

# מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

6

משרד

משרד רוה"ב

יועץ מדיני

ארה"ב

14/8/89 - 9/8/89

תיק מס'

תיק מס'

מחלקה

4610/6 - א



שם תיק: היועץ המדיני לראש הממשלה - ארה"ב

4610/6-א

מזהה פנימי:

מזהה פריט R00036g  
כתובת: 2-111-2-4-9

תאריך הדפסה: 31/08/2020

6



דחפנות: בהול	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: _____
סוג:	טופס פרוק	כתוב: _____
תאריך וזמן תעבור:		אל: _____
14 באוג' 1989 11:15		מצפא
כס' פרוק:		דע: לשכת שהייה
הכסיד:		לשכת שהביט
מסמך		כאח: ק. לקו נגוס
265	380	

### הקו נגרסמן לארקי נ סמית

1. לפני מספר דקות אושר כי הקו נגרסמן מצא מותו בהתרסקות מטוס אתמול בערב במיסיסיפי - (מאז אתמול דווח על העדר קשר עם מטוס).
2. הנ"ל, פרסמן רפובליקני ממיסיסיפי היה ידידותי ביותר לישראל:
  - א. השתתף בארוחת הצהריים לכבוד שהביט בסקגולה ונשא זכרים חמים מאד לגבי ישראל.
  - ב. יזם מכתב 60 הקונגרסמנים לנשיא בוש לפני כשבועיים בנושא בי הערובה ואי תקיעת עיז בין ישראל לארה"ב.
  - ג. השתתף בקביעות באירועים בשגרירות.
3. מציעים שיגור מברק תנחומים מרה"מ או שהי"ח לאלמנתו, SHEILA LAHEY

יחידת ורנאי דרגר,

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון  
1408039  
2

תפוצה: 36



משוד - החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 11349			15.08.89 :	תאריך *
* *			3 מתוך	דף 1 *
* **	נכנס	סודי ביותר	12 מתוך	עותק 1 *
* **				* *
* **				* *
***				* *

7/11

\*אל: יועץ מדיני לשה"ח  
\*דע: מנכ"ל רה"מ  
\*מאת: השגריר וושינגטון  
\*שיחה עם לארי איגלברגר

1\* בשיחה בא' צ' עם לארי איגלברג היום (14.8) העליתי  
\*המצב בלבנון, ועידת הפתח והחלטותיה, פרשת עוביד  
\*ואפשרות הגעת עזפאת לעצרת האו' מ' הקרובה.

2\*. להלן עיקרי הדברים:  
\*  
N\*. 11117

1\* איגלברגר סיפר על שיחת הטלפון עם שה"ח וציין שגם  
\*הם מודאגים מהמתרחש בביירות ובלבנון בכלל ומוטרדים  
\*מהתנהגותה חסרת הרסן של סוריה.

2\*) לדבריו, אינם רואים מה יכולה ארה"ב לעשות כרגע  
\*מעבר להתרעות, שכבר שוגרו לסוריה ופעילות כלפי מזינות  
\*ערב אחרות כדי שיפעילו השפעה מרסנת על דמשק.

(3\*) נמצאים במגע עם הצרפתים כדי לבדוק אפשרות של מפעילות משותפת במועב'ט. הזכיר אפשרות של קריאה



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 3  
עותק 1 מתוך 12

\* של כל חברי מועב'ט להפסקת אש ו/או פניה של מזכ"ל  
\* האו"מ ואף ביקור שלו באזור.

\* (4) לסיכום חלק זה, אינו צופה פעילות אמריקאית עצמאית  
\* מעבר לאמור לעיל.

\* ב. ועידת פת"ח

\* (1) מסרתי לאיגלברגר העתק תדריך ההסברה בנושא ועמדותי  
\* בהמשך על משמעות ההחלטות וההחרפה הגלומה בהן. הבעתי  
\* הערכה לתגובת דוברת מחמ"ד בנושא, אך הוספתי שאין  
\* בכך די וכי עליהם לתת ביטוי מעשי לביקורתם ואכזבתם.

\* (2) עוד ציינתי שהודעה זו לא נעלמה מהפלשתינאים ביו"ש  
\* וועזה וכי אך טבעי הוא שהעדר תגובה נמרצת יותר מצד ארה"ב  
\* אינו מעודד מנהיגים מקומיים בישראל להיכנס עמנו למו"מ.

\* (3) איגלברגר שחזר עתה מחופשה לא היה מודע לפרטי ההחלטות  
\* והודה על החומר שמסרתי.

\* ג. פרשת עובייד

\* (1) איגלברגר הביע הערכה ליכולת המודיעינית והצבאית  
\* שלנו כפי שבאה לביטוי במבצע, אך חזר על ביקורתם בגין  
\* העדר מידע ואי נכונותנו לשתפם בהערכותינו לאחר המבצע.

\* (2) סבור שאם לא נשכיל ליצור שתוף פעולה הדוק יותר בין שתי  
\* המדינות בתחום המדיני והמודיעיני אל לנו להיות מופתעים אם  
\* נראה הצהרות נשיאותיות נוספות שלא ינעמו לנו. בהקשר זה  
\* ציין כי אגרת רה"מ ושיחת הטלפון מהשבוע שעבר תרמו רבות  
\* להפגת המתח והקהייית הביקורת שהיתה לנשיא.

\* ד. ערפאת - או"מ

\* (1) העליתי ביזמתי המשמעות החמורה שתהיה להענות אמריקאית  
\* למתן אשרה לערפאת לבוא לעצרת על יחסי ישראל - ארה"ב.  
\* הוספתי שהחלטה כזו, במידה ותתקבל, עלולה לפגוע ביזמת  
\* השלום ולהשליך על האוירה הפוליטית בישראל.

\* (2) איגלברגר רשם לפניו וציין שלא היה מודע להשלכות

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year.

2. The second part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

3. The third part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

\* דף 3 מתוך 3 \*  
\* עותק 1 מתוך 12 \*

\* נוטוב עשיתי בהעלאת הנושא בשיחתנו. \*

\* 3. עוד העליתי בשיחה הצורך להמשיך ולפעול לקידום יזמת  
\* השלום וציינתי בהקשר זה אי הענות המצרים ליזמה לקיים  
\* מפגש בין הנשיא מובארק ורה"מ. \*

\* 4. בסוף השיחה ביקשתי סיועו של איגלברגר בארגון ביקור  
\* של המזכיר בארץ עוד השנה. ציינתי החשיבות הברורה של ביקור  
\* כזה תוך התייחסות לרשמי אוטוטר ותגובותיו בעקבות ביקורו  
\* הוא בארץ. הבטיח להתגייס. \*

\* ארד. \*

\* לב \*

\* תפ: רהמ, שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל \*



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PAUL H. RAVENHILL, JR.  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the appropriate authorities for their consideration.



ט' באב התשמ"ט  
14 באוגוסט 1989

6057

אל : המנכ"ל

מאת: סמנכ"ל כלכלה

הנדון: GSP

ברצוני להתייחס לסעיף ג' במברק וושינגטון (נר 377 מ-11/8) המדווח על פגישת השגריר ארד עם תת המזכיר לנושאים מדיניים קימט (רצ"ב צלום הסעיף לנוחיותך).

בזמנו טענתי כי יש לפעול באופן דיסקרטי ולא בבקשה מנוסחת ומתועדת בנייר, שכן הסיכויים לשנוי ההוראות מועטים (רצ"ב סיכום דיון בנדון מ-2/7).

גם עתה, ומברק שגרירות וושינגטון מחזקני, אין מקום לדעתי לדחוף הממשל לטיפול פורמלי בנושא.

בברכה,

ד"ר יעקב כהן

העתק: שר החוץ  
סגן שר החוץ  
השגריר, וושינגטון  
סמנכ"ל צפ"א  
היועץ המשפטי  
הציר הכלכלי, וושינגטון

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ארה"ב לפתוח הדיאלוג עם אש"פ) שיבחנו הארגון עפ"י מעשיו ולא עפ"י הצהרותיו. ההצהרות שהשמעו (בועידת הפת"ח) הדגיש השגריר לא היו הצהרות בעלמא, הן משקפות מדיניות ישנה (הזכיר את נושא זכות השיבה והמשך המאבק המזויין).

6) במצב זה ציין השגריר יש בהמשך הדיאלוג (ארה"ב אש"פ) כדי להקשות ולמעשה למנוע מציאת בר שיח פלסטיני מקרב המנהיגות בשטחים.

ג. GSP

1) קימט ציין כי טרם גיבשו תשובה לתבקשתנו (אותה פרטנו בנייר שהגשנו בשעתו). הזכיר כי אין המדובר בהחלטה של מחמ"ד בלבד. זו תתקבל בתאום עם המשרדים הנוגעים בדבר (אוצר, USTR, ומסחר).

2) לאחר שעמד על הרקע למתן GSP לשטחים ולסוגיות זכויות העובדים שצצה בעקבות הפטיציה של ADL שואל עצמו אם אמנם יש לנו ענין לדחוף הממשל להשיב לנו פורמלית על שאלתנו/בקשתנו והאם לא עדיף מבחינתנו המשך המצב הקיים?

3) לאחר בחינת הנושא לא נראה להם שלהיעדר GSP יש אימפקט שלילי בתחום הכלכלי. לאור זאת יבחנו הנושא במונחים המשפטיים. החלטה שתתקבל, עלולה להיות שלילית מבחינתנו.

4) קימט הוסיף כי שינוי המצב הקיים באמצעות העברת חקיקה ברוח בקשתנו יהווה הישג לטווח קצר ביותר שכן הדבר יגרור הגשת תלונה מצד NAAA.

5) מסקנתו של קימט היא שעדיף מבחינתנו להשאיר המצב כפי שהוא. הוסיף כי איננו רואה כל קושי (אם נרצה בכך) להביא הממשל לקבלת החלטה.

6) לשאלת השגריר האם ניתן לשנות הוראות האוצר והמכס השיב כי יש לקבל ההוראות כמצב נתון. הוסיף כי ההנחיות שהוצאו ע"י שני המשרדים נעשו ברוח המלצות הנשיא.

7) קימט סיכם באמרו שלהערכתו יש במצב הקיים כדי לשרת את האינטרס שלנו. ביקש כי לאחר שנשקול הדברים נודיע לו על החלטתנו.

8) השגריר השיב כי יעביר הדברים לנוגעים בדבר.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

השתתפו בשיחה: ס/מנהל דסק ישראל, דסקאית מז"ת רל"ש קימט והח"מ.

שטיין

אק

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

5565



חוזם: 7,507  
אל: 43/ווש  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 020789, זח: 1832, דח: מ, סג: שמ  
תח: פ גס: כלכלית  
נד: פ

שמור/מיידי

אל: השגריר, הציר, כלכלית

דע: סחר חוץ/תמ"ס, דברת/האוצר

פגישה עם הציר הכלכלי

להלן עקרי הנושאים שהועלו בפגישה עם דרור שהתקיימה אצל  
סמנכל כלכלה כהן בהשתתפות מנהל כלכלית ב, מנהל מצפא  
וס/היועץ המשפטי:

א. אס"ח שירותים: צויין כי בשנה האחרונה לא התקיים דיון  
עם האמריקאים בנושא. יש לבחון בארץ עם הסקטורים הנוגעים  
בדבר העניין בקידום המו"מ.

ב. GSP: דרור התייחס להיבטים הכלכליים והמדיניים.  
בסימון החדש מ- 1/7. הצטרף לעמדת האגף הכלכלי כי הסכוי  
לכך שהאמריקאים ישנו ההוראות אינו גדול ומאחר ומדובר  
בנושא פוליטי אין זה רצוי למסור נייר אלא להציג הנקודות  
בע"פ ולנסות לברר דיסקרטית כיצד ניתן להסדיר הדבר בין  
מחמ"ד והמכס האמריקאי. דרור ציין כי יגיע לווישינגטון ב-  
4/7 וימשיך הטיפול.

ג. GSP - פטיציה חדשה 1989: ס/היועץ המשפטי אמר כי עקר  
טענת ה- ADC היא שההליכים לגבי הפטיציה הקודמת לא  
התנהלו כראוי. סוכם למעון כי אין זה מענייננו והיועצים  
המשפטיים האמריקאים ודאי ידאגו להשיב בנושא.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הוצע כי בפגישת השגריר עם קימט יתייחס גם לנושא זה  
ויציין כי קימט ודאי מודע לפטיציה החדשה שהגיש ADC ל-  
U.S.T.R ומניחים כי היא תדחה על ידם ב- 15 ביולי ע"ס  
עמדתם בפטיציה הקודמת.

כלכלית ב

נש

אק

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, כהן, כלכליתב, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל,  
משפט, תמס, דברת, אוצר



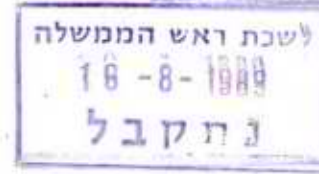
# משרד החוץ

סודי - ב י ו ת ר

לשכת השר

אמ"ק

14 באוגוסט 1989  
624



שיחת שה"ח ארנס עם השגריר פיקרינג (13.8) - נכחו: בראון, בייקר, מרידור, ביין, נוה.

לאחר שפיקרינג דווח כי ממשלת ישראל ממשיך הערב לקהיר, ביקש שה"ח כי ימסור ד"ש חמה לנושא מצרים. הביע הערכה לתפקידו של נשיא מצרים לקידום תהליך השלום. הזכיר את פגישתם בקהיר ואת פגישתו של שגרירנו בקהיר שמעון שמיר לפני מספר ימים. שה"ח ציין כי הוא מבין שהנשיא מובארק לא דחה את יוזמת השלום שלנו אם כי יש לו מספר הערות:

בפגישתי עם הנשיא מובארק בפברואר דברנו על הצורך בקשר של ישראל עם מדינות ערביות נוספות. אין ספק שזו משימה קשה. הנשיא מובארק חש שאין זה הזמן המתאים מבחינתו לפגוש את רה"מ שמיר. הבעיה היא שבמשך השנים לא הצלחנו להפוך פגישות כאלה לשגרה. אני מבין דאגותיו של מובארק בעניין זה. אני בטוח שאין מקום לדאגה זו. שה"ח הזכיר גם את הקשר הטוב שהוא מקיים עם שה"ח המצרי ד"ר עיסמאת אל מגיד. פיקרינג מציין שזה דבר יוצא דופן שלא היה בעבר.

באשר לנקודה השנייה ביוזמת השלום הביע שה"ח הערכה לכך שנשיא מצרים מנסה לעשות משהו בעניין זה. באשר לנקודה השלישית ביוזמת השלום שאל פיקרינג את שה"ח אם דיבר על כך עם מזכיר המדינה. שה"ח השיב שבפגישתו עם המזכיר העביר באמצעותו אגרת מרה"מ שמיר לנושא בוש. באשר לסעיף הרביעי ביוזמת השלום - הבחירות - אמר שה"ח כי הרעיון קונה שורשים בקרב האוכלוסיה ביו"ש וחבל עזה. אם נכריז על קיום הבחירות עתה הבעיה תהיה שהן לא תהיינה חופשיות, שכן אש"ף מבצע מעשי רצח ופעולות הפחדה.

פיקרינג: הרושם שלי הוא שיש החוששים שישראל תטיל מגבלות על חופש הבחירות. אני שומע זאת מנציגים ערביים שונים.

ארנס: זו בעיקר תעמולה פוליטית. הסכנה לחופש בבחירות איננה בישראל אלא בטרור של אש"ף.

בהמשך להערה קודמת של שגריר ארה"ב בראון כי ישראל קבלה ממצרים תגובה ליוזמה שלה במסמך של 10 שאלות שהועבר אליה בהזדמנות בה הגיעו לביקור בישראל קבוצה של חברי קונגרס שבאו מקהיר החל שה"ח להביע התייחסותו למסמך זה.

1. באשר לנקודה הראשונה במסמך אומר שה"ח כי נראה שהבעיה העיקרית היא השתתפות ערביי מזרח ירושלים בבחירות. דעתו של השר שוללת אפשרות זו משלושה נימוקים:

א. יוזמת השלום מדברת על יו"ש ועזה ואינה כוללת את ירושלים.

ב. עלול להשפיע על מעמד הקבע של ירושלים, דבר שיש להשאיר לשלב המו"מ על הסדר הקבע.

ג. ביו"ש חלון וחצי ערבים ובירושלים 130 אלף ערבים. שאלת השתתפותם של ערביי מזרח ירושלים אינה מהותית, בהיותם רק כ-7% מסך כל האוכלוסיה (יש"ע + ירושלים).

2. באשר לנקודה השניה - אין כל בעיה.
  3. נושא הפיקוח איננו מהווה בעיה אמיתית. ישראל מעונינת בחופש בחירות. יש רגישות מוצדקת בארץ לרעיון של פיקוח חיצוני פיקרינג מגיב: "פיקוח" - באמת מילה טעונה. צריך שיהיו OBSERVERS. מביא כדוגמה הבחירות באל-סלודור.
  4. אין כל בעיה. נקבל תוצאות הבחירות, תהיינה באשר תהיינה.
  5. הביטוי הבעייתי בסעיף זה הוא "שטחים תמורת שלום" ויתכן הביטוי זכויות פוליטיות של הפלשתינאים שאיננו מבין את משמעותו. פרט לכך אינני רואה בעיה עם הסעיף. זה מוזר שעדיין חושדים בנו שאיננו מתכוונים להסדר כולל אלא רק לבחירות. יש חוסר הגינות בדרישה מישראל להצהיר מראש על הסכמה ל"שטחים תמורת שלום". זוהי אחת הפרשנויות ל-242 ונושא זה צריך לדון במו"מ על הסדר הקבע. פיקרינג: OFF THE RECORD מסכים שיש להתרכז על תחילת המו"מ ולא על הסדר הקבע השנוי במחלוקת.
  6. מה שצריך לקבוע זה חופש הבחירות. מכך תיגזר נוכחות צה"ל (קילומטר, חצי קילומטר).
  7. אלה באמת פרטים. מה שקובע זה הבטחת הבחירות החופשיות. אכן, אין זה סביר שדווקא באותו יום יהיה מעבר מסיבי של אזרחים ישראלים.
  8. אינני יודע מהי תקופת ההכנה - חודשיים או שלושה. באשר לועדה המשותפת, ניתן לדבר על כך. אם לא מדובר באש"ף, ניתן לדבר.
  9. לא נשמע בעייתי.
  10. נושא ההתנחלויות כלל אינו נושא. אם נוסיף 6 או 8 התנחלויות במשך השנים הבאות, זה לא ישנה באופן מהותי המצב (80 אלף יהודים ביש"ע ו-210 אלף יהודים מעבר לקו הירוק). מצד שני, זהו נושא טעון ביותר בפוליטיקה הישראלית. זהו נושא שמוטב לא להתייחס אליו. אינו קשור בבחירות.
- פיקרינג: אם כך אני מבין שהאלמנטים הבעייתיים הם: "מזרח ירושלים", "שטחים תמורת שלום" וההתנחלויות וכל השאר ניתן לגישור.
- ארנס: למען האמת רק נושא מזרח ירושלים בעייתי. "שטחים תמורת שלום" וההתנחלויות הם נושאים לא רלבנטיים בשלב זה.
- בתשובה לשאלת בראון בענין מזרח ירושלים, הכהיר ארנס שעמדתו שוללת השתתפות ערביי מזרח ירושלים, אך יש גם עמדות אחרות בממשלה (מפלגת העבודה).
- ארנס: עם איזה מדינות ערביות ניתן לדעתך לנוע לעבר נורמליזציה?
- פיקרינג: אינני חושב שצריך להתיאש, אך צריך להכיר בכך שבמצב הנוכחי דרושה ההתקדמות עם הפלשתינאים. אין לו ספק שירדן חיונית לתהליך השלום והוא משוכנע כי מנהיגיה לא יוותרו על ההשתתפות בתהליך, אם כי לא ידברו בשם הפלשתינאים.
- בראון: מעלה את נושא החשש הירדני לנסיון ישראלי לערער המשטר, ופיקרינג מייחס חשדות ירדניים אלה להצהרות אישים ישראלים מן הליכוד.



הצעת חוק  
לביטול  
ההגבלות  
על  
התושבים  
הרשומים  
במזרח  
ירושלים  
ועל  
התושבים  
הרשומים  
במזרח  
השפלה  
ועל  
התושבים  
הרשומים  
במזרח  
הנגב

הצעת חוק  
לביטול  
ההגבלות  
על  
התושבים  
הרשומים  
במזרח  
ירושלים  
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התושבים  
הרשומים  
במזרח  
השפלה  
ועל  
התושבים  
הרשומים  
במזרח  
הנגב

- 1) The necessity of participation of all citizens of the West Bank and Gaza (including the residents of East Jerusalem) in the elections, both in the voting and in the right to stand as a candidate for any person who has not been convicted (denounced) by the court of committing a crime. This is meant to permit the participation of those under administrative detention.
- 2) The freedom of political mobilization before and during the elections.
- 3) Acceptance of international supervision of the elections process.
- 4) Prior commitment of the government of Israel that it will accept the results of the elections.
- 5) Commitment of the Government of Israel that the elections will be part of the efforts which will lead not only to a temporary stage, but also to a final solution, and that all efforts from beginning to end (should) depend on the bases of the solution (which are in) the American concept: Resolutions 242 and 338, Territory for Peace, Protection of the Security of Israel and the Countries of the Region, Palestinian political rights.
- 6) Withdrawal of the Israeli Army during the elections process at least one kilometer outside the perimeters of the polling stations.
- 7) Prohibition of Israelis from entering the West Bank and Gaza on election day with permission to enter only to those who work in these regions and the residents of the settlements.
- 8) The preparatory period for the elections should last no longer than two months and these preparations should be accomplished by means of a joint Israeli-Palestinian committee. (The U.S. and Egypt may assist in forming this committee.)
- 9) Guarantee of the U.S. of all the above points by means of a prior announcement on the part of the Government of Israel.
- 10) Prevention of settlement in the Occupied Territories (a halt to the construction of new settlements).

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11142

תאריך: 14.08.89

שמו

יוצא \*\*

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חוזם: 8,11142

אל: קהיר/249

מ-: המשרד, תא: 140889, זח: 2035, דח: ב, סג: שמ

תח: גס: מזתים

נד: ג

א/ח

שמו/בהול - לקשר

לציר

שגריר ארה"ב בראון התקשר היום 14 דנא לבית נמרו ברקן  
ומסר ששגריר ארה"ב בקהיר ויזנר התקשר ומסר לבראון שיוסרי  
היועמ"ש של משה'ח המצרי הודיע לו שהם לא יגיעו לשיחות  
בטאבה ב-15.8 מאחר ואין לו הוראה להכנס לשיחות ואינו  
מוכן.

יוסרי הוסיף שודאי יהיו מוכנים בסוף החודש. בראון דואג  
שלא נפרש את הדחיה בצורה שלילית. הושב לבראון שעובדת  
הדחיה ידועה לנו.

עד כאן

מצרים

אק

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ליאור, מצרים, סייבל, משפט,  
בנצור, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ערבו





\*\* יוצא

סודי

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חוזם: 8,10974

אל: 7: ווש/577, נ/576

מ-: המשד, תא: 140889, זח: 1719, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: פ גס: צפא

נד: ג

אמא

סודי/מיידי

558

אל: השגריר/וושיןגטון

דע: מתני/נאו'ס/ניו יורק

מאת: לשכת ס/שה'ח

שיחת נתניהו-פיקרינג

להלן עיקרי השיחה (14.8):

1. יוזמת השלום :

א. ס/שה'ח נתניהו עמד על חשיבות הקשר בין ארבעת מרכיבי היוזמה, וציפיותינו מארה'ב להירתם ביתר שאת למימושם.

ב. בתשובה לשאלת פיקרינג מה אנו מצפים מביקורו במצרים (לשם נסע מכאן בהמשך ביקורו באיזור), הדגיש ס/שה'ח את האנומליה בסירובו של מובאראק להיפגש עם רה'מ.

ג. בהקשר לתכנית שיקום הפליטים, מסר ס/שה'ח שעמיתו הצרפתי הביע נכונות עקרונית שצרפת תתרום את חלקה בתנאי שארה'ב תוביל את המהלך, ואילו עמיתו הבריטי אמר שקודם כל חייבת לבוא תזוזה פוליטית. משניהם הבין שנושא המימון אינו מהווה בעייה. פיקרינג הגיב

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מס' : 95.80.41  
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מס' : 95.80.41  
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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שהגישה הבריטית היא שורש הבעייה, משום שהערבים הצליחו לשכנע את המערביות שאפשר להחזיק את נושא הפליטים כבן ערובה לפתרון הרצוי להם. ס/שה'ח שלל גישה זו מכל וכל, ונימק כדלהלן:

(1) אין כל סיבה הגיונית לא לפתור את בעיית הפליטים.

(2) מאיתנו מבקשים לא לעשות LINKAGE בין ארבעת מרכיבי יוזמת השלום, ואכן אין אנו עושים זאת, אם כי אנו גורסים שצריך להתקדם במקביל בארבעת המרכיבים. הערבים, לעומת זאת, עושים LINKAGE. השאלה היא אם רוצים שגם אנחנו נלך בדרכם.

(3) חשוב שארה"ב תוביל את מהלך שיקום הפליטים, ואין סיבה שלא תעשה זאת.

ד. פיקרינג שאל אם הגשנו מסמך בנושא זה. ס/שה'ח השיב בחיוב, והוסיף שנחזור על כך.

### 2. ביקור ערפאת בעצרת :

פיקרינג ציין שטרם קיבלו בקשה לויזה, וכי איתנו לאש"ף שעדיף שלא יבקשו. ס/שה'ח הבהיר שהטוב ביותר הוא למנוע מהם שיגישו בקשה, וזאת כדי שהנושא בכלל לא יעלה על סדר היום.

3. נכחו מצידם: בראון, בקר וגוטפרינד; מצידנו ביין והח'מ.

גביר

אס

17

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל, ברנע, ארבל2





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ACTION USIS INFO CD DPO POL AUG 5

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FM USINFO WASHDC

TO RUEHTV/USIS TEL AVIV

RUEHJU/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

RUEHKG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO

RUEHAL/AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

RUEHMF/AMEMBASSY AMMAN

RUEHTU/AMEMBASSY TUNIS

BT

UNCLAS SECTION 31 OF 32

USINFO

USIS PAO/ID FROM P/PYM

PD 12356 N/A

89/04/8

SUBJECT: NYT/KELLY MEETS WITH PALESTINIANS

NR-033 89/04/89 (585)

(FOLLOWING VS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

THE FOLLOWING UNATTRIBUTED ARTICLE HEADLINED "U.S. OFFICIAL MEETS WITH PALESTINIANS" APPEARED ON PAGE A1 OF THE AUGUST 4 NEW YORK TIMES:

(BEGIN TEXT)

JERUSALEM, AUG. 3 -- A GROUP OF PALESTINIANS MET WITH A VISITING SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL ON THURSDAY AND LAID DOWN HARD-LINE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ISRAELIS.

SEVERAL AMERICAN OFFICIALS WHO HAVE VISITED JERUSALEM, INCLUDING FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE P. SHULTZ, HAVE ALSO TRIED TO MEET WITH PALESTINIANS IN THE ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES DURING THE 24-MONTH UPRISING. BUT MOST OR ALL OF THE PALESTINIANS REFUSED, SUGGESTING THAT THE AMERICANS MEET WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION INSTEAD.

