

מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד

משיר רהמ
יאל אדינ
ארה
17/1/90 1/1/90



שם תיק: היועץ המדיני לראש הממשלה - ארה"ב

מזהה פיוז: 4611/5-א

מזהה פריט: R00036gk

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תאריך הדפסה: 31/08/2020

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מחלקה

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ABC "NIGHTLINE" INTERVIEW WITH: YITZHAK RABIN, DEFENSE MINISTER OF ISRAEL, ROBERT DOLE, US SENATOR (R-KS), RAUL MANG LAPUS, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE PHILIPPINES/ TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990 NL-2-1 page 1

TED KOPPEL: Israel is slated to receive a total of \$3 billion in Economic and Military aid from the United States in the current fiscal year. Joining us now live in our Washington bureau is Yitzhak Rabin, current Defense Minister, former Prime Minister, of Israel.

The Philippines are slated for \$363 million in US aid this fiscal year. We are experiencing a little bit of satellite difficulty between Manila and London and here, but we hope that joining us very shortly will be the Philippine Foreign Minister, Raul Manglapus.

Also joining us here in Washington is the Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole. And Senator Dole, I wonder how much of a hornet's nest you have stirred up here?

SEN. DOLE: (Laughs.)

MR. KOPPEL: First of all, what's the theory behind it. Do you think that enough money can be generated by taking some away from -- and you listed essentially our five top aid recipients --

SEN. DOLE: Well, that's --

MR. KOPPEL: -- Israel, Egypt, Philippines, Pakistan. Who am I leaving out?

SEN. DOLE: Well, you're leaving Turkey. But I didn't say five. I said all countries who receive earmarks. That would include, obviously, Greece, Poland, El Salvador, Honduras, Pakistan, and they are all friends of ours. Don't misunderstand me. But we have a problem. The way we have earmarked so much of our foreign aid money, it means there are about 35 countries who have been receiving help who might not receive any money. Let's take countries like Colombia, Peru, Bolivia -- very important in the drug efforts, in the effort to stem the tide of drugs into this country. African countries -- Zaire, Liberia, Nigeria -- there are chances they may lose all their aid because Congress has earmarked such huge sums, about 92 percent of our cash aid is already earmarked, 84 percent of military aid is earmarked, and it seems to me that we ought to give the Presidents more flexibility.

And that's really the point I was trying to make. Let's not -- let's not have Congress do everything. Let's give the President flexibility. It might mean that a country like Israel, they're

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going to have problems with resettling immigrants coming from the Soviet Union. They're going to have housing problems. We're going to be asked to help. I'm working with Senator Inouye on that right now. So it's not any hostile effort, just trying to make a point that we need to look everywhere to help these emerging democracies and also help those countries we've helped in the past.

MR. KOPPEL: How much -- I'm sorry to interrupt, Senator.

SEN. DOLE: That's all right.

MR. KOPPEL: How much of this also is your perception that we're living in a changing world?

SEN. DOLE: Well, a great deal of it. If you miss a newscast these days, you're liable to miss some new emerging democracy. And whether the countries you name -- whether it's EBulgariaF, ECzechoslovakiaF, whatever, whether it's EPanamaF, where we have an obligation obviously -- a big obligation -- they are saying \$1 to 2 billion and maybe more. ESouthF EAmericaF, where we have emerging democracies and where we're going to have a big impact because of the drug sources -- they're going to be looking to us for assistance.

Where do we find the money? We've got to start off understanding, foreign aid is not very popular in this Congress. It's probably not very popular in any country. It's hard to get members of Congress to vote for foreign aid. Right now, the foreign aid program is about \$15 billion, but a lot of that goes about \$5 billion for international organizations. So, we've got about \$10 billion is all we have. Now, some would say just make the pie bigger. I don't think there are votes to make the pie bigger.

MR. KOPPEL: Let me -- let me turn to Minister Rabin for a moment. If we hear that there's a total of \$10 billion in there, and for example, the top two recipients -- Israel and Egypt, together -- Israel gets \$3 billion; Egypt gets \$2 billion -- is there room for the kind of flexibility that Senator Dole is talking about?

MIN. RABIN: Well, I believe that everyone who lives in this world cannot but [be] impressed by the developments that have taken place in the ESovietF Bloc, in the EEastern EuropeanF countries. No doubt that these developments might open a new era in global relations. But, when I ask myself in which direction the danger of wars, the use of force, has been reduced -- towards the EMiddle EastF or towards ENATO F countries? To me, it's clear that if at all there is a reduction of danger, [it] is vis-a-vis NATO and European countries.

The Soviet Union has not changed its policy of supplying arms to three radical EArabF countries -- EIraqF, ESyriaF and ELibyaF. There is a continuation of the flow of EarmsF of the most EsophisticatedF Econventional weaponsF. It might be even that the Soviet Union because

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increase in shipment of arms which is paid by ESaudiF money that goes to Iraq, Syria, to pay what they have to purchase in the Soviet Union.

MR. KOPPEL: Let me just jump in for a moment, Minister, and ask you though, if indeed, as you seem to be agreeing at the beginning of your response to my question, there is a need for Western assistance to Eastern Europe -- you know the United States as well as anyone. In addition to everything else that you have done in service of your country, you were also for many years the ambassador here in Washington. There's a limit to how much money -- you know the US Congress -- there's a limit to how much money the US Congress is going to provide for foreign aid. Let me pose the question to you, then we'll take a break and I'll come back for the answer.

If not from all the other aid recipients, where do you think the money is going to come from?

Let's take a break, and then when we return, we'll get the answer from Defense Minister Rabin. Back in a moment.

(Commercial break.)

MR. KOPPEL: And we are still trying to make satellite contact with Manila for Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus. We hope he will be able to join us shortly.

In the meantime, I was just asking Foreign Minister Rabin before the break -- you know our Congress, you know how tough it is to get foreign aid in the first place -- if some is taken from Israel, some from Egypt, some from Turkey and so on down the line, would that not be a way of getting money in the least painful fashion to contribute to a place like Eastern Europe, where I think everyone agrees it is needed now?

MIN. RABIN: Allow me first to say that any cutting to the military assistance to Israel will create, in view of the arms race -- and not only the Soviet Union participates in it. Europe and even the United States selling arms to certain Arab countries. It will bring about a change in the military balance, might increase the dangers of war in the region.

And now to come to your question. If the threat is reduced vis-a-vis first and foremost the European countries, let's not forget their expenditure for their defense is 2.5, 3 percent of their GNP, while the United States is 6 percent, Israel is 10 percent. Why not to bring within NATO an effort of assistance in which not only the United States will carry the burden? Why the other European countries -- that the United States, a country with so much -- I believe between \$50 [billion to \$70 billion a year for maintaining your forces for the defense of Europe -- contribute to what's going on in Europe, and might affect directly them more than anybody else?

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MR. KOPPEL: Let me turn to Senator Dole with that question. Indeed, we have 300,000 troops in Europe, and Mr. Rabin is exactly correct. We spend a great deal of money there. It's another way of talking about the peace dividends.

SEN. DOLE: Peace dividend.

MR. KOPPEL: Where is that peace dividend?

SEN. DOLE: (Chuckles.) Oh, it's been spent by at least 100 Senators that I know of in different ways, and certainly, this should be debated, and there will be reduction in defense spending. And much of our defense spending indirectly helps countries like Israel and Egypt and other of our friends. So this will be debated.

I'm only -- I was only suggesting a five percent reduction, which would be \$150 million in the case of Israel, about \$100 million in the case of Egypt. Otherwise, we're going to have about 35 countries going to be -- could be zeroed out because the President, in his budget, is short about \$650 million because of all the earmarking done by Congress. And I think the larger question -- I don't have a quarrel particularly with Mr. Rabin, Israel is a unique case. The others are unique cases. The question is, shouldn't the President of the United States, who has a constitutional right to conduct foreign policy, have some flexibility in how our foreign aid is spent and where it's spent, and how much is spent? And that's been the problem over the years. Congress has more and more encroached upon the rights and prerogatives of the President of the United States, whether he be a Democrat or a Republican.

MR. KOPPEL: I think I should say for both your sakes and my sake also, I did not want this to look as though it was a Bob Dole/Israel kind of dialogue.

SEN. DOLE: No, it's not.

MR. KOPPEL: It's not. Indeed, we --

MIN. RABIN: Not at all.

MR. KOPPEL: -- we invited the Egyptian Foreign Minister who is also in Washington to join us, and he was jet-lagged out and could not do so. We've been having technical problems, so we weren't able to bring Foreign Minister Manglapus in here.

SEN. DOLE: But, I think --

MR. KOPPEL: In terms of the larger issue though, Senator Dole, of just five percent from each of the countries, how much altogether would that provide?

SEN. DOLE: Across the board, it's only \$400 million. So we're still going to have to find a lot of money to help

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obligations in Latin America. So \$400 million, that's if every earmarked country would take a five percent reduction. Some of the countries get as little as \$7 million, \$9 million. EBoliviaF gets \$37 million. EEI SalvadorF would be affected, and we're contributing to their efforts for democracy.

So it's not -- we didn't single out any country, and I must say that I think the larger question is probably not the amount, but giving the President of the United States -- in this case, George Bush -- the flexibility he needs to meet the needs of Israel and Egypt and Panama and the emerging democracies in EEastern EuropeF.

MR. KOPPEL: All right. We've got to take a break. We'll come back with Senator Dole and Defense Minister Rabin in just a moment.

(Commercial break.)

MR. KOPPEL: Still no satellite link-up, but joining us now live via telephone from Manila is Raul Manglapus, the Foreign Minister of the Philippines. Mr. Foreign Minister, I think you have been able to listen to the discussion. What do you think about Senator Dole's idea -- a five percent reduction, more or less across the board, of all US aid recipients so that some money can be made available in places like Eastern Europe where it's desperately needed?

MIN. MANGLAPUS: We appreciate what Senator Dole is trying to do. I have his opinion editorial here, and I'd like to make three quick points. One, he would like to cut aid to some countries in order to aid the new democracies. However, the EPhilippinesF is a new democracy, and I hope he doesn't include the Philippines among those countries from which aid is to be cut. We are, in fact, the leader of the Newly Restored Democracies Movement which had a meeting here in Manila of 13 countries in '88, and we'll hold the next meeting in Pakistan.

The second point I'd like to make is in response to his statement that supporting freedom is not free. Indeed, the Philippines has been in the front line of United States EdefenseF of United States' freedom since 1898 and Subic Bay was already there in 1903 free of rent for 70 years.

Finally, I'd like to say that the aid that is being given to the Philippines is unilateral act on the part of the United States, it's part of an agreement that we have entered into where the President of the United States made a solemn best efforts pledge to give us that aid accompanying the agreement to continue the bases here.

MR. KOPPEL: We're down --

MIN. MANGLAPUS: I would suggest --

MR. KOPPEL: We're down, Minister, to our last 45 seconds and I just want to see if I can get from Senator Dole -- if I hear everybody correctly, Senator, they think

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SEN. DOLE: Well, I don't quarrel with that. In fact, I testified, as the Foreign Minister knows, on behalf of additional aid to the Philippines, \$200 million. So, it's not an unfriendly act, I'm just suggesting that we've got to meet our demands. We have a big EdeficitF. We were told in South America six weeks ago they're concerned they're going to lose their money because of these emerging democracies, we're going to neglect Latin America. We can't do that. And I don't know what we're going to do. It's hard to pass a foreign aid bill in Congress, and I know Minister Rabin would agree with that.

MR. KOPPEL: All right. Senator, I thank you. Defense Minister Rabin, thank you very much indeed. Minister Manglapus, I'm sorry we couldn't see you, but it was nice of you to join us even briefly by phone. Thank you all very much for being with us. That's our report for tonight. I'm Ted Koppel in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.

END

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1990-01-18 03:38

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דחיפות: בחול לבוקר	שגרירות ישראל / אוסינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
סוג: גלוי		פתוח: 3
תאריך ושמן חבירה: 17.1.90	אל: מצפ"א ארכ"ל	
כס' פרוק: מפסדו		דע:
448		פאת: ק. לקונגרס.

חסטור דול וקיצוץ בסיוע

לחלן הודעותיהם לעחונות של חסטור מצבאום והקונגרסמן שומר.

יהא אכא ענין
יחודים ורנאי דרנגר.

להח 3 סוטה רהמ 3
הנכור 2 ארסא
הסברה 2 להקט 1
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תפוצה: 36 ע"א

NEWS



CHARLES E. SCHUMER

10th Congressional District, N.Y.

FOR RELEASE:

448 2/3

CONTACT:

January 16, 1990

eric hauser (202-225-6616)

STATEMENT OF REP. CHARLES E. SCHUMER, D-NY
RE: US AID TO ISRAEL

"The United States has gotten more out of the assistance it has directed to Israel than any other foreign aid program it conducts. Israel has long been America's most dependable ally, and there is no better way to allocate scarce foreign aid resources than to help Israel's democracy and promote peace and stability in the Middle East.

For Senator Dole to suggest that aid to Israel should be slashed is both unfair and not in America's best interests.

The need to provide aid to Eastern Europe is crucial, but it would be a very grave mistake for Congress to attempt to assist these emerging democracies on the back of Israel's security. It is simply bad policy to imperil one vital interest to forward another."

- xxx -

U.S. Senator Howard M.

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METZENBAUM

Committees:
Judiciary
Labor and Human Resources
Energy and Natural Resources
Select Committee on Intelligence

Chairmanships:
Subcommittee on Antitrust
Subcommittee on Labor
Subcommittee on Energy
Regulation and Conservation

ATTENTION: DANA 638-4697 of Ohio

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Date: January 16, 1990

Contact: Nancy Coffey
(202) 224-2315

METZENBAUM COUNTERS DOLE PROPOSAL ON FOREIGN AID

WASHINGTON -- SEN. HOWARD M. METZENBAUM, D-OHIO, TODAY REACTED TO SEN. ROBERT DOLE'S PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE MORE MONEY FOR THE NEW DEMOCRACIES IN EASTERN EUROPE WITH A FIVE PERCENT CUT IN AID TO ISRAEL, EGYPT, THE PHILIPPINES, TURKEY AND PAKISTAN. SEN. DOLE MADE HIS PROPOSAL IN AN OP ED PAGE ARTICLE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES 1/16/90.

"WE MUST ENCOURAGE DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE BUT WE MUST DO IT WITHOUT JEOPARDISING THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF OUR OWN DEMOCRACY IN SOME OF THE MOST TROUBLED AREAS OF THE WORLD. RATHER THAN CUTTING FUNDS TO FIVE OF OUR CLOSEST ALLIES, LET'S FIND MORE MONEY FOR DEMOCRACY IN COSTLY, UNNECESSARY WEAPONS PROGRAMS LIKE SDI, THE B2 BOMBER AND THE MOBILE MX MISSILE. DESPITE SEN. DOLE'S SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE PEACE DIVIDEND, ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR EASTERN EUROPE CAN AND SHOULD BE FOUND IN WESTERN EUROPE WHERE U.S. TROOPS WILL BE REDUCED," METZENBAUM SAID.

דחיפות: מידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 1
סוג: שמור		כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן חנייה: 17.1.90	ארה"ב	אל: מצפ"א
פס' פרוק: הפסד:		דע:
450		פאת: ק. לקונגרס.

הנדון: הערכות ראשוניות בעקבות מאמר הסנטור דול וספיחיו.

1. אין לראות במאמר הסנטור דול ארוע תקשורתי החולף כאשר מתחלפות הכותרות.
2. אין לראות במאמר מכשול אשר מדלגים עליו עם גיוס ההתבטאויות והמאמרים המתאימים ב"גבעה" ומחוצה לה.
3. המאמר מבטא בעיה נמשכת ומתגברת, אשר יש לה שורשים ופוטנציאל איום משמעותי על עתיד חלקנו בסיוע החוץ של ארה"ב.
4. יש לראות בהיערכות מול עקרונות המאמר מערכת לטווח ארוך (אילוצי התקציב יחגברו בשנים הקרובות) אשר מטרתה היא ביצור, ואולי אף הגדלה, של חלקנו בעוגת תקציבי הסיוע וההגנה של ארה"ב.
5. המאמר חושף את פגיעות ישראל כל עוד משקיסים על הקשר האמריקאי-ישראלי דרך אספקלריה צר כאילו הקשר מבוסס על האיום הסובייטי, כאילו גולש חלפנוסט למזח"ח, וכאילו עידן הגלטנוט נעדר סימני שאלה, אי-ודאות, סכנות ועימותים (חלקם ותיקים וחלקם רעננים הפורצים בהשראת הגלטנוסט). ראוי לקשר ארה"ב - ישראל שיוגדר בחקשר רחב ולא צר.
6. התמקדות בצרכי ישראל-כטקטיקה לתגובת על המאמר ורעיונותיו-מצמצמת את ההקשר. מן הראוי לשקול הרחבת היריעה ע"י הצבעה על השינויים החלים במציאות האיזורית וחלובלית, אשר יש להם השפעה על אינטרסים אמריקאים (לדוגמא, יחס הפוך בין הרגיעה חבין מעצמתית לבין החלקחיות מקומיות ואזוריות, כולל טרור וסמים), ומכאן שיש להם השפעה (חיובית) על חלקה של ישראל בתקציבי סיוע החוץ וההגנה.

7. העקרון "what's in it for the u.s." (להבדיל מדגש על צרכי ישראל) מחונח גורם כבד משק שהח"כ/שהח"כ רה"מ אמלה"מ וה"כס מ"כ"מ מ"כ"מ מ"כ"מ

תפוצה: 36 בקניי מ"כ"מ/2

רה"כ מ"כ"מ (הסככה) מ"כ"מ מ"כ"מ

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 2
סוג:		כתוב: 2
תאריך ושכח חצור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
המסרד:		כאת:
450		

בעיצוב הקשר עם ישראל. משקלו גדל בהשראת "מקל" "גדאם - ראדמן" מחד ואנורת הגלסנוסט מאידך. הדגשת תרומתה של ישראל לאינטרסים האסטרטגים של ארה"ב, חודיותה של ישראל כבעלת ברית יעילת וחשפעתה הממתנת על תקציב הבטחון האמריקאי (COST EFFECTIVE ALLY, VALUE MULTIPLIER) עונים על הצמיות של עקרון אמריקאי זה.

8. יתכן וחמאמר חירות ירית סחיחה בפרק הנוכחי במאבק על עיצוב סיוע חחוץ ועל חלקת של ישראל בחוק סיוע חחוץ. תרומתו הגדולה עשויה להיות בכך שחעיר נמים ושאננים, ובכך שיתרום להבהרה רחבה ומציאותית יותר של הרקע האסטרטגי לקשר בין שתי המדינות.

יורם אטינגר יחודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה:

DISCUSS THE OTHER SUBJECT WHICH I SAID THEY WERE GOING TO DISCUSS WHICH WAS THE PEACE PROCESS.

SO SECRETARY BAKER SUGGESTED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT HE, SECRETARY BAKER HAD TO GO, ONE, TO THE WHITE HOUSE

AND HAD SEVERAL OTHER MEETINGS, WOULD IT BE CONVENIENT IF HE CAME OVER TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S HOTEL WHEN HIS MEETINGS HAD ENDED, AND THAT THEY DISCUSS THE PEACE PROCESS AT THAT TIME. THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT HAPPENED.

I BELIEVE THAT WE LEFT HERE AT 7:00 P.M. LAST NIGHT. IT WAS A SMALLER GROUP MEETING AND THEY MET FOR APPROXIMATELY A LITTLE OVER AN HOUR.

Q.: DID THEY MOVE THE PROCESS AHEAD IN ANY WAY? IS HE ANY CLOSER TO THE THREE-WAY MEETING?

A.: YOU MIGHT FIND THIS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT IN THE HOUR MEETING THE THREE-WAY MEETING, OR A DATE FOR THE THREE-WAY MEETING, NEVER CAME UP.

Q.: ALL RIGHT. DID THE PLO PROBLEM EVER COME UP, AND CAN YOU TELL US HOW THEY DEALT WITH IT?

A.: WHAT I CAN'T DO -- WHICH IS THE SAME AS WHEN HE TALKS ON THE PHONE -- IS I CANNOT GET INTO THE SUBSTANCE AND THE DETAILS OF WHAT THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSSED.

Q.: HAVE THEY EASED IN ANY WAY THE PROBLEM OVER WHETHER THE PLO SHOULD HAVE ANY ROLE OFF-STAGE OR ON-STAGE OR BEHIND THE SCENES, OR WHATEVER, IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS?

A.: AS WE'VE SAID ALL ALONG, WE ARE DEALING WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT.

Q.: SECONDLY --

Q.: CAN WE STAY ON MEGUID FOR A MOMENT?

A.: SURE.

Q.: WELL, YES, BUT IT GOES TO THE SAME THING.

A.: WHAT I CAN'T DO IS GIVE YOU A BLOW-BY-BLOW AND A FULL READOUT OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

Q.: WELL, YOU'RE NOT GIVING US A SUMMARY EITHER, BESIDES THE BLOW-BY-BLOW.

A.: I KNOW. UNFORTUNATELY, I CAN'T.

Q.: THEN HE GETS ON THE PHONE WITH ARENS OR SOME PLACE ALONG THE LINE AND HE TELLS THEM THAT HE EXPECTS TO HAVE THIS THREE-WAY MEETING IN PLACE BY THE END OF FEBRUARY.

THAT'S WHAT MR. NETANYAHU IS SAYING IN ISRAEL. IS THAT CORRECT?

Handwritten notes:
10:00
1/27/90
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UNCLASSIFIED

Q.: WE SHOULD DEPEND ON WHAT THE ISRAELI SAID MR. BAKER

A.: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q.: YOU MEAN YOU CAN'T SAY IF THE ISRAELI HAS IT RIGHT?

A.: SECRETARY BAKER PHONED FOREIGN MINISTER ARENS
YESTERDAY MORNING PRIOR TO HIS MEETING WITH FOREIGN
MINISTER MEGUID YESTERDAY AFTERNOON, AND THEY DISCUSSED A
NUMBER OF THINGS. AND WHAT I CANNOT DO FOR YOU IS EITHER
CONFIRM NOR DENY THE LAST PART OF YOUR QUESTION.

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TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER?

A.: THIS IS -- AGAIN FALLS IN TO THE CATEGORY OF A ONE-ON-ONE CONVERSATION THAT THE SECRETARY HAD WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND I'M SORRY I CANNOT CONFIRM NOR DENY FOR YOU THE LAST PART OF YOUR CONVERSATION COMING OUT FROM AN INDIVIDUAL WHO IS NOT FOREIGN MINISTER ARENS HIMSELF.

Q.: THIS ONE-ON-ONE CONFOUNDS ME, BECAUSE MOST DIPLOMACY IS CARRIED ON BETWEEN MINISTERS, EXCEPT WHEN HE MAKES A SPEECH AT THE U.N. BEFORE 130 DELEGATES. I MEAN, MOST OF HIS BUSINESS OVER THE NEXT FOUR OR EIGHT OR 16 YEARS WILL BE CONDUCTED ONE-ON-ONE WITH VISITING MINISTERS.

A.: AND MANY TIMES --

Q.: EVEN IF HE GETS TO BE PRESIDENT --

A.: -- HE CHOOSES --

Q.: -- IT MIGHT WORK OUT THAT WAY.

A.: AND IT'S HIS PREROGATIVE --

Q.: OH IT'S HIS PREROGATIVE, BUT --

A.: -- TO CONDUCT HIS MEETINGS OR HIS PHONE CONVERSATIONS IN PRIVATE. THAT'S HIS PREROGATIVE.

Q.: BUT, I MEAN, YOU GET A CALENDAR EVERY DAY, AND IT SAYS "NO PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS LISTED." I MEAN THE MAN IS MEETING WITH MINISTERS --

A.: THAT'S NOT TRUE BARRY. WE PUT LOTS OF THINGS ON HIS PUBLIC CALENDAR.

Q.: TODAY'S CALENDAR HAS AS IF HIS ENTIRE FUNCTION IS GOING OVER TO SEE THE PRESIDENT AT 1:30 --

A.: I BELIEVE --

Q.: -- AND HE'S HIP DEEP IN MIDEAST DIPLOMACY --

A.: I UNDERSTAND.

Q.: -- AND WE'D LIKE TO GET A LITTLE HANDLE ON IT. WELL, THERE ARE OTHER SOURCES, BUT --

A.: I KNOW, AND THEY MIGHT NOT ALWAYS BE ACCURATE.

Q.: WELL, THEN YOU'LL HAVE INACCURATE STORIES OUT.

A.: THAT'S RIGHT. AND WE JUST HAVE TO KIND OF LIVE WITH IT.

Q.: YOU SAY THAT NO DATE FOR THE THREE-WAY MEETING EVER

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Q.: IT WILL?

A.: YES.

Q.: HOWEVER, AS SEEN FROM THE SECRETARY'S POINT OF VIEW, IS THERE STILL SUCH A MEETING IN THE FUTURE? WILL IT TAKE PLACE?

A.: YES.

CAME UP IN THE TALK LAST NIGHT.

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A.: AS FAR AS HE KNOWS. I MEAN, WE HAVE ALWAYS SAID THAT.

Q.: AND NOTHING IN THESE LAST SERIES OF --

A.: I'LL PUT IT -- LET'S PUT IT THIS WAY: THERE IS NO LACK OF DESIRE ON ANY OF THE THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS FOR SUCH A MEETING TO TAKE PLACE, BUT ALL THREE AGREE THAT THERE IS, AS WE'VE CONTINUOUSLY SAID, SUBSTANCE TO BE WORKED OUT.

Q.: AND IF THAT SUBSTANCE IS NOT WORKED OUT, THERE WONTT BE SUCH A MEETING?

A.: THAT WOULD BE THE CONCLUSION I WOULD DRAW.

Q.: YES. AND SO IN OTHER WORDS, HE STILL HANGS IN BALANCE?

A.: IT STILL IS THAT THEY ARE, AS WE'VE SAID, WORKING VERY HARD, BOTH AT THE WORKING LEVEL AND AT THE MINISTER'S LEVEL. THEY ARE WORKING TO MAKE PROGRESS. AND THAT'S REALLY WHERE THE LAY OF THE LAND IS.

Q.: CAN I ASK ABOUT THE LEBANESE, WHETHER THE FINANCE MINISTER'S HERE LOOKING FOR AID? YESTERDAY YOU SAID YOU COULDN'T ADDRESS THAT.

A.: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q.: NOW HE'S ACTUALLY HERE.

A.: RIGHT.

Q.: ARE THE LEBANESE INTERESTED AND IS THE UNITED STATES SYMPATHETIC OR WILL IT LISTEN TO A REQUEST TO AID ONE LEBANESE FACTION TRY TO THROTTLE ANOTHER?

A.: LET ME DO THIS FOR YOU, BARRY, BECAUSE I DID NOT RE-ASK THIS TODAY. LET ME GO RE-ASK THIS. I BELIEVE I ANNOUNCED THE DATES YESTERDAY OF WHEN HE WAS GOING TO BE HERE AND ISN'T IT TODAY?

Q.: WELL, HE JUST GOT HERE TODAY.

A.: OKAY. SO LET ME SEE IF THERE'S SOMETHING WE COULD BE MORE HELPFUL ON.

Q.: ALSO ON LEBANON: WHAT PERSON IS RECOGNIZED IS BY THIS GOVERNMENT AS AMBASSADOR FROM LEBANON?

A.: AS I BELIEVE WE'VE STATED ON THE RECORD PREVIOUSLY IS WE RECOGNIZE THE NEW AMBASSADOR FROM LEBANON.

Q.: I THOUGHT HE HADN'T ARRIVED YET.

A.: I BELIEVE HE HAS ARRIVED. THAT'S WHAT WE HAD YESTERDAY. (TO STAFF) RIGHT?

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Q.: WELL, THE INTERIM AMBASSADOR IS STILL HERE. HAS HE
 PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS, WHICH WOULD BE THE KEY, I
 GUESS?

A.: I DON'T KNOW IF HE'S PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS OR
 NOT. BUT I THINK THAT'S TRUE, JIM. I'LL GET IT FOR YOU.

Q.: HAVE YOU SUCCEEDED IN CLARIFYING THE REMARKS BY MR.
 SHAWIR ABOUT THE "BIG ISRAEL"?

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I THINK THAT HE HAS.

A.: WE HAVE NOW SEEN THE TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMENTS, AND OUR CHARACTERIZATION OF THEM IS THAT, FRANKLY, THEY WERE NOT HELPFUL. OUR POSITION IS CLEAR: WE DO NOT THINK THAT BUILDING SETTLEMENTS OR PUTTING EVEN MORE SETTLERS IN THE TERRITORIES PROMOTES THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

WE DO NOT PROVIDE U.S. GOVERNMENT RESOURCES OR FUNDS FOR SETTLEMENT OF NEW IMMIGRANTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. OUR CURRENT PROGRAM IS EXPLICITLY LIMITED TO ISRAEL INSIDE THE GREEN LINE.

Q.: MARGARET, CAN I FOLLOW UP ON THAT?

A.: SURE ALLAN.

Q.: DO YOU NOT ACCEPT THE PROVIDING WITH AID, EVEN IF IT'S NOT USED FOR THAT PURPOSE, FREES THEIR OWN MONEY FOR SETTLEMENTS? IN OTHER WORDS IF YOU GIVE THEM MONEY, THEY CAN USE IT FOR ONE NEED, AND IT FREES OTHER MONIES THAT THEY HAVE FOR THE SETTLEMENTS? SO INDIRECTLY YOU ARE AIDING THE SETTLEMENTS, EVEN THOUGH THE ACTUAL DOLLARS THAT YOU GIVE --

A.: THAT'S NOT OUR INTENTION, AND THAT'S NOT OUR POLICY.

Q.: BUT HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT PROCESS IS NOT GOING ON, SINCE MONEY IS FUNGIBLE?

A.: WE WOULD CERTAINLY -- THEY HOPE THAT IT IS NOT GOING ON. THAT IS NOT OUR POLICY. OUR POLICY IS VERY WELL KNOWN TO THEM. I CAN'T TELL YOU IF WE HAVE AN IRONCLAD SYSTEM WHERE IT IS NOT HAPPENING. I WILL BE GLAD TO CHECK AND SEE IF THERE IS SUCH A SYSTEM WHERE IT'S NO WAY UNDER THE SUN THAT COULD POSSIBLY HAPPEN.

Q.: I HAVE TWO, MARGARET. YESTERDAY YOU TOOK A QUESTION AND POSTED AN ANSWER ABOUT THE WAY THAT THE FUNDS ARE MONITORED VIS-A-VIS THEIR DISBURSEMENT ON THE WEST BANK --

A.: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q.: AND YOU SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS PROVIDE YOU WITH ACCOUNTS WHICH YOU CAN MONITOR OR AUDIT AS YOU SO DESIRE.

A.: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q.: HAS THERE BEEN ANY AMERICAN CHECKING OF THE ISRAELI NUMBERS THAT THEY GIVE YOU BACK? I MEAN, HAVE YOU BEEN KEEPING AN EYE ON THINGS, AND HAVE THE ISRAELI REPLIES BEEN FOUND TO BE ACCURATE, OR ARE YOU BASICALLY GOING ON WHAT THEY SAY?

A.: LET ME JUST DO THIS, SINCE YOU WANT A MORE DETAILED EXPLANATION, AND I DON'T KEEP THIS AND I'M NOT THE BOOKKEEPER OF IT. LET ME FIND OUT FOR YOU IF YOUR ANSWER -- OR THE ANSWER WE GAVE YOU YESTERDAY WAS NOT AS

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DON'T YOU THINK IT'S TIME THAT YOU DID SOMETHING A BIT

Q.: CAN I FOLLOW AGAIN ON THAT SAME POINT? THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN SPEAKING OUT AGAINST ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS SINCE THEY BEGAN, WHICH IS APPROXIMATELY THE DAY AFTER THE SIX-DAY WAR ENDED IN 1967. THEY WERE ACCELERATED IN 1977, AND NOW THERE ARE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF JEWS LIVING IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

ANY DISCREPANCIES. IT WILL HELP ON ALAN'S ANSWER ALSO. WILL TELL YOU, YES, IT'S IN COMPLIANCE; NO, WE DON'T SEE FORTHCOMING OR FULL AS YOU'D LIKE. LET ME SEE IF THEY

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MORE THAN SAYING THAT THIS WAS NOT HELPFUL, BECAUSE, I MEAN, EVENTS HAVE MOVED DRASTICALLY IN THE LAST 22 YEARS.

A.: THIS IS SOMETHING THAT IS DISCUSSED BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. AS YOU WILL RECALL, IF YOU GO BACK AND LOOK AT THE RECORD, SETTLEMENTS IS SOMETHING THAT WAS DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT BUSH WHEN PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR WAS VISITING HERE. IT IS SOMETHING OUR GOVERNMENT CONSTANTLY -- OR DISCUSSED WITH DIFFERENT VARIOUS OFFICIALS IN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER, AND OUR POLICY HAS NOT CHANGED.

Q.: BUT ISN'T GIVING THEM 3 BILLION A YEAR, AND THEN GIVING A LITTLE RAP OVER THE KNUCKLES SOMETHING OF A MIXED SIGNAL, TO SAY THE LEAST?

A.: THAT'S YOUR CHARACTERIZATION OF A KNOCK ON THE KNUCKLES, AND IT'S YOUR CHARACTERIZATION THAT WE'RE NOT DOING ENOUGH. AND I'VE EXPRESSED TO YOU THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AT OTHER LEVELS OF OUR GOVERNMENT THIS ISSUE IS RAISED, AND I'M SURE WE'LL CONTINUE TO BE RAISED.

Q.: MARGARET, COULDN'T BE SAID ALSO THAT THE ISRAELIS MIGHT BE RAPPING US ON THE KNUCKLES? AFTER ALL, SEVERAL PRESIDENTS HAVE TAKEN THE SAME POLICY, BUT THAT POLICY HAS PROVED TO BE ABSOLUTELY INEFFECTIVE. DOESN'T THE UNITED STATES GET A BIT INSULTED WHEN SHAMIR SAYS WHAT HE SAYS, DOES WHAT HE DOES, IN SPITE OF THE POLICY WHICH WAS THE POLICY OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION AS WELL?

A.: I SAID IT WASN'T HELPFUL. I SAID WE DISCUSSED THIS. IT IS OUR POLICY, AND YOU'RE SAYING THAT IT HASN'T BEEN EFFECTIVE OR THAT IT HASN'T WORKED. THAT DOESN'T MEAN YOU STOP TRYING, YOU STOP PUSHING, YOU STOP TRYING TO DO WHAT YOU BELIEVE IN.

Q.: ONE OF THE THINGS WE DO WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IS CUT OFF AID OR DO SOMETHING ELSE BESIDES SAY IT'S NOT HELPFUL. I MEAN, THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS HAS NOT BEEN HELPFUL AT ALL, ALTHOUGH YOU SIT THERE AND STAND THERE AND HAVE TO DEFEND WHAT IS A LACK OF PROGRESS. BUT HERE THERE IS AN INSULT TO THE PAST PRESIDENT AS WELL AS THE PRESENT PRESIDENT AND YOUR POLICY, AND YOU SIMPLY SAY IT'S NOT HELPFUL.

A.: AND I ALSO SAID --

Q.: IS THAT HELPFUL IN THE PROCESS?

A.: I'VE SAID IT'S NOT HELPFUL TO THE PEACE PROCESS. I HAVE SAID THE STATEMENTS WERE NOT HELPFUL. I HAVE SAID THAT PRESIDENT BUSH HAS DISCUSSED THIS OR RAISED THIS ISSUE AS ONE OF THE ISSUES HE RAISED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. I DON'T KNOW WHAT ELSE I CAN TELL YOU THAT WE ARE DOING.

I'VE SAID IT'S NOT ONLY THE PRESIDENT WHO RAISES THIS

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Q.: WOULD THAT BE HELPFUL?

A.: BUT THAT WOULD BE --

Q.: SUPPOSING YOU ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE MOVE BY DOLE
YESTERDAY AND YOUR SUPPORT OF IT MIGHT HAVE INDEED BEEN A
SIGN THAT YOU'RE DISSATISFIED WITH SUCH STATEMENTS BY
SHAMIR.

