחה בארבע עיניים.

אבר====

[illegible]

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

ט ל ג ר מ ס ר ק

דף...1...מתוך...1...דפים

סוג בטחוני...שמור...

דחיפות...מיידי.....

תאריך וז"ח: 181630 בינו 82

מס' טבלת מדיניות חוץ מס' טבלת 45.....

אגף אמליט/דע: השגריר, סן-חוסה

(תלבר)

שלום

שלכם 683.

נקבעה פגישה בין רוהים לבין הנשיא מונחה בוושינגטון ליום ב' ה-21.

הפגישה עדיין טנטטיבית בשל עומס לו"ז הן של רוהים והן של מונחה, אך מאד מקווים שהיא תצא אל הפועל.

הרצל

שהיה מושהה רק מ מרוהים מנסל מדנסם ברגע אחרון.

אישי - סודי ביותר

רמטכ"ל בהול

18.6.82

ר' אמ"ן

תוצאות השיחות עם הייג.

א. התקיימה פגישה ראשונה עם הנ"ל ביום ה' בשעה 2200. בשיחה נכחו הייג, וליוטיס, ארנס ואני.
הייג פתח בכך שהגיעו אליו ידיעות כי אנו מתכוונים להכנס לבירות לשכונות ברג' בראג'נה ופכהני. הרגענו אותו בענין זה, שאין אנו מתכננים ב-48 שעות הקרובות כבוש בירות.
ב. רצה לדעת פרטים על מפגש שרון-ג,ונ' עבדו (היה מדווח על הפגישה משגרירים בבירות) מסרתי לו את הפרטים העיקריים.
1) הלבנונים מבקשים שנשאר בשטח עד שיוסדר המערך הפוליטי שלהם.
2) מבקשים שלא נצא מבירות אלא להיפך, שנראה נוכחות בעיר.
3) מתקיימים מגעים עם אש"פ במטרה להוציאם מהעיר בדרך חוף הים.
4) התעניין לדעת את הערכתנו באשר לכשרם של הפלנגיסטים עם צבא לבנון לכבוש את מערב בירות, ונענהששאנחנו מאמינים שיש ביכלתם, באם יקבלו סיוע לעשות כן.
ג. העלה רעיון מה יקרה אם המרינס ינחתו במערב בירות. הצעתי לו שיחשוב פנים בענין זה, ויביא בחשבון שזו לא תהיה נחיתה דומה ל-1958.

ד. היום יום ו' 18.6.82 התקיימה פגישה עם רוה"מ. בחלק הכללי, מסרתי לו דווח מלא ל על מהלכי המלחמה. הדגשתי את ענין קשת ה-45 ק"מ וכיצד ניסינו ע"י אגוף למנוע מלחמה עם הסורים אך לא הצלחנו בכך.
לאחר שיחתי אתך, הדגשתי את ענין המתנדבים בחלק המזרחי, העובדה שכבר יש פעילות כנגדנו וכי 48 שעות הפסקת האש, לא נוגעות לפעילות שלנו כלפי מזרח כדי למנוע כל אפשרות כזו או הסתננות בעתיד לתוך בירות הנצורה.

ה. השיחה נמשכה ב-4 עיניים עם רוה"מ לאחר מכן ורוה"מ בקש לדווח לך כדלקמן:
1) הייג עצמו משוכנע שעלינו לגמור את המלאכה ולהגיע לחסול אש"פ במערב בירות.
2) היה רצוי מאד שהדבר יעשה ע"י הכוחות הלבנונים עצמם. רוה"מ אמר שיתכן וידרש סיוע שלנו להם, ועל כך הגיב הייג שהוא מבין את זה.
3) רצוי שהדבר יעשה במהירות האפשרית.
4) בקש שלא יצוטט כי בממשל דעות חלוקות קיצונית בענין זה.
5) אמר לרוה"מ שהיתה החלטה של הנשיא שלא לפגוש את רוה"מ. יותר מכך, אף על הייג עצמו נאסר לפגוש את רוה"מ, והוא עמל קשה לשנות את החלטת הנשיא.

ו. מהתרשמות שלי וויינברגר והפנטגון חד משמעים נגד המבצע ונגד אפשרות חסול אש"פ. הייג בדעה שונה. השאלה כמובן עד כמה הוא משפיע בממשל על עצוב העמדה האמריקנית שכרגע מתגבשת.

ז. רוה"מ בקש למסור שצריך להכין את השטח של חסול אש"פ בבירות ע"י הכוחות הלבנונים והסיוע שלנו, ובטווח הזמן הקצר ככל האפשר.

יהושע

953

יוצא בלמ"ים

אל: וש, נר: 716, מ : המשרד
דח: ר, סג: ב, תא: 180682, חח: 2100
נד: רהמ-עתונות נוצרית

אבי

בלמס/רגיל

הורביץ.

שגרירות הנוצרית בירושלים מסרה שקדישאי הסכים לפגישה בין רה"מ לבין מנהיגי העתונות הנוצרית בוושינגטון, גיים סאקסון נציגם בוושינגטון יעמוד איתך בקשר.

מנהל הסברה.===

תפ: שהח,קשהח,מנכל,ממנכל,רהמ,מצפא,יגר,מעת,הסברה,פורת

מחלקת הקשר – ניו-יורק

טופס מברק גלוי

אל: מנחם יסר, מן מנחם, מנהל מדפיס
המפורסמות, הסברה
רע: השגריר, הורוביץ – וושינגטון
מאת: ש. מרק אורי ברנר / ניו יורק

דף _____ מתוך _____ דפים
סיווג בטחוני: בלמ"ס
דחיפות: מיידי
תאריך ולו"ח: 18.2.100
מס. ציר: 130/701

בקורי רהמי

להלן עקרי דברי רהמי בהופעותיו בפני מועדון הנשיאים, המגבית והבונדס.

1. רהמ הסביר במפורט הרקע למבצע שלום לגליל: ההפרות המתמידות של אש"ף מאז יולי 1981, נסיון ההתנקשות בארגוב, תגובת חיל האויר, ההפגזות על ערי הצפון.
מועדון הנשיאים בלבד ציין רהמ את פרוש אש"ף להסכם הפסקת הלוחמה מיולי 1981, וגם את פרוש פיליפ חביב לפיו אסור לאש"ף לתקוף מדרום לבנון, סוריה ומירדן, אך ההסכם אינו חל על אירופה ועל ארצות חול.
הם ציין שישראל מעולם לא קבלה פרוש זה של חביב, האומר הפקרת ישראלים ויהודים בחול.

2. רהמ פרט את השגיו וגבורתו של צהל המבוססים על המוטיביציה של החייל הישראלי. השכל היהודי והוו"מן האמריקני.

3. רהמ פרט את טוהר הנשק של צהל ואת המאמצים הגדולים שנעשו שלא לפגוע באזרחים, תוך סכנת חיי חיילי צהל.

4. רהמ ציין שמבצע שלום לגליל רפא את הטראומה של מלחמת יום הכיפורים.

5. רהמ ציין את עליונות שנע"ר והרכבה על ה- T-72, ושלאחר מאמץ של שלוש שנים מצאנו אמצעי מסויים להשמדת הטילים, מבלי שהפסדנו אפ טוס אחד, ושבבוא הזמן נתחלק בידע זה עם ידידינו האמריקנים.

6. רהמ והדגיש שהסכם השלום עם מצרים עמד במבחן.

7. רהמ חזר והדגיש שישראל לא תכנע ללחצים כולל מידידים ושאף לחצ לא יעזור, כי ישראל תנהג כפי שציכוסלובקיה היתה צריכה להתנהג ב- 1938.
הוא אמר:

I BROKE MY LEG BUT MY KNEE IS UNBEND

תאריך: _____ השולח: _____ מיון מנהל המחלקה: _____ חתימה: _____

יחידת הקשר - ניו-יורק

טופס מברק גלוי

דף 2 סתום 2 רפים

סיווג בטחוני: בלתי מסווג

דחיפות: מיידי

תאריך ושעה: 18.2.00

מס. מברק: 130 / 750

אל:

רע:

מאת:

8. רהם מנה את היעדים המדיניים:

א. הסטטוס קוו אנטה לא יוחזר. אין להרשות לאשף לחזור ולאפשר לו להפגיז ישובינו.

ב. יש להקים ממשלה לבנונית עצמאית וריבונית.

ג. ישראל איננה חוסדת אף שעל אדמה לבנונית.

ג. הרחי לעשות סדורי בטחון שיבטיחו את חיי תושבי הצפון. לשם כך יש ליצור אזור בטחון באזור הנע בין 43-48 קים.

ה. כל עוד סדורי בטחון כאלו לא יעשו, צהל לא יסוג, וישראל תצטרך לשמור על בטחון אזרחיה משני צידי הגבול.

רהם ציין שמקבל את דברי הנשיא רייגן בלונדון, במלואם ולא בחלקם שעל צהל לסגת אך רק לאחר שהטרור יחוסל.

DEVOTED FRIENDS OF ISRAEL — תזר והגדיר את רייגן כ -

ו. ישראל הציעה אוטונומיה לערביי אי וטעונינת לקדם המום. רהם ציין שהוא שאל את נשיא צרפת מדוע הענקה צרפת לקורסיקה אוטונומיה ולא עצמאות. הוא שאל את רהם איטליה מדוע הענקה איטליה אוטונומיה לטירול ולא עצמאות. גם בלגיה הענקה לולונים אוטונומיה ולא עצמאות.

9. רהם הדגיש את זכותה של ישראל להגנה עצמית לפי סעיף 51 למגילה. מדוע גברת תאציר סבורה שלה הזכות לפעול לפי סעיף זה המרחק 6000 מילים מאנגליה ולרהם אין זכות לעשות זאת מייל אחד מבתי אזרחיו. ישראל אינה מכירה בעקרונות מוסר לפולים מסוג זה.

10. רהם הדגיש את האחדות הלאומית הקיימת בישראל ובהקילה היהודית בהיכיכה לישראל.

ד-ר

שרה מושהיה תיא מרהם מנכ. ומנכ אדבו ישר
מ- הסברה תפוצה פורת

תאריך: 18.02.82 הסולח: מרים מיסור מנהל המחלקה: חתימה:

36

מחלקת ארה"ב ניו - יורק

אל: המשרד

דע:

מאת: נאום

סופס מברק צפון

דף ___ מחוך ___ רפיס

סיווג בסחוניי: שמור

מיידי

דחיפות:

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

תאריך תז"ח: 17.2015

מס' מברק: 652

אליצור ארבל 2.

מסילוא.

הופעת רה"מ בעצרת פרוק הנשק.

1. במשך היום עמדנו בקשר עם מספר רב של משלחות בנושא. הרושם הכללי שאנו מקבלים הערב הוא שהערבים דנחו למעשה את הרעיון למנוע קוורום בעת הופעת רה"מ והם מתרכזים בנסיון להפוך לרשימה ככל שניתן את יציאתם ויציאת הרסביהם מהאולם. כך בכוונתם לאייש את כל ששת מושבי המשלחות שהנסושנה האולם ע"מ להרשים במספר העוזבים.

2. הופעל לחץ ערבי על מדינות אפריקניות לא מעטות בנושא הקוורום ושמענו מפי כמה מנציגיהם שאף התיעצו עם בירותיהם בענין. הערבים אף ניסו לזמן ישיבת הבוש האפריקני לשעה בה ישא רה"מ את נאומו, אך הנסיון נכשל. אנו מתרשמים שנוצר Backlash מסויים עקב הלחץ הערבי המופרז.

3. השגריר בלום שוחח בענין עם עוזר המזכ"ל ווילאם באפם ועם שגאוסטרליה אנדרסון, שיקב בכם נשיאת העצרת מחר במקום קטאני. שניהם ערוכים לאפשרות שיועלו Points of Order ועפ"י הצעת השגריר, שהתקבלה על דעת השניים, יתמוך אנדרסון שפניות נוהליות כדלעל הוכרנה רק לאחר תום נאום רה"מ. ברור למזכירות כ"כ שאי-קיומו של קוורום עם פתיחת ישיבת הלום, עלול למנוע למעשה את המשך ניהול העצרת.

נאום

שרה אשרה רהג מרהל מנל מאמנל ולגידר ולרבנ ולבינשטין
ולאיכנ מאר רם טרילסיל

תאריך: 17.6.82 השולח: ארבל אישורי מנהל המחלקה: _____ החתמה: _____

QUARTER OF THIS YEAR, DUE PRIMARILY TO THE U.S. RECESSION AND WEAK DEMAND FOR PETROLEUM, COMMERCE OFFICIALS SAID. HOWEVER, U.S. EXPORTS ALSO DECLINED IN THE FIRST QUARTER BY 2,000 MILLION DOLLARS.

IN 1981, THE U.S. CURRENT ACCOUNT WAS IN SURPLUS BY 4,500 MILLION DOLLARS. THIS REPRESENTED A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE FROM THE 1,500-MILLION DOLLAR SURPLUS REGISTERED IN 1980; THE 500-MILLION-DOLLAR DEFICIT IN 1979 AND THE 14,000-

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MILLION DOLLAR DEFICIT IN 1979 AND THE 14,500-MILLION-DOLLAR DEFICIT IN 1978.

ITEM

NYSA-416 (6/17/82)

HOUSE PANEL APPROVES HUMANITARIAN AID FOR LEBANON (600)

WASHINGTON -- THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST JUNE 17 APPROVED A REQUEST FROM THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FOR 20 MILLION DOLLARS IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR STRIFE-TORN LEBANON.

THE RESOLUTION TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR RELIEF, REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN LEBANON CARRIED BY A UNANIMOUS VOICE VOTE. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS EMPHASIZED THE URGENCY OF RELIEF FOR LEBANON, AND APPROVAL BY BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS IS EXPECTED WITHIN ABOUT A WEEK.

BRADSHAW LANGMAID, DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST BUREAU OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, PRESENTED THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST TO THE HOUSE PANEL. HE INDICATED THAT MORE ASSISTANCE FOR LEBANON MAY BE REQUESTED LATER, WHEN IT IS DETERMINED JUST WHAT ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED IN THE FORM OF EMERGENCY RELIEF AND FUNDS FOR RECONSTRUCTION.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ALREADY HAS CHANNELED FINE

MILLION DOLLARS FOR EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON.

LANGMAID SAID ABOUT TWO MILLION DOLLARS OF THIS IS FOR DISASTER RELIEF. HE SAID 400,000 DOLLARS ALREADY HAS BEEN PROVIDED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS, WHICH HAS 19 PHYSICIANS NOW WORKING IN LEBANON. ANOTHER 300,000 DOLLARS WAS CHANNELED THROUGH THE CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES. AND 25,000 DOLLARS FROM THE U.S. AMBASSADOR'S FUND WAS GIVEN TO THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL IN BEIRUT TO CARE FOR PERSONS INJURED IN THE FIGHTING.

LANGMAID SAID THAT ABOUT THREE MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF FOOD ALSO IS EN ROUTE TO LEBANON ABOARD 15 SHIPS. HE SAID THE SHIPS, WHICH WERE CARRYING FOOD DESIGNATED FOR OTHER COUNTRIES UNDER THE U.S. FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM HAVE BEEN DIVERTED TO DELIVER THEIR CARGO TO LEBANON.

LANGMAID SAID ABOUT HALF OF THE LEBANESE POPULATION, OR ONE AND ONE-HALF MILLION PEOPLE, LIVE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, WHICH HAS BEEN OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL, AND IN BEIRUT, WHICH HAS COME UNDER HEAVY FIRE.

OF THESE PEOPLE, LANGMAID ESTIMATED THAT 40 PERCENT HAD BEEN DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE FIGHTING. HE SAID THE CHIEF PROBLEM SEEMS TO BE A NEED FOR MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND SERVICES. HE SAID THE SHORTAGE OF FOOD DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE CRITICAL AT THIS TIME, ALTHOUGH THERE CLEARLY WILL BE A NEED FOR A TARGETED FEEDING PROGRAM FOR PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN DISPLACED FROM THEIR HOMES BY THE FIGHTING.

LANGMAID SAID THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION LIKELY WILL SUBMIT ANOTHER REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE TO LEBANON AS SOON AS IT CAN BE DETERMINED JUST HOW MUCH DAMAGE HAS BEEN DONE TO THAT COUNTRY. HE SAID REPORTS HAVE BEEN SKETCHY, BUT THE INFORMATION HE HAS RECEIVED INDICATES THAT DAMAGE WAS CONSIDERABLY GREATER THAN WHEN ISRAELI TROOPS MOVED INTO LEBANON IN 1976 AND 1978.

LANGMAID ALSO TOLD THE COMMITTEE THAT ASSISTANCE FROM THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL VICTIMS OF THE FIGHTING, WHETHER THEY ARE LEBANESE, PALESTINIANS OR ARE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 1 עמוד 3
עותק 8 סתום 12 סודי ביותר

4613/2

אל: המשרד, נד: 616, מ : נ'
דח: ב, סג: מ, מא: 170682, מח: 0030

סודי ביותר / בהול בהול

אל : סגן רהמ' ארליך

מאת : מ. ארנס / שגריר

לפי בקשת רהמ' אני מעביר אליך מסר מעביר המדינה שהועבר אלי
רהמ' לאחר שקרא את המסר מבקש מכם לבנות ישיבת מפשלה דלא
ריחוי כדי לדון ולהחליט האם המשלה מאשרת את תובנה זא
להודיע לרהמ' את החלטת הממשלה דלא ריחוי

להלן המסר מעביר המדינה :

WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED WORD - COMING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM
THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER OF LEBANON - THAT A
POSSIBILITY HAS OPENED UP FOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF
THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT

THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED FOR A 48 HOUR PERIOD IN
WHICH TO START THIS PROCESS AND DURING WHICH THERE WILL BE
AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE THAT NO MILITARY ACTION
WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST WEST BEIRUT THE 48 HOUR PERIOD
SHOULD BEGIN AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE BASED ON AGREEMENT
BETWEEN THE IDF AND LAF BUT IN ANY CASE , NOT LATER THEN
1200 LEBANON TIME JUNE 18
THE AIM WOULD BE TO GET THE PLO TO LAY DOWN ITS ARMS AND
TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF CONDUCTING A MILITARY STRUGGLE IN
THE FUTURE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 3
עותק 8 מתוך 12 סודי ביותר

WHAT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT NEEDS IN AN IRON-CLAD GUARANTEE FROM ISRAEL CONVEYED BY THE US AND BACKED BY US THAT YOU WILL NOT LAUNCH A MILITARY ASSAULT AGAINST WEST BEIRUT DURING THAT 48 HOUR PERIOD .

BASED ON WHAT YOU HAVE TOLD ME ABOUT ISRAEL'S POSITION ON THIS SITUATION , I WOULD HOPE , WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S O.K. , TO GIVE THE LEBANESE THAT ASSURANCE , AND SAY THAT THE US AS WELL AS ISRAEL STANDS BEHIND IT . THE DETAILS OF HOW THE FORCES ACT CAN BE WORKED OUT ON THE SPOT BETWEEN THE IDF AND LAF . AS YOU KNOW THEY ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT .

IF , DURING THIS 48 HOUR PERIOD THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT COMES TO AN UNDERSTANDING ALONG THESE LINES THAT IS ACCEPTABLE , THEY WILL THEN WANT FROM ISRAEL AND THE US THE FURTHER GUARANTEE THAT THE IDF WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH OR ATTACK THE LEBANESE ARMY AS IT MOVES INTO WEST BEIRUT AND NEGOTIATES A RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PRESENCE THERE

IF THE LEBANESE DO NOT ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN THE 48 HOURS , WE WOULD THEN SIMPLY REVERT TO THE SITUATION WE ARE IN NOW - A CEASE FIRE - AND WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION AT THAT POINT .

I ALSO WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT ISRAEL'S UNDERTAKING DURING THESE 48 HOURS WOULD NOT , OF COURSE , MEAN THAT YOU WOULD NOT HAVE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE . BUT SOULD ANY HOSTILE ACT TOWARD THE IDF TAKE PLACE , THEN I HOPE YOU WOULD ORDER YOUR FORCES TO ACT WITH THE UTMOST RESTRAINT .

IN ADDITION , IT HAS TO BE AGREED THAT THE CHRISTIAN FORCES WOULD ALSO BE BOUND BY THE GUARANTEE DURING THIS PERIOD . THEY ALSO WOULD NOT ASSAULT THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 3 עותק 8 מתוך 3 עמוד 12 עודי ביומר

ארנס ====

מפ: שהת,קשהת,מנבל,ממנבל,רהם,מרהם

970

דף 1 מתוך 2
עותק 8 מתוך 16 סודי ביותר

אל: המשרד, נר: 318, מ : פרים
דת: ב, סג: מ, מא: 170682, מת: 1700
נד: לבנון

סודי ביותר/בהול

אל: שה"ח,העתק:רה"מ -נאו"מ
מאת:השגריר,פאריס

לבנון

1.נוכח הסכנה הקיימת שיווצר לחץ אירופאי בעיקר כהשברת החלטה
במועצת הבטחון בה תדרש ישראל לסגת מהלבנון ללא תואר הנני
ממליץ מאוד שנשיג בכל ההקדם,ובכל עוד הפעולות הצבאיות
נמשכות-התחיבות חורית אמריקנית במסגרת MEMORANDUM OF
UNDERSTANDING אשנן בו ייאמר ש:

א.ארה"ב לא תגיש שום הצעה לפתרון הבעיות ולהסדר בלבנון ללא
תאום מוקדם עם ישראל.

ב.ארה"ב תשיל ויטו על כל הצעת החלטה במועצת הבטחון שתידרש
נסיגה ישראלית או כל שינוי אחר בשטח שלא יהיה על דעתה של
ישראל (הקושי להשיג התחיבות כואת ברור לי בהחלט אך נוכח המצב
הקיים אולי ניתן להשיג התחיבות בלשהי בנדון)

ג.ארה"ב תתנגד לכל הצעה לשיתוף אש"ף או כל גורם דרוזי
אחר במויים כלשהו באופן ישיר או בלתי ישיר,ארה"ב תמשיך
לדגול בהתחיבותיה הקודמות בנושא זה דהיינו שהיא לא תביר
באש"ף ולא תנהל מויים עם אש"ף.

ד.שיתופו של כל גורם שהוא במויים בענין הסדר בעית הלבנון
ייעשה אך ורק בהסכמתה המוקדמת של ישראל.