ON THURSDAY, HOWEVER, 13 OF THE 14 PALESTINIANS INVITED TO MEET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN KELLY ATTENDED. BUT THE FIRST THING THEY MADE CLEAR WAS THAT THEY CONSIDERED THEMSELVES ONLY AGENTS FOR THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, WHICH OFFICIALLY SPONSORED MEETINGS LIKE THIS LAST MONTH.

KELLY, WHO IS HERE ON A GET-ACQUAINTED VISIT WITH BOTH ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN LEADERS, MET EARLIER WITH PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR AND OTHER ISRAELI OFFICIALS.

AT THE START OF THEIR MEETING WITH KELLY, THE PALESTINIANS HANDED HIM A LETTER THAT SAID: "WE VIEW OUR MEETING TODAY AS PART OF THE ONGOING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE

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CR: 49182

CHRG: USIS

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ADD:

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UNITED STATES AND THE PLO.

THIS MEETING WOULD HAVE HAD GREATER IMPORT AND SIGNIFICANCE HAD IT BEEN PRELIMINARY TO OFFICIAL TALKS BETWEEN YASSER AND PLO OFFICIALS," THE LETTER ADDED.

PALESTINIANS ATTENDING THE SESSION SAID LATER THAT THE LANGUAGE OF THE LETTER ANGERED KELLY. THEY SAID HE URGED THEM TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE "GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY" PRESENTED BY ISRAEL'S PEACE INITIATIVE.

MUSTAFA NASHIF, THE FORMER DEPUTY MAYOR OF NABRIS, SAID THE GROUP TOLD KELLY THAT ELECTIONS IN THE TERRITORIES "MUST BE PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT, AS A MEANS TO PEACE, BUT NOT THE TARGET OF THE PROBLEM."

PALESTINIANS DESCRIBED THE TWO-HOUR MEETING WITH KELLY AS STORMY AND SAID HE ACCUSED THE GROUP OF "PLAYING POLITICAL" BY ASSERTING THAT THE ENCOUNTER WAS PART OF THE UNITED STATES DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO.

"THE ATMOSPHERE WASN'T FRIENDLY, BUT IT WAS THE FRANKEST EXPRESSION OF VIEWS WE'VE HAD SO FAR," SAID A PALESTINIAN PARTICIPANT WHO ASKED NOT TO BE IDENTIFIED. HE SAID THAT KELLY FLATLY TOLD THE GROUP THAT THE UNITED STATES OPPOSES THE CREATION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE.

KADISH ABU AYASH, A JOURNALIST IN THE DELEGATION, SAID THAT KELLY TOLD THE GROUP "HE WOULD NOT DELIVER US TO THE NEGOTIATION TABLE, AND SAID WE HAVE TO MAKE OUR OWN WAY."

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02

THE PALESTINIANS' LETTER ALSO CALLED ON THE UNITED STATES TO "DEMONSTRATE A GENUINE COMMITMENT" TO THE PEACE PROCESS BY ACCEPTING THESE POINTS:

- RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN "SELF-DETERMINATION," WHICH IN PALESTINIAN PARLANCE MEANS A PALESTINIAN STATE.
- ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES TO FORCE THE ISRAELIS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.
- AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

-- EQUAL TREATMENT OF PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS ON ALL MATTERS OF "INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, SECURITY, RECOGNITION, NATIONAL RIGHTS, AND GUARANTEES."

AS KELLY MET WITH THE PALESTINIANS, THERE WAS MORE VIOLENCE IN THE OCCUPIED GAZA STRIP. A HAND GRENADE THROWN AT A PASSING ISRAELI PATROL WOUNDED THREE ISRAELI SOLDIERS AND THREE PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS, ARMY AND ARAB REPORTS SAID. TROOPS OPENED FIRE AFTER THE BLAST, WOUNDING MORE THAN A DOZEN PALESTINIANS IN THE TOWN OF IRAN YUNIS, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS QUOTED HOSPITAL OFFICIALS AS SAYING.

(END TEXT)

(PRECEDING FS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

ITEM

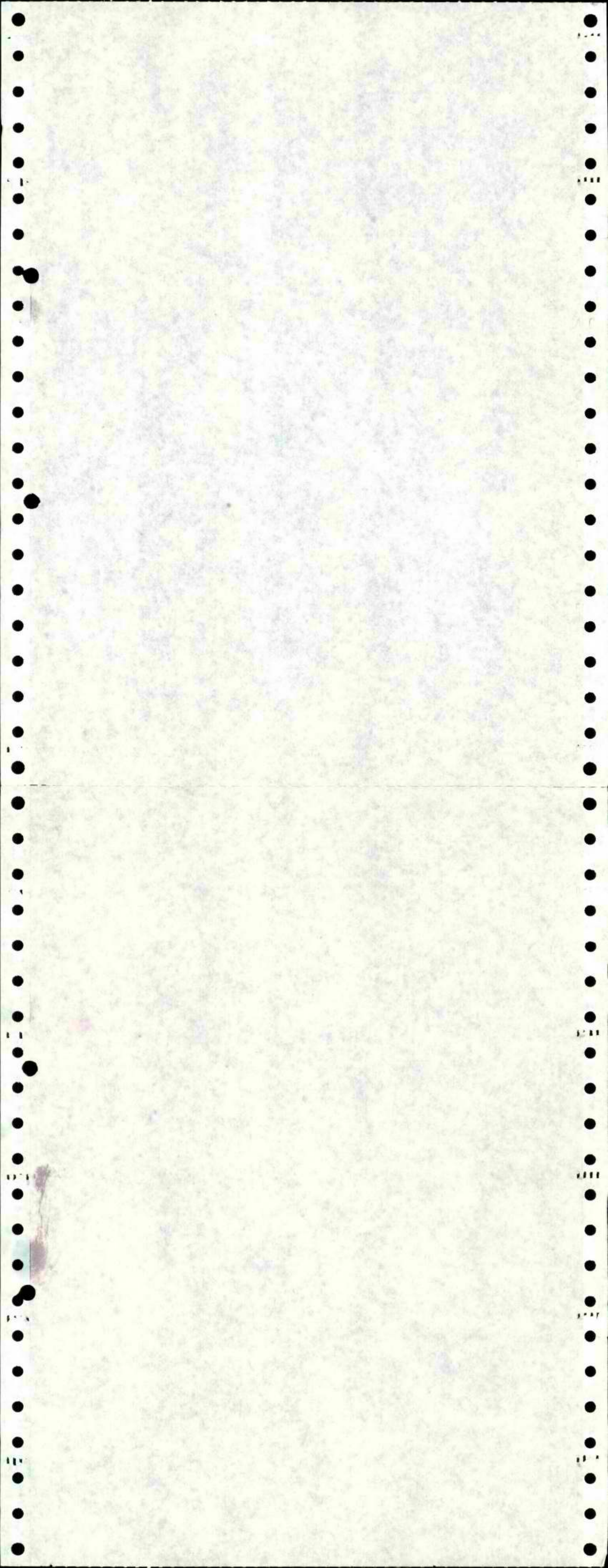
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07/27/1989 10:35 \*\*\*\*\* BARNEY\* UF-400 \*\*\*\*\* 20515

P.02

BARNEY FRANK  
4TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTSCOMMITTEES:  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
BANKING, FINANCE, AND  
URBAN AFFAIRS  
JUDICIARY  
CHAIRMAN,  
ADMINISTRATIVE LAW AND  
GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS  
AGING**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC**

mk

H. Wain

July 21, 1989

WASHINGTON OFFICE:  
1030 LONGWORTH BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
(202) 225-5531  
DISTRICT OFFICES  
437 CHERRY STREET  
WEST NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02105  
(617) 332-3020  
10 PURCHASE STREET  
FALL RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS 02722  
(508) 674-3551  
140 PARK STREET  
ATTLESBORO, MASSACHUSETTS 02703  
(508) 228-4723The Honorable Edouard Brunner  
Ambassador  
Embassy of Switzerland  
2900 Cathedral Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We oppose efforts by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to become a signatory to the Geneva Conventions and we strongly urge the Government of Switzerland to reject any effort by the PLO to represent itself as a legitimate power for purposes of accession to the Conventions.

We appreciate the manner in which the Swiss Government rejected the PLO's initial attempt to apply as a signatory and we hope that you will continue to respond to these PLO moves in a similarly forthright manner. As Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, we believe signatory status to the Geneva Conventions is reserved for legitimate states as recognized by international law. The PLO in no way meets this requirement.

On the contrary, the PLO has not demonstrated in the past and cannot now demonstrate that it meets the definitions established for accession to the Conventions as established in international law.

Equally important, allowing the PLO to sign the Geneva Conventions would grant the PLO an undeserved political victory. By requesting formal status in the Geneva Conventions, the PLO is blatantly attempting to achieve a political victory to further its political agenda which, despite protestations to the contrary, includes the promotion of terror in the furtherance of its objectives against Israel.

Finally, PLO accession to the Geneva Conventions would create a dangerous precedent that could make PLO membership in the International Red Cross and other international organizations, reserved for legitimate and responsible members of the international community, more difficult to prevent.

It would be a terrible error for the PLO to be granted status with the Geneva Conventions and we urgently ask your intervention in preventing any such moves.

Russ F. Payne Jr

Ray W. Allen

Tom Lantos

Barney Frank

George E. Brown

Henry P. James

John Miller

Pat Johr

Doug Bereuter

Elton Gallegly

Bruce A. Morrison

Howard Coble

Howard B. Berman

Dan Rostenkowski

Mike Synar

Ted Weiss

Harold F. Dowd

Paul J. Hannon

Frank Rostenkowski

Bill Rostenkowski

Charles E. Schumer

W. T. Sullivan



Edward Feighan  
Bill Hughes

Eliot L. Engel  
Lee Hamilton

Signers of the letter are Lewis Payne (D-VA), George Gekas (R-PA), Tom Lantos (D-CA), Barney Frank (D-MA), George Sangmeister (D-ILL), Craig James (R-Fla), John Miller (R-WA), Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), Doug Bereuter (R-Nebr), Elton Gallegly (R-CA), Bruce Morrison (D-Conn), Howard Coble (R-NC), Howard Berman (D-CA), Dan Glickman (D-KS), Mike Synar (D-Okla), Ted Weiss (D-NY), Hamilton Fish, Jr. (R-NY), Robert Lagomarsino (R-CA), Howard Wolpe (D-MI), Bill Dannemeyer (R-CA), Charles Schumer (D-NY), Robert Torricelli (D-NJ), Edward Feighan (D-Ohio), Eliot Engel (D-NY), Bill Hughes (D-NJ), and Lee Hamilton (D-Ind).

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON D.C.



שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

27.7.89

ס ד י

אל : סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"ן  
העתק: מנכ"ל משרד ראה"מ  
יועץ מדיני לשה"ח

מאת : ע. ערן

### ביקור יגאל כרמון

להלן מחוץ שיחת כרמון-בסבי מתאם פעולות האנטי-טרור במחמ"ד (26/7).  
הפגישה היתה השניה בין השנים במהלך ביקור כרמון ונערכה ע"פ בקשתם. גון הירש  
שביקש הפגישה ביקש גם שרק הח"מ יתלווה לכרמון. בסבי פתח באומרו שכאשר נמסר לו  
על ביקורו של כרמון הוא החל בהתיעצויות כיצד לטפל בבקשת הפגישה עימו אחרי  
פרשת ניר-נורת' לא היה ש"פ בנושא אנטי-טרור והם מתלבטים בנקודה זו. אחרי שעברו  
על החומר שהביא עמו כרמון הם הגיעו למסקנה שעיקר מגמתו היא להשפיע על החשיבה  
 שלהם ושל אחרים בנושא של הדיאלוג עם אש"ף וזה השפיע (colored) שיקוליהם. בסבי  
 הוסיף שאיגלברגר *is monumentally* וזו בשל המערכה הציבורית שמנהל  
 ישראל. שה"פ שאותו מקימת ארה"ב בנושאי טרור הם הרחק מפרסום והעין הציבורית.  
 הח"מ אמר שפרסום פרשת ניר-נורת' נעשה כאן ולא אנו אחראים לו. שנית, לא מדובר  
 במערכה ציבורית. יש חלוקי דעות בין ישראל וארה"ב בנקודה מאד מהותית השייכת  
 לטרור ואנו מביאים את ראיתנו זו בפני גורמים בממשל ובקונגרס. כך אנו עושים  
 בנושאים רבים אחרים שהשתיקה יפה להם והיא נשמרת כגון בנושא. ש"פ אסטרטגי,  
 פתוח מערכות נשק או להבדיל נושא שאנו למשל חלוקים עליו כמו אספקת נשק למדינות  
 ערב. שתי המדינות הגיעו למערכת יחסית בוגרת דיה כדי לקבל דרך זו של דו-שיח.





- 2 -

כמו-כן הזכיר הח"מ שכבר נעשתה בעבר פניה אליהם לדיאלוג בנושא בעקבות שיחת שה"ח ארנס והנשיא בוש וכידוע נדחנו. בסבי אמר שההחלטה על ש"פ בתחום הטרור היא ברמה כה גבוהה, אחרי פרשת ניר-נורת' שאולי צריך יהיה להביאה לנשיא. אחרי פרשת השבוע האחרון יתכן שאין סיכוי לחדשו בעתיד הקרוב. כרמון ענה שיש לו ש"פ עם מדינות אחרות בתחום בו הוא עוסק וכמו כן ש"פ עם סוכנויות בארה"ב העוסקות בנושא כמו משרד המשפטים והאפ.בי.אי. במילא, הוסיף כרמון, הוא לא בא לדון בענייני אנטי-טרור אלא בנושא הטרור ותוצאותיו. מה חשיבות יש למי שמוסר החומר כי באותה מידה יכולה היתה השגרירות להעביר התיק. בסבי נשאר בשלו באומרו שהעובדה שאותו אדם עוסק בנושאים פוליטיים ובנושאים שקשורים לאנטי-טרור מקשה עליהם. כרמון סיים השיחה באומרו שהוא חוזר על הזמנתו של בסבי לארץ וכי אין הוא רוצה לכפות ש"פ על אף אחד.

ב ב ר כ ה,

3317  
עודד ערן

העתק: השגריר, כאן.



26 ביולי 1989

אל : מר מ. ארד, השגריר

פגישת יגאל כרמון ובסבי

פגישת יגאל כרמון עם בסבי שאמורה היתה להתקיים ביום 25.7, שונתה ב-24.7 בשעות אחה"צ ונקבעה לאותו יום ב-16:45.

בפגישה נכחו ממחלקתו של השגריר בסבי: אל אדמס וטוני ויין. כן נכח ג'ון הירש ועובדת מחלקתו העוסקת בנושא הצבאי במז"ת.

יגאל כרמון פתח בהצגת החומר שהביא, כשהוא מדגיש שבחומר מקרים חדשים המוכיחים פעילות פתי"ח בתחומי מדינת ישראל שלפני 1967 והמשיך בסקירתו. בסיום דבריו הזמין את בסבי לביקור בישראל.

בסבי השיב והבהיר כי הם קיבלו המידע משגרירותם בתל-אביב ניתחו מה שאנו גורסים (allege) שהוא טרור. הניתוח נעשה על ידי זרועות המודיעין השונות שלהם וכאן יש לו בעיה - של מי הקביעה/אבחנה נכונה (הכוונה למה הוא מעשה טרור). יודע שיש לנו עמדות שונות לגבי הדיאלוג, אבל יש לדאוג כי יהיה אפיון מדויק של טרור.

הוסיף שאסור שבין ידידים תהיינה הגדרות שונות ולכן מציע לקיים דיון מעמיק בנושא של פעולות כנגד טרור. ה-Issue האמיתי, לדעתו, הוא פוליטי.

כרמון שאל באם יש לבסבי בעיה להגדיר זו המקרים (שפרטיהם נמסרו לבראון) כטרור. לדעת כרמון, לאור המידע הרי שאין בעיה.

בסבי - מאיפה המידע ?

כרמון - מהחקירות. החשודים הודו והתפארו במעשיהם. באם תרצו לקרוא תיקי החקירה תיווכחו כי הם לקחו אשראי על הביצוע. הם בצעו הפעולות על פי הנחיות מבחוצ'.



- 2 -

ס ו ד י

בשלב זה בסבי וג'ון הירש קוראים החומר וחושבים. כרמון ממשיך ששלושה תאים אומרים משהו. חוזר ומדגיש נושא בקבוקי מולוטוב. הוסיף כי יש לראות התמונות על-מנת להבין מה הנזק שבקבוק מולוטוב גורם.

בתשובה על שאלה על אחריות ערפאת, אמר כי המפעיל הינו כח 17 ושלערפאת שליטה על כח זה שהוא חלק מהפתי"ח.

כאן חוזר שוב על ה- Talking Points שפיקרינג הגיש בארץ לגבי התנאים לדיאלוג.

ג'ון הירש - האם החומר מהחקירות ?

יגאל - לא היו עינויים. הם התפארו. לא תוכלו להתעלם מהעובדה כי התינוק (קרי : הדיאלוג) חולה.

אדמס - אין לנו הגיבוי להגיע למסקנה כי ההפעלה היתה על-ידי כח 17.

יגאל - נספק ההוכחות.

אדמס - המקצוענים שלנו שבדקו החומר לא הגיעו לאותה מסקנה.

בסבי - ברור להם שאם יגלו אינדיקציה ברורה כי יש כאן משחק כפול - הרי שלא יוכלו להתעלם מכך. מצד שני ספקני לגבי מה שאנו מכנים טרור. בנייר ההסברה שלנו - הצגה שיש בממוצע 6 מקרי טרור ליום.

יגאל - לא מכיר הנייר שבסבי מאזכר.

ג'ון הירש - לוחץ לדעת לוח הזמנים של יגאל בושינגטון. הם מעוניינים שזה יהיה ביקור פרטי ולא ציבורי. אם אתם רוצים שזה יהיה ביקור רציני, הרי אל לך להפגש עם עתונאים.

בסבי - בעקבות השיחה שקיימנו, יש צורך להמשיך ולהפגש ולשוחח עם המקצוענים במחלקתו. אם כרמון יופיע בתקשורת ובגבעה, הרי שהנושא כבר לא יהיה "מקצועי".

אדמס משלים כי אינם רוצים להכנס איתנו לויכוח פומבי לגבי "מהו טרור".



- 3 -

ס ו ד י

כרמון - לא מסר להם פרטים על הלוויז שלו, מלבד הפגישה עם ועדת המודיעין  
בגבעה שהיתה העילה להקדמת פגישתו עם בסבי. הוא השאיר בידם התיק שהביא  
בצרוף כתב התביעה כנגד חוליה אחת.

עד כאן .

ב ג ר כ ה ,

עודד בן-חיים



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PALESTINIAN RIGHTS, ISRAEL SECURITY KEY TO MIDEAST PEACE

(Ross remarks, q and a at World Affairs Council)

By Norma S. Holmes

USIA Staff Writer

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Washington -- In order to reach an enduring Middle East peace settlement Israel and its Arab neighbors must recognize two realities: the need for Palestinian political rights and Israeli security needs, a State Department official says.

Dennis Ross, director of the policy planning staff for the Department of State, said the policy of the Bush administration will be a "pragmatic" one designed to achieve both.

U.S. diplomacy, he said, will address the "emergence of an interest in problem solving in the region as a whole."

In outlining the administration's policy perspective for the Middle East in remarks to the World Affairs Council in Washington April 25, Ross said, "A new sense of pragmatism" and increasing preoccupation with both internal development and economic growth can be seen in the region. He cited the Arab Cooperation Council, comprised of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and The Yemen Arab Republic, and its focus on economic and related political concerns.

Ross underscored the principles which he said have guided American policy in the region and continue to form the basis of the administration's Middle East perspective:

-- That U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, are the "essential principles that undergird the U.S. approach to negotiations. Our view is it means an exchange of territories for peace. It means, as well, that countries should be able to live in secure and recognized borders."

-- An enduring peace settlement requires recognition of both Israeli security needs as well as Palestinian political rights. "We continue to believe that you are not going to produce peace if you have an independent Palestinian state or have permanent Israeli occupation of the territories, and that is why we oppose both," Ross stated.

Ross said the intifada (uprising) has generated an international interest in settling the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The intifada has had an effect not only on Israel, but also on the PLO and Jordan, he said. "I think there's a clear consensus now in Israel that didn't exist before, that occupation is not benign and is not profitable. Occupation costs. It imposes economic costs, psychic costs, and certain military costs." He said the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) must now deal with a full range of threats from advanced technology of missiles and chemicals to the "rather low-level technology of stones."

He said the IDF is "not enamored" of their particular mission and "has clearly contributed to the sense that there has to be a political and not a military solution to the problem."

The impact of the intifada on PLO leader Yasser Arafat has also been pragmatic, Ross said, noting that "after all these years he has finally met the conditions that we laid down for a dialogue."

Jordan, too, has been affected by the uprising, Ross pointed out.

King Hussein decided to disengage from the territories, he said, "having made a judgment that he did not want to be seen in any way as trying to divert the will of the Palestinians by trying to assume the role of representing them. The king will continue to have a role to play, and there'll be no settlement without him," Ross emphasized.



But the move is significant for those who had been convinced that there was "a pure Jordan option -- they have to face the fact that that really is not an option any longer."

Increasing Soviet interest is also not surprising, Ross said, "because it has become important to them to have a higher profile in the area "to demonstrate a successful image of perestroika in the aftermath of Afganistan." The Soviets "have always been concerned with creating a structure that guarantees them a role, and the answer to that is, there is no structure that guarantees them a role," Ross asserted.

He emphasized that it is especially important for the Soviets to understand the necessity of a step by step approach to an enduring settlement. "They need to understand that a process that works is more important than one that provides them a role. They need to understand that demonstrating to the parties themselves that they have something positive to contribute is what will guarantee them a role." But he also acknowledged that "no one is going to be able to exclude the Soviets if they demonstrate to those in the area that they have something to contribute."

Given the present situation, Ross said, "One could not get to formal negotiations right away." The time isn't appropriate to focus on an international conference, he said, "because an international conference is a format for negotiations. We don't have the conditions for negotiation." He said the administration has opted to focus on how to change the conditions and make it possible to get to negotiations.

"We wanted to see steps taken in the territories that would begin to change the climate, that could begin to change the atmosphere." Among the changes the administration seeks, he said, are (1) steps to be taken that would alter the risk assessment of each party; (2) steps that would begin to alter the impressions that each party might have of the other; and (3) steps that would begin to demonstrate that if one made a commitment to do something they could deliver." Such cumulative steps, he stressed, "can result in creative dialogues and help form the substantive underpinnings of peace."

"We look at these steps and these dialogues as being a vehicle for producing a different psychological reality. It doesn't do a lot of good to go to formal negotiations without creating the kind of underlying understanding that will make it possible to succeed when you get to negotiations," Ross declared. "It is not in our interest to put together negotiations that cannot succeed."

Ross pointed out that the United States has always seen value in the idea of elections in the territories. But he stressed that elections are not an end in themselves, but part of a broader process. "It has to be preceded by certain changes in environment. It has to be succeeded by a broader set of negotiations that might produce some arrangements on Palestinian self-rule and in time would produce an agreement on final status and comprehensive peace."

He said when Prime Minister Shamir came with his proposal for elections, the U.S. viewed it as "a positive step," but he added, "It has to be developed. It has potential. There are a lot of questions that we have about it and we will be working to develop answers." He said in discussions which the administration held with King Hussein last week "it was also clear that he believed what we are talking about has great potential -- put in the larger political context."

Yet to be addressed, Ross said, is how elections might be formulated, "but the idea is formulated around very practical behaviors."

Moving to a military evaluation of the region, Ross, the former director of Near East and South Asian affairs at the National Security Council, said the advent of high technology including missiles and chemical weapons to the area is "worrisome" and puts a premium on settling disputes and regional conflicts. "I think it threatens to change warfare as we've known it. It ought to create an air of urgency," he asserted.

In response to a series of questions on regional issues, Ross made these points:

On Lebanon:

-- Peace in Lebanon in the end, requires the Lebanese to bring about internal reconciliation. No outside force has yet succeeded in doing it.

-- The United States has been working with the Arab League to do what it can to build upon a cease-fire for a more permanent solution. "We have made it clear that we would support an international effort if it were consistent with what the Arab League is doing."

-- Syrian objectives in Lebanon are also linked to the broader peace process. "It is the U.S. approach not to exclude Syria in the peace process. Syrians would have a role to play but they will have to demonstrate that they have a commitment to peace."

On Iran --

-- While the U.S. would favor at some point having a more normal relationship with Iran, future relations "very much depend upon an Iranian foreign policy" that: (a) isn't going to threaten its neighbors, (b) is not going to export revolution, (c) does not make hostage-taking a normal part of its foreign policy, and (d) does not view terrorism as a natural instrument of foreign policy.

On Afghanistan --

-- U.S. policy continues to be what it has been before: The U.S. favors the Afghans determining their own future.

-- The current Kabul regime is not seen as a legitimate one or one that finally reflects the will of the Afghan people.

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ECONOMIC HIGHLIGHTS, THURSDAY, APRIL 27  
(Import, export price indexes)

IMPORT PRICE ADVANCES SLOW IN LATEST QUARTER --

Washington -- Import prices, which have had a growing impact on overall U.S. inflation levels as the economy has become more open to the world, slowed their advance in the first quarter of this year despite a sharp jump in petroleum prices.

A report from the Labor Department April 27 showed prices of imported goods rising 1.7 percent in the January-March period, down from a 2.0-percent increase in the preceding quarter.

The slowdown occurred even though the price of imported fuels advanced 18.3 percent. Imported fuel prices had declined in each of the two preceding quarters. Excluding fuels, imports rose only 0.5 percent during the first quarter, compared with a rise of 2.4 percent in the preceding period.

The relatively small increase in non-energy import prices was due in part, the Labor Department said, to the appreciation of the U.S. dollar during this period.

The value of imported goods now equals between 11 and 12 percent of U.S. gross national product, up from around 9 percent 10 years ago and 5 percent 20 years ago.

U.S. export prices rose somewhat less than did import prices, 1.4 percent, but this followed a slight decline of 0.3 percent in export prices in the quarter before.

For the year ending in March 1989, import prices were up 5.1 percent and export prices up 6.3 percent.

The substantial rise in import prices occurred despite a rise in the value of the dollar over that period. The import trade-weighted dollar appreciated substantially during the first quarter, increasing 3.2 percent after depreciating 4.9 percent in the fourth quarter of last year. The dollar also appreciated significantly in the third quarter of last year. The net result over the past four quarters was that at the end of March 1989 the dollar was 2.1 percent above the level of one year before on a trade-weighted basis.

The trade-weighted calculation takes into account the amounts of import transactions with different countries, giving more weight to the exchange rates of countries that sell the most goods in the United States.