ISSUE; THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS, OTHER GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALS, OUR AMBASSADOR. I DON'T KNOW HOW TO BE --

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A.: -- SOMETHING THAT I'M NOT WILLING TO DO TODAY .

Q.: MARGARET, IT DOES SOUND AS THOUGH THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER HAS NOW ESTABLISHED A DIRECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS AND THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORIES THE WAY HIS PARTY SEES IT. DO YOU THINK IT PLACES ISRAEL WELL IN A POSITION TO SEEK U.S. HELP OR U.S. FACILITIES FOR SOME PRIVATE HELP FOR THE ABSORPTION OF SOVIET JEWISH IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL?

A.: I THINK I'VE JUST CHARACTERIZED --

Q.: NO. I ASKED YOU A DIFFERENT QUESTION. NOT ABOUT THE NATURE OF HIS STATEMENTS OVER THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORIES, BUT RATHER THE OBVIOUS WAY IN WHICH HE HAS APPARENTLY POLITICIZED THE WHOLE OTHERWISE HUMAN NATURE OF JEWISH EXODUS FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

HE HAS SUGGESTED THAT -- OR HAS IMPLIED, I THINK IN ALMOST UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS, THAT THE FACT THAT SOVIET JEWS ARE COMING TO ISRAEL WOULD HELP ISRAEL REACH CERTAIN GOALS IT COULD SET FOR ITSELF AS TO THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORIES. SO THE WHOLE PHENOMENON OF SOVIET -- OF JEWISH EXODUS FROM THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS NOW TO BE A POLITICAL TOOL FOR HIS PARTY.

A.: THAT'S YOUR INTERPRETATION. I'VE GIVEN YOU WHAT I HAVE TO SAY TODAY, WHICH WAS IN ADDITION TO WHAT I HAD TO SAY YESTERDAY ON PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S STATEMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT.

Q.: MARGARET, YOU KEEP SAYING THAT THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S VIEWS ON THE SETTLEMENT IS WELL KNOWN, BUT I DON'T THINK YOU -- I DON'T BELIEVE THAT YOU'VE EVER STATED THE VIEW ON RECORD.

A.: ON WHAT?

Q.: ON RECORD.

A.: I BELIEVE THAT I HAVE, AND I'LL BE GLAD TO GO GET IT FOR YOU AND POST IT AGAIN.

Q.: NO NO. CAN YOU SAY SIMPLY THAT THE SETTLEMENTS ARE ILLEGAL? ARE THEY AN IMPEDIMENT TO PEACE, OR ARE THEY SIMPLY AN EYESORE? I MEAN, WHAT IS THE BUSH POSITIONS ON THE SETTLEMENTS?

A.: IF YOU'RE ASKING ME THE QUESTION ON WHETHER THEY'RE LEGAL OR ILLEGAL, WE CAN GO BACK DOWN THAT TRAIL AGAIN, AND. AS YOU KNOW, THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAS NEVER

ADDRESSED ITSELF TO THAT SPECIFIC QUESTION, AND I'M NOT GOING TO TODAY.

Q.: WHY IS THAT? I MEAN, CAN YOU GIVE US --

A.: BECAUSE THAT IS -- AS WE'VE SAID BEFORE, THAT IS THE

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Q.: TRADITIONALLY, THE AMERICAN VIEW ON THE --

A.: I UNDERSTAND WHY YOU'RE ASKING IT.

Q.: I MEAN, YOU CAN UNDERSTAND WHY WE'RE ASKING THIS. I --

BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S PREROGATIVE ON HOW THEY CHOOSE TO ADDRESS IT, AND THEY ARE NOT -- OR I'M NOT TODAY GOING TO ENGAGE IN WHETHER IT IS LEGAL OR ILLEGAL AS THE CARTER AND THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S DID.

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A.: YOU HAVE TO UNDERSTAND --

Q.: -- SETTLEMENTS WENT THROUGH DIFFERENT PHASES. I MEAN, AT ONE TIME DURING THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION --

A.: I KNOW.

Q.: -- IT WAS ILLEGAL.

A.: WE'VE DONE ALL THIS BEFORE.

Q.: IT WAS EXPLICIT, SIMPLE. THEY SAID IT'S ILLEGAL. DURING THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, IT WAS NOT HELPFUL TO THE PEACE PROCESS. WHAT ARE THEY NOW AFTER ONE YEAR OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION? ARE THEY SIMPLY AN EYESORE? WHAT IS IT?

A.: I'M SIMPLY NOT GOING TO ENGAGE IN OR TO SAY FOR THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION WHETHER THESE SETTLEMENTS ARE LEGAL OR ILLEGAL.

Q.: WHAT'S THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON THE STATUS OF ALL THE TERRITORIES? THAT IS, AREN'T THEY TO BE -- THE FINAL STATUS TO BE DETERMINED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, RIGHT? THEY DON'T REALLY BELONG TO ANYBODY RIGHT NOW. IS THAT CORRECT?

A.: BECAUSE I WANT TO BE ABSOLUTELY TOTALLY ACCURATE, I'D RATHER GET FOR YOU THE LITERAL POLICY ON THIS AND GIVE IT TO YOU THAT WAY. I DON'T WANT TO JUST SIT OUT HERE AND WING IT WITH WORDS.

Q.: OKAY. SO YOU'RE GOING TO POST THAT?

A.: YES.

Q.: MARGARET, DESPITE THE STRENUOUS EFFORTS BY YOU AND MR. FITZWATER YESTERDAY, IT SEEMS THIS CONSIDERATION OF FOREIGN AID IS SEEN AS TARGETING ISRAEL OR EGYPT AND THE THREE OTHER FAVORED FIVE. WE WERE ALL OVER THIS SUBJECT YESTERDAY, AND I DON'T MEAN TO START IT ALL OVER AGAIN. BUT ONE QUESTION SORT OF CARRIES OVER IN MY MIND.

IS IT THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION THAT IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO ASSIST THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THE WAY YOU WOULD LIKE TO WITHOUT TAKING THAT MONEY FROM THE FAVORED FIVE AND POSSIBLY A SECOND TIER, AS MR. DOLE HAS SUGGESTED?

A.: WE NEVER, AND I'M SURE MR. FITZWATER DIDN'T EITHER, DISCUSS ANY SPECIFIC COUNTRIES. BOTH HE AND I WERE ON THE RECORD YESTERDAY, EMBRACING THE IDEA OF THE CONCEPT ON THE PREMISE OF AN ADMINISTRATION HAVING FLEXIBILITY. AND YOU'RE CORRECT, WE DON'T HAVE TO REHASH ALL OF THAT.

WE REFUSE TO -- AND I WAS VERY SPECIFIC IN SAYING THIS IS DIRECTED -- THE ADMINISTRATION -- SENATOR DOLE CAN ANSWER FOR SENATOR DOLE -- AT THE SYSTEM, NOT AT ANY COUNTRY.

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Q.: MARGARET, DOES THE SECRETARY PLAN TO MEET AGAIN WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ABDEL MEGUID?

A.: YES, ON FRIDAY.

Q.: ON FRIDAY?

A.: TO DISCUSS -- TO CONTINUE HIS DISCUSSIONS ON THE IMF. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS OTHER MEETINGS SCHEDULED HERE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. CONCERNING THE IMF SITUATION. I'D REFER YOU TO HIM TO GET HIS SCHEDULE AND WHO ALL HE'S MEETING WITH. AND ON FRIDAY THEY WILL PROBABLY ALSO

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CONTINUE THEIR DISCUSSION ON THE PEACE PROCESS.

Q.: WILL THE SECRETARY TRY TO SET UP A THREE-WAY MEETING THIS WEEK WITH MR. RABIN AND THEIR --

A.: THERE ARE NO SUCH PLANS FOR THAT.

Q.: MARGARET, YOU SAID THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS DEALT WITH THE --

A.: EXCUSE --

Q.: YOU SAID THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS DEALT WITH THE EGYPT-IMF SITUATION.

A.: YESTERDAY?

Q.: YES.

A.: THAT'S CORRECT.

Q.: CAN YOU GIVE US MORE DETAILS.

A.: ON THE SPECIFICS, THEY WENT THROUGH A NUMBER OF SPECIFICS CONCERNING WORLD BANK --

Q.: IMF.

A.: I KNOW. BUT ALSO THE WORLD BANK CAME UP. HE WANTED TO KNOW WHAT THEY DISCUSSED. THEY WENT THROUGH A LAUNDRY LIST, TO BE PERFECTLY HONEST WITH YOU, OF SPECIFICS CONCERNING EGYPT AND THE IMF. THE WORLD BANK CAME UP AS PART OF THE CONVERSATION. AND, AS I CHARACTERIZED IT, WITHOUT GOING INTO A LEVEL OF DETAIL I KNOW YOU'D ALL LIKE, IT WENT ON FOR APPROXIMATELY ABOUT AN HOUR AND TWENTY MINUTES. IT WAS A VERY DETAILED MEETING ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE.

Q.: DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE ANY ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS MATTER?

A.: THE UNITED STATES IS -- AS SECRETARY BAKER DID WHEN HE WAS SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, HE TRIES TO BE HELPFUL WHEN HE CAN. AND HE'S VERY FAMILIAR WITH THIS ISSUE AND THAT'S WHY I BELIEVE THIS MEETING WENT SO LONG AND IT WAS IN SUCH DEPTH, BECAUSE HE DEALT WITH THIS EXACT SAME ISSUE WHEN HE WAS SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Q.: INDEED, AS A FORMER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AND NOW --

A.: HE'S VERY FAMILIAR WITH IT.

Q.: -- TALK TO THIS MINISTER AGAIN. DOES HE HAVE ANY ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER EGYPT HAS GOT A HANDLE ON ITS FINANCIAL PROBLEMS?

A.: HE DIDN'T OFFER AN ASSESSMENT THERE. HE WAS TRYING

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Q.: WELL, I DON'T KNOW. EGYPT GETS A LOT OF U.S. AID AND EGYPT IS HERE AND ASKING WORLD LENDING INSTITUTIONS AND THEY TEND TO MAKE THEIR DECISION BASED ON -- I MEAN, YOU

A.: THAT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO DO.

Q.: CAN YOU GIVE US ANY IDEA OF THE PICTURE, THE U.S. VIEW OF THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC --

TO WORK WITH EGYPT TO GET AN ASSESSMENT OF THE LAY OF THE LAND, TO BE HONEST WITH YOU.

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APPLY CALIPERS TO EAST EUROPE. YOU WON'T GIVE POLAND AND OTHER COUNTRIES AID UNLESS YOU'RE CONVINCED THEY'RE --

A.: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q.: -- RUSHING TO A CAPITALIST FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND KICKING OUT FOOD SUBSIDIES. I JUST WONDERED IF EGYPT HAS TURNED THE CORNER IN ANY WAY?

A.: SINCE THEY'RE HERE, BARRY, AND THEY ARE IN -- THESE ARE MY WORDS, NOT THEIRS; THEY CAN DESCRIBE IT -- VERY SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AND DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS. I THINK IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TODAY, SINCE THEY'RE HAVING A NUMBER OF MEETINGS AROUND THIS CITY WITH VARIOUS GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND OFFICIALS, TO COMMENT ON THE UNITED STATES VIEW OF THIS. I JUST DON'T THINK THAT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE.

Q.: IS THE MESSAGE PURPORTED TO COME FROM COLOMBIA'S DRUG LORDS CONSIDERED AUTHENTIC AT THIS POINT?

A.: I DON'T KNOW. WE JUST HEARD IT RIGHT BEFORE THE BRIEFING.

Q.: MARGARET, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE APPARENT PILGRIMAGE OF STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS THIS MORNING TO DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN'S SUITE AT HIS HOTEL? I'M TOLD THAT DENNIS ROSS WAS THERE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY CLARK, WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THAT AT ALL?

A.: AMBASSADOR ROSS MEETS WITH ANY NUMBER OF OFFICIALS. HE DID HAVE A MEETING THIS MORNING, AND I DON'T HAVE A READOUT FOR YOU.

Q.: BUT IT WAS MORE THAN AMBASSADOR ROSS. IS IT NOT

A.: I DON'T KNOW WHO ELSE WENT WITH DENNIS. I CAN ONLY SPEAK FOR DENNIS. I DON'T KNOW.

Q.: I UNDERSTAND THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY CLARK -- NO?

A.: WELL, YOU KNOW MORE ABOUT IT THAN I DO. I KNOW THAT DENNIS WAS THERE. I SAW DENNIS WHEN HE GOT BACK. TO BE HONEST WITH YOU, I DIDN'T EVEN ASK HIM. I HAD OTHER THINGS I HAD TO TALK TO HIM ABOUT.

Q.: SO YOU'RE NOT GOING TO GIVE US A READOUT?

A.: PROBABLY NOT.

Q.: MARGARET, BACK TO ABDEL MEGUID FOR A MOMENT. DID SENATOR DOLE'S PROPOSAL COME UP IN THE MEETING? AND DID THE SECRETARY TELL THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THANKS TO THE INCREASED FLEXIBILITY THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT WOULD LIKE IN ITS FOREIGN AID, THAT EGYPT MIGHT END UP WITH LESS MONEY AT THE BOTTOM LINE?

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A.: THE SUBJECT CAME UP AT THE VERY TAILED OF SECRETARY
 BAKER'S MEETING LAST NIGHT AND SECRETARY BAKER JUST
 REITERATED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, WITHOUT SPEAKING ON
 EGYPT SPECIFIC, WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY WAS OR
 VIEWS TOWARDS THIS IDEA AND EXPLAINED TO HIM
 FLEXIBLY; THAT THE UNITED STATES -- THEIR FARMARKING
 SITUATION, ETC. THEY DID NOT TALK "EGYPT" SPECIFIC.
 Q.: DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING TODAY ON THE SITUATION IN
 AZERBAIJAN?

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A.: NOT A WHOLE LOT. I HAVE A LITTLE BIT. AS YOU ALL PROBABLY ALL KNOW, UNREST IN THE AREA IS CONTINUING. MOSCOW HAS ANNOUNCED THAT MORE TROOPS WOULD BE SENT TO THE AREA TO HELP QUELL THE DISTURBANCES.

THE OFFICIAL DEATH TOLL NOW STANDS AT 80. BAKU IS NOW REPORTEDLY UNDER CURFEW. AT LEAST 2,000 ARMENIANS HAVE BEEN EVACUATED FROM BAKU. APPROXIMATELY 10,000 REMAIN AT THIS TIME. WE DO NOT HAVE ANY REPORTS OF VIOLENCE SPECIFICALLY DIRECTED AGAINST FOREIGNERS WHICH I BELIEVE IS WHAT BARRY HAD ASKED ME YESTERDAY.

WE ARE CONTINUING TO MONITOR THE SITUATION AND, AGAIN URGE THE ETHNIC GROUPS INVOLVED TO END THE VIOLENCE AND SEEK TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY

Q.: MARGARET, YESTERDAY, THE QUESTION WAS ASKED ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED INDEPENDENCE FOR AZERBAIJAN. DO YOU HAVE AN ANSWER ON THAT?

A.: SINCE 1933, WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE SOVIET UNION. WE, AS YOU KNOW, DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE ILLEGAL ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES. MAY I ALSO REFER YOU BACK TO -- AS WE DESCRIBED THIS YESTERDAY, THIS IS NOT ABOUT THE POLITICAL -- PEOPLE TRYING TO DEMONSTRATE. THIS IS AN ETHNIC AGE-OLD TENSION, AGE-OLD ENEMIES, AND PEOPLE SETTling OLD SCORES.

Q.: MARGARET, ON LEBANON. YESTERDAY, AN ENVOY OF PRESIDENT HRAOUI OF LEBANON MET WITH SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER AND OTHERS IN THIS BUILDING. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON HIS TALKS?

A.: NO.

Q : MARGARET IN JORDAN, IN 1988, SECRETARY SHULTZ SAID THAT THE U.S. DID NOT EXPECT ISRAEL TO GO BACK TO THE '67 GREEN LINE AS A RESULT OF ANY NEGOTIATIONS. I WONDER IF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAS EVER PUBLICLY STATED ITS EXPECTATIONS ON THAT? IS THE GREEN LINE SACRED AS FAR AS A FINAL SETTLEMENT AT THIS TIME?

A.: LET ME JUST TAKE YOUR QUESTION. OKAY? BAKER

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COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
 443 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016-7322
 (212) 684-6950 Fax: (212) 686-1353

Memo

January 17, 1990

To: NJCRAC Member Agencies
 From: Martin J. Raffel, Israel Task Force Director
 Re: Senator Robert Dole's Op-ed on Foreign Aid (II)

Following up on NJCRAC's mailing of yesterday in regard to the above-captioned matter, I am enclosing the editorial and news article from today's N.Y. Times, which many of you already have seen.

The editorial makes the point that in the light of changing circumstances around the world, foreign aid may not have to be an "either/or" proposition. The reduction of tensions between the US and the Soviet Union, as the editorial points out, should lead to budgetary savings that can be channelled to those parts of the world that deserve increased American support while maintaining existing commitments.

In the news article, Congressman Lee Hamilton calls for continuing current levels of aid to Israel. He too suggests that helping Eastern Europe and Panama need not be accomplished at the expense of current levels of assistance to Israel, Egypt and other aid recipients.

You may wish to share both the editorial and the article with members of the Jewish community and key opinion leaders, particularly members of Congress.

During last night's discussion on Nightline in regard to this issue, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin asserted that since tensions are being reduced in Europe, the West European members of NATO, who spend far less on defense than does the US, should be asked to share more equitably in the economic burden for responding to events in that region. This point is worth making in your discussions on this issue. Western Europe spends nearly 3% of G.N.P. on defense; U.S., 6%, and Israel, 10%.

Also enclosed are copies of letters sent to the N.Y. Times by the American Jewish Committee and the ADL as well as talking points on Foreign Aid and Democracy in Eastern Europe prepared by AIPAC. These will provide helpful background for your letters, telephone discussions and meetings with members of Congress on the subject of foreign aid now and in the weeks and months ahead.

MJR:kb
 Enclosures

February 18-21, 1990

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January 17, 1990

Letters to the Editor
 The New York Times
 229 West 43 Street
 New York, NY 10036

To the Editor:

The question of aid to the budding democracies of Eastern Europe is serious and warrants immediate attention. Unfortunately, Senator Robert Dole has addressed the problem ("To Help New Democracies. Cut Aid to Israel, 4 Others," January 16) in a way that may hurt American interests elsewhere in the world and, as the Times editorialized (January 17), provided an impression of giving serious attention to the problem without really doing so.

If large-scale U.S. assistance to Eastern Europe is in our interest then a serious examination of ways to finance such aid is in order. What is required is long-term strategic thinking, a process involving the examination of the impact of many variables -- the role of NATO, Pentagon spending, West European and Japanese responsibilities, tax issues, etc. Mr. Dole has offered a gimmick, not a serious assessment, a gimmick which will only marginally deal with the issue at hand.

At the same time, his proposal to cut aid elsewhere in order to open up funds for Eastern Europe can have highly negative effects which, in the long run, may well cost us a great deal more.

U.S. aid to Israel and Egypt remains a fundamental element in the hopes for Middle East peace. If the Arab world has moved at all over the years away from their outright commitment to Israel's destruction, it's because of their recognition of Israel's military strength buttressed by U.S. support. Arab leaders continually assess the state of U.S.-Israel relations and a trend of the kind Mr. Dole recommends will rekindle Arab hopes of a weakened Israel.

A strong Egypt and Israel will remain vital for stability in the Middle East. Issues such as Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, and threats to oil supplies will not go away. If the monies the U.S. has provided Israel over the years has been a wise investment, it will continue to be so.

(over)

The Editor
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The subject of aid must be seen in a broader context. Let us remember that the United States has shouldered the burden of providing Middle East stability; U.S. aid, not European or Japanese aid, was the key to Israeli-Egyptian peace. That the Europeans are now taking the lead in assisting their East European neighbors is a natural thing. The Japanese, with their surpluses, ought to be doing more. And the Arab oil countries ought to be thinking in more expansive aid terms for the Third World.

For United States interests, the Dole approach is no solution. It will merely exacerbate problems in one part of the world without necessarily contributing significantly to solutions elsewhere.

Sincerely,

Abraham H. Foxman
National Director
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith

AHF/nmh



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations
105 East 58 Street
New York, New York 10022-2748
212 761-4000 FAX 212 319-0975

January 17, 1990

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To the Editor:

We disagree with Senator Dole (Op Ed., January 15, 1990) that generosity to newly emerging democratic countries in Eastern Europe must come at the expense of our national interests in Israel, Egypt, the Philippines, Turkey and Pakistan. The developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union indeed do provide us with an enormous opportunity to move the world toward an era of growing freedom and shared prosperity -- provided we are both wise and generous. But we consider the Senator dangerously shortsighted in urging that we choose between education at home and democracy abroad, or between peace in the Middle East and democracy and pluralism in Eastern Europe. All are important to us.

How then to accommodate these varied interests within a limited budget and the constraints imposed by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings?

To begin with, by recognizing that, as the Senator says, we are in a totally new era, and then going on to understand that our national security today is enhanced more than ever by increased economic assistance rather than excessive military expenditures. Let us learn from the lesson of the Marshall Plan, which made possible the recovery and health of our European allies. If overall budget restraints compel a choice, let it be made, as one illustration, between six more Stealth bombers, at half a million dollars each, and the \$3 billion needed for Eastern Europe to assure a zone of democracy in that critical area.

Surely the new era we are entering will permit at least one percent cut in the current defense budget of \$305 billions to provide that \$3 billion, and additional cuts to be used to improve American education and to fight drugs and crime.

Above all, let us not fall for the line that our present aid programs somehow have nothing to do with our own national interests. After all, the present levels of aid for Israel and Egypt, the two largest aid recipients, have been supported by three administrations (both Democratic and Republican) and overwhelming approval by both houses of the Congress in recognition of the benefit to us in promoting stability in the Middle East and supporting our staunchest ally, Israel, in this troubled part of the world. To meet the costs of one of the most welcome developments of the freedom explosion -- the emigration of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews -- Israel will need more, not less, economic assistance from the United States, which has long championed this change in Soviet policy.

We should not ask our allies to pay for our aid to others, nor should we succumb to the argument that the richest country on earth cannot aid both the Philippines and Poland, Egypt and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Israel.

Sholom D. Comay, President
Ira Silverman, Executive Vice President
American Jewish Committee

SDCAS/cpa

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Foreign Aid and Democracy in Eastern Europe

1. We are in a period of transition, and the U.S. should not act precipitously to undermine the stability of allies in volatile areas of the world. Glasnost and perestroika have not yet reached the Middle East, and Israel faces increasing threats from hostile neighbors. While peace breaks out in Europe, the Middle East continues to be a flashpoint of potential conflict, with weapons proliferating throughout the region. Syria, Iraq, Libya and Iran can wage chemical warfare on ballistic missiles; Arab air forces possess the world's most advanced fighter aircraft and outnumber Israel's air force 4 to 1; and Arab armies now operate as many tanks as NATO -- over 17,000, with the most sophisticated weaponry.
2. With the likelihood of superpower confrontation diminishing, regional conflicts take on increasing importance. The strong U.S. presence in the Middle East, as evidenced in the foreign aid program, protects U.S. interests in the region, including the Eastern Mediterranean and Persian Gulf. The U.S. Navy, unaffected by current arms reduction talks, plays a key role in the region, one which is reinforced by Israel's support. In addition, Israel and the U.S. cooperate on a variety of strategic initiatives which will take on more significance as conventional arms reduction agreements are reached.
3. While aid to Israel has remained constant in total dollars for the last several years, the real value of the aid to Israel has diminished. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the \$3 billion which Israel will receive this year is now worth less than \$2.6 billion. At the same time Arab nations, fueled by petrodollars, continue to spend \$30 billion each year on their military forces. In addition, Israel allocates 40% of its budget to repay debt, some \$1.2 billion to the U.S. each year.
4. Israel is at a critical juncture in its efforts to bring elections to Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. A reduction in aid now would be read as a weakening in U.S. support for Israel and would give strength to Israel's enemies, including the 20 Arab states who refuse to acknowledge Israel's right to exist.
5. The freedom movements in Eastern Europe and the changes Gorbachev has made in the Soviet system are having their impact in Israel -- in the form of a mass migration of Jews to Israel. Estimates are that upwards of 100,000 Soviet Jews will move to Israel in 1990, straining Israel's resources. This is a time when Israel could use more U.S. assistance, not less.
6. As democratic changes sweep through Eastern Europe, the U.S. must find ways to support, encourage and help stabilize the fledgling governments. Foreign aid, the program which promotes the economic and political stability of nations important to U.S. interests, is the vehicle to accomplish these goals. And Congress, through earmarks to specific countries, sets the priorities for the foreign aid funds it authorizes.

In this dramatic time the U.S. must add to the foreign aid pie, and not penalize existing recipients, such as Israel. Moreover, Congress need not relinquish its prerogatives in the area of foreign policy by giving up earmarks.

Clearly, we are taking part in a historic moment. It calls for new challenges to the U.S. We cannot put a price tag on freedom in Eastern Europe. Likewise, we cannot abandon allies like Israel, vital to U.S. interests in volatile and unstable regions of the world.

Aid to Israel, Egypt targeted

By Warren Strobel
and James M. Dorsey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Bush administration greeted with interest yesterday a proposal to slash foreign aid to Israel and Egypt and divert it to emerging East bloc democracies.

The plan, espoused by Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, has infuriated supporters of Israel and others eager to protect their share of the \$14.6 billion foreign aid budget.

Mr. Dole, who has frequently tangled with the Israeli lobby, suggested a 5 percent cut — about \$330 million — in the \$6.6 billion in U.S. aid to Israel, Egypt, the Philippines, Turkey and Pakistan.

"To me it boils down to this: Are big gains for freedom [in Eastern Europe] worth a small cut in a few huge aid programs? I say yes," Mr. Dole said.

Margaret Tutwiler, the State Department spokesman, said the Dole proposal "is something the administration thinks is well worth looking at."

Mr. Dole, who met at the White House yesterday with Chief of Staff John Sununu, said President Bush had been told of the plan. "He appreciated it. . . ." Mr. Dole said. "I assume he must've agreed with it."

While Mr. Dole and Secretary of State James A. Baker III have met to discuss the plan, Miss Tutwiler and a Dole spokesman denied that the senator was offering a "trial balloon" for the administration.

Miss Tutwiler said the administration is already interested in abolishing the long-standing congressional practice of "earmarking" substantial amounts of financial and military aid sums to a small number of countries.

That initiative "is aimed at the system — not at any country," she said, adding that Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker want "more flexibility" to deal with the changes in the East bloc, Panama and elsewhere.

Moves by the administration and Mr. Dole already have prompted supporters of Israel and Egypt, who together receive 40 percent of all U.S. economic and military aid, to counter the administration's plan.

The powerful American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which lobbies Washington on behalf of Israel, warned that aid for Eastern Europe "should not hurt our existing vulnerable democratic allies."

"It should not be at the expense of other vital U.S. policy objectives,"

said AIPAC spokeswoman Toby Der-showitz.

The Israeli Embassy issued a statement saying, "The winds of change" that have blown across Eastern Europe "have failed to reach the Middle East and the dangers Israel faces have even increased."

"Cutting military assistance to Israel at this delicate stage of the peace process will send a negative message," the statement said. "Cutting economic assistance at a time Israel gears itself toward the absorption of hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants would make it almost impossible to meet this challenge."

One source with close ties to both the administration and Israel called the aid flap "a bargaining chip in the current environment."

Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, Ohio Democrat, attacked the Dole plan, which appeared as an opinion piece in The New York Times, declaring that the United States should encourage democracy in Eastern Europe — but not by jeopardizing democracy elsewhere.

"Rather than cutting funds to five of our closest allies, let's find more money for democracy in costly, unnecessary weapons programs like SDI, the B-2 bomber and the mobile MX missile," Mr. Metzenbaum said.

In addition to Israel, which receives \$3 billion annually; and Egypt, with \$2.1 billion; the Dole plan targeted Turkey, at \$513 million; Pakistan at \$504 million; and the Philippines at \$469 million.

Mr. Dole told reporters his proposal could be broadened to include a second tier of countries, including El Salvador, Greece, Honduras and others, to yield as much as \$400 million in new money.

Faris Bouhafa, a spokesman for the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the largest Arab-American civil rights organization, called Mr. Dole courageous for taking his position.

"The foreign aid program was originally put together with the purpose of aiding economically deprived countries," Mr. Bouhafa said. "It seems to contradict the intent to have countries such as Israel, which are not economically deprived, receiving about half of the money available."

Administration officials said the White House will not attempt to tamper with aid levels for fiscal 1990, which began Oct. 1, but hopes to reach agreement on changes with Congress for fiscal 1991.

Congressional sources, nonetheless, predicted a tough fight over the 1991 aid package. Mr. Bush is expected to present his budget proposal to Congress on Jan. 29.

Sources close to the Israeli government said the U.S. aid package

would figure prominently in Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin's talks here in Washington with senior administration officials scheduled for today and tomorrow.

U.S. and Egyptian officials said the aid issue would play a prominent role in a similar round of talks this week with Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid. Mr. Meguid, accompanied by two senior advisers to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, met yesterday for 75 minutes at the State Department with Mr. Baker and will meet with him again Friday.

Turkish President Turgut Ozal is expected to raise the aid issue when he meets Mr. Bush in the White House tomorrow.

At a press conference yesterday, Mr. Dole said he already has received a call from AIPAC, and expected complaints from other interests that would be affected.

"Nobody will like it," he said. "But it seems to me fair and across the board." Of Israel, he added: "We have limits. Israel has gotten a lot of preferential treatment."

A Senate aide, however, said Mr. Dole and the administration are proposing to take money from proven friends of Washington and give it to nations who "are hopefully going to be good friends and good guys, but you're not sure."

• Chris Harvey and Major Garrett contributed to this article, which is based in part on wire service reports.

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Mr. Dole Milks a Miniature Cow

Senator Bob Dole has never been shy about sounding a clanging alarm in the middle of policy debate. He did so again on the Op-Ed page yesterday. Mr. Dole urged that foreign aid funds be shifted from favored clients like Israel and Egypt to the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, and to other countries where freedom has "suddenly and dramatically blossomed."

Mr. Dole's idea, which found cautious approval in the State Department and raised hackles among friends of Israel, is sure to provoke controversy. He is quite right to say that duty and self-interest oblige America to help people struggling to eradicate tyranny, whether in Poland or Panama. He's also right that there's nothing sacrosanct about the present foreign aid list.

It's the next part of Mr. Dole's argument that fails: He suggests that the money can only be found in the foreign aid budget. Foreign aid accounts for less than \$15 billion of total Federal spending of \$1 trillion plus. Mr. Dole is right to want to nourish new democracies, but why does he limit himself to such a tiny cow?

The Senator's response is that there is no "new" money. The budget is already hemmed in by massive deficits. Further, he says, Eastern Europe can't wait for a "peace dividend" that may never materialize. He thus asks President Bush to make modest reallocations in foreign aid already appro-

priated and asks Congress to take a careful, across-the-board look at requests for next year — especially for the big five: Israel, Egypt, the Philippines, Turkey and Pakistan.

Mr. Dole doesn't differentiate among the needs of the five countries, but that will surely be necessary. Egypt's requirements, for example, may have diminished now that Cairo is no longer isolated in the Arab world. President Cory Aquino of the Philippines might make a case for even more aid to fight the guerrillas and sustain her economy.

The question of Israel is the trickiest, diplomatically and politically. Israel receives \$3 billion, more than a fifth of all foreign aid. Would reduced aid speed the Middle East peace talks? Mr. Dole and others in Congress are fed up with Prime Minister Shamir's glacial pace. But reducing aid could cause Mr. Shamir to dig in his heels and rally Israelis behind him.

These tactical considerations aside, the fundamental flaw with Mr. Dole's plan is that it aims too low. The reduced Soviet threat and slowdown in nuclear modernization provide compelling opportunities for prompt savings. A few less military exercises, a few procurements deferred or canceled — pretty soon, as Everett Dirksen once said, you're talking about real money. Enough, surely, to make a difference in the places where Mr. Dole rightly wants to make a difference.

NYT - editorial

State Dept. Endorses Dole's Call For More Flexibility in Foreign Aid

By SUSAN F. RASKY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16 — The State Department today endorsed a call by Senator Bob Dole to give the Administration greater flexibility in allocating foreign aid. But it stopped short of saying, as the Senate Republican leader said, that some money now designated for Israel, Egypt and other large aid recipients should be redirected to Eastern Europe and Panama.

"This is aimed at the system, not at any any country," said Margaret D. Tutwiler, the State Department spokeswoman. "We want to be able to conduct foreign policy with flexibility in order to be able to respond to new developments in the world."

In an article on the Op-Ed page of The New York Times today, Mr. Dole wrote bluntly about the need to re-examine the strained foreign aid budget, in which Congress has earmarked more than two-thirds of \$15 billion for five countries — Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan and the Philippines. Mr. Dole said this leaves little money for Eastern Europe and Panama or for Latin American countries fighting the war against drugs.

Discussed It With Baker

Miss Tutwiler said Mr. Dole had discussed his views with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, and that department officials would be meeting soon to discuss the matter with the Congressional leadership.

At the White House, Marlin Fitzwater, the spokesman, said the Administration had long been concerned about limits imposed on Presidential flexibility through Congressional earmarking of money for specific programs. But Mr. Fitzwater said the Administration had not encouraged Mr. Dole to make his proposal and had "some problems" with Mr. Dole's suggestions.

Mr. Fitzwater sought in particular to avoid any suggestion that the Administration was considering cuts in aid to Israel or Egypt. "I wouldn't want to comment on any specific country and their need," he said.

Assistance to Israel and Egypt makes up more than a third of the foreign aid budget and is a pillar of United States policy on the Middle East. The amounts — Israel gets \$3 billion in military and economic aid and Egypt \$2.1 billion — have been linked and virtually unchanged over the last five years.

Political Alarm Bells

Although Mr. Dole did not single out Israel and Egypt for cuts greater than the cuts for the three other countries, his comments touched off political alarm bells on Capitol Hill, where lawmakers in both parties regard Israel's foreign aid allotment as virtually sacrosanct. In comments to reporters today, Mr. Dole said his suggestion envisioned cuts in all Congressionally earmarked country programs, not just those of the "big five" countries.

Mr. Dole told reporters that he met with President Bush at the White House today on another matter and that the President had told him he had read the Op-Ed article and "appreciated it."

Caught between limited resources and philanthropic instincts, Congress is preparing a re-examination of foreign aid programs, but most lawmakers are unwilling to deal with a choice as stark as the one Mr. Dole has presented.

"I think Mr. Dole deserves credit for putting his finger on the lack of resources, but his approach is only one way to get to the problem," said Representative Lee Hamilton, the Indiana

Democrat who heads the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. "There is nothing in recent past history that suggests to me Congress will cut aid to Israel and Egypt."

Other Approaches Suggested

Mr. Hamilton said other approaches would include shifts from the Pentagon budget or reductions in foreign military assistance for countries that have not yet spent their allocations. Another possibility, he said, was redesigning the current approach to debt relief.

Mr. Hamilton noted that Israel receives about \$1.2 billion a year in economic aid, most of which is immediately used to repay the United States for past loans. "I don't put that forward as a position to advocate, but to suggest that there are other ways," he said, adding that he expects Congress to support additional money for both Eastern Europe and Panama this year.

While Mr. Hamilton said he would continue to support current levels of aid for Israel and other countries that receive large assistance, he and other lawmakers agreed that the major aid recipients would come under close scrutiny by Congress this year to justify their funding levels. Representative Vin Weber, a conservative Repub-

lican from Minnesota and a member of the House Appropriations Committee, said that if anything, the Israeli Government might be able to make a case for additional aid to cope with the huge influx of new Soviet and Eastern European immigrants.

Representative David Obey, the Wisconsin Democrat who heads the House Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, said a reshuffling of foreign aid as Mr. Dole has suggested would at best provide a one-year solution to a problem of much greater magnitude.