2.נסיגה

```
**                                                                  **
** דף 2     מתוך 2                                                  **
** עותק 8    מתוך 16      סודי ביותר                                **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**2.1.לשניות דעתי הסיבוי היחיד להשיג הסכם בתוב -חווך בתוב          **
**כנ"ל הוא עבשיו בלבד.                                              **
**                                                                  **
**2.2 דוגמאת ההסכמים שהשגנו ב-1973,(לפי בינוס ועידת ג'נבה)          **
**ב-1975 נלפני הסכם הבינ"ים,בקשר לאי ס'וף אש"ף ולהמלת ו'מן        **
**אמריקני) עלינו להשיג גם עבשיו התחיבות בתובה וחד משמעית.         **
**2.3 הסכם זה יבול לבלול התחיבויות נוספות ממעם ארה"ב              **
**בלפינו,בקשר להרבב בם רבלאומי-שגם הוא יהיה בפוף להסבמת          **
**ישראל.                                                            **
**מ.רוון.=====                                                      **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**מפ: שהם,סשהם,מנבל,ממנבל,רהמ,אליצור,רובינשטיין,מצפא              **
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1042

נבנס

דף 1 מתוך 3
עותק 5 מתוך 32 סודי ביותר

אל: המשרד, נר: 414, מ : 011
דת: מ, סג: מ, מא: 170682, זת: 1330
נד: לבנון

סודי ביותר/מיידי

מנכ"ל, מנהל מצפ"א.

אמש בשעה 2100 לערך קרא לי איגלבורגר למטה"ד ומסר לי הניר הרצ"ב . עם בריסמי לחדרו כזוגי צילי היל אשר הביא עמו חבילת מסמכים.איגלבורגר נשל המסמך הרצ"ב ומסרו לי .אח"כ הוא נשל עוד מסמך והחל לעין בו .ראיתיו מחוויר משש .הוא בקש לראות את המסמך שזה הרגע מסר לי וכאשר עין בו נשם לרווחה בהפסירו :

I WAS TERRIFIED WE GAVE YOU THE WRONG PAPER

איגלבורגר בקש כי השגריר יבוא בדברים עם הייג וכך נעשה .

יתכן שאפשר ללמוד מכך שהמסמך הרצ"ב אינו כולל כל מה שחביב העביר למטה"ד מביירות .

TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH ARENS

--WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED WORD-COMING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER OF LEBANON-THAT A POSSIBILITY HAS OPENED UP FOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT.

--THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED FOR A 48-HOUR PERIOD IN WHICH TO START THIS PROCESS AND DURING WHICH THERE WILL BE AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE THAT NO MILITARY ACTION

**WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST WEST BEIRUT.THE 48-HOUR PERIOD
**SHOULD BEGIN AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE BASED ON AGREEMENT
BETWEEN THE IDF AND THE LAF BUT,IN ANY CASE,NOT LATER THAN
**1200 LEBANON TIME JUNE 18.
--THE AIM WOULD BE TO GET THE PLO TO LAY DOWN ITS ARMS AND
**TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF CONDUCTING A MILITARY STRUGGLE IN
**THE FUTURE
**
**--WHAT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT NEEDS IS AN IRON-CLAD
**GUARANTEE FROM ISRAEL CONVEYED BY THE U.S. AND BACKED BY
**THE U.S. THAT YOU WILL NOT LAUNCH A MILITARY ASSAULT
**AGAINST WEST BEIRUT DURING THAT 48-HOUR PERIOD.
**--BASED ON WHAT YOU HAVE TOLD ME ABOUT ISRAEL'S POSITION
**ON THIS SITUATION,I WOULD HOPE,WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S
OKAY, TO GIVE THE LEBANESE THAT ASSURANCE,AND SAY THAT THE
**U.S. AS WELL AS ISRAEL STANDS BEHIND IT.THE DETAILS OF
**HOW THE FORCES ACT CAN BE WORKED OUT ON THE SPOT BETWEEN
**THE IDF AND LAF.AS YOU KNOW THEY ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT.
**--IF,DURING THIS 48-HOUR PERIOD,THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT
**COMES TO AN UNDERSTANDING ALONG THESE LINES THAT IS
**ACCEPTABLE, THEY WILL THEN WANT FROM ISRAEL AND THE U.S.
THE FURTHER GUARANTEE THAT THE IDF WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH
**OR ATTACK THE LEBANESE ARMY AS IT MOVES INTO WEST BEIRUT
**AND NEGOTIATES A RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PRESENCE
**THERE.
**
**--IF THE LEBANESE DO NOT ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN **
**THE 48 HOURS,WE WOULD THEN SIMPLY REVERT TO THE SITUATION **
**WE ARE IN NOW-A CEASE FIRE-AND WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS THE **
**SITUATION AT THAT POINT.
**
--I ALSO WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT ISRAEL'S UNDERTAKING DURING
THESE 48 HOURS WOULD NOT,OF COURSE,MEAN THAT YOU WOULD NOT
**HAVE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE.BUT SHOULD ANY HOSTILE ACT **
TOWARD THE IDF TAKE PLACE,THEN I HOPE YOU WOULD ORDER YOUR
**FORCES TO ACT WITH THE UTMOST RESTRAINT.
**--IN ADDITION,IT HAS TO BE AGREED THAT THE CHRISTIAN
**FORCES WOULD ALSO BE BOUND BY THE GUARANTEE DURING THIS

דף 3 מתוך 3
עותק 5 מתוך 32 סודי ביותר

PERIOD.
THEY ALSO WOULD NOT ASSAULT THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT.

נחושתן

עפ: שהח,סשהח,רהמ,סרהמ,שהבט,מנבל,ממנבל,ר/מרבו,רם,אמן,
מצפא

771

דף 1 מ 3

עותק 9 מתוך 12 סודי ביותר

hG13/א

אפ2

אל: המשרד, נר: 616, מ : נ'
דח: ב, סג: מ, תא: 170682, זח: 0030

סודי ביותר / בהול בהול .

אל : סגן רהמ' ארליך .

מאת : מ. ארנס / שגריר

לפי בקשת רהמ' אני מעביר אליך מסר ממזכיר המדינה שהועבר אלי
. רהמ' לאחר שקרא את המסר מבקש ממך לכנס ישיבת ממשלה ללא
דיחוי כדי לדון ולהחליט האם הממשלה מאשרת את תוכנה . נא
להודיע לרהמ' את החלטת הממשלה ללא דיחוי .

להלן המסר ממזכיר המדינה :

WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED WORD - COMING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER OF LEBANON - THAT A POSSIBILITY HAS OPENED UP FOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT .

THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED FOR A 48 HOUR PERIOD IN WHICH TO START THIS PROCESS AND DURING WHICH THERE WILL BE AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE THAT NO MILITARY ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST WEST BEIRUT . THE 48 HOUR PERIOD SHOULD BEGIN AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE BASED ON AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE IDF AND LAF BUT IN ANY CASE , NOT LATER THEN 1200 LEBANON TIME JUNE 18
THE AIM WOULD BE TO GET THE PLO TO LAY DOWN ITS ARMS AND TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF CONDUCTING A MILITARY STRUGGLE IN THE FUTURE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מ 3

מס' 9 סמוך 12 סודי ביותר

WHAT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT NEEDS IN AN IRON-CLAD GUARANTEE FROM ISRAEL CONVEYED BY THE US AND BACKED BY US THAT YOU WILL NOT LAUNCH A MILITARY ASSAULT AGAINST WEST BEIRUT DURING THAT 48 HOUR PERIOD

BASED ON WHAT YOU HAVE TOLD ME ABOUT ISRAEL'S POSITION ON THIS SITUATION , I WOULD HOPE , WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S O.K., TO GIVE THE LEBANESE THAT ASSURANCE , AND SAY THAT THE US AS WELL AS ISRAEL STANDS BEHIND IT . THE DETAILS OF HOW THE FORCES ACT CAN BE WORKED OUT ON THE SPOT BETWEEN THE IDF AND LAF . AS YOU KNOW THEY ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT .

IF , DURING THIS 48 HOUR PERIOD THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT COMES TO AN UNDERSTANDING ALONG THESE LINES THAT IS ACCEPTABLE , THEY WILL THEN WANT FROM ISRAEL AND THE US THE FURTHER GUARANTEE THAT THE IDF WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH OR ATTACK THE LEBANESE ARMY AS IT MOVES INTO WEST BEIRUT AND NEGOTIATES A RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PRESENCE THERE .

IF THE LEBANESE DO NOT ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN THE 48 HOURS , WE WOULD THEN SIMPLY REVERT TO THE SITUATION WE ARE IN NOW - A CEASE FIRE - AND WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION AT THAT POINT

I ALSO WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT ISRAEL'S UNDERTAKING DURING THESE 48 HOURS WOULD NOT , OF COURSE , MEAN THAT YOU WOULD NOT HAVE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE . BUT SOULD ANY HOSTILE ACT TOWARD THE IDF TAKE PLACE , THEN I HOPE YOU WOULD ORDER YOUR FORCES TO ACT WITH THE UTMOST RESTRAINT .

IN ADDITION , IT HAS TO BE AGREED THAT THE CHRISTIAN FORCES WOULD ALSO BE BOUND BY THE GUARANTEE DURING THIS PERIOD . THEY ALSO WOULD NOT ASSAULT THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT

דף 3

עמוד 9 מתוך 12 סודי ביותר

ארנס ****

מס: שהח.קשהח.מנכל.ממנכל.רהמ.סרהמ

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון	**ט ר פ ס מ ב ר ק**
אל: המשרד	דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים
	סווג בטחוני: שלו
	דחיפות:
	תאריך וז"ח: 17.1796.יוני.82
	מס' מברק: 435

מצפ"א

1. תת ועדת החוץ המליצה היום פה אחד להיענות להצעת הממשל להגדלת סיוע הומניטרי ללבנון מ-5 מיליון ל-25 מיליון.

2. בתחילת הדיון העידו המורשים אוקר וריהל מיוזמי CONCURRENT RESOLUTION - 359 ששושביניה פרו-ערבים. השניים דרשו להחיל הפסקת אש ונטענו שהרג נמשך והשתמשו במספרים המוגזמים שהופצו על פליטים הרוגים ופצועים. דרשו להפסיק משלוחי נשק ולבחון הסיוע לישראל. רוזנטל ולנטוס אמרו ששותפים לדאגה אך יש להפריד הדיון על ההיבטים המדיניים-צבאיים מדיון על סיוע הומניטרי. שכן להיבטים המדיניים הסטוריה שאי אפשר להתעלם ממנה. רוזנטל ביקש לכלול ברקורד מכתב הועד היהודי האמריקני הרצ"ב.

3. במהלך הדיון המך פינדליי בדברי אוקר וריהל. עמד על כך שסיוע הומניטרי ינתן באמצעות ארגונים קבועים מראש "ושלא יישנה המצב עם סיוע בגדה ועזה" (כוונתו כנראה לבעיות שארגונים וולונטרים מסויימים מתלוננים עליהם.)

4. נציג הממשל היה תחת לחץ חוזר של פינדלי והמילטון, בשאלה מה עושה הממשל כדי לאכוף על ישראל קיום הפסקת אש.הגיב לבסוף "יש הפסקת אש". כתו כן לשאלה מה עושה ישראל בתחום ההומניטרי הגיב שישראל ממלאת חובתה ככובש. הביאה צוותים רפואיים ופועלת להחזרת שירותים, סניטציה נכדי.

5. נציג הממשל לא אישר המספרים הגבוהים של נפגעים אך גם לא הכחיש. אמר פעוד אין בידי משרדו נתונים בדוקים. יחד עם זאת אמר שהתברר שאין מחסור במזון וכי מלבד מלאי התברר שאיזורים חקלאיים לא נפגעו ויכולים לספק מזון. ייתכן לדבריו מחסור במזון מיוחד. חלק מהכסף הוקצב כבר למשלוחי מזון. כן אמר שחשוב לשקם נמלים ושדות תעופה כדי לאפשר הגעת אספקת הסיוע.

6. דיון בועדה המקבילה בסנט ביום ב' הקרוב.

שרה סלנדר ירה סליק שרבט אבילאה אלמן אלידן ואבל 3
ראונד אמר רא אמן

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE

June 17, 1982

2/2

Honorable Benjamin Rosenthal
2372 Rayburn Office Bldg.
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Rosenthal:

Because today's hearing does not provide the opportunity for private organizations to testify, I ask that you transmit to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee our strong support for H.R. 6567 which would provide immediate assistance for relief in Lebanon. You will recall that on June 11, as soon as reports came to our attention of the plight of the many innocent victims of the fighting, I wired you and other principal sponsors of the proposed American relief, as follows:

> "Humanitarian relief for Lebanese is first priority in re-establishment of an independent Lebanon. Your leadership in providing American assistance is greatly appreciated. American Jewish Committee fully endorses such humanitarian assistance."

A similar telegram went to President Reagan. We are pleased to note a very positive attitude on this question at the highest levels of the Administration. And while I do not presume to speak for the American Jewish community as a whole, I can report a very positive response throughout the community. My own organization, in a statement by our President, Mr. Maynard Wishner, last week urged rapid humanitarian aid "as a first urgent step toward what we hope will be the rebuilding of an independent Lebanon."

As your hearing today will undoubtedly reflect, there is no unanimous consensus on every aspect of the events of the last ten days. Let the review of these events continue. But some things surely are clear already. The elimination of the PLO threat not only to Israel but to Lebanon itself and to all moderate Arab elements, and the opportunities now created for a new beginning for Lebanon and, hopefully, for a general Arab-Israeli reconciliation, are positives which must not be lost. Even while these opportunities are explored, no hour must be lost in providing the necessary resources for as early and as complete rehabilitation as possible. American assistance, both public and private, can provide not only much-needed physical relief, but this act of compassion can also help provide new hopes among the Lebanese people for a brighter, more peaceful future.

Sincerely,

Hyman Bookbinder
Washington Representative

HB:dw

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

אופי

טופס	מברק
דף 1 מתוך 9 דפים	
סווג בטחוני שמור	
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ח 17 יוני 82, 1602	
מס' מברק 432	

מצפ"א

לבנון - קונגרס

AID תפיץ בגבעה הדו"חות הרצ"ב. הדו"ח מאשר נזקים כבדים לתשתית האזרחית.
במקביל הארגון NAAA הגביר כמויות החומר שנשלחות לחברי הקונגרס המבליטות
הפגיעה באזרחים, לרבות ילדים. הרושם שאני מקבל בשיחות בגבעה הינו כי קיימת
פרספציה של overkill .

קני-טל

קנ"ל

שהה סלשהה רהב סלרהב שהכס בנק בלאנק אלפבי רלבינב
בלר רם ולדן
4 3+141 6

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON D C 20523

2/9

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June 14, 1982

FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

LEBANON CIVIL STRIFE—SITUATION REPORTS 1 AND 2

Attached are Situation Reports #1 and #2 on the civil strife in Lebanon, which has been prepared by the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, Agency for International Development.

On Friday, June 11, the President sent to Congress a special bill providing authority for $20 million for emergency relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction assistance to alleviate the human suffering caused by the recent strife in Lebanon. In the meantime, we are making available immediately an additional $5 million in emergency assistance for foodstuffs, shelter, medicine and other critically needed supplies.

I would be happy to furnish any additional information you may require as the Congress acts upon the Lebanon Emergency Relief, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction Act of 1982.

Michelle D. Laxalt
Michelle D. Laxalt
Director
Office of Legislative Affairs

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

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Situation Report No. 1
Friday, June 11, 1982
5:00 p.m.

Lebanon -- Civil Strife

Date:

Date:	June 4, 1982
Location:	Countrywide
Dead:	Unconfirmed
Injured:	Unconfirmed
Homeless:	Partial Estimate: 16,000 - Chouf region
People Affected: (including homeless)	Estimated 350,000 in South
Damage:	Severe, not quantified

General Situation:

— On June 4, 1982, Israel began shelling Palestinian positions in Lebanon. This was followed by an invasion by Israeli troops that has resulted in Israel's occupying the South of Lebanon. Tyre and Sidon, for example, are under Israeli control.

— Civilian populations, including Lebanese and Palestinian refugees, have been displaced.

— A cease-fire between Israeli and Syrian troops, but not with Palestinians, is in effect.

— Reports indicate that the Beirut airport is heavily damaged and closed, and that the port there is also closed.

— The various humanitarian agencies active in Lebanon have been meeting to coordinate their efforts.

Action Taken by the Government of Lebanon (GOL)

— Lebanese authorities have requested U.N. humanitarian assistance for 300,000 families (1.5 million people).

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Assistance Provided by the United States Government (USG)

— On June 9, 1982, N. A. Veliotes, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs in consultation with Ambassador Dillon in Beirut, determined that a disaster situation of major proportions exists in Lebanon. He exercised his $25,000 disaster assistance authority These funds may be granted to the International Committee of the Red Cross, to the American University Hospital in Beirut, or to Secours Populaire Libanais.

— A grant in the amount of $200,000 has been given to the International Committee of the Red Cross for humanitarian relief.

— President Reagan announced that the USG will provide up to $5 million in humanitarian assistance as soon as avenues for aiding victims of the conflict open up.

— A request has been submitted to Congress for an additional $20 million to provide emergency relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction aid.

Assistance Provided by U.S. Voluntary Agencies

— Catholic Relief Services - $200,000 for emergency purchases and assistance through CRS's regular programs (which include social welfare, housing, health); plans to launch a Middle East appeal.

— Church World Service - $30,000 through the World Council of Churches to the Middle East Council of Churches which has been carrying out relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction activities since the civil war of 1975-76.

— Save the Children Foundation - seeking information from its field staff.

Assistance Provided by the International Community

U.N. System

— The Secretary General has issued an appeal for humanitarian aid (medical, tents, blankets, water purification, childrens' food, cash) through the Office of the U.N. Disaster Relief Coordinator.

— UNRWA - (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) - $500,000 authorized for blankets and meat; $1 million in stocks available for UNRWA-registered Palestinian refugees

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5/9

— UNICEF - $50,000 authorized for local purchases to benefit mothers and children; planning joint logistics base with ICRC in Cyprus

— UNHCR (U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees) - $200,000 for the proposed UNICEF - ICRC Cyprus operation

— WFP (World Food Program) - provisional planning for feeding 300,000 people for one month using wheat flour, powdered milk, and vegetable oil (all valued at $5-6 million)

Inter-Governmental Organizations

— EEC - $200,000 to the ICRC.

Voluntary Organizations

— International Committee of the Red Cross - appeal for funds to augment regular program of medical and relief assistance plus tracing activities; medical supplies and medical teams on standby for earliest possible arrival in Lebanon (2 teams have already arrived); 9 delegates in country; relief and protection for 10,000 people in Tyre; evacuation of wounded from Tyre and Sidon

— World Council of Churches - $337,816 to the Middle East Council of Churches; calling forward $359,000 in pledges to the MECC program

— Finnish Red Cross - medical team under ICRC auspices

— Norwegian Red Cross - medical team under ICRC auspices

Governments

— Sweden - $143,000 to the Swedish Red Cross to fund medical personnel departing June 12 for Lebanon via Cyprus under the auspices of the ICRC

— Tunisia - 12-person medical team with 3 tons medical supplies to work with the Lebanese Red Cross and Palestinian Red Crescent

— Turkey - medical supplies and doctors through the Turkish Red Crescent

Martin D. Howell

Martin D. Howell, Director
Office of U. S. Foreign
Disaster Assistance

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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

432

Situation Report No. 2
Monday, June 14, 1982
5:00 p.m.

Lebanon - Civil Strife

Date:

Date:	June 4, 1982
Location:	Countrywide
Dead:	Unconfirmed
Injured:	Estimated 3,400 wounded in Sidon, Tyre, Jezzine
Homeless:	Partial Estimate: 16,000 - Chouf region
People Affected: (including homeless)	Estimated 350,000 in South
Damage:	Severe, not quantified

General Situation:

- On June 4, 1982, Israel began shelling Palestinian positions in Lebanon. This was followed by an invasion by Israeli troops that has resulted in Israel's occupying the South of Lebanon. Tyre and Sidon, for example, are under Israeli control.
- Civilian populations, including Lebanese and Palestinian refugees, have been displaced.
- A cease-fire is in effect.
- Reports indicate that the Beirut airport is heavily damaged and closed, and that the port there is also closed.
- The various humanitarian agencies active in Lebanon have been meeting to coordinate their efforts.
- Priority needs have been identified as medical supplies and personal items such as soap and blankets. Food will be needed. Tents may be needed only later. Needs have not yet been quantified.

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Action Taken by the Government of Lebanon (GOL) and Lebanese Groups

— Lebanese authorities have requested U.N. humanitarian assistance for 300,000 families (1.5 million people).

— The Lebanese Red Cross and Palestinian Red Crescent are providing medical and relief assistance.

— The Middle East Council of Churches will be coordinating efforts of some 15 local agencies (including Popular Committee, AMEL, NAJDA, Haigazian College Relief Committee, American U. Student Committee) and working with the international Red Cross movement.

Assistance Provided by the United States Government (USG)

— On June 9, 1982, N. A. Veliotes, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs in consultation with Ambassador Dillon in Beirut, determined that a disaster situation of major proportions exists in Lebanon. He exercised his $25,000 disaster assistance authority. These funds may be granted to the International Committee of the Red Cross, to the American University Hospital in Beirut, or to Secours Populaire Libanais.

— A grant in the amount of $200,000 has been given to the International Committee of the Red Cross for humanitarian relief.

— President Reagan announced that the USG will provide up to $5 million in humanitarian assistance as soon as avenues for aiding victims of the conflict open up.

— A request has been submitted to Congress for an additional $20 million to provide emergency relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction aid.

Assistance Provided by U.S. Voluntary Agencies

— American Friends Service Committee - $25,000 to World Council of Churches.

— CARE - exploring possibility of sending medical teams.

— Catholic Relief Services - $200,000 for emergency purchases and assistance through CRS's regular programs (which include social welfare, housing, health); plans to launch a Middle East appeal.

— Church World Service - $30,000 through the World Council of Churches to the Middle East Council of Churches which has been carrying out relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction activities since the civil war of 1975-76.

— Save the Children Federation - seeking information from its field staff, has launched major appeal.

Assistance Provided by the International Community

U.N. System

— The Secretary General has issued an appeal for humanitarian aid (medical, tents, blankets, water purification, childrens' food, cash) through the Office of the U.N. Disaster Relief Coordinator.

— FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) - The Director-General has issued an appeal for food and cash contributions.

— UNDRO (Office of the U.N. Disaster Relief Coordinator) - Representative to Cyprus; $30,000.

— UNHCR (U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees) - $100,000 for the UNICEF - ICRC Cyprus operation.

— UNICEF - $50,000 authorized for local purchases to benefit mothers and children; planning joint logistics base with ICRC in Cyprus; also planning delivery of supplies from UNIPAC through Damascus.

— UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) - $500,000 authorized for blankets and meat; $1 million in stocks available for UNRWA-registered Palestinian refugees.

— WFP (World Food Program) - provisional planning for feeding 300,000 people for one month using wheat flour, powdered milk, and vegetable oil (all valued at $5-6 million).

— WHO (World Health Organization) - $30,000.

Inter-Governmental Organizations

— EEC - $200,000 to the ICRC.

Voluntary Organizations

— ICRC - (International Committee of the Red Cross) - 29 staff in country; relief and protection for 10,000 people in Tyre; evacuation of wounded from Tyre and Sidon; 2.5 tons blankets, milk powder, mattresses all valued at $8,381 (18,700 Sw. fr.); 15 tons of local food valued at $15,525 (31,800 Sw. fr.);

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medical supplies to Lebanese Red Cross and Palestinian Red Crescent hospitals ($3,954 = 8,100 Sw. fr.); appeal launched for $18,795,700 (38,500,000 Sw. fr.) to cover assistance over a three-month period with 250,000 people to be helped in the first month; medical teams from national societies and 3 field hospitals on standby for earliest possible arrival in Lebanon (2 teams have arrived); 10 tons blankets, medicines, tents to Cyprus for onward delivery.

— World Council of Churches - $337,816 to the Middle East Council of Churches; calling forward $359,000 in pledges to the MECC program.

— Finnish Red Cross - medical team (1 general surgeon, 1 anaesthetist, 1 nurse) under ICRC auspices.

— French Red Cross - medical team (same composition as above) and medical coordinator recruited.

— FRG Red Cross - medical team (same as above) recruited.

— Norwegian Red Cross - medical team (same as above) under ICRC auspices; medical coordinator recruited.

— Swedish Red Cross - medical team (same as above) and medical coordinator recruited.

Governments

— Bangladesh - plans to send a medical team.

— Italy - cash, 10 metric tons meat and 6,000 metric tons rice with total value of $368,000.

— Sweden - $143,000 to the Swedish Red Cross to fund medical personnel departing June 12 for Lebanon via Cyprus under the auspices of the ICRC.

— Tunisia - 12-person medical team with 3 tons medical supplies to work with the Lebanese Red Cross and Palestinian Red Crescent.

— Turkey - medical supplies and doctors through the Turkish Red Crescent.

— USSR - planeload of medicines.

Martin D. Howell, Director
Office of U. S. Foreign
Disaster Assistance

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As communicated by telephone by Amb. Arens to Mssrs. Valiotis and Eagleberger on 17/6 at 1330:

1. The Government of Israel has decided to respond favorably to the message of the U.S. Secretary of State.

2. The Government of Israel is committed to maintaining the cease fire in Lebanon and has no plans for capturing Beirut. The IDF will not fire unless fired upon in which case it will exercise its right of self defense.

3. The Government of Israel is fully responsible for the actions of the IDF but does not responsible for any other armed forces in Lebanon.

4. The Government of Israel does not see in the PLO a factor for any sort of negotiations.

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER -- THAT ALL MEMBERS PRACTICE TOLERANCE AND LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS GOOD NEIGHBORS...."

HE SAID "MORE AND MORE LAWLESS ACTS ARE GOING UNPUNISHED" WHILE SOME MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS "SHOW A GROWING DISREGARD" FOR THE CHARTER. "THE PEACE-LOVING NATIONS OF THE WORLD," HE SAID, "MUST CONDEMN AGGRESSION AND PLEDGE AGAIN TO ACT IN A WAY THAT IS WORTHY OF THE IDEALS WE HAVE ENDORSED. LET US FINALLY MAKE THE CHARTER LIVE."

ITEM

NESA-418 (5/17/82)

(FACT SHEET) THE REAGAN DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS (1,588)

(IN THE PAST SEVEN MONTHS, PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS PUT BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY A SERIES OF PROPOSALS FOR REDUCING BOTH NUCLEAR ARMS AND CONVENTIONAL MILITARY FORCES. HERE IS A BRIEF COMPILATION OF HIS PROPOSALS AND THE AREAS THEY WOULD AFFECT.)

1. STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS (S.T.A.R.T.)

ON NOVEMBER 18, 1981, PRESIDENT REAGAN PROPOSED THE OPENING OF U.S.-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE NEXT YEAR."

IN A SPEECH FROM THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB IN WASHINGTON, THE PRESIDENT TOLD A WORLDWIDE SATELLITE TELEVISION AUDIENCE HE HAD INFORMED SOVIET PRESIDENT BREZHNEV "THAT WE WILL SEEK TO NEGOTIATE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR ARMS WHICH WOULD RESULT IN LEVELS THAT ARE EQUAL AND VERIFIABLE. OUR

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APPROACH TO VERIFICATION WILL BE TO EMPHASIZE OPENNESS AND CREATIVITY -- RATHER THAN THE SECRECY AND SUSPICION WHICH HAVE UNDERMINED CONFIDENCE IN ARMS CONTROL IN THE PAST."

REAGAN SAID, "WE CAN AND SHOULD ATTEMPT MAJOR QUALITATIVE

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AND QUANTITATIVE PROGRESS. ONLY SUCH PROGRESS CAN FULFILL THE HOPES OF OUR PEOPLE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. LET US SEE HOW FAR WE CAN GO IN ACHIEVING TRULY SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN OUR STRATEGIC ARSENALS.

"TO SYMBOLIZE THIS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN DIRECTION, WE WILL CALL THESE NEGOTIATIONS S.T.A.R.T. -- STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TALKS."

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ON MAY 9, 1982, IN HIS EUREKA COLLEGE SPEECH, THE PRESIDENT PROPOSED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THE S.T.A.R.T. TALKS, REDUCE THEIR BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS BY AT LEAST ONE-THIRD AT EQUAL CEILINGS. TO ENHANCE STABILITY, HE SAID HE WOULD ASK THAT NO MORE THAN HALF OF THOSE WARHEADS BE LAND-BASED. THE FIRST PHASE OF S.T.A.R.T., HE SAID, SHOULD FOCUS ON

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INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES (ICBM'S) BECAUSE THEY ARE THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS.

"FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE," HE SAID, "I AM ASKING MY S.T.A.R.T. NEGOTIATING TEAM TO PROPOSE TO THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS A PRACTICAL, PHASED REDUCTION PLAN. THE FOCUS OF OUR EFFORTS WILL BE TO REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS -- BALLISTIC MISSILES -- THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS THEY CARRY, AND THEIR OVERALL DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL.

"AT THE END OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE S.T.A.R.T. REDUCTIONS, I EXPECT BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS -- THE MOST SERIOUS THREAT WE FACE -- TO BE REDUCED TO EQUAL CEILINGS AT LEAST A THIRD BELOW CURRENT LEVELS. TO ENHANCE STABILITY, I WOULD ASK THAT NO MORE THAN HALF OF THOSE WARHEADS BE LAND-BASED. I HOPE THAT THESE WARHEAD REDUCTIONS, AS WELL AS SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN MISSILES THEMSELVES, COULD BE ACHIEVED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

"IN A SECOND PHASE, WE WILL SEEK TO ACHIEVE AN EQUAL CEILING ON OTHER ELEMENTS OF OUR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES,

NOT QUANTITATIVE WORDS TO. ONLY SUCH PROGRESS CAN INSPIRE THE HOPES OF OUR PEOPLE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. LET US SEE HOW FAR WE CAN GO IN ACHIEVING TRULY SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN OUR STRATEGIC ARSENALS.

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"FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE," HE SAID, "I AM ASKING MY S.T.A.R.T. NEGOTIATING TEAM TO PROPOSE TO THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS A PRACTICAL, PHASED REDUCTION PLAN. THE FOCUS OF OUR EFFORTS WILL BE TO REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY THE MOST DESTABILIZING SYSTEMS -- BALLISTIC MISSILES -- THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS THEY CARRY, AND THEIR OVERALL DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL.

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"IN A SECOND PHASE, WE WILL SEEK TO ACHIEVE AN EQUAL CEILING ON OTHER ELEMENTS OF OUR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES,

INCLUDING LIMITS ON BALLISTIC MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT AT LESS THAN CURRENT AMERICAN LEVELS. IN BOTH PHASES, WE SHALL INSIST ON VERIFICATION PROCEDURES TO INSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT."

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IN MEMORIAL DAY REMARKS AT ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY MAY 31, REAGAN ANNOUNCED THAT "START NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND THE SOVIET UNION WILL BEGIN ON JUNE 29."

AND HE ADDED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ABOUT PREVIOUS STRATEGIC TREATIES AND NEGOTIATIONS:

"AS FOR EXISTING STRATEGIC AGREEMENTS, WE WILL REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS WHICH UNDERCUT THEM SO LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION SHOWS EQUAL RESTRAINT."

2. INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILE FORCE (INF) TALKS

IN HIS NOVEMBER 18 SPEECH, REAGAN PROPOSED THAT THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION REDUCE THEIR INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES TO ZERO. THIS BECAME KNOWN AS THE

"ZERO-OPTION" OR ZERO SOLUTION.

THE PRESIDENT SAID, "THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TOTTAWDZJIDTS DEPLOYMENT OF PERSHING TWO AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES IF THE SOVIETS WILL DISMANTLE THEIR SS-20, SS-4, AND SS-5 MISSILES. THIS WOULD BE AN HISTORIC STEP."

3. LOWER AND EQUAL LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES

IN HIS NOVEMBER 18 SPEECH, THE PRESIDENT ALSO PROPOSED THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES "ACT TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE."

HE NOTED THAT "THE DEFENSE NEEDS OF THE SOVIET UNION HARDLY CALL FOR MAINTAINING MORE COMBAT DIVISIONS IN EAST GERMANY TODAY THAN WERE IN THE WHOLE ALLIED INVASION FORCE THAT LANDED IN NORMANDY ON D-DAY."

THE SOVIET UNION, REAGAN SAID, "COULD MAKE NO MORE

CONVINCING CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN EUROPE -- AND IN THE WORLD -- THAN BY AGREEING TO REDUCE ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES SIGNIFICANTLY AND CONSTRAIN THE POTENTIAL FOR SUDDEN

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AGGRESSION."

4. MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION (MBFR) TALKS

ON JUNE 9, 1982, REAGAN PROPOSED THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) AND THE WARSAW PACT EACH REDUCE THEIR GROUND FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO A TOTAL OF 700,000 MEN AND THEIR COMBINED GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL TO A LEVEL OF 900,000 MEN.

IN A SPEECH TO THE WEST GERMAN BUNDESTAG, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT, BASED ON NATO ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON THE MATTER OF "HOW BEST TO INVESTIGATE" THE MUTUAL LAW AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION (MBFR) TALKS, "WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE VIENNA TALKS SOON WILL MAKE A PROPOSAL BY WHICH THE TWO ALLIANCES WOULD REDUCE THEIR RESPECTIVE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN VERIFIABLE STAGES TO A TOTAL OF 700,000 MEN AND THEIR COMBINED GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL TO A LEVEL OF 900,000 MEN."

THEN ON JUNE 11, IN HIS BERLIN SPEECH, THE PRESIDENT

SAID: "WE CHALLENGE THE SOVIET UNION, AS NATO PROPOSED YESTERDAY, TO SLASH THE CONVENTIONAL GROUND FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO 700,000 MEN EACH AND THE TOTAL GROUND AND AIR FORCES OF THE TWO ALLIANCES TO 900,000 MEN EACH."

HE SAID THAT "A POSITIVE APPROACH TO THESE SINCERE AND REASONABLE POINTS FROM THE SOVIETS, THEIR CALLS FOR CONCILIATION INSTEAD OF CONFRONTATION, COULD OPEN THE DOOR FOR A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE."

5. MEASURES TO ENHANCE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE

IN HIS BERLIN SPEECH, THE PRESIDENT ALSO PROPOSED SEVERAL MEASURES TO ENHANCE CONFIDENCE AND TO IMPROVE COMMUNICATION BOTH IN TIME OF PEACE AND IN A CRISIS. HE SAID:

"WE SHORTLY WILL APPROACH THE SOVIET UNION WITH PROPOSALS IN SUCH AREAS AS NOTIFICATION OF STRATEGIC EXERCISES, OF MISSILE LAUNCHES AND EXPANDED EXCHANGE OF STRATEGIC FORCES DATA.

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"TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE STEPS WOULD REPRESENT A QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT IN THE NUCLEAR ENVIRONMENT. THEY WOULD HELP REDUCE THE CHANCE OF MISINTERPRETATION IN THE CASE OF EXERCISES AND TEST LAUNCHES. AND THEY WOULD REDUCE THE SECRECY AND AMBIGUITY WHICH SURROUND MILITARY ACTIVITY."

IN HIS JUNE 17 ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT, REAGAN URGED "GREAT OPENNESS" AS A CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURE. "FOR AGREEMENTS TO WORK," HE SAID, "BOTH SIDES MUST BE ABLE TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE. THE BUILDING OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH GREATER OPENNESS."

HE ASKED THE DELEGATES TO THE DISARMAMENT SESSION TO ENDORSE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRINCI LES OF VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE IN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS AND ADDED:

"I HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR (U.S.) REPRESENTATIVES AT THE 40-NATION (GENEVA) COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT TO RENEW EMPHASIS ON VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE. BASED ON A U.S. PROPOSAL, A COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FORMED TO EXAMINE THESE ISSUES AS THEY

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RELATE TO RESTRICTIONS ON NUCLEAR TESTING."

IN THE SAME JUNE 17 ADDRESS, THE PRESIDENT ALSO PROPOSED "AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES" TO DEVELOP "A COMMON SYSTEM FOR ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING" ON THOSE EXPENDITURES.

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HE ASKED THE DELEGATES TO THE DISARMAMENT SESSION TO ENDORSE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE IN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS AND ADDED:

"I HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR (U.S.) REPRESENTATIVES AT THE GENEVA) COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT TO REVIEW EMPHASIS ON VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE. BASED ON A U.S. PROPOSAL, A COMMITTEE HAS BEEN FORMED TO EXAMINE THESE ISSUES AS THEY

RELATE TO RESTRICTIONS ON NUCLEAR TESTING."

IN THE SAME JUNE 17 ADDRESS, THE PRESIDENT ALSO PROPOSED "AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES" TO DEVELOP "A COMMON SYSTEM FOR ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING" ON THOSE EXPENDITURES.

"THE AMOUNT AND TYPE OF MILITARY SPENDING BY A COUNTRY IS IMPORTANT FOR THE WORLD TO KNOW," HE SAID, "AS A MEASURE OF ITS INTENTIONS, AND THE THREAT THAT COUNTRY MAY POSE TO ITS NEIGHBORS...WE URGE THE SOVIET UNION, IN PARTICULAR, TO JOIN THIS EFFORT IN GOOD FAITH, TO REVISE THE UNIVERSALLY DISCREDITED OFFICIAL FIGURES IT PUBLISHES, AND TO JOIN WITH US IN GIVING THE WORLD A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE RESOURCES WE ALLOCATE TO OUR ARMED FORCES."

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ITEM

WESA-411 (6/17/82)

(VOA EDITORIAL) GENUINE DISARMAMENT (400)

PRESIDENT REAGAN PRESENTED UNITED STATES HOPES FOR GENUINE DISARMAMENT JUNE 17 IN AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT.

REAGAN WAS SPEAKING TO TWO AUDIENCES FROM THE ROSTRUM OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD -- THOSE WHO HAVE LET THEIR FEARS OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION BE KNOWN IN DEMONSTRATIONS FROM JAPAN TO WESTERN EUROPE AND TO THE DOORSTEP OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINED HIS OWN CONCERNS AND OFFERED HONEST AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR PROGRESS TOWARD DISARMAMENT.

BUT THE NUCLEAR THREAT CANNOT BE ERASED UNILATERALLY, AND TO THIS END REAGAN CHALLENGED HIS OTHER AUDIENCE -- THE LEADERSHIP IN THE KREMLIN -- TO TAKE STEPS TO SLOW DOWN THE ARMS RACE, INDEED TO COOPERATE IN THE ACTUAL REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THE UNITED STATES IS ON THE OFFENSIVE AT THE U.N.

DISARMAMENT MEETING. THE FACTS STAND IN ITS FAVOR. DURING THE 1970S, THE FIRST UNITED NATIONS DECADE OF DISARMAMENT, SOVIET MILITARY SPENDING PUSHED MOSCOW'S NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCE CAPABILITIES FAR BEYOND DEFENSIVE NEEDS.

"THE AMOUNT AND TYPE OF MILITARY SPENDING BY A COUNTRY IS IMPORTANT FOR THE WORLD TO KNOW," HE SAID, "AS A MEASURE OF ITS INTENTIONS, AND THE THREAT THAT COUNTRY MAY POSE TO ITS NEIGHBORS...WE URGE THE SOVIET UNION, IN PARTICULAR, TO JOIN THIS EFFORT IN GOOD FAITH, TO REVISE THE UNIVERSALLY DISCREDITED OFFICIAL FIGURES IT PUBLISHES, AND TO JOIN WITH US IN GIVING THE WORLD A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE RESOURCES WE ALLOCATE TO OUR ARMED FORCES."

ITEM

WTSA-ALL (6/1/86)

(VOA EDITORIAL) GENUINE DISARMAMENT (ADD)

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REAGAN WAS SPEAKING TO TWO AUDIENCES FROM THE ROSTRUM OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD -- THOSE WHO HAVE LET THEIR FEARS OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION BE SHOWN IN DEMONSTRATIONS FROM JAPAN TO WESTERN EUROPE AND TO THE DOORSTEP OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINED HIS OWN CONCERNS AND OFFERED HONEST AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR PROGRESS TOWARD DISARMAMENT.

BUT THE NUCLEAR THREAT CANNOT BE ERASED UNILATERALLY, AND TO THIS END REAGAN CHALLENGED HIS OTHER AUDIENCE -- THE LEADERSHIP IN THE KREMLIN -- TO TAKE STEPS TO SLOW DOWN THE ARMS RACE, INDEED TO COOPERATE IN THE ACTUAL REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

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THERE IS COMPELLING EVIDENCE OF SOVIET-INSPIRED USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. AND JUST RECENTLY, THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS OF PEACE DEMONSTRATORS BEING ARRESTED IN MOSCOW, EVEN AS THE SOVIET SPEAKER AT THE UNITED NATIONS PLEDGED THE KREMLIN'S SUPPORT OF DISARMAMENT.

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IT IS AGAINST THAT BACKDROP THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN CALLED JUNE 17 FOR DEEDS, NOT WORDS, FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

THERE'S PLENTY OF ROOM FOR PROGRESS. TALKS HAVE BEGUN, OR WILL SOON GET UNDERWAY ON A NUMBER OF AMERICAN AND ALLIED-SPONSORED PROPOALS TO REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR BY ELIMINATING INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS AND REDUCING STRATEGIC MISSILE WARHEADS.

WHAT IS NEEDED NOW, AND WHAT THE UNITED STATES IS INVITING, IS A SINCERE, COOPERATIVE EFFORT BY THE TWO

LEADING NUCLEAR POWERS TO REACH VERIFIABLE AGREEMENTS. THIS EXTENDS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CALLS FOR REDUCTIONS BY NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES AND FOR TRUE PUBLIC ACCOUNTING OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

IT IS EARLY IN THE SECOND DISARMAMENT DECADE. AMERICAN PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD EASE THE WORLD'S NUCLEAR FEARS HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD AND THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO MOVE TOWARD SOLID AGREEMENTS WITH MOSCOW WHILE MAINTAINING NECESSARY MILITARY STRENGTH. A FRAMEWORK FOR GENUINE DISARMAMENT IS AVAILABLE.

ITEM

NESA-412 (6/17/82)

(FOLLOWING FS MATERIAL BASED ON PRESS REPORTS IS FOR DISTRIBUTION TO MISSION STAFF ONLY AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

NEWS ROUNDUP, THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1982 (559)

THERE IS COMPELLING EVIDENCE OF SOVIET-INSPIRED USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. AND JUST RECENTLY, THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS OF PEACE DEMONSTRATORS BEING ARRESTED IN MOSCOW, EVEN AS THE SOVIET SPEAKER AT THE UNITED NATIONS PLEDGED THE KREMLIN'S SUPPORT OF DISARMAMENT.

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ITEM

WESA-412 (6/17/82)

(FOLLOWING IS MATERIAL BASED ON PRESS REPORTS IS FOR DISTRIBUTION TO MISSION STAFF ONLY AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

NEWS ROUNDUP, THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1982 (5:00)

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** שמור יצא
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אל: ני , וש , נר: חוזם 756, מ : המשרד
דח: מ, סג: ש, מא: 170682, מח: 1730
נד: סיוע ארהב ללבנון

שמור/מיידי

סיוע ארה"ב ללבנון.

היועץ הכלכלי של שג'ארה"ב מסר לי היום שהשגרירות קבלה מוושינגטון את העקרונות שעל פיהן ירצה הממשל להשתתף בסעד ללבנון.
א. ההשתתפות תהיה רבה ומרשימה (VISIBLE).
ב. פקיד בכיר של סוא יתאם את הפעולה האמריקנית ולשם כך ייפגש מחר או מחרתיים עם מוכ"ל האו"מ, ויודיע לו על נכונות ארה"ב להשתלב במאמץ הבינלאומי בחסות אומ' ומסגרתו.
ג. ארה"ב מביאה בחשבון סיוע באמצעות שני גופים של
1. UN DISASTER RELIEF ORGANIZATION
2. המועצה לשיקום לבנון שבראשה איקבאל אחונד, אשר קבל בימים אלה מינוי מהמוכ"ל לתאם את הסעד ללבנון.

ד. כל הסעד יתנהל ויכוון על דעתה של ממלבנון ובתאום עמה.
ה. היום ובשבוע הבא יקימו ועדת החוץ של הסנאט ובית הנבחרים דיונים לשמיעת מבנית לצורך איזור תקציב.

ו. מצפים לשפ' מצד ישראל (סיפר ששגרירותם דווחה על מיפולה היעיל של ישראל בבעיית הסעד ותארה את ממדיו בצורה מציאותית כפי שגורסת ישראל).

אליצור===

נש/מס/=

מפ: שהח,קשהח,רהמ,סרהמ,שהבמ,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרבו,רמ,אמן,
ממת,אל"צור,ארבל1,ארבל2,ארבל3,מצפא

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

1042

נכנס

דף 1 מתוך 3

עותק 4 מתוך 32 סודי ביותר

4614/1

אל: המשרד, נד: 414, מ : 011
דח: מ, סג: מ, מא: 170682, זמ: 1330
נד: לבנון

אבי

סודי ביותר/מיידי

ממנבל'',מנהל מצב'א.

אמש בשעה 2100 לערך קרא לי איגלבורגר למחא''ד ומסר לי הניר הרצ''ב . עם כניסתי לחדרו לוונו צ'רלי היל אשר הביא עמו חבילת מסמכים.איגלבורגר נטל המסמך הרצ''ב ומסרו לי .אמ''ב הוא נטל עוד מסמך והחל לעין בו .ראיתיו מחוויר מעט .הוא בקש לראות את המסמך שזה הרגע מסר לי ובאשר עין בו נשם לרווחה בהפע''ו :

I WAS TERRIFIED WE GAVE YOU THE WRONG PAPER

איגלבורגר בקש כי השגריר יבוא בדברים עם הייג ואכן כך נעשה .

יתכן שאפשר ללמוד מכך שהמסמך הרצ''ב אינו כולל כל מה שחביו השביר למחא''ד מביירות .

TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH ARENS

--WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED WORD-COMING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER OF LEBANON-THAT A POSSIBILITY HAS OPENED UP FOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT.

--THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED FOR A 48-HOUR PERIOD IN WHICH TO START THIS PROCESS AND DURING WHICH THERE WILL BE AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE THAT NO MILITARY ACTION

**WILL BE TAKEN AGAINST WEST BEIRUT.THE 48-HOUR PERIOD
**SHOULD BEGIN AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE BASED ON AGREEMENT
BETWEEN THE IDF AND THE LAF BUT,IN ANY CASE,NOT LATER THAN
**1200 LEBANON TIME JUNE 18.
--THE AIM WOULD BE TO GET THE PLO TO LAY DOWN ITS ARMS AND
**TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF CONDUCTING A MILITARY STRUGGLE IN
**THE FUTURE
**
**--WHAT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT NEEDS IS AN IRON-CLAD
**GUARANTEE FROM ISRAEL CONVEYED BY THE U.S. AND BACKED BY
**THE U.S. THAT YOU WILL NOT LAUNCH A MILITARY ASSAULT
**AGAINST WEST BEIRUT DURING THAT 48-HOUR PERIOD.
**--BASED ON WHAT YOU HAVE TOLD ME ABOUT ISRAEL'S POSITION
**ON THIS SITUATION,I WOULD HOPE,WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S
OKAY, TO GIVE THE LEBANESE THAT ASSURANCE,AND SAY THAT THE
**U.S. AS WELL AS ISRAEL STANDS BEHIND IT.THE DETAILS OF
**HOW THE FORCES ACT CAN BE WORKED OUT ON THE SPOT BETWEEN
**THE IDF AND LAF.AS YOU KNOW THEY ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT.
**--IF,DURING THIS 48-HOUR PERIOD,THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT
**COMES TO AN UNDERSTANDING ALONG THESE LINES THAT IS
**ACCEPTABLE, THEY WILL THEN WANT FROM ISRAEL AND THE U.S.
THE FURTHER GUARANTEE THAT THE IDF WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH
**OR ATTACK THE LEBANESE ARMY AS IT MOVES INTO WEST BEIRUT
**AND NEGOTIATES A RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PRESENCE
**THERE.
**
**--IF THE LEBANESE DO NOT ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN **
**THE 48 HOURS,WE WOULD THEN SIMPLY REVERT TO THE SITUATION **
**WE ARE IN NOW-A CEASE FIRE-AND WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS THE **
**SITUATION AT THAT POINT.
**
--I ALSO WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT ISRAEL'S UNDERTAKING DURING
THESE 48 HOURS WOULD NOT,OF COURSE,MEAN THAT YOU WOULD NOT
**HAVE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE.BUT SHOULD ANY HOSTILE ACT **
TOWARD THE IDF TAKE PLACE,THEN I HOPE YOU WOULD ORDER YOUR
**FORCES TO ACT WITH THE UTMOST RESTRAINT.
**--IN ADDITION,IT WAS TO BE AGREED THAT THE CHRISTIAN
**FORCES WOULD ALSO BE BOUND BY THE GUARANTEE DURING THIS