Following are some key figures:

IMPORT AND EXPORT PRICE INDEXES

Percent change from preceding period, not seasonally adjusted

	2nd qtr 1988	3rd qtr 1988	4th qtr 1988	1st qtr 1989	Mar.'88- Mar.'89
All imports	2.6	-1.3	2.0	1.7	5.1
excluding fuels	2.4	-0.5	2.4	0.5	4.9
All exports	2.8	2.2	-0.3	1.4	6.3

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL PERCENT CHANGES, 12 MONTHS ENDED MARCH

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
All imports	1.1	-4.2	-0.6	8.0	6.9	5.1
excluding fuels	1.9	-3.5	7.2	7.6	8.8	4.9
All exports	n.a.	-2.4	-0.8	0.5	6.6	6.3

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מאת: שג' וושינגטון

פגישת השגריר - תת המזכיר לנושאים מדיניים קימט (11/8).

1. בשיחה נדונו הנושאים הבאים: הפעילות הדיפלומטית בנושא החטופים, תהליך השלום בעקבות ועידת הפת"ח וסוגית ה-GSP (שהיתה הסיבה לפגישה).

2. להלן סכום השיחה:

א. הפעילות הדיפלומטית בנושא החטופים:

1) קימט פתח בציין את ההערכה אותה חש הנשיא לרוה"מ בעקבות שיחת הטלפון והמכתב ששוגר. לדבריו, טרח הנשיא להביע זאת באוזני מספר אנשים.

2) קימט הוסיף כי התרשם מתוכן מכתבו של רוה"מ. הדגיש את האינטרסים המשותפים שימשיכו להתקיים גם אחרי המשבר הנוכחי. מקווה כי נלמד מנסיון המשבר האחרון במה שנוגע לשמירה על קשר הדוק.

3) השגריר הביע קורת רוח מתגובת הנשיא למכתבו של

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

רוה"מ שאפשר להבהיר את חילוקי הדעות ולהבטיח קשר טוב יותר בעתיד.

4) בתשובה לשאלת השגריר ביחס להתפתחויות הצפויות בנושא החטופים, השיב קימט כי ברוח דברי הנשיא בכוונתם למצות את כל האופציות כדי למצוא פתרון. הנשיא ממשיך להיות מעורב אישית (ע"י הרמת טלפונים) במאמץ הדיפלומטי.

5) במקביל פועל מחמ"ד (במגעיו הישירים והעקיפים עם סוריה ואיראן) להבטיח שהמסר של הנשיא יעבור.

6) קימט הדגיש כי לא ניתן יהיה לחזור לסטטוס קוו אנטה. ארה"ב תעשה מאמץ למצוא פתרון לבעיית החטיפות זו, הינה תוצאה של אי יציבות באיזור בכלל ובלבנון בפרט. במגעיהם עם הסורים הבהירה ארה"ב עמדתה בדבר הצורך בהפסקת אש ובמצאיאת פתרון שיאפשר יציאת כל הכוחות הזרים מלבנון.

ב. תהליך השלום:

1) קימט חזר על תמיכתם ברעיון הבחירות. הביע תקווה להתחלת דיאלוג בינינו לפלסטינים באיזור על פרטי רעיון הבחירות.

2) קימט ציין כי נושא החטופים, לבנון ותהליך השלום יעסיקו את הממשל בתקופה הקרובה.

3) השגריר בתגובה ציין כי בכוונתנו להמשיך במאמץ לקדם היזמה (וכפועל יוצא) לעודד פלסטינים מקומיים להכנס עמנו למו"מ. בהקשר זה התייחס השגריר לתוצאות ועידת הפת"ח אשר מבהירות כי דבר לא השתנה. ההחלטות הוסיף, מהוות חזרה על הרטוריקה הישנה והמוכרת. יש בכך כדי לאשר את טיעוננו על כך שהצהרות ערפאת בדצמ' אשתקד ולאחר מכן, לא שיקפו שינוי בעמדות הארגון וכי תכליתן היתה לפתוח בדיאלוג עם ארה"ב.

4) קימט ציין כי שותף להערכת השגריר על כך שהחלטות הפת"ח מבטאות חזרה לרטוריקה הישנה. אין בכך כדי לסייע. זאת, למרות שיש לשפוט האנשים עפ"י מעשיהם ולא עפ"י הצהרותיהם. בכוונתם לעלות זאת בשיחתם עם אש"ף. חזר על כך שאין בהצהרות כדי לבטא 'חשיבה חדשה'.

5) השגריר הזכיר דברי הנשיא רייגן שציין (בעקבות החלטת

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year.

2. The second part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year.

3. The third part of the report deals with the financial statement of the year.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

9. The ninth part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

10. The tenth part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

11. The eleventh part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

12. The twelfth part of the report deals with the general conclusion of the year.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ארה"ב לפתוח הדיאלוג עם אש"פ) שיבחנו הארגון עפ"י מעשיו ולא עפ"י הצהרותיו. ההצהרות שהשמעו (בועידת הפת"ח) הדגישו השגריר לא היו הצהרות בעלמא, הן משקפות מדיניות ישנה (הזכיר את נושא זכות השיבה והמשך המאבק המזויין).

6) במצב זה ציין השגריר יש בהמשך הדיאלוג (ארה"ב אש"פ) כדי להקשות ולמעשה למנוע מציאת בר שיח פלסטיני מקרב המנהיגות בשטחים.

ג. GSP

1) קימט ציין כי טרם גיבשו תשובה לתבקשתנו (אותה פרטנו בנייר שהגשנו בשעתו). הזכיר כי אין המדובר בהחלטה של מחמ"ד בלבד. זו תתקבל בתאום עם המשרדים הנוגעים בדבר (אוצר, USTR, ומסחר).

2) לאחר שעמד על הרקע למתן GSP לשטחים ולסוגיות זכויות העובדים שצצה בעקבות הפטיציה של ADL שואל עצמו אם אמנם יש לנו ענין לדחוף הממשל להשיב לנו פורמלית על שאלתנו/בקשתנו והאם לא עדיף מבחינתנו המשך המצב הקיים?

3) לאחר בחינת הנושא לא נראה להם שלהיעדר GSP יש אימפקט שלילי בתחום הכלכלי. לאור זאת יבחנו הנושא במונחים המשפטיים. החלטה שתתקבל, עלולה להיות שלילית מבחינתנו.

4) קימט הוסיף כי שינוי המצב הקיים באמצעות העברת חקיקה ברוח בקשתנו יהווה הישג לטווח קצר ביותר שכן הדבר יגרור הגשת תלונה מצד NAAA.

5) מסקנתו של קימט היא שעדיף מבחינתנו להשאיר המצב כפי שהוא. הוסיף כי איננו רואה כל קושי (אם נרצה בכך) להביא הממשל לקבלת החלטה.

6) לשאלת השגריר האם ניתן לשנות הוראות האוצר והמכס השיב כי יש לקבל ההוראות כמצב נתון. הוסיף כי ההנחיות שהוצאו ע"י שני המשרדים נעשו ברוח המלצות הנשיא.

7) קימט סיכם באמרו שלהערכתו יש במצב הקיים כדי לשרת את האינטרס שלנו. ביקש כי לאחר שנשקול הדברים נודיע לו על החלטתנו.

8) השגריר השיב כי יעביר הדברים לנוגעים בדבר.

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

השתתפו בשיחה: ס/מנהל דסק ישראל, דסקאית מז"ת רל"ש קימט והח"מ.

שטיין

אק

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

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DO hereby certify that  
the within and foregoing is a true and correct  
copy of the original as the same appears on the  
records of the Department of the Interior.

WITNESSED my hand and the seal of the Department of the Interior  
at Washington, D.C., this 1st day of January, 1901.

JOHN W. FOSTER

Secretary of the Interior

By \_\_\_\_\_  
Assistant Secretary of the Interior

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Assistant Secretary of the Interior

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\* שיחת הטלפון עם רה"מ היתה נעימה מאד ומועילה  
\* מאד, אך עדיין מספר שאלות. שורללו באגרתו של מזכיר  
\* המדינה מ- 1/8, נותרו ללא תשובה, לדוגמא לא קיבלנו  
\* תשובה לשאלה האם נשקלו הסיכונים לבני ערובה אמריקאים  
\* לקראת החלטה על ביצוע פעולה שהביאה לי' חטיפתו  
\* של שייך עובייד.

\* (7) אנו מצפים מ ישראל להגביר את מערכת הבטיחות  
\* והמגעים עמנו כדי לשתף אותנו בשיקוליהם ובגישתם האסטרטגית.  
\* אין אנו דורשים מהם תיאום.

\* (8) לאחר שיחתו עם הנשיא נפגש זקס עם היועץ לבטחון  
\* לאומי, סקורופט אמר כי דרושה פתיחות חדשה מצידה  
\* של ישראל בדיאלוג שהיא מקיימת עם ארה"ב וסבור ששיחת  
\* הטלפון בין רה"מ לנשיא סייעה רבות להסיר תחושת ההתעלמות  
\* ששררה אצל הנשיא ובקרב יועציו מאז פעולת צה"ל בדרום  
\* לבנון. להערכת סקורופט, הנשיא עדיין בהרגשה שבנושא  
\* ההתנחלויות מתעלמת ישראל מעמדתה של ארה"ב ובמיוחד  
\* של הנשיא בוש. מכתבו של רה"מ שמיו אל הנשיא לא הפיג  
\* לחלוטין את תחושתו של הנשיא שנפגע האמון בינו לרה"מ.  
\* לדעת סקורופט היתה זו טעות לכלול באגרת אל בוש ההסתייגויות  
\* שיש לרוה"מ כלפי הדיאלוג האמריקאי-אש"פי. המאמץ  
\* להבהיר את עמדתה של ישראל בנושא ההתנחלויות נפגם  
\* בשל כך.

\* (9) בתגובתי לזקס התעכבתי במיוחד על כך שבמשך כל הזמן  
\* מאז חטיפתו של היג'נס שתפנו את ארה"ב בכל המידע  
\* המודיעיני שהגיע לידינו ללא דחוי ולכן הערותיו של

## משרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשר

\* דף 3  
\* עותק 2 מתוך 8

\* הנשיא בסעיף 4 דלעייל הן בלתי הוגנות לחלוטין. כמו  
\* כן הסברתי באריכות עמדתך העקרונית בנושא ההתנחלויות  
\* והתרשמותו המוטעית של בוש כאילו הובטח לו או נרמז  
\* לו על-ידך דבר אחר. מדאיגה במיוחד הערתו של בוש כי  
\* דבריו של דול משקפים רגשותיהם של רבים כלפי פעולת  
\* ישראל גם אם דברים דומים הושמעו זה מכבר מפיו דובר  
\* הבית הלבן.

\* (10) להערכתך, דברי הנשיא כפי שהובאו ע"י גורדי זקס  
\* גם אם אינם ניתנים לאישוש ע"י מקור אחר משקפים דרך  
\* מחשבתו של הנשיא כפי שמבטא אותם בפגישות פרטיות.  
\* נראה לי כחשוב, שנעשה בתקופה הקרובה מאמץ לשמור על  
\* ערוצי תקשורת ישירים לנשיא כולל עדכון בהתרחשויות  
\* השוטפות בפרשת בני הערובה. שיחת הטלפון של רה"מ  
\* לנשיא מראשית השבוע נתפסה כאן כצעד נכון וחשוב שנפעל  
\* להעמיק המימד האישי ביחסים עם הנשיא.

\* ארד

\* אק

\* תפ: רהמ, שהח





1. The first part of the report  
describes the general situation  
of the country at the time of the  
survey.

2. The second part of the report  
describes the results of the  
survey.

3. The third part of the report  
describes the results of the  
survey.

4. The fourth part of the report  
describes the results of the  
survey.

5. The fifth part of the report  
describes the results of the  
survey.

6. The sixth part of the report  
describes the results of the  
survey.

7. The seventh part of the report  
describes the results of the  
survey.



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

רוה"מ שאפשר להבהיר את חילוקי הדעות ולהבטיח קשר טוב יותר בעתיד.

4) בתשובה לשאלת השגריר ביחס להתפתחויות הצפויות בנושא החטופים, השיב קימט כי ברוב דברי הנשיא בכוונתם למצות את כל האופציות כדי למצוא פתרון. הנשיא ממשיך להיות מעורב אישית (ע"י הרמת טלפונים) במאמץ הדיפלומטי.

5) במקביל פועל מחמ"ד (במגעיו הישירים והעקיפים עם סוריה ואיראן) להבטיח שהמסר של הנשיא יעבור.

6) קימט הדגיש כי לא ניתן יהיה לחזור לסטטוס קוו אנטה. ארה"ב תעשה מאמץ למצוא פתרון לבעיית החטיפות זו, הינה תוצאה של אי יציבות באיזור בכלל ובלבנון בפרט. במגעים עם הסורים הבהירה ארה"ב עמדתה בדבר הצורך בהפסקת אש ובמציאת פתרון שיאפשר יציאת כל הכוחות הזרים מלבנון.

### ב. תהליך השלום :

1) קימט חזר על תמיכתם בנעיון הבחירות. הביע תקווה להתחלת דיאלוג בינינו לפלסטינים באיזור על פרטי נעיון הבחירות.

2) קימט ציין כי נושא החטופים, לבנון ותהליך השלום יעסיקו את הממשל בתקופה הקרובה.

3) השגריר בתגובה ציין כי בכוונתנו להמשיך במאמץ לקדם היזמה (וכפועל יוצא) לעודד פלסטינים מקומיים להכנס עמנו למו"מ. בהקשר זה התייחס השגריר לתוצאות ועידת הפת"ח אשר מבהירות כי דבר לא השתנה. ההחלטות הוסיף, מהוות חזרה על הרטוריקה הישנה והמוכרת. יש בכך כדי לאשר את טיעוננו על כך שהצהרות ערפאת בדצמ' אשתקד ולאחר מכן, לא שיקפו שינוי בעמדות הארגון וכי תכליתן היתה לפתוח בדיאלוג עם ארה"ב.

4) קימט ציין כי שותף להערכת השגריר על כך שהחלטות הפת"ח מבטאות חזרה לרטוריקה הישנה. אין בכך כדי לסייע. זאת, למרות שיש לשפוט האנשים עפ"י מעשיהם ולא עפ"י הצהרותיהם. בכוונתם לעלות זאת בשיחתם עם אש"ף. חזר על כך שאין בהצהרות כדי לבטא חשיבה חדשה.

5) השגריר הזכיר דברי הנשיא רייגן שציין (בעקבות החלטת

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ארה"ב לפתוח הדיאלוג עם אש"פ) שיבחנו הארגון עפ"י מעשיו ולא עפ"י הצהרותיו. ההצהרות שהשמעו (בועידת הפת"ח) הדגיש השגריר לא היו הצהרות בעלמא, הן משקפות מדיניות ישנה (הזכיר את נושא זכות השיבה והמשך המאבק המזויין).

6) במצב זה ציין השגריר יש בהמשך הדיאלוג (ארה"ב אש"פ) כדי להקשות ולמעשה למנוע מציאת בר שיח פלסטיני מקרב המנהיגות בשטחים.

ג. GSP

1) קימט ציין כי מרם גיבשו תשובה לתבקשתנו (אותה פרטנו בנייר שהגשנו בשעתו). הזכיר כי אין המדובר בהחלטה של מחמ"ד בלבד. זו תתקבל בתאום עם המשרדים הנוגעים בדבר (אוצר, USTR, ומסחר).

2) לאחר שעמד על הרקע למתן GSP לשטחים ולסוגיות זכויות העובדים שצצה בעקבות הפטיציה של AOL שואל עצמו אם אמנם יש לנו ענין לדחוף הממשל להשיב לנו פורמלית על שאלתנו/בקשתנו והאם לא עדיף מבחינתנו המשך המצב הקיים?

3) לאחר בחינת הנושא לא נראה להם שלהיעדר GSP יש אימפאקט שלילי בתחום הכלכלי. לאור זאת יבחנו הנושא במונחים המשפטיים. החלטה שתתקבל, עלולה להיות שלילית מבחינתנו.

4) קימט הוסיף כי שינוי המצב הקיים באמצעות העברת חקיקה ברוח בקשתנו יהווה הישג לטווח קצר ביותר שכן הדבר יגרור הגשת תלונה מצד NAAA.

5) מסקנתו של קימט היא שעדיף מבחינתנו להשאיר המצב כפי שהוא. הוסיף כי איננו רואה כל קושי (אם נרצה בכך) להביא הממשל לקבלת החלטה.

6) לשאלת השגריר האם ניתן לשנות הוראות האוצר והמכס השיב כי יש לקבל ההוראות כמצב נתון. הוסיף כי ההנחיות שהוצאו ע"י שני המשרדים נעשו ברוח המלצות הנשיא.

7) קימט סיכם באמרו שלהערכתו יש במצב הקיים כדי לשרת את האינטרס שלנו. ביקש כי לאחר שנשקול הדברים נודיע לו על החלטתנו.

8) השגריר השיב כי יעביר הדברים לנוגעים בדבר.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DO hereby certify that  
[Name] is a citizen of the United States of America.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the United States of America at [City], [State], this [Day] day of [Month], 19[Year].

JOHN [Name]  
[Title]  
[Signature]

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DO hereby certify that  
[Name] is a citizen of the United States of America.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the United States of America at [City], [State], this [Day] day of [Month], 19[Year].

JOHN [Name]  
[Title]  
[Signature]

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DO hereby certify that  
[Name] is a citizen of the United States of America.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the United States of America at [City], [State], this [Day] day of [Month], 19[Year].

JOHN [Name]  
[Title]  
[Signature]

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
DO hereby certify that  
[Name] is a citizen of the United States of America.



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

השתתפו בשיחה: ס/מנהל דסק ישראל, דסקאית מז'ת רל'ש  
קימט והח'מ.

שטיין

אק

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

# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

\* 9911

12.08.89

\* תאריך

\* \*\* נכנס

\* סודי ביותר

\* 3 מנ"כ

\* דף 1

\* 8 מתוך

\* עותק 2

\* \*\*  
\* \*\*  
\* \*\*

\* חוזם: 8.9911

\* אל: המשרד

\* יעדים: &

\* מ-: ווש, נר: 376, תא: 110889, זח: 1900, דח: ב, סג: סב

\* תח: & גס: צפא

\* נד: &

א/כה 2

\* סודי ביותר / בהול לבוקר

\* ח.ר.ב.

\* אל: ראש הממשלה - לעיניו בלבד

\* דע: שר החוץ - לעיניו בלבד

\* מאת: השגריר וושינגטון

\* להלן מפיו של גורדי זקס בעקבות שיחתו עם הנשיא אתמול  
\* אחה'צ.

\* (1) בנושא ההתנחלויות - הנשיא סבור שהבעיה לא נפתרה.  
\* הנשיא עדיין בהרגשה שישנה כאן הפרת אמון ואילו סטריציה  
\* של התעלמות מעמדתו. זקס סבור כי תדרש עוד פעולת שכנוע  
\* ממושכת אשר תבהיר לנשיא שנושא ההתנחלויות הוא מרכיב  
\* אידיאולוגי ופוליטי להמשך קיומה של הממשלה.

\* (2) למרות כל ההסברים שקיבל עד עתה, הנשיא עדיין סבור  
\* שהבאתו של שייך עובייד לישראל היא "מעשה חטיפה"  
\* מאחר והנימוק של הישראלים לפעולה הוא החלפתו בשבויים  
\* ובני ערובה ולא הבאתו לדין ע"י ישראל.

\* (3) דברי הביקורת של סנטור דול על ישראל משקפים רגשותיהם  
\* של הרבה אמריקאים.

\* (4) אם אמנם יתברר של ישראלים היה ידוע דבר מותו של

100



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 3  
עותק 2 מתוך 8

\*היג'נס כבר לפני זמן רב ונמנעו מלמסור לנו על כך  
\*כי אזי חומר העניין כיוון שאין אנו מצפים שבת-ברית  
\*כמו ישראל תנהג בנו בצורה כזו.

(5) בהתייחסו לאפשרויות התגובה של ישראל בעקבות מכונית  
\*התופת שפוצצה ע"י החזבאללה בדרום לבנון ציין כי  
\*מקווה שישראל לא תנהג בפזיזות ( PRECIPITOUSLY )  
\*ותגרום בכך למותו של בן- ערובה אמריקאי.  
\*אם כך יקרה התוצאות תהיינה חמורות ( SEVERE  
\*AND DIRE CONSEQUENCES ).

(6) שיחת הטלפון עם רה"מ היתה נעימה מאד ומועילה  
\*מאד, אך עדיין מספר שאלות, שנקללו באגרתו של מזכיר  
\*המדינה מ- 1/8, נותרו ללא תשובה, לדוגמא לא קיבלנו  
\*תשובה לשאלה האם נשקלו הסירובים לבני ערובה אמריקאים  
\*לקראת החלטה על ביצוע פעולה שהביאה ל"חטיפתו"  
\*של שייך עובייד.

(7) אנו מצפים מישראל להגביר את מערכת ההתייעצויות  
\*והמגעים עמנו כדי לשתף אותנו בשיקוליהם ובגישתם האסטרטגית.  
\*אין אנו דורשים מהם תיאום.

(8) לאחר שיחתו עם הנשיא נפגש זקס עם היועץ לבטחון  
\*לאומי, סקורופט, אמר כי דרושה פתיחות חדשה מצידה  
\*של ישראל בדיאלוג שהיא מקיימת עם ארה"ב וסבור ששיחת  
\*הטלפון בין רה"מ לנשיא סייעה רבות להסיר תחושת ההתעלמות  
\*ששררה אצל הנשיא ובקרב יועציו מאז פעולת צה"ל בדרום  
\*לבנון. להערכת סקורופט, הנשיא עדיין בהרגשה שבנושא  
\*ההתנחלויות מתעלמת ישראל מעמדתה של ארה"ב ובמיוחד  
\*של הנשיא בוש. מכתבו של רה"מ שמיד אל הנשיא לא הפיג  
\*לחלוטין את תחושתו של הנשיא שנפגע האמון בינו לרוה"מ.  
\*לדעת סקורופט היתה זו טעות לכלול באגרת אל בוש ההסתייגויות  
\*שיש לרוה"מ כלפי הדיאלוג האמריקאי-אש"פ. המאמץ  
\*להבהיר את עמדתה של ישראל בנושא ההתנחלויות נפגם  
\*בשל כך.

(9) בתגובתי לזקס התעכבתי במיוחד על כך שבמשך כל הזמן  
\*מאז חטיפתו של היג'נס שתפנו את ארה"ב בכל המידע  
\*המודיעיני שהגיע לידינו ללא דחוי ולכן הערותיו של

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year.

2. The second part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

3. The third part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the results of the work during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

愛國愛黨愛人民愛社會主義愛共產黨

8 מתוך 2 עותק \*

\*הנשיא בסעיף 4 דלעייל הן בלתי הוגנות לחלוטין. כמו  
\*כן הסברתי באריכות עמדתך העקרונית בנושא ההתנחלויות  
\*והתרשמותו המוטעית של בוש כאילו הובטח לו או נרמז  
\*לו על-ידך דבר אחר. מדאיגה במיוחד הערתו של בוש כי  
\*דבריו של דול משקפים רגשותיהם של רבים כלפי פעולת  
\*ישראל גם אם דברים דומים הושמעו זה מכבר מפי דובר  
\*הבית הלבן.

10\*) להערכתך, דברי הנשיא כפי שהובאו ע"י גורדי זקס  
\*גם אם אינם ניתנים לאישוש ע"י מקור אחר משקפים דרך  
\*מחשבתו של הנשיא כפי שמבטא אותם בפגישות פרטיות.  
\*נראה לי כחשוב, שנעשה בתקופה הקרובה מאמץ לשמור על  
\*ערוצי תקשורת ישירים לנשיא כולל עדכון בהתרחשויות  
\*השוטפות בפרשת בני הערובה. שיחת הטלפון של רה"מ  
\*לנשיא מראשית השבוע נתפסה כאן כצעד נכון וחשוב שנפעל  
\*להעמיק המימד האישי ביחסים עם הנשיא.

TIN\*

7N\*

\*תפ: רהמ, שהח



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

2. The second part is a detailed account of the work done during the year, and is divided into two sections: (a) a summary of the work done during the year, and (b) a detailed account of the work done during the year.

3. The third part is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into two sections: (a) a summary of the work done during the year, and (b) a detailed account of the work done during the year.

4. The fourth part is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into two sections: (a) a summary of the work done during the year, and (b) a detailed account of the work done during the year.

5. The fifth part is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into two sections: (a) a summary of the work done during the year, and (b) a detailed account of the work done during the year.

6. The sixth part is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into two sections: (a) a summary of the work done during the year, and (b) a detailed account of the work done during the year.

7. The seventh part is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into two sections: (a) a summary of the work done during the year, and (b) a detailed account of the work done during the year.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

9755

תאריך: 12.08.89

נכנס \*\*

סודי

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חוזם: 8,9755

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/834, מנמת/218

מ-: ווש, נר: 354, תא: 110889, זח: 1200, דח: ר, סג: סו

תח: @ גס: ממד

נד: @

א/מק

סודי / רגיל

אל : ממ'ד, מזתים

דע : אירופה 3, מצפ'א

מאת: שג' וושינגטון

ארה'ב - ברה'מ' : מפגש מומחים בנושא אפגאניסטן ואיראן  
(1.8-31.7)

שיחה (9.8) עם דסקאי אפגניסטן ומזה'ת שטופר שהשתתף  
במפגש סכום:

1. כללי:

א. בראש המשלחת האמריקאית עומד עוזר המזכיר ל- NEA קלי.  
את בריה'מ' יצג השגריר קאסארוב (נטל חלק פעיל בניסוח  
מסמך ג'נבה) שהחליף ברגע האחרון את בן שיחם המסורתי  
אלכסייב האחראי על הנושא במשה'ב.  
הסובייטים תרצו את השינוי בעיסוק דחוף של אלכסייב.  
(בדיעבד התברר שהאיש נלווה לשווארדנאצה בביקורו בטהרן  
וקאבול).

ב. מבין השניים נמנה קאסארוב על אנשי 'החשיבה החדשה'.

ג. בסיום המפגש לא נקבע מועד למפגש הבא. החלטה תתקבל  
ככל הנראה במפגש בייקר שווארדנאצה בשבוע השלישי של ספטמבר.





## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

2. תוכן השיחות:

אפגאניסטן

א. במקביל למפגש שטוקהולם עלה הנושא בשיחת בייקר-שווארנדנצה בפריס. בייקר הבהיר לעמיתו שסילוקו של נאג'יבולה ומקורביו יאפשר תחילתן של שיחות בין הפלגים השונים להקמת ממשלה. עמדה זו ציין איש שיחי מהווה שינוי בעמדתם עד כה הדגישה ארה"ב הצורך בסילוק ה-PDPA ושילובם של 'מוסלמים טובים' בשריעה.

ב. בדברי בייקר יש כדי לאותת לברה'מ' שאם יסלקו את נאג'יבולה תהיה ארה"ב מוכנה לשכנע המוג'הדין להכנס לדיאלוג למציאת פתרון מקיף. עד כאן לגבי שיחת שרי החוץ.

ג. במפגש שטוקהולם הציעו הסובייטים להטיל את תפקיד התיווך על מנהיג מע' אירופאי נקבו בשמו של מיטראן. ארה"ב דחתה את ההצעה על הסף. סבורים שההודעה אינה רצינית ומיועדת לתקוע טריז בין ארה"ב לבנות בריתה האירופאיות ע"י הצגת עמדותיה (הפסקת אש, דיאלוג והפסקת אספקת נשק) שתתקבלנה ע"י הציבור האירופאי שאינו בקיא בסוגיא בכלל ובעמדת ארה"ב (ופקיסטן) בפרט.