"It's a major undertaking that is going to need the sustained support of the American people," Mr. Obey said, "and anybody who thinks you are going to get that support by telling the American people you are going to take it out of domestic spending is an absolute political idiot."

"So either we reduce military assistance or defense spending, and the question really boils down to how much we are going to get out of the defense budget."

At this point few lawmakers are willing to attach figures to the amount of aid required for Eastern Europe or Panama, let alone predict how much Congress can ultimately approve.

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the chief lobby for Israel on Capitol Hill, said in a statement today that while it shared Mr. Dole's concern about providing assistance to emerging democracies this should be done by increasing foreign aid over all.

A Series of Hearings

"We believe it should not be at the expense of other vital U.S. policy objectives," the lobbying group said. "We should not hurt our existing, vulnerable democratic allies in the process of helping potential democracies. Instead we should look toward strengthening the tools of diplomacy by increasing the foreign assistance account."

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee have scheduled a series of hearings shortly after Congress returns on Jan. 23 to examine the changing military and foreign aid needs in view of the reduced Soviet threat in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Baker is scheduled to testify before the Foreign Relations panel on Feb. 1. Senator Claiborne Pell, the Rhode Island Democrat who heads the committee, said the United States should "look carefully at reducing our military assistance programs that are premised on a Communist threat orchestrated from Moscow."

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Cut in Aid to Israel Proposed

Dole Plan Would Help Emerging Democracies

By Helen Dewar and Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writers

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) yesterday proposed an across-the-board cut in aid to Israel and other leading recipients of U.S. foreign aid in order to help less-favored countries, including emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and Latin America.

In a rare move by a congressional leader opening the politically sensitive issue of reducing aid to Israel, Dole said U.S. budget constraints will make it impossible to fund new foreign-aid programs if congressionally earmarked allocations to countries such as Israel are exempt from cuts.

The proposal is expected to face heavy opposition in Congress, where aid to Israel has long enjoyed strong, bipartisan support. But some lawmakers are privately sym-

pathetic to the idea, and it is considered likely to become the subject of serious debate because of Dole's stature as a Senate leader.

But Senate Democrats are likely to insist that increased aid for Eastern Europe or Panama come from defense spending, not from current foreign aid programs.

Although not reacting specifically to Dole's proposal, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) said in a statement that "we should look carefully at reducing our military aid programs that are premised on a communist threat orchestrated from Moscow. Economic aid to Eastern Europe should be seen as a highly cost effective form of [defense] spending."

In an article published yesterday in the New York Times, Dole called

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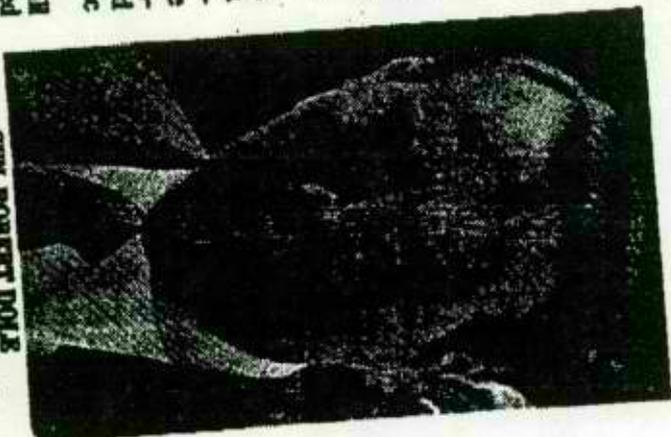
Dole Plan Would Shift Aid To East European Nations

DOLE, Press A1

for a 5 percent cut in aid to Israel and to four other top recipients of U.S. aid. But later yesterday, at a Capitol Hill news conference and in a written statement, he suggested expanding the 5 percent cut to include all earmarked foreign aid funds, which he said constitute more than 82 percent of all U.S. economic aid and 92 percent of all military aid.

He said such a cut would yield about \$400 million that could then be made available to other countries, including 35 that he said are in danger of being squeezed out entirely because Congress earmarked nearly all available funds for specific countries.

In all, Dole said, two-thirds of all U.S. aid goes to five most-favored countries: \$3 billion for Israel, \$2.1 billion for Egypt, \$490 million for Pakistan, \$610 million for Turkey and \$360 million for the Philippines. A 5 percent cut for these five countries alone would produce about \$330 million, he said.



SEN. ROBERT DOLE
... "we have responsibilities."

after Dole had returned from a recent overseas trip. But the official said that while Baker "has no problem" with the issue of challenging the congressional earmarking pattern, he had not asked Dole to be a stalking horse for the administration on the issue.

"They've got to understand we've got a big deficit problem and we have programs we didn't have before," Dole said, apparently referring to aid programs for Eastern Europe and Panama's request for funds to rebuild its economy in the wake of the U.S. invasion and overthrow of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

"This is not an effort to dilute our aid or in any way to diminish the importance of any country, including our ally in the Middle East, Israel," he said. "But it is an effort to meet some of the new obligations we have, obligations that are going to be important to those same countries that are receiving the earmarked funds. They have to recognize we have responsibilities in the United States and that they have some responsibilities."

Although the Bush administration has been pushing for greater flexibility in apportioning foreign aid and Dole has discussed the matter with Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Dole denied he was making the proposal at the administrator's behest.

But he said that when he met with President Bush on another matter earlier in the day, Bush acknowledged reading Dole's article in the New York Times. "He said he appreciated it," Dole said. Pressed on whether Bush agreed with his views, Dole said, "I have to assume he must have agreed with" the article.

A senior administration official said yesterday that Dole raised the issue with Baker in a telephone call

Another administration official, reflecting concern that Bush not be drawn into a bitter foreign aid fight over Israel, said "we want absolutely no part of it."

Israeli press spokeswoman Ruth Yaron said yesterday that her government shares "Sen. Dole's evaluation of the . . . importance of the changes in Eastern Europe. However, the winds of change have failed to reach the Mideast, and the dangers Israel faces have even increased" militarily. A cut in economic assistance, she said, would make it "almost impossible" for Israel to absorb "hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union" now allowed to emigrate.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Not in session.
Committees:
Agriculture—9 a.m. Open.
Pseudo-rates/same vote. 332 Russell
Office Building.
Foreign Relations—10 a.m. Open.
The Soviet Bloc and Europe's future.
415 Dirksen Office Building.

HOUSE

Not in session.
Committees:
Energy and Commerce—10 a.m.
Open. Transportation sub.
Development of municipal recycling
across the nation. 2123 Rayburn
House Office Building.

PI or LAT

Dole: Cut U.S. aid to Israel, 4 others

By Paul Houston
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R., Kan.) called yesterday for shifting at least \$330 million in U.S. foreign aid from Israel and four other key recipients to Panama, Latin America's drug-fighting countries and Eastern Europe's "new democracies."

Dole noted that Israel, Egypt, the Philippines, Turkey and Pakistan receive more than two-thirds of the \$9.9 billion in U.S. foreign aid earmarked for specific countries.

"Does it make sense, at this historic moment, to provide these countries practically all of our aid at the cost of foreclosing dramatically promising new aid initiatives in Eastern Europe or other important countries?" the senator asked. "What about, for example, those Latin American nations in the front lines in the war against drugs?"

Dole, who is a staunch supporter of Israel, said that a 5 percent cut in current aid programs to "the big five" would provide about \$330 million — "enough to respond to the needs of new democracies such as Poland, Hungary, Panama and countless needy countries that under current allocations will receive not one penny of American aid."

In a rare instance of a congressional leader opening the politically sensitive issue of reducing aid to Israel, Dole said U.S. budget constraints would make it impossible to fund new foreign-aid programs if congressionally earmarked allocations to countries such as Israel are exempt from cuts.

The proposal — which he made in an article he wrote for yesterday's New York Times opinion page — is expected to face heavy opposition in Congress, where aid to Israel has long enjoyed strong bipartisan support. But some lawmakers are privately sympathetic to the idea, and it is considered likely to become the subject of serious debate because of Dole's stature as a Senate leader.

However, Senate Democrats are likely to insist that increased aid for Eastern Europe or Panama come from Pentagon spending instead.

At a news conference, Dole suggested that an even larger across-the-board cut — as much as 10 percent — in aid for Israel and the four other nations might be warranted.

Dole said that President Bush has the authority to reallocate as much as \$300 million in foreign aid, even from funds earmarked for Israel and other countries, without congressional approval. But he is not permitted to shift more than \$50 million to any one recipient.

White House press secretary Martin Fitzwater said the administration

supported the current level of aid for the five top recipients but also would like to have more flexibility to redistribute funds.

Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D., Calif.), who represents one of the nation's largest Jewish constituencies, said that cutting aid to such countries as Israel and Egypt would "encourage the most irresponsible elements in such countries as Libya, Iran and Syria."

"This is not the time to be promoting instability in parts of the world that we know are explosive and in which we have vital interests," Waxman said.

Waxman and Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D., Ohio), who also attacked the Dole plan, called for shifting money from the Pentagon budget to pay for any increased aid to Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

"Rather than cutting funds to five of our closest allies, let's find more money for democracy in costly, unnecessary weapons programs," Metzenbaum said.

Although the so-called Israeli lobby has long exerted enormous clout on Capitol Hill, an assistant to a prominent Democratic supporter of Israel commended Dole's "courage" and said that it represented growing sentiment in Congress to spread available funds more widely.

Dole said Israel and the other four nations have "got to understand we've got a big deficit problem and we have programs we didn't have before," Dole said, apparently referring to aid programs for Eastern Europe and Panama's request for funds to rebuild its economy in the wake of the U.S. invasion and overthrow of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

The Washington Post contributed to this article.

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7/7

1/10/90

- סודי -

כ' בטבת תש"ן
17 בינואר 1990
סימוכין: 2-דש-378-6

פגישת רה"מ עם טום דאין

דאין

1. למיטב ידיעתם אין זעם בושינגטון על ישראל עקב התקדמות התהליך המדיני (פגש לאחרונה קלי ורוזן פגש רוס ואחרים). הפרסומים בעתונות נובעים מפרשנויות בעתונות הישראלית וחלקית באמריקאית. לא שאין בעיות, אך הופתעו מגל המאמרים משום שידעו שגם המצרים מסיבותיהם מעכבים ההתקדמות.

2. במושב הקרוב של הקונגרס הנושא הוא כסף, יהיה וכוח על סיוע החוץ בגלל הצורך בסיוע למזא"ר ולשקום פנמה.

נפגש עם אינויה ביום ג' והתברר לו שאינויה מעוניין להעביר לישראל מענק של 500 מיליון דולר לקליטת עליה (במקום הערבות ל-400 מיליון דולר). לטענת אינויה הוא השיג תמיכת סנטור דול לכך. השאלה היא רק אם הפרויקט רצוי. ראוי לציין שבוש הודיע לדול שאין אפשרות להוציא כספים כאלה ביו"ש ועזה.

רה"מ - לא מדובר בתנאי חדש. לכל הכספים שמגיעים מארה"ב צמוד התנאי הזה.

דאין

1. לא ממליץ להאבק על כך.
2. אין ענין שבוש ינצח במאבק קונגרסיאלי. אם אפשר לקבל הערבות להלוואה זה יספיק בשלב הזה, משום שאינויה מעוניין להוציא הכסף מההקצבה הקיימת לסיוע החוץ. גם הערבות ל-400 המיליון תצליח רק במידה והממשל יתמוך בהצעה.

רוזן - מזכיר הנסיון של קסטן שנכשל.

@דאין - לכשיחזור אינויה מסמואה בכוונתו לפגוש אותו.

רה"מ

בשבילנו התמיכה האמריקאית בקליטת העליה מבריה"מ היא בעלת חשיבות עליונה. אנו נדרשים למאמץ לאומי אדיר כדי לעמוד במשימה.

דאין

3. דרום אפריקה - הנושא לא ירד מסדר היום. בביקורך בארה"ב הבטחת לדווח לקוקוס השחור.

רה"מ

רבין בביקורו בשבוע הבא בווינגטון ישוחח בנושא עם בייקר וצ'ייני. לא יפגש עם קונגרסמנים משום שהם בחופשה.
לא מדובר בנושא פשוט. נשתדל לקבוע פחות או יותר תאריכים לסיום החוזים.
אנו מקווים שהרפורמות הננקטות ע"י לקלרק יסייעו אף הן. בזמן האחרון ביקר בחו"ש ונאמר אף שמתכוון לשחרר את מנדלה.

דא"ן

צופים שיוגש בקונגרס תיקון נגד ישראל בנושא דרא"פ, מעריך שהתיקון יובס. צופה המהלך בסביבת מאי בתקופת אישור סיוע החוץ.

לני דייוויס

הצהרה בנושא תעזור. זה הנושא הקשה ביותר לטיפול, יותר מתהליך השלום ומזכויות האדם.

דא"ן

4. איפ"ק יותר חזק מאי פעם בעבר. תקציבו 9 מיליון דולר. מתפרשים בכל המדינה. אין אייפאק ערבי.

רה"מ - הלובי הערבי מנסה ליצור הרושם שהם בעליה בעוד שאייפאק וישראל בירידה.

רוזן

1. צריך למקד בקונגרס שימוע בנוגע לכללי הקשר של ארה"ב עם אש"פ. מויניהן יכול לעשות זאת.
2. דוד האריס מ-AJC ארגן הפגנה בווינגטון למען יהודי בריה"מ. מציע להטיל עליו ארגון הפגנה בניו יורק בנושא ציונות-גזענות.
3. ירושלים - בארה"ב אין תמיכה לעמדת הממשל בנושא ירושלים וצריך לנצל זאת.

רה"מ - קולק רוצה להביא לירושלים 100,000 עולים.

דא"ן - יש תפיסה הגורסת שהממשל ינסה להגביר הלחץ על ישראל מניח שאם יתקלו בהתנגדות עזה יחדלו מזה.

יש לזכור שב-6 לנובמבר בחירות לקונגרס אייפאק מנהלים מעקב אחר השינויים החלים במחוזות הבחירה השונים במיוחד ב-SUN-BELT.

רשם: דוד גרנית

כ' בטבת תש"ן
17 בינואר 1990
סימוכין: 2-דש-377-6

נקודות לתדריך הנהגת AIPAC

1. הערכה לאייפאק ולצוות עובדיו העושים בשליחות חשובה למדינת ישראל.
2. אנו דבקים ביוזמת השלום שלנו, לא רק בגלל שהיא מבוססת על הקונסנזוס הלאומי בישראל, אלא גם משום שאנו משוכנעים שהיא הדרך המעשית ובת הסיכוי היחידה להשגת הסדר. לכן אין אבסורד יותר גדול מן הדבור שאני או משהו בממשלת ישראל מעוניין לדרוך במקום בנושא זה.
3. צריך שיהיה ברור מעל לכל ספק לכל ידידינו בארה"ב שמדינה ערבית-פלסטינית ביש"ע היא מירשם לאסון ולמלחמה איומה. מדינה כזו - קטנה ככל שתהיה - היא הדרישה המינימלית של אש"פ הרוצה לתקוע יתד בשטח א"י ומשם יתחיל בהפעלת לחצו. אנחנו יודעים בבטחון שהערבים מאמינים שמדינה פלסטינית ביש"ע היא התחלת הסוף של ישראל.
4. מכאן תבינו מדוע אנו רגישים כל כך לנושא אש"פ ולדיאלוג האמריקאי עם אש"פ. אש"פ רוצה להשיג באמצעות ארה"ב מה שלא הצליח להשיג ע"י מלחמה באמצעות מדינות ערב וע"י טרור נגד יעדים ישראליים ויהודיים. הדיאלוג עם אש"פ הוא מכשול רציני בפני תהליך השלום. אנו רוצים שהסדר למען תושבי יש"ע ולמען דו-קיום ושלוש עמם. אש"פ רוצה להפוך את תושבי יש"ע למכשיר שלו נגד ישראל.
5. הבטחותיו של עראפת ב-15.12.88 לא קויימו בכלל. קבוצות הטרור באש"פ, כולל הארגונים הכפופים אישית לעראפת, המשיכו בטרור, מלבים את האינתיפאדה, מצהירים נגד קיומה של ישראל ואף פועלים בקרב ערביי ישראל שבתוך קוי 1967.
6. בראש העדיפויות שלנו היום עומד ענין העליה וקליטתה. אנו מגייסים כל המשאבים והרצון הטוב וההתלהבות הכללית לענין זה שהוא חיוני בעינינו. השנה הראשונה היא קריטית כיון שתשפיע על ההמשך. נזקק לכל עזרה אפשרית מידידינו.
7. באשר לקריאתו של סנטור דול לקצץ 5% בסיוע למספר מדינות כולל ישראל צריך להסביר שמה שקורה אצלנו, דהיינו, גלי העליה מבריה"מ ומזרח ארופה, היא תוצאה ישירה של המתרחש באותן מדינות ולכן צריך לדבר על הגדלת הסיוע לישראל ולא על קיצוץ.
8. אנו מודעים היטב לדאגה הקיימת בקרב חברי קונגרס וסנט בענין יחסינו עם דרום אפריקה. נעשה כמיטב יכולתנו לשכנעם שאנו מצמצמים עד למינימום, מסיימים חוזים, ובמידת האפשר אף מקצרים את מועדי סיומם. במקביל יש לשים לב שמטרו של דה-קלרק בד"א משנה את מדיניותו כלפי השחורים לטובה באופן תמידי.

9. עולה מידי פעם הנושא של יציבות הממשלה ואורך חייה. אני רוצה שיהיה ברור: אני מחייב מאד את ממשלת האחדות, הן בגלל אתגר העליה וקליטה והן בגלל צורכי תהליך השלום. אני מצטער על כך שיש גורמים במפלגת העבודה שחושבים אחרת. אני משוכנע שהאינטרס הלאומי שלנו מחייב ממשלת אחדות.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

13658

תאריך : 18.01.90

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 1,13658

אל: המשרד

יעדים: ווש/802, מצב/1237

מ-: בוטטון, נר: 41, תא: 170190, זח: 1000, דח: ר, סג: בל

תח: פ גס: צפא

נד: פ

אלה' 1

בלמס/רגיל

אל: מצפ'א, מע'ת, ווש (קונגרס, הסברה)

דע: הסברה

מאת: הקונכ'ל בוטטון

סיוע - מאמר מערכת ב BOSTON GLOBE (17/1)

1. ה'גלוב' מקדיש מאמר מערכת לעמדת דול.

שואל 'האם מוצדק זרם הכספים שמטרתו היתה בלימת התפשטות סובייטית, בעולם בו נפלה חומת ברלין ללא ירייה?'

2. מוסיף כי לכמה מ 5 מקבלות הסיוע התנגשויות SKIRMISHES עם שכנותיהן, דבר שלא היה מתקיים בלא סיוע אמריקני. צמצום אספקה צבאית יוכל להיות התחלה של תבונה במדיניות החוץ שלהן ושל ארה"ב.

3. המאמר כללי ומתייחס להצעה ביחס לכל 5 מקבלות הסיוע הנמנות בו. הטון הינו של תמיכה בהצעת דול.

4. כזכור דווחנו בחדשיים האחרונים כי נושא הסיוע עולה בכל שיחותינו במערכת ה'גלוב'. להערכתנו התבטאות דול נתנה להם עילה להציג הנושא במאמר מערכת.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת,
הסברה, פזנר

RE: WARR, SWARR, FRB, WARRA, WICK, WICKS, WICKS, WICKS, WICKS, WICKS,
WICKS, WICKS

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שגרירות ישראל בושינגטון
טופס מברק

מ/מ
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דף 1 מתוך
דחיפות: מייד
סווג: בלמ"ס

אל : מצפ"א, מע"ת, ממ"ד

דע : יועץ רה"מ לתקשורת,
יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, לע"מ,
אמ"ן/קש"ח, דובר צה"ל, נ"י.

תאריך, זמן :
מספר המברק :

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון

מאג

המשרד :

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January 17, 1990 תדרוך דובר הבית הלבן ליום

Q Any further today on the EaidF situation in Dole's proposal and the reaction from Eisraelf on it?

MR. FITZWATER: No, no change. I know that Secretary Baker intends to talk to Senator Dole about it further, and we are certainly interested in his ideas. But I don't know of any other change in the situation.

Q Marlin, two Dole-related questions. One, Dole yesterday suggested he'd been informed that President Bush liked his aid-cutting proposals -- is that accurate? And two, he also reacted with an -- a far less critical tone -- indeed, one might almost say interested tone toward the Moynihan proposal. Does that concern you?

MR. FITZWATER: On the first issue, I don't know about any private conversations he may have had with the President. I don't see any conflict between that and what I said, which is simply that we're interested and we're talking to him about it and we'll see where it goes.

Q On the Eforeign aidF question again, do you know whether the President's proposal in foreign aid, generally speaking, is done and decided and is in the EbudgetF, or is that still under debate? Because most of the budget is basically done but not announced, although I'm not clear whether that component is still under consideration, whether you're still playing around with the numbers to deal with EPanamaF and EEastern Europe,F et cetera, et cetera.

2- סוף ציטוט רה"מ מאלהת מנ"ס מנ"ס מנ"ס אג"מ אג"מ אג"מ

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MR. FITZWATER: I'd better double-check that for you, but it's my understanding that the budget is sewed up at the printer and not subject to change, and I think that includes foreign operations requests as well. So I'm not aware of any new proposals that at least are being cranked into the budget. Now, there are always budgetary ways to deal with these things that come up later on, but I think the budget is done.

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Q One last quickie on the foreign aid then. I know it was said yesterday that it's not a message to EIsraelF. But, is there any change in that, because the Israelis do interpret as a message to them?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we don't -- we wouldn't speculate on its involvement with any specific country. We -- we address it as an issue of providing more flexibility in the funding and finding a way to indeed provide more support of the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe.

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Peter.

Q Marlin, with these high-ranking Israeli and Egyptian officials here, what do you see now as the prospects for some sort of a trilateral US-Egypt-Israeli meeting coming up soon?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, Secretary Baker has been pursuing the peace process and has talked with these individuals on a repeated basis over the last several weeks and months. The State Department says they don't plan any meeting during this week or this visit where the three would be together. But, that still is a possibility down the road. And -- well, we're not willing to say. I mean, we'll just have to -- you take the --

Q Marlin, what is the purpose of the (Egypt/Meguid?) meeting?

MR. FITZWATER: -- you take the process as it comes. Well, Foreign Minister Meguid is here for primary purposes of discussing an EIMFF loan. Egypt has significant loans through the IMF and they are negotiating many areas in that regard. He met for an hour with the Secretary of State yesterday afternoon primarily on the IMF questions. They met for another hour last night, primarily on the peace process issue. So, they're talking -- those are the two primary focuses of discussion.

Mr. Rabin, I don't know everybody he's meeting with, although I heard it on the radio this morning, so he must have announced his schedule somewhere. But he's meeting with a number of people here in town -- and I assume primarily defense issues.

Handwritten scribbles at the bottom of the page.

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.EDF@CB

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH SENATOR DON DOLE (R-KS), SENATE MINORITY LEADER B-2-1 page 1 TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

SEN. DOLE: Well, let me indicate that we're going into session next week, as you all know -- a week from today -- and there are a number of issues that we're going to have to face -- clean air and campaign finance, Social Security, foreign aid, defense, peace dividends, whatever. And there are a lot of people making suggestions on areas where we might be focusing -- child care is another one. And I said earlier today that seeming one place we ought to look at is maybe reallocation of foreign aid, and particularly reexamination of earmarkings where in this case we have five countries getting about two-thirds of the aid, and the next five would be Greece, El Salvador, Poland, Portugal, and Honduras.

So, we've got -- you know, the President doesn't have much leeway. And with all of the opportunities in Eastern Europe -- with all of the opportunities come obligations and requests for additional aid. We were able to take care of Poland and Hungary earlier with separate legislation. Since that time, there have been three or four additional countries added. In addition, as we look south, we can go directly to Panama -- they're saying they need \$1 billion. I was in South America about 30 days ago and we visited countries very important to us because of drugs -- Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, and a number of countries who feel that they're going to be reduced on the priority list because of all of the earmarkings and because of our new obligations to Eastern Europe.

~~So, I suggested that perhaps we ought to find some way to -- without shortchanging our friends who now receive aid -- to work out some small reduction to give the President some flexibility in meeting some of the obligations in other countries. And it seems to me that's an opportunity we have, it's an obligation we have. The budget's going to be very tight. There isn't any -- on any new taxes on the horizon to provide additional funds. There won't be any real big peace dividend that we can put into foreign aid, and let's face it: foreign aid is not a popular program for many of us in our own states, in any event, and it's very difficult to say, "Well, we ought to increase it two, three, four or five billion dollars."~~

So, the point I would make is that the total bilateral aid -- that's aid given to specific countries -- is about \$9.9 billion; the Economic Support Fund, that's the actual cash aid, is about \$3.3 billion and 82 percent of that money is earmarked. There's only about 18 percent left that's not earmarked. Foreign military sales, Emilitary aid is about \$4.8 billion; 92 percent of MB -- FMS

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is earmarked, and then developmental assistance, about \$1.8 billion --- that's project aid, technical support for irrigation projects and so forth -- and there about 30 percent of the Edevelopment assistanceF is earmarked.

So, because of the earmarking, I think it's well to point out, too, the administration has about \$950 million in unearmarked funds to implement programs that it proposed, costing \$1.6 billion; because of all the earmarking they're about \$650 million short.

Now, the President does have some authority to get into earmarked funds; but the point I would make is that there is a possibility -- that unless we figure out some way to deal with this there could be as many as 35 programs -- 35 countries in effect, that could be in trouble and there are a whole list of those -- as I've indicated -- whether it's Bolivia, whether it's Peru, whether it's -- could even be EColombiaF, even though they are they're now receiving additional funds through the EDrugF Program; could be ELiberiaF, EKenyaF, ESomaliaF -- a number of very -- EIndonesiaF -- a number of very important countries, in addition to all the new countries that are new obligations and opportunities we're going to have.

So I'd be happy to respond to any questions.

Q What's your understanding of the administration's view on this? They keep saying that they're concerned about earmarking. Are they supportive of your idea or not?

SEN. DOLE: Well, the President read the "Op. Ed." piece this morning in -- I was there on another meeting. He just happened to say that he appreciated it.

Q Does that mean he endorsed it?

SEN. DOLE: That means he read it.

Q How did he appreciate it, Senator?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I mean -- I assume he must have agreed with it, and that -- that -- I had no prior consultation with the White House; nobody helped to write it except my staff, Al Lane (sp?). But, we've got to preserve the key vital aid programs we have, but I think some of these countries have to realize there are fewer tensions in the world and maybe some of their demands can be reduced instead of our demands staying the same or increasing each year because now we have new players, whether it's ERomaniaF or EBulgariaF or somewhere else.

I learned just how hard it was this past year to get money for Armenia where you have a half million people homelessF in a country of 3.3 million, where you have between 30 [thousand] and 50,000 people killed in an earthquake, where they're living in, literally, shacks through a very cold winter in Armenia. And we had difficulty getting \$5 million for that country because everything was

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PRESS CONFERENCE WITH SENATOR BOB DOLE (R-KS), SENATE MINORITY LEADER B-2-1 page 3 TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

earmarked. We've done probably less in Armenia -- well, less than any major country in the world as far as aid because everything's earmarked. We can't do it. We've given it to one of the big five or one of the big ten.

Q What kind of reaction did you get, Senator, from the Israelis, the Pakistanis, the Egyptians, the Filipinos, the ETurks? Did they call up and say leave our money alone, or what are they saying?

SEN. DOLE: No. But I assume it'd just be like the farmers and the educators and five different groups out in my state if we say we're going to freeze or take 1 or 2 percent off, they wouldn't like it. But I hope that wouldn't be the case because our obligations -- as I said, you know, we have vital interests in these countries, plus the next five I named, and 20 -- and 20 others. But --

Q No calls?

Q Nobody has contacted you?

SEN. DOLE: Well, nobody -- I don't know. (To staff): Walt, you had -- I think we had a call this morning from AIPAC, the Turks --

Q Was that bad?

Q What did AIPAC say?

SEN. DOLE: Well, they -- well, it was very nice. Yeah. I mean, they won't -- they rather not have any. Five percent is just a figure I used; it could be 10, could be 1, could be 2. But they must understand that we've got a big EdeficitF problem, we've got a big deficit, and we've got programs now that we haven't had before. There are going to be requests for more money. Where do we get the money? Where's it going to come from? And what's wrong with going back and looking at the existing programs and see if we can't squeeze a little out of there?

Q (Off mike.)

SEN. DOLE: No, nobody will like it. I mean, most people would like more. And I would assume that'll be the suggestion from those who don't want to have any reallocation.

Q What would these countries not get, Senator, if this went through? I mean, could we -- is there anything that we know that they wouldn't get that they're now getting?

SEN. DOLE: They'd get less money in most cases. Most DSF money. And some might have less for FMS money, but I don't know specifics. But 5 percent of just those five

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would give you -- what -- \$330 million, so it's -- and if you put in all the earmarkings, I guess you'd get -- probably get around \$400 million.

Q Senator, you listed Greece in the second group of countries, but I looked at the figures before coming here. Greece gets at least more than one of the countries you've listed in -- five countries. Was there a special reason that you excluded Greece?

SEN. DOLE: No, there wasn't any special reason. I'd named five, but it seems to me you could name ten. You're talking about Turkey?

Q How about Greece?

SEN. DOLE: Well, what -- getting more than what other country? The Philippines, or --

Q Yeah, Philippines. Greece gets 350 [million dollars] and the Philippines get less than that --

SEN. DOLE: Greece gets 350 [million dollars] --

Q Yeah.

SEN. DOLE: -- and the Philippines get 360 [million dollars].

Yeah, Pakistan is appointed \$90 million, the 5 -- Israel gets 3 billion [dollars]; Egypt 2.1 [billion dollars]; Pakistan 490 [million dollars]; Turkey 610 [million dollars]; the Philippines 360 [billion dollars]; and I think Greece would be next, around -- (To staff): Do you know, Al --

STAFF: Greece and ESalvadorF are very close.

SEN. DOLE: Yeah, Greece and Salvador are close. I don't think I mislisted them.

Yes?

Q Senator, you say the -- excuse me -- that the White House has authority already to make these reallocations, is that not accurate?

SEN. DOLE: It's very limited. And I can give you the section; it's Section 614 of the Foreign Assistance Act. The President may use up to \$300 million of foreign aid money in any way he sees fit, including breaking earmarks. He could break them across the board, he could dip into any one country and pick up \$300 million, but no more than \$50 million of that \$300 million can go to any one country unless that country might be under attack by a communist country. And the President must notify Congress when he uses the authority, so the President does have some, you know, some latitude. But I think we'd prefer to have Congress take a look at it and perhaps have some of these countries indicate their support.

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PRESS CONFERENCE WITH SENATOR BOB DOLE (R-KS), SENATE MINORITY LEADER B-2-1 page 5 TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

Yes?

Q Senator, I've have had several people today, none of whom choose to be quoted on the record, say that the Israelis' \$3 billion is not going to be cut for political reasons, and if Israel's money's not touched, Egypt's money won't be touched, and that \$5 billion out of the pot you're talking about is in effect sacrosanct. How do you think your proposal would fly up here politically?

SEN. DOLE: Well, it seems to me that it's fair and across the board, and I'm not prepared to say that Israel will not be touched. Israel does have many friends. In fact, they even get their money up front. You remember a couple of years ago, it wasn't -- we had a sequester. The money'd already been given to Israel. They were kind enough to send back, I think, \$160 million. Maybe they would do that this year.

But this is not an effort to dilute our aid

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PRESS CONFERENCE WITH SENATOR BOB DOLE (R-KS), SENATE MINORITY LEADER B-2-2 page 1 TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

dest=notvpol, conglead, cks, senminld, fns14230, fns145B1, fns00645
dest+=mme, mideast, israel, forpolus, tur, greece, techass, defbud
doct+=dofic, dtr, taxes, pol, hung, easteur, ussr, weapons, convarm, eger
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or in any way diminish the importance of any country, including our ally in the EMideastF, EIsraelF, but it is an effort to meet some of the new obligations we have that are going to be obligations that are going to be important to those -- these same countries who are receiving the earmarked funds. And they have to recognize that we have a responsibility in the United States and that they have some responsibility.

So, it's not enough then to say, "Well, we just ought to spend more." Where are we going to find it? We just spent an hour in my office -- just left a meeting with Richard Darman and Brent Gowcroft and Dick Cheney and three members of the -- Republican members of the budget committee talking about the Edefense budgetF, and a lot of things that Mr. Cheney will be telling us about in the next couple of weeks.

There isn't a lot of money out there. The EbudgetF is going to be very tight.

Q Senator, for all of our aid to Israel, the Middle East peace process has gone absolutely nowhere in large part because of the intransigence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Shamir. Does that have any bearing at all on the decision perhaps to think about some cuts in Israeli Eforeign aidF?

SEN. DOLE: No. Not as far as I'm concerned. I mean, if anybody else has any ideas -- my view is we're going to be fair and above board and across the board. You just have to list the countries and say, "Okay, these are the earmarks. These are the amounts. This would be the amount of the cut." And --

Q Do you think we have much influence though, Senator, with Israel?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I think we have a great deal of influence with Israel. I think the problem in Israel is that they're very -- you know, they're divided almost 50-50 along party lines. It's a very tough coalition government. It's tough to hold it together. They've got a lot of problems, political problems in their own country -- Mr. Sharmir has. But -- they're our best ally in that part of

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the world, but, you know, we have limits. And Israel has gotten a lot of preferential treatment.

Q From your discussions with Mr. Cheney and Mr. Darman, how much real money is there going to be in the so-called "peace dividend?" And can you see using any of that money for anything specific?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I would guess there's not going to be any big pile of money up here -- right up front that you can call a peace dividend. I think most Americans -- I noticed a poll taken last week. It was just an open-ended question, do you think we ought to cut defense spending, and 45 percent of the people said yes. Well, I think on that question you probably should have had 95 percent. It didn't say we ought to cut it a million dollars or a billion or \$10 million or \$15 billion.

I think most Americans, if presented with a question, would say that, "Well, when we see the Soviets start to pull troops out of Eastern Europe and East Germany, when we get a conventional weapons agreement, when we get a START agreement, then we can maybe start really discussing a peace dividend." What I'm fearful of is that some of our liberal friends may try to start off programs that start off small and balloon in the out years, and that way they would absorb any quote, "peace dividend" that might be there. I'd like to see it used in deficit reduction if there is any savings, not on new programs.

Q Senator Dole, on your -- are you really looking to just eliminate the practice of earmarking, or are you just targeting these first five countries with an across-the-board cut of whatever percentage? And I'm asking that because there are these equations that exist in relation to foreign aid in certain countries -- Turkey and Greece being ones that are --

SEN. DOLE: You mean Greece, Turkey -- those -- all those formulas, and all that?

Q I mean, do you just want to eliminate earmarking outright?

SEN. DOLE: Well, my view of the Executive branch is pretty well emasculated if you, in effect, earmark all the funds and leave the President in this case about \$650 million short in programs that he would like to implement. And I think it's time we look at it. I think it's -- in fact, I would -- I think we finally had to get \$5 million in Armenian aid through sort of earmarking in the report language to make certain they were going to get the \$5 million.

So it's something that's been going on and on in Congress, and every year there's another earmark. I'd have to check that to be certain, but the answer is I think the President and Executive branch ought to have more discretion. They ought to make a determination.

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Pardon?

Q Are you going to introduce legislation to that effect, Benator? And, if so, what form would it take? Have you thought about how you might go about implementing this?

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PRESS CONFERENCE WITH SENATOR BOB DOLE (R-KS), SENATE MINORITY LEADER B-2-2 page 3 TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

SEN. DOLE: Well, I've thought about it for some time. It seems to me just -- based on some of the traveling I've done and some of the requests we've had and some we're going to have from the newly emerging democracies in the world, how do we help? We've got a big deficit and nothing in the Treasury.

And where do we go for the money? Do you take it out of domestic programs? Do you take -- do you raise taxes or do you take a look at foreign aid? And it seems to me that we may end up adding some additional money for certain countries in certain unique cases, as Poland and Hungary proved to be. But in the final analysis, we ought to go back and take a look at what we now have in the base figure of \$9.9 billion and see if there's some way we can reallocate it.