```
**                                                                  **
**   **                                   מתוך 3      דף 3          **
**  **                    סודי ביותר      מתוך 32     עותק 4        **
** **                                                                **
****                                                                **
**                                                                  **
**PERIOD.                                                            **
**THEY ALSO WOULD NOT ASSAULT THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT.                **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                   נחושתן         **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**                                                                  **
**      תפ: שהח,סשהח,דהמ,סרהמ,שהבמ,מנבל,מתנבל,ר/מרבו,רם,אתן,       **
**                                                          מצפא    **
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53

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד, ניו-יורק

אבי

ט ל ק ס ט ב ל ק

דח..1..מתוך..1..דפים

סדר בטחוני...גלוי

דחיפות...רגיל

תאריך וז"ת 1400 17 יוני 82

מס' טברק 75/412

ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, רוה"מ, ניו-יורק

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING -- JUNE 17, 1982

--On The Israeli Operation In Lebanon
In Response To Questions:

--We obviously were aware of the dangers and possibilities of this kind of action and Israeli concerns about cross-border operations. We have been working for almost a year to strengthen and maintain the cease-fire which was arranged last July, with the help and facilitation of Ambassador Habib. We were not appraised of Israeli plans to attack and we have said this many times, and we were not in favor of their doing that. And I think that is where I am going to leave this question, and I hope that it does not come up again.

--We continue to discuss with Israel, as well as the other parties concerned, this whole situation. And I would say that our position has remained consistent since we indicated the other day, it was our understanding that the Israeli government had made it clear that it did not intend to occupy Beirut.

--I do not have an attitude to express to you about meetings between the P.L.O. and members of Congress.

--Habib's mission: the issue of the cease-fire and the general issue within Lebanon. Clearly we are talking to people who talk to the P.L.O., but I wouldn't characterize that as some kind of negotiation.

עתונות

[illegible]

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד ירושלים

ט ל ק ס	ס ב ר ק
דף...1...מתוך...1...דפים	
סווג בטחוני...ס ו ד י	
דחיפות.....	
תאריך וז"ח 171600 ביוני 82	
מס' מברק...425	

ב נ צ ו ר .

משיחה עם מייק גייל מצוות הבית הלבן .

1. סיפר כי המלך חוסיין שלח שתי אגרות לנשיא בימים האחרונים. לא ידע על תוכנן אך לדבריו האגרות גרמו להתרגשות בממשל והגברת דיבורים על אפשרות שילוב הירדנים בתהליך.

2. סיפר כי הממשל מצפה ל"עדים ישראלים לשיפור האויר במסגרת שיחות האוטונומיה.

הצעדים שהועלו במסגרת דיונים פנימיים :

(א) החזרת אחד מראשי העיר המגורשים .

(ב) הכרזה על בחירות ביו"ש עוד קודם לסיום שיחות האוטונומיה.

(ג) מינוי איש אחר במקום מילסון .

(ד) הסכמה ישראלית שוושינגטון תשמש מקום לכינוס כל שיחות האוטונומיה.

3. סיפר שמייקל דיוור ונכסי רייגן רוטנים עלינו בגלל הפגיעה בתדמית רייגן שנוצרה כתוצאה מחוסר יכולתו לשלוט בנעשה בלבנון בעת מסעו באירופה. הממשל הנוכחי, לדבריו, נעול על בניית תדמית הנשיא מעל ומעבר לכל ענין שיש להם בסובסטנס ועלינו להביא זאת בחשבון.

4. סיפר שלמרות טס-השפתיים שהממשל נותן לק.ד. הם רואים בו היעדר של ממשל קרטר והיו שמחים אילו ניתן היה "להתקדם תחת שם אחר".

סבל

[illegible]

51

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

ע ר פ ס	מ כ ר ק
דף	מתוך
סדרג בטחוני	
דחיפות	
תאריך רז"מ	82.11.17 1430
מס' מברק	474

מצפ"א מרכז

שיחה עם A. SEMS סגן מנהל המח' האיראנית במחמ"ד מז"ת

ארה"ב איתרה לאחרונה הכנות איראניות צבאיות הכוללות העברת כוחות מהגיזרה הדרומית לעבר מרחב קאסר-א-שארם. לפי הערכתם האיראנים מכינים אופנסיבה חדשה שמטרתה תהיה לשחרר טריטוריה איראנית שעדיין מצויה תחת הכיבוש העיראקי. על אף שהעיראקים חייבים לדעת על ההכנות לא נבחנו עד כה סימנים כי בגדאד נוקטת בצעדים המתחייבים מאיום זה.

באשר לשאלה האם יחדור הצבא האירני לשטחה של עיראק , נראה שהויכוח הפנימי שהתנהל באיראן בנושא זה טרם הגיע לידי הכרעה. הנטייה כאן היא להאמין שהאיראנים לא יעשו זאת.

במצב הפנימי חלה רגיעה משמעותית (בהשוואה לתקופה בה נאלץ המשטר להתמודד עם אוייביו השונים) ובמקביל מגלה המשטר גישה פרגמטית יותר מבעבר. הנה לדוגמה בניגוד לעבר, כאשר גרסו שעליהם להפיק מעט נפט ולמכרו במחיר גבוה , הם נוקטים עתה בקו של הגברת היצוא והורדת מחיר הנפט. נוכח שינוי זה חל שינוי גם בהערכת וושינגטון לגבי האירועים הצפויים במקרה של מות הומייני. עתה מניחים שגם אם חילופי המנהיגות עלולים לגרום קשיים מסויימים, יוכל המשטר לעבור ארוע זה ללא זעזועים קשים במיוחד ומבלי שיהיה בכך משום איום על עתידו.

ארה"ב מקיימת מגע עם שלטונות טהראן במסגרת הוועדה המשולת בענייני כספיים

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ס ו ד י

דף...2...מתוך...2...דפים

סווג בטחוני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח.....