ד. הובהר לסובייטים שדבר לא יקרה עד אשר בריה'מ' לא תסלק נאג'יבולה. קלי הדגיש בפני אנשי שיחו כי תמיכת ארה"ב בפקיסטן במוג'הדין הינה OPEN ENDED.

ה. בדיון על המצב בשטח טענו הסובייטים להצלחת צבא המשטר בג'אלבאד. ארה"ב טענה כי המדובר בהצלחה דפנסיבית וכי המוג'הדין (מאז נסיגת ברה'מ') הרחיבו השטח שבשליטתם.

ו. תגובת הסובייטים היתה לדברי שטופר סטנדרטית (הפסקת אש, דיאלוג, תפקיד לאומ' והשגת 'אסימטריה שלילית').

ז. נקודות ההסכמה שהתבררו במהלך השיחות היו: מתן תפקיד כלשהו למזכ"ל האומ', המשך סיוע ההומניטרי לשיקום ולפליטים, הבטחת ארה"ב לסיוע לסובייטים בשחרור שבויי המלחמה על בסיס הומניטרי (וכחלק מפתרון מקיף של נושא השבויים), תמיכה באפגניסטן בלמזית שלא תהווה איום על ברה'מ' ושכנותיה.

ח. בנושא אספקת אמל"ח לא הושגה הסכמה. ארה"ב הבהירה כי רק לאחר התחלת מומ' ניתן יהיה לדון בהפסקת סיוע.

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## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בתנאי שגם ברה"מ תחדל גם כן.

ט. הצד האמריקאי הבהיר מורת רוחו מהרחבת היקף הסיוע הצבאי לאפגניסטן. התייחסו ספציפית למשלוח 600 סקאדים אשר כמה מהם נחתו על אדמת פקיסטן. הבהרה לסובייטים דאגת ארה"ב מפני התפתחויות שיאיימו על בטחון פקיסטן.

י. קלי חזר ואישר תקפות הצהרות בוש-בוטו לגבי אפגניסטן.

איראן

א. לדברי שטופר התקיים דיון בתוצאות ביקור רפסנדז'אני במוסקבה.

ב. בתשובה לשאלות ארה"ב לגבי הבטחות שנתנו הסובייטים לאיראן בתחום הצבאי הבהר להם שבכוונתם לספק לאיראן חלקי חילוף למערכות נשק הנמצאות ברשותן. לדברי הסובייטים טרם הושג הסכם בנושא. לדברי שטופר ע"פ מידע שקיבלו מעירק וסעודיה חתמו שתי המדינות על הסכם לפיו תעניק ברה"מ לאיראן רשיון לייצור T-72 ומיג-29. לדברי שטופר מעריכים הסבירות שהסכם לעי"ל אמנם נחתם כנמוכה. הסיבות שמנה שטופר להערכה זו הן: אינטרס סובייטי לשיפור יחסים עם מדינות המפרץ וחוסר רצון להכנס לעימות עם ארה"ב שהבהירה לברה"מ שאספקת נשק תהווה הפרת התחייבות לשנות התנהגותה. שטופר הוסיף כי מתרשמים שברה"מ לוקחת עמדת ארה"ב ברצינות.

אק

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמנ, אירצ, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל, ליאור, מזתים



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

2. The second part of the report is a detailed account of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

3. The third part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

4. The fourth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

5. The fifth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

6. The sixth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

7. The seventh part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

8. The eighth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

9.

10. The tenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year, and is divided into three sections: (a) the work done during the first half of the year, (b) the work done during the second half of the year, and (c) the work done during the year as a whole.

\*\* נכנס

שומר

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חוזם: 8,9704

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/842, מנמת/220

מ-: ווש, נר: 347, תא: 110889, זח: 1200, דח: ר, סג: שמ

תח: גס: אירופה

נד: ג

1/29/89

שומר / רגיל

אל : אירופה 3, ממ'ד

דע : מצפ'א

מאת: שג' וושינגטון

ארה'ב - ברה'מ' : תהליך השלום

1. שטופר (דסקאי תהליך השלום במח' ברה'מ') סיפר לי כי לפני כשבועיים שיגרו מכתב לפוליאקוב הכולל שורת שאלות שהעלו ע'י קלי ורוס במהלך מפגש המומחים ביוני ואשר עליהן ברה'מ' טרם השיבה.

2. מקווים שתשובות ברה'מ' (עמדתה בנושא רעיון הבחירות וקידום תהליך השלום) תינתנה ע'י שווארדנאצה במהלך שיחותיו עם בייקר בשבוע השלישי של ספטמבר.

שטיין

לב

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, איר, 3,  
בנצור, מצפא, סי'בל, ממד

1. The first part of the report  
describes the general situation  
of the country and the  
state of the economy.

2. The second part of the report  
describes the state of the  
economy and the state of the  
country.

3. The third part of the report  
describes the state of the  
country and the state of the  
economy.

4. The fourth part of the report  
describes the state of the  
country and the state of the  
economy.

5. The fifth part of the report  
describes the state of the  
country and the state of the  
economy.

6. The sixth part of the report  
describes the state of the  
country and the state of the  
economy.

7. The seventh part of the report  
describes the state of the  
country and the state of the  
economy.

8. The eighth part of the report  
describes the state of the  
country and the state of the  
economy.

9. The ninth part of the report  
describes the state of the  
country and the state of the  
economy.



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

9767

תאריך: 12.08.89

נכנס \*\*

שמור

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חוזם: 8,9767

אל: המשרד

יעדים: 1705/סאנגלס/150, רומא/194, מצב/814

מ: -ני, נר: 321, תא: 110889, זח: 1400, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: @ ס: צפא

נד: 2

אחזק

שמור/מידי

אל: אורי גורדון - מצפ"א.  
דע: המנכ"ל, ציר הסברה - וושינגטון (בנפרד/76),  
משה רם - לוס אנג'לס, מירון גורדון - רומא  
מאת: הקונכ"ל, ניו יורק.

ה- POLICY STATEMENT הקתולי.

שוחחתי עם נציגי כל הארגונים היכולים לסייע במאמץ הדרוש  
AJC, ADL, JCRC, NJCRAC, SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL -

ועידת הנשיאים. אצל רובם רווחת אכן הערכה כי הנטיה בקרב  
מנסחי הטייטא אינה חיובית מבחינתנו, וכי ביקורם בארץ היה  
מאכזב. התרשמו כי חלק מבני שיחם מגלים קהות חושים כלפי  
זכויות הפלסטינאים, הבישופים מעוניינים לעדכן את עמדתם  
ובעיניהם עדכון משמעותי הכרת יתר בגורם הפלסטינאי. השפעת  
הותיקן גם כן שלילית.

יתכן ואוקונור הוציא כרגע את עצמו מהמשחק מתוך זהירות  
ביחסיו עם הקהילה היהודית בניו יורק. ה- JCRC של  
ניו יורק המקיים יחסים הדוקים עימו מתכוון לנסות ולגייס  
השפעתו המאוזנת. מכל מקום ההערכה היא כי אם לא שש לכך  
הוא ישחק תפקיד חשוב בניסוח הסופי לאור מעמדו היחודי.  
אשוחח עמו בעצמי עם התקרב המועד. עם הארכיבישוף קילר שוחח  
לבקשתי הרב ווקסמן אשר אכן התרשם כי הנטיה היא להתמקד יותר  
מבעבר בזכויות האדם של הפלסטינאים.  
ווקסמן התריע מפני השלכת הצהרה חד צדדית בתקופה כה

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

נזילה במזית וכן על יחסי יהודים - נוצרים בארה"ב.  
קילר התרשם לחיוב מפתיחת בתי הספר בשטחים ומהחלטת בג'צ  
בנושא פיצוץ בתיים. כל הארגונים בנפרד ובמשותף יפעילו את  
מירב הלחץ על מנסחי הטייטא ועל הבישופים השונים ברחבי  
ארה"ב. בעתיד הקרוב תתקיים פגישה בחסות NJCRAC  
של כל הארגונים וכן נציגים מלוס אנג'לס ובולטימור. בעקבות  
הפגישה יופצו הנחיות לקהילות השונות כדי להפגישם עם  
הבישופים באיזוריהם. ה- ADL יפעיל את סניפיו באופן דומה  
- ויכנס אנשיו ב-21.8 בהשתתפות אלי ויזל. ויזל עצמו מוכן  
לסייע לנו. הוא מקיים יחסים הדוקים עם אישים נוצרים שונים  
בעיקר אוקונור. המלצתי לארגונים להשתמש בשני קווי  
ארגומנטציה עיקריים  
- הנזק לתהליך השלום והנזק ליחסי יהודים-נוצרים שיגרמו  
עקב הצהרה חד צדדית בעיתוי כה רגיש. כ"כ נמשיך לתאם ש"פ  
בין הארגונים וכן פניות אישיות לגורמים העיקריים.

אורי סביר.

אק

חפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, הסברה,  
כנסיות

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the President has addressed the Congress since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the Union, the progress of the war, and the future of the country.

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the Navy since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the navy, and the future of the country.

3. The third part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the Treasury since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the treasury, and the future of the country.

4. The fourth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the Interior since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the interior, and the future of the country.

5. The fifth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Education, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the Education since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the education, and the future of the country.

6. The sixth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Agriculture, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the Agriculture since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the agriculture, and the future of the country.

7. The seventh part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Commerce, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the Commerce since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the commerce, and the future of the country.

8. The eighth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the Justice, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the Justice since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the justice, and the future of the country.

9. The ninth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the State, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the State since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the state, and the future of the country.

10. The tenth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the War Department to the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1863. It is a very important document, as it is the first time that the Secretary of the War Department has addressed the Secretary of the War since the beginning of the Civil War. The letter is a very long one, and it covers a wide range of topics, including the state of the war, the progress of the war, and the future of the country.





- 2 -

317-74

 $\frac{2}{2}$ 

\* האם על ארה"ב וישראל להסכים לחילופי עובייד תמורת אמריקאי אחד ?

כן - 36%

לא - 49%

\* האם על ארה"ב וישראל להסכים לחילופי עובייד תמורת החיילים הישראליים ?

כן - 18%

לא - 70%

\* איזו מדינות הן המצליחות ביותר בפיתוח טכניקות ללחימה בטרור ?

ארה"ב - 21%

ישראל - 20%

רפ"ג - 7%

צרפת - 7%

בריטניה - 5%

ADL יתנו לנתונים פרסום מירבי ואנחנו נסתמך על כך בהמשך חמערכה ההסכרתית.

אורי סביר

11.8.89



32-365

## # 1312 - APPENDIX A: COMPLETE TEXT OF QUESTIONS

5. Israel said it believed Sheik Obeid had masterminded terrorist raids on Israel and may have been responsible for the kidnapping of Colonel Higgins and other American hostages. Israel also believes Sheik Obeid's terrorist organization is holding three captured Israeli soldiers. Do you believe Israel was right to seize Sheik Obeid, or should Israel not have done this?

- 1) should
- 2) should not
- 9) don't know

8. The terrorists have offered to exchange one of the American hostages for Sheik Obeid. Israel has refused saying it also wants the release of three Israeli soldiers being held by the terrorists. Do you think Israel should release Sheik Obeid in exchange for an American hostage, or do you think Israel should hold Sheik Obeid until its own soldiers are released also?

- 1) Israel should release Obeid
- 2) Israel should hold Obeid
- 9) don't know

9. Here are three options for how the United States can handle this crisis. 1) Retaliate for the execution of Colonel Higgins with military action against Iran and the terrorists in Lebanon. 2) Continue trying to free the hostages through diplomacy. 3) Set a deadline for the release of the other hostages after which the United States would attack militarily. Which of these options would you favor most?

- 1) US Retaliate
- 2) Continue diplomacy
- 3) Set deadline for military attack
- 9) don't know



32-368

3/8

## GENERAL SUMMARY

#1512 -- NATIONAL -- 8/89

NO. 1

QUEST: Are you over 18 years of age and a resident of the United States ?

YES

NO

ALL

100

0

NO. 2

QUEST: I'd like to ask you some questions about the recent hostage crisis in Lebanon. Is this something that disturbs you a great deal, somewhat or not very much?

great deal

somewhat

not very much

not at all

don't know

ALL

63

28

0

0

0

NO. 3

QUEST: In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way that George Bush has been handling this crisis?

approve

disapprove

don't know

ALL

51

29

20

NO. 4

QUEST: Israel conducted a raid into Southern Lebanon two weeks ago and seized terrorist leader Sheikh Obeid. From what you know, was Israel justified in seizing Sheikh Obeid, or was Israel wrong in seizing Sheikh Obeid?

justified

wrong

don't know

ALL

31

34

35

NO. 5 \*\* SEE APPENDIX A FOR COMPLETE TEXT \*\*

QUEST: Israel said it believed Obeid masterminded terrorist raids on Israel and may have been responsible for kidnapping Colonel Higgins and other American hostages. Israel believes Obeid's terrorist org. is holding 3 captured Israeli soldiers. Do you believe Israel was right to seize Sheikh Obeid?

should

should not

don't know

ALL

43

38

19

32-368

4  
8

NO. 6

QUEST: Do you think this action will help the effort to free American hostages held in Lebanon, hurt that effort, or have no impact on the effort to free the hostages in Lebanon?

	help	hurt	no impact	don't know
ALL	22	28	34	16

NO. 7

QUEST: Do you think that the Israeli and American governments should negotiate with the terrorists holding hostages or should they refuse to negotiate with terrorists?

	negotiate	refuse	don't know
ALL	43	46	9

NO. 8 \*\* SEE APPENDIX A FOR COMPLETE TEXT \*\*

QUEST: The terrorists have offered to exchange 1 of the American hostages for Sheik Obeid. Israel has refused saying it also wants the release of 3 soldiers. Do you think Israel should release Sheik Obeid in exchange for an American, or should it hold Obeid until its soldiers are released also?

	release Obeid	hold Obeid	don't know
ALL	21	38	21

NO. 9 \*\* SEE APPENDIX A FOR COMPLETE TEXT \*\*

QUEST: Here are 3 options for how the U.S. can handle this crisis. 1) Retaliate for the execution of Colonel Higgins w/military action 2) Continue trying to free the hostages through diplomacy. 3) Set a deadline for the release of the other hostages, after which attack militarily?

	US Retaliate	diplomacy	Set deadline	don't know
ALL	3	46	42	6

NO. 10

QUEST: Suppose the terrorists agreed to free only the American hostages if Sheik Obeid were freed. Do you think that this should be accepted by the U.S. and Israel or not?

	accepted	not accepted	don't know
ALL	36	49	15

32-368

NO. 11

QUEST: Suppose the terrorists agreed to free only the Israeli hostages if Sheik Obeid were freed. Do you think that this should be accepted by the U.S. and Israel or not?

	accepted	not accepted	don't know
ALL	18	70	13

NO. 12

QUEST: The terrorists holding Marine Colonel Higgins released a videotape which showed he had been executed. Do you think Israel is partly to blame for the execution of Colonel Higgins, or do you think his Arab captors are solely responsible?

	part blame	not at all	don't know
ALL	27	58	15

NO. 13

QUEST: Do you think that Colonel Higgins was killed last week as the terrorists stated, or that he was killed earlier and that the terrorists were making it look like he was killed last week?

	last week	earlier	don't know
ALL	12	60	27

NO. 14

QUEST: Which country has been most successful at developing techniques to curb terrorism -- the U.S., Israel, West Germany, England or France?

	U.S.	Israel	West Germany	England	France
ALL	21	20	7	5	7
	don't know				
ALL	40				



32-368

6  
9

NO. 15

QUEST: Has this episode made you more favorable to Israel, less favorable to Israel or not affected your opinion of Israel?

	favorable	less favorable	no effect	don't know
ALL	9	29	58	4

NO. 16

QUEST: Do you think that the hostage situation will strengthen the relations between the U.S. and Israel as both victims of terrorism or will it serve to divide the two countries?

	strengthen	divide	don't know
ALL	36	41	23

NO. 17

QUEST: In what age group are you?

	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
ALL	11	23	30	18	18

don't know

ALL	0
-----	---

NO. 18

QUEST: Do you consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative or very conservative?

	very liberal	smwht liberal	moderate	smwht conserv	very conserv
ALL	6	24	27	27	11

don't know

ALL	4
-----	---

NO. 19

QUEST: Are you registered to vote? (IF YES:) Are you registered to vote as a Democrat, Republican or Independent?

	not registered	Democrat	Republican	Independent	don't know
ALL	12	37	28	16	7

32-368

NO. 20  
QUEST: What is the last year of school you completed?

	< H.S. grad	H.S. graduate	> H.S. grad	don't know
ALL	12	33	54	1

NO. 21  
QUEST: What is your religion?

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	other	none
ALL	54	21	3	11	8

ALL	don't know
ALL	3

NO. 22  
QUEST: For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total family income for 1988. Will you please tell me which of the following categories best represents your total family income?

	<\$15,000	\$15-\$25,000	\$25-\$50,000	\$50-\$75,000	\$75-\$100,000
ALL	13	20	35	10	3

ALL	\$100,000 +	don't know
ALL	3	16

NO. 23  
QUEST: What is your race?

	White	Black	Hispanic	other	don't know
ALL	83	12	4	1	1

NO. 24  
QUEST: Are you married, single, divorced or widowed?

	married	single	divorced	widowed	don't know
ALL	63	19	8	9	1

32-368

NO. 25  
QUEST: What state do you live in ? (AGGREGATED INTO REGIONS)

	Northeast	South	Midwest	West
ALL	24	31	25	20

NO. 26  
QUEST: Do you live in a rural area, urban area or suburban area?

	rural	urban	suburban	don't know
ALL	37	23	38	2

NO. 27  
QUEST: Code Sex of Respondent

	male	female
ALL	48	52

NO. 28  
QUEST: Ideology collapsed

	liberal	moderate	conservative	don't know
ALL	31	27	38	4

NO. 29  
QUEST: Income collapsed

	<\$13,000	\$13-\$25,000	\$25-\$50,000	\$50-\$75,000	\$75,000 +
ALL	13	20	35	10	6
	don't know				
ALL	16				



10/10/89

# סביב המפגש בין אישים פלסטינים לבין עוזר שר החוץ האמריקני ג'ון קלי

ב-3 אוג' 89, בשעות אחר-הצהריים, התקיים בקונסוליה האמריקנית

במערב ירושלים מפגש בין עוזר מזכיר המדינה האמריקני, ג'ון קלי, לבין קבוצת אישים פלסטינים. קדמה למפגש פעילות נמרצת בקרב הפעילים הפלסטינים הבכירים, בעיקר סביב תוכנו הצפוי וענייני נוהל הקשורים בו.

2. כשעתיים לפני המפגש התקיימה במלון "אלוטני" במזרח-ירושלים פגישת הכנה של המוזמנים. בסיומה קרא פייצל אלחוסייני הצהרה לעיתונות בה נאמר כי כל המוזמנים נענו להזמנה למפגש כי הם רואים בו חלק מהדו-שיח בין ארה"ב לבין אש"פ.

3. כצפוי, שימש המפגש לפלסטינים במה לחזרה על העמדות הידועות, ובמהלכו הוקרא תזכיר, שהוכן מראש בתיאום עם אש"פ ושהיה חתום על-ידי 13 האישים שהשתתפו במפגש וכן על-ידי ג'מיל טריפי שנמצא ב-חו"ל. התזכיר כלל: התייחסות למפגש עם קלי כחלק מהדו-שיח בין ארה"ב ל-אש"פ; שלילת כל פרשנות המתייחסת למפגש זה ודומיו כאל צינור או ייצוג חלופי ל-אש"פ; שלילת יוזמת השלום הישראלית והצגתה כ"מזימה טקטית להונאת דעת הקהל"; הצגת יוזמת השלום הפלסטינית, שאושרה בכינוס ה-מל"פ ה-19 (15 נוב 88), ככוללת את המרכיבים והמכניזמים הנחוצים להשגת הסדר כולל לסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטיני, והדגשת תמיכת הפלסטינים ברעיון הבחירות הדמוקרטיות והחופשיות, אבל רק על בסיס ההכרה בזכות "ההגדרה העצמית".

4. \*\* ממידע על מהלך המפגש עולה, כי קלי הופתע מתזכיר זה שהוקרא בפניו והדגיש, כי אין הוא רואה את המפגש כפגישה עם אנשי אש"פ. הצגת המפגש על-ידי הפלסטינים כחלק מהמגעים של ארה"ב עם אש"פ הביאה אותו אל סף התפרצות והנוכחים הרגיעו אותו בהגדירם עצמם "אנשי העם של אש"פ". קלי הדגיש, כי האמריקנים אינם מוכנים להצהיר שהם תומכים בזכות ההגדרה העצמית לפלסטינים, וניסה לשכנע את הנוכחים כי היוזמה הישראלית היא הזדמנות שיש לנצלה גם אם לא תתקבל כמות שהיא. כן ניסה לעודד את הרכבתה של משלחת מקומית לשיחות עם ישראל, העדיפה, לדבריו, על תיווך אמריקני. \*\*

(חומר רגיש. לא לציטוט/ייחוס) \*\*

5. בראיון שהעניק פייצל אלחוסייני לעיתון "אלקדס" (4 אוג'), הוא אמר כי במהלך המפגש עם קלי הסכימו האמריקנים על הצורך בסיום הכיבוש ועל כך שהבחירות ב"שטחים" הן אמצעי לפתרון כולל ולא מטרה בפני עצמה. לדבריו, אמר קלי, כי אין ארה"ב מתנגדת להקמת מדינה פלסטינית אם דבר זה יושג במשא ומתן, אך אין היא תומכת ברעיון בשלב זה.

6. \*\* אליאס פריג' התבטא בפגישה נגד תוכנית הבחירות הישראלית, בטענה שצעדי ישראל ב"שטחים" עומדים בסתירה לרעיון זה, והדגיש גם את אי-נכונותם של אישים ב"שטחים" לשאת ולתת במקום אש"פ. \*\*  
\*\* (חומר רגיש. לא לציטוט/ייחוס) \*\*

7. \*\* פעילים שהשתתפו במפגש הציגוהו כמוצלח, וציינו את העובדה שפייצל אלחוסייני היה הדובר הראשי מטעמם. כן הדגישו את הפגנת העמדה הפלסטינית האחידה מול ארה"ב שבאה לידי ביטוי בהשגת התזכיר המשותף ובדברים שנאמרו במהלך המפגש. \*\*  
\*\* (חומר רגיש. לא לציטוט/ייחוס) \*\*

יוזכר כי ניסיונותיהם של הפלסטינים לשנות את מאפייני המפגש, הרכב המשתתפים בו, מקום כינוסו וכן הניסיון להציגו בפני האמריקנים כחלק מהמגעים עם אש"פ, נדחו בתקיפות על-ידי האמריקנים.

8. עיתוני מזרח-ירושלים התייחסו בביקורתיות להגדרת המפגש על-ידי האמריקנים כ"מפגש היכרות" ("אלפג'ר" 5 אוג' ו"אלקדס" 6 אוג'). לדבריהם, עמדות הפלסטינים מוכרות, והמטרה האמיתית של המפגש היתה לקדם את עמדות ארה"ב וישראל.

9. \*\*מספר אישים מ-אזח"ע הביעו בפני אישים בכירים ב-איו"ש את מורת-רוחם מהרכבה של הנציגות המצומצמת מ-אזח"ע שנטלה חלק במפגש וכן מהרכב המשלחת בכללותה.

10. יוזכר, כי מ-אזח"ע השתתפו במפגש שניים בלבד: דר' זכריה אלאע'א - יו"ר "אגודת הרופאים", ופאיז אבו רחמה - יו"ר "אגודת עורכי-הדין". \*\*  
\*\* (חומר רגיש. לא לציטוט/ייחוס) \*\*

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

*Of B'nai B'rith*



SUITE 814 • 6505 WILSHIRE BLVD. • LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90048-4987 • (213) 655-8205

TO: *NH* Jess Hordes

FROM: Harvey B. Schechter

DATE: August 11, 1989

SUBJECT: United States Senator Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina

Roz Wyman has been active in Democratic Party work at the highest possible levels for many years. She was the Organizing Chair of the Democratic National Convention when it met in San Francisco a few years ago.

Apparently she wrote to Senator Hollings about the Middle East and the absence of his name on "the letter." Attached is a copy of his reply which Roz has been sharing.

Just keeping you posted.

Shalom,

HBS/jl

enclosure

cc: Abraham H. Foxman  
Justin J. Finger  
Kenneth Jacobson  
Charney Bromberg



ERNEST F. HOLLINGS  
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICES:

1835 ASSEMBLY STREET  
COLUMBIA, SC 29201  
803-765-5731

103 FEDERAL BUILDING  
SPARTANBURG, SC 29301  
803-585-3702

126 FEDERAL BUILDING  
GREENVILLE, SC 29603  
803-233-5366

112 CUSTOM HOUSE  
200 EAST BAY STREET  
CHARLESTON, SC 29401  
803-724-4625

## United States Senate

125 RUSSELL OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510  
202-224-6121

August 2, 1989

COMMITTEES:

RV/SN

COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND  
TRANSPORTATION: CHAIRMAN

APPROPRIATIONS

COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE AND  
THE JUDICIARY: CHAIRMAN

DEFENSE

LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES,  
EDUCATION

ENERGY AND WATER DEVELOPMENT  
INTERIOR

BUDGET

INTELLIGENCE

DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE

OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT

NATIONAL OCEAN POLICY STUDY

FF

Mrs. Rosalind Wyman  
10430 Bellagio Rod  
Los Angeles, CA 90077

Dear Roz:

The fact that my name did not appear on the letter is intentional and I would be glad to discuss it with you sometime.

I just returned from a trip to Israel and there must be give on both sides if we are to have an election and have peace. For one, I thought we should talk to the Palestinians -- Shamir said no but I see by the paper and other reports he is now talking. Secondly, the schools should be reopened -- again, Shamir refused this but now I see he has changed his mind.

I agree with Teddy Kollek -- the East Jerusalem Arabs should participate but Shamir says no. I am not for a Palestinian state but political autonomy as guaranteed by Camp David. The letter was misleading in that it made it appear that the Senate was endorsing Shamir's approach and not that of Peres and others. Now, of course, the government almost broke up and has come around more to the Labor position and the 95 have egg on their face. Moreover, I like to give an Administration a chance to conduct foreign policy. I feel we are all for Israel but time is running out and I hope we can get some movement.

It's always good hearing from you.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,



Ernest F. Hollings

EFH/kk



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

823 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

277/6

MEMORANDUM

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

To: ADL Regional Offices AHFL

From: Kenneth Jacobson Abraham H. Foxman

Date: August 1, 1989

Subject: A Comparison of U.S. Policy Statements on the Middle East

There has been much speculation about the direction of the Bush Administration's Middle East policy. While it is much too early to reach any definitive conclusions, there are three landmarks to look at -- George Bush's 1988 position paper on the Middle East, Dan Quayle's ADL speech in February, and James Baker's AIPAC speech in May. Bluma Zuckerbrot, Assistant Director of the Middle Eastern Affairs Department, has prepared the attached analysis of the three statements which points to changes -- some subtle, some explicit -- in approach and emphasis.