Q Senator Dole?

Q I was thinking about that. You've raised the Armenia refugee issue, and you fought very hard for that earmark this year and made sure that it got in the --

SEN. DOLE: I'm not sure it was finally earmarked, but I think there was some -- I don't know.

Q -- fought really hard for it all year long, but didn't that kind of demonstrate -- not to say anything about Soviet Armenians and their needs, but doesn't that kind of demonstrate how this process works up here? And that -- you know -- senators such as yourself fight for countries or regions --

SEN. DOLE: It shouldn't have to be that way. I mean, the fact that we've only given -- I don't know the dollar figure -- to Armenia in aid -- of course, we can't give it directly to the Soviet Union but through private relief agencies -- as I recall, we're far behind Italy and many other countries who've done much more in that country.

And we can't do it because we don't have the money. There's no -- it's all earmarked, it's all gone, it's all reserved. And that doesn't seem to me the way it ought to work. We ought to be able to go into the committee and say, "Well, we've got X amount of dollars here that's not obligated," so when you go in there there's no money that's not obligated or you have to take it out of some other little country that's been getting 17 million [dollars]. That doesn't seem to be the fair way to go. So, I think I'll maybe just take a look at it. I'm not on the Foreign Relations Committee, but I do know that there are some who've expressed some concern about it. And we'll probably be

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getting into this and programs when Congress rings the bell here. Social Security and a lot of other programs.

Q Senator, you mentioned that some of the Democrats are already talking about a little more money from military to foreign aid to do some of the things that

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PRESS CONFERENCE WITH SENATOR BOB DOLE (R-KS), SENATE MINORITY LEADER B-2-2 page 4 TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

SEN. DOLE: I -- I didn't say that. I said, I assume that would be --

Q All right. But, as part of your rationale to head them off at the pass by coming up for this -- kind of redistribution plan so that they don't make an immediate raid on the Pentagon for it.

SEN. DOLE: Well, there are so many people who are raiding the Pentagon -- I mean, I don't know whether it's for different reasons. You know, if they get into a fight among themselves, they may be eliminated. But -- (laughter) -- no, I mean, everybody wants to do something else with it. I don't know if anybody's thought of this, but I'm certain someone will, and this would be a better use for it than some of the other things that seem to me that at least it's related in part to Enational security or our national security interests in the case of Eisraelf and Egypt and some of the other -- the EPhilippines.

Yes.

Q Senator, did you give a preview of this to Secretary Baker? And if so, what was his reaction?

SEN. DOLE: I haven't talked to Secretary Baker.
Q (Off mike) -- said you did.

SEN. DOLE: Not about this. I think we have tried to set up a meeting with Senator Mitchell to talk about generally the same thing. We tried to get together the last day of the session, and I think the following day. Now, we're trying to get together sometime next week. But, not about any specifics that I mentioned in the op ed piece -- just about the subject because it is a concern to the State Department.

Q Senator, what do you -- what do you think of -- which you mentioned in passing -- what do you think of Senator Moynihan's notion to cut --

SEN. DOLE: I think everybody ought to be calm and collected. I mean, I don't see anybody to be panicky. I was on that commission with Senator Moynihan in 1983, and I think the two of us, I'm certain, many others, just sort of took credit for rescuing Social Security in our respective states. I know Senator Moynihan had a spot in his reelection campaign quoting me, which I authorized because it was a fact on what a great job he had done to save Social Security for 38 million retirees. And now, to say, "Well, we did too good a job. We were too successful. We didn't know what we were doing in 1983," in my view, I think we

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ought to be very careful and examine it very cautiously.

I'm also the ranking Republican on his subcommittee which will deal with this issue, and I'd be happy to take a look at what he has, but I'm not prepared to raise taxes \$55 billion.

I'm not -- well, I'm not certain whether he is or not, but I think the one point he makes is that we should find some way to deal with the surplus. Some have suggested investment in the private sector. The administration is working on a plan, and I also don't believe -- if the President retires, he's not going to be shortchanged, but -- and we shouldn't let the next generation be shortchanged either.

So I'm not so certain when you go back and take a look at what we did in '83, take a look at all the actuarial tables we looked at and all the 75-year projections -- we spent a lot of time on that, as I remember -- and get a pretty good view of where we are. It's popular to say you're going to cut EtaxesF, and I just think for now we ought to be looking at it, discussing it, debating it, have hearings on it. I haven't noticed any leading Democrats jumping on the bandwagon, so maybe it's not --

Q (Off-mike) -- the Post story today about this burgeoning Republican support for a tax cut. (Inaudible.) Is that happening? Do you sense that appeal?

SEN. DOLE: I haven't noticed it, and I've been around most of the time. I think it's -- certainly, I don't fault Senator Moynihan for having an idea. He has a lot of them and a lot of them are good, and we worked together on one in 1983. We may end up doing something this year on something else. I don't know. But I just say in this instance let's not -- if we get an addition to the tax cut, are you just going to take it off EbudgetF? How are you going to get the 55 or 50 billion dollars?

There are a lot of questions I think need to be answered. I think the administration is working on a plan, and I know that some of the more conservative groups, Heritage Foundation, others, support this in principle, but I don't think it will pass in the first week or two, so I think we have a little time.

Q Senator Dole?

SEN. DOLE: It may never pass.

Yes?

Q Back to the issue of EaidF to EIsraeIF. What's your own assessment of the strength of the Jewish lobby up here in Congress? And do you realistically think that Israel would go along with any kind of a slicing off in aid to Israel?

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PRESS CONFERENCE WITH SENATOR BOB DOLE (R-KS), SENATE MINORITY LEADER B-2-3-E page 2 TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

SEN. DOLE: Well, it shouldn't be whether Israel goes along; it should be whether Congress goes along. I mean, you know, we are a sovereign nation, and that's a judgment we ought to make rather than some lobbying group, whether it's Israel or ETurksF or EGreeksF or EPhilippinesF or whatever. And I've supported those, so don't come of the EinflationaryF trends and how they can help us save some money.

Q Senator, besides EColombiaF and EPanamaF, what other countries in ESouth AmericaF do you think deserve or need our help, if you see it will come along?

SEN. DOLE: Well, my own view is, and this is my view, I think we've -- maybe "neglect" is not the right word, but we have failed to focus enough on Latin America, ECentralF and South America, and their requests are very small. And right now they are on the cutting edge of the war on EdrugsF, particularly EPeruF, EBoliviaF and Colombia, but some of the other countries are, too, because of transshipment and money-laundering and things of that kind. EPanamaF is in that category and we now have a special problem because some of these countries are less than enthusiastic about helping us now because of the Panama intervention. I think they'll come around.

But it's even more important that we pay special attention to at least -- well, I'm not going to say "at least" -- Peru and Bolivia, of course stand up, Colombia -- the three major drug-producing countries -- but countries like EParaguayF, EUruguayF and EArgentinaF, to some extent, nearly everyone of the countries we visited and many we didn't visit are looking to us for assistance in some form or another. And they're afraid -- President Perez told us in EVenezuelaF, the thing that concerns not just him -- and they're not an aid recipient -- but many countries is that, you know, we're going to lose any interest we have in South America because of what's happening in EEastern EuropeF.

Q Do you think that's true?

SEN. DOLE: No, I don't think so, but I think it's something we have to guard against. And one way to demonstrate that it's not going to happen is to do something like I suggest.

Q You were in here after adjournment and you referred to the EPolandF Aid bill as the "Re-elect Paul Simon bill," and I'm curious why you're so anxious to help these countries in Eastern Europe?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I didn't mean that totally because I worked on that bill, too, and I'm not running. So it's not a re-elect -- but I think it was pushed pretty hard because

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I think Senator Simon was interested in it, and the last time I heard there were quite a number of people of Polish decent in Illinois, and so it occurred to me that that might be one of the reasons -- (laughter) -- for moving it so quickly.

Q In light of that comment, though, why --

SEN. DOLE: My view is, having been in World War II and having heard all the things I heard at that time -- Presidents Roosevelt and others, we made a big investment in Europe and we did what we thought we should do and I think the right thing in trying to save some of those countries and preserve democracy where we could. Following World War II, of course, and the division of that part of the world, many of these countries came under Communist domination, Russian domination. But we've never lost hope and we've always said publicly -- all of us, regardless of our party -- that what people really want is freedom, democracy and an opportunity to govern themselves. And I think we have some obligation. That's my basic -- I don't have a lot of Bulgarians in Kansas -- (laughter) -- or Armenians, so it's not political. It just seems to me that if somebody has been repressed or oppressed for 40-45 years, now wants freedom and democracy, and that they're on the brink of having it, then we may have some obligation to extend a helping hand.

Q Senator, can I get back to Social Security for a moment? On the Moynihan --

SEN. DOLE: You're not eligible. (Laughter.)

Q Thank you, sir. On the Moynihan proposal, (you were?) urging people to be calm, collected, and no one should panic. Are you sensing a stampede for it? Why are you urging caution?

SEN. DOLE: Well, I haven't noticed any stampede, but people are writing about the stampede, so I don't just want to be around if it happens. But, no, I don't -- I think it's something that ought to be discussed. It's an idea that was talked -- I'd mentioned this in my campaign to a certain extent. Nobody wrote about it at all. Why should we collect all these taxes if we have a surplus? I don't think I went into quite as much detail or learned discussion as did Senator Moynihan, but I do have a speech somewhere, if I can find it, where I talked about this very thing. I'm not sure which state it was in, but --

Q Is it a good idea?

SEN. DOLE: Pardon?

Q Is it a good idea?

SEN. DOLE: It's an idea -- it's a good idea to talk about. Jack Kemp talked about it, yeah. But I think -- how do we meet the other ends of it? How do we take care of the \$55 billion? Do people want taxes or do they want to

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take it off the budget?

Somebody said today they'd figured up our unfunded liabilities, and it's about --- (aside): \$5 trillion? -- \$5 trillion in unfunded liabilities when you get into all of these problems that we're having. And here we're talking about another tax cut.

But my point is it's an idea. It may be a good idea. At least, I thought it was at the time. We tossed it out there. Nobody else thought it was a good idea. I can't remember anybody writing one word about it. But it's become an idea that's being talked about and written about, and that's why we need to debate and discuss it.

We've already been in touch with Finance Committee staff. In the event there are hearings, we'd be entitled to have a cross-section of people appear on our side. I think there's some division among Republicans and Democrats. But I don't -- certainly don't fault Senator Moynihan, whom I worked with closely on the '83 act.

Q Thank you.

Q I still don't understand where you stand.

Q Good idea or dumb idea?

SEN. DOLE: Pardon?

Q Good idea? Dumb idea?

SEN. DOLE: Oh, I think it's relevant.

Q Do you see any possibility this could spin out like Ecatastrophic did? That was --
(inaudible) --

SEN. DOLE: A question on catastrophie?

Q Yeah.

SEN. DOLE: We made a mistake.

Q Well, but clearly, up here there were many in Congress trying to calmly introduce -- (inaudible) -- approach that, but you had the public pressure. Is it possible that public pressure from Moynihan will push Congress out (and call a vote ??)?

SEN. DOLE: No. I think you're going to have the younger generation and the older generation at odds over the Moynihan proposal would be my guess. So, you're going to have a sort of a stand off.

Q Thank you.

END

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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תאריך : 16.01.90

שומר

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חוזם: 1,11960
אל: וווש/713, נ' 642
מ-: המשדר, תא: 160190, זח: 1221, דח: ב, סג: שם
תח: א גס: צפא
נד: א

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שומר/בהול
אהב 10602

אל: השגרירות, וושינגטון

דע: הקונכ'ל ניו יורק

הסנטור מויניהאן ודברי רה"מ בכנס ותיקי תנועת החרות

1. בפגישתו עם שר החוץ אתמול (15.1), התייחס מויניהאן לדברי רה"מ בכנס הנ'ל (14.1) כפי שדווחו בעמוד הראשון של עתון ג'רוסלם פוסט (הכתבה מה - 15.1 בנפרד). העיר כי מדברים אלה הוא מסיק שלהערכת רה"מ אין סיכויים לתהליך השלום. השגריר בראון הצטרף לדברי הסנטור, ולאחר שציין כי אין אמנם לערב דברי שגריר עם דברי סנטור אינו יכול אלא להביע דאגה מדברי רוה"מ (אף הקריא קטעים מהדברים כפי שיוחסו לרה"מ בכתבה).
2. השר השיב שאין זה נכון כי רה"מ הגיע למסקנה שאין עתיד לתהליך השלום וחזר באריכות על מחוייבות שמיר וממשלת ישראל לתהליך ולמאמצים לקדמו כולל אלה של האמריקאים.
3. בשיחותיו עם השרים פרס ומילוא שב מויניהאן והתייחס לכתבה הנ'ל.
4. הבקר (16.1) דווח בחדשות קול ישראל בעברית ובאנגלית כי הסנטור מזועזע מדברי רוה"מ. (באנגלית) 'BLASTS' .THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH
5. נודע לנו כי מויניהאן כועס מאוד על ההדלפה והפרסום.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

6. דיווח מורחב על שיחות הסנטור בתום הביקור.

מנהל מצפ"א

לש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת,
הסברה, פזנר

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

12322

תאריך : 16.01.90

** נכנס
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חוזם: 1,12322

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1089, מנמת/261, ווש/728

מ-: אוסלו, נר: 36, תא: 160190, זח: 1440, זח: מ, סג: 10

תח: גס: צפא

נד: 8

אורה

סודי/מידי

אל: למרן

דע: השגריר, הציר, וושינגטון

אתמול (15) בארוחת ערב והבוקר (16) סיפר לנו סגן שה'ח על
שיחת שה'ח נורבגיה עם בייקר.

דבריו התבטא בייקר בסיום השיחה בפסימיות רבה לגבי סיכויי
קידום התהליך המדיני.

בייקר עמד על כך שהרקע לפסימיות שלו היא שאף אחד מן הצדדים
אינו מוכן לעשות ויתור או מהלך לקראת קידום ההסכם. בתנאים
אלה של העדר רצון מצד הצדדים תהה בייקר מה תוכל ארה"ב לעשות
וסיכם באומרו שהתהליך חסר תוחלת.

בנצור.

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, שהבם, מנוכל, ממנוכל, ר/מרכז, רם, אמן, ממד,
איר, 17, איר, 27, בנצור, מצפא

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11996

תאריך : 16.01.90

שמו

** יוצא

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חוזם: 1,11996

אל: 715/וש

מ-: המשורד, תא: 160190, זח: 1029, דח: ר, סג: שם

תח: @ גס: ארבל

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שמו/רגיל

אל: וושינגטון/שטיין

ציונות - גזענות. שלך 255.

קיימנו דיון ב-10 דנא.

1. בודאי נהיה פעילים במשך השנה בנושא אולם הכיוון, האופי והיקף פעילותנו יהיו מותנים בשאלה אם אמנם נחליט ללכת בעצרת או'ם הבאה על מהלך של ביטול ההחלטה בצורה זו או אחרת. על כך נחליט רק עם שובו של שה'ח מנסיעתו, דהיינו לקראת סוף החודש או ראשית בפרואר.

2. בינתיים תוכלו לומר לאמריקן ג'ואיש קומיטי או לכל ארגון יהודי אחר המתעניין בנושא כי אנו עוסקים בהערכת מצב ונחליט על אופי פעילותנו כשנגיע לידי סיכום.

3. לא היינו רוצים שיווצר רושם אצל הארגונים היהודיים שאנו מונעים או מעכבים בעדם מלצאת לפעולה אך אנו חייבים לתכנן פעולותינו על בסיס הערכת מצב אמיתית וקביעת יעדים אופרטיביים אחרת עלולה פעילות שלא במקומה לגרם נזק.

4. מכל מקום נראה לנו שאין צורך בקבלת החלטות אופרטיביות לפני מרס. פרק הזמן בין מרס לנובמבר יספיק.

ברנע

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, ברנע, ארבל, תפוצות, רביב,
גדודששון

RE: WPP, OMP, BIC, BBIC, ELI, AXON, ELI, MFC, BIC, BIC,
BIC

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

12239

תאריך : 16.01.90

יוצא

בלמס

✓
אורה

חוזם: 1,12239
אל: 721/ווש/מנמת/258
מ-: המשרד, תא: 160190, זח: 1422, דח: מ, סג: בל
תח: א גס: ממד
נד: א

מיידי/בלמ'ס

אל: וושינגטון.

אש'פ - ארה'ב

עפ"י (סי'ק, 15), שגריר פלס' בתוניס, חכם בלעזי שיגר איגרת לשג' ארה'ב שם, פלטרו, בה הוא קורא לארה'ב לשוב ולבחון החלטתה להקטין השתתפותה בתקציבו של ארגון מזון והחקלאות הבינ'ל עקב החלטת הארגון להעניק לעם הפלס' סיוע הומניטרי.

ערב 2

פא

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

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By Bob Dole

WASHINGTON

It's always a little risky to predict history's verdict on contemporary events. But even from today's sometimes shortsighted perspective, it is safe to declare 1989 as one of the watershed years of the 20th century — the year in which Communism collapsed and the long dormancy of freedom suddenly and dramatically blossomed in places from Poland to Panama.

In fact, events have been moving so fast that, in some ways, we're all playing catch-up in our own analyses and policy prescriptions. A little caution makes great sense in such a volatile environment.

But this much is already clear: We do have an enormous opportunity to consolidate and expand freedom's

Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, is the Senate minority leader.

gains and, at the same time, to enhance America's security and economic potential.

If the new democracies and free market economies fail, the long-term cost to America and to the cause of freedom will be enormous. But if they succeed, it will mean that the United States could enjoy increased security, reduced defense budgets and armament levels and expanded markets for our exports and our ingenuity. Simply put, there is no better investment we can make in America in 1990 than finding ways to support the new democracies.

That's the good news. The bad news is that supporting freedom is not free. It will cost bucks — big bucks. And we must find those bucks within the constraints of our own crushing budget deficits and a foreign aid budget that is already stretched to the breaking point.

We may be able to increase marginally our overall foreign aid expenditures. But the reality is that we are not going to have much more for-

Handwritten notes:
~~1/16/90~~
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

To Help New Democracies, Cut Aid to Israel, 4 Others

JAN 16 '90 08:29 PRESS OFFICE ISRAELI CONS. NYC

P.1

Cut 5% from the main recipients.

foreign aid money in the next few years, at least until the so-called peace dividend kicks in (if it ever materializes).

The immediate answer must include reallocation of what we are spending on foreign aid now.

Let me make this point clear: I am certainly not suggesting abandoning or short-changing our long-time friends around the world. They remain very important to us, and their needs are just as real and pressing as those of the new democracies.

What I am suggesting is to re-examine some of the huge aid programs in a few countries — the so-called ear-

marked countries — that take most of our current aid budget. Right now, the big five — Israel, Egypt, the Philippines, Turkey and Pakistan — receive more than two-thirds of our foreign aid.

Does it make sense, at this historic moment, to provide these countries practically all of our aid at the cost of foreclosing dramatically promising new aid initiatives in Eastern Europe or other important countries? What about, for example, those Latin American nations in the front lines in the war against drugs?

Consider this simple fact: A 5 percent cut in current aid programs for the big five would provide about \$330 million — enough to respond to the needs of new democracies such as Poland, Hungary, Panama and countless needy countries that under current allocations will receive not one penny of American aid.

Perhaps an even larger across-the-board cut and reallocation would be warranted, as the democratic revolution gains momentum. That would represent a better balancing of our limited resources with our changing priorities.

No doubt, these proposed reallocations will raise a hue and cry. But can't we convince our friends who would "lose" a tiny amount of their aid how much it is in their interest, too, to help insure against the failure of new democracies and free-market economies?

Can't those pressure groups that have turned some of our foreign aid programs virtually into "entitlement programs" realize that making some minor adjustments in aid allocations can simultaneously serve the countries of their special interest, and serve America?

And can't my colleagues in Congress, who have forced the President to swallow a few huge earmarked aid programs, stand up to domestic political pressure and resist the temptation to politicize foreign aid? Can't they instead support an amended foreign aid strategy that more completely serves the national interest?

Even despite Congressionally mandated aid programs, the President has the authority to make the small reallocations of foreign aid that I believe are warranted. I encourage him to consider seriously making those reallocations now. I stand ready to work hard to insure that the Congress and the American public will back him up.

To me, it boils down to this: Are big gains for freedom worth a small cut in a few huge foreign aid programs? I say yes.

דחיפות: בהול לבוקר סווג: בללם	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 1 פתוק: 3
תאריך וזמן חבירה: 10:30 16 בינואר 1990	אל: מצפ"א	
פס' פרוק: הפסד:	דע: אמר	
35A	פאת: ק. לקונגרס	

סנטור דול - קיצוץ בסיוע חוץ

רצ"ב מאמר שהופיע הבוקר (16/1) ב-N.Y.T. בחתימתו של הסנטור דול בדבר הצורך בקיצוץ סיוע החוץ ל-5 מדינות העיקריות, ביניהן ישראל, לצורך הקצאה חדשה של משאבים עבור הדמוקרטיה החדשות במזא"ר.

יוליא ונאי דרנגר
יהודית ונאי דרנגר.

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 סרה, סמור, רחם, אמריקא, מלכו, אמנו, בנבוק, מצפ"א, סיה"א
 רג"ה, מלכו, הסמור, כול, סמור, אור, רומנו, מלכו, מצפ"א
 סמור, אור, מלכו
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תפוצה: 36

nest mail

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990

To Help New Democracies, Cut Aid to Israel, 4 Others

By Bob Dole

WASHINGTON

It's always a little risky to predict history's verdict on contemporary events. But even from today's sometimes shortsighted perspective, it is safe to declare 1989 as one of the watershed years of the 20th century — the year in which Communism collapsed and the long dormancy of freedom suddenly and dramatically blossomed in places from Poland to Panama.

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Bob Dole, Republican of Kansas, is the Senate minority leader.

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Cut 5% from
the main
recipients.

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* * *



מנהל מצפ"א
טל' 3244

— סודי —

י"ז טבת תש"ן
14 בינואר 1990
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אל : שה"ח
ס/שה"ח
מנכ"ל וחברי הנהלה
מנהלי מחלקות
ראשי נציגויות צפ"א

מאת : מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון : דף מצפ"א 57

1. התהליך המדיני

בשבוע האחרון התקבלו איתותים ברורים ממחמ"ד, ובמיוחד מהמזכיר בייקר, על אי-שביעות רצון מקצב ההתקדמות של תהליך השלום.

ב - 8/1 חזרה דוברת מחמ"ד על מחוייבות המזכיר לתהליך וציינה שהמצב לא השתנה. עוד הוסיפה כי המזכיר ריאליסטי, ולכן אינו מניח מגבלת זמן על ההתקדמות. במקביל ממשיכה מחמ"ד לפעול לקידום הנושא. יהיה זה אבסורד, הוסיפה, לקיים פגישה אם הפגישה תסתיים ללא תוצאות.

עפ"י דיווחי כתב רוויטר, המסתמך על "מקורות דיפלומטיים" התבטא המזכיר בייקר באזני שר החוץ הנורבגי שביקר בארה"ב כאילו הוא מאבד תקווה להגיע לפריצת דרך שתוליך לשיחות ישראליות-פלסטיניות, והוא עלול לזנוח את יוזמתו בקרוב. עוד הוסיפו המקורות כי בייקר, שנשמע פסימי מאוד, אמר כי הוא עלול להחליט בקרוב להקדיש זמנו לאיזורים אחרים בעולם בהם עדיין קיימת תקווה לקדם דברים.

דוברת מחמ"ד, שנדרשה להתבטאותו הנ"ל של המזכיר (10/1) אמרה שהמזכיר ישאר מחוייב לתהליך כל עוד נחושים הצדדים בדעתם להתקדם. קיימים איזורים רבים בעולם הדורשים את תשומת לבו שכן הנסיבות בהן משתנות; אנו מקווים שתנופת השינויים תגיע גם למזה"ת, ואנו מוכנים לעשות כמיטב יכולתנו לקידום הנושא. המזכיר ממשיך לשמור על מחוייבותו, ובנסיון לקדם את המפגש המשולש שוחח בטלפון עם שרי החוץ של מצרים וישראל. אם יכשל התהליך, לא יקרה הדבר בשל חוסר במאמץ או ברצון מצד הנשיא או המזכיר.



- פקידי מחמ"ד קורצר ואהרון מילר ציינו , באזני ראשי נאקא"ק שנפגשו עמם, כי יש לעשות עבודת הכנה לפני המפגש המשולש ושאינם מגלים אצל הערבים וישראל את "הרצון הפוליטי" לקידום הנושא.

2. זכויות אדם

- ב - 8/1 אמרה דוברת מחמ"ד כי ארה"ב מודאגת מאוד (EXTREMELY CONCERNED) מהידיעה כי הוגבלה תנועתם של 11 פעילים פלסטינים. לדעתה, שולח הצעד איתות לא נכון לאותם הפלסטינים המצדדים בדיאלוג כתחליף להמשך העימות האלים. עוד הביעה תקווה שהחלטה תשקל מחדש ותשונה.

מורת רוח מהצעד הביע גם עוזר המזכיר ג'והן קלי באזני השגריר, שזומן אליו לשיחה. לדבריו, בקרב האישים עליהם הוטלו ההגבלות נמצאים גם כאלה היכולים להיות מנהיגות פוטנציאלית להדברות עם ישראל, או להיות בין אנשי המשלחת הפלסטינית לשיחות בקהיר, כאשר תתקיימנה. בהחלטה הישראלית, לדעת קלי, יש כדי להקשות על קידום הדיאלוג, והוא מקווה שממשלת ישראל תשקול מחדש החלטתה. עוד אמר כי מצב בו תשוחח ישראל עם פלסטינים שישקפו עמדות אש"ף הוא בלתי נמנע.

גם השגריר בראון הביע צער (DISMAY) על הצעד, בעת שהשתתף בפגישות שערך בארץ פול וולפוביץ (תת מזכיר ההגנה לעניני מדיניות).

- דובר מחמ"ד (3/1), שנדרש להאשמות נגד ישראל שהעלה ארגון אמנסטי, השיב כי לישראל אין מדיניות מכוונת של הריגת אזרחים ללא אבחנה; עם זאת, ארה"ב הביעה התנגדותה מספר פעמים, הן בפומבי והן באופן פרטי, לשימוש באש חיה בעת הטיפול בהתפרעויות של אזרחים. עמדה זו של ארה"ב, אמר, תיכלל גם בדו"ח השנתי על מצב ז"א בשטחים ("דוח שיפטר").

3. ישראל - דרא"פ

ראשי נאקרא"ק נפגשו עם חבר הקונגרס לי המילטון שאמר שעל ישראל לסיים החוזים עם דרא"פ, כדי שלא לפגוע במעמדה בגבעה. הוסיף כי לדעתו מספיק שישראל תודיע על כוונתה לסיים החוזים תוך תקופה של חמש עד שבע שנים.

4. ממשל - נושאים שונים

- הנהגת ה-AJC קיימה פגישות עם סגן הנשיא קוויל, ראש צוות הבית הלבן ג'ון סונונו, עוזר המזכיר לנושאי ז"א שיפטר, ועוזר המזכיר לענינים פוליטיים - צבאיים, ריצ'רד קלארק. בלטו במיוחד דבריו החריפים של ג'ון סונונו כנגד ההתנחלויות. הדגיש את החומרה בה רואה בוש את הרחבת ההתנחלויות, וציין שכל עוד קיימת אי-הבנה זו יתנגד הממשל למתן ערבויות לבינוי עבור עולים מבריה"מ. מדיווח שמסר אחד הנוכחים בפגישה עולה שסונונו ציין שענין ההתנחלויות "מרעיל" את האווירה בין רוה"מ לנשיא, ואת חילוקי הדעות בין השניים כינה "בלתי בריאים" (UNHEALTHY DISAGREEMENT).



בשיחה עם ס/הנשיא הודו אנשי הארגון על פעולותיו בנושא "ציונות-גזענות"; ס/הנשיא ציין שממשיך להעלות הנושא בשיחותיו עם אישים שונים, כולל עם הסעודים.

- דניאל קרצר, ס/עוזר המזכיר לענייני מז"ת הודיע בשיחה טלפונית לשגרירות כי ארה"ב מתכוונת לשלוח מסר חריף לבריה"מ על העלאת נציגות אש"ף לדרג שגרירות. עוד אמר שהנושא יעלה על סדה"י של שיחות טראסוב בווישינגטון אם יאושר בואו לפני מפגש שרי החוץ.

5. נשק למדינות המזה"ת

- בשיחות הנהגת AJC עם עוזר מזכיר המדינה לעניינים מדיניים-צבאיים קלארק, אמר הלה כי לא צפויה עסקת נשק גדולה עם מדינות ערב בשנה הקרובה. לדבריו, אחת הסיבות לנסיעות איגלברגר וסקוקרופט לסין היתה לשכנע הסינים שלא למכור טילים לסוריה ונראה שהצליחו לשכנע, אף שהכסף כבר שולם ע"י הסורים. בנושא זה אמרה דוברת מחמ"ד (10/1) כי סין הודיעה שלא תמכור טילים לטווח בינוני למזה"ת, מלבד הטילים המועטים שנמכרו לסעודיה. ב- 11/1 דיווחה שבוש שיבח את הסינים על צעדם, ודיווחה שמנהיגי סין הודיעו שסין תנקוט מדיניות שקולה וזהירה לגבי מכירות נשק בכלל וטילים בפרט.

בברכה,
יוסף למדן

335 2/11

12 בינואר 1990

תמיכה אמריקאית בקליטת עולי רוסיה - סיכום

(א) רצ"ב רישום פגישה עם הסנטור אינווי בהשתתפות השגריר, ציר לעניני הקונגרס והח"מ. מלשון הצעת החוק שהועברה לעיונינו (הנוסח עצמו רצ"ב) עולה עיקר הניתוח הבא:

- 1) מזכיר המדינה בהתאם לכללים ולתנאים שהוא יקבע, יעביר את המענקים לישראל, בגובה 50% מהעלות הממשית ובתקרה של 500 מיליון דולר.
 - 2) הגדרת "ישראל" - אינה כוללת שטחים נשלטים כתוצאה ממלחמת ששת הימים.
 - 3) לשון הצעת החוק מדברת על תהליך הרשאה (Authorization) ואין נוסח ברור המתייחס לתהליך המרכזי של ההקצבה (Appropriation) עצמה, שתוצאתה היא העברה מעשית של משאבים לצרכים הנ"ל.
- (ב) על מנת לעבור משלב של חוק הרשאות להקצבה ממשית, חייבים לעבור משוכה תחיקתית קשה נוספת שתקציב מעשית (Appropriation) את הסכומים המורשים. במהלך שנת תקציב 1990 נראה שהמכשיר התחיקתי היחיד שבו ניתן יהיה לבצע את המהלך הנ"ל הוא חוק הקצבות משלים (Supplemental Bill).
- למרות שבפיסגה התקציבית של הקונגרס והמימשל סוכס שלא תהיה כל פריצה תקציבית במהלך השנה הפיסקלית 1990, הרי שפרשת פנמה יצרה לחצים תקציביים נוספים, שחייבים להתמודד עימם, וכתוצאה, ההערכה היא שהקונגרס יעביר חוק הקצבות נוסף שיתייחס ספציפית לפנמה, בנוסף לצורך מימון נוסף ואחזקת מחנות פליטים, הואיל והתקציב הקיים לתחזוק מחנות יאזל בחודש אפריל (הסכום הנוסף נאמד בכ-70 מיליון דולר).
- קרוב לוודאי שהמימשל יתנגד בתקיפות לכל נטיה להפוך חוק זה לכל-בו תקציבי של משאלות לב חברי קונגרס.
- על מנת להעביר חוק זה בקונגרס קיים צורך ב-Budget Waiver והמחייב רוב מיוחד של 60 חברי סנט, לפחות, דרישה המהווה קושי נוסף בנסיון להרחיב את מסגרת נושאי החוק.
- הצמדת המענקים לקליטת יהודי רוסיה לחוק זה עשויה להיות קשה, וזאת בלשון המעטה.

במידה וניסיון זה לא יצלח, הרי שהאפשרות המעשית הבאה תהיה לכלול מענקים אלה במסגרת חוק ההקצבות 1991. במקרה הטוב תהליך התקצוב יאריך לאורך 1990 והכספים עצמם יוקצבו באוקטובר 1990. קיימת, כמובן סכנה

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רבה, שתהליך האישור הזה יכרך במאבק על גובה הסיוע לתקציב 1991, עם כל המשמעויות הציבוריות והפוליטיות המתבקשות.

ג) רצ"ב ניתוח העזרה להונגריה ופולין והשוואת הסכומים שהוקצאו לעומת אלה שאכן הוקצבו בפועל במהלך "תרגום" תהליך ההרשאה לחוק ההקצבות. מהרשאה של 938 מיליון דולר הרי שמעשית יוקצבו פחות מ-300 מיליון דולר בנוסף לערביות סחר ועזרה במשלוחי מזון. קיים סיכוי שהחוק המוצע ע"י הסנטור יעבור תהליך קיצוץ דומה.

ניתוח

1) במהלך החודשים האחרונים ובמשך ביקור השר בושינגטון נתבקש הקונגרס והממשל לעזור לישראל בקליטת עולי רוסיה באמצעות העמדת ערביות מימשל שיאפשרו לישראל לגייס את הכספים בשוק הפרטי ובעלויות מופחתות.

לגישה זו גובשה תמיכה רחבה בקונגרס ובמיוחד בקרב החברים הקובעים בוועדת ההקצבות, וישראל הופיעה כגורם שאיננו מעמיס על קופת התקציב האמריקאי הוצאות נוספות, הואיל והדגשנו שמתן ערביות איננו מחייב הקצבה כלשהי, ואין לו משמעות תקציבית.

מובן שקבלת מענקים מההיבט הכלכלי הטהור, עדיפה בהרבה על הבקשה לערביות גרידא.

אם זאת, בשלב זה לא ברורה מידת התמיכה שניתן יהיה לגייס בקונגרס ליוזמת התחיקה של הסנטור אינווי. משיחות רקע רבות קיימת תמימות דעים שגיוס תמיכה ממין זה הינו בעל סיכוי נמוך, ועשוי לעורר התנגדות אצל חברי סנט כיו"ר תת-ועדת ההקצבות בסנט, סנטור ליהי שהתחייב מספר פעמים לתמוך ברעיון מתן הערביות, שגם לגביו לא קיימת תמיכה ברורה של הממשל עצמו, קל וחומר לרעיון מתן המענקים.

מוצע בשלב זה, לחכות לגמר סבב השיחות שהסנטור הבטיח לקיים ולבדוק ישירות איתו הערכת המצב בעקבות השיחות הנ"ל. לדאבון לב, עצם העלאת האופציות הנוספות והבירורים סביבם עשויים לגרום לתגובות שליליות בקרב אלה שכבר הביעו תמיכה במתן הערביות.

להערכתי, לא נוכל לקדם את שתי האופציות במקביל, הואיל וקרוב לודאי שנישאל ברורות מה עמדת ממשלת ישראל בסוגייה, וייגרם קושי רב בנקיטת עמדה התומכת ביוזמת אינווי ו/או ביוזמת הערביות, שכאמור, קבלה כבר תמיכה רבה מיו"ר הוועדה הסנטור ליהי.

הדיווח והניתוח הנ"ל על דעת השגריר, הציר לעניני קונגרס והח"מ.