מס' מברק...424...

כלכליים שהוקמה בעקבות הסכם שחרור בני הערובה. יתר על כן, היה גם מגע - בדרג ממשלתי נמוך (כלומר סמס עצמו יחד עם נציג המחלקה המשפטית של מחמ"ד) עם גורמים מקבילים במשרד החוץ האיראני. הנושא שבדון היה עניינים טכניים התלויים ועומדים שמחוץ למסגרת הוועדה שהוזכרה לעיל. (למשל הטיפול במבנה השג' האמריקאית בטהראן). מפגש זה לא הביא לתוצאות ממשיות אך בהחלט חושבים שבתנאים מסויימים ניתן יהיה לחדש המגעים בדרג זה. עקרונית החליטה ארה"ב שעד סיום המלחמה במפרץ לא תהיה רביזיה בגישת וושיגנטון כלפי טהראן. אין פירוש הדבר כי מתעלמים כאן מחשיבותה ומעמדה המרכזי של מדינה זו באיזור המפרץ. מאידך גיסא ברור גם כי במקרה של פליטה איראנית לעיראק ואיום על מדינות המפרץ הערביות מעמוד ארה"ב בפני אתגר חמור, ולדברי סמס, ברור כי הפנטגון חייב לקחת בחשבון אפשרות זו בתכנוניו.

לבסוף סיפר, כדוגמה נוספת לגישתה המשתנה של איראן, על החלטה טהראן לפנות לגרמניה במגמה לחדש העבודה בארבעה כורים גרעיניים שהקמתם תוכננה עוד בימי השאה. עמדת הגרמנים טרם הובהרה לארה"ב ועל אף הסדרי הפיקוח הקפדניים שהגרמנים התכוונו להפעיל מלכתחילה, ברור לכולם מהן "האופציות" הגלומות בהחלטה איראנית זו לגבי העתיד.

ש.מ

מ ר ו ם

[illegible]

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד. ניו-יורק

מהנב"ל. מצפ"א. ניו-יורק. רוה"מ

ס ר פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף..1..מתוך..3...דפים

סודב בטחוני..גלוי.....

דחיפות.....רגיל.....

תאריך וז"ח: 1200 17.יוני 82

מס' מברק. 76/418

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING--JUNE 16, 1982

ON THE ISRAELI OPERATION IN LEBANON

In response to questions:

--I would have to refer you to the White House for any comment on the President's plans to meet with Prime Minister Begin.

--(In reference to the PLO wanting direct talks between the U.S. and the PLO) Well, as the President said, we are prepared to talk to the PLO provided the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist and provided the PLO accepts Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

--(any signal from the PLO that this is what they want to talks about?) That is a kind of chicken and egg question that I am not sure I can really respond to in any specific terms. I will just have to rest with the statement I gave you.

I cannot improve on the wording that I gave you in terms of our attitude with respect to talking to the PLO. Again, I do not want to be more specific, at the same time any less forthcoming, that I just was in regard to the question about whether we are prepared to talk to the PLO.

--(On the meeting between Secretary of State Haig and Prime Minister Begin) Obviously, the Secretary and the Prime Minister will have a number of issues to discuss and it would be surprising if among htose issues the Lebanese problem would not be discussed.

--I do not have what I could define as a clear idea about the timing of the withdrawal. I just prefer not to get into any of the specifics of the continuing dialogue that we have had with the Israelis from the beginning of this crisis.

--The Prime Minister himself has said that he has no intention if taking Beirut.

--(On whether Ambassador Habib has held discussion with members of the PLO) Our policy in discussions with the PLO has not changed and therefore Ambassador Habib has not had any direct discussions with the PLO. He does remain in Beirut. He is continuing his discussions. He is having meetings with a wide variety of Lebanese governmental and political leaders.

./.

--I cannot exclude the possibility that Ambassador Habib has had meetings with people who have direct contact with the PLO. Obviously, many Lebanese leaders have contacts with the PLO.

--(On the cease-fire) Let me just say that we are hopeful that the various parties will adhere to their cease-fire declarations. There have been as I am sure you have read, a number of successive demands about Syrian withdrawal, Syria's refusal to do so, etc. I can only say that as we are now engaged in a major diplomatic effort with respect to Lebanon I cannot comment on any of the specific demands and responses voiced by the various parties but to reiterate we continue to expect that the various parties will adhere to their cease-fire declarations.

--(On whether troop movements by the Israelis constitute a violation of the cease-fire) I am not going to attempt to define specifically whether that constitutes a violation of the cease-fire but I made it clear that we are hopeful that both troop movements and actual fighting will cease.

--(On a Soviet envoy in Damascus) I has been reported that General Yurosov who is the first Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet air defense forces, is in Damascus. We assume his visit may be related to the recent clashes between Syrian and Israeli forces, but beyond that we do not have any information on the specific purpose of his visit.

--(On the US naval vessels in the Mediterranean) I do not have any hard information I can give you on the number. Location, as far as we know, is as indicated yesterday. Most of them traditionally are in the Eastern Mediterranean. There is no change on that.

--(On US humanitarian aid to Lebanon) I do not have any information I can give you as to whether or not the humanitarian aid we indicated last night, we were prepared to provide, has actually arrived in Lebanon. Well, of course, we are making every effort to be as helpful as we can in that regard.

--I have no information to suggest that there have been any Americans killed in the fighting in Lebanon.

--(On the evacuation of Americans from Beirut) The evacuation of American personnel from Beirut has already begun. In fact I can give you what the status is as of the moment, but not in terms of any specific numbers.

./.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

טלפס	מברק
דף 3 מתוך 3 דפים	
תדוג בטחוני	
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ח	
מס' מברק	

The American Embassy is operating in limited fashion and continues to assist in facilitating departures of American civilians who so wish. Those who are departing Lebanon are doing so by commercial vessels from the port of Junia (?). The American Embassy in Nicosia reports that over a hundred Americans plus many of other nationalities have arrived at the port of Larnaca in Cyprus, where the Embassy staff is assisting the American citizens there.

These are commercial vessels which are being used. As you know, the Sixth Fleet is frequently on station off the coast of the Middle Eastern countries.

עתונות

לדעת סלטרה הדבר סודי שהלי נעלם סנעל מאתרים אמן
מלבנון ארצה אלא הסבות פרי

114

מחלקת רוצר - ניו - יורק

סיפס מברק צפון

אל: המפרד

דע: 111

מאת: נאו"ם

דף ___ מתוך ___ דפים

סיווג בטחוני: סודי

דחיפות: מיידי

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

תאריך תז"ח: אוגוסט

מס' מברק: 654

119 - 111

אליצור.

דע- וושינגטון

מכילוא.

לבנון.

מחבר משלחת ארה"ב:

בפגישת הרבנו המלצות לקראת פגישת המזכיר עם רח"ם. אלה כללו בין השאר:

1. יוניפי"ל יוסאר בשלב זה במקומו מבלי להרחיב תחום פעילותו ומשימותיו.
2. נסיגת ישראל תותנה בנסיגת הסורים ובפרוק החשתית הצבאית של אש"פ בלבנון.
3. בהסגרת "שידוד המערכות" הבוטלנה מובלעות חדאד והוא ואנשיו ישולבו בצבא לבנון.
4. יעשה מאמץ להקים צבא לבנוני ולשלב בו האלמנטים הצבאיים השונים הפועלים כיום בלבנון - להוציא כמובן אש"פ.

הבר המשלחת הבהיר שאין מביאים, לפחות בשלב זה, אפשרות הקמת כר"ם.

ההתנגדות לרעיון זה היתה חקיפה במרבית זרועות המימשל ובגבעה.

נאו"ם

שרה סוטרה רוג סלרגב שהבט אנל בונגל אינגלו ארבל 2
גרשם יגאנכ אנט רם יאן

תאריך: 17.6.82 דרגה: מילר ארשרל מנהל המחלקה: _____ החתימה: _____

41

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

אבי

טלפס	סברק
99 מתוך 1	לפים
סודי בטחוני	שחור
עדיפות	
תאריך וז"ח 1606 17 יוני, 82	
מס' סבדיק 323	

מצפ"א

מתוך שיחה עם המורשים מייקה, (דמוקרט מפלורידה, חבר ועדת החוץ של הבית) ופייזר.

מייקה -

1. תידרכתי הנ"ל על המצב בלבנון. הביע הבנה למניעי ישראל. סבור כי בוודאי היתה לנו סיבה טובה לנקוט הצעד הדראסטי הזה כלפי אש"ף. סיפר כי יצץ לחבריו בועדה שלא להחפץ לשפוט את ישראל בטרם עת.

2. עם זאת, מייקה סבור כי הפעולה בלבנון מוסיפה שמן על המדורה האנטישמית הלאטנטית הקיימת בארה"ב. סיפר כי ערך סקר דעת קהל ומצא כי המיבתו הבולטת בישראל יכולה להעלות לו במחיר פוליטי. לדעת עורכי הסקר מתנגדים פוטנציאלים במחוזו יבקשו לנגח את מייקה על נקיטת עמדה פרו-ישראלית מדי. סיים באומרו כי קיים פוטנציאל של anti-semitic backlash בעקבות פעולתנו האחרונה בלבנון.

3. בפגישה עם המורשה פייזר הבחין הנ"ל בין ההבט הצבאי של הפעולה אשר זכה בקונגרס להערכה לבין ההבטים הפוליטיים אשר אינם, לדבריו, מעוררים התלהבות. להערכתו אין בקונגרס תמיכה רבה ברעיון שגור חיילים אמריקניים כדי להשתתף בכוח רב-לאומי בלבנון. פייזר סבור כי כתוצאה של המבצע יהיה כרסום של התמיכה בישראל בקונגרס. הפרספקטיבה שישראל משתמשת בכוח רב לקדום מטרותיה הולכת ומתבססת. פייזר סבור כי גם העובדה שהקהילה היהודית אינה עוד מונוליטית תורמת ללגיטימציה של הביקורת הנמתחת על ישראל.

קני-טל

קנ-ה

שהם מוטרדים רק מדרגה שהכל נעשה בתיאום ובהוראה בלבד
רם ולמן

45

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

אל 2

ט ל ג ר ם מ ב ר ק

דף....מתוך...2...דפים

סוג בטחוני.סודי....

דחיפות....מיידי....

תאריך וז"ח: 8בינואר

מס' מברק...450..

מצפ"א מרכז

שיחה עם GROSSMAN מהדסק הירדני במחמ"ד מז"ח

שתי אגרות הוחלפו לאחרונה בין עמאן לוושינגטון:

א. באגרת הראשונה לנשיא ביקש חוסיין כי ארה"ב תעשה הכל כדי לעצור ההתקפה הישראלית. ארה"ב השיבה כי אכן עושה מיטב מאמציה בנדון.

ב. באגרת השניה בקשו הירדנים לדעת על כוונת ארה"ב ויעדיה במסגרת שליחות חביב. בתשובה האמריקאית הובהרו המטרות אותן מתכוון חביב להשיג (הפסקת אש, חיזוק הממשל הלבנוני ועוד) ובו בזמן הובעה הדעה כי בתנאים שנוצרו על עמאן לשקול מחדש עמדתה לגבי התהליך המדיני כשהכוונה לעודד את המלך לגישה חיובית יותר.

ברוח זו דיבר מזכיר המדינה עם שה"ח הירדני בניו-יורק (אם אכן נשאר הייג נאמן לנייר שהוכן עבורו במחמ"ד). גרוסן סיפר שדאגת הירדנים כרגע מתרכזת בנקודה עיקרית אחת . הם חוששים מהאפשרות כי אם אש"פ יאלץ לעזוב את ביירות כי אז ירדן תיאלץ לקבלו או שהארגון יעבור לסוריה, יוצב בשטחה אך בקרבת הגבול הירדני. בשני המקרים צופים צרות.

מעבר לזאת גובר בירדן הפחד כי הכרזות ישראל על היות ירדן מדינה פלשתינאית יזכו לאוזן קשבת יותר ויותר. לכן, האירועים בלבנון נתפשים רק כשלב ראשון

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ט ל ג ר ם ס ב ר ק

דף.....מתוך.....דפים

סוג בטחוני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"מ:.....

מס' סברק.....450

כשלאחריו יבוא השלב השני בו תפעל ישראל להקמת משטר פלשתינאי בממלכה. חמורה מכל - מבחינת הירדנים- היא האפשרות שגם ארה"ב תסכים לכך או שלא תוכל למנוע מהלך כזה. בעת ביקור חוסיין באן עשה הממשל כל שביכולתו כדי לחזק אמינות ווש' בעיני המלך. ההרגשה כיום היא שהמעמד זכה להצלחה חלקית ובעמאן עדיין הושפים מעמדת ארה"ב. משמעותה של תפיסת ירדנית זו היא שגם אם נחלש עתה, אולי, לחצם של הסורים והפלשתינאים על הממלכה (והדבר עשוי היה להרום לנכונות ירדנית גדולה יותר להשתלבות במו"מ) כי אז יתאזן הדבר ע"י החשש מפני ישראל ורצון ירושלים לפתור בעיית פלשתין על השבון הממלכה האשמית.

עם זאת, מספר גרוסמן, בביקורו בירדן באפריל נוכח לדעת כי פינוי סיני הביא לחמורה משמעותית בתודעה הירדנית. עד אז לא האמינו שישראל תחזיר את יתרת סיני ושארה"ב תוכל להפגין היעג כזה בעיני מדינות ערב האחרות. הוכח שהנכונות למו"מ בהשתתפות ווש' הינה לא רק דרך אפשרית אלא - כנראה התכליתית ביותר. מוקדם עדיין להעריך כיצד כל מחשבות אלה והאירועים האחרונים בלבנון יתנו אותותם בתקופה הקרובה.

מ.ר

מ ר ו ם

שהרי סונשרת רהא סרהא. שיהיה אנחל. מאנחל כל רהנשל'ים
מבפא רהיכל מאר. רם אמרן אל'ידור ארבל

27

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

טלפס מברק

דף...1...מתוך...5...דפים

סווג בטחוני...שמור.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח...17.1554.יוני.82

מס' מברק...430.....

מצפ"א

לבנון - קונגרס.

1. המורשה ריהאל הפיץ השבוע את מכתב ה- dear colleagueונוסח החלטה אנטי-ישראלית. שימו לב לנוסח המטעה של המכתב המלווה ההחלטה הנ"ל. ריהאל פועל בתאום מלא עם הלובי הערבי NAAA (נוסחים מצורפים).

2. זבלוקי רצה לקיים אחמול ישיבה בחרכב מלא של ועדת החוץ של הבית. היא בוטלה בלחץ מחמ"ד. מחמ"ד גם מתנגדת כי ה hearings שתוכננו ליום בי הקרוב יתקיימו במועדם, זאת בשל שהות רה"מ בוושינגטון.

3. בנפרד דו"חות AID על המצב בלבנון.

קני-טל

2/5

430

NICK J. RAHALL, II
4TH DISTRICT, WEST VIRGINIA

COMMITTEES:
PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION
SUBCOMMITTEES:
AVIATION
WATER RESOURCES
SURFACE TRANSPORTATION
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
MINES AND MINING
ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT
STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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1009 FEDERAL BUILDING
BLUEFIELD, WEST VIRGINIA 24701
(304) 325-6225
R K BUILDING
LOGAN, WEST VIRGINIA 25601
(304) 752-4634

June 15, 1982

Dear Colleague:

Last Thursday, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 359, (copy attached) which expresses the sense of Congress that the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Lebanon must be maintained.

Situated as it is in the Arab world, the peace-loving country of Lebanon has long been caught in the cross-fire between warring Middle East nations. For this reason, we strongly believe that it is time to let Lebanon be Lebanon.

This resolution calls on all parties to immediately and simultaneously cease all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border, to withdraw their military forces and to begin to seek peace through negotiations with all parties rather than by military confrontation.

If you wish to co-sponsor this resolution, please contact: Mike Serpe, X53452.

With warm regard, I am

Sincerely,

Nick Rahall

NICK J. RAHALL, II
Member of Congress

3/5

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: 430

ע ו ד פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף.....מתוך.....דפים

סדרג בטחוני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך ודש"ח:.....

מס' מברק.....

97TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 359

Expressing the sense of the Congress that United Nations Security Council Resolution 509 should be implemented immediately and unconditionally, and reaffirming that the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Lebanon must be maintained.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 10, 1982

Mr. RAHALL (for himself, Ms. OAKAR, Mr. FINDLEY, Mr. CROCKETT, Mr. SAVAGE, Mr. BOWEN, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. MCCLOSKEY, Mr. DYMALLY, and Mr. CONYERS) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress that United Nations Security Council Resolution 509 should be implemented immediately and unconditionally, and reaffirming that the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Lebanon must be maintained.

Whereas the democratic country of Lebanon has long been an important ally of the United States in the Middle East;

Whereas the United States has consistently supported efforts aimed at encouraging the growth and stability of the central Government of Lebanon;

Whereas Israel has launched a major land, air, and sea invasion of Lebanon;

Whereas Palestinian forces have responded with artillery shellings of settlements in the north of Israel;

Whereas it appears that military equipment of United States origin has been used by Israel in violation of the Arms Export Control Act, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and the 1952 United States-Israel mutual defense agreement; and

Whereas the current outbreak of violence has claimed the lives of over one thousand people, including many innocent citizens, and threatens to escalate into a major war in the Middle East that would severely damage United States interests in the region: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*; That (a) it is the sense of the Congress that
3 United Nations Security Council Resolution 509, which was
4 adopted unanimously on June 6, 1982, should be implement-
5 ed immediately and unconditionally.

requires only Israel to withdraw

6 (b) The Congress—

7 (1) reaffirms that the territorial integrity, sover-
8 eignty, and political independence of Lebanon within
9 internationally recognized borders must be maintained;

10 (2) condemns the repeated acts of violence in Leb-
11 anon;

12 (3) urges that Israeli military forces and all other
13 foreign combat forces be withdrawn from Lebanon;

(4) urges that all parties immediately and simultaneously cease all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border and immediately begin to seek peace through negotiations with all parties rather than by military confrontation;

(5) calls upon the President to suspend all deliveries of military equipment and all military sales financing to all combatants in the region until the United States Government has determined that the use of military equipment of United States origin will be restricted in accordance with the provisions of United States law forbidding the use of such equipment for aggressive purposes;

(6) calls upon the President to make an immediate determination whether United States law governing the use of military equipment furnished to foreign governments has been violated in this latest escalation of violence; and

(7) requests that the President—

(A) take immediate action reaffirming and supporting the territorial integrity of Lebanon and the political independence of the central Government of Lebanon; and

(B) call upon all parties to reach a negotiated settlement to the current hostilities.

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

טרפס	מברק
דף...1...מתוך...9...דפים	
סווג בטחוני. גלוי	
דחיפות	
תאריך וזמן. 17 יוני 1600	
מס' מברק. 431	

מצפ"א, ממ"ד

רצ"ב עדות המורשה ריהאל בפני תת הועדה למזה"ת, ועדת החוץ של הבית.

קני-סל

[illegible]

שהה פלוגת רגל אחת שהבט נגד בלגנט מלשכו ולאיבנ
מגר רם ו'ים
ל' 1+1+3 ט

431

2/9

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN NICK J. RAHALL, II

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE SITUATION IN LEBANON IS CRITICAL AND I UNDERSTAND WITH EACH HOUR IT GROWS INCREASINGLY WORSE.

THE LEBANESE POLICE REPORT THAT 9,583 LEBANESE CITIZENS HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES SINCE THE FORCES OF ISRAEL INVADED THEIR COUNTRY TWELVE DAYS AGO.

600,000 PEOPLE ARE REPORTED HOMELESS AND WITHOUT FOOD AND CLOTHING, AS A RESULT OF THE BOMBING THERE. AND, BEING UNABLE TO DIG THEIR DEAD FROM THE RUBBLE, THE RISK OF SERIOUS DISEASE NOW THREATENS TO ENGULF THOSE WHO MANAGED TO SURVIVE THE INVASION.

I AM TOLD THAT 16,608 LEBANESE CITIZENS LIE WOUNDED — WITHOUT MEDICAL SUPPLIES OR ASSISTANCE, AND THOSE THAT COULD BE SAVED ARE RAPIDLY DYING FROM THE LACK OF PROPER MEDICAL TREATMENT.

AND, WHERE IS THIS COUNTRY IN ALL THIS? WHERE IS THIS SHINING BEACON OF ALL THOSE GOOD THINGS LIKE "FREEDOM" AND "JUSTICE"?

NOWHERE -- ABSOLUTELY NOWHERE TO BE SEEN, THAT IS, BECAUSE THIS TIME THE INVADING ARMIES ARE OUR FRIENDS -- OUR ALLIES, AND THE ARMS THEY USE ARE <u>OURS</u>.

AS BRITAIN MOVED TO DEFEND ITS RIGHTS IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS, OUR PRESIDENT MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT THIS COUNTRY WOULD STAND WITH BRITAIN -- EVEN AGAINST ONE OF ITS NEIGHBORING NATIONS, TO PROTECT THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND THAT WE WOULD NOT CONDONE ARMED AGGRESSION.

THAT WAS IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. BUT, ACROSS THE WORLD IN THE MIDDLE EAST OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT. IN THE CASE OF LEBANON, OUR PRESIDENT MADE A PERFUNCTORY SPEECH CALLING UPON ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS -- WHICH I GUESS WAS MEANT TO BE A SEVERE REPRIMAND, BUT IN REALITY WAS NOTHING MORE THAN A HALF-HEARTED WRIST SLAP. DAYS PASSED AND THE DEATHS AND CASUALTIES MOUNTED, AND HE SENDS TO CONGRESS A $20 MILLION RELIEF PACKAGE FOR LEBANON -- WHICH I GUESS IS SUPPOSE TO MAKE EVERYTHING RIGHT IN LEBANON AND ABSOLVE THIS COUNTRY OF ITS CULPABILITY.

10,000 INNOCENT LEBANESE CITIZENS -- WOMEN AND CHILDREN INCLUDED, HAVE BEEN LITERALLY MOWED DOWN BY THE ONCOMING ISRAELI ARMY AND THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN NEARLY BOMBED INTO OBLIVION, AND DO WE PROTEST AND COME UP IN ARMS? NO, WE DO NOT!

WHY? BECAUSE THIS COUNTRY DOES NOT OPPOSE ISRAEL. AND, NOW IT IS APPARENTLY CLEAR THAT NO MATTER WHAT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN DOES, THIS COUNTRY JUST WILL NOT OPPOSE HIM. WHILE WE DO AND SHOULD RECOGNIZE ISRAEL SOVEREIGNTY, INTEGRITY, AND FRIENDSHIP WITH US, WHAT PREVENTS US FROM CRITICIZING AND DEMANDING THAT IT'S LEADERS ACT FOR ONCE IN AMERICA'S BEST

INTERESTS? MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS TIME TO BE REALISTIC. IN TWELVE DAYS, BEGIN HAS ANNIHILATED 10,000 PEOPLE AND CUT A WIDE PATH OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION INTO A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY -- A LITTLE COUNTRY, I MIGHT ADD, THAT HAS NO ARMY TO SPEAK OF, AND HERE WE SIT DEBATING SENDING THAT COUNTRY $20 MILLION FOR RELIEF!

IT IS LUDICROUS. WHERE ARE ALL THOSE ADVOCATES OF HUMAN RIGHTS? WHERE ARE ALL THOSE FAMILIAR VOICES NOW? WHY IS EVERYONE SO SILENT ON THIS ISSUE?

MR. CHAIRMAN, I SUBMIT THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS GIVEN BIRTH TO A MONSTER. WE HAVE LET THAT MONSTER GROW, WE HAVE ARMED IT, AND NOW WE CAN'T CONTROL IT. WE NOW SIT SILENT AND DISCUSS $20 MILLION IN RELIEF BECAUSE WE ARE MUCH LIKE THE PARENTS WHO GO ABOUT THEIR COMMUNITY PREACHING AGAINST OTHER PARENTS WHO HAVE ALLOWED THEIR CHILDREN TO BECOME VANDALS AND DELINQUENTS, WHO ONE MORNING AWAKE TO FIND THAT ONE OF THEIR OWN IS A DELINQUENT AND GUILTY OF A CRIME. THEY TOO SIT SILENT. THEY TOO TRY TO FIND A WAY TO BUY OUT OF THE SITUATION. THEY TOO CANNOT CONTROL THEIR OFFSPRING.

THE JUDGEMENT OF ISRAEL'S LEADERSHIP IS ONCE AGAIN SUSPECT, AND BEFORE THIS MEMBER VOTES ON ANOTHER ARMAMENT BILL FOR ISRAEL, I WANT ISRAEL TO ANSWER SOME VERY SERIOUS QUESTIONS.

WE NEED TO KNOW WHAT THEY INTEND TO DO WITH THE ARMS WE GIVE THEM. WE NEED TO KNOW IF THEY INTEND TO USE OUR WEAPONS FOR FUTURE AGGRESSION WHEN IT SERVES THEIR PURPOSE. I THINK OUR PRESIDENT NEEDS TO KNOW IF THEY INTEND TO CONTINUE THEIR ARMED AGGRESSION, BECAUSE IF THEY DO AND WE WON'T DO ANYTHING

TO STOP THEM, THEN WE CAN AT LEAST REFRAIN FROM MAKING FOOLS OF OURSELVES BY MAKING WORLD-WIDE DECLARATIONS THAT THIS NATION DOES NOT CONDONE ARMED AGGRESSION OF ANY KIND.

I AM NOT ANTI-ISRAELI, AND I AM NOT ANTI-SEMITIC. I NEED TO SAY THAT MR. CHAIRMAN BECAUSE IN THIS COUNTRY, ANYTIME YOU OPPOSE ISRAEL IN WHATEVER IT DOES, YOU ARE AUTOMATICALLY LABELED "ANTI-SEMITIC", AND YOU IMMEDIATELY BECOME AN ADVOCATE OF HITLER AND YOU EVIDENTLY CONDONE HIS HOLOCAUST OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE 1940'S.