KJ/nmh  
Attachment

cc: Middle Eastern Affairs Committee  
International Affairs Committee

## A Comparison of U.S. Policy Statements on the Middle East

Baker's recent address before AIPAC differed from previous Republican policy statements (Republican Platform, George Bush's Position Paper on the Middle East and Senator Quayle's ADL speech) in substance as well as in tone. Most noticeable were the muted references to the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship, Israel's security requirements, U.S. opposition to a Palestinian state and the PLO's inconsistent behavior since Geneva.

### Israel's Security

According to the earlier policy statements, the U.S.-Israel alliance is the cornerstone of American policy in the Middle East. Quayle reaffirmed in no uncertain terms the continuing centrality of Israel to U.S. Middle East policy:

"The first principle of U.S. Middle East policy remains strong and unwavering support for Israel's security...we are committed, and will always remain committed to the security of Israel...And we will always make clear to the world, through moral and material support, that we are a permanent and unshakable ally of the State of Israel."

The connection between Israel's security and U.S. interests was articulated by George Bush in his 1988 Position Paper on the Middle East:

"America's strategic interests are clear; they are...Israel must remain free, democratic, militarily secure, and economically strong...We will continue to maintain Israel's qualitative advantage over any adversary or coalition of adversaries."

Quayle also reaffirmed the U.S. interest in a strong Israel:

"We are committed to helping Israel protect itself against any combination of aggressors...For all these reasons -- our moral commitments, our democratic convictions, and our strategic interests -- we provide more security assistance to Israel than to any other nation. I believe that this assistance is one of the best investments we can make -- an investment not only in Israel's security, but in our own."

Bush addressed the centrality of Israel's security to the search for peace in the region:

"The United States believes that promoting the security of Israel and the pro-Western Arab states offers the best path to promoting peace and stability in the Middle East. Few foreign policy objectives are more central given the region's chronic instability, strategic location, and central role in the world's long-term supply of energy..."

Baker, however, was not as forthcoming about the U.S. commitment to Israel's security, nor did he explicitly state the centrality of that security to any Middle East peace settlement.

Regarding U.S. support for Israel, Baker noted that:

Mediterranean. By establishing appropriate policies and institutions, the goal of strategic cooperation with Israel has been achieved. It will be sustained through continued elements of strategic-use stockpiles (including combat equipment, spare parts, and ammunition), intelligence sharing and contingency planning. These measures will serve to strengthen American military power and influence in the Eastern Mediterranean."

Quayle also highlighted the strategic relationship:

"America and Israel are also linked by common strategic interests. The fact is that we have no more reliable friend in the world than Israel. And the scope of our strategic cooperation is vast...And we will continue to strengthen and deepen our strategic alliance with Israel."

Baker's reference to the strategic relationship, however, was not as forceful nor as detailed:

"...but let me tell you that I was proud to work in that Administration, an Administration that recognized the importance of United States-Israeli strategic cooperation and an Administration that I think gave fiber and sinew to our strategic partnership...President Bush believes -- and I believe that on these issues there can only be one policy and that is a policy of continuity. American support for Israel is the foundation of our approach to the problems -- the very, very difficult problems -- of the Middle East."

#### Israel as a Political Ally

Previous policy statements have recognized the role of Israel as a political ally in the international arena as well. The 1988 Republican Platform on the Middle East acknowledged Israel's pro-U.S. voting record in the United Nations:

"We recognize that Israel votes with the United States at the United Nations more frequently than any other nation."

The platform also reiterated the American pledge to withhold financial support and to consider withdrawal from UN agencies and events in which Israel is denied the right to participate:

"The Reagan-Bush Administration supported legislation mandating that if the UN and its agencies were to deny Israel's right to participate, the United States would withhold financial support and withdraw from those bodies until their action was rectified."

Quayle extended this political support to international criticism of Israel as well:

"And we will continue to oppose the one-sided condemnations of Israel's actions that emerge all too often from the UN. In fact, in its very first week on the job, the Bush Administration made it clear that we would veto a proposed



exchange of territory for peace...The Palestinians must participate in the determination of their own future, as well."

Baker's principles, however, were prioritized differently:

"First, the U.S. believes that the objective of the peace process is a comprehensive settlement achieved through negotiations based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. In our view, these negotiations must involve territory for peace, security and recognition for Israel and all of the states of the region, and Palestinian political rights. Second, for negotiations to succeed they must allow the parties to deal directly with each other, face-to-face...Third,...some transitional period is needed, associated in time and sequence with negotiations on final status...Fourth, in advance of direct negotiations, neither the United Nations nor any other party, inside or outside, can or will dictate an outcome."

#### Changes in Language Regarding Opposition to a Palestinian State

The Republican Platform was most forceful in expressing American opposition to a Palestinian state:

"We oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state; its establishment is inimical to the security interests of Israel, Jordan and the U.S. We will not support the creation of any Palestinian entity that could place Israel's security in jeopardy."

Quayle reiterated the opposition:

"We continue to believe, however, that an independent Palestinian state will not be a source of stability or a contribution to a just and lasting peace."

Baker's articulation of the American opposition, however, was framed quite differently. First, there was no mention of the dangers inherent in such a state. Second, the statement of opposition was tied to the U.S. refusal to dictate an outcome in advance of negotiations rather than a specific opposition to the concept in and of itself:

"...in advance of direct negotiations, neither the United States nor any other party, inside or outside, can or will dictate an outcome. That is why the United States does not support annexation or permanent Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza, nor do we support the creation of an independent Palestinian state."

#### U.S. Policy and the PLO

According to the Republican Platform and subsequently reiterated by Bush:

"The PLO should have no role in the peace process unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, renounces

process."

According to Quayle:

"Realistically, we believe that Jordan must play a part in any peace settlement."

Baker's reference to Jordan was more muted:

"That is, self-government for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza in a manner acceptable to Palestinians, Israel and Jordan."

#### Status of Jerusalem

According to the platform and Bush:

"We believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city with free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths."

Baker made no corresponding statement.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

823 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

10 AUG 1989

MEMORANDUM

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

**To:** ADL Regional Offices AHFL  
**From:** Kenneth Jacobson Abraham H. Foxman  
**Date:** August 1, 1989  
**Subject:** A Comparison of U.S. Policy Statements on the Middle East

There has been much speculation about the direction of the Bush Administration's Middle East policy. While it is much too early to reach any definitive conclusions, there are three landmarks to look at -- George Bush's 1988 position paper on the Middle East, Dan Quayle's ADL speech in February, and James Baker's AIPAC speech in May. Bluma Zuckerbrot, Assistant Director of the Middle Eastern Affairs Department, has prepared the attached analysis of the three statements which points to changes -- some subtle, some explicit -- in approach and emphasis.

KJ/nmh  
Attachment

cc: Middle Eastern Affairs Committee  
International Affairs Committee



## A Comparison of U.S. Policy Statements on the Middle East

Baker's recent address before AIPAC differed from previous Republican policy statements (Republican Platform, George Bush's Position Paper on the Middle East and Senator Quayle's ADL speech) in substance as well as in tone. Most noticeable were the muted references to the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship, Israel's security requirements, U.S. opposition to a Palestinian state and the PLO's inconsistent behavior since Geneva.

### Israel's Security

According to the earlier policy statements, the U.S.-Israel alliance is the cornerstone of American policy in the Middle East. Quayle reaffirmed in no uncertain terms the continuing centrality of Israel to U.S. Middle East policy:

"The first principle of U.S. Middle East policy remains strong and unwavering support for Israel's security...we are committed, and will always remain committed to the security of Israel...And we will always make clear to the world, through moral and material support, that we are a permanent and unshakable ally of the State of Israel."

The connection between Israel's security and U.S. interests was articulated by George Bush in his 1988 Position Paper on the Middle East:

"America's strategic interests are clear; they are...Israel must remain free, democratic, militarily secure, and economically strong...We will continue to maintain Israel's qualitative advantage over any adversary or coalition of adversaries."

Quayle also reaffirmed the U.S. interest in a strong Israel:

"We are committed to helping Israel protect itself against any combination of aggressors...For all these reasons -- our moral commitments, our democratic convictions, and our strategic interests -- we provide more security assistance to Israel than to any other nation. I believe that this assistance is one of the best investments we can make -- an investment not only in Israel's security, but in our own."

Bush addressed the centrality of Israel's security to the search for peace in the region:

"The United States believes that promoting the security of Israel and the pro-Western Arab states offers the best path to promoting peace and stability in the Middle East. Few foreign policy objectives are more central given the region's chronic instability, strategic location, and central role in the world's long-term supply of energy..."

Baker, however, was not as forthcoming about the U.S. commitment to Israel's security, nor did he explicitly state the centrality of that security to any Middle East peace settlement.

Regarding U.S. support for Israel, Baker noted that:

"American support for Israel is the foundation of our approach to the problems -- the very, very difficult problems -- of the Middle East."

Regarding the peace process, he commented that:

"...we had called for some Israeli ideas on how to restart the peace process. We did so based on our conviction that a key condition for progress was a productive United States-Israeli partnership."

In fact, Baker's references to the need for Israel's security were made in the context of the needs of the other parties:

"First, the U.S. believes that the objective of the peace process is a comprehensive settlement achieved through negotiations based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. In our view, these negotiations must involve territory for peace, security and recognition for Israel and all of the states of the region, and Palestinian political rights."

And:

"...self-government for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza in a manner acceptable to Palestinians, Israel and Jordan. Such a formula provides ample scope for Palestinians to achieve their full political rights. It also provides ample protection for Israel's security as well."

The third and fourth references to Israel's security were ones which considered that security as a specifically Israeli interest.

"Israeli interests in the West Bank and Gaza -- security and otherwise -- can be accommodated in a settlement based on Resolution 242."

And:

"And long ago the American people decided to walk with Israel in her quest for peace and in her quest for security."

#### Israel as a Strategic Ally

Previous policy statements, particularly Bush's position paper, explained in detail the current strength and potential for future growth of the strategic partnership:

"The evolution of Israel's political status with the United States -- from that of a threatened dependent in the 1970s to that of an ally and regional partner of the United States in the 1980s -- is a crucial transformation...Israel shares our security burdens as well. Israel is a strategic ally to the United States. By virtue of its military capability and the values and political objectives it shares with the United States, Israel buttresses the alliance in its most vulnerable area -- the southern region of NATO and the Eastern

Mediterranean. By establishing appropriate policies and institutions, the goal of strategic cooperation with Israel has been achieved. It will be sustained through continued elements of strategic-use stockpiles (including combat equipment, spare parts, and ammunition), intelligence sharing and contingency planning. These measures will serve to strengthen American military power and influence in the Eastern Mediterranean."

Quayle also highlighted the strategic relationship:

"America and Israel are also linked by common strategic interests. The fact is that we have no more reliable friend in the world than Israel. And the scope of our strategic cooperation is vast...And we will continue to strengthen and deepen our strategic alliance with Israel."

\* Baker's reference to the strategic relationship, however, was not as forceful nor as detailed:

"...but let me tell you that I was proud to work in that Administration, an Administration that recognized the importance of United States-Israeli strategic cooperation and an Administration that I think gave fiber and sinew to our strategic partnership...President Bush believes -- and I believe that on these issues there can only be one policy and that is a policy of continuity. American support for Israel is the foundation of our approach to the problems -- the very, very difficult problems -- of the Middle East."

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The platform also reiterated the American pledge to withhold financial support and to consider withdrawal from UN agencies and events in which Israel is denied the right to participate:

"The Reagan-Bush Administration supported legislation mandating that if the UN and its agencies were to deny Israel's right to participate, the United States would withhold financial support and withdraw from those bodies until their action was rectified."

Quayle extended this political support to international criticism of Israel as well:

"And we will continue to oppose the one-sided condemnations of Israel's actions that emerge all too often from the UN. In fact, in its very first week on the job, the Bush Administration made it clear that we would veto a proposed



Security Council Presidential statement harshly critical of Israel...There's a lesson to be learned here -- a lesson about the U.S. commitment to the truth and justice in the Middle East..."

Baker, however, made no explicit reference to Israel as a political ally of the United States nor did he reiterate the previous pledges of U.S. support for Israel in the UN.

Quayle offered a Middle Eastern context for Israel's democratic nature:

"Israel is a vibrant democracy in a part of the world where democratic institutions have not, as yet, taken hold. This situation presents Israel's democracy with daily challenges of a kind that other democracies, surrounded by peaceful neighbors, have rarely had to face. That Israel's democracy continues to flourish under these conditions is both a tribute to the courage and determination of the Israeli people, and a bond firmly linking them to the American people."

Baker, however, made only a passing reference to Israel's democratic character and did not provide any regional context for it:

"Israel, of course, is a vigorous democracy."

#### The Peace Process

##### Model for Middle East Peace

According to George Bush, the Camp David Accords represent a model for achieving Middle East peace:

"The process of establishing an enduring peace in the region has evolved over many past presidencies. The Camp David Accords established a model for the peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli dispute through direct negotiations with American assistance."

Neither Quayle nor Baker referred to Camp David as a model to be emulated.

##### Prioritization of Principles for Peace

Both Quayle and Baker outlined the general principles of U.S. Middle East policy regarding the peace process. According to Quayle:

"The first principle of U.S. Middle East policy remains strong and unwavering support for Israel's security...A second enduring principle underlying U.S. Middle East policy is the search for an Arab-Israeli peace based on direct negotiations between the parties...Anyone who tries to shift the primary peace-making responsibility to the United States, who thinks that we can somehow be persuaded into pressuring Israel to accept a pre-cooked "solution," is only kidding himself. A third enduring principle of our Middle East policy is that direct negotiations must be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which include the

exchange of territory for peace...The Palestinians must participate in the determination of their own future, as well."

Baker's principles, however, were prioritized differently:

"First, the U.S. believes that the objective of the peace process is a comprehensive settlement achieved through negotiations based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. In our view, these negotiations must involve territory for peace, security and recognition for Israel and all of the states of the region, and Palestinian political rights. Second, for negotiations to succeed they must allow the parties to deal directly with each other, face-to-face...Third,...some transitional period is needed, associated in time and sequence with negotiations on final status...Fourth, in advance of direct negotiations, neither the United Nations nor any other party, inside or outside, can or will dictate an outcome."

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Quayle reiterated the opposition:

"We continue to believe, however, that an independent Palestinian state will not be a source of stability or a contribution to a just and lasting peace."

Baker's articulation of the American opposition, however, was framed quite differently. First, there was no mention of the dangers inherent in such a state. Second, the statement of opposition was tied to the U.S. refusal to dictate an outcome in advance of negotiations rather than a specific opposition to the concept in and of itself:

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#### U.S. Policy and the PLO

According to the Republican Platform and subsequently reiterated by Bush:

"The PLO should have no role in the peace process unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, renounces



terrorism, and removes language from its charter demanding Israel's destruction."

Although both Quayle and Baker called on the PLO to revoke the charter, neither considered the charter an obstacle to the U.S.-PLO dialogue.

Regarding the PLO's commitment to peace, Quayle was significantly more forthcoming in his scrutiny of the PLO:

"But there are many reasons for looking long and hard before drawing any firm conclusions about Mr. Arafat's reversal. We need more than press conference statements and semantics. We need to see real evidence of concrete actions by the PLO -- actions for peace, and against terrorism -- before changing our fundamental attitude toward the PLO...the nature of the PLO's commitment to peace needs to be clarified...simple prudence obliges us to monitor Mr. Arafat and his organization very carefully, and to probe his words very closely, before arriving at a final determination."

Quayle also listed the specific contradictions in PLO activity: the continued rejectionism and terrorism of Palestinian groups under the PLO umbrella; contradictory statements on the part of senior Fatah officials and the lack of censure for such actions; Arafat's threat to Palestinians who seek accommodation with Israel; the continued validity of the charter.

Baker's discussion of the PLO, however, was not as critical nor did he address the specific inconsistencies in the PLO's behavior since Geneva regarding terrorism:

"Evolving Palestinian attitudes are another. Much more needs to be done -- to be demonstrated -- that such change is real. But I don't think that change can be ignored even now...for Palestinians, now is the time to speak with one voice for peace. Renounce the policy of phases in all languages, not just those addressed to the West. Practice constructive diplomacy, not attempts to distort international organizations, such as the World Health Organization. Amend the covenant. Translate the dialogue of violence in the intifada into a dialogue of politics and diplomacy. Violence will not work. Reach out to Israelis and convince them of your peaceful intentions. You have the most to gain from doing so, and no one else can or will do it for you."

Quayle made it clear as well that U.S. policy has not changed in light of the U.S. decision to open a dialogue with the PLO:

"Those who believe that American policy is about to undergo a basic shift merely because we have begun to talk with the PLO are completely mistaken."

Baker made no corresponding statement.

#### Role of Jordan

According to Bush:

"Jordan is an indispensable element of the Middle East peace



process."

According to Quayle:

"Realistically, we believe that Jordan must play a part in any peace settlement."

Baker's reference to Jordan was more muted:

"That is, self-government for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza in a manner acceptable to Palestinians, Israel and Jordan."

#### Status of Jerusalem

According to the platform and Bush:

"We believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city with free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths."

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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תאריך 11.08.89

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אל: המשרד

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תח: א, גס: צפא

נד: א

בלמס/מיד

אל: מצפ"א

הסברה

מע"ת

דע: וושינגטון - הסברה.

מאת: הקונס"ל, בוסטון.

סקר דעת קהל ארצי בפגישת בני הערובה ע"י  
ה - BOSTON GLOBE ותחנת הטלביזיה המקומי

1. להלן תוצאות הסקר שנערך בקרב מדגם ארצי של 1000  
בוחרים בימים 6-8/8 המתפרסמות היום ביומון.

2. 57 סבורים שבוש לא היה תקיף דיו.

27 תקיף דיו.

2 תקיף מיד.

3. 47 נתנו לבוש ציון נמוך או מתחת לממוצע על לחימה

בטרור.

25 ציון חיובי.

4. ציון לאדמיניסטרציה ביחס למדיניות חוץ:

39 - חיובי (לפני 3 שבועות - 57)

31 שלילי (21-)

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

5. בתשובה לשאלה ההיה זה נכון מצד ישראל לחטוף את  
עובייד ענו המצביעים ביחס של 1:2 כי היה זה מוטעה  
מצד ישראל לחטוף את השניים.

נשים התנגדו לפעולת ישראל יותר מגברים. 14 מהן הצדיקו  
ישראל ו-50 התנגדו לה.  
בין הגברים הצדיקו הפעולה 35 לעומת 44.

שניים מתוך שלושה נשאלים אמרו כי פעולת ממשלת ישראל  
הינה גרועה עבור בני הערובה האמריקאית.

6. בהקשר זה דווח אמש בהרחבה בתקשורת המקומית על  
פגישת הקרדינל של בוסטון עם הנשיא בעתו של משבר  
בני הערובה וכי קו"מה תפילה לשלום.

יעקב לוי.

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת, הסברה, ר/מרכז,  
ממד

# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך: 11.08.89

9156

שומר

נכנס

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חוזם: 8,9156

אל: המשרד

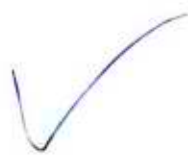
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נד: @

א/ר/ק



שומר/מיד

אל: ברנע, ברן, ג'נבה

מאת: שג' וזשינגטון

אמנות ג'נבה - אש'פ'

בהמשך ל-375 מ-9.8

1. בעקבות שיחת סימור רייך עם השגריר (במהלכה דווח לו על מידע שקיבלו מנציגם בשווייץ ולפיו שמעו מאנשינו הסתייגות ביחס לרעיון ביקור) שבנו ואישרנו המלצתנו לביקורו בשווייץ לפגישה עם שה'ח.

2. הבוקר התקשר עוזרו של סימור כדי למסור שהחליט סופית לקיים הביקור. לשם כך מעוניין בסיועו של אייב סופר.

3. נקווה שסופר (שהסתייג מהרעיון מטעמי עיתוי) יסייע בארגון המפגש.

שטיין. =

פא

תפ: שהו, סשה, מנכל, ממנכל, ברנע, ארבל, סייבל, משפט, בנצור, מצפא



08.08.81: תאריך \*

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\*מ-: וווש, נר: 223, תא: 070889, חז: 2000, מ: סג: סב

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\*סודי ביותר/מדי

\*אל: לשכת שה' ח

\* סמנכל צפ' א'

\*דע: לשכת רוה' מ

\* לשכת שהב' ט'

\*מאת: השגריר וועינגטון.

\*מתוך שיחה בארוחת צהריים עם השגריר בסבי, האחראי

\*לעניני מלחמה בטירור במחמ"ד.

\*השיחה נקבעה לפני פרשת עובייד. בסבי מוכר לי עוד בימי

\*שירותי במקסיקו והוא ידיד ישראל.

1\* המאמץ העיקרי של ארה"ב לשיחרור בני הערובה האמריקאים

\*מתרכז כלפי טהור ודמסק. הערכתם היא כי לכל אחת מהמדינות

\*אינטרסים בדורים להמנע מעימותים עם ארה"ב על רקע המצוקה

\*הכלכלית והאסטרטגית של שתיקה. לגבי סוריה במיוחד סבורים

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\*כפני הסורים אתגר אסטרטגי ופוליטי כבד וכי מעיניה של

\*מסורה לא להגיש לעימות עם ארבה' ב.

2\*. הם תוהים לגבי מידת יכולתו של רפסאנג'אני להשפיע

\*על חיצוניותם בלבד וקיימים סימני שאלה רבים לגבי

\*המאמר הפנימי רינו לריו הקי 114 ים בממ יוטל האירוי

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# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

\* דף 2 \* מתוך 2  
\* עותק 4 \* מתוך 28 \*

\* 3. מדבריו היה ברור כי הם בדעה שההבנה שהושגה בין  
\* ישראל וארה"ב לפיה אין לארה"ב התנגדות להמשך פעילותה  
\* של ישראל להביא לשיחרור בני הערובה כמוצע ע"י רבין  
\* ומכך שהמשמעות המעשית היא שהם משאירים הטיפול בזירה  
\* הלבנונית בידנו.

\* 4. חזר והביע הערכתם כי שיחות הטלפון בין שה"ח ובייקר  
\* סייעו רבות לטיהור האווירה בין שתי המדינות וכי בבוא  
\* העת יחזרו, כמוצע ע"י שר החוץ, לדון בהטחה ההדדית שלא  
\* נפתיע אחד את השני. כמו כן הביע הערכתם על שהבאנו  
\* לידיעתם את נוסח האיגרת הסובייטית שהוגשה לנו כאן.

\* 5. הסכים עימי שבפנינו תקופה ממושכת של משא ומתן קשה  
\* ומייגע אשר בו יריבנו ואויבנו ינסו לנצל בצורה מירבית  
\* אמצעי תקשורת כדי לזרוע חשד ולתקוע תריז בין ישראל  
\* וארה"ב. כראיה שזוהי גם הבנתם הצביע על כך שסגן דובר  
\* הבית הלבן הביע אתמול שאין בכוונתה של ארה"ב להגיב  
\* על כל הודעה אשר תבוא מביירות.

\* 6. במשך השיחה ביקש לשמוע שיקולינו המוקדמים בטרם  
\* נקטנו בפעולה להבאת עובייד ארצה ובמיוחד כיצד ראינו  
\* לנגד עינינו השלכות פעולה זו כלפי סוריה ואירן.

\* השבתי לפי מיטב הבנתי והידוע לי.

\* ארד

\* לב

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





ACTION USIS INFO CG DPO POL ADD 5

420203J0087288V9889

PP 007HJU

DE 0010/01 2182145

ZNR 00000

P 062143Z AUG 89

FM USINFO WASHDC

TO RUQMBR/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY

ALL NEAR EAST POSTS PRIORITY

ALL SOUTH ASIA POSTS PRIORITY

BT

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04

MF-U11 08/06/89 (1,850)

(FOLLOWING IS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE BY MAUREEN DOWD APPEARED ON PAGE ONE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES ON AUGUST 5 UNDER THE HEAD, "BUSH'S STYLE IN MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: CAST THE WIDEST NET":

(BEGIN TEXT)

LATE MONDAY AFTERNOON, WITH ONE AMERICAN HOSTAGE REPORTED DEAD AND ANOTHER FACING DEATH, PRESIDENT BUSH SAT AT A SMALL WOODEN DESK WITH A TYPEWRITER IN THE STUDY TUCKED BEHIND THE OVAL OFFICE. HE HAD RUSHED BACK FROM CHICAGO, CANCELLING STOPS IN LAS VEGAS AND OKLAHOMA CITY AND HAVING OFF SUGGESTIONS FROM SOME ADVISERS THAT THE ACTION MIGHT GIVE THE LEBANESE EXTREMISTS THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY COULD MANIPULATE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT.

NOW, DEALING WITH ONE OF THE FIRST GRAVE FOREIGN POLICY CRISES OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, BUSH WAS SITTING WATCHING GRUESOME TELEVISION PICTURES PURPORTING TO SHOW THE HANGING OF LT. COL. WILLIAM R. HIGGINS.

THE WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF, JOHN A. SUNUNU, WHOSE FATHER IS LEBANESE, SAT ON THE BLUE COUCH OPPOSITE THE PRESIDENT, MUSING ABOUT THE CHAOTIC MIX OF SHOTS AND CLANS IN THE RAVAGED NATION AND THE DIVISIONS BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS, THE GREEK AND BYZANTINE ORTHODOX FACTIONS, THE MARONITE CHRISTIANS AND THE ARMENIAN, GREEK, AND ROMAN CATHOLICS.

"OH MY GOSH," THE PRESIDENT SUDDENLY EXCLAIMED. "DON'T FORGET TO PUT THE POPE ON THE LIST OF PEOPLE TO CALL."

POPE JOHN PAUL II IS NOT A CENTRAL ACTOR IN THE POLITICS OF LEBANON. BUT THE PRESIDENT'S UNORTHODOX AND AGGRESSIVE PLAN ENTAILED TOSSING OUT A COLLECTION OF DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES -- SOME DIRECT AND SOME PERIPHERAL, SOME FRIENDLY AND SOME COLDLY THREATENING, SOME SPONTANEOUS AND OTHERS PAINSTAKINGLY ORCHESTRATED.

WITH THE HOSTAGES' FATE STILL GRIMLY UNCERTAIN, BUSH'S DIRECTION IN A TENSE WEEK FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION PROVIDED A PORTRAIT OF A LEADERSHIP STYLE ROOTED IN PERSONAL CONTACTS, COLLECTIVITY, AND THE FRENETIC PURSUIT OF A VARIETY OF

FOR BUSH, WHO HAD BEEN CRITICIZED DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN FOR HAVING A RESUME THAT WAS LONG ON



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REFERENCE BUT SHORT ON IMPACT. THE WEEK PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WHAT HE HAD LEARNED OVER THE YEARS COULD HELP HIM OUTFLANK THE EXTREMIST FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT HAD TOPPLED JIMMY CARTER AND ENSLAVED RONALD REAGAN.

HAVING EXPLORED THE LIMITS OF AMERICAN POWER AGAINST TERRORISM AS VICE PRESIDENT AND HEAD OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION TASK FORCE ON COMBATING TERRORISM, ATOMS SAID, BUSH DECIDED WHEN THE CRISIS BEGAN THAT RESCUE ATTEMPTS IN LEBANON COULD BE RULED OUT AND THAT IRAN COULD NOT BE INFLUENCED BY A MIXTURE OF INTENSIVE DIPLOMACY AND THE THREAT OF MILITARY ATTACK.