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4/11

סיכום עיקרי תוכן פגישה עם סנטור אינווי - 9.1.90
השתתפו השגריר, ציר קונגרס, ציר כלכלי

=====

להלן דברי הסנטור:

1. ישראל לא תוכל לשאת בנטל הקליטה ללא סיוע מארה"ב.
2. לארה"ב, ולחברי הקונגרס במיוחד, יש מחוייבות מוסרית לסייע במשימה הסטורית זו.
3. מכין הצעת חוק הדנה במענק של 500 מיליון דולר (Authorization).
4. עידכן את הנשיא בהתייחס לכונותיו.
5. שוחח בנידון. בפרוטרוט, עם מנהיג הרוב, הסנטור דול, הנראה כשושבין פוטנציאלי של ההצעה.
6. צופה שכל חבר קונגרס הנהנה מתמיכה יהודית יתמוך בהצעה.
7. גם אם תיכשל היוזמה, הרי שתגבר העירנות לתופעת העליה וצרכי ישראל.
8. אפשר ליזום במקביל הצעות לקבלת עובדות ומענק, ואינו רואה בכך מכשלה. אך להשגת הערבויות ידרש שושבין אחר.
9. המענק יתייחס לעולים המגיעים החל מ-1.1.90 (להערכתו, צפויים כ-150.000 עולים ב-1990).
10. אינו חושש שהדיון בצורכי ישראל יגרום להגדלת מכסות ההגירה לארה"ב.
11. לנוכח העלאת סימני שאלה ע"י אנשי השגרירות, ציין הסנטור כי יבדוק הנושא עם ידידיו בסנט.
12. בסוף השיחה העלה את נושא דוא"פ המטויר, לוגויר, את כל ידידי ישראל בגבעה. כתבת ה-NBC על "הפצצה" נחרטה בתודעת חברי הקונגרס.

131012.004

S.L.C.

335 S/11

101ST CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. _____

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. INOUE introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on _____

A BILL

To provide assistance for the housing of Soviet Jews in Israel.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assem-*
3 *bled,*

4 SECTION 1. GENERAL AUTHORITY.

5 The Secretary of State shall, upon the request of the
6 Government of Israel, provide assistance, under such terms
7 and conditions as he shall specify, to Israel to cover 50
8 percent of the costs incurred by Israel in making available
9 housing in Israel to newly resident Soviet Jews. Such as-
10 sistance shall be provided as grants.

131012.004

S.L.C.

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1 SEC. 2. ADMINISTRATION.

2 (a) POLICY TOWARD SUBMITTAL OF ISRAELI PLANS.—It
3 is the sense of the Congress that the Government of Israel,
4 before each fiscal year for which the United States assist-
5 ance under this Act is requested, should submit to the Sec-
6 retary of State a plan for making available housing in
7 Israel to newly resident Soviet Jews for that fiscal year.

8 (b) ROLE OF PLAN.—Each fiscal year before providing
9 assistance under this Act, the Secretary of State shall con-
10 sult the appropriate plan, if any, submitted under subsec-
11 tion (a).

12 SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

13 (a) AUTHORIZATION.—In addition to funds otherwise
14 available for such purposes, there are authorized to be ap-
15 propriated to the Secretary of State \$500,000,000 to carry
16 out this Act.

17 (b) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Funds appropriated
18 pursuant to subsection (a) are authorized to remain avail-
19 able until expended.

20 SEC. 4. DEFINITIONS.

21 For purposes of this Act—

22 (1) the term "Israel" does not include any terri-
23 tory occupied by Israel as a result of the 1967 Arab-
24 Israeli War; and

1 (2) the term "newly resident Soviet Jews"
 2 means Soviet Jews who emigrated to Israel on or
 3 after January 1, 1990.

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335 8/11

עזרה לתהליך הדמוקרטיזציה של ארצות מזרח-אירופה
Support for East-European Democracy (SEED) Act

=====

החוק קבע הרשאה (Authorization) של 938 מיליון דולר לפולניה והונגריה במשך 3 השנים הבאות, על מנת לתמוך בפיתוח מוסדות דמוקרטיה, פלורליזם פוליטי, ומעבר לכלכלה מערבית של שוק חופשי.

מבנה הסכומים המיועדים כדלקמן:

\$200 מיליון	-	לייצוב כלכלת פולניה
\$300 מיליון	-	פיתוח המבנה האזרחי
\$125 מיליון	-	עזרה במשלוח מזון
\$200 מיליון	-	גיטו סחר
\$113 מיליון	-	מגוון תוכניות רב בהיקפים קטנים

לאחר קבלת חוק זה, העביר הקונגרס חוק הקצבות (Foreign aid appropriations bill), הכולל רק 632.8 מיליון דולר של עזרה לפולין והונגריה.

מסכום זה 200 מיליון דולר הם בצורת ערבויות סחר (וקרן לכיסוי הפסדי ערבות תלקח מיתרת הסכום העומד לרשות פולין והונגריה!!)

בסיכומו של חשבון, הרי שמסכום ראשוני של 938 מיליון דולר שהורשאו בזמן ביקורו של לך ולנסה בווינגטון, כשהמימשל והקונגרס כולו להוט לעזור לפולין, אכן מעשית יוקצבו לארצות אלו פחות מ-300 מיליון!! (טבלת השוואה של ההרשאה להקצבה רצ"ב).

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POLAND AND HUNGARY ASSISTANCE

Comparison of Authorization (H.R. 3402) and Appropriations (H.R. 3743)

Subject	Authorization H.R. 3402	Appropriation H.R. 3743
Stabilization Assistance (Poland)	\$200 million (FY 1990)	\$200 million (ESF) (FY 1990)
Agricultural Assistance (Poland) under Section 416(b), Food for Peace and Food for Progress	\$125 million (FY 1990)	\$125 million ** (FY 1990)
Enterprise Funds: Poland Hungary	\$240 million \$60 million No year	\$45 million \$5 million (FY 1990) (ESF and DA)
Labor market transition: (Labor Dept.) Poland (DA) Hungary	\$4 million \$1 million (FY 1990-92)	\$1.5 million (FY 1990)
Technical training/ private sector dev. (Poland & Hungary)	\$10 million (FY 1990-92)	\$3 million *** (FY 1990) (DA)
Peace Corps (Poland & Hungary)	\$6 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (FY 1990)
Trade Credit Ins. Program (Poland)	(\$200 million)*	(\$200 million)*
Trade & Development Program (Poland & Hungary)	\$6 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (FY 1990)
Educational, Cultural and Scientific Activities (USIA) (Poland & Hungary)	\$12 million (FY 1990-92)	\$3 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Scholarship Partnership (Poland & Hungary)	\$10 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Science & Technology Exchange:	Poland \$1.5 million (FY 1990) \$2 million (FY 1991) \$2 million (FY 1992)	State Bill

* Limit on contingent liability in any fiscal year.

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POLAND AND HUNGARY ASSISTANCE

FY 1990 Appropriations
(DA and ESF)

10/11/11

Agricultural Activities in Poland	up to \$10 million in ARDN
Farmer-to-Farmer Program for Poland	\$1 million in ARDN
Scholarship Partnership for Poland and Hungary	\$2 million in EHR within the \$20 million earmark for the International Student Exchange Program
Technical Training/Private Sector Development for Poland and Hungary	\$2 million in EHR
Educational, Cultural Activities by USIA with Poland and Hungary	\$3 million in EHR
Environmental Initiatives by EPA in Poland and Hungary	\$3.3 million in PSEE
Energy Activities by DOE in Poland	\$10 million in PSEE
Labor Market Transition by Labor in Poland and Hungary	\$1.5 million in PSEE
Stabilization Assistance for Poland	\$200 million in ESF
Support for Solidarity in Poland	\$1.5 million in ESF
Support for Independent Democratic Organizations in Poland and Hungary	\$2.5 million in ESF
Medical Supplies and Training for Poland	\$2 million in ESF
Enterprise Funds: Poland Hungary	\$45 million in DA & ESF \$5 million in DA & ESF (unspecified how much or where in DA) (None from DFA)
Trade Credit Insurance Program in Poland	\$200 million in guarantees but some amount of ESF will have to be set aside for potential defaults.

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- 2 -

Subject	Authorization H.R. 3402	Appropriation H.R. 3743
Hungary	\$500,000 (FY 1990) \$1 million (FY 1991) \$1 million (FY 1992)	
Democratic Institutions	\$12 million (FY 1990-92)	\$4 million (ESF) (\$1.5 million for Solidarity \$2.5 million for Poland and Hungary)
Environmental Initiatives (EPA) (Poland & Hungary)	\$10 million (FY 1990-92)	\$3.3 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Energy Activities (Poland only)	\$30 million (FY 1990-92)	\$10 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Medical Supplies & Training (Poland only)	\$4 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (ESF) (FY 1990)
OPIC	Authorizes OPIC to operate in Poland and Hungary	\$40 million (FY 1990) (Poland)
Agricultural Activities (DA) (Poland)	-	up to \$10 million (FY 1990)
Totals	\$938 million	+ \$532.8 million \$125 million food aid

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

9197

תאריך : 12.01.90

** נכנס
**
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סודי

חוזם: 1,9197
אל: המשרד
יעדים: בטחון/442
מ-: ווש, נר: 285, תא: 110190, זח: 2000, דח: ר, סג: סו
תח: @ גס: צפא
נד: @

ארה"ב

סודי/רגיל

אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"נ, מקש"ח-בטחון
נספח צהל (דרך מש"נ)-בטחון-העבירו נא למשן
תא"ל קוטי מור (דרך משנ)
מאת: עודד ערן
ארה"ב-ישראל- סיוע
להלן משיחה עם דיק קלארק

1. סיוע בטחוני-לדעתו, חייב שהב"ט לומר, שרמת הסיוע הנוכחית אינה עונה על הצרכים. הבעיה מאידך, שבקשת הממשל לפונקציה 150 בתקציב 91, אינה שונה במידה ניכרת מהסכום שאושר אשתקד וע"מ להגדיל את הסיוע הבטחוני לישראל בכ-400 מליון דולר, יש להגדיל את סה"כ הפונקציה בכ-400 מליון. אמרתי לו ש"ידידי ישראל" שמו, למיטב ידיעתי, כמטרה לעצמם להגדיל הפונקציה. קלארק אמר, שהם לא יזכו לסיוע הממשל. בייקר יפטר כל מי שיאמר בשימועים בקונגרס שהוא תומך בהרשאה או הקצבה מעבר לבקשת הממשל, אומר קלארק. משום כך דנים היום במימשל בדרכים להקל על המצוקה ע"י העברת הסיוע הצבאי במדינות בהן יש לארה"ב BASE RIGHTS כמו טורקיה, יוון או הפיליפינים מפונקציה 150 ל-50. אם יוכלו יעשו זאת וישחררו כביליון דולר בתקציב סיוע החוץ. כמו כן, מחפשים פתרונות

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בהחכרת ציוד צבאי, שחרור עודפי ציוד במחיר סמלי למדינות המקבלות סיוע וכד'.

2. הצבה מראש. - מישהו בפנטגון הגה רעיון, שאת סכום ההצבה מראש בסך 100 מיליון דולר יפרסו על פני 5 שנים. קלארק אומר, שמחה נמרצות כי במפורש נאמר לנו שמדובר בשנה. קלארק מציע שבמפגש עם צ'ייני יאמר השר כי תכנית ההצבה מראש מתקדמת כמוסכם.

3. 'חץ'-קלארק אומר, שאנשי AJC לא הבינוהו כשורה. הוא אמר להם כי ישראל נמצאת בשלב תכנון ולא בשלב ייצור וכי לדעתו רצוי להמשיך במחקר, כי בכך נשאר כח-אדם מעולה בישראל. קלארק ממליץ ששהב'ט יביע ענין בהמשך מימון האמריקאי לפרויקט כפי שהוא כיום.

4. קלארק אמר, שאנשי אייפק שוחחו איתו על הרעיון HOME PORT FACILITIES לצי השישי בחיפה. לדעתו, אין סיכוי רב לרעיון, משום החסכון שהשוואה למצב הנוכחי אינו גדול. מאידך, כדאי לדעתו, לברוק שרותי מברוק ותיקונים לאוניות מסוג מסויים במימד אניות אספקה שיכולות גם להצטייד במזון טרי עבור הצי השישי.

5. לפי קלארק, בוטל לאחרונה תרגיל אויר משותף בשל סיבות תקציב. הוא פנה לפנטגון במגמה להחזיר התרגיל על כנו.

6. תשלום מוקדם של כספי הסיוע הצבאי - שאלתי לתגובת הממשל לפעולותנו בנושא השנה. אמר שה-O.M.B בוודאי יתנגד ואם מחמד והפנטגון יתמכו קשה להניח שתהיה גישה חיובית מצד הממשל. בחצי צחוק העיר: 'לא צפויה כל עסקת נשק עם מדינות ערב השנה'

עודד ערן

17

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

THEY ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN DO IT
AND THEY ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN DO IT

THEY ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN DO IT
AND THEY ARE THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN DO IT

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 12.01.90

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סודי

נכנס

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חוזם: 1,9196

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/846, מנמת/197

מ-: ווש, נר: 284, תא: 110190, זח: 0200, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: גס: צפא

נד: ג

ארה"ב

סודי/מידי

אל: סמנכל צפ'א ופר'נ

דע: יועץ מדיני לשה'ח

מאת: שגריר, וושינגטון.

פתיחת שגרירות אש'פ במוסקבה.

בשיחה בא'צ עם האס בקשתי שדובר הבית הלבן יתיחס לנושא בתדרוכו היומי מחר (12/1) ויבטא העמדה האמריקאית לפיה אין בצעדים כאלה כדי לקדם תהליך השלום ויש בצעד הזה משום הכבדה נוספת לקידום התהליך שנית שהחלטה נוגדת מדיניות ארה"ב ביחס לאש'פ.

ארד

17

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

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אמרי

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דחיפות: ג' הול	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	זקף: 1
סוג: שאר	טופס פברוק	כתוב: 11
תאריך ושמן חצור:	אל: שר האוצר	
כס' פברוק: הפסד:	דצ: מנצח, עוה / אוצר - מנצח, נאגל - חול	
335	פאת: קרוס גור - ו.ט.קלון	

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 גרסא בנחה ג'אנא ג'אנא ג'אנא סמ'טרה סמ'טרה סמ'טרה
 ו'ו' אלהין ד'סא ס'ט'ה ס'ט'ה ס'ט'ה
 ח'אלצה

תפוצה:

335 2/11

12 בינואר 1990

תמיכה אמריקאית בקליטת עולי רוסיה - סיכום

(א) רצ"ב רישום פגישה עם הסנטור אינווי בהשתתפות השגריר, ציר לעניני הקונגרס והח"מ. מלשון הצעת החוק שהועברה לעיונינו (הנוסח עצמו רצ"ב) עולה עיקר הניתוח הבא:

1) מזכיר המדינה בהתאם לכללים ולתנאים שהוא יקבע, יעביר את המענקי לישראל, בגובה 50% מהעלות הממשית ובתקרה של 500 מיליון דולר.

2) הגדרת "ישראל" - אינה כוללת שטחים נשלטים כתוצאה ממלחמת ששת הימים.

3) לשון הצעת החוק מדברת על תהליך הרשאה (Authorization) ואין נוסח ברור המתייחס לתהליך המרכזי של ההקצבה (Appropriation) עצמה, שתוצאתה היא העברה מעשית של משאבים לצרכים הנ"ל.

ב) על מנת לעבור משלב של חוק הרשאות להקצבה ממשית, חייבים לעבור משוכה תחיקתית קשה נוספת שתקציב מעשית (Appropriation) את הסכומים המורשים.

במהלך שנת תקציב 1990 נראה שהמכשיר התחיקתי היחיד שבו ניתן יהיה לבצע את המהלך הנ"ל הוא חוק הקצבות משלים (Supplemental Bill).

למרות שבפיסגה התקציבית של הקונגרס והמימשל סוכס שלא תהיה כל פריצה תקציבית במהלך השנה הפיסקלית 1990, הרי שפרשת פנמה יצרה לחצים תקציביים נוספים, שחייבים להתמודד עימם, וכתוצאה, ההערכה היא שהקונגרס יעביר חוק הקצבות נוסף שיתייחס ספציפית לפנמה, בנוסף לצורך מימון נוסף ואחזקת מחנות פליטים, הואיל והתקציב הקיים לתחזוק מחנות יאזל בחודש אפריל (הסכום הנוסף נאמד בכ-70 מיליון דולר).

קרוב לוודאי שהמימשל יתנגד בתקיפות לכל נטיה להפוך חוק זה לכל-בו תקציבי של משאלות לב חברי קונגרס.

על מנת להעביר חוק זה בקונגרס קיים צורך ב-Budget Waiver והמחייב רוב מיוחד של 60 חברי סנט, לפחות, דרישה המהווה קושי נוסף בנסיון להרחיב את מסגרת נושאי החוק.

הצמדת המענקים לקליטת יהודי רוסיה לחוק זה עשויה להיות קשה, וזאת בלשון המעטה.

במידה וניסיון זה לא יצלח, הרי שהאפשרות המעשית הבאה תהיה לכלול מענקים אלה במסגרת חוק ההקצבות 1991. במקרה הטוב תהליך התקצוב יארך לאורך 1990 והכספים עצמם יוקצבו באוקטובר 1990. קיימת, כמובן סכנה

335 3/11

רבה, שתהליך האישור הזה יכרך במאבק על גובה הסיוע לתקציב 1991, עם כל המשמעויות הציבוריות והפוליטיות המתבקשות.

ג) רצ"ב ניתוח העזרה להונגריה ופולין והשוואת הסכומים שהוקצאו לעומת אלה שאכן הוקצבו בפועל במהלך "תרגום" תהליך ההרשאה לחוק ההקצבות. מהרשאה של 938 מיליון דולר הרי שמעשית יוקצבו פחות מ-300 מיליון דולר בנוסף לערבויות סחר ועזרה במשלוחי מזון. קיים סיכוי שהחוק המוצע ע"י הסנטור יעבור תהליך קיצוץ דומה.

ניתוח

1) במהלך החודשים האחרונים ובמשך ביקור השר בווינגטון נתבקש הקונגרס והמימשל לעזור לישראל בקליטת עולי רוסיה באמצעות העמדת ערבויות מימשל שיאפשרו לישראל לגייס את הכספים בשוק הפרטי ובעלויות מופחתות.

לגישה זו גובשה תמיכה רחבה בקונגרס ובמיוחד בקרב החברים הקובעים בוועדת ההקצבות, וישראל הופיעה כגורם שאיננו מעמיס על קופת התקציב האמריקאי הוצאות נוספות, הואיל והדגשנו שמתן ערבויות איננו מחייב הקצבה כלשהי, ואין לו משמעות תקציבית.

מובן שקבלת מענקים מההיבט הכלכלי הטהור, עדיפה בהרבה על הבקשה לערבויות גרידא.

אם זאת, בשלב זה לא ברורה מידת התמיכה שניתן יהיה לגייס בקונגרס ליוזמת התחיקה של הסנטור אינווי. משיחות רקע רבות קיימת תמימות דעים שגיוס תמיכה ממין זה הינו בעל סיכוי נמוך, ועשוי לעורר התנגדות אצל חברי סנט כיו"ר תת-ועדת ההקצבות בסנט, סנטור ליהי שהתחייב מספר פעמים לתמוך ברעיון מתן הערבויות, שגם לגביו לא קיימת תמיכה ברורה של המימשל עצמו, קל וחומר לרעיון מתן המענקים.

מוצע בשלב זה, לחכות לגמר סבב השיחות שהסנטור הבטיח לקיים ולבדוק ישירות איתו הערכת המצב בעקבות השיחות הנ"ל. לדאבון לב, עצם העלאת האופציות הנוספות והבירורים סביבם עשויים לגרום לתגובות שליליות בקרב אלה שכבר הביעו תמיכה במתן הערבויות.

להערכתנו, לא נוכל לקדם את שתי האופציות במקביל, הואיל וקרוב לוודאי שנישאל ברורות מה עמדת ממשלת ישראל בסוגייה, וייגרס קושי רב בנקיטת עמדה התומכת ביוזמת אינווי ו/או ביוזמת הערבויות, שכאמור, קבלה כבר תמיכה רבה מיו"ר הוועדה הסנטור ליהי.

הדיווח והניתוח הנ"ל על דעת השגריר, הציר לעניני קונגרס והח"מ.

335 4/11

סיכום עיקרי תוכן פגישה עם סנטור אינווי - 9.1.90
השתתפו השגריר, ציר קונגרס, ציר כלכלי

=====

להלן דברי הסנטור:

1. ישראל לא תוכל לשאת בנטל הקליטה ללא סיוע מארה"ב.
2. לארה"ב, ולחברי הקונגרס במיוחד, יש מחוייבות מוסרית לסייע במשימה הסטורית זו.
3. מכין הצעת חוק הדנה במענק של 500 מיליון דולר (Authorization).
4. עידכן את הנשיא בהתייחס לכונותיו.
5. שוחח בנידון, בפרוטרוט, עם מנהיג הרוב, הסנטור דול, הנראה כשושבין פוטנציאלי של ההצעה.
6. צופה שכל חבר קונגרס הנהנה מתמיכה יהודית יתמוך בהצעה.
7. גם אם תיכשל היוזמה, הרי שתגבר העירנות לתופעת העליה וצרכי ישראל.
8. אפשר ליזום במקביל הצעות לקבלת עובדות ומענק, ואינו רואה בכך מכשלה. אך להשגת הערביות ידרש שושבין אחר.
9. המענק יתייחס לעולים המגיעים החל מ-1.1.90 (להערכתו, צפויים כ-150.000 עולים ב-1990).
10. אינו חושש שהדיון בצורכי ישראל יגרום להגדלת מכסות ההגירה לארה"ב.
11. לנוכח העלאת סימני שאלה ע"י אנשי השגרירות, ציין הסנטור כי יבדוק הנושא עם ידידיו בסנט.
12. בסוף השיחה העלה את נושא דוא"פ המטויו, לוגריו, את כל ידידי ישראל בגבעה. כתבת ה-NBC על "הפצצה" נחרטה בתודעת חברי הקונגרס.

131012.004

S.L.C.

335 S/11

101ST CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. _____

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. INOUE introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on _____

A BILL

To provide assistance for the housing of Soviet Jews in Israel.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assem-*
3 *bled,*

4 SECTION 1. GENERAL AUTHORITY.

5 The Secretary of State shall, upon the request of the
6 Government of Israel, provide assistance, under such terms
7 and conditions as he shall specify, to Israel to cover 50
8 percent of the costs incurred by Israel in making available
9 housing in Israel to newly resident Soviet Jews. Such as-
10 sistance shall be provided as grants.

131012.004

2

S.L.C.

335

6/11

1 SEC. 2. ADMINISTRATION.

2 (a) POLICY TOWARD SUBMITTAL OF ISRAELI PLANS.—It
3 is the sense of the Congress that the Government of Israel,
4 before each fiscal year for which the United States assist-
5 ance under this Act is requested, should submit to the Sec-
6 retary of State a plan for making available housing in
7 Israel to newly resident Soviet Jews for that fiscal year.

8 (b) ROLE OF PLAN.—Each fiscal year before providing
9 assistance under this Act, the Secretary of State shall con-
10 sult the appropriate plan, if any, submitted under subsec-
11 tion (a).

12 SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

13 (a) AUTHORIZATION.—In addition to funds otherwise
14 available for such purposes, there are authorized to be ap-
15 propriated to the Secretary of State \$500,000,000 to carry
16 out this Act.

17 (b) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Funds appropriated
18 pursuant to subsection (a) are authorized to remain avail-
19 able until expended.

20 SEC. 4. DEFINITIONS.

21 For purposes of this Act—

22 (1) the term "Israel" does not include any terri-
23 tory occupied by Israel as a result of the 1967 Arab-
24 Israeli War; and

- 1 (2) the term "newly resident Soviet Jews"
- 2 means Soviet Jews who emigrated to Israel on or
- 3 after January 1, 1990.

335 7/11

335 8/11

עזרה לתהליך הדמוקרטיזציה של ארצות מזרח-אירופה
Support for East-European Democracy (SEED) Act

החוק קבע הרשאה (Authorization) של 938 מיליון דולר לפולניה והונגריה
במשך 3 השנים הבאות, על מנת לתמוך בפיתוח מוסדות דמוקרטיה, פלורליזם
פוליטי, ומעבר לכלכלה מערבית של שוק חופשי.

מבנה הסכומים המיועדים כדלקמן:

\$200 מיליון	-	לייצוב כלכלת פולניה
\$300 מיליון	-	פיתוח המבנה האזרחי
\$125 מיליון	-	עזרה במשלוח מזון
\$200 מיליון	-	גיטוח סחר
\$113 מיליון	-	מגוון תוכניות רב בהיקפים קטנים

לאחר קבלת חוק זה, העביר הקונגרס חוק הקצבות (Foreign aid appropriations bill), הכולל רק 532.8 מיליון דולר של עזרה לפולין והונגריה.

מסכום זה 200 מיליון דולר הם בצורת ערבויות סחר (וקרן לכיסוי הפסדי ערבות תלקח מיתרת הסכום העומד לרשות פולין והונגריה) (f)

בסיכומו של חשבון, הרי שמסכום ראשוני של 938 מיליון דולר שהורשאו בזמן ביקורו של לך ולנסה בווינגטון, כשהמימשל והקונגרס כולו להוט לעזור לפולין, אכן מעשית יוקצבו לארצות אלו פחות מ-300 מיליון (טבלת השוואה של ההרשאה להקצבה רצ"ב).

335 9/11

POLAND AND HUNGARY ASSISTANCE

Comparison of Authorization (H.R. 3402) and Appropriations (H.R. 3743)

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Authorization</u> <u>H.R. 3402</u>	<u>Appropriation</u> <u>H.R. 3743</u>
Stabilization Assistance (Poland)	\$200 million (FY 1990)	\$200 million (ESF) (FY 1990)
Agricultural Assistance (Poland) under Section 416(b), Food for Peace and Food for Progress	\$125 million (FY 1990)	\$125 million ** (FY 1990)
Enterprise Funds: Poland Hungary	\$240 million \$60 million No year	\$45 million \$5 million (FY 1990) (ESF and DA)
Labor market transition: (Labor Dept.) Poland (DA) Hungary	\$4 million \$1 million (FY 1990-92)	\$1.5 million (FY 1990)
Technical training/ private sector dev. (Poland & Hungary)	\$10 million (FY 1990-92)	\$3 million *** (FY 1990) (DA)
Peace Corps (Poland & Hungary)	\$6 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (FY 1990)
Trade Credit Ins. Program (Poland)	(\$200 million)*	(\$200 million)*
Trade & Development Program (Poland & Hungary)	\$6 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (FY 1990)
Educational, Cultural and Scientific Activities (USIA) (Poland & Hungary)	\$12 million (FY 1990-92)	\$3 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Scholarship Partnership (Poland & Hungary)	\$10 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Science & Technology Exchange:		
	Poland	
	\$1.5 million (FY 1990)	State Bill
	\$2 million (FY 1991)	
	\$2 million (FY 1992)	

* Limit on contingent liability in any fiscal year.

335 10/11

POLAND AND HUNGARY ASSISTANCE

FY 1990 Appropriations
(DA and ESF)

Master Report

Agricultural Activities in Poland	up to \$10 million in ARDN
Farmer-to-Farmer Program for Poland	\$1 million in ARDN
Scholarship Partnership for Poland and Hungary	\$2 million in EHR within the \$20 million earmark for the International Student Exchange Program
Technical Training/Private Sector Development for Poland and Hungary	\$2 million in EHR
Educational, Cultural Activities by USIA with Poland and Hungary	\$3 million in EHR
Environmental Initiatives by EPA in Poland and Hungary	\$3.3 million in PSEE
Energy Activities by DOE in Poland	\$10 million in PSEE
Labor Market Transition by Labor in Poland and Hungary	\$1.5 million in PSEE
Stabilization Assistance for Poland	\$200 million in ESF
Support for Solidarity in Poland	\$1.5 million in ESF
Support for Independent Democratic Organizations in Poland and Hungary	\$2.5 million in ESF
Medical Supplies and Training for Poland	\$2 million in ESF
Enterprise Funds: Poland Hungary	\$45 million in DA & ESF \$5 million in DA & ESF (unspecified how much or where in DA) (None from DFA)
Trade Credit Insurance Program in Poland	\$200 million in guarantees but some amount of ESF will have to be set aside for potential defaults.

335 4/11

- 2 -

Subject	Authorization H.R. 3402	Appropriation H.R. 3743
Hungary	\$500,000 (FY 1990) \$1 million (FY 1991) \$1 million (FY 1992)	
Democratic Institutions	\$12 million (FY 1990-92)	\$4 million (ESF) (\$1.5 million for Solidarity \$2.5 million for Poland and Hungary)
Environmental Initiatives (EPA) (Poland & Hungary)	\$10 million (FY 1990-92)	\$3.3 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Energy Activities (Poland only)	\$30 million (FY 1990-92)	\$10 million (DA) (FY 1990)
Medical Supplies & Training (Poland only)	\$4 million (FY 1990-92)	\$2 million (ESF) (FY 1990)
OPIC	Authorizes OPIC to operate in Poland and Hungary	\$40 million (FY 1990) (Poland)
Agricultural Activities (DA) (Poland)	-	up to \$10 million (FY 1990)
Totals	\$938 million	\$532.8 million + \$125 million food aid



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אל : יועץ שה"ח לתפוצות, מצפ"א

דע : ארד, פלג - וושינגטון

מאת : ס/הקונכ"ל ניו יורק

ביקור השר רבין - ועידת הנשיאים

להלן מדברי רבין בפני ועידת הנשיאים הבוקר 12.1.

בעשור ה-80 הוחמצו הזדמנויות ולא תמיד באשמחנו. עשור ה-90 יכול להיות עשור מיוחד לא רק לעולם אלא במיוחד לישראל וליהודים. ההתפתחויות במזרח אירופה ישפיעו באורח דרמטי גלובלית. השר רבין מתמקד בדבריו על שלושה נושאים:
א. העליה מהגוש המזרחי. אם הזדמנות עלייה יהודי ברה"מ תוחמץ תהיה זו התפתחות שלילית וטרגית לעם היהודי. אם יהודי ברה"מ, רומניה והונגריה יזוזו מגלות אחת לשניה תהיה זו טרגדיה. מביא לתשומת לבם של הנוכחים כי מה שאנו מציעים ליהודי ברה"מ לא הצענו ליהודים בעלי רקע נחשל.

ב. שאלת הבטחון והנטל על הכלכלה הישראלית. 8%-9% מה-GNP הולך לבטחון. אנו מלאי הערכה לסיוע הכספי מארה"ב. השר מציין כי הגלסנוסט לא הגיע למזה"ת בכל מה שקשור לחמוש מדינות ערב ובמיוחד סוריה. מדינה זו חידשה יחסיה עם מצרים משום שהיא מכורדת ומקבלת פחות חמיכה מבחוש כולל מברה"מ. מובארק אמר לי כי לא הוא חזר לעולם הערבי אלא העולם הערבי חזר אליו. ולמרות השינוי ישאל חייבת להיות ערוכה מבחינה צבאית בגולן כי סוריה נחשבת עדין מדינה עוינת כלפי ישראל.

ג. יוזמת השלום הישראלית. השר מציין כי הישראלים משמאל ומימין מאוחדים במגמתם להכביד על התקדמות תהליך השלום. ישראל הגישה יוזמת שלום האומרת לפלשתינאים, אנו נמצאים בעימות אחכם ורואים בכס צד למו"מ. מאידך, השטחים חתם שלטון צבאי ולתיכך אנו אחראים לסדר ולבטחון של יהודים וערבים. באלימות לא יושג דבר. השר מציין כי 85% מהאלימות באים לידי ביטוי ביידוי אבנים. פעילות רעולי הפניט מתמקדת בעיקרה נגד הפלשתינאים. לא יכולה להיות התקדמות בתהליך השלום אלא אם כן הפלשתינאים יבינו כי אנו נחושים בדעתנו להשחמש בכוח נגד אלימות. מאידך, כוח לבד לא יפתור את הבעיה ללא יוזמת שלום. השר מתייחס ליוזמת השלום הישראלית, 10% הנקודות של מובארק, 5% הנקודות של בייקר ומביע תקווה שתמצא נוסחה שתאפשר התקדמות.

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32 - 011

1. בחשובה לשאלות: 1. מכהיר רבין כי איש לא ביקש מישראל לאמץ את 10 הנקודות. בייקר כתב למגיד שמפגש בין פלשתינאים לישראל יקדים במצרים כשישראל תבוא עם יוזמתה והפלשתינאים עם 10 הנקודות לאחר שהביעו הסכמתם. 2. לשאלת הנרי זיגמן אלו הזדמנויות הוחמצו בעשור, השר לא פרט אך ציין שכיום שום מדינה ערבית לא חכנס עמנו למו"מ ללא פתרון הכעיה הפלשתינאית. בעבר יכולנו וההזדמנויות הוחמצו. 3. לשאלת בנושאי הרכב המשלחת הפלשתינאית בקהיר, סדר היום ושאלת מזרח ירושלים השר אמר כי לא יהיה זה נכון מצידו לדבר על נושאים אלו לפני הביקור בושינגטון. כך ציין כי בביקור זה הוא בא כשר ממשלה אחדות לאומית ולא כנציג המפלגה.

נ.ב. הארוע הזה ללא כיסוד תקשורת.

ס/הקונכ"ל ניו יורק
מרדכי ידוד
12 בינואר 1990

אישור:



קונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
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(212) 351-5200

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ד. בתשובה לשאלות: 1. מבהיר רבין כי איש לא ביקש מישראל לאמץ את 10 הנקודות. ביקר כחב למגיד שמפגש בין פלשתינאים לישראל יקום במצרים כששוואל הבוא עם יוזמחה והפלשתינאים עם 10 הנקודות לאחר שהביעו הסכמתם. 2. לשאלת הנרי זיגמן אלו הזדמנויות הוחמצו בעשור, השר לא פרט אך ציין שכיום שום מדינה ערבית לא חכנס עמנו למו"מ ללא פחרון הכעיה הפלשתינאית. בעבר יכולנו וההזדמנויות הוחמצו. 3. לשאלה בנושאי הרכב המשלחת הפלשתינאית בקהיר, סדר היום ושאלת מזרח ירושלים השר אמר כי לא יהיה זה נכון מצידו לדבר על נושאים אלו לפני הביקור בוושנינגטון. כן ציין כי בביקור זה הוא בא כשר ממשלת אחדות לאומית ולא כנציג המפלגה.

נ.ב. הארוע היה ללא כיסוי תקשורתי.

ס/הקונכ"ל ניו יורק
מרדכי יודי
12 בינואר 1990

אישור:

2/11/11

11/1

11/1

10/10/81
4/80/81

CONFIDENTIAL

JOHN SUNUNU ON SETTLEMENTS AND SOVIET
JEWRY HOUSING GUARANTEES

(to the American Jewish Committee Group, January 4, 1990)

You're going to have a serious problem. The Shamir's attitude toward settlements has poisoned our possibility to help. Shamir has told Bush that settlements is an Israeli issue, not an American issue.

You can play a role. Shamir does not understand that the President said it is U.S. policy not to expand settlements. That view is fundamental to our policy on this question of resettlement. Shamir has tried to tell us that the two issues are separable. But the President said no, they are not separable.

Shamir would like to believe that this is a healthy disagreement between himself and the President. I am telling you that it is an unhealthy disagreement. It represents a fundamental difference. In any case, such money is fungible.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך: 12.01.9

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שמו

נכנס **

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אורח 11

חוזם: 1,9036

אל: המשרד

יעדים: וו/ש/564, מצב/810

מ-: נ, נר: 308, תא: 110190, זח: 1230, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: ג: הסברה

נד: ג

10536 .461.01

שמו/מיידי

אל: סמנכ"ל הסברה, סמנכ"ל צפ"א, יועץ תפוצות-מנהל מצפ"א

דע: ס/שה"ח

לש' מנכל וממנכ"ל

שגריר, פלג-וושינגטון

קליטת עלית יהודי בריהמ' בישראל.

מובן מאליו שהנושא הופך למרכזי בסדר היום היהודי. הדבר נכון בכל הנוגע למנהיגות הארגונים היהודים, אך לדעתי פחות לציבור היהודי הרחב, שם חסרה מודעות והתלהבות לאתגר העומד בפנינו. הסיבות לכך מגוונות - מרבית יהודי ארה"ב לא באו במגע ישיר עם יהודי בריהמ', לא היתה גם כל התלהבות לקליטתם כאן, והקליטה בארץ לא נתפסת עדיין כריאלית - כך שבשטח יש הרבה בורות וחמור מכך אדישות רגשית.