I AM AN AMERICAN OF LEBANESE DESCENT, AND I AM OUTRAGED THAT MY COUNTRY HAS PERMITTED THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO SACRIFICE THE PEOPLE OF LEBANON SO AS TO RID ITSELF OF THE PLO.

I SUBMIT THAT TO OPPOSE ISRAEL AND ITS RECENT INVASION OF LEBANON IS NOT ANTI-SEMITIC AT ALL. QUITE TO THE CONTRARY -- TO OPPOSE ISRAEL AND ITS INVASION IS TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST AGGRESSION AND THE NEEDLESS SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT HUMAN BEINGS IN NOT ONLY LEBANON, BUT ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD WHERE ONE NATION DECIDES TO SACRIFICE INNOCENT HUMAN BEINGS TO SATISFY ITS OWN NEED.

TO OPPOSE ISRAEL AND ITS INVASION OF LEBANON IS TO TAKE A STAND FOR THE RIGHT OF ANY LITTLE NATION -- EVEN ISRAEL, TO LIVE ON ITS OWN SOIL IN PEACE AND HARMONY WITH ITS NEIGHBORS.

THE SIMPLE TRUTH IS THAT WHEN ISRAEL WAS GIVEN PART OF PALESTINE IN THE LATE 1940'S TO ESTABLISH A JEWISH HOMELAND, THOUSANDS OF PALESTINIANS WERE MADE HOMELESS, AND MANY OF THEM

FELT THEY HAD BEEN ROBBED OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY TO PROVIDE A HOMELAND FOR OTHERS. RIGHT OR WRONG -- MANY OF THOSE DISPLACED PERSONS FELT THEY HAD BEEN DENIED A LAND THAT WAS RIGHTFULLY THEIRS AND THEY HAVE HARBOURED A GREAT ANIMOSITY TOWARD ISRAEL SINCE THAT TIME.

MOST AMERICANS DO NOT REALIZE THAT THE PLO IS THE MILITANT ARM OF THOSE HOMELESS PALESTINIANS. AND, WHEN THEY LEFT THEIR HOMELAND, THEY FLED TO NEARBY ARAB NATIONS IN AN EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A BASE THERE. IN EVERY ARAB COUNTRY -- SUCH AS JORDAN, THEY WERE NOT PERMITTED TO STAY. HOWEVER, WHEN THEY GOT TO LEBANON THEY DID STAY, AND THEY ESTABLISHED THEIR BASE THERE SIMPLY BECAUSE THAT LITTLE COUNTRY DID NOT HAVE THE FORCE NECESSARY TO STOP THEM.

IN 1976 THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT WAS AT A LOSS TO CONTROL THE PLO, AND IT ASKED ITS NEIGHBOR SYRIA TO COME IN WITH THEIR MILITARY FORCES TO ASSIST THEM. AND, THE RESULT, WAS THAT LEBANON, A SMALL COUNTRY THAT HAS NEVER IN ITS ENTIRE HISTORY ATTACKED ANOTHER NATION, FOUND ITSELF HOUSING THE DISPLACED PALESTINIANS, THE PLO, AS WELL AS THE SYRIAN ARMY, AND IT HAD NEITHER THE FORCE NOR THE MIGHT TO RID ITSELF OF ANY OF THEM.

FROM THEIR BASES IN LEBANON, THE PLO CONDUCTED TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST ISRAEL ONLY TO RETURN TO LEBANON AFTER THOSE ATTACKS TO HIDE AMONG THE INNOCENT LEBANON PEOPLE WHO WISHED ISRAEL NO ILL.

I AM NOT HERE TO SAY ISRAEL WAS WRONG IN WANTING TO PUT

AN END TO THE TERRORIST ATTACKS, AND I AM NOT HERE TO MINIMIZE THE SUFFERING THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED AT THE HANDS OF THE PLO.

BUT, MR. CHAIRMAN, I AM HERE TO QUESTION ISRAEL's SINGLE-MINDEDNESS IN ITS CAUSE AND THE MAGNITUDE WITH WHICH THEY HAVE AGAIN RESPONDED TO THE "EYE FOR AN EYE, TOOTH FOR A TOOTH" SYNDROME.

SUPPOSEDLY, TO STOP THE PLO RAIDS, ISRAEL CHOSE TO WAGE WAR IN LEBANON. IT HAS PUT 10,000 LEBANESE CITIZENS TO DEATH, HAS LEFT HOMELESS HALF OF ITS POPULATION, AND HAS WOUNDED 16,000 OF ITS PEOPLE. AND. REPORTS INDICATE ATTACKS UPON SYRIAN TROOPS ALSO.

TO STOP THE PLO FROM COMING INTO ITS COUNTRY AND TERRORIZING ITS CITIZENS, ISRAEL WENT INTO LEBANON AND SLAUGHTERED THEIR CITIZENS TO GET TO THE PLO.

ISN'T THERE ANYONE HERE THAT QUESTIONS THE JUDGEMENT OF THAT ACTION? WHERE ARE THE VOCIFEROUS HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES NOW? ISN'T ANYONE GOING TO ASK ISRAEL WHERE THEY GET OFF DECIDING THAT 26,000 LEBANESE CITIZENS ARE WORTHLESS AND SECONDARY TO THEIR CAUSE? TO NOW SURROUND THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE IS NOTHING LESS THAN ATTEMPTS AT FURTHER HUMILIATION.

SINCE WHEN, MR. CHAIRMAN, DOES THIS NATION DECIDE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ONE NATION HAVE MORE VALUE OR WORTH THAN THE PEOPLE OF ANOTHER NATION? SINCE WHEN DOES THIS COUNTRY CONDONE ARMED AGGRESSION OF ANY KIND? SINCE WHEN DOES THIS BASTION OF FREEDOM

ARM ANOTHER COUNTRY AND PERMIT IT TO CRUSH AND ANNIHILATE ITS NEIGHBOR SIMPLY TO SERVE ITS OWN PURPOSES?

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT -- THAT IS WHAT WE ARE DOING, AND THAT IS WHAT WE HAVE DONE. WE CAN SIT HERE SILENTLY DELUDING OURSELVES IF WE WANT TO, BUT THE REST OF THE WORLD LOOKS AT THE SITUATION WITH COMPLETE HONESTY. THERE WILL BE NO DELUSION IN ANYONE ELSE'S MIND -- TO RID ITSELF OF THE PLO, ISRAEL HAS INVADED LEBANON AND HAS SLAUGHTERED THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT LEBANESE CIVILIANS. THEY DID SO WITH THE ARMS WE GAVE THEM, AND WE -- WHO GO ABOUT THE WORLD CONDEMNING OTHERS FOR THEIR ARMED AGGRESSION, HABE SAT SILENTLY BY AND MADE LITTLE OR NO EFFORT TO PROTECT OR DEFEND THE INNOCENT LEBANESE CITIZENS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, NOW THE WORLD WILL WATCH US VOTE $20 MILLION DOLLARS IN RELIEF FUNDS FOR LEBANON. ONCE AGAIN AMERICA IS TRYING TO "BUY OFF" THE GRIEF AND SUFFERING OF ANOTHER NATION WITH ITS DOLLARS. THE WORLD IS WATCHING AS WE WAVE OUR DOLLAR BILLS. YET, EVERY REPORT I HAVE RECEIVED TELLS ME THAT THE DESTRUCTION IN LEBANON IS SO VAST THAT $20 MILLION IS NOTHING MORE THAN A TOKEN GESTURE.

AGAIN, MUCH LIKE THE PARENT OF A DELINQUENT CHILD, WE ARE TRYING TO BUY OUR WAY OUT OF THIS SITUATION.

I THINK WE SHOULD SEND MR. BEGIN HOME WITH A MESSAGE FOR ISRAEL -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT CONDONE ARMED AGGRESSION OF ANY KIND AND THAT IN THE FUTURE THEY CANNOT COUNT ON US TO DO ANYTHING OTHER THAN HELP IT TO DEFEND ITS BORDERS.

IN SHORT, MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS TIME WE TELL THE "SPOILED CHILD" THAT WE WILL DEFEND THEIR RIGHT TO EXIST, BUT THAT WE HAVE EVERY INTENTION OF DEFENDING THEIR NEIGHBORS RIGHT TO EXIST TOO. AND EVEN IF THAT MEANS DEFENDING THAT COUNTRY AGAINST THEM.

THIS COUNTRY SHOULD HELP LEBANON AS IT DOES ANY OTHER NATION THAT IS THREATENED BY INVASION AND ARMED AGGRESSION -- WE SHOULD HELP LEBANON TO DEFEND ITSELF. WE SHOULD DEMAND THAT AN ADEQUATE PEACE KEEPING FORCE BE SENT TO LEBANON TO PROTECT THAT LITTLE COUNTRY AGAINST FURTHER INVASION AND AGGRESSION.

ISRAEL MUST NEGOTIATE WITH THE PALESTINIANS. AND, IF ISRAEL DOESN'T CARE FOR THE SPOKESMAN THE PALESTINIANS CHOOSE TO HANDLE THEIR NEGOTIATION, THEN THIS COUNTRY SHOULD TELL ISRAEL THAT WE INTEND TO DEFEND THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT TO CHOOSE WHOEVER THEY WANT TO DO THEIR BIDDING.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE INNOCENT LEBANESE WOMAN WHO STOOD IN THE STREETS OF TYRE AND WATCHED HER CHILDREN BEING KILLED BY THE ISRAELI SHELLS THAT LANDED THERE, MUST HAVE FELT FOR THE FEW MOMENTS SHE LIVED THAT THE END OF THE WORLD HAD COME AND THAT SHE TOO WAS A VICTIM OF A HOLOCAUST.

NOW, I WANT TO SEE ISRAEL -- WHO WOULD HAVE US ALL REMEMBER THE HOLOCAUST THEY SUFFERED, DO A LITTLE REMEMBERING THEMSELVES. I WANT TO SEE SOME OF THAT COMPASSION FOR SUFFERING THEY ASKED OF THE WORLD WHEN THEY SUFFERED SO. I WANT TO SEE ISRAEL STRETCH OUT ITS HAND TO THE NEGOTIATION TABLE WITH ALL PARTIES RATHER THAN THE WAR TABLE TRYING FOR MILITARY VICTORIES OVER ALL PARTIES.

PROGRAM OF DISARMAMENT."

PAGE 08 -- DISARMAMENT

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ITEM

ENE316

NESA-316 (6/16/82)

U.S. IN MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT IN LEBANON (900)

BY RUSSELL E. DYBVIK

UUSICA DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON -- THE UNITED STATES IS ENGAGED IN A "MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT WITH REPECT TO LEBANON," STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN DEAN FISCHER SAID JUNE 16.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPECIAL ENVOY, PHILIP HABIB, REMAINED IN BEIRUT FOR A SECOND STRAIGHT DAY HOLDING TALKS WITH "A WIDE VARIETY OF LEBANESE GOVERNMENTAL AND POLITICAL LEADERS," FISCHER SAID.

"I REALLY DON'T WANT TO GET INTO ANY OF THE SPECIFICS THAT AMBASSADOR HABIB IS PURSUING IN HIS MEETINGS," THE SPOKESMAN SAID, ADDING THAT, "WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE VARIOUS PARTIES WILL ADHERE TO THEIR CEASEFIRE DECLARATIONS."

MUCH OF HABIB'S EFFORT IS AIMED AT STREGTHENING THE AUTHORITY OF LEBANON'S CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND WORKING TOWARD

MAGE 02 -- LEBANON

SOME SORT OF PEACEKEEPING ARRANGEMENT THAT GOES BEYOND AN EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON (UNFIL).

THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT "A NECESSARY INGREDIENT IN BRINGING ABOUT AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL" FROM LEBANON UNDER THE TERMS OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 508 AND 509.

FISCHER SAID THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE CLEAR ITS HOPE

U.S. IN MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT IN LEBANON (SDS)

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FISCHER SAID THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE CLEAR ITS HOPE

THAT BOTH TROOP MOVEMENTS IN AND AROUND BEIRUT AND ACTUAL FIGHTING IN THE LEBANESE CAPITAL WOULD CEASE.

44

HE NOTED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC DEMANDS INCLUDING CALLS FOR A WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN FORCES FROM LEBANON, AND SYRIA'S REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW.

"SINCE WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT WITH RESPECT TO LEBANON, I CANNOT COMMENT ON ANY OF THE SPECIFIC DEMANDS AND REPONSES VOICED BY THE VARIOUS PARTIES," FISCHER SAID. "BUT TO REITERATE, WE CONTINUE TO EXPECT THAT THE VARIOUS PARTIES WILL ADHERE TO THEIR CEASEFIRE DECLARATIONS."

PAGE 03 -- LEBANON

ASKED FOR COMMENT ON A NEWS REPORT THAT QUOTED A SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) AS CALLING FOR DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN THE PLO AND THE UNITED STATES, FISCHER SAID, "AS THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID, WE ARE PREPARED TO TALK TO THE PLO, PROVIDED THE PLO RECOGNIZES ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AND PROVIDED THE PLO ACCEPTS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338." HE REFUSED ANY MORE SPECIFIC RESPONSE. (THOSE RESOLUTIONS IMPLICITLY RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AS A STATE, BUT DECREE THAT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO GIVE UP TERRITORIES IT OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 WAR.)

FISCHER SAID SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG WILL MEET WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER BEGIN IN NEW YORK JUNE 18. THEY WILL HAVE "A NUMBER OF ISSUES TO DISCUSS AND IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF AMONG THOSE ISSUES THE LEBANESE PROBLEM WOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED," FISCHER SAID.

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PAGE 04 -- LEBANON

SPECIFICS OF THE CONTINUING DIALOGUE THAT WE HAVE HAD WITH THE ISRAELIS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS CRISIS."

THAT BOTH TROOP MOVEMENTS IN AND AROUND BEIRUT AND ACTIVAL FIGHTING IN THE LEBANESE CAPITAL WOULD START.

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"SINCE WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN A SALON DIPLOMATIC EFFORT WITH RESPECT TO LEBANON, I CANNOT COMMENT ON ANY OF THE SPECIFIC DEMANDS AND RESPONSES VOICED BY THE VARIOUS PARTIES," FISCHER SAID. "BUT TO REITERATE, WE CONTINUE TO EXPECT THAT THE VARIOUS PARTIES WILL ADHERE TO THEIR CEASEFIRE DECLARATIONS."

PAGE 85 -- LEBANON

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PAGE 84 -- LEBANON

SPECIFICS OF THE CONTINUING DIALOGUE THAT WE HAVE HAD WITH THE ISRAELIS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS CRISIS."

FISCHER NOTED THAT BEFORE LEAVING ISRAEL FOR NEW YORK, PRIME MINISTER BEGIN SAID ISRAEL HAS NO INTENTION OF TAKING BEIRUT AND THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE "NO INTENTION OF CAPTURING (PLO LEADER) YASSIR ARAFAT."

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, FISCHER SAID THE UNITED STATES HAS NO INDICATION OF ANY UNUSUAL SOVIET TROOP MOVEMENTS IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE CRISIS IN LEBANON.

"IT HAS BEEN REPORTED THAT GENERAL YURASOV, WHO IS THE FIRST DEPUTY COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE SOVIET AIR DEFENSE FORCES, IS IN DAMASCUS," FISCHER SAID. "WE ASSUME HIS VISIT MAY BE RELATED TO THE RECENT CLASHES BETWEEN SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES, BUT BEYOND THAT WE DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT."

FISCHER SAID THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BEIRUT WAS OPERATING "IN LIMITED FASHION AND CONTINUES TO ASSIST IN FACILITATING THE DEPARTURES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO SO WISH."

"THOSE WHO ARE DEPARTING LEBANON ARE DOING SO BY

COMMERCIAL VESSELS FROM THE PORT OF JUNIEH," FISCHER SAID. "THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN NICOSIA REPORTS THAT OVER 100 AMERICANS, PLUS MANY OF OTHER NATIONALITIES, HAVE ARRIVED AT THE PORT OF LARNACA, IN CYPRESS, WHERE THE EMBASSY STAFF IS ASSISTING AMERICAN CITIZENS THERE."

MEANWHILE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCED JUNE 16 THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS APPOINTED PETER MCPHERSON, THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (AID), TO REPRESENT HIM PERSONALLY AS COORDINATOR OF HUMANITARIAN AID FOR LEBANON.

MCPHERSON WILL BE MEETING WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS WELL AS OTHER NATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS "IN A MULTILATERAL EFFORT TO MEET THE CRITICAL NEEDS OF THE LEBANESE, PALESTINIANS AND OTHERS AFFECTED BY THE CONFLICT, REGARDLESS OF NATIONALITY OR RELIGION, WITH ALL POSSIBLE SPEED," THE DEPARTMENT SAID.

"WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT," THE ANNOUNCEMENT SAID, MCPHERSON "WILL MAKE A FIRST-HAND SURVEY OF REQUIREMENTS IN

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PAGE NO -- LEBANON

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"WHERE DISCUSSIONS BEGIN," THE ANNOUNCEMENT SAID, MCPHERSON "WILL MAKE A FIRST-HAND SURVEY OF REQUIREMENTS IN

LEBANON."

46.

PAGE 06 -- LEBANON

IN RIYADH, VICE PRESIDENT BUSH SAID THAT SAUDI ARABIA'S KING FAHD IMPRESSED UPON HIM THE "DEPTH OF FEELING THAT HE AND THE SAUDI PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT THE SITUATION IN LEBANON."

BUSH -- WHO REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES AT THE MEMORIAL FOR THE LATE KING KHALID -- SAID THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN AND THE SAUDIS "SHARE THE SAME OBJECTIVES: THAT THE TIME HAS LONG PASSED FOR DIFFERENCES TO BE SETTLED BY THE GUNS OF WAR, AND THAT THE PEACE PROCESS AND STABILITY IN THE REGION MUST BE ADVANCED BY DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, NOT BY CONTINUED DEATH AND DESTRUCTION."

BUSH SAID UPON HIS DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON THAT HE WOULD CONVEY TO REAGAN, "THE COMMITMENT TO PEACE OF THE LEADERS OF SAUDI ARABIA."

ITEM

TO THE FAR LEFT, THAT THEY HAD BETTER UNITE BEHIND THE REGULAR LEBANESE ARMY AND DISOWN THE PALESTINIANS, WHOSE LEADERS ARE SURROUNDED IN THE WESTERN PART OF THIS BESIEGED CITY.

8.

THE WARRING CLANS OF LEBANON ARE BEING TOLD TO CLEAN THEIR OWN HOUSE OR IT WILL BE DONE FOR THEM.

BUT TIME IS RUNNING OUT. DIPLOMATS IN BEIRUT SAID TUESDAY THAT THE LONGER THE LEBANESE ARMY STAYS OUT OF PRINCIPALLY MUSLIM WEST BEIRUT -- WHERE THE PALESTINIANS ARE -- THE MORE THE CITY WILL APPROACH ANARCHY....

(PRECEDING FS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

PAGE 13 -- MIDEAST
ITEM

23k

NESA-304 (6/16/82)

ADVISORY NOTE TO PAO'S: POLLS SHOW AMERICANS MORE KNOWLEDGABLE ON MIDDLE EAST (550)

AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE UNDERGONE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE PAST NINE YEARS. THERE IS A CONTINUED BASIC SYMPATHY FOR ISRAEL, BUT SINCE THE 1973 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR THE U.S. PUBLIC HAS BECOME MUCH MORE SENSITIVE TO DIFFERENCES AMONG ARAB STATES, MORE AWARE OF AND CONCERNED ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE PALESTINIANS AND FAR MORE CRITICAL OF SELECTED ISRAELI POLICIES AND LEADERS.

THESE FINDINGS WERE REPORTED IN THE APRIL/MAY ISSUE OF "PUBLIC OPINION" MAGAZINE BY WILLIAM C. ADAMS, WHO EXAMINED THE FINDINGS OF SEVERAL POLLING ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PERIOD 1973-AND-ON FOR THE MAGAZINE. THE ARTICLE WAS PREPARED BEFORE THE CURRENT OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING IN LEBANON.

ADAMS REPORTED THAT THE IMAGE OF EGYPT AND ITS LEADER, ANWAR SADAT, UNDERWENT A DRAMATIC TRANSFORMATION AFTER SADAT'S 1977 TRIP TO JERUSALEM. SADAT'S PERSONAL POPULARITY

SOARED, AND BY 1980 A HARRIS STUDY CONCLUDED THAT AMERICANS VIEWED SADAT AS THE MOST RESPECTED AND MOST TRUSTED LEADER IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

EGYPT'S IMAGE ALSO WAS CHANGING. BY 1980, 71 PERCENT VIEWED EGYPT FAVORABLY. AMERICANS SAW SADAT'S DEATH AS A BLOW TO PEACE PROSPECTS, ACCORDING TO AN NBC NEWS/AP POLL. YET, THE AMERICAN VIEW OF EGYPT DID NOT DETERIORATE WITH SADAT'S DEATH. A 1982 HARRIS POLL DETERMINED THAT OF THOSE AMERICANS EXPRESSING AN OPINION, 85 PERCENT SAW EGYPT AS A "CLOSE ALLY" OR "FRIEND."

AMERICANS NOW MAKE A SHARP DISTINCTION BETWEEN ARAB STATES. IN 1976, AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD EGYPT, JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND NON-ARAB IRAN WERE CLOSELY CLUSTERED, WITH FAVORABLE VIEWS FROM THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BETWEEN 32 AND 35 PERCENT. BY 1982, HARRIS FOUND AMERICANS OVERWHELMINGLY VIEWED EGYPT AS A FRIEND, SIX OF TEN SEE JORDAN FAVORABLY. IRAN, ALONG WITH SYRIA, IRAQ AND LIBYA ARE SEEN AS FRIENDLY BY FEWER THAN ONE-FOURTH OF RESPONDENTS.

THERE IS AN INCREASED RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIANS

WITH SYMPATHY FOR SOME PALESTINIAN CLAIMS. MOST AMERICANS CONTINUE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PALESTINIANS AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, WITH 55 PERCENT AGREEING THAT THE P.L.O. DOES NOT REPRESENT MOST PALESTINIANS, ACCORDING TO AN ABC NEWS/AP SURVEY. AS FOR A PALESTINIAN STATE, AN NBC NEWS/AP POLL LATE LAST YEAR FOUND THAT TWO THIRDS OF AMERICANS EXPRESSED NO OPINION. THOSE EXPRESSING AN OPINON WERE ABOUT EVENLY DIVIDED -- 15 PERCENT FAVORING A SEPARATE STATE, 18 PERCENT OPPOSED.

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ALSO ASSESSES CURRENT ISRAELI LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES DIFFERENTLY THAN IT DOES THE STATE OF ISRAEL. A JANUARY 1982 NBC/AP STUDY FOUND 42 PERCENT OF AMERICANS THOUGHT BEGIN'S RECENT POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTIONS HAVE BEEN TOO AGGRESSIVE, WHILE 37 PERCENT DID NOT. A LOS ANGELES TIMES SURVEY SHOWED 33 PERCENT VIEWED BEGIN

FAVORABLY WHILE 34 PERCENT DID NOT. THE OTHER 33 PERCENT WERE NONCOMMITAL.

THE ARTICLE SAYS ISRAEL'S GENERAL IMAGE HAS BEEN STRONG AND POSITIVE ENOUGH TO HAVE WITHSTOOD THE "SHORT-TERM"

10.

PAGE 04 -- POLL

DAMAGE OF MENACHEM BEGIN AND CERTAIN ISRAELI POLICIES.

IN JULY 1981, GALLUP FOUND THAT SYMPATHIES WERE WITH ISRAEL IN DISPUTES WITH ARAB NATIONS BY 44 TO 11 PERCENT (THE REST WITH NO OPINION). IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR, AN ABC NEWS/WASHINGTON POST SURVEY REPORTED INCREASED SUPPORT FOR BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES. THOSE SIDING WITH ISRAEL INCREASED TO 55 PERCENT, THE PRO-ARAB SEGMENT WENT UP TO 18 PERCENT. THE ARTICLE NOTED THAT THE PROPORTIONAL INCREASE IS GREATER FOR THE ARAB SIDE EVEN THOUGH THE ABSOLUTE PERCENTAGE INCREASE IS IN ISRAEL'S FAVOR.

THE ARTICLE ALSO REPORTED THAT IN THE MIDST OF RECENT BUDGET CUTTING, ONLY 28 PERCENT OF AMERICAN TAXPAYERS WANTED THE UNITED STATES TO REDUCE MILITARY AID TO ISRAEL; 51 PERCENT WANTED IT KEPT AT CURRENT LEVELS, AND 9 PERCENT WANTED IT INCREASED, ACCORDING TO AN ABC/WASHINGTON POST SURVEY. A MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC ALSO OPPOSED THE SALE OF AWACS SURVEILLANCE PLANES TO SAUDI ARABIA, WITH A PLURALITY FEARING THE RADAR PLANES WOULD THREATEN ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

IN AN ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE, "PUBLIC OPINION" NOTED THAT

PAGE 05 -- POLL

U.S. TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE OF THE MIDDLE EAST HAS UNDERGONE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES SINCE 1973.

SINCE 1973, THE ARTICLE SAID, THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN THE MOST PROMINENT FOREIGN REGION ON NIGHTLY NETWORK TV NEWS.

ITEM

PAGE 24 -- POLL

DANGER OF RENEWED BEGIN AND OFFICIAL ISRAELI POLICIES.

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PAGE 25 -- POLL

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ITEM

WCCO-LMS (CAIRZZO)

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** יוצא שמור
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אל: נ' , ווש , נר: חוום 659, מ : המשרד
דח: מ, סג: ש, סא: 160682, דח: 1700
נד: ס'וש ללבנון

שמור/מ'ד'

נאו''ם.