THE PRESIDENT WANTED TO TRY APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM THAT HAD NOT BEEN TESTED BY HIS PREDECESSORS. AND MANY ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS LAST WEEK HAD SEVERAL INTENTIONS, ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS NOW SAY. THE CALL TO THE POPE, FOR INSTANCE, WAS AN OBVIOUSLY HUMANITARIAN ONE, REQUESTING HIS HELP IN GETTING HIGGINS'S BODY RETURNED.

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IT WAS ALSO A SIGNAL OF RESPECT FOR RELIGION, SENT TO A REGION WHERE RELIGION IS A DOMINANT FORCE. IT WAS A WAY TO INCREASE WORLD CONCERN ABOUT THE FATE OF THE HOSTAGES AND GET ANOTHER IMPORTANT FIGURE INVOLVED. AND IT WAS AN EFFORT TO SECURE HIGGINS'S BODY TO RESOLVE SOME OF THE CONFUSION -- OVER IF, AND WHEN, AND WHERE, AND BY WHOM, HE WAS KILLED.

THE CONCENTRATED PRESSURE ON IRAN APPEARS TO HAVE WORKED FOR THE TIME BEING, ALTHOUGH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT IS NOT CERTAIN EXACTLY WHAT COMBINATION OF INITIATIVES LED TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE DEATH THREAT AGAINST THE SECOND HOSTAGE, JOSEPH JAMES CICIPPIO.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT HELD MEETINGS LAST WEEK WITH GROUPS THAT INCLUDED JAMES A. BAKER III, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, AND MARLIN FITZWATER, THE PRESS SECRETARY, THE THREE MEN HAD A SENSE OF PICKING UP THE THREADS FROM MEETINGS THEY HAD ATTENDED AGAIN AND AGAIN DURING THE REAGAN YEARS. BUSH WAS VICE PRESIDENT; BAKER WAS CHIEF OF STAFF IN REAGAN'S FIRST TERM; FITZWATER WAS A WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN.

SOME ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS WORRIED THAT THE MOOD OF THE WHITE HOUSE WAS TOO PANICKY ON MONDAY AFTERNOON AND FEARED THE EFFECT ON AMERICAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS OF THE INITIAL BLAST OF COMMENTS FROM THE ADMINISTRATION AND CAPITOL HILL SCORING ISRAEL FOR KIDNAPPING A LEVANTINE SUNITE MUSLIM CLERICAL FIGURE, SHEIKH ABDUL KAHIM OUBID, WITHOUT FIRST NOTIFYING THE UNITED STATES. THE KIDNAPPING APPEARS TO HAVE PRECIPITATED THE LATEST THREATS AGAINST THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES.

BUT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISERS SOUGHT TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT CONSUMED WITH THE HOSTAGE CRISIS, OFFICIALS SAY.

TO REFLECT "A LESS WHIRLWIND ATMOSPHERE," AS ONE AIDE PUT IT, THE PRESIDENT HELD THE MONDAY EVENING MEETING ABOUT THE HOSTAGES IN THE CABINET ROOM, RATHER THAN THE BASEMENT SITUATION ROOM, WHERE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISERS AND MILITARY CHIEFS WOULD ORDINARILY MEET. AND HE INVITED A SMALL GROUP OF ADVISERS, INCLUDING ATTORNEY GENERAL BICK THORNBURGH, SO THAT IT WOULD NOT BE ONLY THE NATIONAL SECURITY OFFICIALS MAKING THE DECISIONS.

BUSH REQUESTED VARIOUS SCENARIOS AND MORE BACKUP INFORMATION ON THE CHANCES THAT CIVILIANS WOULD BE HURT IF THE UNITED STATES USED MILITARY FORCE IN LEBANON.

BUSH THEN MET WITH A BIPARTISAN GROUP OF SENATING MEMBERS OF SENATE AND HOUSE COMMITTEES ON NATIONAL SECURITY, INTELLIGENCE, AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

HE WENT AROUND THE TABLE ASKING IF ANYONE HAD ANY BRIGHT SUGGESTIONS, BUT THERE WASN'T MUCH OFFERED BECAUSE WE KNOW WE HAD VERY LITTLE NIGGLE ROOM," RECALLED SEN. CLAUDIA PELL, THE RHODE ISLAND DEMOCRAT WHO IS CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

BUSH'S INCLUSION OF CONGRESS -- WHICH RONALD REAGAN KEPT AT A DISTANCE WHEN HE WENT THROUGH HIS HOSTAGE CRISIS -- AND TO "GOOD WILL AND A UNIFIED FRONT," SAID DAVID DOREN, THE OKLAHOMA DEMOCRAT WHO HEADS THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE.

BEFORE THE MEETING BROKE UP THAT NIGHT, DOREN SAID, THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS ASKED THE PRESIDENT WHAT THEY



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SHOULD EMPHASIZE IN THEIR PUBLIC REMARKS SO THAT THEY COULD BEST REINFORCE HIS MESSAGE AND SPEAK WITH ONE NATIONAL VOICE.

"WE HAD THE SENSE THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION SPOKE LOUDLY WITH RHETORIC BUT RARELY USED THE STICK," HORN SAID. "THE BUSH APPROACH SEEMED STRONG BUT STEADY. WITHOUT WAVING A BIG STICK, HE QUIETLY SAID THEY WOULD NOT RULE OUT MILITARY OPTIONS. IT GAVE IT MORE CREDIBILITY."

THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, BRENT SCOWCROFT, AND SUMUNG WORKED LATE INTO MONDAY NIGHT IN SUMUNG'S OFFICE, DRAFTING A STATEMENT THAT WOULD TELL THE ARAB WORLD THAT BUSH WAS PREPARED TO BE EVENHANDED IN HIS POLICY TOWARD THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS. THE TWO ADVISERS CALLED THE PRESIDENT IN THE RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS TO GO OVER EVERY PHRASE AND EVERY NUANCE, UNTIL THE THREE MEN WERE FINALLY SATISFIED AFTER 9 P.M., WITH A STATEMENT THAT CALLED ON "ALL PARTIES WHO HOLD HOSTAGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO RELEASE THEM FORTHWITH."

BAKER WAS STILL ON HIS WAY HOME FROM A PARIS CONFERENCE, AND SOME STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WERE

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SURPRISED AND DISAPPROVING OF THE STATEMENT THAT THE WHITE HOUSE ISSUED THAT NIGHT.

ALTHOUGH AIDES SAY BUSH WAS HAPPY WITH THE EFFECT, WHICH HE FELT HELPED SAVE CICCIPOLO'S LIFE BY SIGNALING EVENHEDDEDNESS, SOME OFFICIALS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT FELT THAT THE STATEMENT EQUATED ISRAEL'S ABDUCTION OF ORCID AND THE LEBANESE SHIITES' ABDUCTION OF AMERICANS -- A PARALLELISM TO BE AVOIDED.

BUT EVEN THOUGH THEY WORRIED A BIT ABOUT THE POSSIBLE NEGATIVE IMPACT ON AMERICAN JEWS AND OTHER SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL, BUSH'S ADVISERS FELT THAT IT WAS A CRITICAL SIGNAL, IF THE UNITED STATES WENT TO THE LISTEN THE COOPERATION OF SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA, AND EGYPT IN PREVENTING DEATHS OF HOSTAGES.

ON TUESDAY, AS THE 6TH FLEET STEAMED TOWARD THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN TO BE IN POSITION FOR STRIKES AGAINST LEBANON AND IRAN, THE PRESIDENT ESTABLISHED A TWO-TRACK APPROACH THAT CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE WEEK, OFFICIALS SAY. THE PRESIDENT MADE A DETERMINATION QUICKLY ABOUT THE RIGHT MIX OF POTENTIAL THREAT AND PERSUASION THAT WOULD BE NEEDED," A KANSAS OFFICIAL SAID.

AT THE SAME TIME, BUSH ENGAGED IN AN INTENSE ROUND OF DIPLOMATIC PHONE CALLS THAT DREW HIM, AS ONE ADVISER PUT IT, "BACK AND FORTH, CLOSER AND CLOSER" TO REACHING THE IRANIAN SPONSORS OF THE TERRORISTS.

HE TALKED TO WESTERN ALLIES LIKE PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER OF GREAT BRITAIN AND CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT OF WEST GERMANY, WHO HAD DEALT WITH HOSTAGE CRISES THEMSELVES, AND TO ARAB LEADERS WHO MIGHT BE ABLE TO INTERVENE. HE MADE CONTACT WITH THE LEADERS DIRECTLY, RATHER THAN STARTING WITH A CABLE FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO THE ARAB LEADER.

IN HIS EFFORTS TO LEADERS IN SAUDI ARABIA, MOROCCO, AND EGYPT, THE PRESIDENT TRIED TO GET HELP AND INFORMATION ABOUT INTELLIGENCE ON THE MATTER WITHOUT GIVING AWAY AMERICAN PLANS, HIS AIDES SAID. BUSH REPORTEDLY HAD A STRONG SENSE THAT AMERICAN STATEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE CROOKED TO GIVE THE KIDNAPPERS AND THE IRANIANS A CHANCE TO SAYE FACE IF THEY WERE TO BACK DOWN.

HIS EXPERIENCE TOLD HIM THAT HE WOULD NEED TO BE ABLE TO GIVE THEM A WAY OUT, SO IT DIDN'T LOOK LIKE THEY WERE KNOCKING UNDER TO THEIR OWN POPULACE OR TO THE WORLD, A SENIOR OFFICIAL SAID.

BUSH ALSO FELT THAT IF HE COULD GET ARAB LEADERS INVOLVED DIRECTLY, IT WOULD BE LESS THREATENING TO THE IRANIANS AND THE LEBANESE, AND THEY WOULD NOT HAVE TO COME AT THE PROBLEM AS THE REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICAN INTERESTS, HIS AIDES SAY.

IN MEETINGS WITH HIS ADVISERS, BUSH IS SAID TO HAVE FOCUSED ON THE PERSONALITIES INVOLVED. IN MANY CASES, HE WAS ABLE TO TALK ABOUT WHETHER HE SHOULD FIRST TRY THE HEAD OF STATE OR THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND KNEW THAT SO-AND-SO LEANED THIS WAY AND THAT THEIR BIASES WERE IN THIS DIRECTION OR THAT DIRECTION," A TOP BUSH ADVISER SAID. SO OUR CONTACTS FLOWED OUT OF THAT APPROACH.

ON TUESDAY, THE WHITE HOUSE ALSO STOPPED WHAT ONE OFFICIAL TERMED "THE MOANING AND GROANING" OVER ISRAEL'S



KIDNAPING OF OTTID, AND WORKED WITH THE ISRAELIS TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TERRORISTS AND PLAN THE BEST COURSE TO SAVE THE HOSTAGES.

"IT WAS A LITTLE HYSTERICAL ON MONDAY BUT PEOPLE HAD CALMED DOWN A LOT BY TUESDAY," AN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SAID. "AND THEY HAD SETTLED INTO A STABLE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS." SURVEYING THE CRISIS ON FRIDAY, ROBERT C. MC FARLANE, WHO AS REAGAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER BECAME ENMESHED IN THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR, OBSERVED THAT BUSH'S COLLEGIAL APPROACH HAD HELPED HIM SIDESTEP THE CABINET ANALYSIS THAT HURT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ON THE HOSTAGE ISSUE.

"THIS ADMINISTRATION WORKS AS A TEAM," MC FARLANE SAID. "THAT HELPS HIM NOW, AND THAT WILL HELP HIM FASHION A SENSIBLE POLICY TOWARD TERRORISM AFTER THIS CRISIS IS OVER."

A TOP BUSH OFFICIAL AGREED: "OUR TEAM CAME INTO FOCUS THIS WEEK AND YOU COULD TAKE ANY PAIR IN ANY ROOM AND FIND NO PROBLEM BETWEEN THEM. PEOPLE FELT THEY COULD OFFER OPTIONS WITHOUT FEAR THAT SOMEONE WOULD RUB THEIR NOSE IN AN OPTION THAT, IN THE LONG RUN, PROVED NOT TO BE A GOOD ONE."

(END TEXT)

(PRECEDING IS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

(INSTR: MINIMIZE CONSIDERED)

ITEM

BT

#8012

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED USINFO 260143Z AUG 89/24

# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

\* 5977

\* תאריך: 08.08.80

\* נכנס \*\*

סודי ביותר

\* דף 1 מתוך 2  
\* עותק 4 מתוך 18

\* \*\*  
\* \*\*  
\* \*\*

\* חוזם: 8,5977

\* אל: המשרד

\* יעדים: מצב/484

\* מ-: ווש, נר: 207, תא: 070889, זח: 1500, דח: מ, סג: סב

\* תח: 8 גס: צפא

\* נד: 8

א/ה"כ

\* סודי ביותר/מיידי

\* אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופרן

\* דע: יועץ מדיני לשה"ח

\* מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

\* פגישת דיניץ-סקורופט

\* הפגישה התקיימה, לבקשתו של דיניץ, ב-4/8.

\* להלן עיקרי השיחה:

\* דיניץ פתח השיחה בציינו כי מצא בקהילה היהודית גישה חיובית והערכה רבה לפעולת צה"ל ולמאבקה של ישראל נגד החזבאללה וכן ביקורת של המנהיגות היהודית על התבטאויותיו של הנשיא בוש ושל סנטור דול.

\* סקורופט השיב שתגובת הנשיא בוש היתה תגובה ראשונית שלא נעשתה על דעת יועציו ובהמשך ההתפתחויות הגיעו ארה"ב וישראל לשיתוף פעולה הדוק יותר ולתאום פעולותיהם.

\* הוסיף כי חשוב להגיע לרמה גבוהה יותר של תאום בין שתי המדינות ולא להתיר ליריבינו לתקוע טריז בין ישראל וארה"ב. סקורופט סבור כי שתי המדינות הפיקו לקחים מהתפתחויות הימים האחרונים ומאמין כי אנו עובדים עתה יחד טוב יותר למען השגת פתרון למשבר בני הערובה.







# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2      מתוך 2  
עותק 4      מתוך 18

\* סקורופט הביע את הערכתו כי המהלכים שנקטו עד כה  
\* על ידי הממשל מנעו אבדות נוספות בנפש וסבור שבמינון  
\* הנכון של תקיפות ודיפלומטיה ניתן יהיה להגיע לתוצאות  
\* משביעות רצון.

\* בהמשך השיחה העלה דיניץ שאלת הגירת יהודים מבריה"מ.

\* הביע דעתו כי נהיה עדים ב-10-5 השנים הבאות ליציאת  
\* 1/2 מליון יהודים מבריה"מ. ארה"ב לא זקוקה להם  
\* אך ישראל, לעומת זאת זקוקה מאוד ליהודי בריה"מ.

\* יש לפעול לשינוי ההסדר לפיו אשרות היציאה ינתנו במוסקבה  
\* וניתן יהיה לחסל את מחנות המעבר ברומא ובלדיספולי.

\* ישראל תעשה מאמצים כדי לגייס סיוע ותמיכה בקליטת  
\* יהודי בריה"מ מיהדות ארה"ב כדי להבטיח שיכון ותעסוקה  
\* אך חשוב לא פחות שגם ארה"ב ובמיוחד הממשל יתנו ידם  
\* בסיוע ישיר לישראל כדי להגביר כשרה ויכולתה בקליטת  
\* העולם מבריה"מ. השיחה התנהלה באווירה טובה וידידותית.

\* ארד

\* לב

\* זפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, סי יבל, מצפא







MS. TUTWILER: If the Pakistani ambassador's here today, I don't know about it, and Pakistan, just like all the other countries I've refrained from naming, falls into that category. 2/7

Q You mentioned that you've reiterated --

MS. TUTWILER: Category of various channels that we don't name, that we don't discuss at all. So I have no comment on it.

Q (Inaudible.)

MS. TUTWILER: No.

Q The Turin Times has said that talks are going to -- indirect talks are going to begin within the next few days.

MS. TUTWILER: That's correct.

MS. TUTWILER: That's what they say.

Q That's what they say.

MS. TUTWILER: I've given you my answer. (Laughter.)

Q Can you confirm or deny that this is the case?

MS. TUTWILER: Our answer is no different than what it has been in the past. We have said, up front, very publicly, we have had various channels indirectly -- for lack of a better word -- passing message -- a message or messages -- I'm not going to get to how many -- to the government of Iran. That's all we have to say on it.

Q Yeah, but passing messages is not talks. There's a distinction.

Q -- as a former spokesman once said? Your statement about the US position implied a distinction between engaging in a dialogue with authorized representatives on the one hand and engaging in an improvement in relations with Iran on the other hand. I'm either -- maybe I'm making too much of that distinction,

but it seemed to me as though that statement said that the conditions you lifted applied only to the question of improving relations with Iran and not to the question of engaging in a dialogue with authorized representatives. Could you help me decide whether that is a distinction worth merit or if I'm just dancing on the pinhead of ambiguity?

MS. TUTWILER: You're kind of close to dancing on the pinhead. I've restated what our policy is in order for our government -- stating that we are prepared to engage in a dialogue. I have also stated the caveat, which we stated several times last week --

Q To improving relations.

MS. TUTWILER: Correct.

Q As opposed to engaging in a dialogue. Or are the two things the same in the US government's view?

MS. TUTWILER: I think I would characterize it, and my interpretation of it is they certainly would go hand in hand.

\* \* \*



Q Essentially, in order for the US to engage in a dialogue with an authorized representative, the two conditions you listed must be met. 31/7

MS. TUTWILER: That's what I think I said. Any improvements with relations with Iran depend upon that government stopping its support for terrorism and taking action to bring about the immediate, unconditional, safe release of our US citizens held hostage. 31 207

Q But before -- are they doing that? But before those conditions are met, the United States is prepared to begin a dialogue. Is that not correct? For the beginning of a dialogue, we don't have to see Iran ending its support for terrorism or acting energetically to resolve the hostage crisis. The dialogue, in fact, could be used to fulfill one or both of these conditions, couldn't it? 328

MS. TUTWILER: I think that, unless you all are confusing me, and I don't think I'm confused, I am stating what our position is on having -- or -- what we are prepared to do to engage in a dialogue with authorized representatives of the government of Iran. I then say, however, any improvement in relations, and I put those two caveats on it.

Q Well, is an improvement in relations a separate thing from a dialogue or not? This is where we don't quite follow -- seem to follow you.

MS. TUTWILER: I don't understand how better you want me to describe it.

Q Well, okay. Let me put it this way.

MS. TUTWILER: I have said we have had indirect communications.

Q Right.

MS. TUTWILER: I have stated what our public policy is concerning having a dialogue. I have said in order to do that, however, we have two caveats: terrorism and release of our hostages.

Q All right. Okay.

MS. TUTWILER: So, what is it that you want?

Q But -- now, wait a minute. The caveats -- do the caveats apply to having a dialogue or improving -- with authorized representatives, or improving relations? This is where I'm not sure which of the two these track-back to.

MS. TUTWILER: If I state one paragraph and I say, "However," and it's following it, it's -- it makes sense in my mind that one is following the other for a reason.

\* \* \*



Q Margaret, if Iran's stopping its program of supporting terrorism --

MS. TUTWILER: If Iran what?

31

4/7

Q Is Iran supporting terrorism?

207

MS. TUTWILER: Is Iran supporting terrorism?

328

Q Yes, state-supported terrorism. Is it an advocate of that? Is it supporting terrorist acts --

MS. TUTWILER: I'll get for you and post, which is the last time we spoke on that, which is our definition out of our whatever-it's-called, the pamphlet on terrorism, so I'd rather have it literally verbatim out of that book for you.

Q Has the United States received from Iran through any channel an indication of a designation of an authorized representative, as you used the phrase, or anything?

MS. TUTWILER: No.

Q Margaret, could you tell me, does the US still hold Iranian assets? If we do, what are they and how much are they worth?

MS. TUTWILER: The other day, Richard was asked this question, and we steered you off of the number that had been in the press, which I believe was -- was it 12 billion [dollars] or 4 billion [dollars] or something? We don't -- we don't have a number that we've given out, and we also had an elaborate explanation of what was going on with these assets at the tribunal. And I'd just as soon refer you back to whatever we said on the record or get it for you again -- it's very legal and very technical -- and just post it.

Q -- would you agree to the general principle that once that Iranian claims process goes through and all the claims are paid or settled in some way by the tribunal, that the United States has no objection -- in fact, thinks that all the assets of the Iranian government should go back to Iran when that effort is over? I mean, isn't that the whole idea of the tribunal?

MS. TUTWILER: I don't know the policy answer for that. I'll be glad to ask the lawyers.

Q Margaret, the US, in gaining the release of the hostages in 1981, signed an agreement with Iran, which said that if and when all claims were settled, the rest of the money would go back to Iran. Is that still US policy?

MS. TUTWILER: I don't know if it's still US policy. I will be more than glad, immediately after the briefing, to get the lawyers to get you the answer. I don't know.

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Q Is the United States urging Israel not to retaliate against the car bomb attack, for fear that it might have an impact -- negative impact on the hostages?

MS. TUTWILER: Marlin got that question this morning and answered it on behalf of the White House, and his basic answer was that that would fall into the category of something that we're basically not going to get into, but that it would be -- I believe his exact words were something like, that it would be something for the Israelis and not for us to be telling them one way or the other.

Q Margaret, can I go back for a second to the Iran negotiations or dialogue issue?

MS. TUTWILER: Yes.

Q President Bush said yesterday that he didn't want to miss any signals.

MS. TUTWILER: Right.

Q I think I'm accurately paraphrasing, if not exactly quoting him.

MS. TUTWILER: That's right.

Q Does the US consider the publication of this article in the Iran Times today to be a signal?

MS. TUTWILER: It would be unproductive for me to speculate on Iranian intentions; what matters is Iranian action. It is important to remember that Iranian leaders have influence over the hostage-takers in Lebanon. Iran should make every effort to use that influence to ensure that all those kept hostage are released. We certainly hope that the message has gotten through to the government of Iran that hostage-taking won't and doesn't pay, and that the hostages are not nor will they be leverage for bargaining or deals.

If Iran is truly interested in improving relations with the US and with the West, there is a very simple test. It can exert its maximum effort and its known influence to release all hostages. That is the test of a real change in Iran's policy on hostage-taking.

Q Can we have a copy of that?

MS. TUTWILER: Sure.

Q Margaret, do you have any characterization today of the American reaction to the Fatah Congress that concluded in Tunis yesterday morning?

MS. TUTWILER: Yes, I do. The political program issued by Fatah raises questions about Fatah's commitment to accommodation, understanding, and peace. The statement's derogatory rhetoric on Israel, its tone of confrontation and violence, and its preference for unrealistic principles and solutions instead of practical ideas for peace are unhelpful. In the meantime, we are studying the document further in an effort to have a clearer understanding. We will continue our dialogue with the PLO to determine whether the PLO remains committed to the undertakings of last December regarding recognition of Israel, acceptance of UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338,



and denunciation of terrorism, and determine whether the PLO is prepared to take practical steps towards peace.

Q Does that mean then that the phrasing of their final resolution about the eventual

liberation of all Palestinian territories occupied by Israel is causing you some concern?

MS. TUTWILER: We have -- we have not seen the entire document, and that's why I put the caveat in there -- that is the truth -- is -- on press reports and first information that's coming out, we characterized it the way that I do, saying if those are true, they're basically not helpful. What specific parts causes us problems, I do not have that broken down, and I know that we have not seen the entire document.

Q Will there be a meeting soon with the PLO to do what you said you wanted to do, which was check out their commitment to December?

MS. TUTWILER: There's not one scheduled that I personally know of or that I'm aware of, but I'll be glad to check and see if they've got one coming up in --

Q Have you communicated this opinion to the PLO, either in a phone call or something between you in Tunis, to tell them that you find the rhetoric a problem?

MS. TUTWILER: I don't know the answer to that, because I didn't think to ask John Kelly, but since we haven't seen the whole document, it would seem to me you'd wait until you had the whole document, to study and analyze that, and then you would communicate what your views and thoughts are.

Q Well, to follow up on that, it would then seem to me that you would wait to see the entire dialogue before putting out a press report -- a press statement that says that it raises questions vis-a-vis the rhetoric if you haven't seen all of the rhetoric.

MS. TUTWILER: From what we've seen, we had a comment.

Q Right. But therefore, surely you would have taken that up with them.

MS. TUTWILER: They might have. I just didn't ask. I don't know.

Q Could we all have a copy of that, please?

MS. TUTWILER: Sure. Wait a second.

Q Do you see the expansion of US-ESoviet human rights talks to include social issues?

MS. TUTWILER: Yeah (?). And also, just so that we can be

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clear, some of you all who travelled with us to Paris know, there was not a paper handed to the Secretary by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on human rights. Following up on discussions between Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, we have been discussing with the Soviets expanding our exchanges on human rights and humanitarian issues. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze suggested in Paris that the framework for these discussions be recorded in a Memorandum of Understanding at the September ministerial. We are considering this idea, but we'll have to see in more detail what the Soviets have in mind.

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דחיות: כ"ד

סוג: בלבים

תאריך וזמן חבירה:

שגרירות ישראל/וויינגטון  
טופס מבוק

ק"י: 1  
מתוך: 8

אל: מצפ"א, מע"ת, ממ"ד

פס' מבוק:

דע: יועץ רו"מ לחקשורת, יועץ סטביט לחקשורת, לע"מ  
אמ"ן/קשי"ח, דובר צה"ל, ניו-יורק

מקשר: בטחון ניו יורק

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א"ה

כאח: עתוכות וויינגטון

ה"ח  
3-2

August 10, 1989

תדרוך דובר ~~מח"ד~~ ליום  
הח"ח - הע"ן

Q Do we have any indirect talks going on with EIranF at the moment? Or are they about to start up, as the Tehran paper says?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, this is a very interesting story

this morning -- (laughter) -- and is a good example of the kinds of communications that we have going on. We --

Q I'm sorry --

MR. FITZWATER: A good example of the kinds of communication that -- that is now occurring. Obviously, we want to keep lines of communication open. We are prepared to talk to any party that can help with release of the hostages, including Iran. And we have talked in the last several days about continuing messages and contacts back and forth through third parties, and that is continuing. This note this morning may -- may be a reference to those continuing discussions, and if so, we find that --

Q (Off mike) -- Marlin -- what note this morning?

MR. FITZWATER: The story this morning in the -- that Reuters carried here, if any you aren't familiar with it --

MR. FITZWATER: And it -- and it refers to its sourcing as "observers believe," "political observers there," so forth; various attributions are given as to the importance of that newspaper and its relative status within the government, and we wouldn't comment on that. But nevertheless, the content of the story is -- it says that observers believe these discussions will be taking place. And as I said, if they are a continuation of existing discussions, and that's what this story is describing, then the answer is "yes," that we are hopeful they will continue, and we want to continue them. On the other hand, there is not a new set of special discussions that -- that we're aware of, so we're a little unclear on that point. And I think it demonstrates that --

תפוצה:

למח"ס להח"ח ולמח"ד ולמח"ש ולמח"ת ולמח"מ ולמח"נ ולמח"ס  
למח"ס ולמח"ח ולמח"ד ולמח"ש ולמח"ת ולמח"מ ולמח"נ ולמח"ס



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Q (Off mike) --- what about that?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, it said that the -- it said an observer gives the best chance to Yaqub Kahn of EPakistanF as doing this. We don't have any information that he is involved in that -- in trying to initiate that kind of discussion.