כשליחי משה"ח אין אנו מטפלים ישירות בסוגיה אך אנו מעורבים בהחלט בסיוע למסע גיוס הכספים של הפדרציות. עלינו לדעת להוביל באספקט ההסברתי של הנושא, ולהתוות תכנית הסברה מפורטת בשיתוף בין שליחי הסוכנות אנשי המגבית והפדרציות ובגיבוי של הסוכנות והמשרד בארץ.

6406 יוקר מלק עשות כניס טל 667667667

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אנא תנו דעתכם להכנת התשתית לכך במשרד תוך שפ' עם הגורמים השונים בממשלה ובסוכנות. תשתית כזו חייבת לכלול מערכת ענפה של חומר ויזואלי, כתוב ומרצים. כך נוכל להוביל או לפחות לסייע בהעלאת הנושא לראש סולם העדיפויות הציבורי כאן תוך ניגון על מיתרי הרגש הנכונים שבסופו של דבר יניבו הפירות המבוקשים.

אודה על התייחסותכם.

אורי סביר.

ק

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מוכל, ממוכל, גוברין, מזאר, רביב, הסברה, בנצור, מצפא, תפוצות

** יוצא
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סודי

חוזם: 1,8789
אל: ווש/542, בטחון/411
מ-: המשרד, תא: 110190, זח: 1724, דח: ב, סג: 10
חח: גס: צפא
נד: @

אברהם

55325
סודי/בהול
אהב 10301

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון
דע: מקש'ח

איסור תנועה על פלסטינאים
למברקר 226

1. אגב שיחת השר עם וולפוביץ' אתמול (10.1) - דיווח בנפרד - אמר שגארה'ב שהוא חייב (IS CONSTRAINED) להתייחס לנושא הנ'ל. לפי הנחיותיו, עליו להביע DISMAY בענין זה, כי הרי מדובר בפלסטינאים שעלינו לדבר עמם ועצם האיסור על תנועותיהם משדר מסר לא נכון דווקא בשלב זה של תהליך השלום.

2. השר הגיב ואמר שזהו נושא שאינו עומד ברמת חשיבות עם קיום הבחירות וקידום היוזמה, וההגבלות הוטלו במגמה למנוע החרפת האלימות.

3. בראון ציין שהעלה הנושא בעת שיחת וולפוביץ' עם שהב'ט, בתגובה אמר שה'ח כי שהב'ט דיווח לו על כך.

עד כאן.

מנהל מצפ'א

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** נכנס
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סודי

חוזם: 1,9087

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/807, מנמת/192

מ-: נוש, נר: 259, תא: 110190, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

11
ארה"ב

סודי / מידי

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א, סמנכ'ל מזא'ר

מאת: עודד ערן

ברה'מ.

מקצר בשיחה טלפונית.

ארה'ב מתכוונת לשלוח היום מסר חריף (STIFF MESSAGE) לברה'מ על העלאת נציגות אש'פ לדרג שגרירות. להערכתם ברה'מ לא שקלה את כל ההשלכות של צעדה והדברים מסתובבים אפילו מנקודת ראותה של ברה'מ. הם מניחים שרצו לתת לויצמן 'משהו' ולכן העלו דרג נציגות ישראל ו'אזנו' זאת תחת לחץ אש'פ, שנמשך מזה זמן, על-ידי העלאת דרג הנציגות האש'פית. טרסוב ביקש לבוא לווישינגטון לפני מפגש שרי החוץ ואם יחליטו לאשר בואו, 'יתנו גם לו על הראש', לפי קרצר.

ערן.

אק

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

דחיות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: _____
סוג:		פתיק: _____
תאריך ושפת הענור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד: 2/2 291		פאת:

הדיאלוג. יחד עם זאת סבור שניתן להגיע לשתי"פ במישור אוחו הגדיר כטכני. לדוגמא שיפור בטחון בשדות הערפה.

10. לסיום ציין כי לנוכח קשייר מבית (כלכלה ובעיית הלאומים) יזדקק גורבצ'וב להפגין הישגים בזירה הבינלאומית.

11. השנה הקרובה תעמוד מבחינת גורבצ'וב בסימן שני אירועים מרכזיים: מפגש הפטגא ביוני ונעידת המפלגה לקראת סוף השנה, כאשר בין לבין יצטרך להתמודד עם בעיית הלאומים. שעלול להחליש מעמדו.

מעריך את מעמדו בפוליטבירו ובקונגרס כאיתן.

שטייטל

תפוצה:

Baker warns Mideast ministers

By Martin Skell
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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Secretary of State James A. Baker III, showing signs of frustration, hinted yesterday he may turn his attention from the stalled Middle East peace process to deal with other problems that show greater opportunities for progress.

"There are many other areas in the world clamoring for his attention, areas where the circumstances are producing change," State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said.

"We hope to see the same kind of impulse that will produce change in the Middle East, and we're prepared to do all we can to promote it," she added.

But, she said, "If this effort does fail, it certainly won't be due to a lack of effort or will on the part of this president or this secretary of state."

The statement appeared to be a warning to the two sides to agree on terms for talks involving Mr. Baker and Foreign Ministers Moshe Arens of Israel and Esmet Abdel Maguid of Egypt, originally expected to take place last month, or risk having the United States wash its hands of them.

"Baker has applied this tactic before," one Middle East analyst close to the diplomatic negotiations said. "He used it to great effect last year."

Mr. Baker issued his statement after talking on the phone to Mr. Arens earlier yesterday. They discussed issues of "substance," but a date for the proposed talks did not even come up, an official said.

Mr. Baker had hoped the Israeli and Egyptian foreign ministers would agree at the meeting in Washington on the terms for elections in the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

State Department insiders noted that the optimism evident in Foggy Bottom as recently as last week about prospects for Mr. Baker's five-point peace plan has now disappeared. "There is a genuine sense of depression among the people who deal with the issue," one said.

Hopes for progress dimmed following a government crisis in Israel last week in which Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir threatened to sack Israeli Science Minister Ezer Weizman over his contacts with PLO representatives.

The confrontation, which ended in a face-saving compromise allowing Mr. Weizman to retain a reduced

role in the Cabinet, was widely seen as a warning to Israeli doves that Mr. Shamir's hard-line Likud bloc would not make any concessions to the PLO concerning the talks.

The prospects for progress also remain hung up over disagreements on the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the status of the city of Jerusalem.

Mr. Baker expressed Monday his frustration with the Middle East peace process to Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik in a meeting at the State Department. Mr. Bondevik, chairman of the Christian People's Party, said at a news conference afterward that Mr. Baker was "not very optimistic."

Israel's 12-man inner Cabinet remained silent on the latest U.S. efforts to revive the peace process after meeting yesterday but refused to say the Baker plan was a dead issue.

"There are some problems to be solved, but we believe the process is very much alive," Foreign Ministry spokesman Motti Amichai told reporters in Jerusalem.

Government sources told newsmen in Jerusalem that Mr. Shamir did not want to carry the public onus of rejecting the U.S. initiative. But

PLO foreign affairs spokesman Farouk Kaddoumi, in Amman, Jordan for a two-day visit, was more explicit.

"I think Baker's plan is a failure," he told reporters. "We know that the United States' policy has always been in favor of Israel, and we are constantly on guard regarding these policies. . . . The United States' moves are not in the right direction."

In Cairo, PLO leader Yasser Arafat met Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to discuss the peace process. Mr. Arafat, like Mr. Shamir, is seen as not wanting to be left with public responsibility for the plan's failure.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin is due to visit Washington in the middle of next week for private talks with Mr. Baker, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

Mr. Rabin is regarded as the most influential proponent of the Baker plan in the Israeli government, and U.S. officials will be hoping he can find a way to revive the stalled peace process.

In Moscow, Mr. Weizman said yesterday that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze wanted to raise the level of diplomatic relations between the two countries, a move that would increase the Kremlin's peace role.

● This article is based in part on wire service reports.

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דחיפות: בהתאם אלקר	סגירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג: בלמ"ס		פתוך: 2
תאריך וזמן העבודה: 11.1.90	אל: מעפ"א, אמל"ט	
כס' פרוק: הפסד:	אח"ק לשכת מנכ"ל	דע:
1/2 293	פאת: עיתונות, וושינגטון	

פנמה - ישראל

1. רע"ב הכתבה שבכותרת ה"וושינגטון טיימס" הבורק. הכתב, שפנה אלינו מאוחר אתמול, שיבץ את תגובתו בכתבה. בעקבות הכתבה קבלנו טלפונים רבים בבקשה למידע נוסף. בתגובתנו לא הוספנו דבר מעבר לתגובתנו בנדון.
2. הנושא הועלה היום גם בתדרוך דובר הבית הלבן - שלמעשה, בחר שלא להתייחס לספור. (רע"ב דבריו).
3. דוברת מחמ"ד שנשאלה בנדון, הפנתה שואלים לשגרירות הישראלית.
4. אנא הודיעונוי בבחול התייחסותכם והצעתכם לתגובה.

רוח ירוק

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Israeli plane left Panama just in time

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

An Israeli C-130 cargo plane carrying "evidence" of Israel's ties to the regime of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega took off from Panama City about six hours before U.S. troops assaulted Panama Dec. 20, according to U.S. intelligence sources.

The sources reported that the plane's departure came around the time an ex-Israeli master spy and adviser to Gen. Noriega was tipped off that the U.S. strike was coming and fled the country.

They did not know if the ex-intelligence agent, Mike Harari, was on the plane or exactly what type of "evidence" was on board.

The American-made C-130 had flown from Tel Aviv to Panama "several days" before the intervention, the sources said.

Israel maintained ties to the Noriega government, using the country as a marketplace for arms and other business ventures, according to former Noriega associates.

Moreover, Latin American Jews funneled financial contributions to Israel through Panama's secretive

network of banks.

A spokeswoman at the Israeli embassy in Washington, Ruth Yaron, said yesterday that "as far as we know" no Israeli C-130 took off from Panama on Dec. 19.

As to whether Israel sold arms in Panama, Mrs. Yaron said, "Our policy is not to give any details as to whom or what we sell. We don't discuss it."

A one-time Mossad agent, Mr. Harari was reportedly in Panama prior to the assault. He disappeared for several days, then surfaced in his homeland on Israeli television.

Mr. Harari denied being an adviser to Gen. Noriega and shed no light on how he quickly exited Panama.

The night of Dec. 19, the 62-year-old Mr. Harari was in the home of Mr. Noriega's wife, Felicidad, according to Lt. Col. Eduardo Herrera, whom the post-Noriega government appointed second-in-command of its new security force.

Col. Herrera, quoting an account provided by Gen. Noriega's chauffeur, said two unidentified Israelis came to Gen. Noriega's home about 7 p.m. and spoke to Mr. Harari

in Hebrew.

Mr. Harari then told those in the house "something was going to happen" and left, according to Col. Herrera.

In his TV appearance Saturday, Mr. Harari rejected stories that he helped Gen. Noriega reshape the Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF).

"I was not an adviser of Noriega," he said. "I didn't make any deals with him. I didn't organize his personal guard. I didn't train his forces. I am simply a private man."

But former associates and U.S. congressional sources said Mr.

Harari had deep ties to Gen. Noriega. Mr. Harari had served as Panama's commercial attache and as an honorary consul to Israel.

In one instance, Mr. Harari purchased weapons in Europe at Gen. Noriega's behest to aid the Sandinistas in overthrowing Anastasio Somoza, according to a report by the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on narcotics, terrorism and international operations.

A former PDF officer has said Mr. Harari arranged special training in

see PLANE, page A10

Israel for members of Gen. Noriega's elite anti-terrorist unit.

The Israeli government has denied charges that its one-time super spy has been doing its bidding in Panama. "No, Mr. Harari was and is a private citizen and he was under no official capacity, if indeed he was there [in Panama]," Mrs. Yaron said yesterday.

The tip that apparently prompted Mr. Harari to leave Panama is one of

several indications that Gen. Noriega and his PDF had warning that U.S. forces were coming.

The Pentagon has reported that Mr. Noriega's bodyguard told his boss three hours before the American intervention that U.S. troops were coming, but the general chose not to believe him.

Several lawmakers who have visited Panama recently, including Sen. Sam Nunn, Georgia Democrat and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said that, based on the actions of some PDF forces, it is clear they had some advance warning.

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about not selling medium-range missiles. That, per se, doesn't cover the M-9.

MS. TUTWILER: What I have is a followup to what I was asked yesterday on sale of missiles to Syria is the statement that we've just done today. I don't have a more fleshing out for you. I went through yesterday in the points that we said when we said the President -- Ralph had asked me, I believe, what positive steps that we believe they'd taken. I've said what we had said about they had said they were not selling missiles to the Middle East. I've said again today that we take these public comments at face value. I don't have a lot more to add to this subject.

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Q But all they are saying is that they are not selling medium-range missiles and if this is not a medium-range missile that's in question, they haven't said anything responsive to this.

MS. TUTWILER: I'll see if I can get you something specific on this. This is what I had in response to the specific questions I was asked yesterday.

Q Can you --

MS. TUTWILER: Sure, Barry.

Q -- when you look for that, could you see if the US knows anything about whether there have been deliveries of these missiles? "Taking them at face value" is basically saying, you know, you hold them to their word.

MS. TUTWILER: Right.

Q But words don't often mean a lot in international affairs.

MS. TUTWILER: I'll check into it. I would imagine that some of this is going to fall under the aspect of intelligence matters, but I will check into it and see what the whole story is.

Q Margaret, the Soviet Union has upgraded the PLO's representation in Moscow to that of an embassy. How does the State Department view this?

MS. TUTWILER: It's not entirely clear from the Tass report what the Soviets have done. But any unilateral act to enhance the status of the so-called "State of EPalestine" can only have a detrimental effect on current peace efforts. We've said from the beginning of this process that what's required is a practical approach to solve problems. A measure of Soviet seriousness will be their willingness to take and support practical steps, and they know what those are.

Q Margaret, that's a rather mild statement. When the United States was blasting various agencies of the United Nations for trying to do exactly the same thing, you had a strong statement there saying Palestine is not a country and the PLO was not entitled to, whatever that fancy word is, that are accorded countries. Is that still the US position? You're just saying they acted unilaterally --

MS. TUTWILER: We have prefaced this by saying it's not entirely clear to us, as of this briefing, of the Tass report

We then stated what we -- our opinion of it was, if it is true. And we said that they know very well what our position is -- since I have not been asked, which follows as a natural follow-on -- is that we have repeatedly urged them to restore full diplomatic relations with EIsraelF, and the Secretary of State has made this point every time he has met with Shevardnadze and the subject of the Middle East has been discussed.

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Q Israel is a country. I was asking about the PLO.
MS. TUTWILER: I understand that. This is our comment on it for today.

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Q Have there been any consultations, either in Moscow or here, between Soviet and US officials over this? I mean, it seems kind of odd to rely on --

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MS. TUTWILER: No.

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Q -- on the official news agency alone.

MS. TUTWILER: No, there has not.

Q Margaret, are you detecting any change in the Soviets' policy toward ESyriaF since the statements made by the Soviet ambassador in Damascus calling for Syria to get away from the strategic balance with Israel?

MS. TUTWILER: I haven't seen those comments, and I'd prefer just to take your question after we see -- if we get the comment and see what our response is, and let someone analyze it for you.

Q Also on the Middle East, regarding your statement yesterday.

MS. TUTWILER: Mm-hmm.

Q At what point do you -- would you imagine the Secretary's patience is finally going to run out with the absence of progress?

MS. TUTWILER: Unfortunately, Jim, just as he won't put a time frame on a hypothetical like that, I'm not going to do it for him.

Q Well, is there anything on his calendar that would mark a natural delineation -- for example, the Moscow trip or something else -- at some point, he has to begin focusing his energies on something else?

MS. TUTWILER: No, he's a very capable gentleman, and he's capable of managing a lot of portfolios at once. As we said yesterday, he is going to stay engaged as long as there is a reason to stay engaged, and the other parties' seriousness and will to stay engaged. He has, all along, since this process started, managed several other items at the same time he was managing this.

Q Margaret --

MS. TUTWILER: So there's not a magic moment in time where he says "that's it" --

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Q Is the visit of --

MS. TUTWILER: -- based on his calendar.

Q Sorry. I'm sorry.

MS. TUTWILER: Sorry, Barry.

Q Does the visit of Defense Minister Rabin next week to see Mr. Baker and others provide an occasion to do some further talking about the Middle East peace situation, or negotiating situation? Or is this a defense visit and something that -- you know there are some interpretations that you're trying to, you know, lay the groundwork for, oh, squeezing the guy a little bit maybe next week, with these statements of losing patience and other areas of the world clamouring for your attention and all. Is that what it's all about?

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MS. TUTWILER: The Defense Minister's trip is a private trip, is my understanding, to the United States. It has -- his visit with Secretary Baker has been on Secretary Baker's calendar for weeks. It would be ridiculous to think they would not discuss the overall peace process, and of course it'll be one of the things they discuss.

Q Margaret, do you have any comments on the --

Q Can you tell us --

MS. TUTWILER: Excuse me, what?

Q -- where things stand in the talks that he -- the Secretary has had with the foreign ministers?

MS. TUTWILER: What do you mean, where do things stand?

Q Has there been any -- well, has there been any forward movement --

MS. TUTWILER: Since yesterday?

Q -- as a result -- as a result of these conversations? Well, yesterday you were unable to tell us very much about them, I wondered whether maybe --

MS. TUTWILER: Unfortunately, I cannot.

Q Can you say whether there has been any forward movement since --

MS. TUTWILER: I have to leave it in the middle of the road --

Q -- let's say early December?

MS. TUTWILER: -- without characterizing whether there is forward movement or backward movement.

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It is obvious, and I would refer you to, if you have not seen what Prime Minister Shamir himself said this morning, which is, "The Americans are very active in trying to bridge the gaps between the sides and that Israel supports these efforts." So, he, himself just this morning is saying how actively engaged we are, that he intends to be. As I have said, and I know it's frustrating to you all, they are doing this quietly, they are doing this privately, but they are continuing to work and I would also refer you back to what we have said all along, this is a step-by-step process.

Q Margaret, as we are on the Middle East, do you have any comments on the exclusive story published by the Washington Times today about the Israeli role in just leaking information to ENoriegaF before the military action by the United States?

MS. TUTWILER: I haven't seen that story and I'd refer you to the Israeli Embassy.

Q Margaret, going back to what you just said about Mr. Shamir, don't you think that this is sort of his just gaining more time and getting more time by offering this lip service about the United States involved -- or actively involved in this peace process, while on the ground he is restricting movement to Palestinians activists on the ground and in the EOcupiedF E TerritoriesF -- the people who we are supposed to bring together with Israelis in the roundtable of discussions? And --

MS. TUTWILER: No, I am not going abscribe (sic, ascribe) to your characterization that the Prime Minister is just giving lip service, and you should direct your question if you want, if that is your characterization of his words and what he said to him. It's not our view.

Q But are there confidence-building measures taken by the Israeli government towards the Palestinians and their occupation in the EWest BankF and EGazaF, by the measures which were taken in the last few weeks? DEPARTMENT

MS. TUTWILER: We have rehashed this 200,000 times, as you know, I am commenting on what the Prime Minister said just this very morning. There is a much lengthier transcript where he discusses his seriousness of the entire peace process, an effort that we are very seriously engaged in, as are the Egyptians, as are the Israelis.

Q If we are going to ground zero, don't we think that the United States or other -- you know, to start thinking about the alternatives of going back to the international conference, if the situation will stay as stalemated as it is now?

MS. TUTWILER: Our position on the international conference has not changed today.

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Q There is a report that Mr. Kimmitt's trip to South EAsiaF starting this weekend is part of a reassessment of policy toward EAfghanistanF. Can you discuss the details of the trip or its purpose?

MS. TUTWILER: The purpose of the trip is, as Mr. Kimmitt has made a number of trips into various regions of the world, this is yet another trip. It has been scheduled for many weeks on his schedule. The policy question is, there was an article written today suggesting that our policy in Afghanistan has changed. It has not.

Q Is there some sort of formal reassessment or review?

MS. TUTWILER: And while in the region, it would be silly to suggest that Mr. Kimmitt would not be discussing this subject, as he will be discussing many other subjects while in the region.

Q There is not a formal reassessment or review underway?

MS. TUTWILER: Correct, there is not.

Q Can you tell us where he's gone, please?

MS. TUTWILER: (Aside to staff) Has Bob announced this trip? I don't know. I mean, I know where he's going, but has it been formally announced? Okay.

He is going to EPakistanF and to EIndiaF and ESaudi Arabia.F

Q When?

MS. TUTWILER: The dates -- I believe he leaves this Saturday and I'm unsure of when he gets back. He'll be gone approximately a week.

Q Margaret, there was an announcement coming from Moscow that the Soviet Union will be hosting talks between Iraq and Iran to solve the stalemated situation -- no win and no war. And also, there was an announcement by the Iraqi president last week about a new peace initiative towards Iran. Do you have any comment on these?

MS. TUTWILER: We have seen the Soviet spokesperson's announcement. We note Mr. Gerasimov made clear that the purpose of the meeting is to supplement the efforts of the EUNF Secretary General to secure a durable peace in accord with UN Security Council Resolution 598, not to supplant them. We strongly support the Secretary General's efforts and their objective of a comprehensive peace. We wish this initiative well.

In this regard, we note that over one year after a cease-fire ended hostilities, over 100,000 prisoners are still held by both sides. We reiterate our call for an immediate and comprehensive prisoner exchange.

Q You don't have any specific comment on the announcement by the Iraqi president?

MS. TUTWILER: No.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

לתרום סכומים עצומים.
התקופה בה העליה תמשך יכולה להיות קצרה ויש לנצלה. בוב
ליפטון אמר שהמנהיגים לא יפעלו אלא אם יש מסר של דחיפות
והמשבר המגיע מהארץ בדומה לאוירה שנוצרה בארה"ב ב-1967.
במצב זה ניתן להגיע לעמך ולגייסו למגבית.
יש לדעתו צורך MASTER PLAN לקליטת העולים.
הרב זולפיש הוסיף כי היהודים לא יתרמו למסגרת הקיימת אלא אם
כן תשופר.

בטי ארנברג.

פא

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

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THE MASTER PLAN FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE
NATIONAL SYSTEM OF
HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
1963-1970

CHAPTER I

THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך 11.01.90

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שלך נר 177.

1. אנא ודא האם סאנונו הזדקק לביטוי POISONED בהקשר להתנחלויות עם אנשי ה'קומיטי' או לביטוי אחר.

2. אם כן מומלץ שמי ממשתתפי הפגישה יכתוב לו בגנות הביטוי הנלוז הזה שאיננו נטול קונוטציות היסטוריות.

בודאי זכור לך שב Z.P שקיבלנו באחרונה בנושא אתיופיה שורבב הביטוי 'הרעלת בארות' והח'מ מחא על כך בפני הממונה האמריקאי.

בנצור

אק

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

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ארתור

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אל : שה"ח/ס/שה"ח/מנכ"ל/ממנכ"ל
סמנכ"לים - בנצור/גוברין/סולטן/הדס/בבלי

מאת : יועץ שה"ח לתפוצות

הנדון: פעילות מדינית יהודית במשך חודש דצמבר '89

1. נצחון נרשם ללובי היהודי בבריטניה כאשר הפרלמנט אישר ברוב מכריע את החקיקה לגבי פושעים נאציים המתגוררים בבריטניה.
2. מפגש יהודי גדול התקיים באמסטרדם (בראשות ראש העיר) כשהנושא על סדר היום: "שותפות אש"פ במו"מ, כן או לא". הארגונים, הפדרציה-הציונית והשגרירות הכינו את האסטרטגיה של מתנגדי "השותפות".
3. מאה ושישים ארגונים יהודיים וקהילות מרחבי בריה"מ קיימו (לראשונה מאז 1920) ועידה במוסקבה בהשתתפות אישים מישראל ומארצות אחרות ודנו בקיום היהודי בריה"מ, בתרבות היהודית ובקשרים עם העולם היהודי.
4. הועד היהודי האמריקני פנה בכתב לשגריר בריה"מ דובינין במחאה על דברי סגן שר החוץ הסובייטי פטרובסקי שאמר כי בריה"מ לא תתמוך ביזמה לשינוי החלטת "ציונות - גזענות".
5. ה-ADL הכיין דו"ח ביקורתי על סיקור בלתי מאוזן וחד-צדדי של רשת ה-CNN מן השטחים. בדו"ח דוגמאות רבות. הארגון דחה את פרסום הדו"ח עד לקבלת תגובות הרשת.
6. בראשית החודש נערכו בכל רחבי אירופה עשרים ושבע אסיפות בנושא יהודי-סוריה שאורגנו על-ידי בני ברית ועל-ידי הועד הבינלאומי למען יהודי-סוריה.
7. נשיא הועד היהודי האמריקני מר קומיי ונציג הארגון בווישינגטון דוד האריס בקרו, בראש משלחת, ביפן. פגשו שם מחוקקים, אנשי ממשל ואנשי תעשייה ומסחר, העלו עניין הפרסומים האנטישמיים ונושא הכניעה לחרם.



8. בראשית החודש נערך ביקור הנשיא בארגנטינה ובאורוגוואי, בשתי הבירות נערכו אירועים מרכזיים מטעם הקהילות. הנשיא הדגיש את הקשר ההדוק בין ישראל לתפוצות והמעמד הפך לביטוי הזדהות עם מדינת ישראל.
9. ארגונים יהודים ובראשם נאקראקו - JCRC יצאו בהודעות תקיפות בעקבות התבטאויות הארכיבישוף טוטו על הצורך לסלוח לנאצים, על המקבילות שראה לעשות בין גורל הפלשתינאים וגורל השחורים בדרא"פ ועל הצורך בהקמת מדינה פלשתינאית.
10. ה - AJC הביא ארצה משלחת אישים שחורים מארה"ב בתוכנית משותפת לארגון ולמשה"ח. הביקור היה מוצלח מאוד ובמסגרת עתונאים הציגו גישה מאוזנת ושקולה, גם בנושאים רגישים כגון דרא"פ.
11. בוולינגטון שבניו-זילנד קם ארגון ידידי שלום עכשיו בכנס יסוד שבו השתתפו כ - 50 איש.
12. במיאמי נערכה ועידת ארגון ציוני-אמריקה (ZOA) שהיתה למפגן ידידות ותמיכה בישראל. אחת הישיבות המרכזיות הוקדשה לתהליך השלום. המרצה, איש מחמ"ד דן קרצר.
13. הפדרציה הציונית של אוסטרליה (מ' ליבלר) יצאה בהודעה לעתונות בשבח מאמציה הבלתי נלאים של ממשלת אוסטרליה לביטול ההחלטה "ציונות-גזענות" ובפרט מאמצי האוסטרלים מול ממשלת ברית-המועצות.
14. במשך חודש דצמבר בקרו בארץ: מר ליבלר, סגן נשיא הקונגרס היהודי העולמי, מר קפלן - נשיא יהודי - אוסטרליה, מר סלומון - ראש הפדרציה של דה-מוין, מר ספרייריגן - ראש ועדת החוץ של ה - ADL, מר הונליין - מנכ"ל ועידת הנשיאים, מר צ'סטר - מראשי הקהילה במיאמי וועד ראשי הקהילות (בורד - אוף דפיוטיז) מלונדון.

ב ב ר כ ה,

מיכאל שילה



קונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

(212) 351-5200

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שמואל/מידו
355.20 &&&

אל : יועץ שה"ח לתפוצות, מצפ"א

דע : שגריר וושינגטון, ביבי נתניהו ס/שה"ח

מאת : ס/הקונב"ל ניו יורק

ועידת נאקרק פבר' 21-18

- 1) להלן מפגישתי עם פול פלקס מנכ"ל ZOA:
הביע בפני דאגתו שועידת נאקרק בפניקס חנוצל להפעלת לחץ על ישראל בנושא ההליך השלום ולאמוץ החלטות שלא לרוחבו. אמר כי שוחח עם אל צ'רנין, מנכ"ל נאקרק, הביע דאגתו בפניו ושלא אליו המכתב המצ"ב. ציין כי לנאקרק כוח השפעה גדול על ועידת הנשיאים ועל הקהילות היהודיות והעדרציות ברחבי ארה"ב.
- 2) בוועידת נאקרק ב-8 שהחקימה בלוס אנג'לס מס' חודשים לאחר חזילת האינתיפאדה, תארת בין היתר בדו"ח המסכם שלי את האזירה הקשה ששררה בוועידה וצינתה כי בוועידות ארמיות חשתי נוח יותר מאשר בוועידה זו. בוועידת נאקרק ב-8 בושינגטון, חזינו בנסיון לאמץ החלטה התומכת בקיום דיאלוג בין ארה"ב לאש"פ, כאשר רק בזכות מס' קולות בודדים החלטה לא אומצה. לידועתה, 5 מבין חותמי מכתב ה-41 לרוח"מ, היו מראשי נאקרק לשעבר.
- 3) בזמנים הקרובים נקיים שיחות עם אל צ'רנין ועם נציגי הארגונים היהודיים הארציים במגמה להכניס לוועידה. במקביל מוצע כי יקוימו שיחות עם נציגי ה-CRC'S ברחבי ארה"ב שישתתפו בוועידה בפניקס להעמידם על הנזק שעלול להגרם לקדום ההליך השלום וליחס ישראל-ארה"ב אם אכן יואמצו החלטות העומדות בסתירה ליוזמת השלום הישראלית.

מראשי ידוד

שה"ח ס/ש"ח רה"ל משה"ח א"ש מ"צ מ"צ
נב"ל רה"ל מ"צ

[Handwritten signature]

ס/הקונב"ל ניו יורק
מרצבי ידוד
8 בינאר 1990

אישר:

Paul Flacks
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

209/20

2/2

January 3, 1990

Mr. Albert Chernin
Executive Director
NJCRAC
443 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

Dear Al:

Thank you for your helpful guidance and suggestions pertaining to the NJCRAC Plenum material. Although this is for internal distribution, I am sharing the final piece with you so you will have it for your files.

I did not follow your suggestion to reproduce the entire text of your original presentation at the last plenum. You were evidently not aware that I had already done this a number of months ago, as you can see from the enclosure and the covering memo which I attached at that time. I wonder how many other did the same thing and to what extent your important observations have been examined.

I did, however, include in the present mailing references to your presentation as published by NJCRAC without any changes or editing on my part. We did not alter the thrust of your comments in any way.

I trust that you will agree that the concerns I raise are valid especially based on your own important address. It is my belief that the meetings in Phoenix can be a "watershed" for the American Jewish community which could affect the very foundation and future of NJCRAC itself. Should this take place, there will be a similar negative impact on the Conference of Presidents vis-a-vis basic community support for Israel. What do you think? Do you share my sense of danger to the future of NJCRAC? Or will NJCRAC disengage from Israel issues and concentrate on "domestic concerns"?

Although we are not members of NJCRAC, I believe that the views of ZOA, an organization whose total agenda is Israel-directed, are not only meaningful but should be taken seriously by the constituents of NJCRAC. In this regard, if there is any way in which I can be helpful before or during the plenum, by all means, please let me know.

With best regards,

Cordially yours,



Paul Flacks

PF:md

Attachments.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, 4 EAST 34TH STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10016 (212) 485-5000

A14 TUESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1990 ...

U.S. Fears Impasse On Mideast

Baker's Proposal For Talks Periled

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration is struggling to avoid an impasse in arranging a meeting of American, Israeli and Egyptian foreign ministers as the next step in Secretary of State James A. Baker III's proposed Israeli-Palestinian dialogue on Middle East peace.

After months of pressure and cajoling, Baker succeeded late last year in getting Israel and Egypt, acting on behalf of Palestinian interests, to accept "in principle" his five-point plan for a dialogue on how to begin negotiations between Israel and Palestinians on the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The acceptances were supposed to be followed by a meeting here last month of Baker, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens and Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmet Abdel-Meguid. But a date for the meeting has still not been set, and diplomatic sources say there is a strong possibility that it may never take place because of the wide gulf between the Israeli and Arab sides about how Baker's plan should be interpreted.

The governments of both Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak conditioned their acceptance on several "assumptions" that amounted to attempts by the two sides to redefine Baker's proposals in ways that would give them the negotiating advantage.

These differing interpretations—including Israel's refusal to deal even indirectly with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Egypt's implied assumption that the PLO must approve the Palestinian

Both sides conditioned acceptance on several "assumptions."

Negotiators—are so far apart that many observers doubt whether U.S. mediation can bring them close enough to permit further progress.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler denied yesterday that the United States has given up on the chances for the meeting and said: "Secretary Baker has always said as long as there is hope, he would stay engaged. We have no reasons for him not to be engaged right now."

She added: "But he has always also said that he is a realist . . . It is absurd to have a meeting if the meeting produces nothing . . . You have to feel fairly confident that a meeting is worthwhile—that you're not just meeting for meeting's sake."

U.S. officials, who asked not to be identified, said that Baker, who last fall spent many hours on the phone with Arens and Meguid, more recently has not been directly involved in the process because of preoccupation with more pressing events in Eastern Europe and Panama.

In the meantime, what one official called U.S. efforts to "slog through the nitty-gritty of finding ideas to bridge the gap" have been handled largely by Dennis Ross, director of the State Department's policy planning staff and Baker's chief adviser on Middle East affairs.

At this point, the officials said, the Egyptian role in the three-cornered process essentially has been put on hold while Ross concentrates on trying to get Shamir to modify

some of his government's hard-line conditions that are unacceptable to Egypt and the Palestinians.

The officials said that the administration is counting on pressure from Israel's supporters in Congress and the American Jewish community to convince a reluctant Shamir that if he doesn't show greater flexibility, he is likely to get the greatest share of blame for failure of the latest peace effort.

When Shamir sent his cabinet secretary, Etyakim Rubinstein, here last month to seek a pledge of U.S. support for the Israeli negotiating position, he was rebuffed by Ross who presented him instead with some U.S. ideas calling for a softening of Israel's stance.

The officials said they expect the American ideas to be debated this week by Israel's decision-making inner cabinet. Then, the officials added, the administration will consider the next steps after Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who will visit here next week, informs Baker about the cabinet's reception of the latest American ideas.

162 - 201

2/3

Jerusalem status delays peace talks

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Disputes over the status of the ancient city of Jerusalem are threatening to delay the latest U.S. peace initiative.

State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler admitted yesterday that no date had been set for the proposed Washington meeting of Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, and Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Meguid, originally scheduled for two weeks after Israel and the Palestinians accepted the Baker plan.

Both the Israelis and Palestinians accepted the plan in December.

Mr. Baker, State Department officials say, does not want to go ahead with the meeting until the key points of disagreement have been ironed out in advance and its success is guaranteed. Therefore he is determined to resolve the key points of disagreement between the parties first and the most important of these is the status of Jerusalem.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin is expected in Washington Jan. 18-19, ostensibly for a private visit. But he is expected to meet with Mr. Baker in an effort to break the deadlock on the issue and get the stalled peace process moving again.

Egypt insists that the nearly 100,000 Arab residents of East Jerusalem, which Israel annexed after the 1967 Six Day War, be given the right to vote in the Occupied Territories elections and be allowed to participate in the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in Cairo that is scheduled to follow the Washington talks under the Baker Plan.

However, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is convinced that retreating on this issue will fatally compromise Israel's claim to hold on to a united city of Jerusalem as its capital.

To this day, the official U.S. position remains that Jerusalem — both East and West — should be subject to negotiation, although the United States expects that the outcome of such a negotiation will be that West Jerusalem will remain the capital of Israel. The United States does not recognize the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem.

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, while undersecretary of state for political affairs in 1984, reiterated the U.S. position that West Jerusalem too must be subject to negotiation. Thus, in theory, the site of the Knesset, the Israeli parliament itself, is negotiable — a position the Israelis reject out of hand.