שכבם 107/561.

דם: שג ווש'נגטון

ס'וש ללבנון.

1. שג ארה''ב בא''א מסרה לנו אם תמצית ההודעות שהעברתם
במברקכם הנ''ל. בד'ווח משלחתם לאום הופיעו גם הסעיפים
המופתקים בגליון הר''ב.

3. IN JUNE 15 MEMO SEPARATE FROM PRESS RELEASE, AKHUND
RELAYED FOLLOWING REPORTS FROM HIS SOURCES IN LEBANON:
- IN SIDON ALON , APPROXIMATELY 2,00 DEAD, 10,000 WOUNDED,
200,000 HOMELESS. NO CASUALTY COUNTS AVAILABLE FOR TYRE,
BEKA VALLEY OR BEIRUT.
- SOUKS ALMOST COMPKETELY DEMOLISHED
- LEBIB ABOU TAHER HOSPITAL DESTROYED
- NUMEROUS DEAD BODIES DECAYING IN STREETS
- CONSIDERABLE DANGER OF PLAGUE AND CHOLERA EPIDEMICS.
- PORT INSTALATIONS DESTROYED.

- ESTIMATED DAMAGE US DOLS 2 BILLION.

4. SOME BACKGROUND NOTES SEPTEL.

5. AMBASSADOR ZORZANO:
A) HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN LEBANON IS FLUID AND GETTING WORSE BY THE MOMENT.

B) AFFECTED POPULATION'S NEEDS ARE ENORMOUS. TRUST FUND COULD PROVIDE SOME ESSENTIALS THROUGH LOCAL BUYING BUT IS OUT OF MONEY.

C) ISRAELI CLEARANCE IS NEEDED TO MOVE COMMODITIES AND MEDICINES FROM UN STOCKPILES IN LARNACA TO LEBANON THROUGH EITHER OF THREE POSSIBLE ROUTES: (1) FLIGHT TO TEL AVIV AND THEN BY ROAD, (2) UNICEF FLIGHT TO DAMASCUS AND THEN BY ROAD, (3) SHIP TO BEIRUT OR NEARBY SEAPORT. AKHUND APPEALED FOR ANY ASSISTANCE US CAN OFFER.
KIRKPATRICK

2. האם ה- MEMO שנשלח ב 3 בספטמבר או רק נמסר לנציגות ארה"ב? ההגומות שבו ונעקות לשמים.
של בית החולים לביב אבו מאהר בצידון ראונא בתאריך ב"יום 15/6 (שלכם 572).
3. מי הם HIS SOURCES (של מקבאל אבונד).
4. בודקים את הנקודות הנוכרות בסעיף 5 של מברק קירקפטריק (סידורים להעברת מיצרכים).

אליצור==

עפ: שהם,משהם,רהם,סרהם,שהבם,מנכל,המנכל,ר/מרכז,רם,אמן,
מתת,מצפא,אליצור,ארבל2,ארבל3,רוביינשטיין

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

טלפס	מברק
דף.נ....מתוך 2...דפים	
סווג בטחוני...סודי	
דחיפות....מידי	
תאריך וז"ח 82?????161210	
מס' מברק 388	

ממנכ"ל מנהל מצפ"א.

דע: שת"ח.

לבקשת רוה"מ מסרתי היום על-פה לאיגלבורגר, ע"מ להעביר למזכיר, את ההודעה על-פה המצורפת בזה. אמרתי לאיגלבורגר כי ההודעה נשלחה אל שגהולנד במוסקוה על מנת שתמסר לשלטונות בריה"מ בתשובה להודעה ע"פ ששגפינלנד מסרה לנו שכאילו צה"ל יורה על שגבריה"מ בבירות.

לידיעתכם.

נחושתן

שיחת טלפון היום מלחתג שהגיע בלילה ג בבוקר מחיל בצבאה הלחמה בחמת אולמרט אחמל ב חמ אולן הבינשטיין.

2/2

388 :2

In reply to an unaddressed and unsigned verbal message:

The Israel Defense Forces are in Lebanon only because armed bands calling themselves P.L.O. operating from Lebanon have been permanently attacking Israel's civilian population, men, women and children.

The presence and activities of such armed bands on a territory of a country from which they carry out attacks on another country, falls within the classic definition of aggression proposed time and again by the Soviet Union to the United Nations.

Israel exercised its inherent right of most legitimate self-defense.

It never occurred to Israeli Defense Forces to attack the Soviet Embassy and its personnel or any other Embassy and staff. Upon the best information at our disposal, the advanced Israeli outpost is 5 kms. distant from the building of the Soviet Embassy in Beirut.

Israel proclaimed unilaterally a ceasefire on Friday, the 11th of June at 12 noon.

The Syrian army stopped firing and there has been no exchange of fire whatever between the two armies since then. However, the so-called P.L.O. continued its attacks and declared publicly that it will fight on. We state simply, as we did in our publicized statement of 11th June that the Israeli army will not shoot unless shot at. It is therefore obvious that a complete ceasefire can come into force without any delay if the armed bands of the P.L.O. stop firing de-facto.

Of course, there will never be any intention in the future by the Israeli army to infringe upon the absolute immunity of the Soviet diplomatic representation or any other.

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

סופי מברק

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סווג בטחוני: סודי

דחיפות: מיידי

תאריך ז"ח: 1614 יוני 82

מס' מברק: 395

מצפ"א מרכז

שיחה עם S. PEAL סגן מנהל המחי' המצרית

שה"ח המצרי עאלי נפגש עם מזכיר המדינה, עם ויינברגר ואהה"צ עמד להפגש עם הנשיא. כנראה ישאר כאן עד יום ו'. פיל טען שעדיין לא ראה את הפרוטוקול(?) אך עם זאת ביכולתו לסכם ראייתם את השפעת הארועים האחרונים על המצרים. נכון מה שאמר רוה"מ כי השלום בין ישראל ומצרים עבר את מבחן הארועים האחרונים. זו סיבה נוספת שישראל תתייחס ביתר אמון למחוייבותה של קהיר להתהליך השלום. דווחי העתונות ("ניו-יורק טיימס") על השעיית שיחות האוטונומיה בגלל מבצע שלי"ג אינם נכונים. אין השעייה מצרית במובן שהיה קיים אחרי חוק ירושלים או במקרים קודמים. השיחות אינן מתקיימות עתה בגלל העדר הסכמה לגבי מיקומן. אולם אם ייעצא פתרון לבעייה זו ותתייצב הפסקת האש בלבנון כי אז בכוונת המצרים לפעול למען הידוש השיחות בהקדם.

מבחינת המצרים, הדבר הנחוץ ביותר עתה הוא הפסקת הקרבות. ההרג וההרס חייבים להפסק, שכן המשך המלחמה בלבנון מכביד על ממשלת מצרים המוצאת עצמה מול ביקורת בבית ההולכת וגוברת מידי יום. דיווחי השגרירות האמריקאית מקהיר מציגים תמונה עגומה מבחינה זו (פיל ציין שדיווחים ברוח דומה מגיעים גם משגרירויות אמריקאיות אחרות במדינות ערב השונות , הכוונה לכעס גדול נגד ישראל ובעקיפין נגד ארה"ב על היקף האבידות וההרס שנגרמו כתוצאה מהפעולה הישראלית).

רק עם מילוי תנאי ראשוני זה (התייצבות הפסקת האש) יוכלו המצרים לחשוב על שניתן לעשות כדי להפיק תועלת כלשהי מהמצב שנוצר ומה מצרים יכולה לתרום להכוונת

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

טלפס מברק

דף 2 מתוך 2 דפים

סדוג בטחוני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח:.....

מס' מברק 395

ההתפתחויות בלבנון בכיוון הרצוי לקידום היציבות באיזור ותהליך השלום. סיכמנו שעם תום הביקור, בשבוע הבא, נחזור ונפגש כדי לקבל פרטים נוספים.

לבסוף, העלה עניין טאבה. לדבריו צעד ישראלי חיובי בנושא היה מועיל מאוד בתנאים הנוכחיים. ברור לכולם שמדובר בנושא צדדי אך העניין חשוב מאוד למצרים ובאוירה שנוצרה בעקבות הפעולה בלבנון, הרי ש עד כזה היה תורם רבות לשיפור האווירה.

ש.ר.

שהה עושה רמה עורמה מנת מלמנקל שהבט מצפו
בהין מצרים הבינשטין ולמרכז מאות רק אמן

799 סודי נכנס

אל: המשרד, נר: 61, מ : לוסאנגלס
דת: מ, סג: ס, תא: 160682, זת: 1700

מ''ד/סודי

אל:השגריר

דע:וושינגטון, מצפ''א

מאת:נבון

בארוחת בוקר היום סיפר לי לארי וינברג על פגישה שהיתה לו ביום שני עם ביל קלארק.
בפגישה שהתקיימה במשרדי היועץ לבטחון לאומי סודרה ע''י סנטור ביל בהן, שהיה לדברי לארי '' לא ממש טוב- הוא היה מצוין''.
בפגישה השתתפו גם טום דאין ובאד מק פארלאנד (שיצא עוד באותו ערב בפמליית סגן הנשיא לסעודיה).

אוירת הפגישה בולה היתה LOW KEY , RELAXED AND CORDIAL .
בפתח דבריו לקלארק אמר לארי שעניין ביום סדרת פגישות מצומצמות ו- CONFIDENTIAL בין הממשל לבין AIPAC בדי למנוע עימותים עתידים. שום מסר אגרת לנשיא. לארי לא הבין עמו העמקה אך תאר לי אותה כמנוסחת בזהירות ומברכת רק צעדים חיוביים ספציפיים של הממשל ולא ניתנת לפירוש '' ביישר כח בללי ובלתי מותנה''.
ביל בהן אמר שברצונו להיות BLUNT . סיפר על נסיעתו לישראל בחורף שהתקיימה בשוינברג היה בירדן. בהן שוחח עם רוה''מ לאחר שוינברג יצא למינכן ושם הדגיש לניו יורק שיימס על הבונה לספק מטוסי F-16 לירדן. בהן ציטט את רוה''מ שכמובן התנגד למכירת נשק בלשהו לירדן אך ציפה שלפחות יספרו לנו לא רק בידיד אלא בבן ברית. בהן הוסיף שעל הממשל TO COMMUNICATE עם הקונגרס בטרם מתגבשת חבילה בור.

'' BEFORE YOU PUSH A PLATE IN FRONT OF US

קלארק השיב שאינו בהברת מסכים לכמה מפרשנויותיהם אך הוא מבין ומעריך הרצון למנוע עימותים בכל שניתן.
לארי אמר שהקהילה היהודית לא רוצה שיוענק פרס למדינה זרה בירדן המתנגדת להסכמי קמפ דיוויד. לכן מתנגדים לאספקת נשק לירדן. אם לא ניתן להשיג בורך אחרת היעדים האמריקאיים אפשר אולי לשקול איזה סוגי נשק ניתן לספק מבלי לסכן מיזוח הבטחון של ישראל והוא OFFSET ע''י אספקה לישראל.
מבאן עברה השיחה לנושא לבנון. לארי אמר שרו UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY לארה''ב בלבנון. קלארק הסכים לחלוטין עם קביעה זו ואמר שהם שוקלים עתה SEVERAL OPPORTUNITIES REGARDING LEBANON

מפ: שהח,משהח,רהמ,סרהמ,שהבמ,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרכז,רמ,אמן,
ממת,מצפא,רובינשטיין

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

ט ל ג ר ם	מ ב ר ק
דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים	
סווג בטחוני: סודי	
דחיפות: מיידי	
תאריך וז"ם: 82/01/16	
מס' מברק: 394	

מצפ"א מרכז

שיחת עם HARRIS מנהל אגף מז"ח ב- INR

האריס פתח בהכרזה כי אינו מתכוון לדון על מה שקרה, פניו אל העתיד. השאלה הראשונה המתעוררת בעניין זה היא כוונתנו כלפי בירות. כפי שלא האמין ביום שישי הקודם שישראל תקבל את הפסקת האש במצב ששרר אז בחזית, כן גם עתה נראה לו כי כל עוד לא יימצא פתרון לכוחות אש"פ בבירות כי אז לא יגיע המבצע, מבחינת ישראל, לידי סיום. שאלה נוספת המתעוררת בהקשר לכך (ובהנחה שישראל מדינה דמוקרטית בה החלטות הממשלה קובעות מהלכיה) האם בהתפתחות הדברים ב-10 הימים האחרונים והתפתחויות הצפויות מהיינה תוצאת של מדיניות מתוכננת מראש, דינמיקה של אירועים או יוזמות של אנשים בודדים. הערתו הבאה התייחסה לביקור רוה"מ בארה"ב בעיתוי הנוכחי. לדבריו, יש כאלה החושבים כי עזיבת רוה"מ את ישראל תפריע ליכולתה של הממשלה לדון בכובד ראש בצעדים גורליים ותאפשר יוזמות של בודדים מתוך תקווה שקל יותר יהיה להשיג את אשור רוה"מ ממרחקים.(!).

הערה: בחלק זה של השיחה בלטה הגישה של היעדר אמון בהכרזותיה של ישראל או משום שנעשה נסיון מתוכנן מראש להטעות את ארה"ב או משום שהחלטות הממשלה מתקבלות בהשפעת גורם יחיד בה.

מכאן ואילך עבר האריס לדבר על האינדיקציות השליליות הצפויות מהפעולה הישראלית. במהלך דבריו התכוון לסתור הגיון הדברים שברקע הפעולה הישראלית:

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

טופס	מברק
דף 2 מתוך 2 דפים	
סדר בטחוני	
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ת	
מס' מברק	394

א. בשנה האחרונה הושגה התקדמות רצינית (?) להכוונת אש"פ לעבר השגת הסדר באמצעות מו"מ. קבלת הפסקת האש וההתנהגות ארגוני המחבלים נתנו יסוד להאמין כי אפשר יהיה בסופו של דבר לכוון הארגון לקראת הסדר מדיני רצוי. הכל נהרס עתה.

ב. תיאורטית ניתן להעלות שתי אפשרויות לגבי עתיד דרכו של אש"פ. האחת: הכרה בטעותם, וויתור על דרך המאבק והמזויין והליכה לקראת הסדר. הדרך השניה: רדיקליזציה קיצונית של התכועה והפנייה המאמצים לפעולות טירור. גם אם אין לפסול כי אש"פ יבחר בדרך הראשונה, הרי שהרוב בקהילת המודיעין מניח כי אש"פ יבחר דווקא בדרך הטירור (וגיאד יתחילו לרצות גם שגרירים אמריקאים").

ג. נכון אמנם שלערבים אין מקום אחר, זולת ווש' , אליו יוכלו לפנות בצרתם. אך אין זה מעמד מבוקש ע"י ארה"ב מאחר שנדרש ממנה במצבים כאלה לפעול לסילוק הטריסות והחורבן שמהלכי ישראל הותירו .

ד. בסופו של דבר, לישראל לא תהיה ברירה אלא להגיע להסדר עם הפלשתינאים. הסדר כזה חייב להיות מושג גם ע"י הניצים שבהם אחרת יאבד ההסדר כל תוקף. ספק אם הפעולה הישראלית תרמה לכך תרומה כלשהי.

ה. האריס הכיר בעובדה שברה"ם סבלה כאן מ- a major set back אם כי קרוב לוודאי, תעשה הכל כדי להפיק תועלת כלשהי מהמצב שנוצר.

מרום

שרה מושהה רהמ מורהמ שהבט מנקל מלמנקל מלפיו רוב נשטין
רלמרכב מלמר רמ אומן

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

טלפון

ט ל ק ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 1 דפים

סווג בטחוני שמור

דחיפות

תאריך וז"ח 16.10.82

מס' מברק 385

מצפ"א

לבנון - קונגרס.

אתמול קיימנו חדרוך בפורום העוזרים של ועדת ההיגוי הרפובליקנית בסנט. נכחו 35 עוזרים. אלוף מרון הציג בפניהם את הרקע, השתלטות אש"פ וסוריה על לבנון והשתלשלות המאורעות שהביאו להעולת צה"ל.

להלן מהשאלות ששאלו העוזרים:

- מה כוונתכם לגבי "המובלעת" בבירות. האם תתפסו את ערפאת.
- כמה קני ארטילריה וטנקים נשארו בשמוש אש"פ.
- מה תשובתכם כעת לבעיה הפלסטינית. האם תהיה כעת בישראל יותר נכונות ליותר אוטונומיה (בשטחים).
- באיזה מידה משפיעה על החלטותיכם הצהרת הסובייטים שפעולת צה"ל פוגעת באינטרסים שלהם.
- לאחרונה נהג אש"פ יותר באחריות, לפחות באשר להפגזות מעבר לגבול (כוונת השואל כנראה להפסקת האש לפי הפירוש של אש"פ) האם לא דחפתם אותם כעת להגברת מעולות הטרור?
- ממשלתכם הפרה את החוק האמריקני. כיצד אתה מסביר זאת?
- התקשורת מדווחת על הפצצות ללא אבחנה ושומעים על אלפי נפגעים אזרחים.
- באיזו מידה תהיה נסיגת כוחות סוריה מלבנון תנאי לנסיגת ישראל.
- האם ישראל תשתתף בבינון ממשלה חדשה בלבנון.
- אחרי כל מלחמה היו חילופי מידע עם ארה"ב. האם זה יהיה גם הפעם?
- היו רעיונות להרחבת אוניפיל, כח רב לאומי או חיזוק הצבא הלבנוני. מה מאלה נראה לך ריאליסטי? כמה זמן צריך לשקום הצבא הלבנוני?

אבילאה

שהם מקשרים הרבה מחתה שהבטל בנפל בנגנל בקבר רוב יפטין ר/גחפב
נגדר רש אדן אל'בר אחל ב

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד ירושלים

טלגרם

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סוג בטחוני: שמור

דחיפות:

תאריך וז"ח: 161530 ביוני

מס' מברק: 402

בנצור.

לקראת הועידה הדמוקרטית

מפגישה עם Bernard Aronson, Dir. Policy Democ. Nat. Comm.

1. להלן טיוטת הקטע המתייחס לישראל במז"ת, מתוך הצעה להצהרה בועידת המפלגה שתערך בסוף החודש:

The Democratic Party believes that the security of Israel and the construction of peace in the Middle East are fundamental priorities for American foreign policy. Israel remains more than a trusted friend, a steady ally, and sister democracy. Israel represents a strategic asset to the United States, protecting and defending U.S. interests in an unstable region of the world against encroachment by the Soviet Union and against potential threats to Western nations' vital oil supplies.

The Democratic Party opposes this Administration's sales of highly advanced weaponry to avowed enemies of Israel. We must ensure Israel's qualitative military edge over any combination of Middle East confrontation states. The Democratic Party opposes negotiations with the PLO, unless the PLO abandons its terrorism, recognizes the state of Israel, and adheres to U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. The Democratic Party believes that the Camp David peace process must be taken up again with urgency, for no nation in the Middle East can afford to wait until a new war--potentially more

dangerous than any of its predecessors--brings down a curtain of destruction once again. We applaud and support the example of both Israel and Egypt in taking bold steps for peace, and we believe that the United States should focus its efforts on encouraging negotiations between Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab states. We re-emphasize the fundamental principle that the prerequisite for a lasting peace in the Middle East remains an Israel with secure and defensible borders, strong beyond a shadow of a doubt.

2. סכמנו שאם יועלה הקון בנושא לבנון, אזי ההנהגה תפעל לאימוץ נוסח שיטים הדגש על חיזוק מעמד ממשלת לבנון עצמאית.

3. ציין שאין אפשרות עתה להתייחס לנושא הכרה בירושלים כבירה ונושא העברת השגרירות, אך אם יעלה יחזרו על מחויבויות הכלולה במצע.

4. שאל אם יש לנשיא תכניות לבקר בישראל. כאשר השבתי שלא ידוע לי על כך, שאל אם אנו מעוניינים שהמפלגה תנגח אותו על עובדה זו במטרה לעודדו לבקר. השבתי שעוד אתן לו תשובה על כך. נא הנחיותיכם.

5. סיפר, הידוע לנו, שסנטור גלן אכן מתכונן להתחרות על מועמדות לנשיאות ואין לראות בו ידיד ישראל.

[illegible]

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

סוג	מברק
דף	1 מתוך 6 דפים
סווג בטחוני	סוד
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ח	16 יוני 82, 1626
מס' מברק	405

מצפ"א

לבנון - קונגרס.

רצ"ב הנוסח הסופי של מכתב הסנטורים שנשלח אתמול לבית הלבן. בנוסף לכך שיגרו אתמול בושביץ וקמפ מכתב נוסף לנשיא באותו הענין (נוסח מצורף).

קני-טל

שהם סוטרים רחב מרחיב להכיר בזכות מולדת מלאה
ולמרכז בלבד הם יאמין

RUDY BOSCHWITZ
MINNESOTA

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United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 15, 1982

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to welcome you back from your successful trip to Europe and to outline some thoughts and suggestions we have developed on the rapidly changing Middle East situation.

We share with you a concern for the violence that has recently beset the region: yet there is opportunity as well as tragedy in recent events. New military realities have been created which offer invaluable opportunities for diplomatic solutions to Lebanon's longstanding problems and those of the Middle East as a whole. We urge you to take advantage of those opportunities to restore Lebanese territory to the people and government of Lebanon who have suffered too long under foreign occupation.

We believe the United States should take advantage of the weakened military power of the PLO and of Syrian forces to insist on the disarming of all military and paramilitary organizations in Lebanon and the removal of all foreign troops from that nation.

We believe we should move quickly to:

-- Rebuild the central Lebanese government, armed forces and political alliances in preparation for truly free and democratic elections for the first time in years.

-- Help create an effective buffer zone in southern Lebanon and to clean out all areas of Lebanon where the PLO had free rein so that this territory may never again be used as the base for worldwide terrorist operations. It would be shortsighted, as your administration appears to recognize, to pressure Israel into a precipitous withdrawal before effective arrangements are made to ensure the PLO could not again infiltrate back into the area.

-- Step up our counter-terrorism efforts in anticipation of possible increases in PLO terrorism activities throughout the world.

-- Strengthen diplomatically the efforts already underway to: remove all foreign occupying forces from Lebanon, significantly weaken two major Soviet clients, Syria and the PLO, eliminate the

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PLO as an organized fighting force; and the restoration of Lebanon to the Lebanese.

-- Take advantage of the new Middle East alignments to press ahead with the Camp David process and to encourage other nations, freer than ever from PLO intimidation, to join in that process.

The PLO leadership which has maintained the objective of liberating all of "occupied Palestine" has now been discredited as an effective force in helping the Palestinian people achieve realistic goals instead of pursuing dreams.

Rejectionism, rhetoric and revenge are counter-productive and lead only to more tragedies, not progress. We should make it clear to those on the West Bank, to the Jordanians, and to other countries with a stake in a peaceful settlement such as the Saudis, that true moderates should rise above the immediate emotions and reactions and join in the peace process.

There is now an opportunity to help bring peace, democracy and independence to Lebanon and further the peace process. We are confident you will have widespread backing for your efforts to meet this challenge.

Sincerely,

Jack Kemp

Jack F. Kemp

Rudy Boschwitz

Rudy Boschwitz

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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 15, 1982

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We share your very deep concern over the current situation in Lebanon.

As you know, the roots of the present conflict stem from events arising out of the Lebanese Civil War of 1975-1976. Since that time, Lebanon has ceased to exist as a free and sovereign country. In fact, the country has been the victim of a de facto partition comprised of a solidly entrenched PLO military presence, Christian and Moslem Lebanese enclaves, and Syrian military occupation now estimated to include 39,000 troops. Under these conditions, Lebanon has been a source of significant instability in the region since 1976. Obviously, under these circumstances the situation can only continue to deteriorate and undermine our long-term interests in promoting stability in the Middle East.

Therefore, we welcomed the public statement of Secretary of State Alexander Haig over the weekend that a solution to this crisis must include a withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Lebanon, a restoration of unity and full independence for that country, and the removal of the PLO's ability to conduct military and terrorist activities against Israel.

It is crucial that the cease-fire be firmly established so that the way will be opened for steps to reduce the possibility of further confrontation and conflict. Therefore, we support strongly American diplomatic initiatives which combine the following elements:

1. The dismantling of the PLO's ability to exercise military and political control over significant portions of Lebanese territory and to threaten Israel from that territory;

2. The complete withdrawal of all Syrian forces from Lebanon;

3. The complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Lebanon;

4. The re-establishment of full control and sovereignty of the central government of Lebanon over all its territory, and the capability of keeping itself free of all foreign forces.

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A long range negotiated settlement along these lines should be our ultimate objective. We fear that without such an agreement, the region will continue to be plagued by the kind of instability which has precipitated the present crisis.

Thank you very much for consideration of our views.

Sincerely,

BOB PACKWOOD

ROBERT C. BYRD

S.I. HAYAKAWA

ALAN CRANSTON

DAVE DURENBERGER

ALFONSE D'AMATO

LOWELL P. WEICKER

CHARLES GRASSLEY

WILLIAM S. COHEN

BILL BRADLEY

LAWTON CHILES

PAUL SARBANES

TED KENNEDY

HOWARD METZENBAUM

CARL LEVIN

HOWARD CANNON

JAMES EXON

DAVID BOREN

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ARLEN SPECTER

JOHN HEINZ

SLADE GORTON

RUDY BOSCHWITZ

DANIEL MOYNIHAN

HENRY JACKSON

DANIEL INOUYE

WARREN RUDMAN

DONALD RIEGLE

EDWARD ZORINSKY

JIM SASSER

BOB KASTEN

ORRIN HATCH

CLAIBORNE PELL

DENNIS De CONCINI

ALAN DIXON

WILLIAM ROTH

PAUL TSONGAS

DAN QUAYLE

SPARK MATSUNAGA

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד. ניו-יורק

ט ל ק ס מ ב ר ק

דף..1..מתוך..3...דפים

סודב בטחוני..גלבר...