Q Has Bush talked to him in one of these rounds of discussions?

MR. FITZWATER: I don't -- no, he has not.

(Cross talk.)

Q He has not (supported the pardon?) that you've ever --

MR. FITZWATER: No. Yaqub Khan -- let me -- here's the problem here. Yaqub Khan is interested in this problem, we understand. He and the Pakistan government do have contacts in Iran. He may even be involved in direct conversations and discussions in Iran. But we are not aware of anything that fits the kind of rubric of special new talks.

Q Has the President --

MR. FITZWATER: That's why I am hesitant -- I'm reluctant to come at it from that point of view. I'd rather come at it from the other point of view, which is we are encouraging talks of every kind. We are involved in talks through the third parties; we want them to continue. We don't know what they might develop into. I don't want to -- the fact that we don't know about anything that fits this description, I don't want to say that in a way that rules out that occurring or something like that occurring, or whatever, so we are being very careful.

Ann?

Q Marlin, is there any US official on the scene in that region who is acting as the person the other side of this third -- the person on this side, as compared to the State Department or the White House -- knows that there is some EState DepartmentF person there?

MR. FITZWATER: I am not aware of any -- yeah -- I am not aware of any. I think all of our -- from my knowledge, all of our communications are coming out of the State Department in Washington. However, now having said that, we have embassies in all of the countries in the EMiddle EastF. All of our ambassadors are engaged in diplomatic discussions with counterparts in the host countries. And so, there are innumerable conversations taking place involving US officials, officials of other friendly countries, officials of Iran, Byria, et cetera. So it is pretty hard for me to rule out anything -- any possibility.

Q How is it that you are aware of Pakistan's interest in being helpful in this problem?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, as I said, there have been any number of communications between various countries in the region. Pakistan, of course, we have very close relations and constant communications with our ambassador there, and so there have been conversations back and forth with Pakistan on this problem.

Q Has the President talked to Mrs. Bhutto directly?



MR. FITZWATER: I'd have to check that. I don't think about Iran; I don't know whether he's talked to her on other subjects or not.

Q Another question. Last week, I believe it was, administration officials were saying that it was premature to have any direct discussions with Iran. Is that still the position? 3/8

MR. FITZWATER: Well, yes, in the sense of we have always said that we're willing to have direct talks with Iran, as long as they were authoritative officials who represented the government. "Premature" means we probably are not ready to -- to have those kinds of talks at this point. But again, that would not be ruling out direct discussions at some future point.

David?

Q Khan has announced plans to go to Tehran Tuesday, if I recall correctly. Our Ambassador Oakley, and ---

MR. FITZWATER: Did he give a purpose?

Q Well, to discuss this issue among others -- the hostage issue among others. Ambassador Oakley is a very experienced diplomat, used to head the Counterterrorism Office. Would it be fair to assume that when Khan returns from Tehran that Oakley would, as a matter of course, have discussions with him about whatever he might have learned in Tehran?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, I think that's entirely likely. In fact, that is the diplomatic process that we see repeated over and over again in the Middle East in all of these countries -- our ambassador has discussions with the ministers and the others in that country who are indeed talking to officials of Iran. You say Yaqub Khan has announced his intentions to go. I was aware that that was a possibility but not that it had been formally announced. I'm told there are a number of things he wants to discuss. I'm not certain how big a role the hostage situation is. So, there's a lot of unknowns regarding his trip and his purposes. And there again, I don't want to be negative towards that, but by the same token I want to be as candid as possible in telling you what the limits appear to be, or at least what we don't know.

Jerry?

Q Marlin, can you describe the President's phone conversation with Prime Minister Shamir yesterday, and what the purpose of it was?

MR. FITZWATER: I can't really say much beyond what we said last night, that it was a candid and friendly discussion, a general discussion of the hostage situation. There have been stories this morning quoting my counterpart in Israel, Mr. Pazner, and others about the content, that it discussed specific arrangements for their consideration of the hostage problem. I don't believe the conversation was that direct, as -- I don't believe it was that direct in terms of how we would interpret it. We are given to understand, however, that -- well, let me put it another way. They have indicated that they intend to consider the hostage problem in terms of all of the hostages. But I'm not aware of any more direct commitment in terms of what their intentions are. The fact remains still that they have their policy; we have ours. They conduct their business in the manner that they feel is important. And the Prime Minister did want to give general assurances about his intentions, but there were no specific arrangements discussed in the phone call.

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Q Can I ask, one of the papers today says the American Jewish leaders were so upset with what they heard from Bush in their meeting that they talked to Shamir and asked him to call him. Is that correct? 4/8

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know. You'd have to ask them. I don't know what they did.

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Q Marlin, by the same token, what is the US position? If the United States is willing to have direct talks with authoritative people in Iran, what is the US position about the fate of the other Western hostages and those three Israeli soldiers? 329

MR. FITZWATER: Well, first of all, President Bush has called for the release of all hostages from all countries. And secondly, that we have talked about the direct sources, direct conversations, but our policy remains the same, that we will not negotiate for hostages.

Q But would you separate any kind of discussion about goodwill toward the eight American hostages, from goodwill toward the eight other Western hostages and the three Israeli soldiers?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, there is no way to detail in advance what form discussions might take and so forth. We'd be willing to -- our interest is in whatever discussions are helpful, and we couldn't try to predict what course those might take.

Q Marlin, is it fair to say that there is more to our efforts to try to improve the dialogue with Iran than simply the hostages, that there is also the outgrowth and the concern of new ESovietF initiatives towards Iran in the post-Khomeini period?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, as I -- we certainly consider the full gamut of our international relations in undertaking any kinds of discussions. But I think that the chief motivational factor, from our point of view, is improving direct relations with Iran, seeing if they are interested in what we call the reintegration into the world community, and in trying to get the release of our hostages.

Q There was one other aspect to the Shamir report -- Israelis claiming that Israel and the US are now coordinating policies on the hostages?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we are discussing the situation on several levels with Israel. We've had very close communications over the last several days, and we generally tried to be forthcoming with what we are doing, and they have been forthcoming with what they're doing. However, I would not characterize it as coordination.

Q Marlin, it was my understanding that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan had lunch at the White House last week, that he was here, and was told that he met only with --

MR. FITZWATER: Yaqub Kahn was here?

Q Well, I was told he was

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visiting. I was told he had lunch with Dan Quayle, and that he had no communication with the President, but that this was the day after the Higgins hanging. And this was the same period in which the Israeli ambassadors came here, and supposedly to have lunch with Bobbie Kilberg and no communication. (Laughter.) And in the midst of the diplomatic initiative -- would you like to revisit those lunches, and -- (laughter) --

MR. FITZWATER: I don't have any information on them specifically. Certainly, however, Pakistan has been involved and interested in this. We would encourage whatever could be done, but I'm not aware of anything more specific.

Q Could you find out if Dan Quayle talked to the Pakistanis about their role?

MR. FITZWATER: I'll ask, sure. I'll ask.

Frank?

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Q Another element of this Tehran Times report is its, as I understand it, is quoting here recent threats by the captors of Cicippio against his life have been cancelled because of intensive diplomatic contacts that involve regional states. Can you confirm that? Have you heard back through some of these contacts that --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, that's --

Q -- Hezbollah has moved beyond the "frozen" status of this to actually cancel the death threat?

MR. FITZWATER: I'm not sure what word it is you're asking me to comment on -- "cancel"? Is that the word you want?

Q They're saying -- they're calling it "cancelled" now.

Q Instead of "delayed."

Q Rather than "suspended."

MR. FITZWATER: I don't -- first of all, we don't have definitive knowledge of these incidents much beyond what we're being told. The words "frozen," the words "cancel," I don't know that we -- we pretty much accept those for what they are.

Q What I'm asking is, have you heard in the last several days anything more relative to the status of Cicippio and the death threat?

MR. FITZWATER: No, no.

Q Marlin, you said that direct talks with Iranian representatives were premature right now. What has to occur before they aren't? Can you describe why they're premature?

MR. FITZWATER: It's very hard to be specific, other than to say that there are any number of preliminary discussions underway. We want to be -- we would want to be sure, again, of the authoritative nature of our contacts. We would want to make -- want to have some clear understanding of what we wanted to say to them and -- and of their interest in having those discussions. I have not heard any interest from Iran in having direct talks, and that is a major factor as well.



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Q Will the President take advantage of Khan's visit to send a message in the form of a note or any other specific communication that he could deliver there next week?

MR. FITZWATER: I can't give you any guidance with respect to the specific visit of Yaqub Khan. I would say, however, that we would take advantage of every visit like that to send a message in. And I'm sure that we have talked to Pakistan and will be talking to Pakistan about the visit and so forth. But I can't give you any specific guidance. But, I think that falls under the President's rubric of "no stone unturned."

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David?

Q Can I follow up on Ann's question for a minute? It sounds like you're saying as soon as there's a clear indication from Iran that they want to have direct talks and name an authoritative channel, whether it be the Iranian Foreign Minister or some other ambassador, that the US would be ready to have direct talks. Are those basically the only two things we're waiting for, a clear signal and an authoritative --

MR. FITZWATER: I think you're overinterpreting what I said. What I would like to leave it is that it is premature to discuss that. I have stated what our policy has been with regard to these talks, but it is premature to discuss at this time the possibility of those kinds of discussions occurring.

Q (Inaudible) -- predates Bush?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes. Yes it does.

Q -- not to put too fine a point on it, "premature" to discuss the possibility of the talks, "premature" for the talks themselves -- which?

MR. FITZWATER: Both. I am not -- I am not trying to encourage a focus on direct talks. There are any number of avenues that can be used preliminary to direct talks that have not yet been used, and that would be and could be, and hopefully will be. So I think that we are getting ahead of ourselves to talk about direct talks.

Q Marlin, you said, "No stone unturned." Why is it that the President did not call EShamirF in this flurry of diplomatic calls he supposed to have been making all week? Why did Shamir call him?

MR. FITZWATER: Just because we've had so many contacts with Israel, at so many levels, it wasn't necessary.

Q On Ann's question, you said there are preliminary discussions underway with -- do you mean low-level US and low-level Iranians, or just US --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I can't describe with what level, but simply a few intermediaries, but we've had messages passed back and forth through intermediaries, and then we've had all kinds of third party comments and reports and so forth, of discussions that have been had on those -- on that basis.

Q And also, what do you mean in the discussion with Shamir, that the Israelis intend to consider the hostage problem in terms of all the hostages?

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MR. FITZWATER: Well, one of the things that Jerry asked about were the stories that said they would consider US hostages. And I would say only that we have been told that they intend to consider the problem as they approach it, in terms of getting the release of all the hostages.

Q Can you square your statement that the President -- or the President's own statement that he's willing to talk to anybody, anywhere, anytime on this issue with the statement there seems to be some reluctance with talking to the Iranians directly, without some kind of long, involved --

MR. FITZWATER: No, no real reluctance. I'm just trying to tamp down the rising expectations here.

Ellen?

Q When Bush talked to Shamir, and Shamir told him he intended to consider this in terms of all the hostages, was that in response to a question or a query of some sort by Bush? In other words, did Bush ask?

MR. FITZWATER: I can't tell you the forum that that information comes to us in, but simply to say that is our understanding.

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know what you're talking about. (Laughter.) I just said that we have told -- we have been told that Israel is considering the hostage question in terms of all hostages.

Q But, if in fact that was a response to the President, then it would sound somewhat like some sort of negotiation.

MR. FITZWATER: I don't know that you're right there, but that's not the case anyway.

Deborah?

Q Marlin, to go back to the "premature" question, is a key factor in that what the President referred to yesterday when he said that there are very mixed signals from Iran, and that's one of the big difficulties? Is clearing up the mixedness of the signals the kind of thing toward making talks possible?

MR. FITZWATER: I wouldn't talk in terms of clearing things up; I would simply say that that -- it describes the situation to say that there are mixed signals and there are a lot of different kinds of statements coming from people, some positive, some negative, and so forth. And the trick is to be patient, work your way through these, continue to talk, and see what evolves.

I would say generally, this morning's story is positive, but I wouldn't deal so much with the specifics of it as I would with the general attitude that it seems to indicate an openness to discussion.

Q Do you -- can you tell us whether we have sent a direct message to Iran that we are interested in direct talks?

MR. FITZWATER: No, we have not.

Q You have not. So, are we -- are we giving this message to Iran?

MR. FITZWATER: No.

Q Well, who -- well, what --

MR. FITZWATER: There's been no discussion of direct talks.

Q But you said -- okay, but we are interested in them.

MR. FITZWATER: That's always been our policy, for as long as I've been here.

Q But do the Iranians know this?

MR. FITZWATER: Sure, they know it. I've said it for years.

Q And also, you are being much more open about this whole thing. Is this all a part of -- are we doing the communicating for the US? You seem to be discussing things --

Q Open? Marlin?

Q -- you never discussed before, and --

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I appreciate your commendation on openness, but -- (laughter) --

Q I mean, one day you haven't discussed anything, and the next day you are.

MR. FITZWATER: Yeah. Well, I'm trying to be open in describing the process here. I also want to be open in trying to not lead you to expect more than is -- than is real. But, I also know that public statements do have impact. Just as we analyze theirs, I'm sure they analyze ours, and that's why I want to be clear that we're open to communication, but I don't want to hold out more specificity than we're ready to engage in.

Q Is there anything -- (inaudible) -- here about possible EIsraeliF retaliation for recent attacks on their people over there and whether that might throw a monkey wrench into -- (inaudible) -- on resolving the hostage problem? Have we communicated any concerns to them?

MR. FITZWATER: We wouldn't comment on what course of action they should take.

Q When you say we haven't commented, are you meaning also privately, or are you just saying publicly?

MR. FITZWATER: As far as I know, privately; but certainly not publicly.

Q On the Shamir phone call, did he specifically commit to not making a separate deal for just the three Israeli soldiers?

MR. FITZWATER: No.

Q So the Israelis say that that's an incorrect interpretation?

MR. FITZWATER: I gave you my interpretation. And it is fair that we do have an understanding that they're interested in all the hostages, release of all the hostages.







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**Anti-Defamation League**

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LYNNE IANNIELLO

Director, Communications Division

**NEWS****FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

New York, NY, August 8...A substantial majority of Americans still consider the Palestine Liberation Organization a terrorist group and question, by a 2 to 1 margin, the PLO's sincerity in renouncing terrorism and recognizing Israel's right to exist.

These were results of a nationwide poll commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League to measure any changes in American attitudes toward the PLO in the past 18 months in light of recent developments in the Middle East. The poll, of 1,000 Americans selected at random, was conducted July 7-11 by the New York-based national public opinion research firm of Penn and Schoen Associates and made public today.

ADL national chairman Burton S. Levinson said the results show that "despite attempts by PLO leader Yasir Arafat to project a peaceful image through words, the PLO's ongoing terrorist deeds speak far louder."

According to the survey, Americans are now more uncertain about whether the U.S. should have direct contacts with the PLO than they were when they were polled in January 1988 regarding their views on the organization.

The major findings of the July 1989 poll, according to Mr. Levinson, were the following:

-- Asked "whether the PLO is a national liberation movement or a terrorist organization," 63 percent called it a terrorist group, 14 percent characterized it as "national liberation" and 23 percent said they didn't know. This represented only a slight decrease in those viewing the PLO as terrorist compared to 1988 when 67 percent said they considered the PLO a terrorist group.

-- Asked whether the PLO is sincere in renouncing terrorism and recognizing Israel's right to exist, 42 percent replied "not sincere," 20 percent said they felt the PLO was "sincere" and 39 percent said they didn't know.

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-- Asked whether the United States should have direct contact with the PLO, 43 percent replied in the affirmative, compared to 49 percent in 1988; 38 percent opposed direct contact, down from 42 percent in 1988; while the percentage of those who "didn't know," was 19 percent, double the percentage in 1988.

-- Asked whether they had a favorable or unfavorable attitude towards the PLO, 46 percent replied unfavorable, 9 percent answered favorable and 45 percent said they are either unfamiliar with the organization or didn't know. This result represented a slight decrease in the PLO's unfavorable rating -- it was 51 percent in 1988.

-- Asked "who is doing more to promote peace on the West Bank and Gaza -- Israel or the PLO, 33 percent replied Israel, 13 percent the PLO, 16 percent replied "neither," 1 percent replied "both" and 38 percent said they didn't know.

-- Asked whether the PLO would be "satisfied" if a state were created on the West Bank or would want to "dismantle" Israel, 46 percent replied that in their opinion the PLO state would try to "dismantle" Israel. Sixteen percent said the PLO would be satisfied with a state on the West Bank and 38 percent said they didn't know.

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SUMMARY OF NATIONAL SURVEY FOR THE ANTI-DEFAMATION

July 17, 1989

Penn + Schoen Associates, Inc.

Introduction

The following report summarizes the results of our national poll of 1000 Americans regarding attitudes toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Anti-Defamation League commissioned the survey to measure changing opinion regarding the PLO in light of recent developments in the Middle East.

Summary

The PLO maintains a largely unfavorable image among the American people. But, as the table below shows, the PLO's ratings have improved slightly since our previous survey in January of 1988.

ARE YOU FAMILIAR WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, SOMETIMES CALLED THE P.L.O.? IF YOU ARE FAMILIAR, ARE YOU FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE?

favorable		unfavorable		unfamiliar/don't know	
1/88	7/89	1/88	7/89	1/88	7/89
24	9	51	46	30	45



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entirely?" By a margin of nearly three-to-one, Americans believe the PLO wishes to dismantle the State of Israel.

WILL THE PLO BE SATISFIED IF A STATE WERE CREATED ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP, OR DO YOU THINK IT WANTS TO DISMANTLE THE STATE OF ISRAEL AS WELL?

be satisfied      dismantle Israel      don't know

16%

46

38

#### About the Survey and the Firm

The survey was conducted by Penn + Schoen Associates, Inc., a national public opinion research firm, between July 7th and July 11th, from our central telephone facility in Manhattan. A total of 1000 interviews were conducted with a randomly selected sample of Americans. The level of error for the survey is plus or minus 2.5%.

Penn + Schoen is a nationally known research firm that has worked for candidates such as former Vice-President Walter Mondale, Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, Senator Jay Rockefeller, Senator Frank Lautenberg, and more than 29 members of the House of Representatives.

The firm has worked for a wide variety of corporations including Texaco, Amerada Hess, Philip Morris, PepsiCo, General Foods, and Citibank.

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A substantial majority of those surveyed consider the PLO a terrorist organization. And, the percentage of Americans viewing the PLO as a terrorist organization has diminished only slightly since early 1988.

IS THE PLO A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OR IS IT A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION?

liberation		terrorist		don't know	
1/88	7/89	1/88	7/89	1/88	7/89
18%	14	67	63	16	23

A majority of those familiar with the PLO felt it did not truly represent the Palestinian people. Only a quarter, 25%, believe the PLO really does represent the Palestinian people.

DOES THE PLO REPRESENT THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE OR DOES IT NOT REPRESENT THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE?  
(among those familiar with the PLO)

represents		does not represent		don't know	
1/88	7/89	1/88	7/89	1/88	7/89
24%	25	60	51	16	24

Americans are today more uncertain about whether the United States should have direct contact with the PLO. 43% in this latest survey felt the U.S. should have direct contact with the PLO -- down from 49% in 1988. 38% now oppose direct contact -- also down from 42% in 1988. The percentage of those not knowing doubled to 19%.

A      A

7/7  
316

The sample was told, "As you may know, the United States has recently begun negotiating with the PLO because they have renounced terrorism and recognized Israel's right to exist. Do you think that the PLO is sincere in making this pledge, or are they not sincere?" Most, 42%, felt the PLO was not sincere.

DO YOU THINK THE PLO IS SINCERE IN MAKING THIS PLEDGE, OR ARE THEY NOT SINCERE?

sincere	not sincere	don't know
20%	42	39

Respondents were asked whether they felt Israel or the PLO was doing more to promote peace on the West Bank and Gaza. The largest number of respondents, 33%, felt Israel was doing more to promote peace. Only 13% felt the PLO was doing more to promote peace, fewer than the 16% who volunteered that neither the Israel nor the PLO was doing more.

WHO IS DOING MORE TO PROMOTE PEACE ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, ISRAEL OR THE PLO?

Israel	PLO	Neither	Both	don't know
33%	13	16	1	39

The sample was asked, "Will the PLO be satisfied if a state were created on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, or do you think it wants to dismantle the State of Israel



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

9248

תאריך: 11.08.89

סודי

נכנס

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חוזם: 8,9248

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/760, מנמת/201

מ-: ווש, נר: 332, תא: 100889, חז: 1700, דח: ר, סג: סו

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

אמ' 2

סודי/רגיל

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א

מאת: שג' וושינגטון

תהליך השלום: בעקבות מסעות ג'ון קלי במזה'ת

1. בשיחת טלפון עם דן קורצר סיכם את סיור הלימודים של קלי בישראל כמוצלח.

2. בהקשר לשיחות העיר כי כל אנשי שיחם סרבו לדווח להם לגבי זהות ותוכן השיחות שקיים רוה'מ' עם אישים פלסטינאים. שיתופם במידע זה היה מאפשר להם לסייע לנו במאמץ למצוא פרטנר פלסטינאי.

3. אשר לשיחות במצרים וירדן ציין כי בשתי הבירות קיימת סקפטיות לגבי מחויבות ישראל לתהליך השלום. (במאמר מוסגר ציין קורצר כי מבין את פשר הסקפטיות, שכן בפועל אין הוכחות שיש בהן כדי להצביע על מחויבות ישראל. המשך ההצהרות שאינן עולות בקנה אחד עם החלטת הממשלה אין בהן כדי להפיג הסקפטיות).

4. קלי וחבורתו הבהירו לאנשי שיחם בשתי הבירות כי הדרך היחידה לבחון מחויבות ישראל היא שכנוע הפלסטינאים להודיע על נכונותם להכנס לדיאלוג. לדברי קורצר מצאו הבנה לעמדתם זו אצל אנשי שיחם.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

5. מניח כי דיווח מפורט על הסיור יקבל השגריר בשיחתו (14.8) עם קלי.

שטיין.

מא

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

ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem, August 9, 1989

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to express my profound admiration for the manner in which you determined the policy of the United States on the issue of the hostages. I know how difficult it is to stick to a principle of policy regarding terrorists and kidnappers, when lives are at stake. It is to your credit that your government rejected the temptation to adopt a narrow, self-centered approach in favour of the moral high ground. It sets America apart from other countries, and has gained our respect and praise. I would like to add that I am deeply touched by your concern for the feelings of the families of the hostages and your identification with them. Our people appreciate such feelings because we face this painful experience ever so often. The alliance between the U.S. and Israel has special meaning for us precisely because the way the United States addresses itself to such issues.

Let me share with you some of our thoughts on the challenge we are presently facing from the Hizbullah terrorists and their hostages.

We can leave no stone unturned until we secure the release of our prisoners. This is a cardinal principle of outlook and policy for us. We are a small nation and in many respects we function like a family. One of the sources of our strength is the knowledge of every soldier that he will never be forsaken and that everything will be done to save him from his captors.

At the same time, we fight terrorism and terrorists with every weapon and measure at our disposal. We are convinced that we have every right to do so, since we are dealing with outlaws who have not the slightest respect for life, for decency and for human values.

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington DC

Our decision to apprehend Sheikh Abd elKarim Obeid came after protracted and strenuous attempts to obtain the release of our prisoners produced no results. We have not even been able to gain information on whether they are alive and well. After much deliberation, we took the decision to act unilaterally, and we accept full responsibility for that decision and its consequences.

Since his capture, we have been strengthened in our belief that Sheikh Obeid can provide us with a lever toward the achievement of our objective. Sheikh Obeid has played a key and leading role in Hizbullah terror activities, including the taking of hostages.

Clearly the terrorists and their supporters will make every attempt to divide us from the United States and even to set us on a collision course. We will not play into their hands and we have no doubt that you, Mr. President, will not permit this to happen.

We shall endeavour to secure the exchange of all the hostages in the hands of the Shi'ite Hizbullah in return for the Shi'ites we are holding, including Sheikh Obeid. Our aim is to reach an agreement on such an exchange through a neutral agent, preferably the International Red Cross.

With patience and perseverance, I believe there is a chance of obtaining the safe release of all the hostages. We shall endeavour to consult fully with you, and provide you with all the information that will reach us. As on many other issues, the United States and Israel, working together, can produce positive results and an improvement in the atmosphere of this troubled region of the world.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

  
Yitzhak Shamir



דתיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: _____
סוג: שמור	טופס פבוק 33	פתוח: _____
תאריך וזמן תעבור: 9 0930 באוגוסט 1989		אל: ממ"ד ערב 1
כס' פבוק:		דע: _____
הפסיד:		
274	אמל	פאת: אלי אבידן, וושינגטון

### משיחת הכרות של יעקב אמיתי במח' מצרים

#### ביקור אבו טאלב

1. פיטר אייקר סיפר ששר ההגנה המצרי סיים ב-9.8 את ביקור הבזק בן יומיים בושינגטון בפגישה עם הנשיא, המזכיר ויועץ הנשיא לבטחון לאומי. אביקור שהוגדר כ- FAMILIARIZATION של אבו טאלב עם גורמי הממשל התמקדו מארחיו במכלול הרחב של היחסים בין שתי המדינות ללא תלות בגרום אישי זה או אחר (ברמיזה לאבו גזלה), תוך הדגשת תאופי המיוחד (UNIQUE) שארת"ב מייחסת לקשריה עם מצרים. אייקר הטעים שלא נדונו נושאים בילטרליים ספציפיים מאחר ותביקור לא נועד לכך.

2. משלחת קרן המטבע עדיין שוהה במצרים. המצרים עומדים על כך שהלכו כבר דרך לא קטנה לקראת דרישות הקרן ולמעשה מילאו את הנדרש מהם. אנשי הקרן לא מכחישים זאת ואף מברכים על כך, ביחוד מתחום קיצוץ התקציב בגובה של 12-15 אחוז, אך טרם השתכנעו מרצינות כוונותיה של מצרים ומכאן שגם לא בדבקו באופטימיות שלה. אייקר הדגיש שגם אם זה יקרה, הרי שזה עדיין לא סוף פסוק. המדובר במשלחת טכנית שעל סמך מימצאיה ניתן יהיה לקבוע באם תשוגה משלחת רמת דרג יותר מטעם הקרן ע"מ לסכם שלב זה. במקביל המצרים נושאים ונותנים עם גורמי הבנק באשר לסיוע כספי. סיוע זה הכרחי שכן הוא מיועד להקל על הנטל שמצרים נטלת על עצמה בצעדיה הכלכליים במטגרת המו"מ עם הקרן. מודגש שאין תלות ישירה בין שני סוגי ההסכמים הנייל ומצרים יכולה להקדים ולהגיע להסכם עם הבנק העולמי, שהוא יחסית קל יותר בהשוואה לזה עם הקרן, אך ברור שהוא לא יופעל טרם שמצרים תגיע לסיכום אמיתי - אבידן

3 עם הקרן.