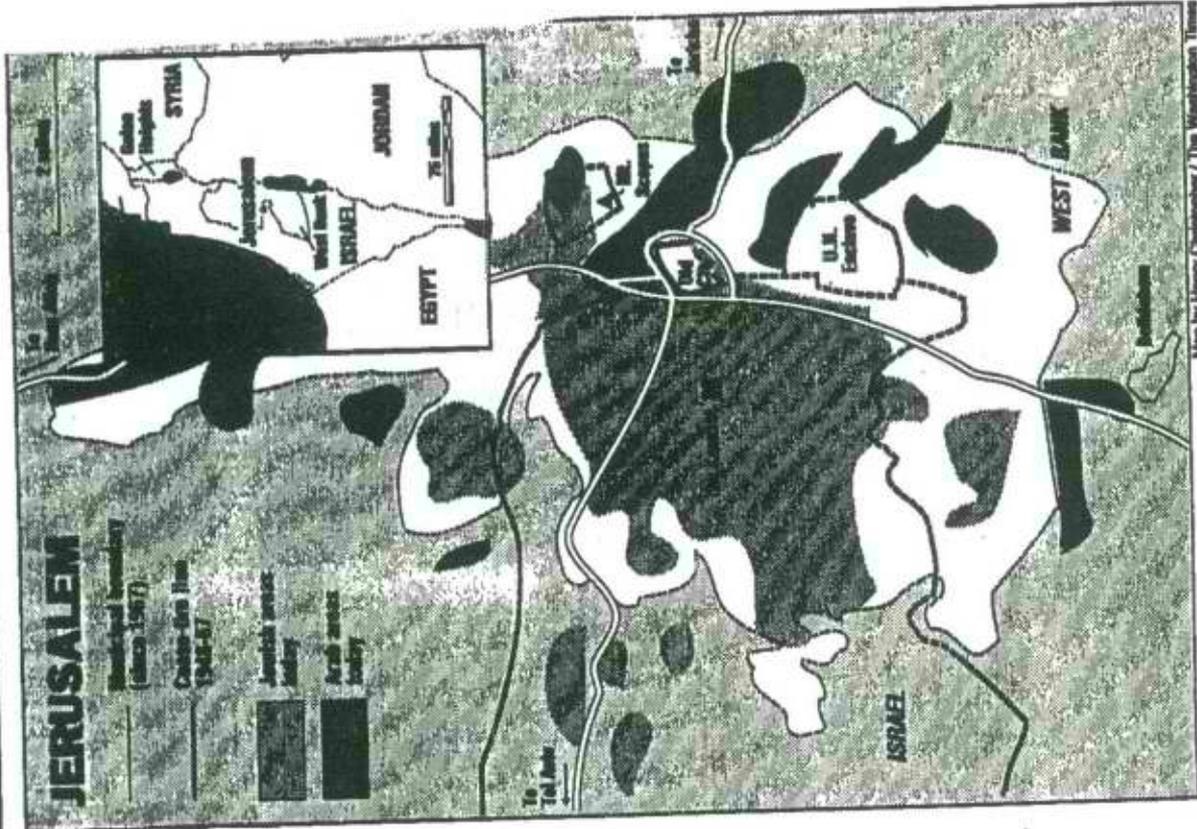
On the other side, the minimum demand of the Palestinian groups is that East Jerusalem be the capital of their state.

Many of the leaders of the Palestinian intifada, the so-called "new notables," come from East Jerusalem. The leading Palestinian newspapers are based there and it is the intellectual center of the West Bank.

The U.S. position, therefore, is that the Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem should be allowed to participate in the Cairo talks.

Israeli Cabinet Secretary Eliakim Rubinstein, a key Shamir adviser, visited Washington last month for two days of talks on the issue, and reportedly impressed State Department officials with his readiness to talk and recognize their positions.

"Rubinstein went back empty-handed," one State source said. "He



Map by Henry Christopher / The Washington Times

accepted that the United States was not going to give Israel the assurance he was looking for" that Jerusalem would not be subject to negotiation.

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, behind the scenes, has warned Israel to stand firm on this issue, sources said. "He

Mr. Shamir is reported ready to go to elections on this issue if the Labor Party pulls out of the government in protest at his firm stand. His willingness to sack Science and Technology Minister Ezer Weizman last week over the latter's contacts with PLO representatives signaled his toughness on the issue.

3/3 162-201

דתיפות: מידי-טפל	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג: שמר		פתוך: 2
תאריך וזמן תגובה: 09.1.90	אל: סמנכ"ל צפי"א נפרי"ן <i>אמ"ל = 211</i>	
כס' פרוק: הפסיד:	דע: לשי שהבי"ט	
<i>4176</i> 176	כא: השגרירות, וושינגטון	226

הטלת איסור נסיעה על פלסטינים: שיחת השגריר-קלי (9.1)

1. השגריר זומן לשיחה ע"י עוזר המזכיר ל- NEA קלי שביקש בפתח דבריו להביע תרעומת בעקבות החלטתנו להטיל הגבלת נסיעה על פלסטינים היכולים להוות מנהיגות פוטנציאלית להדברות עם ישראל (לא נקב בשמות).

2. קלי הזכיר דברי דוברת מחמ"ד (בתדרכה אתמול ה-8.1.90) בנושא, ציין כי החלטה שולחת מסר שאין בו כדי לעודד את אותם גורמים פלסטינים שאותם מנסה ארה"ב לשכנע לתמוך ביוזמת ממי ישראל.

3. לדברי קלי: - "אם נגיע לשיחות בקהיר עם משלחת פלסטינית יכול להיות מצב שבו חלק מאותם פלסטינים (עליהם הוטל איסור נסיעה) יהיו בין חברי המשלחת". הוסיף כי למרות שלא יאמרו זאת פומבית סבורים שיש בהחלטתנו כדי להקשות על קידום הדיאלוג.

4. קלי הביע תקווה שממי ישראל תשקול מחדש החלטתה.

5. השגריר שהבטיח - להעביר הדברים לירושלים, ציין בתגובתו כי מבין הצורך בעידוד פלסטינים לתמוך ביוזמת ממי ישראל, יחד עם זאת, אותם פלסטינים (עליהם הוטל האיסור) טוענים שאשי"פ הוא נציגם וכי הם מבטאים את עמדת הארגון. במצב זה הוסיף השגריר אין לצפות ממי ישראל שלא תפעל נגד אותם אנשים המבטאים לייצג עמדות אשי"פ.

6. השגריר שציין כי מודע לקיום חילוקי דעות ביננו לממשל בנושא הביע תקווה שיגלו הבנה לאילוצים המפעלים עלינו שעה שאנו מעומתים עם אנשים המבטאים פומבית עמדות אשי"פ.

תפוצה: 36
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 34 34 34 34 34 34
 14

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קף: 2
סוג:		כתוב: 2
תאריך ושפת תעבור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		פאת:
216 176	226	

7. קלי בתגובתו עמד על הסיגנל הכולל שנשלח ע"י אימוץ החלטה מסוג זה. אשר לאנשים שנגדם הוצא האיסור ציין כי בביקורו בירושלים נפגש עם כמה מאותם פלסטינים היכולים להחשב כמתרנים. הוסיף כי "אם תסגרו הערוץ הפוליטי אליהם לא נמצא מתרנים שעמם תוכלו לשוחח?"

8. קלי חאר כבלתי נמנע את המצב שיווצר בשיחות עם הפלסטינים שישקפו בדבריהם עמדת אש"פ.

9. השגריר ציין לטירם כי אותם פלסטינים שבהם מדובר יוכלו להמשיך בפעילות במקום מגוריהם.

10. קלי עמד בסיכום על הצורך למנוע הגברת השפעתם של גורמים קיצוניים במחנה הפלסטיני. עד כאן תוכן השיחה.

שטיבן

תפוצה:

דחפיות: אבי	טופס חברק קשר ניו-יורק דף: 1 מחוק: 1
סיוג: האם	אל: מע"ת, מצפ"א, הסכרה
תזת: 101400	אל: מע"ת, מצפ"א, הסכרה
חס מדיקי 0279 25' 11 13 - האון	דע: יועץ חקשורת לרה"ט, יועץ חקשורת לשחכ"ט, לע"מ, דו"צ קש"ח, מזכיר הממשלה, וושינגטון מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

Newsday
 JAN. 10, 90

Pledge on PLO Sought

Yossi Ben-Aharon, a top aide to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, said yesterday the United States must give Israel an absolute promise the PLO will be excluded if proposed peace negotiations are to proceed.

He spoke in reaction to Washington's postponement Monday of a meeting with Israeli and Egyptian foreign ministers.

Ben-Aharon, director general of Shamir's office, told a news conference: "We want a categoric American statement that the PLO will not be involved in the process."

"We feel somewhat uneasy that there is reticence on the part of the U.S. government to say clearly that the PLO will not be involved." Israel says Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization is a terrorist group and refuses to negotiate with it.

Compiled from News Dispatches

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the number 105 and other illegible text.

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 2
סוג:		כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		פאת:
2/2 231		

2. בהמשך למברקי 520 מ-21.12. אנא טפולכם בהזמנת השרה אליזבת דול (עיי רהיימ ?) והסנטור דול (עיי מחיח ?). נושא השרה דול, כמובן, חייב להיות מתואם עם אלי כגן, הנמצא בקשר עם משרדה. להערכתי, יש לראות הביקור המשותף כעדיפות גבוהה על סדר היום הכולל את נושאי סיוע החוץ, שינוף הפעולה האסטרטגי, הערבויות לקליטת יהדות ברהיימ ונושא אשיף. כפי שצו ב-520, הסנטור מעוניין בתכנית אשר תכלול גם את יו"ש.

תודה,

 יורם.

ס.ס.

תפוצה:

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1000 (p/s) ... 1/8/89-2 ...

-- THE PRESENT CHAIN OF EVENTS BEGAN WITH ISRAEL'S SEIZURE OF SHEIKH OBEID LAST FRIDAY. THIS IN TURN LED TO THE HIZBOLLAH THREAT TO EXECUTE COL HIGGINS WHICH APPARENTLY WAS CARRIED OUT ON JULY 31. HIZBOLLAH HAS NOW THREATENED TO EXECUTE JOSEPH CICCIPPIO ON AUGUST 1 AT 1800 HOURS LOCAL TIME (1100 HOURS ETD).

-- THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SENIOR ADVISORS REVIEWED THIS SITUATION IN DETAIL YESTERDAY EVENING AND FIND THE SITUATION DEEPLY TROUBLING.

-- IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE UNDERSTAND CLEARLY YOUR STRATEGY IN THIS EVOLVING SITUATION. MORE PRECISELY, WE NEED TO KNOW WHAT YOU INTENDED TO ACHIEVE BY TAKING OBEID PRISONER AND HOW YOU ENVISAGE ATTAINING YOUR OBJECTIVE.

-- HOW DOES YOUR OBJECTIVE RELATE TO THE FATE OF THE HOSTAGES BEING HELD BY VARIOUS GROUPS IN LEBANON? HOW DOES IT RELATE TO SYRIAN AND IRANIAN OBJECTIVES? WHAT WILL BE ISRAEL'S NEXT STEP, NOW THAT HIGGINS IS DEAD? WHAT IS YOUR RATIONALE FOR MAKING PUBLIC PORTIONS OF OBEID'S ADMISSIONS? CAN WE EXPECT FURTHER PUBLIC REVELATIONS? HAVE YOU HAD ANY RESPONSE TO YOUR PROPOSAL TO TRADE ALL FOR ALL? IF NOT, WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE LIKELIHOOD THAT OTHER HOSTAGES, STARTING WITH CICCIPPIO, WILL BE EXECUTED?

-- AS I TOLD YOU IN OUR LAST MEETING, WE NEITHER SUPPORT NOR OPPOSE A TRADE OF HOSTAGES FOR PRISONERS HELD BY YOU IN ISRAEL. WE HAVE SENT STRONG MESSAGES TO IRAN VIA THE SWISS, JAPANESE AND OTHERS MAKING CLEAR OUR VIEW OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF THE HOSTAGES. WE HAVE ALSO STRONGLY URGED THE SYRIANS TO DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO PREVENT ANY FURTHER EXECUTIONS.

-- I NEED TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT YOUR MOST CANDID CHARACTERIZATION OF YOUR PLANNING AS WELL AS YOUR BEST ASSESSMENT OF WHAT MAY LIE AHEAD.

8/1/89

(201 2011 ...)

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

5969

תאריך: 09.01.90

** נכנס
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סודי

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שמיר

חוזם: 1,5969

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/556

מ-: ווש, נר: 177, תא: 080190, זח: 1700, דח: ר, סג: 10

תח: גס: צפא

נד: ג

סודי / רגיל

אל: סמוכ'ל צפ'א

דע: יועץ מדיני לשה'ח

מוכ'ל ראה'מ

מאת: עודד ערן

סוננו - התנחלויות.

אחד הנוכחים בפגישת ה'קומיטי' עשה את הרשום הרצ'ב.

ערן

CONFIDENTIAL

JOHN SUNUNU ON SETTLEMENTS AND SOVIET
JEWRY HOUSING GUARANTEES

(TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE GROUP, JANUARY
4, 1990)

YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE A SERIOUS PROBLEM. THE SHAMIR
ATTITUDE TOWARD SETTLEMENTS HAS POISONED OUR POSSIBILITY

6406 יסודי מילוי יעילות, לראשית 80

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CONFIDENTIAL

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JEWRY HOUSING GUARANTEES

(TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE GROUP, JANUARY
4, 1990)

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

TO HELP. SHAMIR HAS TOLD BUSH THAT SETTLEMENTS
IS AN ISRAELI ISSUE, NOT AN AMERICAN ISSUE.

YOU CAN PLAY A ROLE. SHAMIR DOES NOT UNDERSTAND
THAT THE PRESIDENT SAID IT IS U.S. POLICY NOT TO
EXPAND SETTLEMENTS. THAT VIEW IS FUNDAMENTAL TO
OUR POLICY ON THIS QUESTION OF RESETTLEMENT. SHAMIR
HAS TRIED TO TELL US THAT THE TWO ISSUES ARE SEPARABLE.
BUT THE PRESIDENT SAID NO, THEY ARE NOT SEPARABLE.

SHAMIR WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A HEALTHY
DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE PRESIDENT.
I AM TELLING YOU THAT IT IS AN UNHEALTHY DISAGREEMENT.
IT REPRESENTS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE. IN ANY
CASE, SUCH MONEY IS FUNGIBLE.

17

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

035276987 יוסף וילך שותף בע"מ טל. *****

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RE: 002, 001, 000, 000, 000, 000, 000, 000

סודי

נכנס **

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חוזם: 1,5953

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/555

מ-: ווש, נר: 170, תא: 080190, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: & גס: צפא

נד: &

1/כהק

סודי / מיד

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דע: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון

דוברת מחמ'ד.

א..משיחה במסגרת חברתית עם מרגרט טטוויילר, דוברת מחמ'ד -:

1. סיורה בארץ (בשנה שעברה במשלחת עם דניס רוס) היווה ציון - דרך, מבחינתה, להבנת המזה'ת. סיפורה על התפעלותה העמוקה מהארץ ותושביה, ובעיקר עד כמה 'קטנה המדינה'. אמרה, שלהערכתה, סיור לימודי בארץ הינו מפתח חיוני והכרחי להבנת הקונפליקט ובעיית הגבולות. רק כך ניתן להבין עד כמה חשוב נושא גבולות הבטחון. אמרה 'אחרי שביקרתי והבנתי, אני אומנם בעד 'שטחים תמורת שלום' אך גם וקודם כל בעד 'גבולות בטחונ'. יש לישראל בעיית בטחון אמיתית ורק אחרי ביקור במקום ניתן להבין זאת'. סיפורה כי דברים אלה אף אמרה למזכיר בעת שדנו בענין 'שטחים תמורת שלום'.

2. בהקשר זה אמרה כי המזכיר בייקר מעוניין מאוד לבקר במזה'ת ('לו ניתן היה לבקר אינקוגניטו לצורך סיור לימודי בוודאי כבר היה נוסע'). אולם, במצב הנוכחי

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ולאור הרגישות הגדולה הקיימת באזור, ביקור של המזכיר בארץ עלול לעורר ציפיות גבוהות ומוגזמות ואף להיות COUNTER PRODUCTIVE מבחינת היכולת להגיע להסדר. אמרה שהמזכיר מודע היטב לחסרון אי-הכרת השטח, ולכן מתייעץ תכופות בנושא עם דניס רוס ושאר עוזריו.

3. סיפרה כי ביקורה בארץ ושיחותיה עם אנשינו ועם הפלסטינים אף המחיש לה עד כמה נושא הסכסוך טעון מבחינה רגשית, היסטורית, לאומית ודתית וכי, בדרך לפתרון לא ניתן להפריד בין הרגשות למציאות ולעובדות.

כהמחשה לכך, סיפרה על שיחה עם המזכיר לאחרונה בה אמר לה, כדבריה, כי הוא אינו מבין מדוע כבר שבעה שבועות שהתהליך כולו 'תקוע' והישראלים מתעקשים ומתווכחים על כל מילה. למה כל-כך קשה 'לעשות ביזנס'. אמרה כי למזכיר 'בהיותו פרגמטיסט ופרקטי' קשה להבין היצרים העזים סביב ובתוך התהליך.

סיפרה כי על אותה התבטאות של המזכיר הסבירה לו, על רקע הבנתה מהביקור בארץ, כי במזה'ת שום דבר לא פשוט ולכל מילה יש מטען דתי ולאומי ורבדים עמוקים של סכסוך היסטורי, ולפיכך, לדבריה נדרשת הבנה עמוקה וסבלנות מכל מי שמנסה לפתור הסכסוך.

4. חזרה והדגישה מחויבות המזכיר לקידום התהליך 'הוא עוסק בנושא זה ימים רבים וארוכים' ואת תקוותו ואמונו כי אם רק יצליח להביא למפגש הראשון של ישראלים ופלסטינים - תהיה בכך משום התחלה מבטיחה, ובכך יראה הישג.

5. מפגש שרי - החוץ - אמרה כי בכל התבטאויותיה בנדון היתה זהירה מאוד וציינה כי המפגש בודאי ייערך 'בתחילת השנה' מבלי לציין מועד או חודש. מעריכה כי אלא אם יהיה 'שינוי דרמטי' שיצדיק קיום המפגש עוד החודש, הרי שניתן לצפות שהמפגש לא יהיה לפני אמצע ואפילו סוף פברואר 91. זאת מאחר והמזכיר נוסע לבריה'מ ב-5 בפברואר, וב-12 בפברואר יישתתף במפגש חברות ברית נא'טו וברית ורשא באוטווה. הערכתה היא כי בין מוסקבה לאוטווה לא יחזור המזכיר לוושינגטון אלא ייתכן ויסע לסיור במזרח - אירופה. מאוחר יותר, מתכוון המזכיר להצטרף לנשיא לנסיעתו ל-'ועדת הסמים'.

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ב. בשיחה על נוהלי ושיטות עבודה ציינה החשיבות של
תיאום וענייניות בתגובה בינינו (להבדיל מתגובה על
דברי דובר כלשהו ...). אמרה כי מנסיונה, העתונאים
מנסים פעמים רבות 'לשחק בינינו' ולהשיג כותרות
מתגובות סותרות.

רות ירון

אא

לב

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

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קופי יולד ושועל בני"מ טל. 5176967. 03

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף מתוך 2 דפים
סוג בטחוני: שמור
דחיפות: מידי
תאריך וז"ח: 8/1/90
מס' מברק:

אל: המשרד

171 1/2

אכה"ק

אל: מנהל מצפ"א. יועץ שה"ח לתפוצות.

"הועד היהודי האמריקני"

מפגישות הנהגת ה-AJC עם סגן ~~המשרד~~ ^{הע"ר} ושיפטר.

סגן הנשיא:

1. ציין החשיבות באחדות הקהילה היהודית ושהפילוגים רק משחקים לידי אויבינו.
 2. המשלחת הודתה לסגן הנשיא על דבריו בנושא "ציונות-גזענות" ועודדו אותו להמשיך. ציין שממשיך להעלות את הנושא בשיחותיו עם אישים שונים (כולל עם הסעודים) ולהערכתו מזכ"ל האו"ם גם אם לא יתלהב ^{ציוזמה} לביטול ההחלטה ישתף פעולה עמה.
- סגן הנשיא הביע תרעומת רבה על מאמר ג'ון גרין ב-WASHINGTON JEWISH WEEK מ-21/12 המצי"ב המבקר את סגן הנשיא בגין פעילותו בנושא. גם סוננו הזכיר המאמר למשלחת.

+ 36
מ"ל

שיפטר:

המשלחת הדגישה הטיפול הסלקטיבי של התקשורת אשתקד בדו"ח, ובכוונת AJC להרתם לנושא ולנסות להפנות תשומת הלב הציבורית מישראל למדינות כסין או רומניה.

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Capitol Line

Quayle's rail

By Jon Greene
WJW Staff Writer

171
2/2

It's unfortunate that Vice president Dan Quayle has been the butt of the longest running joke in Washington. Pro-Israel activists know that Quayle emerged as a useful ally in his Senate days, but his unending gaffes have undermined his ability to seriously act as an advocate for the Jewish state.

In his latest try, just last week at Yeshiva University in New York, Quayle made an impassioned plea for the United Nations to rescind its resolution equating Zionism with racism. The feeling might have been genuine, but the effort bombed.

Quayle mounted a direct frontal assault on those opposed to waving the resolution: "Unfortunately, not every government in the world supports democracy. Sometimes, their opposition to democratic values and ideals is explicit and direct. More often than not, however, our opponents dare not challenge us outright."

If Quayle thought offering a challenge would put fear in their hearts and belief in their minds, he was slightly wrong. Just as the media took Gary Hart's challenge to heart, the veep's words attracted the wrath of media in Iran and Kuwait.

For those who thought the U.S. protection of Kuwait's oil interests would earn the Gulf nation's respect, think again. The *Kuwait Times* dismissed Quayle's move as another silly mistake in a long line of farce.



Vice President Dan Quayle

The Kuwaitis might have had good reason to pan Quayle's speech, though. Quayle's opening anecdote cited Albert Einstein as defining an education as that which remains when one has forgotten everything learned in school.

"I confess that I've always found this definition rather comforting. After all, for some of us, forgetting what we learned in school isn't all that difficult," Quayle said.

The senator was no Jack Kennedy. And the vice president is no Albert Einstein.

To top off his speech, Quayle likened the attempt to override the "Zionism is Racism" resolution to what might be an impossible dream. "But so, until quite recently, was the opening of the Berlin Wall," Quayle told the Jewish audience.

For this the man gets an honorary doctorate? Send him back to finishing school ■

5969

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 09.01.90

** נכנס

סודי

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חוזם: 1,5969

אל: המשורד

יעדים: מצב/556

מ-: ווש, נר: 177, תא: 080190, זח: 1700, דח: ר, סג: סו

תח: & גס: צפא

נד: &

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סודי / רגיל

אל: סמוכ'ל צפ'א

דע: יועץ מדיני לשה'ח

מוכ'ל ראה'מ

מאת: עודד ערן

סוננו - התנחלויות.

אחד הנוכחים בפגישת ה'קומיטי' עשה את הרשום הרצ'ב.

ערן

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4, 1990)

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CONFIDENTIAL

JOHN BURNING ON SETTLEMENTS AND SOVIET
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CASE, SUCH MONEY IS FUNGIBLE.

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RE: THE, WASH, D.C., 1977, 12, 11, 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, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

Paul Flacks
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

209/20

2/2

January 3, 1990

Mr. Albert Chernin
Executive Director
NJCRAC
443 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

Dear Al:

Thank you for your helpful guidance and suggestions pertaining to the NJCRAC Plenum material. Although this is for internal distribution, I am sharing the final piece with you so you will have it for your files.

I did not follow your suggestion to reproduce the entire text of your original presentation at the last plenum. You were evidently not aware that I had already done this a number of months ago, as you can see from the enclosure and the covering memo which I attached at that time. I wonder how many other did the same thing and to what extent your important observations have been examined.

I did, however, include in the present mailing references to your presentation as published by NJCRAC without any changes or editing on my part. We did not alter the thrust of your comments in any way.

I trust that you will agree that the concerns I raise are valid especially based on your own important address. It is my belief that the meetings in Phoenix can be a "watershed" for the American Jewish community which could affect the very foundation and future of NJCRAC itself. Should this take place, there will be a similar negative impact on the Conference of Presidents vis-a-vis basic community support for Israel. What do you think? Do you share my sense of danger to the future of NJCRAC? Or will NJCRAC disengage from Israel issues and concentrate on "domestic concerns"?

Although we are not members of NJCRAC, I believe that the views of ZOA, an organization whose total agenda is Israel-directed, are not only meaningful but should be taken seriously by the constituents of NJCRAC. In this regard, if there is any way in which I can be helpful before or during the plenum, by all means, please let me know.

With best regards.

Cordially yours,



Paul Flacks

PF:md

Attachments.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, 4 EAST 34TH STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10016 (212) 485-500

11
אורה ב

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

טופס מברק

דף מתוך 2 דפים
סוג בטחוני: שמור
דחיפות: מידי
תאריך וז"ח: 8/1/90
מס' מברק:

אל: המשרד

1/2 171

אל: מנהל מצפ"א. יועץ שה"ח לתפוצות.

"הועד היהודי האמריקני"

מפגישות הנהגת ה-AJC עם סגן ~~המשרד~~ ^{הע"מ} ושיפטר.

סגן הנשיא:

1. ציין החשיבות באחדות הקהילה היהודית ושהפילוגים רק משחקים לידי אויבינו.
 2. המשלחת הודתה לסגן הנשיא על דבריו בנושא "ציונות-גזענות" ועודדו אותו להמשיך. ציין שממשיך להעלות את הנושא בשיחותיו עם אישים שונים (כולל עם הסעודים) ולהערכתו מזכ"ל האו"ם גם אם לא יתלהב ~~ציוזמה~~ לביטול ההחלטה ישתף פעולה עמה.
- סגן הנשיא הביע תרעומת רבה על מאמר ג'ון גרין ב-WASHINGTON JEWISH WEEK מ-21/12 המצ"ב המבקר את סגן הנשיא בגין פעילותו בנושא. גם סוננו הזכיר המאמר למשלחת.

+ 36
מלל

שיפטר:

המשלחת הדגישה הטיפול הסלקטיבי של התקשורת אשתקד בדו"ח, ובכוונת AJC להרתם לנושא ולנסות להפנות תשומת הלב הציבורית מישראל למדינות כסין או רומניה.

שהיא מנסה להראות אמריקה קצת מרובים. ס.
ג'ון גרין - מבקר (דאז) רבובי העברה, סט/מלל, פלג

Capitol Line

Quayle's rail

By Jon Greene
WJW Staff Writer

It's unfortunate that Vice president Dan Quayle has been the butt of the longest running joke in Washington. Pro-Israel activists know that Quayle emerged as a useful ally in his Senate days, but his unending gaffes have undermined his ability to seriously act as an advocate for the Jewish state.

In his latest try, just last week at Yeshiva University in New York, Quayle made an impassioned plea for the United Nations to rescind its resolution equating Zionism with racism. The feeling might have been genuine, but the effort bombed.

Quayle mounted a direct frontal assault on those opposed to waving the resolution: "Unfortunately, not every government in the world supports democracy. Sometimes, their opposition to democratic values and ideals is explicit and direct. More often than not, however, our opponents dare not challenge us outright."

If Quayle thought offering a challenge would put fear in their hearts and belief in their minds, he was slightly wrong. Just as the media took Gary Hart's challenge to heart, the veep's words attracted the wrath of media in Iran and Kuwait.

For those who thought the U.S. protection of Kuwait's oil interests would earn the Gulf nation's respect, think again. The *Kuwait Times* dismissed Quayle's move as another silly mistake in a long line of farce.



Vice President Dan Quayle

The Kuwaitis might have had good reason to pan Quayle's speech, though. Quayle's opening anecdote cited Albert Einstein as defining an education as that which remains when one has forgotten everything learned in school.

"I confess that I've always found this definition rather comforting. After all, for some of us, forgetting what we learned in school isn't all that difficult," Quayle said.

The senator was no Jack Kennedy. And the vice president is no Albert Einstein.

To top off his speech, Quayle likened the attempt to override the "Zionism is Racism" resolution to what might be an impossible dream. "But so, until quite recently, was the opening of the Berlin Wall," Quayle told the Jewish audience.

For this the man gets an honorary doctorate? Send him back to finishing school ■

א.מ.ה.ק.
י' בטבת תש"ן
7 בינואר 1990
סימוכין 2-ד"ש 6-354

- שמור -

פגישת רה"מ עם קונגרסמן שוויר

שוויר: - מזכיר פגישתו הקודמת עם רה"מ ושיחתם בנושא הצורך ברפורמה בשיטת הבחירות בישראל.

רה"מ: - יש ענין רב בנושא, אך אנו נתקלים במכשולים רבים בקידומו. אני מקווה שנשפר במספר שטחים אך ישום הרפורמה במלואה עדין רחוק. מקווה שעדין בכנסת הזאת יתאפשר הגדלת אחוז החסימה ל- 3%. אישית מעדיף הגדלתו ל- 5%, אך ההתנגדות לכך רבה.

בחירות ישירות של רה"מ - רק אתמול נדון הענין בפגישת שרי הליכוד. יש ענין בהצעה ותבדק דרך לקדומה.
לא ברורה עמדת המערך בנושא.

שוויר: - בביקור האחרון בנובמבר 1988 ובתקופה שלאחריה חש השפלה ומבוכה קשה בראותו המו"מ להקמת הקואליציה. על רה"מ ועל המנהיגים האחרים מוטלת האחריות לבצע את הרפורמות בשיטת הבחירות כדי למנוע ממעוט קטן לעכוף דיעותיו על הרוב.

רה"מ: - דרושה סבלנות, יש לנצל הזמן המתאים ולהתקדם בתיקון השיטה.

קליטת עולי בריה"מ

שוויר: - אחוז ניכר מעולי בריה"מ היום בעלי כשורים טכנולוגיים גבוהים, צריך להערך בצורה נכונה כדי לאפשר להם לתרום לקדום הטכנולוגיה הישראלית. יש חברות ישראליות קטנות מצליחות העוסקות באלקטרוניקה ובשטחים טכנולוגיים אחרים המסוגלות להרחיב פעילותן אם ישקיעו בהם. לישראל בעיה קשה עם הבירוקרטיה הכלכלית. יש לפעול לצמצומים ולהקטנת כוח הארגונים הכלכליים של ההסתדרות.

רה"מ: - התהליך הזה התחיל אך לא בקצב המספיק. הנה טדי קולק מעונין לקלוט בירושלים 100,000 עולים מבריה"מ וברור שהדבר יגרום לשינוי לטובה עצום בירושלים. קליטת המספר הרב של העולים הצפוי להגיע אלינו בשנים הקרובות יאלץ אותנו להתאים את השיטה הכלכלית להתרחשויות.

שוויר: - מציע הקמת TASK FORCE שיכלול גם מומחים מארה"ב בנושאי כלכלה ובניה. רה"מ מוסר שאכן בביקורו האחרון בארה"ב נפגש עם אישים בכירים משטח הדלה-ניידי.

רשם: דוד גרנית

7/7/6



NOTES ON INTERVIEW ON JORDAN TELEVISION,

SATURDAY NIGHT 6 JANUARY 1990

WITH DR. ZOGBY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE ARAB-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

The interview was conducted by the Editor of the Jordan Times.

REMARKS: Dr. Zogby is a well spoken American of Arab extraction (second generation), without a trace of any foreign accent. He speaks of "We Americans" and his whole presentation indicated that the Arab Americans have simply copied the organizational structure and framework of the American Jewish community.

I missed the first part of the interview, but what I heard included the following points:

1. When the leaders of Israel, or members of the Government come to the United States they first address a large audience of thousands of applauding Jews in New York, and then in Los Angeles, and then in Chicago, and only later do they go to Washington. By the time they arrive in Washington members of the Congress and of the Administration have heard of the earlier meetings, and feel obliged to pay attention and say good things about the guest.

When Arab leaders come to Washington they don't have contact with the masses, but go directly to Washington without any power backing, with empty pockets, and with outstretched hands.

2. This must be changed. We have leaders in the Arab countries like Mubarak and King Hussein who are more popular with the American public than any Israeli leader. They have to go out to the masses before going to Washington.

3. We are able nowadays to mobilize large-scale public support from among the Afro-Americans, Hispanics, Arabs from Jordan, Lebanon and other Arab countries, Moslems and tens of thousands of progressive Jews who support our cause.

4. The reduction of East-West tension will lead to a cut in U.S. military expenditure and military aid to countries like Israel. The billions of dollars that Israel has received will be reduced. This past year Israel received not only the three billion that is budgeted for, but an additional two-thirds of a billion for all kinds of extra needs. There are many people who don't want their tax monies to be used for killing Arab children.

5. During the past two years we caught the attention of the media by arranging news events, like the kids with stones of the intifada, the visit of Bishop Tutu and other similar events. But because of the international developments in other parts of the world, like Romania, Panama and Eastern Europe generally, that have taken centre place, we have receded from the media. We therefore have to change our tactics. We are now preparing a "March to the border". Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from Jordan will march to the border and stand there as people did at the Berlin Wall and demand freedom and the right to "go home" - "Let our people go home!". We must coordinate such an activity with Lech Valensa, with Bishop Tutu and other famous international personalities.

6. The American Jews are divided about the policies of the Israel Government. They no longer give unconditional support to them. In fact many of them join us in our activities and support the truth and justice of our cause. You can take it that three million of the American Jews have disappeared. We have seen many of their leaders at our functions. They are active in all civil rights movements. They have marched together with Christians and Moslems in support of our cause. Tens of thousands are supporting us.

7. All this gives us the feeling that we will win. Our cause is just, and we will win.

8. I am here to talk to members of your government about cooperation. We can help you. We can help you in regard to the organization of elections. We have experience in these matters. And you can help us in our activities in Washington and in other parts of the United States.

2/7/90

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ארה"ב



נב

מזכירות הממשלה

ירושלים, ח' בטבת התש"ן
5 בינואר 1990

ש מ ר
למכותבים בלבד

אל: ראש הממשלה

מאת: מזכיר הממשלה

שלום רב,

הנדון: דרום אפריקה

לני דייויס מאיפא"ק מסר מפי אסתר קורץ המנהלת לנושאי קונגרס באיפא"ק:

1. בקליפורניה יש הלוחצים להרע את תנאי מכירת "בונדס" לישראל במדינת קליפורניה בגלל ענייני דרא"פ.
2. ההסתייגות מאתנו בנושאי דרא"פ איננה נחלת מחוקקים ליברליים בלבד בקונגרס, אלא גם מחוקקים שמרניים (סנטורים רפובליקנים למשל).

בברכה,

אליקים רובינשטיין

העתק: שר הבטחון
שר החוץ

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 05.01.90

3665

סודי

נכנס

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חוזם: 1,3665

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/321

מ-: וווש, נר: 105, תא: 040190, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: @ גס צפא

נד: @

מ"מ
ק?

סודי / מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א , יועץ שה'ח לתפוצות

מאת: הסברה ווש'

פגישת השגריר עם הנהגת ה-AJC .

1. הנהגת ה-AJC שקיימה היום יום פגישות בווש' עם סגן הנשיא, סונונו, שיפטר, קלרק ושג יפן הזמינה את השגריר לצהרים. נכח הח'מ.

2. סונונו התיחס בשיחה בצורה נחרצת לנושא ההתנחלויות. אמר שלנושא חשיבות רבה לנשיא ושאי ההסכמה איננה בריאה ומרעילה את האוירה. כנראה שרוה'מ איננו מעריך את החומרה שבוש מיחס לנושא. רה'מ אמר לנשיא שהנושא הוא נושא ישראלי אך עליו לזכור את עמדת ארה'ב המתנגדת להרחבת ההתנחלויות. אין להפריד בין נושא זה לבין נושא קליטת יהודי בריה'מ וכל עוד שאין הבנה בין ארה'ב לישראל בנושא ההתנחלויות, יתנגד הממשל למתן ערבויות לשכונים לעולים מברה'מ שרק יעמידו לרשות ישראל 'כסף חופשי' לבנית שכונים בשטחים. השגריר פרט את מגעינו בממשל ובקונגרס בנושא וציין שכנראה יש בממשל דעות שונות וציין שממחמ'ד אנו שומעים גישות אחרות.