דחיפות קול לבנקר....

תאריך וז"ח: 16.2100 יוני 82

מס' מברק...411....

מנכ"ל. מצפ"א. מחי מצרים. ניו-יורק, רוה"מ

הייג ועלי - בוושינגטון.

להלן הערות שהשמיעו מזכיר המדינה ושה"ח המצרי בצאתם מהביח הלבן - 16.6.82.

(ANNOUNCEMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG)

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF EGYPT HASSAN ALI, COMPLETING A VISIT WITH THE PRESIDENT, ON EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE PEACE PROCESS, AND MOST PARTICULARLY, THE CRISIS IN LEBANON TODAY. AND THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER HAS A STATEMENT HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE:

I HAVE JUST MET WITH THE PRESIDENT REAGAN AND DELIVERED TO HIM A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT MUBARAK. MY VISIT TO WASHINGTON HAS BEEN PLANNED FOR SOME TIME. TO COME AND ASSESS THE SITUATION IN THE AREA, IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, AS WELL AS ON HOW TO ENHANCE THE PEACE PROCESS FOLLOWING THE COMPLETION OF THE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM SINAI.

EGYPT, FIRST, WE WERE ON THE THRESHOLD OF ACHIEVING PROGRESS TO BRING ABOUT PACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ALL OUR ARAB BROTHERS. A JUST AND LASTING PEACE BASED ON THE FULFILLMENT OF THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE PALESTINIANS, AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SECURITY FOR EVERYONE IN THE REGION, INCLUDING ISRAEL. WE WERE ALL SHOCKED BY THE SUDDEN TURN OF EVENTS WHEN THE ISRAELI DECIDED TO INVADE LEBANON. SINCE THE FIFTH OF JUNE WE HAVE SEEN TRAGEDIES TAKING PLACE THERE. WITH LOSS OF LIVES OF A THOUSAND, AND THE DESTITUTION OF TENS OF THOUSANDS. WHAT WE HAVE IS THE SHEER PROBLEM TO SETTLE FROM 48 ONWARDS HAS NOW BEEN COMPOUNDED WITH PALESTINIANS AS WELL AS LEBANESE BECOMING NEW REFUGEES IN A DESTRUCTED LAND. HIGHER RISKS OF LARGER CONFLICT LOOM OVER THE REGION OF LEBANON. THE SITUATION IN LEBANON, AND ESPECIALLY AROUND BEIRUT, IF I WILL ACCEPT THEM, ISRAELI FORCES MUST WITHDRAW FROM ITS VACINITY. THIS IS AN ARAB CAPITAL, BESEIGED ARAB CAPITAL, AND ITS GOVERNMENT MUST BECOME FREED TO HANDLE ITS OWN DESTINY.

TODAY, I HAVE IMPRESSED ON THE PRESIDENT THE FEELING IN OUR COUNTRY AND IN THE AREA FOR THE NEEDS OF A DETERMINED UNITED STATES' LEADERSHIP TO ENDEAVOR TO BRING BLOODSHED TO AN END, FOR SANITY TO PREVAIL, FOR BOMBARDMENTS; TO TREAT THEIR PRISONERS OF THIS TRAGIC WAR WITH HUMANITY AND ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL LAW AND CONVENTION. THIRD, NOW, ABOVE ALL, IS THE TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SO THAT WAR COMES TO AN END AND

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ט ר פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 2 מתוך 3 דפים

סדרג בטחוני .....

דחיפות .....

תאריך וז"ח: .....

מס' מברק 411

24-1-72

PEACE COULD PREVAIL.

I FOUND THE PRESIDENT DEEPLY CONCERNED. HE ASSURED ME THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL DEPLOY EVERY EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A CEASE-FIRE, RESPECTED AND ENDURING, THAT THE U.S. STAND BY ITS VOTE OF RESOLUTION 508 NAD 509, OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, CALLING ON ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM LEBANON.

I FOUND HIM CONVINCED THAT THE LEBANESE PEOPLE MUST BE LEFT TO THEMSELVES, TO FORM A STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WHICH CAN ASSURE THE SAFETY, STABILITY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF LEBANON, THAT MUST BE RESPECTED BY EVERYONE IN THE AREA, AND BEYOND.

HE ASSURRED ME AS WELL THAT THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY THE FULL PARTNER ROLE IN THE EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THAT MORE THAN EVER BEFORE HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE PALESTINIANS MUST HAVE HOPE ABOUT THEIR FUTURE. WE COUNT ON THAT ACT OF LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD.

PEACE, STABILITY AND PROSPERITY THE MIDDLE EAST NEEDS, AND ARE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AS WELL.

IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ADDRESSED TO MR. ALI AND MR. HAIG:

Q: WERE YOU AT ALL CONCERNED THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT THAT DETERMINED TO HAVE THE ISRAELIS WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON?

A: NO, ON THE CONTRARY. WE ARE SURE THAT THE U.S. IS DOING ITS BEST TO WITHDRAW THE ISRAELI FORCES FROM LEBANON. OF COURSE, THE SOONER THE BETTER.

Q: BUT HOW SOON DOES THE U.S., DID THE PRESIDENT TELL YOU, HE WAS PUSHING FOR — A WEEK?

A: I THINK IT IS FOR SECRETARY HAIG TO REPLY TO THIS QUESTION.

Q: BUT WHAT DID THE PRESIDENT TELL YOU?

A: WE GOT ASSURANCES, AS I MENTIONED.

—(HAIG ANSWERS...) BEYOND A DOUBT, THIS WILL BE ONE OF THE MAJOR AREAS ON THE ITEM FOR MONDAY'S MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT. I WILL DISCUSS IT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AS EARLY AS FRIDAY MORNING. I THINK IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THIS JUNCTURE WE DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HAVE THE HISTILITIES STOP AND THAT IS GOING TO REQUIRE RESTRAINT ON ALL SIDES. WE DO SEEK AN EARLY WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL's FORCES FROM LEBANON, AS PER THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

טלפס	מברק
דף 3...מתוך...3 דפים	
סדר בטחוני.....	
דחיפות.....	
תאריך וז"ח:.....	
מס' מברק...411.....	

בל-נ.1.1.ק

AND I THINK SOME OF THE NUANCES OF YOUR QUESTION ARE IRRELEVANE TO THE SITUATION THAT WE ARE FACED WITH. AS YOU KNOW, THE ISRAELI PENETRATION HAS BEEN EXTENSIVE, WE HAVE SAID WE DO NOT WANT A RETURN TO STATUS QUO ANTE IN LEBANON. WE WANT A STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, AND WE WANT THW WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANESE SOIL, SO THAT THE LEBANESE PEOPLE CAN DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY UNDER A SOVEREIGNTY THAT IS SECURE WITHIN RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL BORDERS.

—(HAIG)— WE ARE NOW IN THE UNITED NATIONS SEEKING AN EXTENSION OF THE U.N.I.F.I.L. MANDATE FOR A FIXED PERIOD, AS AN EMERGENCY STEP, TO BE SURE. AND THAT WE HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN LEBANON AT THIS CRITICAL PERIOD.

—(HIAG)—AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT A NITIFICATION FOR AN AGREEMENT ARRIVED AT IN 1979. IT HAS NO SPECIFIC RELEVANCE TO THIS CRISIS, ALTHOUGH CLEARLY IT HAS CAUSED PERCEPTION THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL CONSIDER.

עד כאן.

שי
אלי

שיבה טובה מנכל מאנקל רמה טובה שהבט מנכל מבשר
ולמרבה מאד רק אמן

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

סוג	מברק
דף	1 מתוך 4 דפים
סווג בסחוני	גלוי
דחיפות	
תאריך וז"ח	16 יוני 82, 1149
מס' מברק	387

מצפ"א, ממ"ד

לבנון - קונגרס

1. רצ"ב קטעים מתוך דו"ח שהוכן ע"י שרות המחקר של הקונגרס לשמוש חברי הקונגרס.

2. אשמול הנספח האווירי והחת"מ תידרכנו את חוקרי ה -CRS. השתתפו כ-30 מנהלי תחלקות וחוקרים בכירים.

קני-טל

./.

ש"ה מ"ש"ה דהת סרהת אנל אנל בלבסו רוב"נשט"ן
רגרבב בגת רש אגן

(1) The Habib mission, using U.S. good offices in the region, may be able to renegotiate the cease-fire, finding a means for Israel, the PLO, and Syria to cease hostilities. This could include an Israeli withdrawal, a pull-back of PLO artillery, and removal of Syrian missiles.

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(2) In the United Nations, the United States could call for an Israeli withdrawal in conjunction with an expansion of the UNIFIL presence in the region. Israel has rejected the June 6 resolution which did not refer to UNIFIL. Increasing the peacekeeping presence may alleviate some of Israel's security concerns, although the political task of finding nations to participate in the dangerous mission may prove formidable.

(3) The United States could take punitive measures against Israel to indicate its strong disapproval of Israeli action. As occurred in 1981, this might include a deferral of pending arms deliveries to Israel and a postponement of new arms negotiations. The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the United States and Israel, which Washington suspended after Israel's de facto annexation of the Golan Heights in December 1981, and has not yet reactivated, is another vehicle available to U.S. policy-makers.

(4) The United States may wish to consult with the Soviet Union and come to an understanding, as was tacitly done in the early days of the Iran-Iraq war, that neither party will arm and aid its partners in the conflict. This would entail no U.S. resupply of Israel along with Soviet cooperation in not providing new arms to Syria or the PLO in Lebanon.

(5) Some within U.S. Government circles may argue that Israel's action is an appropriate response to its security threat, and that the most constructive American approach for the security of Israel and stability of the region would be to strengthen Israel's position. This could entail additional military and political support for Israel, effectively extending an American security umbrella over Israel to prevent regional states from opposing the Israeli invasion, and to induce flexibility and concessions on Israel's part. Such an approach involves considerable political risks for the United States, reducing political influence in the region and possibly provoking another oil embargo.

אל:

ISRAELI USE OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT IN LEBANON

A Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (TIAS 2675) signed by Israel and the United States on July 23, 1952, states that American military equipment provided for Israel "...will be used solely to maintain internal security (and) its (Israel's) legitimate self-defense..." and that Israel "...will not undertake any act of aggression against any other state ..." using American-supplied military equipment. All Israeli-U.S. arms agreements signed since 1952 have contained the same restriction. The Arms Export and Control Act states that if the President or the Congress, through joint resolution, determines that a nation has used U.S.-suppled military equipment for purposes other than internal security or legitimate self-defense, that nation is ineligible for credits, guarantees, cash sales, or deliveries of military equipment. The Arms Export and Control Act states that the U.S. may cancel or suspend a contract for transfer of military equipment under "unusual or compelling circumstances" required by the U.S. "national interest."

There have been several occasions in the past when Israel's use of American equipment was questioned, such as the raid on Sammu, Jordan, in November 1966, the attack against Egypt in June 1967, the Beirut airport raid in late December 1968, and others. The first official statement that Israel "may have violated" the 1952 agreement, however, followed the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in March 1978. In August 1979, the Secretary of State again said that Israel "may have violated" the agreement by using American-supplied weapons in attacks against Palestinian positions in southern Lebanon. Secretary of State Haig said in a letter to the Congress on June 10, 1981, that Israel "may have violated" the agreement by using American weapons in the June 7 attack on the Iraqi nuclear facility near Baghdad.

Pending a report to be submitted to the Congress reviewing Israeli use of American weapons in the Iraqi raid, the Administration on June 10 suspended delivery of four F-16 aircraft scheduled for June 12. On July 1, and again on July 13, 1981, Israeli sources said the United States would deliver the four F-16s on July 17, the scheduled date for the delivery of six additional F-16s. The White House did not confirm the reports. On July 17, the White House announced that delivery of the six F-16 aircraft would be delayed "indefinitely." The announcement coincided with and appeared to be prompted by Israeli air attacks on Beirut, which killed an estimated 300 and wounded 800. On Aug. 17, Secretary of State Haig announced that the delayed shipments of aircraft to Israel would be completed, and added that there was no "legal or juridical" decision necessary to determine if Israel violated its agreements with the United States.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

טלקס מברק

דף 4 מתוך 4 דפים

סווג בטחוני .....

דחיפות .....

תאריך וז"ח .....

מס' מברק 387

Israeli officials, including the prime minister, the foreign minister, and the Israeli ambassador to the United States, said the United States "violated" a "commitment" to deliver the planes. The Israelis maintain that the strike against Iraq's nuclear facility and the attacks against Palestinian areas of south Lebanon constitute "legitimate defense" as stipulated in the 1952 agreement. Israel states that only Israel can determine when it is being threatened and only Israel decides what defensive actions are necessary to remove the threats. Israeli military leaders, citing intelligence reports, state that the Palestinian forces in south Lebanon have received increased shipments of arms from Libya, Syria, and the Soviet Union, and that the Palestinian armed groups were being converted from a guerrilla force into a conventional army that would pose a more immediate threat to Israel. In their view, the Israelis attacked the Palestinians to interrupt the flow of arms and to disrupt the organization of the conventional army.

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REAGAN MEETS WITH EGYPT'S FOREIGN MINISTER (450)

WASHINGTON -- EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HASSAN ALI MET JUNE 16 WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN, CONVEYING A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT MUBARAK. ALI TOLD REPORTERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE HE FOUND REAGAN "DEEPLY CONCERNED" ABOUT EVENTS IN LEBANON.

ALI SAID HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN PLANNED TO PROVIDE U.S. OFFICIALS WITH AN EGYPTIAN ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN LIGHT OF THE WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ. HE SAID IT WAS THE EGYPTIAN VIEW THAT UNTIL "THE SUDDEN TURN OF EVENTS" IN LEBANON, EGYPT AND ISRAEL WERE MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACE BETWEEN TEL AVIV AND THE ARAB STATES.

ALI SAID HE TOLD REAGAN THE ISRAELI PRESENCE IN LEBANON, ESPECIALLY NEAR BEIRUT, IS "UNACCEPTABLE," ADDING ISRAELI FORCES MUST WITHDRAW AND LEBANON MUST BE ALLOWED TO "HANDLE ITS OWN DESTINY."

THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE IMPRESSED ON REAGAN THE EGYPTIAN BELIEF THAT IT IS NOW MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER FOR WASHINGTON TO TAKE A LEADERSHIP ROLE AS A FULL PARTNER IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS.

ALI SAID REAGAN ASSURED HIM THAT WASHINGTON "STANDS BY ITS VOTES" FOR UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS 508 AND 509, WHICH CALL FOR AN END TO THE BLOODSHED IN LEBANON AND WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES.

HE SAID THE PRESIDENT TOLD HIM HE IS "MORE CONVINCED THAN EVER THAT THE LEBANESE PEOPLE SHOULD BE LEFT TO THEMSELVES TO FORM A STRONG GOVERNMENT. HE ASSURED ME THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A FULL-PARTNER ROLE."

SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE SESSION WITH REAGAN AND ALI, TOLD QUESTIONERS THAT THE SITUATION IN LEBANON WILL BE "ONE OF THE AGENDA ITEMS" WHEN HE MEETS

PRADAM MEETS WITH EGYPT'S FOREIGN MINISTER (ADD)

WASHINGTON -- EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HASSAN ALI MFT JUNE 15 WITH PRESIDENT PRADAM, CONVEYING A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT MUBARAK. ALI TOLD REPORTERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE HE FOUND PRADAM "DEEPLY CONCERNED" ABOUT EVENTS IN LEBANON.

ALI SAID HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN PLANNED TO PROVIDE U.S. OFFICIALS WITH AN EGYPTIAN ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN LIGHT OF THE WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ. HE SAID IT WAS THE EGYPTIAN VIEW THAT UNTIL "THE GUNSIN TURN OR EVENTS" IN LEBANON, EGYPT AND ISRAEL WERE MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES.

ALI SAID HE TOLD PRADAM THE ISRAELI PRESENCE IN LEBANON, ESPECIALLY NEAR BEIRUT, IS "UNACCEPTABLE." ADDING ISRAELI FORCES MUST WITHDRAW AND LEBANON MUST BE ALLOWED TO "HANDLE ITS OWN DESTINY."

PAGE 20 -- WRITE YOUR REPORT

THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE IMPRESSED ON PRADAM THE EGYPTIAN BELIEF THAT IT IS NOW MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER FOR WASHINGTON TO TAKE A LEADERSHIP ROLE AS A FULL PARTNER IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS.

ALI SAID PRADAM ASSURED HIM THAT WASHINGTON "STANDS BY ITS VOTES" FOR UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS 508 AND 509, WHICH CALL FOR AN END TO THE BLOODSHED IN LEBANON AND WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES.

HE SAID THE PRESIDENT TOLD HIM HE IS "MORE CONVINCED THAN EVER THAT THE LEBANESE PEOPLE SHOULD BE LEFT TO THEMSELVES TO FORM A STRONG GOVERNMENT. HE ASSURED ME THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A FULL-PARTNER ROLE."

SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE SESSION WITH PRADAM AND ALI, TOLD QUESTIONERS THAT THE SITUATION IN LEBANON WILL BE "ONE OF THE ARDUOUS ITEMS" WHEN HE MEETS

ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AT THE UNITED NATIONS JUNE 18, AND WHEN BEGIN MEETS REAGAN NEXT WEEK; THAT SESSION IS TENTATIVELY SLATED FOR JUNE 21.

"WE DO SEEK EARLY WITHDRAWAL, AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE

WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM LEBANON," HAIG SAID. "THAT IS THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY...WE HAVE SAID WE DONOT WANT TO RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE...WE WANT THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANESE SOIL SO THAT THE LEBANESE PEOPLE CAN DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY UNDER A SOVEREIGNTY THAT IS SECURE WITHIN RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL BORDERS."

ITEM

95
** יוצא שמור
**
**
**

אל: נ' , ווש , נר: חוזם 655, מ : המשרד
דת: ב, סג: ס, תא: 160682, זמ: 1700
נד: אונ'פ'ל

אלי

שמור/נהוג

נכום דס שגוש'נגטון

פאוב הי'ר משגארהב הודיע לי שמחמד הודתה לשגרירויות ארהב בבירות מוסבים ואונ'פ'ל כפעול למען חי'רוש מנדט אונ'פ'ל בששים ימים של י' החלטה נוהלית פשוטה ללא פול'מ'וצי'ה של ההחלטה.
האסטרגי'ה הי'א להציג חי'רוש המנדט בחיוני' לשימור אופצי'ה אונ'פ'ל באחת האופצי'ות שנובאנה בחשבון בחיפוש ההסדר המדי'נ' בהנחה שאולי' יהי'ה צורך בנ''אלמנט כלשהו של שמי'רת השלום'' ומתוך הבנה שאין להחזי'ר לקדמותו המצב שהי'ר. בהחלטה מאוכרנה החלטות מוסב'ם 508 ו-509.
הודי'ע כהי'ר של המידע ורק הקשי'ת האמנם אי'וכוד שמ' ההחלטות הנל' הכרחי' שהרי' מדובר בהן על נסי'גה יזראלי'ת מי'די'ת ולכא תנאי' ואי'לו ארהב גודסת במונו שהנסי'גה צריכה להי'ות קשורה בהסדרי'ם שימנעו החורת המצב לקדמותו. אי'ש שאבן וו שמדגם והוכי'ר שגם במוסב'ם לי'וו נציגי' ארהב את הצעתם בעד שמ' ההחלטות בהסכי'ם ברורי'ם ברוח וו. אמרת' שבהחלטה על חי'רוש המנדט יידבר רק על ההחלטות ולא יופיעו דברי' ההסבר. שמא תעלו נקודה זו במסגרת מגעי'כם בני'ו יורק ובוושי'נגטון.

אל'צור

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

44

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

מברק

דף..1..מתוך.....דפים

סודי בטחוני...קנדי..

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח: 16.1.1984 יוני 82,

מס' מברק..393..

נגמר. מינכ.

שיחה עם הגברת N. MAUTNER סגן מנהל המחי הסובייטית ב INR

שאלתי על תוכן החליפת המסמכים בין הנשיא וברזנייב. התחמקה מתשובה ממשית. את מהלכי ברה"מ במשבר איפיינה כאיטיים ולא חריפים יחסית. כל עוד כוונה הפעולה נגד הפלשתינאים, לא היתה תגובה סובייטית ממשית. מוסקבה התעוררה כאשר נראה איום כלפי סוריה. היקף ואופי התגובה הסובייטית נצפו נכונה ע"י INR ולדברי הגברת מאוטנר, הסובייטים הגיבו "בדיוק כפי שהעריכו" כאן בוושינגטון. הצבעתי על הדיעות שהושמעו כאן שבועות ארוכים על חשיפה הכבד של וושינגטון מהתערבות סובייטית בקנה מידה גדול. אם וכאשר יפעל צה"ל בלבנון. גברת מאוטנר השיבה כי זאת היתה דעתם של מקבלי ההחלטות וקובעי המדיניות בדרג העליון ולא זאת היתה הערכת הגורמים המקצועיים. (כאן נכנסה להסברים ארוכים כיצד הממשל הנוכחי חזר לתפיסות של שנות ה-50 הראשונות ורואה "מאחרי כל עץ איום וסכנה סובייטים").

ההסבר להתנהגות ברה"מ במשבר הנוכחי מצוי, לדעת גברת מאוטנר, ברצונה של מוסקבה לקדם השיחות עם ארה"ב על החמוש האסטרטגי בהתעסקותם באפגניסטן ובפולין וכן באי רצונה להסתבך בנושא ובמקום חדשים. מסבות אלו נראה שגם בהמשך יימנעו מנקיטת מהלכים חריפים. יוצא דופן הוא המצב בו יש סכנה לנפילת המשטר הסורי. עם זאת אין פירוש הדבר כי לא יעשו כל שביכולתם - במישור המדיני, באו"ם, ביחסיהם עם מדינות ערב ובמישור אספקת נשק כדי לצמצם הנזקים ולהפיק תועלת כלשהי מהמצב שנוצר.

מרום

שגרת מלשכה רבא מלוהא שהבל גנב. גלוגל גלשו גרוע גהור
ולא רבא אמר רב אדם

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד ירושלים

ט ל ק ס	מ ב ר ק
דף 1 מתוך 3 דפים	
סוג בטחוני: ס.ו.ד.י.	
דחיפות: ד.ה.ו.ל.	
תאריך וז"ח: 151630 בינואר 82	
מס' מברק: 371	

בר-און, בנצור .

שיחה עם טום מילר - נושאים צבאיים/ישראל-ערב/מחמ"ד

1. ביקור רוה"מ

מסר כי הודעת מחמ"ד מהיום (15.6.82) באשר לעובדה שהפגישה עם הנשיא נקבעה "טנטטיבית" כוונתה לתת לנו איתות לפיו אם יחול מפנה דרסטי, כגון כניסה ישראלית לביירות, אזי לא יהיה מקום לעריכת הפגישה. אם לא יחול מפנה מסוג זה, הפגישה כמובן תתקיים.

2. הודעה לקונגרס על מכירת F-16

העכוב הוא אכן במכוון והנושא הועבר להכרעת הנשיא.

המלצת מחמ"ד לבית הלבן היא שהנשיא יחליט לעכב משלוח ההודעה עד שהמצב במזה"ת ייוגע.

לדבריו, עמדת מחמ"ד התבססה על כך שהודעה כעת לקונגרס תגרור ויכוח פומבי בקונגרס בנושא שימוש בנשק אמריקאי על-ידי ישראל. לדבריו, גם לישראל לא צריך להיות ענין בויכוח כזה עתה.

אמר כי אין כל ספק שההודעה תנתן כעבור זמן מה, אך מאחר ומדובר באספקה רק ב-1985 חבל לדעתם לעורר ויכוח עתה בגבעה.

מקווים שבין העכוב במשלוח ההודעה ולא נראה בזה סנקציה. הדגיש שלא ידוע כמובן באם אכן הנשיא יאמץ המלצת מחמ"ד. הוסיף, כי מניח שהחלטת הנשיא תיפול ביום ד' או ה' הקרובים.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ע.ר.פ.ס ס.ד.ר.ק
דף...2...מתוך...3...דפים
סווג בטחוני...ס.ו.ד.י
דחיפות...רגיל...
מס' מברק...371...

3. חוקיות שימוש ישראלי בנשק אמריקאי בלבנון

לדבריו, מחמ"ד נמצא בלחץ גובר והולך למסור הודעה לפיה אכן יתכן והיה שימוש בלתי-חוקי בנשק אמריקאי. ועדר תודעה כזו מהווה לדבריו הודעה שברור לחלוטין שהשימוש כן היה חוקי.

יתכן ויאלצו למסור הודעה כזו. הדגיש שהודעה כזו במסרה ארבע פעמים בעת ממשל קרטר.

עם זאת הוסיף, כי כבר נפלה החלטה חד-משמעית שבכל מקרה לא תנתן הכרעה סופית לפיה השימוש היה בלתי-חוקי. דהיינו, גם אם יתנו הודעה "שיתכן" והיה שימוש לא-חוקי, הרי הודעה כזו תהווה סוף פסוק. הסביר שמתן הכרעה סופית תסבך את הממשל במספר מישורים ועל כן ההכרעה הברורה היא לא להכריע.

4. ל ב נ ו ן

חזר וביקש שנמנע מלהכנס לביירות.

לדבריו, הנשיא צפה בתכניות טלביזיה על הנזק שנגרם לאוכלוסיה האזרחית בלבנון כתוצאה מהפעולה הישראלית והתמונות השאירו עליו רושם עגום. הוא העביר רושם זה למזכיר.