תפוצה: 3/0 שהה רהא ממכהה שהקס אמנא אמנא אמנא

ליוון מצרים פנינו מ"פ"ל סיו"ל ראמ"ס אמנא רב אמנא

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

דחיפות: בהול לבוקר	סגירות ישראל/וויינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג:		כתוב: 3
תאריך וזמן מעור: 9 באוג' 1989 17:20		אל: מצפייא
כס' פרוק: הפסד:	ארה'	דע: לשכת שהיח לשכת שהביט
304		פאת: ק. לקונגרס

הסנטורים קנדי וסימפסון ובני הערובה

1. רצייב תמליל הדו שיח שקיימו שני הסנטורים הללו ב-MUTUAL RADIO בתכנית FACE-OFF אתמול 8/8. זוהי תכנית קבועה המשודרת יום יום בשעה 09:45 ומוקלטת מראש.
2. תשומת ליבכם לביקורת שהושמעה עיי סימפסון כלפי ישראל ו'עונות' ותנאי כלי  
בישראל מצד קנדי.

ישראל וורא' צכנער  
יהודית ורנאי דרבגר.

היה אמנה מ שהם (אשרד)  
שהם/שהם מנה מנה מנה מנה מנה  
סי'ה' רומה מנה מנה מנה מנה מנה  
פס'ה'

תפוצה:



FACE OFF -- TERRORISM

8/1/89

304 2/3

11010

11010 - sic

2/3

TED, I KNOW YOU JOIN ME IN CONDEMNING THESE SENSELESS AND BARBARIC ACTS OF TERRORISM, BUT WILL YOU HAVE THE COURAGE TO JOIN ME IN CONDEMNATION OF ALL SUCH VENAL ACTS, INCLUDING THOSE CARRIED OUT BY OUR FRIENDS AND OUR ALLIES? TED KENNEDY AND I WILL FACE OFF IN A MOMENT.

THE MURDER OF WILLIAM HIGGINS IN LEBANON WAS GROTESQUE, GHOULISH AND UNBELIEVABLE, COL. HIGGINS WAS THERE IN LEBANON AS PART OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCES -- HE WAS MURDERED IN RETALIATION FOR ISRAEL'S STATE-SANCTIONED KIDNAPPING OF THE PRO-IRANIAN SHIEK Shaker OBEID. *okay*

TERRORIST ACTS ARE JUST AS REPUGNANT WHETHER CARRIED OUT AND SANCTIONED BY A RADICAL POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION OR BY OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, ISRAEL IS ONE OF THE TRUE AND GREAT ALLIES ~~TO THE UNITED STATES~~ <sup>IN</sup> AND A LONE AND COURAGEOUS DEMOCRACY IN A TROUBLED AND BATTERED REGION OF THE WORLD, ISRAEL HAS SECURITY PROBLEMS OF AWESOME MAGNITUDE THAT THREATEN ITS VERY EXISTENCE AS A STATE.

YET, THE LIFE OF A U.S. CITIZEN SOLDIER IS TAKEN -- AND THAT PUTS A BIT OF ADDITIONAL STRAIN ON OUR RELATIONSHIPS. YOUR THOUGHTS, TED?





TERRORISM

304 3/3 3/3 9

12/17/1990

AL, YOU'RE PLAYING RIGHT INTO THE HANDS OF THE TERRORISTS.  
THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT THOSE VICIOUS ANTI-SEMITIC FANATICS IN  
LEBANON AND THEIR MURDEROUS GODFATHER PATRONS IN IRAN AND SYRIA  
WANT US TO DO -- BLAME ISRAEL FOR THE LATEST ROUND OF TERRORIST  
ATROCITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SHAME ON YOU, AL. ISRAEL IS THE  
VICTIM OF TERRORISM, NOT THE INSTIGATOR.

SHAKE O'BIDE IS NO INNOCENT PARTY EITHER. HE'S ALLEGED TO BE  
ONE OF THE SHADOWY TERRORIST MASTERMINDS IMPLICATED IN THE  
KIDNAPPING OF COLONEL HIGGINS. WHATEVER QUESTIONS EXIST ABOUT  
ISRAEL'S ABDUCTION OF THE SHAKE, IT'S PREPOSTEROUS TO EQUATE IT  
WITH THE BRUTAL ACTIONS OF THE TERRORISTS. WHAT YOU'RE SAYING,  
AL, IS THAT SELF-DEFENSE IS NOT A LEGITIMATE DEFENSE TO  
TERRORISM.

THE COLD-BLOODED MURDER OF COLONEL HIGGINS SHOCKED THE  
CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD. ~~HOPEFULLY, BEFORE THESE FANATICS ARE  
MODERATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL TAKE CONTROL, FREE THE  
REMAINDER OF THE WORLD, AND END THEIR SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM.~~ THERE  
MUST BE NO SANCTUARY FOR TERRORISTS -- ANYWHERE ON EARTH.



דף: _____	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דחיות: מידי
כתוב: _____		סוג: בלמים
אל: _____	מע"ת: מצפ"א	תאריך וזמן חשור: 1900 9 באוגוסט 1989
דע: _____	יועץ רה"מ לתקשורת	כס' פרוק: הפרד:
כאח: _____	לש השגריר, וושינגטון	306

שיחת הנשיא - רה"מ

1. במהדורת חדשות הערב דיווחים, בין היתר ב - ABC וב - CBS על שיחת הטלפון של רה"מ לנשיא בוש.
2. כתבי הבית הלבן של הרשתות דווחו על שיחה ידידותית וכי רה"מ הבטיח לנשיא שכל עסקה שחרור תכלול את בני הערובה האמריקאיים.
- ABC הוסיפה שאין לסיפא אישור הבית הלבן.
3. עוד דיווחו כי הנשיא שוחח טלפונית גם עם הנשיא מובראק והנשיא לשעבר רייגן לצורך עדכנו.

לשכת שגריר

שהח<sup>3</sup> ס/טהח<sup>3</sup> רה"מ<sup>3</sup> אמריקה<sup>1</sup> שהל<sup>1</sup> אמ"ם<sup>1</sup> אמ"ם<sup>1</sup> אמ"ם<sup>1</sup>  
 אנצ'ר<sup>2</sup> אמ"ם<sup>2</sup> רה"מ<sup>2</sup> אמ"ם<sup>2</sup> הס"מ<sup>2</sup> פנ"ר<sup>2</sup> אל"מ<sup>2</sup>  
 ר/מרכ"ל<sup>1</sup> אמ"ם<sup>3</sup> ר"מ<sup>5</sup> אמ"ם<sup>4</sup> / ס"מ<sup>1</sup>

תפוצה:

1989-08-09

13:45

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P. 1/6

1/2 21 20

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

ב ו ס ס ר ו

מב ר ק , יוצא

בלתי מסוג

בוסטון	
30	נר
9.8.89	תאריך
בבול	דחיסות

209/c

אל : נוש - בר 4

(ווש העבירונא לי-ם)

מאת : הקונכ"ל, בוסטון.

ראיון מיוחד של הנשיא בוש ל"בוסטון גלוב" 9/8:

להלן קטעים המתייחסים לישראל ולפרשת השייח ובני הערובה מתוך ראיון וכתבה ארוכים המתפרסמים בהרחבה בגלוב.

יעקב לוי.

୧) ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ  
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AUG 09 '89 12:48 CONSULAT ISRAEL BOS.

P.2/8

2/8

BOSTON GLOBE AUGUST 9, 1989

"Bush foresees long-term effort to free hostages"

Article by Stephen Kurkjian and John Mashek based on interview with President Bush.

Highlights:Bush declined to criticize Israel for abducting Obeid, saying there is no need to reassess the US-Israeli relationship because of the incident.The two countries need to work to avoid future "disconnects" such as the failure of Israel to inform the US before the action.

The US would never abduct an alleged terrorist, but the President would order such an abduction only if there were legal evidence to try the person in US courts.

When asked about possible extradition of Obeid to the US, Bush answered "I'm not sure it's true factually, but I would try to bring to justice anybody who had anything to do with the kidnapping and against whom you could make a case for American live. Of course you would."

However, Bush said Obeid is in Israeli possession, and it is up to Israel whether to give him up. Therefore, he declined to say if he would ask Israel to delay in releasing Obeid in a hostage exchange to allow time for a US criminal investigation of the Sheikh's role in the abduction of US citizens.

SEE ATTACHED COMPLETE ARTICLE AND THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE INTERVIEW.

Sincerely,

Hasbara - Boston



BOSTON GLOBE

9/2/89

3/8

# Bush foresees long-term effort to free hostages

## Puts emphasis on diplomacy

By Stephen Kurkjian  
and John W. Mashek  
Globe Staff

WASHINGTON — President Bush yesterday downplayed hopes for a quick resolution of the Middle East hostage crisis, declaring that except for some "reasonably hopeful" statements out of Iran, he had no reason to share the optimism voiced by a United Nations negotiator about the chances for a settlement.

*The United States yesterday rejected any suggestion of tying the fate of American hostages in Lebanon to the Iranian assets frozen in this country. Page 10.*

In his first extended comments about the hostage crisis, which were made in a 20-minute Oval Office interview with the Globe, Bush said he would continue quiet diplomacy in trying to resolve the crisis, but he acknowledged that poor intelligence had prevented the United States from considering a rescue mission to "surgically extract" the American hostages.

"I have no reason to say that I can see in the short run a total resolution of the American hostage problem. I wish I could," Bush said. "I have no reason to say just over the horizon I think this problem would be solved — just over the immediate future."

BUSH, Page 15



Globe staff photo/Bill Greene  
President Bush in the White House yesterday during his interview with the Globe.



# Bush sees lengthy effort to free hostages

■ BUSH

Continued from Page 1

White House officials said later that US representatives would debrief United Nations envoy Marrack Goulding today in New York about his weeklong tour of the Middle East. During the trip, he met with Israeli, Moslem and Shiite leaders in an effort to open a course for negotiations.

Goulding told reporters in Beirut on Monday that although it would take patient, long-term negotiating to resolve the crisis, "circumstances may be more conducive to a settlement now than they had been."

Seated behind his desk and within earshot of his top national security and domestic staff, Bush sounded sure-minded about his handling of the hostage drama, but realistic about the chances for an early solution. However, a tone of frustration entered into his voice when he was asked if he had not forsaken the traditional US policy of not negotiating for the release of US hostages.

"I have no problems with that... if... I can talk to somebody and get the release of an American hostage and do it without, in my view and in the view of the experts, putting others at risk" of being taken hostage, Bush said.

Concerning his decision to seek a diplomatic rather than a military solution to the crisis, Bush said: "I have tried to keep from escalating matters by making a lot of loud threats. I have had to take certain prudent actions and you've seen the tip of that iceberg... the movement of ships... We are trying to handle this where diplomacy can be most effective."

Meanwhile, the Bush administration yesterday rejected tying the fate of American hostages in Lebanon to \$2 billion of Iranian assets frozen in this country for nearly a decade. Quoting an anonymous source, the English-language Tehran Times reported that Iran would intercede to gain the release of the hostages if Washington gave assurances that it would release the frozen assets.

US assurances that the assets would be released "should be concrete, and there should be convincing grounds that these proposals will be translated into action," the



Globe staff photo/Bill Greene  
President Bush in the Oval Office: "I have no reason to say that I can see in the short run a total resolution of the American hostage problem."

unidentified source was quoted as saying.

A State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher, dismissed the possibility of such an exchange, saying that "the questions of the assets have no connection or linkage whatsoever with the hostage issue."

## Other hostage-related comments

During the interview, in other matters relating to the hostages, Bush made these remarks:

- He said he was committed to bringing those responsible for Marine Lt. Col. William R. Higgins' abduction and execution to justice in

US courts. But he ducked the question of whether he would seek the extradition of Sheikh Abdel Kareem Obaid, who is now being held by the Israelis, if there was evidence tying him to Higgins' kidnapping. Obaid is being interrogated by the Israelis about his alleged role in terrorist activities.

- He declined to criticize Israel for its July 28 abduction of Obaid, which is seen as having triggered the hostage crisis. Bush said there

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was no need to reassess the US-Israeli relationship because of the action.

However, in answer to a question about whether Israel should have consulted with the United States before abducting Obeld, Bush said the two countries had to work to avoid future "disconnections" with each other.

• He declared that the United States would never abduct an alleged terrorist, as Israel had done, to engage in a possible prisoner exchange. He would order such an abduction, he said, only if there were legal evidence to try the person in US courts.

"Our policy is not to say, 'All right, we've got this guy, who do you have to trade?'" Bush said. "That's not the policy of the United States, never has been, and as long as I'm president, will not be the policy of the United States."

• He declined to detail Soviet efforts on behalf of the United States, such as whether Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze had carried a message from Bush to Iran's new president, Hashemi Rafsanjani, in their meeting last week. The Soviet Union has wanted to help the United States get negotiations under way.

"The Soviet Union has had better relations than we have with some of the key countries over there, including slightly better, recently improved relations with Iran. They've had some relations with Syria, and, you know, can touch some bases where we haven't been able to touch," Bush said.

#### Lack of intelligence data

The president acknowledged that a lack of intelligence data on the whereabouts of the eight American hostages in Lebanon had tied his hands in dealing with the crisis. Reminded that the report of a 1986 task force on terrorism, which he headed as vice president, had recommended an increase in US resources in such terrorist-prone sites as Beirut, Bush said that even if the United States "tripled" the number of spies it had in Lebanon, it would not be enough.

"So, I'm satisfied that it's a little better than it was," stated Bush, who headed the Central Intelligence Agency for a year during the mid-1970s. "But we still don't have the intelligence that I would like to have. If we had better intelligence, we might be able to surgically extract the Americans that are still held hostage."

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Bush gingerly handled the issue of whether the United States is interested in seeking the extradition of Obeld, the Shiite cleric who was abducted by Israeli commandos from his home in southern Lebanon, to stand trial in the United States for Higgins' abduction.

Seeking Obeld's extradition might ensnarl the tentative negotiations that could be under way for a hostage exchange. Iran and Lebanon-based Shiite extremists have stated that Obeld must be released as part of any exchange. Also involved in such negotiations would be the 16 Western hostages, three Israeli soldiers who are held captive in Lebanon, and the approximately 450 Arabs held prisoner in Israel.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the Israeli Knesset last week that Obeld has admitted under interrogation that he played a role in the kidnapping of Higgins from his United Nations command post in February 1988. Obeld had made similar statements about his role in interviews with journalists in Lebanon shortly after Higgins was kidnapped.

Rabin said that Obeld had admitted allowing Higgins' abductors to use his home as a base of operations a day before the kidnapping took place and that at least one of them returned to his home afterward. In addition, the car used for the abduction was concealed in the garage at Obeld's home for a month after the kidnapping, Rabin said.

#### Wants abductors punished

Bush told the Globe that he was committed to bringing those responsible for Higgins' abduction and execution to justice.

Asked if he would seek Obeld's extradition to the United States if it were proven that he played a role in the abduction, Bush said: "Well, I'm not sure it's true factually, but I would try to bring to justice anybody who had anything to do with the kidnapping and against whom you could make a case for American lives. Of course you would."

However, he declined to say whether he would ask the Israelis to delay releasing Obeld in any hostage exchange to allow time for a US criminal investigation of Obeld's role in the abduction. Obeld is in Israeli possession, and it is up to them to determine whether to give him up, Bush said.

"We've a divergent problem," Bush said. "First of policies. We are not going to try to form the policies for others. The United States has a policy, and that is that we do

negotiate in any way that's going to jeopardize the lives of other Americans. And so, I would leave it right there."

Following the interview, top administration officials who asked not to be identified said that despite the reports of Obeld's statements, it is unlikely that the US Justice Department would be able to build a prosecutable case against him. The officials stressed that investigators would be unlikely to develop independent corroboration tying Obeld to the kidnapping, and that any confessions Obeld made to the Israelis would be thrown out of a US court because of claims of coercion.

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# TRANSCRIPT OF A CONVERSATION WITH

## THE PRESIDENT

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WASHINGTON - Following is the transcript of an interview yesterday with President Bush at the White House with Stephen Kurkjian, John W. Mashek and Walter V. Robinson of the Globe staff:

Q. You've have been making calls the past week in reaching out to world leaders on this crisis. Yesterday, UN Undersecretary [Marrack] Goulding's assessment was that circumstances right now are conducive to resolving this crisis and getting the solution on the release of these hostages is now better than ever before. Can you give us your assessment of that?

A. Well, I want to talk to the secretary general, now that Goulding is back or about to come back, and understand what he based that on. I would like to agree with him, but I don't have the facts to agree with him on, to compel me to agree with him on that statement.

There have been a couple of reasonably hopeful statements out of Iran and perhaps that was what he was basing his assessment on. But I think Marlin [presidential press secretary Marlin Fitzwater] yesterday properly termed it, "cautiously optimistic," and I would say that is where we are. But some of that is the relief that came, at least temporarily, to the stay of execution if you will — stay of murder I would call it — for Mr. Cicippio.

But I have no reason to say that I can see, in a short run, for a total resolution of the holding of the American hostage problem. I wish I could.

Q. But in the short run you see nothing?

A. Well, I wouldn't say nothing, but I have no reason to say just over the horizon I think this problem would be solved — just over the immediate future.

Q. The FBI has now identified Lt. Col. [Richard] Higgins as being the person on that grisly tape. Are you committed to bringing to justice those responsible?

A. Yes. It's extraordinarily hard to do, but the answer is yes.

Q. Sheik [Abdel Karim] Cbeid has already indicated to his Israeli captors as

well as to Lebanese journalists that he played a role in the abduction of Lt. Col. Higgins. If this is true, would you seek his extradition to the United States?

A. Well, I'm not sure it's true factually, but I would try to bring to justice anybody who had anything to do with the kidnapping and — you know, against whom you could make a case for American lives. Of course, you could.

Q. And until that issue is resolved, would you oppose his being part of any exchange?

A. Well, I have nothing — my view is that Israelis are handling their — we've a divergent problem. First of policies. We are not going to try to form the policies for others. The United States has a policy, and that is that we do not negotiate in any way that's going to jeopardize the lives of other Americans. And so I would leave it right there.

Q. One of the recommendations of the 1986 task force you headed was that we ought to improve our counterterrorism and intelligence in that part of the world, particularly in Beirut. Do you still feel handicapped?

A. Yes.

[question not printed in newspaper]  
not thorough enough, or sound enough, for you to act?

A. And if we tripled our resources, I'd still feel that way because you're dealing with ...

Q. Should we triple our resources?

A. Well, we tried. And you don't know and I won't tell what we ... stepped up in the way of human collection in Lebanon or areas of that nature because once we did that and once you start discussing human intelligence, you dry up human intelligence. So I'm satisfied that it's a little better than it was. But, we're ... we still don't have the intelligence that I would like to have. If we had better intelligence we might be able to surgically extract the Americans that are still held hostage.

Q. You mentioned just a moment ago our position on terrorism and taking hostages. Our position is that we don't encourage others and yet we are making contacts, direct and indirect, with parties in the Middle East. Why not go the next step and say this might not be negotiating, but we are talking — we are talking with these people and we may — this may lead to a solution.

A. I have no problems with that. Look, if we can — I can talk to somebody and get the release of an American hostage and do it without, in my view and in the view of the experts, putting others at risk.

Q. But aren't we talking semantics?

A. Not necessarily. If you give the hostage holder some reward for having held an American hostage, it's going to happen tomorrow. And that's what the policy is based on. We have a different policy from other countries. I think Israel approaches it differently. And I might point out that we are not going to permit this happening for the moment to drive a wedge between Israel and the United States. I'll make that point very clear. But there are differences here on policy, well-known differences. But the fundamental strategic relationship will be kept fundamentally strong.

Q. In hindsight, do you believe that the Israelis were wrong to abduct Sheik Obeid?

A. No, I can't say it's wrong and I can't say it's right.

Q. Well, how do you assess it? People have taken stands on both sides of the issue.

A. That's me.

Q. Some on one side and some on the other. You seem to want to avoid taking one.

A. That's exactly right. I want to avoid taking one. ... I spelled out the United States policy and that's what I'm going to continue to do.



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9. The United States would never engage. I gather in your view, in such an activity -- abduction?

A. Well it's outside. If ... could find somebody where the evidence was overwhelming and would stand up in court and where there was an indictment and proper procedures from our law, I could do that. But I wouldn't do it to trade the guy off for Joe Jones over here. That's the difference. We did that with this man who was convicted and is serving time and we should do that. But that's quite different than ... Our policy is not to say all right we got this guy, now hey, who do you have to trade? That's not the policy of the United States, never has been and as long as I'm president, will not be the policy of the United States.

9. The fact that we had no advance warning of this suggests to some another indication that US and Israeli interests often do not dovetail?

A. They may not. Sometimes the interests may not dovetail on something of this nature. But the point I want to make is that the overall fundamental relationship with Israel and the United States is very important and will transcend any difficulties that might come from a lack of dovetailing. But sometimes, you do have differences with friends.

9. Do you believe any reassessment of the relationship is in order?

A. No, what I believe is in order is to be sure we, you know, to avoid any disconnects. If possible, and to make sure that we have no disconnects in the future. ... Not a reassessment in terms of strategic interests of the United States of America.

9. Has our improved relationship with the Soviet Union assisted us in dealing with this crisis?

A. It hasn't hurt it any and I don't know that we can say whether it has helped. But I'd say that it could be a benefit. Why? Because the Soviet Union has had better relations than we have with some of the key countries over there, including slightly better, recently improved relations with -- recently improved relations -- Iran. They've had some relations with Syria, and you know, can touch some bases where we haven't been able to touch.

9. Were they helpful in bringing messages from you to [Iranian President Ruhollah] Khomeini?

A. I think they could be. I think they'd like to be. And perhaps they have been. I don't know.

9. Had Joseph Cicippio been executed last week, you say that had we had better intelligence you might have had a better option of calling in a military option. Was that possibility of a military reprisal made known to his captors?

A. Look, I have tried to keep from escalating matters by making a lot of loud threats. I have had to take certain prudent actions and you've seen the tip of that ice.

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berg... the movement of ships. I just want to leave it right there, because we are trying to handle this where diplomacy can be most effective. It is better to just not discuss what might have been or what I might have done under a hypothetical situation. Obviously like every American, I was just heartsick at the degrading of that man out on television. I've got to tell you that my first thought was the family. How did the family feel about this? And then, of course, I was talking to my top people here about the United States options.

9. Shortly after you came to office you had to deal with the savings and loan bailout, then the scandal hit you at the Department of Housing and Urban Development and, then you learned that the nuclear energy cleanup is going to be a tremendous cost. Do you feel like you've come in holding the bag?

A. Remember Lit Abner, the guy that had the black cloud hanging over his head? What was his name? Joe? Once in a while I think of Joe. But not a lot. Just go out and solve the problem. That's the way I look at it. And basically, we've had good cooperation from the Congress, for the most part. I'm sore at them on our nominees for filling the federal government. I think there's a lot of politics being played there. I saw politics being played with the nomination of Mr. Lucas (William Lucas, whose nomination to head the Civil Rights Division at the Justice Department was rejected) and didn't like it a bit. So I've got my differences with Congress. Look, these are national problems we've got to come together and solve. And I'm determined to do it, not by fighting with Congress, but by working with them. And I'm going to compromise on one issue and they've got to compromise on another. So there we are.

9. Some people think you are too nice or a guy when it comes to Congress. ...

A. That was a vicious assault that was raised against me, that I was too nice back in the primary.

9. I wasn't responsible for that.

A. It's a terrible attack, to say somebody's nice. I refute that.

9. But even some Republicans grumble that you're proving you can get rolled by this Congress.

A. I don't think that. Look at the savings and loan deal. I think some would like to see me on some issue or another a little more confrontational. I can understand that but I want something to happen. I want to solve some problems. You know, they've [Democrats] got us outnumbered. And it's not going to happen just exactly my way. So what we're going to do is preserve certain principles, fight for them and still make something go forward. So I have to compromise, and I expect if I went out and said absolutely everything I felt about every Democratic member in Congress that opposed me ... I might feel good, but I wouldn't get anything done. I think most



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be plenty of time in the congressional campaigns to spell out these philosophical differences. I was elected to make something happen, and in a lot of areas we've got pretty good progress.

Q. I wanted to turn to the tenor of the presidency in general and, again, this is a question about your nice-guy image that there are some comparisons of you to President Eisenhower...

A. I don't even think in those terms. But, I mean, I can't really comment on that because I just — I think it's way too early to assess my own presidency. We've got good people. I've got confidence in delegating to those people... I'll tell you one thing we can do. We can sit with divergent opinions and argue and fight amongst ourselves, and then with the Cabinet appear willing to back me in what the decision is. We've had several differences... and that's the way that I want it. That's the way I learn — listening to the strong-willed, able people. But in terms of how that affects the overall presidency, I don't know. I think it's way too early to assess that.

Q. Are you more content administering the country than leading it? Some people suggest you haven't yet found that bully pulpit, you haven't really yet asked the country to do anything, you have not sought in any way to become a larger-than-life figure...

A. Well, that may be a fair observation. I'm not trying to become a larger-than-life figure. It's not the I... It is making something happen, making life better for people, doing something to enhance world peace, seeing a changing world that we're living in and trying to build relationships based on that change. You can look around the world and see examples of that, handling the Soviet relationship in such a way that my grandkids and yours will have a better chance to grow up without the fear of war. I mean, these things are all there, these big goals, but I don't put it in terms of I, what I am going to do, how people are going to remember me. That doesn't have anything to do with it.

Q. And if you're in the background when the results come in, is that all right with you?

A. Yeah, perfectly all right. I'll go right back and live happily ever after.

Q. Doesn't that make you a different politician?

A. No. I don't know that every politician is thinking in terms of his own success. Reagan sat here, with a little thing on his desk. It doesn't matter who gets the credit as long as something good happens. That's the way I look at it and always have.

Q. Five Central American leaders yesterday signed an agreement calling for the disbanding of the contras 2½ months before the Nicaraguan elections. What will you be able to do to keep the contras alive as a fighting force until the 1990 elections?

are completed, and ensure that democratization in Nicaragua isn't a sham?

A. I asked for the details on the — what they have done down there. And the resistance is to be consulted and have direct talks with the Sandinistas. There will be no involuntary — isn't that right, Brent [Scowcroft] — repatriation. Nobody is going to try to involuntarily compel these people to go back. Within 90 days the resistance will be asked to accept what the commission worked out in consultation with all concerned — and that includes the resistance.

The thing I don't want to see is compulsory demobilization of the contras before these elections. And that is our position. And I have made it clear to two of the presidents personally and have taken the case up directly with the others. And so I want to talk to [Secretary of State] Jim Baker after we have had a chance to thoroughly analyze what happened here. That is the policy of the United States government and I see no reason to change my view on that. And so there are some positive things. Positive thing are some of the changes inside Nicaragua that might — I use the word advisedly — facilitate free and fair elections.

Q. Your immediate reaction is not negative?

A. Let's analyze it before we either condemn it or praise it, because... I know what our policy is and I don't see anything totally incompatible with our policy here. But I want to be sure of what I'm telling you. Because we haven't — Baker's not back yet — and it just happened yesterday. But as I look at this, the concept of voluntary, the concept of moving forward with some changes inside Nicaragua — some encouragement there. But, if it is mandatory dissolution of the contras prior to the elections, then I would view that as quite negative. So I need a little...