3. המשלחת העלתה את נושא 'ציונות-גזענות'. סונונו ציין שהוא יודע שהנושא נמצא בסולם עדיפות גבוה אצל פיקרינג אך לא אמר מה גישת הבית הלבן.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4. ההתייחסות לתהליך השלום היתה כללית כאשר סונונו ציין הצורך לשמור על אמינותה של ארה"ב בעיני מדינות ערב. סונונו שבח את מעורבות הקהילה היהודית האמריקנית בקדום תהליך השלום. המשלחת הדגישה שהקהילה היהודית האמריקנית מאוחדת בתמיכה בישראל.

5. קלרק התייחס בפרוט לחשיבות שת"פ האסטרטגי. אמר שלא צפויה עסקת נשק גדולה עם מדינות ערב בשנה הקרובה. אמר שהזכר מספר של 18-24 חודשים עד שיפוג תוקפם של החוזים הישראליים עם דרא'פ, ושצריך לסיים החוזים קודם לכן. ציין שאחת הסבות לנסיעות אגלברגר וסקורקופט לסיין היתה לשכנע הסינים לא למכור הטילים לסוריה ונראה לו שהצליחו לשכנעם למרות שהכסף שולם ע"י הסורים.

6. השגריר התייחס בדבריו להערכתנו את ממשל בוש וציין שהממשל משתדל להתחשב ברגישויותינו במיוחד כאשר הוא חושש שעלול להגרם לו נזק פוליטי. עדכן את המשלחת לגבי המצב בתהליך השלום ובדיונים על הערבויות, התייחס למסמך ה- ASSURENCES שהועבר אלינו על-ידי ארה"ב שהוא מספק מבחינת הדגשתו את אי שיתוף אש"פ במו"מ אך נשארו חילוקי דעות בנושא סדר היום והרכב המשלחת הפלסטינית. השגריר ציין שלושה נושאים מרכזיים שיעלו על סדר היום בשנה הקרובה.

א. סיוע - ביקש ה-AJC לפעול לתמיכה בהגדלת סיוע החוץ.

ב. דרא'פ.

ג. יהודי בריה"מ - תחושת השגריר שהקהילה היהודית האמריקנית אינה חשה בדחיפות ההערכות לפעולה לקליטת יהודי בריה"מ בארץ. (בדצמבר עלו ארצה 3590 מבריה"מ שהם 41 אחוז מכלל היוצאים מבריה"מ באותו חודש).

השגריר ביקש תמיכת ה-AJC במאמץ המשותף.

7. המשלחת הקשתה בנושא קשרי ישראל נורייגה ובנושא יחסי ישראל דרא'פ והשגריר ענה. ארוחת הצהרים נערכה לפני הפגישה עם סגן הנשיא.

פ.ל.ג

ל.ב



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מזכירות הממשלה

ירושלים, ז' בטבת התש"ן
4 בינואר 1990

ש מ ר

✓
א/ר/ק

✓
אל: ראש הממשלה

מאת: מזכיר הממשלה

שלום רב,

א. דן מריאשין, מנהל הקשרים הבינלאומיים של ארגון בני-ברית (מעוזריו של סימור רייך שם), לשעבר איש ADL ומעוזרי הייג במערכת הבחירות, מתאר את גישת הממשל לנושאי תהליך השלום כנעה בין שני קטבים: אלה המאמינים כי יש צורך בלחץ על ישראל באופן מסיבי, ואלה המאמינים כי יש לגרום לה לנוע לויתורים בצעדים קטנים; בשלב זה ידה של אסכולה ב' על העליונה.

ב. בהקשר אחר - השגריר השוודי כאן אומר כי התרשמותם ממגעייהם היא שאש"פ לא יוותר על הסמכות להרכיב בצורה רשמית כלשהי את המשלחת לדיאלוג עמנו, וכן בנושא ירושלים.

ב ב ר כ ה,

אליקים רובינשטיין

העתק: מנכ"ל משרד ראש הממשלה
יועץ מדיני לשר החוץ

99 2/2

Jackson remark infuriates Jews

By Vincent McCraw
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Rev. Jesse Jackson has riled Jewish leaders by saying the land where Jesus was born is under occupation by Israel.

During a prayer service attended by about 1,000 people in honor of New York City Mayor David Dinkins on Sunday — a day before Mr. Dinkins was inaugurated as the city's first black mayor — Mr. Jackson injected his "occupation" comment. Some Jewish organizations contend that the two-time presidential candidate continues to strain relations between blacks and Jews.

"Even while we pray and cele-

brate, we are distracted from this occasion by our fears. Peace meets brutality in the Middle East. The birthplace of Jesus the Christ is under occupation," Mr. Jackson said.

"That certainly doesn't heal anything," Abraham Foxman, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York, said yesterday.

"It's sad that the Rev. Jackson felt compelled to utilize an event whose purpose was celebrate harmony as an opportunity to attack Israel. I am personally troubled by the Christological references. Why use the church and the Lord Jesus Christ?

What does that have to do with Israel and what is going on today?" Mr. Foxman said.

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress in New York, labeled Mr. Jackson's comment as "unspeakably sad."

"I have a brief lesson in geography and history for my friend Jesse Jackson. . . . Most of the land in which Jesus was born is not occupied land, but a sovereign Jewish state," Mr. Siegman said. "And the reason for that modern Jewish sovereignty is precisely the fact that Jesus and countless other Jews lived in that land 2,000 years ago. I would remind Jesse Jackson that Jesus was born a Jew and lived as a Jew — not as a Muslim or even a Christian — in the land of his fathers, in the land of Israel."

Eric Easter, a Jackson spokesman, said yesterday that Mr. Jackson would not comment on his remarks or the reaction from the Jewish community.

Since his first presidential bid in 1984, Mr. Jackson has had a strained relationship with some Jewish leaders, fueled by his "Hymietown" reference to New York City, his support of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, and his meetings and public embrace of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat.

In the 1988 presidential campaign, former New York City Mayor Ed Koch told an impromptu news

"I have a brief lesson in geography and history for my friend Jesse Jackson. . . ."

conference, "Jews would have to be crazy to vote for Jesse Jackson."

"It is unspeakably sad that people like Jesse Jackson, and, in the Jewish community, [militant rabbi] Avi Weiss, are intent on destroying hope, even while David Dinkins is being inaugurated as mayor," Mr. Siegman said.

Washington Jewish organizations yesterday lambasted Mr. Jackson for his comments.

"It's regrettable he had to inject politics into what should have been an event that would unite New Yorkers," said Murray Tenebaum, executive director of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. "Certainly, to inject a note of controversy into what should be festive occasion of people from diverse backgrounds coming together in support of a new mayor doesn't serve anything useful."

Mr. Tenebaum noted that since May 14 the Israeli government has offered a peace proposal that would allow Palestinian elections in Israeli-occupied territories, site of a 2-year-old uprising.

"This for the first time would allow residents of territories — including Bethlehem — to vote for representatives to meet with Israelis and discuss their futures," Mr. Tenebaum said. "It would have been much more appropriate had Rev. Jackson called for Israel and the Palestinians to negotiate on the basis of the Israel peace proposal rather than inject such a discordant note."

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 05.01.90

3665

סודי

** נכנס
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חוזם: 1,3665

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/321

מ-: וווש, נר: 105, תא: 040190, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

למה?

סודי / מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א, יועץ שה'ח לתפוצות

מאת: הסברה ווש'

פגישת השגריר עם הנהגת ה-AJC .

1. הנהגת ה-AJC שקיימה היום יום פגישות בווש' עם סגן הנשיא, סונונו, שיפטר, קלרק ושג יפן הזמינה את השגריר לצהריים. נכח הח'מ.

2. סונונו התיחס בשיחה בצורה נחרצת לנושא ההתנחלויות. אמר שלנושא חשיבות רבה לנשיא ושאי ההסכמה איננה בריאה ומרעילה את האוירה. כנראה שרוה'מ איננו מעריך את החומרה שבוש מיחס לנושא. רוה'מ אמר לנשיא שהנושא הוא נושא ישראלי אך עליו לזכור את עמדת ארה'ב המתנגדת להרחבת ההתנחלויות. אין להפריד בין נושא זה לבין נושא קליטת יהודי בריה'מ וכל עוד שאין הבנה בין ארה'ב לישראל בנושא ההתנחלויות, יתנגד הממשל למתן ערבויות לשכוננים לעולים מברה'מ שרק יעמידו לרשות ישראל 'כסף חופשי' לבנית שכוננים בשטחים. השגריר פרט את מגעינו בממשל ובקונגרס בנושא וציין שכנראה יש בממשל דעות שונות וציין שממחמ'ד אנו שומעים גישות אחרות.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4. ההתייחסות לתהליך השלום היתה כללית כאשר סונונו ציין הצורך לשמור על אמינותה של ארה"ב בעיני מדינות ערב. סונונו שבח את מעורבות הקהילה היהודית האמריקנית בקדום תהליך השלום. המשלחת הדגישה שהקהילה היהודית האמריקנית מאוחדת בתמיכה בישראל.

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6. השגריר התייחס בדבריו להערכתנו את ממשל בוש וציין שהממשל משתדל להתחשב ברגישויותינו במיוחד כאשר הוא חושש שעלול להגרם לו נזק פוליטי. עדכן את המשלחת לגבי המצב בתהליך השלום ובדיונים על הערבויות, התייחס למסמך ה- ASSURENCES שהועבר אלינו על-ידי ארה"ב שהוא מספק מבחינת הדגשתו את אי שיתוף אש"פ במו"מ אך נשארו חילוקי דעות בנושא סדר היום והרכב המשלחת הפלסטינית. השגריר ציין שלושה נושאים מרכזיים שיעלו על סדר היום בשנה הקרובה.

א. סיוע - ביקש ה-AJC לפעול לתמיכה בהגדלת סיוע החוץ.

ב. דרא'פ.

ג. יהודי בריה"מ - תחושת השגריר שהקהילה היהודית האמריקנית אינה חשה בדחיפות ההערכות לפעולה לקליטת יהודי בריה"מ בארץ. (בדצמבר עלו ארצה 3590 מבריה"מ שהם 41 אחוז מכלל היוצאים מבריה"מ באותו חודש).

השגריר ביקש תמיכת ה-AJC במאמץ המשותף.

7. המשלחת הקשתה בנושא קשרי ישראל נורייגה ובנושא יחסי ישראל דרא'פ והשגריר ענה. ארוחת הצהרים נערכה לפני הפגישה עם סגן הנשיא.

פג

לב

1. מדינת ישראל תהיה חברה מלאה בארגון המועצות העולמיות של אומות הברית.

2. מדינת ישראל תהיה חברה מלאה בארגון המועצות העולמיות של אומות הברית.

3. מדינת ישראל תהיה חברה מלאה בארגון המועצות העולמיות של אומות הברית.

4. מדינת ישראל תהיה חברה מלאה בארגון המועצות העולמיות של אומות הברית.

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8.

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10. מדינת ישראל תהיה חברה מלאה בארגון המועצות העולמיות של אומות הברית.

נושדד החוק-נחללקת הקשר

* 3469
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* ** נכנס
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* תאריך : 05.01.90 *
* דף 1 מתוך 1 *
* עותק 1 מתוך 10 *

אמ"ב

* חוזם: 1,3469 *
* אל: המשדד *
* יעד'ים: מצב/304 *
* מ-: נוש, נר: 79, תא: 040190, זח: 1400, דח: ב, סג: סב *
* תח: @ גס: צפא *
* נד: @ *

* סודי ביותר / בהול לבוקר *
* ח . ר . ב . *

* אל: יועץ מדיני לשה"ח *

* דע: מנכ"ל רוה"מ, בן אהרון *
* מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון *

* ממקור מהימן נמסר לי שהיועמ"ש של מחמ"ד סופר נתבקש ע"י הבית *
* הלבן או המזכיר להכין חוו"ד משפטית על מעמד ההתנחלויות *
* בשטחים. לא ברור לי בשלב זה מי בדיוק יזם הפניה אך אין ספק *
* שהיא מצביעה על המשך ההתמקדות בנושא מצד הנשיא. *

* ארד. *
* לש *

* תפ: רהמ, שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל *

3665

תאריך : 05.01.90

סודי

נכנס

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ק"ת"ן אלהי
אלוף נון

חוזם: 1,3665

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/321

מ-: ווש, נר: 105, תא: 040190, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

1. אלו רובינשטיין
2. רב

סודי / מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א , יועץ שה'ח לתפוצות

מאת: הסברה ווש'

פגישת השגריר עם הנהגת ה- AJC .

1. הנהגת ה- AJC שקיימה היום יום פגישות בווש' עם סגן הנשיא, סוננו, שיפטר, קלרק ושג יפן הזמינה את השגריר לצהריים. נכח הח'מ.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4. ההתייחסות לתהליך השלום היתה כללית כאשר סונונו ציין הצורך לשמור על אמינותה של ארה"ב בעיני מדינות ערב. סונונו שבח את מעורבות הקהילה היהודית האמריקנית בקדום תהליך השלום. המשלחת הדגישה שהקהילה היהודית האמריקנית מאוחדת בתמיכה בישראל.

5. קלרק התייחס בפרוט לחשיבות שת"פ האסטרטגי. אמר שלא צפויה עסקת נשק גדולה עם מדינות ערב בשנה הקרובה. אמר שהזכר מספר של 18-24 חודשים עד שיפוג תוקפם של החוזים הישראליים עם דרא'פ, ושצריך לסיים החוזים קודם לכן. ציין שאחת הסבות לנסיעות אגלברגר וסקורקרופט לסיין היתה לשכנע הסינים לא למכור הטילים לסוריה ונראה לו שהצליחו לשכנעם למרות שהכסף שולם ע"י הסורים.

6. השגריר התייחס בדבריו להערכתנו את ממשל בוש וציין שהממשל משתדל להתחשב ברגישויותינו במיוחד כאשר הוא חושש שעלול להגרם לו נזק פוליטי. עדכן את המשלחת לגבי המצב בתהליך השלום ובדיונים על הערבויות, התייחס למסמך ה- ASSURENCES שהועבר אלינו על-ידי ארה"ב שהוא מספק מבחינת הדגשתו את אי שיתוף אש"פ במו"מ אך נשארו חילוקי דיעות בנושא סדר היום והרכב המשלחת הפלסטינית. השגריר ציין שלושה נושאים מרכזיים שיעלו על סדר היום בשנה הקרובה.

א. סיוע - ביקש ה-AJC לפעול לתמיכה בהגדלת סיוע החוץ.

ב. דרא'פ.

ג. יהודי בריה"מ - תחושת השגריר שהקהילה היהודית האמריקנית אינה חשה בדחיפות ההערכות לפעולה לקליטת יהודי בריה"מ בארץ. (בדצמבר עלו ארצה 3590 מבריה"מ שהם 41 אחוז מכלל היוצאים מבריה"מ באותו חודש).

השגריר ביקש תמיכת ה-AJC במאמץ המשותף.

7. המשלחת הקשתה בנושא קשרי ישראל נורייגה ובנושא יחסי ישראל דרא'פ והשגריר ענה. ארוחת הצהרים נערכה לפני הפגישה עם סגן הנשיא.

פלג

לב



מצפ"א
טל' 3244

תש"ן 1990 ז' טבת 4
בינואר אהב 913.11

אכ"ל

54791

הנדון: צפ"א בשבוע המסתיים ב- 4.1.90

פגרת ראש השנה מצטיינת בפעילות מועטה ביותר בארה"ב.

קבוצות המבקרים השונות ממשיכות לפקוד את ישראל ולהעסיק מחלקה זו בהתאם: סנטור פיט וילסון (קליפורניה), 3 קבוצות של עוזרי סנטורים, חבר הקונגרס ג'ים שויאר, חבר הקונגרס ג'ים אוליין, הסנטור כריסטופר בונד ושר הבריאות האמריקני.

זכויות אדם: נמשכות ההכנות להתייחסות ולתשובה לדו"ח שיפטר על זכויות האדם שיוגש בסוף החודש לקונגרס.

קנדה: נבדקת האפשרות לביקור שה"ח בקנדה לקראת סוף חודש מארס.

בברכה,
משה בר

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 04.01.90

2520

שמו

נכנס

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א/תק

חוזם: 1,2520

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/224, ווש/168

מ-: נני, נר: 99, תא: 030190, זח: 1730, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

שמו/מיד

אל: יועץ שה'ח לתפוצות, מצפא.

דע השגריר וושינגטון

מאת: ס/הקונכל ניו יורק

א. בא'צ' חגיגית נפרדו היום חברי ועידת הנשיאים מאד קוצ'.
סיימור רייך והקונכל הביעו הערכתם על פועלו של קוצ' ועל
עמידתו בעתות משבר לצידה של ישראל.

ב. קוצ', בדברי פרידה הביע תמיכה מלאה בצעדי ישראל נגד
האינטיפאדה וביקורת על דזמונד טוטו וג'סי ג'קסון. קוצ' אמר
לשומעיו כי ביום שישי הקרוב יפרסם מאמר חריף וביקורתי נגד
דזמונד טוטו.

ג. לאחר האירוע אמר קוצ' לקונכ'ל כי בדעתו לבקר במאי
בישראל.

מרדכי ידיד

רש

דתיקות: מיידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דק: $\frac{1}{9}$
סוג: שמור		כתוב: $\frac{1}{9}$
תאריך וזמן מעור: 2.1.90		אל: משפט, אמלייט 1
כס' פרוק: הפסד: 22	ארתק	דע: מצפ"א.
		כאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון.

פעולת ארה"ב בפנמה. שלכם 1224.

- ראו-נא נייר מחמייד וכן חומר שהוכן לדובר על ההיבטים החוקיים של הפעולה.
- סופר, שמטר הנייר לציר, ציין שאיננו חתום על חוות הדעת משום שהיא מצטדקת מידי...

עמרלי.

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 3. 3. 3. 3. 3. 3. 3



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 22, 1989

Panama: Justification for U.S.
Actions Under International Law

On December 21, 1989, the President provided Congress with a report regarding the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Panama. The President stated that he was doing so because of his desire to keep Congress fully informed, consistent with the War Powers Resolution. In doing so, the President stated that the legal authority for the deployment included the Constitution of the United States, Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, as well as the Panama Canal Treaty.

On December 20, 1989, Secretary of State Baker stated during his news conference at the Department of State that the actions taken by U.S. forces in Panama were fully in accordance with international law. The Secretary of State referred specifically to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and Article 21 of the Charter of the Organization of American States. These provisions recognize the inherent right of self-defense under customary international law. This includes the legitimate right of States to take necessary and proportionate measures to protect their own nationals.

During the past few days, the Noriega regime declared war on the United States, committed brutal attacks on U.S. personnel, and in general exhibited a clearly hostile attitude toward U.S. nationals in Panama. As President Bush stated in his Address on December 20, General Noriega's reckless threats and attacks upon Americans in Panama created an imminent danger to the 35,000 American nationals in that country. Moreover, the Noriega regime has for months engaged in a calculated and escalating program of provocative and dangerous interference with the exercise by U.S. Armed Forces of rights guaranteed under the Canal Treaty, including the rights to station, train and move such forces within Panama.

These regrettable actions gave the U.S. the right to take the steps necessary to remove the threats posed. As President Bush stated, he made his decision to deploy the U.S. Armed Forces only after reaching the conclusion that every other avenue was closed. The U.S. had exhausted diplomatic and other peaceful means to deal with the danger. Consequently, the United States was entitled to take the measures necessary to defend U.S. military personnel, other U.S. nationals, and U.S. installations.

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In taking these actions, the United States was in no way violating the sovereignty of Panama. On the contrary, the United States consulted the legitimate democratically elected government of Panama regarding its intentions, and that government welcomed our actions. The United States respects the sovereignty of Panama, and the consent of the Government of Panama provides a clear basis under international law for continued U.S. action.

Finally, the United States has both the right and the duty to protect and defend the Canal under Article 4 of the Panama Canal Treaty, to which the Government of Panama gave its consent. The terms of the Panama Canal Treaty, which have been accepted by the Government and people of Panama, recognize without any ambiguity that the responsibility for the safe, efficient and uninterrupted operation of the Canal until December 31, 1999, rests with the United States.

As Ambassador Pickering stated in the United Nations Security Council on December 20, the Noriega regime has during the past two years engaged in a systematic campaign to harass and intimidate United States and Panamanian employees of the Panama Canal Commission and the United States Forces. The provocative and intolerable behavior of the Noriega regime reached a peak last Friday. It endangered American and Panamanian lives as well as Canal operations. Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaty authorized the United States to take appropriate measures to respond to this situation.

Wang #2839G

Revised Qs + As - 12/20
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PANAMA

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Q: What were the objectives of this U.S. military action?

A: The U.S. objectives were:

1. To protect American lives.
2. To assist the lawful and democratically elected government in Panama in fulfilling its international obligations.
3. To seize and arrest General Noriega, an indicted drug trafficker.
4. To defend the integrity of ~~U.S. rights under~~ the Panama Canal Treaties.

Q: What is the legal authority for this action?

A: We determined that U.S. military action was necessary to protect and defend the Canal, to maintain the ability of the United States to execute its treaty rights and obligations and to protect the lives of American citizens. We consulted with the duly elected Panamanian Government which Noriega had illegally kept out of office, and they indicated that they welcomed our assistance.

Q: Is the U.S. justified under international law in using force against Panama?

A: The United States has the inherent right of self-defense, as recognized in article 51 of the UN Charter and article 21 of the OAS Charter. This right of self-defense entitles the United States to take necessary measures to defend U.S. military personnel, U.S. nationals and U.S. installations.

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Further, the U.S. has both the right and the duty under Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaty to use its armed forces to protect and defend the Canal and its availability to all nations. In addition, the legitimate democratically-elected government of Panama was consulted and welcomed our actions.

Q: Why did the President not act earlier?

A: Military force has always been a last resort. We have consistently sought a peaceful resolution of the Panamanian situation. However, the recent declaration of war by the Noriega regime, coupled with brutal attacks on U.S. personnel, convinced us that action in self-defense was necessary now.

Q: Will a War Powers report be filed?

A: Consistent with the War Powers Resolution, we will follow our past practice of keeping Congress advised.

Q: What steps have been taken to consult with Congress?

A: The President and other senior officials notified Congressional leaders prior to the engagement of U.S. forces.

Q: Isn't this really an unlawful intervention into Panama's internal affairs?

A: No. The United States has acted in self-defense under well-recognized principles of international law. Further, the

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legitimate democratically-elected Panamanian government has been consulted and has welcomed our actions.

Q: Doesn't the U.S. action create the appearance of an invasion for the purpose of installing a government supportive of U.S. interests?

A: No. The U.S. has not acted to install any government. The Panamanians chose their government on May 7. All credible international observers certified that President Endara was elected by an overwhelming majority. We recognize the democratically elected, legitimate government of Panama. We will assist that government in fulfilling its international obligations and in restoring peace, prosperity, and freedom to Panama.

Q: What instructions with regard to the conduct of this action were given to U.S. forces?

A: U.S. forces were instructed to use only that force necessary to achieve our objectives.

Q: What are U.S. responsibilities under the Panama Canal Treaties?

A: The primary responsibility of the U.S. under the Canal Treaties is to protect and defend the Canal. We must carry out our treaty responsibilities. There are many U.S. citizens and interests in Panama. We also have the right and responsibility to take action to protect them when they are threatened.

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Q: Has the U.S. declared war on Panama?

A: No, however, on December 15, 1989, at the instigation of Manuel Antonio Noriega, the illegitimate Panamanian National Assembly declared that the Republic of Panama was in a "state of war" with the United States. At that time Noriega made an inflammatory anti-American speech on national radio and television. Noriega stated, "We, the Panamanians, will sit along the banks of the Canal to watch the dead bodies of our enemies pass by"

Q: Isn't the United States essentially invading Panama for the purpose of installing a government supportive of U.S. interests?

A: No. We recognize the Endara government, the only legitimate government of Panama, which was democratically elected on May 7, 1989, and are assisting that government, pursuant to its request, in fulfilling its international obligations.

Q: How long will United States forces remain in Panama?

A: The U.S. intends to withdraw newly deployed forces as quickly as possible.

Q: When was Noriega indicted and what are the charges against him?

A: On February 4, 1988, two U.S. Federal Grand Juries in Florida indicted Noriega on charges of cocaine and marijuana trafficking.

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Q: What steps will the U.S. take to resume normal relations with Panama?

A: We are restoring normal diplomatic and economic relations with Panama. We have recognized the government of Endara and we will lift all economic sanctions at the earliest possible time.

Q: Will the U.S. notify the UN Security Council or ask it to take any action with regard to the situation in Panama?

A: We will notify the Council of our actions. We notified the UN Secretary General last night of our self-defense actions in Panama.

Q: Does the U.S. intend to refer this matter to the OAS?

A: We have no present intentions, but intend to consider this carefully. We notified OAS Secretary General Soares last night of our self-defense actions in Panama. We will deal with the issue as appropriate when it is raised in the OAS.

Q: Will the U.S. act to rescue hostages?

A: We do not comment on operational activities. We will, of course, take all appropriate steps to protect American lives.

Q: Were U.S. forces instructed to kill Noriega?

A: No. They were instructed to apprehend him and help bring him to justice.

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Q: Did the recent legal opinion about Posse Comitatus Act have an impact on the timing of this action?

A: No.

Q: Has U.S. policy on the use of force changed as a result of this action in Panama and recent widely reported legal opinions of the Department of Justice?

A: No. While the situation in Panama is highly unusual, the action we have taken is fully consistent with past U.S. policy and recognized principles of law with regard to the use of armed force.

6/6

1950
1951

1. THE STATE OF TEXAS
2. COUNTY OF DALLAS

1952
1953

1954: 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 2 *
עותק 1 מתוך 12 *

1* שאל מדוע דחה פרס את נסיעתו לברה'מ.

2* אמר ששאלת חידוש היחסים תבוא על פתרונה ב'רגע שיהיה *
*תהליך מדיני רציני'.

*ערן.

*לב

*תפ: רהמ, שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור

* 11. S. 0117 -
* 11. S. 0117 -

* 11. S. 0117 -

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* 11. S.

* 11. S.

* 11. S. 0117 -

נכנס **

שמור

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Handwritten notes:
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Below the line, the text "א"כ"פ" is written.

חוזם: 1,1349

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/106, ווש/90

מ-: לוסאנגלס, נר: 10, תא: 020190, זח: 1305, דח: ב, סג: שמ

תח: גס צפא

נד: א

שמור/בהול לא להזעיק

אל: מצפא/משה בר

דע: השגרירות וושינגטון

מאת: הקונסוליה הכללית לוס אנגלס

106.02

ביקור הסנטור פיט ווילסון

1. לאחר שנודע לפני מספר חודשים שמושל קליפורניה הנוכחי דוקמייג'אן לא מתכוון להציג מועמדותו לתקופת כהונה נוספת, החלה התרוצצות רבתי בתוך המפלגה הרפובליקנית למצוא לו מחליף.

2. לבחירות למשרת מושל המדינה שיערכו בנובמבר 1990 השלכות מרחיקות לכת על עתידה הפוליטי של קליפורניה שכן שנת 1990 היא גם השנה בה אמור להתחיל כאן ה- CENSUS ובעקבותיו החלוקה מחדש של אזורי הבחירה בהתאם לתוצאות המיפקד.

3. הרפובליקנים רואים חשיבות עליונה בבחירתו של מושל הנמנה אל שורותיהם. בהנחה שהן בית הנבחרים והן הסנאט המדינתי ימשיכו להיות בשליטה דמוקרטי, ישמש המושל ככוח נגד שמנסה לשבש מהלכים דמוקרטיים להתוויה מחדש של אזורי הבחירה לטובת המועמדים הדמוקרטים.

4. מאחר ובמאגר המועמדים הרפובליקנים המקומיים לא ניתן היה לאתר אישיות שתוכל לסחוף המפלגה לנצחון נאלצו ראשי המפלגה

5406

מחלקת חוץ, ת"ד 20, תל אביב 6109902

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions.

2. It is essential to ensure that all data is entered correctly and that any discrepancies are identified and corrected promptly.

3. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups.

4. These methods allow researchers to gather detailed information about the attitudes and behaviors of their target audience.

5. The final part of the document provides a summary of the findings and offers recommendations for future research and implementation.

6. Overall, this document serves as a comprehensive guide for conducting effective market research and data analysis.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

לשכנע את סנטור ווילסון להתמודדות על משרה זו.

5. המועמד הדמוקרטי שיתייצב מולו של הסנטור הינו התובע הכללי ג'ון ואן-דה-קמפשהיה אורחנו לפני מספר חודשים. כאמור הבחירות יתקיימו בנובמבר 1990 והסנטור נמצא בשלבים הראשוניים של מסעו ובעיקר גיוס הכספים הדרושים לצורך כך. לרשותו עומדים בשלב זה כ-5 מיליון דולר.

6. בהקשר למפלגה הרפובליקנית לא יתקיימו שום PRIMARIES שכן הסנטור הינו המועמד המוסכם על דעת כולם.

7. עד עכשיו לא הקדיש הסנטור ווילסון זמן רב ומאמץ למסע הבחירות שלו בקליפורניה. ביקורו בארץ בעיתוי הנוכחי ישמש בין היתר גם כ-KICK OFF להסתערותו על תפקיד זה בקרב הקהילה היהודית.

8. משקיפים פוליטיים מאוחדים בדעתם שסנטור ווילסון אכן ינצח בבחירות בנובמבר 1990.

משה רם.

ג'

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

1950
The following information was obtained from the records of the
Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, on
the subject of the land described in the foregoing
instrument, to-wit: The land described in the foregoing
instrument is a portion of the land owned by the
United States of America, and is situated in the
County of [redacted] State of [redacted].

It is the policy of the United States Government to
dispose of its surplus lands to the public in the most
expeditious manner possible, and to the highest bidder.

The land described in the foregoing instrument is
being offered for sale to the public in the most
expeditious manner possible, and to the highest bidder.

The land described in the foregoing instrument is
being offered for sale to the public in the most
expeditious manner possible, and to the highest bidder.

The land described in the foregoing instrument is
being offered for sale to the public in the most
expeditious manner possible, and to the highest bidder.

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being offered for sale to the public in the most
expeditious manner possible, and to the highest bidder.

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being offered for sale to the public in the most
expeditious manner possible, and to the highest bidder.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

1398

תאריך: 03.01.98

** נכנס
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שמו

✓
"ארה"ק

חוזם: 1,1398

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/115, נוש/98

מ-: נ, נר: 55, תא: 020190, זח: 1730, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: גס: אפסוק

נד: ג

שמו/מיד

10077

103.20

אל: מאפ 2, מצפא, יועץ תפוצות

דע: השגריר-וושיןגטון

מאת: קונכ'ל ניו יורק

השבעת דוד דינקינס.

לשלכמ 1446 מה-31/12

אתמול נערך טקס השבעתו של דוד דינקינס. לא היה זה מציאותי כלל וכלל לדרוש מדינקינס ביטול הופעת טוטו. ערב הטקס באתי בדברים עימו ועם אנשיו. הובטח שדינקינס יתנער במסיבת עתונאים מדברי טוטו בארץ וכן כי טוטו רק יברך בטקס ולא ישא דברים בנושאינו. דינקינס אכן הודיע במסיבת עתונאים שהוא חולק על דברי טוטו. בטקס ההשבעה דינקינס שילב בתוך נאומו משפט על זכות ישראל לבטחון. טוטו דיבר קצרות על מאבקו בדרא'פ' ולא הזכיר את ישראל כלל. ג'סי ג'קסון ישב בקהל המכובדים אך לא נשא דברים. בק'פ' לאחר הטקס, בירכתי את דינקינס והוא חזר על רצונו לש'פ' עמנו.

אורי סביר

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מסמך 020190 נוש 98

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נושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, הדס, מאפ, תפוצות

ה' בטבת תש"ן
2 בינואר 1990
סימוכין 2-ד"ש 6-341

מק
א"ג

- סודי -

מפי ח"כ דדי צוקר
12/12/89

להלן דו"ח שיחה עם הנ"ל שבא ביוזמתו:

הנשיא קרטור היה מעורב בענין יהודי אתיופיה. קרטור סיפר לדדי צוקר שמנגיסטו טען שאין לו בקשה מישראל לאחוד משפחות. לפני שבועיים פנה שוב למנגיסטו בענין זה ומנגיסטו הגיב שאם ישראל תפנה אליו ותבקש אחוד משפחות, הוא יגביר את קצב היציאה של היהודים. קרטור רתח על ענין פצצות המצרר שישראל ספקה לאתיופיה. הוא טען שקבל ידיעה כזו, ושהאתיופים מאמינים שמאזן הכוחות עם המורדים ישתנה לטובתם, כתוצאה מאספקת פצצות המצרר

קרטור אמר שמבקש להעביר לרה"מ (ולפרס) שהוא מוכן לעשות כל דבר ולמלא כל תפקיד כדי להעביר מסר לאתיופיה.

ח"כ צוקר שאל בענין היהודים שנותרו בדרום סודאן. קרטור אמר לו שיש לו השפעה על שליט סודאן ואם מדובר בשטח שתחת סמכותו, הוא מוכן לעשות מה שדרוש.

יחסי קרטור עם הבית הלבן טובים.

הגבתי שכבר הודענו לנשיא קרטור באמצעות שגרירנו בושינגטון שענין איחוד המשפחות היהודיות נמצא בטפול ישיר בינינו לבין הנשיא מנגיסטו ועל-כן אין צורך בתיווכו של קרטור. עד כאן.

י.ח. בן-אהרן

סוד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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* יוצא **

סודי ביותר

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מתוך 8

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ארה"י

* מחוז: 1,369

* תא: 23/ווש

* מ-: המשרד, תא: 010190, זח: 1543, דח: ב, סג: סב

* תח: פ גס: אמלט

* נד: 0

* 54606

* סודי ביותר/בהול לבוקר

* השגריר

* שלך נר 681 לשיחתך עם איגלברגר.

* סבורני שדברך על מתן הלוואות בתנאים נוחים לבעלי מפעלים
* וחנויות שעסקיהם נפגעו בביזה בעת הפלישה לפנמה הם המירב
* שאנו יכולים ומצווים לעשות.

* בנצור-תורגמן

* אק

* תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, תורגמן

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סודי יותר נעים לו. 707576867

1. 2000000
2. 1000000
3. 5000000
4. 10000000
5. 20000000

6. 50000000
7. 100000000
8. 200000000
9. 500000000
10. 1000000000

11. 2000000000
12. 5000000000
13. 10000000000
14. 20000000000
15. 50000000000

16. 100000000000

17. 200000000000
18. 500000000000
19. 1000000000000
20. 2000000000000

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 01.01.90

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יוצא

בלמס

J
אלחק

חוזם: 1,140

אל: וווש/8, מנמת/2

מ-: המשרד, תא: 010190, חז: 1202, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: @ גס: ממד

נד: @

בלמ'ס/מיידי

אל: וושינגטון, אמיתי

ח'אלד אל-חסן בארה'ב.

עפ"י אלביאן, (מאע"מ, 30) חבר הועד המרכזי של הפתח ח'אלד אל-חסן, נמצא בוושינגטון מזה כ-3 שבועות ובכך נפתחה תחנת קשר ישירה, לא רשמית ולא פומבית בין אש"פ לממשל אל-חסן דן ב'סילוק המכשולים העומדים בפני הדאלוג הפלסטי-ישראלי, בהקשר למפגש המשולש הצפוי בווש'. מקורות אמריקנים מסרו שההסבר לאיפול המוחלט האופף את שליחותו של אל-חסן בוושינגטון הוא בעית המגעים הישירים בין המימשל האמריקני לחבר בהנהגת אש"פ. בראיון לאל-אתחאד (סיכ' 31/12) אמר אל-חסן שאש"פ ממתין לתוצאות המפגש המשולש של שרי החוץ, שהינם התנאי לפתיחת הדיאלוג עם ישראל. הוא הוסיף כי האישים הפלסטי שהוצע להם להכלל במשלחת הפלסטי לדיאלוג ביקשו מאש"פ יפוי כח בכתב המסמיכם להשתתף בשיחות עם ישראל.

ערב/2 ממ'ד

יג

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, דס, אמן