5. "חבילת" מזכר ההבנה

אמר כי עד כה לא היתה כל הכנה במחמ"ד לקראת העלאת נושאי שחרור שלושת מרכיבי "חבילה" (קניות ב-200 מיליון; שימוש בישראל של FMS או שימוש צד ג' ב- FMS בישראל), בעת ביקור רוה"מ.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

ט ל ג ר ם ס ב ר ק

דף 3 מתוך 3 דפים

סוג בטחוני: P.J.J.

דחיפות: קדם

תאריך וז"ח:

מס' מברק: 371

יתכן שיחול שינוי בימים הבאים, אך הרגשתו היא כי אין כוונה אמריקאית להעלות הנושא. הפעולה בלבנון לדבריו, אינה מהווה רקע נוח לצאת בהודעות על נושאי סיוע צבאי.

6. C B U

סיפר כי ארה"ב עומדת לפנות אלינו בימים הבאים במחאה על שימוש שעשינו בפצצות C B U.

שאל אם יש בידי חומר היכול לסתור טענות שהשתמשנו בפצצות אלו בערים. (אם יש, אנא הבריקו).

7. ה נ ו צ ר י ם

סיפר כי נודע להם כי עשינו מאמצים רבים לקיים מגע הדוק עם באשיר גומייל, אך נדחנו על-ידו.

הערכת מחמ"ד היא כי נסיב אם נמעט במגעים אתו, על-מנת שלא ייראה כעושה דבריהם של הישראלים.

8. כל הנ"ל לא לייחוס.

ס ב ל י

שרה סלשרה רדמ סלרה נשהש אנכי אמנכי מלבו
רלאיב מאמר רס אמן רלבינטלין

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד . ניו-יורק

ד ו ח ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 3 דפים

סדרג בשחרור גלוי

דחיפות דחוף

תאריך דו"ח: 15.1.730 יוני 82

מס' מברק 65/375

ממנכ"ל. מצפ"א . ניו-יורק, רוה"מ

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING JUNE 15, 1982

GENERAL AMERICAN POLICY, POSITION

STATEMENT: We wish to address the conflict by focusing on the situation around Beirut. We remain very concerned about reports of continual fighting and troop movements in spite of the cease fire declared by the various parties. As secretary Haig said yesterday we have been assured that Israel has no intention of occupying Beirut; and we anticipate that Israeli forces will not take this step. We trust that none of the parties will do anything to contravene their stated intentions to observe a cease fire.

RESPONSE: Movement of troops per se is a violation of the cease fire; will not comment specifically on this issue. In terms of the statement given above our position is that we remain "very concerned".

---- Will not Comment further on whether the U.S. condones or deplores Israeli commando raids.

POSITION ON UNIFEL FORCES IN LEBANON

STATEMENT: The U.S. supports Unifel; and feels that Unifel has played an important role in maintaining the fragile cease fire on the Israel-Lebanon border. Over the past four years. Given current uncertainties we believe that it is prudent to extend Unifel when its mandate comes up before the Security Council this week. This mandate must not be allowed to lapse at this critical junction, looking beyond such an extension we believe that a peace-keeping arrangement will be a necessary ingredient in bringing about an Israeli withdrawl in accordence with resolutions 508 and 509.

RESPONSE: Will not specify further on the specifics of the extension of the mandate.

---- "Looking beyond" relates to the issues that the U.N. must contend with in determining the validity of the Unifel force.

---- Will not comment further whether the Russians agree or disagree with the Unifel extension.

COMMENT ON THE RUSSIAN RESPONSE IN TASS TO ISRAELI ACTION

STATEMENT: In general terms, obviously, such Soviet statements as indicated

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING JUNE 15, 1982

indicated yesterday are not helpful in our view and efforts to promote a cease-fire and a lasting solution to the problems of Lebanon. In addition to the allegations that the U.S. colusion with the Israeli's in the Israeli attack and our intent to participate in dividing Lebanon; are completely false and our clearly designed to serve Soviet propaganda objectives.

STATE DEPARTMENT ELABORATES ON THE OBJECTIVES OF U.S. POLICY

The U.S. strongly supports the two resolutions of 508 and 509, of which call for a cease-fire and a withdrawl of Israeli troops consistent with the resolutions goals which are both across the Israel-Lebanon border and Lebanon itself.
The achievement of these goals implies the return to the status-quo-anti, and to create appropriate structures to organize and maintain the implementation of the resolutions. We stress the importence that these resolutions work with the Lebanese governments and other governments and that they are implemented as soon as possible. We urge the support of effective actions such as Ambassador Habib's mission to achieve this goal.

---- We support the purpose of the two resolutions, we will not go beyond that.

COMMENT ON BEGIN'S MEETING WITH REAGAN

QUESTION: The meeting with Reagan you say is hopeful, is it not scheduled for Monday? And is there some doubt if it is actually going to take place?

ANSWER: It is tentatively scheduled.

QUESTION: Only tentatively scheduled?

ANSWER: Yes. Because that is the way it is scheduled.

ADDITION: We are hopeful that the meeting will take place.

MISCELLANEOUS STATEMENTS

--- Secretary Haig does not plan to meet with Begin, or anyone else concerned with the Lebanese conflict in New York.

--- The president will make a determination of the sale of the

STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING JUNE 15, 1982

F-16's at the time of notification.

---- Whether Israel violated American law by using American weapons in Lebanon is still subject to review.

--- Soviet Foreign Minister pledged that the Soviets will not be the first to use nuclear weapons; The State Department reacted to this comment by proclaiming that they have heard this before.

--- The State department wished to point out further in reaction to the statement that the Israeli's were committing 'genocide' that the Soviets have not supported the Camp David Peace Process.

עתונות

[illegible]

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מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

טופס מברק גלוי

אל: הסטרד

דע:

מאת: נאו"ם

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

מיון בטחוני: גלוי

דחיפות: מיידי

תאריך ושעה: 151800

מס' מברק: 560/106

ממ"ד. מצפ"א. ארב"ל 2.

דע: וושינגטון.

לכנון.

להלן הודעה לעתונות של משלחת הליבה הערבית הכוללת מכתב מזכ"ל הליבה לנשיא ריגן.

נאו"ם

לדעת מישהו רוצה מודעה שתהיה מנוע מלא מדבר אליהם בתל 2.
לאיך אמר הם אומרים ואז אלה הסביה

תאריך: 15.6.82 הטולה: י.דרנבר מישור מנהל המחלקה: חתימה:

יהודה

NEWS
Release

The League of Arab States
Office of the Permanent Observer to the United Nations
747 Third Avenue New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 838-8700

AL/NR/26/82

TUNIS, June 15, 1982 --- Following is the text of the letter sent by H.E. Mr. Chedli Klibi, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States to U.S. President Ronald Reagan on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon:

"His Excellency
President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington D.C.

560/106

Your Excellency,

I am writing to you in my capacity as Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, a function which imposes upon me a special responsibility vis-a-vis the aggression and horrifying slaughter of innocent Lebanese and Palestinians by Israel.

Such massacres cannot conceivably go by unheeded by the international community at large and, in particular, by the states holding a special responsibility, on account of their international role, in the defense of peace and security as provided for by the United Nations Charter and dictated by all international laws and rules of conduct.

It is a grave error on the part of Israel to believe that it could achieve its goals through land-occupation, physical destruction and the liquidation of populations.

The suffering and agony inflicted upon the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples will only strengthen their resistance. The Israeli aggression is an aggression against human ethical values and principles of international law.

I am addressing to you, in this critical circumstance, in the name of the supreme values, ideals and principles which are the mainstay and the cornerstone of international behavior. My address to you, Mr. President, stems from the particular responsibilities resting with the U.S. Government in thwarting Israel's unbridled aggression by exerting pressure on the aggressor, the United States being the nation capable of exerting such pressure due to the special relationship existing between the United States and Israel.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Chedli Klibi
Secretary-General
The League of Arab States"

* * *

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

ס ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף..1..מתוך..1..דפים

סוג בטחוני..קוד?...

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח: 15.0931 יוני 82,

מס' מברק..360..

מצפ"א

לבנון-קונגרס

1. במסגרת תדרוכיו בגבעה נפגש השגריר, בלווית הח"מ, עם סנטור לאקסלט. השגריר ביתח את השתלשלות המאורעות שהולידה המבצע הצבאי בלבנון. ציין את הזדמנות הפז הנפתחת בפנינו להביא לנסיגת כל הכוחות הזרים מלבנון, סורים, אש"פ וישראלים, במגמה לבנות מחדש לבנון עצמאית וריבונית. תהליך זה תינו ממושך וחשוב שמדינות המערב ארה"ב בראש וראשונה יסייעו לו.

2. השגריר ביקש להדגיש כי ישראל לא התכוונה בפעולתה להאפיל על סיורו של הנשיא באירופה. ישראל נאלצה לפעול בעיתוי הנוכחי מאחר ולא נותרה ברירה אחרת. כמו כן ישראל לא הטעתה הממשל בהרחיבה יעדיה מעבר למטרה הראשונה של יצירת חיץ בטחוני של 40 ק"מ. התערבות הסורים ואילוצים צבאיים הכתיבו את המהלכים הצבאיים בשטח.

3. לאקסלט ביקש לדעת אם ישראל התייעצה עם הממשל ומה אופי ההתייעצויות. השגריר פירט את אופי המגעים והמכתבים אשר הוחלפו עם הנשיא. לאקסלט ביקש לדעת אם אנו מדברים עם הייג וקלרק על הנעשה. כמו כן רצה לדעת מהי מסגרת הזמן לשהותנו בלבנון. השגריר הדגיש כי אנו מעוניינים לסגת בהקדם האפשרי. בסיום השיחה הבטיח לאקסלט להעביר לידידיו בבית הלבן את ההסברים שלנו.

קני-טל

שהת סלשהה הדא סלרהא שהה ויוק מלנ מאשו הבינשטין
הלמיג מאת רס אומן אלידה ארבל 2

49

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון	סדר דחיפות מברק
אל: המשרד. ניו-יורק	דח'... מתוך ... דחוף
	דרוג בסתרנות ... גלוי
	דחיפות דחוף
	תאריך וז"ח 1800 15 יוני 82
	מס' מברק. 64

ממנכ"ל. מצפ"א. ניו-יורק. רוח"מ

WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING JUNE 15, 1982

U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

--- The option of a U.S. participation in the peace-keeping forces is currently pre-mature. Habib is exploring the options.

--- White House will not refute but evades the statement that they are supporting the Israeli's 100%.

USE OF ARMS, LEGALIZATION ISSUE, AND 'PIPELINE'.

---- No plans to change the 'Pipeline'.

---- In terms of whether the Israeli's violated American law by using American Weapons in Lebanon the White House responded in the following manner:

QUESTION: By not responding to the Issue of whether the Israel's have violated our laws in Lebanon have we decided that they were justified?

ANSWER: "Look closely, yes." President will confirm the decision when he decides during the notification period on the continued shipment of arms to Israel.

---- Will not comment further to an inquiry of a journalist as to a statement Meese made that the decision that Begin was acting in a defensive manner has been documented.

---- All matters of the conflict are under review, not just the issue of the legality of Israel's use of American weapons.

---- The 75 F-16's scheduled for Israel is now subject to notification by the president of which the time will also be subject to his discretion.

MISCELLANEOUS STATEMENTS

--- The White House will not comnet on the Soviet Press's statement in TASS.

--- The meeting with Begin; as far as it stands it is hopeful that the Monday meeting will continue as scheduled.

עד כאן ה אמנם

שלום הקשרים ותם הקרבה לאדם אינם מלבנים
אך לא הסכנה פורחת המרבה הבינשטיין

אמת רם אמן אמנו

ארה"ב

לשכת ראש הממשלה

15.6.82

ביקור ראש-הממשלה בארה"ב 16-21/6

יום שלישי 15/6

1500 - המראת הפמליה לארה"ב
(רוה"מ,חסיה , יחיאל , עזריאל ,
יהודה אבנר , ד"ר הכט , פרופ' גוטסמן ,אבטחה)
(אורי פורת כבר בארה"ב)

יום רביעי 16/6

1100 - נחיתה בניו-יורק

- מנוחה במלון "וולדורף אסטוריה" טלפונים - 3000-355-212) מרכזיה

1600 - פגישת ראש ממשלת נורבגיה - במלון

יום חמישי 17/6

0900 - פגישת הייאס - במלון

1000 - פגישה עם סקוודרון והלמן - במלון

1030 - פגישת ועידת הנשיאים - במלון

1500 - נאום הנשיא רייגן-באו"מ

1800 - ארוחת ערב . A . J . U - במלון

יום שישי 18/6

1000 - פגישה עם מזכיר האו"מ

1100 - נאום רוה"מ בעצרת האו"מ

1200 - ארוחת צהרים עם ה"בונדס" - במלון

2000 - ארוחת ערב פרטית - במלון

2/...

לשכת ראש הממשלה

יום שבת 19/6

שבת שלום !

2000 - פגישה עם ראשי תנועת-ה"חרות" - במלון

יום ראשון 20/6

0930 - פגישת רוה"מ עם ידידים -במלון

1130 - ראיון רוה"מ " face the nation " - במלון

1500 - טיסה לוושינגטון

- מנוחה במלון " שרתון וושינגטון"

- טלפונים - (202) 745-7238

ישירים

(202) 745-7239

(202) 328-2000

יום שני 21/6

1100 - פגישה עם הנשיא רייגן והייג - בבית הלבן

1300 - ארוחת צהרים עם הנשיא

- חזרה לניו-יורק

2030 - הטיסה חזרה לארץ (הטיסה עם נחיתת ביניים במונטראול)

יום שלישי 22/6

1530 - נחיתה בארץ

נסיעה טובה !!

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד , ניו-יורק , Israel

ט ל ק ס מ ב ר ק

דף...1..מתוך...2..דפים

סווג בשחרור...גלוי..

דחיפות....רגיל.....

תאריך וז"ח: 15 יוני 1900 82

מס' מברק: 236/6/377

ממנב"ל. מצפ"א. לשכת שהב"ט. דובר צה"ל. ניו-יורק. רוה"מ

PENTAGON BRIEFING JUNE 15, 1982

--- An emphasis was placed on the study of Soviet Air Defense and the inability of the B52's discovered mid-decade.
Specifically, noted the Soviet Air Defense, and the lethal Sand 6 missiles knocked out easily by the Israeli's in Lebanon on the Syrian side of the border. This has vast implications for the U.S. How this was operated, what methods were used, etc.

STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO THE AFOREMENTIONED BACKROUND MATERIAL

--- There are lessons to be learned from these experiences. "people study this kind of thing and eagerly look into the matter, to see what conclusions we can draw; it is going to be done in this case for sure."

--- There will be a full study made including all implications of both wars. Sometime during the next month a report will be written up. We have not decided if we will send a technical crew to the Middle East; or we may as we did in 1973.

--- "I learned of this from Dr. Clay's office,"I don't know who specifically will be put on the study; whether they may be Pentagon officials or some other.

--- When questioned about Sharon's statement concerning the capture of the T-72's and a possible evaluation; the spokesman retorted; that he was 'sure a great deal of information will be exchanged.'

--- The Pentagon commented that they were not aware of a decline in forthcoming information and mutual exchanges of material since 1973. Further, they could not definitively determine the status of this relationship then, let alone attempt to make conclusions now.

--- We have no further knowledge of a cut off in the 'pipeline'.

--- Israel has made no request for re-supplies.

--- The issue of whether Israel can pay for the arms in light of the War will be determined at a later date.

SOVIET AND AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

--- Will not confirm reports that the Soviet's released additional ships to the area.

./.

The Soviets have 30 ships in the area, 11 combat, and 19 auxillary; which is incidently normal for this time of year. They do however, have a surge capability to augment fleets in a relatively short period of time.

- American ships are still available if deemed necessary to evacuate American civilains in Beirut.

- America has approximately 30 ships in the area; 2/3 combat, and 1/3 auxillary. Further notes that the U.S. lacks the surge capability that the Soviet's possess and need to go a ways more to be compatible.

עמדות

שרה מלמדה הדא סדרתה שאינה (בקיצור) אנחנו מלא אלהו רמיז
אמר רב אמן ארץ מצא יצר אלא הסברה פורה

2

מחלקת הקשר - ניו - יורק

אל: המשרד.

דע: וושינגטון.

מאת: נאו"ם.

סופס מברק צפון

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים

סיווג בטחוני: שמור.

דחיפות: מיידי

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

תאריך הז"ח: 15.2.030

מס' מברק: 603/108

563

אליצור. ארבל 2.

דע: וושינגטון.

לבנון.

ממילוא.

השגריר נפגש אתה"צ עם שגארה"ב קירקפטריק. נכחו ליבנשטיין, גרשמן, ומילוא.

1) השגריר העלה נושא כתב האמנתנו ובקש שגארה"ב שהאמריקנים ילחצו שדו"ח ועדת כתבי האמנה לעצרת פרוק הנשק יוגש כבר ביום ו' הקרוב. אם אמנם כך יהיה נגיש כתב האמנתנו לפני כן בתחילת השבוע הבא ידון הדו"ח בעצרת. מהלך זה עדיף על הגשת הדו"ח לעצרת ברגע האחרון שכן אז קיימת האפשרות שמשלחת עוינת תבקש אישור כל כתבי ההאמנה להוציא זה של משלחתנו. פחות סביר שנסיון כזה יעשה בעיצומה של העצרת שכן יעמוד השיקול שלא להפר את מהלכה התקין. השגרירה השיבה שישקלו הדבר ויודיעונו.

2) השגריר סיפר לשגרירה על השמועות ששמענו שהערבים בוחנים האפשרות לחבל בהופעת רה"מ ע"י שלא ימצא קורום מספיק לפתיחה הישיבה. השגרירה הגיבה שלא היתה מודעת לאפשרות כזו אך מוכנה לסייע לנו ככל שניתן לבלימת מהלך כזה.

כאן נפרדה השגרירה שמיהרה לפגישה עם המזכ"ל.

3) השגריר שאל ליבנשטיין כיצד הם רואים הדיון להארכת מנדט יונ"פי"ל. אנו מצידנו היינו מעוניינים בהצעת החלטה בת משפט אחד בלבד: שהמועצה לקחה להשומת ליבה דו"ח המזכ"ל ומאשרת הארכת המנדט בשלושה חודשים נוספים. זאת ללא כל דיון והתבטאות.

ליבנשטיין השיב שזו בהחלט אף כוונתם הם ובידם הנחיות ברורות שלא להסכים לכל הצעה שהיא שתנסה לגנות ישראל וללכת מעבר להארכת המנדט. השגריר הדגיש בתשובה שאין גם כל צורך והצדקה לצטוט או אף להתיחסות להחלטות 425 ואחרות החוזרות ומופיעות בהחלטות הארכת המנדט.

2/...

תאריך: _____ השולח: _____ אישור מנהל המחלקה: _____ ההיכה: _____

מחלקה: הקשר - ניו - יורק

אל: _____

דע: _____

מאת: _____

סופס מברק צפון

דף 2 מתוך 2 דפים

סיווג במחוני: _____

דחיפות: _____

לשימוש מח' הקשר:

תאריך תז"ח:

מס' מברק: 603/108

-2-

(המשך).

ברור הוסיף השגריר, ששגלבנוק סוויני חייב להיות שותף למהלך וברשמן השיב שאמנם בכוונתם לשוחח עמו מחר בכוון האמור.

4) לבסוף פרט השגריר נעני האמריקנים תמונת המצב באפיתי בליוון בנושא האוכלוסיה האזרחית לעומת ההודעות המבוהלות ומעוותות של המזכירות וליכנשטיין, שהגיב שכל זאת שומע לראשונה, חזר והדגיש שעלינו לעשות מאמץ מירבי שתמונה זו תגיע לידיעת הצבור הרחב.

נאו"ם.

שרה סלשה רה סרה שם מקם מלם מלמנו אלדר אל.2 רלמ
מאר רס אמן רהבינשטיין מרוץ בקתומן אורהה רשר לאלם

תאריך: 15.6.82 השלחה: מ. אלטר מנהל המחלקה: _____ חתימה: _____

65

דף 1 מתוך 2 נכנס

עותק 8 מתוך 12 סודי ביותר

4612/3

אל: המשרד, נר: 358, מ: ווש
דת: ב, סג: מ, תא: 150682, נח: 1335

אבי

סודי ביותר/בהול

רוהים. שה"ח. שהב"ט. הועבר לני ופרים.

לעיניהם בלבד.

ב- 1145 נקראתי למיכיר המדינה לפגישה בארבע עינים. הוא קיבל
ידיעה מצהיל נכנס למערב ביירות. חביב דיווח שדאה שיירות
ישראליות נכנסות למערב ביירות ושהתנועות הצבאיות שלנו באיזור
אינן מאפשרות לו לקדם את היחסים עם סרקיס. המוכיר מודאג
במיוחד היות והודיע אתמול, על סמך ידיעות שקיבל מאתנו, שאין
לישראל כוונה לכבוש את מערב ביירות. אם הידיעות נכונות שוב
יימצאו הוא והנשיא במצב מביך.

הייג תומך בתפקיד דומיננטי בכל האפשר לנוצרים בממשלת לבנון.
בניגוד לדעות הרווחות במחמ"ד אצל אנשים שלדבריו נושאים
באחריות למצב שנוצר בלבנון בשנים האחרונות. הוא אף מבין
שהמפקדים הצבאיים שלנו רוצים לסיים את המלאכה אחרי שלמענו
מחיר כה גבוה. הוא אפילו יכול היה להבין מצב שבו מפקדים
מקומיים הרחיקו לכת. אבל אסור לנו ליצור כאן את הרושם שאנו
מוליכים את הנשיא שולל. ולדבריו יש כאן רבים שרק מחכים
להזדמנות לשכנע את הנשיא שזה מה שאנו עושים.
לדבריו הסורים מתחילים להיות עצבנים ומדברים על השתפות
מחודשת בלחימה. בשעה 1300 הוא נקרא אל הנשיא בנושא זה.

אמרתי לו שקשה לשער שראו את בוחותינו נעים לתוך מערב ביירות
בכיוון שתנועה כזו בודאי היתה קשורה בלחימה קשה. איני
מאמין שאנו מובנים לאבידות שהיו נובעות מלחימה במערב
ביירות ועדיף היה שהצבא הלבנוני היה גורם למיסוד בוחו של
אשיף עם.
המוכיר אמר שגם הוא תומך בכך. בסיכום אמר שעד כה אדה"ב

דף 2 מתוך 2
עותק 8 מתוך 12 סודי ביותר

ישראל הצליחו לפעול בתיאום והשוב ביותר שנמשיך בדרך ו
הוא גם העיר שהמגובה הערבית עד כה היתה חלשה .
לאחר שיחת טלפון עם שר הבטחון ניסיתי לתפוס את המרביר ברם
היבנסו לנשיא אך לא הצלחתי . אבל הודעתי לאיגלברגר :
1. אין כל מנועה של כוחותינו למערב ביירות .
2. רה שעתיים מפגיים כוחות אשיף את כוחותינו מעמדות במערב
ביירות .
ארנס .

תפ: שהח,סשהח,מנכל,ממנכל,רהמ

185

נבנס

דף 1 מתוך 1
עותק 8 מתוך 12 סודי ביותר

4612/5

אל: המשרד, נר: 367, מ : ווש
דח: מ, סג: מ, תא: 150682, רח: 1700

אבי

סודי ביותר/מיידי.=

שהח. נהועבר לפרים)מנכל. ממנכל. בן אהרון.

דברתי עם מביר המדינה בקשר למידע במברק בן אהרון 556 הוא מודע היטב לדעות שיסון ומבין שאין לצפות לסיוע ממנו בהשגת מטרותינו המשותפות בלבנון.

אלנס.=

מפ: שהח,סשהח,מנכל,ממנכל.רהמ

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

9881

דף 1 חוץ 2 נכנס

עותק 4 מתוך 32 סודי ביותר

4641/6

אל: המשרד, נר: 280, מ : פרים
דח: ב, סג: מ, תא: 150682, ות: 1130
נד: שמיר-שייסון

סודי ביותר/בהול

אל:המנכ"ל

דע:ארנס,וושינגטון -(הועבר)
מאת:בן-אהרון,פאריס

להלן משר החוץ בעקבות שיחתו עם שר החוץ הצרפתי שייסון. נא
הביאו הדברים לידיעת ראש הממשלה. דו"ח מלא על השיחה יישלח
במשך היום.
שייסון התפאר בכך שהוא עומד בקשר הדוק עם ממשלת ארה"ב
ובעיקר עם הייג בנושא לבנון. הוא ספר שהייג טלפן אליו הלילה
ב-0130 בענין זה וחזר וציין ההבנה הקיימת לדבריו ביניהם
בנושא זה.
שר החוץ מציין שצריך להאיר את הייג מפני שייסון בעיקר בשני
דברים :
א. אהדתו הגלויה לאש"ף. (שייסון מתאבל על המכות שאש"ף סבל
כיון שלדבריו אם יאבד אש"ף - יאבד הסכוי לשלום).
ב. יתכן שהשליח שצרפת שלחה לסרקיס יסיח את סרקיס שלא לשתף
פעולה עמנו ועם ידידינו בלבנון.

יש לזכור שהצרפתים מרס השלימו עם שני הכשלונות של הדפלומטיה
שלהם בזמן האחרון. הם סמכו בעיקר על שני גורמים : עיראק
ואש"ף, ושניהם הוכו.

לתשומת לב המנכ"ל : כאשר התיחס שייסון לשליח הצרפתי גוסמן
(מרכ"ל הרציף) הוא העיר שהוא מקווה ומניח שתינתן לו גישה
לארמון הנשיא בבעבדה.

בן -אהרן.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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**                                                                  **
**    **                                  מתוך 2     דף 2            **
**   **                       סודי ביותר   מתוך 32    עותק 4         **
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**תפ: שהח,סשהח,רהמ,סרהמ,שהבמ,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרכז,רמ,אמן,             **
**                                                מרוז,אירא          **
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